THAI PRIME MINISTER'S WEEKLY TELEVISED ADDRESSES IN IDEOLOGICAL AND PENTADIC CRITICISM

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts (Language and Communication) School of Language and Communication National Institute of Development Administration 2018
THAI PRIME MINISTER'S WEEKLY TELEvised ADDRESSES IN IDEOLOGICAL AND PENTADIC CRITICISM
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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis
THAI PRIME MINISTER’S WEEKLY TELEVISED ADDRESSES IN IDEOLOGICAL AND PENTADIC CRITICISM

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The purpose of this study was to examine how General Prayut Chan-O-cha, Prime Minister of Thailand, employed rhetoric in weekly televised address broadcasted from May 30, 2014 to December 16, 2016. This study adopted two concepts, which are pentadic criticism and ideological criticism, to examine 41 pieces of Thai Prime Minister’s weekly televised addresses.

The findings revealed that General Prayut Chan-O-cha paid most of his attention on Thailand’s political and economic dreadlocks and saw himself as the country’s savior amid the turmoil, as scene and agent were the controlling terms over other pentadic elements. The findings also suggested that the speech delivered by General Prayut Chan-O-cha was dominated by capitalism, nationalism, monarchy, sufficiency economy philosophy and authoritarianism ideologies respectively. The mentioned beliefs and motives became General Prayut’s prominent rhetorical tool in the weekly televised addresses.

Keywords: Ideology criticism, Pentadic criticism, rhetoric, rhetorical criticism, televised address, Thai prime minister
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Neeranuit Traijakvanich
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Thailand has been facing political instability since the 21st century due to the abrupt changes of the government (Russell, 2014). Since 2001, Thailand’s political sphere had been fractious due to the clash between the “Yellow” and the “Red” Shirts, the two bitterly divided camps that had been the cause of several long protests in Thailand. The latest escalation occurred in the beginning of 2014, when the two-color coded camps clashed in several fatal demonstrations. The clashes resulted in a military Coup d'état by the National Council of Peace and Order or NCPO, spearheaded by General Prayut Chan-O-cha on May 22nd, 2014. After the coup, the head of the NCPO released a mission statement, declaring its intention behind the Coup d'état, saying that the NCPO’s objective was to end the civil unrest in Thailand (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014).

Shortly afterwards, the leader of the coup, General Prayut Chan-O-cha, was newly appointed the 29th Prime Minister of Thailand, and pledged to govern the country in a democratic manner as well as return happiness to the general public after decades of political hardship. However, the move by the top general to shed his uniform and take the premiership is seen as cementing the military’s control of the politically turbulent nation (News Corp Australia Network, 2014). Although General Prayut had good intentions to bring peace and order to the country, having military forces take over a country’s government administration has ruined the country’s democratic image as well as raised questions on the legitimacy of the military government.
Since May 2014, The Thai Prime Minister has been addressing the public through his weekly televised addresses, which broadcast live on every television channel. The content of the weekly televised addresses has emphasized and persisted the NCPO’s goals. The televised addresses serve as a means to create better understanding among the general public and the international community, including eliminating General Prayut’s undemocratic reputation, promoting the NCPO’s credibility, and most importantly, encouraging unity among Thais. The weekly televised addresses are clearly propagated (Palatino, 2015). However, some of the statements made by the Prime Minister advocate the concept of democracy, as his intention is to return peace, order, happiness and democracy to the people after the turmoil is terminated. Through the televised address, General Prayut claimed that Thailand has to restore social reconciliation before a general election can take place in order for Thailand to have “strong democracy” (Royal Thai Government, 2017).

In summary, General Prayut Chan-O-chai came into power through the process of Coup d'état, as he claimed the necessity in order to bring peace and order to the nation. After the Coup d'état, General Prayut released a mission statement saying that the National Council of Peace and Order’s goal is to end the prolonged conflicts and to restore peace within the country before bringing Thailand back to democratic administration. He emphasized that in order for Thailand to become a true democratic country, the long-standing political turmoil must be dismissed. General Prayut employs weekly televised addresses as a tool to communicate his missions and goals to the public, as well as to report the NCPO’s working processes.

1.2 Purposes and Rationale

Televised address, a conspicuous and powerful channel of communication, has been widely employed by many political figures globally, ranging from presidents, prime ministers, chancellors to activists (Baum & Kernell, 1999). The main objective of a televised address is to influence public opinion and shape national agenda without deviation on particular issues or policies, as the speaker’s words will be unfettered by news media’s questions, interpretations or editing (Welch, 2003). After
the Coup d'état on May 2014 in Thailand, General Prayut took over Thailand’s government and employed weekly televised address to directly distribute messages from the government to the general public. Although General Prayut gained his power through force and exercised dictatorial power through extreme laws and regulations such as the enforcement of the Martial Law Act, his speeches have emphasized the concept of democracy, as General Prayut promises to restore democracy to the country after the political turmoil has dissolved (Human Rights Watch, n.d.).

There are many relevant studies related to rhetorical criticism which investigate powerful social and political figures’ televised addresses. However, none of the research has investigated Thailand’s Prime Minister, General Prayut’s weekly televised addresses, which he made after the 2014 Coup d'état. As a rhetorical critic's’ role is to question, interpret and evaluate the persuasive strategies in the communication process, this study systematically evaluates General Prayut Chan-Ocha’s weekly televised addresses as products of rhetoric. The researcher’s goal is to discover General Prayut’s genuine motives and beliefs, which has been engraved in General Prayut’s rhetoric. The researcher has employed two tools under the concept of rhetorical criticism (ideological criticism and pentadic criticism) as analytical processes to examine General Prayut weekly televised addresses.

The results derived from this research have been selected to benefit individuals who are in the field of communication by enhancing their knowledge of rhetorical criticism in the political sphere. The overall results of this study can also accommodate Thai individuals and other interested parties, as it is an opportunity to take a closer look at the public dissemination of information from one of Thailand’s most powerful political figures. Since this study is built around two concepts of pentadic criticism and ideological criticism, it is aimed at revealing and assessing the insight motives and beliefs of Thailand’s Prime Minister in his weekly televised addresses. The researcher decided to set two main research questions as follows:
RQ1: How could General Prayut’s speeches given in the weekly televised addresses be scrutinized by pentadic Criticism?

RQ1.1: What were the general characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses according to pentadic criticism?

RQ1.2: What were the specific characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses according to pentadic criticism?

RQ2: How could General Prayut’s speeches given in the weekly televised addresses be scrutinized by ideological criticism?

RQ2.1: What were the general characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses according to ideological criticism?

RQ2.2: What were the specific characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses according to ideological criticism?

This study is divided into five individual chapters. The first chapter offers details on the fundamental background of this research in which the main objective and significance are clarified. The second chapter is a review of the related literature. The third chapter discusses the methodology of the report, which is comprised of data collection and data analysis. The fourth chapter is dedicated to an analysis of the artefacts, which are the weekly televised addresses by Thailand’s Prime Minister General Prayut Chan-O-cha, and the final chapter concludes this report with a discussion and conclusion.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The second chapter describes Thailand’s political background in detail. This study utilizes two salient tools of rhetorical criticism: Pentadic criticism and Ideological criticism, as well as other important elements in order to create a foundation for readers to understand the study better. The literature review is separated into five main sections; Thai political history, televised addresses, rhetorical criticism, ideology and values, and conclusion.

2.1 Thai Political History

Thailand was governed by the system of absolute monarchy for over 7 centuries prior to June 24, 1932. Thailand’s governing system has been replaced by a constitutional monarchy, a system of government where the monarchy’s power is limited by a constitution (Bunbongkarn, n.d.). Thailand has faced political instability, such as changes of governments and coup d’états, throughout its democratic history (Royal Thai Government, 2017). Coup d’état, a seizure or appropriation of a country by the military, has been a continuing force in Thailand’s political record since the Siamese coup d’état on June 1933 (Panda, 2016). Within the last 25 years of Thailand’s democratic history, 13 coups and 11 uprising events have taken place within the country (Head, 2016; Panda, 2016; Russell, 2014; Shrum et al., 2013). The latest coup in Thai history was in 2014. However, the problem started when political turmoil was caused by the intense clash between the former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra’s supporters and the royalists (McNeill, 2010; Panda, 2016). To understand the background of Thailand’s rival camps, it is important to acknowledge the two important political figures: Thaksin Shinawatra, the sponsor of the Red Shirts,
and Thailand’s exiled former prime minister who was prime minister between 2001 and 2006, and Sondhi Limthongkul, the leader of the Yellow Shirts, who had triggered the 2006 army coup that toppled the former premier Thaksin Shinawatra (Kanokpongchai, 2005; McNeill, 2010). The two political camps played great roles in Thai politics, which turned Thailand into a political battlefield. In order to gain a deeper perspective on Thai political turmoil in the last decade, details on Red Shirt and Yellow Shirt political camps are important to understand.

2.1.1 Red Shirts’ Camp

The Red Shirts, a group of supporters of Mr. Thaksin Shinawatra, were formally known as the United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD) (The Guardian, 2010). Supporters of the Red Shirts were mainly workers from rural areas outside Bangkok. However, the Red Shirts also included students, left-wing activists and some people of the working classes (BBC, 2012). Mr. Thaksin was favored among the rural farmers and urban working class because of the initiation of many policies and campaigns that benefited the people at the grassroots level such as a 30-baht health care scheme and the small and medium enterprises (SMEs) development programs (Guardian, 2010).

The Red Shirts became discontent when Mr. Thaksin, the former prime minister, was ousted for corruption by a military coup. The first of the Red Shirts’ major protests began in March 2009 with a series of sit-ins outside government offices (BBC, 2012). Even though several encounters between the protesters and the military forces occurred, a general election was held. Yingluck Shinawatra, Mr. Thaksin's sister, who led the Pheu Thai party to a landslide victory in July 2011, became Thailand's first woman prime minister and the 28th Prime Minister of the country (BBC, 2012). Even though Mr. Thaksin had been exiled from Thailand, he was continually the paramount patron of the Red Shirt movement, as he had been very resourceful at exerting a full-spectrum of influence over the Red Shirts (Reuters, 2015). The main channels of exerting his influence was through his sister, the former Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra. Later, as a result of a corrupt rice pledging scandal, Yingluck's administration was removed by the 2014 coup led by General
Prayut Chan-O-cha, the Chief of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) (Reuters, 2016).

2.1.2 Yellow Shirts’ Camp

Yellow was the color symbol of King Rama IX of Thailand. The Yellow Shirts’ camp, consisting dominantly of royalists, nationalists, and the urban middle class, whom later called themselves the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD), had Mr. Sondhi Limthongkul as the leader. PAD adopted the color yellow as their symbol (The Economist, 2008). Mr. Thaksin Shinawatra was an important figure who initially instigated united the Yellow Shirts’ camp, as the people of the Yellow Shirts’ camp were opponents of Mr. Thaksin. The Yellow Shirts also demonstrated in street protests, and their protests were led mostly by Mr. Sondhi. Their protests led up to the military coup of September 2006, which forced Mr. Thaksin from power due to the accusation of corruption and abuse of power (Stout, 2013).

Mr. Thaksin’s self-imposed exile seemed to satisfy the Yellow Shirt camp’s objective, yet it was undeniable that Mr. Thaksin still continued to influence Thai politics (Lefevre, 2016). With Mr. Sondhi as their leader, The Yellow Shirts’ protesters’ rumblings began once again when Mr. Thaksin's allies won the post-coup elections in December 2007 and formed a government. A major protest spurted in late November of 2008, when the Yellow Shirt’s camp staged a week-long sit-in at Bangkok's two airports: Suvarnabhumi and Don Mueang Airport (BBC, 2012). The pro-Thaksin governing party was banned for alleged electoral misdemeanors, and a new Democrat Party government under Abhisit Vejjajiva took over the office in December 2008. Abhisit’s term as the 27th Prime Minister of Thailand lasted until July 2011 when the general election took place (Aljazeera, 2013). On September 6 of 2016, Mr. Sondhi, the leader of the Yellow Shirt group, was “convicted of falsifying documents used for a 1.08-billion-baht fraudulent loan” (Bangkok Post, 2016). The Supreme Court found that Mr. Sondhi and three other suspects had “forged a report to obtain the loan without seeking approval from the Managing Board of Directors” (Frontières, 2016). Therefore, Mr. Sondhi was sentenced to a twenty-year prison sentence due to the violation of the Securities and Exchange Act. Even though the
Yellow Shirt leader had been jailed and the Yellow Shirt group had been dissolved, both their philosophies and hatred of Mr. Thaksin continued to remain (Bangkok Post, 2016).

In sum, this section has explained the root of Thailand’s prolonged political turmoil and the hatred, which ran deeply between the two bitter rivals in Thailand’s political sphere. The color-coded protesters were the reason behind intermittent uprisings during the last decade including the latest coup in 2014 (Russell, 2014).

2.1.3 Thailand 2014 Coup d’état

The purpose of the 2014 coup was to wipe out polarization and unify the Thai people as a whole in an effort to overcome the country’s long-standing political divisions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). In the recent coup, Thailand’s military, led by General Prayut Chan-O-cha, seized administrative power on May 22nd, 2014 (BBC, 2014). A military junta was established, and referred to itself as the National Council for Peace and Order, or NCPO, with a self-proclaimed mandate to ensure the country’s stability and safety of the general public (Time, 2014). After the coup, Thailand's junta leader essentially named himself as the 29th Prime Minister of the country, accruing power from the coup d'état, despite opposition from a significant portion of the country. The opposition viewed Thailand as an undemocratic country (Nation, 2016). The Thai military government claimed that they had worked hard in order to restore peace and happiness in the country, facilitate country reforms, alleviate people’s financial burdens and suppress criminal activities nationwide (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). However, people’s impressions towards the Prime Minister ranged from very positive to very negative (MCOT, 2015).

2.2 Televised Address

Televised address is a tool employed by many powerful public figures, especially in the field of politics (Baum & Kernell, 1999; Welch, 2003). Due to its strong potential, televised addresses grant rhetors the power to influence public opinion, as it is an “ultimate political weapon in shaping the national agenda, mobilizing public
opinion, and building support for themselves and the issue positions they espouse” (Welch, 2003). In other words, televised addresses can be accessed on every home's radio and television across the nation. However, due to the rise of new technology, such as the Internet and TV On Demand, the consumption of traditional television has changed, which has impacted the influenceability of the televised address (Williams, 2014).

2.2.1 Limitation and Downfall of Televised Address

The characteristics of television have tremendous influence on viewers due to its audibility and visibility (Kur & Endwell, 2015). However, for the audience to be impacted by the televised address, they must be attracted to certain topics and issues specified by the rhetor, and the rhetor must have artful rhetorical skills (Kur & Endwell, 2015; Welch, 2003). The emergence of advanced technology is one of the most vital threats to televised addresses, as one-way communication is not the most effective communication method anymore (Kur & Endwell, 2015). The rise of satellite, cable services and the Internet has made traditional television become less popular (Insider, 2016). In the political realm, the downsizing of traditional television popularity led to a gradual reduction in the size of the audiences of televised addresses (Baum & Kernell, 1999). The shrinking audience size indicates the difficulty for a political rhetor to gain an audience through televised addresses because there are other entertainment options available (Baum & Kernell, 1999; Insider, 2016). It may be said that the opportunity for political rhetors who were willing to use traditional television as a means to communicate to the public audiences seems to have slowly diminished.

2.2.2 Politicians and Televised Address in Thailand

In Thailand, addresses broadcasted on television were undoubtedly one of the most vital means of political propaganda, as it is widely employed within the political sphere due to its advantages, especially during political crisis (McCargo, 2005). Many Thai politicians employed televised addresses as a medium to communicate with the general public. For instance, Thaksin Shinawatra had a weekly hour-long program that aired on Sunday mornings. The program, broadcasted on public national television and radio throughout the nation. The program was entitled “Thaksin Pob
Prachachon” or “Thaksin Meets the People”. Another former Prime Minister of Thailand who employed weekly televised addresses was Samak Sundaravej, who had a weekly talk show named “Sonthana Prasa Samak” or “Talking with Samak”. His show ran Sunday mornings from 8.30 A.M. to 9.30 A.M. The show aired for seven months from February 10, 2008 to September 7, 2008. Abhisit Vejjajiva, the 27th Prime Minister of Thailand also had a weekly program called “Chua Mun Prated Thai Gub Na Yor Abhisit” or “Be Confident in Thailand with Prime Minister Abhisit”. The program aired every Sunday from 9.00 A.M. to 10.00 A.M. from 18th January 2009 until 14 November 2010 (McCargo, 2005). More recently, due to the 2014 coup, General Prayut Chan-O-cha, the 29th Prime Minister of Thailand, employed a weekly televised address as a medium to announce the government’s weekly achievements (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014; Royal Thai Government, 2017). The program entitled “Return Happiness to the People” broadcasted on every free television channel, as well as twenty-four digital-television channels on every Friday evening at 8.15 P.M. The program was broadcasted for the first time on May 30, 2014, when the Prime Minister gave a brief outline on a national reform timeframe that would finally lead to the general election (MCOT, 2015). The speech was given in Thai language and also featured English subtitles. The title of the program later changed to “From the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy to Sustainable Development Goals” to commemorate the passing of King Rama IX.

General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses have been broadcasted since 2014. For the first two years, General Prayut’s weekly televised address was considered popular as the program informed the general public of critical regulations and situations resulting from the coup; however, after two years, the ratings of the Prime Minister’s weekly televised address had dropped sharply (Luek, 2016). General Prayut Chan-O-cha tried adjusting the structures and styles of the program by featuring professional moderators, changing from wearing a soldier’s uniform to a suit and tie, adjusting the background, and adding background music. Nonetheless, the adjustments did not improve the ratings of the program. Moreover, the weekly televised program had been criticized by many communication experts as dull as it
provided excessive information making it boring rather than informative (PostToday, 2016).

2.3 Rhetorical Criticism

Rhetoric is referred to as the use of symbols such as language in an effort to communicate, and to a further extent, it may also be seen as an effort to persuade or change the thoughts of others in some particular way (Althusser, 2006; Foss, 2009; Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991). However, the word rhetoric has been portrayed with a negative connotation, as it has been indicated as “empty, bombastic language that has no substance” (Foss, 2009). Rhetorical criticism is a process which is engaged in the study of rhetoric. Rhetorical criticism refers to systematic investigation of symbolic acts and steps to achieve the end result of making judgment, which involves the process of interpretation, assessment and analysis (Foss, 2009; Sillars & Gronbeck, 2001). The concept may be perceived as an instrument to discover reality, as it equips a person with an ability to notice possible persuasive techniques employed by others because it enables an individual to become more sophisticated in terms of investigating and understanding the truth (Brummett, 2015; Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991). Rhetorical criticism grants the power “for understanding the way humans are oppressed, enables humans to take action and change oppressive forces” (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). Accordingly, the main objective of rhetorical criticism is to disclose the process of domination by the perspective of the majority of the people in the society or the mainstream, which is often hidden from view (Althusser, 2006; Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991; Sillars & Gronbeck, 2001). Several concepts of rhetorical criticism have been introduced as a procedure for analyzing artefacts. The formal methods of rhetorical criticism are Neo-Aristotelian criticism, cluster criticism, fantasy theme criticism, generic criticism, ideological criticism, metaphoric criticism, narrative criticism, pentadic criticism, generative criticism, etc. (Brummett, 2015; Sillars & Gronbeck, 2001).

This study chose Pentadic criticism and Ideological criticism as salient tools for rhetorical criticism. Pentadic criticism is considered one of the most comprehensive
concepts of symbolic action as it reveals the processes and reasons of how and why an individual adopts the use of rhetoric and to what effect (Foss, 2009). Meanwhile, in accordance with the philosophy of Marxism, ideological criticism has been widely considered as an effective mechanism for understanding the communication phenomenon because it focuses on discovering rhetor’s ideologies, beliefs and values (Brummett, 2015). By applying the two concepts to analyze each of the rhetorical artefacts, the result derived from each concept could validate one another in order to check for the reliability of the final result (Foss, 2009).

2.3.1 Pentadic Criticism

Pentadic criticism shows a rhetor’s worldview towards a particular situation (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991). Pentadic Criticism is based closely on the work of Kenneth Burke, and his well-known theory of Dramatism, which focuses on the concept of the symbolic act and compares a human’s life to a drama (Brock, 1989). Dramatism compares life of an individual to a drama and believes that the world is literally a stage (Brummett, 2015). Kenneth Burke believes that in every person’s life, there is a combination of dramatic actions, characters, and a setting, and by looking through this concept, it provides an insight to an individual’s motives and relations (Foss, 2009). Kenneth Burke concludes his findings into two assumptions (1) language constitutes action but not motion, and (2) humans present messages in the same way a play is presented (Brummett, 2015; Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991).

In the first assumption, Kenneth Burke introduces two distinct terms, which are “motion” and “action”. Motion refers to the biological or animal aspect of a human being, where behavior was done through instinct, and does not considered as symbolic (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991). On the other hand, action refers to the neurological aspect of a human being, which involves purpose and freedom of choice (Brummett, 2015). However, it is undeniable that motion also plays a significant role in the choice making process. Without motion, action may not exist because the nature of humans plays a great role in determining the nature of action (Brock, 1989). The second assumption of Dramatism claims that “a human develops and presents messages in the same way that the play is presented” (Foss, 2009). Humans employ
rhetoric to present an individual's perspective of the world the same way plays are created and presented. Through rhetoric, an individual is capable of describing a particular situation which indicates how an individual is perceiving the world (Brummett, 2015).

The two assumptions drew a big picture of Pentadic criticism. Pentadic criticism allows the rhetorical critics to get insight by analyzing the language use, and gain knowledge of the rhetor’s perspective towards the world. With the concept, the researcher will be able to discover how the rhetor explains, understands, justifies or even accounts for a specific action (Baxter & Babbie, 2004).

The five pentadic elements are the main principle in pentadic criticism in order for the researcher to describe the rhetor’s symbolic acts. Kenneth Burke’s five pentadic elements are act, agent, agency, scene and purpose (Brummett, 2015; Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991). Act refers to what an individual or groups of people do, as humans are uniquely capable of acting. It raises the question of what was done. Scene refers to the setting in which the situation occurred. It raises the question of where and when the act was performed. Agent refers to an individual or a group of people who performed the act. It raises the question of who committed the action. Agency refers to the instruments employed by agent. It raises the question of how the act was performed. Purpose refers to the rational or the reason behind the action. It raises the question of why the agent performed such act, and what motivated the act. The five pentadic elements are the first major step in order for researchers to look into rhetor’s motives (Brock, 1989; Brummett, 2015; Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991).

The five pentadic elements acquired from the artefacts have to go through the process of analysis to discover the dominant terms that are essential in the artefact (Williams, 1977). The analysis starts with ratios by coupling the five elements in pairs, and trace how each term is related with another. By doing ratios, it reveals relationship of each element and shows how each term controls another (Brock, 1989; Brummett, 2015). In sum, ratios focus on how each pentadic element affect one
another. The dominant term, acquired by ratios, leads to the identification of ideology or philosophical system (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008).

Each pentadic element refers to each specific ideology, namely realism, materialism, pragmatic, idealism and mysticism. Realism is the corresponding ideology of act. It is a doctrine saying that “universal principles are more real than objects as they are physically sensed” (Foss, 2009). Realism refers to a process of thinking and acting that relies greatly on facts instead of expectations. Realism is the ability to accept and figure out ways of dealing with difficult situations in a practical way based on what is possible rather than what an individual expects to happen. Materialism is the corresponding ideology of scene. Materialism refers to a set of beliefs in which possessions, such as money and state of ownership, are the most vital elements, and downscale the importance of other elements, such as art, religion and moral beliefs (Althusser, 2006). Pragmatism is the corresponding ideology of agency. Pragmatism refers to a process of dealing with problems in a sensible, practical manner instead of following theoretical considerations (Foss, 2009). Idealism is the corresponding ideology of agent. Idealism refers to a set of beliefs of high standards and principles, even though the principles are difficult to achieve (Althusser, 2006). Idealism encourages an individual to strive for perfection, although it is hard to attain. Mysticism is the corresponding ideology of purpose. Mysticism refers to the element of unity. With mysticism, the element of unity is ultimately emphasized in which the quality of being a distinct person has disappeared (Sillars & Gronbeck, 2001).

In conclusion, Pentadic criticism is a tool used in exposing a rhetor’s perspective towards the world. Researchers may apply Pentadic criticism as a tool to examine the way the rhetor utilizes rhetorical choices. The result will reveal the rhetor’s genuine perspective and motives, and the researcher will gain insight on the rhetor’s worldview (Brummett, 2015; Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991).
2.3.2 Ideological Criticism

Another concept which will be employed as an investigative tool to look at General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses is ideological criticism. Ideological criticism is a tool used to examine structures of idea and logic, evaluate power dimensions and reveal hidden ideologies that are upheld by a particular culture, community and society (Sillars & Gronbeck, 2001). Ideological criticism is one of the concepts under rhetorical criticism. Scholars in the field of rhetoric have contributed to the development of the ideological approach due to criticism through many different perspectives and philosophies, including structuralism, Marxism, poststructuralism, postmodernism, cultural studies, theory of articulation and feminism (Althusser, 2006; Lippi-Green, 2004). However, Marxist-based social theory is one of the most important intellectual strands of the twentieth century (Brock, 1989).

Marxist philosophy, pioneered by Karl Marx, has been widely used among ideological critics (Gottlieb, 1992). Marxism is a way of analyzing cultural products in terms of political, social and economic practices (Foss, 2009). Marxists believe that dominant ideology is a false set of ideas instilled into the people by cultural institutions or the dominant political force in a society, therefore Marxists seek to challenge and deconstruct the ideological biases including institutional, gender, racial, economic, political, cultural and traditional, philosophical and religious assumptions (Gottlieb, 1992; R. Williams, 1977). The idea triggered other theorists, including Theodor Adorno, Louis Althusser, Walter Benjamin, Bertolt Brecht, Terry Eagleton, Jürgen Habermas, Georg Lukács and Herbert Marcuse, to be part of a movement that challenges the dominant power in a society (Williams, 1977). Although the Marxist scholars may interpret Marxism differently, they are all “united by the belief that material conditions influence the symbols by which they make sense of the world” (Foss, 2009).

Through the Marxist approach, ideological criticism reveals the influences of ideologies over an individual’s logic and common sense (Althusser, 2006). The primary goal of ideological criticism is to discover dominant ideologies embedded in an artefact and make it visible in order to explain the role of communication and
whose interest the ideology is representing (Sillars & Gronbeck, 2001). In an effort to analyze the artefacts through ideological criticism, researchers must label presented and suggested elements (Brock, 1989). Presented elements are features of the artefacts that represent clues to ideologies (Sillars & Gronbeck, 2001); for instance, particular terms or metaphors given by rhetors. Suggested elements are themes, reference, ideas, allusion and concept derived from presented elements (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). After the suggested elements are recognized, the researcher must formulate ideology by categorizing and organizing suggested elements into a coherent framework, which constitutes implicit ideologies and forms key ideas from the artefacts (Foss, 2009). By discovering ideologies within rhetorical artefacts, the researchers will gain insight of the rhetor’s beliefs, logic and commonsense (Lippi-Green, 2004). The concept of Ideological criticism may apply to many types of artefacts ranging from political speech to artistic sculptures (Althusser, 2006).

### 2.3.3 Ideology and Value

Ideology and value have significant roles in rhetorical criticism; therefore, it is vital to understand the basic concept of ideology and value as well as ideology and value in a Thai context. Ideology and value are closely connected, as both have a great influence over how people think, act, and speak. Ideology refers to beliefs that have the capability of influencing an individual’s consciousness, shaping an individual’s perception, and dominating how a person interprets an individual’s personal experiences, while value refers to how an individual decides what is right or wrong, or whether something is essential in life (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008; Summers, 2003). Ideology is a mental framework that creates social reality which people unconsciously utilize to formulate common sense, logic, beliefs and values towards political, economic, social and cultural interests (Althusser, 2006; Foss, 2009; Heywood, 1994; Lippi-Green, 2004). On the other hand, ideology is considered as a false set of thoughts perpetuated by the dominant political force that has influence over truth (Heywood, 1994; Williams, 1977). The majority of the people who live in a society are subjected to dominant ideologies as ideologies are instilled by institutions, for example, schools, religions, families and media, through ordinary activities and practices, for instance, attending schools, watching movies, listening to music and
reading newspapers or magazines (Althusser, 2006). With multiple instilled ideologies, cultures are formed where some ideologies are privileged over others with the purpose of dominating the majority of the population of a society (Heywood, 1994; Lippi-Green, 2004).

Hegemony refers to a privileged ideology. The term constitutes a social control and a form of domination by more powerful ideologies over the less powerful ideologies. When an ideology becomes hegemonic, the ideology will be very powerful so that it could control what people should see as natural or obvious through the establishing of norms (Foss, 2009). The result of an ideological hegemony is that a culture has a dominant way of seeing the world in a certain domain in which a certain group of people are benefitted (Sillars & Gronbeck, 2001). Since dominant ideologies direct how an individual judge or perceives what is real and natural, oppositional ideologies are marginalized. It can be said that the discourses, those influenced by dominant ideologies, are seen as normal, while the discourses governed by the marginalized ideologies are seen as abnormal and will likely be oppressed. Dominant ideology relates to power and control. Dominant ideologies are created by the upper echelons of the administrative class or the elites to gain self-benefits and maintain their superior status, power and domination (Molyneux, 2006). Dominant groups of people distribute dominant ideologies in order to control beliefs, morals, attitudes and values of the mainstream in a society (Molyneux, 2006). Upper administrative classes employ ideology as a mechanism to facilitate social control by using institutions, such as religion, education systems, family, law, politics, press and culture, to persuade members of the society to adopt and support the dominant ideology, while oppressing or marginalizing less popular ideologies (Clarke, 2015). Social organization is considered a facet that grants titles and classifies an individual into different social classes, which causes oppression and discrimination towards a group of people who are not able to cope with the established ideologies (Molyneux, 2006). The superstructure of social organization justifies how the lower parts of social organization operate in a society. Frequently, dominant ideologies are very powerful so that people are not aware that they are influenced and the ideology then becomes naturalized. Dominant ideology is seen as an obstacle to human liberation because it
is a series of thoughts that “structure a group’s reality, a system of representations or a code of meanings governing how individuals and groups see the world” (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). Dominant ideologies are naturalized in a society; for individuals who are unknowingly influenced by dominant ideologies, the only way to discover the existence of dominant ideologies is through the use of critical skill (Clarke, 2015).

Values, an offspring of ideologies, are criteria humans employ to evaluate and analyze daily events and phenomena occurring in a society (Komin & Samakkarn, 1979). The difference is that ideologies are beliefs, while values are forces that determine whether a behavior is right or wrong. Values determine an individual’s decisions and behaviors within a society, as people of the same society usually possess similar values, ideologies, and responses to certain circumstances commonly predictable and favorable. Values also encapsulate social rules, and to a greater extent, append the pursuit of happiness which a society adopts as the agreed-upon rules and expectations which guides the behavior of individuals (Meegan, 2015). Values are upheld differently in every society. In each society, an individual’s standards of decision and behavior, judging what is right, wrong, or important, are varied depending on values that that specific society upholds. Since different values are held by different groups of people and cultures, theorists seek to define the genuine meaning of value in addition to setting standards and categorizing values in a systematic schema under society (Hall, 1976; Hills & Hofstede, 1991; Hofstede, 2001; Niffenegger, Kulviwat, & Engchanil, 2006).

Even though values are very complicated and vary from country to country, the essence of values between the Western and Eastern worlds have been greatly compared and contrasted by theorists. The terms individualism and collectivism were introduced to categorized values that pervade cultures (Hofstede, 2001; Niffenegger et al., 2006). Individualism is a doctrine that emphasizes the quality of being independent and self-reliant, where personal achievement is encouraged rather than group achievement (Hills & Hofstede, 1991; Hofstede, 2001). Meanwhile, collectivism is an opposite doctrine that emphasizes the quality of being whole, where group goals have higher priority over an individual’s desires (Hofstede, 2001). Both
Individualism and collectivism are doctrines originated by Geert Hofstede, whose objective was to explain value in accordance to the difference between the Western and Eastern worlds. In fact, many theorists also classified values into high and low context cultures based on crossed-culture communication (Hall, 1976). Low context culture occurs when people rely heavily on explicit, direct and confrontational communication. Low context culture is frequently related to individualism. For instance, American culture is a low context culture and values individualism. Commonly, Americans are known for being independent and straightforward communicators. Low context culture and individualism have significant impact on Americans way of living, beliefs, behaviors and communicative processes (Knutson, 1994). High context culture is when people rely heavily on implicit communication rather than direct communication. High context culture is frequently related to collectivism. Context, tradition, and relationship are seen more as vital elements than actual words (Knutson, 1994). For example, Thais practice high context culture and collectivism, which emphasizes a cooperative relationship, compromising, and being circuitous. With high context culture, many Thai’s way of living, beliefs, behaviors and communicative processes are more time consuming and require more understanding and analysis in being able to get to the point. Values are derived from ideologies. It is undeniable that multiple values and ideologies are instilled within a society. Values and ideologies are key elements that frame people’s beliefs, attitudes, thoughts and behavior, which leads to the construction of a nature of society, social hierarchy and social classes (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008).

2.3.4 Ideologies in Thai Politics

In Thailand, Thais are also influenced by distinct sets of ideologies and values shown through Thais attitudes and behavior. Ideologies found in the Thai political realm were not only limited to political ideologies. Instead, the ideologies can be separated in three categories, namely political, economic, and social and cultural ideologies (Chuatong, 2016; Panda, 2016; Steger, 2008; Vanijaka, 2017).
2.3.4.1 Political Ideology

Political ideology is a set of related beliefs, which shape the political perspective of an individual and hierarchy of social class (Seliger, 1977). Since political ideology explains the way a society works, every individual in a society must possess political ideology with or without notion (Nilsson & Erlandsson, 2015). In Thai society, four political ideologies were mentioned, namely authoritarianism, monarchy, nationalism, and democracy.

Authoritarianism is a form of government that has strong central power where freedom of the people is limited. The absolute power is only distributed among a small group of people. Monarchy, similar to an authoritarian form of government, has high respect towards the monarchy where kings and queens rule the kingdom and possess the status of the suzerain of a country. Nationalism, however, is a set of beliefs which promotes the greatness of being unified as a nation, the quality of wholeness, and fostering the love and reverence for the country. Lastly, democracy is a governing system that emphasizes equality, rights, freedom, and respect for the majority of the population (Nilsson & Erlandsson, 2015).

Authoritarianism and monarchy have been the dominant ideologies influencing Thailand’s governing systems. The deep-rooted political ideologies have effectively been creating an authoritative class where the absolute power is based on arbitrary use of power (Vanijaka, 2017). Dhammaraja, the concept which the king must rule his country according to the teachings of the Buddha, is considered a solid link connecting politics with religion in Thailand (Vanijaka, 2017). However, the status of the king remains the same, where absolute loyalty is expected from his subjects, as in return, the king will protect people and maintain peace in the kingdom (Chuatong, 2016). In 1932, the system of absolute monarchy was overthrown and the institution’s significant power was plundered. With King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the monarch was considered an essential institution within the constitutional monarchy system. In spite of the monarchy not having political or administrative powers under the system of constitutional monarchy, the monarchy had great influence over Thailand’s political realm (Maisrikrod, 1992). “The support of the monarch remains
an essential source of political legitimacy. A political leader or regime, even a popular elected government, would not be truly legitimized without the King’s blessing,” (Hewison, 1997). Moreover, King Bhumibol Adulyadej was crucial for the country’s political stability, and had been the symbol of the foremost institution of the nation and the people, especially during the time of political crisis.

While Western society went through the Age of Discovery, the Age of Reason, the Age of Enlightenment, etc. in order to achieve democracy, “Thailand went straight from absolute monarchy into democracy, bypassing periods of liberalization, reason and enlightenment that are the logical steps to arrive at humanistic democratic ideals” (Vanijaka, 2017). Thailand completely changed its administrative ideology to democracy in 1932, however, at the time, the structure of Thai society was insufficiently prepared for the change resulting in the newly installed democracy, so it frequently failed. Many previous administrations had been dictatorships, with a few occasional suggestions of switching to communism (Panda, 2016). The democratic failures proved that the authoritarianism and the monarchy, which had embedded themselves deeply into the Thai society, had triumphed over democracy. Throughout Thailand’s political history, it seemed to be that Thais only understood and implemented democracy at the surface level and did not understand the core of democracy (Chuatong, 2016). Democracy is highly related to equality, rights, liberty and various types of freedom, for instance freedom of expression and speech. Conservatism, which refers to a political philosophy that favors traditional beliefs and customs and seeks to preserve the status quo, is considered an obstacle to democracy dominating the upper ranks of the social and economic structures (Vinijjikul, 2008).

The rise of nationalism was estimated to be during the reigns of Kings Rama V - VII, when aristocrats attempted to create the essence of “Thainess” and the Thai nation by instilling cultural values using national arts and culture such as Buddhism, Thai language, and Thai culture (Hutt, 2016). Nationalism created fairness in power management among the upper class while sparking a patriotic surge within the new upper class that came after Thailand changed its governing system from absolute
monarchy to democracy. Nationalism, still co-existing with the transition, was considered as a tool which enabled other nations to acknowledge Thainess and Thai cultures (Panda, 2016). Several patriotic campaigns were introduced to encourage the love of the nation and to enhance Thainess. The reinforcements for the love of the nation had made Thai people proud of their nationality and later developed into ego and broadened into discrimination (Hutt, 2016). The discrimination could be clearly seen through Thai’s behavior, for instance discriminating against the people in the neighboring countries. Unfortunately, nationalism among Thais had created unfavorable characteristics which are still present in the current Thai society (Stueber, 2006).

2.3.4.2 Economic Ideology

The second type of ideology found in the Thai political realm was economic ideology. It is undeniable that economic ideology is an important part of Thai society which has led to the formation of Thai political discourses (Pennington, 2006). Economic ideologies played crucial roles in the evolution of Thai society’s perspectives on capitalism, materialism, and the self-sufficiency economy ideology (Chuatong, 2016; Melé, 2016).

Capitalism and materialism are the most influential economic ideologies in Thai society (Chuatong, 2016). Capitalism is an economic system that focuses on profit and the ownership of capital goods. The free market mechanism, one of the prime objectives of capitalism, is intended to impart individuals with their own profit. It may be said that “capitalism is the only system that led to the freedom of slaves, the end of feudalism, and the equal rights of all individuals, regardless of race, color, sex, etc.” (Whipple, 2014). Materialism is a form of philosophical monism, where the supreme value lies upon material well-being rather than spiritual, intellectual, and cultural well-being. Materialism is the concept that gravitates around the idea that human mental phenomena, such as thoughts, feelings, desires, and capacity can be measured by the acquisition of products, services, and experiences (Shrum et al., 2013). The core of capitalism and materialism is comparable, as both prioritize the possession of wealth and revolve around materialistic concerns.
Even though capitalism generates prosperity within a society and allows individuals of the society to have rights to freely own products, services, labor, and physical assets, it also bolsters discrimination and inequality within a society (Melé, 2016). Capitalism is seen as a cause of materialism, and “materialism has caused people to judge themselves based on others and judge their own greatness based on how much noticeable wealth they have acquired,” (Whipple, 2014). Karl Marx segregated society into two social classes. The bourgeois is the class of the employers of wage laborers who own the status of economic supremacy in society, while the proletariat is the class of wage laborers, who sell their labor power in order to make a living (Whipple, 2014).

The rise of capitalism in Thailand escalated during the Bowring Treaty. The friendship between the Kingdom of Siam and the British Empire was the origin of international free trade, the use of currency, and the beginning of the great influence of capitalism in Thailand (Settho, 1989). The economic system of capitalism greatly influenced Siam to develop its industrial systems and infrastructures, however, advancement, which was not evenly spread, created economic inequality and revenue gaps (Koizumi, 2008). Capitalism and materialism heavily influence the lives of Thais at present. Evidence of capitalism’s impact over Thai society and economy are corruption among Thai politicians and the ups and downs of the Thai Baht currency over the past decades, which has significant influence over the country’s economy, the growth of the Thai private sector, and the significant increase of investment by foreign investors within the country. This has led to a materialistic lifestyle for Thais, who are now “using material goods in excess to essentially try and buy their way to happiness. This has caused many people to develop depression and other mental struggles,” (Whipple, 2014). The statistic of happiness index by the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board indicated that 62.42% of Thai families were broken families and that their members were miserable because of materialistic lifestyles (Manager online, 2012). Therefore, it may be said that material wealth and happiness have been highly related in Thai society.
The ideology of a self-sufficiency economy opposes the ideology of capitalism and materialism. The concept of a self-sufficiency economy was first introduced as an economic approach by His Majesty the Late King Bhumibol Adulyadej on December 4, 1997 (Chalapati, 2008). The philosophy was considered a happiness development approach that underlines sufficiency, which means living with moderation, being self-reliant and frugal. With the self-sufficiency economy ideology, material wealth no longer defines the boundary for happiness or quality of life as it motivates people to live in a way where people consume in accordance to needs not desires, while also considering the impact on others as well as the planet. Since Thailand has been through many economic crises and recessions, the government has heavily promoted the self-sufficiency economy ideology among Thais by discouraging Thais from relying excessively on conventional economic theories, but nevertheless to adapt a more sustainable and effective economic strategy as an alternative. The sufficiency economy philosophy became an ideal guide, mentioned and linked repeatedly by Thai politicians, to beneficial outcomes for the development of the country and its people.

2.3.4.3 Social and Cultural Ideology

Social and cultural ideology is represented by advancements of mankind, as it refers to a system upheld by a society. Changes in the social environment have been great contributors to the evolution of cultural aspects which are discernable from certain societies (Reynolds, 1994). In Thailand three major social and cultural ideologies have been prevalent; feudalism, patriarchy and Buddhism (Chuatong, 2016; Settho, 1989).

Feudalism refers to a social system that defines individuals’ rights, roles, duties, and statuses. Within feudal mechanics, each individual is categorized at birth into a certain status, defining specific authority, responsibility and benefit. The ideology of feudalism in Thailand originated between 1448 to 1488. King Borommatrailokkanat or King Trailok, reigned during this period, formalizing and centralizing the Sakdina governmental system, the hierarchy based on social and cultural order (Wilding, 2009). The system clearly created a division between two classes: the nobles and the commoners, categorized by birth, family names and
parents (Komin & Samakkarn, 1979). As the strict hierarchical social order defined each individual’s status, worth, right and amount of privilege each individual deserved in the society, each position on the hierarchical order also determined how an individual should behave in a society. For instance, level of bowing and discourse of people in a different status were different than the same actions or words to someone in the same status. Moreover, commoners had a predisposition to be sentenced with stronger penalties, while weaker penalties were sentenced more leniently with nobles, depending on an individual’s social rank and status, and the amount of land granted by the King (Wilding, 2009). Even though feudalism had been employed mainly as a social ideology in Thailand centuries ago, it still resonates in Thai society, as it lies deep in Thai culture. There are a few examples of the remaining Sakdina system in Thai society, for example the acceptance of government corruption, endeavors of taking voting rights away from poor and uneducated Thais, and an unfair justice system favoring the rich and discriminating against the poor (Vanijaka, 2017).

Patriarchy refers to the social structure and procedures where males are the dominant gender, having more authority and roles of social importance than the female gender. In Thailand, patriarchy had played a great role in the society for a long period of time. Despite Thailand’s official monogamy law being adopted on October 1st, 1935, Thailand continues modernizing its laws in accordance with the European standard where inequalities between men and women still exist (Chuatong, 2016). For instance, in Thai families, a husband is expected to be the family’s leader, while a wife is expected to be the follower, in fact it is also applicable to traits. Moreover, there are many Thai quotes and proverbs about how good women should behave, for instance women should maintain decency and obey their spouse. These stories are distinct examples of patriarchy’s means of cultural ideological production. Patriarchy has been rooted in Thai society for centuries, and prevails to the present day, evident by the dominant and favorable traits of modesty and decency in women.

Buddhist beliefs include the rule of Karma, the inequality of blessing, the circle of suffering, reincarnation, and merit collection. For over seven centuries,
Buddhism has been a vital ideology in Thailand, as it has played a crucial role in supporting institutions including the political institution (Plamintr, n.d.). Schools have been installed within Buddhist temples where monks were considered teachers. Nonetheless, the religious institution still maintains its relevancy with the political institution, particularly the fact that religion enhances the relations between the ruler and the citizen, while supporting the ideology of the ruler as noted in the Dhammaraja concept (Settho, 1989). Political institutions often provide assistance to religious institution, for instance land donations that can be used to expand a temple’s territory and indirectly increase its influence. A term was introduced to Thai society; civil religion, which is an ideology that upholds the nation, religion and monarchy. As a result, monks provide political security and ideological support to the three principal institutions by spreading the ideology (Komin & Samakkarn, 1979). Karma is a belief under Buddhist doctrine, used to explain the inequality among the people regarding different classes, physical appearance and economic status. Buddhists believe that an individual inherits a Karma legacy from previous existences, which result in an inequality of current existence, and not an aggregation of individuals (Plamintr, n.d.). In accordance with Karma, those suffering from being born with physical deformities were due to the consequences of killing animals in previous existences. Those who were exceedingly poor and lack clothing and food resulted from their lack of good deeds committed in the previous existence, while a wealthy person may enjoy a good life because he had made good merit in the previous existence. The concept of Karma under Buddhism gave an absolute explanation of inequality and also supports the hierarchy of social order.

The 29th Prime Minister of Thailand, General Prayut, introduced national core values to be recited every morning by children in every public and private school nationwide as fundamental beliefs which every Thai must adhere to (NNT, 2014). The national core values could be categorized under politics, economics, and social and cultural categories of ideology. For instance, maintaining discipline, being respectful of laws, the elderly and honoring seniority, and being grateful to one’s parents, guardians, and teachers derived from the feudalism ideology. Meanwhile, maintaining morality, mental health and unyielding to the dark forces or desires, having a sense of
shame over guilt and sins in accordance with the religious principles, and upholding the Buddhist religion, formulated three main pillars of the country manifested from Buddhist ideology. Moreover, understanding the true essence of democratic ideals with His Majesty the King as Head of State, being conscious and mindful of action in line with His Majesty’s the King’s royal statements, and upholding the monarchy as one of the three main pillars of the country are examples from the monarchy ideology. In sum, it is impossible for political, economic, and social and cultural ideologies to be separated in an isolated element, as the ideologies are intertwined with one another in the social system. For instance, the Karma concept of Buddhism was adopted to promote feudalism in the society, as it does not allow commoners to question hierarchical order of the society. Some ideologies have a long history of existence and continue to influence present society as a result of its original purpose of perpetuating control. Ideologies and values are profoundly imbedded in Thai behaviors and other social and cultural processes, especially language use.

2.3.5 Literature Review Conclusion

The related literature that is essential to this study has been introduced in order to build a broad overall picture and to supply readers with background information. Exploring the Thai Prime Minister’s weekly televised address to the nation under the lens of rhetorical criticism may lead to a better understanding of some specific persuasive strategies as well as ideologies and values which can be contributed to some extent to the study of rhetoric in political communication. This study looks at the rhetorical strategies used in Thailand’s Prime Minister’s weekly televised addresses by the political junta, who have attempted to move Thailand towards democracy. Embracing the concept of pentadic criticism and ideological criticism under rhetorical criticism, this study aims to disclose ideology, beliefs and motives of the rhetor. By applying Burke’s concept of pentadic criticism, as well as Marx’s concept of ideological criticism, the information that has been engraved within speeches made by the Thai Prime Minister during his weekly televised addresses would be revealed.
CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The objective of the third chapter is to introduce the data and the methodology employed to conduct this study. This chapter includes data collection and data analysis. Data collection features the processes of gathering the artefacts, which enables the researcher to answer the proposed research questions. Data analysis, a process of evaluating the data, is separated into two parts; pentadic criticism, and ideological criticism, which are the two dominant principles in this study.

3.1 Data Collection

To investigate General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses, the researcher collected the English subtitles, which appeared on the screen when the Thai Prime Minister was giving an address in his weekly televised program, as the artefacts of the study. The artefacts of this study are retrieved from www.thaigov.go.th, the website of the Royal Thai Government, which has collected both the Thai transcript version and the English translated version of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses.

The data were collected from May 30, 2014, which was the first day the weekly televised address was given, until December 30, 2016, which was the last televised address given in the year 2016. “Returns Happiness to the People” was the title of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised program from May 30, 2014 until October 13, 2016, when Thailand experienced a great loss, as King Bhumibol Adulyadej or King Rama IX passed away (Dailymail, 2016; Frontières, 2016). The Prime Minister’s weekly televised addresses were adjusted to commemorate the loss of the King (Frontières, 2016). The title of General Prayut’s weekly televised address
was changed from “Return Happiness to the People” to “From the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy to Sustainable Development Goals”. The content of each weekly televised address was similar to the previous addresses, which was to report a weekly update to the general public but emphasized more on the King Rama IX’s development models as well as his philosophy. With the total period of two years and seven months, 82 pieces of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s speech could be retrieved from the government database due to the government database limited access. In each speech, the average word count ranged between 4,000-12,000 words according to the length of the weekly televised program, which ranged between thirty to ninety minutes depending on how much the Prime Minister had to say each week.

Due to the large amount of data, the researcher decided to narrow it down by selecting 41 pieces of speech, or half the amount of the retrieved artefacts, through the process of a lottery method of sampling. The researcher assigned a number to each of the 82 pieces of the weekly televised address, which were collated according to the dates the speech was given by the Prime Minister. The numbers were placed in a bowl and thoroughly mixed. The researcher randomly selected the numbers, which were considered a fair sample of this study. The process of lottery sampling was done in front of a witness, who was a senior researcher from the National Institute of Development Administration, for the purpose of transparency. The 41 pieces of General Prayut’s speech are labeled in the table below.

Table 3.1 41 pieces of General Prayut Chan-O-cha speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Speech Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Televised address May 30, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Televised address June 6, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Televised address June 20, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Televised address June 27, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Televised address July 25, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Televised address August 1, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Televised address August 8, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Speech Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Televised address August 15, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Televised address August 29, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Televised address August 28, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Televised address September 4, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Televised address September 11, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Televised address September 18, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Televised address September 25, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Televised address October 2, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Televised address October 9, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Televised address October 16, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Televised address November 6, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Televised address November 13, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Televised address December 12, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Televised address December 18, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Televised address December 25, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Televised address January 1, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Televised address January 8, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Televised address January 22, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Televised address January 29, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Televised address February 12, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Televised address February 19, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Televised address February 26, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Televised address March 4, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Televised address March 11, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Televised address April 22, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Televised address May 13, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Televised address May 20, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Televised address June 3, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Televised address June 10, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Televised address October 21, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Televised address October 28, 2016</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The English subtitles from the weekly televised program were the artefacts used for this study, therefore the accuracy of the subtitles of the addresses are not focused on, as the subtitles were approved by government authorities before the broadcast.

### 3.2 Data Analysis

The total of 41 artefacts went through the process of analysis twice under the rhetorical criticism approach. Each artefact was analyzed by the concept of ideological criticism and pentadic criticism in the fourth chapter. Then, the findings from each concept were synthesized and concluded in the fifth chapter. The researcher chose to investigate the data with two concepts of criticism because of validity and reliability reasons, as the findings gained from two or more methods of analysis are more valid than the results gained from an analysis of a single method (Foss, 2009). Below is the description of the approach employed in this study, the analytic procedures, and examples of each procedure.

#### 3.2.1 Approach of the Study

Rhetorical criticism is the dominant method in understanding rhetor’s persuasive techniques as well as the impact of rhetoric upon audiences (Sillars & Gronbeck, 2001). The approach, which involves textualization, analysis, and interpretation, is a salient tool to examine social artefacts, such as public speeches, television programs, films, etc. (Sillars & Gronbeck, 2001). The main objective of this study is to explore motives and beliefs behind General Prayut’s weekly televised addresses. Regarding the tool of this study, the concept of pentadic criticism and ideological criticism were utilized to analyze the artefacts. By analyzing the artefacts through the concept of pentadic criticism, the findings revealed the rhetor’s motives,
while analyzing the artefacts through the concept of ideological criticism revealed the rhetor’s beliefs. The analytic procedures of the artefact are described in the following section.

3.2.2 Analytic Procedure

To obtain answers for research questions, the analytic procedure of this study is separated into two parts in accordance with the two concepts used in an analytical process of the artefacts. The first part explains the procedure done through pentadic criticism, while the second part explains the procedure done through ideological criticism. The two analytic procedures are described in detail below.

3.2.2.1 Pentadic Criticism

To answer the first research question, the artefacts must be investigated through the concept of pentadic criticism to retrieve general and specific characteristics of the televised addresses. For general characteristics, the researcher identified the five pentadic elements of the artefacts. For specific characteristics, the researcher applied the retrieved pentadic elements into ratios to search for the dominant elements. The concept of pentadic criticism granted the researcher freedom to select pentadic elements depending on the researcher’s perspective. However, the five elements must be described consonantly (Brummett, 2015). The pie chart below shows the five pentadic elements. The elements may dominate each other depending on the importance that the rhetor was given in a particular situation.
For specific characteristics, the retrieved pentadic elements must be put into ratios. A ratio generates a systematic pattern unveiling a single dominating term, which governs over other elements. The dominant term provides an insight on motives of the rhetor to construct the situation. For each address, individual pentadic elements were paired with another element, which created twenty pairing possibilities. Then, the ratios were compared to determine whether the first term of the ratio directed the second. The dominance of each element corresponded with each ideology suggested by Burke. By highlighting the dominant term of the pentadic element, it offered an in-depth perspective of a speaker’s philosophical system or ideology. The element of act corresponds with realism. The element of scene corresponds with materialism. The element of agent corresponds with idealism. The element of agency corresponds with pragmatism. The element of purpose corresponds with mysticism.
Table 3.2 Twenty ratio possibilities with corresponding ideologies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ratio Possibility</th>
<th>Corresponding Ideology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Scene - act</td>
<td>Materialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Scene - agent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Scene - agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Scene-purpose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Act-scene</td>
<td>Realism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Act-agent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Act-agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Act-purpose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Agent-scene</td>
<td>Idealism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Agent-act</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Agent-agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Agent-purpose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Agency-scene</td>
<td>Pragmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Agency-act</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Agency-agent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Agency-purpose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Purpose-scene</td>
<td>Mysticism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Purpose-act</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Purpose-agent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Purpose-agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example is given by Sonja K. Foss in 2009, where she analyzed a sculpture through the pentadic criticism concept. The artefact was an outdoor blue bear sculpture, which was created by Lawrence Argent. The sculpture entitled “I See What You Mean” was located at the convention center in Denver, Colorado, United States. The analysis may result in different outcomes, as the approach granted the full permission of labelling the pentadic elements to the researcher (Foss, 2009). Therefore, more than one set of pentadic elements may be discovered, although the researcher might choose to focus on just one based on the researcher’s interest. In the
example of the blue bear sculpture, Sonja K. Foss identified the five pentadic elements as follows:

The agent was the blue bear sculpture, which was the main character of this example. Act was the physical action of peeking into the windows of the convention center. Agency was curiosity, where the blue bear sculpture was performing the act with the mental instrument of a strong sense of desire to know what was going on in the building. Scene was the convention center in downtown Denver, Colorado, United States, which was the setting where the blue bear sculpture was located. The purpose was to see what was happening inside the convention center.

Figure 3.2 “I See What You Mean”
Source: www.lawrenceargent.com/public-art-projects/i-see-what-you-mean
After the process of labeling the five elements, each of the five pentadic elements must be applied into ratios. Each of the pentadic elements was paired together into twenty possibilities in an effort to see which element dominated over the other elements. The relationship between the two elements in the description of the situation would be revealed in accordance with the researcher’s general knowledge and normative knowledge. The main objective of the process was to discover whether the first element influenced or directed the nature of the second element.

Table 3.3 An example of how to put pentadic elements into ratios

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pentadic Element</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Corresponding ideology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Scene - act</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Materialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Scene - agent</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Scene - agency</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Scene - purpose</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Act - scene</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Realism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Act - agent</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Act - agency</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Act - purpose</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Agent - scene</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Idealism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Agent - act</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Agent - agency</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Agent - purpose</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Agency - scene</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pragmatic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 An example of how to put pentadic elements into ratios
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pentadic Element</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Corresponding ideology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14. Agency - act</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Agency - agent</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Agency - purpose</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Purpose - scene</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mysticism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Purpose - act</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Purpose - agent</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Purpose - agency</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of the pentadic elements was being compared in pairs in order to identify the dominant pentadic term, which controlled the other pentadic elements. In the process of ratio, the element that received the most “yes” answers would be the dominant or controlling element. In this case, “agent” was the dominant element because it controlled the second term of the ratio more than any of the other elements. The dominant element could further lead to the ideology to which it corresponded, and the corresponding ideology of this example was idealism.

To summarize, pentadic criticism was an analysis that revealed the way the rhetor’s construct the world. It may be possible that the artefact was the rhetor’s construction of the situation and not the genuine perspective towards the world. However, by analyzing multiple artefacts of the same rhetor over a period of time, the genuine motives and perspectives of the rhetor may be achievable. By analyzing 41 pieces of the prime minister’s televised addresses with the concept of pentadic criticism, the prime minister’s motive will be shown as the result of this research.
3.2.2.2 Ideological Criticism

To answer the second research question, the artefacts must be investigated through the concept of ideological criticism to retrieve general and specific characteristics of the televised addresses. To label the general characteristics of the weekly televised addresses in accordance with ideological criticism, the researcher further employed a deductive approach according to the reviewed literature. The artefacts were categorized into ten ideologies. The ten ideologies were authoritarianism, monarchy, democracy, nationalism, capitalism, materialism, sufficiency economy philosophy, feudalism, patriarchy, and Buddhist ideology. Each ideology found in General Prayut’s speeches would be explained under the general characteristics. For specific characteristics of ideological criticism, the most influential ideologies were explained.

The first step of ideological criticism is to observe for signs of ideological tenets from the artefacts. The second step is to accumulate ideological tenets into different ideological categories. The final step, which generated specific characteristics of the televised addresses according to the ideological criticism, is to explain the influence of the specific ideologies over the artefact or the rhetor. With these three steps, the researcher aimed at bringing the concealed ideologies into light and provoking the thought of how ideologies play a great role in social structure (Foss, 2009).

An example was provided by Sonja K. Foss in 2009, where she analyzed the Humana Building or the Humana Tower, a skyscraper located in downtown Louisville, Kentucky, United States. To identify the ideological tenets of the building, the external aspects, signs and physical features must be observed. For instance, the L-shape of the building, granite surface, pyramid shape on top of the entrance, grid pattern on the facade, straight line pattern on the exterior of the building and the facade glass panels were considered ideological tenets.
The second step is to articulate the ideological tenets into ideology. For instance, the L-shape of the building and pyramid shape on top of the entrance referred to the commemoration of death. The granite surface of the building and the bulky scale of the building referred to strength, toughness and durability. The grid and straight-line patterns referred to directness and order. The facade glass panels referred to purification. These labeled ideologies were general characteristic of the Humana Building. After the ideologies were labeled, the most repetitive and most influential ideologies were considered as specific characteristic, which in this case was the ideology of wealth and death. Several ideological tenets such as the tombstone and the commemoration of the dead king call attention to the concept of death, while several other ideological tenets such as expensiveness and preciousness lead to the concept of wealth. Therefore, death and wealth were the main themes of the building, which serves as a monument. The part where the researcher accumulates the ideological tenets should not be included as a written part of the study (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008).

Figure 3.4 Humana Building, Louisville, Kentucky

Source: www.michaelgraves.com/portfolio/humana-building/
In conclusion, pentadic criticism and ideological criticism were salient concepts that the researcher employed as an investigative tool to scrutinize 41 pieces of televised addresses given by General Prayut. In this chapter, the methodology of this research, including data collection and data analysis were described. The next chapter provided the findings of the research, which aimed to give an in-depth analysis of General Prayut’s weekly televised addresses.
CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter is a discussion and an analysis of the 41 pieces of the national weekly televised addresses given by General Prayut Chan-O-cha, the Prime Minister of Thailand. The researcher analyzed each of the national addresses twice with the concept of pentadic criticism and ideological criticism. To explain the research questions discussed in the first chapter, the researcher separated the findings and discussion into two main sections. The first section answers how General Prayut’s speeches given in the weekly televised addresses could be scrutinized by pentadic criticism. The question aims to reveal the general and specific characteristics of General Prayut’s televised addresses according to pentadic criticism. The second section answers how General Prayut’s speeches given in the weekly televised addresses could be scrutinized by ideological criticism. The question aims to reveal the general and specific characteristics of General Prayut’s televised addresses according to ideological criticism.

4.1 Summary of pentadic analysis

Regarding the first research question, “How could General Prayut’s speeches given in the weekly televised addresses be scrutinized by pentadic Criticism?”, the findings are separated into three sections. The first section is the analysis of each speech through the concept of pentadic criticism. The second section is the explanation of general characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses according to pentadic criticism. This section revealed the pentadic elements, which were retrieved from investigating General Prayut’s 41 pieces of weekly televised addresses. Each pentadic element is separated into 3 segments according to the year the addresses were delivered, which were 2014, 2015 and 2016. The third section is the explanation
of specific characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses according to pentadic criticism. This section revealed paramount ratios. The ratios are divided into 3 parts according to the year the addresses were delivered, 2014, 2015 and 2016.

4.1.1 Analysis of Prayut’s televised addresses through the concept of pentadic criticism

This section is the analysis of each of the 41 pieces of the weekly televised addresses with the concept of pentadic criticism. Due to the extensive length of the analysis, the researcher has selected 10 pieces of analysis to be demonstrated within this section, while the remaining pieces can be found in the Appendices section. The selected analyses are the pentadic analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 30, 2014, June 20, 2014, August 28, 2015, September 4, 2015, October 2, 2015, November 13, 2015, February 12, 2016, March 11, 2016, May 13, 2016 and May 20, 2016 respectively.

Pentadic analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 30, 2014

Act

Act was considered the epicenter of the speech, as the words became actions. At the beginning of General Prayut’s speech, he provided reasons behind the military regime. He justified the National Council of Peace and Order’s (NCPO’s) effort in governing the country. He reminded people of decades of long political deadlock, which have hindered Thailand from moving forward, therefore making it necessary for the NCPO to take action by taking over the country’s administration. He reminded his audience of the problems by painting the picture of what the situation in Thailand was like before his administration and how it would be during his administration. The key terms to this act in this speech were “prevent political and economic deadlock”, “maintain national security”, “control violent situation” and “restore peace and order”. The Prime Minister discussed these key terms several times throughout the speech.

In one phrase, the Prime Minister said “the NCPO does not want power for our own benefit, we need it because the country was not able to move forward.” He
added that “if government officials and military did nothing, who would help the Thai people resolve this deadlock when the democratic mechanisms are paralyzed.” With such quotes, he reaffirmed the reason for his action of taking over the country’s administration, as it was inevitable. At the same time, he also partially promised to solve the country’s issues.

In restoring peace and stability within the country, the Prime Minister also explained the newly implemented measures including Martial Law and the curfew, which he said “it is intended to restore peace and order, and to provide security for the society.” These were a few examples the Thai Prime Minister mentioned in his speech. He went into further detail filled with explanations of his attempt of creating peace and stability.

Agent
Agent was the matter of the person who was involved in creating this speech. In the speech, General Prayut Chan-O-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) was fairly noticeable as the key character in creating the message. As a military junta, General Prayut made it very clear that he and the NCPO will lead the country through the turmoil as he mentioned that “the NCPO has taken control of the situation, temporarily, in order to stop the violence and break the deadlock that had prevented the previous government from moving Thailand forward.”

Agency
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages were relayed by the main character. General Prayut adopted the use of weekly televised addresses to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With this tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene
The scene of this drama is Thailand as a whole, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens, especially during this critical time. General Prayut repeated several
times throughout his speech that “this is to return happiness and safety to people and their properties as well as foreign nationals residing in Thailand”. As he said “there might be some disruptions in people’s daily lives and commutes”, General Prayut pointed out impacts of his current measures and the nearly implemented measures to the lives of those residing in Thailand.

Purpose

The aspect of purpose simply asks for reasons behind the artefact. “Purpose” posts a question on the motivation behind the words being spoken. The purpose of this artefact was quite straightforward, which was to elucidate General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s status as a military junta and as a leader of Thailand, and to explain the process of returning happiness to the people and moving Thailand forward. With the status of the military junta, General Prayut spent most of his speech clarifying the righteousness of his empowerment. He further reiterated the responsibility in leading the country out of political, economic and social turmoil. General Prayut also touched upon concerns of foreign diplomats, who had criticized Thailand’s undemocratic political system.

In the artefact, he asserts that “The NCPO understands the concerns of our international friends. We understand that we are living in a world that values democracy. All we ask for is to give us time to reform in order to mend our democratic system and make it right, just, responsible and beneficial to all people.” This quote sums up the overall purpose of this artefact drama, which is to gain trust among Thais and foreigners that he will govern the country peacefully and fairly, but most importantly, to lead the country out of the standoff.
Table 4.1 Pentadic analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address given on May 30, 2014

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Pentadic analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 20, 2014

Act

The act was considered the epicenter of the speech, as the words became actions. General Prayut Chan-O-cha, head of National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) thanked all sections for country development. General Prayut reiterated in the program saying that “I would like to thank all sections including soldier, police, governors, officers and people to do your jobs for driving Thailand forward and bringing back to people”.

Other than giving thanks to all sectors, General Prayut focused his attention on Thailand’s improvement in the field of the country’s economy. General Prayut Chan-O-cha reiterated that “government section’s additional budget consideration in the year for supporting employment and income creation to people. However, overall of Thai economy from 22 May had a good trend having more investment.” Moreover, he spoke about alien labor management as foreign labor played great role in driving Thailand’s economy forward. He mentioned in his speech that “it is necessary to have foreign labor in order to drive the country’ economy forward.”

Agent

General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important person of the program as he was the speaker and the head of National Council for Peace and Order. He managed to drive the country forward.

Agency

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-O-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene
The scene was Thailand and situation happened within the country. Many people concerned about cost living, low rate cost living, illegal alien labor working, and the country’s competitiveness in terms of economy. NCPO took actions getting rid of authority group, rearrange labor system and control labor following law. He suggested to reduce cost of producing and provide money to people who suffered from disaster. NCPO supported fund of long-term loan to farmers. NCPO tried to create a participation of all sections to country administration.

**Purpose**

Many people concerned about NCPO’s administration; therefore, General Prayut Chan-O-cha made an announcement for ensuring people. He gave reasons and thanked all sections that cooperated to country development. In the past working of NCPO, its rearranged alien labor being right and helped people so that economy and society could develop better.

Table 4.2 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 20, 2014

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Pentadic analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 28, 2015

Act:
The Prime minister’s speech focused on the problems and issues in the nation and therefore made an attempt to communicate with the Thai people as well as the world. The nation’s issues dominated his speech and at the same time he gave out solutions for the identified issues. The Prime Minister’s speech addressed the nation’s social, economic and political problems, and provided solutions, which were recommended by the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO). The Prime Minister gave a step by step analysis of each problem that were from different sectors, which indicated to the citizens that he was aware of their issues. For example, on the issues of the environment, he cited pollution and placed an emphasis on the effect of unfriendly economic and industrial actions to the nation’s environment. This is just an example of how the Prime Minister identified a problem and its cause.

Agent
In the speech, General Prayut Chan-O-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) was the key character in creating the message and making decisions for Thailand’s future direction.
Agency

A weekly televised address to the nation was a device employed by General Prayut Chan-O-cha in order to reach the general public. With this tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene

The scene of this drama is Thailand during a period of economic turmoil. The speech was meant for all Thai citizens who resided within and outside the country to understand the NCPO’s effort to revive the country’s economy.

Purpose

The main purpose of this speech by the Prime Minister was to inform the citizens that he had identified the issues facing them and created a plan to solve the issues. The speech gave the people more confidence that the government was aware of their problems and was working to make improvements. The Prime Minister noted that there were many issues that hindered the development of the country and he was aware of them. The Prime Minister also offered some recommendations that the NCPO addressed the welfare of the citizens. For example, after identifying the problem the country was having with loan sharks, he stated that the ministry of finance was making steps to increase access to legal credit for low-income earners. This statement offered hope to the country that steps were being made to address their welfare and also increase the confidence citizens had in the government.

Table 4.3 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 28, 2014

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The first part of by General Prayut Chan-O-cha was marked by a conciliatory tone as the leader of Thailand called upon his citizens to work together for the benefit of country. Apart from calling for a de-escalation of conflict, the Prime Minister called upon Thai citizens from all walks of life to forge a united front and work together for the benefit of Thailand. The conciliatory tone was soon discarded when the Prime Minister touched on the thorny issue of political reforms and change in government systems. General Prayut Chan-O-cha appeared to pint an accusing finger
at those who opposed his government, and those who called for the restoration of
democracy. The speech was somewhat contradictory as the Prime Minister claimed
that the question of whether the new order would be democratic or undemocratic
should not be given much emphasis but should be left to the people to decide.

The contradiction, however, was that the Prime Minister did not propose any
tangible solutions such as an election roadmap where the people could decide. A large
part of the speech also dwelled on criticism of the critics of the Prime Minister’s
government and urged them to wait and see how his programs will function.

Agent

General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important person to the interview as the
Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order who made country
peaceful and moving forward without any conflict. General Prayut Chan-O-cha
mentioned that “country growing and being strength together, I used to talk that Our
Home Our Country Stronger Together. It was an economic matter. Not only security
matter, economic matter and all matters were connected.”

Agency

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the
act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-O-cha
adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the
general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people
through television and radio nationwide.

Scene

The scene of this drama was that of Thailand as a whole. Moving country
forward among administration change, the government wanted to launch a new
constitution to administer the country. However, it must be accepted by all people.
Democratic constitution must provide advantages to people and people must be the
center. The government reported meaning of the constitution to people. The Prime
Minister mentioned that “Having the constitution from democratic method or not, I
think a purpose of being democratic was people can take advantages. People are the
center not a political party including NCPO. Having the constitution from democratic
method or not, I think a purpose of being democratic was people can take advantages.
People are center not a political party including NCPO”.

Purpose

The purpose of the speech by the Prime Minister appeared to be the unity of
the country and delegitimizing his opponents. This was because the first part of the
speech was conciliatory and appeared to make the suggestion that the Prime
Minister’s opponents were unreasonable. The attacks on his opponents was also made
shortly, which served to deny the critics legitimacy and depicting them as power-
hungry and out of touch with the problems of the people. The return to the economic
agenda helped to endear the Prime Minister to the Thai citizens and win over support
for the NCPO.

Table 4.4 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised
address delivered on September 4, 2015

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### Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 2, 2015

**Act**

General Prayut Chan-O-cha began his weekly address by bringing the country up to speed with the activities that he had undertaken since the beginning of the United Nations General Assembly. The prime minister said that he had met Thai delegates serving in the US and gave them policy guidelines on promoting the image and interests of the country abroad. General Prayut Chan-O-cha expressed joy that Americans still held the country and its culture in positive light despite the difficult political environment.

He then spoke at length about the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy followed in Thailand, pointing out the reduction of poverty from 40% to 10.5% since 2000 and growth of employment to 98.7% as important strides. General Prayut Chan-O-cha asserted his government’s commitment to end the social inequality that persisted despite the economic gain. Emphasizing on this goal, he reiterated his belief that “A society with balance and equality must be maintained while poverty and disparity must be removed.” The Prime Minister expressed confidence that the Sufficiency Economy philosophy would continue to yield gains in the betterment of lives in the country both socially and economically.
Next, General Prayut Chan-O-cha revealed details of the meeting with representatives from the US-ASEAN Business Council (USABC) and the American business community. He hoped that the engagements would yield a higher level of FDI into Thailand, facilitated by his government’s intentions to streamline the country’s regulatory framework for investment. He also talked about a meeting with the UNODC Executive Director, in which he gave Thailand’s commitment to fight human trafficking and other international crimes. He revealed that he had received the Global Sustainable Digital Development Award from the ITU, and lauded the role of ICT in development while also cautioning against improper use. He therefore urged the “need to improve awareness about constructive use of this technology.” General Prayut Chan-o-cha also revealed Thailand’s push for a non-permanent seat on the UNSC and that the country had received annual chairmanship of the G77 group of countries.

Agent

General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He made a chance to develop the country with foreign countries. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “joining the 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly was an important chance for Thailand as a member of international community to show stance on many issues and to inform to know our development including our plan process. On behalf of Thai people, I have done mission continuously.”

Agency

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-O-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole.
The main purpose of the speech was to bring Thai citizens up to date with General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s itinerary during the 70th session of the UNGA. The general mentioned all the meetings that he had held with different regional and international stakeholders while in New York. He also sought to assure Thais that the country was heading in the right direction in terms of reforms for democracy and long term economic and social development goals.

General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s speech took a noticeably reassuring tone, covering a number of sensitive topics that were perceived as Thailand’s top priorities. He was particularly keen to signal cooperation with the international community, through reaffirming obligation to various global courses of which Thailand was part. This approach seemed to be aimed at winning the confidence of the international community where he was largely viewed as an undemocratic imposer on leadership.

During General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s largely self-mandated tenure, he had been preoccupied with propping himself up as a leader who was committed to democracy and betterment of his people's lives. This speech was undoubtedly a continuation of the same, with the prime minister outlining a raft of social and economic tokens that the Thai people stood to gain from his leadership.

Table 4.5 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 2, 2015

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Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on November 13, 2015

Act

At the beginning of the speech, General Prayut emphasized that people with disabilities were valuable resource of the nation. He said that “the most important aspect is building an environment where people can live their lives with equal access and opportunities without discrimination”. General Prayut asked the individuals to buy Kaew Kaliya flower as it represented all the people with disabilities and all the money from selling these flowers would be used to support the disabled in every way possible.

The Prime Minister, General Prayut Chan-O-cha also addressed the members of the press and urged them to be extra careful of the possible repercussions when presenting news as Thailand was moving towards reform and defamatory remarks and deliberate distortion of information would only create more conflicts making it difficult for government to administer the country. General Prayut also asked
members of the press to present news that was based on fact and truth as well as the legal precedent and judicial problems.

Another vital area that General Prayut spent much attention was the water resource management in the country. In his speech, General Prayut reported the government’s effort to address the issues of water management. As Thai farmers were experiencing drought, the Prime Minister asked the farmers to raise livestock or grow alternative crops, such as the crops that would give higher productivity, and crops that need less water, in order for farmers to earn income during drought season.

General Prayut asked the members of the public to purchase agricultural product from farmers who have been affected by drought disaster so that they can earn sufficient income. With this approach, General Prayut brought out the concept of “Thais help Thais”, by asking Thai public to help Thai farmers in a bid for them to get through the drought crisis. The same concept employed as a solution to the oversupply of rice stock, as he urged general public to buy rice directly from farmers. He also condemned the previous government for causing the problem by created the rice pledging scheme.

Agent

General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to people to know solving urgent problems in the country. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “the government solved urgent problems in the country.”

Agency

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-O-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.
Scene

The scene of this drama was Thailand as a whole because there were many matters which the government had to solve urgently, for example agricultural career development plan (2015-2016) following requirement of communities. It was made by cooperation from people of all levels and regions under “state of citizen” idea. The government provided manuals to be a guideline of plant cultivation and promoted marketing. The Prime Minister joined an annual meeting of economic matter solving under Proactive diplomacy to move economic Thailand forward” which was a place for officers consulted a way pushing Thai business process.

Purpose

The purpose is the reason behind the act of agent. It was clear from the speech that the purpose was to address the issues Thai were facing and provided solutions in addressing the issues. The Prime Minister ensured to the Thais that he was taking relevant actions to address the problems of the nation. In the speech the Prime Minister mentioned multiple difficulties regarding the country’s economy and society.

The Prime Minister spent a major part of his speech on social equality, particularly to those with disability. Since every 2nd Saturday of November is the National Day for Persons with Disabilities, the setting of the Prime Minister’s speech for the weekly televised address delivered on November 13, 2015, was circled around equality, and disability rights. He urged all Thais to be mindful that persons with disabilities were also considered as the valuable resource of the nation. The Prime Minister underlined Thais’ love for the King, and the paternal figure of the King, where the general public was seen as the King’s children. King Bhumibol Adulyadej was seen as the father of the whole nation. The Prime Minister reported the government’s preparation progress of preparation for “Bike for dad” cycling procession, which held in December of 2015 to celebrate King Bhumibol Adulyadej’s 88th birthday anniversary. Thais nationwide were expected to participate in the event.

The topic of freedom was also brought to light. Since the Prime Minister’s priority was to return stability to the country and to return happiness to the people,
and it would not be possible without the collaboration of the press. He asked the member of the press to be “extra careful when reporting”. He explained that the journalists and media played a great role in the process of communication between the government and the public, therefore with the distorted stories created by the media, it may prevent the government from “achieving national reconciliation and returning to normalcy.” The Prime Minister asked both domestic and international media to cooperate with the government in order to move the country forward.

Table 4.6 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on November 13, 2015

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Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on February 12, 2016

Act

The speech by the Prime Minister of Thailand started with a report of the progress made in various sectors of the socioeconomic and political spheres under the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO). However, the primary emphasis of the speech appeared to be on the problems that the NCPO faced when it started the reforms under Prime Minister General Prayut Chan-O-cha. Some of the highlighted problems include the failures in the judicial system, proliferation of economic crimes, income inequality, and poverty. General Prayut Chan-O-cha then moves on to demonstrate the progress that his government made in solving the challenges while at the same time noting that the problems require long-term solutions.

One of the solutions highlighted in the Prime Minister’s speech was a call for unity between the government and the NCPO. The leader of Thailand was also categorical on the need for peace and public understanding in the process of addressing the major socioeconomic challenges that face Thailand. There was also some level of complaining from the Prime Minister which was followed by a warning to different unspecified groups that had undermined public understanding by distorting facts for selfish goals. Towards the end of the speech, General Prayut made reference to politicians suggesting that they were subject to the warning issued in the earlier part of the speech. Milestones made in the economic sector were also listed including the launch of a new train which would be commissioned at a later ceremony to be presided over by the Prime Minister. General Prayut Chan-O-cha also employed the speech to inform his fellow citizens of his intentions to travel for an international conference aimed at offering economic benefits to his country.
Agent
In the speech, General Prayut Chan-O-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) was the key character in creating the message.

Agency
Weekly televised address to the nation was a device employed by General Prayut Chan-O-cha to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene
The scene of this drama was Thailand, as the speech was meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

Purpose
Through the Prime Minister's speech, Thai citizens are informed of the current issues affecting their country. The speech also serves as a uniting factor by highlighting the need for patriotism and hard work in the process of growing the socioeconomic and political status of Thailand.

Table 4.7 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on February 12, 2016

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Pentadic analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-chaa’s weekly televised address delivered on March 11, 2016

Act

Thailand’s Prime Minister, General Prayut Chan-O-chaa gave a speech that covered various issues relating to the country’s economy and democratic reforms. He began the address by reminding the nation about the celebration for the National Skills Standards Day, which promoted innovation and skills development. The Prime Minister then proceeded to praise the efforts of every skilled worker in the country while also outlining various efforts that the government was taking to enhance production standards for local and foreign consumption. The Prime Minister also spoke at length about reforms aimed at restoring true democracy in the country, with plans for a referendum and thereafter elections being laid out. He expressed his willingness to hand over power to a democratically elected government that committed to the service of all Thais. General Prayut further touted His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy Philosophy, which was at the center of Thailand’s
economic agenda. He said that Thailand had enjoyed the fruits of the Sufficiency program and would seek to promote it to other countries across the world. In the speech, the Prime Minister asked for adherence to the rule of law from Thais of all classes and positions. He reiterated his determination to prosecute all offenders who had taken refuge in foreign countries and who were actively seeking to tarnish the image of the country.

Agent

General Prayut was the important character to the weekly televised address as he was the Prime minister and the leader of the NCPO who designated the future of the country.

Agency

Agency posed the question of what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages were relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-O-cha adopted the use of a weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With this tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene

The scene of this drama was Thailand during the period of economic revival. The Prime Minister of Thailand had to open up to the international community by joining international forums to seek opportunity for the country’s economic development.

Purpose

The speech had a multilayered purpose centered on the country’s economic agenda and democratic reforms. With the National Skills Standards Day having happened in that week, the Prime Minister urged for the promotion of invention within the country so that Thailand was less dependent on imports, while also increasing productivity within the country. General Prayut also referred to the Sufficiency Philosophy as an important aspect of the country’s economic approach.
This mainly informed the request for farmers to use water resources in a sustainable manner and to grow food in a way that does not lead to wasteful overproduction. Regarding political reforms, the Prime Minister spoke about the upcoming referendum for a new constitution that would help lay in place laws that would facilitate the transition to a democratic government. He hoped that this new law would help to prevent abuse of office, which he said was rampant during the previous regimes. He affirmed that the new constitution draft had provisions that sought to limit corruption and to introduce checks and balances aimed at compelling better governance from all institutions of government.

Table 4.8 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on March 11, 2016

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Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 13, 2016

Act

At the beginning of the speech, General Prayut discussed the progress made in the sports sector and expressed his joy about the participation and success of Thai athletes in sports at international level. He also emphasized on the importance of education and discussed about recent reform in the education system. The Prime Minister, General Prayut then addressed the prevailing concerns of farmers and issues faced by the agriculture industry. He expressed his sympathy to the farmers and emphasized on the cooperation from their end to support government in helping them. He demonstrated his understanding over the fact that adapting to new methods of farming is difficult for traditional farmers and discussed about those farmers who have adopted these reforms and have succeeded. He emphasized on the techniques to cultivate effectively considering the limitation of water resource.

General Prayut gave much consideration to the difficulties being faced in the process of reformation of the country. He considered lack of information and solidarity as the major hurdles in the process of reform and suggested education and role of media as the greater advantage to overcome these hurdles. He spoke about the importance of law and mentioned that people must have respect for the law. He also suggested lack of courtesy as an element that could hamper the process of reform. General Prayut also discussed about the effectiveness of technology and spoke about its implementation to eradicate corruption and promote transparency with an added benefit of cost savings. In addition, he elaborated his purpose for meeting with Russian government to expand the Thailand’s international relations. Lastly, he
personally spoke about the upcoming religious festival and royal celebrations and motivated people to do virtuous deeds in the respect of that and directed people’s attention towards the process of charity through a mobile phone call.

Agent

General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime Minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to people to know the government had a new reform in country. General Prayut Chan-O-cha said that “structuring’s reform including police, soldier and government structure must be reformed”.

Agency

Agency posed the question on what instruments were employed to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-O-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene

The scene of this drama was the location of Thailand. Thailand was facing multiple problems, and the major problem was corruption. Therefore, Thailand needed to go through the process of national reform to clear all the critical issues.

Purpose

The purpose exhibits the reason for the act of the agent. Visibly the purpose of this speech given by General Prayut was to address a number of problems Thailand was facing in the process of reform and answered a number of ambiguities and issues of distrust of public in the acts of government. The prime minister endeavored to make the people understand about the genuine motives of government and their sincerity towards the country and its people. In the speech, the prime minister also mentioned about the accomplishment of Thai athletes at international sports and positive response of the people towards educational reforms.
The prime minister spoke explicitly about the reform of the country and the hindrance being faced in the process. He mentioned of destructive actions of the individuals who were causing troubles for the establishment and prosperity of the country by causing turbulence in the process of peace keeping and misguiding the public about the government plans and strategies. The prime minister asked the people of the country to maintain their trust in government actions and adopt a rational thinking in order to support government in steering the country towards peace and prosperity. He advised the farmers not to feel reluctant in adapting to technological reforms in the agriculture process, as the change would result in their own good and suggested that people must adhere by the laws and constitution of the country in order to make the reform process successful.

To get a support in building a new Nawamintr Bophit building at Sirirat Hospital, the prime minister attempted to motivate the people by relating the act to the religion and the spirit of charity in the wake of upcoming Visakha Puja Day. He further underlined the affection of Thai people towards their royal monarch by mentioning about the celebration of the anniversary of King’s ascension to the throne and auspicious birthday anniversary year of the Queen to motivate the generosity and spirit of charity.
Table 4.9 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 13, 2016

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At the beginning of the speech, General Prayut discussed the accomplishment of the Thai students in science and technology at international level. The Prime Minister also appreciated the hosting of international events by Thailand and termed this progress as an opportunity for the youth of Thailand to have an access to better career opportunities along with assisting the country to progress in agriculture, tourism and other industries with their technological expertise. As he stated, “Youngsters will have a greater desire to become professional programmers”, and “Thai students to get out-of-classroom experiences in order to improve their working skills. They will be the ones generating income in the tourism and hospitality industry”.

The Prime Minister, General Prayut then discussed the importance of national security and foreign relations. He emphasized on the terms of stability, peacefulness, and orderliness to sustain the prosperity in the country. He contributed a great part of his speech to the issues of farmers and the agricultural challenges and further explained the efforts of government to help farmers in every aspect. He made some effective suggestion and urged farmers to take the advice for their wellbeing as well as the country’s. As he stated, “Farmers are currently facing many problems and earning a small income despite economic expansion”, and “I urge farmers to listen to government’s advice”. He expressed his sincerity for the farmer’s community by stating that “Every day, I think about how I can raise the standards of living of farmers”.

Another vital area that General Prayut spent much attention was the attempt of a few individuals to raise conflicts between the public and the government. He warned the public not to fall for the wrong intents of those who want to pull this country back into the age of conflict. He spoke about the importance of unity for growth and prosperity at every level. He further told people not to be impatient to see the reforms and progress and patiently support the good intentions of government to move
Thailand towards the industrial progress. He further emphasized on importance of learning true facts and being informed in order to avoid conflict and misunderstanding. As he stated, “If we can do this and help create understanding, conflicts will be eradicated and other countries will want to invest and engage with our country”.

General Prayut further discussed about the government’s readiness to support the industries at provincial level and revealed the details about the government’s support program to help low-level earners, farmers and SMEs to progress and contribute towards the prosperity of the country. He contributed a greater part of speech towards the issues and planned reforms and ongoing progress in the tourism and agriculture as he stated, “Revenue from tourism is supplementing the money we’ve lost from a dip in exports”, and “The people who will truly benefit from all this will be the local communities, restaurants and hotels”.

Agent

General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important figure in the address. General Prayut came up with multiple solutions that would better the country’s situation.

Agency

General Prayut Chan-O-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. Every citizen was told to collaborate and help eradicate corruption and promote transparency among every organization and institutions.

Purpose

The purpose is the reason behind the act of agent. It was clear from the speech that the purpose was to create awareness among the people of Thailand about the
government’s intentions of bringing sustainability to the country. The Prime Minister initiated the speech with the accomplishment of Thai students at an international level in the subject of science and technology. He dedicated the initial part of speech to speak for the growth opportunities for the youth in the field of technology. Youth are considered the future of any nation and Prime Minister emphasized on youth to develop their skills in the field of technology in association with the digitization across the globe as he stated, “Today’s world is filled with new technologies while economic growth relies on the digital system”, and he emphasized on computer education as he stated, “This helps improve their thinking process, teamwork attitude, and innovation”.

The Prime Minister used the reference to the practices of the Majesty King when referring to the country’s economy policy and speaking about improving the living standards of farmers in order to underline the importance Thai people give to the monarchy. By emphasizing on the beliefs of the Majesty King, he endeavored to comfort the population of Thailand by exhibiting the government’s affiliation with the royal practices for the welfare of the population. General Prayut, spoke about the unity by asking public to feel responsible for the matters of security by offering them a sense of responsibility. He further demonstrated that people must remain united in order to progress and share knowledge and information amongst them to avoid conflicts and misunderstanding and adopt a rational way of thinking. He mentioned a number of good advices for the farmers and tourism industry to adopt new reforms in order to prosper and bring their country a step forwards towards modernization and prosperity.
Table 4.10 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 20, 2016

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The section above consisted of 10 examples of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s speech analyzed by the concept of pentadic criticism. The researcher analyzed 41 pieces of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses through the concept. However, the length of the analysis was substantial. Therefore, the
researcher decided to relocate the rest of the analysis in the appendices section. The analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses through the concept of pentadic criticism may be found in Appendix numbers 1.1 to 1.41.

4.1.2 General characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses according to pentadic criticism

This section separates findings into three parts according to the year the addresses were delivered. The summary of the findings explains and discusses the pentadic elements, which are act, agent, agency, scene and purpose according to the years 2014, 2015 and 2016 respectively.

4.1.2.1 Summary of general characteristics of General Prayut’s speeches delivered in 2014 according to pentadic criticism

Act

In 2014, General Prayut Chan-O-cha, the leader of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO), spent most of his addresses explaining the reason behind the coup, as he seized power from the former government and exercised the power by enforcing martial law nationwide. In the address, General Prayut explained multiple times that the National Council of Peace and order (NCPO) took control of the situation in order to stop the violence and break the deadlock that prevented the previous government from moving the country forward. General Prayut spent a large portion on his addresses explaining what should be done regarding the turmoil caused by the previous government. He said further that the action was to solve urgent problems affecting the country’s politics and economy. Most importantly, General Prayut reiterated that his main goal was to return happiness and safety to the lives and properties of the Thai people as well as foreign nationals residing in Thailand, and to place the Monarchy above all conflicts. General Prayut’s main act in the year 2014 was to inform the general public about the NCPO’s goals and work process. General Prayut explained the NCPO’s scope of work, which was to maintain national security and to control the national administration. Regarding national security, Martial law and curfew were enacted with an intention to restore peace and security. General Prayut sought the general public’s understanding and cooperation, as the NCPO must
strictly enforce the curfew in order to separate perpetrators of crime from law-abiding citizens, and to stop illegal activities. General Prayut said that there were many issues that needed time and cooperation from all sides to resolve the problems. General Prayut also made a promise that after NCPO achieved this mission, the military would go back to the national defense duties, which was to look after the country and the people, and to ensure long-lasting happiness and prosperity in accordance with the philosophical principles bestowed by the King.

General Prayut also notified and updated the general public on newly enacted rules and regulations, as well as the NCPO’s plan for the country to move forward. General Prayut updated the general public on the changes in NCPO’s regulations. For instance, General Prayut updated the public on the shortened curfew period from between 22.00 to 05.00hrs to between 00.00 to 04.00hrs so people could adapt their routine. General Prayut also explained to the general public about the country’s roadmap, which included three phases. He said that the first phase would involve efforts to achieve national reconciliation. The second phase was to draw a provisional constitution by the NCPO’s legal team. The last phase was to organize a general election under a democratic system which was legal and accepted by all sides.

General Prayut expressed his concerns to the international community regarding democracy, as the international community valued democracy and was against dictatorship. General Prayut sought understanding from the international community by asking the community to give the NCPO time to make reforms in order to mend the democratic system and make it right, just, responsible and beneficial to all people.

Agent

According to the speeches given by General Prayut Chan-O-cha, it was certain that he was the main character in the statement. Since the first day of the coup and the first day of the broadcast, General Prayut Chan-O-cha made clear that he would be the person who directed the country as the leader of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO). In his speech, General Prayut Chan-O-cha repeated multiple times
about his role and how important it was for him to take this role in order to move Thailand forward after the political and economic deadlock which had lasted for several decades. General Prayut Chan-O-cha mentioned that he did not choose to be in the position but the position chose him. Therefore, the agent of the speech was General Prayut himself.

Agency

The agency of the speeches was the televised address. General Prayut Chan-O-cha employed a weekly televised address as a tool to reach the people. By using this tool, he communicated directly to the people through the television and radio throughout the country.

Scene

The scene of the drama was that Thailand was trying to revive itself after the major political and economic crisis, as the speech explained the situation in Thailand after a coup. After the coup led by General Prayut, the international community condemned General Prayut’s act, as democracy was valued among the international community. Many countries ended cooperation with Thailand, including international economic campaigns. The action of the international community heavily influenced the NCPO’s action and General Prayut’s speech. Due to the external impact and to revive the country, General Prayut explained Thailand’s standpoint as an undemocratic country toward the international community. General Prayut also gave guidance of how Thais who reside within the country should behave at the moment with the new rules and regulations. General Prayut repeated several times that his first priority was to make Thailand stronger by returning happiness to the people who were residing in Thailand.

Purpose

It was clear that, throughout the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha was sending the messages to the international community by clarifying the matter of democracy. General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s first priority for this country was to restore peace and stability, which were considered the most important foundations, before the
country could proceed forward. During this time, the international community condemned Thailand as an undemocratic country, therefore General Prayut had to explain Thailand's position and request time and understanding from the international community by stating in his speech that “we are asking for your (international community) patience to give us time as we build our country and democracy in which the Thai people possess discipline and a true understanding of democracy with good governance.” He frequently repeated what had happened in Thailand during the past decade, as a supporting statement for the reason behind the temporary undemocratic system in Thailand.

Table 4.11 Controlling pentadic elements of General Prayut’s speeches delivered in 2014

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<th>General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses</th>
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4.1.2.2 Summary of general characteristic of General Prayut’s speeches delivered in 2015 according to pentadic criticism

**Act**

In 2015, General Prayut established the national legislature. With the legislature, General Prayut was appointed as Prime Minister of the country. Though
General Prayut was holding three positions, which were the army chief, the NCPO leader, and the prime minister. General Prayut continued to report updates of the government’s effort in moving the country forward. In 2015, General Prayut talked more about the constitution drafting process, which was the responsibility of the Constitution Drafting Committee and the National Reform Council. General Prayut said that he expected the country to move towards real reform with quality politicians and responsible representatives who will carry on the reform process. Therefore, General Prayut’s national reform plan was a salient topic in his addresses delivered in 2015.

Moreover, 2015 was a year that Thailand had to develop its labor skills and economy due to the emergence of the ASEAN community. General Prayut explained that Thailand must enhance skilled workers’ competitiveness, or else Thailand would not be able to respond to and keep up with the expansion of the ASEAN Community. General Prayut instructed the general public in every sector to have a sound understanding of ASEAN and the ASEAN community as well as its member countries. Everyone must be able to utilize the latest technologies and have general knowledge of the English language as well as other languages regarding essential listening, speaking and basic writing skills. General Prayut said that “Businesses from the bottom level to the higher levels must continue to develop their skills. Labor workers must also realize that they will have foreign colleagues and contractors. You need to know enough to greet others and have basic conversation. As for the languages of our neighboring countries, I’ve seen various resources such as instructional shows on television.” Other than developing people’s skills in order to be prepped for the ASEAN community, General Prayut instructed the related ministries to encourage more foreign direct investments as well as promoting investments in the form of Thailand-ASEAN cooperation, for instance, the Thailand+1 policy, which was created for Thailand to closely collaborate with a foreign nation. Thailand becoming a member of the ASEAN Economic Community would lead to the free movement of skilled labor, which indicated that Thailand may not exclude foreigners from working in certain occupations in Thailand the same way that the other ASEAN nations may not ban Thai workers. General Prayut was
concerned over this issue as it could cause serious competition for quality work. General Prayut said that his objective was for Thailand to become the region’s medical hub, and instructed the related ministries, such as the Ministry of Education to address this matter. General Prayut took the ASEAN Economic Community very seriously as it was an opportunity for Thailand to grow in the regional level.

General’s Prayut reported that the Bike for Dad event was the highlight of 2015 in order to celebrate King Bhumibol’s birthday anniversary. The institution of the monarchy in Thailand, especially King Bhumibol, is highly valued as he continues to serve as a unifying element for the country (Royal Thai Embassy, n.d.). Before the event, General Prayut gave updates on the preparations for the “Bike for Dad” event on a weekly basis. Thais and foreign nationals residing in Thailand and in 66 cities overseas participated in the event. At the end of the special cycling event, “Bike for Dad”, concluded with great success, in correspondence with His Royal Highness Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn’s aspirations. The event was considered an historic event for Thailand which was a reflection of the solidarity of the Thai people in expressing our devotion to King Rama IX. After the event concluded, General Prayut expressed appreciation to all who participated in the cycling activity, and who came to support HRH the Crown Prince on the cycling route, as he reiterated “I would like to thank all the supporters in Thailand and abroad who made this special event happen. I would especially like to thank those who worked “backstage”, including officials, staff, and the private sector, who took the effort to ensure that the activity ran smoothly and according to plan.”

Agent

According to the speeches given by General Prayut Chan-O-cha on weekly televised addresses delivered in the year 2015, it was clear that he was the main character in the speeches. General Prayut not only reported updates of the government’s work, but he also portrayed himself as a decision maker who directed the path of the country. Therefore, it is clear that General Prayut Chan-o-cha is the agent of the speeches.
Agency

The agency of the speeches was the televised address. General Prayut Chan-o-cha employed the weekly televised address as a tool to reach the people. By using this tool, he could communicate directly to the people through the television and radio throughout the country.

Scene

The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country. Due to the economic turmoil from heavy corruption during the period of the former prime minister, Thailand in 2015 was in a revival period. General Prayut was trying to eradicate corruption issues and push forward the country’s economy. The country was still under martial law in order to remain peaceful. Although it was against the international community’s values, General Prayut persisted in continuing Martial law. At the same time, the general citizens were preparing for the emergence of the ASEAN Economic Community and hoped that Thailand would grab the opportunity and grow along with the ten ASEAN countries. Towards the end of 2015, the country was in a celebratory mood for King Bhumibol’s birthday anniversary, as many Thais residing inside Thailand and abroad took part in the “Bike for Dad” cycling event.

Purpose

It is apparent that General Chan-O-cha’s speech was an effort to turn around his government’s battered image in the eyes of his citizens and those of the international community. Very early in his speech delivered in 2015, he asked for refrain in the portrayal of the country’s predicament from various stakeholders in order to “strengthen international confidence in Thailand.” It is apparent from his repeated appeals in his speeches for favorable coverage that saving face from the international community was very high on the Prime Minister’s agenda. The government intended to call upon more Thai citizens to support the government in spite of the challenges regarding its permanency and criticism from the international community.
General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s message on political reforms appears to have been more of a measure to reduce tension and reassure Thai citizens that democracy would ultimately be restored once the political systems were put in place. He reassured commitment with Thai citizens that the government would work hard for the improvement of the country, which at the end would lead to democracy.

With many people continuing to view his rule as an imposition against the people’s will, the prime minister laid out his plans to increase the prosperity of Thai citizens and perhaps more importantly to the people, reestablish democracy. He was keen to show his willingness to hand over power, speaking of his coup a year earlier as an unfortunate but necessary intervention that should not have to be repeated. The mention of “subsequent governments” in a manner suggesting the not so distant future insinuates further commitment to a democratic solution. At the same time, the speech contained subtle innuendo warning against criticism and overt opposition towards General Prayut’s rules and regulations.

Table 4.12 Controlling pentadic elements of General Prayut’s speeches delivered in 2015

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4.1.2.3 Summary of general characteristic of General Prayut’s speech delivered in 2016 according to pentadic criticism

**Act**

In 2016, General Prayut’s speeches were aimed at enhancing the government’s image in order to be accepted by the international community. General Prayut attended multiple international summits and conferences to seek the opportunity to explain Thailand’s situation under the military government. For instance, General Prayut held talks with representatives and delegates from the US-ASEAN Business Council (USABC) and a number of leading American companies. General Prayut explained that the situation in Thailand had significantly improved after the May 2014 incident, and the government’s intentions were to follow the roadmap in order to achieve true democracy.

Moreover, General Prayut greatly promoted the concept of unity. In 2016, General Prayut came up with strategies to mobilize the grassroots economy, where he encouraged all sectors to join hands in order to improve the country’s economy. He said that “no matter which part of the country you live in, we are all Thais. The country belongs to 70 million people. This is called a state of the people. Today, we need cooperation between the state and the people.” General Prayut reiterated repetitively throughout his speeches delivered in 2016 that all Thai citizen must join forces to develop and prosper, in order for Thailand to become ‘Stronger Together’.

Towards the end of 2016, Thailand was plunged into grief as King Bhumibol passed away. General Prayut changed the name of his weekly televised addresses
from “Return Happiness to the People” to “From the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy to Sustainable Development Goals” to commemorate the passing of the King. General Prayut said that “although the features and the name of this week’s program have been changed, the substantive issues are basically the same. I will talk to you about His Majesty’s quotes, wishes, experiments and studies in relation to sustainable practices in development.” In the speech delivered after October 13, 2016, which was the date King Bhumibol passed away, General Prayut always mentioned the King’s teachings, such as the sufficiency economy philosophy. General Prayut said that the Philosophies of King Bhumibol could be applied to all dimensions “ranging from daily activities and professions, to matters dealing with national administration, in so far that sustainable development has become the direction for the government and all civil servants.” The government encouraged Thai people to follow King Bhumibol’s sufficiency economy philosophy and adopted the philosophy in various aspects.

Agent

According to the speeches given by General Prayut Chan-O-cha during a weekly radio and television national broadcast, it could be seen that General Prayut Chan-O-cha, the prime minister and chief of NCPO, was the main character in the statement. In 2016, General Prayut maintained his role as the person who directed the country with the title of Thailand’s prime minister and the leader of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO). General Prayut continued to make decisions for the country based heavily on external factors such as what was happening nationally and internationally during the period the addresses were given.

Agency

The agency of the speeches was the televised addresses. General Prayut Chan-O-cha employed weekly televised addresses as a tool to reach the general public. Although, televised addresses are a one-way communication channel, by using such tool, General Prayut could communicate directly to the people through television and radio throughout the country. Due to the lack of quality of exigency within the content of the addresses, especially when the addresses were broadcasted for over two years
on a weekly basis, the ratings of General Prayut’s addresses were considered low (Luek, 2016).

**Scene**

In 2016, General Prayut entered the third year as the prime minister of the country. General Prayut, as the prime minister and the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) continued to deliver televised addresses on a weekly basis. In the addresses, General Prayut reported the government’s working process, especially on the topic of the constitutional drafting process and enhancing the country’s economy. In 2016, General Prayut was successful at restoring peace and order in the country. For the past years there were no political gatherings, political activities, protests or political unrest. However, the rate of economic growth in Thailand was clearly declining, which may be the main reason that people began to criticize the work of the government in online platforms (Luek, 2016). Due to the lack of success in the area of developing the country’s economy, General Prayut asked the general public to cooperate for the development of the country. In the agricultural sector, where rice, sugar cane and rubber were in surplus, General Prayut said that “the government cannot achieve this on its own. The most important thing is that all sectors should cooperate for mutual benefit. We can no longer only look after our own interests.” Therefore, the government needed cooperation from every sector, and encouraged unity in the general public.

On Thursday, October 13, the country and the Thai people had to endure the devastating loss of King Bhumibol. The country was in deep sorrow. To commemorate the passing of King Bhumibol, General Prayut declared one year of mourning, when the general public was expected to wear somber colored clothes. During the mourning period, entertainment activities and celebrations were prohibited for one month.

**Purpose**

In 2016, General Prayut’s purpose was to report the government’s working process to the general public and to seek for cooperation between the public and
private sector. It was clear from the speech that the purpose was to create awareness among the people of Thailand about the government’s intentions of bringing sustainability to the country. General Prayut, strived for cooperation and unity by asking the public to feel responsible for the matters of security by offering them a sense of responsibility. He further demonstrated that people must remain united in order to progress and share knowledge and information amongst each other to avoid conflicts and misunderstanding and adopt a rational way of thinking.

General Prayut expressed condolences for the country’s great lost when King Bhumibol passed away. King Bhumibol’s passing was a major moment for Thais. The whole country was plunged in a morning period, where the objective was to commemorate the passing of the beloved father figure of the nation. Another way to commemorate the lost of King Bhumibol was to spread his teachings. General Prayut said that although “the King has passed; His Majesty’s thinking and Philosophy live on. His teachings, advice, principles of work, and the examples that he set shall always remain with the Thai people.” The speech given during the morning period showed how much General Prayut loved and respected the revered monarch.

Table 4.13 Controlling pentadic elements of General Prayut’s speech delivered in 2016

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<th>General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses</th>
<th>Controlling pentadic elements of year 2016</th>
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4.1.3 Specific characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses according to the pentadic criticism

4.1.3.1 Paramount ratio of year 2014

In 2014, the paramount ratio of the pentadic elements were agent and purpose. General Prayut Chan-O-cha, who was holding the title of prime minister and leader of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO), was the person with the power to decide the future direction of the country with the purpose of returning peace and order to the nation. General Prayut Chan-O-cha repeated multiple times his role and how important it was for him to take this role in order to move Thailand forward after the political and economic deadlock for the last several decades. General Prayut Chan-O-cha mentioned that he did not choose to be in the position but the position chose him. During the year 2014, he exercised his power by enacting martial law and curfew for the purpose of peace and order. All the measures that he adopted was due to one common goal, which was to restore peace, order, and security to the society.

General Prayut held the position of prime minister, which was responsible for leading the government politically. However, with his military background, General
Prayut led the country’s administration through the military system. For instance, General Prayut enacted martial law, Law 44, and curfew in order to suppress political movement, protests and activities. General Prayut, the leader of the NCPO was the key character in creating the messages. General Prayut made clear of his purpose that he and the NCPO would lead the country out of the turmoil. General Prayut declared in his addresses that “the NCPO does not want power for its own benefit; it was enacted because the country was not able to move forward.” He added that “if government officials and the military did nothing, who would help the Thai people resolve this deadlock when the democratic mechanisms are paralyzed?” With such quotes, he reaffirmed the reasons for his action of taking over the country’s administration, as it was unavoidable.

4.1.3.2 Paramount ratio of year 2015

In 2015, the paramount ratio of the pentadic elements were scene and act. General Prayut’s weekly televised speeches were heavily influenced by current events and what happened during the weeks the addresses were given. General Prayut then reported on how he and the government managed or planned to manage the situation. For example, in 2015, the international community heavily criticized and condemned the military government and this had an impact on the country’s economy. Therefore, in general Prayut’s speech, he explained the process of bringing Thailand back to democracy through the “Roadmap”, a plan constituted by the National Council of Peace and Order. General Prayut explained the roadmap to create understanding among the general public and asked for patience for his government to work, which would soon result in true democracy. Another example showing how scene and act are the paramount ratio of the pentadic elements was when the European Commission (EU) issued a ‘yellow card’ to Thailand for not taking sufficient measures in the international fight against the illegal, unregulated and unreported fishing or IUU fishing. General Prayut reported the government’s process in eradicating all illegal, unregulated, and unreported fishing activities as well as human trafficking in the fishing industry. General Prayut explained that the cabinet approved the Fisheries Decree, a marine resources management plan, and a national strategic plan for eradicating the IUU problem, which effectively brought solutions to the fishing
sector. The last example was when General Prayut urged the general public to be prepared for the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). General Prayut notified the general public about the upcoming events on the emergence of the ASEAN Economic Community, which was the scene, and reported the government’s effort in making preparation in order to seize the opportunity for the nation.

As the act of General Prayut’s weekly televised address was to report the government’s efforts in tackling issues occurring during that time and wrapped up current events, which were scenes of the week. The information given in the addresses showed a lack of exigency. Due to technology, people consume information at a much faster pace (Kur & Endwell, 2015). The advanced technology, such as the Internet, was one of the most vital threats to the televised addresses, as one-way communication is no longer an effective communication method (Kur & Endwell, 2015). People were less interested in the weekly news wrap-up from the government; therefore, the addresses showed a lack of exigency.

4.1.3.3 Paramount ratio of year 2016

In 2016, the paramount ratio of the pentadic elements were scene and purpose. Due to the external factors such as economic uncertainty impacting the scene of the addresses, General Prayut clearly stated his objectives, which were to restore peace and order, to enhance citizens’ quality of life, and to install a new political system leading to democracy to Thailand. In order to fulfill his objectives, general Prayut launched multiple measures, campaigns and policies. For instance, General Prayut launched investment projects to enhance the general public’s quality of life, including an increase of housing projects, an extension of roads to villages and households in remote areas, access to education, public health services and government assistance in order to reduce social inequalities.

General Prayut was considered successful with the purpose of restoring peace and order to the nation, as there were no political movements or violence occurring during the time General Prayut governed the country. However, the purpose of
enhancing the general public’s quality of life and installing a new political system to obtain democracy were yet to be fulfilled in 2016.

Regarding the pentadic elements retrieved from General Prayut’s televised addresses delivered during the years 2014 to 2016, the researcher respectively arranged each pentadic element according to its dominance; scene, agent, purpose, act and agency. First, ‘scene’ was the dominant pentadic element with the largest percentage of 28.94 percent. General Prayut’s addresses were mostly influenced by the scene, which were the location and theme of what was going on during that period. Second, ‘agent’ occurred 26.31 percent. General Prayut was the main character of the weekly televised addresses. He was not only the rhetor, but also the decision maker to direct the country’s future path. Next, the pentadic element of ‘purpose’ occurred 25 percent. General Prayut Chan-O-cha had clear purposes, which were to restore order to the nation, to enhance citizens’ quality of life, and to install a new political system to obtain true democracy. The pentadic element of ‘act’ occurred 13.15 percent, where the act of the weekly televised addresses relied heavily on the pentadic element of scene and agent. The final pentadic element with the least controlling quality was agency, which occurred 6.5 percent. General Prayut chose to distribute his messages through radio and television broadcast as it allowed the audience to directly listen without messages being distorted (Welch, 2003).

Table 4.14 Analysis table of Paramount Ratio of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses

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### 4.2 Summary of ideological analysis

Regarding the second research question, “How could General Prayut’s speeches given in the weekly televised address be scrutinized by ideological criticism?”, the findings are separated into three sections. The first section is the analysis of each speech through the concept of ideological criticism. The second section is the explanation of general characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses according to ideological criticism. This section revealed dominant ideologies retrieved from investigating General Prayut’s 41 pieces of weekly televised addresses. The retrieved ideologies are separated into 3 segments according to the year the addresses were delivered, which were years 2014, 2015 and 2016. The Third section is the explanation of specific characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses, according to ideological criticism. This section revealed the hegemonic ideologies hidden within the addresses. The hegemonic ideologies found in General Prayut’s weekly televised addresses throughout the total period of two years and seven months are explained in detail below.

#### 4.2.1 Analysis of Prayut’s televised addresses through the concept ideological criticism

This section is the analysis of each of the 41 pieces of the weekly televised addresses with the concept of ideological criticism. Due to the extensive length of the analysis, the researcher has selected 10 pieces of the analysis to be demonstrated in this section, while the rest may be found in the Appendices section. The selected

I ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 30, 2014

In this study, ideologies, which were embedded in the Thai Prime Minister’s weekly televised addresses broadcasted on May 30, 2014, were revealed. The analysis aimed to understand how the speech specifically embodied and enacted particular ranges of values, beliefs and ideas. Three dominant ideologies were found in General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s speech. The ideologies were analyzed in accordance with the literature review in Chapter 2, emphasizing the deductive approach. The 3 dominant ideologies were authoritarianism, nationalism and capitalism.

First, authoritarianism, where authority opposed freedom of an individual, influenced the speech throughout. General Prayut Chan-O-cha enacted rules and regulations, such as Section 44, Martial Law, the prohibition of political gathering of more than 5 people and curfews. General Prayut Chan-O-cha claimed that the regulations aimed to protect and stabilize the country. In his speech, he said “Martial law, the supreme security law was necessary as it allows officials to take immediate control of violent situations,” while he added that “the curfew is intended to restore peace and order, and to provide security for the society although there might be some disturbance in people’s daily lives and commutes”. Moreover, General Prayut Chan-O-cha also summoned protest leaders, key protest supporters, certain thinkers and politically motivated opinion leaders to report themselves to the government officials in order be given a “cooling-off period”.

Secondly, nationalism was largely emphasized in the speech. General Prayut Chan-O-cha repeated several times how Thais should put “the country before themselves, learn to live harmoniously and act constructively in society”. He
introduced a “roadmap” which led to “national reconciliation” and “social harmony”. The quality of being united was the absolute solution in order for Thais to abstain from any violent activity. He adopted the sentimental approach to encourage the love of the nation among the audiences, by reminding the audiences about the prolonged political turmoil. General Prayut emphasized how all Thais had been experiencing similar kinds of suffering in order to encourage unity. He said that “I think that all of you share my feelings. For the past nine years, I have not been happy.”

The final dominant ideology found in General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address was capitalism. General Prayut Chan-O-cha stressed the government’s effort in “increasing the credibility of the national financial system in the eyes of the international community and foreign investors”. General Prayut also urged the government to come up with an effective direction for Thailand to become “a key driver in the ASEAN as well as the global economic community” in the near future. The rice pledging scheme, initiated by the previous government, was among the main topics emphasized by General Prayut Chan-O-cha as it affected Thais lives, especially farmers. The rice pledging scheme had ruined Thailand’s reputation for rice, therefore it was the NCPO’s first priority to help Thai farmers and regain credibility of Thai rice in order to regain a leading position in the global rice market.

In sum, as the situation in the country was considered critical, General Prayut seemed to exercise his power through authoritarianism by applying rules and regulations that forcefully limited freedom of the general public. At the same time, General Prayut, tried to encourage nationalism and to raise respect for the highly revered monarch, as it could better the country’s situation politically and economically.

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 20, 2014

First the ideology of authoritarianism, was heavily shown in the speech. In an effort of administrating the country in a peaceful manner, one of the main issues
General Prayut took care paid most attention on was the human right issue. In order to solve the issue, General Prayut Chan-O-cha provided legal opportunity for alien workers who desired to work in Thailand following the international human right rules. Even though this approach was intentionally to create equal right in accordance with democracy ideology, however, the approach in applying the rules was done through authoritarian power. To put it simply, the National Council of Peace and Order or the NCPO was controlling rules and laws regarding alien workers in Thailand. General Prayut Chan-o-cha stated in his speech that “the NCPO will create the new structure of working in short-time period. In the first phase, the NCPO will focus on eliminating influential people who illegally brought alien to work. From confidential agent reported that influential people asked workers for 20,000 Baht for one worker. If they were aliens, they should pay additional 8,000 – 10,000 Baht to move in the country. Hirers had to pay to register as law required. One who did not register for working in sea or land would be called as illegal workers. General Prayut Chan-o-cha came up with new rules and regulations in an effort to tackle the illegal worker issue effectively.

The second ideology is democracy. Although, General Prayut Chan-O-cha who came into power and took control the country’s administration through a process of coup, the cooperation from the private sector and general public was still consider vital in order to fix the country’s both political and economic dreadlock. The general public had to take part the process of developing the country, by voicing out their opinions. General Prayut explained that it was vital for the National Council of Peace and Order or the NCPO to listen to the general public, and together drove the country into the right direction. General Prayut stated that “we need to listen to the voice of the people, respond to doubts and create a common vision. The people need to be aware of the direction in the country’s development in various areas in the immediate, short and long-term of 5-10 years. This is to achieve a common understanding, expectation and action in implementing development projects.” The concept of public hearing was brought up to make people understand the core concept of democracy, which was every voice of every citizen mattered. However, there were some contradiction when General Prayut Chan-o-cha explained about the process of public
hearing, which is more complicated than actually listening to every general public voice.

The third ideology was capitalism. General Prayut Chan-o-cha repeated multiple times on creating a friendly environment for investors, where those investors would play a great role in developing Thailand’s economy. General Prayut and his government had laid out a policy on formulating the Budget for fiscal year 2015, where the budget was aimed at benefitting all sectors and areas. General Prayut said he would increase in government spending in many areas in order to fix the prolonged problems and develop the country. The issues that considered were to increase employment and income opportunities for the general public, find solutions to the problems of drought and flood, come up with economic plan on order to prevent a recession and encourage the agricultural sector. General Prayut also boasted that “the overall economic picture since 22 May 2014 has improved as reflected by the increasing number of investments. The Federation of Thai Industries has reported the Thai Industries Sentiment Index to be at 85.1, a first increase in seven months. The tourism sector is also recovering, with a rise in number of tourist arrivals.”

I ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 28, 2015

Through the ideological concept, the analysis revealed embedded ideologies in the Thai Prime Minister’s weekly televised addresses broadcasted on August 28, 2015. The analysis aimed to understand how the speech specifically embodied and enacted particular ranges of values, beliefs and ideas. Three dominant ideologies were found in this particular speech, which were monarchy, democracy and the self-sufficiency economy ideology.

The first prominent ideology within the speech was the monarchy ideology. In the speech, the Prime Minister referred several times to His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej. Thailand is a constitutional monarchy, in which the monarchy coexists with an elected government. The royal seat in Thailand was a highly revered position
that has existed for centuries. His Majesty Bhumibol Adulyadej, who was King during this speech by General Prayut, was widely credited with many of the economic reform policies that have helped Thailand into a more prosperous nation. In this speech, the Prime Minister reiterated with clear reverence for the King. General Prayut went a long way in associating his government and his new cabinet with the Thai Monarch. In the ceremony of appointing the new cabinet, the ceremony was done at a hospital where His majesty was admitted in order to show reverence.

The second ideology that was apparent in the Prime Minister’s speech was democracy. The Prime Minister dedicated the first part of his speech on the relationship between the government and the Thai people. He called on his new cabinet to engage the public and ensure that the government became more effective in meeting the needs of the Thai people. General Prayut reminded his citizens that they were allowed to express their opinions, whether they were critical or in support of his government. The general was very keen to assure citizens that anti-government protests were permitted, an example of open expression and one of the tenets of democracy. The prime minister described Thailand as a country that “belongs to 70 million people” and as a “state of the people.” He touted the importance of public input in governance through democratic processes, and asserts that the government will treat all people equally. While the voice of the people would ideally be done through elections, which the Prime Minister did not mention, there was no denying that citizen participation was a strong pillar in the democratic ideology.

The third ideology manifested in this speech was the self-sufficiency economy philosophy ideology. This was highlighted in the last part of the speech where the Prime Minister described a measure that has been undertaken to make the Thai economy self-sufficient for the benefit of its citizens. General Prayut employed the speech to inform the public of extensive intervention measures in different sectors of the economy that would boost production at the local and regional level with the intention of creating jobs and creating food security in Thailand.
Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 4, 2015

The first ideology that shaped the Prime Minister speech was authoritarianism. This ideology was marked by a strong center of power and low regard for human and political rights. General Prayut Chan-O-cha was characterized by the ideology of authoritarianism by making sweeping statements that favor his position without considering the argument raised by his opponents. For instance, he insisted that his government would be driven by the will of the people while at the same time accused proponents of democracy as seeking to cause trouble in the country.

The second ideology that was clear in the speech by General Prayut Chan-O-cha was capitalism. The Prime Minister highlighted a number of capital injections to various sectors including the villages, the agricultural sector, and in the finance sector for purposes of increasing production and improving the lives of Thai citizens. Nearly all the solutions highlighted as part of the economic agenda were allocated funds to act as capital and increase production.

The third ideology was self-sufficient economic ideology. In this regard, the Prime Minister’s speech highlighted a number of actions that were needed to make Thailand economy self-sufficient. For instance, the proposed solution to the rising cost of prices of consumer goods was to increase production in the local economy and ensure that the local communities produced enough to sustain not just themselves but also sell to the local communities. The self-sufficiency economy was replicated in the call for the government to implement plans that would enhance cooperation with local private sector players for purposes of boosting the local economy. The incentives provided to local businesses were meant to support Thai businesses and ensure that they produce enough goods and services for the locals.

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 2, 2015
The first emergent ideology was nationalism. In the speech, General Chan-O-cha asked Thai citizens to be proud of their country, and revealed that one of his agendas during his visit to New York involved asking diplomatic officials to promote the image of Thailand as a reforming nation. He said that he had “highlighted the importance of Thainess for the Thai people residing in a different country.” The Prime Minister also expressed pride in what he perceived as a reverence for Thai culture by American people. The country’s quest to hold regional leadership in the G77 and at the United Nations Security Council was an indication of a country that looked to promote its interests beyond its borders.

Next, the prominence of the Thai monarchy was apparent from General Prayut’s address. In the speech, the Prime Minister referred several times to King Bhumibol Adulyadej. Thailand is a constitutional monarchy, in which the monarchy coexisted with an elected government. The royal seat in Thailand is a highly revered position that has existed for centuries. King Bhumibol Adulyadej who was King during this speech by General Chan-O-cha was widely credited with many of the economic reform policies that have helped Thailand into a more prosperous nation. In this speech, the Prime Minister spoke with clear reverence for the King, and it was telling that despite General Prayut Chan-O-cha coming to power through a coup, he allowed the Monarchy to thrive.

The sufficiency economy principle was a perpetual subject of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses and it was no different in this speech. General Prayut lauded the principle, which was based around sustainable use of resources, as being behind the big leaps that Thailand had made economically over the past few decades. The country also seeks to promote the Sufficiency Economy philosophy to other countries, with General Prayut revealing that an exhibition christened “Sufficiency Economy: An Approach to Sustainable Development” had been spearheaded by the Thai government at the UNGA conference.
The first ideology evident in the Prime Minister’s speech was authoritarianism. Authoritarianism referred to limited political freedom and strong central power. It may be seen from the speech that General Prayut has limited the freedom of the press as he urged the press members to be extra careful of possible repercussions when presenting news. General Prayut urged that the cases involving the possibility of misconduct by government officials should be reported carefully as incorrect presentation of these cases can impact other matters. He also asked the press members to present news that was based on fact and truth as some press members were being charged with defamation because of stories not based on truth. General Prayut asked for cooperation of the press members otherwise they would be sued for defamation. This showed that the political freedom of the press was limited by General Prayut and he warned that legal actions would be taken against press members for reporting critical events.

The second ideology, which is evident from General Prayut Chan-O-cha speech is democracy. Democracy means equal rights, freedom and power resting in the hands of people. General Prayut emphasized democracy when he addressed the politicians and political parties. He said that people must understand that a democratic system is needed in Thailand where politicians work together for administering the country for well-being and happiness of all 70 million people, not just certain groups of people. General Prayut emphasized that politicians must help him in thinking about what can be done for fixing the problems at hand while refraining from escalating conflicts in society. General Prayut wished to establish a democratic system in Thailand and give people the power to choose their leader thus the democracy ideology is exhibited in his speech.

The third ideology exhibited by the Prime Minister General Prayut in his speech is nationalism. Nationalism means promoting the greatness of being unified as a nation. In the beginning of his speech, General Prayut called upon the public to be
mindful that people with disabilities were valuable resource of the nation and if they were looked after and provided opportunities, they may make important contributions to the country. The most important aspect pointed in this regard by Prayut was to build an environment where people can live their lives with equal access and opportunities without discrimination. Equality and unity were emphasized by General Prayut. He also promoted nationalism by asking members of the public to purchase produce from farmers who have been affected by drought disaster as this could help them in earning sufficient income and get through the disaster. Regarding the issues at community level such as those involving low-income earners and struggling farmers, General Prayut said that we should cooperate as a “state of the people”. All these points discussed by General Prayut in his speech promote nationalism.

**Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on February 19, 2016**

In this particular speech, General Prayut Chan-O-cha reminded his audiences of the political and economic turmoil caused by the previous government. He asked his audience to compare the country’s political and economic condition to see how much the country had been improved since the National Council of Peace and Order took control of the nation’s administration. He stated that “please take a look back and consider what we have finished, what we have initiated, what problems we have fixed and resolved, what we are currently rectifying, and what we need to continue doing.” However, the researcher analyzed the speech delivered by General Prayut Chan-O-cha on the 12 February, 2014 and found 3 dominant ideologies. The 3 ideologies are monarchy, authoritarianism and capitalism.

The Monarchy ideology is evident when analyzing the speech by General Prayut Chan-o-cha. At the start, the Prime Minister stated that the country must be strong “within as suggested by His Majesty the King”. A major railway project started by the NCPO was also mentioned in the speech, with the Prime Minister directing that the launch would happen on a day aligning with the Anniversary of Her Majesty the Queen’s birthday.
The second ideology that is apparent in the speech is that of authoritarianism. The Prime Minister’s speech on a number of occasions appeared to under the freedoms of those who differ from him. He also remarked that appeared to threaten the media and politicians who were not supportive of the NCPO. The speech, therefore, was in line with the authoritarianism ideology where the central power enjoyed a lot of power which was exercised centrally. The influence of Thailand’s leader appeared to be in all sectors including in the judiciary and in the election process, proving just how powerful he was.

The third and final ideology that aligned with the remarks made in the speech was Capitalism. General Prayut Chan-O-cha dedicated a big part of the speech on the capital that would be required to change the economic fortune of the country. Some of the investments listed include the railway project in Bangkok; electric cars that would help ease traffic congestion, and boost in tourism. The import of the stated projects would be increased value of land as a factor of production and would ultimately improve the economy of Thailand. The fact that a lot of emphasis was placed on the implementation of projects meant to create and enhance capital is prove that the speech followed the capitalist ideology.

**Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on March 11, 2016**

An analysis through ideological criticism of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address, delivered on March 11th, 2016 revealed the embedded ideologies of the rhetor. The analysis aimed to understand how the speech specifically embodied and enacted particular ranges of values, beliefs and ideas. Three dominant ideologies were found in this particular speech, which were capitalism, democracy and the self-sufficiency economy ideology.

The first dominant ideology was capitalism. In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of the contribution that the private sector made towards the economic
development of the country, an assertion that proves the capitalistic nature of the Thai economy. General Prayut described many initiatives that had been taken to fortify the ability of the private sector within the country, with an outlook at improving production. The “Pracha Ratch”, dubbed as the state of the people program, was mentioned by General Prayut several times throughout the speech. The Prime Minister explained that the program centered on empowering individuals and private producers by incorporating their input in the running of the economy. In capitalist economies, the government takes a step back from the intricacies of production but plays a supportive role through regulation and provision of infrastructure. General Prayut alluded to this role in his speech, speaking of his government’s intentions to increase infrastructure spending and to support producers through capital provision.

The next dominant ideology within the speech General Prayut gave on March 11th, 2016 was democracy. General Prayut gave remarks about the political crisis that had engulfed the country since his ascension to power in 2014. He spoke of his commitment to oversee a constitutional change that would pave way for free and fair elections that would return the country to democratic rule. He spoke of the participation of citizens in defining the progress of the country, a central tenet of the democratic process. The competing ideology of authoritarianism also appeared in the speech, with the Prime Minister continuing to defend actions of the NCPO, which are considered to deprive Thais of their freedom of speech. General Prayut insisted that his government was committed to achieving democratic reforms and even asked that the school curriculum encompass lessons “about democracy and a few human rights topics without teaching about civility, citizenship and the rule of law.” The sharing of information by the media was another subject that General Prayut touched on, asking state and independent media to report fairly about the government’s noble plans. The third dominant ideology found in the speech was the ideology of the sufficiency economy philosophy. In the speech, General Prayut Chan-O-cha spoke about His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy as a way to address many of the problems that Thai people faced in a bid to end poverty and inequality. The self-sufficiency philosophy centered on intelligent uses of resources to ensure maximum output without jeopardizing the sources of these resources. It is a critical element of
the country’s economic approach. General Prayut Chan-O-cha called for its continued application at the grassroots level through its incorporation in vocational training and sustainable development. The philosophy was a major part of dealing with the water crisis and drought which the Prime Minister referred to in the speech. Farmers were particularly affected, and General Prayut Chan-O-cha saw sustainable utilization of water resources as the only way forward, at least on an interim basis.

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 13, 2016

In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of the contribution that private producers made towards the economic development of the country, an assertion that proved the capitalistic nature of the Thai economy. General Prayut Chan-O-cha described many initiatives that had been taken to fortify the ability of producers in the country, with an outlook to improving production. The “state of the people” program, which the Prime Minister referred to several times was centered on empowering individuals and private producers by incorporating their input in the running of the economy. In capitalist economies, the government took a step back from the intricacies of production but played a supportive role through regulation and provision of infrastructure. General Prayut Chan-O-cha alluded to this role in his speech, speaking of his government’s intentions to increase infrastructure spending and to support producers through capital provision.

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In the speech, General Prayut Chan-O-cha spoke about the King Bhumibol Adulyadej’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy as a way to address many of the problems that Thai people faced, in a bid to end poverty and inequality. The self-sufficiency philosophy centered in intelligent use of resources to ensure maximum output without jeopardizing the source of these resources. It was a critical element of the country’s economic approach. General Prayut Chan-O-cha called for its continued application at the grassroots level through its incorporation in vocational training and sustainable development. The philosophy was as well a major part of dealing with the water crisis and drought, which the Prime Minister referred to in the speech. Farmers were particularly affected, and General Prayut Chan-O-cha saw sustainable utilization of water resources as the only way forward, at least on an interim basis.

I ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 20, 2016

In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of the contribution that private producers made towards the economic development of the country, an assertion that proved the capitalistic nature of the Thai economy. General Prayut Chan-O-cha described many initiatives that had been taken to fortify the ability of producers in the country, with an outlook to improving production. The “state of the people” program, which the Prime Minister referred to several times was centered on empowering individuals and private producers by incorporating their input in the running of the economy. In capitalist economies, the government took a step back from the intricacies of production but played a supportive role through regulation and provision of infrastructure. General Prayut Chan-O-cha alluded to this role in his speech, speaking of his government’s intentions to increase infrastructure spending and to support producers through capital provision.

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The section above consisted of 10 examples of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s speech analyzed by the concept of ideological criticism. The researcher analyzed 41 pieces of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses through the concept. However, the length of the analysis was substantial. Therefore, the researcher decided to relocate the rest of the analysis in the appendices section. The analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses through the concept of ideological criticism may be found in Appendixes 2.1 to 2.41.
4.2.2 General characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses according to ideological criticism

This section separates findings into three parts according to the year, which the addresses were delivered. The summary of the findings show and discuss the ideologies found dominating General Prayut’s speech delivered in the years 2014, 2015 and 2016 respectively.

4.2.2.1 Summary of general characteristic of General Prayut’s speeches delivered in 2014 according to ideological criticism

In this section, the researcher analyzed General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses delivered in the year 2014. By scrutinizing the addresses, the researcher found that there were three ideologies dominating General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s addresses. The ideologies are authoritarianism, capitalism and nationalism.

Authoritarianism

First, authoritarianism, a form of government where freedom of the people is limited to a small group of people with absolute power, is one of the dominant ideologies in General Prayut’s speeches delivered in 2014. General Prayut’s military background as the ‘Commander in Chief of the Royal Thai army’ had great influence over the way he ran the country in order to achieve his objective. The ideology of authoritarianism was scattered throughout General Prayut’s addresses in 2014, as he directed the country toward peace and order. After General Prayut Chan-O-cha seized the administrative power of the nation, General Prayut exercised sole control over the administration of the country. General Prayut enacted martial law, curfew, Section 44 and prohibited political gatherings of more than 5 people. The reason behind the enactment of the new regulations was to retain peace and order within the country after long political turmoil. In one of his address, he said “martial law, the supreme security law was necessary as it allows officials to take immediate control of violent situations,” while he added that “the curfew is intended to restore peace and order, and to provide security for the society, although there might be some disturbance in people’s daily lives and commutes”. General Prayut Chan-cha also summoned protest
leaders, key protest supporters, certain thinkers and politically motivated opinion leaders to report themselves to the government officials in order be given a “cooling-off period”.

General Prayut spent a large portion of the addresses in 2014 explaining the reasons behind his actions by saying that “the NCPO has taken control of the situation, temporarily, in order to stop the violence and break the deadlock that had prevented the previous government from moving the country forward, and to solve urgent problems affecting the economy. This is to return happiness and safety to the lives and properties of the Thai people as well as foreign nationals residing in Thailand.” It was clear that General Prayut’s objective in taking over the country’s administration was not for his personal benefit, but for the nation’s benefit.

Under the approach of authoritarianism, General Prayut also talked about the concept of democracy. General Prayut said that “there were many reasons why it was necessary for the NCPO to take control of the national administration. The most important reason was because we respect the democratic process.” The given example clearly illustrated the paradox within General Prayut’s weekly televised address speech. General Prayut asked the international community for time, in order for Thailand to have “true democracy”. General Prayut declared Thailand’s standpoint after the country had been ruled by military personnel. He explained the NCPO’s objective, which was to “safeguard democracy” and make Thailand stronger by laying solid foundations for Thailand to become a “fully functioning democratic country”. For General Prayut, in order for Thailand to achieve democracy, it must be done through the authoritarian approach, by applying Martial Laws, the Internal Security Act and Emergency Decree. General Prayut reiterated that “if the conflicts and violence or incitements continue, a successful and peaceful election is impossible”. General Prayut Chan-O-cha underlined that peace and order was what Thailand was striving for, and in order to dispose of the chaos, it was considered necessary for the NCPO to invoke such laws.
Capitalism

The second ideology dominating the speeches General Prayut delivered in 2014 is capitalism. Since General Prayut Chan-O-cha took over the country’s administration, one of his goals was to improve the country’s economy, which he referred to as gaining wealth for the nation. Through his speeches, it may be said that General Prayut believed that the more wealth the country generated, the more resources the country had to share with its citizens, which theoretically should improve the general public’s standard of living. The development of the economy allowed the public to have better living conditions, which would solve Thailand’s issue of poverty and unemployment. It was inevitable that General Prayut had to maintain strong relations with foreign countries to create economic opportunities in various areas. Regardless of trade or investment, the international market had a vital influence over Thailand.

Regarding improving the country’s economy, General Prayut revealed plans on domestic and international investment and proposals for attracting foreign investment. General Prayut and his economic ministry launched an economic measure to boost the country’s economy. The measure was divided into 5 main tasks. First, the task was to provide urgent assistance to alleviate the suffering of farmers and low-income people. The second task was to boost the local economy of small provinces. Next, the task focused on improving the quality of made in Thailand products, especially agricultural products. The fourth task was to invest in the infrastructure in order to lay a foundation for the economy in the future. The last task was to enhance relationships with foreign counterparts and investors from both public and private sectors.

Nationalism

Another dominating ideology found in General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses delivered in the year 2014 was nationalism. As General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s main goal was to install peace and order and to improve the country’s economy, General Prayut asked the general public for kind cooperation in order for the NCPO to work smoothly. In spite of all the newly enacted rules and regulations,
General Prayut said that an individual must refrain from considering individual benefit and instead should consider the nation’s benefit. Unity was an important factor in reconciling the country since the country was devastated by a political battlefield. General Prayut said that "In the past, you already know what happened. Today we have to strengthen to create a foundation for the country together.”

General Prayut emphasized that the success of the country’s development also depended on the unity of the people. He occasionally reminded the general public about compromise and love of the nation, which would make the country stronger. Due to the concept of unity and love for the nation, general Prayut came up with 12 core values of Thailand, which aimed to be instilled among the young generation. Therefore, the core values were imposed in the children’s school curriculum. The education ministry required cooperation from all public and private schools within the country for the students to recite the 12 core values either at the morning daily flag raising ceremony or during class. Although, general Prayut’s intention was to instill positive values to children, which are the future of the nation, the researcher saw the approach as dictatorial. With the approach, General Prayut forced children around Thailand to adopt the principles he valued regardless of the children’s culture, religion or ideological differences. It seemed as General Prayut turned the 12 national core values into a propagated tool towards children.

Table 4.15 Analysis table of ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses delivered in 2014

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4.2.2.2 Summary of general characteristics of General Prayut’s speeches delivered in 2015 according to ideological criticism

In this section, the researcher analyzed General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses delivered in the year 2015. By scrutinizing the addresses, the researcher found that there were four ideologies dominating General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s addresses. The ideologies are nationalism, capitalism, democracy and Monarchy.
Nationalism

Nationalism referred to the promotion of the greatness of being unified as a nation. In 2015, General Prayut made a deliberate call for Thai citizens to be patriotic and to practice their culture with pride, which is in line with the nationalism ideology where leaders appealed to their people’s sense of pride. General Prayut asked Thai citizens to be proud of their country, and reported that his international visits involved asking diplomatic officials to promote the image of Thailand as a reforming nation. He said that he had “highlighted the importance of the unique quality of Thainess.” The Prime Minister also expressed pride in what he perceived as a reverence for Thai culture by the international community.

General Prayut encouraged the ideology of nationalism among the general public, as it encouraged Thais to help Thais in terms of crises. For example, General Prayut promoted nationalism by asking members of the public to purchase produce from farmers who affected by the drought disaster as this could help them in earning sufficient income and get through the disaster. Regarding the issues at the community level such as those involving low-income earners and struggling farmers, General Prayut said that we should cooperate as a “state of the people”. In another example, General Prayut called upon the public to be mindful that people with disabilities are a valuable resource of the nation, and if they are looked after and provided opportunities, they can make important contributions to the country. The most important aspect pointed in this regard by Prayut was to build an environment where people can live their lives with equal access and opportunities without discrimination.

Capitalism

The majority of the speech addresses economic matters touched on by the provision of capital in various economic sectors. The economic plan outlined in this speech was largely dependent on promoting private businesses, which is a central tenet of capitalist economies. To stimulate Thailand’s economy, one of General Prayut’s plans was to promote the country’s tourism. General Prayut launched measures to stimulate tourism, including improving the country’s infrastructures such
as road constructions to other provinces of Thailand. General Chan-o-cha sought to have more infrastructural resources directed at the tourism and industrial sectors because Thailand’s “basic infrastructure and public utilities had focused on supporting the public more than businesses.” He also spoke about empowering SMEs and small producers including peasants.

In 2015, it could be seen that General Prayut and his government’s efforts were meant to develop the country’s economy and raise confidence among investors by creating understanding about Thailand’s political processes, preparation of elections and the process of drafting a constitution. To attract more foreign investment, the government developed the country internally, such as infrastructure and transportation development policies, and enhanced the image of stability and credibility among the international community. One of the government’s concerns was the emergence of the ASEAN Economic Community, where Thailand had to be developed in terms of its economy and its people in order to be competitive in the regional market. General Prayut held multiple meetings with related agencies to establish important strategies to support the expansion of economic cooperation in ASEAN and the global level, including the Asia-Pacific Economic Partnership Agreement (TPP) and the expansion of existing FTAs.

Democracy

Although the seizure of Thailand administration by the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) was considered unacceptable among the international community, the NCPO’s absolute objective was to bring peace and order to the country and to promote true democracy. Throughout the year 2015, General Prayut promised to return Thailand to a democratic system as soon as the country was in peace and had order, as he said that “Thailand’s political progress is preparing for general elections, according to the reform Roadmap for building a strong and stable democracy and a united society.” In his speech, General Prayut mentioned about “other models of democracy”. General Prayut explained the concept of localizing democracy to match Thai culture where “politicians must hold ethical value”.
However, the researcher found that democracy should situate upon the concept of equality and freedom (Nilsson & Erlandsson, 2015).

**Monarchy**

General Prayut highlighted the importance of the monarchy institution within Thailand’s constitutional monarchy system. General Prayut expressed that the year 2015 was a celebration year of the Thai people as there were 3 auspicious occasions happening throughout the year, which were the celebration of 70 years of the King's succession to the throne, the celebration of the 84th birthday anniversary of the Queen, and the princess’ 5th cycle birthday anniversary. General Prayut also said that King Bhumibol was his true inspiration, and hoped that he had inspired all Thai citizens as well. He said that the King “truly inspired me as we all work for the nation, and I hope that this has inspired you as well to be strong-willed no matter how hard your task can be, as faith and hope will be our biggest inspiration as we guide our country through this era of reform”. The mention of the institution of the monarch was deliberate and meant to win the institution admiration from Thai citizens.

Table 4.16 Analysis table of ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses delivered in 2015

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4.2.2.3 **Summary of general characteristics of General Prayut’s speech delivered in 2016 according to ideological criticism**

In this section, the researcher analyzed General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses delivered in the year 2016. By scrutinizing the addresses, the researcher found that there were three ideologies dominating General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s addresses. The ideologies are Monarchy, sufficiency economy philosophy and capitalism.

**Monarchy and sufficiency economy philosophy**

In 2016, the ideology of the monarchy and the sufficiency economy philosophy were intertwined as the sufficiency economy philosophy was established by King Bhumibol. General Prayut’s said that King Bhumibol was an excellent role model for Thais to look up to as well as the King’s concept of the sufficiency economy philosophy. General Prayut compared the sufficiency economy philosophy to the United Nations’ sustainable development goals, as they had common ground in achieving sustainability and led to the creation of self-immunity. He encouraged the general public to adopt the sufficiency economy philosophy in their daily lives as a means to enrich quality of life, as the philosophy may be applied to everyone. General
Prayut gave a sample of how he employed the philosophy into the National Economic and Social Development Plan, and the 20 year national strategy. The philosophy was a major part of dealing with the water crisis and drought which the Prime Minister referred to in his speech. Farmers were particularly affected, and General Prayut saw sustainable utilization of water resources as the only way forward. Therefore, the philosophy was a critical element of the country’s economic approach.

At the end of 2016, Thailand lost King Bhumibol as he passed away on October 13, 2016. The loss plunged Thailand into great sorrow. General Prayut expressed the feeling of respect and condolences to King Bhumibol and emphasized that though the King passed away, his precepts would still be with all Thais. General Prayut emphasized the King’s teachings and the sufficiency economy philosophy as a guideline to develop people and their families to be immune to materialism and live happily. The principles of the sufficiency economy philosophy were considered as a walk on the middle road, which was to be reasonable, to use all knowledge carefully, to be sufficient, to not take advantages for oneself, to help the society and the environment, and learn to change.

Capitalism

General Prayut continued to put his effort in developing the country’s economy. In the year 2016, General Prayut initiated more serious plans to attract foreign investors into the country. The government launched a public–private partnership (PPP) in many fundamental structure projects in order to reduce the budget and to enhance the ability to compete and encourage investment. General Prayut stated in the addresses that “Foreign investors are now more confident in us. This is why we need to make our domestic economy strong as well as our trade relations with others.” The government increased funds for economic development in special economic development areas. For example, East Economic terrace (EEC), 10 special economic zones, large fundamental structure investment, which required a large amount of funds and cooperation between the government, people, and the
private sector. The plan would result in the decrease of inequality of people’s income and lower the rate of poverty.

Table 4.17 Analysis table of ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses delivered in 2016

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4.2.3 Specific characteristics of Prayut’s televised addresses according to ideological criticism

The dominant ideologies found in General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses during the period of two years and seven months were capitalism, nationalism and monarchy, sufficiency economy philosophy, monarchy and Buddhism respectively.

Through an analysis of General Prayut’s weekly televised addresses, the most obvious ideology was capitalism. General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s objective was to improve the country’s economy by increasing national wealth. The researcher found ideological tenets of capitalism dominating 28 weekly televised addresses, 68.2% of the overall addresses. Next, the researcher found ideological tenets of nationalism, where General Prayut encouraged Thai citizens to be in unity and to practice their culture with pride, dominating 23 weekly televised addresses, or 56% of the overall addresses. Regarding the sufficiency economy philosophy General Prayut Chan-o-cha mentioned about the King’s science, as a critical element of the country’s economic approach. The researcher found ideological tenets of the sufficiency economy philosophy dominating 22 weekly televised addresses, or 53.6% of the overall addresses. Throughout the speech, General Prayut included messages of upholding the institution of the monarchy, which led to the enforcement of ideology of monarchy. The ideology was found dominating 15 weekly televised addresses, 36.5% of the overall addresses. In terms of Democracy, even though General Prayut Chan-o-cha seized the country’s administrative power through a coup, General Prayut promised to return democracy to the general public as soon as peace and order were restored. The researcher found ideological tenets of democracy dominating 19 weekly televised addresses, 46.3% of the overall addresses. During the first year under General Prayut’s administration, Thailand was heavily influenced by the ideology of authoritarianism. The researcher found ideological tenets of authoritarianism dominating 11 weekly televised addresses, 26.8% of the overall addresses. The ideology of Buddhism dominated some of the weekly televised addresses, mostly when the speeches were delivered during the Buddhist occasions such as Buddhist lent and Kathina festival. General Prayut motivated the general public to practice
Buddhist activities including meditation, prayer, and giving alms. He also instilled the concept of karma in order to encourage people to do good deeds. The researcher found ideological tenets of Buddhism dominating 5 weekly televised addresses, 12.19% of the overall addresses.

According to the findings, capitalism was shown as the most dominate ideology as it persisted as hegemonic ideology in the weekly televised addresses throughout the three years period. Capitalists believe that economic freedom lead to political freedom (Whipple, 2014). General Prayut Chan-o-cha expressed his strong intention in developing the country’s economy, which is heavily influenced by the ideology of capitalism, as Thailand’s economy is run according to the free trade system. On the other hand, General Prayut’s speeches were heavily influenced by the ideology of the sufficiency economy philosophy, which was not directly related with capitalist ideology. The concept of self-sufficiency economy referred to a way of living with moderation and being self-reliant and frugal, where wealth may not define the boundary for happiness or quality of life. The sufficiency economy philosophy became an ideal guide, mentioned repeatedly by General Prayut to beneficial outcomes for the development of the country and its people at every level. However, the two ideologies were not directly related with each other as the term “sufficiency” was different with the term “development” and “growth”. One of the promises General Prayut made to the general public was to solve economic deadlock and bring prosperity to the country’s economic sector in order to return happiness to the people. It may be said that, for General Prayut, the more wealth the country generated, the more financial freedom the country would be able to share with the rest of the people, which would result in the improvement of the general public’s standard of living. To manage a capitalist country, General Prayut focused on assisting the private sector, stimulating trade and investment, and boosting the industrial sector. It was clear that General Prayut’s goal was to gain wealth for the nation by creating competitive markets and labor.
Table 4.18 Analysis table of ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The objective of this chapter is to draw the research conclusion. In this study, the researcher analyzed a total of 41 pieces of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s speeches delivered on the national weekly televised addresses through the concept of Pentadic criticism and ideological criticism. The major purpose was to define the rhetor’s genuine perspective by revealing motives and beliefs of the rhetor. The chapter is divided into four parts, which are (1) conclusion of the study, (2) implications of the study, (3) strength and limitations of the study, and (4) recommendations for further studies.

5.1 Conclusion of the study

In the era of digitalization, new technology has granted wider opportunity for people to choose information they demand to consume. The communication landscape has radically changed as the emergence of advanced technology is one of the most vital threats to televised address, as one-way communication is not the most effective communication method anymore (Kur & Endwell, 2015). The shrinking number of audiences indicated the difficulty for a political rhetor to gain audience through televised addresses, due to other entertainment options available (Baum & Kernell, 1999; Insider, 2016). Therefore, General Prayut, as a rhetor who distributed political rhetoric or propaganda through televised addresses, may not fully be considered successful (PostToday, 2016). The first two years of the weekly televised addresses were considered popular as the program informed the general public of critical regulations and situations resulting from the coup; however, after two years, the ratings of the Prime Minister’s weekly televised addresses had dropped sharply (Luek, 2016). General Prayut Chan-O-cha tried adjusting the structures and styles of
the program by featuring professional moderators, changing from wearing a soldier’s uniform to a suit and tie, adjusting the background, and adding background music. Nonetheless, the adjustments of appearances did not improve the ratings of the program. Moreover, the weekly televised program had been criticized by many communication experts because it had become dull as it provides excessive information, which makes it boring rather than informative (PostToday, 2016). The program was considered unsuccessful, as the program did not create a great impact upon the general public. The ratings of the program proved that the general public, in the era of digitalization, were not easily manipulated by political rhetoric. Therefore, General Prayut and his weekly televised address production team should not assume that people are illiterate, and should not underestimate the general public’s media literacy.

