

REFERENCES

Berelson, B. Content Analysis in Communications Research. New York: Free Press, 1952.

Boorstin, Daniel J. The Image – A Guide To Pseudo-Events in America. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1961.

Borchers, Timothy A. Persuasion in The Media Age. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2005.

Boulding, Kenneth E. The Image. Michigan: University of Michigan, 1956.

Chadchaidee, Thanapol Simple Stories of 23 Thai Prime Ministers. Bangkok: D. K. Today Ltd, 2001.

Gunaratne, Shelton A. (ed.) Handbook of the Media in Asia. New Dheli, Thousand Oaks, London: Sage Publication, 2000.

Holsti, O.R. Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities. MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

<http://bangkokpost.com>

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freedom_of_the_press

<http://nationmultimedia.com>

Iamtham, Ponpirom The Political Role of Thai Newspapers from the Revolution of 1932 to the End of the Second World War. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1972.

Jampasri, Toungporn The Image of Thaksin Shinawatra in Thai Newspapers. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 2004.

Janis, I.L. The Problem of Validating Content Analysis. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965.

Krippendorff, Klaus Theories and Analytical Constructs: Introduction in Gerbner, G. et al. (ed.) The Analysis of Communication Content. New York: John Wiley, 1969.

Krippendorff, Content Analysis An Introduction to Its Methodology. California: SAGE Publications, 1980.

- Lippmann, Walter Public Opinion. New York: The Free Press, 1966.
- McCargo, Duncan Politics and the Press in Thailand: Media Machinations. London: Routledge, 2000.
- McCargo, & Pathmanand, Ukrist The Thaksinization of Thailand. Thailand & EU: NIAS Press, 2005.
- McCargo, & Bowra, Ramaimas Policy Advocacy and the Media in Thailand. Leeds: University of Leeds, 1995.
- Mitchell, John D. The Asian Newspapers' Reluctant Revolution, John A. Lent (ed.). Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1971.
- Phiphitkul, Wilasinee et al. Gagging the Thai Press. Bangkok: Thai Journalists Association, 2004.
- Phongpaichit, Pasuk & Baker, Christ Thaksin – The Business of Politics in Thailand. Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2004.
- Poungsomlee, Anuchat et al., Civil Society Movements in Thailand: The Making of Thai Citizens, Amsterdam: The 7th International Conference on Thai Studies, 1999.
- Saengdowchay, Wirat The Image of General Prem Tinsulanonda in Thai Newspapers. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1988.
- Samudavanijia, Chai-Anan Thailand: State-Building, Democracy and Globalisation. Bangkok: Institute of Public Policy Studies, 2002.
- Siriyuvasak, Ubonrat Anakot Sue Seri Nai Rabob Thaksin; Ruu Tan Thaksin, in The Future of Independent Media Under the Thaksin System, Pinthong, Jermsak (ed.), Bangkok, 2004.
- Stempel, G.H Sample Size for Classifying Subject Matter in Dailies: Research in Brief, Journalism Quarterly 29, 1952.
- Stone, P.J; Dunphy, D.C.; Smith, M.S. and Ogilvie, D.M, The General Inquirer: A Computer Approach to Content Analysis. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966.
- Thailand Official Year Book, Bangkok, 1968.
- Thompson, Virginia Thailand, The New Siam. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947.

Wood, Alan T. Asian Democracy in World History. London: Routledge, 2004.

APPENDICES

Appendix A
(Period 1: February 6-13, 2001)

Messages	Details	Titles & Sources
Thaksin has shrewd business acumen, strong ambitions in both business and politics. (+)	<p>...Thaksin is one of Thailand's most successful entrepreneurs ever by recognising the tremendous potential of mobile telecommunications years before anyone had ever heard about internet or talked about the New Economy...</p> <p>...it was only through good fortune, shrewd business acumen and strong ambition that he was able to emerge, phoenix-like, from the brink of bankruptcy.</p> <p>...Thaksin has to use the shrewd instincts that made him a business tycoon to jump through the window of opportunity and undertake tough measures to revive the economy and reform society...</p>	<p>Now Is Not The Time To Be Taking Risks (commentary, <i>BP</i> 11/1/2001)</p> <p>Now Comes The Hard Part: Keeping The Faith (analysis, <i>TN</i> 9/1/2001)</p>
Thaksin is very decisive. (+)	<p>Thailand will resort to "decisive means" to deal with illegal drug factories on the border if Rangoon does not act, Thaksin Shinawatra said in Chiang Mai.</p> <p>He is never afraid of making decisions...</p>	<p>"Decisive" Steps in Drug War (news, <i>BP</i> 13/1/2001)</p> <p>"Genhis Khan" On New Battle Front (analysis, <i>TN</i> 8/1/2001)</p>
Thaksin is adventurous and bold. (+)	<p>...Thaksin is adventurous and bold in his business and political gambits...</p>	<p>Pojamarn, The Practical "Silent Partner" (analysis, <i>TN</i> 9/1/2001)</p>
Thaksin has the utmost confidence in himself. (+)	<p>...Thaksin: all our policies are "can do" policies...</p>	<p>Foreign Borrowing Declared Off-Limits</p>

	<p>...the man who must always have his own way, impatient and has utmost confidence in himself...</p> <p>...confident that no more than ten Thai Rak Thai candidates would be disqualified and that the party would ultimately win more than 260 seats...</p>	<p>(news, <i>BP</i> 12/1/2001) “Genhis Khan” On New Battle Front (analysis, <i>TN</i> 8/1/2001) Thaksin Hints At “Drastic” War On Drug Trade (news, <i>TN</i> 13/1/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin has good CEO qualities: ability to delegate, ability to choose suitable people for certain jobs. He is a capable national leader. (+)</p>	<p>...many of his CEO qualities will prove useful in administering the country like the ability to delegate. People close to Thaksin say he has a good eye for recognising who is suitable for what job...</p> <p>...Dhanin Chearavanond, president of Charoen Pokphand Group: Thaksin was a capable person that would lead Thailand to a better future...</p> <p>Hongkong-based Yazhou Zhoukan (Asia Weekly): Thaksin’s secret to success was the combination of a “Chinese management style” – aligning himself with the right people to achieve his political goal – and American marketing tactics to achieve wealth. Singapore’s leading Chinese daily Lianhe Zaobao:...there is no doubt that this election has reflected the progress of Thailand’s democratic process...</p>	<p>“Genhis Khan” On New Battle Front (analysis, <i>TN</i> 8/1/2001) Chinese Minister Sees Free-Trade Area Spanning Asia (news, <i>TN</i> 11/1/2001) At Last, Foreign Media Show Some Respect (news, <i>TN</i> 12/1/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin has a vision in new technology. (+)</p>	<p>...Never has the outlook for IT growth in Thailand looked as good since the January 6 election...</p> <p>...the nation chose a man of vision in new technology...</p>	<p>IT Looks To Be In Safe Hands With Thaksin (commentary, <i>TN</i> 13/1/2001)</p>

<p>Thaksin determined to work for the country no matter what happens. (+)</p>	<p>...Mr Thaksin appears as determined as ever to fulfill his ambition to take the premiership, despite the uncertainty of his political career...</p> <p>...With the overwhelming vote of public support given his Thai Rak Thai, Mr Thaksin could rightly claim he has the popular mandate to realise his political dream...</p> <p>...Undoubtedly, the Thai Rak Thai leader is the people's choice to lead the country into the new millennium, and there is no stopping him if he so wishes...</p> <p>...Prayad Hongthongkham, an independent political scientist: The party's strategy is good. The announcement he was determined to fight and work for the country no matter what happened reassured his supporters. Thai Rak Thai would not have come so far had Mr Thaksin given up when he was indicted by the anti-graft agency...</p> <p>Thaksin: I will do my best not to disappoint the people.</p> <p>Thaksin: I would like to thank the people of Thailand for giving the mandate to Thai Rak Thai and me to run the country. I will put my heart and soul into working for the country.</p>	<p>Time To Turn The Voice of The People into Decisive Action (commentary, <i>BP</i> 7/1/2001)</p> <p>Bangkokians Take A Risk In Leap Of Faith (news, <i>BP</i> 7/1/2001)</p> <p>Quote of the Day (<i>BP</i> 8/1/2001)</p> <p>Global Media Spotlight On Thailand (analysis, <i>TN</i> 7/1/2001)</p>
<p>He is patriotic. (+)</p>	<p>...we are truly impressed with your sound patriotism...Let's hope you can bring pride to Thailand...</p>	<p>A Plea To Next PM For Environmental Clean Up (letter, <i>TN</i> 10/1/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin has a happy personal life. (+)</p>	<p>After his landslide poll win, the country's would be PM</p>	<p>Pojamarn, The</p>

	<p>yesterday asked the press for a lull to enjoy “the moment of glory” with his wife Pojamarn. ...Thaksin and Pojamarn are often seen from a distance as a working team rather than a romantic couple. Up close, however, the two radiate warmth and loving care for one another... Pojamarn: Thaksin is like an elder brother whom I can completely trust. The husband-and-wife team worked hand in glove building their businesses and sharing responsibilities for their three children.</p>	<p>Practical “Silent Partner” (analysis, <i>TN</i> 9/1/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin recruited both old and new politicians to join his party under slogan “Think a new, do a new”. (+)</p>	<p>Thaksin recruited both old and new politicians to join his party under slogan “Think a new, do a new”.</p>	<p>People Have Made Their Will Known (<i>Khao Sod</i> editorial, <i>BP</i> 13/1/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin’s policies are clear-cut and he offers a systematic way of getting things done. (+)</p>	<p>Thaksin’s policies are clear-cut and he offers a systematic way of getting things done.</p>	<p>People Have Made Their Will Known (<i>Khao Sod</i> editorial, <i>BP</i> 13/1/2001)</p>
<p>Thai Rak Thai’s campaign went straight to the hearts of poor people. (+)</p>	<p>Thai Rak Thai campaign pledges went straight to the hearts of people’s most impoverished region – to suspend interest payments on farmers’ debts, and provide all villages with a million-baht development fund and a 30-baht medical service for the poor. It was not surprising Thai Rak Thai’s platform offering to solve the problems plaguing the farm sector had won the support of northeastern people.</p>	<p>Isan Pins Hopes On Thaksin Promises (news, <i>BP</i> 8/1/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin attracts young voters. (+)</p>	<p>A 18-year-old student in Lat Phrao: ...this time I vote for Thai Rak Thai because I want to give them a chance to do what they claim they can do...</p>	<p>What Teenagers Feel...(quotes, <i>TN</i> 7/1/2001)</p>