Through the lens of pentadic criticism, the findings showed that scene and agent are the paramount ratio of the pentadic elements. In the weekly televised addresses, scene referred to the location of Thailand and the theme that was occurring during the period the speeches were given. Meanwhile, agent referred to General Prayut himself, who was considered as the main character of the weekly televised addresses. The findings suggested that General Prayut’s speeches were heavily influenced by the setting in which the situation occurred in terms of location, time and the environment such as the turmoil caused by the former government, the influence of global economic uncertainty and the celebration theme of the ‘Bike for Dad’ event. General Prayut, as the rhetor and the main character of the televised address not only had control as the person who delivered the addresses, but was also the person who made major decisions and directed the country’s future. Therefore, General Prayut’s purpose, agency and act heavily relied on the pentadic elements of scene and agent.

Ideological criticism reveals the influences of ideologies over an individual’s logic and common sense (Althusser, 2006). Through the lens of ideological criticism, the findings disclosed that capitalism, nationalism, monarchy and the sufficiency economy philosophy are dominant ideologies in General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s addresses, as they dominated more than half of the total televised addresses
investigated in this study. This study showed that an individual may possess multiple ideologies, and ideologies are intertwined and could not be separated into a concrete frame.

Pentadic criticism and ideological criticism allow critics to discover rhetorical factors. The two concepts are significant tools for scrutinizing motives and beliefs of the rhetor through speeches. This study contributes to explain the motives behind General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s televised addresses, and to give insights on General Prayut’s beliefs influencing the addresses. Moreover, it contributes to a better understanding of Thailand’s political situation during the critical period after the 2014 coup. In addition, the impact of the speech and the assessment of effectiveness are not focused on in this study. Therefore, the findings may not act as an indicator of General Prayut’s achievement toward his audiences.

5.2 Implications of the Study

This study explored General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised addresses through the concept of pentadic criticism and ideological criticism. The study yielded three implications.

First, this study contributed to better understanding of Burke’s concept of pentadic criticism and Marx’ ideological criticism, which are concepts under the study of rhetorical criticism. The findings derived from this research have been selected to benefit individuals in the field of communication by enhancing their knowledge of rhetorical criticism in the political sphere.

Second, exploring General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address for the period of two years and seven months through two concepts under rhetorical criticism has led to a better understanding of specific motives and beliefs, which were hidden within speeches delivered in the weekly televised addresses. The findings of the study may benefit the prime minister and the content team of the weekly televised addresses production unit. It may serve as a reflection of general Prayut’s Chan-O-
cha’s addresses, which may be taken into consideration in order to enhance future political figures’ addresses.

Lastly, the overall finding of this study can accommodate Thai individuals and other interested parties, as it is an opportunity to take a closer look at the public dissemination of information from one of Thailand’s most powerful political figures. More importantly, this study raised awareness against propagated messages and forceful political rhetoric and encouraged people to be mindful and prevent themselves from the influence of propaganda in any form.

5.3 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

The strength of this study is that the study employs both pentadic criticism and ideological criticism, which are the dominant concepts under rhetorical criticism. The researcher intentionally employed the 2 concepts to validate the results of the study, as ideological criticism is a tool which draws out the rhetor’s belief, while pentadic criticism is a tool which draws out the rhetor’s motives. Many studies in relation to rhetorical criticism have explored speeches of many well-known figures, but none have investigated General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s weekly televised addresses before.

Nonetheless, this study has three limitations. The first limitation of this study is the inaccuracy of the English subtitles, which is the artefact of this study. Therefore, the script may not fully be understood by foreigners. Second is the limitation in gaining access to the government’s database. For this study, the researcher collected 82 pieces of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s speeches for a total period of two years and seven months, where 130 pieces of the address were retrieved. Lastly, this study only analyzed words spoken by General Prayut and did not focus on other features, such as nonverbal communication aspects.
5.4 Recommendations for Further Studies

In this chapter, recommendations are presented for future research directions in the area of rhetorical criticism. Due to limitations mentioned in the previous section, this study yielded three recommendations to future research. First, the artefact of this study is 41 pieces of General Prayut’s addresses ranging from May 20, 2014 to December 25, 2016. However, General Prayut had continued to deliver the addresses on a weekly basis until 2019. Future researchers could employ pentadic and ideological criticism as an analytical tool to different periods of General Prayut’s televised addresses. The findings derived from the investigation of different periods could be compared to this study to see the changing patterns in motives and beliefs of General Prayut over the years.

Second, this study employed only two concepts under rhetorical criticism; however an analysis of other tools employed to scrutinize the artefact would provide more perspective (Foss, 2009). Future research may use other concepts in the realm of rhetorical criticism to investigate General Prayut’s weekly televised addresses in order to gain more perspective over the rhetor’s speech, which could be compared to the findings of this study.

Lastly, this study only focuses on the subtitle text of the weekly televised addresses and ignores other aspects of the televised addresses. Future research could investigate other components of the broadcasted weekly televised addresses such as the features of body language, tone of voice and other nonverbal communication features. The findings of the study contribute to the understanding of General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s perspectives.
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1.1

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 30th, 2014

Act:

The act was considered the epicenter of the speech, as the words became actions. At the beginning of General Prayut’s speech, General Prayut Chan-O-cha provided reasons behind the military regime. He justified the National Council of Peace and Order or the NCPO’s effort in governing the country. He reminded people of decades long political deadlock, which hinder Thailand from moving forward, and it is a necessarily for the NCPO to take action by taking over the country administration. He reminded his audience by painting the picture of what the situation in Thailand was like before his administration and how it will be during his administration. Key word to this act in this speech were “prevent political and economic deadlock”, “maintain national security”, “control violent situation” and “restore peace and order”, as the Prime Minister discussed these key terms several times throughout the speech.

In one phrase, the Prime Minister said “the NCPO does not want power for our own benefit, it was because the country was not able to move forward.” He added that “if government officials and military did nothing, who would help the Thai people resolve this deadlock when the democratic mechanisms are paralyzed.” With such quote, he reaffirmed his reason for his action of taking over the country’s administration, as it was inevitable. At the same instant, he also partially promised to solve the country’s issues.
In restoring peace and stability within the country, the Prime Minister also explained the newly implemented measures including Martial Law and the curfew, which he said that “it is intended to restore peace and order, and to provide security for the society.” These were a few of examples the Thai Prime Minister mentioned in the speech. He went on into further detail filled with explanations to his attempt on the subject of creating peace and stability.

**Agent:**
Agent was the matter of the person who was involved in creating this speech. In the speech, General Prayut Chan-O-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) was fairly noticeable as the key character in creating the message. As a military junta, General Prayut made it very clear that he and the NCPO will lead the country through the turmoil as he mentioned that “the NCPO has taken control of the situation, temporarily, in order to stop the violence and break the deadlock that had prevented the previous government from moving Thailand forward.”

**Agency:**
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

**Scene:**
The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country, especially during the critical time. General Prayut repeated several times throughout his speech saying that “this is to return happiness and safety in lives and properties to the Thai people as well as foreign nationals residing in Thailand”. As he said “there might be some disruptions in people’s daily lives and commutes”, General Prayut pointed out impacts of his current measures and the near implemented measures to the lives of those who situating in Thailand.
Purpose:

The aspect of purpose simply asks for reasons behind the artefact. “Purpose” posts question on the motivation behind the words being spoken. The purpose of this artefact was quite straightforward, which was to elucidate General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s status as a military junta and as a leader of Thailand, and to explain the process of returning happiness to the people and moving Thailand forward. With the status of a military junta, General Prayut spent most part of his speech clarified the righteousness of his empowerment. He further reiterated the responsibility in leading the country out of political, economic and social turmoil. General Prayut also touched upon concerns of foreign diplomats, which had criticized Thailand’s undemocratic political system.

In the artefact, he asserts that “The NCPO understands the concerns of our international friends. We understand that we are living in a world that values democracy. All we ask for is to give us time to reform in order to mend our democratic system and make it right, just, responsible and beneficial to all people.” The quote sums up the overall purpose of this artefact drama, which is to gain trust among Thais and foreigners that he will govern the country peacefully and fairly, but most importantly to lead the country out of the standoff situation.

Table 4.1 Pentadic analysis table of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address given on May 30th, 2014

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### Appendix 1.2

**Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 6th, 2014**

**Act:**

In this speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha gave reasons behind the military administration, and clarifying Thailand’s standpoint in a democratic world. He also posted question to his audience on Thailand’s readiness for democracy. He said that “democracy is important, but Thailand needs to solve internal issues before achieving a true democracy”. He mentioned in the very beginning of his speech that “it was necessary for the NCPO to take control of national administration and the most important reason was because we respect the democratic process.” The issues of social, political and economic turmoil caused from the previous government were heavily emphasized by General Prayut. He admitted that he only focusing on the problems caused by the previous government. He also asked general public to cooperate with the NCPO in order to revive the country.

**Agent:**

In the speech, it was fairly noticeable that General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the NCPO was the key character in creating the message. As a military junta,
General Prayut Chan-o-cha made it very clear that he and the NCPO will lead the country out of the turmoil.

Agency:
As the researcher discussed earlier, agency poses the question on what instruments were to accomplish the act and how the messages were relayed by the main character. For the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha employed weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide. It was an effective tool for one way communication. However, the drawback is that the medium of one-way communication was quite outdated.

Scene:
The scene of the drama was that Thailand was trying to revive itself after the major political and economic crisis, as the speech explained the situation in Thailand after a coup. In order to revive the country, General Prayut Chan-o-cha explained Thailand’s standpoint as an undemocratic country toward international community. General Prayut Chan-o-cha also gave guidance of how Thais who reside within the country should behave at the moment with the new rules and regulations. General Prayut repeated several times that his first priority is to make Thailand stronger by returning happiness to the people who were residing in Thailand. Therefore, the scene of this speech

Purpose:
It was clear that, throughout the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha was sending the messages to the international community by clarifying the matter of democracy. General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s first priority for this country was to restore peace and stability, which considered the most important foundations before the country could proceed forward. During the time, the international community condemned Thailand as an undemocratic country, therefore General Prayut had to explain Thailand's position and request time and understanding from the international community by stated in his speech that “we are asking for your (international
community) patience to give us time as we build our country and democracy in which the Thai people possess discipline and a true understanding of democracy with good governance.” He kept on repeating of what had happened in Thailand during the past decade, as a supporting statement for the reason behind the temporarily undemocratic system in Thailand.

Table 4.2 Pentadic analysis table of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address given on June 6th, 2014

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Appendix 1.3

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 20th, 2014

Act:
The act was considered the epicenter of the speech, as the words became actions. General Prayut Chan-O-cha, head of National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) thanked all sections for country development. He reported alien labor management and suggested to country administration and driving economy and environment. He explained that he wanted country arranged illegal alien labor and driving economic country forward”. He mentioned about those topics many times via television broadcasting. One of his words mentioned that “I would like to thank all sections including soldier, police, governors, officers and people to do your jobs for driving Thailand forward and bringing back to people”. General Prayut Chan-O cha said about economic and environment driving that “government section’s additional budget consideration in the year for supporting employment and income creation to people. However, overall of Thai economy from 22 May had a good trend having more investment.”

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha who was an important person of announcement as a head of army and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He managed alien labor and driving economy forward. He said “NCPO processed alien labor management and the most urgent matter was phrase 1 focusing on authority group elimination who brought alien labor illegally and NCPO aimed to help citizen who had low rate income and be in trouble for living first.

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

Many people concerned about cost living, low rate cost living, illegal alien labor working. NCPO took actions getting rid of authority group, rearrange labor
system and control labor following law. He suggested to reduce cost of producing and provide money to people who suffered from disaster. NCPO supported fund of long-term loan to farmers. NCPO tried to create a participation of all sections to country administration.

**Purpose:**

Many people concerned about NCPO’s administration, so General Prayut Chan-O-cha made an announcement for ensuring people. He gave reasons and thanked all sections that co-operated to country development. In the past working of NCPO, it rearranged alien labor being right and helped people so that economy and society could develop better.

**Table 4.3 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 20th, 2014**

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Appendix 1.4

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 27th, 2014

Act:

The speech by General Prayut Chan-o-cha was one of the periodic communications made by Thailand’s leader to the public. The leader of the NCPO introduced broad reform blueprint to facilitate reconciliation. The solutions offered in response to the challenges were listed in a 3 phrase reformation plan. In the first phrase, the leader of National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO), General Chan-o-cha began by addressing immediate problems that face Thailand including crime and illegal activities such as drug abuse, gambling, and illegal weapons, among others. He also mentioned economic difficulties that Thailand was confronting, therefore General Prayut Chan-o-cha came up with practical solutions, which included passage of laws that enhance trade and investment, offering assistance to farmers, and improvement in living wages. The first phrase was schedule to achieve within the first 3 months.

The speech defined the second phase as involving measures that will be undertaken in the short term or about 300 days. The reform will cover a wide range of issues important to the people including reduction of corruption, improvements to the justice systems through creation of independent institutions, reforms in the political system, and many other changes to sectors such as energy, mass communication, and education. Speech also explained the process through which the enumerated changes will be affected, while the third phase is also was introduced in order to solve the country’s problem in a long run.

The last phrase would be after the elections. Pending issues from phase 1 and 2 would continue to be examined in phase 3 by an elected government to complete reforms initiated in the first two phases for the benefits of all parties. At the end,
General Prayut Chan-o-cha asked for collaboration from all sides including private sectors to join hands in an effort to revive the country.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha who was an important person of announcement as a head of army and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He managed alien labor and driving economy forward. He said “NCPO processed alien labor management and the most urgent matter was phrase 1 focusing on authority group elimination who brought alien labor illegally and NCPO aimed to help citizen who had low rate income and be in trouble for living first.

Agency:

Weekly televised address to the nation was a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. As weekly televised address was a great tool for one-way communication, General Prayut could only speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide. He announced the country’s blueprint through weekly televised address, so the message could be distributed throughout the nation.

Scene:

Thailand during the time of crisis was the scene of this drama, as the speech was meant for all Thai citizens and those who resided within the country. In General Prayut’s speech, every citizens should be involved as a part of the process in reviving the country. In this speech, General Prayut explained his reform blueprint, which aimed to change to nation’s administrative system. He gave the people guidance of what kind of behavior expected from the general public during this critical time. During the reform process, General Prayut needed cooperation from everyone in the country to do good deed for the sake of the nation. By doing good deed, General Prayut encouraged general public to do good deeds as every religion encourage the people to be good. He used religious theme to give advice general public in order to be a good citizen for the country.
Purpose:

The speech by the head of the NCPO also offered an update on the situation in Thailand with regard to security, economy, education, political climate, and tourism in order to report the general public of how much the NCPO had done so far in order to tackle the political and economic turmoil.

General Prayut also went further to provide details on the activities that will be undertaken to strengthen each of the listed sectors. International matters also featured in the General’s speech as he outlines the progress made with regard to Thailand’s relationship with the international community. The speech concluded with a message to the country during the period of transition to the Holy Month of Ramadan. General Chan-o-cha uses the speech to send a goodwill message to the citizens ahead of the religious event.

Table 4.4 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 27th, 2014

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Appendix 1.5

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on July 25th, 2014

Act:

General Prayut Chan-o-cha delivers the speech in his capacity as the leader of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO). The first part of the speech is largely in line with the routine of delivering the latest updates regarding the Thai interim government. In this instance, the Prime Minister addresses recent actions that have legitimized the NCPO. The speech is then used to give a score card of the Thai government on a number of sectors beginning with the economy, the international relations engagements, security, and political reforms.

The economic scorecard deals with a raft of issues including agriculture, trade, foreign investment, employment and price of basic commodities. The brief on international issues dwells on the upcoming economic conference in Hong Kong, the issues of immigrant labor, and the displacement of people from Myanmar. The part on political reforms deals with issues of human rights, security, appointments made in government, and the call for opening up of political freedom especially for political parties.

Agent:

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) is the key character in creating the message.
Weekly televised address to the nation is a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

**Scene:**

The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

**Purpose:**

The purpose of the speech is deliberate as it seeks to provide legitimacy to the NCPO under General Prayut Chan-o-cha. The mention of the approval of the small matter of getting approval from the Thai Monarchy may appear deliberate but it serves the purpose of giving legitimacy to the government and winning the support of the Thai people. Other aspects of the speech are also meant to calm down concerns raised by citizens and the international community. The promises of economic development and opening up of democracy are mentioned in the speech to give hope to the Thai people that the government is addressing the issues that matter the average citizens.

Table 4.5 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on July 25th, 2014

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Appendix 1.6

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2014

**Act:**

The speech by General Prayut Chan-o-cha starts on a warm note as he passes his greetings to the Thai people. He also spreads joy by alluding to happiness among the Thai people on account of the two months that the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) has run the country under his leadership. The speech then goes back to a somber mood as the Prime Minister reminds the Thai people of the challenges that they faced before the NCPO took power. There is reference to insecurity, chaos, and division compounded by corruption and human rights breaches. In admitting that a lot remains to be done to fully restore the country on the right path, General Prayut Chan-o-cha outlines a number of reforms that the NCPO will continue to undertake under his leadership. The speech is also used to defend the Monarchy while at the same time taking a jibe at some of the stakeholders that have criticized the NCPO. The progress report is then read out with emphasis on the economic and political sector.

**Agent:**

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) is the key character in creating the message.
Agency:
Weekly televised address to the nation is a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

Purpose:
The speech serves to assure the Thai residents that the economy will stabilize and allow the price of basic goods to go down while at the same time promising increased democracy. It is intended to also increase legitimacy by criticizing those that have tried to correct it and to push for political reforms. General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s warm approach at the beginning of the speech is deliberate as it helps him in earning a listening year. The report card is also structured purposefully for the reason of ensuring that the issues that face the Thai residents are addressed. In the same way, the mention of the reign before the NCPO took over power is deliberate and aimed at enhancing the performance of General Prayut Chan-o-cha.

Table 4.6 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 1th, 2014

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Appendix 1.7

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-ch’a’s weekly televised address delivered on August 8th, 2014

Act:

The speech by General Prayut Chan-o-cha starts with a rare positive message to the media where the Prime Minister commends its work in disseminating his messages. The speech also dwells on the communication policy of the Thai government that is led by the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO). A similar message of unity is called upon as General Prayut Chan-o-cha gives notice of the upcoming birthday for the Queen of the Thailand.

However, after the remarks on unity, the Prime Minister moves on the defensive and accuses some elements of using social media and other communication platforms to discredit the Monarchy. Unlike most of the Prime Minister’s speeches where the scorecard begins with the performance of the economy, this address starts with the state of the political systems with General Prayut Chan-o-cha promising more reforms to help build stronger governance systems that are based on equality and democracy. The report also addresses Thailand’s efforts to rebuild its standing in the international community through collaboration with the ASEAN community. The internal and external security of the country is also addressed with promises of
efficiency under the NCPO. The speech further dwells on the progress made in various sectors of the economy and the ongoing short- and long-term policies.

Agent:
In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) is the key character in creating the message.

Agency:
Weekly televised address to the nation is a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

Purpose:
The purpose of the speech appears to be to increase legitimacy of the NCPO government and this is clear from the defensive tone of the Prime Minister in the first part of the speech. The address also serves as a unifying factor for the country by promising the Thai people that their government has solid plans to improve their socioeconomic and political livelihoods. The purpose of mentioning the Monarch is meant to make the Prime Minister’s message more credible by riding on the goodwill that the Thai people have.

Table 4.7 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 8th, 2014

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Appendix 1.8

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 15th, 2014

Act:
The start of this speech is conciliatory and has a warm message to the Thai people after the occasion celebrating the anniversary of the monarchy. The Prime Minister builds on the jovial mood to call for further cohesion and close collaboration between the Thai people as well as preservation of the Thai culture. In a remarkable gesture, General Prayut Chan-o-cha also extends a goodwill message to a family that was affected by the collapse of a condominium. The speech builds up on the tribulations of the affected family and extends a message of hope to many Thai people who continue to live in undesirable condition on account of the poor economic status. The Prime Minister demonstrates knowledge of these challenges and goes on to state a number of steps that his government has undertaken and will continue to implement in order to improve the lives of the Thai people. The speech then moves on to the report card on the social problems that have been addressed and the steps are taken to
improve the livelihoods of the Thai people. The same report card is issues with regard to the various sectors of the economy and in the political sphere as well.

**Agent:**

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) is the key character in creating the message.

**Agency:**

Weekly televised address to the nation is a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

**Scene:**

The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

**Purpose:**

The purpose of this speech by General Prayut Chan-o-cha is to assure the Thai people that the NCPO is still in charge of the operations of the country. Further, it is also meant to assure the people that their government is mindful of their plight and that progress has been made and continues to be made towards the improvement of their livelihoods. Indeed, the reference to the family affected by tragedy was not by mistake but served the purpose of reminding the Thai people that General Prayut Chan-o-cha was in touch with reality.

Table 4.8 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 15th, 2014

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Appendix 1.9

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 29th, 2014

Act:

The Prime minister focuses on the problems and issues in the nation and therefore makes an attempt to communicate with the Thai people as well as the world. The nation’s issues dominate his speech and some solutions for the issues he identified.

The Prime Minister’s Speech addresses the nation’s social, economic and political problems, and provides solutions, which recommended by the National Council for Peace and Order or the NCPO. The Prime minister makes a step by step analysis of the nation from different sectors which indicates to the citizens that he is aware of their issues. For example on the issues of the environment, he cites pollution and places an emphasis on the effect of unfriendly economic and industrial actions to the
nation’s environment. This is just an example of how the president identifies a problem and its cause.

Agent:
In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) is the key character in creating the message.

Agency:
Weekly televised address to the nation is a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

Purpose:
The main purpose of this speech by the prime minister is to inform the citizens that he has identified the issues facing them and created a plan to solve the issues. The speech gives the people more confidence that the government is aware of their problems and working to make improvements. The Prime Minister notes that there are many issues that hinder the development of the country and he is aware of them. The Prime Minister also offers some recommendation that the NCPO has made to address the welfare of the citizens. For example, after identifying the problem the country with loan sharks, he states that the ministry of finance is making steps to increase access to legal credit for low-income earners. This statement offers hope to the country that steps are being made to address their welfare and also increase the confidence citizens have in the government.

Table 4.9 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 29th, 2014
Appendix 1.10

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 28th, 2014

Act:

The Prime minister focuses on the problems and issues in the nation and therefore makes an attempt to communicate with the Thai people as well as the world. The nation’s issues dominate his speech and some solutions for the issues he identified.

The Prime Minister’s Speech addresses the nation’s social, economic and political problems, and provides solutions, which recommended by the National Council for Peace and Order or the NCPO. The Prime minister makes a step by step analysis of
the nation from different sectors which indicates to the citizens that he is aware of their issues. For example on the issues of the environment, he cites pollution and places an emphasis on the effect of unfriendly economic and industrial actions to the nation’s environment. This is just an example of how the president identifies a problem and its cause.

**Agent:**
In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) is the key character in creating the message.

**Agency:**
Weekly televised address to the nation is a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

**Scene:**
The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

**Purpose:**
The main purpose of this speech by the prime minister is to inform the citizens that he has identified the issues facing them and created a plan to solve the issues. The speech gives the people more confidence that the government is aware of their problems and working to make improvements. The Prime Minister notes that there are many issues that hinder the development of the country and he is aware of them. The Prime Minister also offers some recommendation that the NCPO has made to address the welfare of the citizens. For example, after identifying the problem the country with loan sharks, he states that the ministry of finance is making steps to increase access to legal credit for low-income earners. This statement offers hope to the country that steps are being made to address their welfare and also increase the confidence citizens have in the government.
Table 4.10 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 28th, 2014

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Appendix 1.11

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 4th, 2015

Act:

The first part of by General Prayut Chan-o-cha was marked by a conciliatory tone as the leader of Thailand calls upon his citizens to work together for the benefit of country. Apart from calling for a de-escalation of conflict, the Prime Minister calls upon Thai citizens from all walks of life to forge a united front and work together for the benefit of Thailand. The conciliatory tone is soon discarded when the Prime
Minister touches on the thorny issue of political reforms and change in government systems. General Prayut Chan-o-cha appears to pint an accusing finger at those who have opposed his government, and those who have called for the restoration of democracy. The speech is somewhat contradictory as the Prime Minister claims that the question of whether the new order will be democratic or undemocratic should not be given much emphasis but should be left to the people to decide.

The contradiction, however, is that the Prime Minister does not propose any tangible solutions such as an election roadmap where the people can decide. A large part of the speech also dwells on criticism of the critics of the Prime Minister’s government and urges them to wait and see how his programs will function.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Orde who made country peaceful and moving forward wiuthout any conflict. General Prayut Chan-O cha mentioned that “country growing and being strength together, I used to talk that Our Home Our Country Stronger Together. It was an economic matter. Not only security matter, economic matter and all matters were connected.”

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. Moving country forward among administration change, the government wanted to launch a new constitution to administer the country. However, it must be accepted by all people. Democratic constitution must provide advantages to people and people are the center.
The government reported meaning of the constitution to people. The Prime Minister mentioned that “Having the constitution from democratic method or not, I think a purpose of being democratic was people can take advantages. People are centering not a political party including NCPO. Having the constitution from democratic method or not, I think a purpose of being democratic was people can take advantages. People are centering not a political party including NCPO”.

**Purpose:**

The purpose of the speech by the Prime Minister appears to be the unity of the country and delegitimizing his opponents. This is because the first part of the speech is conciliatory and appears to make the suggestion that the Prime Minister’s opponents are unreasonable. The attacks on his opponents is also made shortly after extending what had seemed like an olive branch and this serves to deny the critics legitimacy and depicting them as power-hungry and out of touch with the problems of the people. The return to the economic agenda helps to endear the Prime Minister to the Thai citizens and win over support for his NCPO.

**Table 4.11 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 4th, 2015**

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Appendix 1.12

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 11th, 2015

Act:

The act was considered the epicenter of the speech, as the words became actions. General Prayut Chan-O cha, the Prime Minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order declared purposes of constitution drafting to National Reform Council. He explained the government’s effort in country’s administration and declared reasons of using law article 44. General Prayut Chan-O cha mentioned about those topics many times in television broadcast. One of General Prayut Chan-O cha words mentioned about “results of the constitution drafting to National Reform Council” that “last week that subject was denied by National Reform Council. I wanted people to think in many dimensions including democratic topic or power inherit. I wanted to think only please think about country’s peace and people advantages who were not in conflicts.” General Prayut Chan-O cha mentioned about government’s effort to develop the country that “today we are soldiers who came to be a politician by forced and most of us are governor officers. So, we plan to solve problems what we have faced for whole life. We think how our works will not be interfered. We work following law and do not discriminate to operate. All of officers are happy. For ones who are politicians, we do not discriminate in operation. One who will come to take power in administration from election is expected to do it. The Strategic Committee for reform will be held or not, there is an answer. I used to tell from the beginning that all politicians can do it. If they do not do it, there is no need to do anything.
Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He made less conflicts in the country. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “Having the constitution or not was thought that a purpose of it was people’s advantages. People are center not a political party or anyone including NCPO. There is no organization taking advantages.”

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. People do not confident in the constitution and country’s administration of the government. The government purposed a new constitution to National Reform Council but it was rejected. People did not trust in government administration which were soldiers. General Prayut Chan-O cha declared truths in country’s administration by soldiers to create confidence to people and foreigners. He announced to decrease conflicts following power from law article 44. Driving economy was developed by the government by issuing a measure to adjust constructions. For example, investment, taking care of small-size business, middle-size business and exempt income tax of SMEs who was a new start-up group. To exempt income tax was for business processing. Another topic was drought. There is no rain following raining season making farmers lacked water to supply for farming. The government suggested to decrease using water by planting instead of rice farming to reduct damages which would happen.

Purpose:
The purpose of General Prayut Chan-o-cha interview was occurred because people do not confident in the constitution and country’s administration of the government. The government purposed a new constitution to National Reform Council but it was rejected. People did not trust in government administration which were soldiers. General Prayut Chan-o-cha declared truths in country’s administration by soldiers to create confidence to people and foreigners and reduced conflicts.

Table 4.12 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 11th, 2015

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Appendix 1.13

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 18th, 2015
Act:

The act was considered the epicenter of the speech, as the words became actions. General Prayut Chan-O cha, the government and head of National Council for Peace and Order, declared asking for citizen’s cooperation to government and NCPO for administration. He reported a meeting trying to solve many urgent problems. General Prayut Chan-O cha mentioned about those topics many times in television broadcast. One of General Prayut Chan-O cha words mentioned about asking for citizen’s cooperation to government and NCPO for administration. He said “Today I had words from my heart, whether you believed or not. Whatever you thought, I would like to inform that please made cooperation, thinking and doing as I hoped. Working with National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) and government was for our beloved country, especially in this important period. NCPO and government would like to invite all Thai people cleaned our country and it passed from dangerous situations”. General Prayut Chan-O cha mentioned about the minute made with cabinet that very urgent problems to develop country “this week I called the specific cabinet for meeting and tried to solve many emergency problems. For example, poverty solution, recently economic situations solving and drought solution which could be more severe than this year from November to December, especially at Chaopraya and Mae Khlong drainage basin area”. The Prime Minister made congrats to youth who won the painting competition under frame of “Thailand is our home. We will move forward together written in English as OUR HOME OUR COUNTRY STRONGER TOGETHER”.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He made the country strong together. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “NCPO and the government wanted all Thai people cleaned our country and it passed from dangerous situations.”
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

**Scene:**

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. Thailand was not progress as much as it should be, and the city was not strong enough. The Prime Minister speech was that “Thailand was our home and we would grow up strongly. English translation was OUR HOME OUR COUNTRY STRONGER TOGETHER” that made the Prime Minister came to ask cooperation with government and NCPO for administration. Farmers faced to drought, so the government had to solve this emergency problem. And the country suffered from economy structure which was not strong enough, the government had to work so hard. The Prime Minister tried to make a meeting to consult to international section. He joined the 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, United States to hear suggestion for country integration.

**Purpose:**

The purpose of General Prayut Chan-o-cha interview was occurred because Thailand was not progress as much as it should be. It made the Prime Minister came out asking people’s cooperation with NCPO and the government in country’s administration.

Table 4.13  Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 18th, 2015

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Appendix 1.14

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 25th, 2015

Act:

This speech began with a dedication to Prince Mahidol whose contribution to modern medicine in Thailand is widely revered. The prime minister then announced his intention to travel to New York for the 70th session of United Nations General Assembly, where he intended to give submissions on Thailand’s commitment to global and national development goals. General Chan-o-cha asserted his government’s commitment to Thai citizen’s right to express dissenting opinions publicly but urged them to do it in a manner that does not damage their country’s image. Another agenda communicated in the prime minister’s speech was his
intention to hold discussions with the UN secretary general and American investors as well as Thais living in the US.

The Prime Minister outlined various resolutions touching on grass root economic and social advancement reached upon at the “Saan Palang Pracharat Puea Setthakij Thaan Raak” event. These, he said called for harmonized action between the government and all the Thai people without exclusion. The prime minister outlined various elaborate social and economic reform agendas overseen by various institutions, and which all fit into the 20-year reform agenda. General Chan-o-cha ended his speech by implored citizens and authorities to stay vigilant for natural disasters arising from heavy rains and storms that were affecting Thailand at the time, while also asserting his government’s commitment to help citizens with short-term and long-term issues arising from weather changes.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to decrease inequality and develop the country. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “I declared about goal of Thailand that made cooperation with UN to keep 3 issues of development. I declared the experience of Thai to eliminate poverty, inequality decrease, so we passed economic crisis and rate of job vacancy was the least which aimed for sustainable development

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. Due to moving forward the country, the government created policy, project and joined the meeting with international organization. They were made for driving the country. The Prime Minister joined the 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, United States and declared the experience of Thai to eliminate poverty, inequality decrease, so the country passed economic crisis and rate of job vacancy was the least which was aim of sustainable development.” The sustainable development by used sufficiency economy philosophy of his majesty king Bhumibol Adulyadej. It was the idea provided from him to Thai citizen and to be a model which the government applied. The government visited to many organizations, the United Nations, and exchanged opinions to US Business Association. The government acknowledged the path of business and investment in Thailand.

Purpose:
The primary purpose of General Chan-o-cha’s speech was to communicate his agenda for the UNGA conference in New York. This took up a bulk of the speech, in which he clearly outlined several activities that he would be involved in during his visit. The prime minister also sought to quell open political opposition to his government, tying it to the image of the country. He did so by asking his supporters and his opponents alike to exercise their right to picket, but in a civilized manner. He says, “I understand that you have the right to express yourselves…am only asking you to refrain from damaging the image of our country…play by the rules, have self-control, be united, and take care of one another.” With his government still facing multiple credibility issues after coming to power through a controversial coup-d’état, General Chan-o-cha was concerned that overt expression of dissent at the UNGA sidelines would undermine his efforts to safeguard his and the country’s image on the international scene. The prime minister was also concerned about the impacts that heavy rainfall that Thailand was experiencing would have on the residents, hence his call for vigilance from all stakeholders.

While General Chan-o-cha’s pleas for cooperation with his government took up less space than is typical with his weekly addresses, they were still conspicuously
present in this speech. In the speech, he displays extensive understanding of the working of the economy, and is keen to outline positive plans he holds for the country’s economy. By avoiding overt mention of the crisis in the country, the Prime Minister carefully turns people’s attention towards the multiple benefits that his tenure promises and this could be a more effective way to win their hearts.

Table 4.14 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 25th, 2015

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Appendix 1.15

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 2nd, 2015

Act:
General Prayut Chan-o-cha began his weekly address by bringing the country up to speed with the activities that he had undertaken since the beginning of the United Nations General Assembly. The prime minister said that he had met Thai delegates serving in the US and gave them policy guidelines on promoting the image and interests of the country abroad. Chan-o-cha expressed joy that Americans still held the country and its culture in positive light despite the difficult political environment.

He then spoke at length about the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy followed in Thailand, pointing out the reduction of poverty from 40% to 10.5% since 2000 and growth of employment to 98.7% as important strides. Chan-O-cha asserted his government’s commitment to end the social inequality that had persisted despite the economic gain. Emphasizing on this goal, he reiterated his belief that “A society with balance and equality must be maintained while poverty and disparity must be removed.” The Prime Minister expressed confidence that the Sufficiency Economy philosophy would continue to yield gains in the betterment of lives in the country both socially and economically.

Next, General Chan-o-cha revealed meeting representatives from the US-ASEAN Business Council (USABC) and the American business community. He hoped that the engagements would yield a higher level of FDI into Thailand, facilitated by his government’s intentions to streamline the country’s regulatory framework for investment. He also talked about a meeting with the UNODC Executive Director, in which he gave Thailand’s commitment to fight human trafficking and other international crimes. He revealed that he had received the Global Sustainable Digital Development Award from the ITU, and lauded the role of ICT in development while also cautioning against improper use. He therefore urged the “need to improve awareness about constructive use of this technology.” General Chan-o-cha also revealed Thailand’s push for a non-permanent seat on the UNSC and that the country had received annual chairmanship of the G77 group of countries.
General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He made a chance to develop the country with foreign countries. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “joining the 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly was an important chance for Thailand as a member of international community to show stance on many issues and to inform to know our development including our plan process. On behalf of Thai people, I have done mission continuously.”

Agency:
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole.

Purpose:
The main purpose of the speech was to bring Thai citizens up to date with General Chan-o-cha’s itinerary during the 70th session of the UNGA. The general mentioned all the meetings that he had held with different regional and international stakeholders while in New York. He also sought to assure Thais that the country was heading in the right direction in terms of reforms for democracy and long term economic and social development goals.

General Chan-o-cha’s speech took a noticeably reassuring tone, covering a number of sensitive topics that are perceived as Thailand’s top priorities. He was particularly keen to signal cooperation with the international community, through reaffirming obligation to various global courses of which Thailand is part. This approach seems to be aimed at winning the confidence of the international community where he is largely viewed as an undemocratic imposer on leadership.
During General Chan-o-cha’s largely self-mandated tenure, he has been preoccupied with propping himself up as a leader who is committed to democracy and betterment of his people’s lives. This speech is undoubtedly a continuation of the same, with the prime minister outlining a raft of social and economic tokens that the Thai people stood to gain from his leadership.

Table 4.15 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 2th, 2015

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Appendix 1.16

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 9th, 2015

Act:
General Chan-o-cha’s weekly address for the second week of October 2015 began with a reminder to Thai citizens of the need to observe the Vegetarian Festival and the benefits of the values that the festival promotes. In the first part of the speech, the Prime Minister spoke about his government’s plan to solve various economic problems that had been inherited from the previous government including corruption, tax inefficiencies, poor infrastructure and misplaced budgetary priorities. He touted “HM the King’s approach to engender development and growth, and build resilience and connectivity for all” as a central part of his fight against these problems, aided by amendments to populist policies initiated by his predecessors. He defended his government against claims that it had continued such populist approaches to policy, maintain that the NCPO was allocating resources on the basis of merit rather than the need to appease any political stronghold.

In the second part of the speech, the Prime Minister addressed the dissent from the public and the media that his government continued to face. He made an impassioned plea to the media to report objectively on his actions rather than being constantly critical, and for the public to be vigilant in their consumption of news. The Prime Minister pointed to what he perceived as unfair criticism, saying, “There may be some unethical people who deliberately distort the truth, and create misunderstanding among the people.” He seemed to downplay the need for an immediate attempt to hold elections arguing that it was important that the country was unified and necessary reforms laid down first. In the latter parts of the speech, the Prime Minister promotes various tenets of the Sufficiency Economy by urging residents to take up simple but effective farming and production methods. This was aimed at restoring and managing dwindling water resources.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to decrease social conflicts. General Prayut Chan-O cha mentioned that “another issue is our society conflicts and prolonged protest as we have known.”
Agency:
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. The country’s economic situation was not strong enough. Therefore, actions from the prime minister were expected, especially from farmers and low income people.

Purpose:
This speech was very clearly meant as a way to prop up General Prayut’s controversial government to the Thai public and the international community. The first portion of the speech was aimed at clarifying his government’s economic policy approach. He defended recent steps to undo economic policies he had inherited from the ousted government, and refuted accusation that his were populist policies to appease the dissenting public.

A significant portion of General Prayut’s speech was dedicated to promoting the legitimacy of his government. He urged demonstrating residents to calm down, while also asserting that he would not allow the demonstrations to continue sabotaging the economy. He said, “We cannot keep hurting each other on the excuse of “democracy” for the people” and asserted that “freedom does not justify impunity.” The prime minister sought to clarify that the NCPO did not intend to hold on to power in perpetuity but sought to restore democracy and hand over to a government of the people’s choosing. Regarding perceived efforts to censor the internet through the “single gateway,” General Chan-o-cha said that these were aimed at fighting cybercrime and not at quelling dissenting voices.

While various parts of the speech explained different issues, it is apparent that all of them were tied to the overarching goal of portraying his government in positive light
to Thai people and the international community. General Chan-o-cha’s speech, in rather ingenious fashion connects the ongoing demonstrations to potential economic decline and his submissions on the economic policy are seemingly aimed at political gain.

Table 4.16 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 9th, 2015

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Appendix 1.17

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 16th, 2015

Act:
The prime minister’s speech began with a word of praise for the national soccer team’s exploits at the World Cup qualifiers. He then went on to explain the NCPO’s reform plan, which involved restoring democracy through equitable application of justice. In this regard, he gave his commitment to ensure that the judicial backlog which went back as many as 20 years was cleared, and that people implicated in corruption including well-connected individuals would be prosecuted. As is often the case in his weekly addresses, General Prayut Chan-o-cha urged the press to conduct ethical reporting to avoid escalating tensions in the country. He emphasized that “solidarity and reconciliation (should) be reflected in the true will of the people” rather than “by force.” Failure to that, he said, and in the presence of overt criticism would continue to be harmful to psyche of the nation.

Various challenges, mainly relating to the country’s water resources and related activities took up a major part of the speech. He urged farmers and agriculture industry stakeholders to promote intelligent farming methods that were less reliant on irrigation water, while also encouraging diversification to non-farming economic activities. General Chan-o-cha reiterated his government’s persistence with new fishing laws that had seen many fishermen lose their livelihoods. He expressed sympathy towards those affected and promised compensatory actions while also voicing optimism that the new system would see a growth in earnings from fisheries once fully unrolled. In the last section of the speech, General Chan-o-cha further delved into the NCPO’s reform agenda, looking to assure the country that his government was committed to a return to full democracy. He said that he “would like this military way to solve political problems to be the last of its kind for Thailand.”

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared the government’s works. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “there are some important issues that the government and NCPO are doing are following. 1. We create a foundation strength to the country including economic, society, law, judgment process and foreign affairs. 2. We are driving the country’s reform in phase 1. 3. We made the
20-year national strategy. 4. We supported constitution drafting committee. 5. We improved judgement process from first step to the last step. 6. We create an understanding to social and people both of in Thailand and foreign country. 7. There are cases with high price. 8. If cases are caused conflicts … and other issues which the government have tried to improve.”

Agency:
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. The government was in charge of country’s administration in a while but the country faced economic problems. So, the government has tried to solve problems to plan economic, social, legal, judgment process and foreign affairs’ strength by driving a reform phase 1 and preparing nation strategy (20 years), supporting The Constitution Drafting Commission, the National Legislative Assembly, improvement of judgement processing from beginning to destination. The government also created an understanding to people both of domestic and international. A discussion of high valued case which led to damages and other issues were solved by the government. There were many issued that the government solved, for example shortage of water situation, enhancing farmer strength, Illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing (IUU) solving, moving Thailand forward following roadmap of the government in phase 1 for people who could live in peace, deducting conflicts in society and ensuring foreign investors to invest.

Purpose:
It is apparent that General Chan-o-cha’s speech was another effort to turn around his government’s battered image in the eyes of his citizens and those of the
international community. Very early in his speech he asks for refrain in the portrayal of the country’s predicament from various stakeholders in order to “strengthen international confidence in Thailand.” It is apparent from his repeated appeals in his speeches for favorable coverage that saving face from the international community is very high on the Prime Minister’s agenda.

With many people continuing to view his rule as an imposition against the people’s will, the prime minister laid out his plans to increase the prosperity of Thai citizens and perhaps more importantly to the people, reestablish democracy. He was keen to show his willingness to hand over power, speaking of his coup a year earlier as an unfortunate but necessary intervention that should not have to be repeated. The mention of “subsequent governments” in a manner suggesting the not so distant future insinuates further commitment to a democratic solution. At the same time, the speech contained subtle innuendo warning against criticism and overt opposition towards Chan-o-cha’s rule.

While the wording is gentle, the actual convincing tends to be through a brutal show of force. The speech combines warnings against dissent with a charm offensive in a bid to end widespread demonstrations. This is a familiar strategy by the NCPO to rein in on dissent and subdue threats to Chan-o-cha’s hold on power.

Table 4.17 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 16th, 2015

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Appendix 1.18

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on November 6th, 2015

Act:
The act was basically the central part of the speech, at the start of the speech prime minister of Thailand appreciated the interest of people towards the “Bike for Dad” which was conducted in the Bangkok. At the middle stage of the speech, he was has shown his concerns about the electoral system of the state. Furthermore, he said that “free and fair voting process was the right of every citizen of the country.” However, he was very much worried about the future leadership of the country. The Prime Minister highlighted the various issue in which included the five-river meeting and the political movements who performed illegal acts and the acts which were very much for the benefit of the country. He suggested that everyone should work for the betterment of the countries rather than doing illegal activities.

Agent
Agents are the main characters of the speech. Additionally, in this particular speech, the prime role was played by the General Prayut Chan-o-cha. He was the leading character and conveyed the message to the parties and to the general public
regarding the concerns of the election. However, the other leaders, parties and the general public also acted as agents in that particular speech.

**Agency**

The agency was the element who focus on the instruments that are used to convey the message to the relevant party. The agency comprises of researchers who conduct research about the instruments, which were used to convey the message. In that particular speech, the prime minister gives his speech through weekly televised address, therefore television, and radio were the instrument through which the main character was connected to the general public.

**Scene**

As this address was general and for the whole nation, so all the public was the part of the scene. In this particular speech, the prime minister emphasized his concern to the general public on the future of the country as well as the government’s administration.

**Purpose**

The purpose was the most vital element because it tells that what prime motive of that particular speech was and what the objectives of the words that are used by the Prime Minister. The main purpose of that particular speech was to tell the people about the issues in the electoral process. Moreover, the agenda of this speech was to highlight the issues that create hindrance in the success and betterment of the state such as the illegal activities perform by the political movements and the economic issue.

Table 4.18  Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on November 6th, 2015

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Appendix 1.19

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on November 13th, 2015

Act:
At the beginning of the speech, General Prayut emphasized that people with disabilities are valuable resource of the nation. He said that “the most important aspect is building an environment where people can live their lives with equal access and opportunities without discrimination”. General Prayut asked the individuals to buy Kaew Kaliya flower as it represented all the people with disabilities and all the money from selling these flowers would be used to support the disabled in every way possible.

The Prime Minister, General Prayut also addressed the members of the press and urged them to be extra careful of the possible repercussions when presenting news as
Thailand was moving towards reform and defamatory remarks and deliberate distortion of information would only create more conflicts making it difficult for government to administer the country. General Prayut also asked members of the press to present news that was based on fact and truth as well as the legal precedent and judicial problems.

Another vital area that General Prayut spent much attention was the water resource management in the country. In his speech, General Prayut reported the government’s effort to address the issues of water management. As Thai farmers were experiencing drought, the Prime Minister asked the farmers to raise livestock or grow alternative crops, such as the crops that would give higher productivity, and crops that need less water, in order for farmers to earn income during drought season.

General Prayut asked the members of the public to purchase agricultural product from farmers who have been affected by drought disaster so that they can earn sufficient income. With this approach, General Prayut brought out the concept of “Thais help Thais”, by asking Thai public to help Thai farmers in a bid for them to get through the drought crisis. The same concept employed as a solution to the oversupply of rice stock, as he urged general public to buy rice directly from farmers. He also condemn the previous government for causing the problem by created the rice pledging scheme.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to people to know solving urgent problems in the country. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “the government solved urgent problems in the country.”

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the
general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. Because there were many matters which the government had to solve urgently, for example agricultural career development plan (2015-2016) following requirement of communities. It was made by cooperation from people of all levels and regions under “state of citizen” idea. The government provided manuals to be a guideline of plant cultivation and promoted marketing. The Prime Minister joined an annual meeting of economic matter solving under Proactive diplomacy to move economic Thailand forward” which was a place for officers consulted a way pushing Thai business process.

Purpose:

The purpose is the reason behind the act of agent. It was clear from the speech that the purpose was to address the issues Thai were facing and provided solutions in addressing the issues. The Prime Minister ensured to the Thais that he was taking relevant actions to address the problems of the nation. In the speech the Prime Minister mentioned multiple difficulties regarding the country’s economy and society.

The Prime Minister spent a major part of his speech on social equality, particularly to those with disability. Since every 2nd Saturday of November is the National Day for Persons with Disabilities, the setting of the Prime Minister’s speech for the weekly televised address delivered on November 13th, 2015, was circled around equality, and disability rights. He urged all Thais to be mindful that persons with disabilities were also considered as the valuable resource of the nation. The Prime Minister underlined Thais’ love for the King, and the paternal figure of the King, where the general public was seen as the King’s children. His Majesty the late King Bhumibol Adulyadej was seen as the father of the whole nation. The Prime Minister reported the government’s preparation progress of preparation for BIKE FOR DAD cycling procession, which held in December of 2015 to celebrate His
Majesty the late King Bhumibol Adulyadej’s 88th birthday anniversary. Thais nationwide were expected to participate in the event.

The topic of freedom was also brought to light. Since the Prime Minister’s priority was to return stability to the country and to return happiness to the people, and it would not be possible without the collaboration of the press. He asked the member of the press to be “extra careful when reporting”. He explained that the journalists and media played a great role in the process of communication between the government and the public, therefore with the distorted stories created by the media, it may prevent the government from “achieving national reconciliation and returning to normalcy.” The Prime Minister asked both domestic and international media to cooperate with the government in order to move the country forward.

Table 4.19 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on November 13th, 2015

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Appendix 1.20

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 12th, 2015

Act:
The act was considered the epicenter of the speech, as the words became actions. General Prayut Chan-O-cha, the Prime Minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order, declared problems that the country has faced. The Prime Minister mentioned that “the country faced many problems.” General Prayut Chan-O-cha mentioned about those topics many times in television broadcast. One of General Prayut Chan-O-cha words mentioned serious problems of our country which I concerned were many matters. 1. First was people who didn’t follow rules making officers couldn’t enforce law. Law was deducted holy and faith. It did not break human rights. I wanted to ask you whether you broke others or not. The matter was please did not speak one side. Today we make a reform. Then you had to ask yourself whether others were in trouble or not. Next, we concerned that if people broke law, others would be in trouble. And someone disliked it, then danger would come fighting to each other. It would be the government to solve problems and officers would get in troubles too. Please it did not matter which group you joined, did not break law. If law has no holy and faith, how can we do. If there is no law, thing will be the same.”

Agent:
General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to people to know problems that the country has faced. General Prayut Chan-O-cha said that “there are many important problems that I have concerned.”
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

**Scene:**

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. The government prepared itself in many dimensions to comfort people. But it was lack of readiness to moving with the government. The government made a preparation as follow 1. A meeting with the development of internal trade commission to push an export in 2016. The government enhanced trade channel and economic cooperation especially agreement of Trans-Pacific Partnership to haste an export proactive marketing and to support border-area trade, to support enterprises in international investment, to adapt trade and service construction, to increase a role of SMEs and to increase value in export industry. 2. To adjust strategy in investment by creating super cluster in 9 countries to increase potential of investment, preparing to support, solving problems, doing Single entry system account, to invite foreign investor to invest in Thailand and developing economy special border area. 3. To prepare manipulated work by integration labour information with Ministry of Industry. Following the preparation above, the government faced problems which were 1. Citizen did not respect law making officers couldn’t enforce law. 2. Citizen did not trust in judgement process. 3. Untrust in the government’s work. 4. Misunderstanding of cooperation between people and the government. However, the government and NCPO have tried to solve all problems before ascended power to the next government.

**Purpose:**

The purpose of General Prayut Chan-o-cha interview was to report problems that the country has faced and made people prepare results that would come in the future. He also informed people to co-operate developing the country.
Table 4.20 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 12th, 2015

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Appendix 1.21

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 18th, 2015

Act:

General Prayut in his speech expressed sincere appreciation to all those who participated in the cycling activity and who came to support HRH the Crown Prince on the cycling route. He thanked all the supporters within Thailand and abroad who made this special event possible. He also thanked those who worked back-stage including officials, staff and the private sector. Regarding the laws related to business facilitation, trade and investment, and human rights General Prayut said that he is listening to all the suggestions and complains. General Prayut highlighted some
important issues which he was concerned about such as disrespect of the law and inclination to impunity, lack of faith in the justice system and lack of information in public on when or where it can cooperate with the state. General Prayut Chan-o-cha hoped that everyone citizens act within framework of the law, and according to international standards. General Prayut asked everyone to extra careful when traveling during the holidays as he did not want to see losses and casualties during a time when everyone should be happy.

**Agent:**

General Prayut Chan-O-cha declared to people to know works which NCPO and the government have done, and plan for future works.

**Agency:**

For the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha employed weekly televised address to the nation as a tool to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut was able to address the whole nation.

**Scene:**

The scene as a whole is Thailand while the theme is the Bike for Dad event and other events taking place during the holidays of December and New Year. General Prayut has focused on reforms needed in the country and has discussed strategies, revision needed in 7-year investment strategy and issues of Labor in the industrial sector.

**Purpose:**

The purpose of General Prayut’s speech was clear that he wanted to assure to the public that the government is taking all the necessary actions to address the issues faced by the nation. He discussed the 7-point strategic plan which would eliminate issues of trade, market expansion and increase the role of SMEs. He also emphasized the revision was needed in 7-year investment strategy. He also addressed the issue of Labor and said that the Labor Ministry is compiling data on labor forces in collaboration with the Industry Ministry and the Education Ministry which have been
in close contact with skilled workers groups. General Prayut said that we lack unskilled labor, a problem which we will fix through cooperation with our neighboring countries.

Table 4.21 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 18th, 2015

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Appendix 1.22

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 25th, 2015

Act:

General Chan-o-cha’s began his speech with congratulatory words for Miss Thailand for her impressive run at Miss Universe 2015 pageant. The Prime Minister
also had words of praise for three students who initiated an environmental cleanup in their school neighborhood. Chan-o-cha spoke at length about the ASEAN regional economic partnership which was to become official during the New Year, touting it as a union that would have many social and economic benefits for Thailand. He outlined various steps that his government would undertake to help Thailand integrate better in the ASEAN community, including teaching of English, Japanese and Chinese. In order to fully enjoy the fruits of the ASEAN integration, General Chan-o-cha asserted that value addition of Thailand’s exports including rice, rubber and fisheries needed to be a priority for his government and the citizens. The prime minister touched on the upcoming winter and associated festivities, urging Thai citizens to take care of their health while also warning against drunk driving, which is rampant during the holiday season. He encouraged Thai’s to embrace the spirit of giving during the festivities, to show appreciation to family and friends.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to people to plan a preparation for entering ASEAN community. General Prayut Chan-O cha mentioned that “now ASEAN signed free trade area agreement including China, Japan, South Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand. Moreover, we try to achieve Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) between 10 members including China, Japan, South Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand which have GDP as a one of third GDP in the world and calculated a half of population in the world.”

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.
Scene:

As Thailand was joining ASEAN entirely, the scene for this address is the preparation of Thai people in order to join ASEAN community. Thai people need understandings, education, anticipation to learn languages and technology including unity of ASEAN.

Purpose:

The purpose of the speech by General Chan-o-cha would appear to be that of preparing Thai citizens for the end of the year. It is telling that the Prime Minister kept off politics, going against his general trend since he took over power through a coup in 2015. The speech also served the purpose of introducing the ASEAN cooperation to Thai citizens and allaying fears that it would affect them negatively. He presented the regional economic body as an opportunity to grow the market for Thai exports, but alluded to some of the challenges that it would pose. His assertions about ASEANS in the speech helps to prepare Thais psychologically for the unrolling of the community, which was to happen at the turn of the year, barely a week after the speech. General Chan-o-cha therefore outlined various steps that the NCPO would spearhead to smoothen the integration of Thailand into the organization.

Table 4.22 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 25th, 2015

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Appendix 1.23

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on January 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2016

Act:

The speech by Thailand’s Prime Minister, General Prayut Chan-o-cha starts on a conciliatory note in consistency with a message marking the start of a new year. The beginning of the speech is also marked with a jovial mood as the leader of Thailand sends a message wishing his citizens a happy and prosperous new year. General Prayut Chan-o-cha continues with a story of a citizen who had managed to climb the Mt. Kilimanjaro in spite of having physical challenges. The story is modelled in such a manner that it is inspirational to Thailand citizens in their service to country and their loyalty to the monarch.

The second story follows the leader of Thailand in the rural parts of the country which he uses to align the success of his government with regard to implementation of a number of progressive policies. General Prayut Chan-o-cha outlines his vision of increasing rubber production as a way of meeting both the domestic and the foreign demand. The speech also dwells further in the details of the economic benefits that Thailand would receive on account of polices outlined by General Prayut Chan-o-cha. The future plans for the industry are also listed with incentives being offered by the government to stakeholders in the local rubber production chain.
A central part of the speech also addressed the Thailand government’s plans and successes in the broader Agricultural sector. General Prayut Chan-o-cha structures his speech to be responsive to some of the issues that had been raised by citizens, particularly farmers in the south and offers some policy reforms such as innovation and credit management as part of the solution. The speech ends with the same jovial tone with an additional plea for all citizens to be responsible in celebrating the holidays.

Agent:
In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) is the key character in creating the message.

Agency:
Weekly televised address to the nation is a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

Purpose:
The purpose of the Thai leader's speech was primarily unity and close collaboration between Thai people. The talking points were deliberately focused on boosting the level of national pride. The speech also served the role of calming down the various sectors and bringing them to a united front.

Table 4.23 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on January 1th, 2016

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Appendix 1.24

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on January 8th, 2016

Act:

General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s speech delivered in the early days of 2016 has a cheery mood as it begins with a celebration of the New Year and a warm message calling for the prosperity of the Thai people. The speech continues with another warm message meant to mark the upcoming National Children’s Day. The Prime Minister stresses the need for children to be brought up well and to be inspired so that they become good citizens in future. The message is then supported by reference to the monarch with the Prime Minister that such a lifestyle would be in line with the lessons offered by Her Majesty.
The emphasis on children and the activities and actions that the Prime Minister had undertaken in support of children occupy a large part of the speech but it also goes into other areas. The updates on the reforms undertaken under the NCPO form the second segment of the speech and include details on reforms aimed at increasing transparency and freedom of citizens to participate in the affairs of their country through fair elections. Other areas tackled in the speech include reforms in the justice system and enforcement of the country’s security.

General Prayut Chan-o-cha further includes in his speech, a message to the media where he sends a warning against unfair coverage while at the same time warning politicians to be mindful of the welfare of the state. The speech is also inspirational as it highlights numerous efforts that the NCPO government had undertaken in improving the lives of Thai citizens particularly in its support for the cotton sector.

**Agent:**

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) is the key character in creating the message.

**Agency:**

Weekly televised address to the nation is a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

**Scene:**

The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

**Purpose:**

The main purpose of this speech was to celebrate a new year in solidarity with the Thai people. The prime minister's speech also sought to offer a report card on the status of various sectors within the government. However, the speech was also meant
to warn the press against criticizing the government through what the Prime Minister claimed was incitement.

Table 4.24 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on January 8th, 2016

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Appendix 1.25

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on January 22th, 2016

Act:

In this speech, General Chan-o-cha spoke to farmers and education sector stakeholders, encouraging them to take a plethora of steps to streamline their respective sectors. At the beginning of the speech, Chan-o-cha congratulated the
Thailand under 23 soccer team for their good performance at the 2016 AFC Championships. He then delved into the problems that were ailing the farming industry including poor crop choice by farmers, outdated farming practices, and water scarcity. The rice, sugar and rubber production were of particular concern to him, urging farmers to follow government advice and directives on overcoming the problems. The Prime Minister addressed the calls for reform in the education sector, particularly on the claims that students were being overburdened. He called on education stakeholders to incorporate meaningful subjects that prepared students for productive adult life rather than just to pass exams. General Chan-o-cha also touched on the issue of opposition towards his rule, urging citizens and the media to be objective in assessing his record of development and reforms.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to people and stress people on problems to all people. The Prime Minister said that mentioned “now the government faces many problems and tries to solve”.

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. As the administration of the country was not as successful as it should be, the Prime Minister reminded people to corporate in order to develop the country. The Prime Minister further reminded issues that need to be solve urgently such as rubber price issue, research and development in order to add value the rubber tree and rice, illegal rubber tree planting, sugarcane overplanting, helping agriculturists for their productions in other aspects
such as issues regarding water for agriculture and drought. However, people do not cooperate with the government and that leads to other development issues. He further expressed his concern for those teenagers who were preparing for their exam issued by National Institute of Educational Testing Service (NIETS) or O-NET and –NET. He wanted the students to pay attention to their lessons and also ask the ministry of education to revise the course by adding democracy, human rights, laws and also lessons about how they can rely on themselves. Teachers play the most important role regarding these lessons, following by the parents who can develop their children to be able to foreseen the future as they are the ones who are going to develop the country in the future.

**Purpose:**

The purpose of the speech was a multipronged one, covering a number of issues affecting the country. The Prime Minister sought to evoke a spirit of self-initiative among farmers citing these initiatives as a way to curb the agricultural crisis that was affecting the country. He expressed frustration at failure by farmers to heed advice offered by the government on land utilization, leading to overproduction and a drop in price of produce. He said that the government had no business coercing farmers to follow good farming practices for their own good but seemed to suggest possible removal of government relief for farmers who lost their crop as a result of such negligence. The speech also served as a call for support for Chan-o-cha and the NCPO, in light of continued opposition to his rule. He outlined various achievements that his government had brought during his time in power including an increase in tap water coverage and various reforms towards restoration of full democracy. He also outline the NCPOs 20 year reform plan which he said would be implemented in four phases of five years each.

Table 4.25 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on January 22th, 2016

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Appendix 1.26

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on January 29th, 2016

Act:

The Prime Minister gave a speech that touched on various aspects of the country’s economy, including farming, technology and education. In the beginning, he put in a word of appreciation for veterans of the country’s armed forces, a precursor to the Veteran’s Day which was to be celebrated the following month. The Prime Minister then spoke about initiatives that were being put in place to help farmers improve their yield citing two examples of communities that were benefiting from close collaboration with the government in farming. He urged farmers to manage their land use wisely, especially by avoiding offseason crops and overproduction, both of which usually lead to losses for farmers. He also outlined an
initiative by the government, involving building of reservoirs to help with water security among people living inland. The Prime minister urged the public to cooperate with the government’s plans aimed at moving communities forward as part of the “state of the people” program. General Chan-o-cha spoke of the need to incorporate technology in various sectors including agriculture in order to streamline production and marketing. Another area that the Prime Minister touched on is violation of intellectual property laws through piracy and illegal copying of inventions. In order to restrict this, he promised to expand patenting initiatives and to enhance penalties for related violations. This would be done through an initiative labeled as “Don’t Buy, Use, or Sell Counterfeit.”

Agent:
General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared which had purpose to report a progress of civil state plan to That people. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “reform the working style of country establishment following “civil state” was a way to “return happiness” and solve problems in the country.”

Agency:
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. Thais need to cooperate beginning at the community level, as cooperation among all sectors was critical in country development, especially in economy sector.

Purpose:
The purpose of the speech was mainly to clear up the government’s position on the country’s economic strategies, centered on farming and technology adoption. There were various inefficiencies in many of the country’s most important sectors which he sought to draw a way forward to solving. The self-sufficiency economy model, aided by “a state of the people” program appeared to be central to the General’s proposed steps. He reasoned that “If communities are strong and able to stand on their own feet, they won’t have to rely on anyone else.” The Prime Minister envisaged a society where solutions are spearheaded by efforts within communities rather than coerced by the government. The Prime Minister used the speech to tout some of the achievements that his government had brought since coming into power in 2014. Some important changes had been made across many sectors, and he urged Thais to follow government initiatives and laws to enable further success. In order to accelerate economic growth and employment, the prime minister asked for greater cooperation between the education sector and industries. This would help to produce more productive graduates and to improve the production systems in the country.
Table 4.26 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on January 29th, 2016

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Appendix 1.27

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on February 12th, 2016

Act:

The speech by the Prime Minister of Thailand starts with a report of the progress made in various sectors of the socioeconomic and political spheres under the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO). However, the primary emphasis of the speech appears to be on the problems that the NCPO faced when it started the reforms under Prime Minister General Prayut Chan-o-cha. Some of the highlighted problems include the failures in the judicial system, proliferation of economic crimes, income
inequality, and poverty. General Prayut Chan-o-cha then moves on to demonstrate the progress that his government has made in solving the challenges while at the same time noting that the problems require long-term solutions.

One of the solutions highlighted in the Prime Minister’s speech is a call for unity between the government and the NCPO. The leader of Thailand is also categorical on the need for peace and public understanding in the process of addressing the major socioeconomic challenges that face Thailand. There is also some level of complaining from the Prime Minister which is followed by a warning to different unspecified groups that have undermined public understanding by distorting facts for selfish goals. Towards the end of the speech, the speech makes reference to politicians suggesting that they are subject to the warning issued in the earlier part of the speech. Milestones made in the economic sector are also listed including the launch of a new train which would be commissioned at a later ceremony to be presided over by the Prime Minister. General Prayut Chan-o-cha also uses the speech to inform his fellow citizens of his intentions to travel for an international conference aimed at offering economic benefits to his country.

Agent:
In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) is the key character in creating the message.

Agency:
Weekly televised address to the nation is a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

Purpose:
Through the Prime Minister's speech, Thai citizens are informed of the current issues affecting their country. The speech also serves as a unifying factor by highlighting the need for patriotism and hard work in the process of growing the socioeconomic and political status of Thailand.

Table 4.27 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on February 12th, 2016

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Appendix 1.28

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address
February 19th, 2016

Act:

The speech by the Thai Prime Minister starts on a religious note. From the onset, General Prayut Chan-o-cha delivers a goodwill message to Buddhists in his country where he also encourages them to live true to the teachings of their religion. The message is not only delivered abstractly but also includes a quote from Buddhist teachings and this is meant to demonstrate the need for citizens to be virtuous deeds and living a life that is moral. The speech also aligns the Buddhism teachings with the institution of the Thai Monarch with the Prime Minister. The speech appeals to the citizens by making reference to the monarch’s 70th anniversary with the Prime Minister claiming that committing virtuous deeds in line with the Buddhist religion would be a sign of loyalty to the monarch.

The second part of the speech deals with economic matters and includes a summary of General Prayut Chan-o-cha and his government’s latest action in implementing policies that add economic value to Thai citizens. Security matters are also addressed in the speech includes details of efforts that have been undertaken to sustain peace and fight crime in Thailand. A number of policy actions are also enumerated in the speech with regard to improving the socioeconomic conditions in Thailand, including delivery of internet, water, education and electricity services. The speech concludes with some form of self-praise by the Prime Minister while at the same time using his lifestyle as a teaching for humility and patriotism by Thai citizens. The use of the story of a humble pregnant woman thanking her rescuer who had a physical disability is also an important highlight in the speech and spreads the message of selflessness.
Agent:

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) is the key character in creating the message.

Agency:

Weekly televised address to the nation is a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

Purpose:

The speech is important in highlighting the role and place of religion in Thai society. It also brings out the Prime Minister as a leader who is in touch with the issues affecting his citizens. The speech talking points are centered on the topics of national unity and economic growth. The speech talking points are centered on the topics of national unity and economic growth. This serves to inform and encourage Thai residents ahead of the incoming year.

Table 4.28 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address February 19th, 2016

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Appendix 1.29

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on February 26th, 2016

Act:

Thailand Prime Minister General Prayut Chan-o-cha gave a speech that covered a range of issues that he felt were foremost in the list of priorities that the country needed to solve. He began the speech with a word of recognition for the National Cooperatives Day which promotes access to credit for small producers, mainly farmers. This agenda set the tone for many of his assertions on the economy in the speech. He outlined a number of government initiatives which were aimed at increasing technology uptake and infrastructure among farmers and SMEs, with the aim of securing opportunities for them while also promoting the competitiveness of the country’s economy. He then mentioned the fact that the country was dealing with a worsening water crisis which called for strategic management of the water resources particularly in farming activities. The speech then pivoted to the political situation in the country, with General Chan-o-cha assuring Thai citizens that the NCPO was carrying out reforms to get the country back to normalcy. He acknowledged that the coup which put him in power was an unfortunate incident but justified it as a necessary evil: “The presence of the NCPO and this government is merely to "stop the bleeding" of our nation.” He revealed that the government was operating on a 20-year
strategic plan to institute necessary political and economic reforms that would be beneficial to every individual in the government.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared problem solutions by the government. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “the government pushed the public policy systematically and covered all of dimensions, beginning-middle-destination”.

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. Due to the economic dreadlock the government came up with measures to better the country’s economy.

Purpose:

From the speech, it is possible to discern a concerted effort by General Chan-o-cha to paint his government in positive light by touting various initiatives to improve Thai lives and its commitment to return the country to institute full democratic changes. He described many steps that the government had taken or was planning to take in order to improve the productivity of the poorest Thais, through capital allocation to farmers and SMEs. He gave details about his government’s push for a new constitution that would be specifically aimed at dealing with problems that had plagued the confidence Thais had in former regimes including corruption, abuse of office and lack of transparency. He sought to assure his Thai audience that the reforms were being carried out in the best interest of each one of them, and that they
would be guided the “state of the people” approach which emphasizes inclusivity of all stakeholders in governance. In the speech, there was also a description of the government’s 6-point plan to reform the country’s education system, with the aim of improving the country’s human resources to meet the workforce needs of a rapidly developing market.

Table 4.29 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on February 26th, 2016

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Appendix 1.30

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on March 4th, 2016

Act:

Thailand Prime Minister General Prayut Chan-o-cha gave a speech that covered various issues relating to the country’s economy and democratic reforms. He began the address by reminding the nation about celebration for the National Skills Standards Day which promotes innovation and skills development. The Prime Minister then proceeded to praise the efforts of every skilled worker in the country while also outlining various efforts that the government was taking to enhance production standards for local and foreign consumption. The Prime Minister also spoke at length about reforms aimed at restoring democracy in the country, with plans for a referendum and thereafter elections being laid out. He expressed his willingness to hand over power to a democratically constituted government that is committed to the service of all Thais. General Chan-O-cha further touted His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy Philosophy, which was at the center of Thailand’s economic agenda. He said that Thailand had enjoyed the fruits of the Sufficiency program and would seek to promote it to other countries across the world. In the speech, the Prime Minister asked for adherence to the rule of law from Thais of all classes and positions. He reiterated his determination to bring to book all offenders who had taken refuge in foreign countries and who he said were actively seeking to tarnish the image of the country.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to people to know political and economic situations. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “In the meeting between G77 to develop economy including developing 134 countries. I expressed the sufficient economic philosophy of the king used in strategy plan and administered country leading to success for 40 years.”
Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. The Prime Minsiter. Thailand had to open up to the international community, by joining international forums, to seek opportunity for country’s economy development.

Purpose:

The speech had a multilayered purpose centered on the country’s economic agenda and democratic reforms as spearheaded by the NCPO. With the National Skills Standards Day having happened in that week, the Prime Minister urged for the promotion of invention within the country so that Thailand is less dependent on imports, while also increasing productivity within the country. Chan-o-cha also referred to the Sufficiency Philosophy as an important aspect of the country’s economic approach. This mainly informed the request for farmers to use water resources in sustainable manner and to grow food in a way that does not lead to wasteful overproduction. Regarding political reforms, the Prime Minister spoke about the upcoming referendum for a new constitution that would help lay in place laws that would facilitate the transition to a democratic government. He hoped that this new law would help to prevent abuse of office which he said was rampant during the previous regimes. He affirmed that the new constitution draft had provisions that sought to limit corruption and to introduce checks and balances aimed at compelling better governance from all institutions of government.
Table 4.30 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on March 4th, 2016

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Appendix 1.31

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on March 11th, 2016

Act:

General Chan-O-cha gave a speech that covered a variety of topics related to the welfare of Thai citizens of different professions. The speech began with a reminder about the National Elephant Day which was aimed at promoting the protection of the elephant population in the country. He reminded citizens about the highly symbolic nature of elephants to the country’s heritage and urged Thais to help protect them and other wildlife. The Prime Minister then spoke at length about the
need for sustainable utilization of resources particularly water and forest reserve which had been deteriorating over a long time. He pointed to the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy as being central to the realization of this goal, outlining in clear detail how each farmer should allocate land and water to different activities using the 30/30/30/10 formula. In order to help with the situation, General Chan-o-cha said that the government was building reservoirs and water pans, and urged farmers to refrain from constructing individual dams but rather to make them interconnected. In the rest of the speech, the Prime Minister spoke about police corruption, reforms, cooperation with international and regional bodies, and education.

Agent:
General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to people to know activities held by the government and NCPO.

Agency:
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. The government and NCPO decided many measures to promote investment, to access fund, to hold debt payment, to improve agricultural sector.

Purpose:
The central message of the speech involves the sustainable use of resources using the various tenets of His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Philosophy, and the “state of the people” model. This revolved around managing the country’s resources such as wildlife, forests, water and land. The country’s approach to farming featured
heavily in the speech, since it was the main activity that utilized the concerned resources. Chan-o-cha revealed that the government was involved in a large number of programs aimed at increasing water availability and at the same time reducing the reliance on water resources. These include building of reservoirs, restoration of forests, increasing water recycling, and a shift from water-intensive crops particularly rice to drought resistant ones. Still on the matter of self-sufficiency, General Chan-o-cha encouraged the intensification of the Net Metering program which involves the selling of home power produced through solar and wind to the national grid. He said that this would lead to income enhancement for families while also creating self-dependence in power consumption.

Table 4.31 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on March 11th, 2016

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Appendix 1.32

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on April 22\textsuperscript{th}, 2016

Act:

The speech by the Thai Prime Minister is less conventional as it starts out as a conversation although it is a message meant for the Thai people. The first part of the program has the Prime Minister responding to the question of culture. The response forms a passionate speech by the Prime Minister where he outlines the importance of culture and goes on to make announcements on the policy changes relating to culture that he had overseen as the leader of the NCPO as well as the future plans in the same area. In a commendable gesture, the Prime Minister uses the example of a sportswoman playing in Tennis to pass his message of the Thai culture.

The second part of the Prime Minister’s speech also builds on the example of sports in badminton through which the leader articulates the importance of unity. It is the second part of the speech that has General Prayut Chan-o-cha showing a more serious tone where he warns those who are engaging in crime, particularly under the guise of street racing. As the speech progresses, the issues are more complex and the Prime Minister outlines detailed socioeconomic reforms that the NCPO intends to work on. General Prayut Chan-o-cha uses statistics and raw data to support most of his assertions and presents the impression of a leader who has the heartbeat of Thailand and its challenges. A major part of the speech deals with the communication structure to be adopted from the government to ensure it reaches Thai citizens with the intention of uniting them. Political freedoms are also discussed towards the end of the program even though the address is based on promises with no guarantees on some important details such as dates for election.

Agent:

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the head of the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) is the key character in creating the message.
Agency:

Weekly televised address to the nation is a device employed by General Prayut Chan-o-cha in order to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

The scene of this drama is Thailand, as the speech is meant for all Thai citizens and those who reside within the country.

Purpose:

The primary purpose of the Prime Minister’s speech was to brief his citizen in the status of his government. The speech is also effective in highlighting the softer side of General Prayut Chan-o-cha through the human examples that enhance his call for preservation of Thai culture. The speech is also effective in calming down the calls for political reforms even though no specifics are given on the election dates.

Table 4.32 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on April 22th, 2016

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Appendix 1.33

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 13th, 2016

Act:

At the beginning of the speech, General Prayut discussed the progress made in the sports sector and expressed his joy about the participation and success of Thai athletes in sports at international level. He also emphasized on the importance of education and discussed about recent reform in the education system. The Prime Minister, General Prayut than addressed the prevailing concerns of farmers and issues faced by the agriculture industry. He expressed his sympathy to the farmers and emphasized on the cooperation from their end to support government in helping them. He demonstrated his understanding over the fact that adapting to new methods of farming is difficult for traditional farmers and discussed about those farmers who have adopted these reforms and have succeeded. He emphasized on the techniques to cultivate effectively considering the limitation of water resource.

General Prayut gave much consideration to the difficulties being faced in the process of reformation of the country. He considered lack of information and solidarity as the major hurdles in the process of reform and suggested education and role of media as the greater advantage to overcome these hurdles. He also spoke about the importance of law and suggest people to have the respect for the law. He also suggested lack of courtesy as an element that could hamper the process of reform. General Prayut also discussed about the effectiveness of technology and spoke about its implementation to eradicate corruption and promote transparency with an added benefit of cost savings. In addition, he elaborated his purpose for meeting with
Russian government to expand the Thailand’s international relations. Lastly, he personally spoke about the upcoming religious festival and royal celebrations and motivated people to do virtuous deeds in the respect of that and directed people’s attention towards the process of charity through a mobile phone call.

Agent:
General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime Minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to people to know the government had a new reform in country. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “structure’s reform including police, soldier and government structure must be reformed”.

Agency:
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. Thailand was facing multiple problems, and the major problem was corruption. Therefore, Thailand needed to go through the process of national reform to clear all the critical issues.

Purpose:
The purpose exhibits the reason for the act of the agent. Visibly the purpose of this conversation by General Prayut was to address a number of problems Thailand is facing in the process of reform and answer a number of ambiguities and issues of distrust of public in the acts of government. The prime minister endeavored to make the people understand about the genuine motives of government and their sincerity towards the country and its people. In the speech, the prime minister also mentioned
about the accomplishment of Thai athletes at international sports and positive response of the people towards educational reforms.

The prime minister spoke explicitly about the reform of the country and the hindrance being faced in the process. He mentioned of destructive actions of the individuals who are causing troubles for the establishment and prosperity of the country by causing turbulence in the process of peace keeping and misguiding the public about the government plans and strategies. The prime minister asked the people of the country to maintain their trust in government actions and adopt a rational thinking in order to support government in steering the country towards peace and prosperity. He advised the farmers not to feel reluctant in adapting to technological reforms in the agriculture process, as the change would result in their own good and suggested that people must adhere by the laws and constitution of the country in order to make the reform process successful.

To get a support in building a new Nawamintr Bophit building at Sirirat Hospital, the prime minister attempted to motivate the people by relating the act to the religion and the spirit of charity in the wake of upcoming Visakha Puja Day. He further underlined the affection of Thai people towards their royal monarch by mentioning about the celebration of the anniversary of King’s ascension to the throne and auspicious birthday anniversary year of the Queen to motivate the generosity and spirit of charity.

Table 4.33 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 13th, 2016

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Appendix 1.34

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 20th, 2016

Act:

At the beginning of the speech, General Prayut discussed the accomplishment of the Thai students in science and technology at international level. The Prime Minister also appreciated the hosting of international events by Thailand and termed this progress as an opportunity for the youth of Thailand to have an access to better career opportunities along with assisting the country to progress in agriculture, tourism and other industries with their technological expertise. As he stated, “Youngsters will have a greater desire to become professional programmers”, and “Thai students to get out-of-classroom experiences in order to improve their working skills. They will be the ones generating income in the tourism and hospitality industry”.

The Prime Minister, General Prayut than discussed the importance of national security and foreign relations. He emphasized on the terms of stability, peacefulness,
and orderliness to sustain the prosperity in the country. He contributed a great part of his speech to the issues of farmers and the agricultural challenges and further explained the efforts of government to help farmers in every aspect. He made some effective suggestion and urged farmers to take the advice for their wellbeing as well as the country’s. As he stated, “Farmers are currently facing many problems and earning a small income despite economic expansion”, and “I urge farmers to listen to government’s advice”. He expressed his sincerity for the farmer’s community by stating that “Every day, I think about how I can raise the standards of living of farmers”.

Another vital area that General Prayut spent much attention was the attempt of a few individuals to raise conflicts between the public and the government. He warned the public not to fall for the wrong intents of those who want to pull this country back into the age of conflict. He spoke about the importance of unity for growth and prosperity at every level. He further told people not to be impatient to see the reforms and progress and patiently support the good intentions of government to move Thailand towards the industrial progress. He further emphasized on importance of learning true dacts and being informed in order to avoid conflict and misunderstanding. As he stated, “If we can do this and help create understanding, conflicts will be eradicated and other countries will want to invest and engage with our country”.

General Prayut further discussed about the government’s readiness to support the industries at provincial level and revealed the details about the government’s support program to help low-level earners, farmers and SMEs to progress and contribute towards the prosperity of the country. He contributed a greater part of speech towards the issues and planned reforms and ongoing progress in the tourism and agriculture as he stated, “Revenue from tourism is supplementing the money we’ve lost from a dip in exports”, and “The people who will truly benefit from all this will be the local communities, restaurants and hotels”.

Agent:
General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important figure in the address. General Prayut came up with multiple solutions that would better the country’s situation.

Agency:

General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. Every citizen were told to collaborate and help eradicate corruption and promote transparency among every organization and institutions.

Purpose:

The purpose is the reason behind the act of agent. It was clear from the speech that the purpose was to create awareness among the people of Thailand about the government’s intentions of bringing sustainability to the country. The Prime Minister initiated the speech with the accomplishment of Thai students at an international level in the subject of science and technology. He dedicated the initial part of speech to speak for the growth opportunities for the youth in the field of technology. Youth are considered the future of any nation and Prime Minister emphasized on youth to develop their skills in the field of technology in association with the digitization across the globe as he stated, “Today’s world is filled with new technologies while economic growth relies on the digital system”, and he emphasized on computer education as he stated, “This helps improve their thinking process, teamwork attitude, and innovation”.

The Prime Minister used the reference to the practices of the Majesty King when referring to the country’s economy policy and speaking about improving the living standards of farmers in order to underline the importance Thai people give to the monarchy. By emphasizing on the beliefs of the Majesty King, he endeavored to comfort the population of Thailand by exhibiting the government’s affiliation with the
royal practices for the welfare of the population. General Prayut, spoke about the unity by asking public to feel responsible for the matters of security by offering them a sense of responsibility. He further demonstrated that people must remain united in order to progress and share knowledge and information amongst them to avoid conflicts and misunderstanding and adopt a rational way of thinking. He mentioned a number of good advices for the farmers and tourism industry to adopt new reforms in order to prosper and bring their country a step forwards towards modernization and prosperity.

Table 4.34 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 13th, 2016

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Appendix 1.35

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 3rd, 2016

Act:

General Prayut initiated his speech by stating how special the year 2016 would be for the people of Thailand as it marks two major royal celebrations. Along with that, Prime Minister presented a goodwill gesture by wishing the Muslim population of the country for their upcoming month of religious significance. The Prime Minister started discussing about the accomplishment of Thai athletes at international sports when asked about well-being of the population. He also mentioned that Thailand have improved its ranking according to the “International Institute for Management Development”. He stated, “Amidst global economic uncertainty, Thailand is still able to maintain its competitive edge”. He further elaborated that improvement and development never happened quickly, similarly the economy of Thailand has also improved its standing gradually. He expressed his views about sustaining the current progress and further improving it in number of ways. He stated, “We, therefore, should focus on self-reliance and building stability from inside and in parallel with foreign trade expansion”.

General Prayut discussed about a number of reforms in various sectors to sustain the current development and economic progress. He expressed that further reforms are required in bureaucratic system and education system. He mentioned that laws have been revised to implement the reforms in the bureaucratic system and business sector must keep patience for the advantages of these reforms to surface. Further, he elaborated that to further strengthen the industrial sector, Thailand needs human capital management and therefore reforms in education is required to prepare the rightful skill force needed by the business sector of the country.

The Prime Minister mentioned about a number of areas experiencing development, which included technological foundations, health and environment,
innovation, the green industry, public utilities and mega projects along with education. He further emphasized on the significance of technological advancements and digitization to further strengthen the process of growth. Speaking about the prevailing issues of the Thai society, he emphasized on addressing the issues at very basic level by educating the children about wrongful deeds of cheating and teaching them ethics and morals for a sustainable future.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person to the interview as the Prime minister and head of National Council for Peace and Order. He declared to people to know NCPO and government’s work progress in each week. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “the government announce policy to reduce tax interest for people who are over debt. To relieve drought problem, the Prime Minister suggests to stop deforestation. About social welfares and people’s living standard, the government provides medical fee, education fee, public bus, infant caring and allowance for disable people.”

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. Thailand was gradually improving its economy. However, the economy improvement was not significant due to global economic uncertainty.

Purpose:

It was clear from the speech that the purpose was to create awareness among the people of Thailand about the current progress of the country. General Prayut
talked about a number of succeeding ventures that government has initiated, which have been now contributing extensively towards the betterment of the future of Thailand. He not only shared the happiness of people of Thailand about upcoming royal celebrations but also remembered to share joys of Muslim population on their upcoming month of religious importance to give out a strong message of unity among all the Thai population.

He talked about the improving economic conditions of the country and mentioned that still there is more work to be done in this regard. He intended to present the facts without any fabrication so that people must understand that there is more work to be done to bring country move forward to a position that is anticipated and he asked for the support of all the people of Thailand in making it happen. For a progress to sustain, he emphasized on starting reforming the educational structure because for an improved future, the most important subject is to teach the future of the country that is children about the moral and ethics and consequences of wrongful deeds of cheating. The Prime Minister extensively discussed a number of prevailing issues in order to make the people of Thailand realize that the public needs to support the government’s objectives in order to accelerate the process of growth and prosperity. He further put extra emphasis on the adherence to law because only this could help in eradicating the ongoing conflict in Thailand and enhance the confidence of public in the efforts of government as he stated, “We need to settle disputes according to the law. If something is in violation of a law, then we will let the justice system handle it”.

Table 4.35 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 3th, 2016

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Appendix 1.36

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 10th, 2016

Act:
At the beginning of the speech, General Prayut invited everyone to the “7th Arts of the Kingdom Event”, according to him it displayed the true “Thai crafts by Thai Agriculturists”. He also appreciated the work of the “Sirikit Institute under the SUPPORT Foundation in “Jaturamukthong” Style of Elegant, a Masterpiece since the start of Rattanakosin era”. He also admired its architecture and traditional paintings and called it the “first of its kind”. His Majesty The King named it “RuanYod Bo Rom MangKha La Nu So Ra Nee” which means the spires made in the memory to celebrate the 70th Anniversary of His Majesty’s Accession to the throne, 90th Birthday of His Majesty on 05 December’ 2016, 7th Cycle Anniversary of Her Majesty The Queen and in honor of The Royal Family.

The Prime Minister, General Prayut than discussed his visit to the water management event in the Honor of His Majesty, in supervision of the Ministry of
Defense. He also explained that how perfectly the Process told by His Majesty the King and Her majesty The Queen are working. He discussed the importance of “Golden Shower Trees”, which are the symbol of “Buddha and Monday”. He also discussed the benefits of “Vetiver Grass” and suggested its plantation to every watershed area as it improves soil’s productivity. He also asked provincial government to motivate the plantation of small fruit plants. Further, he appreciated the athletes in football and women volleyball team for their success in several tournaments.

Another vital area that General Prayut spent much attention was the implementation of Science and Technology. He explained how effectively the government is working alongside the technology in creating the number of inventions every year. He explained the innovations of technology from household to food industry in Thai technology industry. He said that the greatest of the inventions made in past years is the hearing aid invented by Thai scientists. He also explained the work of Thai technology industry in the field of medical for preventing AIDS transmission from mother to infant. He said, “Thailand is the second country in the world that has been able to do this”. He explained it was made possible with several tests and hardships. He also admired the invention of glass recycle, that turn used glass into bricks for building houses.

He brought nations attention towards the issue of deforestation. He explained the crucial importance of trees in urban areas. He also sought help of different government departments in the matter and asked them to work together, with proper creativity and attention, to get the desired outcomes. He also stated the desired process of plantation of trees that will prevent the destruction of electricity system in storms or heavy rain situations.

General Prayut further discussed about the changes of laws according to the needs of commerce and public. He explained many laws has been made to improve the situation including national and international. He said,”All of this is in order to maintain equality, justice and peacefulness in Thailand”. He said although
government has made a significant growth in this sector but there are still some public issues that needed attention.

Agent:
General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person of announcement as the Royal Thai Army commander and head of National Council for Peace and Order who informed to people knowing about weekly work progression of the government and NCPO. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that “the government and NCPO had to ask people for cooperation to drive country forward.”

Agency:
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. The country was preparing to celebrate the 70th Anniversary of His Majesty’s Accession to the throne, and the 7th Cycle Anniversary of Her Majesty The Queen and in honor of The Royal Family.

Purpose:
It was clear from the speech that the purpose was to create awareness among the people of Thailand about the government’s intentions of bringing sustainability to the country. The Prime Minister initiated the speech with the accomplishment of Sirikit Institution in building the Maserpiece of Thai architecture that was admired by His Majesty the King and named “RuanYod Bo Rom MangKha La Nu So Ra Nee” to emphasize on the focus Thai people put on the royal values.
In order to deal with the issues of agriculture, he explained the importance of agriculture as the vital source to further improve the economic condition of the country. He explained a number ways for plantation process. He also emphasized on the implementation of vital efforts towards the preservation of trees. He explained many important processes and techniques to prevent deforestation in order to overcome the environmental deforms.

The Prime minister spent most of his speech on explaining the importance of Thai technology industry. He explained its importance in promoting commerce and motivating SMEs to grow in the field. Many government policies are made for the purpose. He also put a great emphasis towards the problem of law. He mentioned that many new laws are made to resolve the disorders associated with the problem of law but many issues still demand attention and needed to be dealt with.

Table 4.36 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 10th, 2016

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Appendix 1.37

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 21th, 2016

Act:
General Prayut Chan-O-cha clarified reasons of announcement that “we must love and unite”, “applying the sufficiency economic philosophy”, as it was one of the way to commemorate the loss of King Rama 9. General Prayut Chan-O-cha promoted the King’s teaching and the concept of sufficiency economy. General Prayut mentioned repetitively that “even though his majesty the king passed away, his ‘initiatives’ as guidelines and philosophy, his ‘royal speech’ which teaches, warns and enhance attitude, his ‘royal duties’ as principles in relation to work and his ‘royal virtue’ as a good example for Thai people will still remain with Thailand forever”.

Agent:
General Prayut Chan-O cha was an important person as he was the rhetor of the address.

Agency:
General Prayut Chan-O-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
On Thursday, 13th of October, the country and Thai people faced a major lost, ‘the great king. The government promised to do this important duty with all parts of Thai people to make it honorable. The government promised that it would comply with his majesty the king’s primary royal command saying “We shall reign in
righteousness for the benefits and happiness of Siamese people” with vital loyalty, honesty and effort in full ability and wisdom. Moreover, he would like to vow to be loyal to the nation, the religions and the king until I no longer exist. The prime minister has reported about improvement and change of type of the program. Even his majesty the king passed away but his ‘initiatives’ as guidelines and philosophy, his ‘royal speech’ which teaches, warns and enhance attitude, his ‘royal duties’ as principles in relation to work and his ‘royal virtue’ as a good example for Thai people will remain with Thailand forever. In terms of country administration, during the past 2 years, he encouraged people to apply sufficiency economy philosophy in various chances such as household accounting in order to decrease expense, increase income in order to strengthen the family, established National Savings Fund (NSF), saving plans for retirement and encouraged the people to take sufficiency economy philosophy to apply within the family.

**Purpose:**

The purpose of General Prayut Chan-O-cha televised address was to express his condolences to the king Rama IX, and to apply the king’s philosophy to practice.

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Table 4.37 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 21th, 2016
Appendix 1.38

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 28th, 2016

Act:

General Prayut Chan-O-cha reported on how the government applied the sufficiency economic philosophy in work. The Prime minister said that “the government applied the sufficiency economic philosophy to be a compass to administer the country.” “the sufficiency economic philosophy could be adapted to all people”.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O-cha, the rhetor of the address declared solution to economic turmoil by applying sufficiency economic philosophy in citizens’ daily routine in order to gain sustainable income and fulfill life.

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is Thailand. The death of the king Rama IX has left sadness to all Thai people. It was a major loss for Thai people. The prime minister also reported expression of condolences from other countries to the king by flying half flag and honor his dedicated royal duties for the country and the people for the past 70 years.

**Purpose:**

The purpose of General Prayut Chan-o-cha televised address was to report government’s process of applying the sufficiency economic philosophy in many parts of its work, and to distribute the philosophy to the general public.

Table 4.38 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 28th, 2016

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Appendix 1.39

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on November 11th, 2016

Act:
General Prayut Chan-O-cha declared the reason of announcement and reported about low-rate income citizen treatment which made along investment and Thailand 4.0. The Prime minister mentioned about “grassroot society level”, “Thailand 4.0” and “adapting”. General Prayut Chan-O cha mentioned about those matters many times in television broadcast. One of General Prayut Chan-O-cha words mentioned how the government treated low-rate income citizen along with Thailand 4.0. Progressing to Thailand 4.0 was not only caring about low-rate income citizen but the government enhanced a new channel to increase access opportunity easier by digital system including smart phone use and it was a channel for learning and taking advantages”

Agent:
General Prayut Chan-O-cha took the role as the rhetor and the main character of the address. He announced problems and gave solutions of the country’s issues.

Agency:
Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:
The scene of this drama is that of Thailand. Thailand was facing great lost due to the passing of King Rama 9. At the same time, the country’s economy is unstable,
therefore, Thailand was going through the process of economic development following Thailand 4.0’s initiative.

**Purpose:**

The purpose of General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s televised address was to encourage the general public to apply the sufficiency economy philosophy into daily life, as it led to sustainable lifestyle. General Prayut’s purpose was to report government’s plan to tackling unemployment, low-income earners issues, and other economic issues according to the government’s Thailand 4.0 initiative.

Table 4.39  Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on November 11th, 2016

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Appendix 1.40

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 9th, 2016

Act:

General Prayut Chan-O-cha expressed concern towards the southern area of Thailand as many provinces were flooded. He suggested the king’s philosophy to sustainable and education to Thai people. He provided aid package to those people to relieve trouble. Those made people grateful.” One of General Prayut Chan-O cha words mentioned that to apply the king’s philosophy which “the king’s philosophy of Rama IX focused on “human development” by education. He developed education both system in and out school to let people learn widespread. Even though disadvantaged people and remote place including the hill tribe people or people who lived in border area which far from communication.” General Prayut Chan-O cha mentioned about those matters many times in television broadcast.

Agent:

General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important person of announcement as the Royal Thai Army commander and head of National Council for Peace and Order who informed to people knowing about the concern of the king that he concerned to southern area people in many provinces which faced flood problem. He suggested the king’s philosophy to sustainable and education to Thai people. He provided aid package to those people to relieve trouble. Those made people grateful.” “The king’s philosophy which “the king’s philosophy of Rama IX focused on “human development”. He developed education both system in and out school to let people learn widespread. Even though disadvantaged people and remote place including the hill tribe people or people who lived in border area which far from communication.”

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha
adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the
general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people
through television and radio nationwide.

**Scene:**
The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. There were many
places in southern area which faced flood problem. The king concerned to people of
those areas who affected from natural disaster and he provided aid package to those
people to relieve trouble. To apply the king’s philosophy of the Rama IX managed
education system including internal and external school system to people widespread.

Even though disadvantaged people and remoted place including the hill tribe people
or people who lived in border area which far from communication could develop
knowledge and equality of life. The present King, “His Majesty King Maha
Vajiralongkorn Bodindradebayavarangkun”, followed his majesty's contributions by
applying “the king’s philosophy” of his father to manage education system to youth in
remoted area and disadvantaged children. The king endorsed taking care school in
remoted area under the Royal Patronage of His Majesty the King.

**Purpose:**
The purpose of General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s interview was to report the
concern of the king that he concerned to southern area people in many provinces
which faced flood problem. He suggested the king’s philosophy to sustainable and
education to Thai people.

Table 4.40 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised
address delivered on December 9th, 2016

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Appendix 1.41

Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 25th, 2016

Act:
General Prayut Chan-O-cha declared the reason of announcement and reported to activities which stimulated economy. The Prime Minister mentioned about “terrible economy”, “moving the country forward”. General Prayut Chan-O-cha mentioned about those matters many times in television broadcast. One of General Prayut Chan-O-cha words mentioned that the government committee agreed to stimulate economy in the last period of the year or called shopping for the nation which was exempted the personal income tax. For product or service buying “in the country” on 14th -31st December as a real amount but was not over 15,000 Baht (per person) could buy many times. However, don’t forget “tax invoice” which showed name, address and tax ID of buyer to exempt tax later”.

Agent:
General Prayut Chan-O-cha was an important person of announcement as the Royal Thai Army commander and head of National Council for Peace and Order who
informed to people knowing about activities which stimulated economy. General Prayut Chan-O cha said that the measure which stimulated economy in the last period of the year or called shopping for the nation was exempted the personal income tax.”

Agency:

Agency posed the question on what instruments were used to accomplish the act and how the messages relayed by the main character. General Prayut Chan-o-cha adopted the use of weekly televised address to the nation as a device to reach the general public. With such tool, General Prayut could speak directly to the people through television and radio nationwide.

Scene:

The scene of this drama is that of Thailand as a whole. To stimulate economy was controlled the goods price. It was a mechanism of government section to examine continuously and strictly including solving problems for example low crops price, debt problem, drug problem and corruption. The government launched measures which were short-term and long-term to be new year’s presents to Thai people. The government committee agreed to stimulate economy in the last period of the year or called shopping for the nation which was exempted the personal income tax. For product or service buying “in the country” on 14th -31st December as a real amount but was not over 15,000 Baht (per person) could buy many times. Tax invoice must show name, address and tax ID of buyer to exempt tax. The government had a measure to take care people who went back to their hometown and travelling. The government already solved problems which were long social problem with founded the foundation to develop society sustainable in the future which had important processes. For example, 1. Dwelling development of low cost income 2. To develop children life quality 3. To promote hiring of disabled people in government section, private entrepreneur and community 4. To prepare elderly society 5. To rearrange and improve potential of beggar and homeless people including Thai and alien 6. To promote family institution strength 7. To develop social help center (hotline 1300) 8. Policy driving in country level.
Purpose:

The purpose of General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s televised address was to report government’s activities, which aimed at stimulating the country’s economy.

Table 4.41 Pentadic Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 16th, 2016

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Appendix 2.1

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 30th, 2014

In this study, ideologies, which were embedded in Thai Prime Minister’s weekly televised addresses broadcasted on May 30th, 2014, were revealed. The analysis aimed to understand how the speech specifically embodied and enacted particular ranges of values, beliefs and ideas. 3 dominant ideologies were found in General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s speech. The ideologies were analyzed in accordance with the literature review in chapter 2, emphasizing deductive approach. The 3 dominant ideologies were authoritarianism, nationalism and capitalism.

First, authoritarianism, where authority opposed freedom of an individual, influenced the speech throughout. General Prayut Chan-o-cha enacted rules and regulations, such as Section 44, Martial Law, the prohibition of political gathering of more than 5 people and curfews. General Prayut Chan-o-cha claimed that the regulations aimed to protect and stabilized the country. In his speech, he said “Martial law, the supreme security law was necessary as it allows officials to take immediate control of violent situations,” while he added that “the curfew is intended to restore peace and order, and to provide security for the society, although there might be some disturbance in people’s daily lives and commutes”. Moreover, General Prayut Chan-o-cha also summoned protest leaders, key protest supporters, certain thinkers and politically motivated opinion leaders to report themselves to the government officials in order be given “cooling-off period”.

Secondly, nationalism was largely emphasized in the speech. General Prayut Chan-o-cha repeated several times on how Thais should put “the country before themselves, learn to live harmoniously and act constructively in a society”. He introduced a “Roadmap” which led to “national reconciliation” and “social harmony”. The quality of being united was the absolute solutions in order for Thais to abstain from any violent activity. He adopted the sentimental approach to encourage the love
of the nation among the audiences, by reminding the audiences about the prolonged political turmoil. General Prayut emphasized how all Thais had been experiencing similar kind of suffer in order to encourage unity. He said that “I think that all of you share my feelings. For the past nine years, I have not been happy.”

The final dominant ideology found in General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s weekly televised address was capitalism. General Prayut Chan-o-cha stressed the government’s effort in “increasing the credibility of the national financial system in the eyes of international community and foreign investors”. General Prayut also urged the government to come up with effective direction for Thailand to become “key driver in the ASEAN as well as global economic community” in the near future. Rice pledging scheme, initiated by the previous government, was among the main topics emphasized by General Prayut Chan-o-cha as it affected Thais lives, especially farmers. Rice pledging scheme had ruined Thailand’s reputation for rice, therefore it was NCPO’s first priority to help Thai farmers and regain credibility for Thai rice in order to regain a leading position in global rice market.

In sum, as the situation in the country was considered critical, General Prayut seemed to exercise his power through authoritarianism by applying rules and regulations that forcefully limited freedom of the general public. At the same time, General Prayut, tried to encourage nationalism and to raise respect for the highly revered monarch, as it could better the country’s situation politically and economically.

Appendix 2.2

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 6th, 2014

In the beginning of the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha emphasized 2 contrasting ideologies, which were democracy and authoritarianism. General Prayut Chan-o-cha distributed his power through authoritarian approach, however parts of his audiences were from the international community, which value liberty and
democracy. Therefore, General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s speech became very ironic, as he was political junta who wanted to govern the country through democratic approach. General Prayut Chan-o-cha stated in the beginning of his speech that “there were many reasons why it was necessary for the NCPO to take control of national administration. The most important was because we respect the democratic process.” The given example clearly illustrated the paradox within General Prayut’s weekly televised address speech. General Prayut asked the international community for time, in order for Thailand to have “true democracy”. General Prayut declared Thailand’s standpoint after the country has been ruled by military personnel. He explained NCPO’s objective, which to “safeguard democracy” and make Thailand stronger by laying solid foundations for Thailand to become “fully functioning democratic country”. In order for Thailand to achieve democracy, it must be done through authoritarian approach, by applying Martial Laws, Internal Security Act and Emergency Decree. General Prayut reiterated that “if the conflicts and violence or incitements continue, a success and peaceful election is impossible”. General Prayut Chan-o-cha underlined that peace and order is what Thailand is striving for at the moment, and in order to dispose the chaos, it is considered necessary for the NCPO to invoke such laws. Meanwhile, for Thai audiences, General Prayut asked for cooperation from all sides, and at the same time threaten those who do not want to cooperate by saying “if you (Thais) do not help the authority, the problem may lead to violence and the security personnel may have to use force,”. It was clear that while general Prayut begged for time and understanding from the international community, he threatened Thais for not cooperating.

The 3rd ideology, which General Prayut Chan-o-cha emphasized, was the ideology of the sufficiency economy philosophy. The ideology of sufficiency economy philosophy was found scattering throughout General Prayut’s speech. General Prayut Chan-o-cha reiterated that the sufficiency economy philosophy was the path towards self-reliance and sustainable development. The ideology related to monarchy as it was initiated by His Majesty the late King Bhumibol Adulyadej. It was clear that the concept of sufficiency economy philosophy was not only employed in economic realm, but also in social and politics.
The last dominant ideology found in General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s weekly televised address was the ideology of nationalism. General Prayut Chan-o-cha continuously instilled the love for the nation to his audiences, saying that it was the only approach to move Thailand forward. He said that it was important for all Thai citizens to do good deeds and have good intention “for the benefit of the nation.” General Prayut Chan-o-cha stated in his speech that “we should help to reinforce the values of Being Thai, national pride, and upholding the institution of the monarchy” because these values encouraged unity in the country. He took nationalism ideology further as he planned to implant the nationalism ideology in Thai students’ educational system. He stated that “these values should be included in the school curriculum by the Ministry of Education.”

In conclusion, the four ideologies of democracy, authoritarianism, nationalism, sufficiency economy philosophy were greatly intertwined. The ideologies were adopted by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, where he gave his speech in a weekly televised address on June 6th, 2014 or the 2nd speech he delivered after he gained a position as the Prime Minister of Thailand.

Appendix 2.3

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on Jun 20th, 2014

First the ideology of authoritarianism, was heavily shown in the speech. In an effort of administrating the country in a peaceful manner, one of the main issues General Prayut took care paid most attention on was the human right issue. In order to solve the issue, General Prayut Chan-o-cha provided legal opportunity for alien workers who desired to work in Thailand following the international human right rules. Even though this approach was intentionally to create equal right in accordance with democracy ideology, however, the approach in applying the rules was done through authoritarian power. To put it simply, the National Council of Peace and
Order or the NCPO was controlling rules and laws regarding alien workers in Thailand. General Prayut Chan-o-cha stated in his speech that “the NCPO will create the new structure of working in short-time period. In the first phase, the NCPO will focus on eliminating influential people who illegally brought alien to work. From confidential agent reported that influential people asked workers for 20,000 Baht for one worker. If they were aliens, they should pay additional 8,000 – 10,000 Baht to move in the country. Hirers had to pay to register as law required. One who did not register for working in sea or land would be called as illegal workers. General Prayut Chan-o-cha came up with new rules and regulations in an effort to tackle the illegal worker issue effectively.

The second ideology is democracy. Although, General Prayut Chan-o-cha who came into power and took control the country’s administration through a process of coup, the cooperation from the private sector and general public was still consider vital in order to fix the country’s both political and economic dreadlock. The general public had to take part the process of developing the country, by voicing out their opinions. General Prayut explained that it was vital for the National Council of Peace and Order or the NCPO to listen to the general public, and together drove the country into the right direction. General Prayut stated that “we need to listen to the voice of the people, respond to doubts and create a common vision. The people need to be aware of the direction in the country’s development in various areas in the immediate, short and long-term of 5-10 years. This is to achieve a common understanding, expectation and action in implementing development projects.” The concept of public hearing was brought up to make people understand the core concept of democracy, which was every voice of every citizen mattered. However, there were some contradiction when General Prayut Chan-o-cha explained about the process of public hearing, which is more complicated than actually listening to every general public voices.

The third ideology was capitalism. General Prayut Chan-o-cha repeated multiple times on creating a friendly environment for investors, where those investors would play a great role in developing Thailand’s economy. General Prayut and his
government had laid out a policy on formulating the Budget for fiscal year 2015, where the budget was aimed at benefitting all sectors and areas. General Prayut said he would increase government spending in many areas in order to fix the prolonged problems and develop the country. The issues that considered were to increase employment and income opportunities for the general public, find solutions to the problems of drought and flood, come up with economic plan on order to prevent a recession and encourage the agricultural sector. General Prayut also boasted that “the overall economic picture since 22 May 2014 has improved as reflected by the increasing number of investments. The Federation of Thai Industries has reported the Thai Industries Sentiment Index to be at 85.1, a first increase in seven months. The tourism sector is also recovering, with a rise in number of tourist arrivals.”

Appendix 2.4

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 27th, 2014

The authoritarianism ideology was common for military rulers and involved an instructional rhetoric that was assertive rather than persuasive. General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s message to the people was very assertive and has a tone that is final. For instance, the speech notes that the elections would not be held as they threatened to cause tensions and “would revert a cycle of conflict, corruption among those in political power…” General Prayut Chan-o-cha said that the matter of democracy, constitution, law, state mechanism, and legitimate and righteous could not be ignore, however he added that with the freedom of speech, it could damage the country as a whole. The ban of holding of political forum or fund-raising dinner by various groups which often involve discussion on future political movements was considered necessary for General Prayut as such kind of activity would trigger the opposing groups and the dreadful cycle would repeat. Therefore, General Prayut asked for cooperation from the general public not to host activities mentioned earlier due to the peace and order of the country. By doing such activities, it was against the provision of the Martial Law Act, where those who found guilty would be summoned and
charged with violating the NCPO’s order. Despite the serious ramifications of the statement, there was no reference to any data or genuine justification as the leader is left to make the decisions for the people without question, this is in line with the authoritarian rhetoric.

The second ideology is that of nationalism. The speech makes a number of references on the need for Thai to be united and to cooperate in the reconstruction of their country. For example, the Thai leader starts by insisting that citizens must play a part in the national security of their country by working with the police. Thais are also called upon to protect their monarch from conflicts which is another element of nationalism. The call for cooperation is extended in the call for economic reforms. The nationalism aspect also comes out in the reference to the relationship between Thailand and the international community where General Prayut states that Thailand has been a friend to many countries and criticizes the sanctions placed against his country. “We do not want to have to give justifications or take retaliatory measures, which could worsen the situation. Thailand has been an important ally of some countries for more than 100 years, some 50 years and some 30 years...” This is another common practice in nationalism ideology where leaders depict their countries as being victims.

Capitalism was clear in the General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s speech. The main goal was to develop economic system, as General Prayut said that the National Council of Peace and Order or the NCPO discussed with private entrepreneurs and businessmen from Europe and America on business opportunities between the countries. The National Council of Peace and Order or the NCPO also spent most of the effort in enhancing the relationship between international investors and encourage them to make investment within Thailand, as General Prayut said that “the NCPO held discussions with associations of entrepreneurs and business people from the EU countries and the U.S. and will continue to strengthen trade and investment relations.” General Prayut Chan-o-cha was worried about the status of the government and the country, as it was then governing by a military government who came into power through the process of coup. With this reputation, it hurt Thailand’s democratic
image, which lead to a damage of the country’s economy. In a part of General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s speech, General Prayut asked for time and understanding from the international community. He stated that “Concerning measures adopted by the international community against Thailand, I ask fellow countrymen to ease your worries. We do not want to have to give justifications or take retaliatory measures, which could worsen the situation. Thailand has been an important ally of some countries for more than 100 years, some 50 years and some 30 years. We must put efforts into making the international community understand what our intentions are.” This showed how capital played a great role in running a country smoothly. The country’s economy must be strong and the international community was a big part of the component.

The ideology of democracy was clearly stated by General Prayut Chan-o-cha. He explained the process of how Thailand could become a democratic country. General Prayut was describing government’s progress toward democracy. For instance, General Prayut invited conflicting parties, political leaders, civil society organizations, academics, and community leaders to discuss ideas and provide useful data to ensure that adequate information would have been acquired when entering the second phase of the reform where the Reform Council would take the lead. General Prayut’s government was working hard to prepare a member of the House of Representatives election, which could be consider a fine beginning of democracy within the reign of military government.

Appendix 2.5

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on July 25th, 2014

The first one is the Monarchy ideology. In the first part of the speech, the Thai Prime Minister uses a lot of words to celebrate the endorsement of the provisional constitution by the head of the Monarch. In line with the Monarchy ideology, the Thai Prime Minister relies on the institution of the Monarch to gain legitimacy for himself.
and for the NCPO which he leads. The fact that the Prime Minister mentions his audience with the Monarch as such a big deal betrays the Monarch ideology as deeply entrenched in the speech.

The second ideology is that of capitalism which plays emphasis on capital. A large part of General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s speech dwells on getting capital into the Thai economy with the intention of improving the economic and social status of the Thai people. For example, the improvement of trade and easier provision of labor is followed by a mention of the need for Thai to attract foreign investors.

The third ideology that is clear in this speech is that of nationalism and this involves promotion of Thai greatness. The Prime Minister turns to nationalism while addressing the international pressure for respect of human rights. The criticism of the media is also pegged on the nationalism ideology as the Prime Minister demands that the media should reduce the attacks on the government so as to protect Thai peace and greatness. The same ideology informs the mention of the enactment of a provisional constitution that would give legitimacy to the NCPO under the guise of having a friendly governing document even though the constitution does not appear to do much towards improvement of political freedoms and democracy in Thailand.

Appendix 2.6

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2014

The first ideology that becomes apparent in the speech by General Prayut Chan-o-cha is that of nationalism. The Prime Minister deals extensively with the challenges and divisions that nearly led to a civil war in Thailand. The speech is in line with the nationalism ideology where emphasis is placed on unity and cohesion.

The second ideology that is clear in this speech is that of authoritarianism where there is a common and powerful center of power. In this context, General
Prayut Chan-o-cha presents himself as the power figure who rescued the entire country from the civil war that faced it. Authoritarianism is also associated with reduced political freedoms and limited freedom of the press and this is also highlighted in the speech by the Prime Minister as he claims that the provisional government and constitution is “Thai style democracy”. It is important to note that the media is also attacked and accused of inciting the people and none of the accusations are substantiated.

The third ideology that comes up is that of self-sufficiency economic ideology. General Prayut Chan-o-cha outlines a number of reasons and reforms that will be undertaken in the economic sector to give Thailand autonomy in sourcing for food and other resources. Among the measures discussed include increase in production capacity and dealing with the issue of corruption. The need for economic sufficiency is also addressed in the call for long term investments in agriculture with the help of the Thai farmers. These statements are meant to increase Thai pride and encourage them to work harder towards improving production in their farms.

Appendix 2.7

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 8th, 2014

The Monarchy ideology is the first to become apparent in this speech. General Prayut Chan-o-cha spends considerable parts of the speech in defending the Monarch and even suggesting that attacks on his government were tantamount to disrespect of the Thai Monarch. The Thai Prime Minister uses the Monarchy ideology to win favor from the residents who hold the Monarch in high regard as who see it as a symbol of authority.

The second ideology is that of democracy which stands out because General Prayut Chan-o-cha has not used it much in other addresses. The democracy ideology involves emphasis on the power of the people and the importance of rights. From the
onset, the Prime Minister commends the need for two-way communication between the people and their government thus suggesting that the NCPO is a democratic government for the majority of the people. Further, there is a significant part of the speech which deals with the question of political and human rights which he promises to uphold through his leadership of the NCPO.

The last ideology is that of nationalism and this is also apparent through the numerous instances where General Prayut Chan-o-cha appeals for citizens to appreciate the greatness of the Thai people. The speech is particularly passionate on the question of Thai culture and the meaning of the Monarch and on this; the Prime Minister seeks to win over the favor of the Thai people by addressing the Thai heritage as a source of pride and identity for his people. This ideology is replicated in the call for all citizens to come out and work hard in various sectors for purposes of growing the Thai economy.

Appendix 2.8

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 15th, 2014

The nationalism ideology is the first one to manifest in General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s speech. The speech begins with a message of love and hard work which is then linked as the values that make Thailand stands out despite it being a small country. The same ideology is replicated in the many instances where the Prime Minister makes reference to the Thai people as hardworking and assures them that the situation will improve based on their collaborative efforts.

The monarchy ideology is also apparent from the very beginning of the speech, as the speech is given a couple of days after Thailand’s National Mother’s Day. General Prayut Chan-o-cha uses a number of references to the monarchy as a source of pride and Thai heritage. He even goes further to state that the people work hard in “tribute to his Majesty the King and the Queen”. The constant reference to the
monarch is in line with the monarchy ideology where power is bestowed on the institution of the monarch.

The capitalism ideology is also a part of this speech and is manifested in various remarks made by the Prime Minister in the course of this speech. The capitalism ideology is based on the premise that capital is an important factor of production. In the speech by the Thai Prime Minister, there is a concerted effort to highlight the need for investment in various sectors of the economy in order to improve production, satisfy the local demand and sell the surplus. The same ideology is seen in the call for the ministries to develop a budget that will provide loans to farmers and other players in the economic sector as a way of providing them with capital to improve economic production.

Appendix 2.9

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-chá’s weekly televised address delivered on August 29th, 2014

The prime minister notes that though the country has a King as a head of state, they are committed to supplementing this system with a democratic government. To achieve this the country is committed to carrying out free and fair elections accompanied by policies to eliminate unfair practices in the public sector. The prime minister also states that the leadership is committed to developing a democratic system that is appropriate to the country and internationally accepted. The country already has a provisional constitution with democracy as a principle. However, the prime minister is quick to note that because the country is not yet peaceful, they need military intervention. To put it simple, General Prayut Chan-o-chá urges all Thai citizens on the importance of democracy and the international community.

The prime minister notes that the country is becoming very capitalistic. The citizens are trying to access loans to help them grow their wealth. However because of the increase in demand for loans, loan sharks have taken advantage and are making a
killing. Since the country is capitalistic, these individuals have done no wrong. The capitalistic nature has also resulted in an unequitable resource distribution which has widened the gap between the rich and the poor. General Prayut also calls for collaboration from all sides to strengthen Thailand’s economy “today, we have to work rapidly on strengthening every system to be more resilient against corruption, especially in our public service, be they civil servants, police or military, and the related private sector.” Therefore, it is clear that General Prayut believes that in order to improve the country’s economy, it requires both public and private sectors to be transparent.

In the state the Prime minister states that the country is leading towards monarchy. In the beginning of General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s speech, he expresses his gratitude for His Majesty the late King Bhumibol Adulyadej’s royal grace in appointing General Prayut Chan-o-cha as the Prime Minister of Thailand. He said that “on the occasion of His Majesty’s Royal Command appointing me as Prime Minister, I wish to express my deepest gratitude for His royal grace. This has been the highest honour of my life – and not only for myself, but for my entire family.” This statement is clearly supported the ideology of feudalism. Moreover, General Prayut Chan-o-cha believes that the new constitution will help to define the roles of every person in the country and also help to reduce corruption especially by the elected leaders. He is also committed to developing a government that fulfils its roles to the people.

Appendix 2.10

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on August 28th, 2015

The first ideology that comes up in this speech is that of the Monarchy. Monarchy ideology involves the use of the monarch institutions to gain legitimacy. The Prime Minister goes a long way in associating his government and his new cabinet with the Thai Monarch, so much so that the wearing in ceremony of the new cabinet was done at a hospital where His majesty was admitted. The second ideology is apparent in the Prime Minister’s speech is that of democracy. The democratic
ideology is shaped by an emphasis on the people, on government working for the people, and on the people having their say in how the government is run. The Prime Minister dedicates the first part of his speech on the relationship between the government and the Thai people. He calls on his new cabinet to engage the public and ensure that the government became more effective in meeting the needs of the Thai people.

While the voice of the people would ideally be done through elections which the Prime Minister does not mention, there is no denying that citizen participation is a strong pillar in the democratic ideology. The third ideology manifests in this speech is that of self-sufficiency economic ideology. This is highlighted in the last part of the speech where the Prime Minister describes a raft of measures that have been undertaken to make the Thai economy self-sufficient for the benefit of its citizens. General Prayut Chan-o-cha uses the speech to inform the public of extensive intervention measures in different sectors of the economy that will boost production at the local and regional level with the intention of creating jobs and creating food security in Thailand.

Appendix 2.11

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 4th, 2015

The first ideology that shapes the Prime Minister speech is that of authoritarianism. This ideology is marked by a strong center of power and low regard for human and political rights. In the case of General Prayut Chan-o-cha, there is an aura of authority that is characterized by making sweeping statements that favor his position without considering the argument raised by his opponents. For instance, he insists that his government would be driven by the will of the people while at the same time accuses proponents of democracy as seeking to cause trouble in the country.
The second ideology that is clear in the speech by General Prayut Chan-o-cha is that of capitalism. The Prime Minister highlights a number of capital injections to various sectors including the villages, the agricultural sector, and in the finance sector for purposes of increasing production and improving the lives of Thai citizens. Nearly all the solutions highlighted as part of the economic agenda are allocated funds to act as capital and increase production.

The third ideology is that of self-sufficient economic ideology. In this regard, the Prime Minister’s speech highlights a number of actions that are needed to make the Thailand economy self-sufficient. For instance, the proposed solution to the rising cost of prices of consumer goods is to increase production in the local economy and ensure that the local communities produce enough to sustain not just themselves but also sell to the local economy. The self-sufficiency economy is also replicated in the call for the government to implement plans that will enhance cooperation with local private sector players for purposes of boosting the local economy. The incentives provided to local businesses are meant to support Thai businesses and ensure that they produce enough goods and services for the locals.

Appendix 2.12

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 11th, 2015

The first ideology that comes up in this speech is that of the Monarchy. Monarchy ideology involves the use of the monarch institutions to gain legitimacy. The Prime Minister goes a long way in associating his government and his new cabinet with the Thai Monarch, so much so that the wearing in ceremony of the new cabinet was done at a hospital where His majesty was admitted.

The second ideology is apparent in the Prime Minister’s speech is that of democracy. The democratic ideology is shaped by an emphasis on the people, on government working for the people, and on the people having their say in how the
government is run. The Prime Minister dedicates the first part of his speech on the relationship between the government and the Thai people. He calls on his new cabinet to engage the public and ensure that the government became more effective in meeting the needs of the Thai people. While the voice of the people would ideally be done through elections which the Prime Minister does not mention, there is no denying that citizen participation is a strong pillar in the democratic ideology.

The third ideology manifests in this speech is that of self-sufficiency economic ideology. This is highlighted in the last part of the speech where the Prime Minister describes a raft of measures that have been undertaken to make the Thai economy self-sufficient for the benefit of its citizens. General Prayut Chan-o-cha uses the speech to inform the public of extensive intervention measures in different sectors of the economy that will boost production at the local and regional level with the intention of creating jobs and creating food security in Thailand.

Appendix 2.13

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 18th, 2015

The nationalism ideology is prevalent in the speech delivered by General Prayut Chan-O-cha. For instance, in the first parts of the speech, the Thai Prime Minister emphasizes the need for embrace the Thai culture and this he does by celebrating the Thai art. There is also a deliberate call for Thai citizens to be patriotic and to practice their culture with pride which is in line with the nationalism ideology where leaders appeal to their people’s sense of pride.

The second ideology is that of democracy. The Prime Minister addresses the issue of democracy with regard to political reforms. General Prayut is categorical that the ultimate power rests with the people and that the people’s power is exercised through the national administration which he rightly observes has a duty to protect public interest. The democratic ideology informs the promise that the NCPO will do
more to repeal some of the old laws and make them modern and in line with the high standards of justice required of a democratic country. The steering committee meant to usher in a new constitution is also a product of the democratic ideology.

The third ideology that is present in the Prime Minister’s speech is that of capitalism. The majority of the speech’s address of economic matters touched on provision of capital various economic sectors. For instance, the solution to urban planning is highlighted as requiring local investment in the form of capital that would not only settle Thai citizens but also raised more revenue for purposes of re-investment in other areas. This emphasis on capital as the center of economic growth is characteristic of capitalistic ideology. The capitalism ideology can also be used to explain the Thai Prime Minister’s call for marketing and exportation of local crop as a way of raising income among the Thai farmers.

Appendix 2.14

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on September 25th, 2015

This analysis discusses four ideologies that were prominently referenced in General Chan-o-cha’s address. Democracy is the first ideology that emerges from General Chan-o-cha’s speech. The leader reminds his citizens that they are allowed to express their opinions whether they are critical or in support of his government. The general is very keen to assure citizens that anti-government protests are permitted, a pointer to open expression and one of the tenets of democracy. The speech is heavily laden with innuendo on the Thai people’s collective patronage over the running of the country. The prime minister describes Thailand as a country that “belongs to 70 million people” and as a “state of the people.” He touts the importance of public input in governance through democratic processes, and asserts that the government will treat all people equally.

The speech harbors many references to a nationalistic agenda in various economic and social undertakings by the government. In his address, General Chan-o-
cha implores the citizens to be proud of their country, and to refrain from activities that could harm the country’s image. He tells the Thai people that they “all need to love our nation and show the positive side of Thailand to the international community.” The Prime Minister calls for unity among the Thai people, asserting that “I am confident that all problems will be resolved should everyone work together…”

The Prime Minister touted a philosophy of self-sufficiency as informing his government’s economic and social development planning. The King’s Sufficiency Economy Philosophy that the Prime Minister refers to in the speech, is a long-term Thai philosophy, which involves a balance between abundance and moderation in production and consumption to ensure that every individual and the country as a whole is able to rely on themselves. The mantra, which has been around since the 70s is envisioned as a path to happiness for all Thais.

Various snippets in the Prime Minister’s speech point to an economic system where people are allowed to invest freely and enjoy the rewards of their hard work. General Prayut spoke about meeting with potential investors from the United States with a view to inviting them to invest in Thailand. He emphasizes the importance of private sector participation in economic formulation, and refers severally to his desire for a robust private sector, which is a core pillar of a capitalist economy.

Appendix 2.15

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 2th, 2015

The first emergent ideology is nationalism. In the speech, General Chan-o-cha asked Thai citizens to be proud of their country, and revealed that one of his agendas during his visit to New York involved asking diplomatic officials to promote the image of Thailand as a reforming nation. He said that he had “highlighted the importance of Thainess for the Thai people residing in a different country.” The Prime Minister also expressed pride in what he perceived as a reverence for Thai culture by
American people. The country’s quest to hold regional leadership in the G77 and at the United Nations Security Council is indication of a country that looks to promote its interests beyond its borders.

Next, the prominence of the Thai monarchy is apparent from General Prayut’s address. In the speech, the Prime Minister refers several times to His Majesty the King Bhumibol Adulyadej. Thailand is a constitutional monarchy, in which the monarchy coexists with an elected government. The royal seat in Thailand is a highly revered position that has existed for centuries. His Majesty Bhumibol Adulyadej who was King during this speech by General Chan-o-cha is widely credited with many of the economic reform policies that have helped Thailand into a more prosperous nation. In this speech, the Prime Minister speaks with clear reverence for the King, and it is telling that despite Chan-o-cha coming to power through a coup, he has allowed the Monarchy to thrive.

The sufficiency economy principle is a perpetual subject of general Chan-o-cha’s weekly addresses and it is no different in this speech. General Chan-o-cha lauded the principle, which is based around sustainable use of resources, as being behind the big leaps that Thailand had made economically over the past few decades. The country also seeks to promote the Sufficiency Economy philosophy to other countries, with General Chan-o-cha revealing that an exhibition christened “Sufficiency Economy: An Approach to Sustainable Development” had been spearheaded by the Thai government at the UNGA conference.

Appendix 2.16

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 9th, 2015

The first ideology was Buddhism. At the beginning of the speech, the Prime Minister reminded Thais about the Vegetarian Festival which was to be celebrated the
following week. He touted the festival as a celebration of various Buddhist virtuous principles, and central among them being healthy eating. Buddhism is the most popular religion in Thailand and informs many of the policy guidelines on many fronts. In his speech, the Prime Minister urges the observance of the five Buddhist precepts by his citizens.

The next ideology was democracy. General Chan-o-cha defends various democratic principles in his speech such as human rights, free speech and right to choose. He reassures the nation in his speech, “please rest assured that we have no policies or intentions to breach your rights.” On the other hand, he seems to justify conflicting actions that his government has perpetuated when he says, “People of advanced nations uphold the law. Are we able to have freedom and stability like them?” In this statement, he casts doubt on the ability of Thailand to thrive peacefully without the use of high-handed techniques to quell dissent. The draconian actions of his government, which he largely justifies in the speech as ways to protect the law project authoritarian leaning, which conflicts the principle of democracy.

The third ideology was Self-sufficiency. The principle of self-sufficiency for the country and its citizens constitutes a major part of the government’s economic action that Chan-o-cha outlines in this speech. Through the Sufficiency Economy Principle that was initiated by HM King Bhumibol Adulyadej, Thai economic policy is based on austerity in production and consumption. He refers to the Sufficiency Economy various times in this speech. He presents the adoption of the philosophy as a way to ensure sustainable use of the dwindling water resources arising from forest destruction and changing weather patterns.

The last ideology was capitalism. The economic plan outlined in this speech is largely dependent on promoting private businesses. This is a central tenet of capitalist economies. General Chan-o-cha seeks to have more infrastructural resources directed at the industrial sector because Thailand’s “basic infrastructure and public utilities have focused on supporting the public but not as much for businesses.” He also speaks about empowering SMEs and small producers including peasants.
Appendix 2.17

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 16th, 2015

The first ideology that is apparent in the speech is nationalism. The prime minister expressed pride for the national football team’s good performance in the World Cup qualifiers. Towards the end of the speech, he also expressed pride at foreigners’ enthusiasm towards Thai culture being showcased at the Thailand Pavilion at the World Expo. He urged Thais to continue to promote Thai identity, culture and traditions. Elsewhere in the speech, General Chan-o-cha attempts to tie cooperation with his government as a show of love for country. He calls for restraint from domestic critics “especially so that we can strengthen international confidence in Thailand.”

The ideological theme of democracy is a prominent subject in this speech by General Chan-o-cha. He speaks positively about “fairness in society,” equitable justice, transparency and “check-and-balance mechanisms” among other concepts that are part and parcel of democracy. He outlined a reform program that had one of its goals as “building a democracy that promotes citizens' roles and duties and not only based on freedom.” The entire reform agenda that Chan-o-cha spells out is aimed at preparing the country to hold elections that would install a government chosen the will of the people, a central tenet of modern democracy.

Another ideology present in the speech is capitalism. The Prime Minister urges sound economic practices by the various stakeholders in the Thai economy, with his speech concentrating on farmers and fishermen. A capitalist economy is characterized by a profit driven private sector with broad self-determination space, subject to necessary government regulation. In this speech, the Prime Minister implies such a relationship between the government and the various players in the economy. The farmers production approach is not coerced by government but is directed through self-determination and subtle policy changes by the government.
To a lesser extent, the ideology of self-sufficiency is apparent in the general’s call for intelligent and sustainable farming methods and utilization of water resources. He does not mention the principle itself but the Sufficiency Economic Principle is a strong pillar of Thailand’s economic model.

Appendix 2.18

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on November 6th, 2015

Democracy is the system which all rights are in the hand of the general public. In fact, the democracy is the government of the people and by the people. In that particular speech, the prime minister of Thailand shows his concerns to the electron process. Moreover, he stated that “people have the right to select their leadership through free and fair voting process.” This specific statement clearly reflects that the main character of the speech strongly supports the system of the democracy. Moreover, he describes that the selected authorities should take a decision by the willingness of the majority of the staff. For instance, in the five river meeting, everyone should have the right to participate in the final decision. His acts and behavior clearly in favor of the democratic process. At the end of the speech, he clearly shows his intentions that he is not against the political moments because protest is the right of the general public. However, he strictly against the illegal acts actions from the side of political parties because these illegal acts damage the state in many ways.

Nationalism means to put the interest of the country at the top priority. In that particular speech, the prime mister used such kind of statements which clearly shows his nationalist approach. For instance, he said that “political moments should not breach the laws and regulations because illegal acts damage the state.” This statement of the prime minister clearly reflects that he always worries and care about the interest of the country rather than the personal interest. Likewise, he stated that “the people are the central part of the state and they have the right to take decisions” Moreover, at
many places he suggests that all parties and authorities should take the decision for the betterment of the country. All the statements of the prime minister show his interest in the country.

The nationalist approach of prime minister is beneficial for the country. As a whole, the prime minister focuses on the point that people should move forward think about the success of the country. Moreover, he thinks that the political protests and movements which are against the law promote the situation of the deadlock in the country, the problems can be resolved through table talks and discussion rather than just protesting in an illegal manner. Nationalism is the central idea of the speech. Moreover, it reflects the ideological approach of the leader

Appendix 2.19

I Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on November 13th, 2015

The first ideology evident in the Prime Minister’s speech is authoritarianism. Authoritarianism refers to limited political freedom and strong central power. It can be seen from the speech that General Prayut has limited the freedom of the press as he urged the press members to be extra careful of possible repercussions when presenting news. General Prayut urged that the cases involving the possibility of misconduct by Government officials should be reported carefully as incorrect presentation of these cases can impact other matters. He also asked the press members to present news that is based on fact and truth as some press members are being charged with defamation because of stories not based on truth. The General asked for cooperation of the press members otherwise they would be sued for defamation. This shows that the political freedom of the press has been limited by General Prayut and he has warned that legal actions will be taken against press members for reporting critical events.

The second ideology, which is evident from General Prayut Chan-o-cha speech is democracy. Democracy means equal rights, freedom and power resting in
the hands of people. General Prayut emphasized democracy when he addressed the politicians and political parties. He said that people must understand that a democratic system is needed in Thailand where politicians work together for administering the country for well-being and happiness of all 70 million people, not just certain groups of people. General Prayut emphasized that politicians must help him in thinking about what can be done for fixing the problems at hand while refraining from escalating conflicts in society. General Prayut wished to establish a democratic system in Thailand and give people the power to choose their leader thus the democracy ideology is exhibited in his speech.

The third ideology exhibited by the Prime Minister General Prayut in his speech is nationalism. Nationalism means promoting the greatness of being unified as a nation. In the beginning of his speech, General Prayut called upon the public to be mindful that people with disabilities are valuable resource of the nation and if they are looked after and provided opportunities, they can make important contributions to the country. The most important aspect pointed in this regard by Prayut is to build an environment where people can live their lives with equal access and opportunities without discrimination. Equality and unity is emphasized by General Prayut. He also promoted nationalism by asking members of the public to purchase produce from farmers who have been affected by drought disaster as this could help them in earning sufficient income and get through the disaster. Regarding the issues at community level such as those involving low-income earner and struggling farmers, General Prayut said that we should cooperate as a “state of the people”. All these points discussed by General Prayut in his speech promote nationalism.

Appendix 2.20

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 12th, 2015

The first ideology exhibited by General Prayut in his speech is nationalism. Nationalism is reflected in the start of General Prayut’s speech as he mentioned the
saying “unity is the greatest force of a nation” which was underscored by His Majesty the King over five decades ago. General Prayut discussed how His Majesty had highlighted that if people are united and there is orderliness, the country will prosper. He further said that therefore it should be accentuated that unity among people, coupled with collective responsibility to maintain orderliness, will be the driving factor towards sustainable growth of the nation.

The second ideology dominant in General Prayut’s speech is materialism. Materialism is exhibited in General Prayut’s speech by his concern about the agricultural sector. Prayut emphasized that farmers need to become entrepreneurs through formation of agricultural groups to uplift the quality of produce. General Prayut also focused on advanced technology and other industries deemed to have promising growth potential. He also said that a lot of emphasis will be placed on quality products, innovation, added value and processing raw materials. These statements of General Prayut show that he had a materialistic ideology and was focused on improving the materialistic aspects of the country.

The third ideology evident in the speech is democracy. Although in the whole speech General Prayut did not mention of democracy but in the end he mentioned of it which shows that democracy ideology was reflected in the speech. General Prayut’s ending remarks were “I hope that we will encounter only good things during the new year, and that the country is able to move forward while conflicts are either reduced or resolved, so we can finally progress to a lasting democracy”. These remarks show that General Prayut looked to resolve conflicts and progress towards democracy.

The fourth ideology evident in General Prayut’s 12th December weekly address is capitalism. The capitalism element is exhibited in the speech of General Prayut when he discussed the 7-point strategic plan. There were seven strategies that were discussed by General Prayut and these focused on market expansion, opening doors to trade and economic cooperation, border trade promotion, supporting Thai entrepreneurs in foreign countries, adjusting trade infrastructure, increasing the role of small and medium enterprises to create new businesspersons and creating added-value
in exported products. General Prayut also said that Thailand need to revise its 7-year investment strategy (2015-2021) to emphasize upon building cluster and super clusters. He urged citizens to be more involved in the matter and work together with reason. General Prayut ensured that the government will do its best as long as it does not violate any agreements, especially agreements made with the international community.

Appendix 2.21

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 18th, 2015

The first ideology that emerges from this speech is capitalism. The Prime Minister spoke about state-private partnerships several times, which is a manifestation of the capitalistic economy. He asked the private sector to participate in infrastructure improvement through construction of parking garages, shopping areas, and pavements around the train stations. In turn they would enjoy income from these endeavors, yielding mutual benefits for the public and the investors. The government’s approach to a capitalist economy is based on the “state of the people” approach which gives the citizens a big role in economic development. In order to facilitate this system, General Chan-o-cha said that his government would institute rules changes on this aspect of business. He also outlined various agendas, 12 in total that would be carried out by a special government-private committee.

The ideology of nationalism also features extensively in the Prime Minister’s speech. He talked of his pride at Thai traditions that were on display during the funeral of His Holiness Somdej Phra Nyanasamyara. The country’s performance at the ASEAN Para Games was also a moment of pride for General Chan-o-cha in his speech. Later in the speech he talked about the need for unity among all Thais, saying that conflict would stagnate Thailand’s development and destroy its image abroad.
General Chan-o-cha also mentioned various principles of democracy in his speech. He said that opinions and critiques of his government are welcome but cautioned that this should be done using the right channels. The context of these comments is based around the fact that he took power through a coup that is widely regarded to be illegitimate around the world. The sentiment in the international community is largely that General Chan-o-cha uses an iron fist to quell dissent among those opposed to his rule. The Prime Minister tied stability from less street protests with economic prosperity arguing that “nothing will move forward should conflicts remain amongst us, which will then lead to a lack of confidence among investors and tarnish the country’s ability to compete.”

The sufficiency economy is always a major part of General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s pronouncements. In this speech he encouraged Thais to use the country’s resources in a sustainable manner, in consideration of their finite nature, and the impact that unmeasured exploitation would have on the environment. The sufficiency economy is closely interwoven into Thailand’s economic blueprint, and it emphasizes the ability of everyone in the country to fend for themselves without depleting the resources that they have for the future. This is enabled through the use of production methods that are as effective as possible while using minimal resources. On a grander scale the country aspires to produce many of its needed goods locally instead of importing. This is the aspiration that informs the Prime Minister’s call for locally produced buses.

Appendix 2.22

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 25th, 2015

First, the nationalism. Thai people should do something nice for their society without expecting any rewards. This is a good sense for themselves and the country. The prime minister mentioned about doing something nice to Thai teenagers that “We are Thai and we need to do this for his majesty the king as he is turning 88. We will
keep cleaning this road without expecting any rewards. I admire these teenagers including their parents and teachers. I hope they will be inspiration which will stimulate adults and the community to do something nice for the society.

Secondly, the capitalism. Increasing markets and capitals in the countries in special economic zone is increasing opportunities for foreign investors to invest in the country. The government has made agreements and participated in terms of international trade as he said "Keeping the existing markets, for example, we will support in terms of trade, investment and corporation between Thailand and China, we will encourage it and make it concrete, and development in terms of trade, investment and economic corporation... Moreover, we need to get into new markets. These efforts will bring success by corporation from countries in Pacific Ocean areas, middle east countries, Africa, India, Russia and many other countries, especially for corporation regarding agriculture, fishery, public health and other participating fields of development."

Appendix 2.23

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on January 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2016

The first one is the monarchy ideology which involves emphasizes on the institution of the monarch. General Prayut emphasized how King Bhumibol was highly honored by Thai citizens. In the first part of the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha narrates the story of a Thai citizen who manages to overcome physical challenges to climb Mt. Kilimanjaro in what he claimed was inspiration arising from His Majesty the late King’s dedication to Thai people, as he said that “what Mr Ekachai wants to tell the world is that his success was inspired by his dedication and strong faith in His Majesty the King”. Moreover, General Prayut also said that His Majesty the late King was also his true inspiration, and hope that He had inspired all Thai citizen as well, as General Prayut said that His Majesty the late King “has truly inspired me as we all work for the nation and I hope that this has inspired you as well,
to be strong-willed, no matter how hard your task can be, as faith and hope will be our biggest inspiration as we guide our country through this era of reform”. The mention of the institution of the monarch was deliberate and meant to win the institution admiration from Thai citizens and at the same time endear the political leader to the citizens who are loyal to the monarch.

The second ideology is that of Capitalism which is repeated in the leader plea for growth in the Agricultural sector which he saw as posing numerous economic benefits for his country including self-sufficiency and attraction of foreign investment. General Prayut emphasized the need to export Thai agricultural products, especially Para rubber. General Prayut also stresses the government effort in pushing Thai economy forward, by saying that “the government has thus taken on this work and pushed to create an industrial cluster that connects with other businesses in other parts of the country.” This is in line with the capitalism ideology where there is a lot of emphasis on capital.

The third ideology is that of nationalism and this is clear in the beginning and the end of the speech delivered by the Thai Prime Minister. The speech calls upon Thai citizens to be mindful of their fellow citizens during the New Year celebration and alludes to prosperity and stability being products of unity. He also talked about the past where people were suffered and living in fear, he encouraged Thais to be faithful with the government and do good deeds in order to benefit not just an individual, but the whole society. He said in his speech that “the most basic investment is the investment in yourself. Invest in yourself and you will be a benefit to society as a whole.” This explains why the Prime Minister calls upon citizens to support, “efforts to make Thailand move forward with all working together…”

Appendix 2.24

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on January 8th, 2016
Since the speech was made a week after New Year festivity, General Prayut Chan-o-cha spoke of the country’s New Year’s resolution emphasizing on the nation, religion and the monarch. Moreover, every second Saturday of January marks the National Children’s Day, therefore, General Prayut Chan-o-cha also gave motto to every Thai children to do good deeds and become a good citizen for the nation. With this week theme, the researcher found three dominant ideologies that are clear in the analysis of General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s speech delivered on the 8th January 2016.

Firstly, the Monarchy ideology is without a doubt a strong influence on the speech. In the early parts of the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha asks citizens to ensure Thai children are brought up with virtue, “based on the teachings of His Majesty and the working model of ‘a state of the people…’” It is also significant that the speech’s first sentence is a message to mark the New Year from His Majesty the monarch of Thailand. Throughout General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s speech, he mentions His Majesty the late King’s teaching and how should it be adapted as a guide for every Thai’s way of living.

Secondly, the speech brings out the authoritarian ideology where there is limited political freedom and power is exercised by a strong central figure. In this regard, General Prayut’s tone and message to the media and to politicians is strict and undermines political freedom and expression under the guise of protecting national security. He states that “we will issue necessary measures to ensure peacefulness and safety”. The policy directions offered are firm and appear to have little regard for dissenting opinion from imagined or real opponents.

Thirdly, the Prime Minister’s speech follows the nationalism ideology. The speech makes numerous pleas and decrees on the need for being unified and supportive of Thai products in order to realize the full greatness of the country. For instance, the speech highlights an incident where the Prime Minister gave educational equipment that was purchased for a comparatively smaller amount of money when compared to similar machines imported from foreign countries. The passionate support for “Made in Thailand” products is also in line with the ideology of
nationalism. The speech by the Prime Minister highlights details on how Thailand can leverage its position in international relations to fully gain the benefits of trading its products to the international market. The planned activities aimed at boosting local economic growth also adds on to the rhetoric common under the nationalism ideology.

Appendix 2.25

I ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on January 22nd, 2016

Capitalism is explored at length in Chan-o-cha’s speech through his call to private producers, mainly farmers, to improve their production processes. He alluded to one of the central tenets of capitalistic economy, the forces of supply and demand, when he asked farmers to produce only what they were sure they could find a market for to avoid bringing down the price of their produce. Capitalistic economies seek to ease of doing business for local and foreign investors, and Chan-o-cha mentioned it as one of his endeavors. He said that foreign investors had complimented him for his steps in reforming the business laws in the country to suit investors.

General Prayut’s speech shows great reverence for the country’s values and traditions. At the beginning of the speech, he congratulates the U23 soccer team for their participation in the AFC Championship and expressed hope that they would form a great backbone for the future national side. He called for unity in facing the challenges that the country was facing raging from deforestation to political instability. General Chan-o-cha speaks with great respect for the country’s monarch, His Holiness the King, a revered institution in Thailand. This fact adds to the ideology of nationalism and advances the minor ideology of monarchy.

The Prime Minister touched on various items that are tied to the ideology of democracy. General Prayut insisted that his government was committed to achieving democratic reforms and even asked that the school curriculum encompasses lessons
“about democracy and a few human rights topics without teaching about civility, citizenship and the rule of law.” The sharing of information by the media is another subject that the General touched on, asking state and independent media to report fairly about the government’s noble plans. The democratic institutions in Thailand coexist with a monarchy, sharing power. The speech refers several times to the monarch.

A big portion of General Chan-O-cha’s speech covered details that were related to the country’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy that forms a very important aspect of Thailand’s economic approach. The philosophy is particularly relevant to low income citizens such as the farmers who he addresses at length on various issues of agriculture. He envisages a production model that is based on sustainable use of resources including water and land. In order to enhance self-sufficiency, the Prime Minister outlined a plan to replant forests that had been cleared for illegal farming activities and other uses. He described this as a way to safeguard the country’s water resources and end the perennial drought. He asserted that government assistance cannot be guaranteed for every little problem and urged citizens to find solutions within themselves.

Appendix 2.26

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on February 12th, 2016

Various times in the speech, General Chan-o-cha expressed pride in the country and the things that it had achieved. This shows a spirit of nationalism. At the start of the speech he expressed his gratitude to army and police veterans for their service to the nation, and called on regular citizens to emulate the level of sacrifice that these veterans had shown in service of country. Another moment of national pride that he cited was the high level of respect that the Thai medical profession drew, terming it as the “best in ASEAN.” He congratulated the Phramongkutklao Hospital for conducting the first ever metacarpal bone replacement with a 3D printed titanium prosthetic.
The Self-sufficiency philosophy which has been an important part of Thailand’s economic strategy featured highly in General Chan-o-cha’s assertions. The philosophy is aimed at ensuring everyone has enough sustenance while living within his or her means and without assistance in form of handouts from government. “If you have a lot, then you can use a lot. If you don’t, then you shouldn’t.” The Prime Minister sough to have a similar system on the national level, with government spending money only on the most sensitive and productive areas of the community. He clarified that His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency philosophy does not call for miserly but proper use of resources.

Thailand is a capitalist economy, and the Prime Minister’s address contained references to aspects of capitalism. The alliance between the government and the private sector is a critical pillar in capitalist economies. In his speech, General Prayut appealed to private investors and other producers to heed the call of the government in various aspects of production. General Prayut alluded to the freedom that farmers had in choosing the crops to plant, rather than having government assign quotas as is the case in quintessential communist economies. The prime minister invited private industrial players to participate in the reformation of the country’s education, an important aspect of capitalism.

Other ideologies such as monarchy and democracy appear to a lesser extent in the speech. The Prime Minister’s speech posits the monarchy as an integral institution in the nation’s governance and international image. Prince Mahidol and The King are mentioned severally in the speech, in reverence towards their various initiatives. As for democracy, the Prime Minister speaks of the people’s input in governance and economic strategies as being an important contribution to the nation’s wellbeing.

Appendix 2.27

I ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on February 19th, 2016
In this particular speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha reminds his audiences of the political and economic turmoil caused by the previous government. He asks his audience to compare the country’s political and economic condition to see how much the country has been improved since the National Council of Peace and Order took control of the nation’s administration. He states that “please take a look back and consider what we have finished, what we have initiated, what problems we have fixed and resolved, what we are currently rectifying, and what we need to continue doing.” However, the researcher analyzed the speech delivered by General Prayut Chan-o-cha on the 12th February, 2014 and found 3 dominant ideologies. The 3 ideologies are monarchy, authoritarianism and capitalism.

The Monarchy ideology is evident when analyzing the speech by General Prayut Chan-o-cha. At the start, the Prime Minister states that the country must be strong “within as suggested by His Majesty the King”. A major railway projected started by the NCPO is also mentioned in the speech, with the Prime Minister directing that the launch would happen on a day aligning with the Anniversary of Her Majesty the Queen’s birthday.

The second ideology that is apparent in the speech is that of authoritarianism. The Prime Minister’s speech on a number of occasion issues directives that appear to under the freedoms of those who differ from him. He also makes remarks that appear to threaten the media and politicians who are not supportive of the NCPO. The speech, therefore, is in line with the authoritarianism ideology where the central power enjoys a lot of power which is exercised centrally. The influence of Thailand’s leader appears to be in all sectors including in the judiciary and in the election process, proving just how powerful he is.

The third and final ideology that aligns with the remarks made in the speech is that of Capitalism. General Prayut Chan-o-cha dedicates a big part of the speech on the capital that will be required to change the economic fortune of his country. Some of the investments listed include the railway project in Bangkok; electric cars that
would help ease traffic congestion, and boost tourism. The import of the stated projects would be increased value of land as a factor of production and would ultimately improve the economy of Thailand. The fact that a lot of emphasis was placed on the implementation of projects meant to create and enhance capital is prove that the speech followed the capitalist ideology.

Appendix 2.28

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on February 26th, 2016

The main ideological positions that become apparent when analyzing the speech by the Prime Minister of Thailand are three. The first one in Buddhism and this become clear in the very first words of the speech. General Prayut Chan-o-cha starts his speech by noting the Maka Bucha Day is nigh and uses a Buddhist quote to pass a message that calls for good deeds as a way of having peace with karma. Towards the end of the speech, the general also brings out the Buddhist ideology by calling upon citizens to contribute towards the building of their country in order for them to get good karma.

The second ideology is that of the Monarchy which is also evident in the early part of the Prime Minister’s speech. The speech makes an allusion to good deeds and loyalty to the monarch as two things that are interconnected. The Monarchy is praised as important part of Thailand and the speech makes a plea for citizens to be loyal and to serve the His Majesty and the monarch. The monarch is also listed as a mark of Thailand’s independence and pride. The remarks of the Prime Minister regarding independence introduce the third ideology which is nationalism. The speech makes reference on the need for Thai citizens to be united and to be dedicated to their country. General Prayut Chan-o-cha uses personal examples of his service in the army and calls upon the citizens to imitate his example, further demonstrating his believe in the nationalism ideology. The nationalism ideology is supported in parts of the speech that highlight the importance of socioeconomic development policies that improve the
lives of citizens and enable citizens to be more united in a peaceful and prosperous country.

Appendix 2.29

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on March 4th, 2016

In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of the contribution that private producers made towards the economic development of the country, an assertion that proves the capitalistic nature of the Thai economy. General Chan-o-cha described many initiatives that had been taken to fortify the ability of producers in the country, with an outlook to improving production. The “state of the people” program, which the Prime Minister referred to several times is centered on empowering individuals and private producers by incorporating their input in the running of the economy. In capitalist economies, the government takes a step back from the intricacies of production but plays a supportive role through regulation and provision of infrastructure. General Chan-o-cha alluded to this role in his speech, speaking of his government’s intentions to increase infrastructure spending and to support producers through capital provision.

General Prayut Chan-o-cha gave remarks about the political crisis that had engulfed the country since his ascension to power in 2014. He spoke of his commitment to oversee a constitutional change that would pave way for free and fair elections that would return the country to democratic rule. He spoke of the participation of citizens in defining the progress of the country, a central tenet of the democratic process. The competing ideology of authoritarianism also appears in the speech, with the Prime Minister continuing to defend actions of the NCPO which are considered to deprive Thais their freedom of speech.

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha spoke about His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy as a way to address many of the problems that Thai people faced, in a bid to end poverty and inequality. The self-sufficiency philosophy
centers in intelligent use of resources to ensure maximum output without jeopardizing the source of these resources. It is a critical element of the country’s economic approach. General Prayut called for its continued application at the grassroots level through its incorporation in vocational training and sustainable development. The philosophy is as well a major part of dealing with the water crisis and drought which the Prime Minister referred to in the speech. Farmers were particularly affected, and Chan-o-cha saw sustainable utilization of water resources as the only way forward, at least on an interim basis.

Appendix 2.30

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on March 11th, 2016

In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of the contribution that private producers made towards the economic development of the country, an assertion that proves the capitalistic nature of the Thai economy. General Chan-o-cha described many initiatives that had been taken to fortify the ability of producers in the country, with an outlook to improving production. The “state of the people” program, which the Prime Minister referred to several times is centered on empowering individuals and private producers by incorporating their input in the running of the economy. In capitalist economies, the government takes a step back from the intricacies of production but plays a supportive role through regulation and provision of infrastructure. General Chan-o-cha alluded to this role in his speech, speaking of his government’s intentions to increase infrastructure spending and to support producers through capital provision.

General Prayut Chan-o-cha gave remarks about the political crisis that had engulfed the country since his ascension to power in 2014. He spoke of his commitment to oversee a constitutional change that would pave way for free and fair elections that would return the country to democratic rule. He spoke of the participation of citizens in defining the progress of the country, a central tenet of the democratic process. The competing ideology of authoritarianism also appears in the
speech, with the Prime Minister continuing to defend actions of the NCPO which are considered to deprive Thais their freedom of speech.

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha spoke about His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy as a way to address many of the problems that Thai people faced, in a bid to end poverty and inequality. The self-sufficiency philosophy centers in intelligent use of resources to ensure maximum output without jeopardizing the source of these resources. It is a critical element of the country’s economic approach. General Chan-o-cha called for its continued application at the grassroots level through its incorporation in vocational training and sustainable development. The philosophy is as well a major part of dealing with the water crisis and drought which the Prime Minister referred to in the speech. Farmers were particularly affected, and Chan-o-cha saw sustainable utilization of water resources as the only way forward, at least on an interim basis.

Appendix 2.31

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on April 22nd, 2016

In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of the contribution that private producers made towards the economic development of the country, an assertion that proves the capitalistic nature of the Thai economy. General Chan-o-cha described many initiatives that had been taken to fortify the ability of producers in the country, with an outlook to improving production. The “state of the people” program, which the Prime Minister referred to several times is centered on empowering individuals and private producers by incorporating their input in the running of the economy. In capitalist economies, the government takes a step back from the intricacies of production but plays a supportive role through regulation and provision of infrastructure. General Chan-o-cha alluded to this role in his speech, speaking of his government’s intentions to increase infrastructure spending and to support producers through capital provision.
General Prayut Chan-o-cha gave remarks about the political crisis that had engulfed the country since his ascension to power in 2014. He spoke of his commitment to oversee a constitutional change that would pave way for free and fair elections that would return the country to democratic rule. He spoke of the participation of citizens in defining the progress of the country, a central tenet of the democratic process. The competing ideology of authoritarianism also appears in the speech, with the Prime Minister continuing to defend actions of the NCPO which are considered to deprive Thais their freedom of speech.

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha spoke about His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy as a way to address many of the problems that Thai people faced, in a bid to end poverty and inequality. The self-sufficiency philosophy centers in intelligent use of resources to ensure maximum output without jeopardizing the source of these resources. It is a critical element of the country’s economic approach. General Chan-o-cha called for its continued application at the grassroots level through its incorporation in vocational training and sustainable development. The philosophy is as well a major part of dealing with the water crisis and drought which the Prime Minister referred to in the speech. Farmers were particularly affected, and Chan-o-cha saw sustainable utilization of water resources as the only way forward, at least on an interim basis.

Appendix 2.32

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 13th, 2016

In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of the contribution that private producers made towards the economic development of the country, an assertion that proves the capitalistic nature of the Thai economy. General Chan-o-cha described many initiatives that had been taken to fortify the ability of producers in the country, with an outlook to improving production. The “state of the people” program, which the Prime Minister referred to several times is centered on empowering individuals
and private producers by incorporating their input in the running of the economy. In capitalist economies, the government takes a step back from the intricacies of production but plays a supportive role through regulation and provision of infrastructure. General Chan-o-cha alluded to this role in his speech, speaking of his government’s intentions to increase infrastructure spending and to support producers through capital provision.

General Prayut Chan-o-cha gave remarks about the political crisis that had engulfed the country since his ascension to power in 2014. He spoke of his commitment to oversee a constitutional change that would pave way for free and fair elections that would return the country to democratic rule. He spoke of the participation of citizens in defining the progress of the country, a central tenet of the democratic process. The competing ideology of authoritarianism also appears in the speech, with the Prime Minister continuing to defend actions of the NCPO which are considered to deprive Thais their freedom of speech.

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha spoke about His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy as a way to address many of the problems that Thai people faced, in a bid to end poverty and inequality. The self-sufficiency philosophy centers in intelligent use of resources to ensure maximum output without jeopardizing the source of these resources. It is a critical element of the country’s economic approach. General Chan-o-cha called for its continued application at the grassroots level through its incorporation in vocational training and sustainable development. The philosophy is as well a major part of dealing with the water crisis and drought which the Prime Minister referred to in the speech. Farmers were particularly affected, and Chan-o-cha saw sustainable utilization of water resources as the only way forward, at least on an interim basis.
Appendix 2.33

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on May 20th, 2016

In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of the contribution that private producers made towards the economic development of the country, an assertion that proves the capitalistic nature of the Thai economy. General Chan-o-cha described many initiatives that had been taken to fortify the ability of producers in the country, with an outlook to improving production. The “state of the people” program, which the Prime Minister referred to several times is centered on empowering individuals and private producers by incorporating their input in the running of the economy. In capitalist economies, the government takes a step back from the intricacies of production but plays a supportive role through regulation and provision of infrastructure. General Chan-o-cha alluded to this role in his speech, speaking of his government’s intentions to increase infrastructure spending and to support producers through capital provision.

General Prayut Chan-o-cha gave remarks about the political crisis that had engulfed the country since his ascension to power in 2014. He spoke of his commitment to oversee a constitutional change that would pave way for free and fair elections that would return the country to democratic rule. He spoke of the participation of citizens in defining the progress of the country, a central tenet of the democratic process. The competing ideology of authoritarianism also appears in the speech, with the Prime Minister continuing to defend actions of the NCPO which are considered to deprive Thais their freedom of speech.

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha spoke about His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy as a way to address many of the problems that Thai people faced, in a bid to end poverty and inequality. The self-sufficiency philosophy centers in intelligent use of resources to ensure maximum output without jeopardizing the source of these resources. It is a critical element of the country’s economic
approach. General Chan-o-cha called for its continued application at the grassroots level through its incorporation in vocational training and sustainable development. The philosophy is as well a major part of dealing with the water crisis and drought which the Prime Minister referred to in the speech. Farmers were particularly affected, and Chan-o-cha saw sustainable utilization of water resources as the only way forward, at least on an interim basis.

Appendix 2.34

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 3rd, 2016

In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of the contribution that private producers made towards the economic development of the country, an assertion that proves the capitalistic nature of the Thai economy. General Prayut described many initiatives that had been taken to fortify the ability of producers in the country, with an outlook to improving production. The “state of the people” program, which the Prime Minister referred to several times is centered on empowering individuals and private producers by incorporating their input in the running of the economy. In capitalist economies, the government takes a step back from the intricacies of production but plays a supportive role through regulation and provision of infrastructure. General Chan-o-cha alluded to this role in his speech, speaking of his government’s intentions to increase infrastructure spending and to support producers through capital provision.

General Prayut Chan-o-cha gave remarks about the political crisis that had engulfed the country since his ascension to power in 2014. He spoke of his commitment to oversee a constitutional change that would pave way for free and fair elections that would return the country to democratic rule. He spoke of the participation of citizens in defining the progress of the country, a central tenet of the democratic process. The competing ideology of authoritarianism also appears in the speech, with the Prime Minister continuing to defend actions of the NCPO which are considered to deprive Thais their freedom of speech.
In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha spoke about His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy as a way to address many of the problems that Thai people faced, in a bid to end poverty and inequality. The self-sufficiency philosophy centers in intelligent use of resources to ensure maximum output without jeopardizing the source of these resources. It is a critical element of the country’s economic approach. General Chan-o-cha called for its continued application at the grassroots level through its incorporation in vocational training and sustainable development. The philosophy is as well a major part of dealing with the water crisis and drought which the Prime Minister referred to in the speech. Farmers were particularly affected, and Chan-o-cha saw sustainable utilization of water resources as the only way forward, at least on an interim basis.

Appendix 2.35

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on June 10th, 2016

In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of the contribution that private producers made towards the economic development of the country, an assertion that proves the capitalistic nature of the Thai economy. General Chan-o-cha described many initiatives that had been taken to fortify the ability of producers in the country, with an outlook to improving production. The “state of the people” program, which the Prime Minister referred to several times is centered on empowering individuals and private producers by incorporating their input in the running of the economy. In capitalist economies, the government takes a step back from the intricacies of production but plays a supportive role through regulation and provision of infrastructure. General Chan-o-cha alluded to this role in his speech, speaking of his government’s intentions to increase infrastructure spending and to support producers through capital provision.

General Prayut Chan-o-cha gave remarks about the political crisis that had engulfed the country since his ascension to power in 2014. He spoke of his commitment to oversee a constitutional change that would pave way for free and fair
elections that would return the country to democratic rule. He spoke of the participation of citizens in defining the progress of the country, a central tenet of the democratic process. The competing ideology of authoritarianism also appears in the speech, with the Prime Minister continuing to defend actions of the NCPO which are considered to deprive Thais their freedom of speech.

In the speech, General Prayut Chan-o-cha spoke about His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy as a way to address many of the problems that Thai people faced, in a bid to end poverty and inequality. The self-sufficiency philosophy centers in intelligent use of resources to ensure maximum output without jeopardizing the source of these resources. It is a critical element of the country’s economic approach. General Chan-o-cha called for its continued application at the grassroots level through its incorporation in vocational training and sustainable development. The philosophy is as well a major part of dealing with the water crisis and drought which the Prime Minister referred to in the speech. Farmers were particularly affected, and Chan-o-cha saw sustainable utilization of water resources as the only way forward, at least on an interim basis.

The Prime Minister also mentioned in a fleeting manner some other ideologies. These include monarchy through the mention and quoting of the King of Thailand several times, and nationalism through his calls for unity among all Thais.

Appendix 2.36

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 21st 2016

In the speech, the Prime Minister spoke of the contribution that private producers made towards the economic development of the country, an assertion that proves the capitalistic nature of the Thai economy. General Chan-o-cha described many initiatives that had been taken to fortify the ability of producers in the country, with an outlook to improving production. The “state of the people” program, which
the Prime Minister referred to several times is centered on empowering individuals and private producers by incorporating their input in the running of the economy. In capitalist economies, the government takes a step back from the intricacies of production but plays a supportive role through regulation and provision of infrastructure. General Chan-o-cha alluded to this role in his speech, speaking of his government’s intentions to increase infrastructure spending and to support producers through capital provision.

General Prayut Chan-o-cha gave remarks about the political crisis that had engulfed the country since his ascension to power in 2014. He spoke of his commitment to oversee a constitutional change that would pave way for free and fair elections that would return the country to democratic rule. He spoke of the participation of citizens in defining the progress of the country, a central tenet of the democratic process. The competing ideology of authoritarianism also appears in the speech, with the Prime Minister continuing to defend actions of the NCPO which are considered to deprive Thais their freedom of speech.

In the speech, General Prayut spoke about His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy as a way to address many of the problems that Thai people faced, in a bid to end poverty and inequality. The self-sufficiency philosophy centers in intelligent use of resources to ensure maximum output without jeopardizing the source of these resources. It is a critical element of the country’s economic approach. General Chan-o-cha called for its continued application at the grassroots level through its incorporation in vocational training and sustainable development. The philosophy is as well a major part of dealing with the water crisis and drought which the Prime Minister referred to in the speech. Farmers were particularly affected, and Chan-o-cha saw sustainable utilization of water resources as the only way forward, at least on an interim basis.
Appendix 2.37

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on October 28th, 2016

First, monarchy ideology was found scattered throughout the address. General Prayut expressed the feeling of respect and condolences to the King Rama IX. General Prayut emphasized that though King Rama IX passed away, his precept would still with all Thais. General Prayut emphasized on the King’s teachings and the sufficiency economy philosophy as a guideline to develop themselves and their families to be immune to materialism and live happily.

Secondly, the sufficiency economy philosophy. General Prayut said that the principles of sufficiency economy philosophy were considered the walk on the middle road, which was to be reasonable, to use all knowledge to consider carefully, to be sufficient, to not take advantages from oneself, the society and the environment, to be immune and to learn the change. The government was employing the philosophy as the key to create the national strategies or the national 20 years plan and the national development plan for all Thais to live sustainably and concretely. In contrast, the third dominant ideology was capitalism. General Prayut reported government’s effort to attract foreign investors. The government launched a public–private partnership (PPP) in many fundamental structure projects in order to reduce the budget and to enhance the ability to compete and encourage investment.

Appendix 2.38

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on November 11th, 2016

The study has revealed idea which contained via weekly television broadcasting on Friday 11th November 2016. Ideological analysis has aims to inform and to understand speech which is a determination and a symbol especially values,
belief and thought. There are 2 main intentions including the Sufficiency economy philosophy and Nationalism.

First, Nationalism: The Prime Minister mourned and paid remembrance of the late king which was a death of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej had been 30 days. The government paid a final tribute and in remembrance to the late king and mentioned about Loy Krathong day which was a Thai tradition. He mentioned about preserving Thai identity. He asked the cooperation from citizen to use and making Krathong to float and sell material from nature to protect environment. He commented to acknowledge to children about this festival correctly which aimed to make a forgive from god of water not only for fun.

Second, Sufficiency economy philosophy: applying the king philosophy adapted for living. The government created the center for learning sufficient economic philosophy, so people could learn and practice in their lives. One part of his speech mentioned that for government section which applied the king philosophy built 10,000 learning centers all the country including learning the Sufficiency economy philosophy and the new agricultural theory, learning center for increase quality of product produce. The government knew that learning center could make strength from root without middleman who could determine prices. Because the middleman had to purpose selling the lowest price to industrial section to gain the most profit following the law. If we were strong, sellers had to adapt themselves including mill by seeing the importance of nation and people profit.”

Appendix 2.39

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-ch’a’s weekly televised address delivered on address December 16th, 2016

First, Nationalism: To express loyalty to monarchy was a thing that Thai people have done continuously. It was because monarchy was a spiritual anchor of Thai people for long time. The Prime Minister mentioned that “In the time of “New
year” which closely met another year. The government asked for cooperation from every part to hold a new year activity. It focused on 3 important activities which were religion activity which every religion could do together to improve mental. It represented unite of people and kept peace of nation. For example, chanting, five percepts refraining, good making. 2. Public beneficial activity: Making charity to express unite and stimulated “subconscious” and promote “public service mind” to do good to public and nation. If an entertainment event was held, I wanted to be an event preserving Thai culture and identity of the country. 3 activities showing “loyalty” to the late king and best wish to the present King, Maha Vajiralongkorn Bodindradebayavarangkun.

Second, Sufficiency economy philosophy: Being a good model of practice was an importance because it expressed clearly making another to follow. The Prime Minister mentioned that “The king’s philosophy” remained to Thailand covered “project initiated by the king” which was idea and philosophy. “royal speech” was a word for teaching, warning. “Royal duty” was a working principle. “Royal behavior” of the Rama IX for all 70 years which Thai people applied to be a good model to practice. The government and government officers applied to administer country and created the nation sustainable and balanced.”

Third, Buddhism: Being a good person was another good character of Thai people. Following Buddhism quote, it made people to be generous to others, being not selfish. One word of the Prime Minister mentioned that “In the last I wanted to admire Mr. Withit Duangjumphon, “a good and generous taxi driver” who brought cash and gold ornament valued 3 million. They were forgotten in the taxi car. He tried to find the owner without hesitation and not thinking to possess. He called JS 100 and SWP 91 to find the owner. I thought that this was a good example to everyone and I wanted to invite “Thai people” bringing good story to share and taught children. Goodness was like flowers which had sweet smell creating fresh and improve mental to everyone in society.”
In sum, following situations, General Prayut Chan-o cha as a commander of Royal Thai Army and head of the National Council for Peace and Order used his power via dictatorship system to maintain situations and peace. In the same time, he invited people to show their loyalty to monarchy and invited people including government officers to apply the Sufficiency economy philosophy in country’s administration and development sustainably and balanced.

Appendix 2.40

Ideological analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 9th, 2016

First, Capitalism: the government increased fund for economic development in special economic developing areas which were internal and external countries. Those made the government built macro-economic area. For example, East Economic terrace (EEC), 10 special economic zones all country, large fundamental structure investment which required a lot of funds and cooperation including the government, people, private section and all sections. Those would be successful to decrease inequality of people’s income and other establishments.

Second, Buddhism: virtue and morality were the foundation of life. To improve Thai people having virtue and morality “founded the country to have virtue, morality, culture conservation, tradition and Thai image which was beauty. Also love and unity created by fairness and right preserving and law enforcement equally. Hope and faith creation on possibility made it true to create the future together which was better. We would create social “equality” and not “equality” economic by promoting development and reform of social and economy from root to be strong, stable and safe. We would create Thailand to be “the legal state” supported by practice which concerned politic and economic to upgrade life of personal resource equality. It leaded to increase potential limit of country competition by improving Thailand to be international. We would take it seriously to defense suppress and corruption suppress
by creating examine work mechanism which was an integration and could prevent problems sustainable.”

In sum, following situations, General Prayut Chan-o cha as a commander of Royal Thai Army and head of the National Council for Peace and Order used his power via dictatorship system to maintain situations and peace. In the same time, he mentioned about special economic area development which was in macro-economic level. The development would be successful and reduced an inequity of income’s people and enterprises.

Appendix 2.41

Ideological Analysis of General Prayut Chan-O-cha’s weekly televised address delivered on December 25th, 2016

First, the dominating ideology of the address was Monarchy. General Prayut gave the importance of Thai Monarchy throughout his speech, especially in the beginning where reiterated about the King’s concern for the people who were residing in the southern region and were battling severe flood. Moreover, General Prayut reported the Kings effort in helping general public improving their quality of life. For instance, General Prayut told the general public about the King’s school, where the King provided His personal funds to build border area schools for children and local residents. Over the year, the King had undertaken 6 rural schools to be under Royal patronage. General Prayut showed his gratitude towards the King’s effort throughout the speech.

The second dominant ideology was sufficiency economy philosophy. General Prayut mentioned about the philosophy multiple times throughout the speech. General Prayut explained the government applied the King’s Philosophy to its operations in many ways. General Prayut clarified to the people on how the government turned the philosophy into action, and encouraged the general public to do so. For example, General Prayut set up a development target with people as its center, meaning people
must be well and have satisfaction in life, in accordance with the sufficiency economy philosophy, which related with UN’s 2030 Sustainable Development Goals. Moreover, the government was supporting and promoting sustainable development by maintaining the balance between society, economy, and the environment.

The third ideology was nationalism. General Prayut reported about the economic uncertainty, where many sectors were impacted. He said that the government was working hard to provide assistance equally. However, it was time when every sector trying to help one another too. Farmers and agriculturists were affected by the economic uncertainty the most, therefore General Prayut encouraged everyone to be a part of helping improve the country’s economy. He asked the people about scarifying personal benefit in order for country as a whole to gain benefit.

Appendix 3.1

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-O-Cha, Head of the National Council for Peace and Order, on 30 May 2014

Good evening. On behalf of the National Council for Peace and Order, I would like to thank all different groups of people and government officials who have supported and cooperated with the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) throughout the previous week. The situation on the whole has been relatively calm.

The reason NCPO has taken control of the national administration was because of the prolonged political deadlock and protests. There were also various violent situations, use of warfare weapons, including corruption and widespread illegal activities, affecting the well-being and livelihood of all people. The caretaker government was unable to perform their duties effectively. Both the disbursement of national budget for fiscal year 2014 and the budgetary process for fiscal year 2015 had been severely delayed. If these problems were to persist, Thailand’s economy would have been adversely affected, as well as the interests of those countries which have economic ties and long-term commitments with Thailand.
The NCPO has taken control of the situation, temporarily, in order to stop the violence and break the deadlock that had prevented the previous government from moving the country forward, and to solve urgent problems affecting the economy. This is to return happiness and safety in lives and properties to the Thai people as well as foreign nationals residing in Thailand, and to place the Monarchy, who is always revered and protected by the Thais, above all conflicts.

The scope of the work of the NCPO comprises two main parts:

The first part is concerned with maintaining national security.

The invocation of Martial Law, the supreme security law, was necessary as it allows officials to take immediate control of violent situations. General laws had been ineffective in preventing violent conflicts from spilling over, harming innocent households. The application of Martial Law also ensures safety and security to lives and properties of all people while all sides learn to respect law and order, as well as human rights. However, having said that, all officials will try to apply provisions from Martial Law only at a minimum and as necessary to ensure minimal effects on the people and to avoid human rights violation. When the situation returns to normal, the Martial Law will be immediately lifted.

Regarding the curfew, it is intended to restore peace and order, and to provide security for the society. There might be some disruptions in people’s daily lives and commutes. We have to strictly enforce the curfew in the beginning in order to separate perpetrators of crime from law-abiding citizens, and to stop transportation of military-grade weapons and explosive devices as well as other illegal activities, such as narcotic smuggling. It is also to stop armed-groups from committing violent acts which have become a more frequent occurrence with a growing tendency to escalate. Since 22nd May, many members of armed-groups have been apprehended and large quantity of military-grade weapons have been seized.

Possible adjustment of the curfew period will depend on the situation. The NCPO has already shortened the curfew, from between 22.00 to 05.00hrs to between 00.00 to
04.00hrs. As the situation improves, curfew hours will be shortened in areas without violent incidents, and in tourist areas. Eventually we are planning to lift the curfew altogether as soon as possible.

To minimize the effects of the curfew, some exemptions have been announced for some people and organizations. For example, Public-health workers and organizations such as doctors and hospitals, energy transports, night shift workers, as well as those travelling abroad, are allowed to travel during curfew hours with the permission of relevant police/military personnel in their respective areas. This relaxation of the curfew has been carried out without any incidents. People feel safer in traveling to and from their homes after having been subjected to risks caused by violence and prolonged protests for the past 6 months and after having to live amidst conflicts for almost 9 full years.

Regarding the summons of certain individuals, it was necessary for us to request that they report to the officials. These individuals, such as protest leaders, key protest supporters, certain thinkers, and politically-motivated opinion leaders, are directly or indirectly involved with the protracted political conflicts. These people were requested to report to officials in order to give them a cooling-off period. They now have the opportunity to reflect on their beliefs and actions, and to listen to the others’ opinions. It is hoped that eventually all of them will put our country before themselves and learn to live harmoniously and act constructively in a society where individuals can have differences of opinions. Under Martial Law, these individuals can return home within seven days, while those who face criminal charges will undergo judicial process.

Individuals who reported themselves to the NCPO were invited to stay as our guests for a period from 1-2 day, up to 5-6 days. People with a violent tendency would stay longer than others, but not exceeding 7 days. They were well looked after and accommodated. Let me assure you once again that all human rights principles have been fully respected – there has been no torture, threats or any physical violation. On the other hand, those who failed to report themselves to the NCPO are considered uncooperative in the reconciliation effort, and hence directly breaking the law. They
will be prosecuted according to the law. Some of these people are still inciting violence; their efforts shall firmly be stopped.

All the measures that we have been used above had one common goal – to restore peace, order, and security to our society. We cannot keep fighting each other just because we think differently, or, even worse, use the law to our own advantage. Such actions will only create further conflicts that could devastate our country and its credibility in the international community. I strongly and sincerely urge all sides to put Thailand above themselves, to cooperate and unite, and to stop violent action. Differences should be discussed in order to find agreeable solutions, move the country forward and return happiness to the people.

Regarding the prohibition of political gatherings of more than 5 people, this also is necessary. Because we are in the initial phase of our operation, the NCPO cannot allow any group to create untoward incidents that may affect the stability of the country. If one group is allowed to form, then others will follow and the situation will escalate. We ask all groups not to gather during this sensitive period in order to avoid unnecessary confrontation. The NCPO will take appropriate legal measures against any group that violates this law.

Regarding freedom of the media, some programs or stations have to be suspended because some of these channels, including social media, have been used, during the past 9 years of protracted conflict which culminated in continuous protests of the last 6 months, to distort facts and propagate hatred among the people. Coercion, threats and propaganda have been used by each side to widen their circle of supporters, leaving people who are neutral “lost” in the middle. One side questioned the propriety of certain cases – some of which are already being dealt with by our judicial process – while the other side – limited by their roles as state officials – used the law to argue their case, leading to a deadlock where a democratic solution is inadequate. So-called “academics” were interviewed, propagating unbalanced and incomplete facts and creating confusion among the people. These were the reasons why some of
the media have to be temporarily suspended. The NCPO does not have a policy of interfering with the use of social media in any form.

Regarding the management of government organization, it should be the internal affairs of each organization. As for the recent reorganization of some agencies, this is necessary to reduce inherent conflicts within those agencies. It is certainly not to promote one side while punishing the other as some people claimed. People who have been reshuffled are those who were involved with the previous government, some of whom were in authoritative positions which caused difficulties and conflicts under the administration, and thus needed to be reassigned for administrative purposes. All internal reshuffles are within the purview of the permanent secretaries, and caretaker Chief of Police. Inter-ministerial reshuffles are, on the other hand, previously under the responsibility of the Prime Minister/Cabinet members, so they need the approval of the Head of the NCPO. These reshuffles are necessary to regain the trust and confidence of the general public, and do not reflect negatively on the performance of the concerned individuals.

The second part of NCPO’s work concerns national administration. After Thailand’s national administration has been paralyzed in legal deadlock for many months, resulting in the disruption of budgetary disbursement for 2014, both the general public and government agencies have been adversely affected. It is necessary to have a government with full power to drive the country forward and ensure that the budgetary process for 2015, due to start very soon [1st October 2014], will be completed in time, so that Thailand can move ahead towards joining the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC).

For the most part, the NCPO will use existing rules and regulations in the administration of all government agencies, unless there are emergencies or urgent problems that need immediate attention. The NCPO will not order any government agency to perform illegal activities, or activities that unlawfully favour specific individuals. We will only assign a working committee to work alongside those in the
agencies to move the work along effectively, expeditiously, transparently, in order to regain the trust of the people.

For those who are concerned that the NCPO will be spending the national budget inefficiently, I would like to reassure you that it is not possible. All financial transactions must strictly adhere to the existing rules and regulations of each agency. Discussions and enquiries on relevant rules and regulations will always be made to ensure transparency.

We will adhere to fiscal prudence and not overspend the national budget. We will also keep national debt in check. We are in the process of finding out the actual figures of the disbursed budget [of 2014 fiscal year] to distinguish between those that have been spent and those that have not. We are trying to increase the credibility of the national financial system in the eyes of the international community and foreign investors. Thailand is fortunate to have a good economic foundation and, with good and effective direction, we can become a key driver in the ASEAN as well as global economic community in the future.

Priorities for the rest of the 2014 fiscal year [ending 30th September] are:

a) Plans/projects delayed due to the political vacuum, which have direct impact on the economy, especially those affecting the basic needs of the people. We began by approving a budget of 92,000 million baht to be paid to rice farmers participating in the rice-pledging scheme. Some of this amount has already been paid out;

b) Plans/projects that have been approved but could not be carried out due to the legal constraints experienced by the previous government. These will be prioritized and carried out as soon as possible, especially those that affect cash flows of the economy, natural disaster funds, public utility funds, or national emergency funds. These funds do not involve extraordinarily large sums of money or mega projects.
c) Mega projects that require special budget. These will be studied carefully and considered very carefully for their costs and benefits. If they pass such considerations, they will be given the go-ahead project by project in the most transparent manner; for example, the dual-track train project, electric train project, and other public infrastructure projects. We will try to use normal fiscal processes for these projects, or perhaps private sector financing to reduce the country’s financial burden. The consideration and implementation of these projects will be transparent. Not all projects will be carried out. Every project will begin with the planning integration of all ministries concerned to ensure maximum benefit for the people. The projects will not be approved based on popularity or political reasons as was the case in the past. This approach will allow us to move forward with the planning of the 2015 budget, which should be under the responsibility of the next government/cabinet before 1 October 2014.

- All financial plans/projects will be carried out in a similar manner, or as close as possible to, those under the responsibility of a normal government. Emphasis will be placed upon the monitoring system to ensure transparency and fairness.

- Transportation and public utility infrastructure, such as water management, road construction or maintenance, especially those necessary for ASEAN connectivity, will be given immediate priority. However, they will not be made a burden to the new government. Therefore, all ministries and agencies must cooperate and integrate their efforts.

- We are considering measures which could manage the prices of agricultural products sustainably without bringing on more problems like measures applied in the past. Some of these measures include 1) cost reduction, such as the cost of fertilizers and seedlings; 2) increase productivity while reducing areas used, 3) environmentally-friendly measures such as substituting chemical fertilizer with organic fertilizers and use of local raw materials, and 4) improving the quality of Thai products in order to compete with other countries.
- At present, the NCPO has given first priority to making payments to farmers in the rice-pledging scheme. The Bank of Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives (BACC) is the responsible financial institution in this scheme and the NCPO is considering various measures to alleviate the BACC’s financial burden.

- We are also considering the promotion of free and fair trade, the reduction of monopolies, the establishment of central markets [so that regional distributors could not form cartels], and the effective management of tax collection. In addition, special economic zones will be established to support small factories along Thailand’s borders and rural areas. This is to provide economic opportunities not only for Thais but also our neighbours, which could help prevent illegal migrants from crossing into inner provinces of Thailand, thereby giving more work opportunities to Thai nationals.

- Concerning energy, we are also in the process of considering measures to oversee energy management. Everything has to be within the rule of law and financial regulations. This includes the establishment of more private funds and large national funds to reduce the fiscal burden. As for state enterprises, we will try to improve and modernize them. We will urgently develop renewable energy sources from wind, solar power, and biomass.

- Boards of state enterprises will have to be restructured to ensure effectiveness, transparency, and good governance. They need to be equipped with able technocrats who can ensure transparency, impartial auditing, as well as good governance.

In summary, Thailand and the Thai people still face many problems that require immediate attention and timely solutions. Enough time has been wasted on conflicts. It is time for us to move forward for the benefit of our country.

Roadmap of the NCPO:
1) Phase 1: The first phase will involve efforts to achieve national reconciliation as soon as possible, at least within two to three months. In addition to security
operations, a reconciliation center will be established for central and rural reforms paving the way for the second phase. We will begin in all areas starting from family units upwards to villages, sub-districts, districts and provinces. The NCPO has assigned the Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC) to be responsible for holding dialogue between all sides to ensure a successful second phase. A reform committee will also be set up to pave the way for a confrontation-free second phase. There is no restructuring of any agencies, no request for monetary payment, or any proposal of amnesty.

2) Phase 2: A provisional constitution is being drawn up by NCPO’s legal team. A legislative council will be established to select an interim Prime Minister, appoint cabinet members to administer the country, and draft a new constitution. A reform council will also be established to resolve existing conflicts, with solutions that can be accepted by all sides. This will probably take approximately one year. It could be longer or shorter depending on the situation and cooperation from all sides. If the situation returns to normal, and a successful reform and national reconciliation and social harmony have been achieved, we will move to the third and final phase.

3) Phase 3: A general election under a democratic system which is legal and accepted by all sides. We will modernize existing rules and regulations in order to achieve a just legal system ready for the globalization age so that decent, honest people will be in the administration of our country that will carry out good governance.

All that I have said above cannot be achieved in time without peace and security. It will not happen if there are still protests without a true understanding of democracy and the realization that we are doing this for the country and the Thai people, and that it will be beneficial for the development of the country and the relationships with our allies.

I think that all of you share my feelings. For the past nine years, I have not been happy. But after the 20th and 22ndMay 2014, we have at least regained our sense of security. The NCPO does not want power for our own benefit. It was because the
country was not able to move forward. If government officials and the military did nothing, who would help the Thai people resolve this deadlock when the democratic mechanisms are paralysed; when there are incessant conflicts; when people do not trust the government; and when the rule of law does not work. Please trust our intentions. We, the government officials, civilians, police, and military, must support one another. Our country must come first.

The NCPO understands the concerns of our international friends. We understand that we are living in a world that values democracy. All we are asking for is to give us time to reform in order to mend our democratic system and make it right, just, responsible and beneficial to all people. With everyone’s cooperation to help move the country forward, the situation will improve. We believe that, [if you were in our situation for the past 9 years] you would choose the well-being of your country above a flawed democratic system. There are many issues that need cooperation from all sides. Nothing can be achieved if there are still protests or disruptions to our efforts. Please give us time to resolve the problems. After we have achieved our mission, the military will go back to our national defense duties, and look after the country and the people, and to ensure long-lasting happiness and prosperity in accordance with the philosophical principles bestowed by His Majesty the King. Thank you.

Appendix 3.2

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-O-cha, Head of the National Council for Peace and Order, on 6 June 2014

Good evening to all Thai people in all sectors – be they government officials, the police and military, the private sector and the general public – that have given support and cooperation in moving our country forward together with the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) since 22 May 2014.
Let me reiterate that there were many reasons why it was necessary for the NCPO to take control of national administration. The most important was because we respect the democratic process.

Our decision was based on the fact that the three main branches of national administration – executive, legislative, and judiciary – were being undermined. We therefore have had to safeguard democracy. We came in to make our country stronger, laying firmer foundations to prevent the structure from collapsing so that our country will be ready to move towards becoming a fully functioning democracy. The undermining structure which I mentioned involves the conflicting and overlapping working relationship between the public sector (civil service and political appointees), the private and business sectors and the civil society. It was problematic and led to a situation where respect for the laws was scant. General laws were ineffective. Special laws such as the Internal Security Act, Emergency Decree, and Martial Law had to be invoked. Independent agencies were unable to fully perform their duties. The judicial system was not working effectively. People started to lose trust and faith in the whole system. Laws and law enforcement officers were not being respected, making it impossible to solve the issues. We were thus becoming an immoral society. I will not mention about the existing good things but will only mention things that are damaging.

Therefore a society without morality, without virtue, without good governance, could not move the country forward. The country must be ruled with good governance as His Majesty the King has clearly and continuously shown us.

State officials and other systems were being controlled and manipulated in every way by corrupt individuals, political parties and populist schemes. There were even problems with the passing or drafting of the laws due to interference in the interconnected administrative systems. There were some good things, but I shall refer only to the problems. As a result, there were widespread conflicts at many levels from the civil society to socio-economic. On international relations, we were losing trust and confidence and our dignity was not duly honoured by the international community.
We understand that we are living in a democratic world, but is Thailand ready in terms of people, form and method? We need to solve many issues; from administration to budget system, corruption, and even the starting point of democracy itself – the election. Parliamentary dictatorship has to be removed. All these have caused conflict and unhappiness among Thai people. Government officials could not work. So I had to ask myself “Can we let this continue?”. We tried everything to resolve the problem through peaceful dialogue and legal means.

This situation has been going on for more than 9 years, and the past 6 months have been the most intense period. There were many deaths, injuries, losses, and resulting legal cases, many of which are still unresolved. What we are doing today is to try and bring everything back to normal. We intend to return happiness to everyone living in Thailand, both Thais and foreigners; expand economic and social cooperation with our partners, and prepare ourselves for the ASEAN Community and AEC in the near future.

Today, we have received both praise and criticisms. It is normal that there are people who agree with us as well as people who do not. But in the interest of national administration, I will mainly consider the criticisms. These will be carefully considered and analyzed. If they come from good intention and are for the benefit of the nation, I will turn them into actions. It is normal to have people who disagree with you when you take on such an important task. But please be assured that we are doing the best we can in order to achieve our goal of a fully functioning democracy which is accepted by all sides.

In exercising state power at present time, general laws and martial law are still concomitantly necessary. In the past, people were not respecting the general laws. Although today we are using the highest security law, not all components are being exercised but only those that we deemed necessary. There may be some disruptions or inconveniences for some groups or foreigners, but we are asking for your understanding of our intentions. If we cannot keep the situation under control after we invoked the martial law, then no other laws in the world will work in Thailand. We will try to return to the use of normal laws as soon as possible, but people have to
respect the law. I do not want the international community to view us as lawless people who use violence as a means to get what we want. We have to change this perception.

If these conflicts and violence or incitements continue, a successful and peaceful election is impossible. If the elections were to take place and a government was formed amidst conflict, violence, and protests, and was not accepted by the people, will the problem ever be resolved? There may be new protests and we will have to use force to suppress them. We have gone that way many times unsuccessfully.

As for the establishment of National Reconciliation Center, my primary objective is to give people an opportunity to talk to each other after breaking up into groups since nine years ago. The NCPO will act as an observer, a facilitator and an information provider. We will collect ideas from all sides as well as use information gathered by previous attempts in order to encourage national reconciliation and reforms. We welcome all sides; conflicting groups, political parties, and we will discuss all issues and openly share information. The military will not judge what is right or wrong. We are inviting all to participate with less involvement of the military in this effort so that we can move onto the second phase – the forming of a government, a reform council and a legislative council. All issues will be brought before the reform council. Issues which have reached agreement from all sides will be forwarded to the legislative council and go through legislative process. In the past, there were only talks and discussions on the principles, but no concrete actions were carried out.

In order to achieve reconciliation, some activities will have to be carried out including recreational and entertainment activities so the people are relaxed and ready to talk. We want to stop all conflicts. This is just the first phase. In the second phase, everything will be resolved through the laws and the reform council.

Many people are concerned that we may be rushing through the process. I can assure you that I am doing all I can to prevent any conflict from recurring in the second phase. If conflicts are still unresolved, the reform council in the second phase will not work. So, once again, I am asking for your understanding and support. The directions
will be based on what have been proposed by the experts and scholars. The NCPO will only collect and provide information. In the past, people only choose to receive information from the media sources that appeal to them.

Some of the prolonged problems that I have mentioned did not start out only 9 years or 6 months ago but have been going on for decades without being resolved through the existing democratic process.

Today we are giving an opportunity to all government officials to work for the country, for the people, and for the King to resolve the people’s suffering and foster happiness according to their oath of allegiance so that they can truly act as good civil servants under His Majesty the King.

If national administration is improved in all aspects including integration of all government operations by connecting plans, budget, and people, this will reflect a good beginning. From there, the central, local and regional sectors as well as the smaller units will benefit. If we do not start at the top, then it will not succeed. It will not solve the problems, such as issues concerning water and land. And the Thai people will suffer from the consequences of these issues.

As for the international community, we are asking for your patience to give us time as we build our country and a democracy in which the Thai people possess discipline and a true understanding of democracy with good governance in accordance with the philosophy of sufficiency economy of His Majesty the King. Everybody is equal, in a society with morals, compassion, and unity. We have to look ahead to the people and the problems that we need to overcome. We have to look beyond ourselves or our own benefits.

The NCPO has been working for only 2 weeks. We have given our priority to solving the economic problems concerning people with low income. We have continued with the operations of all 21 ministries in accordance with the NCPO’s policies. We listened to all stakeholders, be it public or private sectors dealing with economic and social affairs as well as the general public – and consider all suggestions and use them as guidance. Existing procedures are reviewed, adjusted, and improved upon through brainstorming and discussions between government officials and the NCPO.
Projects that do not impose a burden or long term effects to the national budget system will be carried out. Corruptions will be dealt with. Individuals who are found guilty will be prosecuted according to law. All these will be transparent. Matters regarding security, both internal and external, fall under the responsibilities of the Ministry of Defence, the Interior Ministry, the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We need to prepare ourselves for the three main pillars of the upcoming ASEAN Community and particularly the ASEAN Economic Community. Today we have clear policies and designated responsible agencies, so they need to perform their duties. This is important in order for us to regain confidence from the international community.

I have instructed all agencies to operationalise their work in conformity with the framework of the Office of the National Economics and Social Development Board. The Budget Bureau should be consulted at the very beginning. There will be an evaluation process and projects that lack efficacy will be reconsidered, even if they are security matters.

The public or private sectors should jointly promote information on international cooperation through all channels. Cooperation between military and people along the border areas will be enhanced. This includes the ASEAN forests project which has been carried out by military units. The establishment of factories and the control of daily, seasonal and yearly labour along the border areas should be looked into. Some of these activities have been assigned to security agencies and are being expedited. Some are being restructured to ensure more effective results.

As for the establishment of factories at border areas and labour control, these are necessary in order to create job opportunities in rural areas. Otherwise people will travel to Bangkok and major cities to find work exacerbating problems such as drug trafficking, illegal immigration and crimes. These pose security problems in the short and long term.

Security issue is very important. It is not the responsibility of only the military and the police. It is the responsibility of all people. It is the duty of all citizens to be vigilant and to notify the authority of any wrongdoings. If you do not help the authority, the
problem may lead to violence and the security personnel may have to use force. Everyone has to learn to look after themselves and the society, and to minimize conflicts between people and officials. Reduced conflicts would lessen the need for law enforcement and prevent officials from making demands for personal benefit. Like in developed countries where people respect the law and security officials are there to provide safety and look after the people.

As for the strengthening of the military, I will oversee the development process which includes personnel, structure, and equipment development. This will be in accordance with the existing development plan and conducted with transparency. It is a national security matter which need to be made understood at domestic and internal levels.

We are also concerned with the problems of the farmers. At present, we cannot rush the effort to sell the rice in stock because this will cause a price drop and lead to more corruption. This will have to be carried out with careful consideration, evaluation, and inspection. The NCPO will support any efforts to inspect the rice stock if requested. Those who committed illegal actions will be prosecuted. From what I have learnt today, the price of rice per ton has increased slightly. I think it is better that we control the quantity of rice in the market and maintain the market price than if we were to flood the market with the rice in stock and make the price drop. We have to be very careful. Everything has to be fair and transparent.

Concerning the Board of Investment, this is the responsibility of the economic working group. The board has to be established as soon as possible. The budget of 700 billion baht cannot be approved all at one time. The approval process for projects will have to be more thorough. Emphasis will be placed upon projects concerning alternative energy sources, projects that are energy efficient, projects that will create more job opportunities to the people, projects that will bring benefits to our country and projects that will strengthen our country. I want Thailand to have an industry with small, medium, and large size factories. At the beginning we will have to start from small and medium size factories that can produce value added high technological components, particularly machinery. If we still depend on other countries for the production of machinery, we will not develop technology of our own. We need to be
self-reliant. It is important that we learn from foreign investors and encourage them to use local raw materials.

The budget for fiscal year 2014 which has previously been considered and approved will go ahead to ensure progress, reduces the suffering of the people, and reassures investors. However, there must be clear rules and regulations to make sure that national interest is not compromised. The budget for fiscal year 2015 is also being considered simultaneously. It is in the process of being evaluated by the Budget Bureau and the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board. They will be responsible for controlling national budget spending from the start. Similar projects should be integrated to ensure fairness and transparency. For example, government agencies that deal with water management or utilities have to come together to discuss and formulate a policy that clearly defines responsibilities of each other. Top priority is to identify host agency for water and utilities. Projects that will create jobs and stimulate the economy are also to be expedited.

We are in the process of integrating new initiatives or projects. We have established a committee to oversee the financial aspect of all ministries. Some members will be military personnel in order to ensure progress. This committee will have the responsibility to inspect those financial operations which are unclear or problematic. Any problem will be reported to the head of NCPO to prevent any mistakes. We are very careful with the national budget in order to make sure that all are in accordance with the law, fair, and transparent. There must be no corruption like in the past. Please do not believe it when you hear that I have been ordered, or coerced, by some influential figure to approve some projects. I do not negotiate with anybody. We want to change the society, so we have to set an example. Please ask me or the NCPO if you have any enquiries. I only receive suggestions from various sectors through my working group. Suggestions can be made through official and unofficial channels. We welcome all suggestions and we will consider which suggestions are beneficial and feasible or which can wait for later in the second and third stages. I value all suggestions. We also look at suggestions from the press and social media. There are
probably more than 10,000 suggestions that we are trying to process and this will take some time. We might not be able to do everything at once, so we will prioritize them.

Please be confident of our work commitment. We put people’s need first. Problems such as rice, agricultural products, tax, and energy price will be thoroughly checked, or delayed, in order to find the best approach. All solutions must be based on principle and rationale. People do not consider facts and tend to believe what we like, what we want to believe, but sometimes we must listen to the other side, or look at the whole picture. This is why I need to receive explanations and clarifications from all agencies that are facing obstacles in order for me to see the whole picture. Today we do not yet have the facts on many issues which require legal and procedural considerations. For example, the issues of energy and state enterprises are complex and need to be considered carefully. They are also connected to other issues such as tax reduction and oil prices, which will be affected. Therefore we have to start by looking at the whole structure. This issue may be delayed for a while, but will continue as planned once the root problems have been located and tackled. If we reduce prices as requested without having resolved the fundamental problems, other problems concerning transportation and utilities will surely follow. We will have to carefully look at all aspects, including details of investors, their profit expectations, and most importantly the real benefits they bring to the Thai people. I can assure you that the NCPO does not gain anything from this. We are here to resolve the problems, not to create more. I urge you all to be vigilant and help us stop all corruption through the use of law, and to avoid further conflict and confrontations. The NCPO will look into the problems brought to its attention and try to solve our shared problem.

I understand it is very dangerous to use absolute power to resolve national economic and financial problems, especially in the long run. But the most important problems we are facing today concern energy, taxation, prices of goods, and unchecked creditor networks. All these must be dealt with as soon as possible, but with careful consideration. If we rush into things and create more problems later, we will be held accountable and criticized. We will expedite the approval of various projects to stimulate the market. Next week we will have a meeting to discuss projects which
need executive approval at the ministerial level. Foreign investments, especially those with high budgets and long-term contracts will also be reviewed. All agreements must be legal, honourable, and accepted by the Thai people. My intention is to create unity among Thai people. People should feel that they and their properties are safe and secure; that they live in a social order that is just and moral - a society that does not tolerate corruption.

As for the justice system, I think all agencies involved already know their duties and the scope of their powers. However, they have to be able to perform their duties without outside pressure and influence. In the past, this was not the case and people started to lose respect for the laws and the system. The NCPO has removed these external influences for you so it is time to regain people’s trust and confidence. I have touched on many issues involving many people. The curfew has been shortened, or lifted, in certain tourist areas. We will continue to reduce the restrictions imposed by martial law as the situation improves. Some media such as television and radio satellite stations have been known to cause and promote conflict. These are being investigated and will be closed if found to be the cause of the problems. Contracts and agreements will have to be reconsidered. I am asking for the cooperation from all media to stop inciting conflict and support us in our efforts to resolve national problems. We have seized a large number of war-grade weapons during the past weeks. We are investigating the sources and networks of these weapons. These people were given the chance to turn themselves and their weapons in to the authorities. They have not, so now we are doing our duty. War weapons have been smuggled into Thailand through our borders. Military and police personnel can only observe certain border areas while the smugglers keep changing their routes. I take full responsibility for this matter. We need to find new measures to support and enhance these military operations, such as procuring modern technology equipment which is used in other countries. But we have budget contraints. Therefore we need to enlist the help of the local people to keep a watchful eye over the border areas. On the issue of social psychology, we should give focus to instilling conscience, education, public service, and reducing large scale permanent structures that have no use. We need to build quality human resources before building large scale and unnecessary
luxurious undertakings which does not meet the needs of the people. We need to be moderate. People have to spend time and incur expenditures in travelling to receive public service. I have already given instructions that the public should have unhindered access to public services through either the existing mechanisms or new systems.

On cultural issues. We should help to reinforce the values of “Being Thai”, national pride, and upholding the institution of the monarchy. These values should be included in the school curriculum by the Ministry of Education. On tourism, we should ensure that tourists feel safe and secure. However foreign tourists should not have a perception that they could come to Thailand to commit illegal activities as often portrayed in the movies. I am ashamed. Do you not feel the same when this is portrayed in foreign films? Everyone should join hands. Entrepreneurs should act within the confines of Thai culture and love the country. On religion, every religion can co-exist in Thailand and are all under the patronage His Majesty the King. Every religion teaches people to be good but there are some who are anti-religion or have ill intentions. The responsible agencies must look into the matter.

On the development of teachers and education system, we should resume courses on history, civil duties, and morals into the current curriculum. The purpose is to instill discipline, strengthen the physical and mental state, and reinforce conscience and social responsibility. We need to encourage our citizens, children, government officials and all sectors to build a systemic way of thinking by not thinking only in the short term basis. One should complete what has been started. Think for the long term with focused and rational thinking. Do not believe in what others say but it must be proven. National interest must come first. The people in society should have a sense of generosity, sharing, not become a society of abusing and defaming each other. We have to compete with many countries. Tourism is the most important because it generates tremendous income for the country so we need to push forward.

On the disbursement of state budget, I am concerned as it is political work and deals with populist policies which are not inclusive. Everyone must cooperate with each
other to build immunity. I think the international community will understand. We need time to see the results of the performances and work things out. We have wasted a lot of time in quarrelling among each other. It should not happen again. NCPO will not argue with those holding different views, either from internal or external sources. Everyone had their own reasons. We need to talk and resolved the problems sustainably. Regarding the legal procedures and other administrative issues, everyone has been rushing me to accelerate them. In all, the issues have come up to NCPO for consideration, be they matters regarding establishment, appointment, and abrogation. I fully understand your grievances and problems as well as your distrust. Please give me time to work things out. Do not rush me. If we do things wrong now, the problem will arise in the future. On the three-phase Roadmap, do not be concerned and try to understand. I find that there have been some misinterpretations. I believe my message is already clear. But the more I say the more you will try to find faults. This makes it difficult for me to explain. We need to dedicate and sacrifice to resolve the prolonged problems which have existed for more than nine years. International confidence in Thailand’s economy is improving. Well known credit rating institutions have shown confidence. The stock market has continuously risen with high volume of trade. These achievements cannot happen without the cooperation of everyone.

We must devote and dedicate ourselves more for the Thai people. I refer to the civil servants and NCPO who need to make more sacrifices to make up for the time that was lost while you had to work under pressure and domination from divergent groups. The people have suffered for a long time. We will deliver as promised which is to bring back happiness to the Thai people. The problem of the rice pledging scheme has eased. Do not worry about the unloading of the rice stockpile. We now need to tackle other issues. The budget will proceed as planned. We will ease the necessary measures that were enforced and may have had affected tourism or human rights. We have sent out teams to engage with those groups with different views. The academics who are currently not in the country have said that they will cooperate with us. I do not want to impose restrictions on movements of those who are considered to symbols of the political landscape and democracy. But you should understand the current situation. After the situation has been resolved, you may continue to engage in your
activities and posit political views but should refrain from creating conflict. Forgive us if we had offended anyone in our actions.

On creating general understanding of the situation, it does not rest only on the state sector, military, police or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but depends on all sectors of society. I have asked all sectors especially the business sector to help in explaining the situation. We have sent them documents both in Thai and English clarifying the cause of the problem, what we are doing and the progress made. It is important that all of us help to convey the message for the national interest. Of high priority is in dealing with the issue of malicious influences and illegal gambling, especially betting on football. The responsible agencies must tackle these issues to prevent family problems. Debts must be repaid. NCPO never said to default on debts, including informal debts. But it must be fair. We can facilitate compromises in debt payment. I do not encourage people to resort to taking out more informal loans but should repay formal loans. A just process in repayments could be better controlled. By continuing to take out informal loans, people will be exposed to elements that take advantage of the situation.

There are many other issues I would like to talk about but I shall find time to do so at a later date. I appeal to the university students and human rights groups and activists to refrain from instigating abrasive protest movements. If these movements persist, we may pursue legal proceedings. To our younger generation, you should understand that the nation needs time to improve and heal. When it comes to a point when we cannot move forward, we have to pause and fix our problems and push forward with hard work. These are the main areas I wanted to convey to you today. Delays in taxation and other fiscal rates, SME reform, and other commercial undertakings are in the process of being improved. All the issues that have been proposed to me, I am aware of the obstacles thanks to consultations with civil servants and information received from the general public and the media. We have been able to organize our priorities accordingly and will start to improve pending issues such as national revenue, and national spending, in particular large-scale investments in infrastructure. What is most important is who benefits from these projects. It must be the general
public and not just big industry. We will need to see how industry can help improve our handling of social issues such as public utilities, air pollution and waste disposal, especially building refuse management facilities and recycling centres. I have already given instructions so that these measures will lead to sustainable solutions and a stronger Thailand. Therefore let us come together to reform our country. I appeal to you all to join together and rebuild our nation. I urge all sectors to support me, the NCPO and the civil servants in a spirit of nonpartisan cooperation.

There have been gestures of holding 3 fingers in protest – that is fine. I have no conflict with you. But perhaps it would more appropriate if you can do this within your homes rather than in public. But how about if we all raise 5 fingers instead – 2 for the country, and the other 3 to signify religion, monarchy and the people. Raising 3 fingers is copying foreign films, but we should be proud of own identity. We can all live together regardless of our differences. All major reforms take time, but we can all work together to make this process quicker. Thank you all for sparing your precious time to listen to me. I am doing my best to ease tensions. I do not wish for anyone to fear the use of full administrative power. Those who have not committed any wrongdoings have nothing to fear, because our aim is to bring back righteousness and fairness to all people. The judicial process will determine that in the end. Once again, thank you very much and I ask for your cooperation and continued support. I believe that all Thai people understand my intentions.

Thank you very much.

Appendix 3.3

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-O-cha Head of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) 20 June 2014

Good evening to all fellow citizens.

I would like firstly thank all sectors – be they military, police, civil servants, public officials – for rigorously discharging their duties in cooperation with the general public. For their joint efforts in driving Thailand forward and return happiness to the
people. For solving vital national issues such as cost of living, crackdown on war-grade weapons, influential groups, gambling, crimes and illegal activities. And most importantly, for solving the long-standing conflict in the country.

The NCPO received exceptional cooperation from the general public and the private sector in creating an atmosphere of unity. This has been done through returning happiness activities in various forms in moving the country towards sustainable reform and democracy. In the past week NCPO stressed upon the implementation of the affairs of state in all areas. We are aware of the need to communicate with the public in an efficient and inclusive manner by creating awareness and understanding of the people.

We need to listen to the voice of the people, respond to doubts and create a common vision. The people need to be aware of the direction in the country’s development in various areas in the immediate, short and long-term of 5-10 years. This is to achieve a common understanding, expectation and action in implementing development projects. All important projects must engage the public through participatory process such as a public hearing. We should not proceed hastily or exclude the public from acquiring knowledge. We will take care of all groups of people in an inclusive and equitable manner and try to bridge the income gap in society. We need to create values of self-reliance, discipline, duty, working hard and not to rely solely on the State. We all must help to build a society which is caring, sharing, and gives opportunities to people with low income. Those with higher income should look after people with lower income. Thai people do not neglect each other by applying the philosophy of sufficiency economy of His Majesty the King, comprising the three elements and the two qualities of knowledge and virtue.

**On security.** In the past weeks, there were concerns about the issue of undocumented or illegal migrant workers. There were reports of a crackdown with weapons on illegal foreign workers. Many panicked and started to return to their country impacting businesses and industries in Thailand. This is a longstanding problem accumulated over the years. It involves many parties – entrepreneurs, government officials, Thai and foreign labourers. The fact is that entrepreneurs were unable to hire
domestic workers due to the high daily wage of 300 baht and the problem of workers unwilling to do difficult work. Therefore, businesses turned to hiring foreign, unregulated and illegal workers with lower wages. Smuggling of illegal workers led to problems of trafficking in persons, child labour and crimes. NCPO have to expedite the re-organization so that workers get welfare and fair treatment. And to prevent slave labour, child labour, human rights violations and exploitation by influential groups.

NCPO will reorganize the labour situation in the immediate term. Phase 1 will focus on eliminating influential groups that smuggle illegal workers. From intelligence reports they extort fees of up to 20,000 baht from each worker from neighbouring countries. The workers have to pay an additional 8,000-10,000 baht to move into the inner areas. On top they have to pay registration fees as required by law. The unregistered labourers who are on jobs at sea or on land are considered illegal workers. Their welfare is therefore not taken care of. They risk being exploited by their employers. Cases of violation of human rights, slave labour, child labour and trafficking in persons dent the image of Thailand in the international arena, thereby lowering our credibility on human rights.

For a number of illegal workers who were abused and fled the country, the same would be smuggled in to replace them. It serves the interest of influential groups. The more we tighten control through strict enforcement of laws, the more benefits they stand to gain from greater smuggling. The problem of high unregistered workers undermined the ability of the state to deal with the ensuing problems such as crime, disease, trafficking in persons and child labour. These problems have accumulated for a long time over several governments. Attempts were made to solve the problem but the situation did not clearly improve. The international community and organizations continued to monitor the situation. The U.S. government will soon issue a report on the situation of trafficking in persons in Thailand. Our ranking may be lowered from Tier 2 watch list to Tier 3 which may have some repercussions on trade and investment of the country. So there is need for NCPO to eliminate these influential groups and re-organize the labour situation as soon as possible. There is need to re-
organize the work of the public sector to be more efficient. Integration in the work of
the concerned authorities, such as security agencies, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of
Commerce, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, business owners and industry associations, to
determine the best measures to retain our credibility on human rights that is
universally recognized. In Phase 1, NCPO will allow registered and unregistered
labourers to continue their work. We will cover the loopholes of exploitation by
influential groups and capitalists. NCPO recognizes that this labour force is vital to
the Thai economy. We understand the difficulties faced by businesses and have
allowed those workers to remain on their jobs on a temporary basis. However, we
seek the cooperation of entrepreneurs in ensuring the registration of these labourers
and in complying with the laws. We should not repeat past flaws which created
opportunities for influential groups and entrepreneurs to exploit, coerce and violate
human rights of those illegal workers.

In Phase 2, the Policy Committee on Alien Workers, with the Chief of Defence Forces
in capacity as head of NCPO’s security cluster acting as Chairman, will re-organize
the entire labour control system. This includes daily labour along the border, seasonal
workers for agricultural harvests and registered yearly labour. A dedicated area or
zoning could be arranged to provide orderly living space for labourers and monitoring
of human rights violations. National verification centres are to be set up in
cooperation with neighbouring countries for determining migrants of unclear origin
such as the Rohingyas. Reception Centres are to be set up to facilitate the importation
and repatriation of legitimate workers in a safe and orderly manner. Consideration
will be made to review fees incurred by workers in taking up jobs in various
establishments. As for legal measures we will improve the regulations so that all
concerned agencies can work more efficiently. When all the labour force is brought
into the system we will be able to strictly enforce the law, comprehensively prevent
trafficking in persons, crimes, drugs, disease and human rights violations. As for the
chaotic events of large numbers of workers returning to their country, intelligence
reports indicated that influential groups spread rumors of a crackdown to arouse fear
among foreign workers. The aim was to malign NCPO. The influential groups also
anticipated that the huge number of workers returning home will give them a chance
to demand charges for re-importing the workers. NCPO will suppress these movements as soon as possible.

NCPO continues to give importance to creating a correct understanding among international community and defend Thai interests on the global stage. We are careful not to impact the foreign trade and investment climate. As the core agency, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs along with other ministries such as commerce and labour as well as various chambers, domestic and foreign, will clarify the situation and enhance cooperation that is mutually beneficial to Thailand and friendly countries such as negotiations on pending trade agreements. Yesterday, NCPO met with representatives from various Foreign Chambers of Commerce in Thailand to hear comments and suggestions that would be beneficial to trade and investment. There is a positive sign that they have a better understanding of the situation and the operation of NCPO. · On the issue of Southern Border Provinces, NCPO has given top priority and has improved the work of the public sector by integrating work plans, budget and operation to provide a more unified and effective structure. We cannot solely use force in resolving the issue but military operations must be coupled with development work in order to reach out to more people. Even though NCPO have a lot of work to expedite but we assure fellow countrymen that we will press forward in resolving the issue of Southern Border Provinces in order to restore peace soonest.

On the economy, a key work of the NCPO in national administration and driving the economy focuses on improving people’s quality of life. In the past week, we have laid out policy on formulating the Budget for fiscal year 2015. Government spending has been set at 2,575,000 million baht, while income has been set at 2,325,000 million baht, resulting in a 250,000 million baht budget deficit. This is a small increase in deficit as compared to the 2014 Budget. We will of course observe strict fiscal discipline. This budget policy is aimed at benefiting all sectors and areas, increasing budget efficiency, and reducing redundancy. And to integrate the work on similar issues under different ministries such as water resource management. Working separately without systematic continuity and integration without conformity to the 11th national development plan will result in ineffective solutions to the problems of
drought and flood. We have to set a deficit budget policy to correspond to the current global economic situation and to address the need to stimulate our economy. This will result in our people having more income and better quality of life. The budget deficit is only a small increase as compared to the previous year. The global economy has not yet recovered and adversely affecting many of the mechanisms we employ to stimulate our economy such as exports, investments, and domestic consumption with a downward trend. Thus, the plan to increase government spending will be a key measure for stimulating the economy, increasing consumption and employment, and raising people’s income. NCPO will closely follow up on this economic plan to prevent a recession. Also, during the budget year, further increases in government spending may be considered to increase employment and income opportunities. However, the overall economic picture since 22 May 2014 has improved as reflected by the increasing number of investments. The Federation of Thai Industries has reported the Thai Industries Sentiment Index to be at 85.1, a first increase in seven months. The tourism sector is also recovering, with a rise in number of tourist arrivals. The NCPO is expediting various plans under the budget year 2014 to benefit the general public and create a conducive environment for investment. Amongst these are the MRT Extension Project and the Dual-track Railway Project. As details for these projects have already been completed by the State Railway of Thailand and the Ministry of Transport, they are ready to be reviewed by the NCPO for impending implementation. In addition, the NCPO has policies to develop effective infrastructure systems. These include ensuring the connectivity and continuity of the public transportation system, and factoring in necessary details in the construction of MRT and BTS stations in metropolitan areas—such as parking spaces and the corresponding size of the stations in relation to customer volume. These projects are currently under review for their transparency and efficiency by a committee set up by the NCPO. The said committee is comprised of the Bureau of Budget, the National Economic and Social Development Board, the Office of the Auditor General, the National Anti-Corruption Commission, and other relevant governmental agencies. The NCPO may consider additionally applying internationally accepted measures for the review. The assessment on transparency and efficiency will cover all phases of the projects—the terms of reference, the procurement of materials and services, the
operations period, and the inspection of the work. The general public and interested parties are to be kept informed of the developments for all phases. There will also be serious regulatory and procedural reforms in the future to comprehensively prevent corruption.

In improving mechanisms of the judicial system, as well as the administration of governmental agencies, independent regulatory agencies, and state enterprises - the aim is to achieve efficiency, transparency, fairness, and accountability. For the immediate phase, the NCPO will address the pressing problems that are adversely affecting the country, in particular those in which solutions will not present a major impact on the general public. As for the next phase, we will address issues that are of concern to all sectors that have a wide impact on the general public. In this second phase, the public and all other sectors will be able to contribute through a reform council. This participatory process will continue until a government is installed after the elections and beyond to ensure an efficient, transparent, and fair system of government and administration whereby interests of all parties are protected equally.

On the improvement of state enterprises management, the aim is to increase and ensure the efficiency and transparency of operations to achieve international standards. Many state enterprises already have solid and working operations while only some have management or efficiency problems that are in need of resolving in order to increase their competitiveness in the market and be acceptable to all sides. For those in sectors such as energy and telecommunications, there will need to be a suitable ratio of shareholding between the state and the private sector. This is to truly provide consumers with suitable benefits and fairness, as well as to prevent monopolies. The NCPO appreciates the understanding of executives in allowing for improvements on their state enterprises in order to truly benefit the country. The short-term approach is to select persons with suitable expertise, abilities, and long-time experience in the relevant business, as well as other personnel with the relevant knowledge, to carry out management, administrative, marketing, financial and security tasks. Persons with such qualifications will also be needed as directors of the relevant state enterprises, aside from the ones already occupying the position. The next step will be regulatory reforms to address obstacles which may lead to inefficient
use of funds and damaging the interests of the state. These reforms will include adjusting board members’ remunerations to a suitable sum and ensuring the transparency of management and operations, as well as accountability and efficiency. The NCPO has assigned a legal team to consider ways to constructively change these regulations. On providing relief to the people, the NCPO has approved disbursement of funds, due since the budget year 2012, to individuals in distress. These people include those affected by natural disasters and those owed compensation relating to agricultural production such as rubber. The payments will be carried out in accordance with the relevant procedures and regulations and due rights. A verification process has been set up to ensure the accuracy of disbursement. For instance, in the case of rubber farmers, the person requesting payment needs to truly be a rubber farmer and must not have trespassed and converted forest lands into rubber farms. The Ministry of Agriculture has kept a list of such farmers and the NCPO has requested it to update the list for accuracy. Approximately 6,600 million baht has been set aside to provide aid to rubber farmers in 63 provinces. As for the approximately 580,000 farmers affected by natural disasters since 2012, 5,400 million baht has been allocated.

In addition, the amount for compensating farmers involved in the ricepledging scheme is approximately 85,685 million baht, or 93 percent of the overall budget for these payments. The pay-outs are expected to be completed by 22 June 2014. As for the longans coming from eight Northern provinces, estimated at around 500,000 tons and expected to enter the market during August to September, there are measures in place to address the issue. We will let ordinary market mechanism work freely while also encouraging the use of cooperatives systems, community enterprises, modern trade practices, purchases for sale centres, and industrial factories. There are also measures in place to deal with the enormous amount of fruits, including rambutans and longkongs, entering the market from the eastern part of the country. These measures include distributing products to regions outside the producing areas, encouraging produce processing, focusing on quality management, and promoting consumption. The NCPO wishes to make clear to farmers that our assistance measures will focus on means to achieve sustainability and efficiency without distorting market mechanisms.
These measures include providing aid by reducing production costs, encouraging the use of technology, promoting the market, and enhancing operations management. Subsidies will only be considered when suitable, and should be viewed only as a short-term aiding measure, as they distort the market and will be damaging in the long-run. For instance, subsidizing one type of agricultural product will result in a significant number of farmers changing the type of crops they produce, leading to oversupply and falling prices. Unscrupulous businesses could exploit the situation by raising the price of goods used as factors of production. Corruption may take place via the importation of low-quality foreign goods, which are uncompetitive in the global market both in price and quality. Ultimately, the state will lose tremendous amounts of income, while farmers still face problems in selling their products due to oversupply. As for the details on assistance to farmers, I would like to provide you with a proper understanding. It is a major issue of interest which affects farmers nationwide. Today we have earmarked assistance to paddy farmers for production year 2014 – 2015.

There will be two key measures to assist farmers. First are measures to reduce production costs. We received cooperation from fertilizers producers union, seed distributors, rice tractor dealers, the Ministry of Commerce, and the Ministry of Agriculture. The costs of fertilizers, pesticides, new seeds, and paddy lease rates will all be reduced thereby lowering the average production cost per rai (acre). The second set of key measures are based on providing support for farmers in the form of credit and short-term loans of a period of not more than 1 year that does not exceed the amount of 50,000 baht per person. The NCPO will also assist farmers who borrow in this scheme by compensating the 3 per cent interest on loans for the first 6 months. The credit program by the agricultural institutes will provide credit facilities for agricultural cooperatives and groups of rice farmers in distributing and developing rice products as well as increasing production, selecting the most appropriate technology to improve farming methods, and locating adequate water supplies for rice growing. The program will also cover measures to promote marketing, provide assistance in stock management, increase access to the international market, facilitate insurance matters, as well as the establishment of a rice fund, and the establishment of
a rice production institute to study and enhance rice production and distribution overall. On the operation of the Board of Investment (BOI), we have incentive measures in promoting investment such as reducing taxes on imported machinery and corporate income tax as well as other programs to facilitate investment. The NCPO has pushed for meetings of the BOI and its sub-committees to attract investment into the country. This past Wednesday, a BOI meeting approved 18 projects which had passed the scrutiny process in line with the methodology and procedure of investments criteria used in 2013. Additional guidelines set by the NCPO include the emphasis on the use of local raw materials, high technology based investments that allows for technology transfer, environmental impact, energy efficiency, and more appropriate investment proportions. Presently it is over 50% for Thai companies. The BOI also considered the extension of certain ongoing projects and the creation of new ones altogether worth 120 billion baht, which will stimulate job creation, use of local raw materials, and generate more income for the people, both direct and indirectly. The NCPO has instructed investment promotion institutions to adapt and improve their regulations and investment approval criteria to match the standards recommended by the NCPO and take into consideration Thailand’s economic needs and investment environment in preparation for the ASEAN Economic Community.

As a matter of priority, the NCPO intends to assist the low-income population and alleviate the hardship of the people by eradicating the exploitation of this group. Such group includes motorcycle taxis, taxis, daily workers and weekly employees who have been taken advantage by the business groups and influential figures. These influential groups with ill-intentions have been using the loopholes of the law to perform their illegal activities while also extorting the low-income people. We would like to see cooperation in the re-organization process. It may be inconvenient initially. In this regard, NCPO will improve the rules and regulations to make it more just and fair and to eliminate the influential figures and gangs regardless of colour from taking advantage of these people. A proportion of these people are civil servants or junior military officers who have long been taken advantage of. For example, to register for providing a motorcycle taxi service and obtain the assigned jacket cost over 400,000 baht. That is too much. We need to strictly regulate in accordance with the law. At the
same time we have to give room for them to make their living as they also have families to feed. As for Reconciliation for Reform, it is still in the first phase. The NCPO will act as facilitator and create a conducive atmosphere for exchanging and sharing opinion. The NCPO will not conclude or manipulate any decision. Recently, the Reform Working Group has set up a framework and started working since 4 June 2014 by gathering synergized information from academics all over the country, searching and reviewing of more than 200 documents and research papers. These papers are widely accepted by academic and civil society groups and will be used as the data base for the next phase. We are open to receive information which can be sent through telephone, post, and website. There are 11 major issues which have been presented as follows: 1. Corruption 2. Legislative Power 3. Administrative Power 4. Judicial Process 5. Energy System 6. Basic Infrastructure Development 7. Mass Communication 8. Education, Learning and Wisdom 9. Moral and Virtues 10. Economic and Social Differences and 11. Allocation of Land, Water and Forest Resources.

The NCPO has received constructive cooperation from interviewing experts, academics, representatives of political parties and political groups. The leaders of political parties personally gave their interview and presented their personal views. Until now, 25 persons have been interviewed and another 50 persons are expected to be interviewed later on. There will be an arrangement for the meeting of the focus group. Details on 11 major issues will be merged with the information gathered from the experts. Another 12 meetings of the focus group will be held to discuss and a consensus formed on the contextual framework to affirm the issues that all parties wish take up for reform in a sustainable manner. There will be no conclusion or any biased opinions during this phase. All this will be completed in July 2014 and this is only the preparation stage of consolidating information for the consideration of the reform panel in Phase 2. If we do not start today, we will not understand each other and continue to have disagreements in the future. For reform in Phase 2, we should consider issues of urgency. The reform on political and judiciary, long-standing conflicts, and on other important matters raised by the public needs to be resolved within one year. If not, it will require long-term commitments. There may be a need to
sign a pact for successive governments to continue the reform process. This adheres to the earlier proposals on steps for reform. Today there are many issues that may have raised doubts and observations among the people. I just want to allay your concerns by saying that everything is progressing accordingly. There may be some conflicting views and opposition but I understand and feel with all sectors. But we reached a point where our democracy has stalled. We request for time for us all to apply our conscience and rationality in steering this country forward. There have been rumours of people trying to gain personal benefits at the expense of NCPO. They claimed that they can arrange for positions on the Reform Council or Legislative Council or even a ministerial portfolio. I confirm that no action has been taken. Please do not believe such claims and incur loss to false favours. I reiterate that no consideration is taking place. It is not yet the time. Now is the time for returning happiness, preparation, solving matters of urgency for the country and people who faced hardship for many years.

Today, we need to listen to the voice of the people and compile all problems to the reform process in Phase 2. Thank you for all the criticisms and praise which we greatly value. Please have confidence that though we are military, we have utmost sincerity in taking the country forward without seeking personal gain. We are committed to eliminate corrupt practices. There have been many widespread rumours among the media and the general public. They may receive inaccurate or incomplete information which only contributes to widen the conflicting views making reform more difficult. Please give us time. Today we have decades-long problems to tackle. We cannot solve them in one day or ten days but we are trying to resolve them as soon as possible. There are comments that we have been too swift in resolving some issues and whether we are engaging in populist policies. I affirm that it is not so. We have listened to the voice of the people and come up with solutions that meet their needs. It is not for NCPO to claim such a feat. We are only performing our responsibilities in the course of our duty. We are ready to take the country forward towards sustainable peace. Thank you once again for listening to me several times already. I try to provide an understanding and communicate with you. In the past, we have had intermittent communication. Today, I receive comments and respond
through various media channels such as on Friday broadcasts. I hope to receive your continued understanding and cooperation from all sectors of our society. Thank you very much.

Appendix 3.4

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-O-cha, Head of the National Council for Peace and Order, on 27 June 2014

Good evening to all fellow citizens. We meet again on Friday as usual. In the past week, we had summarized NCPO’s work in a one-month performance report. However, we need to press on the resolving the still many problems relating to the well-being and livelihood of the people. Some people have expressed concern whether NCPO can successfully solve these multi-faceted and interconnected problems involving social, economic, political and psychological aspects, accumulated over the years and many governments. Today the NCPO would like to convey to you all that we are doing our utmost in a limited time to yield results. There are many steps in our operational plans. We have prioritized the problems for implementation into three phases. The first phase involves immediate issues to be carried out in the first three months. We have been tackling these issues since May. The urgent problems that needs to be dealt with immediately includes crime prevention and suppression, gambling, narcotics, illegal logging and deforestation, and crackdown on war-grade weapons and influential groups such as those who take advantage of taxis, as well as migrant-worker smugglers. Provisional measures will be considered on issues such as living wages, farmers’ assistance, amendment of laws to remove impediments in trade and investment.

Such measures will have to be officially approved and beneficial to all in driving the economy forward and expediting the disbursement of the 2015 fiscal year Budget. All projects of government and public enterprises are reviewed in terms of necessity, efficiency and transparency. These projects must undergo scrutiny before their approval. Another important ongoing task in phase 1 is to prepare ground work in
reforms that will lead to reconciliation and reforms in phase 2. In the short term or phase 2, measures on reforms in various areas will be carried out not over 300 days with the participation of the people. These reforms include prevention and suppression of corruption, political reform, the process of acquiring and exercising political power, the justice system, independent institutions, energy reform, mass communication, education, morals and ethics, ensuring economic and social equity, access to natural resources and many other issues. These reforms will be undertaken when a Government, Legislative Council, and Reform Council have been formed. Other vital problems that require a thorough cost-benefit analysis and may widely affect the interest of the people and country will also be addressed in phase 2.

The long term phase or phase 3 will be after the elections. Pending issues from phase 1 and 2 will continue to be examined in phase 3 by an elected government to complete reforms initiated in the first two phases for the benefits of all parties. The NCPO stressed on the participation from all sectors – be they private businesses, civil society and general public – in ensuring efficiency and competency of the national administration and driving forward the economy. Today we have heard views and policy recommendations from the public and have taken prompt action. For instance, discussions with the Thai Chamber of Commerce and the Joint Foreign Chamber of Commerce, instructing the Ministry of Commerce to expedite the signing process of international trade agreements, and pressing upon ministries immediate amend laws and regulations that impede trade and investment. We will listen to comments, recommendations and requests from various groups so that our conduct of national administration meets the expectations of the people and to truly benefit the country. All concerned ministries and agencies have been instructed to provide channels to receive complaints and recommendations from the public so that we can compile and consider in the three phases. According to a recent poll on the satisfaction of people regarding the NCPO’s operation, the result was 8.82 out of 10, which is decent. However, the NCPO has not been complacent or over-enthusiastic about the result, as there are more work to be done. The NCPO has a duty to bring happiness to all even though the burden is on us but we are willing to work hard for everyone. There are still many problems to address. The NCPO has instructed the relevant ministries and
agencies to conduct surveys on public opinion and expectations for further assessment and implementation.

As for initiatives to re-organize public services and maintain proper order, we have prioritised them according to urgency which are being implemented parallel by the relevant working groups. Security is an important and immediate issue. The security aspect has to be integrated in all dimension of the present work. The economic, social and psychological and other areas have been devoid of a security aspect and may lead to numerous problems in the future. For example, political conflicts leading to divisiveness, economic development that focuses on profit maximization, cheap labour that led to problems of undocumented and illegal labourers, issues of human trafficking, human rights violation. Tourism promotion that focuses solely on the quantity resulted in problems of mafia and terrorism as well as transnational crimes. A consummate economic development may lead to forest trespass and deforestation, affecting the environment and the living condition of people. In the area of trade and economic development along the 5,800 kilometers border with our neighbours, if we do not give due consideration to national security it will lead to an influx of transnational crimes and illegal migrant labour. We have no fence so we have to work on ways to increase a level of vigilance in border areas. The general public must play a part in national security, reinforced by military, police, and relevant officials. Furthermore, we need to develop technologies such as using video cameras and motion-detection equipments in densely covered areas. In strengthening national security, apart from having a strong military force, other sectors must also be reinforced, namely civil servants, police, general public, civil society, and students. They should possess a conscience of national security and civic responsibility; a shared vision on how to keep the country secure; aware of common duty; respect the laws; and uphold national interest. If we are strong and united, the abovementioned problems will not escalate.

Today we need to cooperate. We try to create to understanding and hold outreach activities in order for everyone to learn about each other. People of different opinions will be able to obtain information, correctly understand and accept one another. We
can have different opinions but we must live together in peace under social norms which are laws that enable society to live in safety and help develop the country. This will help gain international acceptance. Many problems existing on the international front is because our economy still relies on export revenues – approximately 70 per cent. We have to adjust the problem of reliance on exporting large quantities of low-valued materials. Let me turn to the international positions which many have expressed concern. At a June meeting of the Foreign Affairs Council of the European Union, the EU expressed its concerns over the situation in Thailand and reviewed cooperation with Thailand in some areas in order to push us towards holding quick elections. I informed the EU what our problems are. An unsustained democracy can be detrimental to both Thailand and other countries. We are giving considerable efforts to addressing the concerns of the international community. If an election were held now, it may a be condition leading to tensions and the country would revert to a cycle of conflict, corruption among those in political power, terrorism and the use of war-grade weapons. Such problems cannot be tolerated. I think most Thais are aware of the situation and do not want the country to be under such circumstances. Today, several countries are facing armed conflicts and civil wars. The international community had to step. I do not think Thailand will reach that point; we must be very careful. Therefore, we will accelerate the reform process in order to make Thailand a fully functioning democracy. The NCPO hopes that the EU and the U.S. will have the same understanding as most Thais who are satisfied with our work. The NCPO held discussions with associations of entrepreneurs and business people from the EU countries and the U.S. and will continue to strengthen trade and investment relations.

Concerning measures adopted by the international community against Thailand, I ask fellow countrymen to ease your worries. We do not want to have to give justifications or take retaliatory measures, which could worsen the situation. Thailand has been an important ally of some countries for more than 100 years, some 50 years and some 30 years. We must put efforts into making the international community understand what our intentions are. We do not want to condemn ourselves and display our faults. However, it is necessary that the international community be informed of the situation in Thailand. On June 23, the Chief of Defense Forces in his capacity as Head of the
Security Cluster received the U.S. Ambassador to Thailand. They exchanged opinions on the current situation and the Ambassador was informed of the roadmap and the NCPO’s administration. The U.S. Ambassador welcomed Thailand’s clear direction forward. She concurred with the way we are tackling the issue of human trafficking while also solving related problems. On June 26, NCPO’s Deputy Chief of Economic Affairs, General Chatchai, met and discussed with chambers of commerce and various groups of entrepreneurs and listened to their suggestions along with recommended solutions to prevent the country from being affected by the measures taken by the EU and the U.S. As a result, foreign entrepreneurs have a better understanding of Thailand and have tried to help the NCPO to work out solutions. Organizations at different levels, the private sector and businesses must also put their efforts. If these problems can be tackled in a short period of time, the measures against the country will gradually reduce. The big issues of concern are labour, human trafficking and democracy in Thailand. As I stated earlier, it takes time to overhaul manpower and rules and regulations to meet international standards and prevent abuse of power. Other improvements include the exercise of state authority, disbursements of budgets and punishment for corruption cases. Regarding the civil service, it must be ready to confront future challenges that come with the advent of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). We need to improve the way governmental officials work to become more proactive rather than being reactive as has been in the past. Therefore, the government must revise its working strategies and clearly formulate national and international strategies as to how we will move the country forward. The private sector, economic, social, and cultural organizations, and the tourism industry must be improved to accommodate more people expected to travel to the country as a result of the AEC. Performance assessment in every sector should be improved to create transparency. We will take up the many problems in Phase 2.

As for the immediate legal amendments, the NCPO’s legal affairs team invited representatives from 20 ministries to attend a meeting to urgently consider amending laws covering more than 400 issues that are pending in the justice process such as laws concerning money laundering and permission to bring currency into and take out of Thailand. The team will consider amending laws relating to ratification of the
United Nations Convention against Corruption signed in 2003, an issue brought forward by Office of the National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC) to prevent and solve the problems of corruption in the country more effectively in accordance with international law. Provincial commissions for the prevention of corruption will be reconsidered. I am afraid that many provincial administrative bodies tend to be under the influence of local politicians and increase budget burdens. Steps that will be added to the operations of the NACC should therefore be clearer, identifying what officials do in each area. As for the seizures of war-grade weapons that can be dangerous to the public, arrests have continually been made. So far, a total of over 2,000 weapons has been seized, including war-grade guns, machine guns, grenade launchers, anti-tank weapons, mortars, hand grenades and a large number of ammunitions. Arrests have been made weekly, the seized weapons will be tallied monthly, and the dangers of these weapons will be presented to the public. This is done to inform them of what the NCPO is doing. If the NCPO had not taken such enforcement actions, the weapons would have been used to kill our own people. On gambling, it is harmful to families. There have been arrests and a crackdown on gambling dens that provides horse racing gambling machines and illegal gambling equipment. After the cases have completed due process, the evidence such as slot machines, approximately 1,000 horse racing themed slot machines, and other gambling equipments must be destroyed. I urge you to reduce social problems and gambling activities as quickly as possible. Because of gambling, which is as bad as drugs, there will be no future for our children. The issues of migrant workers and human trafficking will be addressed in 3 phases in line with the NCPO Roadmap. This will start with the registration of migrant workers to ensure that the process is legal, quick, less bureaucratic and economical to pave the way for the nationality verification process and request for work permits. The details of the plans are as follows:

The set up of coordination centers for Cambodian migrant workers who seek to return to work in Thailand in 4 areas. The Ministry of Interior is the host agency along with Ministry of Labor and the Immigration Bureau in issuing temporary work permits to employers so that they can register Cambodian workers in the provinces where their
workplaces are located within 60 days. The coordination centers will start operations from 26 June 2014. One-Stop-Service registration centers for migrant workers will be set up where unregistered migrant workers and particularly Cambodian migrant workers who have been allowed to return to work in Thailand can register. Samut Sakhon is the pioneering province with operations starting on Monday 30 June 2014 to facilitate nationality verification process and requests for work permits. Another form of One-Stop-Service registration centers for migrant workers will also be set up to prevent smuggling of illegal workers, especially in the fishery industries in 22 coastal provinces. The centers are ready for service from Monday 7 July 2014 onwards. In other provinces, One-Stop-Service registration centers are scheduled to start operating on 15 July 2014, using the Samut Sakhon model as guidelines. The Ministry of Interior has been assigned to inform provincial authorities to follow the plan. Last week, the NCPO visited migrant workers in several workplaces to ensure that their living conditions and welfare meet international standards. The NCPO received good cooperation from the entrepreneurs. For Cambodian migrant workers who had returned to their country and started to come back to Thailand, we have liaised with Cambodian authorities to set up labour reception center to reduce steps from both sides, reduce costs, ensure their decent living conditions, and organize meetings between employers and employees to prevent mafia and influential groups from reaping benefits.

As a means to provide aid to rice farmers for the production year 2014/2015, the NCPO has instructed relevant agencies to set up Agricultural Products Assistance Centres. These centres will serve to connect and integrate the work from all agencies and oversee the efficiency in the implementation of these measures to ensure its compliance with the set objectives. The centres will be set up in areas all over the country—all provinces and, if possible, all districts—to provide farmers with convenient access to information. They will also serve as a venue where farmers could provide us with inputs to increase efficiency. On Economy: The NCPO has ordered a revision of the rice-field insurance measures to improve their efficiency and ensure that they truly benefit farmers. Specifically for the approximately 1.5 million rai of cultivation areas continually being affected by disasters every year, it is
necessary to come up with measures to help allocate suitable areas and properly administer the irrigation and flood-prevention systems. Proper designation of zonings will also be required to make farming in those areas suitable. As for areas facing constant droughts or floods, farmers will need to plant other types of crops that can withstand droughts or require a small amount of water but could sell for similar price as compared to rice. This would be similar to the zoning concept in the future. Today, we must first take care of these troubled farmers. As many cultivation areas are outside irrigation zones, if all of them are used for planting rice, there can never be enough water for use. We must come up with ways to help provide alternatives to these farmers. However, these cultivators will have to also be satisfied with their options, as we know very well that Thai people do not like to be forced into doing things. Still, these hardships continue to persist and we need to solve them.

On the release of rice, the Ministry of Commerce has been assigned the task of creating an understanding amongst all sectors that the NCPO has no policy to annul existing agreements made with business operators for the sales of rice. It needs to be understood that the implementation of those agreements will proceed as normal where there are no corruption issues under review by the NACC. We understand very well that businesses will face discontinuity of operations if it were otherwise. As such, please do not cite that the NCPO has prohibited the sales of rice. Agreements already made are to be executed transparently. The NCPO has given approval for the Sugar Cane and Brown Sugar Fund to borrow from the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives with reduced interest rates. The funds will be used to increase the value of sugar canes for the production year 2013/2014 by an extra 160 baht per sugar-cane-ton. Payments will be made directly to sugar cane farmers for each sugar-cane-ton delivered to brown sugar factories. With total sugar cane production of around 103 million tons, the total sum being borrowed will be 16,592 million baht. For this, the Ministry of Industry has been assigned to oversee and administer these payments to ensure that the money reaches those with the rights to them accurately and in full. In addition, the increase in domestic price of brown sugar will be maintained.

General Chatchai Sarikallaya, deputy economic chief of the NCPO, has been instructed to cooperate with the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives,
Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Industry, and other relevant agencies, in formulating strategies and measures for systematically solving issues relating to sugar canes and brown sugar in the long run. These strategies and measures will then be submitted to the NCPO for further consideration. A budget has been approved for the Department of Fisheries and the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives to combat Early Mortality Syndrome in shrimps, which has been a major problem for many shrimp farmers. We have approved funds from the central Budget amounting to more than 90 million baht, out of the more than the 200 million baht requested. For the first phase, we are using funds from the central Budget as there are only three months left before the end of fiscal year 2014. The rest of the funds will come from the fiscal year 2015 Budget of the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, where they will be used to thoroughly deal with the problem. There is a need to develop the technology for maintaining suitable farming conditions so as to increase output levels of white shrimps, which fetch a high price in today’s markets. Currently, we do not have the capacity to breed these shrimps. Thus, breeders will firstly be bought from external sources in the hundreds and the Department of Fisheries will proceed with their work from there, as they are highly capable. The NCPO has given approval for the borrowing guarantee project that uses the portfolio guarantee scheme (PGS) initiated for the benefit of OTOP business operators and community enterprises. The budget approved for the project has a ceiling of 1.6 billion baht and are to be drawn from the 2015 Budget and subsequent years so as to provide small and community enterprises with access to capital that are necessary for their operations.

On Society and Environment: For those requiring assistance with their grievances or problems, the NCPO asks for their cooperation in going directly to the agencies responsible for those matters. The NCPO has already instructed all ministries and agencies to provide special channels for receiving complaints from the general public. The NCPO will follow up and act on them accordingly. All ministries and governmental agencies have been instructed to conduct surveys on the grievances and needs of the people—be they civil servants, students, teachers, civil society organizations, business operators, or others with problems requiring urgent help. Solutions to these grievances will be provided in accordance with relevant regulations.
and laws and adhering to the principles of fiscal discipline. We will take a step by step approach in addressing the issues raised. On reform, a matter about which everyone has expressed concerns as to whether and how it will be carried out, we are currently in the first phase. Presently, focus has been put on encouraging all sectors of the general public to participate. Conflicting parties, political leaders, academics, and community leaders has been invited to discuss ideas and provide useful data to ensure that adequate information will have been acquired when entering the second phase of the reform where the Reform Council will take the lead. Civil society organizations will also be invited to contribute ideas. The problem of floods is one of the many immediate problems requiring action as we are entering the rainy season. The NCPO has instructed relevant agencies to dredge canals and waterways in preparation for the coming rainy season. It also instructed the Army and the Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation to monitor the flood situations so as to be able to provide immediate assistance when required. Today, I see canals full of water hyacinths and duckweeds. Apart from clogging the waterways and preventing the water flow, they are also dirty and unsightly. Actions must be taken per instructions already given and must be completed within the next three months.

On the issues of energy, electricity, water supply, taxation, public transportation and public utilities, we use urgent measures to temporarily alleviate the problems. The inclusive energy reform is a complicated task and will be dealt with in the second phase. The issues involve elements such as concessions, free competition without government subsidy, and government support for the energy industry segment. If the measures are too restrictive, investors will not be interested in investing. At the same time, if the money given to the government is too low, our country will lose its benefits. We will have to seek appropriate measures to solve this problem in the second phase. For issues related to remuneration and incentives of the executive board, we will improve the system so that people can have more confidence. For budget management of the local administrative organizations in some areas which cannot organize elections during this period, the NCPO has already appointed an authorized acting officer to perform the duties to use the remaining 2014 budget and prepare the 2015 fiscal year budget proposals. The expenditure of this budget must
correspond with the operation of the central and regional authorities, mutually benefit the works of those in the same cluster, and align with the 11th National Economic and Social Development Plan of the NESDB. If the local organizations do not follow the direction adopted by the central and regional agencies, the administration will be redundant, disunited, and incomprehensive. Such administration, if occurred, could benefit some political segments or political groups in particular which could delay the country’s administration. For the administration of National Broadcasting and Telecommunications Commission (NBTC), today we are improving its roles and duties in many areas, including income generation, expenditure and returning of money to the state. We are speeding up the process. The most important priority is the distribution of the set top box which is now being expedited. Today, we are in the preparing a public hearing to find out the proper steps to urgently distribute them to the people. Therefore, I would like to ask for your patience in this matter.

For industrial segment, garbage, waste and toxic fume which are hazardous for all of us, our priority is for the relevant agencies to supervise and monitor all factories so that they are not negligent and release toxic waste into the air or the waters. If the factories cannot resolve the problem within the deadline, we will order their closure. We will ensure that the process is just. In the past, there were some problems, but today we need help from all sectors involved to avoid granting benefits in favour of either side or creating a conflict of interest. This will result in the setting up of a below-standard factory and the burden will return to the government and the country in which the people’s tax will have to be allocated to solve the problem. To lessen the problem, all relevant sectors need to perform their duties. The development of human resources, both civil servants and the general public, is needed since the world today is changing very rapidly. New forms of threats have emerged. Our country is rich in resources and people from neighbouring countries wanted to find jobs in Thailand. We need to seriously develop personnel in all sectors in terms of education, learning, perception and self-improvement by looking at other countries as examples. Everyone should improve themselves by keeping up with the news on TV and cable TV to see how and in which direction the world is progressing. It is fine if you like watching soap operas, but you need to watch other documentary programmes as well. We
should see how the cities and environment in the foreign countries are kept clean and people are disciplined and abide by the law. Our country has a long history of culture and traditions. Thai people are known for their simple ways of living that foreign visitors would love to see. We do not need to entirely create new structures since we already have rich and beautiful culture that can be built upon and can attract visitors. Our Thai smile is well known around the world and we need to bring it back. We will not only smile at foreigners but also smile at each other. There is no reason we have to argue against each other. We will attract foreign visitor with this smile. Thailand should not be known in the eyes of foreigners as a haven for illegal actions. We will no longer be an attractive place for foreigners who come to enjoy illegal activities. Instead, foreigners will be attracted to visit Thailand to see our simple ways of life and the Thai smile. I think this will be better for the country. On political detention, I would like to reiterate that we are not doing political work and we are not doing anything political. We are not an enemy of anybody. We want to bring the country back to its normal state. Right now, the problems are multifaceted and extremely complex. The invited individuals who did not violate the law were released. Those that remain are the ones currently going through normal judicial process or violate the normal or criminal laws. These people are under court warrants and will be going through normal judicial procedure. They are entitled to the rights to defend their cases. Even for cases that are tried in a military court, they are entitled to the rights of bail and to defend their cases similar to the normal judicial procedure. Examples of these are the cases of Mr. Jarupong and Mr. Jakrapob. I urge them to return and I ensure their rights to justice. If they persist, they will be charged with more cases, especially if involved in the use of war-grade weapons and lese majeste law. We should not let these people influence our country. They do not have any credibility to do so. However, if the cases are proven to be purely political, the matter will be resolved in the second phase. On the other hand, if it involves the violation of the Criminal Law Code, the use of war-grade weapons, or those responsible for the injury or loss of life of innocent people, I considered them dangerous. For these people, especially if they are government officials, we have to strictly enforce the law. This problem caused conflict in the past and it will bring about further conflict in the future. Therefore, we have to manage it very carefully. The media should also be
careful when reporting the news. They should check with the relevant officials before reporting them in order to avoid future damages. As for the talks by a core leader of the anti-government group who referred to me, I reaffirm that this is not true.

During the past six months, I had assumed the role of a government official and wanted the country to be peaceful. I enforced the law and performed my duties as ordered by the then government. I did not participate in any movements or cooperate with any conflicting parties. We are able to differentiate our position and the matters of democracy, constitution, law, state mechanism, and legitimate and righteous matters. I will not let the military be damaged like that. However, when it is impossible to solve the issues, the NCPO needs to step in. At the moment, some kinds of activities are prohibited, for example, the holding of political forum or fund-raising dinner by various groups which often involve discussion on future political movements. These kinds of talks will trigger the opposing groups and the same cycle will repeat. I ask for your cooperation not to do it. If it is discussed privately, that is fine but you must not hold such event in public. It is against the provision of the Martial Law Act. If it happens, those found committing the act will be summoned and charged with violating the NCPO’s order. The media must also verify the news with us before reporting it. The treatment of the dissidents/protestors or other gatherings, the NCPO will use soft measures. The First Regional Army invited some students who have opposing views for discussion so that we can understand each other. The situation is better now. We do not want to enforce any strict legal measures. In fact, we try our best to reduce the use of such law as much as possible. I urge everyone to remain patient in this period. If everyone does what they want now, the country will not be peaceful. We need some time to achieve this. The restriction of freedom is rare, except for freedom of expression that is harmful. I cannot ask you to stop thinking but I urge you to refrain from doing as it will cause conflict and more problems. For the restructuring or reorganization of many sectors, I need to apologize to all concerning parties. For the problems of drugs, gambling, horse-racing machines, we have to solve them continuously to reduce the household debts at all levels.
For the National Saving Funds, Community/City Welfare Fund, Community Land Title, we will try to make them sustainable in order to reduce inequality and even lessen unjust treatment of various ethnic groups in Thailand. We are in the process of finding appropriate measures that will not impact the national fiscal system. For the sustainable solutions to the problems of land and sea natural resources, we are assigning the ISOC and the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, together with other relevant agencies, to set out clear strategies, both short- and long-term, by integrating law and political science since this issue affect the people. We stress on the strict prohibition of further encroachment. The encroached areas will be dealt with urgent measures in order to increase forest lands leading toward the existence of conserved forest, reserved forest, community forest, and the Food Bank royal project initiative, etc.

For measures imposed on the media, there are many requests and complaints against the NCPO on the closure of media outlets. In fact, they know that these are illegal. The media had been used by several groups who benefit from these illegally established radio stations. There are a total of approximately 8,000 stations. We are trying to resolve the problem and about 3,000 stations have already been opened. For some 4,000 stations that remain closed, we anticipate that about 1,000 stations can be opened in the first period and the rest of around 3,000 will be opened later. The last lot of about 1,000 stations will probably be permanently closed because they are entirely illegal. We are working on this issue step-by-step. In fact, if they can abide by the NBTC’s regulations, they are allowed to operate. However, some people own 4-5 media outlets and use them to support the conflicts. In addition, the number of media stations and the consumers is not proportionate and we have to solve this as well. The NCPO and the relevant agencies are working on this issue. On the Roadmap and a timeframe for NCPO’s national administration, it has now become clearer. Phase 1 has lapsed 37 days since 22 May (as of 27 June 2014). On constitutional issues, a provisional constitution has been drafted for the purpose of national administration in accordance with a principle of good governance. The aim is to establish the National Reform Council to reform the country in all dimensions and pave way for an adoption of a Constitution, which will be drafted by principally taking into account
recommendations of the National Reform Council. The drafting of the provisional constitution has been completed and it is being vetted by legal experts. It will be sent back to the NCPO for re-examination in case any amendment is needed. After the NCPO has finished with necessary amendment, the draft provisional constitution will be forwarded for Royal Endorsement and should enter into force by this coming July. In the Phase 2, after the invocation of the provisional constitution in July, it will take approximately one month for establishment of the National Legislative Assembly and the Cabinet which could carry out duties in September 2014. As for the National Reform Council, since the members of the Council will be selected from all sectors from every province, it will take approximately 2 months from the date the provisional constitution entered into force. It is expected that the National Reform Council will start performing their duties in early October 2014. According to the provisional constitution, reforms led by the National Reform Council will include areas such as political, economic, social, environmental, energy, judicial process and other matters.

The National Reform Council will draw up recommendations for the constitution drafting committee, and the committee has to finish drafting the Constitution in around 10 months from the date the National Reform Council is established, or in around 12 months from the date the provisional constitution is announced, which is by July 2015. In Phase 3, after the Constitution is in force, it signifies that Thailand has a fully democratic regime with His Majesty the King as Head of the State. Nevertheless, the NCPO needs another 3 months to organise the election of Members of Parliament. National administration will be under the framework of the new constitution, which is an outcome of all-inclusive reforms. The NCPO wishes that a free and fair general election be held under the constitution, to lay a strong foundation for a fully functioning democracy devoid of political conflicts. A reform process takes time. But by 2015, we should have an elected government in place. We need to live in the present, learn from the past, and move forward together to the future. On the lottery problem, the Ministry of Finance has already stated that the matter will be dealt with urgently. I ask for the people’s patience as it will take time to address the issue; revamping the whole system altogether in one go will definitely lead to chaos.
Measures to tackle the problem will be considered in the first phase of the reform and will be announced as soon as possible. I have instructed the people working on this to provide more detail on the steps and procedures to be taken, including those with regard to the sellers and buyers of lotteries. All plans and measures relating to this issue are for the Ministry of Finance to consider, decide, and take action. Issues relating to the reform of the bureaucracy system and the judicial process will also be considered in the Reform Council and dealt with in the first phase. As for matters requiring comprehensive discussions and alignment of understanding, they will be addressed subsequently within the one-year period already mentioned, which is the overall timeframe for the second phase. During the reform process, relevant agencies have been instructed to take part and contribute. Aside from inviting conflicting parties and other people to discuss ideas and share information, I have also instructed the Reconciliation Centre for Reforms to focus on the issues relating to the people, the economy and society, and academic matters. King Prajadhipok’s Institute will be responsible for reform works relating to the people. For economic and social issues, we will task the seven associations that have provided proposals of reform measures. They will be asked to present their work and help create mutual understanding amongst conflicting parties. As for academic matters, a group of university deans will be in charge of relevant reform works. These three groups and people from all sectors will take part in presenting their work, discussing ideas, and creating mutual understanding amongst conflicting parties.

The process in not yet conclusive as all this will be taken up in the second phase when the Reform Council is formed. So submissions of proposals and recommendations will be discussed and concluded at this stage. Today, I have given clear instructions for expediting the progress of work. We are ready to shoulder the many existing and potential problems. We only request that we all cooperate with each other. Lastly, as we are entering the blessed month of Ramadan, allow me and the people around the country to extend our best wishes to our fellow Thai Muslims for the best of health, happiness, and success during the fasting period and be blessed with prosperity as always. We can all share in our generosity which enables people of all religions to be able to live together in Thailand. As His Majesty the King has said, people of all
religions can live together peacefully in Thailand with pride and dignity. I once again ask for your understanding of the work we are doing. Thank you and good night.

Appendix 3.5

National Broadcast By General Prayut Chan-O-cha Head of the National Council for Peace and Order 25 July 2014

Good evening dear citizens. A matter of great joy and gratification for the Thai people this week is that His Majesty the King has endorsed and affixed the royal signature on the Provisional Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2557 (2014). In a recent press conference, the Legal Cluster of NCPO has explained the principles and details to the local and international media. The promulgation of the charter will enable the NCPO to move according to plan set out in Phase 2. In receiving the provisional constitution from His Majesty the King, it is the first time that I as Head of NCPO was granted an audience with His Majesty. I shall touch upon this matter at a later stage of the programme.

Progress of NCPO
On Economy:
On the restoration of confidence on the economy, last week the representatives from the State Enterprises Worker's Federation of Thailand; the Thai-Chinese Chamber of Commerce; and the Federation of Thai Capital Market Organization have called on the Head of Economic Cluster of NCPO. All parties showed understanding and acknowledged the policies of NCPO which will lead to confidence in trade and investment of every sector and a more positive direction in the economic situation.

On the preparation to enter ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), the Economic Cluster has pushed major efforts on trade cooperation both in multilateral and bilateral framework, for example, the ASEAN Caucus, the ASEAN-Hongkong Trade Negotiation Committee, and the ASEAN-Korea Meeting to discuss on expansion of market access. On addressing the issue of agricultural products along the border, NCPO has designated the National Economic and Social Development Board to be
the responsible agency in discussing with relevant governmental and private sector in formulating resolution strategy in all dimension, including the designation of the entry-exit points of goods, Special Economic Zones, quantity and types of agricultural products in each area, post-processing and value addition of goods, quality control, exports including taxation, investment, cooperation with private sector and international agreements. These are aimed to form basic quality of life of the local people to earn income and resolve the problem of agricultural products locally and in neighboring countries at the same time.

On investment promotion, for the past 1 month, the Board of Investment (BOI) has approved 92 private sector projects worth around 260 billion Baht, which has partly unlocked the projects pending consideration during the period of political troubles.

On the situation on the price of agricultural products and guideline in their supervision;
- **Products which saw a price increase** during the past week include the following 5 items:
  - Longan from the northern region due to the buying by the dried-longan factories thereby increasing market competitiveness. Please beware of middlemen who would underprice. One could notify the problem to the Commerce Ministry which I have already instructed to look into the issues of monopolization or underpricing from middlemen.
  - Durian, rambutan and longkong from the southern region, due to lower outputs in the market. As for the measures to maintain or increase the price of these items, we will continue to distribute the products to non-producing areas during the high season as well as promote exports to the existing markets and new markets.
  - For Orchids, the price has increased but at a lower scale due to less demand from the international market. Consumers have turned to Phalaenopsis or ‘moth orchid’ from Singapore. Moreover, the quality of Thai Orchid is relatively low causing losses to cultivators who could not buy fertiliser or better develop the strain.

Measures in maintaining or increase the price of orchid includes supporting research and cultivating technology, promote breeding and reducing import tax of agar powder for orchid tissue culture.
- **Products with stable price** for the past 2 months include 2 items:

- **Tapioca**: the price is stable due to constant demand of tapioca chip and tapioca flour. Measures to increase the price of tapioca: as we are now in the cultivating period for the new season, we will focus on providing knowledge in maintaining and harvesting to gain quality product. In addition, at present NCPO has set up the Tapioca Policy and Management Committee and Sub-committee on Distributing Tapioca Product to oversee the amount and price stability so the farmers can receive full, appropriate and fair remuneration and in accordance with the disposal of tapioca in the government stockpile.

- **Sugar Cane**: the price is stable due to the use of the "Announcement on Sugar Cane Price" under the Sugar Cane and Brown Sugar Act B.E. 2527 (1984), with the announcement of latest price of 900 baht per ton on 17 December 2013. Measures in increasing sugar cane price: accelerating the development of fine breed sugar cane to be compatible with each area as well as expanding the fine breed sugar cane to meet the demand of sugar cane farmers, introducing soil improvement and less usage of chemical fertiliser. We need to use more organic fertiliser effectively and at the same time accelerate the development of the quality in producing sugar in every system.

Last week a group of businesses and private sector in the global sugar industries participated in the Asian Sugar Night in Bangkok 2014. In their meeting with the NCPO, I explained the situation in Thailand and assured them of the continuing engagement with the business community and trade relations. However, our policy on production and export of sugar cane and sugar will take into account the needs of buyers from different countries and domestic production of raw sugar. We also need to look after about 300,000 planters and the millions of workers as well as around 50 sugar mills. They must be overseen concurrently with production that is effective and sufficient as well as at an appropriate level to meet domestic and international demands.

- **Products that price fell** in the past week include 2 items:

- **Palm oil**: A slight reduction in price due to price reduction in the crude palm oil market in Malaysia owing to global market mechanisms. To effectively handle this,
there needs to be monitoring of palm sugar trading in the domestic market in order to maintain production levels to be in tune with the global price of consumable palm oil.
- Fodder corn: Fallen price due to high humidity in stocks harvested during the rainy season. Measures to minimize this include giving tips to corn farmers on storage and how to maintain standard humidity levels.
- As for the regulation of agricultural products, there is currently located in every province a Centre for the Assistance of Agricultural Products and a Public Service Centre for Agriculture to provide assistance and advice to farmers.
- As for agricultural products of farmers in the Southern Border Provinces, including mangosteen and longkong, which are expected to give high yields this year, the Internal Security Operations Command of the 4th Region has requested for solutions to offset this problem, and the NCPO has subsequently instructed concerned agencies to prepare remedial measures such as locating additional markets for such products.
- As for the current problems encountered by farmers of rubber plantations, the low prices have been due to a high level of production which began since 2004, and the NCPO has tasked concerned agencies to urgently consider both short term and long term measures to address this problem.

Security Issues:
Rectifying the problems in Southern Border Provinces (SBPs) is a key priority of the NCPO. A Committee for the Mobilization of Solutions to the SBPs situation has been set up, with the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Thai Army as Chairperson, to integrate plans and projects of related agencies so that they become more cohesive, truly reflect the needs of the people in area and are understood by the international community. At the 41st meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the issue of the Thailand’s SBPs was raised, in which the OIC expressed appreciation for Thailand’s efforts and support of peace negotiations between the various groups, while urging Thailand to maintain the current approach in addressing the situation.
Regarding the issue of human rights, NCPO would like the international community to understand that we have not committed grave human rights violations in anyway
and we have no policy to allow any occurrences of Crimes Against Humanity such as inflicting grave humiliation to human dignity, murder, torture and rape. In this current security situation which is not normal, there have been necessities in certain areas which may have affected some rights, such as requiring the press to be more cautious in reporting news and special measures for some individuals in traveling abroad. We ask for understanding from the international community and international organizations to consider the necessity in invoking these special measures in order to protect our people and maintain security during this time of transition and reform.

Regarding the repatriation of internally displaced persons fleeing fighting in Myanmar along the Thai-Myanmar border, we have not taken any action as it is an issue that both governments must mutually find appropriate and safe solutions for the displaced persons without violating human rights principles. This is not an action to be taken up by the Security Cluster or the military as of now.

The same goes for the Rohingyas. Following the illegal operations to bring Rohingya groups into Thailand, there has been the need to invoke resolute measures to control the situation. Failure to do so will lead to human trafficking and influx of non-conflict related displaced persons into Thailand.

Last week, the Assistant Chief of Staff of the Royal Thai Army, as representative of the NCPO, met with a visiting delegation from Amnesty International (AI) and addressed the various concerns of AI such as violent incidents, actions taken by the NCPO since the application of martial law and the taking control of national administration, limitations to rights and freedoms, respect for human rights, the role of the NCPO after the establishment of a government, efforts to address the problem of illegal migrant workers and displaced persons from Myanmar. Following this meeting, the representatives from AI were more aware of and had a better understanding of the situation in Thailand and had a more positive outlook for the NCPOs actions on human rights. Given this, the NCPO asked for AI cooperation in providing accurate information on the situation in Thailand in various international arena.
In this aspect, the NCPO has always attached great importance to the issue of human rights and is currently in the process of establishing a Committee to address the problems of human rights violations in all aspects.

On the problem of migrant labour, the NCPO has been aware of the issue where migrant workers have not obtained passports, which take time to process in their countries of origin, and cannot enter Thailand. The Security Cluster has already been instructed to urgently come up with measures in resolving the problem. I would like to express my appreciation to all public sectors in jointly helping resolve the problem. At present, the main problems have eased and businesses can operate more smoothly. Fishing boat owners who employ migrant workers have already registered their workers in a total of 53,260 persons. And on 22 July, the NCPO has opened additional One Stop Service Centres for the Registration of Migrant Workers in 22 coastal provinces.

On social psychology:

On education, the NCPO has approved the project on distance learning via satellite, which is to provide material for all schools under the Office of the Basic Education Commission and the Office of the Private Education Commission. It will help lift the quality of education in schools nationwide to achieve the same level of development and standard.

On the educational fund, the NCPO has approved to extend the operation of the Income Contingent Loan Funds project to the academic year 2558. However, the project is facing the problem of outstanding debts. There needs to be improvement in project management, more channels for debt paying, and an accurate database.

On employing additional public health personnel, the Ministry of Public Health has notified the NCPO of the problem of personnel shortage, and the NCPO has initially approved additional 9,074 positions for the fiscal year 2014, consisting of 7,547 positions for nurses and public health personnel, and 1,527 positions for medical, dental, and pharmaceutical students. Nevertheless, in resolving such problem in the future, the Ministry of Public Health has to exhaust all measures on administration and development of public personnel, before requesting additional positions.
On other issues of social importance:

On the demand for democracy, the NCPO does not deem it to be uncommon. What is peculiar though is the situation of Thai democracy in the past which has been problematic in every aspect; for instance, in the political sphere, entrance to political power, executive, legislative and judicial powers, corruption, non-transparency, cronyism, and conflicts of interest. Such problems have hindered public servants from servicing people effectively. I do not understand how those who demand for democracy could overlook such problems I just mentioned. Especially with regard to safety of life and property of the innocents during the protests in 2006, 2010, 2013 and 2014 whereby every party to the conflict lay claim to be democratic. The NCPO wants to put an end to and resolve these problems sustainably. Therefore we should look at this root cause and understand and find those who caused such chaotic situations. Condemning us while we are trying to improve the situation is not entirely fair. I ask for just consideration.

On claiming personal benefits regarding the appointments to state enterprise boards, the National Legislative Assembly and the Government, I have mentioned this several times. I reiterate that there are none. We are aware of the names of those involved and are looking for ways to take legal action. Please cease to perform such action, and those who have already given money should immediately reclaim the payment or risk losing it. Persons who have been appointed by the NCPO have been scrutinized by an NCPO committee regarding their personal record, performance, corruption, prosecution and cases under legal proceedings. Every person will be examined and nobody will be appointed without scrutiny. Appointees who are found guilty will be prosecuted and dismissed.

On claims against and anonymous letters criticising the NCPO, the armed forces and the Royal Thai Army regarding claims and accusations on weapons procurement, I have said many times that there is a scrutiny process. In the past all procurements have passed scrutiny. Government agencies have asked us and we responded. Such process has delayed the procurement and became an accumulated problem that needs to be continually resolved. We want everyone to trust us so please do not attack us on
such issues. Any damaged equipment needs to be repaired. We do not manufacture a lot of equipment so we have to procure for testing purposes and for research and development. It has to be in tune with addressing non-traditional threats. We would like to design and manufacture ourselves with budget for research and development but it would take a long time which the NCPO could not do on its own.

On issues of claims of bribery in projects that have been approved by the NCPO for all ministries at central, regional or local levels, whether they are construction project, water resource management project, the dredging of canals, basic public utilities, and others, some people claimed that they are able to make connections with the NCPO or the Head of NCPO and asked for bribes from government officials, civilians, police, military or ordinary people. We ask you to notify the NCPO immediately to avoid corruption and unlawful practices from the initial stages of the budget planning, workplan and projects up to the procurement stage. We need to cooperate to ensure transparency in planning budgets, workplan and projects as well as a free and competitive bidding. There will be a monitoring committee to inspect each and every step. I would like to reemphasize that there must be no bribery.

On resolving corruption, the NCPO places high importance to this issue. At the moment, we are solving immediate problems. There is the Monitoring and Auditing Committee on Fiscal Expenditures to examine the public agencies’ workplans and projects with high budget, of which many were found suspicious. The NCPO has ordered a revision or a suspension of such projects on a case-by-case basis. Additionally, the NCPO has ordered all public agencies to lay a foundation for monitoring and preventing corruption, as well as to instill and promote virtuousness for civil servants at all levels. An example is the Ministry of Commerce’s measures stipulating all executives, staffs and employees to perform their duties in accordance with the principles of good governance, morality, and integrity and transparency assessment, which are considered decent guiding practices, enhancing transparency in the public sector. If all ministries and public agencies adhere to these principles, it will lead to a strong foundation for the Thai civil service system.
On the existing system of decentralising government administration at the central, regional and local levels, the NCPO does not see much problems, except ones concerning the selection process, transparency and efficiency. These issues require reform in order to guarantee fairness and justice. The NCPO has no intention to make any changes. Do not forget that Thailand is a unified country and one indivisible Kingdom. The country – the land, the people and the political system – is inseparable. Article 1 of the constitution and other articles stipulate public administration at the central, regional and local levels. The NCPO places importance on government officials in every sector, especially Subdistrict Administrative Organisation (SAO), Provincial Administrative Organisation (PAO), subdistrict chiefs and village chiefs, who work most closely with the people. However, local administration must be tied to the central and regional administration to establish the balance of power. If we are able to develop the 3 levels of human resources, there should not be any problems as long as there is good coordination. It is even better that they will mutually benefit each other and complete the gaps. The important problem is people. Government officials must be knowledgeable, qualified, dedicated and honest and must have more regard for the welfare of other people than themselves and their cronies.

For elections that happened before 22 May, the Election Commission can still announce the confirmation of the results. However, replacement elections as a result of electoral penalties (red/yellow cards) are to be postponed temporarily pending further announcements.

The NCPO has already instructed the Department of Local Administration to create understanding among local administration organizations and Provincial Offices of the Election Commission for them to proceed accordingly. On the improvement and development of Thailand’s information technology system, the NCPO’s advisors have been instructed to establish various subcommittees to conduct studies on the matter. This is to be done in parallel with the works of the State Enterprise Policy Office, or its working groups, and other relevant governmental agencies. The aim is to come up with measures to rehabilitate state enterprises in this sector and resolve all issues rapidly to keep up with the schedule for the 4G network auction which has been
temporarily postponed for one year. We need time must rehabilitate this sector. At the same time I wish to stress that such work must not affect the services to the people. On the inspection of rice warehouses, we are continually working on the matter, as well as taking legal actions on cases which are not transparent so that these cases are investigated in accordance with the judicial process. These steps are separate from the inspections and relevant legal actions of the National Anti-Corruption Commission. The NCPO inspection team has already conducted rice stock inspections for 836 places out of the total 1,787 (equivalent to 46.78 %). The preliminary finding is that there are 685 places where the rice is in normal conditions and 126 places where there are irregularities—such as deteriorating rice quality, inconsistent IDs on sacks for the type and source of rice, mixed grades of rice, significant weevil infestation or contamination by other elements, etc.

On the disposal of rice stocks, the NCPO has approved the strategy, approach, target, plan, and method of clearing rice in the government’s stocks as proposed by the Subcommittee on Rice Disposal, chaired by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce. The target is to clear 18 million tons of rice in the stocks within three years. The rice will be divided into that of good-quality, medium-quality, and low-quality, for release or distribution via suitable channels—such as export, normal trade, consumption, and processing. Considerations will be made based on suitability and pursuant to the situation for rice trade in domestic and foreign markets to maintain price stability. Impacts on farmers and the interest of the state will also be considered. Many approaches for the disposal of rice will be considered—government-to-government transactions, cooperation between government and the private sector for sales of rice to buyers in foreign countries, sales to private organisations, the Public Warehouse Organization, or the Agricultural Futures Exchange of Thailand with purchasing orders from abroad, etc.

On the media, I would like to thank the media for your understanding. I ask those who are responsible for each media association to keep a close watch in not allowing any violation with ill intent or any dissemination or reporting of false or unsubstantiated information or news, to ensure fairness for the people against whom accusations are made. The NCPO does not intend to use any power or do anything whatsoever to
interfere with or control the media. We only wish for all media associations and all types of media to be strengthened and be credible to the public. I ask for the understanding of the media, including both Thai and foreign correspondent associations, in the NCPO’s operations. The second phase of the Roadmap needs to create peace and order as much as possible. If you do not intend to do damage or make excessive criticisms, no one can do anything to you. I ask for your cooperation because the power to make our society orderly or disorderly rests with you. If you truly intend to help in reforming our country together, you should understand this. In fact, the reform of all branches of mass media is also part of the reforms to be undertaken in this second phase. On the Provisional Constitution, there is a need to specify the powers and functions of each party clearly as their undertakings are the exercising, in form, of powers by His Majesty the King under the system of Constitutional Monarchy. For the past two months, you will notice that the NCPO has been trying to address all problems swiftly. The aim was never to use our power to hurt anybody, only to use them constructively to bring peace and happiness to the people and the nation. Some people are satisfied with this, while some are not. The NCPO has been working with fairness and only wishes to find ways to make our nation secure and sustainable. All parties should thus cooperate with the NCPO in its works. Do not look solely at the democracy aspect otherwise we cannot move forward on other issues if there is opposition on every issue. Expressions of concern were made even when things have not happened yet. The past has already provided a lesson which we want to avoid. So we need to cooperate in order to move forward together in the future. This will be the work of the government under the provisional constitution.

Everyone should be satisfied in knowing that there is a system of check and balance between the government and NCPO to ensure peace and order of the society and transparency in the operations or works of all sectors. Some may forget that the current situation is an exceptional one. If it is normal we can end our involvement. But it is not yet normal; reforms have not taken place. Today we have only reduced tension with talks and consultations taking place. There are still opposition, creation of misunderstandings, and distortion of facts, both in and outside of the country.
Although the NCPO and various governmental agencies have tried to explain, there are still some groups of people who have not understood. I am not sure whether they really do not understand or whether they are trying to conceal something. I ask that this should end. Probing measures under the judicial system still exist. If it is said that the NCPO is bullying any group or any person, we need to see if they are really at fault. If no wrongdoing then there will be no legal charges and vice versa. Time will be needed for the investigation process, to gather proof, and to ensure the fairness and transparency of the entire process. The NCPO has no intention in using its power to hurt or destroy anyone, we have rather left it as a matter for due course of law. If we do not allow the judicial process to proceed as normal, tensions would rise again. If we had wanted to destroy anyone, we, holding sovereign power, would have already ordered numerous punishments during the past period. But we have not done so. Some people questioned why. In return I asked whether the conflict will not happen again if we failed to apply the normal justice system. Do not use sentiments alone as we have to live together in the future.

The NCPO tried not to act on the requests of any one group of people on fears that if carried out, other groups will say that it is not fair and it will perpetuate disagreements as happened in the past. Therefore, wait for the judicial process to proceed with the evidence. All parties must accept the rules of society which are in accordance with the law. This cannot be denied as laws exist to enable people in the society to live together peacefully, not to endlessly create conflicts. People who are truly guilty of their crimes must be punished. If they are guilty but do not accept their punishments, they will have to flee the country. If they return, they will face arrests and legal actions like many previous cases.

The NCPO wishes for the Thai people and society to think deeply of the nation, more than of mutual anger and hatred which will cause us to overlook our children’s future— their future in living together. If we were to continue fighting each other with feelings of vengeance and resentment for each other, how can our descendents live in peace. It would be better to take matters up based on legal points of view.

According to this provisional constitution, regardless of any power the NCPO may have, if the user of power uses it for good, for the benefit of Thai people and
Thailand, there is no need for much worry—that is, if the administrators of the country and all power-users adhere to the principles of good governance, morality, integrity, transparency, and efficiency in doing their work. However, if they do not have integrity, devoid of use and transparency, they can be replaced anytime. So please trust NCPO in using its powers. On the administration of the country in the second phase of the Roadmap, when the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, the government, the National Legislative Assembly (NLA), and the National Reform Council (NRC) have all been appointed, we will be able to operate with full powers. This means the exercise of legislative and judicial powers through the Cabinet, the NLA, and the judicial system. At the same time, there will be reforms on significant issues, where results are set to be achieved for the short-term (immediately), medium-term of one year in which a government exists, and long term in which administration is handed over to successive governments. We ask for your patience, your cooperation in thinking and deciding, and your collective approval, to reach conclusions and prevent undesirable outcomes similar to what has happened in the past from happening again in the future. Otherwise, the demands and fighting, the deaths of the people and officials, will be in vain. The NCPO’s undertakings will also be all in vain. The country will return to the same vicious cycle and will you let this happen? The NLA and the NRC are to be established to enable the reforms to truly be carried out. Everything has a time limit, as specified in the Roadmap. We are trying to achieve that. If we are unable to follow the schedule then we cannot achieve reforms in the timeframe, which will have to be extended. We do not seek to stay in power for a long period so the progress does not rest solely on the NCPO. We are making efforts to work, to solve problems, but in moving the country forward, it is up to you citizens as well. Cooperate with us, share views and opinions with us. Do not criticize among yourselves or fear what has not arrived. If any bad things happen in the future it must be changed or resolved immediately.

So I would like to ask for cooperate from everyone to help bring peace and sustainable democracy to the country, without further divisiveness among the general public and politicians. Bureaucrats and officials will be able work without hindrance, especially in law enforcement. Therefore, if disturbances and chaos erupts again, I do
not know what to do. Now is the time that we need to cooperate with each other. It is a critical period of the country so please do not demand too much during this period before elections can take place under the new constitution, which will have to be drafted in Phase 2 so as to pave the way to democratic elections and tangible reforms that everyone wishes to see. On foreign affairs, it could be seen that many countries have continued cooperation with Thailand economically. Businesses and trade relations between the private sectors have continued as normal. They have also expressed support and hope for Thailand and its people to become a sustainable democracy in the near future. As for military relations, during August, there will be a joint military exercise between the armies of Thailand and Australia taking place in Tak and Songkhla provinces, also known as Exercise Chapel Gold 14, which Thailand is hosting this year. Additionally, the Indian Ambassador to Thailand and the Singapore Supreme Commander last week paid a courtesy call on the NCPO. Both countries understand very well the situation in Thailand and the operations of the NCPO and are ready to provide support and continue to further develop friendly relations with us in the future. On the downing of the Malaysia Airlines and the crash of TransAsia Airways flights in the past week, on behalf of the people of Thailand, we would like to extend our deepest condolences to the victims, both crew members and passengers, and their families and relatives. On the fighting between Israel and Palestine in the Gaza Strip which has led to the death of a Thai worker, we would like to extend our condolences to his family as well. On this matter, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Royal Thai Embassy in Tel Aviv, Israel, have already been instructed to coordinate with relevant parties to relocate Thai workers from the areas within the proximity of the Gaza Strip to other safe zones. Other important matters such as economic and social investments, infrastructure development, water resources management, energy management, transportation, etc. are being worked on constructively for readiness to become part of the ASEAN Community and AEC. During the period of 22 May 2014 to 22 July 2014, or the past two months, the NCPO has received much cooperation from Thai people from all sectors. We would like to thank the leaders of all movements and protest groups who have refrained from organising political activities and instead tend to their personal matters and business—taking care of their families, recreation, exercising, returning to their
works, and preparing themselves for the reform and future activities in politics. The NCPO very much hopes that from now on we will receive the same, or more, cooperation—in reconciliation, in reform, and in collaboration in the administration of the country—for us to get past all the obstacles that are arresting Thailand’s advancement and to ensure an ever-lasting bright future for our younger generations. The NCPO does not wish to have or seek power for any personal gain whatsoever.

On the occasion of the upcoming Birthday Anniversary of His Royal Highness Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn on July 28th, I would like to invite everyone to extend their good wishes to His Royal Highness, may the power of all things sacred protect His Royal Highness and blessed him with strength, good health, happiness and long life. Thank you and good night.

Appendix 3.6

**National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-O-cha Head of the National Council for Peace and Order, 1 Aug 1014**

Good evening dear citizens. Today we meet again as we have many times before during the past period. I wish to ask those who have been regularly following this programme to convey my messages to others who have not, in order for them to understand and together move our country forward. It has been a little over two months since the NCPO has taken charge of national administration. Today, the overall situation of our country, both relating to politics and to our people’s living conditions, is quite peaceful. Smiles can be found in all areas. Even though some still face problems in making a livelihood, but looking back to the period before 22 May 2014, you may recall the disarray and chaos that have happened—conflicts, protests. People were not able to lead their lives peacefully. There were uses of violence and war weapons among opposing groups. Many innocent people were injured and killed. There were widespread human rights violations. Media were used to incite hatred among fellow Thais for political and other goals, causing damage to people’s properties. The country’s economy faced many obstacles. Corruption ran rampant among state agencies and the private sector. The then government was not able to
fully provide basic services to the people. Our country risked becoming a failed state or the possibility of riots and civil war breaking out. All of these have formed part of the status quo of our country for more than 10 years since before 2006. And there are many causes which gave rise to all these problems, such as corruption, the lack of moral and ethics, conflicts of thoughts or political ideals, etc., as you all know. And we are going to help each other tackle these issues. In resolving these protracted and deep-rooted problems, serious efforts will be needed, as well as the determination and cooperation from all of us in all sectors. We all have to dedicate ourselves to make our country a better place to live in; to ensure the happiness of our people; and to develop our system of governance to become a full-fledged democracy, in order to thoroughly and equally provide benefits to all groups and sides. The current operation of the NCPO has entered the second phase of the Roadmap—the Provisional Constitution has been promulgated and we are advancing with the reform of the country. In relation to this, there are certain points I would like to make clear to all of you.

Firstly, on the NCPO’s power pursuant to the Provisional Constitution, the NCPO reiterates that it has no intention to use the power provided for its own gains, but will use it only to ensure that reforms can truly be carried out effectively and lead to tangible results. As can be seen during the first phase of the Roadmap, the NCPO has been very cautious in exercising its authority. Power was used only when necessary to avoid impact on the rights and liberties of the people. All of our operations have been in line with the principles of human rights and respect for human dignity and have always been in accordance with the Roadmap and what had been promised to the public. The NCPO still retains its power on certain matters as this is necessary under the current, irregular situation. We have limited time to move forward with the reforming of our country in order for elections to be held as soon as possible.

On the movements against the NCPO’s operations both inside and outside of the country, the issue at the moment is section 112 of the Criminal Code. I ask for your understanding of the distinction on this. Ordinary people are protected by the law on libel or defamation. As for the monarchy, we have to find ways to keep this respected
and revered institution in a safe and suitable place and prevent it from being exploited to make false claims to destroy each other. Whoever commits the offence of section 112 has to face the consequences. If you did not commit such a crime, no punishment will come to you as there are many verification steps in the judicial process—from the filing of claims, the consideration before the case reaches public prosecutors of whether to bring legal action, and further consideration by a working group from the Ministry of Justice after the case reaches the public prosecutors. However, there are still those who seek to violate this law: intend to not understand: and use this law for the destruction of others. There needs to be accurate verification as to whether the crime has been committed. If no crime took place or done without intent, I believe the law allows for exemptions of liability or provides special considerations in those cases. Please cooperate with us on this. Foreigners may still not understand that the monarchy is above politics. So, it depends on the people who seek to taint the monarchy’s standing. We have to look out for this and help to create an understanding on the matter. As for the operations of the NCPO, they can be briefly summarized as follows. During the current short-term period of around three months, we are undertaking restructurings and reorganizations via administration by the NCPO before a cabinet is appointed. In the middle term, we will have a government by around September as the country needs an interim government with full powers in the administration of the country. We will need to make a transition from operations in the first phase to addressing problems and carrying out reforms, as well as passing new laws, and making preparations for elections to ensure that we will be a fully functioning democracy. After the second phase, for the long term, we will have an elected government. Please be patient. Rushing the process may be dangerous for our work. Some problems require time to tackle as they have persisted for more than a decade.

The bottom line is that we need to have trust among the people from all sectors who are involved or have an interest in the well-being of the nation. The NCPO is doing what it is doing for the nation and the Thai people, not for its own gains. We realize that we cannot expect anything in return but a job well done. We could have left things as they were and see the country fail, but we could not, as it is our duty to take
care of the country’s security. Thus, we could not leave the people to their troubles. We need to trust each other for things to proceed smoothly. Making unconstructive comments and complaints will lead to nowhere. Today, we are trying to rethink and redo everything. There are both old and new problems to tackle, where some relate to conflicts that have never happened before in Thailand. We need to look back at the causes, the persons involved, and see to it that the problems are resolved. If everyone thinks that NCPO wants power or are using power for our own gains, we would not deem it necessary to have a government. NCPO would have continued our administration of the country like in the first phase, with fewer complexities. But we could not do that because we want to show that we do not want power. We only want to ensure that reforms can truly take place with participation from all sectors. Such participation is necessary as problems will follow if some people do not accept the proposed solutions. Those not taking part should think very hard about this. When others come to an agreement and the process finishes, those who have not participated in the process cannot simply deny their responsibilities and their knowledge of the matter. One should rethink this.

Today, we have been using our best efforts to reduce the tension and pressure, both within the country and from outside. However, some people still find our efforts unsatisfactory. As for those who continue to demand for and care only about quick elections, I wonder if they felt nothing at all about past events that have been happening in this country. At present, all countries in the world are fighting. Why do we need to go back to the time we were too? In addition to this, we also need to make preparations for moving Thai people out of conflict zones. Currently, many countries are fighting or having civil wars. Do we want Thailand to be one of those countries?

On the satisfaction of the people, during the past two months, we have been tackling many issues to address people’s grievances and help with their career, income, and living. These are measures to provide urgent relief to the obstacles they face and will not have much effect in the long term, as these problems have been accumulated over a very long period of time. Resolving the country’s problem systematically still seems to be having limited impact on a household or personal level. We need to address these problems in all levels, as we live in a society of many different people who have
come to live together but may have different standards. We need to address many things: policies, administration/management, government expenditure, regulations, laws, bureaucratic system, and many other issues. When these matters are better organized and systematized, we will see more of the impact on the general public, where work done for and services provided to the people will see significant improvements. Everyone needs to be patient. We are trying to solve urgent problems first, which will benefit the people in the long term. If we rush everything, the same problems may happen again. We need to find ways to resolve them completely.

If we can reform everything as planned, government officials will also be able to provide better services to the people. It will take considerable amount of time in this second phase. The reorganization taking place at present in some areas may cause some difficulties for some groups of people. However, you need to understand that if you are making a living or profiting off an illegal business or career, it would not be fair for those who are not breaking the law. If you continue allowing corrupt officials to provide backing for those committing offences, rules and laws will be overlooked and there will be disorder in the country. If we leave these things as they are, there will be injustice. People will find themselves with more problems. Only some groups will benefit from this with the majority overlooked. And this will again lead to conflicts like in the past. We need to address these issues by starting with ourselves. Government officials and the people need to have integrity and be moral and ethical in living together.

On the 3-phase reforms, the first phase—the preparation phase for setting up the National Legislative Assembly—has already been completed. We needed this preparation phase in the lead-up to the second phase, which will see the establishment of the National Reform Council about one month and a half to two months after there is a Council of Ministers or Cabinet. The selection and appointment process will take time.

I wish for all the people involved or who are interested parties to the nation’s well-being, especially current and future politicians, to understand and accept that the country is facing many obstacles at this moment. It has been so for a long time. Democracy in Thailand is also facing many problems. You need to differentiate
between personal problems and problems of the society or the nation. Separate the interest of the nation from the means to resolve problems, as both of these will be considered in tackling said problems. Involve factors relating to yourself only when solutions have already been thought up. If you involve yourself from the beginning, your interests will be considered and you will not be able to solve the problem. You need to remove yourself out of the process first. If some say this matter should be so and so, they should have fixed it a long time ago within the framework of democracy. But they were not able to, which is why the operations of the NCPO are necessary. Please refrain from complicating matters. We need to work together on this. You know all the problem there is, because you have been involved with or exposed to them for a long time, albeit without the ability to solve them. So, to improve our political system, we need to remove ourselves from the equation.

When we can solve the problems, including those relating to the process and means of operation and administration, we will be able to provide better service to the public. This will be considered a success in the reform of the country. But if people keep worrying that there are too much of this and that—too many rules and regulations, for instance—and worrying about their effects on our lives—asking questions like “How will I be able to govern?”, “What interests will I have?”—I say these people might not be Thai. Thai people have to put the interests of the nation before those of their own. That is what we think, as the people’s military. If people keep worrying about the country not being a democracy, or not having elections, or about the effect on a party’s votes when there can no longer be populist policies, we will not go anywhere. I believe there are countless ways to make people want to vote for you. If you are a good person then there is nothing to worry about. But when you come into office, you need to manage things properly. Do not create disorder, confusion, or conflicts, and be transparent. If you can do that, people will elect you for sure. On reforming human resources, which is an important task and one of the 11 reform issues, administration is run by people, so if the people who are responsible for a task are incompetent, we will be facing a huge obstacle. This is because human resource is the most important resource of every country in the world, including ours. All problems that have arisen in this country are the result of people’s different beliefs and attitudes. Therefore, we need to adjust their values and attitudes in order for Thai people to be nice, sharing,
caring, smiling, moral, and ethical, and for them to know their duties, be responsible, and put the interest of the nation before their own, as I have already said before. Implanting the 12 Thai values is not an easy task and must be done in a person’s childhood period. Adults must teach their children of these values as well as be role models for them.

Thai people, by nature, love themselves, their families, and their friends—sometimes forgetting others, which may make it seems like they lack compassion and care for others. However, if there is a common enemy or someone of the sort who have come to fight, Thai people will unite in fighting back. It has been so for a very long time as can be seen from history. These are not unhealthy traits, they are good ones. But if we do not fight among ourselves during regular hours then that would be great. In today’s world, we cannot be bickering among ourselves. The world has over 200 countries. If we fight with our own people, how will we compete with the rest of the world? We need to be compassionate and caring for others. Do not be selfish or hating others. Sometimes, you like or do not like a person just because you are told by others that the person is good or bad. Sometimes people dedicate themselves to someone who may seem like he/she cares for them. Giving things to and conferring benefits on someone may cause them to not think about where those things and benefits come from. This leads to further division of the groups of people as benefits can never thoroughly reach everyone. I would like to remind you of a saying by His Majesty the King that said ‘do not give only fish, but also a rod’. If we want the benefits to thoroughly reach everyone, we need to be caring, sharing, and accepting of others. Otherwise, societies will fail. Good people will not be able to keep up their standing; the attitudes of people, government officials, civil servants, as well as police and military officers will change. They will accept influence outside the system and illegal activities. For instance, they may view a corrupt person who shares the wealth as acceptable. This type of thinking promotes activities outside the framework of the law. And the people who do it defend each other, sometimes harming each other by words or force, which leads to conflict, injuries, deaths, or loss of reputation. Good people will lose morale in their work or desire to enter politics as a result of this. We need to make these people view politics to be inviting to all people and as a
constructive means to provide services or help other people. If this succeeds, our political system will see a lot of improvement. The most dangerous matters are the deception, provocation, corruption, and committing wrongdoings together, which are the causes of disorder and unrest. The nation is sacred. Giving things that have been dishonestly taken from others to certain groups of people is wrong. And what is left for the people is a small portion. I think the people should understand and open their eyes more. They should also share the happiness they receive to others who did not receive them. In a system of democracy, everyone, every group, and every side needs to be taken care of, despite them belonging to different sides or having different opinions. This is the politics and democracy of Thailand.

On the National Legislative Assembly, the Cabinet, and the National Reform Council, not much has been done; everything is still in the process. Some have also criticized that their set up is not democratic and society groups are not represented equally. Well, that is because all of them have not come from elections. We are aiming to solve the country’s problems and ensure that the mechanisms for reforms can work smoothly. The members of those organizations will not be members of parliament or politicians; they will comprise military officials, civil servants, and people who support us. Please pay attention to how they could benefit the nation rather than focusing on the individual. Everyone has their positive and negative attributes; no one is perfect, except perhaps the person judging others. If you only view the negative side, we will not go anywhere. Please consider the performances or results that will happen by your cooperation and our administration. We are trying our utmost to do things that normal politics or democracy consistently cannot achieve in the past. Some laws took decades to consider and still has not been passed and some are out of date. Some agreements have not been signed because there were interests involved. Everyone knows that we must try and reduce these problems. The number 200, which is the number of members of the National Legislative Assembly, is not a quota. In fact, people are misunderstanding this. I do not want the word quota used as it is just a means for all sides to nominate people to the National Legislative Assembly. If we do not provide a number, we might be seeing thousands of nominations. So that is why a number was set. I did not use the word quota; I said ‘nominate for consideration’, how
many names make it through is up to the selection committee to decide. If there are more or less military officials than usual, then it is normal, as the current situation is not usual. If things proceed as usual, it might cause more conflict and fighting again. As for the operation of the NCPO during the second phase, the essence is on national reform which will lead to the final point of having a permanent government pursuant to the permanent Constitution to be drafted. Things have to proceed step by step. Please understand us and do not criticize so much. Please wait and see, today we are still living under irregular conditions.

When we have a government, a Provisional Constitutional, and a cabinet, it may be viewed as a democracy too, albeit in a temporary Thai style democracy. But those foreign countries have been more accepting of this entry into the second phase. For the National Legislative Assembly, besides the factors of knowledge, ability, confidence, and trust, it is necessary to focus on the effectiveness, unity, and ability to respond to the main mission, which is achieving national reform within the short-term period of one year. Everyone should understand this. This is for the reforming of the 11 issues—the amendment of obsolete laws which hinder national administration, for instance, and the reforms on the bureaucratic system, education, laws, judicial system, public health, or other issues, 11 in all. Using the word ‘other issues‘ implies that there may be more than 11 issues.

The main mission in amending major laws concerning the 11 issues of national reform must be conducted carefully with the participation of all groups and sectors, without rushing the process. The National Reform Council will be responsible for seeking what to improve or fix, while the National Legislative Assembly will carry on the amendment of laws which will be beneficial to the nation and the public with the consensus of all groups and parties. Pending legislation should be passed expeditiously. New legislation or proposals can be introduced in the National Legislative Assembly. Discussions or new proposals on reform will be taken up at the 250-strong National Reform Council. The 250 members will be composed of 77 provincial representatives and 173 persons with expertise in the 11 areas of reform. Aside from the discussions in the Reform Council, there are Centers for Reconciliation and Reform that are set up in each province and area. Proposals can also be submitted through your
representatives in these centers. This is the first preparation stage which will lead to Phase 2. Anyone can participate in the process of enacting laws or drafting of a new constitution. So please prepare for this. It is of little use if you prefer to stay out of the process on account of dislike or disagreement. He process has started and already stated in the provisional constitution. We must proceed accordingly. The NCPO will not influence the National Reform Council. It is a matter for you all to achieve. We will kick off with an introductory session on 9 August 2557 at the Army Club on Vibhavadee Rangsit Road. It will be hosted by the Ministry of Defence. I invite all stakeholders including representatives from the 11 areas of reform to attend to show our cooperative spirit in moving ahead on reforms.

Progress on the NCPO Operations

On the Economy:
The overall consumer confidence level continues to improve. This is only an estimation or forecast. It depends on several factors such as global situations, wars and conflicts, situations in the West and the East. We have to also take into consideration global economics. The world is chaotic, thus we need to be prepared in case of emergency. I do not want to put the blame on anyone.

The consumer confidence in private and industrial sectors has begun to increase. This is an estimation. The industry confidence index in June 2014 has increased to 88.4 from 85.1 in May, as the overall business operation is more convenient and flexible. The purchase orders in many industries, such as garment, sport wears and sport shoes, have increased. The 3-month forecast of the industry confidence index which indicates the forecasted trends in September, has increased from 101.0 in May to 101.9.

Investment sector has shown a clear sign of improvement. There are 634 projects which applied for investment promotion via the Board of Investment (BOI) in the first half of the year with a total value of 337.4 billion baht. The number of projects applying for the investment promotion programme has been steadily increased. In June, the number of projects has reached its highest in 6 months which signals increasing confidence of investors. It is anticipated that the total value for 2014 will
reach its target of 700 billion baht, as determined in July. BOI has recently approved 15 projects worth around 51.5 billion baht. There were mostly manufacturing industries, notably eco-car manufacturing. Eco cars will be important in the future as they are affordable and easy to maintain. These approvals are in addition to the 92 projects already approved since the new Board was set up. Consideration on other pending projects is expected to be completed within 3 months. On the automobile industry, the production of cars has decreased. It is a result of the first-car tax rebate scheme, which created false demand. When the scheme has been suspended, the turnover subsequently declined and led to the current problem which needs to be resolved. The exports in June have increased as compared to that of last year and in May 2014. The value of export in June 2014 has increased by 3.9 per cent after a steady decline during the previous 3 months. The export value amounts to around 19.8 billion US dollar. The export revenue in June increased by 13.5 per cent from that of last year and by 3.0 per cent from that in May. Export products have expanded in several sectors, including industrial products, agricultural products, and agro-industrial products. This month, agricultural product exports have expanded for the first time in 6 months based on an increase of important agricultural/agro-industrial product exports, such as rice, cassava products, vegetables, fresh fruits, frozen and processed fruits, and frozen and processed chicken, while the increasing industrial products are electrical appliances, car manufacturing, automobile parts and equipment, plastic granules and plastic products, and construction materials. The Fiscal Policy Office estimated that the annual export value will increase by 1.5 per cent, while the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board’s estimation is 2 per cent. These numbers are only an estimation that can fluctuate, as they also depend on external economic factor.

The NCPO has approved the 2014 government expenditure budget of 835.9 million baht from the federal budget for the construction and renovation of damaged roads in the 3 Southern border provinces. The road repair project will pioneer the use of natural rubber mixed with asphalt which will result in higher cost, but the durability and longevity will be 2 times longer than that of normal materials. This will reduce the cost of maintenance and increase domestic rubber consumption, as well as help
resolve the problem of rubber’s oversupply. The NCPO has ordered the Department of Rural Roads, Ministry of Transportation to conduct a feasibility study on the application of domestically produced rubber for the construction and renovation of roads in other areas. Bricks and rubber used for road pavement have to be developed to increase their values and to avoid price deflation. Rubber has also been used for other activities, such as to make paving bricks or used as raw materials for indoor soccer fields, etc. Moreover, the Ministry of Commerce will implement the NCPO’s instruction immediately.

On the problem of rubber prices, the NCPO regarded this as an important issue and is currently working on the matter. This is a recurring problem, as well as the problems related to rice, sugar cane, and cassava, that usually be resolved by subsidies. However, the problem cannot be resolved due to the discontinuity of policy. The problem solving process needs to follow the roadmap – be they immediate or long-term. Nevertheless, farmers also need to cooperate with us. They need to plan their cultivation and use zoning techniques to avoid excess supply. We are addressing immediate problems, but cooperation from all farmers is needed for the systematic solution of the problems. Everyone must share his or her profits, such as those related to fertilisers, to help reduce the production cost. The state has to limit the areas of rubber plantation to prevent further forest encroachment and avoid further complications. Farmers need to experiment in cultivating plants that yield results, and need to cooperate with the state for the benefit of everyone. Those who sell sprouts and fertilisers should cut down the prices and refrain from selling fake fertilisers. The use of organic fertiliser has already become a national agenda. Every agricultural sector – be it manufacturing, transporting, processing or marketing sector – needs to cooperate to move forward together. People should not only seek to gain profits, and the focus on populism cannot be continued. We have to look at both international and domestic market mechanisms, and help those with low income. The NCPO has already ordered relevant agencies to set out sustainable measures, such as designating suitable zones for rubber plantation to prevent further forest trespassing. Our assistance will also take into consideration the fact that some farmers do not possess their own land. The problem of fodder corn has occurred since early 2014 and continued unresolved until August 2014, causing grievances to farmers. The NCPO
has endorsed and approved the draft Announcement of the Ministry of Commerce on corn fodder importation as agreed under the ASEAN FTA and WTO framework to solve the problem of corn shortage, scarcity and high price, as well as to support those who invested in corn growing industry in neighbouring countries.