	<p>...Thaksin's youthful looks and success in telecommunication business were an added advantage in attracting young voters...</p>	<p>A Victory For New Money Politics (editorial, TN 7/1/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin is impatient, incautious, and arrogant. (-)</p>	<p>...the man who must always have his own way, impatient... ...he is never afraid of making decision, though caution is not one of his strong points. ...he did not shy away from saying nice things about himself – an immodest quality he said he always knew world turn him into a successful politician.</p>	<p>Genhis Khan" On New Battle Front (analysis, TN 8/1/2001)</p> <p>Thaksin On Orchestra, The Golden Goose and Leadership (commentary, TN 8/1/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin only tries to serve his own interest as oppose to the nation's. (-)</p>	<p>I do not believe Shin Corp's strident claims of non-interference, for I have not seen any iTV investigative reporting of one of the most newsworthy corruption story of the year – the corruption agency's finding against Mr Thaksin. Shin and Mr Thaksin should be required to sell their iTV shares within, say, one year and the buyers must not be nominees of Mr Thaksin, Shin Corps employees or directors, or their immediate families – or maids. I demand Thai Rak Thai leader and Shin Corps executives immediately return people's right to know and end their use of iTV as a political tool...This practice is utterly unacceptable in any democratic society. I wish voters could have seen through to this man's true colours. Thaksin doesn't care if being next PM for a short time will hurt the country's economic stability. This is the man who clearly only wants to achieve the</p>	<p>There Seems A Case For Interference (letter, BP 9/1/2001)</p> <p>...And Save iTV From Being A Political Tool (letter, TN 8/1/2001)</p> <p>What Thaksin Ever Done For The Country? (letter, TN 8/1/2001)</p>

	<p>demands of his ego.</p> <p>I dare those who supported Thai Rak Thai to name one project that Thaksin has successfully done for the country (not for his own wealth).</p> <p>The interference of Shin Corps in iTV's management is indicative of how Shin executives manage their power.</p>	<p>Better To Change iTV to MyTV (letter, <i>TN</i> 9/1/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin's CEO-style will be inappropriate and impractical when it comes to leading a nation. (-)</p>	<p>Attajak Satyanurak of Chiang Mai University: He's more of a risk-taker...but whether this is the right approach depends on the time and occasion...He cannot simply make decisions based on information fed to him by a 10-person think tank. He'll have to listen to the people, the media and the bureaucrats.</p> <p>Surichai Wungaew from Chulalongkorn University: A govt could not be run like a corporation because it was not the property of a single person...</p> <p>Suthy Prasart-saet from Chulalongkorn University: social movements were unlikely to allow him to do so.</p>	<p>Unlike Chuan, CEO Thaksin Will Take Risks (news, <i>TN</i> 8/1/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin reacted excessively to perceived criticism. He has often tussled with foreign press. (-)</p>	<p>Mr Thaksin shrugged off doubts by the foreign media about the efficiency of the new govt. Upset by their calling the election dirtiest in history, Mr Thaksin said foreigners had little idea of the country's internal affairs and his policies, and therefore should not jump into conclusions.</p> <p>Thaksin has often tussled with foreign press, and sometimes detests questions posed to him by foreign journalists.</p> <p>Thaksin: Foreign media that possessed doubts about his</p>	<p>Thai Rak Thai Drafting Policy For New Administration (news, <i>BP</i> 10/1/2001)</p> <p>"Genhis Khan" On New Battle Front (analysis, <i>TN</i> 8/1/2001)</p> <p>Foreign Sceptics</p>

	party's platform neither understood nor knew what his party would do to heal the country's problems...Any decision or criticism on the matters should be left to Thai people.	"Don't Understand, Should Not Judge" (news, <i>TN</i> 10/1/2001)
Thaksin tends to think that money can solve problems. (-)	...many of these leadership qualities are undermined by his tendency to think that money will solve problems and overcome obstacles...	"Genhis Khan" On New Battle Front (analysis, <i>TN</i> 8/1/2001)
Thaksin intends to form a govt with an absolute majority. (-)	Thaksin wants no fewer than 320 seats... ...he must take charge of all the key economic ministries – namely finance, commerce, agriculture and industry. Mr Thaksin said academics should not rush to brand him a parliament dictator because he had made it widely known that he preferred his govt to command no fewer than 320 MPs. ...Thai Rak Thai's plan to form a govt with an absolute majority will disrupt monitoring mechanisms, especially censure debates...	Thaksin Aims For 320 Seats (news, <i>BP</i> 6/1/2001) Doubts Temper General Optimism (commentary, <i>BP</i> 8/1/2001) Chart Pattana Now Wants in Thai Rak Thai "Not Keen" On Chart Thai (news, <i>BP</i> 9/1/2001) Strong Government "Bad For Democracy" (news, <i>BP</i> 12/1/2001)
Thaksin is impulsive. (-)	...his occasionally inability to control his emotions – there have been outburst when things have not gone his way... Let us hope the picture of our next PM driving off in his bronze Porsche on Sunday without fastening his seat belt is not an indication of the priority his administration intends to give road safety...	"Genhis Khan" On New Battle Front (analysis, <i>TN</i> 8/1/2001) Time For Road Rage Right At The Top (editorial, <i>BP</i> 10/1/2001)

<p>Thaksin's policies sometimes contradict each other. (-)</p>	<p>...his commitment to globalisation is at odds with his promises to establish a village fund and offer a debt moratorium to farmers. There's also his policy of not selling state agencies to foreign firm. Sticking to this will be a big challenge.</p>	<p>Unlike Chuan, CEO Thaksin Will Take Risks (news, <i>TN</i> 8/1/2001)</p>
<p>Most of Thai Rak Thai's scheme are not based on reality. There is wonder where Thai Rak Thai get money to fulfill its campaign pledges and a doubt that the strategies may create more public debt in the long term. (-)</p>	<p>...foreign community is highly skeptical about Thai Rak Thai policies, which would amount to a populist spending spree...</p> <p>...long-term investors prefer to wait and see...</p> <p>...foreign investors: doubts about Thaksin's ability to fulfill his campaign pledges (require a massive amount of govt money)...</p> <p>A Standard Chartered Bank report: Thai Rak Thai programme might push govt debt to mere than 100 per cent of gross domestic product...</p> <p>Ammar Siamwalla, economic lecturer from Chulalongkorn University: the biggest question is where it would get money to fulfill its campaign pledges...It would created more public debt in the long term...</p> <p>...critics voiced concern over the possibility of health insurance scheme, saying the plan could become a logistical nightmare in terms of financial management...</p> <p>A visitor of Thaiclinic.com – website of Rural Doctors Society of Thailand: Bt30 healthcare programme was not based on reality...</p>	<p>“Genhis Khan” On New Battle Front (analysis, <i>TN</i> 8/1/2001)</p> <p>Positive Market Reaction Likely (news, <i>TN</i> 8/1/2001)</p> <p>Dr Thaksin's Dilemma (analysis, <i>TN</i> 12/1/2001)</p> <p>Wrong Prescription For Community Leaders (news, <i>TN</i> 12/1/2001)</p>
<p>In election 2001, Thaksin uses money politic tactics. (-)</p>	<p>Samak Sundaravej, governor of Bangkok: this election reached its outcome because one party spent a huge</p>	<p>On The Threshold Of New Politics (editorial,</p>

	amount of money to buy up MPs from other parties and used promises of state money to attract voters nation-wide.	TN 10/1/2001)
In election 2001, Thaksin won in an “emotional” not a “rational” election. (-)	Thaksin wins in an “emotional” rather than a “rational” election... Senator Kaewsan Atipho was right when he said he did not think voters had learned any valuable political lessons because the majority of them did not use much reason in opting for Thai Rak Thai...	Chavalit Waits In The Wings (letter, BP 9/1/2001)
Thaksin was found guilty by the National Counter-Corruption Commission in trying to conceal assets. The case would be transferred to the Constitutional Court. If found guilty, Thaksin would have to quit the premiership and be banned from politics for five years. (-)	The commissioners had voted 8-1 in favour of a guilty verdict. Mr Thaksin was found to have transferred large amounts of shares to his domestic staff to obviate the need for declaration to the state. ...If the Constitutional Court upholds the NCCC’s ruling, thus banning the tycoon from politics for five years, the people’s mandate and his “heart and soul” will probably be the only card that he has left to play...	Thaksin Case Set For Court (news, BP 9/1/2001) Global Media Spotlight on Thailand (analysis, TN 7/1/2001)

Appendix B
(Period 2: August 3-10, 2001)

Messages	Details	Titles & Sources
Thaksin has a happy family. (+)	<p>Thaksin can rely on the moral support of his wife...</p> <p>The couple lunched, then watched television together as the court released its verdict and returned home in the same limousine.</p> <p>...Thaksin routinely says he owns everything to his wife...compares himself to a train without brakes, which could slam into everything were it not for his wife...He said his wife helped him through the hard days before he became a billionaire.</p> <p>...with his wife by his side...</p> <p>Thaksin puts his arm round Pojamarn's shoulders and said: "Khunying Pojamarn has always been by my side during all these times."</p>	<p>Wife Proves To Be Pillar Of Strength (news, <i>BP</i> 4/8/2001)</p> <p>Murky Verdict Clear Thaksin (news, <i>TN</i> 4/8/2001)</p> <p>Relaxed on "Judgement Day" (news, <i>TN</i> 4/8/2001)</p>
Thaksin was not guilty of asset concealment. (+)	<p>The NCCC founding was sent to the court, which yesterday voted 8-7 to clear Thaksin.</p> <p>Sanan Kachornprasart: glad he has been free from a political noose put around his neck by an independent organisation (NCCC) which is naïve in politics.</p>	<p>PM Puts On Brave Face During Trial (news, <i>BP</i> 4/8/2001)</p> <p>Sanan Congratulates PM, Snubs Graft Agency, Court (news, <i>BP</i> 4/8/2001)</p>
Thaksin is willing to work with NCCC to fight corruption. (+)	<p>He intends to bury his conflicts with the NCCC and would work with the agency to fight corruption...</p>	<p>PM Discovers The Silver Lining (news, <i>TN</i> 4/8/2001)</p>
Thaksin controls his pain inside for the sake of the country. (+)	<p>Thaksin: ...the leader can be sick but can't be weak...It has been a nightmare for me for the past six months, but I could no appear weak so I have had to bite my tongue and keep the pain inside...because I want the public to be in good spirits. I want the</p>	<p>PM Discovers The Silver Lining (news, <i>TN</i> 4/8/2001)</p>

<p>Thaksin is even stronger, more decisive, competent, active, ambitious and confident after the trial. (+)</p>	<p>country to move on...</p> <p>Pibhop Dhongchai, political activist: the prime minister should strive to emulate other countries and turn Thailand into an autocratic society with strong leadership. `He could copy Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore or Malaysia's Mahathir Mohamad. The chances were high considering his wealth, his ability to consolidate interest groups and his solid political power."</p> <p>Thaksin: Provincial governors should no longer come under Interior Ministry control but take on a broader role as "chief executives."</p> <p>Thaksin: Reforming bureaucracy is a must if Thailand wants to successfully cope with a rapidly changing world.</p> <p>...now Khun Thaksin is reborn into politics...</p> <p>...this decision will maintain continuity, will sustain carefully considered foreign investment and will actually place the PM in a position to finally do something about reviving the economy.</p> <p>...the PM is really lucky and to show his humility and gratitude, I hope he can now understand this is time to really act for the prosperity and welfare of ordinary Thais.</p> <p>PM Thaksin Shinawatra wants the 12-year free education scheme to start at kindergarten level instead of at primary school level.</p> <p>As well as saving the state money, the new target would also lead to the better development of children.</p> <p>PM will call a meeting tomorrow to push forward a government project to encourage the public to fight drugs.</p> <p>Thaksin: A total 377 policemen believed to be involved in drug</p>	<p>Senators Demand Purge Of Cabinet Crooks (news, <i>BP</i> 5/8/2001)</p> <p>Broader Role Suggested For Provincial Governors (news, <i>BP</i> 5/8/2001)</p> <p>Top Politicians Discuss Measures To Achieve Bureaucratic Reforms (news, <i>BP</i> 5/8/2001)</p> <p>The Time Has Come To Get To Work (letter, <i>BP</i> 6/8/2001)</p> <p>Twelve-Year Plan To Take In Toddlers (news, <i>BP</i> 7/8/2001)</p> <p>Project Afoot To Encourage More Public Participation (news, <i>BP</i> 7/8/2001)</p> <p>Three Thais Die In</p>
---	--	---

<p>trade will be sacked and face criminal charges...</p> <p>PM has guaranteed a state subsidy to any university going autonomous and pledged to help tackle any problems threatening their plan.</p> <p>For once, Thaksin has done the right thing...the concept of not including Mathayom 4-6 or vocational education as compulsory is absolutely correct.</p> <p>...yesterday's acquittal of PM Thaksin ...was like adding wings to a fierce tiger...</p> <p>Even with an albatross around his neck, he has shown he can do a lot as the govt's leader.</p> <p>The acquittal increases his power exponentially. Like a tiger suddenly empowered with a pair of strong wings, Thaksin will have the wind at his back as he flies to attack any kind of enemy.</p> <p>With such a strong and confident leader, Thailand is at a key turning point in which it can enjoy unprecedented political stability.</p> <p>Sriyan Pietersz, head of research at SG Asia Securities: Thaksin was seen as a decisive leader that could lift Thailand out of its current rut.</p> <p>...he rushed to launch seven other major programmes...</p> <p>...he personally chaired more than a dozen workshops...</p> <p>...he kicked off the first stage of Bt 70-billion village fund...</p> <p>...he launched Bt 30-per-visit universal health care programme...</p> <p>...he launched "People's Bank"...</p> <p>...Thaksin pushed for the set up of SMEs...</p> <p>...he was a strong promoter of tourism sector...</p> <p>...Thaksin govt moved to speed up privatisation of state enterprises...</p> <p>Thaksin: With political will, decisive leadership and a well-conceived strategy, we (this administration) can change anything</p>	<p>Border Skirmish (news, <i>BP</i> 8/8/2001)</p> <p>PM's Guarantee (news, <i>BP</i> 9/8/2001)</p> <p>Older Kids Need Not Go To School (letter, <i>BP</i> 9/8/2001)</p> <p>The Leash Snaps (analysis, <i>TN</i> 4/8/2001)</p> <p>Outcome Seen As Bringing Stability (news, <i>TN</i> 4/8/2001)</p> <p>PM's Acquittal: Big Spending To Continue? (news, <i>TN</i> 4/8/2001)</p> <p>Red Tape Reform To Get Big Push (news, <i>TN</i></p>
--	--

	<p>that needs to be changed.</p> <p>Thaksin not only presided over the general discussion at the policy workshop...but also attended small group sessions...</p> <p>PM was very specific about the need to generate new ideas on how to organise govt agencies that would improve the country's competitiveness and serve the public better and more cost-effective, without getting bogged down by the structural constraints of the existing cumbersome bureaucracy.</p> <p>A public opinion survey conducted after the verdict on PM shows a majority of respondents believed Thaksin would show stronger leadership after his trial.</p> <p>Thaksin is the writer of his own political destiny. Success or failure depends on the competence that he claims to possess more than anybody in the land. It's time for him to prove that he is truly worthy of his mission as the only national saviour, the title he obviously finds it hard to dispute.</p> <p>Thaksin administration has set a broad agenda for sweeping bureaucratic reform. The ambitious plan calls for govt agencies to rethink their roles and responsibilities, streamline their operations and deliver effective results to improve people's living standards.</p> <p>PM proposed granting provincial governors the power of chief executive officers to enable them to effectively implement govt policies and better serve local people's needs as a shortcut to decentralisation and bureaucratic reform.</p> <p>...Thaksin's proposal would save the govt millions by implementing the free educational-year plan as opposed to the earlier scheme.</p> <p>Chai-anand Samudvanija: Thaksin's CEO proposal will bring tremendous change in the way the country is governed...</p>	<p>5/8/2001) "Red Tape Cutting Begins Now" (news, <i>TN</i> 5/8/2001)</p> <p>A Boost For PM – Poll (news, <i>TN</i> 5/8/2001)</p> <p>Verdict Frees Thaksin As "National Saviour" (commentary, <i>TN</i> 5/8/2001)</p> <p>Ambitious Agenda For Reform (news, <i>TN</i> 6/8/2001)</p> <p>PM Seeks Provincial "CEOs" (news, <i>TN</i> 6/8/2001)</p> <p>12-Years Free Education To Run From Pre-School (news, <i>TN</i> 7/8/2001)</p> <p>Axe Ready To Fall On Govt Offices (news, <i>TN</i> 7/8/2001)</p>
--	--	--

	<p>His proposal to grant provincial governors the powers of a chief executive officer is considered an innovative idea that could serve as a catalyst for fundamental change as well as a short cut to bureaucratic reform in general and decentralisation in particular.</p> <p>PM threatened to punish 377 policemen suspected of tacit involvement in the illicit drug trade.</p>	<p>Time Is Ripe For Civil Service Reform (editorial, <i>TN</i> 8/8/2001)</p> <p>PM Targets “Rogue” Police (news, <i>TN</i> 8/8/2001)</p>
Thaksin is outspoken and self-criticised. (+)	<p>He admitted that he had been part of the problem that his case had put a drag on new investment and new business planning.</p>	<p>Clouds Gone, PM Reaches For The Sky (editorial, <i>TN</i> 6/8/2001)</p>
Thaksin is a popular politician respected by many people. (+)	<p>Vendor Bunchai Charthiran: Finding a suitable person to fill his shoes would have been very difficult. At this moment, I can see no one better than him.</p> <p>During the “Prime Minister Talks to the People” radio programme yesterday, Mr Thaksin said thank you to the people for giving him moral support until he was cleared by the Constitutional Court of assets concealment charges.</p> <p>Thaksin is a very popular politician. He commands an extraordinary amount of respect from the people. His crackdown on corruption is sending serious shock waves within the civil servants’ circle.</p>	<p>Lucky Decision, But Welcome, People Say (news, <i>BP</i> 4/8/2001)</p> <p>PM To The People: Thanks For The Moral Support (news, <i>BP</i> 5/8/2001)</p> <p>Put Court Decision Behind And Move Fast Forward (letter, <i>TN</i> 8/8/2001)</p>
Thaksin is impulsive and tend to talk without deep thinking. (-)	<p>...he says off the cuff to a group of reporters that he felt that independent agencies such as the Constitutional Court and NCCC were too powerful and that their wings should be clipped.</p> <p>An embittered Mr Thaksin noted that...</p> <p>...PM might be forgiven for his outburst, which could be another of his “honest mistake.”</p> <p>Thaksin likes to speak before he thinks, then blame others if he makes an ass of himself...</p> <p>At UN conference, Thaksin used “inward looking” referring to his govt’s economic policies.</p>	<p>Charter Is Not Thaksin’s To Amend (commentary, <i>BP</i> 7/8/2001)</p> <p>Some Thought First Would Help Thaksin (editorial, <i>BP</i> 9/8/2001)</p>