On Monday, 21 July 2014, I have assigned Mr. Somkid Jatusripitak, advisor to the NCPO, as a special envoy to deliver messages to Chinese President Xi Jinping via the Chinese Vice President at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing to strengthen bilateral relations on trade and investment. We learned that China is willing to help seek markets for Thai agricultural products, such as rice, rubber, fruits, and others, which will be discussed further based on the principle of mutual trust, equity and fairness. On rice problem, on 28 July 2014, General Chatchai Satikalya, NCPO deputy head of the Economic Cluster has reported that the Committee on Rice Management and Policy has endorsed additional strategies for rice production in Thailand which consists of production and marketing strategies aiming at improving the quality of rice so that it can be sold at decent price. The sub-committee on the inspection of rice stockpiles reported that the sub-committee has inspected 1,290 out of 1,787 rice storages or 72 per cent and found that 80 per cent are of good quality; while only 10 per cent are of bad quality and will need to be further examined. These are actual figures from our inspection. We inspect stockpiles of rice in order to continue with disbursement. If the actual numbers are not correlated with the official numbers, we need to take a look at root causes. The inspection of rice is complicated and takes time to determine any related wrongdoings. As for the problems of corruption in the rice-pledging scheme, there are many processes such as the pledging process, certificate letters, rice stocking, cost of container rental, and sales quotas and prices. These are all being inspected to determine the corruption in each process. Some people such as a person responsible in keeping track on the amount of the rice, a person responsible for the sales of rice, or a person responsible for the rice pledging process, may have to be responsible individually for any mismanagement or corruption. However, some people may be responsible for the overall process. This will be determined in the legal proceedings. The Office of the National-Anti Corruption Commission is investigating these issues. Again, please understand that
we are inspecting rice stocks for disbursement. Please also do not criticise or be sceptical of the figures. We have been inspecting every pile but the rice sacks in each pile have to be chosen randomly, as there are a large number of rice sacks. On financial and fiscal discipline, the NCPO is aware that such discipline must be ensured. Some people have doubts on how the NCPO disburse the budget. Although the NCPO has approved many projects, the NCPO has not spent the money. It is the responsibility of ministries and departments to use such money for their projects and operation. We have to maintain the discipline and avoid public debt. The NCPO acknowledged the second amendment of the plan for administration of public debt for 2014 fiscal budget year which reduced the budget to approximately 6.3 billion baht. The cut was a result of the Monitoring and Auditing Committee on Fiscal Expenditures report which found that some projects are unworthy and suspicious and do not truly contribute to benefit of the people. However, if we suspend all projects, there will be no investment. We need to look at each project individually to see what can be done or adjusted, in order for it to be fair and accurate, and no one can take advantage of it. This is a difficult task, but if no one gain benefit from this, it should be controllable. There are many steps involved; therefore, people in every step have to be vigilant and inform the NCPO of any misconduct. The NCPO has continued with the investment in the infrastructure system, procurement of public buses, maintenance vehicles, and locomotives. These are urgent tasks, as they are long overdue. We are proceeding with whatever can be done but it must be done with transparency.

On Security:
This week, the NCPO has welcomed the Chief of Singapore Army on an official visit to Thailand on the occasion of assuming office, with an aim to strengthen relations on security, military cooperation, and joint military training between the two countries. The Chief of Singapore Army has reaffirmed long-standing relation and friendship between both countries, and has shown understanding of the situation in Thailand. Additionally, he has also expressed his appreciation to the Royal Thai Army for continually providing support on military cooperation. The Singapore Army stands ready to cooperate with Thailand in all areas to allow for sustainable development and
stability in both countries, as well as to further cooperation on entering the ASEAN Community in the future.

On 29 July 2014, the NCPO has welcomed General Tea Banh, Cambodia’s Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, and other high-level military officials from every army force as guests of the Ministry of Defence, with an aim to strengthen military relation between Thailand and Cambodia, as well as to exchange opinions and further military cooperation. During the meeting, the NCPO has expressed its deep gratitude for His Majesty Preah Bat Samdech Preah Norodom Sihamoni’s royal grace and extended its appreciation to His Excellency Samdech Hun Sen in the granting of a royal pardon for Mr. Veera Somkwamkid. We discussed about the close friendship between the two countries as well as with other ASEAN countries. We promised to transcend the joint border conflicts and develop cooperation on trade and investment. We have plans for the establishment of Special Economic Zones along the border of the two countries as well as with other neighbouring countries. We share a 5,600 kilometres long border with our neighbouring countries which can connect to other countries in the region. China and India through the northern part, Singapore and Malaysia in south and Lao PDR in the northeast and Myanmar in the northwest. Thailand is in the center of this connectivity. We need to utilize our location for maximum benefits. Many countries have admired the work Thailand is doing during this transition period.

On the progress in countering problems of migrant workers and human trafficking, the Policy Committee on Foreign Workers under the Security Cluster has been continually addressing the problems. The following facilitation centres have been opened, namely, the Facilitation Centres for the Return of Cambodian workers in 4 provinces (Sa Kaeo, Chantaburi, Trat, and Surin), and 6 One Stop Service Centres for the Registration of Migrant Workers in Bangkok and 22 additional Centres in coastal provinces such as Krabi, Chantaburi, Chumphon, Trat, Trang, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Narathiwat, Prachuap Khiri Khan, Pattani, Phang Nga, Phuket, Ranong, Satun and Samut Songkhram. 354,617 migrant workers have been registered, which can be categorised into approximately 120,000 Burmese workers, 170,000 Cambodian
workers, and 50,000 Laotian workers. Additional One Stop Service Centres for the Registration of Migrant Workers will be promptly opened in all provinces. Next week, 53 additional Centres will be opened. Migrant workers have to be registered at the Centres by 31 October 2014. On 23-24 July 2014, Chief of Staff of the Army as President of the Policy Committee on Foreign Workers has visited the One Stop Service Centres for the Registration of Migrant Workers in 3 provinces, which are Nakhon Si Thammarat, Ranong, and Songkhla. The overall operation has been successful, and migrant workers are satisfied. On providing assistance for approximately 27,000 Thai workers in Israel, 4,276 of whom are working near the Gaza Strip, the NCPO has closely and continually coordinated with the Israeli Government in evacuating those workers out of the conflict zones into safe areas. The NCPO has also determined measures in evacuating all Thai workers in case of emergency. The minority of Thai workers has requested to travel back to Thailand, while most of them continue to stay in the safe locations to observe the situation. They should be sympathised as they need to earn their living for their families. Nevertheless, they need to be safe. The NCPO has instructed relevant officials to closely look after the workers. On the situation in Libya, the Royal Thai Embassy will open an evacuation centre for Thai nationals working in Libya in Djerba, Tunisia, situated 170 km from the Tripoli border, today’s afternoon onwards. In the first phase, the Ambassador will closely monitor the situation. Thai nationals can evacuate to Djerba, or gather at the Royal Thai Embassy in Tripoli. As for the operation in Thailand, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will set up a monitoring and assistance centre, under the supervision of the Director-General of the Department of South Asian, Middle East, and African Affairs, and under direct supervision of the security monitoring centre, namely, the Disaster Relief Centre of the Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters. The Royal Thai Air Force’s C-130 aircrafts have been prepared in case of emergency. The NCPO truly hope that the situation in both countries will return to normal in the near future. Civil war always causes negative impacts. People in the same country are fighting against one another. We are lucky that we this situation has not happened in Thailand. On the implementation of foreign agreements, the NCPO has agreed to sign a Memorandum of Understanding between the Department of Intellectual Property and European Patent Office, conforming to the
objectives of the draft Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA). Also, this is an important issue which Thailand pushes for in the negotiations of the EU-Thailand Free Trade Agreement (FTA). The Ministry of Commerce has been instructed to thoroughly consider items that require copyright registration such as those in the areas of arts and culture, agriculture, local wisdom and research that is beneficial to Thailand. Several items were innovations by Thai people, but we have not developed them further. Instead, they were developed by foreigners and were sold to us. Therefore, we need to register all items as soon as possible. At the same time, we should not illegally copy other people’s ideas. We should come up with our own ideas. The NCPO has approved the Joint Statements of Mekong-ROK Foreign Ministers’ Meeting and Mekong-Japan Foreign Ministers’ Meeting in view of confirming our intention to continue the cooperation and implementation of the 2014-2017 Action Plan concerning ASEAN Connectivity, sustainability, and people-centred development. Apart from economic issues, the NCPO has instructed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to additionally consider the way in which all member countries will equally benefit from the utilisation of water resources in the Mekong River, in particular on the construction of dams in each upper-Mekong country, which may cause the flooding or drought that affect people in the lower-Mekong countries. Issues regarding human rights and environment should be taken into consideration, as water is a vital source of life. We should ensure equitable access to water for all people. On the NCPO’s performance in maintaining peace and order, the arrest and confiscation concerning criminal activities nationwide from 26 June to 29 July 2014 have resulted in the confiscation of approximately 1,700 war weapons, long guns, and pistols, 10,000 bullets, 45 hand grenades, and 19 grenades to be used with launchers; and the arrest of 2,774 offenders. With regard to 8 violent incidents concerning 12 alleged offenders, the confiscated weapons are 11 machine guns, 3 long guns and shotguns, 21 handguns, 1 RPG rocket launcher, 24 bombs in various types, 19 M79 bullets, 3 RPG rockets and other ammunition. There are also the continual arrests of drug-related criminals, gamblers, and those involved in illegal logging and natural resource exploitation.
From 22 May to 25 July 2014, the noteworthy operations are 12,782 cases concerning casinos and illegal gambling; confiscation of approximately 4,000 gambling machines (horse racing machines, electric machines, pinball machines); various cards, Hi-Lo gambling equipment and illegal lotteries; 66,657 drug-related cases – involving 70,635 alleged offenders and confiscated drugs which are 83 million amphetamine tablets, around 1,000 kilograms of crystal methamphetamine, 369 kilograms of heroin, 22,644 kilograms of dried cannabis, 38,738 kilograms of Kratom, 109 kilograms of opium, 31 kilograms of cocaine, 229,850 tablets of pseudoephedrine tablets, and 334 of cough medicines; 987 cases concerning illegal logging and natural resource exploitation, which resulted in the confiscation of 4,197 cubic metres of Rosewood worth 630 million Baht, 580 cubic metres of Teak worth 15 million Baht, and 1,904 cubic metres of Kraya Loei wood worth 29 million Baht. As for the arrests and prosecution, we cannot pick and choose which criminals or activities. It all depends on information we received and the investigation that will lead to subsequent legal proceedings. We do not take sides as have been criticised. The legal officials have done everything in accordance with facts to ensure that the judicial process is not damaged. Anyone who does not want to be arrested, should not conduct such criminal activities. As for the judicial process, please avoid prejudging the ruling of the courts. Any law violators should be prosecuted to ensure fairness. The NCPO has been very careful on this matter, as should everyone. On addressing the situation in southern border provinces, first of all, the NCPO and security agencies are working together but people are still at risk. We would like everyone to understand the conflicting issues that the insurgents have claimed to be reasons of attack on officials. The issues concern the identity, religion, unfairness, historical background, and ethnicity. Such issues are easy to be used in provoking people to fight to achieve the freedom and liberty they aspire. When weapons are used in the violence, it will lead to law enforcement and a clash with state officials including administrative officials and police resulting in injuries and death. Conflicts have dramatically escalated such that local officials in the areas are unable to take control of the situation and the state has to increase the use of military force, as in principle where there are is a situation that poses a danger to peoples’ lives, every country must resort to the use of security force. To say that the fighting will stop without military deployment is not based on rational
thought which I believe the whole world would think the same. The reason we need to deploy more military forces is because the local forces are not sufficient to monitor such a large area. The southern border provinces cover 37 districts with more than 2,000 villages and officials have been sent to all locations, where there have been both high and low rates of violence. State officials have to work in the southern border provinces not because of money and allowance; no one wants to leave home, but it is the military’s responsibility to protect more than 2,000,000 people in 37 districts with over 2,000 villages. If there are loopholes in certain locations, insurgents will instigate violence in those areas. This requires thousands of officials to work in the areas, for example, at school. How many schools are there? How long is each road and how many roads are there? How many locations prone to violence are there? How many teachers are there? The military and the police have been sent to those areas. Certainly, there must be some weak points despite plans and military exercises. 30,000 to 40,000 military officers have been dispatched to the 37 districts. The proportion of the number of soldiers to the number of people living there with approximately 1,800,000 to 1,900,000 Thai Muslims is not high. There were claims that military officers working in the areas create unrest, causing dissatisfaction among people. This is not the right idea. In fact, with more military officers, more arrests will be made. When there are more clashes, the insurgents claim that there are human rights violations, though we have enforced the law and committed no violations. For separatist movement, it is difficult to find evidence and the insurgents use strategies to cause unrest.

Our problems should be solved by our country. The insurgents intend to cause fear, make officials unable to carry out their task and portray the country as a failed state in order to gain support from other countries. Media are concerned about the issue and the safety of people and military officers there. So am I. When there are losses of lives, their families will have to be taken care of. It is a bond between military officers, between police officers. I regret every injuries and deaths because I have sent those military officers there. We are operating in a large area where there is normal traffic and the curfew is not strictly imposed there as the people in southern Thailand mostly work in rubber plantations and have to work at night or at dawn. If the curfew
is strictly imposed, they will face hardship. Attacks have occurred only in certain areas – towns and forests. It is problematic for officials to distinguish the criminals from other people because everyone still wants to have freedom while enjoying safety. Any report of news and violent pictures need to be done with caution. News reports should not be broadcasted repeatedly as this will help provide news coverage space for the insurgents to cause international pressure. What we can do are strengthening military forces, dispatching more military officers to the areas, increasing intelligence measures and enforcing laws. Armed military officers must exercise precaution while working among people. If there are more restrictions on their freedom to live their lives as normal and freedom of movement, people will face hardship. The opposing side has been using a combination of political, military and public relation strategies. They have recruited village leaders to obstruct operation of the officials. Our strategy is based on the advice of His Majesty the King – “Understand, Reach Out, and Develop, and the philosophy of Sufficiency Economy, in expediting development in the areas. We have categorized the areas according to the security levels. High security areas require reinforcement of security personnel. For low security areas we will focus on promotion of development work. For critical areas where there is still violence we will strengthen development to create understanding among the local people so that they will come out and help with development. However everything takes a long time and over many phases. We are also now in phase 2. The first phase was to reinforce security forces, phase 2 is to adjust the operation and phase 3 is preparations for transferring responsibility to the regular security force. So we need to be patient. How we can minimize the injuries and loss of lives, both citizens and security officials. I ask those people who commit these attacks that they cited religion for separatist movements but why the increasing number of deaths of Thai Muslims. So those instigators do not care for whichever religion. I think the situation cannot remain as it is and the problem must be resolved. At the same time there are some instigators who fled to neighbouring countries, through natural routes such as mountains and river which is quite easy. There are no fences. So we may have to consider erecting fences or using modern technology in safeguarding our borders which requires a big budget. We are still using personnel to monitor the 5,600 km border with about 80,000 troops risking their lives everyday.
All the military, police, civil servants and citizens stationed along the borders are all Thai people, some are Buddhist and some are Muslim.

On peace negotiations, there have been continuous talks and we need to be more prepared. We need to find out who are the actual leaders of the insurgents. We already have information that there are main groups and other minor groups. We are holding negotiations with the main groups, but other minors groups still continue to use force. The groups that we have negotiated try to put pressure on us and want to reach outcomes that they desire. We have to attempt to hold joint negotiations with all groups covering all dimensions – development, ceasefire, laws and issues concerning injustice by setting up several committees to expedite negotiations. Currently, we are using politics in taking the lead over military to create understanding. There are nine strategies that have been implemented since 2012. The military does not resort to the use of weapons as the only means. The military is resourceful and has been involved in the operations from the beginning, so military personnel know how to carry out their tasks in terms of development, politics, creating understanding and discussions to find solutions – recommendations put forth by the military. There are three main pillars involved including the Southern Border Provinces Administrative Center, Internal Security Operations Command, and relevant ministries. There are also three levels of administration including the policy level, the policy implementation level and the operational level. Political approach takes priority over military approach and not the other way around. This is what I would like you to understand. This process will take time. Some people have asked why Order No. 66/23 is not adopted. This is because Section 21 of the Internal Security Act is in place. There are differences between the measures we used in one place and another. Some measures might work in one place but not in another place. We are trying our best to solve the problem such as considering projects such as “Bringing People Back Home”. The NCPO has been putting much effort in initiating measures, but we must seek cooperation and brainstorm for ideas from all sectors. We do not simply impose the measures without asking for people’s ideas. I would like to ask for your understanding, support and cooperation and would like everyone to be vigilant, to cooperate, to sacrifice their convenience, to resist those who have infiltrated into all communities. Apart from the
separatist issue, there are problems of illegal acts, drugs, migrant workers, illegal trade in petrol and other clandestine operations. What concerns the NCPO is that there are increasing incidents of innocent Muslims being attacked. It does not favour anyone to claim that the authorities are responsible because there is no reason for the authorities to do so. We only want to keep everyone safe. We want development to take hold, education for a learning society and people to have jobs. All of us are Thai people, no matter what religions we uphold. We can live together despite our religious differences.

On Social Psychology and Environment:
Over the past 2 months, the NCPO has received approximately 20,000 complaints and has solved 86 per cent of the problems. Over 3,000 problems are being addressed. The NCPO also ordered related government agencies to expedite their efforts to solve the problems and notify the public of the results.

The NCPO approved the draft announcement of the Ministry of Commerce on the categorization of volatile alkyl nitrite as a restricted item that requires a license to import into the Kingdom of Thailand. The Volatile Substances Control Committee endorsed the inclusion of 6 volatile matter items in this list. The volatile substances cause negative influence over Thai youth and harm to the body – glaucoma, a weakened respiratory system, abnormalities of erythrocytes, anemia, a weakened immune system and etc. or death. In addition, the NCPO ordered the Ministry of Commerce and related government agencies to consider measures to control other types of narcotics that cause negative influence over our youths and current social problems, which cannot be curbed by existing rules and regulations/legal provisions, such as the use of baraku and alcoholic drinks sold by street hawkers. The police and relevant government authorities need to monitor this problem. On the reorganization of society with regard to areas for selling products, street stalls, orderly management of vans and motorcycles, I would like to thank you – fellow citizens – for your understanding, cooperation and sacrifice for other people. You might face difficulty in the beginning of these changes. However, this is done to create order in society and bring benefits to all parties. People should have self-discipline and self-respect for the
laws so that this problem can be sustainably resolved. We appeal to everyone to abide by the law and for law enforcement officers to enforce the laws with righteousness. On people's livelihoods and income, we will not do anything to negatively affect the people, especially on the low-income and underprivileged people. The urgent measures at the moment is to expedite approval of 12 draft Acts, which will be presented to the National Legislative Assembly immediately after the opening of a parliamentary session such as the draft of the act on the re-adoption of the gratuity and pension rights in accordance with the Gratuity and Pension Fund for Official Act B.E. 2494 (1951). The purpose of the draft act is to allow Government Pension Fund (GPF) to re-adopt the gratuity and pension rights of government officials to lessen their burden and reduce difficulties facing government officials and pensioners who are members of GPF in the long term. The draft of the Social Welfare Act B.E. has been amended to cover the rights of temporary employees of the government. The draft of the Act on the Protection of Helpless People provides that a committee on the protection of helpless people is set up to formulate policies and guidelines for protecting helpless people and to establish a foster home for the helpless in order to assist those in need and take care of those who are homeless and do not have sufficient income to sustain themselves. On education, based on complaints regarding the system of quality assessment for education of Office for National Education Standards and Quality Assessment (ONESQA), the NCPO has sought cooperation from the ONESQA in putting off the fourth round of indicator assessment which the ONESQA agreed on and revising procedures/standard indicators of educational quality assessment to be in line with the Thai educational context, groups/types of universities and distinctive characteristics of each university. The changes made should not create a burden for teachers who have to devote their time to class preparation, not to administrative work. Recommendations and guidelines for solving the problems must be proposed to the cabinet after the formation of a cabinet for consideration and approval before the next assessment.

Other Issues of Public concern:
As for the media, I would like to thank media associations for your assistance in strengthening morality of each media organization. The NCPO has no intention to
obstruct any media but we would like to ask the media to follow the rules and uphold ethics, and develop the quality and vision of all kinds of media to reduce conflicts, to respect each other more, and not to make any damaging accusations. Constructive comments will not cause any problems. On infrastructure development, there may be some lingering misunderstandings as implementation of such projects requires many steps and processes which will take several years to complete. Approval for implementation does not mean immediate action. There must first be a transparent plan of action that considers timeframe, procurement, state participation, private sector participation, public participation and appropriate budget allocation that does not create more public debt, disrupt the national budget in the long run, or deviate from the fiscal discipline of the country. All this will require careful planning so that there is connectivity between land transport, water transport, and air transport especially our road and railway networks, including shipping and ports; and that transportation services for people, goods, and services can be provided to the public at every level both domestically and internationally. We should develop a integrated network of freight transportation, power connections and various modes public transportation in the country that can also connect with our neighboring countries and future expansion to the region. In this aspect no reference has been made to any foreign investment grants. It is only in the planning stage and we have only approved the plans. Regarding the dual track railway and the elevated railway, there are two key areas to consider in how to make better use of the current system and to reap more benefits from them: the 1 metre-wide track rail network and Suvarnabhumi, Don Mueang/Utapao airports; and connecting to or expanding the rapid transit system and the airport link to be able to travel to other tourist destinations such as Pattaya, Chonburi and the Eastern region. We have requested the Ministry of Transport to adjust such Plans so that they can be carried out more swiftly and prudently, otherwise connecting to other regions cannot be successful. Repair and expansion of the existing 1 metre-wide track rail network is still necessary as they are still in use within the ASEAN region. However as all countries will eventually change to use the 1.43 metre-wide track railway in the future, the NCPO’s plans will therefore include repairing the existing 1 metre-wide track network, creating dual 1 metre-wide tracks, and developing a 1.43 metre-wide track network on necessary routes in order to
prepare for connecting to China and ASEAN countries who have plans to expand 1.43 metre-wide tracks in the future, and to allow for more goods (the 1.43 metre-track allows more weight to be carried) to be transported and at higher speed. This will be incrementally implemented as it is not possible to create all new lines at once as this will require a very high budget. The NCPO has monitored the developments in the improvement and remedy of problems within various State Owned Enterprises (SOEs). Thank you to the preceding managerial/executive committees for their cooperation and for the opportunity in allowing us to correct several problems and make key improvements, and thank you to the newly established managerial/executive committees for having the determination to move forward with developing such SOEs so that they can provide better services to the public to bring benefit to all and for the country. Some problems have been accumulated for more than 10 years and it will take some time to resolve. Certainly, they cannot be resolved in 3 months and I ask you to be patient. At the moment the various SOEs are in the process of reviving their businesses by developing their internal management structure and practices to be more effective and more transparent; an example being the State Railway of Thailand (SRT) who has swiftly enhanced safety measures for passengers, raised standards of service quality, and improvised debt management and use of resources to maximize benefits such as real estate owned by the SRT.

On privileges and benefits provided to political officials, the NCPO does not intend to revoke any privileges but would like to adjust them to be in line with the civil service system. It should be similar to the civil service system which is based on years of service and certain calculation factors in order to create fairness and reduce conflicts. This issue will be discussed further once the new government is in place. I reaffirm that the NCPO does not revoke anything, but only adjust to make it better. On preventing and thwarting corruption, I have repeated this many times. Whoever still asks for bribes should stop doing that now. We will continue to arrest more wrongdoers. There should not be any requests for grafts or protection rackets at this moment. Especially if such requests come from police or military officers, please report to the NCPO and we will arrest them first. I urge my fellow Thai citizen to be careful not to fall victims to such wrongdoers. I would like to thank all the
encouragement and the positive and negative comments from fellow countrymen and the media. I am grateful on behalf of all civil servants, police and military officers who have worked together in pushing forward with national reform and solve people’s problems in accordance with the planned Roadmap. I ask all of you to join us in moving forward with reforming Thailand to rapidly bring back happiness to all Thai people. A matter of great joy in the upcoming days is the auspicious occasion of Her Majesty the Queen's Birthday Anniversary on 12 August 2014. The NCPO and related agencies will hold celebratory events during 9 - 12 August 2014 at Ambara Gardens, the Royal Plaza, and Sanam Luang. I would like to invite all Thais to join in the various activities to be held as follows: Events involving Buddhist rituals include - the casting of a Buddha image in accordance with Her Majesty's day of birth to commemorate Her Majesty's 84th Birthday Anniversary to be completed by 12 August 2016.
- the ceremony of chanting Buddha's mantra and meditation to bless Their Majesties on 5 August 2014 at the Temple of the Emerald Buddha.
- the ceremony of chanting Buddha's mantra and practice the dharma throughout the country during 8 - 12 August 2014.
Showing of documentaries in tribute to Her Majesty on 5, 10, 11 August 2014.
Commemorative activities at Ambara Gardens, Dusit Palace, on 9 - 10 August 2014.
The Candle-lit Tribute Paying Ceremony on 12 August 2014.
Provincial commemorative events on 12 August 2014.
The signing of tributes and well-wishes messages in the morning of 12 August 2014.
I have taken up quite a long time today. There are many issues that I would like to clarify for your understanding. In meeting with you, I am the speaker most of the time, but I received a huge amount of feedback from you through the media, discussions, and letters. I read on all feedback and tried to respond through the programme. Consider this a two-way communication. Thank you for your cooperation and solidarity as well as your good wishes. However, we still have many problems to solve and much more to do. Thank you and good night.
Appendix 3.7

National Broadcast By General Prayut Chan-O-cha Head of the National Council for Peace and Order 8 August 2014

Good evening. We are meeting again for the ninth time in this program We have been meeting for a considerable period of time now. Today, the program is airing a bit earlier than the time we have been regularly meeting in the past weeks. Thank you all for taking the time to listen and sharing my messages to others. I have seen a number of media reports—including those in print media—that have been conveying my messages to everyone for them to have a better understanding of what we are doing. Our aim in this is to create mutual understanding and establish two-way communication, which may not have been the norm in the past but is needed under the current special situation. We have no intention of forcing anyone into having all the same beliefs and thoughts as the NCPO. I believe everyone can make a distinction of what I have said, what is right and wrong or of honest intentions, unless interpreted otherwise. As I have said before, this is a very important period of time. We are nearing the auspicious occasion of Her Majesty the Queen’s Birthday Anniversary on 12 August 2014. I want everyone to do good deeds and make good wishes for our country and in honour of Her Majesty on this special occasion, as we have done in years past. This year, I am asking for more of those. Today, both His Majesty the King and Her Majesty the Queen are staying at Siriraj Hospital. I want to talk about communication—be they formal or informal or on social media or private accounts of each person with different sets of beliefs. Let me recount that, in the past and during present times, there have been and continues to be allusions made to disgrace the royal institution. I would like to take this opportunity to explain for your understanding that, despite many claiming that there are elites, commoners, and aristocrats in our country, the truth is far from these insinuations. That system is long gone—since King Rama V abolished slavery. Therefore, I see the people who are using these terms as those who are disparaging the whole of the Thai people. We are all equal as human beings. Our heritage, occupation, income, and quality of life may differ due to a number of reasons, but the important thing is that we are a country of
liberal democracy, not a country of socialism or other form of governance. Thus, our competitive ability, livelihoods or access to resources may not be the same as our social capital is different. It is therefore the duty and responsibility of every government to try to reduce those gaps and inequality. Simply saying that the cause of such inequality is this and that or putting the blame on the royal institution, the aristocrats, the commoners, or whatever else would be a wrong thing to do. The aristocrats of the past are the public servants of the present, who are now taking care of the country and the people instead of the royal institution and His Majesty the King. The Monarchy is above all conflicts as every government exercises the King’s prerogatives through the executive, legislative, and judicial powers to use in administering the country. Our King is a Constitutional Monarch; whatever endorsements or actions conducted are made in accordance with the Constitution or the little remaining customs and traditions of old. For that reason, I ask for your cooperation and understanding on this matter and please do not bring the royal institution down to be among conflicts again. Do not put blame on things that are untrue. Every government in charge of administering the country and bearing the responsibility needs to be more efficient. What has happened in the past remains our problems in the present and that is why we need to reform—to ensure that the administration of the country is in line with the principle of good governance, which calls for the rule of law, transparency, participation, accountability, cost-effectiveness, and integrity. These are the things that need to be taken into consideration when administering the country, in order to prevent disorder from happening again. Today, the sufficiency economy philosophy of His Majesty the King has been incorporated into the 11th National Economic and Social Development Plan as a philosophy by which whoever is in charge of national administration needs to abide. The reform process we are undergoing will touch on everything that needs reforming, to truly achieve good governance and to be able to thoroughly and equally serve and take care of the people.

The reform of people is most important, as people can be divided into different groups, sides, religions, and levels of quality of life. Each person and each group has different values and attitudes. I have mentioned before that education is a source of
knowledge. If education cannot produce well-informed people with integrity—or if the family of a student does not have time to spend with him/her or if the educators lack the will to educate or are incompetent—the people coming out of schools who we will have as our citizens will be those without acumen and vision. They will not be able to handle threats, both traditional and non-traditional, or catch up with the evolution of things and global changes. What will become of Thailand then? We may become an underdeveloped country and forever remain as such in this ever-changing world, regressing further and further due to conflicts, selfishness, dishonesty, divisions, and so on. At this time, I think everyone should put a lot of thought into this more than thinking of themselves. Everyone has their good side and bad side. The question is how to bring out the good of all people. How do you judge someone and say they are evil, wrong, or simply bad? Sometimes we need the law and sometimes people must help warn each other and not support or cooperate with what is known to create conflict and division. We cannot use the method of fighting and getting rid of each other, as that would be illegal. And realistically, you could not kill off every single bad person. The law is the answer. And if laws are enforced indiscriminately, with officials operating and the judicial process functioning with clarity and without division and prejudice, everyone will be better off. We need a reliable system accepted by everybody. This is what we want everyone to aim for—be they the people or the agencies involved with the judicial system.

I have been hearing people say that we must destroy the bad systems, by whatever names they may be called. My question to them is this: What factors in the past have contributed to the creation of all these systems? Certain people, regulations, public servants, sectors of society, and some from the public who may not be holding the country’s best interests at heart and may only be thinking of their own interests—all of these have contributed. With people giving undue benefits to each other, whoever becomes the country’s leader does not matter; if these people are working together to break the law, that would certainly be considered as a system of bad people. Therefore, if we do not want these systems, we must not accept dishonest or improper procedures. This is for the benefit of ourselves in preventing these systems from taking root again. If we are to sustainably rid the country of these systems today, we
must help each other find suitable ways and measures to counter them. We need to be a democracy in our own way and use the knowledge and wisdom of the Thai people to solve these problems and prevent them from taking hold again in the future. Do not be afraid of this. We need to address all dimensions of the problems for the reform to be effective and to prevent bad things from happening again in the future.

Today, I want everyone to be able to distinguish between the faults of a person or group of persons, which are to be dealt with as normal through the judicial system, and the nation, which will need to continue moving forward. If we are going to only focus on the former, we will not be able to solve any problem and the country will not be able to move forward. But I do not mean to help any one side in particular or solve problems for any specific individual; that is not going to happen, because we are working for the interests of the country and the Thai people.

In considering whether someone has acted against the law, right and wrong will be treated as such. Even with good intentions, any violation of the law will still be treated as such and no exemption shall be provided for any prosecution. I am not going to interfere or overrule the law on this matter. If too much inference is made due to discontent of the existing laws, the credibility and sacredness of the law will be compromised. What then will we use to decide on right and wrong? If we cannot use the law to decide, from where will decisions be based? Do not damage the institutions. In governing the country, there are only three powers: executive, legislative, and judicial. There is no other power.

The NCPO wishes to help solve the country’s problems and move it forward, putting an end to divisions at every level—among executive bodies, state agencies, and the general public. Some may be saying that I am talking about the same things over and over again. But some matters do need repeating as they have been unsolvable for a very long time. If I am not repeating these things, people would lose interest in trying to address the issues at hand. Some say what I am doing today are populist measures. I do not see how helping to solve people’s problems as per their complaints and needs and aiming to solve their urgent problems and grievances can be interpreted as us employing populist measures. I do not want more affection of the NCPO from the people; I only want more of their cooperation in moving towards our goals. In the first
stage, we are addressing issues that could quickly be resolved. Then, short term and long term solutions to other problems will be considered. Legal issues are to be dealt with as legally appropriate. The processes are being carried out at different paces. There is no need to rush. We need to first reform and move our nation forward on the security, economy, social, and other fronts. This includes the preparation for becoming part of the ASEAN Community and there is not much time left for that. If you jumble everything together and rush the process, it would not be feasible and we will not solve anything. Everything will go back to being as it was. Please cooperate with us on this.

The dissemination of information by the NCPO, as I have said before, is aimed at informing the public of the significant progress that has been made. And we expect to receive feedbacks on what we have done—whether there are problems and whether certain process could be carried out. We will need your input on some matters. If I do not talk, discuss, explain, publicize, or make the news, I would not know whether what has been done is right or complete. I see this as a process that enables us to receive information from all of you.

In administering the country today, some are saying that the NCPO, being military personnel, may lack the knowledge about taking charge of a nation or a country, which is a critical task. As I have said before, today we are following the existing mechanisms of the state as normal. I do not see any difficulty in managing the country and having people perform their functions, but progress is dependent on the efficiency of the relevant agencies. What we are doing now is following the existing various rules, regulations, acts and laws on national administration, some of which have not been observed in the past. Today we are overseeing and driving people to create, initiate, think, and act systematically and ensuring operational integration. That is what the NCPO is doing. The military can do these tasks, as we have always been doing them in the Army. Otherwise the Army, with its personnel numbering in the hundreds of thousands, would have fallen apart a long time ago. In the Army, we need to figure out how to use our limited budget to enable everyone to perform their duties and be of value to the country, not just staying there doing nothing. Whether it is
training, preparing for situations such as disasters, or providing relief to the people, we need to always be prepared. We are only using these experiences to drive the current process to ensure operational integration. I do not think that this is a difficult task. As for other areas and expertise, I still need to rely on public servants, persons with the relevant knowledge and abilities, and advisors, as well as listen to other people and read various documents. We just need to organise things so that everyone can carry out their tasks. That is what management or administration is and we have been doing that for a very long time within the Army. Each year we have our own policy, whether it is personnel development, development of all systems, management system development, modernising the Army, and so forth. The NCPO has set specific timeframe for the operation. I will mobilize and pass on these tasks to the new government which is about to be established in the near future. We will keep doing what we do well and delegate certain tasks to other people who can do better. At this moment, please allow the NCPO to carry out our job. I did not look down on anyone. I may have less knowledge than some of you but I am sincere and honest in administering the country and want to solve the problems. This is the most important point I would like to inform you all. If we do not adhere to any principles and continue with the old means of fighting, whether through the laws or democratic process and eventually end up killing each other, those who are stronger, have more weapons or receives more favour will win and the losing side will seek revenge. If the losing side cannot resist publicly, they will form underground movement. I think we have to reduce this kind of sentiments. If underground resistance are allowed, our country will be further damaged. It has already been damaged when I stepped in and there is no point to go back to that condition. We would have to return to the old ages and resort to weapons and violence. This is not time to stage anti-military movements. The NCPO does not out hunting and killing off anyone but only resort to legal means.

The next thing I would like to mention is that many people might be angry at me since I may unintentionally hurt the sentiments of certain groups of individuals. This is because I have to stop the bleeding, and therefore, may have used harsh language sometimes. This is because everyone only believes in their ideas. I have to calm them down. Some people criticized that I favour one side over another but I would like to
say that we need to have a cooling-off period for both sides before we can solve the problems through legal means. Some groups may have fought against each other using laws, rightness, justice and legitimacy. Some may have used political means. I think that at this moment, we must stop malgining each other. Until now, we have been able to reduce this to some extent. We have to start a new thought process by drawing together all groups and parties, segregating the perpetrators, and let the remaining ones develop the country. In the past, Thailand faced a political crisis that escalated to confrontation and violence. Weapons were used against innocent civilians causing many injuries and casualties. Thus, after the 22nd of May, the NCPO had to step in to take control of the country and we were able to maintain peace and order thanks to everyone’s cooperation. As for the great number of good politicians, whether in the past, present or future, there are a number of new generation politicians who want to take care of our country. I think that after the national reform in 11 significant areas, especially politics, we will attract many good people to come help us. We should not misjudge that this person is good or bad as it should be determined.

Progress of the NCPO Operation On Economy:

On progress of the NCPO operation, besides putting an end to violence, the issue of economy needs to be driven forward. The expenditure needs to be continued. The NCPO and all government agencies have continued to build confidence on the economy, both domestically and internationally. For European countries such as Germany, the NCPO has promoted understanding with the Board of Directors of German Asia-Pacific Business Association on several issues including migrant workers and the economic operation of the future government. We have also learned that the German retail business sector expressed understanding and showed positive response on the situation. Among ASEAN countries, the Indonesian high-level executives have expressed understanding and readiness to cooperate in moving Thailand’s economy forward. In addition, based on views drawn from a seminar of former British Ambassadors to Thailand, it can be concluded that “Western-style democracy may not be a perfect model of democracy. Therefore, it is not necessary for every country to follow. As such, each country should seek appropriate means suitable for its own situation without greatly going against the democratic principles.
of the international community.” This is their statements I have already mentioned that we have to use Thai people’s intellect to develop Thailand’s democracy and determine how we will move forward and at the same time it has to be accepted by the international community. On improvement of basic infrastructure, I have mentioned earlier that the Ministry of Transport has laid out the 8-year strategic infrastructure plan comprising 5 projects. The term “strategic plan” refers to a long-term plan. It does not mean that we will complete all projects in one row. The budget of approximately 2.4 billion covers the period of 8 years. We are drafting a comprehensive plan and will divide it into phases. We will determine what shall be implemented in each phase, when the implementation will be and where the budget will come from. Right now, we have not decided on any of these matters but people started criticizing already that everything is the same or that there will be a problem of corruption. That is a different process. We will set up measures to inspect corruption during procurement process. Right now, we only look into policy issues and approval of long-term project workplan. This is similar to the National Economic and Social Development Plan which covers a period of 5 years. Our strategic plan will be in line with the National Economic and Social Development Plan. Therefore, we will begin with connecting transportation networks from major trade cities to Bangkok and periphery. The border, central, regional and local transportations have to be interconnected to provide inclusive and fair services for all. The next urgent project is the railway development project. You are well aware that there is no other means of transport that cost less than railway transport. This covers domestic and international delivery, transportation and services. Other means of transport, whether by waters or by land, are costly and require higher budget. All of them are necessary but we have to implement step-by-step according to the workplan. We have to decide where the budget will come from, whether through foreign loans or domestic budget. We have yet to discuss these issues. The number is only an estimate figure. It may cost more or less depending on the actual implementation. Therefore, we cannot set a specific budget. Each phase has to be segregated and you should think this way. If you do not listen to us and keep on criticizing, in the end we will not achieve anything. Previously, the representatives of U.S. Chamber of Commerce in ASEAN met with the Chief of Economic Cluster and received briefing on Thailand’s strategic
infrastructure development plan which will tremendously facilitate investors. They have expressed satisfaction on the NCPO’s operation and agreed to help publicize the information to expand trade and investment with Thailand. This is why we are in the process of drafting a strategic workplan. Strategy is a national agenda. If we do not have strategy, we will waste a lot of money. We should have a strategy for everything.

On water resources management, the NCPO will formulate a master plan for the country which encompasses all river basins and all aspects of water management, be it flood, drought or water storage and will solicit ideas regarding water resources management from all sectors and conduct public hearing. In the past, sometimes people were not informed or have long been against it. Therefore, we should seek mutual understanding on this issue.

If people always go against the construction of dams, I wonder where the water will come from. We will have to wait for normal rainfall. I understand that this year we will have less amount of rainfall. Then what shall we do? People should help brainstorm and support us. Otherwise we cannot accomplish anything. On the problem of corruption, the process of inspection will be accelerated. One should not be involved with corruption. Our country can move forward if civilians and government officers join hands and not only looking for their own benefits. By doing so, we will be able to accomplish all tasks. From the visit to the water resource development project site in Prachinburi Province, I ordered the working group to visit the water hyacinth control project site in Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya. We need to find a solution to remove water hyacinth which covered large areas of Chao Phraya River.

If people who live by the river help remove the water hyacinth, the problem will be solved easily. We should not rely solely on the officials since they do not have enough human resources and boats to clean them all. On waste management, when I was young whenever I see garbage, I will pick it up and put it in the trash bin. If everyone throws away garbage from his car and wait for dustman to clean them, it will be dirty everywhere. Everyone must help. All relevant agencies responsible for waste management and waterways should look into these matters. For those of you who are government officials, we may not have large amount of budget but you should put your heart into whatever you do. You should be proud when you put efforts in your
work. This is how the military think. If we think of budget as the first priority or do less if we have less budget and do more if we have more budget, it will not work at all even for the military. We need to think in another direction by maximizing the budget. If there are remaining budget, we should use it for other purposes and economize as much as possible. This is why the military has the capacity to perform various tasks. We try to do everything for the people regardless of budget. This value should be instilled in everyone. Civilians should contribute to the society and civil servants should try their best to do their jobs.

As rainfall in the Chao Phraya River basin is lower than that of last year and most rain occurred outside the dam areas, the water storage is approximately 30% which is similar to the dry season, we have to pray for more rain before the end of the rainy season. If this problem persists, we will not have enough water reserve for electricity production, irrigation and agriculture. All other farming activities will be affected. We should ask ourselves why there is less amount of rainfall. We should help ourselves by planting more trees and retaining natural water sources. In the past, Thai people gathered in a village to dredge canal, but today we no longer see this. We need to rethink and revert to this traditional practice. Everyone must help and join together. If we only rely on government officials or machines, it will take time to complete. We have to be more self-reliant. When I visited the draught or flooding areas, sometimes only 5 – 10 meters of pipe was blocked, but nobody wanted to fix it and only waited for more budget. I don’t understand why. We need to change this mindset. People should try to help themselves first unless it is a big project that requires a lot of budget and high-technology machines. Even in Bangkok, people should try to help themselves first by clearing the clogged water pipe since relying on government officials will take some time. When the problem of flooding or drought occurs, everyone including me should be blamed. All of us are the owners of this country so we have to help. As for artificial rain, the NCPO has assigned the Department of Royal Rainmaking and Agricultural Aviation to carry out rainmaking operations to increase water levels in dams prior to the normal rainy season. I have ordered the Social Psychology Cluster to coordinate and work with them to assess the level of humidity and cloud density. If there is not enough humidity, we cannot produce
artificial rain. Humidity is generated by forest. If people continue to trespass forest lands, build more resort and rubber plantation in non-private areas, artificial rain cannot be made and we have no one else to blame. The NCPO has ordered the Department of Irrigation and the Department of Royal Rainmaking and Agricultural Aviation to start the artificial rain making operation to increase water level in the dams in an integrated manner and use proactive public relations to inform all sectors of the need to conserve water. On the flood situation, currently there are 19 provinces that have been affected by flooding, most of which are in the northeastern region. I understand how much people in the northeast rely on rain for their crops. When droughts occur, they do not know what they can do for a living. Therefore, it is important to have enough water storage and to prevent flooding. I have directed the Ministry of Interior’s Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation along with the military – all armed forces – to follow up on the situation and provide assistance to people throughout the affected areas in an expeditious manner without having to be ordered to do so. Military officers must go into areas that have been inundated. They can make disbursement requests afterwards. They can coordinate with provincial governors who will disburse allowances to them. The NCPO has also directed the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives and other related ministries to survey farmland that has been damaged by flooding in order to provide further assistance.

I have asked the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives to thoroughly survey the affected and unaffected areas. Without clear boundaries of the affected areas, disbursements cannot be made. People who have really been affected by flooding will not receive financial aid they need. However, people living in areas that are not affected by floods do not think there are any problems if they do not receive money. From now on, areas that have been damaged must be clearly identified. Provincial governors and the Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation are responsible for the flood situation. In some cases, an announcement concerning flooding has been made. Though there are floods in certain districts in a province, the unaffected districts might request for financial aid, which leads to corruption. I would like to ask you – government officials and fellow citizens – not to be part of the corruption. Such a situation can delay disbursements, some of which can be traced back to two years ago due to a lack of transparency. If everyone wants to receive aid quickly, do not
become involved in corrupt activities. Budgets can be approved based on real estimates that are not too low and too high. Once false estimates are approved, some people who have been affected will be in trouble and will not have enough money to live on. I ask you not to let this happen again. If government officials are involved in such a corrupt activity, they will be dismissed from their position.

**Solving problems concerning agricultural products**

*Longkong:* It is predicted that there will be an oversupply of longkong fruit this year. At a meeting of the NCPO, issues concerning such agricultural products as rice, longkong, mangosteen, sugarcane, cassava, rubber and palm were discussed. We are fully aware there are problems concerning all agricultural products, which have been resolved in all the previous governments. After long-term measures have failed to address the issues, governments resort to subsidies. The same situation can be expected in the next ten years. The NCPO has issued an order to expedite the development of a systematic distribution of longkong and other crops. Other measures include establishing markets and adopting a value-added processing approach, which will facilitate export. Agricultural crops for export must be quality products and germ free. Do not cheat foreign traders by mixing quality products with poor quality ones. Some have done this thinking that cheating only once would make them become rich. This has ruined the country. Therefore, inspection is required for all processes of agricultural production. For some companies, the results of inspection turned out to be good, but the products they exported did not have quality standards. Companies involved in such fraud were closed down. This should not happen again.

*Rubber:* There is a need to look at domestic demand. Many countries are growing more rubber trees in their own countries and support plantations outside the country. In Thailand we plant a lot of rubber trees. So those grown in other countries will have lower production costs resulting in decreases in rubber prices. This is what I would like you to understand. For Thailand, we have to find ways to reduce production costs to make a profit margin. But people should not expect high profit by creating artificial demand. The balance between supply and demand is important. A shared database of areas where rubber trees are grown domestically is also needed. A roadmap for
resolving problems regarding rubber production should be formulated, considering whether more rubber trees should be grown in certain areas while local demand has decreased. People cannot keep growing rubber trees only because they think rubber yields high profits. Designating zones for rubber planting is required. People should have a true understanding of the situation that due to rubber production surplus, its prices are not high. We need to have discussions regarding the issue of rubber production to develop some measures such as growing alternative crops, using crop rotation methods and developing local industries to replace rubber production. As for rubber for domestic consumption, 5 per cent of the rubber is used for road construction. It is better than nothing. Costs of road construction will be higher. I have directed related working groups to seek cooperation from companies that produce gloves and tires and have investment projects in Thailand. Companies that manufacture rubber products in Thailand must purchase 75 per cent of Thai rubber. It is important to look at the whole picture. The solution is not to increase rubber prices. Rubber prices should be determined. This applies to other crops too. *On sugar production, sugarcane production constituted approximately 100,000 million baht for Thailand. Currently, many want to set up more sugarcane mills, which must be at least 80 kilometres away from sugarcane plantations. Companies have tried to get hold of areas that are 60 kilometres away from the plantations. The Ministry of Industry has inspected 50 sugar mills to find out if they are within 80 kilometres. If they do not comply with the regulation, other measures will be formulated. It is also important to find ways to relocate sugar cane mills in areas where rice is grown to areas where there are sugarcane plantations. We must consider whether sugarcane mills that have no raw materials should be promoted. Such systematic planning is required for other crops such as cassava, taking into account demand and value-added methods. The planning should be conducted in an integrated manner. There are issues regarding many agricultural crops that have to be resolved. *On the seed and fertilizer support program, seeds and fertilizer are offered at lower prices to reduce production costs. 205 stores that sell seeds have undergone quality control inspection. 197 stores passed the inspection and were certified while 28 stores did not. It was found that the 28 stores sold low quality seeds, which would not germinate properly. There are 2 rice seed stores that offered rice seeds mixed up with poor quality grains.
The seeds were seized and legal action has been taken against those involved. *Progress in rice trade negotiations between countries: The NCPO assigned the Director General of Foreign Trade Department to travel to China to conduct trade negotiations. The major result of the negotiations was the sale of 900,000 tons of rice according to the previous agreement reached. 80,000 to 100,000 tons of rice will be shipped to China from September 2014 to September 2015. China allowed Thailand to revise rice prices. As for rice in stocks, China has shown an interest in purchasing broken milled rice by placing an order for 100,000 tons of broken milled rice in August 2014 and allowing Thailand to submit rice samples of different grades – best, medium and low quality rice – that were inspected and passed quality control and propose prices for further consideration. China views rice as a shared cultural symbol of Thailand and China. *On public debt, the current public debt is at an acceptable level and accounts for 44.6 percent of GDP. If it accounts for more than 60 percent of GDP, it signals danger. In developed countries, public debt that accounts for 100 percent of GDP is acceptable because people have high income. In addition, household debt is another index to be monitored, particularly personal loans and reckless credit card spending. People do not give much thought when using credit cards recklessly and go bankrupt. When banks press for debt collection, they then turn to informal debt. People are not aware of the situation. People should get their finances in order. State agencies must also comply with financial regulations. People should have financial discipline so that their families will not be in trouble. They should adhere to the self-sufficiency economy philosophy of His Majesty the King and save up money. People should also have financial planning for their future. I have told you several times that informal debt is a big problem, particularly for poor people. The NCPO has assigned the Ministry of Finance to coordinate with the Bank of Thailand and commercial banks to resolve the problem. They have low income while living costs have increased. Most importantly, people must understand their own financial situation. At present, most people – approximately 53.8 percent of households nationwide – are indebted to financial institutions. Their debts account for 128 percent of their annual income. This puts Thailand in a group of countries where the ratio of household debt to income is high. People should make their purchasing decision based on reason and save up money for the future. Do not rely on your
feelings when deciding to buy products. Some people opt for shopping when they are in a bad mood. The same happens when they are in a good mood. If they continue reckless credit card spending behaviours, they will be in trouble later.

On Security:
On tackling the problem of migrant labour, the One Stop Service Centers for the Registration of Migrant Workers have been established in almost every province. The NCPO has disbursed the budget for computer system setup and appropriate remuneration for officials to allow for work efficiency. The Damrongtham Centers that the NCPO has instructed the Ministry of Interior and Provincial Govenors to establish will be promptly opened in accordance with the NCPO’s policy in order to resolve problems of the people. Formerly, each official used to perform a duty subjected to his or her responsibility such as publicizing information or accepting complaints. Today, the areas of operation must include:
1. Providing information and recommendation on contacting public officials such as forms, documentation, and where to contact. Some people went to the City Halls and did not know how to proceed, as there were many rooms and sections. Each ministry and department has been working separately. The Centers will thus operate as focal points. Relevant officials must be present in the Centers. Any person who comes to the Centers must be provided with information on how to proceed. He or she should not have to go back and forth. Information should be disseminated all at once. The Centers must accommodate people in all issues, promptly and inclusively, similar to one stop service centers.
2. Providing information on other issues. I have instructed the Centers to consider ways to connect with ministries and departments. People can contact the Centers for answers on all issues such as the price of agricultural products, water resources, areas suitable for plantation, zoning, forest areas, and park areas, in order for everyone to have a correct understanding. All information must be interconnected.
3. Providing information on laws. People must be able to obtain answers on legal questions such as relevant laws, city plans and other legal issues, as well as the judicial process. We want everyone to have an equal access to judicial process.
4. Accepting complaints from people who are in trouble. We had been seeing people who gathered to protest and wasted their time. People should be able to hand in their complaints and discuss with relevant officials. The discussion may be short or long. At least, they will obtain some explanation. Every Governor must ensure that people in their province who have problems, first and foremost, contact the Centre in each province.

Apart from accepting complaints and the preliminary problem solving process, it is also important to publicize information of which people should be aware. An interconnected information system must be established amongst the districts. Some people who cannot travel to the Damrongtham Centers because of the distance can contact the District Offices. District Chief Officers can then take care of them and contact the Centers for instruction on how to proceed. People, especially those who are poor, will not have to unnecessarily spend their money on transportation. At present, I have instructed relevant officials to prepare for inspection visits. There are several pioneering Centers. Governors should know how to operate the Centers. The NCPO has given instruction for each Centre to include officials from other ministries, apart from the Ministry of Interior’s officials. I have given each Governor an authority; therefore, he or she must request for relevant officials to come and work in each Centre. Each Centre must be able to handle all issues – be they forest-related, working, health and other issues. It is a preliminary filtering process, so not everyone will have to travel to Bangkok.

On helping Thai people in Libya, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been monitoring the situation and cooperated with all relevant sectors, and we are continually expediting in providing assistance for those people. There are 929 workers in total who are to be evacuated. At present, 119 Thai workers have evacuated out of Libya and 39 of them have returned to Thailand, and the rest of them are in the process of evacuating. Those who have not returned to Thailand will be ensured of their safety. They should nonetheless be sympathized with. They choose to stay because they have spent a lot of money to travel to the country. They have had to take on loans. Agents and companies; therefore, must look for ways to help them. If the conflict has ended, it has to be considered whether or not they can return to work and what the terms of
their contracts are. Such agents and companies should be responsible for the welfare of the workers. State and everyone must help those workers as we are all Thai. They have spent money to go to work and they have been forced to return. We have to think of how we can help them. Some companies have already provided assistance, while others have not. We have to help them and should not leave them in distress.

On helping Thai people in Israel, the risk has decreased at the moment as there have been some negotiations. However, the Royal Thai Embassy in Tel Aviv has recommended people who are near the Gaza Strip area to move out of the conflict areas, or those who intend to stay have to strictly comply with the safety procedures. For instance, when there is an alarm, they need to immediately evacuate to safe areas. Thai people sometimes do not take the alarm seriously and may be physically harmed.

On an earthquake in Yunnan which caused several injuries and death, we have issued a statement conveying our sincere condolences to victims of the earthquake. We would like to reiterate on a close relationship between Thailand and China, and we are sincerely ready to provide support and assistance if requested by Chinese authorities.

On Social Psychology:
On education, I have mentioned before that education is a source of wisdom. The NCPO has received several complaints from students and parents on the unsuitability of current curricula. Subjects should be taught in accordance with the children’s ages. Children should not be taught the same subjects from the very young age, as some subjects are not suitable for them. The world is changing, so as their ways of thinking. In the past, children studied different subjects according to their ages. Some subjects are only suitable for children of certain ages.

I believe that at the moment there are too many compulsory subjects for young children, which increase in difficulty as they progress. Children; therefore, do not have free time or time for their parents. They have to study a lot of subjects and do not thoroughly understand each subject, and are burdened with loads of homework. Subsequently, they do not have time to be given guidance by their parents or to help with the housework, and hence, do not know how to do the housework and other
practical things. Their parents are helping them with everything. These facts must be taken into consideration. Older children must study subjects that are suitable for their ages. I understand that we have to prepare the children for future challenges in the outside world and with other countries. If the minority of children is intellectually prepared, such as those who win academic prizes, while other children are not intellectually ready, this situation cannot be continued.

The cost of education remains high, especially for those children who take extra tuition classes. We should not force children to seek extra tuition. If they can study well in class, the parents will not be worried and teachers will not have to invest their time in teaching extra tuition classes. Children from poor families who cannot afford extra tuition consequently fail their exams. The Ministry of Education has to resolve these problems. Children must be able to continue their further studies and compete with others. However, the cost of tuition must be affordable to ease the burden of the parents.

According to the statistics, 53 per cent of bachelor’s degree graduates are unemployed. If this situation continues, there will be more and more people who are out of jobs. Social values must be changed. The Ministry of Education has to find ways to solve the problems. I believe that fewer subjects should be taught in order for the children to be able to learn more and conduct self-studies. The focus must be on the quality of education, not the quantity. More people in various vocations that meet the needs of the market should be produced. Thailand is lacking people in some vocations, and has to resort to foreign labour. Some vocational training programmes are not available in the country and some are not popular. As some students from different vocational institutions always fall out with one another, parents consequently do not want to send their children to these institutions, as they are concerned for their children’s safety. Students from these institutions should discuss amongst themselves how to rebuild reputations and ensure safety. These institutions should produce people who are gentlemen. Thus, we need to provide more scholarships. There are already many scholarships available, and we need to ensure that they are inclusive. We have to also ensure that the grants of scholarships achieve their purposes. We have to monitor what those who have received scholarships do after graduation. The institutions must produce graduates who meet the needs of the
market. There are formal, non-formal, and informal education systems, which must be harmonized and mutually supporting one another. The Ministry of Education must address these issues in an integrative manner in order to yield optimal benefits.

On the beggar issue, I received complaints about the networks of both Thai and foreign beggars who have good income. The Royal Thai Police and the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security have been assigned to rapidly tackle the whole system otherwise they will cause increasing disturbances to society, disorder to the country and bad image for tourism. On tourism, I have received complaints in areas of Pattaya and Phuket about scamming activities. On such scam is to feign an accidental collision with rental boats or other water recreation devices driven by tourists and demand compensation for injuries. Please do not do this. We will make arrests and legal action taken. These transgressions damage the image of the country. To claim as much as 5,000 to 10,000 baht is not acceptable. Do not do so as it destroys the tourism industry. Another form of exploitation is the so-called zero dollars/baht tours where credit/debit cards are used instead of cash. Tourists were told not to bring cash and were forced to buy things with their cards. The Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Culture and the police must look into the matter to end such deceptive practices. Forcing tourists to buy from certain stores, marking up the price, make card payments instead of cash are all part of cheating tourists. So who will visit Thailand. There are complaints of less people visiting but that is from your doing. You have to be stricter on your part. If one finds cases of exorbitant pricing and swindling, please inform the police to make arrests. It does not help if we all ignore the situation and blame the State. As for the epidemic of Ebola virus disease, NCPO is very concerned on this matter. Do not be too alarmed. The Ministry of Public Health has assured that it is under control. There will be stricter inspection of incoming visitors to Thailand. However, one should observe for any symptoms. I have already made clear instructions on this issue. Please do not panic, but at the same time be cautious, monitor symptoms and maintain sanitation and hygiene of the family and the children on the garbage problem, I consider this to be of high priority. NCPO has assigned all concerned agencies to prepare work plans and projects for building waste disposal and waste recycling sites at the central, provincial and local administration
levels. This year we will start with the building of 5 - 6 new facilities for waste disposal and segregation. We will continue with concrete projects in the following years. Currently, we have asked the provincial and local administration to rapidly enhance the knowledge and understanding to the public. If the people are not allowed to put their trash within the area of the community, I ask where the people would dump the waste. One should think of how to administer the area. If there is no danger and the local people have no problem with it, then a waste disposal should be provided for them. If not, then where would they get rid of their waste? So there will have to be compromises. On the legal and judicial process, it is ongoing. The draft legislations pending in Parliament or the Cabinet will be considered as a priority. The purpose is to amend legislations so that is up to date, non-redundant and in accordance with international standard. Today there are many laws which have existed since the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century and needs to be brought up-to-date. This will enable to keep up with our neighbouring countries, especially in areas governing international treaties and international trade agreements that do not affect the land boundaries. As for other laws that will involve many different agencies, we will have to be very circumspect in our considerations and must be consistent with the overall reform efforts and deliberations in the National Legislative Assembly. We need to continuously expedite the process as it will commit and affect many agencies and sectors. On surrogacy, it has been happening for a long time. For the media, I understand their interest but for some matters there is no need to expand the coverage of these cases. There have been arrests and legal action taken as well as clarifications. However, we repeatedly talk about these issues until now Thailand is a country guilty of all vices. I do not think it should be that way. For example, on rape cases we keep talking about for many days. The victims have become too ashamed to press charges. So they being doubly victimized. So the media should think carefully about this. I am not chiding you but you will have to think carefully. There are some things which you do not need to repeat or go deep into details. So please think of the feelings of those affected in presenting your news.

Other Issues:
As for the renovation of landscape, trees and plants, and lawn of Phitsanulok House and Government House, these are existing plans but were not implemented because of the political situation. Upon verification I have approved a longstanding proposed budget for implementation in a transparent and efficient manner. We cannot leave the structures to fall apart and then start to repair. I gave instructions for trees to be planted and trimmed in Phitsanulok House. It houses many historical buildings where in the future could become a tourist attraction, a depository or museum. We cannot just let it collapse. So we are not restoring the buildings for anyone. We do not even know who is going to take up office there. On the pending construction of Her Majesty the Queen Commenorative Building at Phra Mongkutklao Hospital and the precious wooden buildings which will be built to pay tribute to Her Majesty the Queen on the auspicious occasion of her 80th Birthday Anniversary a few years ago and for which the budget has already been approved by the government, the NCPO has now given a go-ahead. There is a lot of wood which have been seized and the legal cases have concluded. If we leave it unattended, the wood will either rot or disappear. We will regulate the wood for construction. I think Thailand should have more multi-use buildings instead of the few existing facilities for conferences seminars and state guest accommodation. We need a place to showcase treasures, collections and Thai heritage exhibits. So we could use the wood in the construction of the buildings. We will not sell the wood; any sales would be illegal and must be arrested. In the construction of the buildings we could use the wood for interior decoration. Precious wood such as Rosewood has different patterns which we can engrave into various designs for each room. I would like us all to have a dream that in our time we should build something for future generations. The structures we look at today are built a long time ago. We have not created anything new for future generations to look at, not for personal fame but for the country. As for the media issue, NCPO would like to thank all the media for your understanding and cooperation in creating conducive environment to the long-term development and reform. I admire the statement by Mr. Jakrit Permpoon, Chairman of the National Press Council of Thailand, who said "Do not fear without reason nor recklessly be bold. The point is whether you have a clear principle or not in working in this kind of situation, which is to strictly uphold the professional principles." Thank you once
again. It was a laudable statement. The media should take a look. On the matter of Ms. Kritsuda, I do not want to defame her but she has discredited the NCPO, the army and the country through social media which is entirely false. From reports I received, the talks during the 3 days, 5 days and 7 days, went well. Her husband was also present. She requested to stay saying it was too dangerous to leave. Now she says that she was beaten by military personnel. Why would we do that? We will show a video clip that was made during the talks which went well. Ms. Kritsuda had fully cooperated with us. Today she has backtracked which I do not understand why we would torture her as claimed. We have not beaten or tortured anyone. Why would we torture you, Ms. Kritsuda? This implies malicious intent on your part. We know that the company you keep have committed wrongdoings, some were accused of violating the royal institution while some are fleeing from arrest warrants issued against them. They will face legal proceedings. NCPO does not have a policy to violate anyone’s human rights. Regarding the movements that have been violating the most revered institution of the country, there have been some persons who have recently come out very strongly. Action is already being taken. Many persons are in the legal process or have been issued arrest warrants but fled abroad. A number of large countries do not have laws like us so they do not comprehend the significance of our lese majeste law, which is quite difficult for us to proceed. Among the persons who have gone abroad to evade law cases against them are Mr. Chupong Thithuan, Mr. Anek Chaichana, Mr. Saneh Thinsaan, Mr. Amnuay Gaewchompu, Mr. Ongart Tanakomet, and many others who are have conspired to dissent. We have evidence linking them, even photos. These people are worthless and have criminal cases against them. Therefore they will be prosecuted whereby we are trying to seek their extradition which we realize the difficulty. But disseminating information through social media is an issue of concern. Some sites are opened abroad where we have no power to close it down. Those countries have different laws from us whereas we need to apply our laws for legal action.

On the transfer of high level officials, we are just seeing how adjustments can be made. Any personnel movements will be in accordance with the regulations of respective agencies. This practice is similar to the military reshuffle. There is no need
to make payments to anyone. Do not be afraid of legal cases if you are not at fault. We will try to ensure fairness and will instruct the Ministers to oversee the selection process. The military has never make payments for positions. I wish that no one has to pay for their promotion or positions. Do not give in to those may be out to deceiving you regarding transfers. One must have moral decency and ethics without being gagged from buying your way up through the ranks. On the matter of kickbacks demanded at the lower levels of government, if there are any police or military officials who ask for protection money or other payoffs in the name of NCPO, please quickly report this to the NCPO. There is no need to convey through social media. Some people accuse military officials of speaking inappropriately, harshly and being arrogant. Please inform me so that we can punishment them immediately. I have always stressed that this cannot be done. Possessing more authority or law enforcement powers obliges officials to act with greater humility to the people. If this can be done, it would be a good example in the performance of official duties. The NCPO’s current operations all fall within the parameters of the recently promulgated Provisional Constitution of Thailand B.E. 2557 (2014). In the absence of a Prime Minister and Cabinet, the Head of the NCPO is acting in their authority in national administration. Matters that can be done now involve reducing the troubles faced by the public and prepare for work plans in the long term, such as budgetary implementation for the next fiscal year. The NCPO has not interfered with any procurement processes, which already have strict regulations and legal provisions. However, we will have an overseeing role in ensuring transparency, fairness and inclusiveness. If there is any corruption in the procurement process, investigations and legal action will be pursued. We want the process to be quick, sound and acceptable.

In summary, addressing the nation’s current urgent problems, includes: 1. raising income levels and closing income gaps of the public in the short term, in particular those with low income; 2. solving problems relating to agricultural production; 3. driving the economy forward, both at the domestic and international levels; 4. fiscal and monetary management in a timely manner; and 5. modernize the country by improving public services, basic infrastructure and water resources. On the salary increase for civil service, it is in process. Do not publicize too much yet. We have to consider on how to proceed. Perhaps we can increase the salary of lower level
officials first. The public would also have to support the overall efforts of the State because they have independent professions. But for the civil servants, they have to conduct themselves in accordance with rules and regulations and their salaries have not been raised for a long time. The private sector salaries have already been adjusted to 15,000 baht. The lower level government officials still receive under 7,000 baht which is not sufficient. We will consider how we can increase the salary base or income of the general public in all professions and sectors. How we can achieve a just taxation system and improve elements regarding entities. So these reforms of civil service and education will be taken up at the National Reform Council. They will deliberate on issues such as how to strengthen the civil service and a systematic reform in education. On national reform, there will be a kick-off session on 9 August at the Royal Thai Army Club to introduce the reform process and measures. I therefore invite Thai citizens from all sectors to join us on that day. I would like to reiterate that NCPO was not established to serve any particular group. The minority which constitutes a majority must be looked after fairly. The law enforcement officials must be facilitated in their work. We do not have the capability to arrest all the wrongdoers even if granted additional authority or power. So we need to have measures that would reduce the problems by not having to enforce excessive laws.

On energy, basic infrastructure, taxes and agricultural productivity assistance, the media has often presented the news in an incomplete manner. They did not portray the big picture that I had explained. The news was presented in bits and pieces with out full explanations. For example, on the issue of rice I had explained about the rice cultivation and sales but the media picked up only the cultivation part for criticisms, when done move on to criticize the sales aspect and then move on to the concerns on corruption. So please find new ways of covering and presenting the news and information.

Lastly, I invite everyone to cooperate with us in continuing to work together on this next phase of our efforts.

Thank you. Good evening.
Appendix 3.8

National Broadcast By General Prayut Chan-O-cha Head of the National Council for Peace and Order 15 August 2014

Good evening dear citizens. A couple of days ago, we have just celebrated the auspicious occasion of Her Majesty the Queen’s Birthday Anniversary. I hope the atmosphere in the country will continue to be one of warmth, pride, safety, and order. Everyone must work to contribute to the nation’s benefits and welfare and make Thailand known to the world as a small but significant country, with its virtuous monarchy and its unique, long-standing traditions which we must continue to uphold.

First of all, I would like to extend my deepest condolences to the family of the people who were injured or lost their lives in the collapse of the condominium in Pathum Thani. The NCPO has been following the situation very closely since the beginning and has instructed relevant agencies to fully and continually provide the assistance needed. A detailed investigation will be conducted into this matter; we need to prevent such a tragedy from happening again.

To elaborate further on what I said last week, the NCPO is aware that a lot of people still have a hard time earning a living, especially those with low income like farmers. These people do not have enough food, clean water, and other living necessities to go about their lives. And as there are still many areas without irrigation, some farmers can only depend on the rain to grow their crops and earn enough from harvest. I really sympathise with these people. Every government needs to be aware of these problems and work to resolve them, while we ourselves will also need to help.

As those doing business in other sectors—service, sales, tourism, retail, wholesale, etc.—are important to the society as well, everyone, regardless of profession or level of income, must work together and help each other develop our nation.
From now on, it will be very important that we focus on the economic situation. Global trends are showing signs of possible fluctuations and many risks. Political situations, conflicts, fighting, poverty, and climate change are among the factors contributing to these conditions. As such, we will need to be prepared for any situation that may occur.

Problems cannot be resolved solely by the state or disbursement of government budget. It is a time for every Thai citizen to help each other and sacrifice their own economic profits and benefits for the sake of others.

It is time for everyone to help the country surmount this time of crisis. Cooperation is needed from all businesspersons in areas such as merchandising, exportation, merchant middlemen, construction, transportation, and other areas. They have to brainstorm to find a way out for the country in this time of global uncertainty. Everyone must lower the sale prices, increase the purchasing power, and maintain appropriate profits. They have to think of those with low income. If you substantially lower the price of the products you buy from farmers, they will not be able to survive. The State cannot spend a lot of money or provide price support for everyone.

I would like the aforementioned business groups and those who I have not mentioned to register with the provincial authority and state how they will help the country. These include sellers of rice, sugar cane, sugar, cassava, palm, and rubber, construction entrepreneurs and other businesspersons. All business associations, groups, companies and persons should register with the Damrongtham Centers in each province, and the name lists will be forwarded to the NCPO and the government. The NCPO and those with low income will then be well aware of your kindness. We will together cooperate in protecting the nation and the people in tribute to His Majesty the King and Her Majesty the Queen who have always cared for the nation and the people. I would like to thank you all in advance.

On driving forward the country, there are three important aspects that need to be altogether proceeded with in a balanced manner, which are:
- Reconciliation and reform.
- Readiness to face global and national economic crises as well as opportunities for economic expansion. We must be prepared to accept both positive and negative changes in all aspects of the economy.
- Increase in income, job creation and reduction in income inequality.

Economy
It is important to acknowledge that there are people who will gain and lose as a result of economic reform. However, if both sides adhere to the Economy Sufficiency philosophy by His Majesty the King, the right balance will be achieved. As mentioned earlier, everyone should sacrifice for other people, make less profit and live a sustainable life. As such, people will not be in trouble and the cost of living will be adjusted and reduced. People should not be profit-oriented and focus solely on increasing prices. The sales of products should be based on quantity and quality while focusing on reducing profit margins. Everyone should receive the fair sharing of benefits; otherwise, the country will not move forward.

Over the past three months, the economy has improved after it stagnated due to the country’s domestic crisis. Thailand has recovered gradually thanks to orderly management of a range of issues and law enforcement.

From now on, after a government is formed probably in September, numerous tasks will be executed simultaneously including reform. The Thai economy remains fragile and is faced with many challenges – internal and external factors. The import growth of raw materials has slowed down. Industrial production will recover slowly while exports are expected to grow at the end of the year. However, the global economy remains vulnerable – a factor which cannot be controlled. Certain Thai manufacturers should produce more modern products and keep pace with ever-changing technologies.

In terms of foreign direct investment in Thailand, some industries will relocate to other countries because of high labour costs – an issue that has to be addressed. They have expanded their businesses to neighboring countries and other ASEAN countries.
If industrial production does not recover for an extended period, workers in the industrial sector will continue to receive low wages and demand for labor and overtime work will reduce. These will affect living costs. On agricultural products, prices will keep falling particularly agricultural crops that do not require zoning. Such agricultural crops will not be released into the market, therefore lowering the prices. I would like to ask Thai traders to come up with ways to add value to farm products, establish new markets and better manage the supply and demand of agricultural crops, particularly when there is an oversupply of crops in order to support the prices of such agricultural commodities. In addition, the government will not have to allocate a high budget for subsidising crops and the money spent can be used to improve the country in other areas. It is important that farmers provide cooperation and adjust themselves by growing crops, which will help create the balance of supply and demand. On overall consumption, it has recovered slowly because household income has increased slightly. However, public debt is at a high level. The government must expedite measures in tackling the problem in cooperation with state-owned financial institutions and the private sector. The NCPO and government agencies have organised activities that help support people’s living costs. For example, on August 8, the Ministry of Commerce in cooperation with the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration launched a project to sell read-to-eat food at affordable prices to return happiness to people with the aim to invite 1,000 restaurants in Bangkok and Bangkok Metropolitan Region to participate in the project. In fact, I would like more restaurants to offer to sell foods at lower prices. As for future plans, the same project will be implemented in big cities in other provinces across the country and the “Blue Flag” project, which offers cheap food run by the Ministry of Commerce, will be organized in every region – in the north, Chiang Mai; in the northeast, Udon Thani; in the central region, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya; in the south, Nakhon Si Thammarat and etc. I would like a chamber of commerce in each province to organise a farmers’ market on Saturday and Sunday to reduce transportation costs and help raise farmers’ income. Some have said that the NCPO takes care of only government officials. I would like to inform you that the NCPO puts importance on people at all levels and all groups. For government officials, the NCPO concentrates on providing care to low-ranking government officials, who have low income, especially those who earn
less than workers who receive the minimum wage or below 9,000 baht. We are gradually making changes for the public and government officials.

Private-sector investment has increased slowly. Imports of capital goods are still low. Productivity is low and factories cannot expand further. The public sector in cooperation with the private sector along with small, medium and big businesses must formulate measures to increase investment. Businesses must help each other and do not focus only on their own groups while smaller ones go bankrupt.

The government and state enterprises’ disbursements of budget have become more transparent with inspection and lower cases of bribery. However, budget disbursements must be carried out in an expeditious manner; otherwise, disbursements that have been delayed will adversely affect the overall economic condition. The government and state enterprises must mobilize their efforts to address the issue in a transparent and expeditious manner. They do not have to delay the disbursements as long as such disbursements are accountable and are not for their own benefit. Small and medium-sized projects that are scheduled to start at the beginning of the fiscal year must be expedited because such projects will help distribute income among people in rural areas quickly. They will receive both direct and indirect benefits. The agencies responsible for the projects do not have the freedom to start implementing the projects at any time of the fiscal year as in the past. In the first quarter of the fiscal year, income generated from the projects should be distributed among people. Budget Bureau and Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board will be responsible for monitoring each fiscal quarter. The Ministry of Industry and the Board of Investment of Thailand must expedite efforts to promote investment sector by sector, expand investment opportunities in and outside existing industrial estates, opt for more cutting-edge technologies, promote research and development that cater to the needs of the private sector while discouraging areas of research that are deemed unnecessary or are done only to acquire academic standing. Research done must be truly beneficial for the country. Research topics must be clearly determined taking into account what the country needs and lacks.
Research done should not start over from the beginning and should be built on existing local wisdom. Thailand must have its own brands in the future.

The disbursement of the 2015 fiscal budget will be ready early in the fiscal year. Government projects which can boost employment rate, for example, the renovation of government buildings, hospitals and other equipment will be expedited in 2015. Recruitment programmes for fresh graduates or vocational students will be carried out to reduce unemployment rate. We will encourage more internship programmes for students to enhance training skills. Allowances, salaries and other stipends will be provided and distributed to those in need, such as the poor and underprivileged people. Some people accused that the NCPO will reduce the student loan fund but this is not true. What we are doing is to seek ways to distribute the loans evenly and explore other sustainable assistance. The funding needs to be balanced with other budgets and, of course, we cannot afford to do everything at once. We have to prioritize and clearly set out expected outcomes. On dredging of canals and small reservoirs, the expenditure plans will be accelerated for scrutiny by the Office of the National Economics and Social Development Board and the Bureau of the Budget. The implementation of urgent policies of the NCPO and the government will be prioritized early in the fiscal year. On projects concerning food processing, medicines and licensing from the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) or the Thai Industrial Standard Institute (SITI), the implementation process must be faster and more efficient. There are a lot of complaints on the delays and excessive rules and formalities, as well as unclear information and procedures. Some people have complained on the problems of venality and personal connection which have been an impediment for entrepreneurs. This will need to be eliminated. For projects with pending Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) approval or public hearing, we will seek other measures to accelerate the process, for example, relocating to other non-restricted areas such as state-owned lands or degraded forest lands. We should try to seek other alternative ways to implement these projects without causing negative impact to the environment. For example, to implement the Kaem Ling Project, we should consider relocating to less densely populated areas to reduce the negative effect on people. People should also sacrifice for public interests. The integrated
cooperation from all public sectors must be strengthened. Every ministry must not work independently but rather cooperate and share responsibility. We should seek cooperation within the same working group cluster through meetings and discussions. For example, projects on electricity, water supply and other basic utilities which involve many agencies should be performed as a comprehensive package. We cannot approve the budget and workplan for each task separately.

The boosting of tourism is important since tourism generates major income for the country. Especially in this situation, more proactive public relations measures must be carried out expeditiously. The private sectors and the media should cooperate in promoting the positive aspects of Thailand and should not publicize only the negative news. I do not prohibit you from reporting facts and information, but the media should help publicize positive news about Thailand so that tourists and visitors feel more confident to visit our country. For example, on problems of travel insurance for tourists, although some companies refuse to provide travel insurance coverage, we do have government travel insurance fund with a budget of 200 million Baht to assist tourists. If any injuries occur, the government travel insurance fund will provide compensation. All public and private sectors must participate in the marketing campaign to boost tourism and refrain from maligning each other to create friendly atmosphere for tourists. Thailand is ready for hospitality business and is home to abundant tourist resources, such as hotels, restaurants and tourist attractions. Tour guides, shop owners and tourism entrepreneurs should not mistreat or take advantage of customers. They should be honest and provide the best services in order to generate more income for the country and contribute to the growth of other relevant businesses in Thailand. On low prices or low productivity of agricultural products, government subsidies and populist schemes alone cannot solve the problem and could damage the country in the long run. Other assistances which have been announced, such as cost and rental fee reduction, central market establishment and fair trade by the middlemen, require participation from all sectors. The middlemen should not mark up prices to overcharge customers and should have sympathy for the poor. The middlemen can help by selling good quality products at reasonable prices. On national security, reconciliation and reform, we are currently moving forward the operation.
The National Reform Council candidate applications began on the 14th of August. This requires participation from all sides. We should put our nation as the main priority and set aside political and personal interests which have caused accumulated problems and undermined the country for so long.

Security
Reconciliation and reform processes have been carried out. People should stop fighting over unimportant issues and do something beneficial for the country in the future continuously. Politics and people seeking personal gain have made the country lag behind for a long time. To summarise cases that the police are responsible for, there is a total of 70 cases, 7 of which have been presented to police prosecutors for legal action. There are a total of 148 suspects, 116 of whom have been arrested and 32 of whom who are on arrest warrants have fled. These cases concern security issues and they are charged for the possession of war-grade weapons. Over the past week, representatives from many countries paid official visits to Thailand including Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and Security of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste; Sato Kilman Livtuvanu, Minister of Foreign Affairs and External Trade of Vanuatu; Shering Tobge, Prime Minister of Bhutan; Major General Suvon Luongbunmi, Chief of the General Staff of the Lao People's Army, and his team. We held discussions on various aspects of cooperation including security and economic affairs. They expressed admiration for the operations the NCPO have carried out and willingness to continue to cooperate with Thailand.

Society and Psychology
The tradition of welcoming new students expected to continue in the middle of August this year must conform to the rules and regulations and must not cause harm to them. It must not involve forcing them to do activities. Universities are not military academies. Even the military must change such a tradition. New students respect seniors because of their good actions. Seniors should set a good example. If they do not like what seniors did to them when they were freshmen, they should stop doing the same thing to new students. They should make newcomers feel welcome. As for a military program, it is intended to train soldiers to be mentally strong and physically
fit; still, the program must adopt a softer approach and abide by the rules. Seniors must not make them drink alcohol and take drugs; otherwise, they will be punished. There have been reports that teenagers who are involved in illegal street racing have organised illegal motorbike races on main roads at night, often occurring on Rama 4 Road in Khlong Toei. I have directed the police and relevant agencies to resolve the problem and seriously conduct road-policing operations. Every life is precious. The fun of street racing is temporary, but it puts their lives at risk.

Issues of Concern
Another great concern is on rice growing and falling prices of crops which is a result of unbalance demand and supply. Rice growing cycle should be reduced because of water shortage. As His Majesty the King once said, one way to capture and retain more water in the paddy fields is to increase the height of the ridge. Rice farmers usually lower the ridge’s height to have larger land areas for rice growing which in turn lessens water retention. We should enlarge the ridge and use this area to grow other crops. Farmers should diversify the types of crops they are growing to reduce the problem of rice oversupply. This year, based on the statistics, there will be inadequate rainfall. Therefore, we will have insufficient water for retention and irrigation. We hope to get more rain and will operate artificial rainmaking projects in several areas. The results of the rainmaking projects may vary from place to place depending on the humidity level and the density of forest lands. Right now, organic farming yields high profits. If farmers grow crops using non-pesticide method or non-chemical fertilizer, their produce can be sold at very high prices. The demand is certainly greater than the supply. Thus, farmers should consider growing organic vegetables which require less water for cultivation and yield higher profits. Crop rotation and diversification should be considered to ease the problem of rice oversupply. Farmers should form agricultural grouping to generate more income and eliminate influence from the middlemen. Farmers will be able to sell their produce at reasonable price and avoid the middlemen-dominated market price. When the supply is greater than the demand, the price will be cheaper. The government cannot afford subsidizing all types of crops. Right now, the budget for domestic investment only amounts to approximately 10 percent of the total budget. If the government has to
bear the cost of all agricultural subsidies, there will not be sufficient budget for other operations. Therefore, it is important for farmers to cooperate and form farmers group to gain more negotiating power against the middlemen. Farmers association and agricultural grouping should be strengthened. We should strive to learn modern agricultural knowledge and do not solely rely on nature. The Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives will set up learning centers to disseminate knowledge. Outreach programmes conducted by agricultural experts and those with local wisdom will be organized. The chief of district agricultural extension office or the director of provincial agricultural extension office should help distribute knowledge to local farmers. The local community should participate and should not solely rely on the state. All sectors need to participate. The “New Theory” agriculture initiated by His Majesty the King should be concretely implemented to optimize benefits and increase productivity. The Damrongtham Centers operated under the Ministry of Interior will disseminate information and serve as government coordination centers by drawing inputs from the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives and the Ministry of Commerce. A monitoring mechanism will be implemented to follow up on the projects. All relevant ministries must closely follow up and participate in this process.

On waste management problem, all sectors including the public, private and people sectors must be jointly responsible. The use of non-biodegradable materials should be reduced. Appropriate measures on waste disposal, control, incineration, segregation, collection and transportation will be expeditiously implemented, if possible within this year. The private sector can help by making in-kind contributions or providing quality waste management service which is controllable and assessable. Private companies who were granted permission to operate waste landfill must be held accountable if any damages occur.

On education, I have already said many times that I am very concerned about the issue. The future of the nation depends on education; I think everyone understands this. The problem is what we should do and how we should manage the overall system—from basic education and further education to career and income. All governmental agencies need to help the Ministry of Education with this—through
cooperation and joint projects. Career opportunities need to be provided to graduates to encourage more people to enter the education system. We need to strike a balance between employment of the educated and the uneducated, in order for both to be taken care of.

On textbooks, some revisions may be necessary. The current version of some primary school textbooks may be too difficult for the students. This may make them dislike studying out of the fear of not being able to answer questions or take exams. You need to create an incentive for them to study—to make things easy to understand and remember. Then we could gradually increase the level of difficulty as they move up the education ladder. People are different by nature; some may have the ability to continue further on their studies, while some may not. We need to provide them with the same basic knowledge, and from there, they will know which path to take—work right away or study further—which may well also depend on the amount of financial support that could be provided to them from their parents. We need to look at the entire system—from textbooks down to curriculum and oversight. I know that being a teacher requires making sacrifices. I am also aware of and concerned about their debt and other problems. We are addressing these issues in this second phase of the Roadmap. Reform will definitely cover teachers, with them being both public servants and the so-called “moulds of the nation”. Today, if you make readjustments to lessons and make them easier and less intensive, you will be able to take care of children more and also have time to do other things. I understand that teachers have their own children to think about too. We need to make sure that the teachers, the students, and the parents are all well off. The country would then be able to move forward and better education would be available. We need to encourage more people to enter the education system, not push them out of it by making circumstances difficult. These issues need to be looked at again.

On the Southern Border Provinces, we are doing the best we can, but there will certainly still be fighting as the other side has not yet achieved their goals. We have been trying to ask about what they want and discuss the actions we must take. Meanwhile, I want the public to keep a look out, stay together, and be cautious in
their travel and their daily lives. Police and military officers need to strictly observe protocols and exercise caution in every operation as well. Doing so will help to reduce casualties in all areas, as the situation poses danger to everyone.

On the Southern Border Provinces dialogue, we are coordinating with Malaysia, who has accepted to continue being a facilitator for the process. New dialogue frameworks have also been formulated, and further discussions on those will be required. In the meantime, the talks are continuing as usual, through secret channels and within the area, with the 4th Army Region Forward Base and the Southern Border Provinces Administrative Centre being the agencies responsible. However, as there have been changes in government, the talk process has been restructured to be more systematic to address various issues at the same time. Having only one party or one group of people be responsible for the whole process will take too much time as there are a number of things to discuss—the law, the violence, fairness, legality, how to live together in the future, etc. I am calling it a talk on welfare now, as opposed to a peace talk, with the objective of sustainably having all Thai people live together happily regardless of their religion. Another matter worth mentioning is the case of Mr. Veera Somkwamkid, who after his release has been making certain unfounded claims. The NCPO has never had any agreement with Prime Minister Hun Sen on the conditions of his release. In fact, His Excellency has allowed Mr. Veera to leave prison out of His Excellency’s regard to the friendly relations between our two countries. Today, we must strive towards becoming part of the ASEAN family together; everyone and every country in ASEAN is family; I have been telling this to every other country in the world. If one ASEAN country suffers, the other ones also suffer; if one is well off, the other ones are too. We need only step forward together. With the combined population of all 10 countries at over 600 million, other countries will definitely look to us, especially since we are countries that produce and export agricultural products and equipment or items that are daily life necessities. As such, in the relations and cooperation between Thailand and Cambodia or any other country, there has not been any agreement whatsoever that was made outside of the accepted rules and nothing are based on personal interests. All arrangements are made openly between
On social network, I encourage everyone to share positive information and get rid of the “hate speech” which generates the feelings of hatred, insult and disparagement, as well as lese majeste statements. All Thai people should help get rid of this kind of speech. Information posted on websites, Facebook, and other online applications can be harmful to the younger generations. We have had conflicts in our society and false information has been frequently shared online. We should refrain from sharing unverified information to avoid incitement. Telecommunication services are extensive and it is difficult to regulate them. This can be harmful to the country. National security cannot be fostered and the society will be degraded. Tourism will be negatively impacted by this atmosphere of hatred. The younger generations primarily rely on social media and I am deeply concerned about this problem. Today I have focused on economic issues since the economy is a key factor for the advancement of our country. Other issues such as political conflicts are our internal affairs. How we look after our own people, how we improve foreign relations and how we move towards becoming an ASEAN Community and the AEC are matters that we need to address by ourselves. Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another is a fundamental principle of ASEAN. We support one another in maintaining security for our peoples and prevent armed confrontations. We do not issue country specific resolutions on internal affairs which could lead to escalating conflicts. This is a principle of ASEAN. Any trade and agreements must be based on openness, transparency, effectiveness and fairness. We engage with all countries on the basis of trust, fairness and as good friends. Our neighbouring countries – Lao PDR, Cambodia and Myanmar – are akin to our relatives. People along either side of the borders know each other so why should we fight. We should look into how we can derive mutual benefits that is fair and equal. We should refrain from talking about problems on persisting conflicts. Today we are living in a borderless world. We should consider how we can maintain our national interests and sovereignty. So everyone should help by thinking of national interests. On the development of water resources, basic infrastructures and other issues, they are underway in all aspects. The Super Board
held a meeting recently to discuss about improving the services provided by state enterprises. It takes time. Many people have questioned why things are not done this way or that way. We have to address the problems gradually and make plans carefully. We have to determine the cause of the problems, such as accumulated deficits, that have existed for decades before the 22nd of May. We need to identify the problems and try to resolve them by considering whether it should be done in the medium term or in the transition period. For instance, we may have to amend regulations, selection process of board members, update rules and regulations and revise existing control measures. There are already about 20 existing rules and laws regulating the state enterprise boards. The issue seems to be inefficient people and mechanisms. I believe we are in the transition period whereby 3 to 6 months would be needed to determine the way forward. I do not mean that all the problems will be solved within 3, 6, 9 or 12 months. We have to make long term plans, for example post-2015 national elections. But if we do not start planning today we will not reach our targets. However, if we only address the issues for with short term solutions, the problems will start again in 3 months because we did not tackle the fundamentals. We need to determine whether there is sufficient revenue as it is vital to ensure more provision of services to the public and good maintenance of vehicles and equipment. If there is not sufficient revenue, we would have to seek loans which may not be possible as public debt would increase. So how are we going to materialize our wish for new public transport vehicles? We need to think in a holistic way. Today we should explore which services should be run 100 per cent by state enterprises, jointly operated by state and private sector partnerships, or partly operated by the private sector. We cannot simply say we will terminate a service or choose to do this or that as it may impact upon security. Services must be provided to the public non-stop. We cannot move ahead if demonstrations still prevail. Therefore we have to maintain order and security to allow for provision of public services. We need to reduce the disparity between the people in the country. The private sector must share in the burden by collaborating with the state in reducing the income disparities and closing the social gaps. The country can then move forward in tune with global changes. Thank you for the encouragement and support which provided morale for all of us. I wish many happy returns to you all. I admit that with the tremendous support given to
us, I am under more pressure. But that is all right, I still have the inner strength to handle the pressure. My main contemplation is how to make us all content. Civil servants must cooperate with each other in easing the hardships and grievances of the people in an expeditious and inclusive manner.

The time taken to address the problems may differ so we all must be patient and tolerant, including I, public officials and civilians. Refrain from being moody or irritable and staging demonstrations as we would not achieve anything as in the past. I recall the various protest marches held in the past for causes such as rubber and rice. It began two years ago and the farmers just recently received payments after my approval. So any protest marches today will not receive payments today. Please refrain from protesting and find a suitable solution. Concerned people such as middlemen and local officials must find a solution at the local level. The Damrongtham Centers should be involved in solving these issues and prevent protests in Bangkok. Today we receive tens of thousands of complaints and grievances. Please channel these petitions to the Damrongtham Centers. We will forward them to the concerned agencies to address the issues. To those who came to submit their grievances, I thank them for listening to our clarifications and return home. There is no need to camp out on the streets. It is quite difficult without amenities available. There is incurred transport and living costs which is not only a waste of money but also time. It is better to stay at home and convey messages through the Damrongtham Centers. We will address them through Provincial Governors, ministries and agencies. If we cannot solve them in the short term, it will be taken up in the long term. I appeal to you not out of fear for anything but I do not want to see a derailment in our progress as the country is now moving forward smoothly. The roads are now clear. Protests will lead to campouts on the streets. The important thing is we know of your hardships and we are dedicated to your troubles. Lastly, I would like to send my regards to everyone. We think of you as long as the people remains unhappy, the country unsafe and reforms not yet completed. We at NCPO and all civil servants will always extend our thoughts to our fellow Thai citizens. Thank you and good evening.
Appendix 3.9

National Broadcast By General Prayut Chan-O-cha Head of the National Council for Peace and Order 29 August 2014

Good evening, dear citizens. We meet again as usual. On the occasion of His Majesty’s Royal Command appointing me as Prime Minister, I wish to express my deepest gratitude for His royal grace. This has been the highest honour of my life – and not only for myself, but for my entire family. I am conscious of the great duty before me. I thank the National Legislative Assembly and fellow citizens for their support and placing confidence in me to administer state affairs forthwith. I am happy to bear the responsibility in moving the country towards a sustainable future. From now on, I will be responsible for moving the country and the people forward and working together in national development for the benefit of all. In the second phase, the administration of the country by the government, Prime Minister and Cabinet will be in parallel with the NCPO’s handling of immediate issues that require quick action. This will be determined through close consultations on the modes of operation while being careful not to infringe upon each other’s responsibilities. There will also be mechanisms for checks and balances to ensure transparency, integrity and fairness. I wish to urge everyone not to be overly concerned about the individuals. Today, we have to work rapidly on strengthening every system to be more resilient against corruption, especially in our public service, be they civil servants, police or military, and the related private sector. Government agencies at the central, provincial and local levels must strengthen themselves in order to support the reforms that will ensure that the politicians will have a system of good governance in the administration of the country, so that they can work together to lead the country into the future. However, the people are the most important component to ensure that our current administration will be able to successfully solve the various problems that beset this nation – be they security, economic, social, cultural, and legal and justice systems. The economic sector in particular, is facing many challenges. Everyone, including public and private sectors, farmers, and the general public have to cooperate to overcome these challenges. Problems facing Thailand Our nation has accumulated a
host of significant problems that need to be addressed quickly in order to be ready for the ASEAN Community. On security, there are many problems as already mentioned before. Among them are the three Southern Border Provinces, violation of human rights, human trafficking and forced labour, and mafias and influential figures. There are also border problems, including border demarcation, illegal migrants, and smuggling. In addition, there are domestic security issues such as narcotics, crime, proliferation of war weapons, gambling, and foreign labour. We have already addressed some of these issues. On the economy, we must proceed in a concrete manner in accordance with the National Social and Economic Development Plan and in tune with global trends. Measures include the promotion of investments in various sectors, the narrowing of social inequality, generating income for farmers and those with low income, reform of the tax system in a just manner, and alleviation of the people’s basic living needs. These are some of the important economic challenges, in particular how to develop our competitive capacity to equal that of other countries in our region and how to link our economy to the region to prepare for the ASEAN Community. We found that Thailand’s competitiveness is average. Some of the key weaknesses lie in our administrative system, lack of infrastructure, effective education system and innovativeness. Our laws and services for facilitating the business sector remain a major obstacle to foreign investors. Judging from our present capacity, the Thai economy will require another 12 years to escape the Middle-income Trap to become a High-income country. At the same time, some of our neighbours will already have developed into High-income countries in the next six years. So Thailand will have to accelerate our efforts. Furthermore, the ASEAN Community that will emerge in 2015, which has the economy as one of the three pillars, will pose another important challenge for Thailand. We must raise our competitiveness to equal that of our neighbours, especially with some countries that can be considered to be both partners and significant economic competitors. In sum, our economic problems can be summarised as follows: (1) The Middle-income Trap, where we will be unable to compete with other countries with cheaper labour and countries with greater technological development; and (2) Our stagnant competitiveness level despite the greater liberalization and competition in trade and investment. The social and cultural challenges that face us include the education system, how to instil conscientiousness
into our youths, how to sustain Thai culture in the long-term, how to safeguard our natural resources, how to instil values, solve environmental problems, and land-related problems.

At the moment, a chronic problem – and one that seems to be growing – is the increasing disparity in earning opportunities, income distribution, wealth distribution that is unjust, especially in education. Many of the poor lack the opportunity to study in high school, college or university. The quality of Thai education also needs to be continuously developed. Access to financial services is still limited though it is an important component that will help to expand earning opportunities. Consequently it is very difficult for people to escape the cycle of poverty. Today’s aging society will also have a direct and negative impact on the nation’s competitive edge, since it will limit our labour force, while the population of the elderly who rely on the labour force will increase exponentially. There will also be an additional burden on the nation’s budget through the increased expenditure on the elderly via social security schemes. Therefore, Thailand must speedily adjust our state social welfare system, so that the needs of the elderly will be looked after in an appropriate fashion. It is an inherent Thai culture to take care of parents and the elderly as best we can. It is pleasing to note that people’s longevity has increased in this day and age but we still need appropriate measures to take care of this group of people. On the environment, the problems include the encroachment and destruction of natural resources and the forest, waste disposal, pollution from the industrial sector and urbanization. Another clearly seen problem arises from the consequences of pushing for economic policies unfriendly to the environment, which has severely eroded our natural resources. In the past, the Thai economy has grown hand-in-hand with pollution. Thailand’s carbon dioxide emissions have continuously grown, while the ratio between our use of energy and our energy imports to our national GNP has jumped. Although we have made use of recycled materials, which is starting to gain some popularity in the past few years, the proportion of our use of these materials has not grown significantly. Therefore, the state sector should persuade consumers and producers to change their behaviour to be more environmental friendly. Moreover, the problems of pollution and natural disasters are becoming more severe across the planet. Part of the problem
comes from the widening pursuit of economic interests, which has increased the rate of destruction of natural resources. The state must, therefore, have a system to assist, ameliorate, and protect victims of natural disasters in a timely manner. The challenges in legislation and the legal process include the reform of archaic laws that do not conform to international laws and obligations. There are also laws amended by the public sector in order to facilitate the activities of the people and ensure greater fairness but were stuck in various processes under the previous governments. The NCPO has sent some of these drafts to the National Legislative Assembly for expeditious consideration. All of these drafts have already passed the due consideration of the related agencies, including the NCPO, acting in the capacity of the Cabinet. Foremost in our consideration has been to update archaic legislations and to solve the problems of the people. Corruption has been deep-rooted in Thai society. The problem needs to be seriously addressed now. In order to see concrete and rapid progress within one year, we require the cooperation of all sectors, including the state and private sectors, civil society, and the population at large. Anti-corruption values should be instilled and severe penalties be handed down for those guilty of corruption. The procurement system, the process of transferring and appointing civil servants, the exercise of power by state agencies, and good governance in state owned enterprises should be looked at in conjunction with legislative reforms that will update our laws to conform to international norms. These legislative reforms may include consideration of whether or not corruption-related crimes should have a statute of limitations, increases in the penalties for corruption-related crimes that may extend to both the donor and recipient where, in the past, operators in the private sector who were involved in corruption were not prosecuted for offering bribes to state officials. I have also heard concerns from certain sectors that the NCPO has not included the prevention and tackling of corruption in the 11-point Reform Agenda. I wish to state here that the NCPO gives extreme importance to this matter and see it as one of the first issues that need to be tackled by reforms. The prevention of corruption is a massive, cross-cutting issue that affects everything. If we specified it as one of the main agendas for reform, corruption will not be covered in all dimensions. Therefore, we have decided to set corruption prevention as an important condition for every reform agenda, including political reform,
administrative reform, legal reform, as well as reforms in the legal process, local administration, education, economy, energy, public health and environment, media, society, and other sectors. All sectors must be rid of corruption, as stated in Section 27 of the Provisional Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2557 (2014), which stipulates that the National Reform Council has the duty to study and give recommendations for reform in various sectors, so that the democratic form of government with the King as Head of State will be developed as appropriate for the Thai social context. This includes having an election system that is honest and fair, accompanied by effective mechanisms to prevent and eliminate corruption and dishonest behaviour, while eliminating inequalities and promoting socio-economic fairness for sustainable development. This system will ensure that state mechanisms will be able to serve the people in an inclusive, convenient and responsive manner under the strict and fair implementation of the law.

Issues of importance that is affecting the public and requiring urgent attention
Development of a democratic system that is right, comprehensive, internationally accepted and appropriate for Thailand.

The 11 main reform issues undertaken by the National Reform Council will also help in responding to current and future economic challenges. Part of our preparations include the establishment and working of several Policy Committees to address the problems of basic needs and other pressing issues endured by the public, as well as to lay the foundations of important infrastructure for national development will include a Committee on Rice Policy and Management, a Committee for Water Policy and Management, a Strategy Committee for commercial viability of four Agricultural Products (corn fodder, tapioca, palm oil, sugar cane), a Committee on National Energy Policy, a Committee on the Management of Migrant Workers and Human Trafficking, and Committee on the for Special Economic Development Zone Policy, and a Committee to oversee the operations of state owned enterprises. The issue of corruption prevention will also be considered under these mechanisms and reform agendas. On management of natural resources, prevention of encroachment and addressing the issue of land productivity, we should consider making use of unused state-owned lands, including degraded forest lands that are currently unable to be
restored and other neglected or unoccupied lands - by allocating them to the people to make use of in order to make a living. These will become land with economic benefits that the community will help look after and plant more trees. However, the ownership of the lands remains the state’s. Such reforestation practices are in conformity with the concept of the Community Food Banks initiated by Her Majesty the Queen who has prompted us to look into how to make the people live in harmony with forests in way that they could also benefit from the forests. If we prohibit people from making use of the forest areas then there will be no one to look after the forests. So it is better to have people look after the forests by planting more trees while deriving benefits from the area. Through this approach Her Majesty envisions that forests will be healthier and the people will have a better living. So we have to balance the two elements. Management and establishment of cooperatives under the principle of good governance, which His Majesty the King has promoted throughout the years, will help to, raise the standard of living for farmers who make up the majority of the population. Cooperatives help to promote business partnerships between farmers; foster mutual assistance; resilience; knowledge; modernisation; and communal assistance. Cooperatives are guided by moral and ethical principles so as to improve the quality of life both in the economic and social dimensions. I would like to commend the case of a cooperative set up in Roi Et Province which was in the news recently. Farmers there have joined together to set up a rice mill and buy good quality jasmine rice from the local area at a rate higher than the market price. I consider this to be a pioneering project which is funded by the people and the private sector without having to wait for help. This is commendable and I urge others to study the operations from the cultivation, harvesting, milling, selling and packaging. The packaging reflects well known local designs. The rice is gaining popularity and widely sold in stores.

Country Strategy
We have many national strategies covering various dimensions. We need to adhere to these strategies and make adjustments according to the evolving global situation as well as ASEAN. Therefore, in order to find concrete and tangible solutions to the problems, the Cabinet that is to be appointed will need to adhere to the strategy for
national administration and make adjustments accordingly. The country strategy will require plans of action, projects, and budgeting that reflects continuity. Short term and long term plans must be developed in line with the 11th National Economic and Social Development Plan and subsequent development plans for continuity and sustainability.

Progress on work carried out in the previous week:

On the Ebola outbreak – the NCPO attaches high priority and in its meeting last Tuesday approved an urgent budget for improving the screening process for passengers arriving from risk countries. The NCPO has instructed that an additional budget be allocated to prepare dedicated treatment rooms, procurement of medical equipment and protective and anti-contamination gear for various hospitals. There is no need to panic. Health officials must also be careful not to get infected which may bring about cases where no one would want to receive treatment or the hospitals would not receive patients. I am very concerned and that is the reason for approving a budget of over 100 million baht to procure appropriate medical equipment. We will focus on areas where it is deemed urgent first before expanding to other areas.

The NCPO has requested concerned agencies to provide regular updates and briefings to the staff, public health officials, and the general public in order to properly prevent an outbreak. The NCPO has instructed that every concerned agency monitor the situation closely at every conduit including by land, shipping, or air. Border check points must strictly monitor and observe the symptoms of possible carriers of the Ebola virus or other potent communicable virus. I would like the Public Health Ministry to provide information on potential harmful virus to all border check points, agencies and to the general public. I thank and commend the suspected patient who has returned from abroad for showing responsibility to society by cooperating and allowing herself to be monitored for a lengthy period of time until it was proven that she was not infected and has since been discharged. Thank you for being a good example and posed no burden on family or problems for other people. She visited the doctor to be under observation once she is aware of possible symptoms. So thank you once again for being a good example. On the matter of finding a sustainable solution to informal debts to loan sharks – the NCPO meeting has approved the measures that were proposed. The problem of informal loans has long been embedded in Thai
society and there are many low income earners who have not had access to legal loan facilities. Previously, government agencies have tried to solve this problem but with not much success for several reasons, namely: no clarity in the criteria for solutions, uncooperative officials, no acceptable third party as negotiator for composition, and debtors without adequate collateral. The Ministry of Finance has come up with key measures to serve as sustainable solutions for addressing the problem of informal loans, including: allowing communities to have a greater role in finding solution through community financial organisations; assigning specific financial institutions such Government Savings Bank and Agricultural Cooperatives Bank to deal with informal debts; and informal debt solving measures that takes into account the differences between urban and rural communities. On the development of housing for low-income earners – the NCPO has given approval to the investment plans for the housing development project at the 1st phase between 2014 – 2017, under the plan to revitalise the National Housing Authority. The NCPO has also approved the housing development project set 1 of 2014, which includes 38 projects in accordance with a resolution by the Committee on Economic Development of 3 October 2013. The details of the budget will be prepared by the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security in cooperation with the Bureau of the Budget. Thus for collateral and payments of such loans, the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security is requested to proceed according to rules and regulations and the Cabinet resolution. The development of housing for low-income earners must take into consideration matters that can facilitate those receiving such benefits, such as suitable areas to earn a living, access to markets and transportation facilities. Buses, trains and other means should be provided so that people can commute to make a living. However, such developments may take time. On the restructuring of Thai Airways – this past Saturday a meeting was held to discuss the company’s business plans. Although Thai Airways is now operating at a loss, it is working on a solid foundation which should yield improvements in the future once there has been some restructuring and adjustments to the business strategy. The meeting was confident that the financial status of the company is not as problematic to the extent which has recently been reported in the news because there is an adequate level of cash reserves, shareholders holding over 46 billion baht worth of stocks, and a trend of passenger increase. Along
with these many financial institutions have expressed a willingness to support the company and the Ministry of Finance stands ready to assist. Regarding the NCPO’s policy for farmers to have access to learning facilities in their own area about increasing productivity – the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives has established Community Education centers to serve as a source of knowledge, with one center in each district, thus totaling 882 nationwide. Each Center will have varying information based on their own geographical differences such as types of soil, water resources, and climate conditions. This is so that they can effectively serve the community in which they are based. For example the Center in Bang Sai district in Ayutthaya Province will have knowledge on rice production since that area is most suitable for rice growing. This knowledge was selected from rice growers who had proven to be successful and can transfer know-how, while also serving as an example for other farmers. This transfer of know-how starts with adjusting previously held conceptions of farming to understanding the value of sufficiency in accordance with the philosophy of sufficiency economy. From here this know-how is applied, thus leading to lower production costs and development of rice strains suitable to this area.

Cultivation of crops should also correspond to the zoning of land that is being planned. Crop cultivation must be adjusted to be suitable to the geographic conditions of the area such as wet lands, dry lands and areas of sustained drought. I ask the Ministry of Agriculture to oversee this matter and the people to obtain information. If necessary, send representatives to the centers or invite experts to provide information and recommendations. As for the scrutiny of state expenditures by the Monitoring and Auditing Committee on Fiscal Expenditures and other bodies under NCPO, we have managed to reduce considerable budget for many projects without compromising the projects’ core purpose and quality. This provides an example of when everyone and the state help in preventing corruption by monitoring potential collusion and conflicts of interest. Subsequent auditing by scrutiny teams can reduce the value of proposal estimates, procurement procedure, and TOR formulation.

On Local Administrations, the NCPO encourages that improvements be made and organisational development is undertaken so that they will be better accepted by society. There has been no attempt to diminish your organisation’s reputation or
honour. There may be only a few that need improvement and development. We all should work together in this area as local administrations are closest to the people. Whether the benefits reach the people quickly or not depends on the performance of the Provincial Administration Organisations, the District Administration Organisations and Local Administration even though the budget may not be much. Thank you to those that have cooperated with the NCPO and moved forward with reform. The NCPO has not been unresponsive to your requirements. We are considering solutions for several issues such as selecting the right government officials to perform temporary duties in local administrations while local elections have been delayed. Other issues of concern for the local administrations could be brought before the National Legislative Assembly so that there is fairness and satisfaction for all sides. As for problems arising from action that has already been taken, we will try to resolve them so please be patient. The solution should be fair to all sides. If any urgent actions which had been undertaken upon the instructions of the NCPO were found to be in appropriate or pose further problems, you can submit proposals to the National Legislative Assembly. Other major structural changes could be brought before the National Reform Council. The people can then provide comments and suggestions. I consider the participation of the people at the reform stage to be of utmost importance. NCPO can not push for every agenda. On the matter of checks and balances in the judiciary processes between the police, attorneys and administrative officials, we have initially addressed them to maintain order. We will then review and improve them so that they are on par with international standards by having the National Legislative Assembly further consider the matter. Other reform movements, such that of the energy sector, the rubber industry or others, should be brought before the reform agenda so that the entire system can be improved comprehensively. Matters such as adjustment of pricing structure of rice and rubber often involve many dimensions. So the overall picture should be addressed in the National Reform Council. As for issues requiring urgent resolution, the NCPO has consistently addressed them such as rice and energy. We have constantly worked with concerned agencies – Commerce, Industry and Agriculture ministries. The NCPO has never been unresponsive to the troubles and hardships of the people as we consider
them to be of highest priority. We are considering how to prevent the problems from lingering into the future. Therefore I request for a break in protesting at this time.

Yesterday, I met with several associations and we had great mutual understanding. Of vital importance is whether the full message is conveyed to others. My point is we need to come together collectively to resolve issues. If not the situation will return as happened in the past. We have been addressing problems in same manner for most of our lives and that is at the consequences rather than at the root causes. So we need to start tackling issues at the root causes and all the way until the consequences. We may face some legal limitations such as the continued application of martial law. The imposition of martial law was not meant to block anyone. I have not used martial law to block anyone but rather to ensure that peace and order of the nation is maintained.

Do not worry if you have not done anything to create problems for peace and order and please make constructive proposals. Stop inciting people to protest and cause conflict otherwise the problem will not end. So I appeal for a break in protesting.

Today we should tell people that martial law has brought peace and order to the country and not the other way around. Perhaps there might be some feelings of confinement. We always welcome foreign visitors. Actually, there is more safety and security now than before without martial law in effect. Please consider where the country stands at this juncture and what laws should be enforced, otherwise there will be disorder all over again. But it does not mean that we are blocking anyone. Feel free to make your proposals at the appropriate setting. We will provide a venue and officials to engage in genuine civil debate and discussions. We cannot correct everything immediately. This is an important matter for us.

On energy, I would like to urge all parties to consider discussing the processes in a step by step fashion, otherwise we will not be able to understand each other. If we consider the upstream process as consisting of the laws, origin of state enterprises or companies. The midstream process consists of operators and entrepreneurs in the forms of public sector, private sector and joint public-private partnership. We have both private investments and joint ventures with the state. There are occasions where state enterprises have joint investment with the private sector, which caused distortion and problems.
The downstream process consists of energy consumers. If all the three processes are to be discussed at the same time, we cannot move forward. I think we should arrange the order for discussion in such a way that we complete the discussion on the upstream issues. We can set aside those points that need revisiting. We should refrain from quarrelling because there will always be those who understand and those who do not. At the midstream level involving the operators or providers, we can question their transparency and keep records. At the downstream level involving consumers, discussions will then focus on servicing and determining price structure whether it should be high or low. This is how we should proceed. In the past we are mixing all the issues so we cannot accomplish anything. The global fuel prices are likely to fall and the NCPO has considered that there will need to be an adjustment in domestic prices to reflect cost so that the people will still benefit without distorting market forces. We are working on this matter. Do not complain just yet and wait to how it will work out. We will find long term or sustainable solutions when the government is in place. But we first need you to be on the same page in our implementation of urgent measures. We want you to see the end result of your proposals so that we can learn from the consequences. Please refrain from quarrelling at this moment. Now is the time to listen to all the facts and examine issue by issue. We have to be wary about information appearing on social media. There are both correct and false information from various parties. I do not know where they got the information from. Some are accurate, some are reasonable but when put together it is not understood. This shows a misunderstanding of the process. I do not mean that the state is always right or wrong but we must respect each other. We will therefore expedite this issue in the National Reform Council. I would like everyone to make an understanding before taking up the issue. Then we need not waste time on those points clearly understood as we have little time as you know. On the matter of the national lottery – there continues to be complications. I have said many times that the NCPO does not want any benefits or favour anyone. There have been some obstacles. We have set up a new committee and new executives so it may seem slow in tacking the issue. However I try to bring issues with implications of conflict of interests before the consideration of relevant bodies so that there are systematic deliberations. I do not want to use special powers of NCPO in such matters. We will gradually resolve the issues one by one.
Today we have increased the quota and assigned clear colour coding. Of course there will be those who are affected as they have reaped benefits for a long time. One can not make demands all the time as we need to follow the rules. A little hardship endured today will make for a better tomorrow. But if you oppose the little changes made today then it will be very difficult to solve the issue. So we seek cooperation from lottery vendors, buyers and those who rent out space for lottery sales. One is to sell at 80 baht per lottery ticket. The other category is to sell at a little over 80 baht. I do not want to specify the price. Please check the rules and regulations which have been issued. On the matter of rubber prices – the NCPO has been trying to solve this problem from the start, along with other agricultural products, as it involves many other implications. I would like you to look at the big picture and not only at the local area. It is difficult to determine the price according to your preferences. You need to reduce the production cost so that it is consistent with the current domestic price. Today, the market is much more competitive as there are many producers of rubber. There has been an increase in production in Latin America. All this led to the lower buying price, even by domestic traders. Foreign markets kept their stockpile and wait for the price slump. We need a find a solution by reducing production costs and cultivation areas so that there is a reduction in the quantity of rubber. Thailand produces the most in the world. We have expanded production over an area of 10 million rai which is unnecessary resulting in oversupply. Therefore the market price of rubber is based on the quantity of global rubber. Other countries know that we have huge quantities of rubber and will thus wait for prices to fall. But we are also protesting against each other so how are we going to resolve this. The question is how to make to prevent falling prices or how to reduce costs. We need to look at that point and see how we can solve this in a sustainable way. We should consider factors like reducing production area and crop replacement. Even hiring workers to tap rubber has become an issue as plantation owners have to pay higher labour wages or face shortage of workers. We are aware of these problems. Therefore help us look at the big picture before one’s own to solve the problem. A committee is currently considering the sales of rubber. We need to look at the world market as well as in ASEAN. We need to have cooperation with neighbouring countries because every country produces rubber. It would be beneficial if we can all agree to raise the price.
If not we will continue to compete with them and the price will fall. We need your help on this so please do not stage protests yet. We will have to continue with subsidies in the years ahead. This problem has accumulated over many years so it is impossible to resolve in 3 months or 1 year. We can come up with urgent measures such as offering low interest loans to provide some relief. Please do not rush us. The prices of agricultural produce are difficult to control as they are subject to the rules of the free market, the demands of the domestic and foreign markets, as well as market traders. Farmers should understand this and adapt accordingly. On the issue of addressing the problem of the 3 Southern Border Provinces, the NCPO and the incoming government consider it to be a national agenda. We have taken a more systematic approach in discussions and consultations. The NCPO has instructed the Secretary General of the National Security Council to consult with our Malaysian counterparts to expedite this issue. We are very concerned about our Thai brothers and sisters, Buddhists and Muslims. I have consistently been in the situation. Some parts have improved while others have deteriorated.

Today, there are ongoing debates in the social media which posed many problems. The views may not be factual, irrespective of which side they come from. Everyone has good intention. But certain parties may have bad intentions and incite other sides to turn on each other. I have never seen the kind of action taken by them before. I have never instructed my subordinates to hurt anyone. If there is clear proof, I will take punitive action. The Deep South problem is one of applying laws that are unjust and those regarding the use of unproportionate force. I have not instructed anyone to enforce such actions but only to enforce the existing laws. However, tempers may rise and strong words exchanged in handling the situation. But the officials have to be tolerant. Such exchanges have caused hatred for between the people and government officials. But we will not harm any children, women and the general public, whether they are Buddhists or Muslims. Solders and police officers are not ruthless so as to murder or bomb innocent civilians. In response to allegations of a religious cleric the other day that we use violent force, I would like to say that we have no such intentions. If so we would have let you continue with your fighting. There would be no need for soldiers to be deployed. But according to universal norms, soldiers will be
deployed where there is no peace. So if you do not want soldiers there, you have to bring about peace and order. The soldiers can return home if there are no killings, bombings and chaos. We are there to protect the innocent people. We urge everyone to carefully consider the difficulties in law enforcement and within the judiciary processes. Even the collecting of evidence has proven difficult as it is being carried out in an area with armed groups. We do not have time to operate as normal; therefore the evidence is weak and often unavailable. We need time, technology, tools and other forensic procedures. In such situation we have inadequate time to collect everything. Sometimes we miss some evidence and arrested the wrong people. Some were rightly arrested but the evidence was not sufficient for prosecution or subjected to the normal law which meant that investigations are slow and cases remain pending for a long time. Perhaps we may have to consider using special means and support such as dispatching legal delegations, establish more courts or whether military courts could be used. We will ensure fairness. Military courts are like normal courts but more expeditious as we have more readiness.

At the moment we can respond to the current situation. We do not want to use special law enforcement. If you stop the violence, we will use the normal law. All groups will have to discuss every dimension in the talks. It is not acceptable that after consultations with one group, the other groups are still undermining the process. Today we have continuity in operations with a clear strategy. Changes in command will not affect the operations because the military and police perform their duties based on set policies and plans. A change in policies each time there is reshuffles of personnel will only stall efforts towards a solution. They must work systematically.

For example, there has been 36 former Commander-in-Chiefs of the Army and I am the 37th. I follow up on the work of my predecessors and then initiate new developments on my part. It is like this everywhere including the 4th Army Region. There have been concerns over the selection of Cabinet members. Whether the new Cabinet will have too many or too few military officers is not the problem. We need to look at the cause of the problem and tackle it. Today we want to have democracy and already have a provisional constitution in place. I have carefully considered that we cannot leave out military officials as peace, order and security is still an issue. I need to have people I can trust which consist of a combination of my colleagues and
acquaintances, seniors and juniors and many others. Do not be so doubtful and debate too much until we can not find good people. I am responsible for making the decisions on the selection. If an individual could not perform his job, then changes will be made. Anyone who is not good will have to leave or those who are involved in misconduct will have to face legal action. Today I have not used any political parties but an assembly of Thai people in moving the country forward. Therefore, there is no opposition and no government as such. I want all sides to think of the country as a priority and do not think of the individuals too much. I would not let anyone disrupt the performance of our duties but rather encourage more people to support us.

I listened to all the comments and proposals. I give all of them careful consideration and discussed with various advisers from different fields of expertise before reaching a conclusion or course of action. That is how I work. It will continue in the future so do not be overly concerned about the ministries. All the work must be pass the Cabinet. The Prime Minister will have to approve in principle whether the proposal should be submitted to the Cabinet or not. I will have to set up a system to carefully examine matters submitted to the Cabinet. I would not allow approval of projects that circumvented scrutiny. I have pledged that there will be no corruption on our part. The problem is how would we know who is corrupt. I need help on this. On dealing with corruption – currently this issue has manifested as a result of many problems involving the public, entrepreneurs, and government officials. Certain groups and factions who seek to benefit have allowed corruption to take place. The public has not vehemently opposed it or refused it if they can find some own personal gain. We therefore must create a society based on morality and ethics. We must instil in our children the disdain for corruption and indifference, as well as preference for self interest, in order to truly correct this problem. It may take a few generations to get rid of this problem.

It seems that Thailand is currently facing a variety of problems. I have mentioned all of the above 11 times already and still doing so for the 12th time. I know that this is the reason that Thailand can not move forward amidst the conflicts, domestic and external factors. Therefore the main points of contention evolve around understanding
government policy, provision of public service and having clear economic plans, in particular those related to agriculture which we have always been addressing the consequences. We need to solve these problems at their root causes and subsequent steps. Old problems will return if we use the same way to resolve them. New problems will add on to the existing ones so we can not really solve anything. We need to solve them systematically which may take up some time but it is necessary to limit further distress. I rest my fervent hope in the sustainable future of our country on the National Reform Council and the constitution drafting committee in laying the foundations of our society in the future. They will also have to consider issues that remain a problem, including conflicts, national development, strengthening society and reducing disparities. The reform council must be carefully sorted according to priority. In the meantime we shall continue with national administration in a fully fair and transparent manner and do our best to alleviate the problems faced by our fellow citizens.

Thank you and good night.

Appendix 3.10

National Address Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-O-cha, Prime Minister – August 28, 2015

Good evening, dear Thai citizens.

On August 23rd, I led a team of newly-appointed Cabinet members to be sworn in before His Majesty the King at Her Royal highness Princess Galyani Vadhana Krom Luang Naradhiwas Rajanagarindra’s Meeting Room, floor 14, Chalerm Phra Kiet Building, Siriraj Hospital. It was the greatest honor for all the members to be able to pledge vows before His Majesty the King.

The cabinet reshuffle was to adjust accordingly to the current situation in the country as well as to global changes. These changes exist in many sectors such as the economy, society, stability, and national security. I can assure you that the cabinet shakeup will not disrupt the government’s work or mission, and I also want to boost
confidence in the work of the government. The previous 2-3 cabinet teams did outstanding jobs which have paved the way for future stability.

The previous cabinet ministers have done a great job, particularly in having laid down such a firm foundation for the country amid several problems and conflict. New policies were formed. Problems were addressed. The new cabinet will, therefore, work to ensure the execution of these policies, bolster people and investors’ confidence, formulate clear measures to bring concrete results, and work on the basis of transparency. We will do our best to assure that results are tangible in all aspects. Every project must be transparent and free of corruption.

During this week’s cabinet meeting, I reiterated to the all the ministers that we would not tolerate any form of corruption and that their ranks and powers shall not be abused in any way. I also told them to exercise the highest discretion and carefulness when recruiting advisors and other support positions. Claiming names of those in power to seek vested interests will not happen. If you are not a minister, do not issue orders you are not authorised to. You don’t have that authority. Without the presence of your minister, you need to seek advice from deputy ministers. Do not act on your own. Do not use your rank or position to gain personal benefits. Political officials should always adhere to the rule of law and ministry regulations. All civil servants as well as political officers need to put the public interest before their own. You should always behave and uphold good governance.

Furthermore, all ministries have been asked to inform members of the public about the government’s policies that have direct impact on the people. These policies pertain to energy, power plants, and waste treatment plants.

The latest cabinet reshuffle was not done in order for the government to retain power, but rather for appropriateness or to put the right person in the right job. Where should capable military officials serve? Where should capable civilian officials be? It should be in accordance with the second phase of the roadmap. The first phase focused on
building stability which we now have. The second phase needs revision and adjustments in line with the currently evolving status of the country.

The appointment of new cabinet ministers was for the betterment of government administration. I have always respected every former and current minister. I am willing to heed suggestions from former ministers. I was satisfied with their performances. Please understand that the first period emphasized problem solving as well as restructuring of state affairs, and thus it had to take a bit of time. You may question why our work appears to be slow despite all the power we have. I would like you to understand that the government cannot do everything it wishes to without considering all possible consequences. We did not want to take any action that would have caused future problems. So, the first phase mainly focused on building a strong foundation for the country’s future.

We have now entered the second phase and we will place emphasis on reforms. During this phase, guidelines given by the reform council will be followed. What we can do will be implemented without delay. The plan should be set clear. Who should be the ones implementing these measures? Who will be responsible for which task? A lot of tasks have been completed. The new cabinet will be carrying on unfinished businesses. There are matters that were already done and there are matters that have just started. I have said this many times. Some issues require a revision of certain laws. In order for a law to be passed, it must go through 3 bodies. As for urgent matters, I have been utilizing Article 44 in order to address them. Article 44 is only used to speed up things and maintain orderliness.

The reform of the government’s administration is meant to achieve an integration of work by the appropriate ministry, without leading to discrimination or segregation of policy and personnel within each ministry. From now on, there will be no taking sides. Every ministry must work together. Integration in the government sector must be fostered. This is what we call real reform. This is to avoid work duplication of each ministry which has caused unnecessary loss in state funds, without yielding any public benefit. Instead of losing money to duplication of work between agencies, we
can now spend prudently on something more useful. The work of each ministry must
be interconnected and there must be joint meetings. There should be linkages of
databases or computer systems. We cannot have everyone work separately on the
same mission. As for water management efforts, personnel from every related agency
and organization must join hands. Before, this matter was overseen by the military,
but today, government officials are in charge, with a minister as head and officials
from related agencies working as a committee. As for routine government work, we
have officials working to ensure the effectiveness of daily operations. As for urgent
matters, tasks will be assigned to responsible deputy prime ministers who will oversee
specific operations. As for procurement processes and contracts, I am expediting all
efforts, given that results were not immediately realised in the past. Everything will be
improved from today. Procurement process must be done transparently, with
improved scrutiny methods and investigations. Some projects need close monitoring
by third parties, either Thai or foreign. Coordination between agencies must be more
frequent and effective.

After the reshuffle, I will need former and current ministers to provide information
that fosters public understanding. I am concerned that the public and the media may
still not understand all the dimensions. The prime minister is the one to form policies
and mobilizes every ministry. In general, I am responsible for the performance of the
government. You can also tell me if what we are doing doesn’t match your way of
thinking. I formulate policies and make sure that every ministry is moving in the same
direction. Deputy prime ministers then need to help me push for sustained
cooperation. You need to work with other ministers and carry out the policies that
have been set. The policies will then be handed down to your subordinates. Provincial
governors need to work harder to make sure that policies are implemented as
intended. The mobilization of issued policies is moving at a too leisurely pace, so
please pick up the momentum. All tasks need collaboration between the public, civil
servants, and other related personnel. We have discovered that many problems we
encountered during policy implementation were the same old problems. It was like
falling back into the same trap all over again. There are still those who don’t
understand. Despite these problems, we have to get pass them and move forward
together. We have to eliminate hindrances in the government’s work and get people involved in the solution. Think about how the problem can be addressed and what measures should be implemented. We need to do this for the sake of the nation and our people.

Talking about the Thai economy, I understand that the public is worried about the current economic situation in the country as well as in other nations. Thailand has been impacted by external factors, especially the circumstances that are going on in China, Europe and USA. To make matters worse, Thai farmers are battered by decreasing prices of agricultural produce. All of these factors affect investors’ confidence and can lead to a stall in domestic investments. However, we can all be sure of the country’s solid economic foundations and our potential as the government will quickly address all weaknesses, create stability, and get us through this difficult period. In order to maintain steady economic growth, the government has set up 5 different missions, all of which will be simultaneously implemented.

The first mission is to look after and mitigate the hardship of fellow agriculturists and low-income earners. The task is our priority. We must get through this crisis together.

The second mission concerns building stability in local and regional economies. In the past, the country’s economic growth relied heavily on exports. We need to bring balance and strengthen the economy through internal factors which rely on the growth of local and regional economies. If successful, more jobs will be created, more income will be earned by the people, more money will be circulated within the country, and sustainability will take its course. The goal can be achieved through the promotion of tourism, social activities, OTOP products, community enterprises, cooperatives, and community markets.

The third mission emphasizes on improving the quality of Thai products by the enhancement of processing and packaging of SME products as well as industrial products. These products need R&D and innovation in order to create added-value, which will in turn create more income for the people and producers, and make Thailand more competitive. It is also meant to increase the abilities of local entrepreneurs and improve the skills of workers in respective industries. The forth
mission involves promotion of mega investments, with an aim to lay down a strong economic foundation, be they special economic zones, infrastructure improvement, and regional connectivity. These projects will help to support growth and the distribution of wealth as well as the enhancement of competitiveness. Investments and industrial development will be put into clusters while each investment cluster should match the needs of local areas. The fifth and final mission concerns foreign affairs which also has an important economic dimension. Trade and investment with other nations must be promoted while cordial diplomatic relations must be maintained and strengthened. I would like the public to understand that the government is fully committed to the aforementioned tasks, and good governance must be applied. Economic problems are being addressed in a sustainable manner through such measures as: aid to farmers, empowerment of low-income earners, and – through regional and local investments – the creation of the foundations for future growth to strengthen all 76 provinces. The nation will be able to progress on its own with stability and sustainably once the localities are empowered, the provinces are empowered and disparity has lessened. I would like the public to have confidence in the work of the government, for both the previous period and the current period. Please have faith in Thailand’s potential, and lend us your hand so we can develop the country together.

For national security affairs, vigilance is necessary. The government and I would like to express our condolences on the bombing incident and would also like to thank members of the public for their display of solidarity in such times. It is the responsibility of every one of us to help guide Thailand through this crisis. Everybody has the capacity to help out by being good hosts to tourists, by advocating the good qualities about our country or by rebuilding the confidence of our international friends. Everybody has the capacity to help out. The private sector – companies, shopping malls, hotels and stores can help out by installing or improving monitoring devices such as CCTV cameras. I would like to thank all concerned officials, policemen and soldiers, for the progress being made in their efforts to track down the culprits. Please give the officials some time to work. The historic Bike for Mom activity on Sunday, August 16, saw the participation of members of the public
from all sectors – the public sector, private sector, civil servants, the disabled, athletes, celebrities, children, adults and the elderly. Hundreds of thousands of participants from all social circles demonstrated their loyalty and unity, which also helped generate interest among new cyclists and those who have not cycled before. Positive effects are being had on bicycle-related businesses, tourism as well as social exchanges. I call on members of the public to maintain the current cycling trend for the benefit of your health and the opportunity for family members and social circles to have exchanges. Bicycles also afford their riders the opportunity to talk with each other. Do bear in mind other vehicles, keep safe and avoid accidents.

Let us take the Bike for Mom event as a starting point and let us continue to cycle regularly. Those who already cycle should invite their friends and family to join in. The government would like the results of this event to be continually amplified and we want to promote the importance of exercise. Road expansions and bicycle lanes are being implemented so everybody will have the opportunity to exercise in a safe space. We have to encourage our society to understand and observe the relevant regulations. I have observed how drivers can sometimes be inconsiderate when encountering cyclists. This should not be so. Road users have to take care of each other. The road has to be shared by drivers, motorcyclists, cyclists and pedestrians. Everybody is a co-owner of the roads. Having better health will allow us to spend less on public health and health care. Events of deteriorated health can be avoided if we take preventative steps. I have warned about things such as smoking and drinking. These activities have to be reduced or ceased, in order for the body to be strong. As for conservation-oriented tourism, our country is well-placed due to the numerous mountains, seaside and rural areas. These areas can readily be made into conservation tourism sites. I would like to see the number of tourists visiting the various provinces to increase. Hiking, climbing and trekking are currently popular throughout the world. I believe we can host these activities, but they must be made safe. The Tourism Authority of Thailand will push for this to happen. How will the 13 tourism-oriented cycling routes in the central region be linked and which tourism sites will they lead to? The Ministry of Tourism and Sports will also encourage greater development of cycling routes in each province. Implementation has taken place in
many provinces but improvements are needed. Complaints have been lodged for
certain provinces, and they will be looked into for the sake of transparency. It is good
to take the initiative, but do implement it well and refrain from causing damage. This
is how things must currently proceed. I have said before that road users have to
interact in a considerate manner and care for one another. Please do not allow
tragedies to recur and cause families to grieve and the country to suffer. We must
help out to prevent cases of foreigners losing their lives in Thailand while cycling.

Lastly, the Department of Development of Thai Traditional and Alternative Medicine
and its partners will be hosting the 12th National Herb Expo with the objective of
providing a platform for the furthering of academic knowledge and for the driving of
relevant policies. It will also help with improving the capacity of existing personnel
within the Thai traditional medicine field. The event will be held at Impact exhibition
and convention center in Muang Thong Thani during September 2 and 6. The event is
part of ongoing research and development efforts to enable Thai herbs – of which we
have an abundance of – and the knowledge of Thai medicine to reach the global
market. To support the production of products derived from Thai herbs and local
knowledge, I would like to invite all members of the public as well as foreigners to
the expo. Thank you and goodbye

Appendix 3.11

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister –September 4, 2015

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. We are at an important period now, and I would
like to emphasize that all Thais need to work together to move our country forward.
Everyone should deliberate and consult with each other to come up with ideas and
common solutions, while putting away their differences and conflicting stances.
Today, we are talking about our own future, which is about having a complete
democracy that is accepted universally and how we can be assured that the same old
problems will not come back to haunt us once democracy has been restored. This is
what we need to focus on. This weekend, the Constitution Drafting Committee will present the revised charter draft to the National Reform Council, the process of which is in line with the NCPO’s roadmap. I have informed you before that the NCPO has never sought to postpone the process or change the roadmap. The NRC has the mandate to pass or reject the draft. If passed, we should be confident that national reforms will take place without conflicts. If rejected, we should go over the draft and amend problematic provisions. But if the only reason behind the rejection is because it is perceived as undemocratic, I think that would be unfair to the people. People want to see change and reforms. It is not only about the Constitution being democratic or undemocratic, but it is also about how people actually benefit from the charter. People should be the center, not political parties, not any one group and not the NCPO. So please study the draft carefully.

Many people want me to make the decision about the charter which is impossible. The decision rests upon the people. You are the ones to decide this nation’s future. Each individual member of the NRC is entitled to his or her own opinion. They will act on their own without manipulation. Members who agree shall pass the draft. Those who disagree shall reject it. However, the decision must always be logically made. Please look through every provision and clause. Don’t just look at the content concerning political parties. It would not be right. I respect everybody’s decision. I only hope for our country to move towards real reform, with quality politicians and responsible representatives who will carry on the reform process. The process of reform shall take time and cannot be completely done within the next two years. I will be waiting for that day to come. It rests on the NRC’s decision on September 6th. In order for our country to grow strong under the campaign “Our Home Our Country Stronger Together”, economic stability is a key factor, given that everything, especially the economy, has to move forward together. This week, the government has issued some urgent economic stimulus measures, hoping to alleviate people’s hardships, especially low-income earners. These measures are meant to create jobs and more income for local communities, with projects to create real benefits that match the needs of local communities. This will allow for more circulation so that strong economic fundamentals can be created. These measures cover local
communities like villages and sub-districts. As for the village level, a fund of 1 million baht will be available for loan to A and B grade villages, meaning these villages have strong economic foundations. In the first 2 years, the villagers will be exempt from loan interest. This allows them to invest without having to worry about paying back debts in the first two years. Please do not use this fund on unnecessary things like in the past. Previously, the public didn’t believe that the money was being spent at the public interest.

Village committees will be responsible for overseeing the spending. This is also considered a democratic system, because you need people’s consent in order for the village to spend. The move is meant to allow people to look after each other through this sort of fund. This is a start for what we call decentralization. However, corruption shall not be tolerated. The fund will not be given to election campaigners or campaign members. This has been our problem in the past. If this problem continues, then we will not go ahead with projects. What the government wants is for the people to have improved standards of living. I am not doing this to gain popularity because I am not asking anyone to like me. I only want the economy to prosper. When budgets are allocated, production capacity will be increased. If we produce but there are no buyers, there will be more problems. The government will inspect if the money is spent for the maximum benefit of the communities, unlike what has happened in the past, before our administration. This time, we shall seek the real benefits of this project. So for those who have come out to say it will not work - please go back and look at the details and then go see how you previously handled this.

As for C and D grade villages, the government has an active plan to rehabilitate these villages. The funds have been approved since the last cabinet. The money will reach every community. It would be wrong if only successful funds are supported. We also need to help improve those funds that need improvement. We will help them. The NCPO, the Interior Ministry, and related committees will be assigned to help these funds. Corruption must not occur. I don’t want any political impacts or links to influence, especially during this period. Village funds are something that can truly reach the people who partake in the operation. But at this crucial stage, authorities
will help you monitor the funds. In the past, the law allowed the people have full decision on these funds, but there were a group of individuals who caused disorganization and disorder. The money was thus not fairly spent. In the sub-district or Tambon level, each Tambon will receive 5 million baht to be used to organize economic activities. In the past, we already provided assistance to drought-stricken areas which received 1 million baht each. The locals told me that they had never received such a fund before. Now with the money, they could build reservoirs, repair roads, create jobs and income, build agricultural zones, and procure agricultural equipment. This is how the money reaches the people. The NCPO, the Ministry of Interior, and the Agriculture Ministry will monitor the progress of how the money is being spent. I urge local authorities to report all acts of corruption. If you didn’t do anything wrong, there is no need for you to be concerned. If you have good intentions, you will spend the money in a way that helps the people. Many have complained that the current government is too strict; the NCPO is too strict on the draft project plans. I can assure you that you need not be worried if everything is done the way it is supposed to be done legally. Those who are worried are usually involved with some misconduct. But some may worried because they have no knowledge of what they are responsible for. So please go and find out how the money should be properly distributed and managed, and help the government and the people. For those who have been used to avoiding getting caught, if you have been involved with any misconduct, you will obviously be caught.

I would like for the projects to be launched in people’s interest as well as to trigger local economies and reduce disparities. We don’t want to pay heed to former politicians who claim that the reason as to why the budget allocation is delayed is because the scrutiny process is too strict. Are we wrong to investigate how money is being used? I told my inspection teams that it is unnecessary to investigate every project due to the fact that there are monitoring committees which are already overseeing certain projects. However, those projects that are vulnerable to corruption will be closed monitored. If corruption is found, the project will be halted. Perpetrators will be indicted. And the project will be continued under another committee. This is what we are doing at the moment. Justice will be brought upon the
wrongdoers. The government will also expedite fund allocation for those agencies wishing to make small investments such as for repair work on school buildings or refurbishing public offices. The budget shall be given in order to create jobs. Disbursement will be made swiftly. The government will amend rules and regulations to allow smooth budget disbursement. Some laws have already been relaxed. All I ask of you is to refrain from corruption. Legislation must be used along with creating social consciousness, as in having principles and good intentions for our country. Should everyone have these ideals this way, I would be quite relieved. I would not be talking this much. All these aforementioned policies will help boost the economies in four region’s and thus stabilize the nation’s economy as a whole. We want to distribute wealth, build strong communities, and stimulate the economy, particularly in this difficult period when external factors have a big influence on the domestic economy. We need to build strong economic fundamentals. We don’t just focus on one particular matter. We are trying to boost the economy through all possible mechanisms including the to-be-established special economic zones and border trade. In the past, nothing was well organized so we are trying to make everything more systematic. Please do not denounce me when am advocating transparency and tangible benefits for the people. I can assure you that we will uphold transparency and people’s interest when implement a project. Many may think that this is being done to gain popularity. We are doing this for the peoples benefit, while will not receive any of our own – if you are considering to do what I am doing now, please review your past actions and adjust. Today, there are more than 70,000 village funds. Two thirds of them are effectively working. The rest are either enough to get by or not working at all. This is what happened to public hearings in the past. The current government will be stricter in a bid to raise higher social consciousness. We will not let you work on your own in projects that are not ready, but will assign knowledgeable people to help you.

Please rest assured that the government will be disciplined when it comes to finances even though much has been spent in this second phase. We will make sure our spending will not exceed the fiscal policy. We will control public debt. However, should there be any public debts, they will be in the form of valuable debts, meaning
these debts should occur from rail construction or any other forms that create jobs and income. We will not create debts that damage the country. We will not increase the public debt without positive results like securing future income from invested projects. The money that is being spent is to the people them become stronger, increasing their ability to compete. Without systematic thinking, our country will not be able to progress. We cannot solely rely on exports. The next topic concerns prices of consumer goods. According to a recent survey by the Ministry of Commerce, prices of some products have increased, but not to a level where one cannot afford them. I have ordered all responsible agencies including the Ministry of Commerce to inspect the prices and to ask entrepreneurs and producers not to take advantage of the consumers. Meetings and discussions have been held between officials and the private sector regarding the matter. I have given instructions to my economic team to set up central and community markets in every region of Thailand. This is to allow the public to purchase goods at reasonable and affordable prices. Traders at these markets are the farmers themselves. Officials will lend a hand in terms of finding locations as well as packaging. Farmers will be the ones to set the benchmark prices. I have seen this sort of method in foreign countries. The DPM along with the Commerce Ministry will see how this can be done. When there are central markets from agricultural and seafood products, it is possible if we do this both ways? Meaning can cheap products be sold at these markets as well? Although the “Blue Flag” project is a good campaign, it still cannot reach everyone. If this is successful, communities will definitely be stronger. I would like to ask the private sector to consider lowering prices or maybe lower some frills associated with your products so that the prices can be more affordable. This is to allow the low-income earners to be able to purchase your goods when the economy is sluggish. Please try this idea. Other countries have been very successful. In reference to moving our country forward, I would like every Thai to modernise and follow the news and updates themselves with useful information, especially on social media like Facebook, Youtube, and other applications, bearing in mind not to waste your time with useless information. All you need to do is be attentive to how we can move forward together. Every ministry has been launching smartphone applications for you to keep yourself updated. We all must become “smart Thais”, just like smart farmers. We have to adjust ourselves to
technology while acquiring more knowledge in order to make our everyday lives more productive, earning more income. Today, we are trying to push for the realization of a digital economy. Every ministry has been asked to inform the public of what they have done. You cannot keep quite over the things you have done for the people. As I said, the public must gain the maximum interest. Every achievement needs to be put on your application where people can see. Tell people where they can follow your ministry’s work. Every ministry must do this. Officials are working around the clock. We need to let people know.

In regards to investments, the government is expediting the process. The new finance minister has been asked to oversee this matter. Contracts have been signed, agreements have been made, and laws have been revised. The process has already started and the work will be initiated by 2016. We are not doing this for the benefit of any individual. Everything is people-centered and all people will gain. The Finance Ministry has been assigned to oversee this matter and formulate a 5-year investment plan for a clearer picture. The plan will be implemented with utmost financial discipline so that the burden does not have to be passed onto the next government. These are the differences between the current administration and previous governments. This government anticipates what is to come in the future and what could be the consequences. What is deemed necessary will be implemented. We will not leave any burdens for others to take on. State-private sector investments will be sped up and more frequent. As I told you, the government will act as facilitator. We will make sure the right legislation is in place. Markets will be opened up while the private sector will help drive growth by inviting foreign investors to seek opportunities in Thailand and encourage Thai investors to seek opportunities overseas. You can also form partnership and support one another. It is impossible to have the government be the only investor. We also don’t want anyone to seek profits through loopholes. The structure of our nation needs to be readjusted in order to help our people improve the standards of living. We will focus on all aspects – small, medium, and large. We need to enhance the country’s potential and competitiveness. This is an urgent issue that must be addressed in timely manner. Otherwise we will not be strong enough to be able to face future economic challenges. The government
is making legal amendments to address obstacles to investment and business. This requires time, because each law needs to pass an evaluation by a committee that has been set up by the NCPO and is subjected to extensive deliberation. It is not as if all matters I submit are final. This is how the work flows and everybody involved knows their responsibility. It is better for each of these laws to be issued than not at all. These laws are long overdue. There needs to be a starting point somewhere. On the matter of incentives, many groups of people who will be doing business may not realize the gains they stand to receive from special economic zones and from the AEC. Everyone stands to gain. Those with lower income will be able to pursue side jobs such as working at stores, or at other accommodation related services. These types of work will become more abundant. This is how the gains will be shared with locals. Without such initiatives, gains will be limited to the same group of people. We are putting emphasis on businesses that already exist in each of the locales, especially the SMEs. There are many of these small companies and we must support and strengthen them. Incentives will be provided to Thai-owned businesses that already exist in each locale.

A different set of incentives will be provided to businesses from outside each locale, and yet another set for businesses from abroad. Investment in each locale will consist of three parts. The first involves areas that will be managed by the Industrial Estate Authority; the second involves privately-operated industrial estates that will be paying rent to the state. The third part will involve city-building. These special economic zones can be created anywhere there is potential. These three types of investment will occur in every zone. The first two types will occur at six zones near the border within this year. The Industrial Estate Authority's areas will be nearer to the border while the privately-managed areas will be situated deeper inside. The state will undertake some joint investments, and will allocate land to allow these estates to be created – rubber cities, automobile cities, etc. This is in contrary to the existing industrial estates that have no more room to grow. Energy, planning, transportation, infrastructure, electricity and waterworks have to be prepared in advance, else problems will follow and be compounded by corruption. The private sector is ready to give its support. The state needs to improve itself for this purpose. Civil servants have also been
giving much better cooperation as they have realized I am not here for any personal gains. Long-term preparations for the labour demand must be made now, by the ministries of labour and education. The labour ministry must allocate electricians, plumbers, welders and the likes. Railroad engineers and railroad equipment must be provided. These activities are commencing next year – do we have the manpower for these purposes? Progress must be made in the preparation of teachers, in research, and in competitiveness-building. We must also look at whether our school curriculum is producing people who are good at competitive exams but not at practical work. Work skills must be taught. Most of the graduates do not yet realize the value of learning – they only know that they can take pride in being able to do exams, earn degrees and earn honors. Then, they cannot work practically and are unemployed. I am worried about this, and therefore I would like to ask for everybody's cooperation.

The problem that stands out for the special economic zones right now is the problem of land price speculation. Land is being bought from people who have encroached on the land or from people entitled to plots designated for agriculture reform. These purchases are made without evidence of sale and the title holder is still the original holder. These purchases will be scrutinized. State-owned land will be reclaimed as they cannot be sold. Buyers of these plots are committing offenses and they should return the land if they realize their offense. The same goes for agriculture reform areas nationwide. The underprivileged keep selling the land allocated to them and then encroach on new forest areas. This is how some people keep breaking the law. Issues such as the lottery are continuously being addressed. However once addressed, some go about creating new problems as they only seek profits but have no regard for correctness. We have considered step-by-step processes to solve issues, yet people will keep making extra demands once each step has been realized. The real culprit is disparity, injustice and corruption. When illegal activities are tolerated, officials cannot do their work.

Therefore, I am going to address these matters during this administration. Profiteers who have purchased land illegally must return all of the land. Policy has been handed down to the ministries of justice, natural resources, agriculture and interior. Paddies,
orchards and rubber plantations will all be looked at. Rubber plantations being worked on by the underprivileged will be allowed to remain – rent will be charged until new plots of land can be allocated to them. However, legal action will be taken against profiteers who rally people to oppose the government. I will be paying more attention to these matters and will not let them go unaddressed. For cases that have become overlooked, and thus people should send in information. They can send it directly to Government House if the ministries or other agencies were not able to address the problems. The ministries are burdened with work and may not have the time to address the numerous issues. I believe there is close to a million issues that have been submitted to the Damrongtham centers. 70%-80% of the issues have so far been addressed. Time is needed for major issues that require legal amendments. Some have rushed to voice their complaints through television channels, mostly through Thai PBS. In response, I want to say that the government will tackle issues that it can. Those suffering urgent plights should report their problem. Consideration is being given to whether there can be a fund that would allow for legally-owned land to be mortgaged. Meanwhile, illegally possessed land cannot be utilized. I have stressed that the public needs to know the gains they are entitled to. I ask that governors and civil servants in every sector to clarify these gains to the public. This will afford the country greater sustainability.