	<p>“Thai sucks” referring to the standard of service on our national airline. ...whenever media report something that he later wishes he did not say, it’s the media to blame, not the speaker. The cause of Mr Thaksin’s misery is his own words. The press merely published his words. As a govt leader, Mr Thaksin cannot afford to let his mouth guide his head. He must think twice before saying anything in public.</p>	<p>Don’t Blame The Messenger (Khao Sod editorial, <i>BP</i> 9/8/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin intentionally hid his assets to avoid paying tax. (-)</p>	<p>No matter what excuse he comes up with will justify his evasiveness and his corrupt mind...he purposely did not declare all his assets to avoid paying tax period. ...Thaksin owes the people, including those who did not give him their vote, an apology for being unable to fill in the assets declaration form properly and for blaming others for his illegitimate deeds, which deprived himself and his cabinet of invaluable time and energy needed to rid the country of its nagging problems. ...rich tycoons like Khun Thaksin can easily hire a team of the best and brightest lawyers to argue the distinction between tax avoidance and tax evasion and win their case every time. As an attested Buddhist, Thaksin should celebrate his victory by donating all he has amassed by hiding his wealth behind his maids to charity. With this result, Thaksin has set the country back about 10 years...I am afraid that money has spoken again. Only in Thailand...can a person escape the clutches of the law by claiming he knows nothing about it. Only in Thailand...can a spouse transfer large proportions of a</p>	<p>Ruling Sends Out The Wrong Message (letter, <i>BP</i> 6/8/2001) Thaksin Owes Many People An Apology (letter, <i>BP</i> 8/8/2001) Real World Is Full Of Things To Detest (letter, <i>BP</i> 8/8/2001) Fairness Would Have A Charity Benefit (letter, <i>BP</i> 8/8/2001) The Verdict Only Means Money Talks (letter, <i>TN</i> 4/8/2001) Thaksin Verdict: Only In Thailand (editorial, <i>TN</i> 10/8/2001)</p>

	<p>partner's shares to family servants for unknown reasons without the other's knowledge. If the spouse dies suddenly, they takes this secret to the grave and the "nominees" will have the money for life. Only in Thailand...can someone... inexplicably omit the huge property in one official list of assets and then tell a court he did not know about the possession.</p>	
<p>Thaksin acts over his power and tends to destroy the credibility of independent agencies. (-)</p>	<p>Bolstered by his hidden assets acquittal the PM yesterday went on the offensive against independent agencies – the NCCC and the Constitutional court – suggesting the charter be mended to clip their wings.</p> <p>Somkid Lertpaitoon, Thammasat law lecturer: Mr Thaksin was destroying the credibility of the independent agencies – key mechanisms of political reform.</p> <p>Pipob Thongchai, chairman of the Campaign for Democracy: Mr Thaksin should never have suggested amending the charter since he was directly involved in a Constitutional Court case.</p> <p>You are faced with at least 10 years of institutionalised dictatorship by a criminal elite...</p> <p>Mr Thaksin's call to clip the wings of NCCC and Constitutional Court came just one day after he was cleared of charges is poorly timed. It gave the impression of being self-serving and of intention to take revenge on these two agencies.</p> <p>I do not doubt his ability to push for changes to the Constitution and find whatever reasons he needs to support his actions. But I do not think he can really justify such an initiative.</p> <p>After the court ruling, he strikes out at the independent state institutions involved, threatens to curb their powers, lambastes the press for its negative and speculate reporting...</p>	<p>Emboldened PM Slams Court, Panel (news, <i>BP</i> 5/8/2001)</p> <p>Hands Off, PM Warned (news, <i>BP</i> 6/8/2001)</p> <p>A Long Dictatorship Is Just Beginning (letter, <i>BP</i> 7/8/2001)</p> <p>Charter Is Not Thaksin's To Amend (commentary, <i>BP</i> 7/8/2001)</p> <p>What A Difference A Few Day Make (letter, <i>BP</i> 8/8/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin gives priority to</p>	<p>Mr Thaksin's two elder brothers would also be promoted...</p>	<p>Shake Up involves 400</p>

<p>family members and friends. (-)</p>	<p>Many of his military preparatory school classmates will also...</p> <p>About 20 former classmates and two close relatives of PM have been promoted in this year's military reshuffle.</p>	<p>Senior Officers (news, <i>BP</i> 6/8/2001) Thaksin's Class Pals Get Boost (news, <i>BP</i> 9/8/2001)</p>
<p>Thaksin holds bad attitude to media. He used political and business clout to tame media. (-)</p>	<p>Upset that his off-the-cuff comments about independent agencies and president of the Constitutional Court were printed, PM Thaksin yesterday snubbed the press and vowed to speak to them less often.</p> <p>The Special Branch Police deemed Krungthep Turakij's translation of one article on the PM's fate in the wealth concealment as an affront to the PM's image and detrimental to govt stability under the 1941 Publishing Act.</p> <p>PM's tolerance for the media has reached its limit, saying he will give one or two interviews a week from now on.</p> <p>...he began to use political and business clout to tame private print media...</p> <p>PM Thaksin's underlings have been taking a vigorous campaign to ensure that remarks not favourable to him are pre-empted or taken off radio and television programme.</p> <p>PRD and MCOT have come under pressure to toe the govt line or face punitive measures.</p> <p>The private mass media has come under similar, if more subtle manipulation by the PM's aides.</p> <p>Only in Thailand...are the media warned by police for publishing speculative reports on the fate of a PM's trial while the govt is uncorking the champagne three hours before the verdict is announced.</p> <p>Only in Thailand...can we deflect the blame to the media after</p>	<p>Premier Irked Over Printed Comments (news, <i>BP</i> 6/8/2001)</p> <p>Police Warning On Thaksin Trial Article Earn Derision (news, <i>BP</i> 8/8/2001)</p> <p>PM Cools To Media (news, <i>TN</i> 6/8/2001)</p> <p>Thaksin Sets The Alarm Bells Ringing (commentary, <i>TN</i> 7/8/2001)</p> <p>To Special Branch: Disrespectfully Yours...(commentary, <i>TN</i> 9/8/2001)</p> <p>Thaksin Verdict: Only In Thailand (editorial, <i>TN</i> 10/8/2001)</p>

	<p>bad-mouthing the court.</p> <p>...local news people now fear that the next time such groups as the Committee to Protect Journalists issue their reports on Thailand, the country will be viewed as having slipped back to the bad old days of suppression of information under military dictators.</p> <p>Sacked iTV reporters: they had been faithfully carrying out their duty to cover the news, but they were fired because their reports were seen as unfavourable towards Thaksin, now PM, during the run-up to the general election.</p> <p>Thaksin's Shin Corps had already taken over iTV by that time...</p>	Former iTV Reporters To File Counter Suit (news, <i>TN</i> 10/8/2001)
Thaksin's policies showed drawbacks. (-)	<p>The education permanent secretary, working class parents and the opposition argue new education policy will put many children at a disadvantage and benefit the rich.</p> <p>...govts of Bush and Thaksin have at least one thing in common – a mindset that gives weight to economic gain at the expense of the environment...More than 1m <i>rai</i> of coastal mangrove forest has been destroyed, often due to shrimp farms...</p> <p>Most analysts have said the public debt is approaching a dangerous level instead of relying on fiscal pump-priming to restart the fragile economy.</p> <p>Ammar Siamwalla, senior economist at the Thailand Development Research Institute: govt was overly optimistic because it neglected to count state enterprises' huge liabilities, estimated at more than Bt 3 trillion, while total state enterprises assets are worth Bt 4 trillion.</p>	<p>Vocal Opposition To Planned Changes (news, <i>BP</i> 8/8/2001)</p> <p>Lure Of Easy Profits Leads To Shortcuts (editorial, <i>BP</i> 8/8/2001)</p> <p>Doubt Over Economic Policies (news, <i>TN</i> 8/8/2001)</p>
Thaksin paid lip service through his policies. (-)	...his lip-service policies and outright PR campaign are boring, leaving more critical views that justify the anti-Thaksin sentiment for columnists and social critics.	Media Watchdogs Turn Frantic And Disoriented (letter, <i>TN</i> 6/8/2001)
Thaksin was self-aggrandised. (-)	The Asian Wall Street Journal: Perhaps a little bit of humility is in order after having to defend oneself on corruption charges and coming close to removal from office. But instead it looks as if he	Thaksin Should Show Humility (news, <i>TN</i> 7/8/2001)

	<p>will take revenge...</p> <p>...tendency towards self-aggrandisement, the extra ego boost from the acquittal may not be what the Kingdom needs right now.</p> <p>...he managed to define himself as synonymous with Thailand's technological tomorrow.</p>	
--	--	--

Appendix C
(Period 3: October 16-23, 2003)

Messages	Details	Titles & Sources
<p>Thaksin is the most visionary leader in the region. (+)</p>	<p>Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra has become the most dominant leader within Southeast Asia with a "vision" for regional economic integration, an influential US business group said.</p> <p>Ernest Bower, president of US-Asean Business Council: leadership in Southeast Asia has moved north from Jakarta, through Singapore, now has moved to Bangkok, to Mr Thaksin.</p> <p>Singapore PM Goh Chok Tong wanted the common market to be brought in by 2015, while Mr Thaksin was pushing for an even earlier deadline of 2012.</p> <p>It was heartening to hear Mr Thaksin reiterate his commitment to free trade and the WTO. Over the past two years, the government's trade policy has focused largely on securing bilateral free trade agreements and expanding regional groupings such as Asean.</p> <p>Hu praises Thaksin for his initiatives on Asia bonds, the Asian Cooperation Dialogue and five-nation drug suppression cooperation among Thailand, India, Laos, Burma and China.</p> <p>Goh Chok Tong: At this stage, Thailand has a PM who is confident of himself and of the country. Personality is important, and PM Thaksin has ideas both for Thailand and Asean.</p> <p>He realises the importance of integrating Thailand with other Asean countries...to create a bigger market, and help Thailand become a developed country...He has the vision and drive. That's why I say Thailand can be a regional leader.</p>	<p>Thaksin Hailed By US Group (news, <i>BP</i> 16/10/2003)</p> <p>Take Time To Ensure The Greatest Benefit (editorial, <i>BP</i> 16/10/1003)</p> <p>PM Wants Unlimited Cargo Flights To China (news, <i>BP</i> 19/10/2003)</p> <p>Thaksin Hailed As Next Asean Leader (news, <i>BP</i> 20/10/2003)</p>