Last week, I officially visited the Philippines through the kind invitation of His Excellency President Benigno Aquino III, to advance our bilateral relations which are approaching their 7th decade. The Philippines is Thailand's 6th most-prominent trading partner in ASEAN and 18th globally. There is roughly 270 billion baht worth of trade annually. I would like to emphasize that Thai investors in the Philippines should conduct commerce and investment projects that benefit both countries. In addition to cost-effectiveness, thought must also be given to how to share the gains with the Philippine society. In the same manner, I ask that Filipino investors in Thailand share the benefits with Thai society as well. I would like to invite the businesses of both countries to exchange investment by means of partaking in the 'Thailand + 1' special economic zones. The Philippines' experience in labor management abroad can be used as a model, especially for the creation of a fund to
help people with job placement and with adjusting to the conditions abroad. Many of our people have gone abroad and there are many foreigners in our country. The pursuit of this matter will benefit the integration of all countries in ASEAN into the ASEAN Community, which will occur this year and will continuously be developed. I task each ministry with quickly yielding practical results from every foreign visit by the government. There needs to be a target for every negotiation, a report, and a working guideline. If agreed upon, further discussions shall be made back home and matters that need the Cabinet's approval will be submitted. So far, progress has been continually yielded from each visit; in contrast to trips abroad just to talk and coming back with nothing tangible. Details have to be discussed with the leaders. Otherwise the visits will simply be for the sake of travelling and time will be wasted. This is how nations are collaborating at present.

Another important matter is security. The Philippines has experience in handling such issues. We should be able to learn from some of these experiences. Step-by-step progression is being made on the Deep South issue, with negotiation and a peace dialogue in sight. Nevertheless, violence has to be curbed. If parties cannot exert control, then pledges cannot be made. Positions have to be clearly understood and wrongdoings cannot be blindly accepted, nor can any justification for violent movements. Results must be first yielded so that legal and judicial processes can be employed to solve the problem. I promise to do my best and be fair, while Thai and international laws must also be respected.

Lastly, I would like to invite the public to another event at Phadung Krung Kasem Canal Market. In September, the theme is about geographic indication and community identity. The market will be showcasing quality products that possess the geographic indication (GI) mark. This is important as products now require traceability due to the numerous laws and pacts that are in effect. We have addressed a significant portion of matters relating to the said laws and pacts – matters that have been largely unaddressed and would have led to our goods not being able to be sold in the future. Creative industry products include tea from Mae Salong, the Ban Na Kha textile market, the Nakhon Si Thammarat niello wares, Doi Tung and Doi Chang
coffee, Hom Mali rice, Nakhon Chaisi pomelo, Phu Lae and Nang Lae pineapples, Chaiya salted eggs, Trang roasted pork and much more. These products are registered in and outside Thailand and are very well-known. The GI products fair is about traceability. The same goes for fishery products that have to be traceable to the origin. This time, the fair will be split into two phases. Because of the sheer number of offerings, products will be from the North and Northeast in the first half of September. In the second half of the month, products will be from the central region, the eastern region and the southern region. Business knowledge activities will take place. Lectures will be presented by leading speakers. Advising sessions and demonstrations will take place. There will be a photo competition with airplane tickets as prizes, and a 'golden minute' sale at the public service stall. I would like to invite the public to visit the market to support well-priced quality products from around the country. Sometimes we do not have the opportunity to purchase these products at their place of origin. Those with foreign friends, those who work at the various embassies in Thailand and all expats are invited to the market throughout the month of September. I have said many times this is a demonstration market. It has hosted many fairs. The idea is to apply this model at central markets, via participation from the public. People will then be able to sell their products without needing middle men and without making prices too high. Middlemen are still needed to facilitate commerce but the prices will become more appropriate if there is this type of balancing mechanism. Another matter is the oversight of tourism destinations and attractions. Generally, the tourism ministry is already overseeing these sites nationwide. There is also much opportunity for eco-tourism development in every locale. Thus, I would like the public to help out with security and cleanliness so that our tourism-related resources will not deteriorate. If there is too much activity at a small site then it can be ruined. In some cases the site can accommodate a large number of tourists but the locals cannot because they have nothing to gain. The minister has already been told to address these matters in detail.

Another important matter I would like to mention is how conflicts are still being instigated in society despite the country currently facing external problems and threats. We need to reduce internal conflicts as much as we can in order to keep
external threats at bay. Currently, there are some parties trying to prevent the nation from becoming strong, for whatever purpose. The public must not go along with these people as they do not mean well. I am not going to say that I am better than these people, but I would like you to consider my expressions, my way of working, my way of explaining things to the public, and whether anybody else has done what I have. I wish you a happy weekend. Thank you and goodbye.

Appendix 3.12

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister –September 11, 2015

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. Today there are many important matters I would like to speak to you about. The first matter concerns the draft of the Constitution which was rejected by the National Reform Council (NRC). I would like for you all to see this issue from many perspectives and not just whether it was democratic or undemocratic or about prolonging the governments stay in power. I would like all of you to help think about what is best for our nation, for the people, and how peacefulness can be sustained, without society reverting back to conflict, so that true reforms take place and are continued by the next elected government. I think this is very important. Whether we can do this will depend on if we can all work together. This doesn’t mean I don’t trust the next elected government. Anyone, except felons, can run for an election. But what can we do to ensure that the next government will hold the maximum benefit of the nation at heart, and not pursue personal gains? How will they address inequality issue? Will they be fair as well as being able to implement the laws effectively, without any distress to officials? If you come in and are responsible, I would not have a problem with how we shall move forward, how it will be drafted, and I will not be involved. I want everyone to help think about how the new constitution should look like. Don’t just base it on democracy alone or think that it mostly involves prolonging the tenure of this government. Rest assured, I am willing to give up everything if we get a government that takes responsibility and doesn’t falter. I believe that 90% of all politicians are good. Only a few are
unscrupulous, but they are the ones that tarnish their own party and makes things worse. This is our once in a life time opportunity to make our country better and move forward in the right direction. In the future, I will not be there to help you fix any problems. Therefore, if you are worried about this issue, please lend a hand and try to study the constitution. I am inviting everyone especially politicians to have a say in the new charter. At least help us with reforms. I will invite all of you to sit as members of the national reform steering assembly. If you reject this invitation, please don’t come back and denounce it later. Please join this body. The charter drafting committee will write a new constitution and will inform the public of developments as they progress. The last committee did this, but whether we all followed up on progress was another matter. Today, we have to encourage and build a democratic system that meets international standards and is able to fix the country’s problems. This is most important. And then we can move forward with reconciliation efforts through legislation and the judicial system. Reforms in 11 areas will take place with the support of laws written to facilitate the reform process.

As for the issue of conflict in our society, we need to go back and look at what sort of problem we had in the past. It would be a problem if the police, the military, or security units didn’t intervene at all. However, that was not the case. War-grade weapons such as guns and grenades were being used during the demonstration. Neither the military nor the police was involved in the use of force. A lot of people were jailed for the violence. The society should be the one to judge these people. We are soldiers who have become temporary politicians because of necessity circumstances. Most of us are civil servants. What have always faced the challenge of fixing the nation’s problems and we would like to carry out our work autonomously, honestly and under the law. So please let the officials do their work for the country. This is what I want you to think about, especially those who will become politicians or run for a seat in parliament. The national committee on reform and reconciliation strategy may not even be necessary should politicians or the next government truly want to make our country strong and commit to their roles and responsibilities. But how can we ensure that everything will progress the way it should? Should there be an agreement between politicians before and after an election? I have never thought
that I am better or smarter than the public. Everybody is smart in their own way, with their own expertise in their professions. I can’t compete against you. I don’t know how to grow rice or handle any other profession. All my life, I’ve only been a soldier. So don’t think that other people are not as smart as you. We need to help people with education, be fair to them, and take good care of them; not divide them by creating conflicts among the public. Don’t abuse your power. Use state funds in the right way. This was the problem which prompted previous protests. This kind of problem existed in all governments, not just the previous one. The demonstrations were prolonged while war-grade weapons were being used, as you already know. This is exactly what happened in 2010.

Who was the government? Who was the opposition? Protests against the government and even international meetings, and the use of weapons…but I am not referring to all of them. There were only a few groups that wanted to use violence, who thought that violence can fix problems, and can scare people away from protests. I don’t want to see that anymore. Let the law have its place in our society from now on. Otherwise the military or the police will always be used as political tools as in the past. Because of this, I didn’t come here with the intention to punish such officials. But it was necessary to remove some police officers, provincial authorities after May 22 when I came into office. I asked them why they did what they did. They said they were ordered to do by the government sector. If there were no officials being involved in these cases or if power was not abused, these things never would have happened in the first place. I have never used my power to seek personal gain. My intentions and sincerity have been clear in creating understanding with the public, to ask for their patience until things get better. Society shall be the judge in this respect. Thailand has fallen into many traps while trying to progress. There are traps everywhere such as in the economy and national security. We have to be able to step pass these traps and one day we will become a stable country with higher income and sustainability.

I urge those accused of misconduct to come forward and enter the justice system. Judges will ensure that justice is provided for you and compassion is rendered. Please give your cooperation and don’t become an outlaw. I empathize with court officials.
Officials who are investigating fraud and corruption have been attacked. This is wrong. Please don’t condone this behavior. Please refrain from distressing others, instead prepare well for the next election. Perpetrators are judged guilty according to witnesses and evidence. They won’t be able to charge you for anything if you are innocent. Everything will be judged based on witnesses and evidence. No matter what accusations you are facing, if it is proven that you are not guilty, you did not do anything wrong. Therefore, government officials, the opposition, civil servants and the people have to be responsible for their own actions. You need to think about what you can do to help and remove conflict. What can we do to promote peace and bring orderliness to our society? If we keep on fighting each other, or keep being used by each faction, nobody can help you fix your problems.

As for foreign affairs, the government and the NCPO understand Thailand’s international obligations and I have tried my best to create understanding about the current situation in Thailand, but some fugitives will do what it takes to distort the truth. They will try to make other nations misunderstand Thailand and the Thai government. I heard that most of the news stories that are being reported overseas are mostly negative. I don’t understand why this has happened and will ask the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to find out. I do not wish to create further conflict in Thailand as we are here today to ensure that our international friends are cared for, as are investments; and to ensure fairness and fight corruption. I have not harmed anyone. The only thing you can hold against me is how I came to power. We have accomplished many things so far and foreigners realize this. Therefore, to the fugitives in other countries who continue to give distorted information and blame Thai authorities, the government, and the people, I say “enough is enough”. Please come back and prove yourself through the judicial system. All Thais who love their country should consider whether these people, who have publicly supported defamation against our highest national institution and even supported violence, should be able to administer our nation. This is what people need to think about. The future of Thailand is in your hands. You will be the ones facing the actions of the next government. If you elect a government that does not exercise good governance, no one will be here to fix the problems for you. In reference to the enforcement of Article 44, as I
mentioned, we will use it in the most constructive way, paving the way for national reform. It is used to resolve complicated problems in a timely manner. Please refrain from linking it to our highest institution. It seems like these people will not refrain from insulting our highest institution, both verbally and through social media with distorted information. Thai laws cannot prosecute those outside the country. We cannot stop them from giving out distorted information. But this action causes misunderstanding towards Thailand. It accuses Thailand of violating human rights. We have never sought to violate anybody’s rights. But resolving this issue has to be considered by all of us.

In the meantime we have to look at several angles when trying to understand complicated issues.

Sometimes the news will confuse the public. But consider the gist of the matter, see what I have done, what others have done, for instance I can assure you that I’m very cautious when it comes to budget disbursement or anything that could have consequences. Despite this, I am always the target or being accused of misconduct. I have not done these things you accuse me of, so I give you briefings regularly and I can guarantee you that I never intervene in any court procedures. I don’t want to see arguments like this linger or for this to cause anymore hatred in society. Thailand has no future if we continue to hate each other the way we have. So I am not criticizing every politician, but only few of them. Unscrupulous politicians should be separated from good ones if we want to stop social conflicts. It is the public’s decision who should be the next government. I will not say anything about this matter. When you are elected, you need to commit to the country and to your job and carry on the work and reforms. The things I have done will not obstruct your work. Please try to carry out the plans for reforms and the improvements that the country has to undergo. When you are in office, please respect others and respect others’ duties. In regards to the mobilization of the nation’s economy, it is important that we take everything into consideration, starting from low-income people, farmers, urgent issues, restructuring of various professions, and investments. This is to make our country stronger economically. The government has to support small and medium sized enterprises
(SMEs), readjust water management plan, better manage the resources that we have, and better manage public land. This is to make sure that fairness is given to everyone. When we grant land to you, please don’t sell it off. After you sell it, you invade other areas. This is why forest areas are diminishing. Then come infrequent rainfalls. As you can see, there has been less rainfall. The amount of water in major dams is not enough. Then you look for alternatives which do not work. I need you to understand this fact. I want to build all these things, so that you can have higher confidence and will not have to face hardship in the future. But you need to understand it first. Other countries understand what is going on in Thailand. All of them want to engage with Thailand and everywhere I have gone, they would seek bilateral cooperation. This includes trade associations in Thailand, Europe and America. Association presidents said they understood us. It makes me therefore wonder why there are a lot of people who said they don’t understand or deliberately don’t try to understand and thus continue to send false information about Thailand to others. We need to make sure equality is provided for the investors. We also need to protect the benefit of Thai investors, whether they invest locally or overseas. In the meantime, we have to take care of foreign investors in Thailand. Thailand promotes a competitive market, which paves the way for strong foreign relations. We need to look at different aspects. We will not be versatile should we only look at the problems. A lot of things need to be resolved. We are currently facing the problem of human trafficking as well as evaluations by international organizations on the punishments for offenses, how we have restructured some organizations, how victims have been care for, and the IUU fishing problem. This has caused some distress for our fishermen as they are innocent and they don’t make a lot of money. But they are the ones who suffer from the actions of corrupt businessmen and corrupt officials. Those who follow the rules can carry on with their lives as normal.

Please make things right. I ask that all fishing operators help to protect marine resources, so that we have enough food sources in the future. If you catch the fish while they are still young, they will not be able to breed and all the fish will be gone. When there is no more fish, you enter other countries’ waters and you will get caught. You will be breaking Thai laws and other countries’ laws. However, I thank those
who always respect the law. Thank you for making changes. We need to bring positive changes to Thai waters. The next matter concerns aviation problems. The government will continue to use Article 44 to help the Ministry of Transport to fix problems. There has been some progress under good cooperation from the Air Force as well as from neighboring countries. I want everyone to look into the rules and regulations that we have, and make sure these regulations will help us solve aviation problems. Don’t rush into it. We don’t want another mistake. This problem has prolonged in Thailand for more than a decade. It has caused a lot of damage. I don’t think I am as smart as many politicians, given that politicians are well-educated and have the expertise in public administration. I can’t compare myself to you. You are definitely smarter than me. But you must have ethics and good governance. You need to look after the people and civil servants so that they can be strong. We can co-exist peacefully; other advanced countries have accomplished this, when conflicts are not fueled in society, when conflicts between the public and officials that arise from enforcement of the law are quelled. It has to start with this idea, and how we can be responsible to one another other to make ourselves stronger. This is how we can lay down strong foundations for each community, locality, village and sub-district. It has to be brought about starting from the smallest unit, by creating strength within. His Majesty the King has said before, that it needs to start from the heart – from the community – before the top and the middle parts are reinforced. Then, there is the promotion of small and medium sized businesses through the use of funds, loans, and tax measures. These initiatives cannot simply be carried out immediately upon inception, as many laws and many entities are involved. There is also a limit to the budget available, which needs to be diverted toward investment and other existing problems. You will see that many issues overlap and would have remained so. With us being here, there is an opportunity to solve these issues – issues that must be solved one way or another. For SMEs, registration presents an important problem. There have been demands for overdue taxes to be waived. Why do we need to talk about this when I have not even mentioned the issue of taxes? Why not let us talk about handling the new affairs well first? We can then say that transition is achieved if the new undertaking goes well, and if no damage is incurred. With this kind of successful transition there will be no need to proceed further into other matters. However, if
there are problems then back inspections will be required regardless of whether the SME has since been registered or not. I would like to give this word of caution. To say that there should be a full exemption on all taxes- is this really possible? The legalization process has reached this point, and I would like us to proceed forward without lapsing back to where we were. The operators who say they will not come into the system unless the tax waiver is assured and choose to remain outside the system are nonetheless still legally accountable. With that said, these operators should not complain about not being able to access funds when they are choosing to ignore the conditions.

The state needs to provide support to the aspects of funding, marketing, labor, production technology, designing, management, and information awareness. Relevant civil servants must oversee the entire circuit, from upstream to mid-stream and downstream. Start with production, reducing production costs, increasing competitiveness for the domestic and international markets, and building connectivity. We are preparing to set up central markets in many areas to provide linkage between community markets and border trade markets. The interior, agriculture and commerce ministries are working on this. Deputy Prime Minister Somkid has already been told to see this through, and we will quickly see to its realization.

I believe we need to create an incentive for everybody to enter into the system. Thus, please refrain from making new problems by straying here and there. We are talking about investing for the economy, and there will be consequences. There is no need to mention past issues when you come in, just proceed with what is in front of you. So long as you do not commit offenses then there is no need for retracing old matters. The people who are to be part of this process are all operators of small businesses. You have likely been informed about the monetary measures. Banks and financial institutes will take part in providing working capital, which will amount to no more than 20 billion baht in total. There have been talks and these financial entities have agreed that it can be done. Similar measures have been issued previously by the government but they were not implemented because talks have not been had downstream. The deputy prime minister and finance minister will now talk with
every sector to determine how to collaborate and if implementation is possible. Another matter is that of credit guaranteeing under the PGS-5 scheme, which provides a maximum of 40 million baht of credit guarantee for each business, under a total limit of 100 billion baht. To reduce the tax burden on SMEs, the finance ministry is issuing a measure calling for the reduction of income tax for SMEs, from 15% or higher to 10%. The SMEs will then be able to make investments more easily. A small company might not yet earn profit in the first 3 years of operation as it struggles to find its markets. These companies will be stronger if the state helps out with funding, credit guaranteeing, and tax reduction. They should be also provided with more knowledge and data. We are also working to provide income tax waiver for new, start-up SMEs. We will also help out underperformers that are still viable. Waivers will be provided for 5 consecutive accounting cycles. As for measures to support public-private sectors partnership, we are setting up 2-billion baht joint funds that amount to 6 billion baht in total. These funds will make joint investments with SMEs, in accordance with conditions deemed appropriate to each of the target SME group.

Note that we are not able to provide support to businesses that have not entered the system – those unregistered by the state. If everybody gives their cooperation then employment will be created locally and income will increasingly be distributed to communities. The government expects that investment will expand by 3.8 billion baht and consumption by 960 million baht in the future. As for reforms, no damage has been incurred from the work of the National Reform Council despite there having been some conflicting views. This is the kind of democracy that people wish for; where everybody has the right to make their voice heard, so don't blame the NRC members for their debates. You want democracy but you become disgruntled when they exercise democracy inside the NRC. How will you react in the future, given that there will be elections and debates in parliament? This is a sample of the democratic system. I am currently considering the new, 200-member council to drive reforms. The reform plans by the NRC will be reviewed and upsized and downsized here and there. The roadmap for each affair will then be laid down to allow implementation to take place. Then, supporting laws will have to be addressed. I have not even named
this new entity yet – I am saying that perhaps there needs to be such a mechanism in place. We should think about how we would proceed without such an entity and who will take responsibility for the reforms. If the reforms are not carried out then I will regret the waste of time, effort and intellect spent. Everybody has been dedicating themselves for the cause, thus we need to be able to have confidence that the reforms – if they are good – will be continued. A method for this entity to function will have to be sought. Changes will take place, owing to the charter drafting, reforms, and other ongoing affairs. However, we will not be avoiding the fact that democracy is a global standard – we will not be able to proceed otherwise. Trust needs to be fostered among the public, politicians and civil servants. Let there be no more creation of anxiety, misunderstanding and distortion. The law and judicial procedures must be allowed to function, in order for us to make forward progress. I would like to assert that I have never infringed upon the authority of the judicial branch. In the previous week’s meeting of the Cabinet, I was informed by the National Water Resources Committee about the current water situation in waterways and major dams. Farmers are waiting to hear what the state will make of the situation. Analysis of the situation leads us to believe that problems will be had with off-season rice cultivation at the end of the current rainy season as well as during next year. The amount of water available is 10-20% lower than the preferred level. Meanwhile, raining has been inconsistent and has been taking place away from reservoirs. This means there will be less water available. The amount of water held by the 17 major reservoirs is 30% below requirement. This amount of water has to be used for consumption, preventing saltwater incursion, etc.

Thus, I would like to caution about off-season rice cultivation in advance, or else the farmers will blame me and aid measures will have to be issued again. The government will seek out solutions, perhaps by switching to other crops temporarily and then switching back to rice once water becomes plentiful. For now, the farmers will have to grow other things such as beans or sesame, whatever crop that yields income during this period of water shortage. Therefore, I am having the interior, agriculture and commerce ministries look into production costs, demand and supply as well as into farming equipment. Attention also has to be paid to agricultural zoning
and marketing. Domestic consumption, border trade, exportation to overseas must all be looked at. The various trade agreements have to be considered while we determine whether we are able to compete and whether our costs are prohibitively high. We are currently working on a large number of water retention projects. “Monkey-cheek” detention basins and small basin arrays will first be created in areas with recurring drought, before all other areas are covered. Because of the diminished supply of water from reservoirs, these basins will have to be dug both in and outside irrigated areas. They will also have to be able to provide water for consumption. One of my ideas is to create a large lake or permanent water source that would also lend itself to fishery and other activities, in areas downstream from dams. Perhaps they could even sit next to waterways that flow toward other countries. We will be able to make use of water that would otherwise flow out. The same goes for Pak Mun Dam and the 30 major and branching waterways. Perhaps the water feed from the Mekong should be retained at Pak Mun for domestic use before being discharged. Everybody there is saying they want to engage in fisheries. I have nothing against this but we must determine how we can retain water. We will then be able to carry out fishery activities and discharge excess water at will. The dam has so far been repeatedly shut off. The same goes for the Salawin River. The retention areas can be set up on state-owned land that is not being put to use. Such sites are being sought out. If possible, we will create lakes by storing water before it enters the main rivers. The lakes will then become tourism sites or aquaculture sites.

As for the promotion of employment, individuals in each occupation should assemble into groups that will be registered so that assistance can be directly provided in the future if rice or other crops cannot be cultivated. So far, many adjustments have been made and state officials have improved their performance. Follow-up and oversight is needed after orders are issued. Therefore, every state agency must help out to conserve water. We have already told farmers to save water. So far, the agencies have been able to reduce water use by about 40% – some have achieved a 48% reduction. Some agencies have to check on leaks and faulty taps that have been ignored or which have been neglected due to budget restrictions.
Be cautious of cultivating off-season rice in areas where bans have been imposed. Go to the provincial governor, the provincial agriculture office or the New Theory centers – there are some 800 of them – and ask them what you can grow instead of rice. You will be provided with seeds, funds, and fertilizers. Join the program. You will continue to suffer losses if you do not take any advice and continue planting your usual crop. The state cannot keep diverting money to provide you with subsidies. I would like to thank the public and all officials for helping out in the aftermath of the Ratchaprasong incident. An improvement in the situation has been seen. The media has also been more careful about their presentation of news. I would like to reassert that security agencies remain hard at work to assure safety and bring back confidence. The foreign and tourism ministries have reported improvements. The tourism minister has attended meetings in many countries and has indicated that other nations stand ready to support Thailand in the tourism aspect. I am also having officials look at glitches about life insurance in this context. Insurance companies can help out by providing buying channels at the airport. The foreign ministry might collaborate with the private sector to organise this facility. Sometimes the tourists have not purchased insurance from the source country, and the government is only able to provide a specific amount to cover them. This insurance could attract more tourists to Thailand.

So far, many tourists have commented that they are not afraid about coming because such incidents do not happen frequently. Similar incidents also occur elsewhere.

We expect that another 10 million foreign tourists will arrive in Thailand in the final 4 months of the year. Some 20 million have already arrived in the past 8 months. Total arrivals will reach some 30 million with the additional arrivals expected. This should allow the economic team to proceed as planned despite experiencing shortfalls in other aspects. Through this incident, the cooperation and the solidarity of the Thai people at a critical time stood out. We refused to give in, and support was given to the government and to the officials. The media has been very understanding. I believe trust and confidence are the most important factors that determine whether there is peace or unrest. The media has an important role in creating understanding among those in the country as well as with foreign nations. Thus, matters that are not useful, and matters that have already been concluded do not need further elaboration.
But when some people keep digging up old issues and convince others to do the same, how can I address problems effectively and maintain orderliness? A national-level event is ongoing now. Recently, I inaugurated the Bangkok Gems & Jewelry Fair 2015 at Impact convention center in Muang Thong Thani. Gems and jewelry have been a primary export item for our country. Although we export farm products, textiles, computer parts and other items, we have very high capacity in the gems sector. The sector generates very high amounts of income for the country every year. In the first 7 months of this year, we ranked as the third-biggest exporter of gems and total value as 196.42 billion baht. I would like you to visit the fair. I was informed that business matching representatives and middlemen visited the fair every day to make contracts with the sellers. There are a hundred shops at the event, some of which are from abroad. Our gems industry ranks among the world's top 5. People from 160 countries are expected to visit the fair. The last event of such scale was about food. Today it is about gems. I was talking with the association president about how transactions should reach about 15 billion baht by the end of the fair. Another event is about Thailand's younger generation – those aged between 18 and 30. One Young World is a gathering of younger people from 196 countries. It can be seen that everybody comes to Thailand for important events, thus we need to help keep them safe. Do not leave anything to just a single agency – everybody has their part to play to country development and in fostering security and safety. This meeting is about seeking leaders for the new generation – individuals who want to bring positive change to their respective society or country. Their skills will be promoted and reinforced in such way as to allow them to become leaders of social businesses in the future. This year, Bangkok was given the honor to host the meeting, which is the first time an Asian city has ever done so. I would like to invite interested youths to attend. A workshop about projects for society will be held by Muhammad Yunus, the banker who founded Grameen Bank and who initiated the concept of micro-credit. He has been successful with such projects abroad. They are businesses that truly return the gains to society and allow communities and localities to become empowered. We should listen and learn so we might be able to come up with ideas appropriate for our own home. If possible, record what he said and spread the awareness through the press and media. People should be encouraged to learn, not
dwell on matters that cannot be fixed. It will not do for people to remain indebted and cease developing their thoughts. When else can we fill up knowledge if we do not do it today? Last year, a total of 41 Thai youths attended the meeting in Dublin, Ireland. Phetchompoo Kijburana was selected to speak on stage about leadership and national situation.

I would like all Thai citizens to welcome foreign guests to our country with smiles, goodwill and a pleasant attitude while also providing them with safety. In turn, we will be able to impress foreigners with Thai people's unity and culture. Thank you and goodbye

Appendix 3.13

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister –September 18, 2015

Good evening, dear Thai citizens.

This past Tuesday prior to the weekly cabinet meeting, I had a chance to present awards to winners of an art contest entitled “OUR HOME OUR COUNTRY STRONGER TOGETHER”. All of the drawings by the children showed their determination, which not only exhibited their skills but also their thinking, and their hopes and dreams for our country to develop and progress, void of conflict, with solidarity and cooperation that can take the country to lasting peacefulness. I would like congratulate all the winners and thank all the supporting people which include teachers, instructors, officials, and staff who made this activity happen. I would also like to thank the parents for their effort in supporting and advising these children and for cultivating knowledge, affection, and solidarity among them through this activity.

Today, I would like to speak from the heart. I would like to inform you, and ask you to come, and help to think and take action and work with the NCPO and the government for the future of our nation, especially during this important period. The NCPO and the government would like to ask all Thais to help disburden our country, through civil and non-violent means, from the difficulties we are facing that have
been brought on by those who wish our country ill. I also ask for us to work together to find the truth about the misconduct perpetrated by some groups and perhaps inform others as well about this, and with a better understanding, we will all be able to work together in solving our country’s problems more rapidly. We may have different opinions and disagreements on issues, but violence must not be used in any way as a means. As we all have different opinions, we should know how to respond to different viewpoints. It is not like I ignore what you have to say and want you to always think like me. It is impossible. Everything that I did and have done was based on everyone’s opinions. I put your opinion into context as well as find a solution and adapt it to our work. The government doesn’t want to use special laws our powers again. We know that some groups have intentionally done things to prompt the government to use special laws. Then they use these incidents as a tool to make our country look bad. I would like ask these people to stop causing problems to the nation. If all of us have a common purpose, which is for the country to have stability, prosperity and sustainability, without seeking selfish gains, then the country will flourish, with peacefulness, orderliness, and safety…stronger together. In this context, the phrase, “the nation is the home, the soldiers are the fence”, may not be enough, as the saying should go “the nation is the home, the people and civil servants are the fence, while the soldiers stand guard”. The people and civil servants should unite to look after the nation, making sure to create peacefulness, safety, and sustainability for our country. For any country, when conflict and struggles for power persist, which usually derives from the self interests of leaders of each opposing group, this often leads to crisis. Therefore, those who have power should use it scrupulously, in the most constructive way, to resolve long standing problems. They should never use their power for self interests, or try to cling on to power in the wrong or illegal way. In the past, unscrupulous leaders have abused their powers as we could all see. We need to allow all the processes to go in accordance with democracy and the judicial system. Therefore, I would like to ask all citizens to cooperate and help protect our nation and deter such unscrupulous people. I ask for your cooperation in action and in determination, and we shall successful. Many people have said they wanted to help, but they didn’t know how. Well, you could be vigilant and report any irregular activities or send us evidence if you have. A lot of people have been sending
complaints and cases for me to investigate. We have seen some obstruction following the launch of our investigations. Every country comprises its territory, natural resources, and citizens. If a country knows how to manage its resources it has, the people will be strong, and will have an appreciation for the common good and the motivation to do what is good for society and for the country. That country shall be safe and secure with people living in peace.

This is a pivotal time for Thailand. This is the time when Thailand is curing itself of many ills while strengthening our immune system so that we can become more invulnerable to the dangers and threats that may come, so that we can live up to our traditions of being a land that is “Suvarnabhumi” as we have known ourselves to be. In a democratic system, power that is mandated by the people to national administrators is based on trust, confidence and sincerity, but this does not mean the administrators can do anything they want with this power, whether right or wrong. Leaders should use the power according to the intentions of people who voted for them. On the other hand, if the government uses its power in the wrong way, this act should be considered a betrayal of public trust, a betrayal to the people’s trust, which cannot be denied, yet these individuals never take responsibility for their actions, lacking the principle to truly serve the people. We have seen so many failed states in the past. According to analytical studies, there only a few factors that cause a country to become a failed state, with the fault usually coming from the actions of the leader or the government’s decisions and not necessarily the environment, the people or the history of that country, whether it is: 1) The leader who is unethical, who is greedy, who owns monopoly-like businesses, who issues regulations against rivals, and who uses political power only to make their businesses more profitable 2) A weak government that is unable to administer the country, unable to issue and enforce laws and regulations effectively, leading to disorder and lawlessness in society, without safety to the people and their properties 3) Amid social disparities, a government that uses double standards to further social divide, and social conflicts 4) The government that does not promote sustainable development, that has a leader lacking in vision, refuses innovation and prevents people from having appropriate education so they it can rule easily.
This is what was written in a book by a foreign scholar. I can assure you that the NCPO and the current government have the determination and sincerity to serving the people and the nation. We are not here for personal benefits. The government and the NCPO will steer this country through these challenges and difficulties, in accordance to the Roadmap. The second phase, which is between September 2015 and July 2017, will feature the restructuring of public affairs which includes administration, reform, and reconciliation. The NCPO will also focus on national security and orderliness of the nation. It involves taking care of the poor, low-income earners, and measures to promote justice and transparency. This will be a key mechanism to help us alleviate problems and swiftly and effectively respond to all circumstances. The government has used power granted by Article 44 in 27 different cases. The power was used in the most constructive and transparent manner, given that there are committees overseeing the use of this power while the operations proceed strictly according to set regulations. This has helped us in terms of revision of the laws, making Thailand’s laws more modern and leading us to long lasting solutions to problems. Apart from this process, we also have a number of steering committees as well as a strategic committee established by the prime minister to supervise the 3 aforementioned aspects. These operations will go in tandem with the reforms in 11 areas outlined by the NCPO and the NRC’s 36 reform agendas, 7 national development agendas, and other policies. As for the National Legislative Assembly (NLA), the body is playing a vital role in helping the administration by issuing useful legislation. This will allow our country to grow and move forward in a sustainable manner. As for the reform steering assembly, the new body will be established to carry on the work of the defunct NRC. Its work must be in line with the 20-year strategic plan. It will be responsible for the reform work and will not intervene in the government’s work. I understand how people may be apprehensive that the new assembly will overshadow the government’s power. This was never the intention when thinking about forming this body. We need to trust and have confidence in each other. We all understand well what kind of problem the country faces. Now, how are we going to address it is the question. We must do it in a way that does not create further conflicts or cause further distress to people suffer. I understand that no matter who wins or loses, it is the people
who shall always be affected no matter what. The people are my primary concern. Regarding the establishment of the new constitution drafting committee and the national reform steering assembly, I am now looking the list. Please have confidence about this and bear in mind that the drafting of the charter has never been concealed from the public. If we go back to conflicts, there will be even more difficulties with this. So far everyone and every sector have all made suggestions, just as I have. But it is matter for the committee to consider.

This past week, there was a tripartite meeting between the cabinet, the NCPO, and the NLA. We agreed that potential individuals from all sectors should be selected. These individuals should always put the country’s interest first. What is needed is a group, comprises of people with morality, intellect, wisdom and the will to work for the benefit of our country. At the same time, we must admit that everyone can make mistakes. The question is how are we going to make things right together. We need to have more trust in one another, unlike before. Individuals to sit as members of the new assembly could come from the NRC, could be lawyers, scholars, civil servants, retired citizens, traders, and regular people. They all come from different sectors. So please don’t say that the new charter is drafted only by civil servants. The last committee included people from many sectors such as military officials. However, along with many sectors, we must have people who know the principles of the law or knowledge of the regulations. This is why civil servants should be involved. It is important to know how things are done, because when we didn’t know and when things went wrong in the past, you blamed the civil servants. This is wrong. Even politicians blamed the civil servants, so please be empathetic. This week, I summoned some of the cabinet members and formed another committee to oversee urgent issues like poverty. The new team will be responsible for improving the economy. The committee is also required to tackle the drought problem which is expected to worsen between the months of November and December. Farmers along Chao Phraya and Mae Khlong rivers will face shortages of water. The irrigation system will not be able to reach all of them. I understand that farmers don’t really know what else to do apart from farming. But forcing farming when drought prolongs can only cause more damage. Please do not ignore the government’s warnings. I ask that all farmers listen
to what the government officials have to say and to the information provided. They want to help. We didn’t give you the money so that you can pay off your debts, but for you to cope with drought as well as create new jobs such as road renovations, canal dredging, reservoir building, or any other jobs. The government has been providing and funding every way it can, but we have to admit that the government is unable to provide for everyone in the country. There are millions of people and millions of jobs. Not only the farmers who are poor, other professions also don’t make any more than these farmers do. If we spend all the money to help the farmers, how are we going to support other professions? The government only has limited amount of funds. The economy is lagging while Thailand’s economic infrastructure needs to be stronger. However, I expect the situation to improve in the next 2-3 years, given that there will be more investments and better infrastructure.

This week, I read an article in the media that questioned the benefits of BOI or special economic zone incentives offered by the state. Perhaps the writer should look further into the BOI’s role in promoting investment. Currently, there is global competition for investment. Production bases are being moved here and there. We need to compete by increasing incentives and by using tax measures. More tax revenue will be generated in the future as more businesses enter the scene, even though tax exemptions are offered initially. I would like to point out that incentives are not only being offered to new investors. A budget also needs to be allocated for the promotion of Thai-owned businesses and local businesses. These businesses will become stronger and the technology they use will be improved. Foreign investment will reinforce these existing activities in each rural community. Clustering of businesses will take shape at the special economic zones. Generally, an operation may be limited to BOI-issued incentives. For example, if the operations will become a cluster located in localities we have marked for rapid development, then these operations will receive BOI incentives plus ‘X’. If the operation or cluster deals with a new activity or high technology, education or research then more incentives are warranted. This might take the form of BOI incentives plus 2X. If we do not carry this out in this way then nothing will be gained. Tax revenue will not be had. I am not an expert in
economics, so I make my evaluation with consulting the experts. What gains will be had if we do not start to implement these things and let things remain the way they are? The BOI incentives have not been adjusted by many years, and the adjustments made still did not attract investors then. Are we okay with investors not coming in?

Although very high standards may not be practical for the time being, we must be able to ensure that the operations comply with the conditions set by us. Therefore, I would like everybody to help out and look into matters such as urban planning and local investment. Without investment, a locality will be deprived of revenue from downstream businesses. Hardships will likely continue – rice and whatnot will continue to be grown and debt will continue to be incurred. If development takes place then there will be more job opportunities. The state will take special care of people who have to be relocated and will regard them as the first group eligible for various commercial activities in the respective locale – they will earn income before anybody else. More thought will be given to the details.

I am not very pleased with how profiteers have been meddling with the preparations and speculating on land and hiking up property prices. It has always been this way. I fail to understand why people must only consider self interest and gains. Progress has been halted up until today because those who disagree with an initiative or those who may lose advantages keep opposing the initiatives. Many have encouraged me to use Section 44. I would rather not use it. Let us think about how these investment zones can be developed. With these zones, urban societies will sprout up in all regions. Investment on education centers will be encouraged in each zone. People will no longer have to come to Bangkok for higher education. The local educational institutions will be able to produce workers that match the demand in the area. Consideration can then be given to local raw materials and what kinds of operations are suited for the locality. Workers can be drawn from local residents as well as from the border. Meanwhile, these cities will increase in prosperity. Tax revenue is currently not the same for each locale, and local administrations have less money because people do not make income. Decent income will be had if such aspects within a region can be reinforced and populations will be happier in each area. Progress will not be made if we do not think this way. But when such efforts are
denounced and instead overshadowed by objections of how a democracy should be and what not; it is not just about that and other countries have stopped doing this like that for a long time, hence their progression. Marketing, exportation, demand and supply need to be considered whenever an alternative crop is promoted. We do not want to excessively take up mung bean, soy bean or chili cultivation because they fetch higher price than rice, only to end up with an oversupply and price deterioration. Such a scenario will then come back to the government and the latter will be criticized for promoting inappropriate activities. These details must be yielded by provincial governors.

I have given assignments to some 18-19 ministries, and the provincial governors are the ones who will implement these assignments in each locale. This past week I presided over a kickoff event for measures for promotion of low-income earners' well-being, and measures for stimulation of small-scale investments nationwide. The launch event took place at the Impact exhibition and convention center in Muang Thong Thani, Nonthaburi. Some 8,000 people attended the event, mostly hailing from village fund committees, urban community committees, village fund members and state agencies.

Each village fund possesses 1 million baht, and each sub-district fund possesses 5 million baht. The fund for small-scale investment promotion amounts to 1 million baht for each locale. In all, roughly 100 billion baht is being used. It may be observed that nothing is happening although such a large budget has been spent. This is because we are only starting and the sustainable results have not come about yet. If this budget is instead utilized for matters such as floods and droughts then these other problems will recur. Our method is to make sure people can make ends meet, while the state makes investments such as special economic zones to ensure that these people will no longer be dependent entirely on income from agriculture. At the very least, there are markets, factories and other operations where they can make income from. If we do not proceed in such a manner then these people will not have the money to send their children to school because no profits are made from their paddies or plantations. Debt will only pile up, and misery will continue. If we are to free ourselves from this trap, people should help the government solve problems in a long-term manner. Problems have always been dealt with on a day-by-day basis. Right
now, we have to address all accumulated issues – the law needs amendment, new laws must be issued, fairness has to be fostered and empowerment has to be brought about. Nonetheless, everything must be based on stability, peace and order. Each government must achieve these conditions; else the nation will not progress. You are well aware of what has taken place in the past. Today, we need to become empowered – the country's foundations must be strengthened. I said before that our democracy had not collapsed but was collapsing. We will prevent this by applying the mortar, bricks and sand – reinforcing the foundations.

Social conscience, ideals and good health must be fostered in the public and the various sectors such as merchants and civil society. This is in line with His Majesty's “understanding, access, and development” strategy, which has been bestowed a long time ago. The things we are doing today are in keeping with a principle accepted by the global community, which calls for any government to employ a people-centered approach. Actions taken must correspond to people's wishes, and the public's participation must be encouraged as much as possible. This is part of power distribution. There are many components for public participation. Previously, the components involve steps such as public hearings, EIA, HEIA, etc. These already exist. Next, I intend to add the component of venues for gathering the views of the civic sector. However, the opinions gathered at such venue should not only be used for instigating more conflict by people opposed to the government like in previous times. I am aware of how several media outlets have been trying to facilitate this, and I know they have good intentions. However, the method being employed is causing topics of confusion to become even more distorted, and I do not see what can be gained. Even the things that you want cannot take shape because there are conflicts at the very beginning. You also need to sympathize with civil servants and the laws and regulations they uphold. At the same time, we are ready to listen. I have asked officials to listen to the public. However, the public also needs to pay some heed to civil servants. If everybody refuses to listen and only take actions for their own selves then our democracy will remain unstable. On the matter of resolving the debt of farmers who have mortgaged their land in exchange for loans. The farmers have already reached their credit limit and can take out no additional loans. Their land was
on the verge of being seized, and thus they had to borrow from non-formal lenders. In turn, this meant they were possibly taken advantage of and interest had accumulated exponentially and now amounts to many times the principle. Farmers are usually honest and are incapable of cheating. Rich people exploiting the poor - that is usually the case. Because of this, the poor remain poor. If they accumulate more debts then all of their land might be seized. Therefore, I asked for information to be gathered on how much farmers' land had been mortgaged to secure loans from loan sharks – what is also known as non-formal debt. The government is trying to provide assistance through measures laid down for two primary groups. The first group comprises 2,292 debtors whose cases have already reached the legal process phase. The amount of debt stands at roughly 2 billion baht. These debtors need urgent assistance because their land might be sold. The interior ministry's Department of Provincial Administration is coordinating with the justice ministry's Legal Execution Department to forward information to the BAAC so the respective debts can be transferred to formal financial institutions. This does not mean the debts do not need to be repaid. It means some compromises may be made. Non-formal debts have to stop. Those who have charged excessive interest should no longer demand interest, but the outstanding debt needs to be paid.

Previously, these debtors will return to becoming indebted after their problems were temporarily solved because they have not been empowered – Their income stayed the same. Additional income must be secured for them, and not in the manner of handouts. Empowerment must be achieved by the creation of jobs, community businesses and social businesses. These endeavors will be linked up with SMEs, in order to spur forth a regional commerce network. Central markets, community markets, SMEs and border markets will be linked together to reduce the problem of middlemen. People will then have more money left over. With more money left, they will not become indebted. I believe our farmers are now adhering to His Majesty's Sufficiency Economy philosophy and are living in moderation and exercising reasoning when making monetary decisions. This is how we shall proceed at the moment, while the accumulated debts are being addressed. We must now create immunity or invulnerability by generating higher income and reducing unnecessary expenses. If
additional income does not come about then the debts cannot be unlocked and the cycle will continue. The farmers have been in poverty for generations, so improvement must occur. Therefore, please do not take heed of people who denounce such initiatives – this explains how they do not want you to experience the improvements I mentioned. I believe your situation will improve if you hold out for a little while. The second group comprises 46,747 debtors who have not reached the legal proceedings phase. Their debts total some 6.4 billion baht. There is less urgency than the first group but the government is working in parallel to assist them. District-level committees for debt information screening and negotiating will be forwarding their cases to the BAAC and the district-level subcommittees for assistance of farmers and persons in poverty. The latter will conduct debt negotiations and work toward the lifting of debts. So far, the subcommittees have been able to resolve the debt problem of almost 3,000 farmers, with total debt worth roughly 2.3 billion baht. You will see that we have been working on everything in parallel. Some people have ignored these efforts because they were not stakeholders. You must grasp the main picture of what this government has been doing for everybody, and not just specific groups. Resources are limited. Water resource is limited but everybody wants to use water to grow crops. The government has limited monetary resources while it faces a plethora of existing problems. Empowerment has to be brought about, more income has to be earned, and problems must be solved more quickly. I will use the time available to me to achieve as much as I can. Farmers who are not included in the surveys and who would like to receive aid in accordance with government policy can contact the Damrongtham center in their respective districts. Public workers should be patient with the debtors because people in debt can be temperamental, whereas debtees are usually indifferent unless they are not being paid the money owed to them. Thus, all of the mentioned parties should try to be amiable when dealing with one another. Any initiative that is thought of and assigned by me to the ministers and deputy prime ministers cannot succeed without the cooperation of the public. These problems will continue to trouble politicians who will form future governments, if they continue to refuse to cooperate. They have been unable to handle these problems in the past. I am mending many things for them now, yet many continue to hinder my work. What will come about in the future, then?
Please think about this. The 70th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York is a special occasion. The UN oversees various matters within the global community although it usually does not meddle with national politics. Some political issues may discussed in general, but the agenda at the assembly will mostly the progress made by each country in creating well-being for its citizens. What progress has been made in the past 15 years, and what will be done in the 15 years to come? What kind of international cooperation will take place for the purpose of sustainable development, in accord with the 8 UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The goals include: 1) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger. 2) Achieve universal primary education. 3) Promote gender equality and empower women. 4) Reduce child mortality. 5) Improve maternal health. 6) Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases. 7) Ensure environmental sustainability. 8) Develop a global partnership for development. I am pleased to have received the honor of being invited by the UN to the general assembly, and I will be attending the assembly to express my views on such development goals and on what we have done to contribute to these goals. We will be expressing the thoughts we have toward our neighbors, and the thoughts that ASEAN countries have. Preparations for the attendance are being made. We will tell them of Thailand's success in development during the initial phase of the MDGS and some of the developmental leaps made. These have taken place long ago. We will also discuss how we have progressed from a low-income to a middle-income country, and how we are working to become a high-income country. However, as I said before, we will not achieve high-income status if we keep handing out money, subsidies, price guarantees or mortgage programs. We could slip back to being a low-income country if these practices continue amid a deteriorated economy. Therefore, we need to adopt the Sufficiency Economy philosophy of His Majesty the King. I will also make remarks on this philosophy – this is something I have done at all international assemblies and is something that has garnered the attention of many countries that face development circumstances similar to us. We must encourage people to employ the philosophy in daily life. Sustainable development starts with human resources. The government must consider the people as the center. Care has to be given to low-income people in all sectors, not just specific groups. I have made
these points many times at international meetings and meetings of the island nations. I presented them with Sufficiency Economy projects, which drew admiration. Sufficiency Economy has been adopted even on our peacekeeping missions in various countries, where locals are now able to cultivate crops and raise livestock to feed themselves. They admire Thailand's King, and have thanked us for having our soldiers teach them farming practices that have lifted them from hunger and poverty.

Our country is past that point. We must now make further progress so we can become a 'donor' nation like other advanced countries. How can we build a future if we remain where we are, unable to give and needing to ask for assistance all the time? We are not yet able to depend on ourselves, and the citizens of the country are not yet properly cared for. Thus, I would like to ask everybody for their understanding in this matter. Please do not involve our politics with our national standing. Regardless of whether there are intentions to harm me or oppose me, I will be attending the assembly in the name of your country, and this country needs to move forward.

I would like everybody to be mindful that the Sufficiency Economy philosophy can be applied in all circumstances. His Majesty has graciously bestowed the Thai people with this philosophy as long as 4 decades ago, and the philosophy has received international acceptance. 9 years ago, His Majesty was presented with the UNDP Human Development Lifetime Achievement Award for his efforts in lifting the quality of life of Thai people through his long-time, vigorous pursuit of royal duties. I see this assembly as an appropriate opportunity to present Sufficiency Economy as an option for sustainable development and as a tool for a new global development agenda, and will be discussing these matters with the delegates at the assembly.

Most of the initiatives discussed today and in fact most of my work has been derived from the guidelines which Their Majesties the King and Queen had bestowed during numerous occasions. I have continually adhered to these guidelines, which have fueled my determination to solve problems for others. Their Majesties have taught us that it is right to do things for the sake of others than for ourselves. I have adhered to this teaching throughout my life as I performed my duties. Thus I would like members of the public to follow the work of the government and the NCPO. Put a stop to the conflicts; have things based on law and order, and change unscrupulous
people into good citizens. The law must be allowed to take its course – reconciliation and reform can then take place. The country will be sustainably orderly and peaceful if this is achieved. We are ready to heed the suggestions of each and every Thai on matters that should be improved or adjusted. However, I cannot give in to across-the-board rejections of every single affair and every initiative, which means we will be taken back to where we were before. Thank you for your attention. I wish you a happy weekend. Drive safety this Saturday and Sunday. Do not speed, and do not drink and drive. Goodbye.

Appendix 3.14
National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister –September 25, 2015

Good evening, dear Thai citizens.
Yesterday marked Prince Mahidol Day which was held in remembrance of HRH Prince Mahidol who is honoured in Thailand as the father of modern Thai medicine. During his life time, HRH Prince Mahidol devoted himself to the country and his people, especially in the area of medicine and public health care. He worked tirelessly and even used his personal funds to improve Thailand’s health system. He was given a teaching post at the Royal Thai Navy Academy. He helped to expand Siriraj Hospital and donated his own money to build hospital wards. This fund was also used as a scholarship for medical students who wished to continue their education abroad. In addition, HRH Prince Mahidol gave medical equipment to Thai hospitals. He was the one who set the norms and standards for the country’s medical profession. As a result, all Thais are mindful and grateful for the benevolence and the contribution of HRH Prince Mahidol who is renowned as the father of modern Thai medicine.

Between 24th and 30th of September, I shall be taking part in the 70th Session of the United Nations General Assembly at UN Headquarters in New York, United States. On this occasion, I will be delivering statements on Thailand’s will to work with the UN to strengthen and develop the 3 pillars of global development. I will share Thailand’s experiences with development, in particular how we are trying to eradicate poverty and social disparities, not to mention our attempts to overcome economic
shortfall and to lower the unemployment rate, which will in turn lead us to sustainable growth.

Thailand has been adopting the principle of a Sufficiency Economy by His Majesty the King. This philosophy has been applied by the Royal Thai Government for more than 40 years. The government uses this philosophy for formulating policies, economic plans, and social development plans. It also acts as guideline for the government’s 5-year vision. The UNGA is an important opportunity for Thailand to amplify the merits and appropriateness of the philosophy of a Sufficiency Economy, based on people-centered development, to the rest of the world. The philosophy advocates a stable and sustainable approach to development. Apart from the UNGA, I will also hold discussions on sustainable water management, the promotion of social equality, and the promotion of women. During this visit, on behalf of Thailand, I will receive an award on digital development from the secretary general of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU). Thailand attaches significance to digital technology and development. I will also meet the Secretary-General of the United Nations and hold talks with US businesses about investing in Thailand. I will also meet up with Thai people and Thai business persons residing in the United States. Regarding the anti-government demonstrations during my visit, I understand that you have the right to express yourselves, but please understand that I am visiting the US on behalf of Thailand. I am only asking you to refrain from damaging the image of our country and to think of the country’s best interests before making any decisions that could damage our nation. As for those who will come to encourage me, I would like to say thank you. However, please keep in mind that whatever action or expression you present reflects our country. I ask that everyone play by the rules, have self-control, be united, and take care of one another. Please don’t let anyone mislead you in the wrong way. Our country has suffered enough damage. We all need to love our nation and show the positive side of Thailand to the international community. We need to show them that everything in Thailand has significantly improved. This is what we can be truly proud of. Everything is moving in a positive direction. This past Sunday, I chaired the opening of an event entitled “Saan Palang Pracharat Puea Setthakij Thaan Raak” which was held to announce Thailand’s strategies to mobilize the grassroots economy. All sectors will join hands in order to improve the country’s
economy. No matter which part of the country you live in, we are all Thais. The country belongs to 70 million people. This is called a “state of the people”, not “populism”. Today, we need cooperation between the state and the people. So I’d rather use this term so that everyone can work together. The government will be the one to open doors for the private sector and the people to participate under democratic processes. We will try to minimize all disputes between the people and the government. I believe that a government that exercises good governance can cooperate with the people to solve problems and move our country forward without leaving anyone behind, and without creating groups and social divisions in our society like what happened before. This administration genuinely cares for everyone and will treat everyone equally.

Sustainable development is to build a network where the government and the people become a key engine, connecting and including all sectors in society. This is what a modern administration looks like. Budget allocation will be better managed while properties will be well protected. Activities will be held for the good of the community as advancement in living standards will be realized. HM the King’s Sufficiency Economy Philosophy is a basic guideline we all should adhere to while adding knowledge and strengthening our ethics. Those who administer the country must have ethics, morality, and good governance. Today the government relies on its people. Everyone should to step forward together. In order to have a complete democracy and ethical politics, a government that is elected by the people must be free of corruption, promote unity, and work hard to remove social conflicts. However, the government’s efforts will need support and cooperation from the people. The government and the NCPO aspire for cooperation from all sides of society in being ‘a state of the people’ where the government and people work in unison. I am confident that all problems will be resolved should everyone work together, which will in turn bring Thailand stability, prosperity, and sustainability. In reference to moving our nation forward, the government has put forth the 11 reform agendas outlined by the NCPO, the NRC’s 36 reform agendas, 7 development issues and a number of new policies into the 12th national economic and social development plan (2017-2021) and the 20-year national strategic plan. It will be focused on many issues as follows,
1.) the adoption and utilization of the Sufficiency Economy philosophy. 2) people will be the center of development with active participation. 3) the promotion and encouragement of national reform. and 4) national development under the vision of “stability, prosperity, and sustainability”. At present, the aforementioned plan is now being drafted and is expected to be put in place in October 2016. It takes into account the assessments of the 11th national development plan and data gathered by the NESDB over the past 3 years. This year, we have collected input from the government sector, private sector, and the younger generation. The data is then turned into useful information in order to draw up proposals which comprise 1) the country’s ability to compete, with an aim to make Thailand a higher-income country, turning it into an agro-industrial nation while focusing on quality services. 2) future investment which aims to enhance the potential of Thailand’s overall economy as well as steer Thailand past the “middle income trap”. 3) an ageing society with quality of life in which people of all ages will receive proper education, with high standard health care and an environment that enhances better living standards. 4) the development of local areas, regions and regional connectivity. The well-being of Thais will be uplifted along with the well-being of people in neighboring nations. 5) the development of agricultural industry, turning Thailand into the world’s kitchen under an improved management of natural resources – land and water - which are the basis of agricultural production. 6) development that is friendly to the environment, which brings us sustainability. Success will come when natural resources are preserved, greenhouse gas is reduced, and production and consumption is environmentally friendly. 7) the government working hand in hand with the people, with the ultimate goal of bringing higher standards of living for all.

Due to constant weather changes during these past days and as Thailand has been battling heavy rainfall and storms, I would like to ask my fellow citizens to closely monitor the situation and look out for all natural disasters. Before I left Bangkok for the United States, I had instructed officials to be well-prepared for both expected and unexpected incidents. Concerned units must be on standby to assist the victims and mitigate the impacts. Assistance must be provided immediately. I ask that people inspect their houses, making sure that it is safe. Owners of street signs and banners
should check them regularly. Please be more cautious when travelling on the road. Authorities in large cities like Bangkok should prepare for water drainage. One more group that I’m concerned about is the farmers. I want all the farmers to keep themselves updated with information from government officials especially on issues concerning the use of water. Make sure you grow plants according to the advice given to you. I know that water is very important because it allows the farmers to have stability in their career. However, please understand the fact that we only have limited amount of water now. Please rest assured that the government is currently doing its best to address this issue as well as other issues. Please follow advice and suggestions. You can always come find us when you have problems. I wish you a happy and safe weekend. Please make the best use of your time and don’t forget to spend time with your family. Goodbye for now.

Appendix 3.15

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister –October 2, 2015

Good evening, dear Thai citizens.

This tape was recorded while I was on an official visit to New York. My team and I have been here for several days. My participation at the 70th session of the United Nation’s General Assembly is an important opportunity for Thailand, as member of the international community, to confirm its stance on international issues and to inform others of the developments, including progress in our Roadmap. On behalf of all Thai people, I have completed the following missions: On the 24th of September I met with Thai delegates and officials stationed in the US. On this occasion, I gave policy guidelines to officials of the Royal Thai Government coming from 13 agencies. I asked them to foster understanding among foreigners regarding the current situation in Thailand, informing them that we are currently in the process of reform. Although time is required, the process is going according to plan, with achievements reflected in a peaceful atmosphere over the country. I told them to maintain and protect the interests of the Thai people abroad and highlighted the importance of Thainess for the Thai people residing in a different country. Also during this meeting, I informed them
of the government’s efforts to 1) invest in education, 2) encourage research and
development as well as innovation, 3) increase the competitiveness of the country, 4) introduce integration in national administration, and 5) promote the concept of a “state of the people” which aims to achieve sustainable development and cooperation between the state, the private sector, and the general public. I was briefed by Team Thailand working in the US that foreigners especially Americans still see Thailand as a safe place and that their confidence in our country remains intact. American people particularly enjoy Thai food and culture and the generosity of the Thai people.

I told these officials what the government was looking to do, which includes 1) the preparation for revisions of laws and regulations pertaining to the environment, labour, food safety and the production sector, and 2) increasing our capacity in tourism to accommodate newcomers like new graduates. On 25 September 2015, I had the opportunity to hear His Holiness Pope Francis’s speech which focused on many issues that correlated to His Majesty the King’s guidelines that have been bestowed upon the Thai people, and applied by the government. The Pope highlighted sustainable development which he believes should develop in a step by step manner. He also said all sides should join hands in combating human trafficking, the matter of which has been declared national agenda by the Thai government. As for the Summit on the Post 2015 Development Agenda and a seminar entitled “Ending Poverty And Hunger”, I was able to make known of Thailand’s sufficiency economy approach to the international community. We are pleased that the world places importance on the formulation of development policies to bring sustainable solutions to various problems as well as eradicate poverty and social inequality, both of which are major obstacles to sustainable development. This is the development goal every country, including Thailand, is trying to achieve. A society with balance and equality must be maintained while poverty and disparity must be removed. Thailand understands and realizes that although poverty rates had decreased from 42% in 2000 to 10.53% in 2014, that social gap still exists and remains one of the most pivotal issues for Thailand. This is due to an imbalanced economic structure, concentration of land ownership, and inefficient use of natural resources. The current administration
attaches great significance to building equal opportunities and equal access to resources. I can assure you that this is being implemented at the moment.

Regarding the country’s development plans, the government has adhered to His Majesty’s sufficiency economy philosophy, which emphasizes thorough and sustainable development on the basis of sufficiency, prudence, and resilience. All of these are believed to help us overcome future changes and risks, both internal and external. The government has adopted this Philosophy as the guideline for our national economic and social development plan, which will be the 12th of its kind. This principle can be applied at all levels and in all countries. The government constantly encourages sustainable agriculture, organic farming, chemical-free practices, community markets, and promotion of social businesses. We also look forward to enhancing the potential of Thai SMEs, linking small, medium, and large businesses together while helping to connect these businesses to the world. We’re also pushing to establish a mechanism that helps manage water, land, and forest resources without destroying the balance between the community and the environment. The next issue concerns the management of labor force with a hope of creating jobs and incomes for those with low income. Following the establishment of smart job centers, the employment rate in Thailand has surged to 98.7 percent. In reference to building stability in the country’s economy, I believe it must start at the community level by promoting “local wisdom” or so called “OTOP”, which is also in line with Their Majesties the King and Queen’s guidelines to development. For this members of the agricultural sector will be further educated at learning centers. Furthermore, low-income earners will have greater access to funds such as the village fund, nano-financial loans, etc. I also had a chance to hold talks with representatives and delegates from the US-ASEAN Business Council (USABC) and a number of leading American companies. Actually, I meet this kind of people on a regular basis, whether in Thailand or overseas. I spoke with them about how the situation in Thailand has significantly improved after the May 2014 incident. I reiterated the government’s intentions to follow the roadmap and to protect the best interests of Thailand as well as the US. To achieve this, reforms will be introduced in all aspects so as to allow Thailand’s capacity to compete to further improve. Strong fundamentals will be laid
down. FDIs will be supported through the amendment of rules and regulations. Preparation has been made for Thailand to become a regional hub for production, services, and investments, while human resources are being developed in tandem with the advancement of transportation and logistics systems. Afterwards, I traveled to observe an exhibition entitled “Sufficiency Economy: An Approach to Sustainable Development” which was organized by the Thailand Sustainable Development Foundation. It was to disseminate the principle of a sufficiency economy, which echoes the effort to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals, and how this approach can be adapted and in other developing countries. Attendants at the UNGA as well as other visitors were appreciative of this chance to learn about this approach, which will serve to bolster cooperation between Thailand and other nations. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the organizer. On 26 September 2015, I held a discussion with the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime or UNODC and the head of the United Nations Office in Vienna or UNOV. During the meeting, I assured them of Thailand’s commitment to combat and prevent transnational crimes, drug smuggling, human trade, illegal migration as well as fraud and corruption, both in Thailand and in the region. Thailand has made these issues national agenda, while related agencies have been told to revise laws and regulations in order to facilitate their operations to address these issues. Thailand understands that these issues are major threats to national security, with major regional implications.

I would like to reiterate Thailand’s sincerity in stepping up measures to fight all human trafficking activities. This matter is a national agenda. Responsible units in Thailand will take a “zero tolerance” approach against this crime. Officials in all levels should work together to make sure that human trade is removed from our society. There also should be a better migrant worker management system while the problem of forced labor in the fishing industry should be rectified immediately. I also took part in the event celebrating 150 year anniversary of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) during which I, on behalf of Thailand, received the Global Sustainable Digital Development Award. Thailand has been chosen as ITU Headquarters in the Asia-Pacific region for the past 23 years. The ITU provides
support and assistance to member nations in this region. Its support focuses on building information based societies where people can have access and make the best use of information technology. Information technology is essential to helping international society achieve its goals for maintaining economic growth and sustainably developing communities by the year 2015. As for ICT, I would like to inform you that His Majesty the King had initiated projects that utilized information technology 20 years ago with the Distance Learning Television broadcasts. The project has contributed to a greater understanding of subjects by students and improved coverage of access and equality in education. The project is now being utilized at a greater level. It is most pleasing to know that this initiative that His Majesty started so long ago is being continuously implemented, especially around the global community at present. The global community is now starting to realize the dangers that can arise from the abuse of information technology. Therefore, we need to improve awareness about constructive use of this technology. Thailand has been awarded for being a leading nation in the promotion of digital infrastructure, which will allow digital systems to be used to propel the country. Thailand is also bringing to fruition a digital economy model. Thailand will become a part of the global community's information-driven society. The country stands ready to share its experiences and successes with other nations as well as take in advice. It is willing to become a bridge that connects the various countries in the global community with one another so they can make progress together. On September 27, I had the opportunity to deliver a speech on the topic of water management for sustainable development. Emphasis was placed on access to safe-to-use water, sanitation, water quality improvement, waste water management, and the protection and rehabilitation of water-related ecosystems. International cooperation in water management was also discussed. Thailand has a 12-year plan for comprehensive water management for 2015-2026, which will contribute to sustainability and continuity. I have also made use of the principles of a Sufficiency Economy and of the Royally-initiated water management ideas to create balance between the aspects of the economy, society, environment and well-being. The participation of the civic sector in each locality is allowing ecosystems to be conserved. We must reduce disparities in accessing the necessities for people's lives, and create a balance between supply and consumption.
Importance must also be given to the prevention and mitigation of disasters that are related to water.

The same goes for the “monkey's cheek” projects, which will allow water to be retained and rapid flows to be reined in. These water retention areas will mitigate floods and store water for dry season use. In addressing the topic of promoting gender equality and empowering women, Thailand has always upheld this vital aspect of our human rights. In Thailand, women are an important force. Young females and males have equal access to education. Everybody is protected from gender-based discrimination. Thailand has been improving many of its laws relating to the promotion of rights and gender equality, as well as the protection of women from domestic violence and sexual harassment at work. Progress was also made in the prevention and suppression of human trafficking and in assisting the victims of the trade, most of whom were women and children. The next National Economic and Social Development Plan, known as the 12th of its kind, will promote women's equal roles in driving the economy and society. As for discussions with other leaders, there were bilateral exchanges with the president of China and the prime minister of Antigua and Barbuda. There was also a bilateral meeting with United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, during which I expressed Thailand's willingness to continue supporting the secretary-general's work and role. Thailand has placed importance in a people-centric development approach, in line with the Sufficiency Economy philosophy. Meanwhile, we have also placed importance in the participation of the private and civil society sectors in development. Thailand also places importance in the climate change issue, which it considers a joint responsibility of the global community. Thailand is making its framework for the Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) for greenhouse gas emissions. It has also created a national disaster prevention and mitigation plan, making us among the first countries to drive this aspect of work at the national level. Thailand has held a meeting on irregular migration in the Indian Ocean, to find ways to resolve the problem sustainably. It was attended by high-ranking officials from 20 countries, and from the IOM, UNHCR, UNODC and 40 foreign missions in Thailand. The problem is a complex one that involves overlapping dimensions, and requires the sustained
effort of source, transition and destination countries. As for Thailand's political situation, I asserted that developments are still in line with the road map time frame. In our bid for a non-permanent membership seat at the UNSC during 2017-2018, I emphasized that Thailand has a good reputation, which has resulted from our performance in United Nations security operations, especially in peacekeeping and security.

Thailand has also received the approval of the G77 countries in holding the Groups chairmanship in year 2016. This resulted from the G77's selection of countries that have experienced success in development. Thailand succeeded in reducing poverty by more than 40% since the year 2000. Our successful experiences that stem from the Sufficiency Economy principles were also essential in helping to achieve this result. I thank the G77 countries for approving Thailand's chairmanship for year 2016, which demonstrates the confidence the international community has towards Thailand at the moment. Another important meeting was the UN Peacekeeping Summit, which was attended by many member countries. There, I spoke of the need for the development aspect to be included under peacekeeping affairs, so that sustainable peace can be achieved. I spoke of how the people in conflict areas should be given the means to make a living in the future. We also expressed our willingness to help out with peacekeeping operations. I was, as with many cases before, warmly received during this visit. I had the opportunity to visit the 9/11 Memorial at Ground Zero to pay my respects. A Thai woman was among those killed, and I have laid down flowers and a garland at the site of what was once the World Trade Center. I would like to thank Team Thailand, our ambassador to the UN and the ambassador to Washington, DC as well as Thai officials, businesspersons and members of the general public for their support and their facilitation of my visit, which allowed my delegation to successfully complete its mission. I would also like to thank those in Thailand who followed my visit, as well as Thais in the United States who came from New York, Boston, Chicago, Texas, Los Angeles, Indiana, Connecticut, Washington, DC and many other cities and states. I appreciate them for having made the trip to provide me with moral support. Although I was not able to meet them up close, I was able to see them during my travels to the meetings. I want to thank them for supporting my representation of
Thailand at the international stage. I consider everybody to be important contributors to our nation’s progression towards stability, prosperity and sustainability. I genuinely care for all parties and groups, including those who are on different terms. I would like us all to turn around and talk to each other. We can no longer waste time on conflicts and squabbling. All countries in the world are progressing towards the next decade where we will be returning for more discussions 15 years from now. I would also like to inform Thais abroad that the health of Their Majesties the King and Queen have improved, and that Their Majesties have always expressed concern and care for the well-being of all Thai people. I hope that everybody will help to wish Their Majesties good health and longevity.

Thailand is currently making forward progress. I have said before that we need to join forces to develop and prosper, in order for our home, our country to become ‘Stronger Together’. Thank you and goodbye

Appendix 3.16
National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – October 9, 2015

Good evening, dear Thai citizens.
The vegetarian festival will be celebrated during the period of October 13 to October 21. There are many objectives of this festival, ranging from abstinence from eating meat to healthy eating to upholding the 5 Buddhist precepts, purifying one’s thoughts, balancing emotions, making merit, doing virtuous deeds, and practicing Buddhist principles. Religious activities will be held throughout Thailand during this period. The government would like to ask members of the public to work with officials during this time and be vigilant about public safety. The following are matters I would like to address this week. The first issue is about the economy. It is the government’s policy priorities to adjust the country’s entire economic structure, increase border trade, access new markets, enhance cooperation on fisheries and agriculture, encourage innovation and technology, and build stability in all sectors. This is not an easy task, given that Thailand did not previously attach that much importance to such
matters for many years and then the global economic slump occurred. I would like to ask all of us to have confidence in our economic foundations. Every country is encountering the same problem, though foreigners remain confident in Thailand. I ask that all of us work together to get through this period. There have been a number of surveys and studies conducted by Thai and international organizations. According to these surveys, the problem of the current economic situation in the country stems from many factors, but the main contributor is the reliance on exports coupled with the lack of innovation. Thailand’s production cost is considerably high compared to other nations. Thailand also lacks its own brand that is highly popular, so we need to build this new branding, so that our goods are unique and stand out amongst the rest. Our economic base is not strong enough, especially the farmers and low income earners. These two groups are heavily affected by the current economic slowdown, drought, falling agricultural prices, and policies of previous administrations.

The tax structure is complicated while certain regulations are obsolete, which is difficult for businesses and investors. Improvement must be made in order for Thailand to enhance its competitiveness. Thailand also lacks a strong linkage between production and marketing, whether in raw materials, production factors, and product distribution to Thai communities, CLMV countries and the global market. As for corruption, there are a large number of such cases in the judicial system now, and they have been a key factor in the country’s regression. Our basic infrastructure and public utilities have focused on supporting the public but not as much for businesses. So we have to pave the way for future investments in the industrial sector as well. Other factors affecting the Thai economy include trade barriers, tariffs, some trade agreements, and the forming of economic blocs, which can lower Thailand’s negotiation leverage as prices of Thai goods also fall. Previously, the state sector and governments had taken on many initiatives with too much focus on political issues, unsustainable visions, and actions that did not yield any tangible outcomes. So we are correcting all this now, and after initial inspections it was found that some previous initiatives did not even adhere to national economic and social development plans. We have had 11 national strategic plans. We are now using the 12th of its kind.
Another factor of course was the conflict in our society and the dragged out demonstrations, as we all know too well. In terms of the annual budget, most of it is spent on what’s necessary. But a portion needs to be set aside for investment projects and for local administrative offices. This is why Thailand only has limited budget to invest as well as for research and development, while our taxation system has not been so effective. We need to amend all this, but rest assured this will not come at the expense of causing distress to the public. The other issue is about the national database, which is still incomplete and therefore cannot be totally made use of. I seek cooperation from the public on this matter, so that we can improve our budget expenditures to be more effective.

The next matter concerns education and educational institutions. People need to be well educated in order to be resilient to the constant changes in the world. Thailand’s education system needs major improvement. There remain a number of problems. I ask for your cooperation to create linkages in the aspects I have mentioned, from production to research and development. All of these issues have put Thailand in the following position: 1. Lesser revenue coming into the country, problems in trading, an insufficient budget to adequately cope with risk factors or alleviate distresses to the public - all further compounded by the changes in the global economy. 2. the lack of resilience and sustainability in the agriculture sector and other low-income professions, lack of support for the SMEs and other related issues. As for solutions to these problems, the government has focused on HM the King’s approach to engender development and growth, and build resilience and connectivity for all. We have also worked to enhance national competitiveness, with the private sector and public sector doing more for the promotion of R&D, with the aim of creating new entrepreneurship. Regional economies, economies in border areas, and the ASEAN economy shall be stimulated simultaneously. This is what we are focused on at the moment, in the very first phase of economic reform. At the same time, the government needs to create understanding among those in the public, the civic sector, and the private sector, who may have been used to getting financial support from the government before, which may have been done to maintain political strongholds in the first place. This conduct is unproductive while the laws should be modernized to
reduce social disparities and enhance social justice. We must also be more empathetic for the low-income earners. The advent of the AEC is both a challenge and an opportunity. Without stability and reform, an opportunity can turn into a difficulty. What the state has to do therefore is build collaborative efforts between the government sector, the private sector, the civic society, and the people. In the past, there was not enough understanding about this while solutions to the problems were not as effective. I ask that my fellow Thais understand this fact. What the government will do next is bring stability at all dimensions in order to further build investors’ confidence. Thailand has to move towards becoming “state of the people” where the government, private sector, civic sector, and the public work together for sustainable growth and development and thus national resilience, which is in line with the United Nations vision as well. In addition, there must be both short and long term economic stimulus measures which focus on tourism development, strengthening economic relations, market expansion, market penetration, and promoting Thailand as a trade hub and product distribution center. In production, we need to use both domestic and imported materials while developing the country’s marketing approaches as well as trade agreements and negotiations. We have already spoken with many countries as progress has been seen. As we know, demonstrations have a direct impact on trade and investment, national security, public peacefulness and political stability. For such activities, I ask that all citizens abide by the law. Laws on public gatherings have already been promulgated. Please think of the consequences to innocent people as well as to your nation. Today, our nation needs stability, security, and peace. I would like to ask everyone to try to understand the past and the problems we encountered. There are still some people who think the NCPO and the current government want to stay in power. Please understand that this is not the case. There may be some unethical people who deliberately distort the truth, and create misunderstanding among the people, the farmers, international community, and international organizations. They never look at their own mistakes and many who have committed offences have been able to avoid the judicial system.

This government is here to provide lasting solutions to the country’s many problems that have manifested over many years, so that we can return to peacefulness and
orderliness. We need to respect the laws so we can co-exist with mutual respect and honor without violating each other. We cannot keep hurting each other on the excuse of “democracy” for the people” while not considering the consequences of “impunity”. Sometimes they even use the word democracy to break the law. They would claim that what they do is for the people. But then they never take responsibility for their own actions, especially when intentionally misleading the public in order to damage the country by creating instability. So please be very cautious when consuming information in the media. I ask for your cooperation on communicating useful information. Many media stations report facts and truths and provide constructive criticisms. But I urge that truths shall never be distorted. I wouldn’t want the public to consume all the information without analyzing first what is being presented. Some media stations have biases so please go back and look at what actions were taken in the past. Have you done anything to help the country? I am not here to blame anyone in particular, but this is my perspective and I ask for your consideration as well.

On the matter of budget disbursement, this administration does not spend state funds for popularity purposes. Some say some populist policies are good and some are bad. But the fact remains that bad populist policies can create a huge problem for the country’s reserves. Under populist policies, money that is set aside for the future is spent for popular gain, while the real problems remain unsolved. The current administration does not look to gain popularity, nor any political stronghold. We try to disburse our budget to every community according to each community’s needs. We are not politicians. We vow to look after everyone regardless of who you are. We can no longer keep spending our budget the way it was spent in the past. I have mentioned that many problems that we are facing now have been caused by not knowing how to spend. If changes don’t take place, things will not improve. People and the agricultural sector will be not be stronger and farmers will not be taught newer techniques. The government cannot spend more than it actually earns. If the problem is not addressed now, Thailand will not be able to move forward. We won’t have any money to spend if we become fraught with this failure. How will our children live? How will the next generation cope with this? Some have said that a number of our
policies may seem like populist policies. Some of the policies were passed on from the previous government. But what can be amended will be amended. This government will never overspend the state budget. This government does not wish to be popular or to be likes, but what we do wish is for you to understand the government’s intentions. We seek to alleviate the distresses suffered by many by building stability. What those of you have done in the past may have encountered problems in terms of building and sustaining stability for our people; while creating more demands as the same old problems drag on and reoccur. Today, we are addressing these issues. Although time is required, understanding and cooperation must be fostered as well.

Regarding the issue of single gateway, let me say it one last time, the matter was just brought up during a discussion, with no conclusions. The main idea is that human rights must be respected, and the law will be respected. If the law is to be broken, the single gateway issue would not be brought up in the first place. No conclusions have been drawn yet. The notion was to think of the ways to protect our country against cyber threats. It will never be used to violate your rights. That would never happen. The idea is to protect our country from cyber threats. You need to help us find a way to make this work. Communications agencies need to help us figure it out. Those with websites will have more responsibilities. There are many companies today that are not taking responsibility against cyber threats. We need to instill awareness in society about the possible dangers. False information is often used to instigate conflicts, especially on political issues. There are only some individuals who keep trying to distort the truth. It is important that governments protect their data and citizens information. How will our future generations be safe from these dangers? How shall we also deal with false information or harmful information that draws people to conflicts? A lot of this comes from abroad, and please rest assured that we have no policies or intentions to breach your rights. We hope that you understand that we need to think about the future generation. I urge those who may not understand and have voiced disagreement to help me think how to make this work. Please help and apply your vast capabilities to find an effective way to handle illegal websites, and those that defame our highest institution. I ask you to help come up with ways and new
ideas that can actually help resolve social problems. I would like to see a campaign that raises public awareness on dangers of the misuse of technology. Please don’t press the button “F5” to bring government websites down. It is counterproductive and causes problems to other people. When I announced that I have not taken any action on this issue, why would I persist? But thousands continued to protest causing millions to be affected. This should not escalate to cause future problems so I urge that you all help out and think about real solutions. We all need to play by the rules and regulations. Freedom does not justify impunity. All countries have laws and rigorously enforce them. Officials have no intentions to harm the people. Why would a Thai hurt a Thai? Officials have responsibilities. They need to respect the law and at the same time respect their orders. Both officers and the public should refrain from breaking the law. Other countries, especially the major powers, have freedom and stability. This is because their people are well-educated and have access, have vision, and have social consciousness. We are ready. However, some people still try to distort the truth all the time and I urge them to stop hurting your country. People of advanced nations uphold the law. Are we able to have freedom and stability like them? The laws must be allowed to take their course. Without this, conflicts would eventually return, and then no one would want to trade or invest with Thailand, and the government would not have the money to help those who need assistance. Please keep in mind that lower-income earners account for up to 50% of the country’s population, followed by the middle-class at 40% and the wealthy at 10%. We need to improve the standards of living of our people. We need to adopt the sufficiency economy approach. When the concept develops further, Thailand will one day become a high-income country.

Currently, the government considers the drought situation to be an urgent matter and is making preparations for the next 10, 20 and 30 years. The El Nino phenomenon is among the many problems at present. Less rainfall is being had because the ASEAN region gets its rainfall from forests. Much of our forests have disappeared because of inadequate attention over the past. We must now recreate these forests. Reorganization is needed for the people who are living illegally on encroached areas. I must appeal against the use of demonstrations on this matter by those making claims
even though they have been violating the law in the first place. Problems will overlap and become more complex if we allow this violation to continue. We also need to prepare preventive measures for future scenarios of global weather changes. What will we do if rain does not fall in our country and dry conditions prevail? Do we prepare water sources in advance? Many waterways are being dredged, but rainfall is not very abundant. I only hope that more rain will fall next season, or that depressions and storms carry in more water. Floods also come with the latter, however. We must take the aforementioned into consideration. The problem will recur if we continue to address it provisionally. I would like caution to be exercised from November to April, when the water situation will determine our circumstances in year 2016 and how we are to proceed into the next rainy season. Most recently, I have been informed by the Utokapat Foundation, Under Royal Patronage, that His Majesty the King has ordered for all water sources and water retention areas managed by royally-initiated projects, and projects collaboratively managed by the Utokapat Foundation and the Army, to be readied. The aim is to mitigate floods and droughts, and to facilitate the management of water sources in communities.

Meanwhile, there possibly are people who are trying to distort the truth and persuade others from accepting the fact there is little water to go around. The change in weather is global, and the government cannot create water. We have built many storage sites for water; His Majesty the King has also built many such sites. At present, more are being built. However, not much water is being stored because there is little water coming in. Let us all help to preserve the forest and use water sparingly. With less abundant rain and rain falling away from reservoirs, we are presently addressing the problem in urgent, short-term and long-term manners. The Cabinet has approved 55 projects under 8 drought-solving measures, worth tens of billions of baht. The projects – digging for additional ground water sources, dredging of waterways, employment of farmers, reduction of production cost, adjusting crop selection, providing clean drinking water to schools, and expansion of cloud-seeding operations – require the combined efforts of all ministries. The state cannot carry out all of these projects by itself, and the private sector will be involved. Budget will be used transparently. I have concerns about whether the next government will continue with
these projects. I will leave the decision to them. I am performing my duty as best as I can. At present, I would like the individuals who will run in the election to come out and tell society what they intend to do when they become the government. People have been accusing me of cajoling the public through the use of state media and whatnot. I am providing the public with facts and giving them the knowledge and information that will enable future collaborations. There are more people who understand this than people who do not. However, those who do not understand are being rallied, and this is causing damage. On the topic of empowering the agriculture sector, I was reading the Krungthep Thurakit newspaper this past week when I saw news that promoted good things about members of the new generation who had a love for their locality and for agriculture. This group of individuals is making many people realize that raising water buffalo in the Northeast is not outdated. Additional income is also generated.

Projects driven under collaboration between the state sector, universities, private organizations and civil society organizations are helping to empower localities and regions. I would like farmers to rear more livestock – cows, buffalo, goats, sheep and others – because we have less water. We may have to raise more animals in the future and grow crops that need less water. Demand, supply and marketing all need to be considered. This could allow farmers' to make more income than from only growing crops. Livestock rearing might also be taken up as a side job so that the main income remains unaffected. We may have to undertake both agriculture and raising livestock. Recently, I saw on television that Wagyu beef was being produced in Si Chiang Mai District. Cattle were fattened and various methods were applied so fat is interspersed throughout the muscles. The price per cattle, about 100,000 to 200,000 baht, is approaching the high price fetched abroad. The 'brave returnees to localities' is another development of interest. Some 700 young adults were taking part in the first batch, in order to empower communities with know-how in integrated farming and the Sufficiency Economy philosophy. The participants will coach farmers in each locality, teaching them the sufficiency way of life. The starting point will be simple things that already exist, not things that must be requested from the state. It starts
with enabling a person to sufficiently have means to go about life and sustain themselves. The state will make contributions on aspects that remain missing.

As an example, the 'edible fence' project already exists to encourage backyard garden-keeping. If we reduce our expenses and keep a household expenses account, then we can keep track of whether each spending was necessary. Quality organic fertilizer can be produced based on each locality's attributes. A Soil survey has to be conducted before the fertilizer mix can be devised. Costs will be reduced and thus farmers' margin will improve. Livestock rearing, forest planting, preservation of watershed forest, and optimization of natural resource usage will allow farmers to save on cost and enable them to have higher income and better well-being.

I would like more people to be educated in their localities, at the local colleges and regional universities. If everybody comes into Bangkok or into big cities then their localities will not be developed as much. We are accelerating local development at the moment. People should study in their own locale and then work in their own locale, so their hometowns can be improved. Urban communities need to take shape in rural areas as well. Environment-related undertakings must also be carried out in tandem. Pollution must be avoided during industrial development. The farming occupation will then be reinforced by the labor requirements at factories. I would like members of the public to help think this through. Otherwise, we will end up with no gains – people will be swamped with problems and short on money. I would like good projects such as these to take shape, and demonstrate how collaboration between the state, the public, independent organizations, the private sector and civil society sector allows a state of the people to function – where everybody contributes towards the empowerment of communities. I have been dispatching teams to many provinces in the South and Northeast in order for understanding to be had about the real state of the problems facing farmers, especially the problems faced by cooperatives and farmers' groups. Good cooperation was received from farmers, most of who understood the government's policies and were willing to cooperate. All messages of support and reports of problems are being received. I am trying to solve these problems according to their urgency. I have said before that the budget is limited and that if a certain
matter cannot be addressed in the first phase then it must wait for the second phase. There are phases 1, 2 and 3 and priorities are set based on the severity of each problem, with no intention of trying to win the favor of people in specific areas. I have been informed that many farmers have merged into farmers' groups in order to jointly manage a larger land area for the purpose of cost-saving, in accordance with government policy. These groups have also registered to form new cooperatives. Many of the cooperatives have also been developed to the point that the profits can be distributed. Another initiative being driven by this government is the creation of community enterprises and social businesses in every locale. I would like the members of each farmer’s group to collaborate, learn, and consult the public sector. They will then have the power to negotiate with middlemen and to develop new markets for themselves, enabling higher produce prices.

Nevertheless, many farmers' groups remain unregistered and have not yet been established into cooperatives. This is important. The same goes for SMEs. If you do not register as a juristic person then it will be difficult to receive assistance from the state, due to the nature of public funds expenditures. Once you register, orders and priorities can be set for aid to be delivered. Please do not worry about the government demanding tax from you. You need to learn how to sustain your operation, and the government will give you assistance in the initial period. Once you are strong, the taxes will be appropriate and you will be ready to pay up. Currently, I am not trying to hasten your taxation duties. Relevant officials – provincial cooperatives, district and provincial agriculture offices, provincial commerce or industry offices – must head down into areas under their jurisdiction. I would like provincial governors to foster synergy between all agencies and create understanding. The NCPO will also head down to the areas to help with the facilitation of knowledge on registration, which many people might view as being complex and associated with numerous official documents – some of which are hard to make sense of. I have ordered for this aspect to be addressed, but some time will be needed. As for the trip to the UNGA in the United States, the visit should be taken as a success by our country and not mine. People have nonetheless tried to criticize my acceptance of various awards in order to discredit me. I would like to clarify that everybody knows I am a prime minister that
was not elected. Nevertheless, the assembly received me with respect and allowed me opportunities to deliver my speeches on various affairs. Thailand has also been entrusted by member countries to take the chairmanship of the G77 bloc, which was based not on rotation but on year-to-year selection of the appropriate country. I would like the critics to try to appreciate how other countries constantly provide Thailand with opportunities. We should not, by our own actions, ruin these opportunities afforded to our country. I am trying to keep things together until we are past this period of crises. In the future when democracy is completely restored after an election, our international relations will be cordial as it has been. But if we sabotage ourselves now, credibility will not be restored even after the election takes place. After my return, the United States issued a report on how Thailand has made significant advancement in our efforts to eliminate the worst forms of child labor for the period of 2014. The efforts of 140 countries in eliminating the worst forms of child labor were assessed, and Thailand's placement was upgraded from moderate advancement to significant advancement. This was the highest category a country could achieve, and Thailand was only 1 of 13 countries that was placed in this category. I believe the upgrade was a result of the efforts of all parties and all Thais in carrying out this duty in a collaborative and concrete manner.

The creation of a national policy committee to address migrant labor and human trafficking problems also demonstrated the government’s sincerer effort to address the problem of child labor. The Ministry of Labor had issued a regulation setting the minimum age of workers in the agriculture and fishing sectors. Significant funding and supporting programs by relevant sectors targeted the elimination of child labor. Labor law enforcement was conducted by a proactive, multidisciplinary team. The National Plan of Action to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor (2009-2014), and the 2nd NPA for 2015-2020, were both implemented. Nonetheless, I am not saying that we must act in exact compliance with an evaluation just for the sake of an evaluation, but because it is the right thing to do for real change and progress, to really make corrections, for the purpose of bringing about equality and gains for the people, and to prevent exploitation of youths. As for the media, I have made countless pleas in Thailand and abroad, that we must analyze information before you deciding...
what to believe that is printed or broadcasted. You can even ask me directly if you want, or questions can be submitted to the government or to the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Spokesperson will clarify them for you. Some columnists are still taking sides. The public remains divided, although less so. I fail to understand how these individuals can denounce every single thing said by the government. Don’t you have any love for your country? No matter how good something is, the only connection they draw is how it came from an undemocratic government. Consider what happened under the previous governments. Consider what I am doing today. Some of the things I am being criticized for have already been addressed, and yet I continue to be accused.

I would like to ask the younger generation of reporters and columnists to exercise the highest ethics. I want all of the younger members of the press to know that they are an important driving force for the nation. The government does part of the work, and the public does the other part. The press creates understanding, linkage as well as conflicts between the two. You need to also respect the rights of others, and not make demands or criticisms on things that are not based on facts. Everybody knows about the circumstances we are in at the moment. For the month of October, community products from SMEs nationwide are being featured at the government's market. The fair is co-hosted by SME Bank and various state agencies under the concept of 'four ready to serve items', which include 1) Tasty food 2) Pleasing gifts 3) Various funding source 4) Established on sight at the fair. The fair is arranged to facilitate business matching and pleasant shopping experiences. Visitors can shop and try out new food as well, or learn about the available low-interest sources of funding supported by the government. SME operators can also receive counseling at the fair. I would like everybody to come and listen. SMEs have to be registered as juristic persons in order to access the funds, because state budget is involved. The Office of Small and Medium Enterprises Promotion will help with the registration of the businesses. The Ministry of Commerce, the Thai Credit Guarantee Corporation and the Cooperative Auditing Department will also provide counseling. Accounting presents a problem for many SMEs. The operators did not understand accounting and this had prevented them from registering. Please come and learn – it is easy and takes just a short while. Registration can then be completed. I would like to invite members of the public,
business owners, civil servants in the nearby areas, and tour groups visiting Rattanakosin Island to visit the fair. Visitors can also enjoy the various, which are results of recent research and development efforts. Visitors will be sheltered and kept dry from the rain. I would like everyone to come to learn. We have to keep ourselves relevant by continuous learning, and not only for obtaining a degree. I would like all members of the public to support this fair. Moreover I would like all of us to be involved in contributing to our nation. I have my responsibilities, like others, and am here to propel matters, to re-organize, to ensure equal access and fairness, while everybody also has their share in country development. Some things still need understanding, and that is why Thai people keep talking about power, gains and inheritance of power without trying to understand that I am working for the benefit of everybody. I am working for your future. What would I want power for? I wish you have a happy weekend, and may you travel in safety. Thank you and goodbye.

Appendix 3.17
National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – October 16, 2015

Good evening, dear Thai citizens.
First of all, congratulations to the national football team after their victory in the World Cup qualifier. They have brought fame for the country as well as pride to all Thais. They are now closer to achieving their ultimate dream. I would like to thank the athletes and the coaching staff for bringing happiness to the people and for demonstrating unity, teamwork, commitment, and sportsmanship. They have represented Thailand very well. The issues of priority for the government and NCPO are as follows. We are trying to lay down firm fundamentals for the country in several areas, including national security, the economy, society, legislation, the justice system, and foreign relations. Other issues that need to be addressed include suppressing narcotics, forest encroachment, adjustment of our economic structure, land allocation (which is now under the supervision of the National Land Policy Committee), the restructuring of our agricultural sector in preparation for drought and
changes in weather conditions, solutions to agricultural problems, and revision of trade and investment regulations. The government will also look after the real estate sector and the SME sector. All of these matters are in the first phase of our reform plan. We need to continue our reform efforts, which are still in the first phase, starting since 22 May 2014 until July 2017. Then there will be a clearer reform plan that will be handed down to the next elected government. We will outline the 20-year Country Strategy and closely follow the 12th National Economic and Social Development Plan. We will support the work of the CDC and the NLA in drafting the new constitution and organic laws, so that they can be accepted internationally while also being appropriate and specific to Thailand, which will then propel Thailand to become a stable, prosperous, and sustainable country. We will improve the justice system at all levels, be they police, prosecutors, courts, and independent organizations. In the first phase, 300 laws as well as ministerial regulations are being modernized to build trust and confidence in the laws as well as in their enforcement, so that all people will respect such laws and regulations. This will help to reduce conflicts between citizens and authorities, as the latter will also need to improve to serve the people with justice, transparency, and productivity. The government also has to foster understanding among the public, civil society, and foreign countries regarding political developments and other developments in the country, in particular our national reform process. As for legal cases that have incurred substantial damages to the nation and have been prolonged, the current government is adamant about not leaving any burdens behind to the people and the next government. The recent cabinet meeting summed up these cases, in which six of them the government is the plaintiff, while in another six, the government is the defendant. The cabinet was informed of these cases, so that necessary solutions can be introduced. Some of these cases have been ongoing for almost 20 years. The government will try to resolve these cases the best it can in accordance with the law and judicial procedures. As for cases incurring huge financial losses such as fraud and corruption, all concerned should go through the judicial system and let everything run according to the process. Defendants in these cases should conduct themselves like defendants in other regular cases, as normal citizens who have been accused and therefore are defending themselves according to normal judicial procedures. The defendants of these cases should
understand and not distort information nor take a position in order to hinder the justice system. Every case has to go through this process. The NCPO and the government is not doing this to bully, harass, or to be unfair in any way. Therefore I would like to ask members of the press to refrain from escalating conflicts, while carefully studying the law so that they can create understanding with the public. We must all cooperate and abide with the law and regulations, and not condone impunity. I would like to ask that those who are not directly involved in these cases including the public, the private sector, civil society and the ethical press, to help build stability for Thailand, and security for people and properties, so that our country can move forward in a normal way, with normal laws, and without exacerbating conflicts, especially so that we can strengthen international confidence in Thailand. As for those who have good intentions but may not have complete information about situations and have been unaware of the impact of their criticisms, I would like to reiterate that as the country is undergoing a situation with several vulnerabilities, it is essential that solidarity and reconciliation be reflected in the true will of the people. It is not something that happens by force or through the enforcement of laws. This week I have a number of issues to update you. The first one concerns the water situation. I want everyone to understand the real circumstances. There is no need to be alarmed. What we need is good preparation for future problems. The government is providing you with factual information, because we only have limited water resources. However we can manage this situation when water is scarce. We all need to cooperate and stay informed. We now rely heavily on rainfalls. And when it rains, it doesn’t rain where water can be stored. In addition to that, deforestation has crippled the soils capacity to hold water. The rainy season is coming to an end while water levels in major dams are still below target. Although the government is doing all it can to maintain and store as much as water as possible, and with a certain degree of success, we still need to be on high alert.

The government will closely monitor the use of water for agriculture next year, both within and outside irrigation and industrialized zones. Salt water will be pushed back into sea to maintain ecological balance. The most important thing is drinking water
and water for consumption. The government therefore seeks cooperation from all sides on:

1) Conserving water. We need everyone to use water efficiently. Statistics say Thailand uses 120 litres of water per head per day, 3rd highest in ASEAN. If everyone can change their habits on the consumption of water, it would help our country a lot

2) Cooperation from farmers in adapting planting methods. We seek cooperation from our farmers to turn from growing rice to growing crops that require less water or to raising livestock instead. You can also move into fish farming, which helps lower the risks of damages to agricultural produce during the dry season. Or you can introduce yourself to other professions. The use of water for agriculture accounts for up to 70% of stored water. I have instructed the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Interior to educate fellow agriculturists on integrated farming. Farmers also need to be educated on marketing approaches.

As for building stability in the agricultural sector, it needs collaborative effort from the government, private sector, civic sector, and the public. Recently, the committee to promote and develop our agricultural system convened a meeting to draw up strategies to sustainably improve the country’s agriculture through joint-efforts between responsible agencies. I would like to see measures being implemented with tangible results. Many constructive ideas have been proposed by this committee, such as:

The first measure is to use a network of local ‘sages’ or learned people as a mechanism to create understanding among local farmers, by teaching them how to be successful in their career. You need to learn from those who have been successful and help build stability in your community. The second measure concerns R&D for the betterment of farming and ranching, with a view of adding value to products. This is a priority matter. Thailand has invested substantially in R&D. We have more than 230,000 research projects in 2015. We have spent more than 20 billion baht on research, and have yielded 510 successful sustainable agricultural programmes as a result. We shall continue to pursue these research programmes so that we create and add value to agricultural crops. Thai farmers need to be modern agriculturalists that can produce quality products, so that they do not have to depend on traders or be
vulnerable to fluctuating global market trends, and can be resilient in our current economic situation. In terms of marketing promotion, we will set up community markets, local markets, organic markets, and networks for exchanging goods. We also promote wholesale marketing. The more markets there are in Thailand, the better monetary circulation Thailand will have. These markets also create income and job opportunities in communities. It also saves time and costs for the farmers. The fourth measure pertains to the development of the Participatory Guarantee System (PGS), which was initiated by the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM), a network of producers responsible for monitoring quality of crops produced by its members. This can boost confidence of local buyers and will in the future lead to higher standards of organic produce and exporting goods. The fifth measure concerns building network of educational institutions such as the promotion of schools or training courses for sustainable agriculture. Integrated organic farming can help produce a new generation of farmers and encourage greater innovation in agriculture. The next topic is about solutions to the IUU problem, which is another national agenda. This problem had been overlooked for a long time, prompting international organizations to pressure Thailand to rectify the situation. The government will continue to urgently address this matter and the Command Center for Combating Illegal Fishing (CCCIF) will be the main unit to tackle this issue. So far there has been significant progress. We have to thank the CCCIF and other responsible agencies for their contribution. I also want to thank fellow fishermen for their cooperation. There are only a handful of people who still don’t understand the concept. People will always be impacted by the enforcement of new laws. Thailand’s fishing industry must be up to international standards. As for those who are affected by the enforcement of new fishing regulations, the cabinet has set aside a budget of 230 million baht, allocated from the 2015 fiscal budget, to assist and compensate entrepreneurs, fishing staff, and all individuals who were forced to stop their operations following the new laws. These people need to have legal documents, get registered, or have licenses before they can go back into the sea. I have instructed related officials to swiftly look into this matter and make sure all data is correct, and that all fishing activities are lawful and transparent. The government – via the CCCIF – is ready progress check on the IUU problem the EU representatives’ during October
There is readiness in all aspects, including marine fishing management policy, the fishing bill, the national operation plan, the back-tracing plan, the monitoring plan and the plan for the prevention of human trafficking on vessels. I am confident that the results should turn out to be positive. Importantly, correctness should always be strived for, so that everything falls in line with the global standards. Meanwhile, fishermen will be cared for. This will allow for our marine resources to be plentiful, sustainable and usable for future generations. It will also lend toward conservation tourism.

We need to understand that we need to be careful regarding the sale of marine products in the global market, which has become increasingly challenging due to competition and increasing regulations. This is especially so for fishing regulations in international waters. Currently, Thailand's products are worth hundreds of billions of baht, but they may no longer be purchased if we fail to solve the IUU problem. Who can we sell to, then? Fishermen will then have no income. We need to join hands to solve this problem together. Onto the topic of moving Thailand forward with the Roadmap. Phase 1 of the roadmap commenced following May 22, 2014. It involved addressing urgent problems that directly afflicted the well-being and daily life of members of the public. Phase 1 also involved the reduction of disparities and the creation of fairness in society. We are currently in phase 2, which is instrumental for establishing regulations and rules in our society. A draft charter was created based on internationalism and appropriateness for Thailand, in order to solve problems, resolve complexities, conflicts, political deadlocks and the pitfalls of democracy – all of which have accumulated over a long time. A solid and sustainable foundation was also being laid through the 11 aspects of reforms. The reforms will allow our country to transition into phase 3, when a new, elected government comes into office under a new constitution. A reliable mechanism for the solving of political dead-ends must be put into place. I would like this military way to solve political problems to be the last of its kind for Thailand. We must also have a clear and viable framework for real reforms, which cover all aspects of national development. The 20-year Country Strategy is more than a short-term 5 year National Economic and Social Development Plan, and will steer the direction of national administration for subsequent governments. Every sector, especially the business and investment sector in and outside Thailand, wants to see clarity and reliability from the state sector. Previously,
this may not have been the case. Coupled with a lack of cooperation, the country thus missed out on many opportunities. We have the chance to make Thailand into a hub, a production base, because we have many resources. I have been trying to create an understanding among people domestically and abroad, in order for them to see Thailand’s progress and for them to become confident that we are making positive developments. As for the problems that remain unresolved, I hope that subsequent governments will administer the country based on good governance and on public participation, with a reform framework and Country Strategy based on consent and cooperation from the people. Disseminating correct information without it being distorted is of utmost importance during the 2nd phase of the roadmap. This is true at both levels - at the policy level, which currently involves the 'five rivers' and the National Reform Steering Assembly (NRSA), and at the Constitution Drafting Committee level, which will need to create a thorough understanding about objectives, roles and the work being done. The NRSA will have to base its work on the NCPO's 11 points of reform, while assimilating the remaining points of reform by the NRC. Meanwhile, the CDC needs to have a guideline for charter drafting. I have mentioned many times, and the chairman has also mentioned, of (1) the drafting of a charter that is internationally recognized while appropriate to Thailand's circumstances (2) building a democracy that promotes citizens' roles and duties and not only based on freedom, (3) the addressing of political problems from the past, the prevention of parliamentary dictatorship and corruption, the creation of check-and-balance mechanisms and the promotion of good governance (4) acceptance of a wide range of opinions in society, and the fostering of opportunities to participate. Lastly, we turn to the matter of promoting Thailand's image and role in the international arena. I was informed about the Thailand Pavilion at the World Expo, which is taking place between May 1 and October 31 in Milan, Italy. The familiar 'Thai Sala' presentation has been replaced with the 'ngop' hat that Thai farmers use when working on paddies through blazing sunshine and rain storms. The hat was selected to symbolize Thailand's readiness to become the kitchen to the world, because we are an agricultural country. Our display is able to contend with the displays from some 140 countries, with major Italian media having voted it as being among the 5 most unique
architectural structures at the expo. CNN has also hailed the pavilion as among the most impressive designs.

Numerous visitors queue up for hours to enter the pavilion. I was informed that the waiting time was as long as 4 hours on some days. 12,000 people visit the pavilion per day, on average. During the first week, an average of 16,000 people visited the pavilion each day. I would like to thank all relevant individuals for successfully showcasing this Thai identity to the international community, thereby reinforcing tourists' and investors' confidence in our country. You can see that the Thai identity is unique and something to be proud of. We must all help to promote as well as preserve this identity, as well as our culture, traditions and Thainess. Thank you and Goodbye.

Appendix 3.18
National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister –November 6, 2015

Good evening, dear fellow Thai citizens.

It is very delightful that a large number of people have expressed their interests in the upcoming “BIKE FOR DAD” activity. In the capital city of Bangkok, a total of 99,999 cyclists have already registered. 234,137 people registered outside Bangkok and the number of overseas cyclists is recorded at 9,623. Overall, a total of 343,759 people will be participating in this cycling event. In preparation for the event, routes inside and outside Bangkok have already been designated; as riders will be traveling pass several landmarks. These landmarks will be renovated, especially for safety, and beautified prior to the activity. The activity will be held to celebrate the auspicious occasion of HM the King’s Birthday Anniversary, and for all to express our devotion to our Monarchy, and His Majesty, the Father of the Land. This will be a historical and memorable event that will capture the attention of people around the world. The event also aims to raise awareness about road safety while encouraging commuters to abide by traffic regulations. I call on the public to take precautions and help keep an eye out for unexpected incidents so that everyone will be safe. Today I have several
matters I wish to inform you about. The first issue concerns a general election. All things are being prepared according the Roadmap. There have been a lot of suggestions about the electoral which I have closely been keeping up with. People have the right to express themselves about the election, regardless of which party wins or loses. What I am particularly concerned about is how we elect proficient representatives that are competent and are trusted by the people. In this case, voters should learn from our experiences, especially from our previous problems, and review all the lessons so as to avoid the return of unscrupulous politicians to government. I still stand by the 6-4-6-4 formula to general elections as I have mentioned before. There are a number of things that need to be done in national administration and in tending to remaining urgent matters. Nevertheless every step is vital to this formula, so due time is required. All the five “rivers” or channels driving national reform should go in the same direction. At the same, everyone is free to propose their opinions on this issue, while a conclusion will reflect the will of the majority. We must all take it upon ourselves not to further damage the country through words and actions that instigate conflicts. We need to accept our mistakes and the real problems our nation is facing. Regarding my comment made during the latest “Five Rivers” meeting about ‘closing our country’, I was merely embellishing the point that if we didn’t try to work together, then we will not be able to reach our goal. I have to apologize for causing any confusion or alarm. My only intention was to remind everyone that if we slip back into conflict and peacefulness is broken, then we will not be able to break free from this situation and move towards general elections. This is what I am concerned about. I want everything to move forward in accordance with the Roadmap. We need to have everything prepared and make sure that Thailand will not go back to the way in was in the past. In order for Thailand to become a fully democratic country, people must truly understand the concept, know how to solve existing problems, and understand the importance of cooperation. Otherwise, we will not be able to reform anything. The key thing for us now is political reform, so that other vital reforms can be achieved. Regarding recent political movements, I apologize for being upset at times and for being impatient with some media. It’s a habit of mine, so sorry about that. Actually, I do not hold anything against anyone. As we are handling many issues and complexities, there are still those who provoke and
deliberately spread distorted information. Some members of the press, despite having been warned about reporting untruths, have not made the corrections to their material. Nevertheless, I will not violate the freedom of the press. But please be more careful in verifying the information. Regarding movements to wear coloured shirts - I have not taken any action whatsoever. The people have been cooperating with each other and conflicts were not instigated or escalated. So in this case, if everyone refrains from pressuring each other, authorities will not have to step in to enforce certain laws, which is a good thing. It is a sign that reconciliation is beginning. If people cooperate and look after each other, the government will not have to enforce special laws when a situation rises. The country will be at peace. In the meantime, there are those people who want the government to enforce strict laws so that the situation seems more intense and that the government seems to be abusing its power. The distortion of the truth can cause misunderstanding in the international community. Where are we going to stand then?

If you want to help me, help the country, then please urge and explain to those who are intent on breaking the law to refrain from doing so. The law does not give special treatment to anyone. Everyone has to abide by it. Some people have commented that some laws are unjust, but this is because the country has not been a normal situation. Everything has to move forward so that we can have a general election. As I mentioned before, if you want to make suggestions or complaints about urgent issues, please do so through the channels provided and we shall address these matters. Thailand now has a law on public gatherings so please be aware of its stipulations. The government is currently addressing the lottery ticket problem. The problem does not derive from the law itself or the NCPO or the government. But everyone has to understand the regulations and cooperate with them. The problem was fixed, but has resurfaced due to middlemen selling at the price of 79 baht to retailers, who can only sell the tickets at 80 baht each. Low-income earners who sell lottery tickets should learn how to fix the problem together rather than blocking roads every time you have a problem. It is illegal and violates others’ rights. As I told you before, laws are enforced to ensure fairness and equality. We treat everyone the same way and are not bullying low income earners as some have accused. In reference to the NCPO’s order
to protect government officials and related agencies responsible for managing rice stockpiles and pressing charges against responsible individuals, the government may have to explain it several times. I already explained it. DPM Wissanu already explained it. This has nothing to do with amnesty like some people have claimed. It is all about us trying to investigate the rice case. The order is not issued to accelerate legal procedures, but instead, it was meant to allow government authorities to do their work properly and without having to worry about what consequences they will face for doing their job. Authorities shall not be intimidated or fear prosecution if they are doing their job honestly. However if authorities are the ones who commit a crime, then they will duly be prosecuted. But some officials now are being threatened by an unknown group claiming that the latter’s return to power will result in consequences for those officials who are trying to do their job. Please understand this fact. I hope that the society understands the truth. As for other matters, such as contentions with some members of the press, as I mentioned before, I do not hold anything against them. But if laws were indeed broken, then legal actions will have to be taken. Then they accuse me for being short tempered with them and violating their freedoms. If the press was manipulated by me, why would they write negative stories about me? Because I have no control, the press can present whatever they want to present. What I can do is tell them to be more careful and that they may be breaking the law if they provide false information. Only a handful of them are doing this and are rejecting everything the government tries to do by presenting only one side of the story. However, I would like to thank those members of the media who have presented what the government is actually doing, so that people can learn about the real problems and how the government has been sincere in addressing them. As for economic affairs, the government’s standpoint for working with our foreign friends is to emphasize building partnerships. We will seek to strengthen economic cooperation with others, without leaving anyone behind. As for infrastructure development, we are now reducing all unnecessary processes and regulations in order to expedite infrastructure projects. Reducing procedures means reducing the timeframe. Some matters need to be urgently implemented while transparency is uncompromised. A lot of these projects will be implemented and will be passed on to the next administration. Meanwhile, corruption cases will be duly investigated. We should not bicker on this
matter and cooperate for the benefit of the whole. When successful, the country’s economy will improve and the government will be able to spend more. This will be good for businesses and other sectors as well. People will have more income. Today, people question why they have not earned more income from these projects. How can you earn more when such projects cannot be implemented? We have policies in place, but we need to revise some regulations to allow a more efficient process. If you want extra income or to have a better profession, you need to update yourself on the government’s efforts and support our initiatives to push forward these projects. The domestic economic situation is now showing trends of improvement after such projects have been laid out, generating extra money for communities. Although it is may not be much for low-income earners, more money is being circulated in your areas. Thailand has a large number of low-income earners; especially among farmers. We have 70 million people, out of which 30 million are farmers. The question is how we can help them grow sustainably. The overall economy has improved despite a slowdown in the export sector. We need to emphasize innovation and improving our production to be more advanced. This is not something that can be done in a day or a month, but there has to be prominent progress in the next couple of years through the granting of privileges to boost income in the agricultural sector. The prices of some Thai products are still low due to our competitiveness. Despite that, Thailand has seen better numbers than other exporters. We need to work together to build higher value to our goods. I have seen a lot of businesses being interested in R&D. New technologies have been applied in the production sector. The current government has a list of measures to support new innovative ideas. I ask for the private sector to cooperate with the government more. I saw this show where people compete and showcase their innovations. This is a good project that inspires people about innovation and technology. So what can be applied now should be applied in the production industry. For instance, some OTOP products have been tremendously improved and their producers are earning more. Despite these efforts, some groups have continued to reject everything we have done. But it is important to take a sound approach when comparing the current government’s performance to the previous ones’, looking at mistakes and flaws of the past as well. I want people to think about this. The government seeks to ease people’s hardships and look after fellow farmers
on many issues like growing alternative plants such as crops that require small amount of water or cattle ranching in rubber plantations. This is to help you earn extra income. You cannot grow rubber alone and hope that it will lasts for the whole year. You need to look for alternatives. When rubber trees are not fruitful, you still have your cattle. You can also grow other crops. The other day, I saw on TV that many rubber farmers grow alternative crops. These farmers said they are able to make a living on other plants. They said although the trees are not producing rubber, they can feed on other vegetables they grow. Mostly, we have focused on quantity, not quality. This is why we have oversupply. But if we have other alternatives, the problem of oversupply is unlikely to occur in the first place. For those growing other crops, they can sell the crops they grow and make a decent living out of it. You can also share your crops with others like His Majesty has said about the sufficiency economy philosophy. Many measures concerning rice, rubber, and water can be categorized into urgent measures, assistance measures, and measures to build stability, agricultural zoning, and education. There are many measures out there. The government has issued many assistance measures to rice and rubber farmers. You need to see it for yourself.

As for the IUU problem, the government is adamant about eradicating all illegal, unregulated, and unreported fishing activities as well as human trafficking in the fishing industry. In order to successfully resolve the IUU problem, the cabinet has approved the Fisheries Decree which is will help the country effectively bring solutions to the fishing sector. The cabinet has also approved a marine resources management plan and a national strategic plan for eradicating the IUU problem. I would like to reiterate that the government has been working very hard and will continue to do so until all problems in the fishing industry are completely solved. The same goes for the problem of human trafficking in this industry. There must be concrete measures and results. We have implemented many solutions such as installing a monitoring system in factories, installing the vessel monitoring system on fishing boats, improving information sharing systems between related agencies, and inspecting piers and risk-prone spots. We are trying to make migrant registration easy for migrant workers. Everyone has to lend a helping hand. I strongly believe that we
will see a huge improvement in the next 3-6 months. In the middle of next year, EU officials will pay another visit to Thailand to discuss the matter and follow up on our progress. I think this will serve as a good opportunity to exchange opinions and learn from each other’s experiences. Thailand and the European Union share the same goal of solving IUU fishing in order for the fishing industry to prosper and to eliminate a problem that only a few Thais are involved in. I repeat that only a few Thais are involved, not all Thai fishermen. These few continue to disregard the law and even engage in slave labour. We will continue to prosecute these individuals and sustain progress on this matter. Today, we must also care of the victims of human trafficking in the fishing industry. The Thai government is sending a team to inspect various fishing vessels. However, certain ships are still at sea for several months without coming ashore. Certain ships that have violated the law are now traveling along distant or international waters and continue to conduct trade under the Thai flag. These are the ships that have caused trouble for our country. They’ve been stopping and conducting trade at foreign docks. Because of this, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has sent officials to these docks, demonstrating our commitment to solving this problem. In addition, seafood-processing plants will also be randomly inspected to ascertain the whereabouts of their stock. These inspections are a necessary to prevent future problems. The government, related officials, port authorities and operatives will show no leniency and have zero-tolerance on IUU fishing and human trafficking activities. I don’t want these efforts to be regarded as short term or done just to appease a certain group. Otherwise IUU fishing and human trafficking will continue to pose a threat to Thailand, as they have been longstanding problems that require swift action. Most importantly, we must ensure the preservation of our marine wildlife and allow it to prosper within our waters as well as our neighbor’s waters. Otherwise, illegal ships will conduct fishing activities with illegal equipment that will hamper the opportunity for our marine wildlife to reproduce. At the moment, there are already a low number of fish in our waters. However, after the implementation of the government’s policies, it has been reported that the income of fishermen has increased. In addition, the average size of fish caught has increased since they are no longer farmed at early ages with illegal equipment. Therefore, I would like to assure anyone who has been affected but is following the law, that the government will
definitely provide assistance measures. I urge all to stay updated and for various fishing associations not to switch the nationalities of ships. The government will crackdown on violators with full measures. Violators, authorities and victims will all be treated in accordance with the law. Furthermore, I do not want these individuals to have a place in Thai society: those that cheat, violate the law or conduct human trafficking. These people have no place in Thai society, let alone any society. These people become rich at the expense of other people’s suffering. Another important event this week was the official visit by Sri Lankan President H.E. Mr. Maithripala Sirisena. I extended to the President a message of congratulations on the progress of Sri Lanka’s political development. The country’s political situation shares certain similarities with Thailand such as a process of reconciliation among many things. For us, the major issue is political reform. Both the President and I had an opportunity to exchange opinions and agreed on many issues for moving forward. I told him of Thailand’s political progress in preparing for general elections, according to the reform Roadmap for building a strong and stable democracy and a united society. The President was able to share with me his experiences on the matter. As for national reform, all countries have their own issues and fundamental differences. Therefore I acknowledge that the country can consider other models of democracy and reforms. However, reform must be undertaken by Thais who are familiar with the country’s problems. Everyone should take part in reform in order to truly solve the country’s problems. Everyone should participate and point out what needs to be done. There may also be different conditions for different countries. I reiterate that reform must start from the will to cooperate and participate from all sectors. As for the economic goals of Thailand and Sri Lanka, we will cooperate in products and industrial sectors that have potential, such as textiles, jewelry and tea, with comprehensive efforts. When I mean comprehensive, let’s say if you want to sell something, you sell it together. If we’re always in competition, who is going to buy our products. Let’s say for jewelry, we can discuss who has the best raw material, best expertise or market access. We can jointly sell our products and not compete and therefore share our profits. If we keep competing with each other and produce products separately, we won’t be able to sell our products due to our own shortfalls. Today, Thailand has very skilled labor in the jewelry industry but needs to import all of its raw materials. This
is why we should seek partnerships and sell our products together. The jewelry industry is a very important sector valued in the trillions. If we can find a way to cooperate and share profits, we will reduce competition, increase our partners and expand our markets. Thailand and Sri Lanka has the potential to cooperate in many sectors, such as (1) Agriculture and Fishing, both in terms of expertise and commerce. We must share our experiences with Sri Lanka regarding many projects, studies, information exchange and research. Today, Sri Lanka is very advanced in research and development. We should seek cooperation in various things such as controlling diseases in shrimp stocks in order to develop our fishing industries. Sri Lanka has a variety of marine life, being an island nation. Thailand has a very strong fishing industry but doesn’t have much marine wildlife. Therefore, we must find out how we can create a partnership like how I just indicated earlier. (2) Investment. There are now several Thai businesses that are interested in investing in Sri Lanka, whether it is in the textiles, infrastructure or the hotel industry. The country’s tourism sector is still small but we can help them expand through exchange of information that benefits both parties. (3) We will support tourism in various ways, such as religious tourism. The Sri Lankan President told me that Thailand has been regarded for its high quality tourism and healthcare services, including modern and traditional Thai medicine, beauty products and spas. Many Sri Lankans travel to Thailand and utilize the country’s healthcare services. If we are able to strengthen this aspect, we will be able to boost income for both countries. In the meeting with the committee on educational development policies, I’ve instructed to the Ministry of Education, the labor market, the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Industry to reassess matters in order to draft new policies on the production and use of labor to coincide with the country’s economic development under the theme “vocational studies, local skills, building the country” Examples include (1) Having vocational schools join hands with businesses to open courses that develop special skills. The 2016 academic year will pilot programs such as aviation commerce, railway transportation, chemical petroleum, electricity production ventures, tourism and food safety. For 2017, pilot programs will commence in petroleum, automobile equipment, electronics and the hotel industry. This must take into consideration the appropriateness and potential for economic development and diversification of various industries and locations. Today we must
continue to develop the skills of graduates that are unemployed and turn them into personnel that are needed in the AEC market. How can we achieve this? If we wait for 2016-17, it would take a few years for them to graduate. (2) Another matter is cooperation with other countries in sending our vocational students to train in various courses to enhance the country’s readiness for integration. (3) Expand “dual studies” programs between general and vocational education so that students will receive both degrees upon graduate and immediate placement in the job market. The government could provide support in the form of tuition and school supplies. I would like to invite students to participate in vocational schools but I warn against squabbles between institutions. I want to put a stop to this as this animosity does not benefit anyone.As for the policy on “reducing school time…expanding learning time,” I see that a large number of students are unhappy with the amount of homework and the rigid style of classrooms. Despite the workload, students still lack various skills, become stressed and lack real job skills. Students don’t learn but only study in order to pass tests and earn their degrees. I don’t think this model is successful. We must ask ourselves how we can encourage Thai kids to be more analytical or “able to think.” This is a very important question. Education must give more than just knowledge; it must provide students with working skills and teamwork, as well as creativity and the ability to analyze and prioritize issues. Everyone must also prepare themselves to cope with changes in society in order to develop the country. The government has adopted several of His Majesty’s views on education: (1) Let the teachers love the students and the students love the teachers. Has this happened yet? (2) Let teachers teach students to be generous to their peers, to not compete with one another but to compete with themselves, to encourage fast-learning students to help out slower-learning students, and (3) Let teachers organize various events in order to make students realize the importance of cooperation. Policy implementation by the Ministry of Education currently upholds the following principles: (1) It must not affect the 8 major subjects (2) It must develop the 4H’s (Head, Heart, Hand, Heath) according to the student’s development stage. In other words, education must develop “intelligence, ethics, skills and wellbeing” which are essential to everyday living and working. (3) Assessments must be made on policy implementations in order to adapt them for future implementation. Assessments must be qualitative and not quantitative
in nature and must include assessments done by my students. There are 4,100 schools that have expressed readiness to participate in “reducing school time…expanding learning time” with 381 forms of activities ready to be introduced. Schools may be ready in different ways but they will all be equally assessed. In the early stages, the Ministry of Education will dispatch “Smart Trainers” to serve as counselors in drafting course and event calendars as well as troubleshoot any problems that arise. Some teachers or schools claim they weren’t notified. All the information has been provided. It is up to them to be proactive. Various educational districts must also stay informed about the policies. I urge all districts to revise their models and please follow the government’s policies.

As for the economy, the government has stimulated private investment by simplifying the process of participating in the joint government and private sector investment project called “PPP”. This simplifying policy designed for infrastructural investments is called the “PPP fast track.” The policy consolidates various agencies in order to reduce the time to approve of projects from 2 years to 9 months or as soon as possible. There are currently infrastructure projects totaling at 347 billion Baht under consideration. These projects will help stimulate the economy in the short and long term. In the past, investment from the private sector has been low, resulting in low production efficiency due to a lack of new technologies. This has negatively affected exports. I therefore think we must enhance the effectiveness of our production capabilities. There are several projects that qualify for the “PPP fast track” policy, consisting of the MRT Pink Line (Khao Rai – Minburi), MRT Yellow Line (Lat Phrao – Samrong), MRT Blue Line extension (Bang Sue - Tha Phra), the Nonthaburi waste disposal plant, the Nakhon Ratchasima waste disposal plant and the project to develop the Maritime Business Center of the Port Authority of Thailand.

In order to ensure transparency and fairness, the “PPP fast track” policy will not include time spent auditing and selecting applicants. These procedures must be in accordance with the Private Participation in State Undertaking Act. No amendments have been made to the law. Some might say that the project will be a venue for more corruption and conflicts of interests. These things won’t happen if the rules are
followed. This fast track policy is designed to develop the country's infrastructure. If we don’t use this policy, the government will have to invest huge amounts of money it can’t afford at the moment. Therefore, the government will allow the private sector to compete for projects in a free and just setting. Today, I have an example of a project that builds on conservation and sustainable development in the form of a social enterprise. This project is the 150-year-old Chantaboon Waterfront Community in Chantaburi Province that includes the featured exhibition of Baan Luang Rajamaitri. The project was part of a joint effort by the local community which pooled funds into preserving the architecture, history, environment and local way of life that encompassed social, cultural, economical and environmental development. This site serves as a cultural tourist attraction that creates jobs and income for the local community. This is a good success story about strengthening local communities. I would like members in all local communities to demonstrate their potential and uniqueness. Let’s try to search for each community’s “strengths” regarding culture, traditions, crafts, traditional skills and history and turn them into value that can empower the local economy. In only 2 months we will participate in the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). Therefore, the Government House’s Khlong Phadung Krung Kasem has hosted the “OTOP TO AEC…national treasures – from local to international” event between 3 -25 November, 2015 in order to showcase 3-5 star OTOP products from all regions across the country. Over 330 products with export potential have been featured at the venue. In addition, the event will provide information on business negotiations, marketing, design and finance for vendors and visitors who are interested in new business. The event will also have product review sessions to aid in further development as well as product value and market expansion. The products are encouraged to focus on quality. The even consists of experts and services from the Ministry of Interior to assist those who attend the even such as national ID card applications. Those who have old or damaged ID cards can have new ones made here in the spot. The event also demonstrates housing blue prints and how to value land. I would like to invite all to attend the event and support quality products made by Thais, gain business skills and utilize the services at the location. If any questions can’t be answered, the people at the event will forward your questions and get them answered. Finally, I would like to invite all Thais to preserve Thai art and
culture by taking your children to see traditional Khon Phrommas performance “the Battle of Indrajit” under the patronage of Her Majesty the Queen at the Thailand Culture Center between 7 November – 5 December. Those who are interested can visit www.khonperformance.com The Cabinet and I will be attending the first performance. There are over 50 performances. The performance must be carefully viewed in terms of different costumes and mannerisms. I would like everyone to learn how to foster a sense of pride in our beautiful history and culture. Foreigners travel to our country for these things. Other countries try to provide visitors with information about their own cultures and traditions in order for them to pass it on. Other countries are good hosts and take care of visitor’s safety. It is not just about making a profit. Thank you. I may have spoken a bit too harshly on issues or too lightly on others today, so I do apologise. Sometimes I may a bit short tempered, perhaps normal for a former soldier. I wish you all happiness and safety this weekend. Sawasdee Krub

Appendix 3.19

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – November 13, 2015

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. As the second Saturday of November marks the National Day for Persons with Disabilities, I would like to call on the public to be mindful that people with disabilities are our nation’s valuable resource. If looked after well and given opportunities, these people will be able to make important contributions to our country. The most important aspect is building an environment where people can live their lives with equal access and opportunities without discrimination. Most recently, our disabled athletes made all of us proud after having taking part in many international competitions. Furthermore, a group of disabled athletes will be taking part in the ASEAN Para Games in Singapore between Dec 3 and Dec 9, 2015. I, on behalf of all Thais, would like to wish you good luck and all the success. On the occasion of the National Day for Persons with Disabilities, HRH Princess Galyani Vadhana had bestowed a name for an artificial flower to the National Council on Social Welfare of Thailand (NCSWT) as symbol for people with
disabilities. The artificial flower, which I am also wearing at the moment, is called “Kaew Kallaya”. The flower represents all people with disabilities. All the money from selling Kaew Kallaya flowers, which are made by the disabled themselves, will be used to improve their living standards. It also helps to create jobs for them. I would like to ask every individual to purchase these symbolic flowers and support the disabled every way you can. As for preparations for the “BIKE FOR DAD” event which will be participated by Thais and foreign nationals in our country as well as in 66 cities overseas, more than 500,000 people have already registered for the event which will be co-hosted by the government and the private sector. There will also be other activities such as Khon performances, Royal exhibitions, and tourism promotion campaigns in different areas. Responsible units must make sure that these activities run smoothly and safely at all times. As for the riders, you need to have your physical condition ready and your bicycles checked up prior to the event. You also need to study the cycling route and regularly update yourself with new information concerning the event.

Matters I would like to talk to you about today are as follows. I would like to ask all members of the press to be extra careful of the possible repercussions when presenting news. Everyone understands well that Thailand is moving towards reform and elections, therefore, defamatory remarks and deliberate distortion of information will only create more conflicts, making it difficult for the government to administer the country. It can even prevent us from achieving national reconciliation and returning to normalcy. Cases involving the possibility of misconduct, such as by government officials, are not being exempted from the justice processing in any way, but I ask that you be careful when reporting on them, as they are still being processed and, therefore, presenting them incorrectly could impact other matters. I asked that all members of the press present news that is based on fact and truth as well as the legal precedent and judicial procedures. Of concern also is the possibility of some press being charged with defamation following the reporting of stories that are not based on truth. The government and the NCPO have asked station owners, editors, and columnists on several occasions to cooperate by checking up on this, and we have also put forth the importance of maintaining peacefulness and stability in the country through the accurate reporting of news. You are a stakeholder in the future of this country as much as the government, the NCPO, and the people.
The government and the NCPO fully understand the importance of ethics, rights, and freedom. But it is not ethical to maintain that you have the right or the freedom to violate others' rights or freedoms. Please understand this fact. I am very concerned and ask for your cooperation, otherwise being sued for liable for defamation can cause further problems. As for the matter concerning water management, we all know that the combined amount of water inside and outside reservoirs is lower than what we had last year. Therefore, we need to look at the whole picture. For instance, the government has to focus on water for consumption and for maintaining balance in the ecosystem. I beseech all farmers to heed government’s suggestions, which will come to work for your own benefit. It will also help to maintain balance for the whole system.

Suggestions given by the Interior Ministry, the Agriculture Ministry, the Commerce Ministry, and other agencies can allow you to grow alternative crops, crops that give higher productivity, and crops that need less water. You might also want to consider raising livestock. The government also needs your cooperation to build more reservoirs. Misunderstanding about the water situation can cause more conflicts, so I ask you to pay heed to the complete information rather than distorted and unverifiable news. We need to think of solutions that are truly sustainable and not employ the faulty methods as before. The government has been using up-to-date information to develop integrated solutions based on principles, rationality, and ethics for addressing the countries urgent problems. We have been informing you regarding these measures on a regular basis, such as 1) the farming occupation development plan (2015-2016) in line with the needs of each community, 2) through collaborative effort by people in all levels and all regions under the idea of “state of the people”, 3) handbooks will be given out to farmers as a guideline to what crops would be suitable for what kinds of weather conditions. The guideline must reflect the real environmental conditions in each area. Some problems are more complicated than other. We don’t want the farmers to lose their income or have more debts. 4) the next measure concerns the quality of seedlings. And 5) we need to assist the farmers in promotional marketing. We must look into all aspects of this. Farmers need to educate themselves from the information provided by government authorities in their respective areas.
I would like to ask members of the public to purchase agricultural produce from farmers who have been affected by the drought disaster. We want them to earn sufficient income, so that they can get through this crisis. The distribution of rice stocks is a major issue. Should we set the price too high, no one will buy. Should we set it too low, we will see no profit. The problem is that there is too much rice in our warehouses, both good and bad rice. The longer it sits in the warehouse, the more damage it will do to the rice. Bad quality rice will be a burden on the government. Therefore, it is important that the rice committee study all possibilities to sell the stockpile of rice. We need cooperation from the private sector as well. Criminal cases need to go through normal procedures under the justice system. The government has acted in accordance with the law. As for the compensation for civil damages, the government has no intention to damage any politicians or any party, but matters need to proceed according to the law. As for the use of Article 44, I have already explained this and how it is important for the clearing of rice stocks in a transparent manner and for obtaining a clearer picture on these cases in order to regain confidence in the country’s rice production and rice distribution. We must build awareness and confidence within the country and internationally on this matter. As for the matter concerning the draft constitution and national reforms, the government and the NCPO wish to see Thailand become stronger and have a prominent place in the international arena, so that all Thais can be proud. I would like all citizens to participate in moving our country forward with “stability, prosperity, and sustainability”. From what we’ve experience, it is not an easy task. However, we are doing our best given the current circumstances. We cannot repeat the same mistakes or condone any illegal practices like we have in the past. Otherwise, we will not be able to step out of the same old trap. As for politicians and political parties, I would like to ask you all to make changes and prepare for the upcoming general elections. Please be ready. Once in charge of national administration, you need to exercise good governance and uphold the best interests of the public. People need to understand that Thailand needs to have a democratic system where politicians work together to administer this country for the well-being and happiness of all 70 million people, not only certain groups of people. All politicians need to help me think about what the country can do to fix problems at hand while refraining from escalating conflicts in society. The country has to move
forward. What can we do to prevent future conflicts or past conflicts from reoccurring? These problems have impact on all of us. We are trying to resolve problems in a sustainable way. If we only think about elections or how to retain power, the country will not be going anywhere. How can we solve the problems that have been dragging on for a long time? In the meantime I wish to maintain stability for the country, so that we can have an election. As for the government and the NCPO’s effort to maintain peace and order, we need to do it through the principles of jurisprudence and political science. It must start with the jurisprudence. From there we can work on solving our problems so that peace and order is returned. Some people question why the government hasn’t taken certain actions, given all the power it has. It is because I don’t want to cause any distresses for the people. When there is a problem, a conflict rises. So we need to look back at the causes of these problems. These problems have been ignored for a long time. This is why a lot of people, both low-income and high-income earners, lack a basic understanding of what is legal and what is not. The reasoning to allow anything to happen that leads to more money will not suffice anymore. In the capital city of Bangkok, I want all responsible units to propose your implementation plans, be they the BMA or agencies under the Interior Ministry. Every measure should proceed in the same direction. We cannot enforce the law without assistance measures in place. I am particularly concerned about the people, especially those involved in public space encroachment. There must be proper measures to assist these people. I don’t want to use the word “compensate” because an illegality has occurred. But what we can do is assist. We will find another location for you. However, we will no longer allow anyone to encroach into public areas. If encroachment is allowed, the impact will be on everyone involved. We need to know how to address this problem while respecting the law. I understand that it can be problematic during this initial phase. I am empathetic to your situation and would like everyone to have a future. But if you continue to break the law, this will lead to more problems. Please be patient. Regarding the restructuring of the domestic market and the export market, we will commence with both policies while also mobilizing growth in communities. We still have pressing issues to address at the community level such as those involving low-income earners and struggling farmers. We should all cooperate as a “state of the
people.” Economic reform consists of work in many areas. There must be increased investments that are transparent and coincide with the country’s 20-year strategic development and reform plan. I expect that we will reach economic vitality within the first 5 years and then progress even further. Furthermore, the changing of the world’s “economic landscape” in the 21st century entails the shift towards Asia. Thailand is strategically situated as a hub in the middle of ASEAN. Therefore, if we direct our strategic plan towards developing our country into a hub for trade, investment, tourism and logistics using the latest technologies, innovation and communication methods according to the digital economy, we will be able to prosper along with world growth. What I just said is a means of elevating our country’s economy from the middle-income gap. This success depends on the work and cooperation of various agencies through a vertical and horizontal approach. The vertical approach entails cooperation from the government to the provinces and to local administrations. The next approach is the horizontal approach where each regional organization, whether they be government administrations, the public sector, NGOs and businesses coordinate with each other in implementing reform policies without causing rifts. With these forms of cooperation, policies should be met with success as expected.

This morning, I chaired the annual meeting of Thai Ambassadors and Consuls-General hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This was a meeting of our ambassadors and consuls-general stationed in 96 countries under the topic “proactive diplomacy for the mobilization of Thailand’s economy.” This event also served as a venue for the officials to discuss ways to push for the implementation of Thai economic policies overseas. Discussions covered ways of enhancing Thailand’s competitiveness; particularly for small and medium Thai businesses to find market opportunities and increase the value of Thai products and services. It also covered ways of connecting local businesses to the foreign market as well as ways to enhance cooperation with various Thai agencies in working with foreign countries under the phrase, “Team Thailand.” I’ve urged the ambassadors and consuls-general to continue to create confidence among foreign countries regarding Thailand’s political situation. I’ve instructed them to move forward in educating and creating understanding about Thailand’s developments, while advancing Thailand’s credibility on the world stage. I also discussed the matter of economic cooperation that will be beneficial for both
Thailand and our foreign friends. In addition, I’ve stressed the importance of the mission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the various embassies and consulate-generals to protect the safety of Thai people and Thai interests in foreign countries. A very important issue at the present time is creating understanding about Thailand’s political processes, its preparation for an election and its constitution drafting process, both in the first and second phases. These issues also affect investor confidence. This government has pioneered projects to return Bangkok’s canal to the public, which has included the expropriation of the Saen Saeb Canal, a 170-year-old canal spanning 72 kilometers. This canal has been used as a transportation route, a source of agriculture water and an important source of irrigation. The flooding of this canal will greatly impact its vicinity and therefore we must solve this problem. In the most recent Cabinet meeting, a project has been proposed involving the government’s ministries and agencies along with the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration in collecting waste in the canal. The issue of wastewater being dumped into the canal must also be solved with in 2 years. The main agendas consist of: (1) Improving the quality of the water by collecting waste, weeds and disposing of wastewater. (2) Improving the aesthetics, services and transportation safety by improving the ferry system, installing CCTVs at various gates and, most importantly: (3) Instilling a sense of responsibility in those using the canal. Houses along the canal should be kept clean so that this site can be another important tourist attraction. If the water is clean and the waterfront community lives responsibly with the canal, the site will be a beautiful place for visitors. This is a longstanding issue that must be solved permanently. I want this to serve as a guideline for developing canals and waterfronts across the country into an environment of mutual coexistence. I urge all sectors, whether it is the government, the private or the public sector to implement these guidelines. There are local and regional agencies involved that must implement these guidelines from today onwards. How do we refrain from destroying the environment, especially our rivers and canals which have coexisted with the Thai way of life? This is another precious cultural and tourist site.

The country’s tourism industry is what has continuously supported our economy. Despite the global economic slowdown, over 30 million tourists have visited Thailand
this year. This is a 30% increase from the same period last year. Income generated from tourism has totaled over 1 billion Baht, also a 30% increase from last year. We are now entering the tourist high season and expect a huge influx of tourists. I’ve instructed all related Ministries and agencies to ensure safety at various tourist sites as well as risk-prone areas such as airports, bus stations and piers. They’ve been instructed to ensure safety, cleanliness, and the preservation of the surrounding environment – all of which have an impact on tourism. As for various tourist attractions, authorities must efficiently manage the volume of tourists at one time while caring for the environment and preventing littering at places such as national parks. There must be no destruction of the environment. Excess numbers of people can degrade the beauty and appeal of a place. Authorities must care to manage the flow of people, not to let everyone in at once, which could lead to damage. However, we must also ensure that tourists are not upset with our policies. This is my concern for some officials that strictly adhere to rules, but should also also create an understanding of the situation and how solutions can be found. Tour companies as well, must coordinate time management so that the tour groups are not bunched up. Sanitation policies are also important. Last time I’ve come across places that after just one day of receiving tourists, the site was littered with a mountain of garbage. I want to stress the importance of cleanliness and the effective disposal of garbage. Restrooms are another important matter. There must be enough clean restrooms to accommodate tourists; otherwise there will definitely be complaints. It will be unacceptable for a large crowd of tourists to be met with either unhygienic or expensive restrooms. The standard of service must be kept in line in order for this industry to progress. If people just care about making the most money while investing the least amount of capital, tourists eventually wouldn’t want to visit these sites. We must think of how we can create positive impressions in order for tourists to want to revisit our country and pass on the good word about Thailand. For local communities, I’ve asked the Ministry of Tourism to view various areas to ascertain what each community will benefit or be affected by tourism. There may be issues of parking, cleanliness or noise. I’ve asked the Ministry and the local authorities to care for these communities and to work together to be “good hosts” by demonstrating generosity, which is already the nature of Thais. Another thing is to remember certain phrases in
English or in other languages. Remember easy phrases such as “hello” “sorry” and “thank you.” I ask all to keep practicing and be confident. I’ve seen many people, whether they are taxi drivers or motorcycle taxis, can speak a lot of English due to their experience with servicing foreigners. They all practice from real life experience. They didn’t have to take classes. We’ll all be good at it eventually. In the future, we should be able to provide directions or suggestions to help tourists who are our guests. We can then become proud hosts. Finally, the 2nd week of the “Local heritage – from the community to the international stage” at Khlong Phadung Krung Kasem market will feature another group of businesses with new products. This week we will emphasize accessory products instead of last week’s weaving and sculpted products. I hope the event will be greeted with lots of visitors as it has been. As for the event’s food zone, there will be a switch from Northern and Northeastern food to food from the South. I invite all to the event and to support the reasonable priced quality products. It will be the new year in a month and a half. The products you buy here are quality products made by Thais. Who hasn’t gotten gifts for their loved ones can come take a look at this event. I ask vendors to charge reasonable prices for their products. Another thing is the Khon performance at Thailand’s Culture Center in Bangkok. I’ve heard that the tickets of continued to sell out and that they may extend the period of the show. I’m glad that I’ve had the opportunity to see the performance. Those who haven’t seen the performance can contact the venue for more information. If there is a shortage, then the board may try the find a way to accommodate all. I urge all to contact the venue. This is something that we should be proud of because this is a cultural performance that is known and admired across the world. We’ve had this kind of performance aboard which garnered up to tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of viewers abroad. Thank you. Thank you for your cooperation. Thank you for your understanding and for the support you’ve given to the government and the NCPO. Thank you very much. I wish you all a happy weekend and to be safe in your travels.

Appendix 3.20

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – December 12, 2015
Good evening, dear Thai citizens.

The special cycling event, “BIKE FOR DAD”, has just concluded with great success, in correspondence with His Royal Highness Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn’s aspirations. This has been an historic event for Thailand, which at its essence, was reflection of the solidarity of the Thai people in expressing our devotion to His Majesty the King. The saying that goes “unity is the greatest force of a nation” was underscored by His Majesty King over 5 decades ago. His Majesty highlighted that if people are united and there is orderliness, the country will prosper. Therefore it should be accentuated that unity among our people, coupled with a collective responsibility to maintain orderliness, will be the driving factor towards sustainable growth for our nation. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to all who participated in the cycling activity, and who came to support HRH the Crown Prince on the cycling route. I would like to thank all the supporters in Thailand and abroad who made this special event happen. I would especially like to thank those who worked “back-stage”, including officials, staff, and the private sector, who took the effort to ensure that the activity ran smoothly and according to plan. This bodes well for Thailand as we look forward to face increasingly complex global challenges and as we are on the verge of the ASEAN Community. In terms of preparation for the ASEAN Economic Community, government agencies have been working in an integrated manner to enhance the country’s capabilities so as to remain competitive and cooperative with our global counterparts. As for 2016 export stimulus measures, the International Trade Development Committee has already met, comprising authorities from 9 ministries, the secretary-general of the National Economics and Social Development Board, the secretary-general of the Board of Investment, the director of the Budget Bureau, the governor of Bank of Thailand, the chairman of the Thai Bankers' Association, the president of the Thai National Shippers' Council, the chairman of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, and the president of the Federation of Thai Industries. These individuals will work with the government to stimulate the economy. Several follow up meetings have been convened. These leaders will together formulate a 7-point strategic plan. The first strategy concerns the opening of doors to trade and economic cooperation, especially on the Trans-Pacific Partnership
agreement (TPP) which will be studied thoroughly, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), existing free trade agreements, and possible new free trade agreements. The second strategy focuses on market expansion through the utilization of market demand, which will be used as a tool to determine domestic production of exported goods and services. There will also be more sophisticated approaches towards penetrating new markets and reaching specific consumers as well as online customers. The third strategy pertains to border trade promotion, making Thailand ASEAN’s trade hub for trade and investment. The fourth one supports Thai entrepreneurs in foreign countries. The fifth strategy is to adjust our trade infrastructure and mobilize 6 businesses which consist of healthcare, entertainment, logistics, education, hospitality, and professional services. It is essential to set standardized requirements for these businesses. These requirements will help them improve living standards and generate more income. The sixth strategy seeks to increase the role of SMEs, hoping to create new businesspersons and drive towards innovation. Innovation needs also to be taught more to local producers. The last strategy aims to create added-value in exported products. The government will help to turn producers into designers who can create their own brands. There are a lot of potential businesses out there. These will be our core undertakings.

In addition, Thailand needs to revise its 7-year investment strategy (2015-2021), emphasizing on building clusters and super clusters. Super clusters will be developed in 9 provinces, with the help of the government in amending 367 rules and regulations pertaining to business facilitation, trade and investment, and human rights, all of which are benefiting the public. Some laws are still being discussed. I listen to all suggestions and all complaints. These laws must go through the deliberations of the national legislature so it cannot be assumed that they will get a nod automatically. The matter has just only begun in this process so patient is required. The cabinet can send drafts back to the lawmakers who take into consideration all of your concerns. What needs to be revised now is the principle, so that we can relate your suggestions to these drafts and have them discussed. The government urges citizens to be more involved on this matter and for all stakeholders to work together with reason. We have always put the interests of the public at heart. The government will do its best as long as it doesn’t violate any agreements, especially agreements we made with international
community. We will also add incentives for investors seeking opportunities in Thailand. It is important that agriculturists have additional income. The agricultural sector will be better off with the introduction of green businesses. Farmers will be able to earn the income they need to support their families. Farmers need to become entrepreneurs through the formation of agricultural groups. Cooperatives must be improved. Quality of produce must also be uplifted. I have already asked the Agriculture Ministry to urgently look into this matter. The focus will be on advanced technology and other industries deemed to have promising growth potential. These industries are, for example, automobiles, intelligent electronics, tourism, health tourism, agriculture and biotechnology, food processing, artificial intelligence for medical purposes, transportation and aviation, fuel and biochemistry, and the digital industry. A lot of emphasis will be placed on quality products, innovation, added value, and processing raw materials. We also need to create connectivity among SMEs, entrepreneurs, and large enterprises in order for higher incomes to be achieved. We also need to be prepared, support, promote, and neutralize all problems such as land allocation. We have a lot of problems concerning the abuse of public spaces. Such misconduct has become something that many people have become accustomed to, thus failing to respect the law. The government will assist you in a way whereby a code of conduct is upheld. Another problem that needs to be addressed is inefficiency of public utilities. One Stop Service centers will keep serving the people. Assistance can be sought at these centers. Today there are One Stop Service centers in Bangkok and provinces that will hold special economic zones. Furthermore, there must be a single database into which entrepreneurs seeking investment promotion are registered. This year, the state has approved 2,000 projects thus far, with a total value of 700 billion baht, the amount of which has positively impacted the economy in many aspects, as evidenced by the increase of export value of 1 trillion baht, and the increasing use of domestic materials whose combined value was recorded 800 billion baht. It has also encouraged investments in 20 provinces and generated 44 billion baht. If we didn’t implement these projects, no growth would be realized. We can no longer rely solely on agriculture. Prosperity and development must be present in rural areas. Agriculture, agricultural processing, and the industrial sector have to be improved in all regions. I ask that the public cooperate with the
government on this issue. If you have problems, please come through the appropriate channels.

We must encourage more foreign direct investments as well as promote investments in the form of Thailand-ASEAN cooperation, for instance, the Thailand+1 policy, which happens when Thailand works with another nation. Lastly, the establishment of special economic zones must occur in 10 areas along the border (6 areas this year and 4 areas next year). This also includes potential areas of super clusters. This could happen inside or outside special economic zones. This must be achieved through public-private cooperation. On several occasions, there have been some teething troubles, be they infrastructure, electricity, irrigation, and transportation. So now I want to ask land owners not to overcharge the investors. Lands must be sold at reasonable prices; otherwise, there will be no forthcoming investments. Should you be able to follow the government’s plan in this short period of time, it will pave the way for growth, employment, developed communities, more trade activities along the borderline, and more uses of domestic and imported materials. This way, we will be able to resolve problems of oversupply of rice and rubber in the country. We need to use 30% more of domestic materials. There will be factories where rubber is used to produce car tires, asphalt, and rubber gloves. Rubber can also be used to construct bathroom walls as well as furniture and mattresses. I believe Thai producers have the skill to create these products. We have plenty of materials. We just need higher skills and more factories. We also need to acquire new technology in order to achieve new innovation, allowing us to compete with other nations. Our products must be unique. We understand that Thailand’s labor cost is higher than others. This is why we need to improve other departments. A way to reduce production cost is to use the materials we possess domestically. The government will support this area and gear up for new entrepreneurs. As for skilled workforce, I have instructed related agencies to implement short and long term measures. Fourth year students can attend training courses and improve your skills in whichever profession you long to thrive. As for long term solutions, the next generation of university students must prepare themselves according to what the market demands. Preparing skilled labor in the industrial sector is a major challenge. We do not have enough skilled workers, not to
mention researchers, developers, and managers, both in the industrial and service sectors. Tourism also needs more skilled work forces. Thailand is still looking for technicians in electric rail, road transport, water transport, and air transport. Because we urgently need more skills, I have asked my subordinates to take on this matter with urgency. If we don’t have enough skilled workers, we would not be able to respond to and keep up with the expansion of ASEAN Community. The Labor Ministry is compiling data on labor forces in collaboration with the Industry Ministry and the Education Ministry which have been in close contact with skilled workers groups. Don’t forget to acquire this information from Thai entrepreneurs and foreign investors as well. We also lack unskilled labor, a problem which we will fix through cooperation with our neighboring countries. We need to be able to control migrant workers and take good care of them. We need to take care of the migrants and not take advantage of them. Human trafficking is a serious crime. All perpetrators who are involved in human trafficking activities will face prosecution. Serious and harsh penalties will be given to offenders who trade humans. The same goes for the fishing industry. We also need to keep up with statistics regarding the number of workers needed in the market, what sort of workers, which level of education, and what additional skills are required. Many professions still need more workers. This is what we need to keep track of. The problem that we are encountering now is the data compilation process. I ask that a complete compilation must be finished by the year 2017. We need an identification card that specifically says the holder’s profession. This is so that the government can understand all circumstances and use its funds in the most effective way. The government has limited funds. When the economy recovers, debts will be less of a problem. But if nothing is done today, we will have difficulties in the future. So please lend us your cooperation. Labor reform does not conclude here. The Labor Department’s database needs to be revised, such as the Smart Job Center, in order for operatives, service centers and related government agencies to synthesize their service efforts for the public. This is for those who are in need of workers to meet with labor organizations or other companies. Some companies are efficient, some companies are straightforward and some companies are not, causing problems in the labor market. Next is the project to enhance the productivity of Thai labor. The government has assisted small to medium enterprises
(SMEs) in order to enhance their competitiveness and innovation in preparation for the ASEAN Economic Community, such as the development of multi skilled workers that are able to do more in the same allotted time, therefore enhancing competitiveness. In addition, this will also reduce productivity loss and initial capital for 260 SMEs in 20 sectors such as food and beverages, textiles, fashion, furniture, woodcarvings, gemstones and accessories. There has also been the establishment of the consulting center for work productivity regional skill development institutes across the country in order to provide counseling to various business, whether it be regarding improvements of the production process or managing logistics, or supply chains that could reduce productivity loss. It is also the law that businesses with over 100 employees conduct work training for no less than 50 percent of its employees each year. Expenses used for job training can be used for tax deductions. Regarding the readiness of human personnel, whether it is the industrial, technical, medical, education or civil servant sector, all personnel must be able to enhance the efficiency of their services to meet international standards. They must also have a sound understanding of ASEAN and the ASEAN community as well as its member countries. Personnel must also be able to utilize the latest technologies and have general knowledge of the English language as well as other languages regarding essential listening, speaking and basic writing skills. In the future, these people must continue to perfect their skills should they want to progress to managerial positions. The ability to use English in meetings will aid in people’s understanding and negotiating skills. Businesses from the bottom level to the higher levels must continue to develop their skills. Labor workers must also realize that they will have foreign colleagues and contractors. You need to know enough to greet others and have basic conversation. As for the languages of our neighboring countries, I’ve seen various resources such as instructional shows on television. One day they teach one topic and the next day they teach another; so I unfamiliar with this system. I’m not quite sure about English language shows as well. I would like everyone to categorize language learning, making basic English the first category for everyone to study. The second category should be business English for various industries. The third should be English for civil servants. The fourth should be English for tourism in order for us to play the role of good hosts and welcome tourists to our country. These categories vary
in difficulty. Another matter is existing curriculum at various schools. Today we must teach students to first be able to understand and then to talk and then to read and write. The Thai curriculum places a huge emphasis on grammar because we are afraid of making mistakes. I’m afraid of making mistakes myself. Therefore we must do our best. This is not our native language but we need to learn it well. We must be professional in our work and have a clear understanding of shared agendas. What’s important is a work environment that is transparent, in accordance with the highest standards, is result-oriented, and encourages teamwork various sectors. There also needs to be an adherence to international standards. Becoming a member of the ASEAN Economic Community also means that we cannot exclude foreigners from working in certain occupations in Thailand the same way that they cannot ban our workers. This could cause serious competition for quality work. A lot of countries pay high salaries in order to acquire the best doctors and nurses. We are also trying to become the region’s medical hub so I recommend that the Ministry of Education address this matter and try to identify if there are any potential labor shortages in this sector or any shortages and the rural areas. In order to be a medical hub, we must create credibility by acquiring consultations from foreign doctors. I’ve tasked the Ministry of looking into this and have included these matters in the 2016 and 2017 production model. If we have a shortage in rural areas, why don’t we go open courses and allocate resources to the provinces and various community hospitals? We can have the provinces send people to study medicine in order to become doctors in their local communities. This way, we can create a community of learning with strong regional schools and universities. Important issues in the country right now that I’m concerned about are: 1) A disrespect of the law and an inclination to impunity, resulting in authorities being unable to enforce laws, therefore degrading the sanctity of the law. These laws are not designed to violate human rights. But I want to ask if you think it is acceptable to be infringing on other people’s rights as well? We are now in the process of reform. The next thing to be concerned of is if people violate or ignore the law and infringe upon other people’s rights, this will lead to conflict and violence. It then rests on the government to address the problem. The authorities are also saddled by this problem. I ask all groups not to violate the law. If laws are not regarded as sacrosanct, how will we coexist? If there are no laws, things will revert to
The next issue is a lack of faith in the justice system and distrust in the judicial process. Why is this? Is it because people don’t understand the judicial process well enough? A lot of people are fearful of being arrested. However, there must be a charge for being arrested. The process of accusing someone of a crime requires a person to file a complaint in order to go through the judicial process. I’m trying to resolve all matters in accordance to the law. Today you will see that all cases are treated equally under the law. Everyone is given a fair trial. Please understand this. The next thing is that I think it’s important that Thai people know of the process of the government’s work. This is because many people don’t understand how they are involved in the process. We have various acts and information provided. This doesn’t mean that people need to implement projects from the start. The state can be the first to initiate them according to the needs of people in the region or according to a given strategic plan. Afterwards, the state disseminates the information to local communities to find out whether it is appropriate to proceed with the project. If you don’t initiate projects then how can we expect anything to happen? Another issue is that the public may have enough information on where or when it can cooperate with the state. This is why there are some lingering conflicts and a lack of progress on certain issues. This opens the door for the distortion of information and for some groups to take advantage of the public. I must ask why are there many issues that the public still lack understanding, despite realizing the importance of having to understand these things? It was the duty of the government to inform the public. However, the public has lacked an understanding in key areas for many years. Today I’ve tried to inform the public of many things but sometimes people don’t cooperate because they have the incorrect information. I think the bureaucracy, the public and the private sector need to adjust themselves. Today the country is moving forward. Therefore there will be many changes that will affect your lives and so it is important that you understand them and how to deal with them as a citizen of the world. I hope that everyone acts within the framework of the law, and according to international standards. Many people have good intentions but because of their lack of understanding, they are often manipulated. You must study the law and see if you are violating the law. You should also consider if this is really the appropriate time for these things, given our political situation and history? There are also other matters,
such as whether your actions will affect public commuting or other people that don’t agree with you? We need to think and work together; otherwise we won’t be able to solve anything. Therefore today I would like to ask politicians, civil servants, the public and the private sector to understand this. How can we join hands at all levels and function as a “state of the people?”

The long New Year’s holiday is approaching. So I asked all to be extra careful when traveling. I don’t want see losses and casualties during a time when everyone should be happy. The government is doing everything it can to enhance safety at this time. We are in the process of strengthening the roads regarding turning points and risky areas. There needs to be thorough enforcement of speed and passenger limits. We also require manpower in assisting traffic. I would like to thank the authorities for their preparedness, the Ministry of Interior, the military and civilian staff. These people don’t get to celebrate during the holiday season. They have families but they have forfeited their time for you. Don’t think that they’re there just because it’s their duty or because they get extra compensation. They want to rest as well but they need to fulfill their tasks. When they aren’t at home at least their families are compensated for that. Please understand and I thank all officials for sacrificing your time during the holidays to assist and ensure safety for the public. I hope that we will encounter only good things during the new year, and that the country is able to move forward while conflicts are either reduced or resolved, so we can finally progress to a lasting democracy.

Appendix 3.21

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – December 18, 2015

Good evening, dear Thai citizens
Firstly, I would like join all Thai Buddhists, along with supreme patriarchs, abbots, and Buddhist monks from 13 countries in offering condolences during the funeral of His Holiness Somdej Phra Nyanasamvara. I would like to thank the funeral
organizing committee as well as those involved in the broadcasting of this funeral rite, which contained a number of important Thai traditions that have been passed on for generations. I also would like to thank you for making sure that the funeral procession, tribute-paying ceremonies, prayer chanting ceremonies, and the cremation ceremony went smoothly and in the most honorable and traditional manner. This week, on behalf of all Thai nationals I would like to express my sincere appreciation to athletes and coaches who participated in the ASEAN Para Games, bringing pride and joy to all Thais as well as success for our country. Thailand achieved the most gold medals at the 8th ASEAN Para Games which took place last week in Singapore. I was able to watch some of the competitions and conveyed my encouragement to our athletes through the Minister of Tourism and Sports. As a longtime supporter, I truly admire the determination of these athletes who are so courageous and never give up. I was extremely impressed with their abilities to compete as well as the unity they had, which ultimately brought success, honor, and pride to themselves, their families, and their nation. Again, congratulations to all competitors. During the remaining two weeks of 2015, I would like the public to take note of the government’s annual progress report which will be announced on Dec 23-25. We made such an announcement before and the upcoming one will be about our second year performance. We will inform you of past achievements as well as future plans, all of which are very crucial for the country. You will be able to understand the true problem of our nation and the solutions the government is implementing to handle them. Several matters require public cooperation under the concept of “state of the people”. In light of this, everyone will have a chance to raise questions and share their opinions so that the government can draw up more effective solutions in a timely manner. With that being said, this participation to express opinions should be done in ways that do not break the law, deliberately incite violent conflict, or obstruct the work of government services. I would like all of you to closely follow the announcements which will be made by deputy prime ministers, cabinet ministers, and other government officials. They will answer all of your questions.

As for ‘New Year gifts’ for the people, each ministry will make known of their items through various channels. These gifts do not come only on New Year but shall also be
given in the years to come. Several projects will commence. We have always followed the country’s Roadmap, especially the reform plan which will co-exist with the roadmap until the year 2017. This past Monday, I officiated at the opening ceremony to test run the MRT Purple Line linking Bang Yai-Tao Pun. The ceremony took place in Bang Yai District, Nonthaburi Province. The purple line is the first railway that connects Bangkok to its vicinities, with an aim to reduce traffic congestion. Other rail projects that are being launched by the Mass Rapid Transit Authority of Thailand are as follows. Currently, there are 4 projects that are being implemented. The first one is the Bang Yai-Tao Pun Purple Line which will be open for service in August, 2016. The second one is the MRT Blue Line which runs Hua Lamphong-Bang Khae and Bang Sue-Tha Phra. It will be open for service in 2020. The third one is the southern Green Line from Bearing to Samut Prakarn. The last one is the northern Green Line running Mo Chit-Ku Kot and will also be open for service in 2020.

There is one rail project which is now being proposed to the Cabinet, which is the MRT Orange Line (East) linking the Thailand Cultural Center and Min Buri. It will be open in 2020. It is the first railway that connects western Bangkok and eastern Bangkok. With 17 stations, it runs a total of 21 kilometers. When completed, the route will connect 4 other lines including the red line, the blue line, Airport Rail Link, and the pink line. I have further instructed the Ministry of Transport to revise the country’s mass transit plan and improve the transportation system, linking all transport means together such as the public bus system, rail system, electric rail system, and other means of transport. Everything must be interconnected in a way that people can commute between different regions. We must also link our system with transport systems in neighboring countries and other regions of the world. If we didn’t have this system planned out thoroughly, a larger sum of money will be need to be spent in the future. There will also be more control and maintenance centers. By having this matter planned ahead, we will be able to spend less and allow us to understand the benefits that are to come once these projects are completed. Then, we will be able to take in profits to compensate for what we have to spend in the early stages, where deficits can be very common. Thailand had to face a deficit during the
early stage of the electric rail system which we use today. However, profits have now been realized. The only thing I’m thinking about is how to make fares lower for the low-income earners. This has led to ideas about different types of identity cards, the matter of which has yet to be concluded. I believe the Finance Ministry will give some clarification on this matter which involves financial assistance measures as well as tax matters. Rest assured any scheme considered will not violate your right to privacy or personal private information. The projects to be launched under state-private cooperation are currently being deliberated by the PPP committee. These are both monorails and will be open in 2020. The first one is the Min Buri-Khae Rai Pink Line while the second one is the Lad Phrao-Samrong Yellow Line.

Another project is now under the deliberation of the EIA committee and will be launched on the Rattanakosin Island. It is an extension of the Purple Line that runs through the center of the island where tourist attractions are located. The 23.6 kilometer route links Tao Pun and Rat Burana. There are four more extension projects for the orange, blue, and green lines. They will surely be a needed addition to the mass transit system in Bangkok and vicinity areas, as well as connecting transportation means to other provinces across Thailand. These projects are now being studied.

The next matter concerns traffic congestion. Despite the existence of electric rail, parking spaces remains a common problem. I have already tasked responsible agencies to search for suitable locations for the construction of car parking garages which should be close enough to places where people go such as department stores. If all drivers park their vehicles in front of the buildings where their businesses are, there will be worse traffic congestion. We should have parking areas 300-500 meters away from the buildings, which would also be a way take on some exercise. However, this is all up to your personal preferences. We have to admit that solving the congestion problem by simply deploying more traffic police is not a durable solution. At present, there are more vehicles than roads. We need to seek other solutions, such as more parking areas that connect with electric railways that can actually take commuters to their final destinations. We also need to make the fares lower. Everything has to be well-planned and well-thought-through. We also need to find
investors who will co-invest with the government, allowing the service to be more convenient and cheaper as well as generate sufficient income. The government does not only look at ways to resolve traffic congestion, but also ways to improve public safety, especially in commuting. We lose a number of lives to accidents each year. This is such a loss of our most valuable resources. The new system must start today. We also need to take into consideration the improvement of the country’s transport and logistics systems. In addition, the government is looking to improve the standard of living of the people by deducting the cost and time of traveling. This is especially so for low-income earners. We must also have more funds for future investments. We also support the expansion of the nation’s economy and society. These two things have to go in the same direction, creating balance in the system. How can we balance out the system? Nothing will move forward should conflicts remain amongst us, which will then lead to a lack of confidence among investors and tarnish the country’s

We also need to provide equal opportunities to private companies looking to invest in the construction of parking garages, the renovation of pavements, construction of rest stops and shopping places within train stations. We also need to provide equal opportunities to private companies looking to invest in the construction of parking garages, the renovation of pavements, construction of rest stops and shopping places within train stations. The government is pushing for the revision of these laws. We want people to generate income in these areas and businesses to be able to step in for future investments. If successful, new communities will be created. However, we will also need to find investors who are willing to co-invest with the government on this matter. Regarding the construction of rail projects, we must take into account the possibility of Thailand connecting with other nations. In the early stage of rail construction, we might have to import some necessary materials. In the second stage, only main components will be imported while the rest of necessary materials will be procured domestically. Rail stations and maintenance centers can be constructed using materials we can find in our country. This way, we can save money and create a circle of value which includes production, employment and income generation. There must be continual development in this area, be they human resources, technology, or production. We can no longer import every material. I have recently instructed
responsible personnel to look for ways to procure new buses. I told them to figure out how we can get new public buses. The last auction didn’t yield any results. This responsibility falls on the shoulders of the Transport Ministry. I have also given advice that we should import the first batch of new buses to replace the old ones. Afterwards, we can produce our own buses. We should also look into the possibility of having domestic producers make the next batch. Or we could import some materials and use them with domestic materials we can find to assemble the buses.

Reaching the third phase, we will be able to produce our own from scratch. But at the moment, it might be necessary to consider the possibility of importing them, be they buses, trains, or electric trains. But we must be able to produce them in the future. We may not be able to produce the main parts at the moment, but we should be able to produce other components. This will surely help reduce government spending and encourage domestic production in a wide range of industries such as the steel industry and the auto industry. I strongly believe that we have the capability. We just need continuity and more cooperation. The government is doing its best in this limited amount of time that we have. Consider then, that I have kick-started these things. As for the mobilization of the country’s economy, we are implementing the “state of the people” approach. The government’s economic team and I have met with Thai business operatives, particularly large business both domestic and abroad. We’ve discussed economic restructuring and cooperation because economic reforms can’t be done by the government alone. The country’s income must increase in the future; therefore we must all work together, with the private sector and the public supporting the work of the government. I understand the importance of the preservation of natural resources and the environment. I understand the needs of the people in rural areas. However, you can’t live the same way anymore. You must find a way to create balance between national development and the preservation of natural resources and the environment. There are many ways that we can balance both things, not do one at the expense of the other. Today it is difficult because many people are in distress. I ask you to think about what you can do to help the government. I consider this a relationship of mutual benefit as the government will also assist those with low income as well as other businesses. All sides must take care of each other and help the government to enhance our resilience. Regarding my conversations with business
people, I’ve talked about connecting various sectors as well as various scales from large, medium and small, to domestic, foreign, retail, and wholesale. Let’s figure out how everyone can work with with the government in mobilizing the country in accordance with the “state of the people” approach, with the government coming up with policies that enhance the ease of doing business. Therefore, the business sector is asked to support the government in these things by educating the public, conducting research and developing human personnel to suit demands. What I’m also concerned about today is people graduating with a degree and being unemployed. This is because our competitiveness level is still relatively low. We must place the development of human personnel as our highest priority and teach people to be more studious, smart, thoughtful and visionary. We also need to improve on our critical thinking skills.

I myself have also been developing my critical thinking skills and trying to improve upon things. We keep thinking and talking about improvements but in terms of implementation - I don’t think it’s even 50% of what we talk about. We thus need to focus on educating the public. If we want to develop our products we should think about improving the product’s design such as the packaging and usability in order to increase our competitiveness in the market. This way we can sell these for a higher premium. All these things will create value to the product and create real income for local communities. In the regions, what I’m very concerned of is the lack of development and failure to increase the production quality by using new techniques on old materials such as textiles. I’m not worried about silk in particular because everyone’s been focusing on this craft as Her Majesty the Queen has been the Royal Patron of silk products for a long time. Empowering local communities is the highest priority. If people don’t have adequate income and there are no new businesses, who are the producers going to sell their products to? If this happens, you won’t be able to increase your production value and businesses will not be able to expand. Therefore today we must hasten our efforts and support new social enterprise models in order to create new business owners for the future. We need to reform the education system regarding the development of teachers, students and facilities by using the CSR activity from the business sector that I’ve just said before to support this. We must
also support the reduction of school hours. For example, in the afternoon, students can do work-study go and observe work at various important businesses to motivate students and give them an interest in the work. Students can reassess what they want to learn and focus on skills development such as by vocational studies. I understand that everyone wants a university degree. But today we need degrees of many types for people to be employed and have enough income. Regarding job training, I think today we have plenty of businesses whether it is in Thailand or abroad. I’ve mentioned that if any new investment projects provide job training, the government will accommodate them with more benefits accordingly. Companies can provide training in various places, in factories and at schools with the CSR program. Businesses can allocate their budget for education and the setting up of learning programs in order to develop the skills of their workers or incorporate 2nd or 3rd year vocational students as trainees with specific hours and school credit offers. Another way is to develop the skills of existing workers. These people may need language skills regarding specific terminologies. Regarding the mobilization of these policies, the government will move forward in 2016 the “state of the people” model which is based on the cooperation of all business levels. The state, private sector and the public will work closely as a committee consisting of these three sectors, calling it a “state of the people” model. This is different from the joint committee between the government and the private sector which is more of a policy think tank. We will also mobilize this committee as well in order to reduce inequalities, develop the quality of human personnel and enhance the competitiveness of the country. We will mobilize in accordance to the “4 pillars” consisting of (1) Good governance, which is the most important pillar; (2) Innovation and productivity; (3) Human personnel development and; finally, (4) Cooperation for national stability. The mechanism of implementing these policies will be in the form of a committee between the government and the private sector. The committee will be tasked with the mobilization of 7 agendas which are (1) Encouraging innovation and productivity (2) Supporting small-to-medium enterprises (SMEs) and start-up businesses (3) Supporting tourism and MICE (4) Supporting export and investment in foreign countries (5) Developing industrial clusters of the future (NEW S-curve) (6) Developing new agricultural practices, and, (7) Creating income and boosting domestic spending. In addition, the committee will
also support 5 business aspects, which are (1) Encouraging investment and development of the country’s infrastructure (2) Elevating job skills (3) Developing economic foundations and a “state of the people” (4) Amending laws and government mechanisms, and, (5) Basic education and leadership development. This is something that everyone should understand. Sometimes I talk too fast and you may not be used to this. At the same time a lot of information needs to be covered, so there has been a tendency to not understand many aspects. I’m going to make a summary for you of what the government has done in the past 2 years, what we’ve finished and what needs to be passed on for completion. The “5 Rivers” of reform also will be updated on. Another important matter is the COP21 meeting in Paris in which representatives from 195 countries took part in unanimously approving the “Paris Agreement” which seeks to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in order to cap the planet’s warming by no more than 1.5 degrees Celsius for the decade. This is because an increase of more than 1.5 degrees will be problematic and likely result in melting ice caps, floods and numerous natural disasters. We need to be able to adhere to this resolution. At the same time, we must also reduce the effects of climate change. In addition, the government’s policies must coincide with the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, whether it be regarding industrial development, mass transit, reforestation efforts, the reduction of crop burning and dumping waste in waters. In particular, we must focus on the waste-to-energy policy. As for the development of special economic zones, there will be agricultural development as well. This is not a single dimension initiative. Development must include various aspects and we must consider the consequences and how we can create a balance and have a low environmental impact. Developed countries may still be emitting more greenhouse gases than we do because we’re still developing. This new deal may have some disadvantages for developing countries, Thailand included. Therefore, we need to create understanding regarding this matter and implement our policies according to each country’s capabilities. However, if all countries work together, perhaps we can reduce our own from 2 percent to 1.5 percent. Today, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Interior as well as other ministries have received the government’s policies. They must report how much they are able to reduce in the year 2016 and must be able to come up with a plan each and every year and a long term
plan for every 15 years where Thailand must reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 25-30%. Let’s all put an effort into this. I urge you to figure out how you can contribute. Farmers can refrain from burning crops. However, the clearing the fields with tractors instead of burning is expensive. But this shouldn’t be a difficult problem to solve as it relies on the understanding and cooperation of the equipment sellers. These people need to help their country. Demanding more rent on the farm or threatening farmers to plant now is not appropriate, especially as the landlord will not lose anything because he already collected the rent.

This is the problem and farmers will continue to incur debts as a result. Can we solve this? We need to reduce principal capital, reduce management, reduce the cost of seeds and use organic fertilizer, as well as reduce the costs of transportation. Sometimes the quality of the rice is inadequate because it matures at different times, but you harvest them at the same time because that’s when the tractor comes before it must go to other places in the following week or month. When you can’t transport the crop, the price will drop because the rice is of low quality. I hope everyone understands.

I’ve tried to think of where we can fix this problem. I’ve stressed this with all ministries. The problem is that agencies must also understand the problem in order to really fix the problem. Officials must learn and do all they can as His Majesty’s public servants in aiding people that are in crisis and creating understanding among the public. We must start using efficient and clean technologies that are environmentally friendly. We should consider these technologies when attempting to reduce Thailand’s greenhouse gas emissions. I’ve told you that this is an important factor that coincides with our agenda of national development. If we are too conservative and reduce too much, the country won’t move forward accordingly. We must therefore know how to create a balance and create an understanding with developed countries as they assist us with technologies and funds. These things go together at the international level. I spoke at the COP21 meeting that they must also care for developing countries. We’ve just only started up, unlike developed countries with strong industrial sectors. There are some things that we haven’t been able to start because of the recent demand to stop everything. In turn, there will be no income and
no development and we’ll end up being a burden to developed countries. I don’t want this country to be a burden to anyone in this world. Therefore the Ministry of Energy, Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Transport and many agencies that are related to the policy of reducing global warming, I’ve given out the order that all must follow through with their agendas and plan for the future. Why are there delays? It’s because you’re still inward looking and have yet to think outside the box. You must redefine this process. Create new laws that are clearer and create understanding with the public. Anything can be achieved if we cooperate and don’t contest each other and not avoid resorting to conflict, everything will work out. The same thing goes with reform. If people are still arguing and think that their opinions are the best and must be the way, then we will not be able to do anything. Do what we can do or compartmentalize tasks into 1-2-3 phases.

Regarding the 5 Rivers, they must do this as well, otherwise it will be a waste of potential and resources. We must close the gap between each side and help each other develop Thailand. Stronger Together

Next week is an important day for Christians as it will be Christmas. For the Thai people, joyfulness can be had every day, whether it is a Thai holiday or an international holiday, we always have a sense of delight. The Thai people are nation that love peacefulness and tranquility. Do we really want to change Thai people into a nation of conflict with quarrels and fighting all the time? I don’t think so. On behalf of the Royal Thai Government, I wish all Thai Christians as well as Christian tourists’ happiness, fulfillment and good health. Please celebrate Christmas with fun, safety and happiness.

Appendix 3.22

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – December 25, 2015

Good evening, dear Thai citizens.
During this last week of 2015, I would like to congratulate “Nong Nat” Aniporn Chalermburanawong, Miss Universe Thailand 2015, for making it into the final 10 contestants at the Miss Universe 2015 in the United States of America. She also won best national costume after putting on a “Tuk Tuk” dress on stage. She has certainly brought joy to the Thai people ahead of the New Year. On behalf of the Government and the Thai people, I would like to thank her very much. I would also like to mention how several media agencies have been reporting about 3 youngsters namely Wannakorn Khammeemul (Boss), Thaweechai Fusa (Fuse), and Thaweesak Fusa (Film) who have committed themselves to helping society. They pitched in their allowances to purchase cleaning equipment to clear up their cluttered walkway to school. For at least 2 months, these three youngsters have been cutting grass and cleansing walkways. I find their comments very meaningful when they said “We are Thais and we want to do this as a tribute to His Majesty the King on the occasion of His Majesty’s 88th Birthday Anniversary. We will continue to clean this street and don’t want anything in return.” What do you think about this comment? I admire these youngsters as well as their parents and teachers. I hope that these children will be an inspiration for adults and the rest of the society, encouraging us to be kind-hearted and willing to do virtuous deeds with joy for society. So I remind them to lease be careful on the road while doing their activities. Not only is 31 December 2015 the last day of the year, it also marks the official formation of ASEAN Community which comprises 10 nations in Southeast Asia. There is no need to be worried as there will not be imminent changes made overnight, especially after all sectors have been continually raising awareness of such formation. We are ready on certain matters and in preparation on other matters. What we can start will be initiated now. We have been preparing for this for the past two years. If we can adapt, become more resilient, and cooperate based on understanding, positive changes will be realized. As you already know, there were some major changes in the past such as the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) in 1992. There has been a lot of development since then. Many things have to be improved. At present, ASEAN has signed free trade agreements with 6 nations – China, Japan, South Korea, India, Australia, and New Zealand. We’re also trying to achieve the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) between 10 members, China, Japan, South Korea, India,
Australia, and New Zealand, whose combined GDP account for one third of the world’s GDP and whose population accounts for half of the world population. Therefore, people of all sectors should use this opportunity for the benefit of your organization and your nation, albeit through adequate awareness and self-improvement. For the government, what is essential is the improvement of human resources such as skilled workers, so that Thai workers can enter the ASEAN market with full potential, making sure that our participation is based on quality expertise. We need to foster understanding, education, enthusiasm for language learning and technology, as well as an ASEAN solidarity, the responsibility of which falls into the hands of the Education Ministry and other related agencies. For this, six strategies will be deployed. 1. Create understanding towards ASEAN. 2. Improve living standards and education. 3. Producing workers with skills needed in ASEAN workforce market. 4. Develop information technology and communication. 5. Enhance mechanisms for exchanges and transfers. 6. Strengthen regional connectivity. A total of 447 ASEAN study centers will be established nationwide in order to level up the Thai education system to higher international standards, paving the way for Thai and foreign students to thrive in ASEAN, which is in line with the country’s goal to become the region’s hub for education. Qualifications of Thai students will be based on qualifications in other ASEAN nations as well. To this extent, those involved will have to reassess their roles for this strategy, be they schools, civil servants, the civic sector, the public, or businesses. This will also involve looking into what challenges can be opportunities as we are moving into the ASEAN Community. How ready are we? How much understanding do we have of ASEAN? It is not just about learning more English. We have to acquire more knowledge, improve labor skills, prepare for movement of skilled labor, etc. Workers in many occupations may need to move location. If we do not prepare ourselves well now, don’t produce skilled workers, or don’t have better incentives, our skilled workers will move to other countries to find jobs. Thailand will then lack skilled work forces.

The Royal Thai Government has a goal to improve the English skills of certain groups such as students, teachers, executives, and the general public. There will be
international schools, bi-lingual schools, elective English courses, and language schools across Thailand. Primary school and high school students will be able to improve their English language at these schools while students in rural and remote areas can learn English through distance-learning programs. They will have fewer school class hours while being able to learn more extracurricularly. There are some other languages students need to learn such as Chinese and Japanese. This matter will be put forth in according to the needs and requirements. We ask for cooperation from the private sector and employers to lend a helping hand for the benefit of the public, the workforce, and businesses. Different businesses may require different language skills. The English language development program for vocational system will focus on 4 groups. 1. Vocational students in 147 schools will be provided an English program (EP) and a mini English program (MEP). They will be taught technical terms often used in their professions. They will be able to communicate in English as well as convey messages. 2. English teachers in regular schools will improve their English skills while English teachers in vocational schools will improve their English communication skills. 3. School executives will be given intensive English courses. Interested personnel can register through their smart phones. 4. Employers will be asked to provide English language courses to their employees and staff who have high potential to become team leaders or supervisors. The key to improving language skills is being able to understand the language. Have the courage to speak out more and you will gradually improve. Foreigners will always try to understand us. Don’t be afraid to make mistakes. We need to be good hosts for the tourism industry to grow. You may one day become a manager and earn higher income. You will be taught new technologies acquired from overseas. In reference to economic measures, apart from maintaining stability through cooperative economic relations with our neighbors, the rest of ASEAN and other international friends, Thailand must seek new markets through mutual cooperation. 1. The first matter concerns the expansion of ASEAN cooperation. This past week, a cabinet retreat was held between Thailand and Cambodia. Both nations have enjoyed 65 years of strong relations based on mutual benefits. December 19th was our 65th anniversary. Thailand and Cambodia will try to achieve progress on matters of mutual benefit. We have agreed on several matters such as our efforts to increase the values of trade and investment by 3 folds or around 5
billion US dollars in the next half decade, the development of special economic zones, cooperation on customs and transportation, road and rail cooperation, and the promotion of higher volume of two-way trade. At the cabinet retreat, both sides also touched on the matters of tourism, energy, labor, agriculture, public health, and medication under the concept of Thailand+1. We want to invite investors to our region, a large market with a total population of more than 600 million people. The next matter concerns maintaining existing markets. For example, we will support trade, investment, and cooperation between Thailand and China. We will push for concrete results and progress on trade, investment and economic cooperation. We will set up mechanisms to address obstacles in the area of trade and investment. Several agreements have been inked such as: 1) the rail development project under the country’s infrastructure development plan which will be implemented between 2015 and 2022, 2) the agreements to trade 1 million tons of rice and 200,000 tons of rubber, and 3) the promotion of tourism with a goal of 10 million Chinese tourists in 2016.

We also need to penetrate new markets. This effort will succeed through cooperation with the Pacific Island countries, the Middle East, Africa, India, Russia, and in several Muslim countries, especially cooperation on agriculture, fisheries, public health, phytosanitary, agricultural development, and development in other sectors that participating nations are interested in and can exchange know-how. We especially need to focus on sustainable development in the fishing industry as well as prevent and tackle illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing (IUU). All documents concerning imports and exports of seafood products will be thoroughly scanned as well as other documents such as fishing licenses. These documents will also need to be verified. We will emphasize on R&D, marine resources assessment, and marine resources management. I’m concerned about the fishery industry regarding the progress inspection that will take place around January 20th by a committee on IUU issues. We must acknowledge the faults that have existed for a long time, and establish a clear agenda regarding legislation, management, punishment, care for victims and continuous cross-the-board monitoring of the fishing industry. Let’s see what the committee wants us to focus on, especially what needs to be carried out in the early stages. We will do our best, particularly to handle all the necessary issues,
especially within the short time frame given. I want people to see for themselves how we have been really committed to solving this issue. Regarding violations in the fishing industry, I don't want everyone to just focus on issues at sea, because the trade of fishing products is also conducted on land, especially in Thailand. There are purchases from piers, shrimp and fish processing factories in the industrial sector which requires large numbers of workers. These issues need to be addressed and I have ordered the Command Center for Combating Illegal Fishing (CCCIF) to take direct responsibility in hand with the NCPO. A progress report must be made to me on a weekly basis as well as the progress report on solving land and maritime issues and necessary steps in addressing IUU fishing. I also want to advise vessels over 60 gross tons to strictly abide by regulations. Vessels under 60 gross tons must have proper licensing and equipment. As for small-scale fishing activities of local communities, I would like to ask for cooperation in terms of the fishing equipment they are using and to not resort to confrontations with officials. I'm indeed empathizing with the concerns of those who need to earn a living but we need to be conscious of our natural resources. As for fishing in international waters, I ask all to abide by international regulations, otherwise our fishing products will not be allowed in other countries. Today, we must expand our trade and investment with the Pacific Island states, and look for fishing resources in cooperation with other regions. Our market consists of the upper, middle and lower markets, because we also have 3 levels of products. For example, we have jasmine rice, white rice and riceberry rice which are unique local products. Today, the price of white rice has decreased and thus has affected many. I've heard news that many rice mills lowering their prices. I've now instructed the NCPO to investigate the facts behind this. You can't take advantage of our farmers. They are already facing many difficulties. Please cooperate with the government. I don't want you to make a loss but you need to take care of the people too because we are working together as a “state of the people” As for para rubber, we must expedite our production and processing efforts, whether it be in the form of mattresses, sports tracks or other things such as restroom floors for the elderly. We need to rethink the way we do things but I also need these things to be done quickly. We must make use of R&D we have conducted.
Today, the government has utilized studies in rubber to aid business operatives. However, efforts still need to be quicker. I've asked the economic team to work with the Ministry of Science and the National Science and Technology Development Agency on how to implement these advancements. With regards to incorporating para, we can’t just only wait for the “rubber city” project. We must implement the remaining policies now to achieve results within the 1 year and 6 month timeframe that this government is left with. We may need to acquire additional equipment and increase our investment in production and support the labor sector by educating workers. We’ve now created a new generation of entrepreneurs and various industries and I want to help accelerate industries with high growth potential and process lots of resources in order to increase our production value and income. I also want to reduce structural issues that are still prevalent in the rubber sector. Regarding how to increase the country's economic potential, we’ve lacked development initiatives for a long time and we must create strength, stability and competitiveness in all areas. We must create innovation to compete with the global market. The government is also supporting the development of the country's economic foundations in reducing poverty and social inequalities. Everyone should understand what is inequality, what is justice, what is poverty and what are social gaps. We’ve talked about this for a long time and we need to genuinely address these issues. The government is laying out concepts and policies but it must be enacted by the civil servants. Today the government is coordinating with the private sector in the development of framework of cooperation called ‘a state of the people’. Therefore, the bureaucracy must do the same. Don't fall back to old practices; otherwise we will not be successful or have a future because the people will not be able to help themselves. We must help the public prosper; otherwise we will not be able to compete. We need to ensure development in all stages, be it in among adolescents, in villages, and local communities. For example, today we have the “One Tambon, One Product” or OTOP project. This has been a good example of how to create value by using local practices that has been passed on for generations and developing them into products and services that create income for communities. This project has successfully ensured the development of all stages of the economy from conception, production, all the way to distribution. We’ve supported OTOP in ways such as the recent OTOP CITY 2015 event according to the wishes of Her Majesty
the Queen who had resolved to bring local products and practices that are unique to communities to the international market. You can see that Her Majesty had initiated The Queen Sirikit Department of Sericulture for silk, as well as other initiatives to support hand carving, lacquer ware, silverware and gold products. These initiatives have been an inspiration for the government to mobilize the OTOP project to support Her Majesty’s initiatives in a sustainable fashion. As of today, Her Majesty the Queen’s support for arts and crafts has been developing the skills of the people for over 60 years.

This is the key to success. Therefore we must utilize this practice to mobilize the framework of cooperation as “state of the people” model by synthesizing the work of the government, private sector and the public on the vertical and horizontal levels. We also need to create a society of learning where success will further motivate the public, farmers, manufacturers and businesses of this country. As we enter the winter season, some areas get very cold. I ask all to please take care of your health, especially during the New Year festivities. Those vacationing or traveling to their hometowns should care for their health. Please get enough rest prior to long distance commutes and inspect the readiness of your vehicles. Please refrain from drinking and driving. The government has prepared measures to service the public on their way journey back home to pay respect to their parents and reunite with their relatives. There are service stops along the road, short cuts, road signs, traffic signals and alcohol monitoring. Not drinking while driving is the most important thing to do. You already punish yourself when you others, so do you really seek further punishment by the law? I want everyone to exercise good judgment and be cooperative with the officials. Today they are conducting their duties and servicing you during the New Year and public holidays. They want to go home as well but it is their duty to work. They've sacrificed their their time with their families. These people include administrators, civilians, police officers, military personnel and various foundations. Please give them your support. I’d like to also suggest that maybe you can give the officials small tokens of appreciation. It doesn’t have to be valuable. Sometimes people need encouragement in their work. These officials face many problems of their own and you wouldn’t be able to understand or empathize you only thought about
your own needs. As for presents, I would like to emphasize to you all that giving is a virtuous circle. I invite everyone, including the public, civil servants, police officers, military officials as well as all sectors in Thai society to give to each other, whether is in the form of: 1. Gifts for yourself that include the wealth of knowledge that you accumulate, through sound judgment and ethics. 2. Gifts for your family such as time, love and care. Please don’t forget to take care of your loved ones. 3. Gifts for your friends and colleagues such as sincerity and respect as well as unity and cooperation. 4. Gifts for society and the country such as generosity to others and the sacrifice of personal gain for the greater good of the public. Once you give, the things that you want will eventually find a way of coming back to, unlike someone who has never given anything to anyone and only demands and puts pressure on others. Everyone should do their duty while being kind and generous. I don't want you to use words like “what has this country given to me?” or “what has the NCPO and the government given to me?” Think about what you can give for the country. As we have long existed in freedom and sovereignty, I ask that you, as a Thai citizen that genuinely loves their country and our highest institution, to do something for the country and for our children. I would like to wish everyone happiness during their vacation with their families and be ready to move Thailand forward next year along with the NCPO and the government.

Appendix 3.23

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – January 1, 2016

Good evening and Happy New Year to all dear citizens. On the occasion of the New Year, I would like to ask every Thai citizen to move past their conflicts, let justice take its course, and draw valuable lessons from our tribulations as we look to the future. I wish you all happiness, success, and a prosperous future and for all of us to be resilient and progress together with solidarity, as a peaceful nation under the grace of His Majesty. The government seeks support and cooperation from all sectors to mobilize their efforts to make Thailand move forward with all working together as a
“state of the people”, so that we may become a strong country in all dimensions with stability, prosperity, and sustainability. To usher in the New Year, I would like to share with you some good stories. I believe everyone remembers the “Penguin Man” or “Ekachai Wankaew”. Without both of his arms, he is an exemplary citizen who has never given up, and thinks positive. He understands that he can be a valuable asset to the society by contributing to make Thailand a better place. Despite his physical limitations, he has recently conquered Mount Kilimanjaro, Africa’s highest peak, which stands 5,895 meters above sea level. After reaching the mountain top, Mr Ekachai drew a picture of His Majesty the King as a tribute for His Majesty’s 88th Birthday Anniversary. He also performed a song in honour of His Majesty with great devotion, as he was able to conquer this monumental challenge. What Mr Ekachai wants to tell the world is that his success was inspired by his dedication and strong faith in His Majesty the King. Through his accomplishment he also reminds us not to give up on things too easily. Mountain climbing is about physical strength and mental stamina. If your heart has the will, the rest will follow. He has truly inspired me as we all work for the nation and I hope that this has inspired you as well, to be strong-willed, no matter how hard your task can be, as faith and hope will be our biggest inspiration as we guide our country through this era of reform. This past Monday, I traveled to southern provinces of Surat Thani and Songkhla where the cabinet team and I followed up on many issues while also putting forth a number of government policies. The “City Rubber” project, worth around 1.67 billion baht, is a service center for investments in the rubber industry in Hat Yai District of Songkhla. It was an ongoing project that didn’t see much success for a while. This government has thus taken on this work and pushed to create an industrial cluster that connects with other businesses in other parts of the country. We should start within a certain area and expand the production to other regions of the county. We call this the production base of rubber, which has a capacity to domestic and foreign investments. Our target is that by 2021, there should be at least 70 investors in rubber production, while the combined investment capital must not be less than 8 billion baht. This is expected to generate more than 7,000 jobs, increase demand of up to 200,000 tons of rubber per year, and create 6-14 billion baht of rubber production a year. This is a sustainable way to address this issue through increased use of rubber in the country. The
government’s measures to ensure stability in the country’s rubber industry through the Rubber City project will be divided into two parts. The first part focuses on the main businesses that require rubber, such as car tyre production, rubber pipe production, rubber glove production, and processed rubber latex as well as processed rubber wood. The second part focuses on supporting businesses and sectors like the “Future Rubber Plantation” project, R&D projects, data compilation, exhibitions, logistics, central markets, and warehouses. Educational institutions need to work on human resources development in order to increase the country’s competitiveness in the rubber industry. We also need to invest in basic infrastructure which is very important to future development, with emphasis on roads, electric rail, and irrigation. This is to facilitate future investments. Farmers must improve themselves while the government will try to support you as much as we can in your farming and ranching. The most important thing I want to reiterate here is that it is illegal to invade public forests for rubber planting or any other types of farming. According to a recent report, two large car tyre producers from China are interested in making Thailand their production base for compound rubber production as they see potential in the country as well as the government’s policies and support. We are thus committed to put forth the “Rubber City” project. We also want to see more small processed rubber factories acting as suppliers for the SME sector. We will also seek financial support such as low-interest loans or soft loans for existing entrepreneurs. This aims to build stability in the SME sector and to encourage the emergence of new entrepreneurs. We will encourage you to form cooperatives that can feed raw materials to car tyre producers or other rubber-related industries. I would like to ask everyone to prepare for Thailand’s future economic transitions.

Rest assured that I have instructed related units to find a way to attract investors seeking opportunities in rubber production. We will provide privileges, tax incentives, better land and water transportation, easier access to the international market, productive work forces, and researches which they can use in their production. We need to make sure the rubber industry grows sustainably and in accordance with the green concept. If successful, we will have higher income, better living standards, more jobs, and career stability. In addition, my team and I inspected a plantation
where bananas and rubber were grown. The plantation belonged to Mr Visut Khantharaksa, a member of a local cooperative. It is a project that must be admired. The project is in line with the government’s efforts to transform farming principles. Farmers should no longer take the mono-dimensional approach, but rather follow the idea to make the best use of all farming areas, use fewer spaces to grow rubber, grow quality rubber trees, and use the rest of your land to raise cattle and grow other commercial crops. This approach also can be adopted for fruit farming and rice farming. You can grow other crops or raise cattle as a supplementary occupation and earn extra income. This income will help you make ends meet when your main crops have not ripened or have not been turned into a valuable product. This is why you need alternative crops that help you pay bills, especially organic crops. You need to use organic fertilizers and avoid pesticides. We also need to increase the production volume as market demand increases. There are high demands in Bangkok and other provinces. The rest of the world is also interested in organic crops and is willing to purchase them. This can help to reduce the risk of price fluctuation of agricultural produce. We need to create career stability for the farmers. Farmers make an honest living. I know they are proud to be farmers. We need to help them raise income and living standards which they deserve. Mr Visut is a rubber farmer and has been growing rubber for a long time. When he encountered the falling prices of rubber, he sought membership with Ban Na San cooperative. Since last year, he has been growing bananas as an alternative crop. With the help of the cooperative, he is now able to grow bananas on a 13 rai of land and the plantation is very fruitful. He now exports his crops to Japan and makes about 20,000 baht in net profit per rai. Moreover, Mr Visut, apart from growing bananas, also grows rubber trees on a 30 rai plantation. And each day, he earns approximately 1,100 baht from rubber tapping. Fifteen rai of his agricultural land is used to plant oil palm, of which he makes 7,000-8,000 baht a month. As you can see, if you divide your land into different parts and use them for different things, you will make more money. You can no longer rely solely on a single crop, because once the price drops, your income will drop. This is why I want our fellow farmers to understand. I don’t want to force any changes but my intention is to see you earn sufficient income today and in the future. In addition, you can also allocate a part of your land to grow trees for the sake of the environment.
It is also to follow His Majesty’s Sufficiency Economy Philosophy, which can help farmers make a sufficient living. From what I know, the trees that are being grown are mahogany. This type of wood takes time to grow. But when full grown, the texture of the wood is beautiful and often used to make furniture and other products. If you have an idea to do something new or different but lack confidence on certain issues, you can always consult specialists. We are more than willing to give you advice. Just go to agricultural centers in your local areas or ask government authorities for advice. I already told them to prepare this kind of information for you. This information may contain agricultural procedures and successful examples. The Ministry of Commerce will be in charge of marketing. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Interior will make sure the new principle is adopted nationwide. Today, I want to give some guidelines to responsible agencies – Agriculture and Interior ministries – that model projects must be launched in every village. They should focus on such issues as, where should alternative crops be grown? Where perennial plants should be grown? After these model projects are launched, every farmer will be able to learn from them. However, we cannot force the farmers to do what they don’t yet understand. It is necessary that farmers understand the importance of change in their agricultural approaches. You need to add value to your land. Don’t sell it. If you don’t follow the concept, you may one day need to sell the land and then out of desperation, you might need to rent the land again. Please study the details of this approach. There are many other examples of change which can lead to future success. Some who have acquired a Bachelor’s degree or a Master’s degree have turned to the career of farming and now earn a good living. I have urged them to help other farmers and many are doing so. I learnt about this by seeing it for myself and so I would also like to ask members of the press to help present information on these alternative agricultural approaches for the benefit of the farmers. If you (farmers) worry about the market, we have authorities helping you with this matter. Please listen to the government’s advice and try to improve your situation by embracing knowledge and technology that best suits your situation. In cucumber planting for instance, Khun Prakong, who is a farmer in Phetchabun Province, makes a monthly income of 200,000 baht. You cannot make this kind of money from rice farming now. The process begins with preparing the plantation, laying down water system, covering it
with plastic bags, sowing, and erecting bamboo sticks. It requires a small investment of 30,000-50,000 baht. It allows you to grow cucumbers 3-4 times a year while the productivity is 1-2 tons a day. You will be able to sell them at the price of 10 baht per kilo. In the future, if you have your own transportation and create your own connections, every farmer in that particular area, not only cucumber farmers, will earn more money. They can also exchange cucumbers for other vegetables. Then you convert yourself into an entrepreneur and find larger trading partners. This is how you improve yourself and your career.

Another project is the successful crossbreeding of the Mekong giant catfish and the iridescent shark by fish farmers in Mae Faek Mai Subdistrict of San Sai District in Chiang Mai Province. The project spends 4 months combining the strengths of both breeds of fish. The project cost 2,500 baht in feed and 40 baht per fish. Profit of farming 500 fish throughout the course of 4 months was over 30,000 baht. You can see that this is a low investment compared to traditional agricultural methods with a high return on investment. This is just a suggestion. The demand for the industries that I’ve mentioned is still increasing, including bananas, cucumbers, fish and many other things.

3. The next project is marigold planting by farmers in Lam Daeng Subdistrict of Singhanakhon District in Songkhla Province. The project utilized only 1 rai of land but created up to 50,000 baht in monthly revenue. Many households are now planting marigold instead of farming. You can opt to plant these as a supplementary occupation, or open salons. It’s up to you. These projects were undertaken with the support of the Lam Daeng administrative office and related officials. Some households have planted marigold in addition to farming. The project divides crops into two farms where seeds from one farm will then be used for the next. This way, people won’t have to acquire new land or trespass other spaces. All you have to do is rotate your crops and you will able to do planting continuously. In addition, buyers can purchase the products right at the plantation site. During festivities, prices of marigold can double, giving planters substantial income. I recommend that you look into this. Plenty of information is available on the internet.

4. The next project is mushroom farming of Nong Chok District in Bangkok. Farmers here planted Hungarian oyster mushrooms, Bhutan oyster mushrooms and Japanese
termite mushrooms and were able to generate 70,000-80,000 baht in monthly income. This came to about 6-8 baht per handful. 5. The next project is the planting of various vegetables to sell to Si Mum Muang Market and Talad Thai. I’ve called for the establishment of the community markets, Si Mum Muang Market and central provincial markets. People will be able to sell their crops to these markets and the rest to middlemen. I think the government and officials are doing their best to support the public in this area. I ask that you take the time to consider this approach and participate with the officials. Please also show appreciation to officials that are offering their expertise. As of today, farmers in a village in Bueng Na Rang District of Phichit province have joined hands in generating over 200,000 baht in daily income for their village. I’ve informed all that you should use His Majesty the King’s 3-3-1 farming model. You can choose to share land with your neighbors to achieve the 3-3-1 model. This will create a network that strengthens your community as well as your bargaining position in the market. This is something that you should consider. What I’ve just said is an example of how a village was able to come together to generate over 200,000 baht in daily income. This is much better than doing other things that are costly and have low return on investment. I’m not saying that you should forfeit your main occupations. I’m saying that there are indeed ways you can generate additional income. In addition, Mr Thanon Teerawongpaisal graduated with a bachelor’s degree but stuck with farming like his ancestors. I’ve seen many people do this. Some studied engineering, education, arts or law and have chosen to conduct farming according to modern practices to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors. They also know of related obstacles such as the drought, the slump in rice prices, poisonous fertilizers. Many plant organic melons in 72 square meter houses. This doesn’t cost that much, is water efficient and can generate good income. If you’re going to use chemicals on your crops, please think of those that will be consuming your products. If you guarantee quality and adhere to standards, prices will rise and your products will be wanted by foreign countries as they do check whether you’ve used chemicals. During the New Year festivals, organic melons have already been preordered with more orders coming in. These are a handful of examples. I think we can also do a lot more than these things. Don’t be apprehensive of marketing or if you don’t have adequate capital now. If you all get together, the government is ready to
assist as many as possible. You can learn from your successful neighbors. Maybe you can even partner with them. It will be beneficial if there are neighboring communities that can serve as examples. There are also Community learning centers that are connected to the Ministry of Agriculture. This is an example of the cooperative connectivity under the state of the people framework that exchanges information and opinions. We’ve educated farmers across the country to have options in conducting fair practices and develop their methods to meet global conditions, including climate change.

I also would like to encourage more appreciation for learning than just relying on past experiences. We need to support this type of cooperation according to the state of the people model that I’ve repeatedly mentioned. This is because the people are the ones that determine the future in conjunction with the support of the government. There are 9 centers to support and develop agriculture with branches in all 77 provinces and 882 districts. If you find that a certain branch is inefficient, you can notify your governor and then the Ministry of Interior or Agriculture will look into the matter. If the problem persists, you can notify me and I will take care of this for you. There are also 36 agricultural career development centers, 14 agricultural technology centers with a total of 1,018 branches across the country. This is something that has already been done. I know that some people still are not aware about this service while some have gone to get training but then decide that they can’t do it so they revert back to their old practices. We provide comprehensive services, information and receive complaints by farmers and the public. The ministries of Interior and Agriculture are helping to inspect areas that are ready to implement new projects and help those that are not quite ready. Those that have an interest are encouraged to apply. People can get together and have leaders in various areas. However, some areas have duplicate groups and various leaders. This can lead to inefficiencies and can compromise bargaining power which can cause prices of products to drop. As for the visit to the south, I've concluded that our ‘state of the people’ model of cooperation has seen much progress as we all undergo various changes to the way we do things and consider new environmental factors. However, we must maintain that the people are at the center of this approach, as they shape the future of their communities, families
and themselves. We need to implement these various projects and exchange of products of various communities, establish vendors and exchange information that leads to career investments. This includes low interest rate projects from the government’s financial institutions as well as supporting marketing and connectivity to increase product value. In today’s world, innovation is important in a competitive market as it boosts the value of products. Prices will not increase if we use the same stagnant practices. This includes packaging and design that should also be appealing. There can be a narrative on the package that is appealing if it is unique. I would like all to cooperate, from small, medium to large, including community funds, the Government Savings Bank, SME bank and the Bank of Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives. The most important benefit from the visit to the south was being able to hear the concerns directly from the public. I appreciate people from all regions because I'm sure you know why I visit.

As we know, some problems can be easily solved while some are difficult. However, we must address all problems together. If you help each other, your lives will be better off. You'll benefit from technological practices with low costs. However, right now our costs are high and our output is low. You need to balance this part out so the next generation will be in a better position. Another important issue is resting during the New Year festival. During the long holiday, many are returning back home to visit their families. Some who have come to Bangkok to work are returning back to their hometowns to celebrate the New Year. Please be safe. Please celebrate in moderation and not overdo it to the point that is dangerous and distresses others. Therefore I want everyone to be able to enjoy a good rest during the New Year. Please express your gratefulness and respects to your elders and have a safe journey. Those that are drivers must be responsible to society and the public. Please think of the lives of passengers and their families. Please refrain from drinking as other people’s lives and property will be on the line. The New Year festival is a good time for all to have fun, to travel and to go shopping. I have enjoyed seeing many joyous people now. So please be extra careful during the festivities can try to keep it that way. If people can control themselves, the authorities will not need to resort to law enforcement to protect and safeguard others. I also consider these security policies as special initiative by the NCPO to the public. I want to use my powers in this constructive way
to prosecute violators, such as reckless drivers or businesses that harm the public. Otherwise, these things will likely not stop. My orders aim to prevent accidents and create a sense of responsibility among businesses. This includes illegal racing or gangs that create harm to society. Freedom of expression or rights and freedoms must not be at the expense of other people’s rights and freedoms. If there is no enforcement of the law, everything will be the same as previous years. We’ve lost lots of money, servicemen and lost lots of investments. The most basic investment is the investment in yourself. Invest in yourself and you will be a benefit to society as a whole. Please travel safely and have a Happy New Year. As for myself, I am not traveling anywhere but I am going to ready myself to do my duties better and take care of you all. Next year I will also give myself a present by talking less and having fewer tiffs with reporters. I will try to be the ‘good guy’ now. I’ve been quite intense for the past 2 years because it was the beginning of the administration. The next phase is reform. Everything, as in real reform, begins with the self so I will also reform myself. Those that deliberately aggravate me and make me talk a lot; perhaps you should reform yourself as well. Be safe and I wish you all happiness as we move Thailand towards a better future.

Appendix 3.24

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – January 8, 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. On the occasion of the New Year, His Majesty the King has graciously bestowed a New Years greeting card for the Thai people. The card reads “May all have strong physical health, a fervent spirit and always be mindful.” Allow me to re-emphasize these wishes to encourage all of us to work together for the country and to be a source of inspiration for all Thai people, to always be mindful of our actions and of the events we deal with in our daily life. Every second Saturday of January marks the National Children’s Day. This year’s motto is ‘virtuous children are diligent and strive to learn for a bright future.’ This is my message to our nation’s children this year, and I believe it takes all of us to mould and
teach our children to be good citizens. We need to be role models for them, so that they will be the driving force of our nation, with the ethics and resolve to be able to handle any challenge. To do this we must start within families, schools, communities, and villages. I also wish for our social units, be they homes, schools, or temples, to work together based on the teachings of His Majesty and the working model of ‘a state of the people’ where communities, the private sector, and state agencies – find ways to collaborate and mould our children to be upstanding citizens who have knowledge and understanding of civic and human rights, responsibilities, liberty, and democracy, as well as the conscience to serve society and our country. All of the National Children’s Day activities hosted by the private sector and the government are to help children to learn and think outside the box, encourage them to be inventors and scientists as well as use their imagination. They will get hands-on experience which helps them to analyse and come up with effective solutions to solve problems. These activities are also aimed to promote cultural preservation and Thainess. These are our’ gifts ‘to our children on Children’s Day, which will focus on the gift of knowledge and wisdom - the most everlasting asset one can have. Yesterday, I met with a total of 779 children who were rewarded for being exemplary youths that have brought pride to the nation. This group of children is reflective of the many others around the country who I believe have the potential to be model citizens that uphold the highest ethics and contribute to society. I would like to commend these children as they are so determined to do virtuous deeds, excel in their studies, uphold the highest values, help other people, and always continue to learn and educate themselves. On this occasion, on behalf of the Cabinet members and the elder generation, I would like to send our very best wishes to children in all parts of Thailand. I wish you happiness, success in life, and prosperity. May you all grow up to be upstanding citizens of our nation. Today, I would like to inform the public of the work in progress of the government, the NCPO, and state enterprises in 2016. The first group involves projects that must be completed or yield tangible results in the time frame this government has left. Integrating the work of government agencies – state agencies must now be involved in the planning of projects and budgets on policies that are interconnected. Otherwise tangible results will be hard to come by if agency’s only work on their own.
The first phase of reforms – these started with the NCPO, the first cabinet, and was conducted under the National Reform Council under a scheduled time frame. This required understanding what the priorities were and what were secondary tasks. For this, laws and plans needed to be written clearly, while funds were used only as available. The rest will be passed on to the next government. Urgent matters have included: encroachment of land and marine resources, forest encroachment, rehabilitation of natural resources, economic forests, community forests, food banks, and land allocation for low-income earners. Many low-income earners are forced to illegally invade public spaces. We have had to take all aspects into consideration when solving this problem. We will also bring solutions to illegal fishing, aviation problems, and human trafficking as well as other important issues. We may not be able to finish all the tasks in time. But I have made a start and we should see to it that they are all resolved. We have also amended laws and regulations, modernizing them so that they can be used to prevent corruption. We work to facilitate trade and investment and improve public services. We make our laws more wide-reaching, so that they are accepted by the international community. We also need laws that benefit our nation. This includes laws that pertain to the planning of the government funds. However no laws will matter if citizens don’t respect them. Therefore, raising awareness in the public is vital. We need to lay down a firm foundation for national development in 6 areas, in co-relation to the national reform plan, the 20-year strategic plan, and the NESDB’s plans. Certain issues need an extended period of time because of constant changes. Today, our efforts must yield concrete results. I am doing everything in my capacity during my time in office. Everything else will have to be carried out by the next government. We need to improve our communications strategy in order to create better and correct understanding inside and outside the country about what is happening. Without understanding, there will be no end to our internal conflicts. I think there are some flaws in our methodology. I have already told related units to improve their work in making known our work in progress. We need to reduce economic risks that cause uncertainty by building stability through the “state of the people” model of cooperation. We want people to move from the middle-income group to the higher income group. This applies to all professions and careers.
We have given focus on the agricultural sector as our farmers are faced with low income and now water scarcity. Several projects need to kick started. But we won’t be able to do that if conflicts remain. We will do our best to address issues in the rubber industry. Rubber can be used in road construction and sports stadium construction. We have all these plans laid out, but they have to be studied first. But our challenge now to is allocate more funding, so please understand that we take this as a matter of our economic security. The next matter is about the Constitution. As I have mentioned previously, we are now aiming for a constitution that is universally accepted and internationally recognised. So please refrain from needless quarrels over the charter. The main principles will be stipulated in the charter. Other matters will be written in organic laws. Our efforts in drafting this charter are to prevent the problems we had to undergo in the past. Through the new charter, we want the people live and prosper peacefully, and not remain deeply divided as politicians fight for power like before. Next is about solving political crisis as well as other security-related problems through the enforcement of law. For politicians - if you have noble intentions for the country, you need to step up and help us reform. Please give suggestions, and not only complaints, especially if you haven’t contributed to the reform agenda. Many of you only talk about the government wanting to cling on to power. This creates suspicion and will lead to problematic elections. You will then blame it on me. Politicians need to think about turning a new leaf and gaining trust from the people. People are willing to forgive if you are willing to help change this country for the better and the common good. We are not enemies. Those that are being prosecuted - it’s because you have done something illegal. As for fairness, justice and sustainability - if not necessary, we will not enforce Article 44 of the interim charter. We have enforced it so that we can fix problems in a timely manner. For instance we have also used this special law to protect lives and prevent loss. Although strict traffic laws were being enforced during the New Year holiday, a large number of people still lost their lives to road accidents. This was caused by recklessness and alcohol. Families have to be in pain. New Years should be a joyous time of the year, not time for families to grieve. If we want to utilize Article 44 on certain issues, there should be a law that is enforced in parallel. Regulations of each
ministry should coincide. Everyone including officials has to understand these regulations.

Along with a constitution, we will also need laws for administration, criminal code, civil code, and corruption law, among others. This is to ensure fairness in our society. Checks and balances will be scrutinized. Justice will be provided for all. Long term plans and strategies will be drawn up for future national development, such as the 20-year plan. I will do as much as I can now. The next administration will have to follow up. But it’s up to you whether you agree or disagree or agree to disagree. People shall select politicians whom they approve of and have them carry on this plan, only if you think it is a good plan. You can select your own plan if you think my plan is not good enough. As for long-term investments, there must be development in the country’s basic infrastructure, given that we are in the era of the AEC. Some people have even said the government should not invest much in infrastructure. Should we take this advice, how will we cope in the future? If we spend the same way we use to spend, there will not be much development, there will not be stability, and the country’s capabilities will be diminished. As for water management, this government has a long-term plan and will need assistance from the next administration. As for building stability in the agricultural sector, we will try to fix every problem in the first phase. We will also evaluate the results of our efforts. Hopefully, the results are sustainable ones. However, these problems will not be fixed overnight as more time is required. Problems we are fixing are deep-rooted and this is only the first phase. We will issue necessary measures to ensure peacefulness and safety, without drugs, human trafficking, illegal activities, and other social problems such as the lack of respect for traffic law, illegal street racing, student brawls, and other forms of violence. We have to fix this. Everything can be fixed if everyone is committed to it. Families and communities have to work together in order to nurture good citizens who respect the law, who don’t cause others trouble, and who respect others’ rights. You need to be responsible for yourself, your family, and your country. We are still in the process of amending and revising laws and regulations. Out of more than 300, 140-150 acts have been revised. The rest are going through deliberation. These new laws are benefiting for all. Some have been modernized although people still lack an understanding of
these laws. In the end, you all need to understand them for your own benefit. However it would be useless if laws cannot be enforced. Take demonstrations for example. If nobody listens to the law, if nobody respects the law, there will be violence. It is not right if perpetrators of violence enjoy impunity or are immune to legal proceedings because of their rights. The law is still the law. It is different from the basic rights. Everyone is equal under the law. Law is the most important part of a society. Other areas of reform that must take place include education, bureaucracy, civil servants, and state enterprise employees. Civil servants - you must start with internal reform. You need to change your work approaches. You need to have a vision and prepare for all circumstances. Don’t wait until something happens and react. The better approach is to be proactive. As for reconciliation which has been discussed for a long time, some people think reconciliation relates to the amnesty law. I assure you that Amnesty must come with a legal precedent. We shall leave this matter to the law reform committee.

The same goes for legal and judicial procedure reforms - each ministry has to reform its own regulations. But public pressure should not be the only reason for state agencies in drawing up new regulations. At the same time if the people want reforms to regulations, you must have enough information, not just assumptions. Without adequate data, you cannot make a real suggestion. You need a model or an example for you to look into. I want all legislature-related matters to be left in the hands of responsible agencies. We need to allow the judicial process to take course without any intervention. The government cannot manipulate this process and we cannot issue any orders. Everyone is entitled to prove their innocence and enter a legal battle. But when doing so, please have the civility not to stir conflicts in society by distorting information. If you are telling the truth, there should be officials who can back your comments. Officials are ready to talk with you on all matters. The question is ‘will you let us?’ Please think of the consequences of your actions. In terms of raising public awareness, I would like to ask members of the press to present both sides of the story. Please be ethical and fair. If you let one side talk, you have to let the other side talk as well. This way we can let the people decide. If you choose to present only one side of the story, our conflicts will never go away. I don’t want the press to fall
victim to politicians who use media as a tool. This is a waste of time. What does the public get out of this fighting? Please cooperate and try to fix these problems. Whatever the government does, it must first consult existing laws. We need to first examine various rules and regulations. If we do what we please, there will definitely be problems and people will demand fairness. I also implore others not to abuse your power or act only for your own personal gain. We need to implement reform on all fronts. Therefore the various agencies of the government, bureaucracies and state enterprises need to do so. Offer suggestions and I will forward them to the NRSA. Give suggestions with principles and not merely demands, otherwise there will be more conflict and reforms will be hampered. The next matter is regarding international relations. Results must be tangible. Today, I’ve called for the drafting of agreements between various regions, particularly the prioritization of countries that we wish to enhance trade with. Today, we must look towards various regions and connect with them, be they in the East, West, North-South or South-South, or superpowers, starting with the CLMV countries. In ASEAN, we must have a clear agenda for guidelines and joint efforts to enhance efficiency. Whatever we need to sell or whoever we compete with we must boost our capabilities. We must follow through with investment projects such as the ASEAN plus one agreement as well as anything that includes Thailand in the fields of trade, investment, industry and tourism. Regarding tourism, many countries want us to provide them with information and knowledge. They have commended Thailand for our ability to provide exceptional tourism services, particularly in the past year. Regarding security, there must be cooperation on defence, anti-terrorism policies and intelligence-sharing. These things are very important. Regarding education, we need to accelerate our reform of our education policies, particularly the development of human personnel. Our healthcare services must become more efficient. The problem is that we have focused spending cures and not enough to preventative measures and education that can reduce doctor visits and expenses. Research and development policies must also be clearer during the remaining time of this administration. Yesterday, I was able to commend our students from Thammasat University for inventing medical equipment. These machines cost around 200,000 Baht while imported machines can cost up to 25 million Baht. Ours costs 200,000 and is sufficient, so I’ve already placed orders for
10 machines to be given to hospitals to try out. If we don't support innovation like this, research will not turn into production and industries will not grow. Therefore I would like everyone to support research and innovation in the country and to turn research into production as soon as possible.

In setting goals, think of the desired outcomes first. Don’t think about doing something or initiating a project without knowing the end date or funds required. Think long term but don’t ask for money and then not use it. Utilize funds in increments, mixed with loans or TPP funds or private funds. This is how it should be done. It’s also up to the next government if it wants to do it this way. However, we must prepare ourselves for the ASEAN community and indeed the world community. We need to finish these projects and lay down the plans for the country’s future before the election in July 2017. About the about the public referendum - there will be no progress if people do not consider what’s actually written in the constitution and who it benefits. Does it benefit me, the NCPO or any other group? There are many misunderstandings about this, foretelling more problems. If this is the case, what if the referendum rejects the new constitution? What can we do then? The next matter is regarding agreements with other countries. Thailand has engaged in many agreements and I have made a summary of what we’ve engaged in order to continue with our commitments. We also need to implement what we’ve signed up to do. Some agreements also take time to reach a conclusion. If it involves another country, they must also consider the agreement as well. Some negotiation processes have taken up to 3-4 years such as the FTAs, RCEP. We’ve established our requirements and they’ve brought theirs to the table and both sides are working things out. Regarding investments, I’ve stressed that whatever agreements that were reached must be implemented within the year 2017. Sometimes middlemen come in and sell out the agreements and licenses. I urge all officials to keep a look out on this and not let anyone exploit these projects like what has happened in the past. It is the duty of the government to oversee these matters. The next matter is Thailand's Chairmanship in G77. I will have the honour to introduce the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy of His Majesty the King as a viable approach for sustainable development. We need to reduce the gap between developed and developing countries, where developed
countries give support in terms of funding, knowledge, technology and research studies to developing countries. Otherwise, the gap will continue to widen. In order to create resilience, enhance capabilities and add income to people in the country to achieve more equality, the work of the government must be “people-centric.” Each agency must consider how their projects benefit different groups, occupations and income levels of the public in order to develop the country and reduce the gap between us and rich countries. Otherwise we will not reach our potential. We need constant support otherwise there will be no progress. The coming together of countries must yield leverage as we utilize our own potentials as well as that of ASEAN’s in order to be competitive to other association of countries. All occupations including students and laborers must develop themselves today. Don’t just ask what they'll get from AEC without first preparing yourselves. If you don't study or improve your skills, no one will want to hire you and there will be no competitiveness. We need to mobilize the production process, product processing and marketing. The most important element is developing human personnel to match with the demands of a competitive market. This year marks the beginning of the AEC. How can we cooperate with our neighbors for mutual benefit, sharing the production process, distribution channel and markets without competing with one another? Otherwise, prices will be pushed down. Leaders of ASEAN countries agree on this, but how can we implement it? These things take time and will be gradually implemented. Regarding these matters, whether it is with the AEC or elsewhere, the government’s job is to see how we can benefit from these groupings. We must stipulate our goals and seek cooperation based on trust and to allow citizens from all countries, particularly those from low income countries to benefit. This mutual benefit will elevate incomes and enable all countries to develop alongside each other. The construction of connecting highways and railway tracks requires money. If we don't have money, how can we connect with others? Our economies must grow strong together with trade and investment. We will develop our products and innovations for the world stage; create brands that are made in Thailand within this year. There are many developments from what we’ve done at Khlong Phadung Krung Kasem market. There's been business matching, information exchange, licensing and many other things. Many have been able to increase their income into the millions. If we're
determined, we will be able to do it. It requires perseverance and determination. Thai people can do this.

We must be strong from within with our “Made in Thailand” products. The next step will be smart and strong cities in all aspects. We need to observe the countries around us and how we can cooperate within the economic corridors of North – South or East – West. Today the Thai government is looking west. Many large countries are looking east. I’m also looking to see how we can cooperate with them. I’ve talked to the ambassadors of some major power countries in order to expand our ties with countries to the West of Thailand and ASEAN, towards the south of Asia. We need to develop closer ties. We also need to create a new breed of farmers and laborers to become “smart people,” “smart farmers” and “smart laborers”. These are words that I want people to know of because these words are necessary in creating understanding because they’re easy to understand and refer to a development in the world community. In moving forward with empowering all sectors to develop with sustainability reforming the country and solving longstanding problems, the goal is to reduce social conflicts. The intention is to solve these problems so that there is no need for conflict. The law can be enforced, but it also depends on the cooperation of the public. If people don’t cooperate and businesses and groups don’t cooperate, how can we move forward? If you don’t think to develop yourself, only think of profits and losses, don’t take responsibility for society and the environment, you’ll need to reform yourself. It starts from you and your families and various agencies. Please respect the law and rules of the country. The government, private sector and the public must cooperate in the form of a "state of the people" model. Thailand can thereby move forward with integrity, honor and sustainability. The last matter is the Khlong Phadung Krung Kasem market which has entered its second year and has produced over 1 billion Baht in revenue. In terms of investment, market expansion for operators, the number is more. Some are able to expand overseas in countries far out or in our neighboring countries. The products sell very well and there’s an exchange of products with CLMV countries. The other day, I inaugurated the Khlong Phadung Krung Kasem for another time between January 6 and 26 of 2016. This is the agenda of the Ministry of Social Development of Human Security to be the main body in
mobilizing this project by organizing the far titled “The river market of Thainess” under the concept of "Opportunity, dignity and generosity of Thais caring for and helping each other.” This is done by distributing products, enhancing capabilities and generating income to the public and target communities. Today there are many groups such as children, adolescents, women, the disabled, elderly and underprivileged that will join in on the activities in the event in providing services and selling various goods. These goods and services were made by them and is a mark of their identity and dignity.

The first zone features a campaign against human trafficking. I ask for the cooperation from business operatives because I’ve called for the MOU on how we can all combat human trafficking and illegal fishing activities. I’ve given orders to my deputy and I ask for your cooperation. We’ve also agreed on the construction of 8,000 sustainable homes. Related agencies must what to do from that in the long term. Draft them into a plan and include it in the reform agenda. We need to relocate homeless persons or those living in slums and create more stability for these people. Those that will be constructing townhouses and condominiums next to canals or in crowded areas should leave some space for exercise, outdoors activities or vendors as well as support tourism while creating a safe society. Otherwise, it will just end up looking like a slum that looks dangerous and worrying. There's also a “blue heart” booth and a social assistance booth as well. The second zone features creativity and a demonstration of human potential, with musicians as well as blind musicians. I’ve initiated this project. We’ve gathered these people from the streets and trained them with job skills and help them generate income. They’ve formed bands and I've had the opportunity to listen to their music. I’ve also heard that some music companies have included them in their music training and singing courses. Congratulations to all these individuals. This is called the “From Street to Stars Show” The fourth zone features the joy of giving, consisting of food and processed goods from volunteers from the Ministry of Social Development and various associations. Apart from your pleasure of visiting the market, this is an opportunity of contributing to society, particularly by supporting products made by the disabled or by those from rural areas. These were products that were made by their true skills and determination. Some people are
without limbs but can produce beautiful paintings. The artist didn't have hands and feet and had to draw while lying down. I wish everyone happiness in their trip to support various products. Please help be a part of this story of creating value to various products. Most importantly, these stories are of national heritage that are unique to our people. These things lead to the development of new innovation that compete in the world market. If products look the same throughout all districts, how would they sell? If you develop them and adjust their shape and form and uses, the value will increase. For example, how can you make a cotton robe be worth as much as silk cloth? There are many success stories that are selling abroad. Please help each other develop the country and to prepare for the first phase of reform along with this administration. I’d like to thank the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security as well as other related agencies, businesses, the private sector and the public. Please help each other move Thailand forward.

Appendix 3.25

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – January 22, 2016

Good evening dear Thai citizens. On behalf of the Thai people, I would like to praise the Thai national football team’s effort and spirit during the 2016 AFC U23 Championship. Although the team did not qualify for the knockout stages, all Thais consider this a success as it will pave the way for a better future of Thailand’s football. I would like to thank the players, head coach Kiatisuk Senamuang and his staff for bringing enjoyment, excitement, smiles, and team spirit for our citizens who support their national team in every competition. I watched the game myself. Thank you for teaching us that Thailand is second to none when we do our best, making the Thai people realize that we should keep fighting and that there is still hope until the final whistle. We should never give up in any circumstances. I strongly believe that every problem has a solution and should we understand each other, and care for each other, and have solidarity. Today, I have several topics I wish to talk to you about. The first issue concerns measures to solve rubber problems. This past week, I
assigned the Agriculture Ministry, the Finance Ministry, the Industry Ministry, the Science Ministry, the NSTDA, and other responsible agencies to seek immediate measures by putting rubber in the market into production, which is according to the government’s policy to ensure stability in the agricultural sector. Participating companies will be granted privileges and incentives by the BOI and the Office of SMEs Promotion. All of these measures will be added on top of existing mechanisms. The next matter is about R&D. Because we have not focused on turning our research into production, the government will now work with the private sector and universities on this, which will allow us to create added-value, innovation, and increase the prices of our materials such as rubber and rice. Products developed by research can also be used to facilitate the work of the government. Budgets will be allocated to purchase crops and we will turn these crops into valuable goods. There are a lot of issues that need to be addressed especially about the budget. The government has recently revised its financial policy, allowing us to spend up to 10-30% of our budget to support new products and innovation. If we can fix problems at midstream and downstream, it will be a good start for us. Many people have said our budget is low. We have already spent 1% of our money. We have not been very successful on research and product innovation. At this stage, we need to turn domestic crops into processed goods, add value to them, and build a successful chain. As for rubber plantations, I have told the Agriculture Ministry, the Interior Ministry, and the Rubber Authority to give rubber farmers who have grown on illegally acquired land assistance. The farmers have to first acknowledge that what they are doing is illegal. We will find assistance that will not break the law. Please adhere to the measures issued by the National Land Policy Committee. We can also be flexible with the farmers according to given circumstances. As you can see, everything has a connection. Some farmers who had already received assistance are now asking for more. But I ask that all farmer leaders and demonstrators respect the law. You are the ones breaking the law now. And when the law is enforced, you claim that your rights are being violated. I believe that government’s assistance may be causing oversupply of rubber in the market. The supply will never exceed demand if crops are grown only on designated areas. Due to previous assistance, farmers invaded forests, a move that destroyed our forests and natural resources. Not only that, the amount you grow is
more than the market demand. This is why you need grow fewer crops and lower the cost while increasing midstream activities such as small factories and SMEs. Then you can sell your products to domestic consumers and other countries. The next issue concerns sugarcane plantations. Many areas are growing sugarcane. Farmers switch to growing crops that yield more profits. The production then becomes too fruitful which prompts the market price to drop. In addition to existing measures, the government will issue an order for sugar factories to be built no farther than 50 kilometers away from sugarcane plantations. The old policy was 80 kilometers. Many companies have asked us to lower the number as well as other demands such as make their areas special economic zones. The law is the law. You need to find solutions that are legal. It is not possible that the government has to buy sugarcane from 400,000-500,000 rai of plantations. The logical explanation is how to use less land to grow sugarcanes. The more you grow, the bigger the problems you will have. Factories will not be able to process them. Then you will again ask for assistance. The whole process will then be disturbed make it harder to achieve sustainability. You need to respect the law. If we have a lot of factories to produce sugarcanes, the price will surely drop. The more sugarcane there is, the lower the price will be. The price plummets once you grow more. Please think about the laws, the production, and the market. A lot of farmers are growing sugarcanes, assuming that prices in the world market will remain high. The prices have now fallen.

We must create balance by regulating domestic production according to domestic demand. You need to find new markets while maintaining existing ones. If everyone in the world produces sugarcanes, who will we sell them to? Sugarcane farmers need to understand. The government will try to find measures to address the oversupply. Reports said sugarcanes are dying because of the drought. What am I supposed to do? We all need to meet half way. The government will help you and you need to help yourself as well. You need to respect the laws, otherwise, the problem will not go away. The next matter is about other crops. The government has been continually helping all farmers. You may have forgotten this fact. We have issued tens of assistance measures to help you. What you need to do is participate in our projects. Please listen to the governments recommendations on this issue. Please understand the
law and the government’s policies. You grow crops more than the market needs and grow on invaded land. The government then will not be able to help you. This is like a circle where problems never actually go away. Today we will fix the problems at upstream, midstream, and downstream. The government will need cooperation from the private sector and the public under the process of the “state of the people”. The next issue concerns water management for agriculture. There have been a lot of complaints about the drought. The government has been informing and reminding you that we will face water scarcity this year. It is happening right now. The drought could drag on until next year. Please listen to us. We have been warning you for a long time. Sometimes, upstream water does not reach farmers living downstream of the river. The next problem is the invasion of salt water. This problem is being caused by excessive saltwater fish and shrimp farming in agricultural zones without thinking of consequences. Authorities need to talk to the farmers. We prefer not to use law enforcement on something like this. You need to grow less produce and use less water. You cannot grow on the land you illegally invaded on the assumption that what you grow are economic crops. You will not be able to sell your crops and you are destroying the land. The saltiness spreads widely, making impossible to grow other crops. This is the problem if saltwater is used in agricultural zones. The same goes to freshwater fish farming. This kind of farming requires lots of water. I know I cannot stop you. But I ask you to balance it out. Everyone needs to learn to solve their own problems. Please help to restore balance in the nature. When things go wrong, it will be difficult to fix. The ecosystem and natural resources will be afflicted. As for the matter of rice farming, before I took office, farmers had been growing rice at the excessive amount. They overused the soil and the land. Farmers didn’t grow quality rice on the right kind of soil. Rice with good quality is now mixing with substandard rice. In some areas, rice grains that use to have big and long kernels become smaller, shorter, and have lower standards. The scent and the taste are also different. This is because farmers grow substandard rice on soil that is meant for quality rice. Rice with short life cycle should not be grown on in-season land. This causes problems to the whole sector. It may take up to 10 years to complete eradicate this kind of problem. The next matter is about addressing the drought problem. Many people question the government’s measures to tackle the drought. I have talked about this many times. I
have asked for cooperation. We have issued a number of measures. We have spent a large sum of money. We understand that water is an important substance for consumption and agriculture. Water is essential to all crops and all industries. Water can also help us maintain the balance of the ecosystem as well as push saltwater away. You may complain that there is too much saltwater. This is because we don’t have enough freshwater to push saltwater away. When the sea rises, saltwater goes deeper into land. We only use fresh water when necessary. We are doing the best we can. Whenever we release freshwater, it will be used along the way before it gets to saltwater. Water released is used for rice farming. How are we going to every fight saltwater intrusion if this keeps happening? Please understand this before it’s too late.

The government had issued assistance measures for the past two years. We have tried to educate the farmers, change farming behaviors, promote joint plantations, and promote cattle ranching.

There are quite a few farmers who changed themselves and have been cooperating with the government. They improve and make technology useful to them. However, there are a large number of farmers who refuse to do what we suggest, because they are too familiar with the old method. They don’t want to accept change and deny new knowledge. Today, everything has to go in the same direction. I understand that rice is your pride. But what shall the government do when your crops don’t yield any profits. Please don’t only wait for the government to act on your problems. I am very concerned about the provinces declaring themselves drought-hit zones. How can the whole province have no water? I will send teams to find out what really is going on. They will find out if the whole province or just certain areas that are drought-stricken.

Water for consumption and water for agriculture are two different things. If water for agriculture is scarce, that area should not be declared a drought zone. Some areas need drinking water while some areas need water for produce. Some areas need water to feed cattle. These are all for different purposes. You need to designate these areas according to their needs, because they will never have the same need. We cannot have all 77 provinces be declared drought-affected areas. How is the government going to respond? Please make it right and make it clear. I ask that regional and local offices regularly check their areas. The NCPO will check all areas if necessary. We need to
find out what sort of assistance do people in each area need. Some matters may need government’s attention while some may not. Each problem is different. We cannot fix problems assuming everything is the same. Where is the government going to get the money from? At present, you all know that we have limited amount of freshwater. We acquire water from dams, reservoirs inside and outside irrigation zones, and water basins in various parts of the country. For many years, rains do not fall in places where we can store water. Most of the rains fall downstream of dams. This is why we have less water while demand rises. Please help us. You cannot keep using unlimited amount of water for agriculture. Please be reasonable about this. As I said before, all the water released from dams is used for agriculture. This creates an oversupply of crops in the market. Even when all your crops die, you keep on growing them. I know that you are used to fixing problems the same way and keep thinking that the government will compensate for your loss. When are we going to improve? Today, problems must be addressed first. Rest assured that we already have a long term plan in place. Inner parts of the land are normally water scarce. Outer parts are also dry because the inner parts use all the water. If everyone had listened and cooperated, everything would have been better. The government incorporated water management plans that covered all activities. These plans are now being implemented. New reservoirs are being constructed. Old reservoirs are too far away from agricultural zones. There were no effective irrigation systems. This sort of restructuring needs a large sum of money. Everything was not effective in the past. We had an idea that we could add water in rivers into dams. But some people were against the idea. This is why we need to work together. The government does not wish to enforce the law or utilize Article 44 for every single issue. Thais have to take care of each other. The whole system must be overhauled. This ranges from production and processing, to marketing and exporting. This is how sustainability can be ensured. Should everything be fixed today, the country will be a lot more revenue. Same goes to other reform plans, these plans should clearly state the duties of responsible agencies, so that we have a clear guideline of what we are responsible for. These plans should go according to the government’s policies and strategies. All of these need to be stipulated in all reform plans. Now, it is up to the next administration whether these plans will continue. There needs to be an understanding between related working
groups of what the NCPO’s and the reform agenda’s roadmaps are. If there is no understanding, they can’t implement the policies. Today I want to report on the progress of tap water. There used to be 7-8 thousand locations that had no tap water. Today, the government has reduced that number to 4 thousand and will complete the project in 2017. This is what we’ve done. The digging of large wells needs to utilize new equipment instead of hiring manual labor. Otherwise you’ll only have enough to drink and consume but not enough for agriculture. However, if we dig too much, we will lose our underground water sources and will be forced to dig deeper next dear. We need to preserve the level of underground water. If we dig too fast, it will deplete quickly. Therefore we need to distinguish between water for consumption and for agriculture. We need to use land appropriately and be economic with the use of water.

Other countries are using drip irrigation. Some countries have no source of water but are able to plant. They’ve been doing this for decades and have pioneered many ventures. They’ve done this through innovation, resilience, learning and utilizing technology. Most importantly, farmers and the authorities need to cooperate, be self-sufficient listen to the suggestions of the state. Whatever you can do on your own, the state will step in to help on at all stages. We have revisited the entire plan by the committee on water management despite recent revisions. We revisited long term goals that aren’t being achieved at this time so that we can move forward with them now. Why do we do this? To accommodate the next rainy season and the planting season. It’s a problem if there is little water, but it will be an even bigger problem if there is no planning. Therefore we must create small water sources in all areas: digging canals and utilizing public resources and ponds. Perhaps we need to examine whether routes that are being constructed are blocking water shades that are trying to funnel water into reservoirs. We need to examine housing projects and roads. If they don’t have proper drainage systems or bridges, it can cause flooding and also block proper water funneling. All Ministries need to work together. Everyone needs to use water wisely in all activities, whether it is the public in its consumption or the agricultural sector. We also need to funnel out salt water; otherwise we won’t be able to plant anything. Also, if people at different parts of water streams fight for water, it may escalate into conflicts over water. It would then be problematic for the government to step in as force can also be problematic. Therefore, we can only warn
that any new planting now can be ruined due to limited water supply. It takes 3-4 months and minimum to grow crops and more than 6 months sometimes. Therefore please consider this. It is the government’s duty to care for the public and provide it with water. It is necessary at this time to conduct hybrid farming. The government will make revisions to water distribution, budgeting and will be more strategic by mobilizing soldiers along with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Natural Resources. We need to overhaul the country’s water management plan to coincide with existing supplies and adjust planting according to domestic and international demand for certain crops. Otherwise, the price of crops will fall. Hybrid farms can consist of various crops and livestock. His Majesty the King has had a Royal initiative on this a long time ago. If we don't work together, it can be dangerous because of depleting water and lack of rain due to climate change. Lots of forest lands that retain water have been destroyed. The country is filled with treeless mountains. Water flows from the North but now the North is filled with treeless mountains. We need to accelerate our reforestation efforts. However, it takes up to 20-30 years to plant trees. Therefore, we need to, in the meantime, use less water and utilize new technologies. The government is ready to assist the public on these things, so please visit your local municipalities and learning centers to learn more about these new practices. I’ve asked television and radio channels to broadcast the government’s policies, how it budgets for projects and how people can address problems in a sustainable way. Farmers who have listened to the government’s advice have adopted hybrid farming practices and now have multiple income sources. On the other hand, people who don’t take advice have continued to suffer. Information is being broadcasted through channel 11, 5 and Parliament Channel. Other channels that are about business or entertainment, I ask that you please also do some educating as well. If you don’t broadcast at all what the government is doing, what problems it is trying to solve and how the public can help and just air trivial content, how then can we live in balance? I ask that the media exercise ethical journalism for the citizens. Anyone who is met with hardship can watch channel 11, 5 or Parliament Channel. I say this because sometimes what I say isn’t aired. Instead, some channels air stories without identifying the problem. The government is addressing all these issues. Therefore, people need to contribute and be receptive to change. I asked that television and social
media channels consider how you can contribute to your country. Please create understanding and educate the public. Why isn't the public better off? Because past governments have not implemented multilateral reform and don’t offer sustainable solutions. We need to growth public capacity through knowledge, support and understanding. If you don't help me, many agendas may not be realized. Today, many agricultural groups are mobilizing and preparing their demands. Some have already submitted petitions. With the rubber price issue, there have been so many demands. If we fix something, they demand something else again. Also, please don’t manipulate people with low income. There’s been demand for a rubber committee. Why? Because you don’t have friends in the current committee? I don't know. There isn’t even a consensus among groups over what kind of committee they want.

This is Thailand’s problem. There are internal struggles for self-interest. This is a national issue. Let’s consider how we can instead cooperate as a state of the people. Please give the government and the NCPO another year and a half to do its work. Most importantly, this is a time to help reform the country. Some people say nothing has been done. If you join in, you will see what has been done and what else can be done. These things take time and haven't been done before. We’re in the 1st phase of reform and which will be followed by a 2nd, 3rd, and 4th for the next 20 years. The 5th phase is after 20 years.

I also ask for cooperation on national reform. Please understand that phase 1 of reform started since the NCPO. It will then be followed by more 5 year plans. Therefore, reform must coincide with the 4 phases lasting for a total of 20 years. This is the national strategic plan that we have. It also coincides with our economic development model. I will cite a phrase that you all are familiar with: “Rome wasn’t built in a day.” Thailand will be strong and incomes will increase. Inequality and conflict will be reduced. The country will enhance its competitiveness. These things don’t happen in a few years. When starting, there needs to be a lot of support for the groundwork and building blocks of the foundation. The most important ingredient to the foundation is generosity. It is the generosity to cooperate and to make sacrifices, and not blaming the NCPO for wasted potential, not opposing every move. I’m thinking for the benefit of the public. The people are at the center. The future rests
with the next generation. Students at the Prathom 6 and Mathayom 3 and 6 are currently studying for the O-NET exam. A lot of people are complaining that the O-NET and G-NET tests are too much. The Ministry of Education is looking into this. However, some things are necessary. We need to figure out how not to make it a burden and how students can be motivated. I remember when I was a student, I liked to read and study. My grades were pretty good. During tests, I would study because I wanted good scores. I'm not bragging, but I never scored less than 80%. Why? Because I was determined and wanted to test myself. Do people today take tests for self-assessment? Most take tests in order to qualify for this and that. Try to challenge and best yourself. If you can best yourself, you’ll be able to move on to better things. However, if you don’t care about yourself and don’t want to do anything and lack motivation, you won’t gain anything. Our education system need a lot of change. It is also because of a lack of understanding. Therefore, the Ministry of Education must create an understanding of this and how to motivate people to want to take tests, to want to compete, to want to read. This is what educational institutions need to do. This includes scholars and high-level administrators. Please don’t teach people to cause conflict. You teach about democracy and a few human rights topics without teaching about civility, citizenship and the rule of law. Remember that the act of climbing up requires intensity and determination. It isn’t smooth. You are your own caretaker. Therefore, the role of the teacher is very important in being a guiding force and to help parents. We have entrusted our kids to schools because we want them to have a good education. Therefore we must have quality teachers. There have been calls to decrease class time and increase learning time. 3-4 thousand schools have adopted this model. Those that haven't been successful need to examine why they aren't. Are there enough teachers? Are teachers flexible and developing themselves? Some teachers have other obligations as well. However, a teacher’s main priority is with his or her class. This is more important than any other assessment technique. Let’s see how it goes. Everyone needs to help each other. All agencies that use the government’s money must be assessed at the C10 and C11 level in all Ministries. Lower level assessments need to be conducted in accordance to the upper level model, not through more meetings. Also be aware of assessments. If you don’t pass assessments or if the assessments are inaccurate, then redo it. Right now the
authorities will be conducting assessments. Otherwise if you just keep on nominating new positions for me to approve of all the time and your work isn’t actually effective, I don’t know what to do other than assess you more. During all tests, please everyone try to develop themselves. Don’t be hostile towards the problem and blame the test for being either too easy or too difficult. However, neither tests nor degrees are the only pinnacle of success. Having sufficient income and being able to take care of your family is. Success is also the implementation of knowledge and critical thinking skills. These are the things that make the country develop. Human personnel are the most important resource that will propel the country forward.

Many countries have met with me. I host guests, ambassadors, leaders, commissioners, businesses and organizations from across the world. They are coming here during this administration. They are thankful that this administration has revised various mechanisms and laws on doing businesses. They say there has now been more facilitation and more ease of doing business with shortened timeframes of procedures. We are developing everything. We also need to assess ourselves based on international indicators because this is the lens in which the world will look through to examine us. Based on these indicators, many are turned off by many problematic indicators. I’ve taken these issues seriously. It isn’t easy, but we will do our best to solve all issues. I ask for cooperation from all sides. Address problems according to the established procedure. Today we need to look forward into how we are going to be and how we can develop a future for the next generation. Thank you. Sawasdee Krub

Appendix 3.26

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – January 29, 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. Every February 3rd of each year marks “Veterans’ Day”. It is the day that we all commemorate the heroic acts of our soldiers standing in the front line who are always ready to make sacrifices. They are willing to sacrifice
their lives to serve and protect their nation and the people. They make sacrifices so that we all could live peacefully. Although we are not at war, there are a large number of soldiers, police officers, security officers, and volunteers who are on duty in the field to protect our sovereignty and territorial integrity. They are away from their families and loved ones to protect us. They are fending off many threats to our security, both old and new, to uphold the sovereignty of the nation, while ensuring peace and order in our daily lives. Please send them your support and encouragement, and your best wishes for them to be safe. I would like to invite all of us who living ‘behind this wall of security’ to express our appreciation and respect to all veterans by purchasing red remembrance poppies, which are an important symbol to recognize the sacrifices of our soldiers. You could also make donations to veterans or soldiers who have been injured or hospitalized. All donated money will be used to support veterans’ family. Some families have lost their loved ones to the call of duty. Let us remember and let us have the noble spirit represented by poppy flowers bloom in our hearts. Let us come together also, to make the country that these veterans gave their lives for, a peaceful and prosperous nation.

The next issue is about national reform and building a resilient nation by the ‘state of the people’ model. I am confident this approach will bring sustainable solutions to our country’s challenges and will lay down strong fundamentals for Thailand. I would like to give you an example. Last week, I visited communities that have now developed to become strong communities through their own efforts. The first community is located in Banphot Phisai District of Nakhon Sawan. I visited various exhibitions displaying farmers’ success in growing crops on a large plantation, which has then allowed the government to provide assistance to those farmers. If farmers can do this by themselves according to our advice, it would be easier for us to manage and assist you. For example, we can provide farming equipment. You can also form a group and grow similar crops and together turn those crops into valuable products through innovation as well as marketing. You can use some of your crops for consumption while the rest can be traded within and outside the community. Or you can process those crops and send them to factories for further production. This is how you create connectivity among businesses. We saw collaboration between officials, the private sector, and the public, together mobilizing government’s policies in all levels – villages and communities.
this particular area, up to 268,000 rai of land was previously used to grow off-season rice. However, after the government had asked rice farmers to refrain from doing so in the wake of possible water scarcity, the farmers willingly complied with the government’s advice. They took our advice on top of the suggestion that they should grow crops on a large plantation. As of this year, the quantity of land used for off-season rice farming stands at 7,135 rai. Thank you very much for this. Most of the farmers turned to other crops such as green beans, maize, chilies, eggplants, and yard long beans. They are now able to make extra income as agents from the Thai Market travel to these plantations to buy the crops. This is an example of successful implementation and multi-sector concerted cooperation according to the government’s ‘state of the people’ approach. If people heed the government’s advice, every process will go faster. It will be more effective. Many farmers have told me that they now earn more than they did in the past. However, the government also needs to control the quantity of crops being grown. We will help farmers find the right market, equipment, and technology. Technology needs to be adopted in order for the farmers to compete with the private sector. Renting agricultural equipment can cost a lot of money. This is why the government wants to support you, so that you can have steady income. Communities will be strong if farmers are willing to heed government’s suggestions. It may be difficult in the early stage, as adapting to change can be hard, especially since the same kind of farming has been practiced since the time of your grandparents. Please be confident that the government considers all possible details when it comes to agricultural policy. The government can provide financial support in the form of BAAC loans, provide seedlings and knowledge about alternative farming, and teach farmers how to create added value. In addition, the private sector will look for markets where various crops can be traded. Many companies can help process crops so that we have diversity in our products. I have also asked the community to highlight the history of their products in a bid to showcase the uniqueness of those products. A well-explained history can help create added value to a product. Product knowledge can appeal to more consumers. Each place has different histories. I want every product to showcase the unique history that goes with them. Once the product is unique, its price will be more valuable. Other countries are also applying this strategy.
The next example is a reservoir construction project with an area of 400 rai in Nong Mamong District, Chai Nat. At first, I asked DPM Gen Prawit Wongsuwan to inspect the area. During his visit, he listened to the locals’ complaints. These complaints were about a shallow reservoir that cannot be used to store water effectively. Gen Prawit then allocated a sum of money to construct a reservoir. The construction received full cooperation from the public and the private sector. Residents and the private sector donated the land to build a reservoir, with support from the government. Today, the reservoir stores a large amount of water. The reservoir can also help to prevent flooding and according to reports, the flooding can be severe sometimes. Not only we can use the reservoir to prevent floods, it also helps to prevent drought. Even without rains, the reservoir is half full already. The depth is between 4-6 meters. If we lift the sluice gate higher, we will be able to store more water. This is a great example of how the government pays heed to the real needs of the people. We go by -What is useful? What needs more understanding? This is what we call real cooperation. Not only in one area, but all areas must be connected. When it is impossible to construct a reservoir in a certain area, it shall be constructed in another location where water can be transported to needed areas. This is how benefits can be shared. Therefore, water management requires cooperation from all sides – the government, the private sector, and the public. In the meantime, I am still concerned that water scarcity will affect everyday lives of the people. If we use too much water for agriculture, given that fact that we have limited amount, we will not have enough water for consumption. On top of that, we also need fresh water to prevent salt water incursion. This is the problem we are facing at the moment. Please render us your cooperation. If we see more rains next year, we should not have this problem. We have prepared many measures concerning water management so far.

At Nong Mamong District, more than 900 households have benefited from this project. This then allows the government to use some funds which would have been spent on addressing this issue, to support other projects. Given this, should more reservoirs be constructed? If local people are able to better manage their own water resources like this, then our problems will be solved more efficiently and state funds
can then be used for something else. These are two good examples of concerted cooperation as a ‘state of the people’. The goal was achieved thanks to the cooperation between the public, the government, and the private sector. Every individual plays a vital role in development of the economy. If communities are strong and able to stand on their own feet, they won’t have to rely on anyone else. If communities learn to be strong like this, the government will be able to spend the money on something else to benefit the community. The government needs to make many large scale investments now. But this will be hampered if the government needs to keep on fixing the same problems which should have been fixed a long time ago. Accordingly, we will prioritize our missions during this pivotal moment of reform.

Another important area that needs to be reformed is our national competitiveness. A higher ability to compete ultimately translates to higher revenue for the nation regardless of a global economic slowdown. Our ability to compete must be improved. How do we become a trade and investment hub? Infrastructure development and innovation will be the keys to our success. As for the government, civil servants must earn trust of the people by getting to know them and meeting them on a regular basis. We cannot have the public accuse civil servants of being ignorant or not empathetic. Government officials must work together in order to help the people. I would like to compliment all civil servants who contribute and make sacrifices. The government and I will always support you.

The next matter is about building our nation through effective reforms. We must find a way for our country to make progress promptly. Otherwise, we won’t be able to catch up with others. Therefore, the government places high priority on human resources development and community development. We must pay heed to His Majesty the King’s wisdom. His Majesty has said that ‘every initiative must develop from within’, meaning we must have the determination to develop and make progress for our families and our communities first so that they are ready to absorb forthcoming development on a larger scale.

We have to create willingness for development as well as for cooperation. But the government cannot do this by itself. In the mean time, there must be considerations about social balance. We understand that with low incomes, some people may not be
able to take advantage of technology. Stability must start within villages before it happens in communities, then provinces, then border areas, and so on. Today, the government is using this strategy, coupled with the ‘state of the people’ model, so that all sides can lend a helping hand. People must understand their needs. The government will then assess how matters in a particular area can be related to matters in other areas. This is what the system should look like. We will make assessments at the upstream, midstream and downstream. Once all sectors have the readiness, it will be easier for the government to provide you with support, assisting you with knowledge, technology, and a budget. In addition, educational institutions should take part in the process, because education is the foundation of all development, especially human resources development. Education can help produce workers the country needs. Therefore, you should support activities in all ministries and private companies. This is how you should look at it. You have several tasks at hand. You should be able to supply all sectors with potential work forces. The education sector should produce more teachers, service providers, technicians, scientists, researchers, developers, and mathematicians. You should be able to prepare Thai work forces and then classify them into groups. There must be a target as to how many workers in this sector should be produced by 2017. How will it be continued? Who will coordinate the effort? How to seek cooperation from the private sector? Thailand is in need of skilled labor. We have much work to do, because many foreign companies will be investing here in the next 2 years. This means you have limited time and so you should consider joining hands with the Labour Ministry, the Education Ministry, and other ministries. Once the country earns higher revenue, labourers should also earn higher income. It is impossible to increase everyone’s earnings all at the same time. The increase must go according to individuals’ skills. Everyone should improve themselves and learn to improve their skills at learning centers. I have instructed the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Interior, and related agencies to find out how many workers we actually need in each sector, how many migrants workers are working in the country, how many skilled workers Thailand possesses, and what type of workers should we send abroad. All of this is included in our preparation plan prior to the formation of the ASEAN Community. I will talk about this matter later. Then, we will be able to overhaul our system and change the way we work as a team which
comprises civil servants, the private sector, and the public. As I’ve said it before, we must proceed with our reform under the policy “Thailand Startup”, meaning we must move forward and kick-off with a good start. We need to start doing things that will make our country stronger. Our startup strategies are as follows. We have established the National Startup Center to connect innovations that are registered in various Ministries and develop a Start Up registry. This system provides entrepreneurs on the registry with the ability to access sources of funding from state and private banks. This source of fund creates stability in business operations and the opportunity to exchange know-how between businesses and educational institutions such as universities. Remember our pledge of growing stronger together. We need to increase our income together according to our capabilities. The government will take care of those who aren’t able to realize their full potential. We will provide financial support but you also need to develop your know-how. Small businesses and medium businesses should consider branching out. This is what I call connectivity. The second matter is how to bring the agricultural sector into prosperity. This is an issue for all countries. For us, we’ve come up with the “1 sub district, 1 SME” project implemented in the first phase, which includes the reform of the agricultural sector to boost incomes, product value, and access to know-how (so as to solve existing problems in a sustainable manner). This policy to support local industries is the first step for agricultural farmers. If we can succeed in this first step, it will be good progress. If it is successful, the government will consider providing adequate support based on your real potentials. I would like to ask for the cooperation from various businesses on this. Therefore, the first step is to move forward with various agencies. The challenge here is to create and ensure understanding within all stakeholders and to see if we are ready to accept development and the need to make progress. However if people do not see this because you continue to revert back to the same old practices, then your children and the next generation will not be ready for development and cooperation to make progress. Today we’ve prepared to make progress according to the 1st phase of the reform roadmap. We need to enhance the quality of our products. In addition, the people who produce the products must be innovative as well. I’ve informed the Ministry of Education about this. This is one of our hardest challenges. Therefore please empathize with the government as the
bureaucracy is trying to implement its policies. Right now, we’re considering how to support Thai innovation and how it can present itself in a unique way that also coincides with the country’s natural resources. We shall also emphasize branding, whether it be ASEAN branding or Thai branding that we call “Made in Thailand.”

The other day, I called for a meeting to prepare for ASEAN readiness. This ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) involves several important economic matters. I will continue to discuss ASEAN policies later. The next matter regards the promotion of technology startups, in which we have sought cooperation with the industrial, agricultural, digital technology and service industries to come up with various innovations from small, medium to large products, which can create employment and income. Based on the distribution of sales and services of new industries both domestic and abroad, this is a good opportunity to expand businesses to other markets in the future and to increase revenue for the country, not to mention national competitiveness. This is something that we’ve designated as a national agenda. Therefore we can see that our starting point is the development of research and innovation. This is the key to success that will allow the country to earn more income and increase our ability to export. Regarding our successful industries such as those in the agricultural sector, our potential is already high but what is important is the restructuring of our existing system, which must now involve cooperation among all agencies during the production process. We need to build on our successes otherwise we will just stay where we are. What we don’t know we must learn and implement. There are plenty of models to learn from so as long as you don’t break any copyright laws. Regarding the laws, what’s important is the protection of intellectual property. Each country has its own laws that protect the interest of innovators. Therefore we must ready ourselves for the future because various research and developments must lead to patents. Otherwise we will not be able to fully realize our potential and those that exploit other people’s inventions will profit at the expense of the innovator. Therefore we must create new innovations and support the drafting of laws that adhere to international laws as well as various treaties or memorandums of understanding between countries. Therefore we need to take these things into consideration in our economic and social development cooperation frameworks with various countries. As for the enhancement of product value in the service, industrial
and agricultural sectors, these things need to go together because Thailand is a producer. There are plenty of products from the agricultural sector such as rice and rubber in which value can be added. We can implement industrial agriculture practices which can enhance the value of income and extend opportunities to farmers. If we do not employ science and technology, progress will not be possible. I have been looking into the observation that says in the next few years, the world will undergo an economic revolution where the global economy will further take advantage of complex technological advances, particularly the use of robotics. Today, we need to prepare ourselves as well for this. Robotics is one of the new industries that we are supporting in order to prepare ourselves for the future. In the meantime, we need to prepare ourselves for an increase in robotics technology in industrial equipment. There will be less need for manual labor as a result. However we still need to use both because we need to care for those with low incomes. Not only that, our population is steadily on the rise. Today, Thailand has almost 70 million people. Therefore, we must focus on the latest technological innovations as well as on providing real opportunities for those with low income. This is what we need to think of in order to avoid several problems in the future. We cannot violate other people’s intellectual property and we wouldn’t want other people to infringe upon our intellectual property as well. Let’s figure out what we can do together. I’ve urged the authorities to crack down on such violations. I don’t understand how fake goods can be so popular. Is it a reflection of character? This also extends to the downloading of pirated movies which is still very prevalent. The authorities must not overlook this as well. Authorities must also not employ double standards on their enforcement and refrain from corrupt practices. Otherwise this will result in further damage. Pirated goods can cause significant damage. For instance, I understand that pirated movies are low quality and can be damaging to the eyes. Children nowadays are already damaging their eye sight because they keep staring at the computer. Intellectual property covers the interests of yourself and the inventor. This is a matter of ethics that needs to be reinforced in the trade and investment front. The most competitive countries will be assessed based on what they do well and not well, what they copy and don’t copy as well as whether they violate laws. This creates credibility at the international stage. There will be more laws drafted. I’ve talked about the issue of
strengthening the national economy so many times that you have perhaps forgotten about these things. Please pay attention to the details and try to draw the connection between various issues. I’ve been working this way myself and that’s why I’ve been able to keep track of what’s been going on. Only waiting to receive the benefits of the outcome is not the best course of action to take. We need to be cautious. We need to also examine the implications of various agreements such as the WTO or FTO in which we have signed up with. Should we violate these agreements, we could be disqualified from their benefits such as tax breaks. Keep in mind that we are a moderate country in terms of income. Should we get disqualified from these tax cuts, it could affect our GDP. At the same time, we also need to see how much of our population is really in the middle income group? About 40 million people are faced with low income and in this group there are about 30 million farmers. We have a population of about 67 million so let’s ask ourselves if we have a lot of poor people. Does it account for over 50% percent of the population? We need to help each other.

In terms of our medical profession, I believe that our innovations are most admirable. Our doctors and public health facilities can be considered the best in ASEAN. Today there is news that, Phramongkutklao Hospital, which is hospital under the army medical department, worked together with the Faculty of Engineering from Chulalongkorn University and was able to successfully implant an artificial metacarpal bone made from titanium created using 3D printing technology. This is another good example of what we can accomplish when the public and private sectors cooperate. The artificial bone was used to replace a bone in a thumb that was removed due to a malignant bone tumor. This is a proud moment for all of us as this is the first time this procedure has ever been done. Therefore, this is something we should look to continuously develop. Those who have lost fingers, or larger limbs working in factories can look forward to the day when our technology is able to restore their capabilities so that they can work normally again. Of course, this may come at a cost. So what are we going to do about that? We’ll have to start with the organizations involved. The hospitals and the Ministry of Health have to take the lead. Maybe, we’ll consider this a charity venture on behalf of the Ministry of Health for now. This is intellectual property of Thailand, so we should get it patented as soon as possible. So
let’s follow this up and make sure that we don’t just send it in and forget about it. If fact in whatever we do, if we start it, then we must start it properly, which entails setting-up as well as management. This covers all the various duties involved as well. We need to have a plan, and budget it accordingly. This is important when we have many people working together. If there is overlap, then there can be redundancy, which is counterproductive and eats into the budget. We need to take all the information we have into account when we evaluate over time. The satisfaction of the public is our number one priority. We need to ask ourselves if what we are doing lines up with what the public needs. If they don’t understand, then we need to help explain our process. If they don’t agree, then sometimes we need to let it go. Quarrelling about it all the time won’t help. Whatever the public needs, we have to take responsibility. Sometimes the government needs to undertake projects that involve many links between the areas of our country. For example if the government didn’t do its part to facilitate all these areas, regions, and provinces and address issues of water shortage, starting with the source of the problem, and then following it all the way to how it affects the end product, which is our crops, then all the singular efforts taken in each area might not bear fruit. If everybody is only thinking about solving the problem locally, we can experience a lot of that redundancy again. We all need to share the load. Whatever local knowledge we have should be put towards coming up with solutions for everyone. What project do we have today? We have that first 5 million project right? We’re giving up to five hundred thousand baht to each of over 79,000 villages. They’ll be able to use this money to do things that will benefit them in the long run. This money is not intended merely as a form of welfare. This money is meant to add value. Whether this is improving a factory, a reservoir, roads, walkways, food storage, or local banks which could include seed banks or agricultural banks. These are the things that should be focused on. The 5 million and the 500,000 should be combined. This money will give the public the funds to take their own initiatives and address the things they need. As far as the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Interior are concerned, we need to work faster to make this happen. Otherwise, it will be hard to make use of these funds even after we’ve already announced them. On the other hand, we need to understand that the bureaucratic system can be difficult sometimes. Sometimes we can’t just change whatever we want
because it could mean that our process is no longer transparent. Back in the day, things might have gotten done faster but that was probably because they didn’t take all the consequences into account. Today, I’d like to express my support for the “Don’t Buy, Use, or Sell Counterfeit” campaign. I’d like to ask for everyone’s cooperation in this matter. I believe that not buying, using or selling these items is the correct approach to this problem. His Majesty the King’s philosophy on a Sufficiency Economy does not mean that we must be frugal, but rather that we need to use our money prudently. If you have a lot, then you can use a lot. If you don’t, then you shouldn’t. Those with less should be more careful and think wisely about their spending. You should also have reasoning and employ moderation. If you want to spend a lot, you need to ask yourself: how long will this be viable? It’s about preparing an appropriate spending plan. This is something we all need to do. We also need to show kindness and support one another. But if no one spends any money, and simply waits for the government to lower taxes, and lower costs, our economy won’t grow. Producers can’t keep producing if there is no demand. With no sales, there’s no money. With no money, the government won’t have any revenue from taxes. You have to think like this, and understand the full process. Today, we must be a nation that is reliable, especially through a creative economy. Finally, I’d like to take this opportunity to speak for the Thai people and express my congratulations to the recipients of the “Prince Mahidol Award” which was graciously bestowed by Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn. The first among the awardees is a Professor of Medicine, Dr. Morton M. Mower from the United States, who was one of the co-inventors of the Automatic Implantable Cardioverter Defibrillator or AICD, as well as the inventor of the Cardiac Resynchronization Therapy or CRT. The second recipient is Sir Michael Gideon Marmot from the United Kingdom, for his epidemiological research, which focuses on the health, and equality of all people regardless of race, religion and social status. This research has helped to establish a number of healthcare practices and policies that are used worldwide. Both these individuals have made valuable contributions to humanity. I’d like to praise the virtues and efforts of these two distinguished doctors. It takes a long time to accomplish what you have done and achieve this level of success. I’d also like to offer
Appendix 3.27

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – February 12, 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. Today, I would like to update you on the achieved progress of the government and the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO). Please take a look back and consider what we have finished, what we have initiated, what problems we have fixed and resolved, what we are currently rectifying, and what we need to continue doing. After 22 May 2014, the NCPO has brought back peacefulness and stability to the country. We were able to unlock the impasse that derived from political and social conflicts, including democratic processes, so that the country could move forward and continue making progress. We took on every issue that needed addressing, including unresolved legal cases which have now been brought under judicial procedures. As for national administration, we encountered many accumulated problems that needed urgent attention such as the ivory trade, human trafficking, illegal fishing, civil aviation problems, and outdated laws and regulations - all of which affected Thailand’s standing on the world stage, in terms of international trade and investment as well. Furthermore, there were a number of domestic issues that required urgent action involving national security, investor confidence, corruption, distressed farming communities, disorder in society, our transport system, and the lack of an integrated working system. I have mentioned previously that this integration must take place between people, officials, working plans, projects, and funds. This is to ensure efficiency and productivity of the work. Much progress has been achieved in this area since. Another problem has been the arrears suffered by our state enterprises, not to mention transparency in their working systems. The government is addressing all these problems at the moment. It will take some time to resolve these fundamental problems because rushing things would only bring back problems in the future. We are content with how things are moving so far.
In addition, the government and the NCPO have taken on the responsibility of national administration during a global economic slowdown. This means that we have and will work even harder to prepare for the future by trying to build national resilience and help those in distress so that we can all overcome this difficult period and then stimulate the economy. Therefore, the government, the NCPO, the legislature, the reform body, and the charter drafting team are taking on all issues they can now. Many issues have been addressed. Many issues need continual effort. This is the reason why I need to talk to you every day. After 1-2 years, you might have forgotten already what has been achieved. In terms of national reform, the most important factor is to have coordination on all related issues from the very beginning, starting at the drafting of the 20-year national strategies, the 5-year social and economic development plans, national security policies, ministerial plans and other reform plans. The national reform plan must be in accordance with the NESDB’s development plans. National reform is divided into different phases. The first phase has started and will end in 2017. This has coincided with the 12th NESDB plan. Whatever included in the 12th plan will be implemented by this year. Today, the government is laying down fundamentals. I only have a little bit more than a year left. After 2017, the 12th plan will be fully implemented. Now we need to know that will happen between 2017 and 2021, 2022 and 2026, 2027 and 2031, and 2032 and 2036. This is our 20-year strategic plan. We then look back at how we will put forth the 12th plan to the 15th plan. These plans will be evaluated every 5 years and will be continued by next administrations based on appropriateness.

National reform takes continuous effort as some matters could take up to 20 years while other matters could be done within 1-5 years. Some matters could even take longer than expected, given the constantly changing global conditions. We don’t know what will happen in the next 20 years. What we can do to day is prepare for those anticipated changes. Therefore, national administration in every country must always be able to adapt to changing world circumstances and make the necessary preparations. There must be action plans. We must have the ability to come up with different possible circumstances and draw up action plans accordingly. Normally, advance or operational plans are implemented while action plans are considered only when necessary. Basically, it is a contingency plan and only happens when the
advance or the operational plan needs adjustment. In this respect, I want to point out that you cannot rush the national reform process. Even the major world powers never stop reforming themselves. Poverty and social inequality exist everywhere in the world. Some have more poor people than us. But they also have more rich and medium income people. Due to differences, large nations are trying to distribute total wealth because failure to do so would only fuel conflicts and social disparities.

A key problem for many nations is the issue of low income and debts. Thailand is certainly facing this issue. We must solve these issues. However, we cannot address every single aspect at the same time because it will take a lot of money. Problems must be addressed at the upstream, midstream and downstream. We are in a value chain in which we all depend on each other. We need to support one another. This has to happen in Thai society. Stability should come from inside our society, starting with communities, provinces, and regions, before crossing borders. We must work in the form of the “state of the people”, adopting the concept in public administration and provincial administration. Everyone should work and cooperate together. I would like to inform the NGOs that I seek your understanding on how a country must move forward and make progress on certain matters. Therefore, we should always think of the consequences of our actions. Will it lead to gains or losses? How can we help those who stand to lose? Will the benefit go back to the community? This is what you should consider. Otherwise, often when there is no progress, the government is then accused of failing. I have not seen any government achieve true progress when there was an ongoing conflict. Therefore changes must be made and different methods must be introduced from now. We cannot keep doing things on the same basis as things will not improve and our lower income populations will continue to be distressed. If you study the diagram of the relation between the 5 rivers or agents of reform, you can understand the scale of the tasks ahead of us. Please take a look at this diagram. You will see that we have achieved substantive progress on many issues since May 22. Everything is making progress in accordance with the Roadmap. Some work has been done while some will soon commence. You can understand all of the plans being approached in the 6 main aspects. They are overseen by deputy prime ministers and 19 ministries. This is why we need cooperation from all sectors, especially political parties. Politicians elected by the people should respect people’s rights and opinions.
Help them every way you can. Don’t wait until you’ve been asked. Don’t just help your own supporters. It would go against democratic principles if you choose to not be fair.

All these tasks shall be guided by the constitution and fundamental laws, so that they can be carried out by the next administration without causing further problems to our nation. These tasks concern national reform, a national strategy, and national security. These matters cannot be handled on an ad-hoc basis. There has to be continuity and direction. We need to utilize all these plans to our advantage; otherwise there will be problems in administration. I understand that the next governments may not have confidence in our methods. But let me say that if you think that our approach will cause difficulties for you, perhaps you should really consider that your difficulties will lie in you not being able to devote your efforts to the nation. The main hardship you will face is your ability to sacrifice for the people. I do not anticipate you having a difficult time spending the budget. But you should administer the country with an approach that is in line with the national strategic plan, the national reform plan, and the national security plan. Then you can achieve what you set out to achieve. You will have your own policies while we have all these national reform goals stipulated. It is up to you whether these plans will be implemented, but if not, then you will need to explain to the law makers and the people of the reason you choose not to follow the roadmap. I will not be able to set things in motion anymore or to compel you to take certain actions in the future. Therefore we all need to create national resilience, ensure national security, build confidence, and foster trust so that the country’s competitiveness can be improved. Do it for the people. We need to improve the country’s competitiveness, ensure national security, create stability, and improve our economic infrastructure, agriculture sector, industrial sector, and trade and investment sectors. The country must be strong from within as suggested by His Majesty the King, starting with villages, provinces, regions, borders, CLMV, ASEAN, and so on. Therefore, the government is formulating a long-term 20-year plan. The plan doesn’t have to include a lot of details. But the plan will serve as a guideline to steer the country. It concerns all reform agendas. The NESDB has also developed a plan that goes along with the roadmap. It can be changed every 5 years if necessary. The plan
concerns water management, infrastructure development, etc. We need to understand now what the country needs in the next 20 years. How much have been really achieved? And what will be in the next 5 years? What will happen in local communities and how shall wealth be distributed? We need an efficient system for the distribution of income. Whether or not the next government chooses to follow the plan is up to the two assemblies. I don’t know who will come to make the final decisions. But you must create understanding in society first. If you try your best to not create conflict our problems, you will not have to be wary of anyone or anything. If you are honest, nothing can harm you. But you will not be able to solve any problem if conflicts drag on. You need to follow the national strategic plan. You need to distinguish the strategic plan from policies of your party. What is the government’s policy? The people also need to scrutinize the work of the government so that our country can achieve stability, prosperity, and sustainability. People are the center. We must reduce social gaps and foster justice for all. If this happens, the people can anticipate their future and for instance, children born in 2017 will be able to have plans for the next 20 years. We will understand what they have to study in order for them to develop their skills and be ready for when they become 20 years of age. This is my thinking. It is up to you whether this idea will be useful. Every government draws its policies from evaluating existing problems and by clearly separating them into main problems, minor problems, and supporting problems. Once problems exacerbate, you will need to look into each and every problem, with the people as the center. Along the way, the government manages its operations based on good governance, while overseeing spending, and carrying out relevant projects. If we did not address the problems along the way, Thailand will not have stability. Therefore, we need to reform every agency, every structure, every process, so that Thailand can achieve prosperity. In order to increase the country’s competitiveness, we must have a clear goal. We must have risk reduction measures, strategies, and contingency plans that coincide with circumstances in today’s world where everything changes rapidly. Many agencies under the United Nations or other communities have the same goal. Everyone has their own strategies. We can learn from them, so that we can have a backup plan and prepare for future changes, be they global warming, natural disasters, droughts, conflicts, or any other security threats. Therefore, we must develop our strategies
based on internal and external factors and the changes around us. We need to prepare and make ourselves strong. In terms of the economy, the impact is being felt every country, especially Thailand. Thailand houses a large number of low income earners. 30 to 40 million people in the country are either agriculturists or self-employed. Low-income earners have to make a living and support their family. They may not be able to look into the details of what the complete economic systems entails. We need to inform them of the true meaning of it or what it relates to. The economy relates to exports, imports, taxes, revenue, micro-economy, macro-economy, and all sizes of businesses. Everything is in support of each other. At the same time we cannot keep giving money handouts to the people. Where will this money come from? The government is doing everything it can in this area. We must find a way to ensure sustainable growth without. It is always problematic when people turn out to be unreasonable and base their actions only on their own benefit. It is counterproductive to encourage this kind of thinking. We need to foster a culture where we all think of what is good for the whole. If we face problems, we will encounter them together through each other’s support. You should understand the relation between internal and external factors such as injustice, inequality, external factors, the economic structure, and the stability of the government, the private sector, and the people. The government and the NCPO see that the work between relevant agencies should be synchronized on the common issues such as for water, agriculture, the economy, trade, investment, and the industrial sector. We need to ease investment activities through the revision of legislation, offering privileges and increasing investment incentives in accordance with the economic reform plan. Many tasks cannot be completed by a single organization but will need collaborative efforts such as in water management, which requires the work between the ministries of agriculture, interior, and natural resources. Working separately will not solve the problem. We need to formulate a new budget plan, new structures, and increase cooperation. Starting from this year, I will put everything into a new budget structure. Urgent matters will be finished first. Tasks that can be finished at the same time will be spearheaded now. We must ensure that our measures meet the needs of the people, even though every single request cannot be tended to.
What I have just been talking about relates to the new Budget Act which is currently going through a drafting process. Achievements will not take place should everyone work separately. Today, all agencies must join hands and move along with the Roadmap. Take water management for example. Let’s say every ministry proposes their ideas to the cabinet at the same time and pushes for agreements for the same time period. This is not too difficult. Let me know if you disagree with the idea. It also builds trust and allows inspections to be conducted easily. The next matter is about creating public understanding. The government has taken every measure to create public understanding on issues despite attempts to distort the truth by certain groups. At the same time, we have not disallowed genuine comments. But it is important to respect the law and express yourself in the right way and without damaging others. But if you do otherwise, people will only misunderstand the truth while you often do not take responsibility of your actions. Some people have even given distorted information to the foreign press. People with different viewpoints should be able to find common ground. Offenders cannot be pardoned for their crimes by claiming their action was based on a right. They will often distort the truth for their own gain. This is an example of seeking only personal gain where people only think of how they can outshine others, trying to make more money than others, or trying to become important figures. This is a problem in Thailand. Many other societies and countries have moved beyond this trait. We must do things differently from now. People should wait around for handouts, or keeping doing the same job, deny new technologies and knowledge, or inefficiently use resources. When is it going to be enough? When will we be strong? Please heed the government’s advice. Please help the government set the right path. I would like you to understand that we are trying to build a better future for Thailand. National reform is difficult. We have 37 reform agendas. You will see them in the report. The government has started all of them. However, our efforts would not be successful if your conflicts continue and this will cause problems for the referendum and general elections. I ask some members of the press to avoid reporting only about violence, with gruesome pictures involving murders etc., or pictures of those who are suffering. It doesn’t do anybody good. You might be able to sell those stories, but it damages our society and the country. When police make an arrest, can you wait until the judicial process is finalized before
reporting on the case? If you only focus on selling sensationalism through graphic pictures, this will have an impact on the country’s image too. It seems that these stories are always on the front page, as if you were there when the crime was committed. What about the victims? Please be sensitive and respect their privacy and rights. We are doing everything in our capacity to ensure Thailand’s future. The government and the NCPO have launched several infrastructure projects such as rail construction. We are trying to connect trains, electric trains, electric buses, and rubber-tyred metros. We are planning to bring electric rail to outskirts of towns where there is no traffic congestion. We should have electric trams like other countries. We need to connect all the dots so that people can commute easily, especially at tourist destinations. Nonetheless, we cannot do much in crowded places. This is why we need to restructure our cities and extend perimeters. We must build new metro cities. It also aims to reform the country’s rail system. We must improve our potential in terms of mass transit system, solving trafficking jams, and reducing pollution. Old cars release a lot of carbon dioxide which goes into the earth’s atmosphere. Our goal is to keep the temperature from increasing by less than 2%. We already agreed on this with other countries. We must connect Bangkok to other cities and towns. There should be parking garages along the transportation routes. Without an effective transit system, everyone will need to drive their own car, producing massive pollution. People have to be able to commute to places by rail. Without parking garages, people will worry about their vehicles. Without rail, there will be congestion on every road. Parking is also a big problem for drivers. I asked responsible agencies to build underground parking garages in order to ease the traffic, especially places people go to. It would be ideal if we had underground parking or automated and mechanical parking systems like other countries. I would like to ask the private sector to join this project. I ask that large enterprises invest in this new parking system. You can consult the Ministry of Finance about underground parking projects. You can also build garages in business areas. To my knowledge, I remember that it would cost around 2-3 million baht to build a parking spot. Therefore, it would cost 600-700 million baht for 200 vehicles. I don’t know if it’s worth it or how much would it really cost today. Please consult construction experts. There are 10 railway projects in Bangkok. They consist of the purple line: Bang Yai to Tao Poon line. This has been completed and
will commence with full transportation in May, 2016. I’ve ridden on this as well. It will officially open on August of 2016 in commemoration of the Birthday Anniversary of Her Majesty the Queen. The blue line from Hua Lampong - Bang Kae and Bang Sue to Ta Prah have completed construction by 70%. The project will feature the first underpass under the Chao Phraya River. It will open in April of 2019. The 3rd line is the southern green line from Bearing to Samut Prakan which has completed construction by 70% and will open in February of 2018. The northern green line form Mo Chit to Kukod will open in February of 2020. The red line from Bang Sue to Rangsit is 50% complete and will open in September of 2020. The light red line from Bang Sue to Phaya Thai to Makkasan to Hua Mak and the dark red line from Bang Sue to Hua Lampong are currently under consideration. The eastern orange line from Thailand Culture Center to Minburi has been approved and has commenced contract bidding from January 2016 and will commence construction in 2017 with plans to open at the end of 2020. The orange line marks Bangkok’s first east to west horizontal line. When completed, this line can be used to connect to the red, blue, airport link and pink lines. It will accommodate around 500,000 passengers per day. The 8th line, the pink line from Minburi to Kerai, and the 9th line, the yellow line from Lad Prao to Samrong will be monorail tracks. We will push for their opening in 2020. This is a joint project between the government and the private sector and is under the PPP committee's consideration. The 10th line is the southern purple line from Tao Poon to Rat Burana. The line will be 20 kilometers long and extend past the inner Rattanakosin Island which is an important historic and tourist site. This line is under the consideration of the EIA and Rattanakosin Island itself. We also have plans to construct 1 meter gauge dual railway tracks. This means that there are two sets of tracks for two trains to run past each other. This means that there are actually 4 single rails. We currently have over 4,000 kilometers of single railway tracks. We need to add another 905 kilometers of tracks to double up on certain tracks, especially around the special economic zones in order to enhance efficiency and accommodate the transport of heavy goods. This will also be used as a mode of economical transportation for the public and to enhance safety. We will also be able shorten travel time because we won’t need to wait for any merging. There are 2 new tracks that have commenced construction since December 2015. The Chachoengsao to Kaeng Koi
route should be complete in 2018 while the Chira Intersection to Khon Kaen route will be complete in 2019. There are 4 more routes that are awaiting the EIA's consideration which are Prachuap Khiri Khan to Chumphon, Mapkabao to Chira Road, Nakhon Pathom to Hua Hin and Lopburi to Pak Nam Pho. Once they are approved, they will be forwarded to the Cabinet for approval as well. Our current tracks are using the standard meter gauge. The 1.435 gauges are for the trains of the future which will be high speed railways. I’ve already told you that we cannot reach that level yet. The usage capabilities are not there yet. However we are constructing tracks to prepare for high speed trains in the future. So today we are just using medium speed trains. This is the difference. Not everyone will understand. Lots of things have been changed such as the pricing, the stations and the length of the trains. Go look at the details. People keep thinking that we’re corrupt and that we’re only helping ourselves. Why don't you look at why we’ve come in and what our intentions are? Give us your suggestions and I will investigate. Please don’t base your judgments according to the rumors given by some press. Everyone has been treated fairly. The Thai-Chinese cooperation on the Bangkok to Kaeng Khoi route will only be used for personnel transportation. The Nong Khai to Nakhon Ratchasima to Kaeng Khoi to Map Ta Phut will be used for both personnel transpiration and goods transportation. There used to be plans to develop the entire route but we can no longer move forward with that because some parts are not ready because they’ve been encroached upon and must first be expropriated among other things. This is why you need to understand why we can't just do something and why some things are slow. In the past, when they want to do something, they just did it regardless of consequences. So please understand our intentions. We are building 1.435 gauge tracks for the future because we will definitely be them due to their width and therefore the train's ability to carry more weight. This is not just to be used domestically. If we don't start now, then when will we? If we don't have enough money today for certain routes, we can start with building the tracks and use medium speed trains for now. At least they are faster than our current trains. There needs to be investments here too. We're not trying to feed any particular person's pocket either. At the same time, have there been plans to develop our trade and investment system and innovation in tandem? If we haven't we can lose our competitive edge whether we have a train system or not. The next matter
is the Thai - Japanese “Shinkansen” railway project spanning 672 kilometers from Bangkok to Chiang Mai for passengers. We're still conducting feasibility studies in cooperation with Japan which is considered to have one of the safest railway systems in the world. The study should be complete in June of 2016. Right now we don’t know if we will have enough money or whether it will gain approval by the EIA or HEIA. There needs to be investments and we need to work together to figure out how this can happen. Maybe we can do this in increments. Sometimes a huge investment at once can be problematic.

The third matter is regarding the high speed train. We are considering joint-investments with the private sector according to the PPP fast track program. There are 2 projects being considered consisting of Bangkok to Hua Hin for 211 kilometers and Bangkok to Pattaya to Rayong for 193 kilometers. This will also focus on passengers. If it is built, tourists will be able to conveniently travel between these cities. If we can eliminate congestion in Bangkok by enabling people in Bangkok to be able to commute to Hua Hin in a timely matter or to Chiang Mai, this will create growth in the regions and boost employment opportunities so that we won’t have to compete for jobs in the big city as well. This is one of the reasons why we want to create connectivity with better infrastructure. There will be fast transportation of goods, services and personnel. We need to plan this for the next 20 years. The next matter is the development of electric trains. Electric trains are trains that use electric batteries that need recharging. Please don’t misunderstand that the government will cancel its support of eco-cars. How can we cancel it? We’re the center of eco-cars. The world is using them and our exports are at a good level. This is the train for the future. Can we plan ahead and try buying some electric trains to try out? Can we create value to businesses and SMEs? These electric trains are the future. We can't manufacture the entire train yet. But most importantly, we need to develop lithium batteries which are used for electric trains. Today we aren't able to manufacture these ourselves. It will thus be expensive to use electric trains. Today, electric trains and buses are much more expensive than gas-powered ones because of the battery. Not only that, we still can’t manufacture the motor. We need joint partnerships from other countries in order to progress in the future. Electric cars may also need to be introduced and be used by
the general public. However we will need to work on the matter on their registration. We’ve switched to using gasohol or gas-powered cars but they don't sell well because there are not enough gas stations for these fuel types. Therefore we need to enhance Thailand’s potential and enhance the credibility and cooperation between the government and the private sector. We are pushing for many things and there are studies for manufacturing electric vehicles in the future. We will use the ‘state of the people’ model in mobilizing this and elevating Thailand into an electric car manufacturer. We’re not sure yet how soon this can be achieved because the fuel sources in the future can change as well. We don't know what the oil situation will be like. But if we don’t prepare ourselves for future changes, there will be problems. Today we need to conduct studies and research in order to bring prices down and so that we don't have to keep importing vehicles. That way, we can actually consider electric trains that will help solve the problem of green house gases. If we can reduce global warming and be fuel efficient, the people will be happier. This change is also one of our reform agendas for becoming a transportation hub. Many countries want to invest in Thailand's railway projects to make the country a hub in train manufacturing.

Today we are an automobile hub. We’ve reconsidered the use of buses by the Bangkok Mass Transit Authority. It hasn’t been able to procure its desired 3,183 natural gas-powered buses. Today, we’re changing to 500 electric buses. We may need to rent the 200 to be expected next year. We’ll test the use of these buses. If they are good, we can look into producing them ourselves or assembling them domestically. We’ve used oil and gas in the past. Right now we’re trying to fix this. Our efforts to solve traffic congestion and pollution must be done like how other countries are doing them. If we have and effective intercity transportation system, it would help relieve the current congested state. We used to have a light rail system but now they've all been moved to the outskirts of the city. Maybe we can adopt a light rail system like in New York, Tokyo, London and Paris or a city tram like in Germany, the Netherlands and Texas or a monorail like Sydney or Las Vegas. Let's see if we can implement any of these things. What we are trying to do is service the people. We're doing this by using a single card system for every mode of transportation. We’re currently moving forward with this. Also, regarding the welfare for those with low income, let's see if we can do this by having a registry system or
not. The committee that is tasked with implementing this needs to follow through with this policy. We need to truly consider the feasibility of projects. Sometimes when things aren't implemented, people only criticize on social media without first looking at the reason. Also, the design of various facilities needs to be universally accessible. This means appropriate accommodation for the disabled and the elderly as well as veterans, pregnant women and young children. As for the trans-city highway project that will aid in traffic flow, especially during long holidays, this consist of the Pattaya to Map Ta Phut route which will finish in 2019, the Bang Pa-in to Nakhon Ratchasima route which will finish in 2020 and the Bang Yai to Kanchanaburi route which will also be completed in 2020. Finally, the drafting of the new constitution has been a contentious political issue especially in the past few weeks. Let them draft the constitution while we figure out how we can hold a public referendum. Let's think about the problems of the country. One group is demanding, one group wants reform and one group doesn't care.

Democracy is not the only thing that will move the country forward. But we cannot make progress if we look at things the way we have before and conflict on all matters. So let's see what is according to international standards and needs to be revised. How can we scrutinize and eliminate corruption? How can we resolve conflict? What happens during a political deadlock and when the government can’t function? The authors of the constitution are taking these matters into consideration. We are not trying to hamper the powers of the executive branch. We just want to create some transparency and prevent conflicts from recurring. Therefore let us do our best not to revert to our conflicting ways, with the use of violence, weapons, and the authorities not being able to do their job. If we allow subversive movements or unscrupulous politicians to influence the country, it will be the hindrance to our progress. In many ways this is another pitfall of democracy and a middle income country trap. It will be failure that can't be resolved even by the government or NCPO or any agency for that matter. The people of the country, all 70 million of us must help each other and put the interests of the country first. Among all the problems we are facing, the most severe include the drought, poverty, inequality, low agriculture output, the lack of technology and capital coupled with high fixed costs the agricultural sector. We have
policies to deal with these issues. Some policies provide assistance measures while others create resilience and others create a new production networks. There needs to be money put in all sectors and activities. We need to revise our import and export system as well as our taxation policies. Don't just only think of your own profit or your own interests. We need to think of the bigger picture which incorporates small, medium and large businesses throughout the production process. Prosperity can be enjoyed by all through social consciousness. Adherence to His Majesty the King's Sufficiency Economy philosophy which promotes self-sufficiency, prudence, moderation, and resilience is also vital. His Majesty's philosophy is to connect the communities and create a safe, stable and prosperous society. What is important is the public’s respect for public property and laws as well as the justice system. The people must know their rights, duties and freedoms according to the law while not infringing upon other people’s rights and freedoms. This is a foundation of democracy. It is not only about elections and the will of the majority while ignoring the minority and demanding only your rights without helping others becoming strong as well. I understand that the deliberate spreading of false information in the media as well as online may be an offense. I will have to check on whether it breaks the law – the dissemination of information without factual evidence this way. On February 14-18, I will attend the ASEAN-US Summit in California. I will report back with the details and results of the meeting. For the Thai people in California who will be welcoming me and giving me encouragement, I thank you. Please understand that I am doing this for all Thai people and for the country. Please maintain peace and orderliness for the sake of our country. This past week has been Chinese New Year’s and I wish everyone happiness on this occasion. During Valentine’s Day, I have some concerns for those celebrating this event, so please be responsible when going out to venues. Please be respectful to each other. We should uphold our beautiful traditions and culture as we take part in other cultural festivities too. Thank you and may you have wisdom, love, camaraderie, success, security and happiness.
Appendix 3.28

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – February 19, 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. February 22nd will be Maka Bucha Day, and I would like to cite a Buddhist teaching which says “performing virtuous deeds, refraining from immorality and having a pure soul”, for all citizens so that it can be a guiding way for a happier life. I would like to invite all Thais to pledge our vows to commit virtuous deeds, have noble intentions, and maintain the five Buddhist precepts as a blessed offering to commemorate the auspicious occasion of the 70th anniversary of His Majesty’s Accession to the Throne this year, 2016. In addition, Her Majesty the Queen will be celebrating her 7th cycle or 84th Birthday Anniversary this year as well. Therefore, our pledge to virtuous deeds would also be an expression of loyalty and reverence for Their Majesty’s benevolence. I also would like to share with you topics that were discussed during the ASEAN-US Summit in California which I recently attended. We also need to strengthen our economic ties by emphasizing the facilitation of trade and investment, the reduction of trade barriers both tariff and non-tariff, and the revision of regulations. In addition, the quality of products must be enhanced and two-way investment must be encouraged. Furthermore, financial and technical cooperation must be in compliance with the sustainable development goals, with people as its center. The goal seeks to eradicate poverty and close the social and economic gaps in our societies. We must ensure sustainable growth without leaving anyone behind. In terms of economic development on the basis on innovation and technology for sustainable growth, we must promote these following sectors. We shall improve SMEs ability to compete, as this sector is a key mechanism to driving all economies. Success can be realized if we use technology and innovation in our production, access markets and maintain international standards, partner up with other businesses, increase business opportunities, and exchange knowledge and technology. Also, we need to use the digital economy to mobilize our economies, opening doors for new businesses to enter new markets and giving them a chance to compete with larger enterprises. Governments must place great emphasis on the
development of a digital infrastructure, R&D, and transferring technological advancements in the production sector as well as electronic commerce. Thailand will invite leaders in the digital industry to invest in Thailand and in the ASEAN region under Thailand +1, +2, +3, or +ASEAN concepts. Lastly, we must build resilience in technology and innovation, especially in future industries such as information technology, clean energy, environmentally-friendly agriculture, and the satellite and space industry.

More importantly, we must keep the door open for new entrepreneurs to exchange information, paving the way for future cooperation in the form of creative partnerships, especially in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM). The second matter involves development. I affirmed Thailand stance as a bridge-builder between developing and developed nations, while promoting the Sufficiency Economy philosophy of His Majesty the King, which encourages participation from all sectors and encouraging an inner drive from individuals and communities, and cooperation through a “state of people” model, to confront global challenges such as poverty, inequality, economic crises, environmental disasters, and pandemics as well as to achieve the global sustainable development agenda of 2030. The third issue is about security. Tensions in both the South China Sea and on the Korean peninsula are delicate issues in which trust needs to be cultivated and new cooperative efforts need to be established. For regional stability and prosperity, I am in support of utilizing existing agreements while enhancing diplomatic efforts to enhance cooperation and reduce mistrust such as hotlines. ASEAN is united in playing a constructive role in the international community. The second meeting I attended is on the preservation of peace, prosperity and security in the Asia-Pacific region discussed matters such as terrorism, climate change, public health and human trafficking. These matters are transnational issues which require cooperation between various countries. On public health, Thailand supports and has participated in various agreements regarding personnel development and the enhancement of medical facilities in hand with the United States and ASEAN. Agreements include the Armed Forces Research Institute of Medical Sciences and the establishment of an ASEAN center for medics.
On human trafficking, The Thai government has made this issue a national agenda and has invested time, personnel and resources to resolutely solve it, which has included the integration of state agencies and social organizations, and seeking cooperation with neighboring countries and international organizations, to address other related issues to human trafficking such as transnational crime, illegal fishing activities and illegal migration. On responding to natural disasters, such phenomena have become more frequent and severe, yet predicting those remains difficult. There have been efforts to improve the logistics of relief efforts and exchanging information, including technology and innovation on disaster warning and emergency relief. In my meeting with Thai scientists, representatives of the Association of Thai Professionals in America and Canada, and Thai creative economy professionals, I was very glad to see how Thai nationals working abroad expressed their care and thoughtfulness for their home country. They voiced their useful suggestions for our country’s problems. I call them “Group 13” of the “state of the people” way of cooperation. I need to get in touch with these people as they are knowledgeable, have great potential, well-experienced, have expertise, and most importantly have good intentions for the well-being of our nation. They are willing to help Thailand make progress and their viewpoints on how to advance the country were similar to the government’s. The push for scientific development and a creative economy will be key to helping Thailand step out of the middle income economy trap and this can be achieved by enhancing human resources, seeking new knowledge, increasing opportunities, and promoting STEM education which includes science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. This aims to develop human resources and produce workers in areas which Thailand is lacking, paving the way for future industries. We also need to invest in innovation, in line with the “4 clusters” concept of the special economic zone policy. The 4 clusters are 1) automobile and parts, 2) appliances, electronics, and telecommunications, 3) petrochemicals and green chemical products, and 4) the digital economy. There are also two other clusters, which include agro-processing and textiles. In addition, we also need to encourage new entrepreneurs and SMEs as well as launch the “Startup Project”. Then, we can increase opportunities in the creative economy group, comprising of software, digital content, data center,
building software parks, building movie towns, and film making services. What’s important is that we need to make Thai brands recognized and valued internationally. At this initial stage, Thailand will work with the United States in organizing art and cultural exhibitions and other creative economy events. We will support Thai artists in international arenas and promote the creative economy in Thailand as well.

Next is about water management in terms of both quality and quantity. Droughts, flooding and polluted water have negative effects on people’s health and the environment. The government, in collaboration with engineers and experts, is implementing appropriate measures to tackle these issues. We talked about enhancing the well-being of the people for the mutual growth and benefit of every nation. For this, it is essential to take into consideration the differences in economic and social statuses of the ASEAN countries and the United States. Both sides must seek each other’s cooperation in terms of economic partnership. 1. Upgrading the country’s high-speed internet network to cover all villages across the country. 2. Developing an international telecommunications infrastructure which accommodates the exchange of information in a borderless world, particularly knowledge and transactions between countries. This will be necessary so that Thailand continues to make progress, and if we can capitalize on this development by becoming ASEAN’s digital hub, this achievement will benefit all sectors in various ways. Currently, the government is ready in all aspects, especially in investment projects that are important for the next generation. The government is ready to increase housing projects by 30,000 projects, or 40 per cent of all existing projects. The government will also reduce social inequalities by extending roads to all villages and households, including those in remote areas. Once these projects are implemented, all villages will have access to resources such as education, public health services and government assistance. The benefits of these policies are divided into the following aspects: 1. Social aspects: in addition to reducing social inequality and expanding access to services, urbanization will reduce and all areas will have access to development, with more jobs and income, while people can work, send information, and make contact with agencies and conduct businesses right from their homes. 2. Economic aspects: villages and communities will be strengthened from within and connected to the national level by
the “state of people” model which links the public, the state and the private sector. This will, in turn, attract investors and businesses from other countries who wish to utilize Thailand as a production hub due to our readiness. This readiness entails having adequate roads, railways and high-speed internet. Businesses where we lack expertise will be brought in and Thai workers will learn from more exposure to technology and know-how. This will create economic and social stability. This coincides with the government’s policy of creating a digital economy through the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology. In addition, I have had the opportunity to meet with the Prime Minister of Viet Nam Mr. Nguyen Tan Dung. Our 2 countries have had diplomatic relations for over 40 years. We have agreed on various measures to cultivate mutual benefits such as: 1. Security: to enhance cooperation between the 2 country’s civil, police and military units, 2. Trade: to push for a trade value of 20 billion Dollars by the year 2020. 3. Labour: to extend the deadline on registering workers and verifying the nationalities of Vietnamese workers as well as career support for them. 4 Fishing: to address illegal fishing activities by opening a fishing communication channel and to include other ASEAN nations in the dialogue to enhance cooperation in ASEAN so that our regional grouping can play a significant role internationally. Government’s initiative where farmers can easily access information on farming that can reduce principal costs, add value to products and access new markets. This also encourages businesses to access the government’s database to find out Also, we need to use the digital economy to mobilize our economies, opening doors for new businesses to enter new markets and giving them a chance to compete with larger enterprises.

An example is turning government services into a smart service system to provide convenient and to synthesize information from various government agencies. This is done by: 1. Creating a data center through the cloud system to create a “digital government” data system that can reduce budgetary redundancies and introduce new services to the public. 2. Creating the mobile application “Gov-Channel” which provides access to government’s database for farmers. This also encourages the “smart farmer” initiative where farmers can easily access information on farming that can reduce principal costs, add value to products and access new markets. This also
encourages businesses to access the government's database to find out about business procedures, licenses and transactions. 3. Launching an online news network called “G-News” which aims to disseminate information and introduce the public to the government's policies and services. However, these technological advancements can be a drawback if we don’t seize the opportunity to make good use of them by providing knowledge and understanding, especially for the younger generation, and instead use the technology just for entertainment purposes. We must, therefore, encourage the public to use technology to access useful information and acquire new knowledge which will be of benefit, so that we can build a Thai nation with stability, prosperity and sustainability.” For instance, If you import solar roofs and sell them in the country, you cannot deny the fact that you are responsible for those roofs once they can no longer be used. These roofs cannot be thrown out like regular waste. They are as chemical as batteries. Government ministries need to enforce strict laws on this. I, for one, would like to see more solar panels in Thailand. When I was in Sunnylands, California, USA, I saw solar panels on top of garages or in a 1-acre area. This sort of alternative energy is used for certain purpose only such as building lights. They use solar energy stored during the day at night time. Solar power is also used in garage and households. I don’t think we should have solar panels install in a large area because we still lack an effective distribution system. The country’s energy regulations and pipelines are also problematic. It also requires a large sum of money. Solar energy is sometime too fast for some people. People used to say that solar energy will make things better, but they never realized actual condition. I think we need to promote the use if solar energy more.