	<p>Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra chairs the Asia-Pacific Rim leaders' meeting here today, hoping to breathe new life into regional cooperation and settle the battle over priorities.</p> <p>Goh Chok Tong: Thailand has a PM who is confident of himself...</p> <p>...when you mention Khun Thaksin and his abilities, this raises issues of the leadership in the region...Dr Mahathir would be the leader in Asean but he is retiring this month, so Malaysia will have a new PM. In Singapore there will be one in a matter of one or two years. I think the one who can drive things is Thaksin...He must be there long enough, have the vision and the drive.</p> <p>Goh Chok Tong: Mr Thaksin's confidence in himself and Thailand would see him become one of Asean's most prominent leaders.</p> <p>Thaksin: Each of every Asean leader plays a role in pushing the group forward...Asean spirit was currently overwhelming and that leaders were now thinking in two dimensions – for their countries and for the group.</p> <p>Roh Moo-hyum, SKorean president: PM Thaksin has the potential to become a regional leader...Mr Thaksin was a man brimming with creative ideas...Mr Thaksin has vision not only for Thailand but for the region as a whole and is committed to seeing the region prosper and become more stable...Mr Thaksin has a talent for making every visiting leader feel very much at home.</p> <p>Earnest Bower: Thaksin has earned more plaudits for joining, and now overtaking, Singapore's efforts to integrate Southeast Asia through an economic community, particularly free trade area...Singapore did a great job of giving Thaksin some of</p>	<p>Future Challenges For Southeast Asia (news, <i>BP</i> 20/10/2003)</p> <p>PM Eager To Show Summit “Not A Ritual” (news, <i>BP</i> 20/10/2003)</p> <p>PM Modest About Praise For Leadership (news, <i>BP</i> 22/10/2003)</p> <p>Roh Lauds Thaksin For Creative Ideas (news, <i>BP</i> 22/10/2003)</p> <p>Thaksin Called The Most Dominant Leader Of The Region (news, <i>TN</i> 16/10/2003)</p>
--	---	--

	<p>the Asean vision...</p> <p>At the Bali summit two weeks ago, Thaksin did display regional leadership by calling for Asean to adopt a common market by 2012.</p> <p>...it's clear that the baton of Asean leadership is being passed onto him.</p> <p>PM Thaksin is expected to use the Asia Bond initiative as an example of the development of the regional capital market at the Apec summit.</p> <p>In the past year, Thaksin has pushed hard for the development of the Asia Bond Fund, which he said would keep Asia's financial resources in the region.</p> <p>...He wants to use this forum to showcase Thailand's economic recovery, his govt's success and his efforts to emerge as a regional leader.</p> <p>Bush: I don't want to compare Thaksin to other leaders (in the region)...that would be unfair. I do see him as a very strong leader and a very capable leader. He's got a good grasp of issues. He understands how economies work. He's not afraid to make tough decisions. He stands his ground in the face of criticism. And so I think he is a very interesting, dynamic leader.</p> <p>Since he gained the seat, his priorities have included a number of important initiatives that hold the potential to improve the lot of people in this region and upgrade their status on the world stage: the Asia Bond Market programme, Asia Cooperation Dialogue, dual track economic management and bilateral free trade agreements with China and India.</p> <p>PM is standing at a crossroad that can help Thailand and the region to new heights.</p>	<p>A Great Guide To Become A Regional Leader (commentary, <i>TN</i> 17/10/2003)</p> <p>Kingdom To Give Tax Breaks (news, <i>TN</i> 18/10/2003)</p> <p>A Summit To Remember For Every Leader (news, <i>TN</i> 19/10/2003)</p> <p>We Values Ties With Thailand: Bush (news, <i>TN</i> 19/10/2001)</p> <p>Thaksin Zeroes In On The "Next Mahathir" Role (commentary, <i>TN</i> 19/10/2003)</p>
--	--	---

	<p>Backed by relatively strong domestic support and with a good chance of winning a second term office in early 2005, Thaksin should play a vital role in shaping the future of Southeast Asia in relation to North and South Asia and the rest of the world.</p> <p>Thailand appears to be making considerable progress ahead of other Asean countries in achieving greater external trade and investment opportunities. This will help push the 10-member Asean grouping closer to free trade deals with China, India and the US as well as bring about a flexible integration of East Asian economies.</p> <p>PM is looking forward most of all to displaying his regional leadership. He has made remarks about the need for Asean to embrace a common market faster. He has championed the creation of the Asia Bond. He has the opportunity to make his mark at this summit.</p>	<p>Another Crunch Time For Apec (editorial, <i>TN</i> 20/10/2003)</p>
<p>Thaksin is a good leader of the nation: capable, thoughtful, active, hard working and innovative. (+)</p>	<p>PM has held an informal lunch with students from a Bangkok school where he took a mathematics lesson last month.</p> <p>...He wanted to hear student's problems and their views of the curriculum and other social issues.</p> <p>...he proposed that the curriculum should be changes in line with students' intellect.</p> <p>He also sought views from students about drug problem, the govt's policy to ban youth aged below 18 from nightspots, and the opening hours of entertainment venues.</p> <p>He planned to meet other groups of students including students from problem families and students in the provinces.</p> <p>PM's presence is very predential and his confidence is an inspiration to all.</p> <p>The Thai people should be so very proud that they have such a</p>	<p>PM Takes Time out For Students' View (news, <i>BP</i> 16/10/2003)</p> <p>PM Raises The Bar For Good</p>

	<p>capable, hard working, and innovative leader. ...policies of stagnation of past govts have been replaced with forward thinking innovative policies. ...no doubt that Thailand will continue to prosper in the years ahead under the helm of PM Thaksin. Earlier this year, PM set in motion a plan to get rid of slums in Bangkok and major towns within five years, by way of a multi-billion-baht project to build low-cost residential units for low-income people. This is a noble idea and one which anyone with an ounce of humanity will heartily applaud. Thaksin: authorities who turned a blind eye to investors exploiting plantations at the expense of poor farmers would be sacked...He would not spare officials who allowed investors to work the plantations after their contracts had expired. Mr Thaksin is correct there can be no economic development without security. The leaders must help to make the region safer and defeat terrorism after the summit ends. Robert Lees, Asia Pacific executive adviser of the consultancy Bearing Point: Thailand, under Thaksin, was pointed to take a leading position in the Asean region overall. T he barge procession ended beautifully with 500 flying lanterns and 13,000 lit floats on the Chao Phraya river – an idea that came from Mr Thaksin.</p> <p>Viphandh Roengpithaya, chairman of Apec business Advisory Council: PM Thaksin has strongly supported a need for Apec to send a strong signal of political will to advance the WTO process.</p> <p>The smart ID card project was initiated by PM Thaksin in</p>	<p>Leadership (letter, <i>BP</i> 17/10/2003)</p> <p>The Tough Job Of Eradicating Slums (editorial, <i>BP</i> 18/10/2003)</p> <p>Six More Farmers Face Arrest For Trespassing (news, <i>BP</i> 19/10/2003)</p> <p>Seeking Success At Apec (editorial, <i>BP</i> 20/10/2003)</p> <p>Apec Trade Links Will Help Spur WTO Talks (news, <i>BP</i> 21/10/2003)</p> <p>Barge Show Wows Dignitaries (news, <i>BP</i> 22/10/2003)</p> <p>Highshipping Cost Abac's Main Concern (news, <i>BP</i> 22/10/2003)</p>
--	---	--

	<p>February 2002 with the aim of giving Thais the status of “e-citizens.” The IC-chip card will be a multi-function card containing personal ID, finger-print, tax numbers, social welfare, social security, agricultural data and personal healthcare data.</p> <p>While Thaksin’s goal of complete Thai self-reliance is laudable, I think there’s legitimacy to the idea of forming an advisory committee of multinational software.</p> <p>Thaksin: Thailand has good relations with three superpowers – Russia, China and US. ...”People believe me when I say Apec will never be the same after Bangkok.”</p> <p>PM was absolutely right to ask Thais not to hold protests...</p> <p>Bush: Thaksin as a “strong and very capable leader” for making tough decision in the face of criticism...Thaksin has “good grasp” of issues, describing him as “a very interesting and dynamic leader”.</p> <p>Under the leadership of PM Thaksin, Thailand has gravitated even more towards China. Since becoming PM, Thaksin has used “trade-off” strategies in engaging the major powers. After China entered WTO late last year, Thaksin moved to further strengthen ties with Beijing and has made it known that the region’s future lies with China’s economic potential. Thailand is hoping to play a balance-of-power game between</p>	<p>Cards For E-Citizens (news, <i>BP</i> 22/10/2003)</p> <p>International Advisory Panel Of IT Experts A Good Idea (letter, <i>BP</i> 22/10/2003)</p> <p>Summit Cost Slightly Over One Billion, But “Worth Every Baht Spent,” Says Thaksin (news, <i>BP</i> 23/10/2003)</p> <p>Protest Could Cost Us Future Apecs (letter, <i>BP</i> 23/10/2003)</p> <p>Bush Set To Give Thailand non-Nato ally status (news, <i>TN</i> 16/10/2003)</p> <p>Hu’s Visit More Than Symbolic (editorial, <i>TN</i> 17/10/2003)</p>
--	---	--

	<p>the two super powers, especially after September 11, 2001, when Thaksin's administration was quick to realise how Washington's threat perception in the region had changed... PM Thaksin has initiated many social projects to ease the hardship of the poor and has vowed to pump more money into programmes to eradicate poverty. He has also tried to create a whole generation of entrepreneurs by using money in state-run banks to open up jobs and business opportunities. He says his govt is pursuing a dual-track policy, promoting both the domestic economy and building a close partnership with other countries.</p> <p>PM decided to give money to all the applicants, although most would get less than the scholarship recipients.</p> <p>Bilateral free trade initiatives are blossoming at the Apec forum as Thailand yesterday started talks with Canada, Taiwan, and New Zealand. PM Thaksin held talks with Canadian PM Jean Chretien and New Zealand PM Helen Clark, as well as Hongkong Chief Executive Tung Chee Hwa.</p>	<p>Apec Oct 14: An Odd Juxtaposition (commentary, <i>TN</i> 17/10/2003)</p> <p>Kids Pleas Strike The Heart (news, <i>TN</i> 18/10/2003)</p> <p>Bilateral Initiatives Coming Thick And Fast (news, <i>TN</i> 21/10/2003)</p>
<p>Thaksin wins hearts of people and becomes the pride of the country. His popularity increased after Apec. (+)</p>	<p>By winning the hearts of the people through sincerity and integrity, PM Thaksin and his cabinet members could truly say they have served their country well and the people could feel proud of their govt.</p>	<p>Offer The Respect The Fallen Deserve (letter, <i>BP</i> 17/10/2003) & It's Time The Govt Showed Respect For The Heroes of October 14 (letter, <i>TN</i> 19/10/2003)</p>