Thailand must have its own domestic companies invest in solar energy. We already have people with skills in this field. Due to free trade, I will not bar anyone from importing solar energy. Everyone can be a part in improve the country’s alternative energies. If we produce our own energy it will be cheaper. We need to make sure the quality of solar energy produced by domestic companies will be as high as that imported. This creates a fair competition. Only the public can benefit from a fair competition. This is the government’s policy for this year. I ask all responsible agencies to find ways to make the solar system work so that we can conserve more energy. I understand that it will cost load of money, but I believe every ministry has
enough budget to make it come true. Please look into possibility of installing solar panels in state offices. Same goes to the Government House, it cannot keep on paying high electricity bills. Solar roofing system is where we should start because it is more difficult to build a solar plant. It is great idea that offices can generate their own power for use. The government will see if it can help while those who can make it happen need to do it right away, so that electricity generators don’t need to increase the volume. Let this idea start now. Let’s go back to burning. Those who ignore warnings will face harsher penalties. We will declare zones where burning is prohibited. In the past, people burn stuff at the same time. As for those areas where burning is necessary, you need to be able to control the number of burning activities. This also helps to prevent wildfires. You cannot burn simultaneously. However, the best way is to refrain from burning activities. Authorities will be stricter in an attempt to prevent forest fires. Volunteers can the public will also help the government address this problem. I feel pity for those who don’t have enough money to dispose of waste in other ways. Please lower the charges for agricultural equipment so that local farmers don’t have to burn their waste. I don’t want to see them in jail. The law does not give exception to anyone regardless of financial status. Now, the Ministry of Labour will launch a project to improve human resources which will be supplied to super cluster areas if we don’t produce skilled workers, foreigners will come in and take our jobs, particularly after the formation of ASEAN. We cannot prevent them from taking the opportunity. This is why Ministry of Education has been assigned to enhance the potential of vocational students, teaching them the skills in rail, electric rail production, medicine, and many other fields. I already gave my order. I want us to produce workers that the country is actually it need of. We need to produce workers for the future and in accordance with the 20 year strategic plan or the reform plan. This way we will be well prepared for new engines, future changes and future transportation systems. Today we have eco vehicles that produce low carbon dioxide. In the future, we will see vehicles that are more environmentally friends than before. We have to plan this in advance. The Government supports all eco-cars. We now need to think of a way that we can produce these eco-cars by ourselves. You’d better thinking about this rather than the conflicts in society. It is a waste of your brain. The next topic is about the
government’s effort to restore peace in the Deep South. According to reports from the ISOC and other security-related unite, the situation in the far south has improved drastically. Most importantly, the locals now cooperate more and understand more. The government will join hands with the police, the military, volunteers and members of the public in pushing for development. The government gives education to local people. The locals informed me that they were very satisfied with the government’s education policy and effort. They want their children to have good education and good professions. Everyone in Thailand regardless of race and religion will receive equal education. His Majesty the King once said that the government must look after every Thai based on the principle of equality. We are all Thais.

The most important thing is to create immunity for the people. Religions shall be connected. Every organization should be able to fix their own problems. Problem relating to religions must be solved by law. We have ecclesiastical organizations oversee this issue. Please fix it quickly. The government’s duty is to support not to solve or create more conflicts. Please use your own mechanism to fix it. The government never wants to intervene in the administration of the Sangha. However, the government will do what is takes to ensure stability in Thailand. You are all part of Thailand and I have duties. I pledged to achieve when I took office. We all have our own responsibilities. I will not be able to perform the job for you if your conflicts continue. Let’s go back to the situation in the Deep South. We have various projects to draw people’s attention such as the “Community of Faith” project. We’ve organized mobile forums and launched this project in various communities. The next topics is about the mobilization of grass root economy. I mentioned this topics before. The Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives is pushing for sustainable fishing and addressing all illegal fishing activities. I have told officials to find measures that will not affect local fishermen. The use of equipment must be in line with the regulations. I urge that fishermen respect the law. Don’t attempt to do anything illegal or any actions that can be linked to illegal, unreported and regulated fishing. Please make sure that others will not be affected by your own actions. Fishermen must cooperate with authorities and avoid breaking any law. The government dose not want to enforce additional laws to regulate fishing activities. Entrepreneurs and boat operators
only think about their profits. It is never enough for them. They will do what it takes to maximize their profits even if it means to break the law. When the law is enforced, they hold demonstrations. How can the country move forward if this keeps happening? Regarding social psychology, the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Industry has supported new industries and is negotiating with other countries. Social psychology address how social inequality can be reduced by establishing a sustainable strategic development plan to provide services that ensure social equality, provide policy updated and establish a mobilization committee to follow up on various projects. I’ve talked to my ministers on how to solve the issue of admissions bribes in schools that hamper the opportunity of children from low-income facilities from entering a quality school. This therefore caused social inequality and a class system. An important issue I’ve identified is that some schools need to accept bribes to pay for their air-conditioning system throughout the school. School investing luxury amenities like this, cost will obviously be high. This is Thailand’s problem! Think about what is sufficient. When I was a student, my school didn’t have any air-conditioning. Classes were so hot but I was able to sit through classes. I’m not saying that we have to revert back to that, but there needs to be a middle ground. Cancel excessive expenditures. It is the job of Ministry of Education to think like this. If everyone just think about their own interests, we will not be able to move forward and the quality of the education system will degenerate because there is no motivation to teach or learn. You need to take pride in your duties and responsibilities for the sake of the students, as if you were the student’s second parent. Children, on the other hand must reciprocate by showing respect and gratitude to the elderly and listen to their teachers. Regarding school budgets, there need to be regulations in place to access the appropriateness of various expenses and address the gap between low-income and high-income families. The government needs to reflect on what to do with citizens both from low-income backgrounds and high-income background and how we can assist each income level.

We need to assess the readiness of our citizens and improve our economy, stability, security. Otherwise, there will only be conflict. To determine the country’s direction in the next 10 years, you need to start thinking today, whether it be regarding the
private sector, society or education. Politicians, if you put the interests of the country first, I will not be in conflict with you, as long as you have good governance. There are 6 principles to good governance. Go look it up, I ‘m sure you can do it. The Fourth matter is regarding draft legislation. There are currently 445 pieces of draft legislation in the pipeline. 238 of these draft laws are currently being deliberated. 28 are in the process of studying various revisions and amendments. 43 out of all draft legislations are regarding reform. If there are no laws, there can be no reform. This is necessary. If people want reform, various laws and regulations need to be approved and be put in place. 104 pieces of draft legislation are being studied for appropriateness to ensure that they are in accordance to input received by various sides to figure out how to best accommodate the views of all sides and best reduce conflict. Laws are laws. I know people want freedom and civil rights. If that’s all that you want, then let’s not have any laws and live in struggle. This past week, I would like to thank those in social media for sharing the warm picture of a pregnant woman thanking her disabled volunteer rescuer, Boon Na-hom, aka Uncle Tod, from the Trikhunnatham Foundation in Chonburi. Many may think that it was such a small deed, but I view it as a deed done with great compassion. He reminds us of an important lesson - that we should never give up on life no matter what hardships we have. This demonstrates the beauty of Thainess. Every time I go aboard, I take care of the security guards, drivers that escort me. During my breaks and meals, I would invite them to join me to eat. They were really thankful, saying that no one has ever done this to them before and that they love Thailand because Thai people are generous. They say no one else in this world is this generous. This is because in Thailand, His majesty the King has taught us about generosity. So let’s please help each other. For the disabled, please don’t give up. Today, the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security is working to provide more work for the disabled. However, you need to keep developing yourselves as well. Nowadays, you can work from home, whether it be from the computer or with various craftwork. The government has provided venues for products made by the disabled to be featured. This has been an agenda by the ministry of Social Development and Human Security to provide employment opportunities for underprivileged people such as the disabled and prisoners who will soon be released. These policies contribute to reducing
conflict in the country. Uncle Tod in the previous example has been an outstanding volunteer and has been helping others for more than 20 years. The media should feature more stories about these people, instead of featuring nonsense that leads to conflict. Find news that is of importance to the country that give inspiration to the poor and praise good deeds. With the media, today I’ve allowed for 4 questions to be asked. In other countries, they do this as well. Sometimes, other countries don’t even allow for a single question to be asked. Therefore, these are the regulations that I will set. Regarding reciprocation, I’ve been generous keeping the press employed by giving them stories to write about. Instead of helping me, the press attacks me. I’m talking about some people. Go see for yourself who likes to create conflict. There is a saying that the 5 fingers in a person’s hand are not of equal length, but all 5 fingers are what comprise a hand. Therefore, all fingers are equally important. For someone to be capable, they have to have a complete set of hands, a heart and a brain. I would like to quote his saying as “I am proud to be able to help other. If you have a heart of a volunteer, you will always be ready to contribute regardless of your physical condition. I feel happy and proud to assist others in need.” I want everyone to hold on to this principle and be encouraged to contribute to your community and the nation. You can contribute in your own way. Be generous to the poor. Just give what you can. This results in good karma for you. People go to the temple so often. Giving to the poor is a way of making merit as well, so is social service. As a result, we will be happy and proud of ourselves. There are plenty of poor people outside temples. Please also help them out as well. As for the government, it is revising legislation regarding how to assist the poor and the disabled that are living on the streets. However, there needs to be regulations on the streets as well. New laws will provide job training centers, such as the one at Min Buri, which has been well received by many. Once they come out of there, they will be able to be employed at various places. Every occupation wants to do good things and make an income with the best of their abilities. Don’t insult the poor for doing labor work. Everyone is equal in value and dignity. Please be proud in what you do. For example, I’m proud of that I am one who is thinking for the country and to implement things. Some things are successful and some are not. At least I’ve had a chance to do them. Whoever that has not done anything for the country. Please do so and you will feel happiness. Even though I’m
met with some suffering, I’m happy because of what I’ve done. In the end, happiness will overshadow the suffering. My suffering is with how the people of the country can be happy and how the country can move forward. This is all I care about. In my personal life, I don’t have any struggles. Today, I am a retired officer. My happiness will be of rest and relaxation. I’ve served my country for 60 years. Today I am here because it is necessary. I don’t ask anyone to feel any sympathy toward me, as I am intent on doing my duties. My happiness is my ability to serve others. As a soldier, I defend my country with the best of my abilities. I’ve gone through many struggles for this cause. I’m proud that Thailand is not a colony of any other country and its institutions are in tact. Everyone has their own duties for the sake of themselves and others. His majesty the King has stated that everyone has their own duties. It may not make you that rich but it will make you happy. May this be a guiding principle to remind all to do their duties and be generous as Thais. The disabled, the rich and poor all make up Thailand and are important components to the country. Please do everything you can for the country for the sake of the country’s future. Please reduce conflict. Contention will feed into the interests of people who want to damage the country. If this happen, the country will not be able to move forward and there will be no reform, referendum or election. If this happen, who will be responsible for the consequences? Me? Don’t be so harsh to me. Thank You. Sawasdee Krub

Appendix 3.29

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – February 26, 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. February 26th is “National Cooperatives Day”. This day was designated as a mechanism to build a strong agricultural sector in the country, since the reign of King Rama V over 100 years ago. Its aim is to give farmers access to funding so that they can increase production for both consumption and trade. Most importantly, cooperatives help farmers stay out of the debt circle and free them from being taken advantage of by financiers. The government will carry on what the cooperatives were set out to achieve since their beginnings – that is to build a strong
Recent efforts to strengthen the grassroots economy. Recently, I presented land title deeds and certificates of more than 2,400 rai to a cooperative in Uthai Thani. The deeds will be handed out to 500 landless farmers, which is in line with the government’s policy. It allows farmers to share the given land to generate income. The same policy will be implemented in all parts of the country. In addition, the government’s efforts to strengthen the agricultural sector are also being mobilized through the promotion of the “Smart Farmer” project, which aims to achieve an integrated agricultural production system. For instance, basic infrastructure development projects and information technology and communications projects will help make Thai local products known to the world such as the OTOP products, One Tambon One SME product, and products of social enterprises. Not only does this create opportunities for Thai communities, but it also increases their ability to compete while buttressing the country’s competitive edge. It also allows us to be less susceptible to external economic factors which are beyond our control. I want Thailand’s economy to be able to stand on its own and be a pillar of stability for our society.

I would like to convey my encouragement to all agriculturists who will one day develop into Smart Farmers. With their new techniques based on smart technology, they will be able to improve their methods and make better plans for the future, especially for the next 10 or 20 years. This way of strategic planning is also a social trend that the government is trying to promote. As for the drought situation, the government is closely monitoring developments. The combined amount of water stored in large and medium reservoirs throughout the country is reported to be 39 million cubic meters, 5.3 million cubic meters lower than what we had last year. We will manage this supply; try to find new sources, as well rehabilitate dilapidated ones. We shall adhere to the national water management plan so that we have enough for agriculture, the industrial sector, and consumption. Should we use water more efficiently and strictly follow instructions, our supply will be sustainable for the foreseeable future. We will also need fresh water to push salt water away in order to maintain a balanced eco-system in the country. The government has continuously been assisting farmers, who are also the top water consumers in Thailand. As they are facing many hardships during this drought, the government has initiated the
following. 1) We have supported their education on drought mitigation and have distributed production material, so that can reduce production costs. 2) We have asked financial institutions to extend the debt repayment period for farmers. 3) We have offered extra and part-time jobs for farmers such as irrigation work, including training to enhance and develop new skills. 4) We have initiated drought-relief projects according to specific community needs. 5) We have campaigned for the efficient use of water, asking every agency to conserve water while encouraging rice producers to adopt new farming techniques. 6) We have increased water supplies through artificial rainmaking operations, constructing more reservoirs, and improving groundwater and water retention areas. 7) We have also helped to promote health and safety measures for farmers. 8) We have assisted disaster-hit farmers by providing them with financial support in accordance with the Ministry of Finance’s regulations as well as loan projects to bolster local economies and cooperatives. In addition to our efforts to reduce farmers’ hardships, the government has been adamant on reducing the amount of water for agriculture by adapting the farming practices of local producers.

Most recently at this week’s cabinet meeting, approval was given for assistance measures to those affected by the current drought, in the form of programmes to enhance farmer’s capabilities. These measures were proposed by the Ministry of Finance and will serve as urgent situation responses in order to ensure that farmers are not distressed while we simultaneously try to improve their agricultural capabilities. The first measure is a 6 billion baht loan project, which involves interest-free loans of no more than 12,000 baht with 1 year to repay the debt. 500,000 farmers who are members of the BAAC will be entitled to this loan. Due to the drought, these farmers are unable to grow crops while some have had their crops damaged. The project will also spur spending and improve monetary circulation, which can then help to prevent the problems incurred through informal loans and loan sharks. The second measure is the one Tambon one SME project, with the total budget of 72 billion baht. No higher than 20 million baht will be issued to each loan-seeker while the repayment period is no more than 10 years, with an annual interest of 4%. Those entitled to the loan are SMEs, social enterprises, cooperatives, and community firms, numbering 7,200. The project will help create added-value to products as well as increase employment.
opportunities. The third measure is the 15 billion baht project for communities to tackle drought effects through changing their production methods to more water efficient ways. Each loan seeker will receive no more than 3 million baht with a maximum repayment period of 1 year. The interest rate is 0.01% per year. Those entitled to the loan are 100,000 farmers residing in 26 provinces, along the Chao Phraya and Mae Klong river basins. These farmers will be chosen by their own communities while the loan will be specifically used for land rent, production costs, and labour costs. In terms of water management, we have to look at plans for 2017 as well. Therefore, I would like to ask every individual to help conserve water and use it more efficiently. Cooperation is needed from all sides on this matter. In the meantime, the government has already formulated a water management plan which will be used until 2026. The next issues is about addressing the problems faced by many communities and villages across the country, be they natural disasters, high production costs, or the falling prices of agricultural produce. One of the main causes of these problems is under-developed basic infrastructure in communities and the lack of necessary production foundations. Therefore, the government has focused on strengthening the grassroots economy according to the “state of the people” model of cooperation. This is done through 79,556 village and community funds, with a combined amount of 35 billion baht. Each fund will receive no more than 500,000 baht to be spent on infrastructure development projects such as barns, drying plants, mills, fertilizer plants, water retention, and processing machines.

The money can also be spent on other activities deemed useful to the community, so that residents can improve their overall well-being. This is an urgent matter and the money shall be distributed within 6 months. Activities shall cover all processes, ranging from production and the creation of added-value, to finding new markets. This measure will meet the needs of farmers in adapting and improving the agricultural sector, which will also lend a hand to improving their living standards. Around 60 billion baht has already been allotted and the government will also help in terms of the interest rate for 2 years. There are more than 50,000 funds that will be benefiting for more than 3 million households. I ask those participating to please be mindful in the use of budgets, to be transparent, and to create trust between the
central, regional and district administrations and the general public. Please do your best to find common ground and ensure that the projects adhere to their agenda and purposes. What I would to see emerge is a mechanism that is based on the “state of the people” model which involves active participation from the public, the private sector, and the government in developing the production and processing sectors, in marketing activities, and in land management. These projects should not be the same to other government economic mobilization policies. So to avoid redundancy, there needs to be a monitoring and assessment system that is effective and transparent. The government, therefore, stands ready to support “state of the people volunteers” who can be a driving force to engender within communities, the common will to work together to raise the quality of life. These efforts have the potential to make villages, communities and society self-sufficient and resilient. In addition, this model of functional cooperation bodes well for national unity and reconciliation, and directly contributes to Thailand’s’ economic, social, and political development. At the same time, drawing from His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy to initiate practical measures and policies, especially for rural and remote areas across the country, has also been a cornerstone undertaking by the government. This approach is crucial to lift people out of poverty, address social disparities, and create a secure way of life based on self-sufficiency.

This entails provincial governors, district and village leaders, and civil servants acting as “caretakers” who can provide vocational knowledge and training for the public so that they can effectively implement various development projects and solve lingering problems. This can serve as a successful model of sustainable development that can inspire other counties and the international community. In order to develop the country’s human resources, the government has agreed to a strategic education reform agenda that consists of six major policies that shall be implemented within a year and a half. This consists of: 1. Improving curriculums and the learning process. 2. Increasing the amount of teachers and their training. 3. Evaluating the assessment system to ensure quality feedback. 4. Developing human resources and research work to coincide with the country’s strategic needs. 5. Information technology for education, and 6. Improving the management structure. Even though these policies
may not be completed 100% in this limited time, the government will still implement them as they are part of the country’s 20 year strategic plan, its 5 year social and economic development plan, and other various reform agendas.

The goal is for our education system to be able to fulfill the needs of the workforce market and the country’s sustainable development objectives. The government has mobilized a policy to reduce class time, while increasing learning time, by giving students the opportunity to choose activities according to interests and specialties, albeit with the help of teachers and counselors. This policy has resulted in successful learning activities and so we will continue to assess its outcome in conjunction with our efforts to further develop the country’s education system. This is a government initiative that I think has been successful and thus serves as a way to reform the country's vocational schooling system so that correlates to the country’s industrial development and support the labor demands of the ASEAN market. This can be done by making vocational studies more appealing, particularly since 2015 has seen the highest increase in enrollments for vocational schools in the past 10 years. I would like to thank the private sector and related businesses in supporting on-the-job learning programmes that have given students hands-on experiences. With this example, I believe that the potential of Thai youth can compete with anyone in the world. Thailand's Professional Qualification Institute has set standards for over 200 vocational subjects. Students that pass these standards will be certified, which will then allow them to earn a guaranteed standard of wages. The government has also emphasized the use of the English language in order for students to further progress in their careers. Education reform is something that I consider as being complex as it involves many laws and agencies, which can result in a lack of concentrated efforts. The government and the NCPO are, therefore, addressing this matter in the first phase of the reform agenda. In order for us to achieve tangible results by 2017, I therefore ask for cooperation from those in the education sector on this issue. Regarding the drafting of the constitution, I ask for all citizens to consider, as I have been doing, what the country and Thai people need. What has happened in the past and what needs to happen in order for there to be peace and civility? How can communities be developed and strengthened, how can the economy become strong from its
foundations, how can our politics retain stability, how will our politicians practice
good governance and be accountable and develop the country, how can civil servants
work with transparency and how the people can receive equitable assistance and
access to resources? How can we achieve our goal of a country with stability,
prosperous people, and sustainability? If we share these common goals, we are all
probably disappointed with the events that have transpired in the past 10 years or so.
That is why we have embarked on these necessary reforms. The presence of the
NCPO and this government is merely to "stop the bleeding" of our nation. How can
we turn this crisis into an opportunity? This is a calling that every citizen should
contribute to. Therefore, I think the drafting of the constitution is a national agenda
for all to work together on. I would like all Thai citizens to think of what you can do
to turn the reform agendas we've already agreed on in the past 2 years into real
actions. In this regard, there needs to be a mechanism that can create confidence
amongst ourselves that the country be stable enough to make real progress and not
revert back to its previous situation of conflict. We have a national security policy and
a 20 year strategic plan that serves as a framework for national development, which
will thus guide the government, the private sector and the public to mobilize the
country in the same direction, rather than in a fragmented way like before.

The strategic national plan is a broad framework. I would everyone to study the
details as it serves as a guideline for successive governments as well. This framework
needed to be drafted so that our citizens can have an awareness of how our country
needs to progress, so that all sectors of society can become resilient. Every 5 years,
the country will assess this national strategic plan along with the NESDB’s national
economic and social development plan. After the year 2017, there will be 4 of such
plans: plans 12, 13, 14 and 15 which will last for 5 years per plan. The plan defines
what needs to be done in each year as well as what needs to be done by the end of
each 5-year plan. With this, the new government will be able to manage the country
with stability and effectiveness. If the government implements the country's strategic
national plan along with its own party platform, I think the country will have a bright
future. I, therefore, would like to thank our politicians that maintain the noblest
intentions for the country. Therefore, we should not be in dispute on this matter, as all
of you profess the will to serve the people and the nation, and not your own interests. I ask for your cooperation and your confidence in the government, the NCPO, CDC, NLA and NRSA. We will perform our duties with your trust and confidence and to the best of our abilities, to serve the Thai people. Thank you. Sawasdee Krub

Appendix 3.30

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – 4 March 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. March 2nd of every year marks National Skills Standards Day. His Majesty the King has been revered as “The Father of Thai Skill Standards”, as the Thai people have drawn inspiration from His Majesty’s technical skills and abilities as an inventor. His Majesty once invented his own toys when he was little, such as gliders, miniature battleships, and wooden rickshaws. His Majesty is also known to have a preference for the skills of mechanics, which has also been inspirational for all skilled labourers in Thailand. The King’s Royal duties have allowed him to produce and craft a number of inventions that have been recognized internationally, such as the Chaipattana aerator and the artificial rainmaking technique known in Thailand as “Royal Rain-making”. All of these inventions were meant to uplift the well-being for all Thais. I would like to send my best wishes and support to every skilled worker, inventor, and mechanic who has acquired these skills, many of which have been passed on from generation to generation. Modern inventors have adopted His Majesty’s techniques in making creative items for the development of the nation. They are committed to what they do and I would like to ask vocational students to be proud of their career paths. Furthermore, students studying science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) will one day become a driving force in the country’s agricultural sector, helping to create value to agricultural and industrial products. Thailand will one day become an industrialized country based on green technology. The government has created a new system called “Thai Labor Standard” or TLS. It is a standard used to manage the Thai labor workforce. The system is based on laws, considers the role of all stakeholders, upholds human rights
and a code of ethics, prohibits child and forced labor, ensures transparency, and regulates measures for quality control. It also serves to put in place sustainability in the labor market as the system shall go in line with the country’s labor protection laws, work safety and hygiene related laws, work environment standards, and international treaties and agreements. In this way, Thai businesses will be internationally accepted and get certified by domestic and international agencies. Thailand will be trusted among its consumers and trading partners, building their confidence in Thailand’s products, production processes, and services. I have several matters to inform you about this week. As for the political situation, there have been some movements by fugitives both inside and outside the country. These individuals have broken the law and continue to evade judicial procedures, opting to elude investigations and prosecution by fleeing the country. As they do this, they claim that they have been treated unfairly politically even though there is clear evidence that they have committed a crime. If they didn’t do anything wrong, nobody would be able to press legal charges against them in the first place, so I would like to ask members of the public not believe their lies just so that they can attain impunity. Everyone is equal under the law. There are thousands of people going through trials now, so judicial processes must be allowed to take their course, without any special treatment for anyone. If they didn’t do anything wrong, then they should come back and prove it in the court. If you have evidence to prove you are not guilty, then you need to come back and accept this process and the rule of law. Such criminals should not use international organizations to coerce Thailand or challenge our sovereignty, just so that they can escape paying for their crimes. This is damaging to the country and to the people. You proclaim your care for the country and that you want to return, but at the same you don’t respect the laws that everyone is under and continue to avoid the judicial processes while everyone else has to. I believe that the Thai cannot accept this.

About the draft charter, there may have been attempts to create some misunderstanding about the upcoming public referendum. Some have distorted the truth, intentionally or unintentionally, by saying that the NCPO wants to stay in power. This is not the case, but in fact, the issue is about finding mechanisms to
ensure that the progress that we have achieved, such as our successful efforts in restoring order, stability, enhancing public safety, enhancing national competitiveness, and achieving national reforms in 11 areas, can be continued. We are trying to ensure a successful reform process. I only want our reforms to go smoothly through every step. We have only set the framework for the next government to handle, not for me or for the NCPO, but so that the people’s needs can truly be met. The people’s well-being derives from effective public administration run by elected representatives. Therefore, the next government must practice good governance as the country will be administered by representatives of the people. The framework demands that the government uphold good governance and transparency, and thus spend the nation’s money competently. We have laid down strategies covering national security, economic affairs, social affairs, legislation, the justice system, and foreign affairs. These strategies will be implemented in different phases - short term, medium term, and long term. These strategies are vital for effective public administration in correlation to the policies of all political parties. I have not seen anything in the draft charter that will allow for an attempt to cling on to power. As for the Constitution Drafting Commission, I understand the demands brought upon you. I have been studying the draft constitution and see that it includes the fundamentals mentioned in previous charters. However, it is clear that the new one focuses on anti-corruption and the composition of lower and upper houses, ensuring checks and balances. It also features national reform, the likes of which we have never seen before in Thailand. Many countries that have a thriving democracy were once in the same particular transition. I would like the public to understand that government officials all practice democracy in our every days lives, so to say that this notion is something that does not exist in Thailand is mistaken, especially when it is being used to ignite more social conflict. I would like to ask those who are vehemently calling for an immediate return to democracy to bear in mind that our system has been abused, thus leaving the country with more than 40 percent of the population still poor and in debt, with prevailing social inequality, conflicts and a lack of development in many rural areas.

Therefore, we as Thais, have to work together to find a way so that our parliamentary representatives practice good governance. Development must be realized in all parts
of the country. Plans and strategies must be formulated based on the needs of everyone in the country and not only a few, and will be implemented based on the urgency of each matter, be they basic infrastructure, water management, agriculture, agro-industry, green industry, and other professions that will be interconnected from the upstream to downstream. Linkages must exist between processes concerning crop planting and cattle ranching, and what not. It must be done through cooperatives and farmer groups without having to go through a third party like the middlemen. You then need to work with the private sector in order to stabilize prices of agricultural goods. Building connections between the public and the private sector helps to create a value chain that links to neighboring countries, to ASEAN, and to the world. We must take advantage of this integration process. We must take into consideration demand outside the country such as in ASEAN and the CLMV region as well as domestic demand. Then we can understand what we really need to do. For example, when we look at what people outside Thailand need, you can look at what people in ASEAN and the CLMV countries need, you can look at what people in other provinces need, and lastly you can look at what people in your community need, then you will be able to understand how strategies should be panned out in all areas. You need to work things out and support each other. We must keep in mind that every region in the country is diverse in terms of people, location, soil quality, weather, natural resources, and materials. All of these factors are different in every part of the country. We must make sure that every region is strong and can stand on its own feet. Strong communities are based on stable professions. They should have access to good education and recreational activities. We will encourage upstream, midstream, and downstream activities in every area. These regional differences can then be turned into innovation. We can create value to these location differences, particularly when materials are different, and cultures and traditions are different. We should be taking advantage of these differences by making different products. A proportion of the production output will be consumed domestically while another proportion will be exported. We must have enough to consume before we sell what we produce. We must emphasize an integrated agricultural system. Farmers will grow, produce, and turn their crops into valuable products before selling to other regions. Fellow agriculturists must understand new technologies. We can call them “smart farmers”
based on new technology. Please accept the fact that you will be able to earn more if you are willing to make changes. I don’t want you to be in debt any longer. I would like you keep in mind that the country does not have enough water for rice farming if more rice is grown at the moment. We can no longer grow rice at the amount we used to. It is impossible because we now have less water. Global weather patterns are changing. And as a result, we must manage our water in accordance to the needs of each area. We must grow an appropriate amount of crops and on suitable land or on a large plantation. We must take all of these farming factors into consideration. We must not produce too much of certain crops. The produce also risks being damaged by drought. This can become a huge problem. Farmers must grow crops where water is sufficient and the soil is supportive of the crops. Rice can be grown on a large plantation or close to where it is reachable by water. Outside of the irrigation zone, you grow drought-tolerant crops. It is not feasible for every farmer to grow rice. Substandard rice will not get the best deal in the market while the production cost for growing rice is relatively high. Please consider growing other crops. You can also grow plants on highland and earn money. To solve this problem, it requires collaboration between the public and the state. At a recent meeting between members of the G77 group which comprises 134 developing countries, I proposed a number of matters.

I told the meeting that the adoption of His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy Philosophy, which has been known for the past 40 years, can lead a successful United Nations development agenda over the next 15 years. I also mentioned how our government will continue to incorporate this philosophy into our national strategic and management plans while also encouraging the public to apply His Majesty’s teachings to everyday life. I shared at the meeting how Thailand had been successful in adopting this principle. We have many challenges ahead of us, be they internal or external. Internal challenges include poverty, inequality, climate change, geographic variation, social conflicts, political violence, and economic downturns. HM the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy thus serves as a remedy that helps us develop an effective ‘immune system’ to these complexities, thereby protecting us from external influences as well. It also gives us basic knowledge and teaches us to be self-sufficient. We use more when we have more. We use less when we have less.
Everyone conducts themselves different ways based on their status. However, we must be knowledgeable and follow a code of ethics. The Sufficiency Economy philosophy is not a fixed formula, but one that must be adapted and adopted in different manners according to the environment and geography. Thailand is willing to share this philosophy and its practices with our international friends. Many countries have already made use of this approach such as Lesotho, Timor-Leste, Cambodia, Myanmar, Lao PDR, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Jordan, Senegal, and Mozambique. We have also sent development experts to these countries and showed them our crop growing techniques. They are now able to grow drought-tolerant crops on dry land and in deserts. They now have more food to consume. Many countries have sent representatives to Thailand to learn more about agricultural development. There are more than 4,000 projects initiated under the patronage of His Majesty the King. These projects have helped uplift farmers’ living standards on the basis of the Sufficiency Economy philosophy. For instance, the Huai Hong Khrai Royal Development Study Center, located in the northern region, teaches the locals how to manage forest resources and how to preserve soil and water. The second project is the Phu Phan Royal Development Study Centre in the northeastern region. The third one is the Phikun Thong Development Study Center in the south. It teaches the locals about soil erosion, soil deterioration, alkaline soil, and acid soil. Next is Kung Krabaen Bay Royal Development Study Center in the east, which teaches about coastal development, management of marine resources, fisheries, and fish farming. The fifth project is the Huai Sai Royal Development Study Center which teaches the locals about desertification and the rehabilitation of dry land. I see that the G77 member countries have different conditions, so they maybe be able to adopt one or two projects as previously mentioned. Some projects may need to be modified, just like how we modify these projects to meet the requirements of each area in Thailand. I highlighted how it is essential for each country to realize that if we truly emphasize the well-being of the people, then governments will have the priority of supporting and strengthening communities. For example, our ‘state of the people’ model can serve as an idea for other countries to emulate in principal. I’ve said that this model is based on inclusiveness and integration between the state, the people, the private sector, and civil society. I’ve demonstrated to the G77 meeting how Thailand has
developed according to the Sufficiency Economy philosophy and in accordance to the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda. Therefore, this approach can be one method for the world to achieve sustainable development, as it is a model that creates prosperity, income and higher quality of life while caring for the environment and the interests of all groups. We cannot leave anyone behind. Our country cannot leave anyone behind and neither can other countries if we want to grow stronger together. Both developed and developing countries must work hand-in-hand, with developed countries supporting the success of the goals of developing countries. If there is cooperation, there can be joint progress, like what the government is attempting to do for the country. We will then be able to enhance our potential such as in science, technology and innovation. We must also highlight the importance of the exchange of knowledge and expertise for developing countries. This is a task for all governments. We need to find common ground to serve as the foundation and an important opportunity to support each other and achieving our goal of sustainable development. We have a total of 167 goals in the next 15 years which aims to guarantee a future with economic prosperity across the world.

On to the matter of investments in basic infrastructure on land, water and sea that connects to other countries - these things need to also be developed in tandem with our sustainable development goals. This is also a way to enhance incentives for investments from abroad. We must be proactive in opening our markets and connecting to the world community. In the meantime, our cooperation with friendly nations should be on the basis of trust and mutual benefit. Don't forget that another important matter is education as it is the genesis of knowledge, understanding and systematic thinking. What is important is solving problems in a sustainable way based on reasoning and principles. We must elevate our education system. This is crucial for our future. However, this will take time. I think that in the next 20 years, Thailand will have a new generation of global citizens. This is because this agenda is in our 20 year development plan. People must be capable throughout all stages of their life. I also want to make sure that all regions in Thailand are equipped with human resources, adequate land for use, occupations, public services and other matters. This will also connect our regions in the production process and to foreign countries. If you
think like this, the strategies for development for each Ministry will take into consideration appropriateness and effective budget use. Each Ministry must also plan their budgets in collaboration with other ministries. I would like all citizens to consider and lend importance to the constitution, the public referendum and the election. No one wants to intentionally write laws that create conflict or chaos. We need to look at our problems. Whether the referendum will pass or not, we need to solve the issues that may arise. I've listened to you and included you into the process. What can be done, we will do. What we cannot finish now will be included in the subsequent reform agenda. Nevertheless, how do you think I would be able to influence people during the next 5 year reform phase period? I will not have any power to direct anyone because it will at that time be a democracy from an election. So, there may need to be a mechanism from parliament to do this. If so, we should include people who want to contribute and truly understand the situation of the country, as well as Thailand’s positioning in the world. In the transitory provisions that many claim is there merely for power preservation, take a look at what the provisions really say and what organic laws say. If they are not useful, then what we’ve done in the past 2 years may have been for nothing. Don't you care about the poor, the underprivileged and people who have been taken advantage of? Today, in the midst of efforts to help these people, there are still problems. Some things I can do for you now while some things need to wait until the next government to implement. In the mean time, you can see that this government has taken real action on many fronts, so my support goes to the civil servants and the Ministries. For some people, the constitution is only about democracy, liberty and rights, and the way of coming into power. But they should also look at how the charter can contribute to reducing social disparities and ensuring fairness for all. I have made many comments about the charter as a citizen, about what it ought to reflect. There are many deep-rooted issues that need to be considered, whether in terms of the law, governance, and national security. Take a look back at the events that have happened in the past 80 years in this Thai democracy.

I hope that this constitution, if it passes the referendum -- and it needs to go through a referendum because of our differences in opinion, leads to honest elections, and good
governance for the country. At the start, we’ll have to trust one another. What happened before to Thailand can’t happen again. The problems that have brought us to this point, we should not let them plague us again. Given this, how will we achieve real reform? It goes without saying that those who have lost power or those who have committed offenses will always make false claims against the progress we have achieved regarding the draft charter. I want this draft to pass with all these issues being considered. Whether this passes or fails, I want people to look at the results and be thoughtful in making your decisions. Because you are the ones filling out those ballots. Whether you want a referendum or an election is entirely up to you. One voice per person. This is why they call it a basic democratic principle. Everyone has a constitutional right. A right to decide matters of democracy to referendums. So I urge everyone to get involved. Whatever the outcome of this referendum, we need to help one another. I don’t think we need to bicker with each other anymore. The things that are laid out in the constitution are in reflected in the constitutions of other countries as well.

The few things that we differ about, we can develop as we make progress with reform. There are certain things that even developed nations haven’t been able to do yet. The things that don’t work for us, the things we need to fix, to reform, that require a long term strategy - these are the items that need to be clarified in the constitution and we’ll do whatever we can to make that happen. We need to do this for our future, especially the future of our children. It’s not just about the desire or policies of political parties. Look at us. How many poor are there? How much strife is there? Are we strong enough? How is our economy? Our national revenue? These problems didn’t just happen when I became Prime Minister. These have existed for a long time now. I’ve tried to do my best so far. At least I’ve managed to sustain our economy by taking on the necessary restructuring and replaced affected areas with new focuses. For example, when we saw agriculture prices slump, we instigated the needed changes ad focused income earning for farmers to manufacturing and value creation for their products. We hired people, and found jobs for them to do. I ask you, who else has suggested this before? No one in the past did. It was previously done on an ad-hoc basis. We have to decide which problems require temporary relief, short
term solutions, mid-term solutions, or long term solutions. This is how we need to allocate budget. Not just throw all of it at the situation and leave ourselves without anything in the future. How would we invest then? It wouldn’t work. Therefore, I would like everyone to take what I have said today, and if you think I’m right, then consider it when you take future decisions. Take a closer look at what it means to have democratic rights. Everyone has the same rights. I have 1 voice just the same as anyone else. Therefore, in this time of change, and this isn’t some form of change to see me stay in power, it’s a form of change that this transitional government is doing for you. The key word here is transition. Therefore, when possible, go out and elect a representative. I have already told you as per my Road Map what I would do. If it doesn’t work, then what? Everyone must consider all the factors, and understand things based on reason, the way they are, and reduce the risks. These are challenges for every Thai. Whether you can do that or not, I shouldn’t have to stand alone in having the best interests of the nation at heart. Stick to your principles. Have reasoning. Eliminate vote buying at all costs. Remember, at all costs. Look down on those who try to buy votes or are fraudsters. Don’t let these people run the country in our next government. We need to do this all by the law and with international recognition. I also want everyone to shun vote buyers who won’t fix this. If this isn’t fixed, nothing will change. Everyone has a duty, whether they are at the national, regional, local, or volunteer level. All ministries. We can’t have the vote buyers run the country the way they want. Please understand this.

The objective is for the country to be able to successfully manage this transition so that things will get better. If things become good in less than 5 years that would be even better. Once this system succeeds, the next government can prepare for the 5 years of reform as well, and same for the next. So the successive governments should make this happen so that we can be a country with a credible democracy. So then how can we let our country fall into the hands of those who only seek personal benefit, and those who think they are above the law? We have had to deal with this long enough. Turning to the Krung Kasem Canal market. On this March 5th to 27th we’ll be organizing an event called “Transforming Research into Retail”. This will be under the concept of t “100 research projects can make a sustainable Thailand”. We’ll be
bringing in various products from our research projects as well as different inventions that this government is helping to move forward. We’re pushing for these things to hit the manufacturing sector so they can go on the market. These will all be on display at this event. There are also a lot of other displays in order to bring these products to the public eye and to show that we can be on par with other countries in this field. We should not just do research and shelve it. What would be the use in that? We need to encourage the expansion of commercialism here. We need to promote our innovators, our researchers, and our inventors. Otherwise no one will have the will. Then we’ll have a shortage of these people because there is no incentive for them. So these days, I try to grab as many of these inventions as I can. This doesn’t necessarily mean we’ll be able to use them to compete with other countries in producing large expensive things that are on the cutting edge of technology. Rather, the items that we use in this country - do we still need import these things? Can we make them ourselves? In particular, agricultural products. Today, we have amended regulations to allow budget support for these products. But they still need to pass standards. We have made progress on this and have provided a solution through meetings with entrepreneurs and investors. We call this ‘matching’ - a pairing of manufacturing and invention. Adding value to our goods, processing the product, building channels of distribution for research products, as well as the professional development of our inventors for starters – these will all be showcased. We’ll also display research projects on food and drink, crafts, jewelry, health and beauty products, and alternative energy. We have made these things and so we’ll use these things. And someday, I hope we’ll be able to export them to other countries and generate revenue for Thailand. I would like to invite everyone to come and shop here. Please visit and take pride in the things that Thailand has been able to make. When I see these things, I am very proud that they were made by the Thai people have made and today, were doing our part to support them. When I was in the US, I met with a Thai scientist there who worked for NASA. He helped invent an antenna that’s probably going to Mars. He was happy to promote Thai research, ready to share his knowledge, and bring the experience he’s gained from abroad back to Thailand to help us develop. I established a connection between our board of directors and those overseas businesses. I’d like our students to come see it, especially those who are studying technology and doing vocational training. I hope
that you’ll be inspired and realize you are capable of making these things too. This is why you need to inspire yourself and do something useful for the country. Take pride in our potential and people will take pride in you. Our vocational schools have to give their support and encouragement. As for students who keep brawling - fighting won’t solve anything and your families will be disappointed in you. Are you an action hero? What do you get by doing this? In time, you’ll have to run away from those looking for vengeance and retribution and the law. I want you to take responsibility. I want you all to come together and help this country make progress through our inclusive approach of a “state of the people”. Finally, it’s that time of year when children finish their school terms and go on holiday. I’d like to recommend a pastime for all of you. What you experience outside the classroom can also be very educational, in particular going to various museums and applying what you have learned in history class to understand the things you see in depth. We need to study history in order to build a better future. I have said this many times. We have organized various youth events and camps that will build knowledge and educational stems. This is a mechanism by which we can move our country forward into the future and highlight the importance of ethics, such as the 12 core Thai values and faithfulness in this country’s key institutions - the nation, religion and monarchy - in our children. May all of you take pride in this and take part to reform this country today, and 20 years into the future. I’ll be a part of this with you, as I am a citizen too - one voice in the Thai democracy of the future.

Appendix 3.31

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – March 11, 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. March 13 of every year is National Elephant Day. The White Elephant is a symbol of our country. For the Thai people Elephants are sacred animals and their contributions have been realized since ancient times. One elephant every Thai should know is “Chao Phraya Chaiya Nu Phap”, the elephant that fought alongside King Naresuan. The Don Chedi Monument was later constructed in
Suphan Buri to commemorate this. The way of life of Thai people is also connected to elephants. For example, the Thai national football team is known as “The War Elephants”. The name indicates the love and the connection between the Thai people and the elephants. Thailand, in the past, failed to comply with the agreement known as the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES). But since the NCPO and this government came to office, strict laws and regulations have been enforced on the possession of ivory. We have been effectively cracking down on the ivory trade, banning all imports and exports of ivory. Thanks to the government’s effort which has been acknowledged by CITES, Thailand is able to avoid economic sanctions as we continue to earn revenue and sustain livelihoods through the proper export of agricultural products. Her Majesty the Queen has called on the government to take care of and protect our elephants. The Zoological Park Organization, under the Royal Patronage of His Majesty the King, launched a “Surin Elephant Kingdom” project for both elephants and mahouts. Land within Dong Phu Din National Forest in Surin will be turned into an elephant sanctuary, with the potential to become an elephant village to promote eco-tourism in the country. It will also create jobs and extra income for the locals. We will highlight the unique connection between humans and elephants in Thailand to showcase for our visitors. We will also recycle elephant dung into paper, since we already have the materials and the skills. This is not difficult at all. In the future we may even use the People Public Private Partnership or “state of the people” mechanism in turning the elephant village into a bigger sanctuary like seen in the movie “Jurassic World”. I believe that this measure can resolve the problem of stray elephants in a sustainable manner. It is better than only using law enforcement on them. The NCPO has now rectified this issue at the initial stage. So successive governments will need to take this matter seriously every step of the way. Please have sympathy for our elephants. They have been so important for our country, so we owe it to them to keep them happy. Today I have several issues to talk about regarding the work in progress of the government and the NCPO. In our actions to rehabilitate forests, homes for wildlife and water resources, and allocate proper residential areas, balanced management has been necessary. Thailand now has only 102 million rai of forests left or 31% of the total land. Over the past 10 years, Thailand lost 5 million rai of forests. Agriculture is
the main reason for deforestation. This policy was supported by previous governments but it lacked balance. The current government is, therefore, coming up with solutions so that people will not need to encroach upon the forests. Agriculture is the main reason forests are destroyed and burned. Some people sell the land they encroach upon to financiers. This must be tackled immediately.

The government’s initial action was to reclaim forest areas back from intruders. We enforced strict laws, based on jurisprudence and political principles, with focus on taking on influential figures who were also financiers. In 2015, we were able to reclaim more than 300,000 rai of forest areas as there were 13,000 cases of encroachment. As for a sustainable solution, related government agencies must join hands. Measures and laws will affect many, especially the poor. We will, there, consider allowing the poor to use some public space. We will bring orderliness to forest land and designate agricultural zones. The effort will be pushed through the PPPP or “state of the people” mechanism. We will start with overlapping areas. Every sector and stakeholders will play a part in drawing a new map. We shall call it “One Map”. Because different agencies have used different maps, overlapping areas can be a problem. If it is impractical, we will find another approach. Another measure we have in mind is to allocate 340,413 rai of encroached land to the poor living in 82 different locations in 47 provinces. We will also enforce strict laws in reclaiming public forests from influential people. However, the most important thing is to increase forest areas for the future generation. Headwaters come from forests and become the arteries for nourishing the agricultural sector. This goal will be achieved through cooperation between the government, military, police, the public, local wise men, and the private sector, who will train and pass on the knowledge to the locals. They will be educated about wildfire and forest conservation. We will follow Her Majesty the Queen’s teaching’s on how humans can sustainably co-exist with forests and the ‘three forests, four benefits’ approach which was given by His Majesty the King. We will use these teachings in creating economically-viable forests and community forests which we can call food banks. Do not forget the saying that the ‘forest is a source of life’. As for our efforts for the reduction of social disparities, there are many issues involved. We will fix people’s problems concerning private
land. We have formed the national land policy committee to assist people affected by the new land management policy. We have approved an allocation of land in targeted areas where 300,000 rai across the nation will be granted. It will be in the form of joint plantations. These lands will not be owned, but can be used by the public to generate income. Lands approved for use will be based on different circumstances. The government has issued instructions on land management to every agency. They will be used as guidelines in accordance with existing laws. The management of the land must be transparent and open for scrutiny. I empathize with the poor and low-income earners. Therefore, the government will also give support for career development. All 76 provinces have different conditions. Therefore, we must act in accordance with these conditions. Farming and ranching must be conducted in the most appropriate way. We will also build a mechanism to disperse funds for every community and check up on the downstream level of production, where we can also find new markets. One thing we cannot overlook is the evaluation process. We can no longer look at economic indicators alone, but we need to look at the degree of well-being and the level of sufficiency within the communities. In terms of equal access to the justice system, everyone in the country is entitled to voice their grievances and have their rights protected. The government is adamant about removing the sayings of “prison is only for the poor” and “double standards” from Thai society. We will help people with the justice system, from upstream to downstream. For instance, we will educate people more about the law. We will establish a justice fund to help people defend themselves in court. We will compensate victims and those whose rights have been violated. Everyone is equal under the law regardless of financial status.

Almost 6,000 people have already requested for help from the justice system, 2,552 of which have received government’s assistance. At present, we are developing this fund in 76 provinces through the decentralization of the fund. Every province will receive the same benefits and related personnel will be trained. Regulations for the entitlement to the justice fund will be reconsidered and clearly spelled out. One of the most important issue’s at the moment is assistance for drought-hit farmers. We need to focus on effective solutions - not just education or behavioural change, but also different ways of farming, so that our farmers can transform into Smart Farmers.
Farmers can no longer practice the same farming techniques and continue such high risk in times of disasters. This is why the government has to step in. We, therefore, need to adhere to the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy in our land allocation policy. In this framework, the land will be divided into 4 sections. The ratio of how you use the land is 30/30/30/10. This means 30% is used for water retention, so that you have enough water all year round. You also need to grow vegetables like morning glory or you can do fish farming. Another 30% of your land should be used to grow rice for consumption, so that you don’t have to buy it. If you have more than enough water, you can grow rice for sale. With less water, you then only grow for consumption. This also helps you save money. The next 30% should be used to grow fruits, perennial plants, herbs, and vegetables. Basically, it is a mixed plantation where you grow different plants and crops. Keep some for consumption and the rest can go to the market for selling. The remaining 10% of the land should be used for residing. This part of land can also be used for raising cattle, a plant nursery, and granary. This is how you can stand on your own feet and take less punishment from drought or from economic uncertainties. However we must adopt this technique varyingly due to less water and land deterioration at the moment. If this can be done at the household level, you can expand it to the community level and so on. Here, we can adopt His Majesty the King’s teachings and guidelines and then adapt them to today’s circumstances. For example, communities, villages, and farmer groups can apply the 3/3/3/1 technique to their daily operations. The first 3 is for locations where plenty of water can be supplied. The second 3 is for locations with water scarcity, where you need to grow drought-tolerant crops. The third 3 involves other professions such as crop processors. This can also help you earn higher income. The last number, 1, means it belongs to the whole group, be they village or community. This is how you use the conditions of your land to best determine your farming activities. This can be applied in Tambons, provinces, and farmer groups. If we do this right, effectiveness will occur at all levels. The 3/3/3/1 approach should start within a household and move into a community, which of course must be in line with the condition of that particular area, based on soil, water, and weather. Different areas have different conditions, different fertility levels, and different altitudes. If we can designate agricultural zones according to water sources and the amount of water each area has, coupled with the
“New Theory” approach and a combined plantation policy, the agricultural sector can be successful. In the meantime, the government and the NCPO have derived many other measures and incentives to support the farmers.

The government is educating farmers about new farming techniques, trying to help them switch from off-season rice farming to growing drought-tolerant crops and raising livestock. The second measure concerns funds, access to capital, postponement of debt payments, and compensation. The next measure is turning produce into agro-industrial products, meaning adding value to products so that they can be sold at higher prices. For this, you need to reduce costs, and produce and send your crops for processing somewhere else or you can do the whole process yourself. This is also up to the conditions in your area. We also need innovation in agriculture. I also want to mention about our OTOP products and the One Tambon One SME project. We need to take more serious measures to develop these products. Today, we must focus on products with real potential. We will take more serious steps in achieving this goal, and try to be successful like Her Majesty the Queen’s Special Handicrafts Project. Her Majesty has done so many things for the Thai people. It was because of Her that many people can return to their hometowns and have a decent job and this has been has been realized for decades. So we must make sure the OTOP industry is sustainable. Stability comes from grassroots economy through our ‘state of the people’ model. We must monitor every step of the way until we succeed. So far, the government’s efforts in this area have been satisfactory. So we ask for your continued support and cooperation with local authorities. His Majesty once said that the key to development is understanding development. It means that authorities must understand the needs of their areas and have close relations with their people. If authorities understand the problem, they will be able to solve it. One solution cannot be applied to all problems concerned. This year, we have been able to reduce the area for off-season rice farming in 22 provinces from 2.91 million rai to 1.92 million rai. However, the number of rai used for farming rice is still high while the amount of water is lessening every day. I have a lot of sympathy for the farmers now. Between January and February of 2016, Thailand encountered many problems in terms of water scarcity. We asked the farmers to reduce or postpone their cultivation. Most of
the farmers cooperated. I would like to commend them for their understanding towards the water situation. They were willing to heed government’s advice. More farmers have since joined government’s programs. Recently, the BOI had approved incentives for investments in agricultural and industrial sectors, accounting for more than 17 billion baht. This is to encourage farmers to grow other crops, instead of rice. Farmers need to enter the value chain and increase their competitiveness and the quality of their produce. The government, the private sector, and the public must be on the same page in this respect. What we need to do now is increase the production of pet food, cassava, bran, corn, and fishmeal in Lopburi. We are producing soymilk in Saraburi, producing sweeteners in Prachinburi, producing cassava ethanol in Kamphaeng Phet, and producing bleached pulp in Buriram. This is why we need to support factories at the midstream level of production. As for other measures, I am glad to see that many sectors are lending a helping hand. The industrial sector needs a large amount of water because it involves production. Production leads to higher income. With higher income, farmers will also benefit. But if production stops, everything else will stop. There will no rice farming if the industrial sector cannot operate etc. Today, the Ministry of Industry is implementing various policies during the drought about release of treated waste water. They will only take effect until June 30th, 2016 in preparation for the upcoming rainy season. We now allow waste water that has been properly treated to be released outside factories. All waste water must be properly treated. Factories that fail to comply with the Factory Act B.E.2535 will be closed down immediately. Please cooperate with the government on this and don’t take advantage of this moment. The government will then be able to help the agricultural sector. There are more than 2,000 food factories that can release treated water into the drains. These factories don’t use hazardous substances. From this we expect to see an increase of 500,000 cubic meters of water a day, covering around 50,000 rai of agricultural areas nationwide. These factories are in various locations. I think this is a very thoughtful idea. If we can manage it properly, everything will be supportive of each other. We cannot emphasize support to one particular sector. In addition, the quality of treated waste water must be reported and examined on a regular basis. Transparency must be assured. Authorities and inspectors must make sure that all treated water released from factories is chemical free. I strongly urge
factories to cooperate with the government on this matter. For the agricultural sector, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Natural resources and Environment, and related agencies are working on the construction of people’s reservoirs or so called “Pracharat” reservoirs. We are preparing for the monsoon season. We have to build reservoirs in order to store water coming from mountains. Without reservoirs or water retention areas, our water supply will not last for the whole year. Water dries up very quickly, starting with the northern region. It then comes down to the central plain and finally to the south. With reservoirs, we will be able to store water for future use. Authorities need to ask the locals to participate in this effort, helping each other build small weirs. The Ministry of Interior will be providing necessary equipment, asking all sectors to supply construction equipment. The ministries of interior, environment, and agriculture will be collecting the equipment and lend it to the locals. This way, the locals won’t have to spend as much. We must be able to store the water the upcoming rainy season will provide us. All the water comes from the northern region and from the mountains. Therefore, when the water comes, we must be able to store and make the best use of it. Last year, we constructed many water retention areas, but we didn’t get enough rain. But this upcoming rainy season which is expected in May, we should be able to store a large quantity of water if we get enough rainfall. The most important thing is forests must not be destroyed. Deforestation leads to severe droughts. Farmers will have to suffer should drought continues. If that happens, we will have to import rice for consumption. Thailand is currently the number one rice exporter. We don’t want to lose this position. We must protect our indigenous advantage, especially agricultural advantages. Global changes may lead to food scarcity. This is why we need to prepare. If we are ready, the country will thrive as a global food provider. We must know how to store water and grow crops according to particular conditions. You must, therefore, work together and foster unity in your community. The government has been disbursing funds to local and remote areas nationwide. I would like everyone to protect their rights to these funds, without quarrelling with each other of course.

The locals should listen to the authorities because there are rules and regulations which need to be followed. After all, it is your money that is being spent. Therefore,
you must protect your own rights. You will be able to spend this money but state officials will need to make sure that the funds are being spent in the right way. You can make requests for what you think the money should be spent on. But sometimes, not all requests can be met. There are many groups asking the government to fund them. Some groups get the fund and some do not. Those who don't receive the fund will obviously make complaints. But you must look at the majority concerns. This is basic democracy. If you don’t respect the rights of others, nothing will get done. You must understand the concept of democracy first. You need to participate in all processes, starting with making requests and proposing projects that will strengthen your community. You will then have more income. There will be probes and scrutiny to ensure transparency, so that everyone can be assured of the process. The next issue is about a model plan for water management which has already been implemented. As you can see, we make adjustments as time goes by. We did not ask for a single loan, but we do it step by step, because changes must be made according to different circumstances. This is the water management plan. It is different from the national strategic plan. They are two different approaches. The national strategic plans look at the big picture whereas the water management plan focuses on the details such as location and the budget. As for the long term plan, all of processes will be involved, such as the EIA. Anything that can be put forth now will be implemented now. If you encounter problems, you can take a step back and continue other operations that you think can succeed. If we can ensure effectiveness, the whole society will be better off and everyone will gain. But if you only think about yourself, the entire system will be ineffective. The most important factor is connectivity. Just like His Majesty once said, we must have reservoirs that are connected to each other and we have to manage them according to our needs. This way, the water will last longer. If you keep water for your self without sharing others, there shall not be enough humidity in the forests. Without humidity, there will not be adequate rainfall. Reservoirs and weirs can help increase humidity in the air. And when it rains, these weirs will keep water for us. This is how the approach should be. We also need to adjust our plans according to changes that come year after year. Next year, rain may be scarce. We can never know. Therefore, we must be well-prepared by having effective water retention systems, distribution systems, and drainage systems.
Next is about water for consumption. This is very important. We must have enough fresh water for everyone in the country to consume. I am not against water celebrations during the annual Songkran festival. But please be responsible for your actions. Agriculturists have already changed their farming behaviors for the drought. They now earn less for what they have sacrificed. Everyone needs to use the water more efficiently. Regardless of the occasion, you can still have fun in a way that reflects a social conscience. Please use sparingly. I’m not saying that you cannot enjoy the festival. The government will not stop you from celebrating the occasion.

Songkran is one of the most famous festivals in the world and foreigners come here to enjoy it. Now the question is how this year’s Songkran should be celebrated as the country is facing water scarcity. If we use the same amount of water we use every year for Songkran, we might regret it later. So please be mindful. Traditionally, Songkran used water for the Rot Nam Dam Hua custom and to give each other blessings. In the past, we used to have various activities to celebrate Songkran. It wasn’t always about water. Please think about this. We have done this every year. All I ask is that everyone thinks of the way water is being used. Think of the way you can have fun while the country has water shortages. Songkran shall always be around for Thais and for foreigners to enjoy. However, everyone should help conserve the water we have too. On the matter of alternative energy, I want to give you an example of how people can stand on their own feet and be resilient. There are more than 100 communities we have tried to encourage this with. It is an example of building stability within the community, a principle given by His Majesty the King. I have mentioned about this before. In Sisaengtham School, Ubon Ratchathani Province, the abbot of Wat Pa Sisaengtham monastery, Phra Khru Wimon Panya Khun, who is also the founder of Sisaengtham School, introduced the King’s Sufficiency Economy Philosophy to the school. Sisaengtham School can now generate solar energy, using solar cells. The school’s electricity bill has gone down from 6,000 baht to 40 baht a month. In addition, the school is using solar energy with water pumping machines. But the question is, will there be enough water to pump? So, we need to go back and look at the way we are conserving water and our forests. Effectiveness should exist in all steps. Many areas have good irrigation and drainage system. What’s important is
that you must teach this to youngsters. Educate high school students about the installation of solar panels. The government will always be supportive on this matter. The next matter is about Net Metering or purchasing electricity from households. It will create income for households that generate power. With this extra income, people can improve their living standards. You also need to consider the volume of energy being sold. As for the power development plan (PDP), we must consider gas, oil, alternative energy, and pipelines. Do we have enough pipelines to transport energy we produce? If you cannot sell it, you can then use it for your community. (Like the example I gave you earlier, Wat Pa Sisaengtham doesn’t produce power for sale, but for use. It helps save money for both the school and the government.) So we cannot look at Net Metering only from a business perspective. Investment requires a large amount of money. Solar panels are very expensive. If it is for the sake of the community, the government will be able to support you more in terms of solar energy, driving down the price of solar panels. But if want to do Net Metering only for profit, then government will not be able to assist you. In terms of the promotion of solar energy as an alternative, I ask that it be clean energy. The same goes for wind energy. Wind energy is also considered clean. However, turbines may not work properly in some areas. This is why investment is a risk. You need to make sure the location of wind turbines is appropriate. How often does the wind come? Is the wind strong enough? We cannot copy everything from other countries as we have different conditions. Even though it seems like we have a lot of sunlight, sometimes it is not stable. Some locations don’t get enough light as seasons change. Despite this fact, solar energy is the most appropriate source of energy for Thailand now. Therefore, we must push harder for the generation of solar energy. The next matter is about the appointment of the new supreme patriarch. I actually don’t want to talk about this matter but I’m going to talk about it anyway because there’s been a lot of bickering and movements, both for and against. Please stop this. Over 90 percent of Thais are Buddhists. We must make this 90 percent confident in the country’s Buddhist institution and the Buddha’s teachings that are meant to bring peace to society. Dharma and religion are not supposed to reasons for conflict. Principles that guide monks are meant for monks to coexist in peace. Monks are also citizens of the country and they must respect the country’s laws as well. Therefore, please separate the
matters and refrain from creating further conflict. There are increasingly fewer
countries with a large Buddhist following. The 90 percent of Buddhists in Thailand,
therefore, should stay united and not divided.

His Majesty the King has maintained His support for all religions and faiths for Thai
citizens. But everything must work under the same laws. There cannot be special
treatment. Otherwise, one side will use the law to bully the other. There are specific
laws that pertain to Buddhist monks but all monks must also abide by the laws of the
state. If everyone is ready, the appointment can commence. If not, please don’t divide
the country’s Buddhists into conflicting factions. If an issue is something that can be
solved through the justice system, then that’s how it should be resolved. The country
is going through reform and preparing for an election, and now there are disputes in
the monkhood amongst others. So please don’t cause conflict or let people with
political motives manipulate you. The issue also involves the police force. In
Thailand, all important matters tend to create conflict. It’s quite peculiar. Maybe it’s
because we have so much free time on our hands that we go and create conflict.
However, in the past 10 years, there’s only 1 thing that we’ve never fought over. You
know which thing I mean. The law must come first before people can get along.
Regarding the buying and selling of police positions - the talk of this has resulted in
much damage all-round. Those with good intentions speak of it because they don’t
want it to happen. I’ve talked to the Deputy Prime Minister on this to figure out what
to do with this and determine whether there are indeed buying and selling of
positions. However, a grievance or complaint must be officially filed before we can
reform something. You all need to first come to an agreement on how it should be
reformed. We’ll take into consideration the good points of various sides in this
process.

If you want to reform the police, they need to agree to the reforms as well. You
should accord them due respect because they must manage and command their
officials. What can we do to ensure that the police do their jobs and are punished if
they don’t? I will address this matter quickly. Anyone can submit a complaint and it
will be investigated. Conflicts of interest still exists, whether it is in the form of bribes
or whatnot. The police commissioner has already said he will investigate into these matters and hand out appropriate punishment. The prosecution of bribery must examine the giver and the receiver. If a person has not committed a crime, then don’t give the bribe to the person making demands or accusations. If the authorities are unjust, you can sue them. But if you yourself are breaking the law as well, you need to reconsider your position. Today, if people persist with fighting over everything, how are we going to undergo reform? But those who want reform and talk about reform must be trusted by the people. So please start to trust each other and separate old and new matters and think about how you can gain trust in order to move forward with reform. Examine the old issues of how things have been done and how to do things in the future. Today the government is trying to make all agencies do their work and change their work culture. Their traditions have long been distorted. Nevertheless, the police are the face of the justice system. The investigation department is the same, such as the courts. All these agencies must be linked based on the law and not through cronyism. Everyone lives under the same rule of law. Therefore there needs to be a clear management system to enhance efficiency and reform for the long term. Everything must have the phases 1-2-3 like I stated and the public must agree upon this. However it is probably tough for the public to completely agree because it is a matter regarding the police. This because some people fear the police. They see a police officer walking and they’re scared already. Why are you scared? Act as if a soldier just walked by. You’re not afraid of soldiers but you’re afraid of the police.

Adjusting a system isn't easy. Remember that we've been trying to adjust the bureaucracy ever since the reign of King Rama V and we are still not done. There has been some progress and change from within. Change needs to be gradual instead of abrupt. Stripping people of their titles will not resolve the issue. Thai people should not be impatient on this matter. People accuse me for being slow and not reforming. I've been implementing reform this entire time so please trust me regarding the police’s internal management, police welfare and chain of command. Right now everything is all tied up whether it be appointments or favors. There are politics in all of these things. We need to be careful about how the Royal Thai Police can work effectively and be strong from within the organization and resistant to outside
influencing. Regarding old matters - file a complaint to make a case. If you don’t, then consider it over. We need to make the police become an organization that the public can rely on. When the police come, people should respect them and count on them to ease their suffering instead of reacting with fear and suspicion. Therefore what can we do to strengthen the police? The police take care of domestic orderliness and public safety while the soldiers take care of peace at our national borders. Today we use both the police and soldiers for domestic and external peacekeeping. This is because we are transitioning into democracy so I ask for some time during this reform period. I ask for your cooperation from all organizations and the public. How can we make happen the notion of “good water purging the bad water” in our society? We need to do this lawfully while empowering those with good intentions. We need to do this together. This government has never intended to diminish the authority of any agency. But if officials commit offences, the justice system will deal with them. That’s it. Let issues be resolved through the justice system. I don't want there to be any external intervention into the judicial process. The police, the justice system and the courts must be in sync with regards to law enforcement and justice.

The third matter is reforming the bureaucracy. We are now in the first phase of doing this. In the past, various agencies managed their own budget and worked autonomously. Budgets each year were exhausted and sometimes did not coincide with projects, timelines and districts. Therefore the government has focused on restructuring all this. I admit that it is hard because it is something that we have never done. The views of the past governments towards reforming the bureaucracy have been stagnant. However, this is an issue that we must solve now. Various ministries and agencies must work together regarding joint projects. An example is water management. The responsibility rests with many agencies. Today we must work together regarding water management. Various agencies must agree on a joint policy and come up with a budget proposal that it is sound. Whatever policies can be done now will be done now. Various project blueprints must coincide with each other. I’ve tasked the Deputy Prime Ministers to oversee the implementation of these reforms in order to create efficiency. There are also committees designed to mobilize various policies. Progress can be verified. For those who claim that you don't see any real
changes, this is because these are actually internal changes. These are things that will reach fruition in the future. The internal management system of the bureaucracy must become more efficient. They must prepare for the new round of civil servants in the next 5 and 10 years. There must be a system of allocating personnel according to the needs of each ministry. If the private sector has developed itself but the government bureaucracy hasn’t, there will be no progress. There needs to be shared information between various agencies and cooperation between the government, the public and the private sector under the Pracharat “state of the people” model. Activities that need to be reformed consist of water management, public facilities and trains. These things involve many ministries. For example, roads and railway tracks fall under the Ministry of Transport but the sidewalks fall under the Ministry of Interior. Electricity posts fall under the Ministry of Energy. Therefore, I’ve tasked a mobilization committee to coordinate these efforts. We need to do what we can, based on the needs of the people. This is an example of providing proper solutions that take into consideration the urgency and needs of others. If things only happen in small pockets, issues will only be addressed in small areas. But if we do it slowly in a broad sense and build on it gradually, there will be progress. The regions will become stronger. I’ve called for the strengthening of various regions. We must examine the needs of the provinces and local communities. A simple thing that we see everyday is the digging and repairing of roads. They do it for irrigation, installing phone and electricity lines. They keep on digging and don’t restore it. From now on, they must install everything at the same time. The BMA and other agencies must go find out how. In the future, politicians are going to promise to build roads in their constituents as part of their campaign platforms. So you [politicians] must implement your policies according to the country’s foundational blueprint and examine how you can connect with the economy, transportation, trade and logistics. Think of the big picture and bring it down to the regions into smaller roads. This way of thinking is what makes this government unique. I talk about reform. Who else talks about real reform issues? Instead a lot of the political bickering covers only the constitution and the public referendum. We need to look at all the problems we have and determine how we would like the final outcome to be, bearing in mind the public as the beneficiary of
the solution. I also call for management policies that adhere to the conditions of various regions and avoid a one-size-fits-all approach.

The government is drafting and also enforcing laws that are in accordance with international standards. Of the 4-500 laws that we have, half need to be updated to suit today's trade and investment conditions as well as our 20 year strategic national plan. We must use His Majesty the King’s Development plan and the Sufficiency Economy philosophy to mobilize and follow up on policies every 5 years. Today, we also have various reform plans. Therefore you can see that we are trying to connect these things to ensure that we have progress in the next 5, 10 and 20 years ahead. We must have a future. In the past, we tended to focus on what's in front of you and how you can best take advantage of things. That's why we are caught merely trying to outdo each other. Today we must share the benefits and make Thailand a land of happiness for all. We have been ranked number 1 again by a foreign media agency in terms of happiest economy. This is something to be proud of. They call us the land of smiles because although there is a lot of suffering, with people having low income and in debt, we are still kind and warm hearted, not miserable. To carry one this kindliness to our international friends, we will need to be successful with our reforms and work together. I will do my best to move Thailand forward and not let things revert back to how they were. Therefore we need to create strength through the “state of the people” or PPPP model. The last matter is about the government's foreign policy and role in the international system. As a responsible member of the international community, we must adhere to various agreements. Agreements that need revision can be done to ensure propriety. It's challenging because there are lots of agreements we’ve signed up to. Today we must carefully build trust, and share the benefits among all of us. Things can get tangled up in conflicts of interest and corruption, and I’ve worked every day to prevent this. I feel troubled sometimes when I go abroad. Sometimes the agreements that we signed up to previously were brought up because we were wrong in not adhering to those agreements. I don't know whether we will lose our friendship with these countries. So we need to see how we can cooperate with other developing countries in order to develop together. There needs to be a partnership between developing countries and developed and developing
countries. Also, if developing countries can join hands, it can create a chain of development that can suit our needs.

Preserving the environment is a duty for all global citizens. If damages are done in Thailand, its effects will be felt throughout the world. Therefore we need to think of our country’s future as being tied to the wellbeing of this planet. Billions of people will be added to this planet in the very near future. Today, Thailand is defining its own future. People must refrain from fighting and instead work together and rely on the development of human personnel and research. From now on research and innovation must be practical and can be implemented in the production process. We’re expediting our efforts on incorporating rubber to various production processes. Various SMEs and government agencies are adjusting themselves to be able to utilize rubber. This will take time as it's never been done before. We need to create a production cycle able to compete in the market. We need to do our part by supporting various start-up businesses that incorporate rubber so that we can enhance the prices of rubber and encourage competitiveness. In the future we will be able to sell our rubber abroad. There are stations set up to test the quality of rubber. The government has these stations as well. We need to work together to be strong from within. We need to also export and encourage trade between various countries. Strength from within comes from empowering communities, provinces and regions. The people, whether they are farmers or those with low income, are part of this process. If one group creates conflict, there will be no progress. The most important thing today is informing the public with reliable information. It’s a hard thing to do because we are all different in how we receive information. Many people need to work when other people are resting. Therefore, information may not reach everyone. We must ask how we can create understanding with all sectors of society. We’ve created a television channel as a first measure. Please think of how progress can happen, how income and be created and how the next generation will be. The government is doing everything it can to create understanding. Everyone has a role in contributing to the development of the country and creating strength from within. We must have modern information technology that will create growth in villages, sub-districts, districts, provinces, provincial groups, regions, the nation, our borders, the CLMV trade block, within
ASEAN and ASEAN with other countries. Today we have created many channels to disseminate information. Please also spread the word to your peers. People who keep quarrelling usually do not achieve progress. Please consider the government’s work in caring for over almost 70 million people and how various people demanding different things takes a toll on the government’s budget. We must ensure that all sectors and regions develop equally so that the whole country can move forward together.

One more thing is about the developing your own English skills. The English language is like a door to various fields of expertise in the world. It is a universal language. We must develop better job prospects by improving upon people’s English skills. We must be able to use Thai as well as other languages. This means having a working knowledge of a language, not just knowing it from songs or for your own entertainment. You should learn what is practical and useful. Today, the government has unveiled an English language learning application for Thai people. This is a result of our PPPP or “state of the people” model between the Ministry of Education, the Foundation of Virtuous Youth and Enconcept. This will be the first time that Thai people will be able to learn English for free anytime on their mobile devices. The application develops listening, speaking, reading and writing skills without needing to have any previous foundations. The application has a total of 200 chapters with simulations of every situation, English for trade and services, and English for various professions. I invite all of you to try out the application. (“Echoenglish” is currently available on Android devices. The iOS version is expected to be available at the end of March this year) The key to successful English learning consists of:  1. Learning from a correct English role model. 2. Having an instant feedback mechanism. (The government has already prepared these 2 factors for the public. We will have various versions of the program. Right now is the first version.) The 3rd factor is that the public, students, labourers and civil servants must continue to practice English regularly. You need to constantly be improving yourself through learning. This may require some motivation but bear in mind that it is also a social responsibility in the context of the country’s development. Other countries are engaging in bilingual learning, whether it is through watching movies or television shows. Reading subtitles is fine as long as you continue to absorb the English. This is a method that I do
sometimes as well. I'm trying to improve myself while doing the job as Prime Minister.

I'm constantly concerned about water consumption not just today but in the future as well. I think about how everyone can contribute to saving water. I don't want it to the point where everyone is only confined to a certain amount per day. I just ask that people use less water. By doing this, we will be able to become drought resilient in the long term. This is a national agenda we must confront immediately. Agencies must campaign to create understanding about how to conserve water. I don't want to have to impose new laws on the people of Thailand to control this. For those that are suffering from high amounts of debt, I remind you that the government is implementing assistance measures. Measures may not be direct financial support but may come in the form of extensions or interest rate adjustments. People can contact the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Interior in various regions. There are also Damrongdhama centers for people to submit their cases to the governors. I call on all governors to take this matter seriously and find ways to assist the people. However sometimes you need to take into consideration the problems some government agencies face such as budget constraints. Many agencies are asking the central government for funding on various projects, but there is not enough money at the moment. We must increase our income by adjusting our economic structure, import export structure, technological base, and developing new industries, consisting of 5 new industries along with 5 existing industries of high growth. We must not allow anyone to ruin our nation’s peacefulness and stability. In the end, we are the ones end up being distressed, not those living abroad. I have stopped paying attention to those who wish us ill. And the issues they denounce this government about - please remember that they had not been able to address them at all when they had a chance. If you really had, then please tell me how this government should approach each issue. You used up a lot of the national budget, but nothing was accomplished. So I ask you now, and am waiting for an explanation. But you still go to the media and claim that you actually did something for the people. Thank you for everyone's cooperation. I know that you all love the country, only some love themselves more. I wish you all happiness during your holiday.
Good evening, welcome to programme. I am Lt. Priya Natevichien. It is my honor to host this show today. As usual, every Friday, the Prime Minister and Head of the NCPO Gen Prayut Chan-o-cha will be talking to us. He will be informing you of the government’s and the NCPO’s work as well as his concerns for the people. He is here with us now. Good evening, Prime Minister.

The Songkran Festival has just ended. This year, we encouraged people to celebrate in a way that helps to conserve water due to the ongoing drought. We received good cooperation from many areas. There were also many positive developments during the festival. Could you share those with us please? There was a revival of Thai culture and traditions in celebration on Songkran. Many areas celebrated the occasion in a traditional way. Before this year, it could be said that our genuine culture of Songkran was fading away. Celebrations were only about having fun while everyone forgot what the Songkran tradition was really about. This year, I have to thank officials and the public for preserving our cultural celebrations. People were seen donning traditional dresses and performing traditional ceremonies. Most importantly, everyone helped save the water. I have thus designated 2016 as the year of Thai cultural conservation. We shall also be working with our ASEAN partners in this effort. I have also heard that there will be several performances to celebrate the 234th anniversary of the Bangkok city pillar. There will also be a play called “Ramayana” which will be joined by representatives from many countries.

Another positive story is about “Nong May” or Ratchanok Intanon. I think everyone in the country is happy about this. Those who were watching her would understand how difficult it was to win 3 championships. Now she is world’s number one seed, according to the Badminton World Federation (BWF). 3 championships came within 3 weeks. It is very difficult to achieve that within that timeframe. I met Nong May the other day. I advised her to find the time to rest and then continue her usual training.
schedule. We shouldn’t put pressure on her. She told me that she would do her best. Win or lose, she will always be admired and encouraged by her supporters. She appreciated that. The other issue we discussed was her education and how her studies will continue to play an important part of her life.

There is another thing that really impressed me about Nong May – that she made the Thai gesture of “wai” to her opponent. She also was very courteous to the referee, helped stadium staff, and thanked her fans on the bleachers. She is a fine role model and I ask that all Thais give her full support as she brings recognition to our country. The next Olympics are coming up in a few months and they will be held in Brazil. She will also have to defend her title on April 26-27 and we hope that Nong May will do her best. The Thai people will always support her.

Prime Minister, you also had a chance to play badminton with Nong May who is officially world’s number one.

Let’s move to another topic. This past week, there have been deadly earthquakes which took place in Ecuador and Japan. You expressed your concern for the Thai people and the local people in these areas and you have reiterated to the international community that we should be ‘stronger together’. As these two countries are our friends, what would you like to say about this?

Firstly, on behalf of the Royal Thai Government and the Thai people, I wish to convey my deepest sympathies to the governments and peoples afflicted by this disaster. There were many deaths, injuries and mass destruction. I would like to send my best wishes and prayers to our friends in Japan and Ecuador. The Thai government is ready to lend a hand in all aspects. We have already donated some money. Thailand will offer to provide humanitarian aid and other assistance to these countries. We have already contacted them. I would like to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Royal Thai Embassy and other responsible agencies for helping Thai nationals travelling and residing in quake-hit regions. This is a good example of well prepared government agencies taking action. There must be an effective plan when it comes to unexpected occurrence. We also need a plan that people can understand. Thailand is lucky not to be prone to this kind of natural disaster. We have droughts, landslides, flooding, and storms. I consider Thailand fortunate for not having to deal with earthquakes. Given this, we need to use this opportunity to show
our solidarity and care. We also need to learn from these experiences and prepare ourselves for this kind of disaster. Earthquakes can happen anywhere. We must be ready. Effectively dealing with them is about preparation and measures to reduce risks. Today, we must prepare for upcoming summer storms. The rains are also coming. There will be strong winds and so street signs and roofs should be inspected. I have already told officials to prepare for this. Summer storms are very common in the north and northeast. Another topic is about the well-being of the people. You have always stressed how important this is, evidenced by the fact that you have instructed all 6 deputy prime ministers to pay visits to local communities and make sure they are all taken care off. You will also visit people on your regular schedule. The government and the NCPO have also set up Damrongtham centers which have been operating for almost two years. Could you please discuss how these centers have been received by the public? First I asked myself how can we really learn about the people’s problems. There have been several complaints lodged by the public at radio stations, TV stations, and on newspapers. But I wanted to open a direct channel to the government and to the Prime Minister in order to allow people to lodge their complaints. I already knew about the Damrongtham centers but I wanted them to do something more. Therefore, I wanted to make Damrongtham a one-stop service center where tourists and local people can seek help from. It has been almost two years since their development. We also have the 24-hour Hotline 1567. Now, there are two channels people can go to. They can either call the number or go to the center. Damrongtham centers are located across the country. From July 2014 to March 2016 (1 year and 7 months), more than 2.6 million people sought help from Damrongtham centers. 97% of assistance requests were met. It has been a success. We encountered some problems along the way. These problems mostly concerned legal affairs but as we know, law amendments can take time. I would like the public to be more patient on this aspect. Some laws do not allow us to change certain things such as land allocation. Sometimes, we reach a dead end because of the law but we cannot do things in violation of the law. During the 9-day Songkran holiday (10-18 April 2016), more than 130,000 people requested for assistance. These numbers reflect the peoples and tourists’ confidence towards government officials and services. The only thing I was worried about was people’s safety on the road. It doesn’t matter how strict the
law is or how many officers we have enforcing the law; the problem will go away if people don’t have the conscience to obey the laws. Everyone should cooperate in this aspect, starting from families. Parents should teach their children to be more careful on the road. The government shall spare no expense to ensure public safety. But this also requires public cooperation. A social conscience is the most important factor. Currently, we have another problem which is street racing. This problem was gone for a while, but now it has returned. We have given so many warnings. If street bikers don’t listen, punishments will be harsher. When punishments are harsher, people tend to be more stubborn. In the past, the law was not strictly enforced for whatever reason. We are fixing it today. The laws must be respected. From a thinker and practitioner’s perspective, what sort of improvement do you think the government and the NCPO should apply to public services in the future? This is something that I and the Thai people hope will happen. I forgot to mention one thing. Apart from the Damrongtham centers which offer public services as people are able to get in touch with governors and local authorities, we also have to look at it from an economic perspective. We have also set up One-Stop Service (OSS) centers to assist businesspersons who need information about investment or any related services. This information pertains to the special economic zones and new regulations. This is in terms of business facilitation. In terms of services, we need to make known of what the government is providing. The government has developed a system called “Application SPOND” which allows the state sector to better provide assistance to the public. The application can be downloaded from App Store on iOS and Google Play on Andriod. The public can send messages and live chat directly with officials who are on standby for assistance request. Please do not call authorities for nonsense or make a prank calls. You are wasting their valuable time. This application has already been launched. Please try it and make use of it.

Thai people are very familiar with technology and given this, “GovChannel” is the latest technology launched by the government. The idea is that people can contact officials from their phones and other devices. Could you give us a brief explanation on this matter and the government’s future development plans? Let’s talk about the statistics for phone users first. 92 million is the number of phone service accounts.
There are 77 million people in Thailand. In other words, the number of mobile accounts is 135% higher than the number of Thai citizens. Now we need to figure out how these accounts can help the country. 56 million is the number of people using internet on their phones. And 50% of all mobile phones in Thailand are smartphones. Now we need to figure out how 96 million phones or 30 million users can benefit. The first thing is for personal use. They can use it for whatever they want. Phones can also be used to foster stronger communities, especially through social media. Social media has its pitfalls, but used for the right purpose, it can benefit us all. Used for the wrong purposes, it can cause a lot of confusion and chaos in society. Let’s go back to the digital economy. We need to streamline the government’s work by becoming more of an e-government which can provide more electronic services. There are many channels. These channels are ready to assist people with information. I was worried that people would not know enough about what the government does or provides in terms of services. But now people can understand more with GovChannel in place. It is a service center that assists people in need. People can access all information through this channel. I have asked them to put all the information into categories, so that it is easier for people to search. Farmers and other professions will have access to GovChannel and with this, they will understand more about the work of each ministry. The channel can be found on the internet, mobile applications, and kiosks. These services will soon be offered in every province. Another system is called the Government Application Center or GAC and the G-News system which has been launched for a while already. Today, a key issue in Thai society trust and transparency. This is why the current government and the NCPO are doing our best to gain people’s trust through transparency. The newly-launched system about taxes will allow you to understand how much money the government really has and what the government spends its money on. It also gives out information about projects and budget allocation. It allows people to be a part of the monitoring process. It will also benefit those seeking to enter an auction or bidding for government’s projects. This system helps stamp out corruption and is in line with the Licensing Facilitation Act 2015 issued by this government. We are completely open to scrutiny. To use the “Government Kiosk”, it only requires an ID card. The kiosk offers necessary information about health checkups and doctor appointments. Please try to use it.
There might be some technical difficulties at first, because a lot of people are using it. Thailand is a large country and houses a large number of people. Smaller countries will be ahead of us in this aspect because of the volume difference. But this is what we need to address quickly. We need to empower people through these channels we have provided. Kiosks are being set up in certain locations, but in the future they will be country-wide? People can use their phones anywhere. The new system can now be used on Andriod, but iPhone users may need to wait a little while longer, possibly no later than this month. As a civil servant, I’ve seen in other countries how state agencies have a specific channel through which they can communicate without risking national security. Thailand doesn't have this yet so officials can only use what the private sector provides, which can pose a threat to national security. Could you please comment on this? This is already happening. The government has initiated a system called “G-Chat” which has been designed for the purpose of secure online communication between government agencies. Every state agency can contact each other through this system. G-Chat has a system that protects all information passing through this app. Video or long-distance conferences can also be conducted through this application. This will help state agencies to work with each other more effectively. They will be able to work on the same assignment such as water management and public utilities. When we talk about roads for example, we must take into consideration land management, city planning, among others. It will need cooperation from many agencies. In the past, each ministry was working independently and spending its own budget. That system has to be changed. Communication will be done on smartphones like the application “Line”, but it has far better information security system. There will also be a personal chat room or a group chat through which messages, photos, and videos can be sent. The Electronic Government Agency (Public Organisation) or EGA developed the system and I have instructed all state agencies to use this system.

This is a dream come true for civil servants in Thailand. The application is now ready for use. Let’s move on to economic issues. There has been a meeting recently which took place last Monday. The meeting was held between the government and the private sector. The meeting resolved to introduce a term which I think is not very
familiar with the public just yet. I believe people will be saying it more. The word is “Thailand 4.0”. Could you please explain the meaning of it? I will have to go back to 1.0. Thailand has passed through 3 eras of development. Thailand was considered as an agricultural society decades ago. Physical work was the main occupation for most Thais in this era as farmers had to use their physical abilities. In the era of Thailand 2.0, industries started to grow. Machines started to become more common in the agricultural sector. Thailand 3.0 is when big industries started to come into the country. Foreign investments poured in. Thailand has been in this stage for a very long time or at least 20 years. We never adjusted or evolved, never prepared any risk reduction measures for external risks such as the global economic slowdown. We were not strong enough, because we were stuck in the era of Thailand 3.0. We now need to take a step forward and become Thailand 4.0. The 3.0 era only focused a lot on economic development. Social development was not prominent in that era. There was no balance in terms of natural resources and environmental sustainability. We must rethink and move towards 4.0. We must figure out how we can move from a middle-income country to a high-income country. Although some people are in the middle-class, there remain a number of people making low income. The poor are the victims of social inequality and unsustainable growth, meaning growth that only occurs in a short period of time. Stability must be maintained. Today, we shall readjust the country’s economic structure. We will call it the “New Economy Model”. We will also adopt His Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy for this. We must be rational in our endeavors. We must develop a strength or immunity against the many risks, with knowledge and ethics. I have said this many times. We have to always be mindful of our actions. This means being careful when making investments or when spending. This doesn’t mean that you should be stingy about spending. Saving money is different from spending on necessities or spending sufficiently. We need to keep in mind His Majesty’s teachings. The process to improve the country under the Thailand 4.0 concept must be in accordance with the 20-year strategic plan. This is why it is so important. Development can then be realized in the next 20 years. The first three phases of development took several decades. And now we are stuck at 3. Now, we have to understand that the new era will endure for the next two decades. This will start today. The government’s effort to
mobilize the domestic market will be achieved through the “Pracharat” approach. In the past, the government was the one to give, which made people too dependent because people were used to receiving help. But today, Thai people must be able to stand on their own feet. The task will be difficult, but as a nation, we must be persistent. This comes as no surprise as more than 40 million people are low-income earners. Some countries only have 4-5 million people or 10 million people. The richest country in ASEAN only has 4-5 million people. Thailand has about 70 million people. That is a huge difference. Our whole economic structure must therefore be reformed. The business sector, the agricultural sector, self-employed people, and other sectors must be reformed. It coincides with education, labor, among others. This is why we must be ready in all aspects. Otherwise, we won’t be able to move forward. What are new engines of growth? The engines that will drive economic growth in the future, especially in the 21st century. We have to look at the world situation first. How did other countries become strong? Where did their income come from? Most of their income has come from exports of products with high quality. Our products are crops. We need to add value to them. Farmers must have alternative ways to generate extra income. Then come domestic and foreign investments. Our plan is to invest in basic infrastructure, linking road and rail together. It will be a long conversation if I get into this. Anyway, there are 10 industries that we want to put our focus on, 5 of which already hold vast potential. We need to introduce new technologies to these industries. I’ve said this many times. We then need to promote startup businesses and improve the other 5 industries such as the robot industry, STEM education, mathematics, science, research and development, and construction. We must invest in rail development. The Thai people have tended to avoid the subjects of mathematics and science. The government will need to do more about this. We want you to have a career. Students must be able to get a job after they’ve graduated. We hope everything will go in line with the 20-year strategic plan and the development plan by the NESDB. With more highly educated personnel, Thailand will be in the 4.0 era. Of course, this cannot be done in one year, thus such efforts should be continued. There must be innovation in various sectors such as food and agriculture. Innovation about re-doing and re-thinking. It is to improve something we already have. For example, we can no longer sell only loincloths. But we need to turn
these loincloths into other products such as handbags and dresses. This is only one example. There are many other products. We also need to make OTOP products more unique.

We already have the materials while the production process in each area is different. We only need to modernize our OTOP products and create added value. Almost 100 OTOP products are now sold on airplanes. The Airports of Thailand and the Thai Airways are now responding to this idea. We have to make sure that the local wisdom is also preserved. We must produce more researchers and developers. New innovative products are produced and now displayed at Klong Phadung Krung Kasem Market. Some people call it the prime ministers market. It is not my market. It belongs to everyone. People should first understand how the country can benefit from them showcasing their indigenous wisdom. The government’s job is, therefore, to support you in this aspect. So as producers, you need to truly understand your nature and potential so that you can be more certain of the direction you are heading. If this can be engendered throughout the country, the government can then focus on other sectors with high potential, sectors that have the right chemistry, the right materials. Many people have asked for funding but this will require a true understanding of the scope of research first. We have more than a thousand cases of research work that we can really make use of. So some findings are already being put into production. I believe that we already have industries with high potential. These industries are driving the country’s economic growth. Could you elaborate on this?

First of all, Thailand is a car production hub. I have discussed this matter with several foreign companies. They said they were willing to continue investing in Thailand, be they rail projects, biodiesel, or research and development. This is why we need to revise some regulations. It is not true that all profits will go to foreign investors. But we must amend regulations regarding taxes, investments, and incentives in order to attract more investors. This is like a promotion campaign. Without promotion, people will not want to buy. When you want to sell something, you need good packaging. This is why the government has to invest in what it can. Rest assured that the
government is not giving out land to foreigners. As a democratic country, we must also accept free trade and free competition. The government is here to ensure fairness as opposed to taking advantage of situations. This is about car production. Next is about agricultural crops. We have rice, rubber, palm, and sugar cane. Sometimes, demand and supply for these crops do not coincide, so when adjustments are made, farmers will suffer. We need to make our products more valuable. This is why the government is building the “rubber city”. This also relates to car production and biodiesel (B15 and B20). Now we look at the possibility of using palm oil as fuel. It is impossible to make a change at the expense of other sectors. Gradual adjustments should be made in all sectors. This is how we create value in response to the problem of high production costs. Rice production needs a lot of water, driving up the production costs to 5,000 baht while the crop can only be sold at 7,000 baht. Farmers wait 4-6 months before they can harvest their paddies. This is why farmers must turn paddies into quality products such as organic rice or other supplements. Recently, we have seen a lot of these products. Now we must not overlook the possibility of oversupply. We have started to ship these products overseas. A Rubber city is being constructed in Songkhla. Many countries are willing to co-invest. Rubber that factories bought from producers will be used as raw materials. Then, we need to revise some regulations in each ministry. All these tasks must go in the same direction. This is what we call connectivity. If we continue with the same old practices, the production will not grow and oversupply of materials will occur again and again, also leaving markets disconnected and slow progress innovation. So this restructuring is an enormous but necessary task and the government will try its best to achieve it. There will be progress along the way. What about the tourism industry? This is a major driver of the Thai economy. Even though there is a lot of influx of tourism at the moment, we are still not satisfied. This is because our neighbors aren’t enjoying this growth as well. Many countries have asked Thailand about sharing our experiences in this sector. I have therefore suggested that if we can create 4-5 tourism clusters, consisting of maybe healthcare, archeology, and nature and then separate these clusters into each expertise. Right now the Ministry of Tourism is doing this. After this, more people should visit Thailand. I then suggest that we create packages. For example, they can come to Thailand and then also visit neighboring
countries as part of the package. This will create connectivity. I’ve talked to Latin American countries about this idea as well. We can create channels of tourism and create networks between countries while also increasing flights. These systematic developments can lead to mutual growth. Today, the health of our economy also depends on whether the people have money to spend. The money that comes into our country via tourism is a considerable amount. In 2015, we’ve invested 1.2 billion but made 2.23 billion Baht. This was a 19% increase from the year 2014 because people didn’t want to come here during the political crisis then. The money we made in tourism in 2015 accounts for 16% of the country’s entire GDP. The United Nations World Tourism Organization revealed that tourism to Thailand has increased to 30 million people in 2015, a 20 percent increase. This puts us at 11th place in the world. Income from tourists in Thailand has increased to 1.57 trillion Baht, a 22 percent increase which puts us at 6th place in the world. The Global Economy Tourism Forum had forecasted in 2015 that the number of tourists coming to Thailand will be the 4th largest group in the world. We need to seek cooperation with others while also ensuring safety and solving issues of scams and corruption. These things are hard but we must work even harder to gain trust.

During the meeting with the Provincial Administration Organization Council of Thailand, I disclosed that I will try to allocate money for them to manage local tourism as well as for the development of tourism infrastructure. If we can cooperate in the form of the Pracharat model which includes collaboration from all sectors in all regions, if the public also cooperates as well, we will be successful. Is there a particular example of a successful local project that was done in the Pracharat model that you would like to mention? There are many successes in the Pracharat model. I’d like to talk about how we’ve given 1 million to 5 million Baht in funds to various districts. With this, 300-400 villages have been able to create water management plans. Now they are able to manage their own irrigation with the help of the local people of that community. They’ve joined in on finding water sources with pipes and dams. This is a good start and they were able to handle it. The second matter is strengthening villages to be drought resilient. There is not one single solution to this problem as there are many aspects involved. But this year, we hope that there will be
more rain in May to June but it may also come late at around September to October. In this regard many people’s efforts to dig ditches and catchment areas to absorb the rain are an example of Pracharat cooperation. The government only provided guidelines. That means they understand the problem? They do at varying levels. We need to move forward with projects that we are capable of doing now such as certain road projects. The next time that a budget is passed, the government must look into providing funds accordingly to suit the needs of each area and their expenses. This budgeting coincides with the annual budget of all ministries. Depending on the agenda, districts can be granted between 1-3 million Baht. Villages can be given up to 300,000 Baht. Villages can come up with various projects and conduct the work amongst themselves. Each village may have their own issue such as labor or water shortages. We can provide them with funding. As for tourism, what’s been rather successful right now is cooperation in developing several tourist attractions. For this there has been a strict enforcement of laws that monitor the use of budget and the destruction of natural resources. I good example is the Phi Phi Islands where we’ve used a pilot model to boost income from October, 2015, to Songkran to 300 million Baht. This was a 200 million Baht increase from last year. If everyone collaborates this way, it is a Pracharat model. We also included the help from the private sector. I’ve also held meetings with businesses on how they can help the people this way. They stand ready to work with us and there are 12 groups now. If some areas have been so successful, what about other areas? They will be successful as well but it must take time. For instance, some areas are out of reach from irrigation channel and some might be located in areas that are too high or have infertile land. They key is to empower these communities with knowledge and information. So today I’ve called for the creation of guides for the Public Relations Department to hand out, which talks about success stories in agriculture and tested methodologies by farmers. This should motivated people and educate. They should learn from these experiences. Sometimes people don't listen to government suggestions. For instance, the government advised not to rice farm this season, due to the water situation. In spite of this, some persisted and suffered as a result. Hence, I wish for the people to be more resilient. His Majesty the King has said that we must ignite their will to make progress. Whatever they need,
the government will guide them and support them in what they do. This way they will be stronger eventually.

The most important issue here is the drought and lack of water. This can cause quarrels and conflict in society. The government is undertaking many agendas at the moment. Are there any agendas that, if progress is delayed, would create damage to the image of the country? Let’s stick to domestic issues first. The most severe issue is the drought. From 30 affected provinces, we’ve now reduced that number to 27, consisting of 4,911 villages which represent 6.55 percent of all villages. In 2015, there were 34 provinces that were being severely affected by the drought. We have thus given priority to artificial rainmaking and there have been various surveys on feasibility. There were a total of 537 survey flights and 77 percent of those flights resulted in rain in 41 provinces. We gained around 50 million cubic meters which was considerable help for villages. However, there were a lot of areas that were unable to reap the benefits due to terrain and logistics. We also need to dig more ditches and catchment areas to store water. We’ve dug around 2-3 thousand sites so far. When the situation in the country is good, people will come to our country and enjoy its beauty, when things are lush and there are no water shortages, I mean. This is one aspect of the country’s image which is important. We also need to solve the issue of forest encroachment. Apart from our traditions, culture, natural beauty and our people, another important thing about the country’s image is the stability of the government. If we are still in a state of conflict, still have a winner takes all approach, and try to justify impunity in society, how can other countries have faith in us? In talking with other countries, they have expressed confidence in the progress that we have made so far and they are willing to cooperate with us, and expect us to have an elected government. They are almost fully committed to us but just that issue remains. I’m trying to take us all there. For forest management, we need to look at the state of our forests at all levels, then the matter of land management for the public. This is an effort that involves the Ministries of Interior, Agriculture and Education. We need to further implement the initiatives of His Majesty the King and Her Majesty the Queen regarding forests. We need to create understanding among agencies and protect our forests while restoring the ecosystem. We also need to develop occupations that
coincide with forest conditions. We also need to support relief efforts, such as during tropical storms. The most urgent international issue we face now is IUU. This has been a longstanding problem, manifested over many years – too many boats, unregistered vessels, all these matters. These things have been neglected for a long time, but I am not blaming anyone in particular here. It is also not an easy problem to solve because it affects many people who have been making a living out of this for a very long time. The issue is that other countries won’t buy our fished goods if we engage in IUU. So all those involved will need to make adjustments in order to comply with international laws. We’ve established the Command Center for Combating Illegal Fishing (CCCIF) and have tasked the Ministries with taking care of this. The Ministry of Agriculture and its departments are currently directly in charge. We’ve also had to pass over 90 pieces of legislation while restructuring the organization of several agencies. We've had to increase our monitoring systems such as introducing GPS in order to track the whereabouts of boats. We also need to strictly enforce our existing laws. All stakeholders are urged to cooperate on this issue.

The next matter is international cooperation according to the ICAO for the aviation industry. Today, we have tasked the Ministry of Transport to address this issue with the help of the Royal Thai Air Force. These two parties will be responsible. As for the situation in the southern border provinces, how concerned are you about this? I’ve always been very concerned and for a very long time, since I was Commander in Chief of the Royal Thai Army and even before, since when it started in 2004. Afterwards we have continuously tried to solve this crisis. This is a complex issue between people of different religious groups and people using religion as tools to make claims. We must admit that at the time there was much inequality. Today we are trying to develop the area but there are lingering security issues. When safety can’t be fully guaranteed, investment projects are reluctant to take hold. We therefore need to first maintain peace. We have done 3 things which are: 1. Law enforcement based on criminality and not on terrorism. Here, it is about fellow Thais who have committed a crime. Therefore those accused will have a chance to go through the normal justice system. So please do not use weapons with the authorities. The authorities are also concerned for their safety. It is also easy to misunderstand each other in this
situation. 2. Development in education, whether it is the curriculum or sports or other matters. The education system in the south must be adjusted to advocate more understanding. 3. Peaceful dialogue. Many problematic issues stem from conflicts that have a long history. Some people have exploited this to create further conflict. We need to learn from our history in order to prevent these conflicts. We need to learn and make a better future. These are the 3 things we need to do. I want everyone to understand that the government does not want to use force. Nevertheless, it must enforce the law, otherwise there will be no peace and development. Should that be the case, there will be no economic development. People are fearful of visiting the clear and sandy beaches in the south because of safety reasons. If this changes, there will be many improvements in the region. So we must help each other and embrace the justice system. Another issue is human trafficking which is connected to IUU fishing. The new laws prescribe strict punishments on violators, and complicit officials. These laws have been carefully deliberated and passed as they have much bearing on the general public.

Another matter that other countries believe in us is our digital economy. With this technology, we can communicate much faster. As for special economic zones, we will wait and see how each region will develop because of different natural resources, demographics and demand. We need to create diversity among the regions and then break it down to diversity in the provincial, district and the community level. We must examine these unique qualities and add value to them in order to find new markets. There can also be exchange of materials and expertise between regions and provinces. This is called adding value through innovation and cooperation. For example, some businesses are now focusing on agriculture in Phuket and bringing pineapples up north to Chiang Mai. This also includes seafood. We need to also create social enterprises which will strengthen business cooperation the same way as traditional cooperatives and unions that work based on mutual benefit and profits. The other day I attended an ease of doing business meeting where in the past, Thailand wasn't ranked that well. However in the past 2 years, we have improved consistently. Given this we should use this as a guide to see where else we can improve. If we fix issues regarding operations, licenses, taxation, utilities and labour, we will be in much better
shape. Some countries have indicated that they’ve spent up to 2 years before they could set anything up. This is why we now have an OSS center with a database. We must then transition to automated services instead of business prospects having to run between various agencies and departments. We need to utilize online technology to improve ease of doing business. Another matter that must take a lot of time and understanding is the election. We all hope that one will take place in the near future. People often say that democracy is defined by elections. Is Thailand ready to become a complete democracy after the election? If you ask me, I want this to happen. There is no one that doesn't want this to happen. We cannot deny democracy. And every knows how I came into this position and how I’m here to solve a conflict. What would have happened to us if we didn’t take action? It is important to look back at the events that transpired before and the reasons why things have happened. If there wasn’t a political crisis in the first place, I would not be here. Now we are trying to create a stronger democracy that shall be acknowledged internationally. People have said that there must be elections in order to have democracy. So I ask, in the past, we were really a democracy? With all the conflicts and chaos and the problems caused by previous government that we are still fixing now, have our elections have really resulted in a working democracy? There has been lots of conflict and I’ve had to come in and solve it. People demand that I quickly solve problems and then hold elections. I’m doing all of this according to the road map. If I’m indeed selfish or power-hungry, I will not follow the roadmap. I’m doing this for our country and for all Thai’s. Today there is peacefullness and orderliness in the country. However, there is still some resistance to progress and lingering tensions that could bring us back to where we were. That's why I said don't just look at the elections, and I'm also not obstructing them in any way. If they can take place, they will. But we can’t have them if we don’t have a referendum. I’m doing my best but you all must do your part for the country too. Therefore, we also need to consider the other essentials of democracy such as: 1. Respect for others and the ability to listen to differing views, instead of only ones own views or selfish interests. I listen to the views of everyone but some other people don't even bother to listen to differing viewpoints. People should respect and strive for reason and logical sense. Today, are we ready for this? 2. The ability to compromise. In the past, there were many sides who argued over differences, whether
it was the government, or the opposition. How can there be cooperation or civility? It will only lead to conflict, which is why I'm here today. If you can understand that and compromise on positions can be made and they are all legal and in accordance with the laws, then there can be ways to solve our common problems. For instance you can try to work on the things that each side agrees on and move forward with those things first. We need to resort to nonviolence. In other countries, when there is an election, some may be displeased with the results, but I don't see them causing violence or firing weapons like we do. I will never allow this to happen again. Today, there are differences in opinion expressed by several groups. Some groups even want to go back to the way things were. This is how they differ with me. What are their real motivations then? I am doing all this for them as well. When there is an election, they can come back and manage the country, prosper and ensure the people's happiness. And the future generations will benefit from our efforts now too. Another important issue is the respect for the rule of law and orderliness. The law must be something that is sacred and cannot be disregarded. Today, many sides have tried to pressure us to conclude court cases for their own political benefits. But I have said many times that these issues must follow the rule of law. If people don't break the laws, the government will not prosecute them. However, some use their freedoms in ways that infringe upon other peoples freedoms. Please have the interests of the people at heart, look and see how the Thai are now getting on with their lives. Those who are still trying to instigate conflicts - please don't be so selfish and be aware of your responsibility to the common good and how the country's strategic plan needs to move forward. Whether it is an election, democracy or political system, I will not interfere, but I ask that it is a political system based on honesty and good governance. This is all I ask for. As for the impending referendum, the constitution – these things that we have managed to bring forth for the Thai people, I would like to ask if we may need to think about the merits of certain provisions that are important for our stability and to ensure that things don't revert back to how they were in the past. Given this, we may need to look at a period of 5 years with such special provisions. I think these 5 years could make things much better. I hope that everyone can cooperate, so that we can have elections and the referendum. If you use reasoning, the principles of democracy, and sound judgement, you will understand what I'm trying to do. I'm here
to solve problems, problems that weren’t mine to begin with. This is for our children. I’m doing this for our future, everyone’s future. I would like to thank you, Mr Prime Minister, for your time. The various agendas that the government and the NCPO are undertaking would definitely require the cooperation from the people in ensuring the country’s prosperity, stability and sustainability. We look into the future for the sake of our children. And this is our show for today. Thank you very much for tuning in. Myself and the Prime Minister will be signing off for tonight.

Appendix 3.33

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – May 13, 2016

MC: Good evening. Welcome to the program. This week, the prime minister has many issues he wishes to talk about with the public. The prime minister is here with us now. Good evening Prime Minister.
MC: As in previous, you have some positive developments you want to share with the public. What are they this week?
PM: There are many issues I wish to talk about today. I want this to be a conversation-oriented program, so that we can all relax. The first thing all Thais can be happy about this past week is that there were 8 students taking part in the 17th Asian Physics Olympiad in Hong Kong. They were able to win 2 gold medals, 3 bronze medals, and 3 plaques of honor.
A Thai golfer, Ariya Jutanugarn, aka Pro May, won an LPGA Tour in USA. She is only 20 years of age.
This year is a successful year for Thai athletes. Many of them have been collecting awards from international competitions, taking home gold, silver, and bronze medals. Thai athletes have won many international competitions, including badminton. We must also mention a Thai shooter who won the first World Cup Shooting gold medal, as well as a Thai weightlifter who also achieved success. I would like to send my support and congratulations to all athletes and students who, through their efforts,
have brought acclaim to Thailand. I wish that they will be successful in their quests and educational pursuits.

The new school year is approaching. I would like to ask all students to focus on their studies. National education reform is now in its first phase. If you are both a student and an athlete, you need to train and study hard. It is a difficult challenge. The government’s classroom time reduction campaign has been well-received by both students and teachers. Students need to find their strengths and likes. Students need to find out what they want to be and focus on achieving that goal. If you can find out this answer early, you will be able to improve the skills needed to achieve the goal.

MC: As we all know, the country had been facing all sorts of problems, large and small for quite some time. Since the government and the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) took over, many problems have been successfully addressed, including the problematic rice mortgage scheme, water management, and economic restructuring. Another challenge we need to talk about today is agriculture. Thailand is an agricultural country and so problems in this sector have many implications. Could you shed some light on some of the solutions to these problems and how can the farmers be a part of the solution?

PM: One thing I ask is ‘understanding’. Farmers need to be patient and committed to resolving this issue while also ensuring concrete results that are sustainable and quick. The government is doing its best in managing water resources, recycling waste water, finding ways for reducing production costs, adapting farming behaviors, introducing the agri-map, and issuing many assistance measures such as providing capital, seedlings, and agricultural equipment. We have also revised the legislation concerning debt collection and have been looking into the problem of overcharging. I can say that everything is making progress although some matters are moving more slowly than others. I also realise that some citizens still lack an understanding of these developments. Perhaps it is because these issues are quite a change for them. To make matters worse, some people try to distort the truth, to create a sense of fear and make others lose confidence. Some people are too familiar with old-fashioned farming practices, such as using a large quantity of water and hoping to get high returns from their crops, which is rather difficult today because of the imbalance between demand
and supply. Many farmers are used to financial assistance, which is not a sustainable solution. The rice scheme had a lot of problems as we all know. Pegging rice prices is also a problem. This is not a sustainable way to solve the problem. It is a populist policy that provides short-term gain. But it does not address the root cause of the problem. We have to look at the cause of the problem, starting from production. Given this, how do we help them? First, farmers need to form a collective group. The government can better provide assistance to a group rather than individual cases. But this is a hurdle because many farmers are apprehensive of change. This has been further complicated by the release of distorted information about the government’s approach, which has caused mistrust. Therefore, I cannot blame them. Instead, I sympathise with them.

Another reason why many farmers don’t want to change is because it is involves new techniques and agricultural methods. They are not familiar with them, which makes it hard to understand in a short period of time. I hope that farmers will have a better understanding of these new farming methods in the next 1-2 years. Those who have succeeded need to tell their stories to others and show them a better path. Show them how to use less water and grow crops that give higher returns. Grow drought-tolerant crops according to the agri-map launched by the Agriculture Ministry. If farmers refuse to invest in or help themselves, these problems will be more difficult be resolved. The government cannot give handouts as it could create more household debts and lead to more public debt. This is the connection farmers need to understand. Not only the farmers, other professions also need help. The first thing we need to do is make farmers understand for themselves the issues, so as to thwart all the distorted information circulating among the farmers. Some people still hope to create conflict in our society this way.

Today I would like to commend the many farmers who have agreed to grow crops in the ‘common area’ way. This method allows them to understand about which crops to grow. These farmers can support each other better this way. Farmers should avoid producing a single crop, as it involves risks should the price of this crop drop. You must look at demand in the market and look back at your production.

Water is also an important issue. If everyone grows crops according to the state of water resources in their areas, they will be able to conserve water. We have less water
than before. So if our ways in farming don’t change, we will remain vulnerable to changing weather conditions and global price situations.

Sometimes I question why some issues have not been resolved that quickly, but upon closer scrutiny I have seen how many of them have been tangled up. In addition, some people don’t want to listen to new advice or some people listen but are too afraid to change. However, there are also those who have been able to help themselves without seeking government assistance. They use new technologies. They have invested smartly and success came in their way. The next group comprises farmers who help themselves while at the same time receiving some government assistance. The government is able to help more effectively them as a group. These two groups are good examples of success. The government will keep trying in this area as many farmers are still asking for help. Previous administrations, upon coming to office have promised sustainable situations, but this has not materialized as we know. Some maintain that they will use the same way of promising cash handouts, but this is harmful. The current government is employing methods based on research and academic principles. I did not come up with these methods by myself. This is how our measures are formed. If you don’t understand something, you should ask the government or related officials. You can also ask governors, community leaders, or even Damrongtham centers. If they cannot answer your questions, they can ask me and cabinet ministers. I am concerned for everyone, including farmers, daily workers, and low-income earners. It is my sincere wish to improve their lives and help them generate a sufficient income.

MC: Farmers must have more confidence in the government and have the confidence to change their farming practices. They should adopt new technologies. Thailand is in the process of national reform. It is a period of transition. Foreign countries have expressed confidence in Thailand for walking towards the right path. How difficult do you think the country’s reform process will be?

PM: It would be much easier if everyone had a common understanding, shared the same goals, and understood the objectives, especially about legislation and judicial procedures. Once this happens, everything will move systematically.
However, if people denounce the process, and thought that the government was only taking advantage of them, this would certainly be a very difficult task. Our previous political conflicts have been intense. We have all witnessed this in the past. Another issue is that people do not have access to the same level of information and education facilities. This is why our education system needs to be reformed.

Another problem is a lack of solidarity. I have learnt about this from many lessons that teach us about how to improve ourselves and society, and how we can foster unity and solidarity in our society. They are the precursors of resilience and success and this should be prevalent in all sectors of our society, be it the public, civil servants, or the government.

The media can also help in the reform process. The media can reach people everywhere, through newspapers or social media. If there is more substantive content, about the many developments that can improve the lives of the people, then the public can better understand the issues and the reform process. The challenge of national reform depends on these elements. We should not revert back to the same problems once we’ve overcome them. The country cannot go back to being disoriented and disorganized as before. It is not my intention to use the law to force people to do something, but I hope that everyone respects the law. Rule of law is the basis for national reform. Successful reform takes into consideration effective legislation, solutions, connectivity, and all methods involved. This is why the problems can multiply from 10 to 50 to 100 times if approached incorrectly. Each law has to be supported by organic laws. The constitution has to be supported by organic laws and ministerial regulations. This is the level of difficulty. Success will not be overnight. It will take time. But we will complete what we can while we’re still here. And we will pass on unfinished business to the next administration. Another important matter is structural reform, the reform of police, military, civil service, ministries, and state agencies. As I said before, reform must start from within ourselves. These structural reforms are now taking place. What we cannot wait for is enhancing the effectiveness of these agencies. This depends a lot on our human capital. With proficient human resources, there will be success. This is a major challenge and our efforts here will constantly be given impetus. If we continue to reform our country as we have, we will have stability, prosperity, and sustainability.
Without reform or with the same old ways where people don’t respect the law or where problems are not fixed at the cause, everything can go back to the way it was. This is why we need to reform ourselves and reform our work. We realise we cannot change everything at once and we understand that everyone wants stability in their career. Everyone has to work hard as changes will come. Every sector has to be improved.

Another factor that can hamper our reform efforts is how recently, the expression of sentiments in our society has lacked a sense of courtesy. Sometimes, people don’t like each other for no obvious reason. They may merely not like what the other person is saying, but then take it too personally. This is why many people are segregated, and are easily cajoled into conflict by instigators. They don’t even listen to anyone nor respect the law. They hate each other for personal reasons, adding fuel to the flame when it comes to political conflicts. Whatever you do, it is important to be mindful of the people who really have noble intentions. And it is essential that every agency, organization, and sector cultivate these people. Government officials must always think about those who will be affected by your actions. Many hardworking and honest officials are waiting for your support. If we keep on encouraging them to provide effective public service without being involved in bribery, it will be good for everyone. We have seen this sort of message on many television channels lately. It also sends a positive image to the world. In order to filter out who is involved in corruption, alleged individuals must enter the judicial process. Independent organizations or the government will be the ones investigating these cases. Decisions or verdicts cannot be reached based on emotions or hearsay. The public can be a part of the scrutinization process if they wish to or have any doubts, instead of just staging a demonstration. We must follow lawful procedures. When you lodge complaints, we always look into them. However, recently, some provocateurs have been organizing people to stage protests in Phitsanulok. I urge the protestors to please go to the police and let them help you. The police will launch an investigation upon your request. Locals only intended to dig for groundwater, but some politicians put protest signs and banners in their hands. The signs read “no corruption”. Recently, the public referendum act has been promulgated. By doing this deliberately to get others to break
the law, just to make some news – this is unscrupulous. The government and the NCPO truly understand the locals there. We have asked them what happened so that we can put an end to this conflict. They said they did not know anything, adding some people just asked them to hold the signs up. The people’s intentions here were innocent but those who put these signs in their hands had the intention to damage.

MC: We really feel for those falling victim to this kind of situation. From what I’ve learnt, I understand that the government has been successful in particular reform efforts. Could you please give us some examples of the reform in the procurement of state agencies? I understand that reform in this field has resulted in the reduction of government spending.

PM: This matter also stems from the issue of corruption. I want to add that we also have ways of following up on all projects and budget allocations which involve the people’s tax money. Therefore, you can look it up through pones apps and other government channels. If you’re wondering about anything or want to participate in any bidding, there is information on projects and their costs. However, if you file complaints without evidence, I can’t do anything for you. Apart from drafting laws and providing information, the legislation on service facilitation means that civil servants must be able to answer the public’s questions regarding various projects and contract auctions. We’ve had success on this through 2 measures which are providing packages through the e-market as well as an e-bidding service. These services were made available from February 4 of last year.

After we’ve implemented this, the bureaucracy has utilized this in various procurements and from February of 2015 to March of 2016, we’ve saved up to 28.785 million Baht in state budget.

You can see that through transparency, we’ve been able to save money. I am confident that everything will improve from now on, but it is also up to the cooperation of all parties in making prudent decisions to our budget and strictly adhering to guidelines. This transparency will also benefit the private sector as it will reduce confrontations and misunderstandings because it’s now done electronically. We will continue to follow up on how we can improve on this while also reducing corruption in the procurement system.
So we can see that the e-bidding system will be very beneficial for the public. Another matter is regarding the Pracharat economic model which has so far received positive feedback from the public. It’s a way of bringing large and small corporations together as a fellowship or “brotherhood”. However, there has been talk that this model also is susceptible to interests. Can you please elucidate to public on how the government is genuinely working to help the public?

PM: There has been much confusion among the public. If you want to talk about interests, you need to look at the evolution of these businesses. They all started small. It has always been based on free-market competition. Therefore, I won’t comment on how companies have grown over the years. Today, we must also look at whether people are being genuine. We need to see how we can convince people to partner with us for mutual benefits. We need to respect one another and cooperate. I want companies to partner with the government transparently, in how they can aid the public. This government has not and will not grant any special favors for anyone. Access to me and the ministers is restricted and we do not condone special interests or allow for any special meetings. However, I’ve recently learned about false claims that I have been giving out special projects. I’m calling for an investigation on this and I will prescribe the harshest punishment for this damaging behavior. We need to see how we can move forward in the future and how we can develop small and medium enterprises into larger companies. There are various sizes in the SME category as well as micro SMEs and startups. If we think negatively of certain people, we won’t be able to do anything because there won’t be any trust. If there is any cronyism or special treatment, you can file a complaint along with evidence and I will call for an investigation. I have no intentions of giving anyone any special treatment. If you all disdain corruption, then you won’t want to implicate yourselves with corrupt people. If you take part in this, this will lead to various issues and animosities. The people who will help in looking after all this are the civil servants. They must not accept bribes or special benefits. People need to learn to respect the law and adhere to various trade regulations. I’m amending laws to be in accordance with international standards and will push for transparency in all areas. It is up to the individual as well. However, another issue about national administration has been the lack of interaction between the public and the government in certain areas. Some sectors have come
about without any government collaboration as the general public has wanted to conduct business on their own. The government can assist in certain aspects. We are unable to fully assist the public in all areas due to the government’s budget constraints. Many agendas have therefore been left uncompleted. We must therefore look into how we can have larger businesses assist the public and contribute to society. Our economic team has been looking into how we can seek cooperation from various sectors. These businesses have expressed their willingness to help, and have partnered into groups in assisting the state. Associated agencies and Ministries will summarize for the government on what can and cannot be done in order to move forward with the Pracharat economic model which is based on inclusiveness and cooperation between the state, private sector and the public. This is a new approach and I have also seen similar approaches from other countries. The state started by asking for help from the private sector in mobilizing various policies as the private sector can provide various channels and markets. They are able to help facilitate various procedures and also help in procuring various products to be processed into higher-valued goods. I think this will be a better approach than the government trying to find new markets on its own. The government can compensate its lack of manpower and resources by seeking cooperation from the public and the private sector. The government will also assist the public in carrying out various projects as well. The government and the public can also negotiate with businesses on what they can do to assist. There are lots of large corporations that are helping. This isn’t called special treatment. Today, they are helping us all through the government’s committees and through various procedures according to the law. We need to start by trusting each other. If we can agree to mutual benefits, I think we can do anything. I’m confident that my administration isn’t granting any special favors. Violators will be punished accordingly. So we are aiming to form Pracharat entities at the provincial and corporate level where 80 percent of the market share is held by public shareholders. Therefore, companies will be more transparent. Businesses will lead the management team at first and, once the public is ready, members of the public can become managers and CEOs of Pracharat entities at various levels, whether it is at the regional or provincial level. Therefore, these entities will grow from the local level to provincial and regional levels through this Pracharat model. I don’t want there to be
anymore disputes or the distortion of facts. Otherwise we will revert back to where we were. Another problematic issue is forest fires and smog. People say that this is due to villagers trespassing into forestland. This is because they are impoverished and need to go find food in the forests. These are dangerous times because forest land is now dry and there is currently no rain. If you talk about planting corn, I’ve asked for cooperation from large corn producers that produce corn for feed to not buy corn that had been grown on unauthorized farmland. This may take some time to adjust. The problem that may arise is that small farmers that had grown corn before may be adversely affected. We need to see how companies can employ these farmers in authorized farmland or how the government can provide new land for them to conduct farming, so they will no longer trespass into the mountains. Another issue is disposing of corn cobs. We need to utilize the cob and add value such as making coal out of it. Farmers will be more employed while corn will also fetch higher prices because it can be better utilized and there won’t be excess planting which will help spare mountaintops from losing forest land to farming. There is lots of demand for corn. Therefore I ask for cooperation from all sides on this. If you talk about forest encroachment, people migrate to various places to conduct farming and people wonder how people can get away with selling crops illegally. This is because of a lack of law enforcement as well as a lack of awareness. Agencies lack manpower and there are a lot of special favors done. This system needs to be overhauled and could affect many parties.

PM: We need to figure out where we can solve this problem because as a democracy, we will have free markets. Therefore we need to use our laws and political principles in solving problems.

As for foreign policy, you have placed great emphasis on this. Next week, from May 17 - 20, you will visit the Russian Federation in accordance to the invitation by the Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev. What are the main agendas of this visit?

PM: I want to say first that I aim to continue to foster good relationships with all countries. In 2017, Thailand will celebrate 120 years of diplomatic ties with Russia. Official visits to Russia by our Royal Family have been important to Thailand’s history.
PM: My visit is according to the invitation issued by the Russian Prime Minister. As I said, this visit will celebrate 120 years of diplomatic relations. Therefore, it is very important. At the beginning of the year, I sent 2 deputy prime ministers to Russia to discuss security and economic cooperation. We have acknowledged that in the past, our cooperation should have flourished more. Therefore, we need to further strengthen our cooperation so that it becomes more fluid and dynamic.

PM: This preliminary meeting by the 2 deputy prime ministers has laid the framework for what I expect for strengthened cooperation and I expect this upcoming meeting to yield more agreements. We seek to enter into agreements that are beneficial for both countries. We need to look at how both countries can benefit from closer ties.

PM: So what we will discuss will include forming new partnerships. I certainly won’t be the person who benefits. It must instead be the people and the country that benefits. We aim to bring this country forward into the new era as the “4.0 industrial age”. However, we must not forget the agricultural sector. This new industrial era will require less manpower which coincides with the country’s aging population. We’ve had to rely on millions of migrant workers because Thais aren’t willing to do certain labor tasks. Thais often work in other countries because of higher salaries. We need to understand that we must allow migrant workers to come in. It is a way of supplementing jobs that Thais won’t do.

PM: Thais are also not so willing to develop their skills, but they still expect pay raises. This must all be done according to international standards as well as various areas. It must coincide with the quality of labor. I am sympathetic to this issue and I will look into how pay raises can be implemented. However, in this ASEAN era, the migration of workforces across borders has become easier. We are part of AEC, which entails the movement of goods and people in our region for the sake of shared prosperity.

PM: We also hope to cooperation with Russian in many ways such as politics, security, trade, energy, education, science, technology and agriculture. We need to work with our Russian counterparts on technological and scientific growth. We will reciprocate their cooperation with our supply of food and agricultural products. They have various technological advances in energy as well as various military armaments which include equipment for humanitarian operations. We are unable to manufacture
certain tools and machines. Both countries need to conduct trade in similar values in order to create mutual benefit.

PM: But also, we cannot simply just look at Thailand and Russia. We need to look at ourselves and ASEAN to see how our region can benefit from a plus one relationship with Russia. Russia itself is also connected to Eurasia which consists of Albania, Belarus, Kazakstan and Kyrgyzstan. They call it the Eurasian Economic Union. If we can connect this bloc with ASEAN, the trade value will be substantive. This will open channels for Thailand and ASEAN to export their products.

PM: We are looking forward to sign several agreements which were recently approved by our Cabinet. There are also 8 agreements between the state and private sector in energy, agriculture, sanitation standards, fishing products and SME support. We must rely on each other. Most importantly, I will bring various Thai businessmen who have expressed their interest in investing in Russia. This is called business matching where the government side will sign agreements as the private sector engages in talks with their counterparts while bearing witness to the signings as well.

PM: Things should improve and make progress, whether it is regarding energy, food, telecommunications, electronics, plastic, gemstones, decorative items and wholesale. These are areas where we must find new markets for.

MC: Mr. Prime Minister, you are dedicated to moving this country forward but if you are continuously held back by these issues then there will be no progress. In two months, on August 7 the Thai people will vote for a new constitution. This is still a very contentious issue. What are your concerns about this?

PM: Today we have many legal issues to deal with be it arrests, human rights – these things that have again been distorted. I’d like to touch on this topic first before I move on to address the issue of the new constitution. On the issue of calling certain actions human rights violations, we have to take a step by step approach. First, we must acknowledge that the situation in our country is not normal. Therefore in this post conflict environment, conducting an investigation or apprehending the accused may requires special measures or laws for the sake of public security. But this doesn’t mean using any force or violence. Not at all. We’ll ask them to come in and discuss the issue politely and they do. Once they comply, then they will be interrogated. This is the only difference from a normal situation and this is why section 44 is used and
then only in certain cases. Not every case. If a case can be solved under the normal legal process then the accused will simply go through a normal trial. Section 44 only comes into effect when dealing with a particular issue.

PM: So where does this human rights violation come in if we arrest the accused in this lawful and professional manner? It’s not like we use weapons, unless the accused use weapons themselves and pose as a real security threat. So what about the interrogation process? Do we torture them? Do we threaten them? I have made investigations into this matter and there is no truth in these allegations whatsoever. We take photos and videos of all interrogations. Why don’t you look at them first? It’s all on record. From the first day to up until now, we keep it all on file. Therefore, anyone who falsely claims that we have beaten, or threatened them need to be cautious because now they’ve conducted an actual offence by lying and defaming. You wanted an answer right? Once investigations are completed, they are put into existing judicial procedures.

PM: If the accused is innocent or if after the investigation it turns out the whole thing was a misunderstanding, then we employ legal and political reasoning and you can see that we have forgiven people many times. Even those who are repeat offenders and even if we know what their intentions are. Therefore, the government must be patient. Our investigators must be very patient. Anything they do will be scrutinized. When they [officials] are falsely accused, it is a challenge because it is disheartening to be at the receiving end of these allegations and constant abuse. That’s why I’d like to ask all the investigators to be patient and take the time to explain things to the accusers. Sometimes people are brought in simply to help explain what happened and why. If they didn’t mean to do anything wrong, or had good intentions then we let them go. But if they have the intentions to make political hay of being arrested this way, as we let them go and yet they come back again, I don’t understand it….accept that this is based on harmful intentions. What I do know is that if they continue to harbor these intentions and we are obligated by law to continually bring them in, and since they have been on this political stage, the public then misperceives us to be malicious.

PM: I saw this happening the other day and I can’t help but think this behavior is too much. The other day, the police tried to remove a protestor from a gathering area, an
area with a lot of people. The person in question was a woman. The people in the area were unhappy that they were not able to sell goods because of the chaos caused by the protestors. The actual protestors didn’t number very much. It was the same group of protestors. However, it turns out that when the police went to arrest this woman, she was sitting down normally. Suddenly she flipped herself over violently which made it look like police brutality and of course the cameras started going off. The police did nothing wrong at all. They told her not to fake it. Why don’t the media see it? They say we committed human rights violations. Look back at the actual event. Why did we have to arrest her to begin with? If she was doing nothing wrong, could we arrest her? Whether it was right or wrong, this arrest needed to have 2 things: whether this was an issue that fell under regular laws or an issue that fell under section 44. We need to understand that it is all the law. We have shown leniency many times in the past so why do these things keep happening? Now we have been painted as being aggressive when that is not the case at all. The police practically carried her into the vehicle. The woman kept on falling down for the cameras. I saw this and even though I was sympathetic I still couldn’t agree with this sort of behavior.

PM: So I’d like to ask that everyone please respect the law. The laws are there for a reason and that is for peacefulness, orderliness and justice. What kind of law is written to bully people? Today, there were claims that the government was using the law to force people into voting in the new constitution. Really?! How are we supposed to do that? All we can do is tell people that if they have good intentions and wish the best for the country, then we can point out what changes we have made in draft of the constitution. That’s all we can do. We can’t say if it’s good or bad. That’s up to the public to decide. Listen, and make up your own mind.

PM: But if you decide to campaign against it by purposefully cajoling people to vote a certain way or preventing people from deciding for themselves, this is not appropriate. The referendum is a public right. A personal right. Vote guiding or manipulation isn’t fair. For example, if during an election I wanted to vote for number 3 but everyone on the side of number 4 is campaigning against that, I would become worried. This is vote guiding or manipulating. You shouldn’t do it. The government can’t do it. The NCPO can’t do it. All we can do is tell people what it says in the constitution and explain every point, line by line. Any line that has been changed will
be pointed out and the reasoning behind it will also be explained. We don’t tell you whether it’s good or bad. We can’t. If people can decide for themselves then perhaps we can get something constructive out of this. Whether the constitution passes or not, I don’t know. I’m not expecting anything in particular. I believe the people will simple choose what is right for them without having to take cues.

PM: The thing we must be careful of though is that people will try to cause conflict. This in turn forces us to use the law and then the whole issue escalates. I think the people need to come together to ensure that this doesn’t happen again. If we start taking sides then the fighting will start all over again. That’ll cause problems for everyone and then the government will be blamed for it. How does that make sense? Now, it seems like we have been made out to be the wrongdoer, by those who oppose the referendum and wish to break the law. Why do it now? The law clearly states the consequences of certain actions and yet they do it. It’s because they intend to get arrested and make the government look bad again. In this way, they can make it seem like the government is forcing the referendum to pass. So I ask you to carefully examine the issue. Listen, and decide for yourself who to believe. Whether it passes or not is your decision.

MC: It’s the right of the public to make up their own mind in this issue and decide on whether to pass this new constitution or not, so it’s important they go out to study and understand it.

PM: Another issue I am worried about is the ability to use discretion of authorities in applying the law. Whether this is the police, the NCPO or the EC, they need to understand that everything must go through the justice system and the courts. If you have arrested someone, and they have gone to court and have been found innocent, who will you believe? Will this result in more disputes with the EC and the courts? I don’t know. Many people say this is the job of the EC. If that’s the case I can relax and leave it to them. My job is to keep the peace. Therefore, the EC is the one who must decide on the right course of action. They have to make a report. But what if they decide one thing and the court disagrees? Who will you believe then? Ask yourself.

PM: Because the best person to decide is yourself. If you think something is right then say it is right. Whether that will improve the situation or not is also something you
must think about. Who wins, and who loses? It’s up to you to decide, not me. Not anyone else. It’s the public who must be considered right?

MC: Mr. Prime Minister, we’ve come to the end of our time. Do you have anything else you’d like to say to the public about what they can do to help make our country a better place?

PM: I do actually. I’d like to tell people what they should do in order to make me talk less. I always talk too much and I get tired. The people listening in turn get bored. But I persist. I have to say the same things over and over again because the issues still remain. They keep coming back again. Things are still distorted. If you want me to talk less, and take less time out of your soap opera line up, then help me. Help me do my job so I don’t have to talk so much. I do it to explain what the people need to understand. I have to talk, so help me out here. At least help me look after my health. I look after yours, and I’m giving it my all.

PM: I’m worried about this one thing: some people were born to talk and why do they not have to, and I do? Some people are born for this one purpose. They don’t do it, or they don’t succeed. They talk about technical things but they don’t actually know how to do it. They aren’t interested in other things. What does the law stipulate? How does the government work? They don’t know. So how can they fix it? How many versions of the law are there? They don’t know. They talk to make themselves look good. Some of these people don’t know how many governments we’ve gone through, or how our country suffers but they continue to talk. That’s not being responsible to society. Who is responsible for creating this controversy in our nation? The media should uphold objectivity and stop promoting conflict controversy. Don’t give them a larger platform to spread their destructive ways, especially those who have lawsuits against them. Then our country will be at peace.

PM: Another topic I’d like to touch on is that Visakha Puja Day is coming up. We should aim to be charitable and have faith because every religion teaches people to be good. In addition, this year, His Majesty the King celebrates the 70th anniversary of ascension to the throne and Her Majesty the Queen will also have an auspicious Birthday Anniversary year. Please go out and do as many virtuous deeds in honour of these celebrations. We should all join together, 60 or so million people. We should
each do 5 virtuous things a day, for ourselves, for others, and for our country. If we all did this, our country would be a better place.

PM: On the issue of generosity, other than being charitable through the temple, we should also look after those in need. We should donate in order to build a new Nawamintr Bophit building at Sirirat Hospital. This is of course entirely up to you. If you have a lot then maybe give more, and if you don’t have a lot then give less. As stated before as part of a project we started, “Goodness happens at your fingertips”. In this case, it refers to charity donations through your mobile phone. One call will donate 100 baht. The details are on our website. There are quite a lot. Information is in the media or in the running messages along the bottom of your tv channels. I’ve had them run it all the time. I think that’s all for today.

MC: I’d like to thank you very much for being with us tonight Mr. Prime Minister.

MC: This week, the Prime Minister explained many things to us. I hope everyone was able to take some valuable information from this and that we will be able to come together and make our country move forward and become a more stable, more prosperous place.

MC: For today, the Prime Minister and I would like to thank you for tuning in. See you next week. Good night.

Appendix 3.34

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – May 20, 2016

MC: Good evening, I am Maj Gen Werachon Sukondhapatipak, deputy government spokesperson. Welcome everyone to the program.

Every Friday, the prime minister will spend time with us and talk about the government’s work and policies to make Thailand a stronger nation with stability, prosperity, and sustainability.

This week’s program will be even more special than any other weeks as the program is recorded in Saint Petersburg. The prime minister is currently on an official visit to Russia and he is here with us now. Good evening, Mr. Prime Minister.

Good Evening.
Mr. Prime Minister, normally at the beginning of the show, you tell us about positive developments happening in Thailand, or you would offer compliments to outstanding citizens, role models, and those who give us inspiration. Would you like to start with this kind of story again today?

PM: I would like to offer my compliments and congratulations to the outstanding Thai children who were able to win awards at 3 major competitions, one of which was the Intel International Science and Engineering Fair 2016 held in Phoenix, Arizona, USA between May 8 and May 14. This is America’s biggest science fair where more than 1,800 students from 80 different countries around the world took part. I would like to congratulate the 4 winners from Damrongratsongkroh School in Chiang Rai and Bangkok Christian College. My congratulations also go out to teachers and parents who were behind this success.

One very interesting observation was about a work of research that can help silkworm farmers reduce production costs and increases productivity, which coincides with the government’s policy to promote research and innovation through the adoption of new technologies, in order to enhance the country’s agriculture and prepare for the Thailand 4.0 era.

The Thai students were also dressed in traditional costumes while sending out our “Siam smiles” to others at the competition. It created a positive image for the country and the Thai people. The ACM International Collegiate Programming Contest (ICPC)

MC: So that is the competition which took place in the US. But while we are here in Saint Petersburg, there is an event occurring in Thailand. It is the ACM International Collegiate Programming Contest (ICPC). The competition is held in Phuket. What benefit do you think Thailand will get out of this event sir?

PM: The hosting of such event demonstrates Thailand’s capabilities computer programming. This helps to create a learning system and encourages Thai students to be computer literate. Thailand is the first ASEAN country to host this event. Other countries having hosted this event were USA, Canada, China, Japan, and Russia. This is a great opportunity for Thailand to showcase its readiness to adopt the digital system.
I would like to thank the ICT Ministry, the Software Industry Promotion Agency (SIPA), the Prince of Songkla University, International Business Machines (IBM), and other related agencies.

I’d also like to thank 128 teams of advisors and delegations from 40 countries, and two of them from Thailand, being Prince of Songkla University and Chulalongkorn University. The benefit Thailand is getting from this is in terms of human resources development. Youngsters will have a greater desire to become professional programmers. This helps improve their thinking process, teamwork attitude, and innovation. This is very important in terms of intellectual development and for the development of artificial intelligence. Without the knowledge in these areas, we will find it difficult move forward. Today’s world is filled with new technologies while economic growth relies on the digital system.

Another factor that will improve the economy is job training. It is a must for Thai students to get out-of-classroom experiences in order to improve their working skills. They will be the ones generating income in the tourism and hospitality industry. The event entitled “Open Doors to the World” has seen 1,300 visitors, both Thai and foreign nationals.

MC: Mr. Prime Minister, this is not the first or the only event Thailand has hosted. We have played host to many international exhibitions and fairs which had gone unmentioned. What does the future look like if Thailand keeps hosting international events?

PM: Our main goal is to build confidence. The second goal is to inspire the new generation to be more interested in this sort of area. This is the future of Thailand. This is the future of your youngsters.

I can see a great opportunity in the MICE industry. Thailand has hosted many small sized meetings and conferences. This year’s statistics are higher than the previous years. We have also been offering incentives for those attending conventions and exhibitions in Thailand. Fairs and exhibitions are organized to generate revenue and distribute wealth to related businesses such as tourism, hospitality, hotels, restaurants, and local businesses. According to the survey, tourists spend 4,000-5,000 baht per person per day, which is good for the economy. We need to create a positive image,
promote Thai products such as orchids, food, massages, tourist destinations, and natural attractions.

The second opportunity is to have a proactive and proficient role in the area of national security and foreign relations. For example, at the G77 meeting which comprises 134 developing countries, Thailand made known its sustainable development policy under his Majesty the King’s Sufficiency Economy philosophy, which complements the United Nation’s Sustainable Development Goals or SDGs.

Next is about a 15-country meeting on the fight against irregular migration in the Indian Ocean. Our stance is to adhere to international standards and the rule of law. We pledge to offer humanitarian assistance to all, while at the same time protecting the country’s best interests. The problem must be fixed at the root cause while everyone must cooperation from upstream to downstream. We don’t want Thailand to be the final destination of irregular migrants. We will crack down on all human traffickers and make sure human trafficking activities are entirely eradicated.

Once we can create stability, peacefulness, and orderliness, Thailand will be able to sustain her prosperity. For this, everyone has to play a role. Security is not just about the military or the police, but also rests in the hands of the public and the media whose collaboration is crucial to internal security and national stability. Therefore, I ask the media to maintain objectivity and report the truth rather than only the issues that are engulf in conflict and controversy. This is essential for our country achieve reform.

MC: Mr. Prime Minister, let us move on to another topic which I think people are very interested in at the moment. People are keeping a close watch on the current economic situation. The latest forecast says domestic economy has been growing continually. Some analysts said it was because Thailand has a clearer vision towards future growth on the ‘stability, prosperity, and sustainability’ policy.

In addition, the current government places great significance on national security and stability which everyone agrees is the basic fundamental for future economic resilience. What do you think about this, Mr. Prime Minister? At the moment, the central bank, analysts, economists, and the Fiscal Policy Office said the Thai economy is going in the right direction and expanding continuously. I would like to
ask you what you think is the main reason behind this forecast or what has the government done for this to happen?

PM: I personally think that we need to look at the big picture first or from the macroeconomic perspective while keeping in mind microeconomic effects. The big picture takes into consideration the country’s basic infrastructure, SMEs, and startups. All of these sectors must be strong and interconnected from upstream, midstream, to downstream. In terms of microeconomics, we look at the agricultural sector and what it produces. Farmers are currently facing many problems and earning a small incomes despite economic expansion.

Thai economy grew 3.2% in the first quarter this year. Before we took office in 2014, the economy was recorded at -0.7%. This shows that the government has been implementing the right measures, evidenced by the 3.2% growth in the first quarter and 2.8% in the fourth quarter last year. The figures represent the highest jump in the past 3 years. Many countries now face economic slowdown. Fortunately, the Thai economy is on the rise.

These are the sentiments expressed by many sectors, be they the administration, civil servants, the public, the private sector, and farmers who are the driving force of economic development. We must make sure farmers can generate income. We need these’ keys’ to these large and small boxes, with the large box being the administrative system and cross-border activities and the small box being the agricultural sector.

The key to the small box is the most important because we need to mobilize the country’s agriculture. Farmers have little income. We must understand how much money farmers need in order to live their lives sufficiently in accordance with His Majesty’s principle. I think farmers should make at least 10,000 baht a month, which is close to the 300-baht per day policy. The question is how we can achieve this goal. We need to look at many factors such as the production costs of farming. The problem of water shortages is also a reason behind the low income now. The government is doing its best to assist the farmers such as by providing input factors, lowering the rents, and procuring equipment and machineries for communal use. Despite that, returns are still low due to decreasing prices of agricultural produce in the world
market. We must find a way for farmers to make a living, helping them with their crops.

The whole system must be modified. This refers to the producers, the production cost, and the market. Then we apply the “Pracharat” approach based on collaboration between the government, the private sector, and the people. There must be a clear guideline as to how to reduce costs and how to generate more income. The Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives and the Ministry of Interior have been assigned to collect accurate information in each zone and region. We also have to look at the amount of water we have and how the market performs. Excessive supply leads to lower prices. Farmers must know how to sell their crops without having to always rely on a third party.

Although we are doing these three things, it is still not enough. I want to see smiles on our fellow farmers again. I feel for farmers who have been toiling, despite their young ages. This is because they have gone through hardship. Farmers can no longer grow one crop, but they must mix it up by producing different kinds of crops and plants. You also need to understand water and soil conditions. The government’s agricultural zoning plan provides insight into the necessary factors for growth and development in this sector. Now farmers must look at their areas and match them according to the agri-map, so as to understand water, soil, and other supporting factors. By studying the agri-map, you will understand what to grow and where to grow your crops. Or you can do the ‘mix and match’ cultivation, planting crops and fruits that you can consume, so that you don’t have to buy them. Without having to buy food, you can increase your savings. This is how farmers can make ends meet when returns are not that high.

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supporting factors. By studying the agri-map, you will understand what to grow and where to grow your crops. Or you can do the ‘mix and match’ cultivation, planting crops and fruits that you can consume, so that you don’t have to buy them. Without having to buy food, you can increase your savings. This is how farmers can make ends meet when returns are not that high.

I urge farmers to listen to government’s advice. Today, there are agro-centers in villages and learning centers. In the future, there will be 7,800 centers tasked with advising farmers on their cultivation. They will tell farmers what they should do with their plantations as well as look into the market mechanism.

Another important thing is that farmers must form as a group or cooperatives, whether it is for rice farming or cattleraising. The government will then give you support in terms of production and marketing. When groups are formed, farmers can learn from each other and will one day become “smart farmers” proficient in new and technologically advanced farming methods.

PM: Therefore, you can easily learn from other people’s success. So I urge the governors and ministries to teach using successful case studies. If they see this, they could have ideas and engage in other occupations. You’ll have to show them how it’s done in 5-15 Rais and how they can profit by 35,000 per Rai.

For example, green beans and soybeans are commodities that we lack. Right now, rice planting is an issue due to lack of water and bad milling and we end up with a net loss. When there is not enough water, the quality of rice will deteriorate and prices will drop.

Therefore, we need to solve this issue by supporting other forms of planting. Another thing is not to pay heed to false information. Every day, I think about how I can raise the standards of living of farmers. However, many people want instant results, which is not possible. We need to deal with longstanding problems such as deteriorating land, water management, fertilizer and marketing among others.

For those who have been successful, I ask you to convince your peers to do the same. We need to all help each other in order to refrain from disputing. Poverty is the root cause of many social conflicts. Conflict also leads to suffering among farmers and other occupations, as they usually involve law enforcement. We’ve had to come up
with new laws and regulations in order to address problems. When people are affected by this, they misunderstand our intentions and create more conflict.

There are now protests and demands that the government help provide funding to raise the price of products. This is can’t always be the case. You’ll need to be strong by yourself and work. When there is work, there will be money. We also need to create an atmosphere that is suitable for investments. This means creating a society based on unity and cooperation. Otherwise, there will be divisiveness and conflict as before. When the situation sometimes escalates, the government thus responds by law enforcement, which then leads to unfounded claims that rights have been violated. How does this look to the rest of the world?

I’m here today to work and to solve problems. I’m trying to turn a time of crisis into a time of opportunity for you all. However, ask for your cooperation and create an atmosphere that is suitable for investments, growth, and stability. This is what I would like all of us to do.

I think what is important in addressing the situation today is creating understanding among the people.

It is important and it’s something that I’ve been doing. I also ask that people stay updated and follow the news. Most of the articles I see in the newspapers are written well, especially regarding economic development and legislation. Still, some people only look at the front pages that talk about politics and conflict but they neglect to read the further pages that get in-depth about progress.

This is Thailand’s problem. If you want things to be done quicker, you all need to inform and learn from each other in order to reduce misunderstanding. If we can do this and help create understanding, conflicts will be eradicated and other countries will want to invest and engage with our country. When foreign investors come in, this administration will insist that their investments will not be detrimental to the environment. Their businesses must also connect to the country’s agricultural industry, innovation and smart farming projects under the Thailand 4.0 agenda.

This is very important as it will lead to peacefulness and orderliness in the country. They say that a nation’s stability is the prerequisite for economic and social development. Trade and investment will improve. However, if we keep on fighting, none of this will likely happen.
Switching topics to some good news about the country’s economic growth, many have attributed this to the Pracharat model. What are your thoughts on this? When I looked at large corporations, particularly transnational corporations, I thought of how to have them help support the public sector. I’ve included private businessmen in various committees. You can see recently that we’ve established a central Pracharat company as well as local companies at various provinces. These companies will serve as a marketing channel in order to strengthen local economies. At this time, private businesses are managing these them. In the future, they will also be managed by members of the public.

Don’t be worried that these people will take advantage and consolidate their interests because I won’t allow them to do that. For example, I’ve talked to the company that had procured corn from hill areas and they have assured that they will not purchase corn grown on illegal farming land any longer. However, we know the people who sell illegal corn from these lands will not have any income. So, we will take into consideration this adjustment and all issues that arise.

Therefore, if we create understanding, confidence, and connectivity, the country will grow strong from within through the Pracharat model. This strength will allow us to reach out to other regions and to the world. All countries engage in multiple businesses in order to be prosperous. The same goes with various districts and provinces. Provinces need to develop green industries and agriculture as well as other industries. The government will provide support for projects that will produce jobs and income.

Today, the government is mobilizing at all fronts. There are currently 10 economic stimulus measures. We are investing vast amounts of money into infrastructure development projects as well as existing government programs. All programs must go through thorough approval procedures to ensure transparency before procurements can be made. Once there are procurements, contractors can then purchase raw materials and hire workers which will then stimulate the economy.

However, many people are still struggling because their expenditures are the same. We need to assist people through other ways. Not everyone can make the same amount of money. Right now, a farmer’s income is around 10,000 Baht per month or
over 100,000 Baht per year. If you want to make more money, you might want to consider taking on other occupations as well.

Our stimulus programs consist of assisting those with low income and assisting farmers and SMEs through loans. We have a 640 billion Baht credit program which has already lent out 350 billion with the rest pending approval. By the end of 2016, the fund will be left with 110 billion Baht. This program is a collaboration between the government, private sector and the public.

Another matter is expediting the disbursement of the government’s funds into the economy. This will be a package for the entire country. I’m not giving it to a particular area for political gain. If the people love their country, their country will take care of them. We should all understand this; otherwise we may revert back to where we were, in conflict. If you all love your country and play by the rules, solutions will be possible.

Another issue is that many have said that the government has perhaps focused too much on tourism. You need to understanding that there has been a growth in the number of tourists. We now take in 1.16 trillion Baht in revenue from tourism. This is a 10 percent increase from 2015. So we need to take care of public security and also monitor for corruption in this sector. We also need to focus on improving our facilities such as restrooms, parking lots and cleanliness. Revenue from tourism is supplementing the money we’ve lost from a dip in exports.

If there is a problem with large influx of tourists from a particular country, we can invest in hiring people who speak the language and provide tourists with guidance on what to do. The private sector can do this as well. What the government can do is make sure that tours are registered and tour guides are licensed Thai nationals.

If we want to encourage cleanliness, we need to do this together.

Shall we shed some light on the matter of tour companies?

We’ve continuously enforced our regulations and many companies have done better and many have had to restructure. We’re making sure that companies are legally registered and are hiring licensed tour guides. We also inspect whether the shops these tour guides are taking their tours to are selling counterfeit goods or not. The people who will truly benefit from all this will be the local communities, restaurants and hotels.
Another problematic issue is the price of oil. Even though we are a country that doesn’t produce that much oil, what we are able to produce will be mixed in quality. Lower grade oil can be exported for processing. Higher grade oil can be used in automobiles in the country. However, there is not enough high quality oil for domestic consumption. That is why we’ve had to import oil from other countries.