	Abac poll: PM Thaksin's popularity seemed to have grown after the summit.	Radio Callers Say Govt Gave Poor Notice Of Road, Bridge Closures (news, <i>BP</i> 23/10/2003)
Thaksin is modest. (+)	PM Thaksin yesterday played down praise for his leadership from Asean countries , saying the group should move together. Thaksin humbly dismissed suggestions he was about to take on the role of Southeast Asia's leading statesman once his Malaysian counterpart step down... Asked to comment on his potential to become a regional leader, Thaksin's response was modest : "It's everybody's mission, not an official role for one person..."	PM Modest About Praises For Leadership (news, <i>BP</i> 22/10/2003) Thaksin Honours Mahathir (news, <i>TN</i> 22/10/2003)
Thaksin loves his family. (+)	Thaksin: I need a holiday with my family. I won't take my work with me. I won't think about work. I want to relax for four or five days. I am exhausted. I need to recharge my batteries...I came here to see my kid's education...	PM Off To England With Family (news, <i>BP</i> 23/10/2003)
Thaksin is not patient. (-)	For Mr Thaksin, who admits to not being the most patient of people , a strong commitment by Apec members to supporting the WTO process, while also reaffirming efforts by Apec itself to trade liberalisation, would be a feather in the cap needed.	Take Time To Ensure The Greatest Benefit (editorial, <i>BP</i> 16/10/2003)
Thaksin is impulsive in speaking and action. (-)	Chuan compared Thaksin to a stand-up comedian , slamming the PM's take-charge style. Chuan Leekpai: Thaksin played a maths teacher and managed to entertain high school students by talking about everything but maths... Thaksin even performs comedian better than popular comedian Koh Tee. ...But he let himself down at the final Apec press conference, when he lost his cool when asked what was the root cause of terrorism. "It's a technical question," he snapped . Wrong answer for a new regional leader.	"Funny" PM Irks Chuan (news, <i>TN</i> 18/10/2003) What Did We Gain From It All? (analysis, <i>TN</i> 23/10/2003)

<p>Thaksin is allergic to criticisms by academics, NGOs and the media. (-)</p>	<p>Thaksin bans reporters from asking him questions on politics and NGOs protest...accused his critics of harbouring personal jealousies against him and damaging national interests at time he's playing host to Apec. Thaksin cannot continue to take criticism so personally and negatively. PM Thaksin brushed aside critics' warnings about being a declared US ally. Thaksin: "These people don't understand anything, when they see a fly, they say it's a bird..." ...Thaksin is a telecom tycoon, he would love to have the same control of media as his Italian counterpart (PM Silvio Berlusconi). Both shoot from the lips rather than the hips. Thaksin & Bush are both mistrustful of the media – the ones they believe they cannot control. Thaksin believes the media is not "positive" and "patriotic" enough. Thaksin has harsher words for the "uncooperative" Thai media.</p>	<p>Is It Hubris That Defines Thaksin? (editorial, <i>BP</i> 17/10/2003)</p> <p>Anti-Terror Centre Now Permanent (news, <i>BP</i> 23/10/2003)</p> <p>PM Thaksin: A Complicated Leader In A Hurry (commentary, <i>TN</i> 20/10/2003)</p> <p>Thaksin, Bush: The Message Of Mistrust (commentary, <i>TN</i> 21/10/2003)</p>
<p>Thaksin may bring danger to the country with pro-US policies. (-)</p>	<p>Giles Ungpakorn, Chulalongkorn University's political science lecturer: Thailand will become a terrorist target because of the implementation of solid counter-terrorism measures, as commended by the US...Now they want us to join the bloodshed in Iraq, and our premier immediately obeyed...The US' designation of the country as a "major non-Nato ally" would benefit only a few business and political leaders, while turning the country into a more dangerous environment... Thitinan Pongsudhirak, Chulalongkorn University's political science lecturer: The PM wants to be the regional leader and he is so afraid of missing the train that he forgets to see if it's</p>	<p>Harsh Words For Govt Over US Support (news, <i>BP</i> 19/10/2003)</p> <p>Anti-Terror Centre Now Permanent (news, <i>BP</i> 23/10/2003)</p>

	<p>worth the trip...Terrorists have planned attacks from here, but after this we just might become the target...</p> <p>Patinan Wattanayakorn, of Chulalongkorn University: The US never looked at us until September 11 attacks. We had long urged trade liberalisation, but we got it just because the US wants an ally in its fight against terrorism...The govt must deal more carefully with Muslim countries and China...</p> <p>Open letter to Apec observers and delegates urging the US president to change his heart, which they said ignored the suffering of war victims: PM Thaksin has been wrong to support the US action in Iraq.</p> <p>Wattanachai Attakor, from the National Institute of Development Administration: I don't see how Apec can promote equal partnership when the US can introduce the issue of terrorism into the summit...I only hope Thaksin does not prematurely become a lackey of the US...The govt should declare to the world that Thailand stands for world peace instead.</p> <p>Giles Ungpakorn: PM Thaksin wanted Thai people to behave like smiling children who retarded and welcome those impose danger to the world.</p> <p>Email by Thai students from US: PM should not ban any protest against Apec. PM should consult with the people before signing any agreement on military collaboration with the US.</p> <p>Non-Nato ally may be, in the govt's view, another feather in PM Thaksin's cap. But it could also be a millstone round the country's neck.</p> <p>What we are witnessing now is a highly dangerous rush to raise our leader's profile in the international arena at the expense of thoroughgoing consultation and indispensable reality checks.</p>	<p>Farmers Slip Through Check Point (news, <i>TN</i> 18/10/2003)</p> <p>Critics Say Negative Trade Impacts Ignored (news, <i>TN</i> 19/10/2003)</p> <p>Protesters Tell Bush To Go Home (news, <i>TN</i> 20/10/2003)</p> <p>Bold New Deals: Symbolism Over Substance (commentary, <i>TN</i> 23/10/2003)</p>
--	--	--

<p>Thaksin rushes to promote free trader rather than establishes sustainable development. (-)</p>	<p>Wiwattanachai Atthakor, lecturer at National Institute Of Development Administration: PM should be courageous enough to talk about such a beneficial issue for the poor rather than speed up free trade during the meeting...Sustainable development was the key to solving poverty...Govt should set up a dialogue for the poor during the meeting so they could share their opinions on whether free trade agreements helped improve their living standards.</p> <p>Chakchai Chomthongdee, an activist: the govt was “too optimistic” about the likely benefits of an FTA...</p> <p>Social critics: In its eagerness to sell Apec and free trade to the public, the govt has deliberately neglected to mention the negative impacts, such as job losses and damage to small and medium-sized businesses.</p> <p>Wattanachai Attakor: Thaksin should use the summit to push for economic policies that would benefit the majority of people, not just in Thailand but around the world, instead of serving the interests of the rich and large corporations.</p>	<p>Sustainable Development Summit Call (news, <i>BP</i> 19/10/2003)</p> <p>Critics Say Negative Trade Impacts Ignored (news, <i>TN</i> 19/10/2003)</p>
<p>Thaksin’s populist policies show drawbacks. (-)</p>	<p>...people becoming the victims of a rebirth of consumerism promoted by Thaksin govt, which offers its own version of quick cash and instant debt through a series of populist programme as well as sweet-heart packages of cheap housing and goods.</p> <p>Academics: the number of the poor will grow many times over the current level. Capitalism as professed by Thaksin right now is under-developed sort, and not the right kind for helping the poor. Capitalism always favours the rich, enabling them to get wealthier.</p> <p>Pittaya Wongkul, academic: PM Thaksin is making decisions based on only business information. His “too fast” moves will make Thailand plunge into the global free trade current</p>	<p>Loan Sharks Are Circling In The Capital Sea (commentary, <i>TN</i> 19/10/2003)</p> <p>Warning On Biotech Hub Plan (news, <i>TN</i> 21/10/2003)</p>

	<p>without being ready. His administration lacks public participation, transparency and accountability...Don't forget Thaksin's name if the second economic bubble burst one day.</p> <p>Suriyasai Katasila of the Campaign for Democracy: Such decision-making should be brought into the Constitution Court for a ruling on whether it violates the Constitution.</p>	
<p>Thaksin violates human rights. (-)</p>	<p>The lobbying group Human Rights Watch: US President George Bush and other world leader should use the Apec summit to press the govt to end "state-sponsored violence" including the killing of many alleged drug traffickers.</p> <p>The US-based group said Mr Bush, Australian Prime Minister John Howard and Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi ``should demand an end to the use of state-sponsored violence and an independent investigation of all killings related to Thailand's wars on drugs and dark forces".</p> <p>Brad Adams, head of Human Rights Watch's Asia division: While Mr Thaksin campaigned for political office as a moderniser, his tactics represent a step back to the dark days of military rule in Thailand...Thai govt violated international law when forcing repatriation of large number of Burmese refugees who could be persecuted when they return home...Thai govt has flown beggars back to Cambodia, stopped many human rights and other activists from entering Thailand and threatened local groups who were planning protests that they would lose out on financial aid...</p> <p>Thai police: about 3,000 people have been killed during Mr Thaksin's "war on drugs" this year, a large number were summarily executed by the police.</p>	<p>Leaders "Must Help Stop State Violence" (news, <i>BP</i> 19/10/2003)</p>

Appendix D
(Period 4: October 24-31, 2004)

Messages	Details	Titles & Sources
Thaksin is decisive and determined. (+)	<p>...The proudly decisive Mr Thaksin leads a Thai Rak Thai govt strong enough to pass any decent legislation. The PM should be encouraged to lead a debate that will authorise a move out of Bangkok...</p> <p>Thaksin: "The resignation rumour is plain ridiculous. There's no reason for me to quit..."</p> <p>PM Thaksin dismissed rumours he would quit...</p>	<p>Time To Get Out Of Plum Village (editorial, <i>BP</i> 26/10/2004)</p> <p>Thaksin: "I'm Not Quitting; No Snap Poll" (news, <i>BP</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Cornered PM To Face Public (news, <i>TN</i> 29/10/2004)</p>
Thaksin is a national leader fully in control of his country's destiny. (+)	<p>PM handled a comprehensive question-and-answer session with humour and considerable mental agility, deftly deflecting any hint of criticism from a largely muted series of questioners.</p> <p>Surprisingly, in those areas where one might consider him most vulnerable, such as his business relationships with Burmese military dictators, the human rights abuses related to his war-on-drugs and his administration's inability to get to grips with the deteriorating situation in the deep South, he was not pressed hard by foreign correspondents and audience was left with an impression of a national leader fully in control of this country's destiny.</p> <p>PM Thaksin has instructed the new National Telecommunications Commissioners to speed up the drafting of the country's first telecoms master plan.</p> <p>PM expressing his support to the telecoms industry in its development efforts.</p> <p>I support the action of the soldiers who put down the Muslim unrest in the south last week. This drastic operation shows the Muslim separatists that they must obey the law of the country...</p>	<p>Kid Gloves For PM At FCCT Dinner (commentary, <i>BP</i> 27/10/2004)</p> <p>NTC Told To Speed Up Master Plan (news, <i>BP</i> 30/10/2004)</p> <p>South Belongs To All Thais (letter, <i>BP</i> 30/10/2004)</p>

	<p>PM Thaksin plans to visit several African countries next year to help promote Thai exports.</p> <p>PM directed Thai commercial counsellors to more actively explore trade and investment opportunities in Africa with an aim to procure raw material supplies for domestic industries.</p> <p>He also called on Thai commercial counsellors stationed in developed countries to take a more proactive role in negotiations over non-tariff barriers against Thai exports.</p> <p>Thaksin voiced optimism that his govt could contain the disease (avian flu) by the end of this month.</p> <p>PM has mentioned on several occasions that poverty and a lack of economic opportunities are underlying reasons for the resurgence of violence in the three Muslim-majority southernmost provinces. To a certain extent, he may well be right...</p> <p>PM has mentioned creating 100,000 jobs and encouraging Thai companies to buy products produced in the region...to help stop the downward spiral of the local economy...</p> <p>Of many lessons Prayudh has learned from observing Thaksin as such close quarters, he insists the most important characteristic is the leader's ability to make difficult decisions.</p> <p>PM Thaksin decided to withdraw rice from the items subject to tariff cuts in FTA with Japan.</p> <p>Pisan Manawapat, deputy permanent secretary: PM's move "reflects the timely exercise of political leadership and resolve to overcome the impasse in the negotiation process as Thailand recognises the highly sensitive nature of rice to Japan."</p> <p>Mahathir Mohamad, former Malaysian PM: PM Thaksin is a man willing to compromise. He would consider the suggestion (giving autonomy to the South's Muslim Malay majority).</p>	<p>Africa Is Export Goal (news, <i>BP</i> 30/10/2004)</p> <p>Bird-Migration Action "Urgent" (news, <i>TN</i> 24/10/2004)</p> <p>Why Economics Matters In The South (editorial, <i>TN</i> 25/10/2004)</p> <p>Combining Acting And Business (news, <i>TN</i> 26/10/2004)</p> <p>Rice Left Off Japan FTA To Overcome Impasse: Govt (news, <i>TN</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Mahathir Proposes Autonomous Region (news, <i>TN</i> 30/10/2004)</p>
Thaksin is creative. (+)	The Elite Card Programme, a brainchild of PM Thaksin as a new way to promote Thailand's tourism industry, has got off to very slow	Elite Card Firm Vows To Pay Ad Bills Soon (news,

	<p>start...</p> <p>...PM Thaksin unveiled the scheme door-to-door relief caravan for under-privileged households as part of a populist package he promised the poor of he wins another four years in office.</p> <p>Officials and technical experts will be aboard and visit every household to learn about residents' problems, train them to make a better living, provide financial support and give scholarships to their children.</p> <p>PM Thaksin has told Thai Rak Thai Party's election kick-off campaign on October 17 that his govt would introduce child-development caravans and give a gift bag to every baby born in the country.</p>	<p><i>BP</i> 28/10/2004) House Calls For Poor Will Be A Costly Cure (news, <i>TN</i> 25/10/2004)</p> <p>Govt To Give Out Baby "Starter Kits" (news, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p>
Thaksin is a competent politician. (+)	<p>Mr Thaksin has laid his cards on the table by rulling out the Democrats and Mahachon as his future coalition partners. This is an extraordinary move...</p> <p>Thaksin is fully aware that his party is falling out of favour. He told party member during a recent meeting that the party was certain to win in some 200 constituencies. But the party would have to work hard to be victorious in 170 other constituencies, while it had little chance of winning in the remaining 30 constituencies, which are strongholds of the rival Democrats.</p> <p>...Mr Thaksin was considering fielding new candidates in the capital to intensify the constituency campaigns there.</p> <p>Thaksin: Latest poll have indicated that the Thai Rak Thai party's popularity is stronger than ever before, even in the deep South which has been plagued with violence almost all year long.</p> <p>He said he kept checking opinion polls because there was no way he would let his party end up in opposition.</p>	<p>Compromise Still Necessary (editorial, <i>BP</i> 24/10/2004) Parties Gear Up For Fierce Campaign (analysis, <i>BP</i> 30/10/2004)</p> <p>Party Stronger Than Ever, Says PM (news, <i>BP</i> 31/10/2004)</p>
Thaksin's materialist policies have still been irreplaceable. (+)	<p>Even though there are many who disagree with Thai Rak Thai's populist policies, it is a strange fact that other parties don't seem to be able to come up with their own concrete policies for the people to choose as alternatives.</p>	<p>Put Up Or Shut Up (<i>Khao Sod</i> editorial, <i>BP</i> 24/10/2004)</p>

	Critics have blasted Thai Rak Thai's populist policies as being based on materialism in the guise of injecting money to the grassroots communities, and advocated an "economic sufficiency" model as an alternative. But there is not yet any organisation interested in fleshing out this philosophy into a concrete policy to contest against Thai Rak Thai's materialism.	
Thaksin is widely supported in the provinces. (+)	Though Thaksin doctrine is facing strong opposition from the middle class and the govt has been criticised for its failure to solve the bird flu outbreak, unrest in the South, rising fuel prices, corruption and conflict of interest within the administration, the ruling party still enjoys strong popularity among people in the provinces. Thai Rak Thai party yesterday expressed confidence that it would retain its dominance in the Northeast in the general election early next year. Hundreds of people from Chiang Mai and two other northern provinces yesterday rallied at their provincial halls to show moral support for PM Thaksin... Carrying banners, they shouted " We love Thaksin "...	Parties Gear Up For Fierce Campaign (analysis, <i>BP</i> 30/10/2004) Thai Rak Thai Confident In The Northeast (news, <i>TN</i> 25/10/2004) Northerners Rally In Support Of PM (news, <i>TN</i> 30/10/2004)
Thaksin loves his family. (+)	Thaksin: During the three-day weekend, I will spend time with my family and prepare myself to tackle a myriad of problems...	PM Takes A Break (news, <i>TN</i> 24/10/2004)
Thaksin is impulsive. (-)	Banyat Bantadnan, opposition leader: If Thaksin had been on vacation with his family overseas as speculated, he would have named an acting PM before leaving. PM Thaksin kept news-hounds on their toes as he performed a vanishing act last Friday. PM is a public figure. He may have a private life, but his whereabouts should not be a secret. We don't think it is right for the PM to disappear from public view without telling anyone where he is. What if he was kidnapped during his private tour abroad?	Banyat Upset Over PM's Vanishing Act (news, <i>BP</i> 25/10/2004) PM Should Tell Nation Where He Is (<i>Daily News</i> editorial, <i>BP</i> 25/10/2004)
Thaksin doesn't tell the	Kraisak Chonhavan, senator: He should be held responsible. He has to	"We Were Kicked, Beaten

truth. (-)	<p>admit the truth because a what he is saying is not the truth...</p> <p>Thaksin's 30-minute speech failed to touch upon such crucial questions: how many innocent people died, why the shocking death toll was kept secret for almost a day...; how many people were hit by bullets (though he had insisted that troops only fired into the air); the exact number of trucks used...</p>	<p>And Hit With Rifle Butts" (news, <i>TN</i> 29/10/2004) Thaksin Fails To Reveal All (news, <i>TN</i> 30/10/2004)</p>
Thaksin's populist policies linked with his own benefits. (-)	<p>Thirayuth Boomee: the injection of village funds could be linked to the surge of mobile phone sales, the PM's family holds a majority stake in one of the leading mobile phone companies.</p> <p>That the caravan is a brilliant political gimmick there can be no doubt. Regardless of how inefficient and misguided such a programme is, micro-managing the woes of the poor would allow Thai Rak Thai to burnish its image as the party of the common man and to reap the political benefits that such an image would generate.</p>	<p>Ruling Party's Power A Cause For Concern (editorial, <i>BP</i> 26/10/2004) Knocking On The Doors Of The Poor (editorial, <i>TN</i> 27/10/2004)</p>
Thaksin is insensitive, has no willingness to understand people with different needs, aspirations and different beliefs. (-)	<p>PM Thaksin's insensitive remarks following the tragic incident has done nothing but fan the flames of anger and distrust among the Muslim population.</p> <p>Thaksin govt has no patience with dissent and no willingness to understand people with different needs and aspirations and different beliefs and ways of life from that which Mr Thaksin and people of his ilk believe in.</p> <p>...PM must listen...</p> <p>Vasit Pejkunchorn, Pol Gen: If I were him, I would offer an apology to the global Muslim community for the recklessness which culminated in the deaths of so many Muslim people... What is needed is love, or any confrontations would have a tragic ending if the use of force was involved... Both the Krue Se mosque and the Tak Bai standoffs proves that the govt was not psychologically properly equipped to handle</p>	<p>Tak Bai Product Of Closed Minds (commentary, <i>BP</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Police Showed Incompetence (letter, <i>BP</i> 29/10/2004) Thaksin Urged To Offer Apology (news, <i>BP</i> 30/10/2004)</p>