The fall in oil prices will also mean a reduction in principle production costs. Is this a supporting factor?

It can be, but remember what the implications of cheaper oil prices are.
1. It would lead to copious consumption of oil through increased use of automobiles. However, taxation from importing and exporting oil will decrease as well. This will mean that a major source of income for the country will diminish.
2. Road accidents will easily occur because people will be out driving more. We cannot blame them for driving because our public transportation system is far from complete.

Another matter is the country’s monetary policy as dictated by the Bank of Thailand, the Industrial Estate Authority of Thailand and the Ministry of Finance. We will maintain interest rates at 1.5 percent in the midst of a volatile currency market. We will need to subsidize and adjust our interest rates according to market conditions.

Therefore, I want people to understand what is going on. People want what they want but if they are unwilling to play by the rules or reform, there will be no real progress. We’re happy for the recovery of the agricultural sector and expected that the effects of El Nino will not be as severe from May to July. However, I’m still concerned about the falling price of rice. This is because the quality of rice has dropped due to an inadequate supply of water. However, the price of sticky rice has risen, but we must be careful not to plant too much rice.

The price of sticky rice has been on the rise because of its market in ASEAN. However, if we plant too much, there will be an oversupply and prices will fall. This is why we need to have hybrid farms. The Ministries of Interior and Agriculture are designing Agri-Maps of suitable planting zones. The government, however, won’t be able to subsidize all crops.

PM: But today, it’s surprising that the price of sticky rice would increase. If the price of sticky rice goes up, people will start growing more of it. Who will they sell it to
then? Sticky rice prices rose mainly due to sales in ASEAN, which aren’t that many countries. If we go back to growing too much again, the price will drop. That’s why I think we need to look at mixed farming. We need to look at the AGRI Map to decide what’s best to grow. Currently, the Ministry of Interior and Agriculture are working together to sort this out. What about the government then? If people continue to demand subsidies, where will get the money from? The rice, the cassava, the sugarcane, etc… everything can become worse given the current problems world agricultural production.

Those were some factors which the government is currently dealing with in order to stimulate economic growth. Many parties are happy that our economy is improving and are confident in investing in Thailand. However, there are some factors that are out of our control. In your opinion, Mr. Prime Minister, what are these factors?

This would be the state of the global economy. We have to rely on one another. It’s a production market, a center for various processes. However, if these processes are the same, if all the countries make the same things, if ASEAN members all manufactured the same products, the market prices would decrease. This is a factor that we can’t control – the global market price. That’s why we need to give ourselves a safety net. We have to examine global agricultural prices, and then decide what we should grow…the cost of rice, rubber, sugar, cassava, sugar cane and so on. We also need to look at the stability of our currency and the lending rates from our financial institutions. We have to examine these conditions. The Bank of Thailand, the IEAT, the government, the private sector. We all need to do this. It seems I’ve been focusing mainly on agriculture, but there are many other facets this affects as well. What about the self-employed? The motorcycle taxis, the seamstresses, the embroiders, the day care workers, the cooks, the maids, the stay at home parents. If they earn less than 10,000 a month, paying basic living expenses will be difficult. That’s why, in the face of this current issue, we need to join hands and come together.

We are now currently in the city of St. Petersburg in Russia as the Prime Minister has come here to pay an official visit. Mr. Prime Minister, you have made many past visits to other countries and you have had many meetings with foreign leaders. How is this trip to Russia especially important? I can’t help but notice that you have brought a large committee with you including several ministers and individuals from the private
sector as well as having organized many events during the visit. So in your opinion, Mr. Prime Minister, how is this trip important in particular?

I’d like to look at it like this: It’s not that Thailand is fundamentally changing its approach to foreign relations. We enjoy cordial relations with everyone because we trade and invest with every country in the world. We simply have to become better organized. This isn’t about taking sides because we’re a small country. Today, there are many issues within Eurasia. Many groups are part of the Asia Europe Meeting as well. There are also plenty of other issues with the UN, and the FTAs. What are we going to do about them? My policy is that we should try to avoid disagreement. We shouldn’t do something at the cost of something else. If something is not working well, we need to have a discussion about what assistance we can expect to get involved with.

I have spoken with Russia. They said it is the choice of any country. They are a super power. Therefore, we have come to Russia today, not to take sides, or to buy weapons. I was disgruntled a bit before coming here because I was persistently asked how many helicopters I was going to buy. That’s only a tiny fraction of what this trip is about because we have many other things on the agenda.

First off, why would I come to St. Petersburg in particular? Because this city was the starting point for relations between Thailand and Russia 119 years ago. Next year, that will be 120 years. His Majesty, King Rama V, came to this city to establish relations with Czar Nicholas the 2nd and later sent his sons to study here; His Royal Highness Prince Chakrabongse Bhuvanath and many others.

In that time, Thailand was able to avoid becoming a colony of another country. This is something that our Monarchy did for us. Today is our opportunity, one year shy of the 120th anniversary of that moment, to rekindle our relationship and prepare for next year’s celebrations.

Second of all, was to meet with Prime Minister Medvedev. This was probably my third meeting with him not to mention all the meetings I have been in attendance with him in other fora. There have been visits to Thailand as well. We talked about many things. Therefore, these issues that we discussed should be pushed forward right? What is our potential? What is Russia’s? What strong points does Russia bring to the table?...Heavy industry, science, technology, innovation, education, research,
aerospace, and more. These fields of research and development are areas we need. These are things that every country needs. If any country is willing to offer them to us, of course we should look into accepting. We have to prepare Thailand for becoming a technologically advanced country, using our knowledge of modern science in conjunction with Thailand 4.0.

4.0 doesn’t just mean Thailand 4.0, it also means world 4.0. Do you understand? In this modern world, the economy has to use artificial intelligence, such as using robots for many different jobs. Are we ready for this? If not, are we prepared to eventually invent these things ourselves? This is why we visit countries who have already accomplished this.

Today, I believe it was very useful for me to meet with the Prime Minister. Our trade with Russia is not as high as it should be. In the past, the only facet of it that was high was tourism. Even that has been on the decline as the value of the ruble has decreased. Therefore, today we need to set new targets. What do we have to do to increase trade 5 times as much in 5 years? I told him it was also possible to do it in less time, or to have more than 5 times as much trade. But I also asked that we get a firm footing in these first 2 years first and he agreed.

Today, I have brought 7 ministers here with me. This is the most ever ministers I have brought to a foreign country. Everyone is probably wondering why they all had to come. This is because there are so many issues to discuss, and we wanted to resolve them all at once. Before I arrived, there were another 2 deputy PMs here. Why was that you ask? There is a lot of work to be done. To get it done quickly, I need to send a lot of people to directly oversee their issues right? This time, I’ve even come myself. I’ve signed over 10 MOUs, maybe 14. Who does this benefit? Me? No, it is the entire country.

What do we have to do to move things forward together? No matter who it’s with, it is a way we can connect the economies of Eurasia. They have 5 countries and we have ASEAN.

I have come this time to speak at an ASEAN setting as well. After this meeting, there is the ASEAN summit next. That will be a special session with Eurasia and with Russia again.
The topic is 20 years of relations between ASEAN and Russia. And so, we need to take what we discuss and put it into practice. We have to have a good plan to determine a roadmap that outlines what we have to do step by step; what activities should be considered primary, secondary or tertiary. This will be signed. Once signed it, we have to do it. We can’t just sign 100s of copies of agreements and then not act on them. Things were going slowly. That’s why I’ve been trying to speed things up by bringing more people so we can get things done quickly and then get back to work.

So on this visit to Russia; you have spoken with Prime Minister Medvedev and many others. What were your impressions?

My impressions? The Prime Minister is a very pleasant person. Of course, this is just my personal opinion. He is a modern leader, with an artistic side too. He likes taking photos. He’s even showcased his photography in Thailand. No matter which government he visits, he takes pictures. There are many beautiful pictures on display in Thailand. He gave his photography collections to us. I’ll definitely have to see them.

It seems you both are quite familiar with one another.

I’d say so yes. How would you put it? We’re one of the same. Maybe this is called a chemistry.

What do I mean by this? We understand each other that we are doing our jobs genuinely for the country, we do it for the group, and we do it for the community, because the people have to be at the center of it all. We do things for others benefit and our countries continue to develop. All I can say is, it isn’t just Russia and Thailand. Thailand is a part of ASEAN, and Russia is a part of Eurasia.

If we consider everyone, it becomes a bigger issue. A multilateral approach with two sides. How many people are there? What’s the market like? What’s production like? Therefore, we need to combine things..

Mr. Prime Minister, today we are at St. Petersburg talking about Thailand and Russia. We’re about to move on to Sochi where we will speak on behalf of ASEAN on partnership, and relations between ASEAN and Russia. What are your thoughts on this?

This is something I touched on at the beginning. Anything that starts out at the international level will also affect larger communities and we happen to be a part of
the ASEAN Community. During the start of this year, we tried to find ways to strengthen the ASEAN Community. We, as a community, have to work together right?
Yes sir.
Our economies are intertwined. That’s why there are still many things I have to fix on our end with our friends in ASEAN. I have met with the leaders of all these countries and we have solved many problems, such as border crossings, rules, trade, investment, BOI adjustments and traffic infrastructure; which includes air, sea, and land. Also, there has been talks about the number of vehicles crossing borders, improving all customs offices, and fixing laws to be in line with one another. All this, so we can go into business with one another and integrate our products into the world market together.
Therefore, if we are able to understand one another and have this meeting in Sochi, we could increase our overall economic value as a community. Today, I’ve come to talk about Thailand and Russia but now that we’ve touched on Sochi as well, we’re also looking at Thailand and ASEAN as well as Russia and Eurasia. You see, it’s a bit different. I am pleased that I had the opportunity to meet with President Putin and speak with him one on one. We talked about the good relations that have existed between our countries for nearly 120 years and, moving forward, and what our institutions should do. Her Majesty the Queen once came to Russia about 10 years ago. At that time, Her Majesty met with President Putin and has told me that she was very honoured during that royal visit as he was both friendly and courteous towards her. They reminisced on the history between our two countries this past nearly 120 years. Hopefully these relations will only get closer.
Ladies and gentlemen, today we’ve learned a lot about many useful ways in which we can move our country forward to stability, and prosperity. However, these things can’t come to pass if we don’t come together and cooperate. This meeting in Russia is yet another example of how our government is dedicated to moving our nation forward through this crisis towards truly becoming a stable and prosperous nation for years to come.
I’d like to add to that a little if I may. We need to take the next step ourselves and set the example for our friends to follow our lead. In turn, maybe that will inspire them to
take us down new paths as well. This is something else I’d like to touch on briefly before we end this segment.

I’d like to mention that last Thursday, I decided to open up the stage to the political arena by allowing the CDC (Constitution Drafting Commission), the NLA (National Legislative Assembly), the NRSA (National Reform Steering Assembly), and the NCPO (National Council for Peace and Order) to meet and discuss what direction we should move the country. I’d like this to be discussed. Because prior to now, I’ve been accused of not providing any avenues of discussion. Well now I’m giving them this opportunity. Let’s see what comes out of it. The meeting has already taken place. It was supposed to be on Thursday right?

Yes sir.

Before this interview is shown on Friday, they’ll have the meeting on Thursday. I’m over here so I haven’t heard anything about it yet. I’ll wait and see how they do and what each side brings to the table.

I am still adamant about one thing though: whether it passes or fails, this is a matter of the mechanism, a matter of rules and regulations, a matter of road map, etc.

Therefore, the Thai people should look at what I’ve said today on the issues of poverty, agriculture, national development, corruption, and good governance. What can we fix and do better? In the case of this referendum, if it passes, good. But if it doesn’t, then what? Tell us. I can’t force you. I have used my position to examine everything I can. Please don’t squabble amongst one another. Pay attention to who says what. What should we do in the future? If we turn back to conflict, we’ll just argue back and forth about who was right, who was wrong, who should be pardoned, and who should be guilty. It won’t end, and we won’t move forward. Some people want me to fix old issues. Can they be fixed? People won’t accept things and they want me to fix them? You can’t say I won’t compromise. I’m ready to compromise, but I have to put the rule of law first. Fair enough?

Therefore, it’s not only about the referendum or the election. The answers to the questions about them will stay the same. Just look at the intent of those speaking about them and see if they are really trying to do something useful.

Ladies and gentlemen, I hope that our answers addressed all your questions clearly and concisely.
Thank you for tuning in and staying with us. Please join us next week. Until then, from the Prime Minister and I, good night.

Good night.

Appendix 3.35

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – June 3, 2016

MC: Good evening and welcome to then programme. I am Lt. Priya Natevichien and I will be your host for today. Each week, the government and the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) initiates, continues, and completes several assignments. Thus, it is necessary that the public know about this work which mainly focuses on resolving the country’s problems. Every Friday, we are honoured to welcome the prime minister and head of the NCPO to the program. Good evening, Mr. Prime Minister. Mr. Prime Minister, this year is a very special year for Thai people.

PM:
Yes, it marks two auspicious occasions. The first one is the 70th anniversary of His Majesty’s accession to the throne. The celebrations for this will be held from 9 June 2016 to 9 June 2017. I would like to invite all Thai people to undertake a virtuous deed as a tribute to His Majesty the King. Please join the celebrations and display the special Royal flags for this event. Another special occasion is the 84th Birthday Anniversary of Her Majesty the Queen. This is very special for the country and the Thai people. The celebrations for this occasion will be organized from August 12th onwards. All Thai citizens are, therefore, encouraged to make merit and commit themselves to a virtuous deed to honour this special celebration.

Next week will be the beginning of Ramadan which marks the holy month in the Muslim calendar. I would like to sincerely send my best wishes to all Muslims living in Thailand. I hope that everyone will be able to make merit during the holy Islamic month of Ramadan. I wish that everyone can achieve their goals and that everyone shall find peace and happiness in life. I hope that everyone will be safe during the holy month. As for security measures in the southern provinces, I would like to call
on all security units including police officers and the military to do their best in protecting the lives of the people. At the same time, citizens should also be attentive to events and developments in order to have a peaceful Ramadan month.

MC: Authorities and the locals will need to work together. Now let us talk about the well-being of the people on which the government has always emphasized. An international organization has put Thailand on its rankings. Could you shed some light on this?

PM: Another issue is about Thai athletes. 2016 is the golden year for Thai sports. Thai athletes have brought recognition to the country by winning several international competitions. The first person is “Nong May” or Ratchanok Intanon, followed by “Pro May” or Ariya Jutanugarn. Both athletes won 3 championships. Another athlete did not compete with others, but against herself. She has a strong physique and an iron will. Her name is Napassaporn Chumnarnsit or “Dr. Im” who is the first Thai woman to have reached the summit of Mount Everest. We must congratulate them for their outstanding achievements. What is the next topic? The next topic is about the ranking of Thailand’s competitiveness. I believe the ranking has been better for Thailand. About the ranking of Thailand’s competitiveness. To my knowledge, we received a better ranking this year according to the International Institute for Management Development (IMD). IMD conducts such a survey on a yearly basis, ranking countries by their competitive advantage. We’ve talked about how Thailand will compete with others. An independent body like IMD is the one putting together such a list. In 2015, we were placed at number 30. But this year, Thailand moved up 2 notches to number 28. This is not easy given that many activities are factored in. Many adjustments had to be made. Among the 5 ASEAN countries, Thailand is the only one climbing up the table. We should be proud of this. Amidst global economic uncertainty, Thailand is still able to maintain its competitive edge, linking economic activities with the government’s Pracharat approach.

MC: There are 4 criteria taken into consideration including economic performance, the ability of the government, the ability of the private sector, and infrastructure. Could
you please assess these factors and elaborate how successful the country has been and what needs to improve?

PM: The first one is economic performance. Although the overall economy potential of the country remains constant, domestic consumption, foreign trade, and FDIs have increased. Growth has not come quickly; instead, the economy has recovered gradually. We, therefore, should focus on self-reliance and building stability from inside and in parallel with foreign trade expansion. IMD indications tell a lot about our country. Foreign investors are now more confident in us. This is why we need to make our domestic economy strong as well as our trade relations with others. With the help of the survey, Thailand will be able to make a step further.

The second factor is the government’s efforts. This individual ranking moved up 4 notches. Many sub-factors have improved, including business legislation, a stable financial and monetary status, financial policies, government funds, and government spending. The government is disciplined when it comes to financial and monetary policies. The government is most careful when spending. We don’t create artificial demand. Artificial demand is when consumers make purchases on products they cannot afford in the first place. To make matters worse, businesses ‘artificially’ grow in line with this fake demand. This fake demand often involves unreal numbers. The government cannot allow fake demand to emerge. We need to make people stronger and more secure economically so that they will be able to pay off their debts. Economic measures must be carefully thought through. We also need to bring reforms to the current bureaucratic system. Authorities shall improve themselves and abilities, and bring together cooperation from all units, which is a difficult task. Bureaucratic reform is taking place now. We have revised laws and regulations to eliminate conflicts between agencies. Some tasks require cross-agency cooperation and involve different departments. I have told them to fix this problem at the very beginning. It will also make the cabinet’s job a lot easier.

The third factor concerns the business sector. Overall, it isn’t as good as we expected. So what can we do to make it better? This rating takes into account imports, exports,
production, and productivity. We must first look at problems around the world economy to see how it has affected us. Markets with problems cannot perform. Without growth, production will fall. With low production, fewer raw materials will be bought. For example, when rice is grown while the market cannot perform, farmers will struggle to sell the crop. This is what we need to consider in connecting all the dots. I have heard many businessmen express their views about the economy. I have talked to the Thai Chamber of Commerce and a number of economic agencies. It is important to understand that in this age, no company will remain wealthy all the time as long as that company is in the circle of production, processing, and marketing. If the market under performs, the production will be sluggish. It will be followed by a slowdown in the logistics sector. Without buyers, products will not be delivered. If you look at the statistics, production went down, processing went down, and logistics also went down. This is very common. The business sector must be patient as we are restructuring the economic fundamentals. Some businessmen on a radio show recently made damaging comments. I urge you, that if you have a problem, please come forward and discuss the matter. There are many channels you can go to. I have always adhered to agreements. I know your intentions are good, but you need to use an appropriate approach. Investors will not make investments with such false anxieties. Therefore, we must emphasize on efficiency, productivity, and skilled labor. Workers must improve their abilities. In the past, Thailand did not give enough importance to human resources development, be they workers in agriculture or in the industrial sector. Thailand still lacks skilled workers. The production sector requires a large number of skilled workers such as technicians and engineers. Most skilled workers are in other industries such as education. This doesn’t answer the question of demand in the labor market. Thailand needs to build economic stability in order to make businesses grow. Skilled workers are not produced to supply the true market demand at the moment. The ASEAN Community is here now, what we are to do when foreigners are hired to do most of our jobs? Thai people will be unemployed. This is why we need to reform the education system, survey the labor market with the help of the private sector, and move forward together. The government cannot achieve this on its own. The most important thing is that all sectors should cooperate for mutual benefit. We can no longer only look after our own interests. You cannot go at full
capacity when the market is not ready. Some companies are overstaffed but foreign companies don’t fire their employees, instead, they offer a pay cut. Please help make your employees feel that they are a part of the company.

Businesses must make adjustments according to different circumstances

The next factor is the basic infrastructure. As a matter of fact, we are accelerating every development method. Some prominent development areas include technological foundations, health and environment, innovation, the green industry, public utilities, mega projects, and education, which will take some time. We must be patient. We have had to revise certain laws and regulations in order to move to the next step. Each law had to go through 3 sittings. I don’t want to exercise Article 44 all the time or without good reason. We also don’t want to fix one thing and create more problems in other areas. Some investments cannot be made because of public disapproval or possible negative environmental impact. Sometimes the problem is about encroachment. Now we must look back at what caused the problems in the first place and when the problem actually occurred. How can we solve this problem? Do we have to always enforce the law in these situations? Every citizen must respect the laws and the government will find a way to accommodate your predicament by relocating you to another location. As for the Official Information Act and the Licensing Facilitation Act, Thai and foreign business operators should take efforts to understand them. Before 2014, no progress had been made on this. We now have One Stop Service centers and Damrongtham centers.

MC: Mr. Prime Minister, let’s now talk about economic issues. There are many problems that are affecting the people. However, there also remain a number of foreseeable challenges. Is there anything else you would like to stress in terms of the economy?

PM: What I talked about earlier was about foreign and domestic investments and how everyone can work together to balance out all sectors from upstream, midstream, to downstream. We now take a look at microeconomic economy. The government hopes to address the matter of high living expenses. We understand that people have low income while prices of crops are constantly dropping. This is why we need to control people’s living costs. Then the drought has come. I have told the Ministry of
Commerce to closely monitor prices of consumer goods and make sure that all necessities are affordable. Make sure products are sold at prices they’re supposed to be sold. However some items are always expensive while some items can cost more when the dry season hits. This year is worse given the circumstances of severe drought. Everything will get better once the rain comes. Please only buy products you can afford. Thailand is a democratic country and adheres to free trade, so no one can single-handedly control anything. We cannot let this happen. We have to look at it in different perspectives. If the macroeconomic sector isn’t performing, the grassroots economy will not perform as well either while people earn less income. We cannot assume that prices of gas and fuel are the only factor, because we also need to look at the weather and the abundance of nature. Crop productivity relies on these elements as well. Entrepreneurs and middlemen must be more careful. They should empathize for their consumers and other sectors. It is common that the numbers are different from time to time. When buyers lose their purchasing power, crops will not be produced as much. This is how it works. Companies may see some profit and some loss.

Household spending has increased by 2.3 percent, thanks to higher consumer confidence. Some professions have surely seen growth such as the gem and jewelry industry or the gold industry. Thanks to these sectors, the percentage of household spending went up.

However, another matter that concerns the public is household debt. Household debt is currently high. Why is it high? When did it get high? And what caused this household debt? At the end of February 2014, household debt in the country was as high as 5.5 trillion baht, accounting for 46.1% of the GDP. It was very high. Almost at 50%. At the end of February 2016, household debt is accounting for 42.8D% of the GDP. There are two debts – public debt and household debt. These two debts certainly have influence to the economy.

Before 22 May 2014, household debt was already high. This is why we had to spend money wisely. We wanted debts to be viable and stable debts that occur when people purchase useful things, not luxury items. This is how artificial demand is created.
Household debt was already high when we came in. Some people have said what the government is doing is useless. But who allowed you to borrow money and put you in this situation in the first place? We will not point fingers now as we need to focus on the problem at hand. The government already has adjusted down the interest rates, taxes, and other expenses. Some people have even suggested that debts be withdrawn. If debts are withdrawn, what will financial institutions do? They have to reserve some money from the interest collected regardless of the amount they can collect. This is to make sure that their businesses will run as usual when they have non-performing loans. This is how they run business. Some people claim that the BACC issues high interest loans, but they have not thought of how many debts have been cancelled or how many payments have been postponed. If banks didn’t prepare, their operations would collapse.

Next is about people’s incomes. How can people’s income be higher when the world economy is under performing? People have less purchasing power because they earn less income. Insufficient income happens when people spend more than they actually have. Some people go and pawn their stuff and this then causes the system to go be disrupted. So we have to look at the whole circle. The solution is to fix the problem in a sustainable manner, build stability, increase competitiveness, and enhance the agricultural sector and other professions. This will take time. It is impossible to have everything done this instance due to insufficient funds. The government doesn't have enough for every single issue. We will spend it carefully. We will spend it according to our capacity. Everyone has to share the benefits. There are many sectors that need help. The government cannot place all focus on just the farmers.

When people’s purchasing power is low, it is because they cannot afford it or are unwilling to buy. The problem lies in the entire structure while the world economy is sluggish. Thailand did not prepare itself for this kind of situation as I said. This has caused a number of problems in the country. This is why we need innovation and new products that can attract buyers. With technology, we will be able to build that value chain which will help to uplift living standards of the people.

What about domestic and overseas investments?
As for overseas investments, the outlook is very bright. Investments supported by the BOI and investment deals between the Thai government and investors abroad have had some positive outcomes. DPM Somkid Jatusripitak is currently in Japan. The investment sector has grown by 4.7 percent. Foreign investors always look at the stability of the country they are investing in. They always look ahead into the future and make analysis. They make investments today, knowing the profit will be realized in the next 20 years. In the next 50 years, they will be thinking about relocating. This is a pivotal moment. If Thais continue to fight amongst each other, investors will leave. Although everything has improved, a lot depends on investors’ decisions. Nothing is certain until the first product is produced. The statistics show a higher percentage. What we need to do is maintain peacefulness in the nation and assure investors of the government’s stability. This is how you get them to start a project. It is all about confidence. This is a good sign, evidenced by the IMD ranking. We have to make Thailand a peaceful country. After the NCPO has allowed politicians to travel abroad, I have heard that they are taking part in conferences and meetings where they verbally attack their own nation. So, I am not for certain if these people want peace and reconciliation. I have thus instructed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to create an understanding in all arenas. I would like to thank the ministry for being able to answer all questions to the world community. Some politicians have attacked the government on various issues, such as about the economy and the prosecution of offenders. But these are based on legal charges and officers would be charged for dereliction of duty if they didn’t prosecute such culprits. How can we condone impunity for law breakers? Please think about this.

The world economy goes up and down. It fluctuates very often. Growth of overseas investments also depends on the growth of the host country. Once investors registered for an investment project, they will analyze all possibilities as well as the country and the company’s potential. If you look at the US economy, you will see that its current economic growth is recorded the lowest in the past 8 quarters. In the meantime, the economy in the Euro zone expanded by only 1.6%. Japan has seen a slow growth while China is facing economic recession, accounting for the lowest growth in 7 years. New economies including Singapore, South Korea, Hong Kong, and ASEAN
are on the decline. We have seen both positive and negative numbers in Thailand. The overall picture may be positive or negative in the future. It all rests upon the world economic situation. Today, we have to penetrate new markets like in island countries or Eurasian countries. We must focus on high-end markets as well. This is why we must seek new or even smaller markets. We could also penetrate markets that demand premium products such as organic rice. Everyone has to make some adjustments. White rice must have high quality and be certified; otherwise, Thai rice will not be able to compete with others in the market.

MC: What you are saying is that we need to make Thai rice unique and attractive.

PM: We have more than 100 strains of rice. The other day, I met with 300 rice growers from across the country. They seemed very satisfied and commended the work of the government. However, there were certain matters we viewed differently. This is why we need to keep advising them. They have not had anyone to help them out in the past. Farmers must be more open to others and the world. It’s the era of digital economy. There will be education centers. There are 882 agricultural learning centers nationwide where farmers can learn new farming techniques. In addition, the Ministry of Interior has set up more than 2,000 learning centers, plus we also have community centers established by the ICT Ministry. These centers will help entrepreneurs sell products online. Take Buriram province for instance. People in Buriram have been earning extra income because they can sell their products online. Buyers can browse the website and shop. However, these products must be certified and up to standard. If we didn’t adopt this approach, businesses will not flourish. Growth comes with technology and the digital system.

However, many areas are still suffering from the drought which is a direct effect on the local economy. The drought is due to climate change. It's also due to deforestation and treeless mountains. We need to manage our reforestation efforts so that there is enough moisture for the new trees to survive. As for treeless mountains, we can create ladders to slowdown the water from the wash-off as well as plant acacia trees to make way for smaller trees underneath it. Trees must be over 2 meters high in order for them to survive on their own. We can’t manually water the trees but we can create
weirs according to His Majesty the King’s method of water retention in forests and mountains. Even though we have had rain, not all areas have had precipitation. Many dams have been able to replenish their supplies in the millions of cubic meters. However, Bhumibol Dam, one of the most significant dams for farmers and residents, is still at low capacity. Farmers are still requesting for rainmaking. However, there is not enough moisture in the atmosphere to prompt rainfall at times. But the rain will come. But I don't want it to rain too much in Bangkok as there will be traffic jams. It often rains in areas that don’t need rain. Bangkok has had enough rain already. Farmers are waiting to see whether July would be a more suitable month for planting rice. We must examine whether our existing water reserves coupled with the additional rainfall is sufficient. If there is enough water to accommodate rice farming, then we should definitely invest our efforts. We shouldn’t just go ahead and hope that it rains later. If the drought persists, crops will be devastated and our efforts will be wasted. Farmers must learn from the database provided by the Ministry of Agriculture regarding adequate water supplies for rice farming. I also urge farmers to study the agri-map that this administration has created. This map will define areas that are suitable for hybrid farming and areas that are suitable for single crop farming. However, farmers must rely on themselves and create resilience through unions and cooperatives. In the future, we will connect these with provincial Pracharat corporations. The cooperatives can supply the products and the Pracharat corporations will act as middlemen in finding markets for the products. Provincial farmers can also step up to run these provincial Pracharat corporations so that the business is run within the province. However, people also need to learn business skills such as accounting, marketing and management. The Pracharat corporation will act primarily in gathering products of the province and finding market channels. The corporation will draw on the strengths of each area and disseminate the products to various markets. All of this will be documented through the corporations account books so that information is transparent and encourages growth. Social issues are a good indicator of economic issues. Today we are happier and many say that there is more peace. However, what are some of the lingering social problems that could potential lead to conflict that you’re still concerned about? One issue is how our society views education. We don’t place much importance to what we’ve learned and forget about it
after our schooling is done. Many say that reconciliation can be achieved by instilling self-consciousness. If you using the metaphor of planting a tree, self-consciousness is a tree that takes time to take root and grow. Can 70 million Thais have an equal sense of self-consciousness? It depends on your family, schooling or lineage. This is why we have a policy of reducing class time and increasing learning time in order to focus more on ethics. When people have high morals, there will be less conflict and more sharing in our society. This is an aspect that Thai society needs to work on. When the quality of one’s education is poor, they can become unemployed or have low income. This leads to poverty, other family issues and alienation. When parents neglect their offspring because of work, children run the risk of fraternizing with the wrong crowd or get addicted to drugs. Issues start at the family level. When parents don’t have time for their children and they then revert to just studying, children can be deprived of being taught good social conduct and a social conscience. What kind of affect will this have on Thai society and its history? Today, we are in the 21st century. However, our schooling system is still stuck in the 19th century. What do students need in the 21st century? They need the 4 main STEM subjects as well as the ability to think critically. If people are reasonable, know how to analyze and are erudite, our society will be stronger and we will have a future of high income earners according to the Thailand 4.0 agenda. This agenda coincides with the “Sustainable Development Goals” set by the UN in the next 15 years. The goals consist of accommodating changes in the labor market and an aging society. The government has incorporated these agendas into its policies.

I am distressed by what I see in the news about the degree of crimes. There is even controversy in Buddhism because of a few monks are violating the law. If they agreed to settle disputes in the courts, it would have been over by now. People cannot be above the law. Only in failed states can the masses overthrow the rule of law. All the laws have been enforced during this administration, not just a few. In the past, various issues have been left unsolved because no one has been enforcing all the laws that apply. The public has more confidence in this area, as the laws are being applied equally now. We need to make the public feel that they are not being bullied and make sure that we are not violating international laws. I’ve have been accused of abusing human rights, conducting unwarranted arrests and torturing. Why would I torture anyone? We’re all Thais. These accusations that I’m bullying
people are false and always being boasted in other countries. Are you concerned about the increasing number of channels whereby the public can receive information? If you are talking in military terms, the issues on social media right now are called cyber warfare. In the past, armies sought to take control of the communication channels of the enemy in order to gain the upper-hand. Cyber warfare today deals with members of the public committing hate speeches by defaming another person without due cause. They also distort information regarding the policies of the government and the NCPO. Their motives are to escalate conflict. The government cannot write false information on social media channels. It must speak the truth in what it does. However, the public chooses what it believes. Some people are motivated by fame and say things to garner more likes and followers. They don't realize that that fueling hate leads to destruction and conflict. However, when we pass laws to regulate this, people claim that it is a violation of human rights. Is that really so? If people just want it their way, then let’s not have me or any government, or an election for that matter and let’s just live in anarchy. What’s important is instilling self-consciousness among children and adults alike. People need to contribute in solving problems with the government, instead of denouncing the government just because they don't get what they want. None of our issues will be solved if there is no sense of awareness. The same goes for the civil servants as well. People need to conduct themselves according to our 12 core Thai values. People may neglect certain values or pay more attention to one over another. It is our job just to remind them to conduct themselves. One side may want something but the other side may say that it is unjust or unfair. We need to settle disputes according to the law. If something is in violation of a law, then we will let the justice system handle it. Otherwise, there will be no justice and we will be mired in conflict. When there is less conflict, the authorities will be able to conduct their duties more effectively. However, if there is no sense of social consciousness among society, there will be no resolution of conflict, no matter how many laws we pass. We can look at road accidents, for example. We pass new laws every year and there are still numerous deaths every year. Can you please talk about the public’s welfare and quality of living? People may think that civil servants have benefits that the public doesn't have. However, the public has more opportunities. Civil servants need to work on their primary duty and
have one salary. They must adhere to the system and pay full taxes. For those who are unemployed, they can see what they can do with their time. If they are diligent and make use of their time, they can make more money than civil servants. The public and the bureaucracy must coexist in support of each other. The government collects less than 10 million Baht in taxes from personal income. There are also taxes associated with trade. However, many businesses aren’t registered or find ways to avoid taxes. The government is trying to settle these tax issues in 2016 so that it can create a more effective welfare system. This consists of free healthcare, education and transportation. Today, newborn babies will receive 400 Baht for milk. Stipends for children in impoverished conditions have been increased from 400 to 600 Baht. We’ve also increased it for the disabled from 500 to 800 Baht. The combined total of this increase is a large sum of money. Stipends for the elderly are laddered up every 10 years from 600 to 1,000 Baht. Some people are asking for 3,000 but there isn’t enough money at the moment. We also support savings through the National Savings Fund. We can look into how a person can contribute to savings during and after their work life. This may require amendments to laws. In the past, governments haven’t given much importance to welfare as they should have. We recently passed a welfare legislation that was 10 years in the waiting. We need to continue with this work. Welfare is an important matter. People are more satisfied when they don’t have to pay for public services. However, these services are costly to the government. Buses and trains must run on gas. There is also repair and maintenance costs.

The government must find ways to find these programs. We need more revenue in order to pay for the billions of Baht in welfare services each year. We have an annual budget of 250-270 billion to allocate to various programs. In the past two or three years, we have had a budget deficit because we haven’t been able to collect as much in taxes. However, certain programs are necessary and we must resort to borrowing money to compensate for this deficit. We need to build strength from within by creating a cycle of business between the public, private sector and the state if we don’t want to borrow more money. The other day, you met with representatives of farmers to discuss raising the standards of living of farmers and empowering them. There are existing agricultural cooperatives. We need to push for large hybrid farms in place of single crop farms. Farmers need to learn to plant other crops apart from rice. Yes, we
must empower them by helping manage their planting. The representatives asked for the government to provide farmers with small rice mills. However, the government will not be able to supply small mills worth 50,000 Baht to all rice farms.

The government could, however, provide mills to groups or cooperatives and they manage the use of it amongst themselves. We also need to consider farmers of other products such as cassava. If they can organize into cooperatives according to the Pracharat model, the government can provide these groups with assistance and equipment. If farmers groups are able to grow, process and market their products through a Pracharat corporation, they will be able to grow into larger businesses and this will then be the case for all provinces. They asked whether Pracharat corporations will be redundant with cooperatives. I told them that they will connect with cooperatives. 76 percent of the entire Pracharat corporation’s holdings are composed of the 76 provinces. We are creating connectivity, not taking over. The private sector is also managing the remaining 24 percent and, in the future, the public will eventually manage 100 percent. These are the facts, unlike what people hear from sources who falsely say that the government only favors the rich. The government must work according to its strategic policies. Otherwise, there will be no end to the demands from various sides and people will just keep protesting and making demands. I don’t want people to hold any grudges against my government or the next government. There is much opposition today already. Does this mean that the political situation will revert back to where it was previously? This government must solve social and economic issues. This requires money. Otherwise, the country will be damaged. Let's now talk about public administration because there have been issues of delays in policies because there are certain issues affecting the public now that need to be address quickly. State administration reform has always been a difficult issue at all structural levels. In the past, government agencies have always been difficult to establish and difficult to abolish. It is also difficult to demote officials. Today, I'm tasking the Office of the Civil Service Commission to think of a new system where agencies can be easily established and abolished so that we can quickly establish ad-hoc agencies to address specific issues. We can then find experts to address various issues. We don't have to employ new people as civil servants yet. We
can contract people for specific purposes and, if they prove to be useful, we can take eventually them in as civil servants. We need to examine the internal management, chain of command and work in various sectors. We may have to establish agencies to reform and connect various agencies together. Another matter is how to prevent other people such as politicians from influencing/manipulating agencies. This will damage an organization because the order of progression within an organization is tampered with.

We need to reform work efficiency and restructure organizations. I’ve only been able to implement the first phase of reform due to my limited time here. We’ve established NCPO super boards, mobilization committees and management committees to follow up on the progress. However, what will happen when this administration finishes? We must ensure that reform mechanisms are permanent. If we are able to empower the bureaucracy and encourage them to think progressively and make suggestions, they will be more efficient and take pride in their work. Today, we must ask people to make changes because we must get things started towards the new direction of reform. I must also first acquaint myself with the context of their work in order to make adjustments accordingly. However, we must give them the opportunity to do their job instead of just following orders. Can various services to the public be expedited? Today, the public can submit petitions to Damrongdharma centers. If that is too slow, they can contact their provincial governors or chief district officers. I have given a lot of authority to the governors of every province. The ministries will also have to help these governors. The provincial commerce and agricultural sectors will also be integrated into the jurisdiction of the province. There will also be a Pracharat mechanism introduced as well right? There are also a number of cooperation centers all over. The important thing here is to get things done quickly. Some problems can be dealt with before they are formally brought up. So deal with those. It’s your job. It’s your responsibility. Wherever there is a problem, you need to fix it. One of our main issues is that we are slow. We don’t pay enough attention to the public. We make promises and get nothing done. Today, I will not let this go on. If someone brought something up 2 or 3 times, of course I’d have to have a word with the governor in charge. I’ve given them time to fix these things. How many times have I
already had to do this? There are many Damrongdharma centers. They have solved 90%, maybe even 97-98% of problems. This is just in the last 2 years. Their purpose has always been to get things done but they didn’t use to. Now they are far more productive. They accomplish many tasks.

They need to know what the problem is, and then solve it. They send work groups here and there. The governor also acts while NCPO negotiates. In the past they didn’t have anyone pushing them and so they don’t do it. Now we’ve taken out some of the steps. We’ve made things faster and we fix things quicker. The small problems should be fixed immediately. If they are ignored then they become larger problems. In the future, this is something we will have to address. We can’t delay. What else is there? The legislation for ease of access, contacting an official, making a new ID card, making a driver’s license. All this has to be done quickly. Therefore, the officials need to keep this in mind. The legislation is out. We heard you, and we’ve made things better. Another problem is structure. Everyone wants to change this, but how come it isn’t changed? It’s not that easy. That’s why I have let the OCSC go in and study the details of this. What is the status of the civilians, the police and the military? If we reduce manpower then how must we increase technology? What is the budget? Before we lower manpower or change anything we also have to look at the laws. We also look at the current system and decide if we can put some things on hold. If we can’t, then we can’t move forward. Then we need to compromise. Both the people within the organization and the people who want change have to find a balance. I have ordered this to be taken cared of many times. I believe the officials are currently taking care of it. I have seen the reform plan, the first stage and the second. It might not be fully in line with the NRSA or the public but that’s what compromise is about. You have to see the benefits in the big picture. Go back and look at what the original problem was and how it was that it needed to be fixed. Can it be fixed immediately? So what do we have to do? We need to look at the problem and pick out the corrupt areas. We fix those areas first. If we try to see results right away we might do a lot of damage or something along those lines. This could result in a criminal case for both the police and the briber. They are asking for change because you are doing something wrong. If you weren’t there wouldn’t be a problem. If they are coercing or
threatening you that’s a different situation. Report them to the courts. File a report. We can fix corruption but it won’t work if everyone tries to benefit. You say police are promoted through corruption. Go find me the proof. Just the other day, there was an arrest in the customs department. People were claiming connections to General Prawit, asking for this and that. That was suspicious, and inquiries were made. It turns out that they were caught trying to swindle officials. Things like this are happening all the time. Don’t believe that you can’t file claims. Many people say soldiers are taking bribes. This doesn’t happen. I won’t allow it. Mr. Prime Minister, what about issues of security? Currently, the government and the NCPO have been looking after this country for 2 years. You have built trust, back to the Thai people. However, we can’t forget about internal security. Who is responsible for this? The public? The politicians? Today, I haven’t seen anyone complain as much as the politicians. I ask you: did they cause troubles like this before? If they were always doing the right thing, I would not stop them. However, the things they are doing now are the same things that got us into this mess. They ask me to reconcile. What does this mean exactly? What do you want from me? Forgiveness probably or pardoning everyone. Even those in other countries. People in this country are asking for this. What do you want me to do? Release everyone from jail? Of course I can’t do that. If you don’t break the law, the law can do nothing to you. If you want to prove your innocence and go home, then go through the justice system. That’s how you’ll get home. Use your bail rights. Fight it in court. Our country is held together by people. But, how will we be successful if they don’t respect the laws? It doesn’t work like that. I ask the public to think about this. I didn’t want to be in this position. But I do these things to bring in a better government. I pay my taxes, just like you. I haven’t force you to do anything. I do these things so you will have a brighter, more prosperous future. I just hope that the public understands me. If you think you can do a better job by starting over, then be my guest. Today, I choose to do things this way because it is under a framework. This framework is not for me or for gaining power. Some have accused me of otherwise, I’m sure you know who they are, plus they prefer to excite matters abroad. But use your discretion. This is how they get a platform and spread more instigating messages. How can I compete? Our country has already been through many problems; we don’t need it to get any worse. Why can’t we invest in our country to
make it better? We need to build a better future. We must have peace within the
country and trust from abroad. We must be a nation that draws long term investment
and confidence. This isn’t just a 5 year, 10, or even 20 year commitment. Someday
their relatives will come and set up businesses in Thailand and their message will
continue to spread.

You’re building trust Mr. Prime Minister.

PM: It’s very difficult. You have to do it for both sides at once.
MC: Now we come to matter of reform. Mr. Prime Minister, you have mentioned
many times the reform must begin with ourselves. People listen, and put their hopes
with this government and the NCPO. In your opinion, what legacies of this reform
will we be able to pass down to posterity? Well the first thing we need to look at is
what we really want to achieve. Before now, we were left with a lot of legacies. They
weren’t very good though. We didn’t make ourselves strong. We didn’t work hard
enough. We did just enough to get by. The officials didn’t really care. Today, we have
complete initial aspects of reform. Listen to our advise, and you’ll be able to reform
yourself. Education must also be reformed. The public doesn’t require too many
things to be reformed you say. Well I ask you: is reforming education easy? What is
the first step? Just for starters we have had to introduce section 44. That’s what makes
this so difficult. When I ask teachers for something, I have to ask 500,000 people.
We’ve had to bring in a lot of new legislation and so we put it all under the banner of
section 44. We had to do all this. Remember? Reforming the economy....how many
laws are there? How many sectors? Now, we’ve had many issues with this new rule
that private security officers must graduate from grade 9. It started a lot of
complaining because a lot of them haven’t graduated from grade 9. I have to say that
if we kept things the same way these people wouldn’t make enough to eat. They say
this is too difficult. Go ask the ministry of education. Take a look at these required
non-formal education certificates. Can we expedite them? That’s what we need to do
to fix this problem.
MC: Once they go back they can resume work as normal. There should be measures put in place where they are able to retain their jobs instead of being fired right away. If that happened, they wouldn’t be able to feed their families. This isn’t a good solution. The rule was introduced to enhance quality. With a grade 9 education, a security guard can now work at a large company. This was the ministry of education’s idea. The certificates were already a requirement. What we can do is expedite the process. Many soldiers managed to go from grade 9 to grade 12 in just 2 years. If time is tight, we can still get it done. Currently, some people who can’t even read were able to finish grade school. This is something we need to fix. We need to improve the quality of our education, our police, and our children’s. The government will take care of government affairs. They do what I ask. If you want me to use my power I ask that you first reform yourselves too. Help me. If you try to block me all the time, how will I be able to bring about reform? Who are the people who want me to reform everything anyway? It’s for the country. To live up to our aspirations requires hard work. Reform is difficult as I’ve said. Today we look at the economy and other issues. We can solve these problems through the Pracharat model. But what’s important is the understanding right? We must look 20 years into the future. Today, you have to ask yourself what you need in order to carry out plans 5 years ahead. Today, we look for overseas investment, we change our economy, and we earn more revenue for Thailand. From the 5 original goals, we’ve added 5 more. We’re working towards Thailand 4.0. This is economic integration and connectivity between our country and others. This is reform of our agriculture, our rice, cassavas, and sugarcane. Just bringing about reform in the case of wage is already difficult. To reform an entire system, let alone an entire country, that’s more difficult. Look at it this way: We divide up a reform map, and we put year 60 on the one end. We’ve been here since year 57, so we have 57-58, 58-59, and 59-60. That’s 3 years. What can we do in that time? Let me make this clearer. I’ll summarize these 2 years for you and draw a picture so you can see what I’ve done in terms of reform and how it will affect the following 5 years. The next government will then take it up. Whether they continue it or not is up to them and to the public. Reform isn’t something that gets done right away. This is a long process and it needs to be done from the bottom up. On the topic of labor, we need to look at specific categories. We need to develop
and train people so they can fit the market demand. How many issues have there been? Everything is inter-related. This is something we need to do continuously. Tomorrow we need to do things in conjunction with our 20 year strategy so we can have every political party move in the same technocratic direction. We need to work together. We need to do this for our future. The other things you can do according to your party policies. You need to so you differ from one another. Whatever you do to win confidence from the public is your prerogative, but don’t do things at the cost our nation, or our national budget. Don’t be corrupt. That’s it. Why is that so hard?

MC: Building on a strong foundation basically right Mr. Prime Minister. We’re now coming up to the end of our segment. I have a number of questions here from members of the public. The first is on the topic of this source of natural gas in the gulf of Thailand that will see it’s concession expire in the year 2565-2566. This is probably referring to the Bonkot – Erawan, an important source of natural gas for this country. There isn’t a lot of it though. We’re running out. We’re using it up too fast. If we do use it all up, the concession ends, and we don’t continue it, we won’t have people there anymore. On the other hand, if we don’t use it all up before the concession expires, it comes down to whether or not we can extend our concession. You don’t seem to want an auction, so maybe you should just go and dig it yourself? There isn’t even a company that will do it. You don’t even have the machinery to do it. If there was a private company who had tools to do it, and would oversee it themselves, that would be great. But we really can’t. The second thing to look at is that many people have suggested that we use a different technique entirely. There are acts in place that are trying to deal with this. The problem is that while the acts are ready, the people aren’t ready, or the machinery, and so we can’t do anything until that’s sorted out. Also, if the concession is not extended, it won’t work either because we don’t have anyone to invest. I ask you: If we suddenly lost 2 trillion basketballs you would notice right? In terms of gas, this is something we use in this country. So what do we do? We buy it from other countries. Today, many countries are closing their pipes. They are preparing for the day when they will sell less. What will we do then? Where will we get our power? Think about it like this and you’ll see. If we are capable of digging for this ourselves, using it, and pricing it, does this not need to be
controlled? What about the price on the world market? What about other countries? The price fluctuates on how far away they have to export the gas. So they subsidize it and put money into it. So what about now? They’re running out. They buy gas at the same price we do. You keep mentioning that they used to be cheaper. Go look at it. They subsidize it. They are still taking out the same amount. In fact, they are more expensive than us even though they might have more. You say that we have a lot of gas. How do we have a lot? Do you know this? Can you see this? If we had as much as they say, we would have dug for it a long time ago. We could have just sat back and foreign energy companies would have come. They have worldwide data on where and how much there is. I speak frankly, take a look at their statistics. In Thailand, our natural gas and oil is only found in small pockets. To dig it up would be very costly. It would be a huge investment to fund each extraction site. Sometimes you can dig down and find nothing. Even if you dig for 10 or 20 years you still have to take concessions into account. If you find something every time you dig, then we wouldn’t need them. We must understand one another on this matter. You say we won’t have a dialogue about extending the concession and we simply hold an auction. I’d like to raise another point. What do I have to do? Once I know what I have to do I’ll announce it the next day? If I can’t do it, I will tell you. They should take responsibility over the Longkot and the Erawan sources. The public should push them on this because they are the ones who are responsible for making you pay more for your gas. This is because they have to buy more of it from overseas. We only have 1 year where they will invest or not. I ask you: can you set up a business in that time? Can you set up an oil rig? Do you have enough technicians? Maybe you were right because maybe we just don’t have the natural resources. Look at it like this. Please understand. Many people need water, but can’t build a dam. Many people need gas, but don’t know how to dig for it. Many people need clean energy, but they don’t let us build the system. Many people want cleanliness and to eliminate garbage, but they won’t let us build garbage dumps. So now what? Blame the government for never getting anything done? Where does this misunderstanding come from? Information. Right Lots of reasons. There are also a lot of people out there who would like to see us fall.
MC: There are also issues of politics that the people have expressed interest about.

PM: Isn’t this against the law? Let’s talk about law for a moment. When there are issues, there is unrest. When there is unrest, we have to turn to the law. When we use the law, you say it’s not fair, or that we are taking advantage of people. How is this correct? If you want peace, then don’t incite strife. Politics is not life or death today. Do your homework first. You worry about the politics but it was the politics that brought us here in the first place. You have to look at it like this. I ask that you don’t give them a platform to instigate further disputes. Yes, politics will be important in the future. What we have to do today is to figure out how to improve the system so that it works. At the same time, politics must remain stable. This is why we have to take responsibility. Even if we do all the things I have talked about, if everyone constantly moves against each other, and fight amongst one another, what can we possibly do? We can’t waste time apprehending all of these people. I have said it is not necessary. The ones who are currently apprehended will be released accordingly. I ask that the public pay attention to how much resources this takes. If everyone works against me just for the sake of opposing me, then you have to take responsibility if things go wrong again. I am doing what I can for you, and this is all I ask. Communicating with me you find hard, but denouncing me openly you find easy. I am simply communicating even in the cases where they are called in. You are making this into a bigger deal than you have to. It’s the same old problem.

MC: The people are also worried about problems concerning corruption. Has the recent crackdown improved this problem?

PM: It has gotten better. Corruption has decreased a lot. But it will not be 100% solved if people aren’t invested in finding a solution. It’s as I’ve told you, people try to hide from the issue and point the finger at other people and organizations. When they are found out, they are apprehended. However, there are still those who speak out about this, such as police who are promoted for monetary gain. Whatever the reason, please tell me. I have never given an order to promote this kind of behavior. I have never tried to profit from my position. I want people to work honestly. These
multi million baht projects that I have introduced are for the nation. These are not meant to support corruption and deceit. Using the projects to put money into our pockets, this is not the case, I have never done such a thing my entire life. I would not allow my people to do this either. In this economy, how could you do such a thing? From now on, corruption at the state and the private level will be dealt with according to the law. There is also the anti-corruption agency to deal with the private sector. You can see that this process maybe slow but this is because it is something that we must carefully regulate. In summary, I don’t know how many investigations we have yet to do so I don’t know how much budget I have to allocate. If you find evidence of corruption. Tell us. We’ll stop it. We have to stop them from starting again. But often when one person is stopped, another takes their place. It’s an endless cycle. If this isn’t fixed, it’ll stay the same. How many years has it been? If we want to find a solution we must stop it at the source with evidence, with action, and by punishing those in the wrong. We need to bring in new people instead of bring the process to a halt. Sometimes they can take 10 years. Look at what we’ve accomplished so far. It’s important that we instil a sense of what is right and wrong in the younger generation in our schools. We need to teach children that cheating people is wrong. They might also tell their parents to stop because they would be embarrassed and made fun of for having a corrupt parent. Some people might not be embarrassed though. I don’t know. Money does things to people.

MC: So you instill this in them while they are young but it’s important that adults don’t forget as well. They should not forget. If they learn it at childhood they won’t forget it when they are adults. They just have to pay attention. If they don’t they won’t remember. We need to teach our kids properly. When we were kids, did we have money? No. We had to survive on monthly wages. When I graduated, my wage was only 1,900 baht.

MC: Last of all, I’d like to ask you about the constitution. Now, there is concern over expressing opinion that is distorted and issues regarding intimidation, whether this is in the form of verbal abuse or disrespect. There was also the recent issue of the
ombudsman and the constitutional court ruling of paragraph 61, line 2 on the temporary constitution operation in the year 57 B.E.

PM: Let’s put it this way: Regarding paragraph 61, line 2. Firstly, let’s look at the first part of your question about the distorted communication and verbal abuse. What is wrong about it when it’s written that you cannot spread distorted information, or practice verbal abuse and indecipherable misinformation? You don’t see it? You say we have wronged people. You can’t just say whatever you want without being liable. Otherwise we wouldn’t need the law. This is wrong. The EC is paying attention. It is the police’s duty to enforce the laws. What’s wrong is wrong. If you haven’t done anything wrong then everything is fine. However, the point is, if you act out against the constitution, break paragraph 61 line 2, and then take it to court or even the ombudsman, I have already talked with Professor Wissanu, it won’t stop the referendum. If they say it’s neither wrong nor right, they will immediately throw it out. They’ll take out that bit in paragraph 61 line 2 that stops you from spreading distorted information. The rest of it is still there though. So don’t keep fighting each other. This is all I ask. If the constitution is not passed that’s another issue. It’s always been like this in Thailand. We must understand that no matter what the court decides, don’t think that you can topple the constitution because you have gotten paragraph 61 removed. You can’t do that. That’s what is stipulated by the law. There are actually 2 issues here. The other one was about education right? This 14 year, 12 year periods that I guaranteed would remain the same until grade 12.

MC: And you’ll start this when they are young right?

PM: We can start with young children. I’d like to reiterate this. I have done nothing against the constitution. I let them study the same things, and I allocate the same budget. There are an increased number of students. The other issue I’m touching on has to do with religion. I’m including aspects of Buddhist teachings as I’ve been listening to monks. Professor Meechai has told me there were no issues with this.

MC: Thank you very much Mr. Prime Minister.
PM: I had meant to stay calm today but it didn’t happen. I don’t want to ruin this peaceful atmosphere. There were good things that our athletes have brought back to us. The other day, I thanked all those farmers. I’d like to thank them again. They worked with me and helped to get things done. You do not need to thank me at all because that is my job. Even if you don’t ask me to do it, It is still my duty. They grow rice to feed the people, so I have to take care of them. Think about it like this, so you will take the initiative to help others. I think about this all day and every day. Those who work are tired. This is normal. So I apologise. I follow up on every issue that I have started.

MC:I’d like to thank the Prime Minister as well as the leader of the NCPO for being with us tonight. Thank you.

PM: Thank you.

MC:To all the viewers at home, there have been many stories that give us hope. Our government and the NCPO are doing their best. There are still many issues that need to be addressed. These things can take a while to fix but it’ll be worth it because we will have a stronger, more sustainable country. Today, I’d like to thank all of you for tuning in and listening to what we have to say on returning happiness to the people. So from the Prime Minister, the head of the NCPO and myself, good nig

Appendix 3.36

National Broadcast by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, Prime Minister – June 10, 2016

Good evening to all citizens. The government would like to invite all Thai people to come and admire the artworks created by Thai agriculturists who have proudly displayed their heritage in the skills of Thai crafts. So, please visit the 7th Arts of the Kingdom event to be held from June 14th onwards at Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall in Dusit Palace. In celebration of this auspicious year, the Sirikit Institute under the
SUPPORT Foundation has built a 9-spire building in the “Jaturamukthong” style of elegant Thai architecture with the most number of spires since the start of the Rattanakosin era. It is the first masterpiece by architects of the Sirikit Institute. The building is made of metals and marbles and decorated with gold, glasses, and traditional paintings. It is the first of its kind in Thailand. The building has been named “Ruan Yod Bo Rom Mang Kha La Nu So Ra Nee” by His Majesty the King. Literally, it means the spires that are built to commemorate and celebrate the greatest auspices. Therefore, it is to celebrate 1) the 70th anniversary of His Majesty the King’s accession to the throne this year, 2) His Majesty the King’s 90th Birthday Anniversary on 5 December 2017, 3) Her Majesty the Queen’s 7th Cycle Anniversary on 12 August 2016, and 4) to honor all members of the Royal Family. This past Wednesday, I chaired the opening of a water management event held in honor of His Majesty at Khlong Bang Song Roi, Thammasen subdistrict, Photharam district, Ratchaburi. The Ministry of Defense is in charge of the project under the Pracharat model. It was initiated to honour the 70th Anniversary of His Majesty’s accession to the throne. Under the project, there will be 70 designated locations for the improvement of the quality of life and environmental conservation through the adoption of His Majesty’s teachings about water management, which will in turn prevent droughts and floods. It also aims to bring benefits of this approach to farming, ranching, and fishing. The project is also in line with Her Majesty the Queen’s principle of “Pa Rak Nam” which was once reflected in Her saying about the enduring and indispensable relationship between water and the forests. The project is ready to be initiated nationwide. On this occasion, I also planted golden shower trees, which is recognized as the national tree of Thailand. Golden showers have significant characteristics and are very important to Thailand. Petals of golden showers are yellow, the color of Buddhism and Monday, which is the day of the Birth of His Majesty the King’s. I also planted vetiver grass in accordance to His Majesty’s aspirations to rehabilitate and improve soil quality in areas deteriorating land. Vetiver grass helps to preserve soil and water. It can be grown on higher grounds and slopes to prevent flooding, flashfloods, and the leaching of minerals. It is used to control watersheds and stabilize ridges. It is grown to maintain humidity in fruit gardens and can be turned into organic fertilizers. The grass also helps to reduce silt build-up and
stop erosion. I also want those living along watershed areas to grow grass and plants to cover soil while the vetiver grass is still growing, or while the vetiver grass is not yet strong enough to hold the soil together. This is why we need other plants to prevent soil erosion in the future. I would also like to ask provincial governors to follow up on this and seek cooperation from residents in watershed areas. Please grow plants in those areas such as fruits, chilies, peppers, garlic, bananas, sugarcanes, and perennial plants. You can also grow other plants that can be planted along water basins and canals. If these plants are grown in the areas where there is no water or people, they will surely wither and die. The plants that will survive will need to be at least 2 meters tall. So until they reach that level, check dams should be constructed while covering crops should be planted in order to maintain humidity in the soil. We then can grow trees with at least 1.5 or 2 meters height to keep the grass healthy. This harmony will allow trees and plants to grow continually. This past weekend, there were many Thai athletes who completed their tasks with pride and honor, thus bringing joy to the Thai people. On behalf of all Thais, I would like to congratulate the national football team for winning the 44th King’s Cup, the first championship in 9 years, as a gift to His Majesty the King. I would also like to mention the U-21 football team and their success for clinching the Nation’s Cup title which took place in Malaysia. It was an incredible performance. The third group is the woman’s volleyball team. They superbly competed and were the runners up in the Montreux Volley Masters 2016 championship in Switzerland. I salute their successes in putting Thai sports on par with other international athletes. 4 volleyball players also won individual awards at the competition. We have to fervently support all these athletes as the 2016 Summer Olympics is approaching. As you can see, Thai people are able to achieve and make remarkable progress, and this can also be seen in the area of innovation and research, where Thai’s have won a number of international awards, such as for rechargeable hearing devices for persons with hearing impairments.

This device only costs 800 baht. But if exported, they could be worth up to 10,000 baht. The second product is non-toxic veneer made of sawdust and rubber. It can be used as a food container and turned into a toy. Made of domestic raw materials, it is cheaper and safe for children. The third innovation involves a packaging process for
Longan that does not require using sulfur dioxide as a preservative. The fruit’s longevity can be as long as 4 months. The fourth innovation is a glass bottle recycling machine, where glass can be substituted for house bricks. As you can see, when people are determined to develop innovation and make use of research, we will be able to create our own brands. We will then be able to compete with other producers around the world. Apart from award-winning products, there are also a number of inventions. I have instructed the National Research Council of Thailand (NRCT) and other responsible agencies to put our own research into good use and turn them into added-value products that can be used commercially, particularly our daily lives. We shall register these inventions as more than 100 of them have already been patented. We will revise ministerial regulations in order to facilitate the procurement of these new inventions, following their quality assessment and approval. Research will also be applied in many development areas. We are very committed to these activities. The government is also preparing to reform our research industry, through formulating a 20-year national strategic research plan (2017-2036). A committee in charge of research and innovation policy will be set up to ensure collaborative implementation. Its tasks are to steer the industry, manage budgets, provide financial resources, increase competitiveness, create connectivity, develop human resources and infrastructure, amend rules and regulations, register intellectual properties, and make use of successful research. We must have more money to fund Thai researchers. An example of promoting innovation in the country’s food industry and thus for the industry to become one the country’s 5 new leading sectors, is the food city project in order to push Thailand to be the ‘kitchen to the world’. This project already began this year and will support research and innovations that create value throughout the whole production chain, from farming, harvesting, processing and marketing. This project is implemented to attract world leading researchers on food to invest in various innovations in Thailand. We therefore have several tax incentives, such as for importing machines, and are also looking into the matter of residency for foreign experts. At the same time, we will still need plenty of Thai workers to join in this industry. This project also aims to encourage Thai businesses from Startups, SMEs to large businesses to participate throughout the food production chain to enhance the capabilities of Thai businesses as well as the skills of Thai workers. Most
Importantly, this project will stimulate the use of agricultural products in the country in order to add value to our food products by incorporating science, technology and innovation. This includes halal foods, kosher foods, food for the elderly, food supplements, as well as organic fruits and vegetables. This will be connected with the Pracharat model and shall serve as the first phase of the development for this industry. This cooperation under the Pracharat model will enable the public, Thai farmers, government agencies, private entities, universities and cooperatives to prosper together. Many foreign countries have taken note of the quality and innovation in Thai food products as well as our potential in the food production and processing industry. However, developing the country's food industry also requires an academic foundation in this sector because we must have the ability to develop comprehensive solutions to future problems and challenges. In general, people at all positions and functions need to work in unison if we want to solve our common problems in a sustainable manner. This government has taken this approach for all of its projects. In order to support this approach, I will give an example of a success story as well as an example of a project that still needs work. The first example is the country’s ability to reduce the rate of HIV and Syphilis transmission from mother to infant to less than 2 percent in 2016. Thailand is the second country in the world that has been able to do this. This success was due to the implementation of the national AIDS policy to prevent new transmissions in people of all ages and genders. Thailand had implemented its policy by: 1. Conducting blood tests to discover the virus, with follow up evaluations. 2. Treating HIV infected patients with potent anti-viral medication. 3. Readying all medical facilities and personnel at all levels to be able to service patients. 4. Providing free antenatal care in order to ensure quality delivery as well as the safety and hygiene of both the mother and the infant. This is part of the country's policy to implement programmes that start from the day of birth, to enhance the potential of our human resources. This success is due to the cooperation between the state, the private sector, international organizations and the public. Meanwhile, an example of a policy yet to reach fruition is the caring of trees in our cities. Consistent effort needs to put into ensuring the growth of a tree throughout its life. These shortcomings can be seen in our trees in cities as well as reforestation efforts. Another issue is how to properly trim trees so that they don’t interfere with power
Another issue is disposing of trees that could damage power lines should a storm cause its branches to fall. A long term solution would be to better plan cable routes. If not, we should find ways to better trim trees and figure out whether we could salvage trees if possible. I’ve called for an urban plant management system similar to what exists in other countries. We can learn from what other countries are doing regarding this matter. For this matter, I ask for cooperation between the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, the Metropolitan Electricity Authority, Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand, Provincial Electricity Authority, Department of Highways, as well as the Ministries of Energy, Interior and Transport. This issue can only be solved through a concerted effort between all of these agencies.

Therefore, certain laws need to be amended in order to ensure proper urban planning. We’ve been able to expropriate land for the purpose of roads and train tracks, but this is not enough for cable lines and trees. This means that trees have had to be planted in confined areas and thus needed to be cut when too big. Trees are seen as a welcome sight to an urban landscape, but if not planted properly, can cause much trouble to residents. Therefore, we need to have proper tree trimming that is not only practical but also aesthetically pleasing. There are examples in other countries of ways to trim trees or planning cable lines through or around trees. We need to figure out how we can preserve trees in an urban environment instead of just resorting to cutting them down like we do. This requires creativity and attention to detail on the part of the person in charge. From now on, there should be more extensive follow up on tree planning efforts. We also need to assess why some areas were not successful. This may be because people do not fully understand the many details of reforestation. Government agencies can provide means for planting trees but we must first examine whether there is enough water or people to care for the trees also. If trees aren’t planted in their proper environments and if they're not properly cared for, they’ll all die. Therefore, we need to reconsider our reforestation efforts. Trees need to be taller than 2 meters. They should also be planted during the rainy season. Another good practice is to plant trees in economically viable areas or in communities that have access to agencies that could care for the trees. Otherwise, we will be wasting our
efforts. In the past, Thailand has long had problems in 3 main areas, consisting of the legislation, public administration and the legal system. This administration has sought to solve the problems that can be dealt with in these areas, during the limited time it has. For long-term issues, this government has laid the framework for the future and has progressed in the first phase of addressing these issues. For legislation, in the past 7 years many pieces of legislation have taken a long time to be passed. From 2008 to 2014, only 120 laws were passed. These were mostly necessary pieces of legislation such as international treaties and some laws on reducing inequalities. However laws regarding social orderliness and organisation were too controversial during a time of political conflict and therefore, were not able to be effectively considered.

This government has been working on this issue for the past two years and since 2014, a total of 172 laws have been promulgated. This government does not cater to political interests, but rather to uphold the interests of the nation as a whole as well as the common good. We have also not attempted to intervene in the judicial process like previous governments did in the past. [These are also] ‘quality’ laws, or laws that many groups, both within and outside the country have been waiting for, as they have an impact on our country’s standing, as well as our confidence. For instance there has progress in the area of commercial law where there are now acts governing the ship mortgages and maritime law, business insurance acts, acts that govern copyright laws, the Thai Rubber Act, the Trade Secrets Act, and the Bankruptcy Act. In terms of our international legal obligations, we also have the Wildlife Preservation and Protection Act in accordance with CITES, the Counter Terrorism Financing Act, the Anti Money Laundering Act, and the Anti Human Trafficking Act. There were issues regarding our air travel in this country which we addressed with laws regarding the ICAO. We also have laws on IUU fishing as well as the Trademark Act as per the Madrid Protocol. Turning to laws dealing with social disparities, there have been those that the public have been calling for, for example in taxes. We have introduced acts to deal with inheritance as well as the Homeless Protection Act, the Debt Act, the Disaster Insurance Act, and the Life Insurance Act. On to matters concerning humanitarian affairs and social welfare, we have introduced the Media Development Fund Act, the Dormitory Act, the Animal Welfare Act, an act that governs the birth of a child by
technology assisted medicine, the Anti Child Pornography Act, the Teenage Pregnancy Act, the Animal Testing Act, and the National Savings Fund Act. To maintain public orderliness and safety we have introduced the Public Gatherings Act, as well as the Security Act for private security firms. In terms of improving laws, in the term between 2559 and 2560, we will accelerate the implementation of the first group, which includes laws on reforms in government policies such as: the criminal code regarding drugs, the Public Procurement Act, the Land and Building Tax Act, the Trade Competition Act, an act that looks at how to properly allocate the budget, the Correctional Act, the Corporate Enterprise Act, the Community Enterprise Act, and the Education Loan Fund Act. The second group includes organic laws, where we need to look into many details. For instance, ministerial decrees must now be consistent with one another. Along with a new constitution, there must also be the supporting laws that govern implementation and public participation. We are expediting these as best as we can. The third group has to do with legal reforms as required by the constitution such as: the reform of the police force, education, and other laws that the constitution stipulates that must be instated within an allotted time frame. For example, these may include laws concerning the 120 day national strategy plan, the 120 day legislative reform plan, the 240 day environmental plan, and the 240 day fiscal discipline plan. In group 2, efforts to fixing the bureaucracy in the past may have resulted in too many overlapping laws, with modern ones being mixed with outdated ones. This may have come about because there was not enough checking into how necessary each law was. Over the years, this has resulted in many issues taking too much time to resolve and then often with overlapping laws. Sometimes there is no one is ultimately responsible because many ministries are working independently under different budgets. This government has therefore issued a decree for it to be mandatory to review laws every 5 years. In addition, when introducing new laws, certain procedures will have to be followed. The law must satisfy a checklist of 10 items including such things as how they affects sub-laws, and how they affect integration between activities and agencies etc. Secondly, in contacting government agencies, in the past, people would have to spend a lot of time as there involved many procedural steps. As a result, there had to be a lot of preparation with multiple documents. This government has thus tried to improve this by introducing e-
Government. We have to get used to using IT systems in our work. We have introduced many One Stop Service centers all over the country as well as an Ease of Access Act in order to examine approval processes within the government, and to make sure that it is transparent, clear, and quick. This will also prevent corruption and bribes.

The third thing I would like to touch on is mechanisms for dealing with corruption. This government has amended laws pertaining to the NACC, AMLO, and the PACC so that they will be free from political interference. We have also increased their inspection powers. In addition, we have increased the Centers for Anti Corruption and introduced the e-Bidding system for government procurement. The fourth issue has to do with adjusting salaries. Civil servants and their wage fall into 5 categories. Some categories will not receive any adjustments to wage, but will receive some minor changes. This is because civil servants must pay tax just like everyone else. This money comes back to look after us all. The fifth issue is to provide a channel through the Damrongdharma centers where the public can ask the government for help. Some things can be solved very quickly. Many hundreds of thousands of issues have been resolved in this manner in the last 2 years, probably about 90%. The third matter is how to correct the problems in the justice system. This includes the bringing of a number of important cases into the judicial process such as: lese majeste cases, the rice scheme cases, KhlongDan cases, and the Phillip Morris cases. These are issues that must be resolved by the justice system. We will not interfere into the system. The second thing is to solve problems regarding the progress of several important cases, for example in instances where there has been a delayed processing time for cases involving human trafficking or drugs. These types of cases have thus been opened up in lower courts. In cases where the courts may be subject to influence by local figures, such cases can now take place in another area. If a case requires a lot of funds, or is not convenient, there is now the Justice Fund Act which will provide funds for those who can’t afford to go through the courts whether they are the defendants or the accused. All of this is in order to maintain equality, justice and peacefulness in Thailand. However, there are still many other issues that must be addressed. This government has provided a road map that will take us to the first phase of reform by
the year 2017. After that, it’s up to the national reform and strategic plans over 20 years. These will be evaluated and reviewed every 1-5 years, or 4 times in total, which means 4 sub-plans in 20 years. All this can be accomplished with our initiative, our resolve, as well as consistency on the part of the government as well as the civil servants involved. I’d like to ask for the cooperation from the public on these 3 things. If something is defective in the government, it doesn’t necessarily mean that the individual civil servants themselves are defective. Management/the executive must also take responsibility. They have to order, follow up, and understand and be empathetic to civil servants. In addition, many politicians have come out and said that defects in government action are usually because of ineffective civil servants, and therefore, they are not responsible. You can go see for yourself, who has said this. Success in all our endeavors will not happen if all of us refuse to work together, refuse to cooperate, and refuse to look at how the nation will benefit as a whole. To bring this country and the people towards stability, prosperity and sustainability, with the principles of the Sufficiency Economy, we must mobilise our efforts through the Pracharat approach.

Thank you very much. Good night. I hope you have an enjoyable weekend. Sawasdee Krub.

Appendix 3.37

From the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy to Sustainable Development Goals – October 21, 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. On Thursday, October 13, the country and the Thai people had to endure the devastating loss of His Majesty the King who deeply loved and cared for his people, and whose benevolence could only be compared to that of Mahajanaka. If the Thai people can love each other and have good intentions for each other, if only for a fraction that His Majesty had for his people, and if the Thai people sought to contribute to society and the nation in the same way, the Thai people would be the happiest people in the world. Thailand would be the most prosperous and secure country in the world. His Royal Highness The Crown Prince of Thailand has graciously commanded for the government to organise the Royal Funeral Ceremonies.
according to ancient Royal traditions and in the highest order, as well as to take advice from Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn in Royal Funeral-related ceremonies, including the construction of the Royal crematory and the Songtham Pavilion. His Royal Highness has also emphasized the need to look after the well-being of the Thai people as best as possible during this time. In light of this, the government has pledged that it would carry out this command with the participation of the Thai people in all aspects, and with the highest order and honour. The government and I vow that we will carry out our duties within the many Royal Activities, in accordance with His Majesty’s saying that “We shall reign with righteousness for the benefit and the happiness of Siamese people”, and with loyalty, integrity, and our utmost efforts. We pledge our everlasting devotion to the nation, religion, and the monarchy. Although the features and the name of this week’s program have been changed, the substantive issues are basically the same. I will talk to you about His Majesty’s quotes, wishes, experiments and studies in relation to sustainable practices in development. I will inform you about how the government, during the past two years, has been utilizing His Majesty’s principles that are in line with the United Nations’ sustainable development goals (SDGs). I will talk to you all about this so that you understand where the country is headed. Although His Majesty the King has passed, His Majesty’s thinking and Philosophy live on. His teachings, advice, principles of work, and the examples that He set shall always remain with the Thai people. His Majesty would ‘teach us in thinking’ and ‘show us in doing’ throughout the past 70 years. The Philosophies of His Majesty can be applied to all dimensions and matters we can think of, ranging from our daily activities and professions, to matters dealing with national administration, in so far that sustainable development has become the direction for the government and all civil servants.

In this light, the King’s Philosophy, which has been lauded around the world, that correlates to the global agenda set by the United Nations to achieve sustainable development goals (SDGs 2030) in the next 15 years, is the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej, which was bestowed to Thai people 40 years ago. This Philosophy has been lauded by the United Nations, as then UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan presented the United Nations first Human
Development Lifetime Achievement Award to the King 10 years ago. The Philosophy strengthens individuals and communities to be ready and resilient to all challenges. The United Nations has espoused for all member states to consider this Philosophy for sustainable development. The government, during the past two years, has been encouraging the Thai people to follow His Majesty’s Sufficiency Economy Philosophy and adopt it in various aspects. The Philosophy can even be applied to household budgeting, which helps build stability for the family, the smallest but most important unit in society. The family is the most important institution when it comes to fostering and nurturing a human being. The National Savings Fund can serve as a source of stability by advocating planning for retirement. It can also reduce social disparities by providing access to a better retirement system for low-income people and freelance workers. Unlike civil servants, these people do not get pensions when they retire. In addition, they don’t have provident funds like employees of private companies. Encouraging members of the public to adopt His Majesty’s Sufficiency Economy Philosophy at the family level can have an impact on national-level problems, and will also be in line with His Majesty’s work principle, which emphasizes solving problems by a step-by-step approach. We must look at the problem in a big picture while solutions should come step by step. This is often overlooked by many people. To further advocate the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy internationally, whether it is the G77, G20, or the ACD, this administration has presented several success stories in achieving sustainable self-sufficiency at the grassroots level. This includes programs on environmental conservation and coexistence from His Majesty’s 6 regional development centers, consisting of Khao Hin Sorn Royal Development Study Center in Chachoengsao, Huai Sai Education Development Center in Phetchaburi, Kung Krabaen Bay Study Center in Chanthaburi, Phu Phan National Park in Sakon Nakhon, Huai Hong Khrai in Chiang Mai, and Pikunthong Royal Development Study Center in Narathiwat. Moreover, the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy is not a fixed formula, and can be adapted to local contexts, capacities, and with considerations on the diversity of each region and country.
Each country will need to find what method most suits them and can will share experiences and expertise in sustainable development, whether it be the implementation of the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy, innovations in green technology and energy, or environmentally-friendly development. Given this, the government will carry on with His Majesty’s aspirations for the 4,000 Royal projects around the country by creating learning centers and utilizing the latest technologies to improve the well-being of the people. Various ministries will also establish their own learning centers, such as The Ministry of Education’s 7,000 plus learning centers on the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy and modern farming practices, and the Ministry of Digital Economy & Society’s 2,000 plus learning centers on information and communication technology to mobilize the country’s digital economy, ‘the Thailand 4.0’ agenda, and smart farming practices. Also important is the establishment of the 20 year national strategy as well as the National Social and Economic Development Plans for the years 2016-2021. As for the King’s Philosophy on water management, His Majesty paid particular interest to water source development, as was once stated: “Most importantly, the people must have water for consumption and agriculture. This is because people can’t live without water. People can’t live without electricity either, but if there is electricity but no water, then the people would not be able to live.” Therefore, developing water sources for agricultural purposes has been an important and beneficial undertaking, particularly in order to enable the people to conduct agricultural activities throughout the year. Currently, farms outside the reach of irrigation systems have had to rely on rain and natural water sources. This means that crops may not be provided with sufficient water supply. In addition, erratic rainfall has resulted in underperformance in crop yields. His Majesty established the Royal Rainmaking Project to address the increased frequency of droughts due to climate change as well as deforestation. His Majesty spent 14 years to research the project, reviewing documents and research findings before the program’s eventually unveiling in 1969. His Majesty personally followed up on the progress of rainmaking projects and established a special center for Royal rainmaking, offering it with continuous funding and support. The Kaem Ling flood alleviation project was established in 1995 to address the issue of flooding in Bangkok by draining excess water from upper regions to large storage canals. Pa Sak Jolasid Dam was established to serve as a
source of water for public consumption, industry, agriculture, fishing, fish breeding, and flood prevention for the lower Chao Phraya region, including Bangkok and its vicinity. Khlong Lat Pho is a Royal water management program, integrating the work of many agencies to reduce the flow of water from the Chao Phraya River from 18 kilometers to 600 meters. The project also served as a hydroelectric power plant. It was, therefore, one project that benefitted the country in two ways. Given all this, the government has incorporated His Majesty’s approaches towards addressing flooding, droughts and climate change, in its 12-year comprehensive water management plan, addressing all phases of the issue. The management plan includes the use of ground water for drought relief, agriculture, and plumbing in villages and schools. It also includes water for industrial and agricultural production, as well as the prevention of saltwater intrusion to preserve the ecosystem. The government will also support efficient water management, both within and outside irrigation areas, by introducing the use of agri-maps for zone management, establishing large-scale community farms, improving on crop cycling, and supporting hybrid farms. Those who are interested in these new support policies can visit any of the Ministry of Agriculture’s 882 centers across the country. Everyone is welcome to incorporate the information and expertise provided by the centers into their own farming activities. This will serve to reduce conflicts in our communities as well. Whether it involves water, farming or low crop prices, the Ministry of Agriculture will solve such problems comprehensively by looking at the whole system. On matters of water, the Ministries of Interior and Natural Resources and Environment will also be involved, and will also oversee issues relating to land management. All these matters, whether it be water, agriculture, forest encroachment, land management, or crop pricing – all of them are connected, and we can effectively handle them by adopting His Majesty’s approaches. As for royal rainmaking, Royal permission has been granted to 4 countries to use our methodology. These countries are Australia, Tanzania, Oman, and Jordan. Thailand is also in the process of preparing for its implementation in Bhutan as well. To the people of Thailand, During this very difficult time, I must thank all of you once again for your charitable spirit in helping the various government agencies facilitate services to people traveling to the Grand Palace. I must thank all the students from Thammasat University, Huachiew University, Rajamangala University of
Technology, Chitrakada School, Wat Singha High School, Satri Wat Rakhang School, Wat Noi Noppakun School, Yothinburana School, Wimuttayarampittayakorn School, Siam Technology College, Shrewsbury International School, as well as scouts from numerous institutions and many more that unfortunately I won’t have time to mention now. I apologize for that. I must also thank the many foundations, private organizations, celebrities and performers; and last but not least, the everyday citizens who have come to lend a hand whether it was to help hand out food and drinks, clean up garbage, ease congestion, organize things, or help the old and disabled. There have been people who have offered free haircuts and even free health care. We will continue to distribute basic goods to those who are camped out as it is still the rainy season and we are worried they might get sick. Whenever people are gathered in such a way, there is always the risk to catch something. Also, if you have young children, please give them a name tag or card with details in case they get lost in the crowds. The same goes for people with medical conditions like high blood pressure, epilepsy, and diabetes that might be unable to communicate at times. We will do our best to look after the multitudes of people from all over the country who will be coming to pay their final respects at Sanam Luang.

I believe these virtuous deeds are testimony to our devotion to our ‘Royal Father’. I have seen people give up their time to help others, to help society, and for the greater good. Being a ‘giver’ is something that His Majesty had always embodied. During his 70 year Reign, His Majesty did everything he could for his people. I hope we can learn something from His example both today and into the future. A virtuous deed can be done any day for anyone. We should try to avoid conflicts. Please refrain from fighting and try solving your problems with calm words. As for having a ‘public service mind’, this is something that is perhaps more significant than ever for our country. It shows that we are decent, civilized, and selfless as we follow in the footsteps of His Majesty. Government agencies cannot truly succeed if they do not follow the ‘Pracharat model’ in supporting cooperation between the public and private sectors. We admit that there are many different views society. But immediately passing judgment on a different viewpoint is not right. There has to be reasoning. It must be based on principles and reason, and after investigating into the facts.
Importantly, there are judicial procedures in existence. If we can all respect each other rights, and respect the courts, our society would have more peacefulness and less conflict. We must not have ‘kangaroo courts’ or use violence to settle matters. Instead, we must use reason and our existing laws. Local officials must be vigilant and prevent these incidents from happening. In addition, it’s also important for them find out what is really happening and let the local people in their communities know. Things we read about on social media are not always true. We can’t afford to get the wrong information as that can lead to strife. I ask that everyone come together and help move our country forward towards sustainable development. We must continue His Majesty’s initiatives and carry on His Majesty’s aspirations for our country with knowledge, compassion, and the solidarity of the Thai people. In this way we will make Thailand stable, prosperous and sustainable. During this period, there are many sources of information and news that people are paying attention to. I must ask the public to focus their attention on government media outlets. Please refrain from indiscriminately believing and sharing things you read about online. Many of these stories are not entirely true or completely false, which can thus create confusion or misconceptions over sensitive issues. In addition, in some cases it may even be against the law and damaging to our most cherished and highest institution as well as our nation. Finally, on behalf of the government, I wish to thank the Thai people across the country once again for your cooperation as well as your selflessness during this time of national bereavement. We will get through this together with wisdom, courage, and with firm resolve to follow the example of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej. His Majesty will live on in our hearts and I believe He will continue to watch over all of us and our nation always.

Appendix 3.38

From the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy to Sustainable Development Goals – October 28, 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. On behalf of the people of the Kingdom of Thailand, I would like to convey my deep appreciation to the many leaders of other
countries, as well as international organisations, such as the United Nations, for sending their messages of condolence on the passing of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej the Great, and for expressing your sympathies and paying tribute by signing books of condolences, observing minutes of silence, and lowering national flags. These gestures by other nations show their understanding and deep sympathy for the Thai people on the passing of a most beloved Monarch and thus a great loss to the Thai nation. Their gestures also illustrate their admiration for His Majesty’s commitment and contributions to our nation and the Thai people for over 70 years. His Majesty was the world’s longest-reigning living monarch. Other nations have also recognized His Majesty’s work principles and Sufficiency Economy Philosophy, which greatly benefits humanity. I would also like to thank members of the public, every nationality, and every religion for commemorating the King’s graciousness and benevolence and for expressing your devotion and loyalty to His Majesty the Late King. Thank you for coming together to sing the Royal Anthem at Sanam Luang and thank you for offering assistance to others. Although His Majesty the King has passed, His teachings and His philosophies will live on. This is especially so for the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy, which His Majesty had graciously bestowed to the Thai people 40 years ago as a guideline for development and building stronger communities, and for leading secure lives as good citizens, grounded in morality, ethics, honesty and unity, so that we can work together to engender development and progress for our nation. I also wish to extend my appreciation to the Morality Promotion Center under the Ministry of Culture, for launching a book, “Terd Khao Pok Kade,” which contains the King’s remarks and teachings about the 5 moral principles namely: honesty, discipline, responsibility, having a social service mind, and self-sufficiency. With this, The Thai people will be able to learn more from His Majesty’s teachings. It is also a way of showing our loyalty to the King, by making sure that such virtuous aspects continue in Thai society.

The virtue of “sufficiency” means to live in a sufficient way or maintain a middle path. One should make decisions based on rationality and knowledge. We should have moderation and learn to be satisfied with what we have, while not violating others in our pursuit of own goals, and not being careless as we enhance our own capacities to
be ready for changes. The government has thus incorporated the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy into the 20-year National Strategy, as well as the 12th NESDB Social and Economic Development Plan (2017-2021), with focus on turning theory into practice for sustainable development in all levels. For this, the government has set up the Sustainable Development Commission, which is chaired by the Prime Minister. The commission works under the Pracharat policy, which is to get all agencies and sectors involved, including the Federation of Thai Industries, the Thai Chamber of Commerce, the Chulabhorn Research Institute, the Thailand Environment Institute, the Good Governance for Social Development and the Environment Institute, and the Thailand Development Research Institute. Another key factor to success is reforming the management of state budget, meaning that government funds must be distributed based on strategy. To elaborate, every ministry and agency must brainstorm ideas and formulate plans, projects, and activities that are beneficial for other related agencies. There will be short, medium, and long term plans that actually coincide with the 20-year National Strategy and the NESDB’s social and economic development plans. Let’s take human resource development in the next 20 years for example. The matter takes into account the well-being and welfare of the people. We will take care of the poor and the elderly, and thus will have urgent measures, and a short term or 1-year plan that is relevant with the developments expected to take place in the next 20 years. The plan is to turn the uniqueness of each local area into something that fits modern society and will lead to improved living standards, higher added values, and higher incomes. The plan ultimately seeks to help drive the country into the Thailand 4.0 era, in accordance with the government’s vision to create stability, prosperity, and sustainability, with the country progressing as a robust and acknowledged democracy. The Sufficiency Economy Philosophy is our guideline to sustainable development. An important element is human resource development and building an inner or fundamental strength within our societies. With this, we will be able to connect with the global economy effectively and ready to take on its many challenges. The journey starts with building self-reliance ability and then coming together as groups and networks. Then, we need to increase knowledge opportunities for the people and create an awareness of the situation. People should then understand the concept of sustainable development so that future growth can be realized. Therefore, the traits
of a 4.0 Thai Person under the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy is simply to 1) fill when empty, 2) stop when there’s enough, and 3) share when have more than enough. This practice will then turn the country into Thailand 4.0. The Sufficiency Economy Philosophy builds on stability and allows everyone to grow without leaving anybody behind. We will move forward together.

The concept of Thailand 4.0 is a main reform agenda that seeks to move the country past 3 pitfalls including 1) the medium income trap, 2) the inequality trap, and 3) the imbalance trap. This initiative will be driven under the model of stability, prosperity, and sustainability through 3 new engines – 1) building growth from within, 2) enhancing the country’s competitive edge, and 3) building sustainability by maintain balance in the economy, society, and the environment, what we can call, green development. Building stability at the grassroots sector is a good example. The Cabinet on Tuesday resolved to endorse a budget to develop 74,000 villages nationwide under the Pracharat approach. Each village will be granted 250,000 baht. This project is an outgrowth of two previous projects namely 1) 5 million baht per Tambon project and 2) 200,000 baht per village project. According to the latest survey by the National Statistical Office, more than 90% of the respondents were highly satisfied with the project because they truly benefited from them and were allowed to voice their input on how the projects could be carried out. The new projects will receive funds from the 2017 fiscal budget. The implementation period is 90 days. Each village will receive 250,000 baht. In order to make this project worthwhile and yield maximum benefits, I have issued additional instructions for the budget not be spent on matters or equipment that don’t generate income. The money will thus be used for community projects such as on crop drying fields, rice mills, and farming equipment. The funds must not be fragmentally spent with no returns. The money should be used for the majority of the people in the community, not individuals. What’s important is that members of the community must partake in the project from the very beginning, helping to formulate the implementation plan and managing the operation in the form of cooperatives. If the public understands and cooperates, the government is willing to continue to support these projects in all provinces. For over 2 years, this government has incorporated the Sufficiency
Economy Philosophy into its policies in order to achieve sustainable development for the country, while also adhering to the King’s Philosophy towards work as stated by His Majesty on July 18, 1974. In essence, His Majesty stated that one must start with the people’s most basic needs, such as public health and self-care, in order to reduce medical costs and promote wellness. When the people are healthy, they will be able to carry on with other beneficial work for society. After that, focus on basic public services and the necessities, such as roads and water sources for agriculture and consumption. This includes providing access to academic knowledge and technological proficiency, and focusing on making the most benefit out of local assets for the people. Examples of the government’s social policies include: 1. Healthcare planning and development policies such as (1) Providing 1 family practitioner for every 10,000 people (2) Providing access to emergency services at all hospitals (3) Establishing the 1669 emergency medical hotline (4) Expanding on the use of traditional Thai medicines for first aid and for promoting innovation among local Thai practices. 2. Welfare and social equality policies include: (1) Providing housing for 2.7 million households: “Din Dang Community,” “Pathum Model,” “Lad Prao Waterfront Community” (2) Increasing stipends for children, the disabled and the elderly (3) Establishing the One Stop Service centers with the hotline 1111 and Damrongdham centers with the hotline 1567. Education reform policies include: (1) Dual-track vocational curriculums (2) Distance learning through DLTV satellite (3) Establishing learning centers, such as the centers for Sufficiency Economy Philosophy and modern farming practices, centers for enhancing agricultural efficiency, and community learning centers on information and communication technology.

Economic policies include 1. Integrated water management policies, including flood, drought, and wastewater management, and reservoirs. These projects aim to increase water reserves and provide effective water irrigation which will benefit lower areas as well as the central regions of the country. These projects are being undertaken to ensure sustainable water management. 2. Reclaiming forest land, forest restoration, allocating land for farming, community forests, large-scale community farms, encouraging a variety of planting activities, smart farming methods, organic and
sustainable farming, which supports the use of organic fertilizers that are not only environmentally friendly, but also add value to crops. 3. Research, development and innovation promotion, such as innovation cities like “Foodnopolis”, agricultural processing, and supporting research projects that relate to the country’s needs in order to yield results in the domestic market and thereby reduce dependence on imports. 4. Investing in infrastructure for land, water, air transport and telecommunications and the internet in order to enhance connectivity and mobility to all regions. 5. Establishing the Pracharat Rak Samakee Company, state-run social enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, community markets, elevating OTOP products and small businesses to the global market. In this area, we’ve received support from many private companies and I would like to thank all for your support. 6. Establishing special economic zones, the Eastern Economic Corridor, supporting 10 target industries according to the Thailand 4.0 model. All of this will create a new value chain that will increase income for the country and enable further development. 7. Registering patents and copyrights. All of these undertakings have been the product of this administration’s work in progress for 2 years under the King’s Philosophies. Even though the Thai economy hasn’t grown as much as it should have, due to external factors as well as internal restructuring, positive signs in various sectors have surfaced, such as,

1. Agricultural output and prices have improved in certain products compared to last year. September’s agricultural output index rose by 4 percent from the same period last year, after being in the red for several months. This has been due to increased harvesting of corn and cassava. The overall agricultural pricing index for September grew by 8 percent compared to the same period last year. 2. The industrial output index for August has increased by 3.1 percent compared to the same period last year due to an expansion in the food and electrical appliances industry. 3. Our international trade value in September also expanded by 3.4 percent, marking the second consecutive month of expansion. Exports to Thailand’s major trade partners such as the European Union, China, the United States and Japan have continued to increase. 4. In August, the country was visited by 2.87 million tourists, an 11 percent increase compared to the same period last year, with the majority of tourists coming from China, Malaysia, Japan and Laos. In addition, the government has expedited
budget disbursements of state projects to facilitate cash/monetary flow. In the 2016 fiscal year, budget disbursements increased by 7.9 percent compared to the same period last year, consisting of a 5.1 percent growth in recurring projects, while disbursements for investment programs grew by 34.4 percent. The country’s debt-to-GDP ratio is currently at 42.6 percent, well below the country’s healthy threshold of under 60 percent.

In addition, the government has placed great importance on improving the ease of doing business. The Word Bank has ranked Thailand 46 out of 190 on its Ease of Doing Business Report for 2017. This is a 3 point improvement from last year's report. This was due to improvements in business application procedures such as payment systems, access to credit programs and insolvency management procedures. The country’s medium and long term economic outlook as forecasted by the National Economic and Social Development Board, the Bank of Thailand, and the Ministry of Finance indicate to an overall growth, for 2016 and 2017, of approximately 3 percent. If there had been no structural changes like we have seen, we could have expected the country’s economy to grow at a slower pace in the next 5 to 10 years, given the current volatility in the global economy, which also shows no sign of returning to stability in the near future. Therefore, this government has been trying to promote sustainable economic growth all along. This doesn’t mean simply raising the GDP but rather achieving growth across many different sectors in every region of the country. We will not focus on one particular area more than others, and we must ensure that government stability is maintained. This means ensuring stability and normalcy in our political and security situation as well. As for the various projects that we have already begun and those which are on the verge of being implemented, these include: economic development plans such as the Thailand 4.0 initiative, the development of special economic zones, East Economic Corridor (EEC) development, the restructuring of the agricultural production cycles, the improvement of water resources and soil quality, and the development of plant species and animal conservation. We will also be focusing on promoting innovation to add value to our local agricultural and industrial goods, the rehabilitation of our tourist destinations to, and the promotion of workforce development and education in order to meet the
demands of the private sector and the future development plans of the country. All of the aforementioned projects will be undertaken under His Majesty the King’s “people centered” development strategy. This is to prevent conflicts from arising in local areas and to include local residents in the process which, in turn, will benefit them and improve their well-being. In addition to this, the government has a project for the private sector to participate with the public sector (PPP) in investing in several infrastructure projects. This will lower overhead costs on these essential construction sites. It is an investment in our future and will also stand as testimony to our ability to compete on the international stage in terms of investment opportunities. It will also serve to facilitate the needs, and reduce manufacturing costs for both the public and private sectors.

However, we still do not earn enough to invest in very large projects. As we cannot collect full tax revenues, we will be borrowing part of the funds from the private sector. This “public debt” will soon pay itself off, as it earns revenue for the country over the years. We will also maintain this to a level below 60% of our GDP. If in the future, our economy improves and we are able to use a more effective taxation system, the government will be able to invest more and will no longer need to take out these loans. In turn, the public will receive better services and welfare, and the quality of life will improve. In particular, we will be able to focus more on public health and education. In this way, as the government earns more and is able to invest more, the people, especially low income earners, will benefit more as well. I sincerely empathize with you all. If everyone in Thailand cooperates with one another and works together, without disputing all the time or just looking out for self interests, we will have a prosperous and sustained growth, with economic, monetary, and fiscal stability. As for the connection between the King’s Philosophy and the global Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the government has had several successes. We have raised awareness and recognition of this on the international stage at the G77, G20 and ACD meetings. We have proven that the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy is a viable method by which we can achieve our sustainable development goals. For example: 1. The Hub Kapong Learning Center for addressing the lack of potable water, as well as the lack of arable land - the Center achieves this through
simple technology that is easily affordable. Through this, poverty was tackled, and we were able to create a stronger community and achieve the 1st goal of the SDGs, which is to “end poverty in all its forms in all areas.”  

2. The Food Bank has been set up with a Lunch Fund that will be in service indefinitely. Here, students are also invited to spend time learning about growing their own produce and farming small livestock. In turn, the schools will purchase these products from the students and use them to prepare school lunches. With their additional revenue the students can then reinvest that money into their family, and their education. This is all in line with the SDG’s 2nd goal which is “ending hunger, and having constant access to food to elevate nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture.”  

3. The Phra Dabod School has organized 1 year training courses which graduates can then begin careers from. These courses are taught in line with other necessary life skills required in those fields including knowledge, discipline, perseverance and responsibility. This is in line with the 4th SDG goal which is “provide comprehensive and quality education for all as well as opportunities for lifelong learning.”  

4. The Chaipattana Aerator is a way in which we can increase the amount of oxygen in in water while decreasing odors, preventing rot, and creating a habitat for aquatic wildlife. This is in accordance with the 6th SDG goal, which is to “provide hygienic and sustainable water management”.  

5. The Pracharat Rak Samakee Company Ltd. has been focusing on social enterprise through the Pracharat model. This is a non-profit undertaking to promote entrepreneurship within local communities. This meets the 10th SDg goals, which is to “reduce inequality within and between countries”. These were but some of many possible examples. I have seen that the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy can be quite universal in this regard. It is similar to a vaccine that can prevent a disease, as it serves to address carelessness and uncertainty in much the same way. If left unchecked, these things can have a negative impact on our economy, society and environment just like a disease can on the body. Thailand is honoured to be able to share this Philosophy and show that it is very applicable in sustainable development endeavours throughout the world. We should all work towards international development through cooperation, without leaving anyone behind. Finally, as to the matter of the decline of the price of rice, in particular jasmine rice, which has seen a very high decline in the Eastern provinces; this is in part due to the recent mill
purchases, the high level of humidity from the recent floods affecting the quality of the rice, and competition driving down the price on the international market. In light of this, the government will be undertaking urgent measures to help these farmers affected as soon as possible. I hope that by no later than next week, we will be able to conduct an urgent meeting to address this matter and present it to the cabinet. In this way, we will be able to take action as soon as we can. I would like to thank the farmers for your hard work, patience and sacrifices. The government is well aware of what you all go through and we will do what we can to help. Another issue is the declining prices of longans. The Ministry of Interior in partnership with the Pracharat Rak Samakee Company Ltd. have used the Krung Kasem Market near Government House to showcase longans from 3 different southern provinces including Yala, Patani, and Narathiwat. These will be available for purchase from October 26th to November 2nd. Also available at this time will be processed longan, longan juice, and longan ice cream as well as the usual food vendors and OTOP products. I’d like to invite anyone interested to please come and visit the market.

Appendix 3.39

From the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy to Sustainable Development Goals – November 11, 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. Today’s topics will be light, but important. It is about how to look after low-income earners as we move and invest towards the Thailand 4.0 era. This drive towards a more advanced economy is necessary but will not mean disregarding low income earners. It will be about creating more opportunities, alternatives and access for all, especially through the use of a digital platform such as through smartphones, etc. This will allow people to learn more about how to make a living, such as about trading and commerce etc. In the end, this will prove beneficial for everyone. In the initial phase, farmers should form as professional groups in their own area as a way to opening up a new channel, controlling the quality of their crops, and thereby enhancing negotiating power. Of course, the government will not make this compulsory, especially in the world of free trade, but there is
nevertheless a real need to change our farming practices in this day and age. Instead of farming individually, farmers are encouraged to work together through the “large scale” concept, so that resources can be pooled and shared more effectively. In this case water demand can be matched in accordance with water supply and there can be calculations and forecasting so as to allow farmers to grow appropriate crops at the right time, as well as crops that meet market demands in the country and overseas. We should also think about how to reduce humidity levels in our crops, especially rice. Humidity in crops lowers prices. What do we need to do for the farmers to have their own equipment for their communities and cooperatives? The government will therefore engender the creation these farmer groups. Members of the public, farmers, civil servants, and community leaders can help gather information on this matter and help form these groups as well. Farmers should form groups of their own, register, and develop a database in order to support measures in administration and policy guidelines. At the moment there are over 8,000 cooperatives in Thailand, 4,000 of which belong in agriculture and need support. If they can form together in an official capacity, the government will be able to allocate a budget to assist in their operations and help solve their problems in terms of high costs and machinery, be it milling machines or fumigators. The government will be able to better provide support to farmers as groups, rather than individually. Therefore, I ask our farmers to consider the government’s advice in this area, and we will continue to learn from each other. As for government agencies that have adopted the King’s Philosophy, with more than 10,000 learning centers being set up countrywide for education on the SEP and the new agricultural theory and to help farmers enhance their production and knowledge of ICT – this is in order to create “smart farmers” for the new era, who are more resilient and skilled. As well, farmers should focus more on cooperating and sharing benefits with each other rather than on competing and undercutting each other in terms of prices. Moreover, if farmers don’t keep their own produce for future consumption or sales, and if they cannot form a professional group of their own, they will not have much negotiating power in the market. So for those that have yet to change - please look at others who have been successful. Many groups and villages have been successful by taking this approach and the Agriculture Ministry stands ready to inform you about this. The government understands that if grassroots
communities are strong, no one can monopolize the market. Once farmers are strong, traders will have to adjust, and mill operators will have to adjust, but all for the better. We are all Thais, so we need to work together for the benefit of the country in this way. So please help each other. This is how the whole cycle from production, processing, innovation, to marketing, can benefit. It creates a healthy chain and an adjustable market mechanism. Let’s take the “Khaokwan Suphan” project for example. This project has adopted the King’s Philosophy to create an innate will to embrace development, whereby the KhaoKwan Foundation, Rice Mills Association, and the industrial sector have joined hands in improving a rice strain called “Khao Ta Klueb,” a popular rice product of Suphan Buri. The crop is grown without the use of chemical substances, which is good for farmers, consumers, and the environment. Here, farmers can also become partners of the project, turning themselves from only producers to sellers. This is how everyone has adjusted well in the rice cycle. This is also how everyone has lent a hand to improve the rice industry. As for the overall target for the 2016/2017 rice farming season, it is expected that 57.86 million rai of farmland will be used for in-season rice farming. For land that may not be suitable for rice growing, the government will encourage farmers to replace rice with other crops and cattle, with 570,000 rai in total, where 420,000 rai will be for alternative farming and 150,000 for cattle raising. So far, we have had success in turning 200,000 rai into alternative crop farming zones and 100,000 rai into livestock fields. As for off-season rice, there are 9.26 million rai of farmland, 2.5 million rai of which will be used for alternative crops and the remaining 6.74 million rai will be for paddies. As for the third cycle of farming, which involves 500,000 rai, farmers will be asked to defer farming for soil rehabilitation. For all the plantation areas, the government has proposed to assist farmers in terms of cost reduction, crop seedlings, fertilizers, rent, quality control, cooperatives, large-scale farming, technological training, new rice farming practices, certification, water management, irrigation, machinery, and agricultural equipment. With cooperation from the public and the farmers under the Pracharat approach, the government has successfully converted 600 plots of farmland into large-scale plantations, benefiting more than 97,000 producers nationwide, covering more than 1.5 million ria of agricultural zones. Millions more remain unchanged, so if farmers can form into groups as mentioned, the government can then
allot budgets according to the needs of each area. If the government instead took the approach of trying to look after every individual farmer, we will simply not have enough money to do so. Therefore, not only does forming into groups make the farmers stronger, it also allows the government to cater to their needs more effectively. For example, rice producers will be able to increase production by 13% while reducing the cost by 19%. Furthermore, we can also educate the farmers on crop management, access to financial loans, processing, adding value to products, and marketing. The government is aiming to turn 400 more plots into large-scale plantations within this year, so that farmers have more alternatives. More importantly, this is in accordance with His Majesty the King’s guiding principles, in which He aspired for His people to be united when it came to solving community problems, which is an important foundation for self-improvement, especially the creation of cooperatives. Everywhere His Majesty travelled to in the country, royal projects were initiated to help the people. His Majesty always stressed the importance of the “group” in addressing problems faced by the community. This is to allow community members to cooperate in the most productive way. As you can see, many successful cooperatives under His Majesty’s projects were formed by small groups of people. As for the use of digital and online technologies, the aim is not to create market access for any particular group, but rather to introduce new channels and networks for all in order to connect with new customers, such as consumers of organic produce. At the same time, farmers should adapt and become stronger to be able to set fairer crop prices. As for the realization of Thailand 4.0 era, we need to build a system with innovation that allows us to make use of new technologies. Another example is a group of 24 farmers in Uttaradit. In their 270-rai plantation, they produce 150 tons of rice per year and sell it at 50,000 baht per ton. They have been operating under the “Petch Kho Rum” program and the King’s Philosophy for 14 years, forming a community rice center that promotes organic farming, with products high in nutrition and in market demand. They can also produce rice strains and fertilizers. They have also passed on their knowledge to other farmers and have helped others build their own brands. They also sell their crops online. Those buying from the group can resell the crops at 50 baht per kilogram to retailers and 70 baht per kilogram to end consumers. Because farming relies on water, we need to understand the basic
information about water management both inside and outside irrigation zones. At present, only 20% or 30 million rai of farmlands are inside the irrigation zones. Most of agricultural plantations, 80% or 120 million rai, are outside irrigation zones. Although the government cannot cater to every farm, it can ensure a sufficient amount of water for all types of consumption such as household use, agriculture, production, the industrial sector, and the eco-system. If we are unable to contain water, or if people oppose the construction of necessary dams or irrigation canals, we will not be able to implement flood management measures effectively. We also need a means to store sufficient amounts of water for the drought season. Therefore, regardless of the amount of water, the government must implement water management policies to disperse water evenly. We will need to plant crops in accordance to water availability in various areas or according to the correct season. We will examine the crop type, geographical profile, water availability and markets using our Agri Map application in conjunction with advice from relevant government agencies in order to swiftly tackle issues. The government assures you that we will implement agricultural policies in concurrence with environmental conservation efforts while maintaining an equal distribution of development efforts across various sectors and occupations. Thailand is not only comprised of farmers. Therefore, the government must care for all occupations. The country’s water supply flows from the north to the central region through the Ping, Wang, Yom and Nan Rivers, passing through the Bhumibol and Sirikit Dams. These water sources all converge into the Chao Phraya River. Currently, we are without a large reservoir that can retain all of the water flowing from the north. Therefore, if we lack an adequate irrigation system, we will always be confronted with floods and inundation. If we do not effectively implement the King’s Philosophy of Kaem-Ling dams, or fail to construct more dams in strategic areas, we won’t be able to store enough water for the drought seasons.

The challenges we still face stem from opposition from some local communities and environmental impact concerns. We must, therefore, find a way to implement our plans in a way that is environmentally friendly. Otherwise, we will be distressed with the same problems and fail to create sustainable solutions if we merely let all this water flow into the sea. Should water flow from the north past the Chao Phraya Dam
in Chai Nat Province at a rate faster than 2 billion cubic meters per second, and should we fail implement effective irrigation measures, Bangkok and the central region will be flooded and crops will be destroyed. We must, therefore, manage how much water we irrigate and retain at each time depending on current conditions. At this rate, the government views that areas susceptible to flooding will increase from 1.66 million Rai to 4.12 million Rai, which could result in increased damages worth up 25 billion baht to from 150 billion baht per year. These issues are the product of the country’s annual cycle of floods and droughts. Keep in mind that in order to effectively tackle these issues, the public will need to understand their nature and thus cooperate with water management policies, otherwise it will affect all of us and we will need to use even more government funds for assistance and rehabilitation. I affirm that this government will never forfeit its responsibility towards water management, but it also needs help through the public’s cooperation. I also ask NGOs to please understand the context of what the government is trying to do. It is noble to focus on environmental conservation and human rights protection, but consideration also needs to be given to the plight of the poor, the situation of our farmers and the need for development. Holding the government accountable for its actions is something we understand, but for this particular matter, we cannot control how much rain will fall in a given season. Deforestation has also amplified the impacts of climate change, worsening the affects of flooding which can’t be contained by our existing dams. This excess water will then flow into the central region, causing damage and destruction as I have highlighted earlier. Therefore, our country is always at risk from both too much and too little rain. These extreme weather patterns are due to changing climate conditions that affect all countries in this world. His Majesty King Bhumibol has already detailed a water management plan in which we have partially implemented in certain areas. In some areas, we are confronted by opposition from the locals and NGOs. Some areas are still using the same method of temporary assistance that is only short-term and fails to address the root cause. This does not promote sustainability and is continuously drains resources. I also welcome any suggestions to a plan that may be better than that plan that I have outlined. I also ask for cooperation from locals. Otherwise we will not be able to implement such proposals. This administration welcomes suggestions from all sides. However,
cooperation is vital to the successful implementation of long-term and sustainable solutions. The government is responsible for finding water supplies, markets, as well as ensuring that products are sold at a reasonable price. It is what we must do to alleviate the distress endured by many. However, policies cannot only addresses the symptoms of a problem. We all know the cause of our problems and, therefore, we must concentrate our efforts towards comprehensive, long-term solutions. I assure you that short-term solutions will never make the problem go away, regardless of the administration. The government is doing what it can to implement long-term solutions in areas where there is no resistance. However, a comprehensive solution requires that we implement our policies in all areas, as they are all connected to the problem.

Solutions must take into consideration all aspects of an issue, whether it be agricultural cycles, seasonality, retaining water with dams, or irrigating water to suitable areas. Without considering all these aspects, we will not be able to decisively tackle the issue. I also would like to thank those who have given their cooperation in areas that have seen successful constructions of Kaem Ling dams. These areas may need to bear the burden of holding up water for a while. I ask that others contribute by cooperating as well. Today, the Cabinet has approved the principles of a disaster mitigation plan in the lower Chao Phraya region and has included it in an integrated water management plan, which details an operation plan for the two sides of the Chao Phraya River, as follows: (1) Irrigation on the west side will include improving the irrigation efficiency of the Tha Chin River at 23 water bends. The project will improve the efficiency of narrow points for a total of 105 kilometers. It will also create 4 bypasses which will reduce the distance of the water stream from 50 kilometers to 10 kilometers, similar to the Khlong Lat Pho project. This includes improving on irrigation from Maha Sawat Canal to the sea. (2) Irrigation in the east side includes improvements and expansions to irrigation systems which will increase irrigation capacity from 200 to 400 cubic meters per second. Improvements to Chainat-Pasak Canal will increase irrigation efficiency by 4 times. Other projects include improvements to water retention sites along the Chao Phraya River. This plan will reduce water overflow from the Chao Phraya and Rama XI dams by 1,000 cubic meters per second and help irrigate water from the Chao Phraya and Tha Chin River
by 3,100 cubic meters per second. The project will increase water retention capacities by 200 million cubic meters and reduce flooding in 3.58 million Rai in 14 provinces. Also, this administration’s new integrated water management plan has incorporated many advanced developments compared to the plan for the years 1987-2015. This government has implemented many water management policies according to Royal initiatives, such as, (1) Past plans lacked plans to find and supply ground water. Since 2015, this administration has drilled over 2,500 wells to produce over 100 million cubic meters of water for 157,000 Rai (2) In the past 27 years, ground water has only supplied 1,300 farming sites. This administration has supplied ground water to 2,300 sites in the past 2 years at a total of 122,000 Rai. (3) In the past 27 years, the government has supplied ground water for over 12,000 villages. This government has supplied ground water to over 5,700 villages in 2 years. (4) The agenda of preventing soil erosion has never been addressed. This administration has sought to this agenda in over 670,000 Rai in the past 2 years. This administration will continue its efforts in all fronts.

As for the issue of forest encroachments, we will need to stop deforestation and prevent any new encroachments. We will also need to implemented forest restoration efforts in conjunction with providing residence and a source of living in the form of community forests for the locals. The administration has defined forest areas that have been encroached and will reclaim these areas. We will also provide assistance to people who have been displaced. However, we will not support those who are behind deliberate and organized efforts in these encroachments. Today, we will strictly enforce the rule of law and ensure that we mitigate the consequences as best as possible. The government will take into consideration the legal, political and economic implications of the issue. What many may see are people with low income being displaced. We are trying our best to provide assistance. Keep in mind that there may be people that stand to gain from these encroachments that are using the images of these poor people as an argument against forest reclamation efforts.

Today, everyone should adapt. Whether they be people with low incomes or rich beneficiaries, all must respect and come under the rule of law. This government aims to restore the sanctity of the rule of law. Otherwise, there will be no justice in our
society and problems cannot be solved. As for “reforestation”, I wish to commend Pol. Maj. Wichai Suriyut, who followed the initiative of His Majesty the King under the “Land of Righteousness” project. He began planting with his own 2 hands for over 30 years under his own initiative, without minding what society thought or criticized about him. However, the 3 million trees that he planted have become an inspiration to youths and the Thai people. This is a shining example of how you can do something to benefit society and the country; and pay tribute to His Majesty. I also wish to commend the many other conservation and reforestation groups. Turning to the issue of car registration, parking and traffic flow, and the matter of sellers on the sidewalk and at the side of the street, which is illegal, in actuality, this is not a typical way of life or a traditional culture of Thailand. This came about as a result of neglect over many years and thus grew into a habit. Not only has this led to disorder in public space, but it has also been a channel for corruption by some officials. In the end, this has infringed upon the rights of members of the public who are entitled to convenience in public space. This is not just. I must ask for cooperation in this regard. It’s not that we’re trying to chase away low income earners; but the laws cannot be violated. Everyone should understand that government is doing what it can. We are providing designated retail areas with parking to alleviate congestion. This will help both the buyers and the sellers. I understand that it might take a bit of time to get used to, but I believe this will benefit all of us in the long run. Please be understanding of the work we are doing. We will try to fix this problem with minimal distress to those involved, no matter what your income level might be. We will maintain clear guidelines and regulations in this regard. I hope that you all can see that it cannot be denied that the many problems within this country stem from issues of our education system and learning process. Whether these are societal, economic or political problems, and when considering our drive towards the Thailand 4.0 era, we must focus on the development of our “human resources” and the reform of our education system. Currently, a key issue in this regard is the many small schools, of which we have more than 15,000. 900 of these schools have less than 20 students. Some of them only have 15 students but have 3 teachers. In spite of this, the government must still provide funding for them in order to provide
all the learning materials. Another issue is that we don’t have enough teachers, which means that many of our students may not receive a quality education. These issues have accumulated for a long time and have had far reaching effects into society, politics, and our economy but have not yet been resolved. This government has started taking steps to fix these management problems in our small schools by conducting a dialogue with the local community. In this way, a larger, regional school may be established. In this way, the school could accommodate more students and provide a higher quality of education through appropriate staffing and facilities. For those schools which may need to shut down, we will let the communities decide what to do with them. We might convert them into learning centers, daycares, or vocational training centers. In any case, the government is standing by to provide full support.

Recently, we have already shut down 286 small schools and we plan to shut down a further 309 over the next school year. This will affect almost 2,000 teachers who will be reassigned to our new 310 regional schools. Essentially, this plan will see 6 additional teachers per school. Upon evaluation, we have seen a positive response from both the students and their parents. I thank all of them for their understanding and their cooperation. We know that your children are most important to you, and we will do our best to look after them by providing a good education. Eventually, we would like the education in these rural areas to be comparable to that in the cities or in the very large schools.

Developing basic education is an important key to the success of the government’s education development work. The Pracharat Project on basic education and leadership development has been operating according to an important principle: child-centered learning. In the end, we want the children to be able to analyze things and take initiative on their own accord. This will foster an understanding of societal responsibility and instill them with morality and ethics. It is also important they learn how to use all the latest technologies through ICT systems. His Majesty the King once said “Technology is not alive, it has no spirit. Entrusting technology alone to teach is problematic. Nothing can compare to people teaching people and learning from a book.” This indicates how important our teachers and professors are in the education of our children. They can teach them about values in addition to their education. The
government places great importance on all educational staff as well as those who continue to work together to improve education in their local communities. The Pracharat mechanism has yielded results on the development of our basic education. Under the CONNEXT-ED project, the government has been able to provide support to 3,342 schools. This number will increase to 7,424 schools in 2017. These schools will become “Pracharat” schools nationwide. They will focus on producing tomorrow’s leaders. The faculty at each school may decide how they will approach this. This project will also benefit from the support of 12 major NGOs who will provide each school with 500,000-1,000,000 baht.

In order to raise the level of our basic education to international standards, we will set up a research fund to promote and enhance the development of excellence in our education, and technology. There are 4 main areas of technology we will be focusing on: bio, nano, robotics, and digital. We will support new innovations from our upcoming leaders and support regional study centers to comply with the Thailand 4.0 initiative. We will produce “skilled workers” to enter the 10 target industries. We will also enhance national competitiveness within through our own Thai innovation. I must reiterate that success in this regard requires cooperation from all sectors. In order to build a better future for this country and develop the capacities of Thai people in every region through equitable educational opportunities, we must ask for cooperation from teachers, students, and parents. We are all stakeholders in this endeavor. The last thing I would like to touch on is volunteer work in every region in honor and tribute to His Majesty the King. You have shown great care for one another. The people who have come from far to pay their respects to the Late King at Sanam Luang and the Grand Palace have joined forces to alleviate their sorrow by being compassionate and cooperative towards each other. I believe this is an exemplary virtuous deed by the Thai people to honour and pay tribute to His Majesty. In the last 10 years we have not had much focus on making progress together, because of our lack of unity, conflicts, and selfish ways, thus preventing us from reaching our full potential and systematically building a stronger society together. Given this, if we let things remain the way they are, we may not be able to keep up with the rest of the world. So, we must take action. If we refuse to change; if we continue to value doing things the easy
way rather doing things correctly, under laws, and for the good of the nation, we cannot move forward. I’m sure you know what is right and what is wrong. I hope that you will seize this opportunity for change and come together with unity and kindness in honor of His Majesty the King.

On Monday November 14, it will have been 30 days since the passing of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej the Great. The government, during this time of paying homage for His Majesty’s benevolence, and while moving the country forward with stability, will allow for all sectors to resume their activities. At the same time, we also ask for your consideration for appropriateness in reflection of the current public sentiment. In particular, this includes the “Loy Krathong” ceremony. Those involved should continue this beautiful Thai tradition while maintaining orderliness and safety. In particular, this applies to all the commuters, as well as the participants in the festivals activities. Please be cautious. I ask that the government agencies do all they can to facilitate the public. An important area will be the ferries around the Poh piers and areas where krathongs will be released. I also ask that the Thai people use biodegradable materials in the construction of your krathongs. Finally, I hope that you will be able to share the true meaning of this holiday with your children. It’s not just for fun, but also in honor of Gangha the river goddess. Thank you very much. I wish you all happiness. Sawasdee Krub.

Appendix 3.40

From the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy to Sustainable Development Goals – December 16, 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. The King’s Philosophy encompasses the ideas and thinking, the teachings and advice, the work principles, and the deeds of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej throughout the past 70 years. As such, it has been a brilliant example for the Thai people to follow in our ways, as well as for the government and the civil servants to undertake in national administration, for Thailand’s comprehensive and sustainable development. As for the song “New Year
Wishes,” it was the 13th song composed by HM King Rama IX and was a New Year’s gift to His subjects. The song was introduced to the public on 1 January 1952. I consider it to be part of the King’s Philosophy to showcase the deep bond and the love that Thai Monarchy has for the Thai people. In that same year, the Thai people were also blessed with another auspicious event when HRH Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn was born as the only son of HM King Bhumibol Adulyadej and HM Queen Sirikit. It was truly a blessing for all Thais. His Royal Highness has recently succeeded to the Throne as His Majesty King Maha Vajiralongkorn Bodindradebayavarangkun, Rama X. On the occasion of the upcoming New Year, the government would like to ask all sectors of society for cooperation in organizing the following 3 main activities. 1. People are encouraged to take part in religious activities to uplift their spirits, showcase the unity of the Thai people, and maintain a peaceful atmosphere in the country. For instance, religious activities may include praying, upholding the 5 precepts, and performing virtuous deeds. 2. People can also take part in volunteer work to promote unity and foster a sense of community service. Recreational activities are encouraged to promote and preserve Thai culture and traditions, for example. 3. Activities that express faithfulness to His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej, and wish felicitations and blessings for His Majesty King Maha Vajiralongkorn Bodindradebayavarangkun. I’d also like to recommend the following activities during this time. The first one is the “Night at the Museum” project initiated in honor and to pay tribute HM King Bhumibol Adulyadej. The event is taking place from December 16-18, 8 am to 10 pm, featuring 28 exhibitions and 24 major activities. Museums inside and around the Rattanakosin Island will take part in this project in cooperation with a total of 19 related agencies.

The second activity is called “Follow the Royal Father, Carry on His Aspirations” which started on December 4 and will end on January 31, 2017. It’s being held at Thammasat University Tha Prachan Campus. It features exhibitions portraying HM King Rama IX’s musical talents as a performer and a composer. Visitors can also join singing activities and interesting discussions on various topics. The event would not have been possible without the help of the MCOT Public Company Limited along with supportive agencies working under the Pracharat framework. Activities here are
appropriate for all ages and all people. Those who come to pay their respects to HM King Bhumibol Adulyadej at the Dusit Maha Prasat Throne Hall are also encouraged to join the activity. Dear citizens, I wish to assure you that the government has continuously undertaken measures to control expensive consumer goods, as well as other related measures to address such issues as crop price slumps, household debts, drug abuse, and corruption. In addition, the government has prepared “New Years gifts” for the public for the upcoming New Year’s holiday season. The Cabinet this week approved a measure to spur year end’s economic growth, first by a tax break to shoppers in the country between December 14 and December 31. The combined value of expenses must not exceed 15,000 baht. It can be separate purchases. Do not forget to ask for tax invoice with your name and address on it. The invoice also needs to have the ID number of the seller for buyers to be eligible for tax reduction. However, this measure does not include alcoholic beverages, tobacco products, vehicles and petrol. It doesn’t include lodging and tour fees as these are already part of a different tax exemption program. This national sales event is similar to last year’s, but we will be increasing the number of days.

Last year, over 1 million people participated in the program, generating 10 billion baht in revenue and saving themselves a total of 1.2 billion baht in tax payments. This year, we expect over 2 million participants, to generate over 20 billion baht in revenue and save over 3.2 billion baht in tax payments. This event will benefit people of all income levels. We are not encouraging excessive spending, only purchasing of goods according to your needs while reducing your tax burdens, whether it be a New Years gift, home appliances, or dining out during this opportune occasion to spend time with your family during the holiday season. In addition, the Cabinet has approved measures to address traffic congestion on the No. 7 and No. 9 highways during the holiday season by waiving tollway fees starting from 00:00 hours of December 29 to 24:00 of January 4 next year. To facilitate traffic and ensure safety as people travel back to their hometowns or embark on their vacationing, concerned officials have been instructed to follow stipulated guidelines and implement the lessons learned from past issues, in order for the people to conduct their travels safely and conveniently. Most importantly, those operating mass transit systems, ferries and buses will need to
exercise carefulness and place the safety of their passengers at the highest priority. Please refrain from drinking and speeding, and follow traffic laws accordingly. Moreover, I ask that all citizens stay updated on the latest announcements from the government so that you are all aware of the most recent policies. For example, the recent registry of low income earning citizens for benefits programs serves as a first step in reforming the country’s benefits programs and assistance channels. For example, the Prompt-Pay system is a new e-Payment system in accordance with the government’s digital economy policy. Other benefits in the future include waivers to utility bills and public transportation tickets. For those who did not register during this past round, the government will be providing other assistance programs in the future. I ask that you all follow the news so that you don't miss out on upcoming assistance policies. The 3 participating banks in this program will be disbursing funds to the 4.8 million applicants who currently have bank accounts, totaling at 11 billion baht. There are still 2 million people left who have yet to apply for a bank account. We will help facilitate these disbursements soon. This policy serves as a short-term necessity to “return happiness and boost morale” of the Thai people to carry in the face of constant challenges. Nevertheless, this administration has placed fundamental importance on long-term measures and policies, which incorporates the King’s Philosophy in sustainable development, throughout the past 2 years. For example, in caring for people of all demographics, this government has underscored that certain social issues can’t be ignored, much like a common illness that if left untreated, can fester and cause more damage down the road.

Therefore, the government has sought to tackle longstanding social issues while laying the foundations for sustainable development in the future. Notable policies include, 1. Developing residents for low-income individuals, according to the strategic plan to cover 2.7 million households. This policy includes the 8-year Din Dang community project for 20,000 housing units, waterfront projects for 11,000 households, the Chao Phraya waterfront project for 309 households, the “Pathum Thani Model” project for 16 communities, the “Baan Man Khong” program for 561 communities in 46 provinces, and the “Baan Yang Yuen” program for 13,000 housing units. 2. The policy to develop the quality of life for children includes increasing
stipends for families with infants, from 400 baht to 600 baht. Over 150,000 people have registered for this program, with 90,000 people receiving money totaling 230 million baht. This also includes the development of over 1,600 child development centers as well as 10 centers according to the “Petch Nam Nueng” program. 3. To promote the employment of disabled people in the public sector, private establishments and within the community, the government will be increasing disability benefits from 500 baht to 800 baht per month. This is part of the “civilized architecture” project that will expand to 33 provinces throughout Thailand. We will also promote the development of blind singers through our “from street to stars” project. 4. In order to further the implementation of a support system for an aging society, 878 health centers have been established throughout the country. There are 314 senior schools, and 12 welfare development centers. These will serve as a model for future endeavors to support over 80,000 elderly members within the community. 5. Another area of focus is organizing and developing the quality of life for nearly 5,000 beggars and homeless of both Thai and non-Thai nationality. The “Thanburi model” was established in order to provide jobs to the less fortunate so they can become functioning members of society. Currently, there are 11 centers as part of the “effective charity” project that will try to solve this problem in a sustainable manner. 6. Strengthening the family institution through the prevention of domestic violence in all areas and in all forms through the “regions against domestic violence” project, which currently numbers 3,000 across the country. There will be new laws to prevent gender discrimination and promote the creation of safe spaces for women within communities. In addition, we are also seeking to develop women’s potentials in all facets, along with building a network to assist Thai women in over 10 European countries. 7. Developing social help centers which can be reached at hotline number 1300. These will serve to provide advice to those experiencing societal problems. So far they have already helped over 98,000 people. 8. Policies to drive forward at the provincial level, through integration of work, under the “one home” system. This works by coordinating social development networks and data systems. By using the “Pracharat” model, this system will play an important role in the continued development of Thai society in accordance with the national strategy and the vision for Thailand.
The King’s Philosophy is very important to the people of Thailand, in particular within the agricultural sector. The “Water resources management act of 2558-2569 B.E.”, which has received interest from the international community, is something the government is putting into effect. It consists of 12 activities including: village water supply, local schools, creating water sources both within and outside the areas of irrigation, development of water resources and reservoirs, groundwater digging for the dry season, dredging canals and tributaries, and restoration and protection of soil erosion. The results of this project in developing a water distribution system in 2015-2016 have achieved more progress than the last 10 years combined, before this current government. The results are as follows, 1. Water distribution has been improved in almost 2,000 locations, there are an additional 756 million cubic meters of water retention, there are an additional 1.35 million rai of irrigated land. 2. The development of approximately 5,400 groundwater systems which offer a potential of 167 million cubic meters of water per year and account for an additional 300,000 rai of irrigated land. As for the plans for future operation up until 2017, we will continue to support further projects for agriculture and large farms. We will also promote the use of water management within agricultural reformed areas by meeting urgent targets throughout a 1 year period across the country through 211 projects, as follows: 1. Increasing the amount of land that will benefit from water by 480,000 rai. 2. Increasing water storage by 440 million cubic meters. And 3. Increasing the number of benefiting households by 100,000. In order to increase stability in administrating the effective and efficient use of water resources, we will use an integrated approach to meet the demands for agriculture, industry and consumption. It is also important that we do so while maintaining an ecological balance. Another issue we must focus on is the elimination of the water hyacinth from our water ways in order to solve the problem long term. I would like to emphasize the importance of understanding the “Thailand 4.0” policy. A lot of people may still don’t understand that this refers to a grouping. You could be a part of Thailand 1.0, 2.0, 3.0 or 4.0 in a dynamic world driven by digital technology in the 21st century. I’d like to give an example. By examining yourself and identifying which group you fall under you can also understand the areas in which you should develop. This has nothing to do with class
or social status. We are all equal and must treat each other with respect and dignity. This can be accomplished through easy methods. If you have a phone, but you only use it for communication, you would be a part of Thailand 1.0. If you use it to send emails and documents or if you use it for work you would be a part of Thailand 2.0. However, if you use smartphones that can connect to the internet in the pursuit of knowledge and development as well as conversing with people around the world you would be Thailand 3.0. But then if you are able to use your phone to generate an income, for professional networking, innovation, or are able to use it to improve your productivity you would be Thailand 4.0. That was just a basic example. In summary, moving towards Thailand 4.0 is more than just thinking about “what do I have?”, it’s rather “how can I use what I have in the most effective way?” especially in the areas of creating new things and sustainable development, according the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy. Nevertheless, whether you fall into the Thailand 1.0, 2.0, 3.0, or 4.0 categories, please continue to develop yourself. I ask that you all continue to uplift yourselves and help others around you. We are all a part of the same value chain and if we learn and development together we can accomplish great things. As for the development of transportation infrastructure in this country, I have proposed a development plan for 2017 which will focus on sustainable transport for the future. The details are on your screen but you can also visit the Ministry of Transport’s website for more information.

Finally, I would like to extend my sincere appreciation to Mr. Witthit Duangchumpol the “taxi driver with a heart of gold” who returned over 3 million baht worth of items to the owner who had forgotten them in the cab. He called the authorities and told them about it as soon as he realized what had happened. This story is also a great example for all of us. I would like the Thai people to pass on stories such as these to the next generation- that good citizenship can bring brightness and inspiration to all of society.
Appendix 3.41

From the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy to Sustainable Development Goals – December 9, 2016

Good evening, dear Thai citizens. Recently, people residing in the southern region have been battling severe flooding. His Majesty King Maha Vajiralongkorn Bodinharatthepayavarangkun has expressed His concerns about the well-being of those affected, and has thus graciously provided assistance packages to all flood victims, which has deeply uplifted the spirits of the people in the area. The government has been monitoring the situation around the clock. Although natural disasters are uncontrollable, the impact can be reduced by preparation and effective communications. People living in disaster-prone areas should thus prepare themselves and follow advice and instructions. We will be able to minimize the impacts if we are well-prepared. For instance, we should have emergency plans and equipment in place 24 hours a day and lend a hand to those in need as soon as disasters strike. All administrative and disaster mitigation units including local leaders, police, and soldiers must act quickly and do their duties to the best of their abilities, in helping afflicted residents return to their normal lives as soon as possible. Rehabilitation and damage assessment must also be ready at all times. At this moment, I’d like to ask people in risk-prone areas to closely follow all warnings and forecasts, as well as take precautions and heed advice. Boat operators should be extra cautious while small boats should remain ashore. All victims can reach for help at disaster prevention and mitigation centers, and disaster prevention and mitigation offices in their respective areas or call the 24-hour hotline 1784. In addressing disaster related issues, I ask the public to understand that the government will take the interests and benefit of all into consideration and here, public cooperation with the government is essential in order to find sustainable solutions. I have instructed related agencies including the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Natural Resources, and the Ministry of Interior to formulate a plan that addresses the issue sustainably, in accordance with HM King Rama IX’s teachings, and to incorporate His teachings into the government’s long-term water management plan. Dear citizens, if we take a look at what has happened in
the past, we can see that most of our main problems were caused by humans, by our own actions. Thus, without proper education for the Thai people, such problems will likely recur. In addition, if education inequality continues to exist, if people do not have access to quality education, economic problems may arise. Without education, people will not be able to support themselves. These two problems when combined can cause even more complex political issues that can come to affect our national security and stability, which in the end, could also come to affect our foreign relations in all areas, whether it is politics, economics, social affairs, and the environment. The King’s Philosophy of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej emphasizes the importance of human development through education. His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej had always placed emphasis on education, both inside and outside the classroom, so that education was accessible to all, whether it be for the underprivileged, people in rural areas, hill tribe villagers, or those who live in very remote border provinces. His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej had provided His personal funds to build border area schools for children and local residents. The schools were later named “Chao Pho Luang Upatham”. They are situated in remote rural parts of the country and are often in places with a prevailing political mindset. His Majesty had also built the Rajpracha Samasai School for children of leprosy patients and many other schools for children, hoping to reduce social disparities and improve the quality of life of the Thai people.

His Majesty King Maha Vajiralongkorn Bodinharathupayavarangkun has been following in the footsteps of his Royal Father, by implementing the King’s Philosophy to improve the lives of the Thai people. His Majesty King Maha Vajiralongkorn Bodinharathupayavarangkun understands well that children in rural provinces often lack access to quality education. As a result, His Majesty has graciously undertaken 6 rural schools to be under Royal patronage. These schools are Mattayompatcharakitiyapha schools in Nakhon Phanom, Kamphaeng Phet, and Surat Thani, and Matthayom Siri Wan Wali schools in Udon Thani, Songkhla, and Chachoensao. His Majesty has travelled there to graciously preside over the school’s foundation stone-laying ceremonies, and has also bestowed educational equipment such as computers, televisions etc. His Majesty has also provided advice for the
schools and has supported several professional skills programmes, so that students can later be employed and thereby support themselves and their own families. Not only does His Majesty visit these schools in person and follows up their progress, He has also consented for his 2 Royal Daughters to take part in activities at these schools on a regular basis. As for the government, along with applying the King's Philosophy to policy implementation, there has also been our efforts in education reform for the 21st century, with a focus on 1) improving analytical skills, imagination, and creativity, 2) encouraging students to learn more from general knowledge for better decision making in life and career, 3) motivating students to be inquisitive and with the ability to foresee future trends through the use of statistical data, and 4) teaching the skills necessary for future careers. Here are the measures we have laid out. The first one is to reduce classroom hours and increase practical learning methods, by teaching students to learn based on reasoning. Educational institutions should thus manage classroom schedules in line with this policy. Schools shall reduce 1,000-1,200 classroom hours per year and have students dedicate more time on learning through activities in a way that is most benefiting for the students. The second measure is to increase hours of English learning. Prathom Suksa 1-3 students must have their English learning hours increased from 40 hours to 200 hours a year. The last measure is to create an application called “Echo English” to improve the English ability of learners. The development of this digital application is based on The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). In addition, we have launched an information technology network project titled “UniNet” currently serving up to more than 10,000 schools around the country. We also have to promote distance learning by offering tutoring sessions and intensive learning. Classes can be taken with the help of television broadcasting through ETV, the National Broadcasting Services of Thailand (NBT) and other related stations nationwide. The number of audiences is expected to be higher than 2.4 million people. Next, local non-formal education offices will be the main agency in enhancing the effort to establish a lifelong learning system in local communities, in order to improve the well-being of the disabled, the underprivileged, the elderly, women, and children. Four centers will be established, and they are: 1) The Sufficiency Economy Philosophy and New Agricultural Theory learning center, 2) the Democracy Promotion and Development
learning center, 3) The Digital Community learning center, and 4) The Lifelong learning center.

The King’s Philosophy in the area of education, has been adopted to be taught at all levels of society, starting with the smallest group which is “family” and “village.” The government and education-related agencies must make sure that the country will have quality human resources who will drive the country’s growth and development in the future. Overall, the government has been applying the King’s Philosophy to its operations as follows.

- Setting up a development target with people as its center, meaning people must be well and have satisfaction in life, in accordance with the UN’s 2030 Sustainable Development Goals,
- Supporting and promoting sustainable development by maintaining the balance between society, economy, and the environment,
- Encouraging problem-solving through peaceful means and green development,
- Putting forth reform in all aspects with active participation from all sectors,
- Formulating plans and projects that are tangible and yield concrete results, and which support our reform goals. There will also be assessment and evaluation throughout the implementation process,
- Promoting the country’s and the people’s resilience through the development of democratic process for Thailand,
- Laying the foundations for a country where citizens are ethical and preserve Thailand’s uniqueness and our culture,
- Creating amity, unity, an reconciliation in society by maintaining justice, righteousness, and the rule of law equally,
- Creating hope and faith on the basis of what is truly achievable and achieving real progress in order to create a better future,
- Creating a country that has an egalitarian society void of severe social disparities, by supporting development and reforming society and the economy from the grassroots level,
- Making Thailand a lawful country with policy implementation based on political and economic principles,
- Continuously raising the quality of life for the people in order to enhance the country’s potential and competitiveness and elevate the country's status on the world stage,
- Decisively monitor, prevent, and suppress corruption by creating an integrated mechanism that can tackle corruption in a sustainable manner,
- Modernizing and enhancing the potential of the country’s bureaucracy, executive branch, judiciary, military, and police in order to create confidence among the Thai people,
- Fostering friendly relationships with all groups in all regions by enhancing cooperation at the bilateral and multilateral level in order to enhance global stability,
- Placing importance on our neighboring CLMV countries and ASEAN in cooperating for development, without leaving any one behind, and moving forward together by realising the potential of each country,
- Enhancing relations to create “productive value chains” by building trust amongst each other,
- and Expanding cooperation with developing countries and connecting with developed countries in the form of strategic partnerships.

Dear Thai citizens, there are some matters that I would like to clarify at this time. Various infrastructure programs, such as roads, railways, electric trains and highways affect all sectors, whether it be the government, civil servants, the general public, and the private sector. Certain projects may thus cut through or bypass government or private property, depending on design, survey analysis, and budget efficiency. To those who may lose some of their property due to expropriation - if you only think about your own personal interests, without considering the benefits these projects have for the general public, such as traffic alleviation, and if you are satisfied with how things have been and are adverse to changes - these issues cannot be solved if no action is taken. This government is sympathetic to the losses incurred from expropriation. But I ask that you keep in mind how these projects will benefit the country and its people as a whole, thanks to your sacrifices at this time. For example, addressing traffic congestion in Bangkok and other major cities may require taking down bridges and improving on roads to make way for electric trains so that people
are given a choice apart from having to use their personal vehicles. These programs will make commutes more convenient and reduce travel costs, while vehicles on the road will be reduced. There is no other alternative to this measure. It is regretful that some people continue to sow dissent through false information in social media. This does not benefit anyone and also damages our spirit of cooperation in nation building. Therefore, diverging opinions requires having dialogue to reach a solution. It may not be a solution that pleases all, but it should be the best solution for most. Because when something benefits the majority, it will soon come to benefit the rest. Another matter is that we must all accept that in our efforts to address any complex issue, we will be confronted with many obstacles in the beginning before we can reach a better position in the future. This is better than letting problems fester for generations like they usually have. An important example of a complicated issue that requires attention is our water management policy, which incorporates finding new water sources, and creating a water distribution and irrigation system, as well as dams. Certain areas may resist our new water management policies, but at the same time they want to be relieved from the issue of flooding. Some areas may resist the construction of power plants or electricity polls, but at the same time, they want electricity. We must learn to make way for programs that will benefit the majority, which will eventually benefit the rest as well. This government has sought to create understanding and has provided compensation for expropriation at fair prices. If the price is too high, the project will be over budget. If the price is too low, people will be unjustly compensated. We must work together to find an agreeable “fair price”.

As for the registration of low-income citizens making less than 100,000 baht per year, there are some who are not trying to understand this programme, and have been using this point to enhance social divisiveness. I affirm that this government works for all the people in Thailand, and is tasked with caring for the well-being of all who live in this country, regardless of ethnicity, religion, gender, age, or social and economic standing. We are not governing to remain popular among the voters. Therefore under this program, this government aims to care for low-income earning citizens, having registered 8.3 million people, consisting of 2.9 million applicants in the agricultural sector and 5.4 non-agricultural applicants. Fifty-percent of applicants make no more
than 30,000 baht per year and 65 percent are over 45 years of age. These statistics will be useful in designing long-term, sustainable assistance policies. In the past, this administration has implemented various assistance measures for farmers, regardless of their income levels. These include short-term as well as long-term measures to create sustainability, such as emergency relief, reforming planting cycles, supporting “smart farmers”, and managing the sale of rice to prevent oversupply in the market. It is now time to provide assistance measures to other sectors, as they too have been affected by current economic conditions, both internal and external, both directly and indirectly. There may some people who seek to create disorder or disarray in our society by highlighting why we don’t extend more help to farmers. Please don’t forget that Thailand doesn’t have only famers. There are people in other occupations that earn a low wage. These people comprise a large demographic and are an important component of the country’s economy. Letting these people to live the way they have and without progress will not create stability. We must, therefore, find appropriate and timely assistance measures for these people. Medium and long-term measures will follow with the creation of an “economic value chain” throughout various phases of production, enabling these people to enter the tax system due to increased wages.

With the help of appropriate assistance measures, these people will be empowered to enter the system, earn higher wages, and enter the tax system. We must have a resilient grassroots economy should we wish to grow strong in a sustainable manner.

For those who have registered for the assistance program but aren’t really making low ages, please don’t create unnecessary burdens or controversy. I ask that everyone be honest when they register, and that their community leaders certify their information as well. Improving the national administration system, creating understanding within the peole, and law enforcement are 3 things that are tied together. If everyone believes in the law, and trusts one another, and gives time for national development, we will be able to avoid many problems. However, as we address these problems, it is important to note that some things will not have immediate results. Problems will still exist but they will lessen in degree day by day. So, I ask for your patience and cooperation. In the case of the establishment of hotels or guest houses that have illegitimate
extensions or construction practices, I have urged the authorities to apply the full extent of the law in order to achieve international standards as quickly as possible.

As for political issues, I would like to commend the many scrupulous politicians in this country. For those who will step up to lead this country in the future, you must begin building your trustworthiness now. Be transparent and free of doubt in matters of corruption. This will result in a politician with “clean hands and a clean will”, someone in very high demand to solve the problems of this nation, instead of someone who is only interested in using a budget which is paid for by the people, unfairly or for their own gain. And yet, some have managed to place these burdens and the all responsibilities of the government on the civil servants, saying that they are “regular functions”, and things that people should already be responsible for and are governed by law. These duties are no less important than policy work, which the government must follow up on to ensure that there is maximum efficiency as we “put policy into practice”. So, we must be comprehensive in this regard as well as punish those officials who are corrupt and show favoritism. We must avoid disconnected governance, as that will allow too much autonomy to break protocol and thus a failure to meet the targets of the official plan. If we do not supervise these issues, and are unable to solve these policy problems, if we simply direct other agencies rather than do things ourselves, we will not have success. Every government must take responsibility, both in regular functions and in policy formulation, because these are covered in the national budget. In both these issues, this government is doing all it can. If it didn’t there would be a separation of policy and function, which would increase the possibility of failure. Finally, we must have a system whereby civil servants do not take on all responsibility themselves. We must share the burden and address any regulatory shortcomings as a team. Every day for the past two years, this government and the NCPO have tried to steer things in the right direction. We have done this by examining what roles and duties should appropriately fall upon civil servants, and how we could look after the people, and develop the country while protecting the environment. This is an example of a distribution of power at the judicial, legislative, and executive levels to bring peacefulness to the nation and encourage the country to move forward in all areas. The government therefore, carries
out the Royal Prerogative in the area of national administration, in accordance with the constitution. We manage national administration and the national budget under a democratic system, with His Majesty the King as the Head of State. From the past to the present and to the future, every government has the duty protect and maintain the sacrosanctness of the Royal Prerogative for the Thai people, as our Monarchs have always done.

As for the national economy, the government asks that everyone try to fully understand that we, the Thai people, have many different salaries and careers at both the individual and juristic person levels. This can depend on the size of establishment as well as the funding. At the working level, this means finding an honest job, whether that is one that requires skills, or just hard work and experience. However, some of these jobs just don’t offer a viable salary. However, if we don’t change, and develop ourselves towards jobs that require higher skill sets and knowledge, we will fall behind. In the private sector, small enterprises should make progress in the field of knowledge, production, and development in order to stay competitive. Medium sized enterprises must also progress towards technology, machinery, and tools that will bring them into the forefront, through financing from both the government or from other sources. As for large enterprises, at the national and international levels, they should work hand in hand with the government to help the people using the mechanisms of the Pracharat model. They are an integral link in our economy and they can add value for our people. SMEs must have more income and earn more profit. Their taxes will then be able to help the nation as they will be put towards development of welfare services, education, health and other important avenues.

Thailand still has a long way to go in the establishment of physical links whether they are by land, water or air. In addition, the government must continue to work towards improving our role in the Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC), as well as focusing on the 10 economic development zones throughout the country. We must also look towards key infrastructure investments. All this requires cooperation within both the public and private sectors. This will serve to reduce disparities in this country and will strengthen our economy. External influences will have less of an effect on our affairs because we’ll be able to rely on ourselves. Therefore, we must ask ourselves how
much we understand these issues. The public, the farmers, the freelance workers, the civil servants, the merchants and all the rest of us must consider what role they can play in our economic chain. We must all be strong links in our own right and strengthen this economy together. We must continue to look for a comprehensive solution for both structural and investment aspects in order to raise the bar on development and knowledge. Currently, digital technology has progressed very rapidly. We must, therefore, keep up with the time. If we refuse to change our way of thinking and ways doing things, we will not be able to keep up with the rest of the world. We must keep up to date on technology and develop ourselves. We must keep pace with these changes and develop along with them.

If our income is not enough, if we continue to accumulate debt, and if we refuse to learn, we will experience hardships. If this is the case, the government will not have a budget to support the nation. These are important things to think about as they are part of the King’s Philosophy. I ask that everyone help one another, and help this nation. The government is prepared to assist wherever it can. Let’s move forward through intelligent solutions, budget effective strategies, and sustainable strategies.

Dear citizens, I would all the people and especially our youth, to take on the King’s Philosophy, particularly in the area of ethics and morality. I would like to thank the Internal Security Operations Command that has recently worked with several institutions, to bring together children in Thailand from all religions and backgrounds to sing “Prarachanitarn” - a song that commemorates His Majesty King Rama IX and His Majesty King Rama X, who have been role models of virtuosity to the people of Thailand. Unlike the stories of kings that we can usually find in novels, His Majesty walked with us and endured hardships alongside His people as He traveled throughout the nation to care for His subjects. We must foster this extraordinary lineage and nurture it into something beautiful for our children, as they will be the future of this country. Another example of doing something for “our Father” is the “step for step” project where Mr. Atiwara Kongmalai (otherwise known as Toon Bodyslam) will lead a country wide charity run to raise donations for Bangsapan Hospital in Prachuab Khiri Khan province to provide it with much needed medical supplies. The run will begin in Bangkok and finish in Bangsapan in Prachuab province for a total distance of
400 kms. The race will go from Dec 1 – Dec 10. There may be some traffic so let’s be understanding and considerate. In addition to being something for a greater cause, this is also beneficial for the body as well. This is why it is such a good example of what we can accomplish for society when we put our minds to it. It is a charitable act with low costs, promotes health and wellness and helps others in need. I wish all participants the very best in this endeavor. Thank you. I hope everyone has a happy weekend. Sawasdee Krub.
BIOGRAPHY

NAME Neeranuit Trajakvanich

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND She obtained a B.A. in Journalism and Mass communication from Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand. Her research interests lie in the area of persuasion and rhetoric.

EXPERIENCES She started her first career as an English tutor in multiple tutoring schools in Bangkok. After two years, she then started her own tutoring school in the suburb of Bangkok. She was working as co-producer and correspondent of Newsline, an English news program, at the National Broadcasting Services of Thailand (NBT). With the objective of becoming a good communicator, she decided to pursue her M.A. in Language and Communication at the School of Language and Communication, National Institute of Development Administration. At the beginning of 2018, she was offered a full-time job as managing director of Makalius Thailand Company Limited.