	<p>such a situation. Some banners: “Thaksin: The Murderer”; “The Govt Had No Right To Use Force”</p> <p>Chirmsak Pinthong, Bangkok senator: Mr Thaksin’s address to the nation on Friday in which he expressed his regret over the heavy loss of life and condolences to the family of the victims was not enough and would not help to improve the southern situation...His merciless crackdowns clearly prove that he cares little about human rights and is not ready to treat people with dignity.</p> <p>Jon Ungpakorn, Bangkok senator: The riot in Tak Bai reflected the govt’s misunderstanding of the sensitiveness of the people in three southern provinces.</p> <p>...now this flawed trait of his leadership is threatening to plunge the country into the bitterest and most detrimental divide between the people and the state.</p> <p>It could have been prevented if only the victims had been treated more humanely.</p> <p>Thaksin may not have been directly responsible for them being crammed into military trucks like pigs headed for slaughterhouses, but the troops’ demonstration of hatred and disregard for humanitarianism simply reflected how the country is being governed.</p> <p>How the govt handled the aftermath is equally scandalous. No words of apology. No clear explanation...A shocked nation and distraught families were left to rely on vague press briefings by a forensic expert and some senior military officials.</p> <p>Thaksin: Protesters died because they were in a weak physical condition resulting from fasting...Many of the protesters appeared to be in a drug-induced state...The fasting might accelerate the effects of the drugs...</p>	<p>Govt Faces Candle-Light Protest (news, <i>BP</i> 30/10/2004)</p> <p>Pisarn Ready To Be Punished If Army At Fault (news, <i>BP</i> 31/10/2004)</p> <p>Body Count Spirals During PM’s Reign (commentary, <i>TN</i> 27/10/2004)</p> <p>PM: Deaths Due To Religious Fasting (news, <i>TN</i> 27/10/2004)</p>
--	---	---

	<p>There was widespread condemnation from the world community yesterday of the “brutal” and “inhumane” treatment of protesters that ended with 78 young men suffocating in the back of crammed army trucks in the South.</p> <p>Muslim nations were particularly savage, damning...drama as “state terrorism” and a “holocaust.”</p> <p>Thaksin: ...military troops used a “soft” approach...</p> <p>He offered no apologies for victims’ families, fended off questions about who should take responsibility for the incident by saying the govt was only responsible for the killings of innocent people by separatist militants.</p> <p>Phra Sripariyatmoli, vice rector of foreign affairs, Maha Chulalongkorn University: Morality and mercy has never been part of Thaksin’s policy in addressing the conflict...Thaksin has even verbally abused Buddhist monks...</p> <p>Sompong Srakawee, senator: The PM was disrespectful for using the Senate to make his statement then neglecting to reply to questions.</p> <p>The fact that the PM hasn’t made any apology or expressed any sense of contribution has made even moderate locals here bitter.</p> <p>Thaksin must listen as well as hear...</p> <p>PM did not help one bit when he said the deaths were due to fasting. Such a remark will only aggravate the situation...</p> <p>...He could have come to that conclusion because of his ignorance of how the human body works...</p>	<p>Global Outrage As Grim Details Emerge; PM Show No Remorse (news, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>It Wasn’t Inhumane Treatment (news, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Anger, Concern, Defiance (news, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Joint Sitting Planned To Grill Govt (news, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Time To Get Active About Promoting Peace (commentary, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>The Govt Should Move Quickly To Build Trust (letter, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Blaming The Fast Will Not Help The Situation (letter, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Fasting Is A Moral Exercise, Not A Health Hazard (letter, <i>TN</i></p>
--	---	--

	<p>PM's...comments reflect again his contempt for the very public he is charged with serving...</p> <p>The PM should certainly be investigated by the international community. Thailand should be appalled by what happened. Brutal, cruel, violent and barbaric! The army is a disgrace!</p> <p>Thaksin and those responsible should be in a human rights court! They are murderers!</p>	<p>29/10/2004) PM's Attitude Has Brought Disgrace To The Nation (letter, <i>TN</i> 30/10/2004) Tak Bai Was Not An Example Of Buddhism In Practice (letter, <i>TN</i> 30/10/2004) A Crime Against Humanity Has Been Committed (letter, <i>TN</i> 30/10/2004)</p>
<p>Thaksin implemented a wrong violent measure causing the death of more than 80 people and made the situation in the South worse.</p>	<p>Thaksin: the govt has run out of patience and would take drastic action against elements instigating violence. “If we are soft, they’ll think we’re caving in. I won’t have it...” Nideh Waba, chairman of a private religious schools association in the southernmost provinces:...the govt has overacted...</p> <p>Paisarn Promyong, deputy secretary general of the Central Islamic Committee of Thailand:...govt should have told the truth about the number who died immediately after the riot ended. Instead, it kept a lid on information...</p> <p>Head of Indonesia’s Council of Ulemas:...“They packed them like sardines into trucks”...</p> <p>Brad Adams, executive director of Human Rights Watch’s Asia Division: “The scene of arrest showed that the security forces were willing to use excessive force.”</p> <p>Hongkong-based Asian Human Rights Commission: the events were “most disturbing and utterly inexcusable and showed a “total absence” of professional behaviour and rudimentary respect for</p>	<p>81 More Death, Riot Toll Hits 87 (news, <i>BP</i> 27/10/2004) Warnings Of Bloodbath In Wake Of Mass Deaths (news, <i>BP</i> 27/10/2004) Death Toll Secrecy Deplored (news, <i>BP</i> 28/10/2004) Crackdown Condemned By Region’s Top Muslims (news, <i>BP</i> 28/10/2004)</p>

	<p>human lives.” ...the brutal, de-humanising scenes of the crackdown have already split open the hearts of Muslims here and around the world...</p> <p>Dato Nideh Waba, former provincial Islamic judge: PM Thaksin’s mishandling of the situation in the area would soon bring further bloodshed to local communities...</p> <p>The leading Kompas daily of Indonesia blamed security forces' “recklessness and foolishness” for the deaths, which it described as scandalous... “The death of dozens of people on Tuesday will only further escalate tension in a dramatic way.”</p> <p>PM Thaksin has been typically defiant and self-righteous in addressing the carnage. He has suggested that the violence in the deep South seems to be spiraling only because his govt is increasingly coming to grips with the problem.</p> <p>PM Thaksin still insisted that State officials did the right thing in dispersing the Tak Bai protesters. His words will only add fuel to the fire of anger here.</p> <p>Thaksin govt has relied on force to bring peace to the region, rejecting recommendations from moderates to forge an understanding with the local people through peaceful means.</p> <p>...the mistakes cost 80 people their lives. These mistakes were caused by deliberate acts, as deliberate as the behaviour of the soldiers who beat and kicked arrested demonstrators.</p> <p>Thaksin’s support for violent suppression in the South has been emboldened by the fact that his war-on-drugs which saw over 2,000 people killed...</p> <p>Narathiwat tragedy will inflame criticism that the govt’s hawkish approach may have been at least partially responsible for the aggravated southern situation.</p> <p>Somchai Homla-or, chairman of Law Society of Thailand’s human</p>	<p>Tak Bai Shatters All Hope Of Peace (commentary, <i>BP</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Suffocates Doesn’t Fly (news, <i>BP</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Indonesia Press Vent Fury At Tak Bai Deaths (AFP news, <i>BP</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Southern Bloodshed Deserves Answers (commentary, <i>BP</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Tak Bai Questions Remain (<i>Daily News</i> editorial, <i>BP</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Tak Bai Product Of Close Minds (commentary, <i>BP</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Horrible “Mistakes” Made Deliberately (letter, <i>BP</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>We Were Spared The Usual Story (letter, <i>BP</i> 30/10/2004)</p> <p>Body Count Spirals During PM’s Reign (commentary, <i>TN</i> 27/10/2004)</p> <p>Trouble South At “Point</p>
--	---	---

	<p>rights committee: The inhumane and heavy-handed tactics used by the govt in the South – highlighted by the death of 84 protestors on Monday – have ripped the Kingdom apart, smashing centuries of national efforts to create a harmonious and peaceful co-existence between the country’s different races and religious. ...a vivid picture of state brutality and inhuman treatment by security forces began to merge yesterday...</p> <p>Phra Sripariyatmoli: From the start, Thaksin has resorted to heavy-handed tactics. He has justified violence by state officials. This week’s crackdown on protestors, which left more than 80 people dead, has jeopardized the govt’s efforts to bring peace to the strife-torn, predominantly Muslim southern region...</p> <p>As for PM Thaksin, long may his might be disturbed by the moans and death-rattles of the dying and the dead, because their blood, and the blood of many who will die as a result, is on his hand. The Indonesian media expressed fury yesterday over the death of 78 Muslim protesters in southern Thailand and warned that the incident would increase tension in the region...</p> <p>Senator Kraisaak Chonhava lay the blame squarely on PM Thaksin, who has come under heavy fire for his handling of the affair and of the broader violence in the South.</p> <p>Democrat MP Surin Pitsuwan: The brutal crackdown...is evidence that the govt is the biggest offender against human rights.</p> <p>Thailand is teetering on the edge of becoming a hotbed for terrorism because someone made the stupid decision on Monday to extend what should have been a one-hour trip to six hours.</p> <p>PM Thaksin roundly praised the troops for their action while</p>	<p>Of No Return” (news, <i>TN</i> 27/10/2004)</p> <p>Photographs Contradict Govt; Witnesses Tell Of Protesters Beaten (news, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Anger, Concern, Defiance (news, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Crackdown Will Only Hamper Progress In The South (commentary, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Some Demonstrations Are More Popular Than Others (letter, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Muslim Press Hammers PM (news, <i>TN</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>We Were Kicked, Beaten And Hit With Rifle Butts (news, <i>TN</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Independent Probe Needed: Senators (news, <i>TN</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>The Current Approach Is Not Working (analysis, <i>TN</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Sensitivity Needed In The</p>
--	---	---

	<p>condemning the protesters.</p> <p>The best way to avert a potential disaster would be to improve society's preparedness to deal with terrorism.</p> <p>Muslim leaders: Thaksin's provocative comments about Muslims and his govt's violent suppression of protester would only aggravate the situation in the region.</p> <p>Paisan Pronyong, deputy secretary general of the Central Islamic Committee of Thailand: Thaksin's comments would not only upset Muslims in the region but also alienate them from country's Buddhism majority...PM tried to ease the rest of Thailand and make them feel he's tough and wouldn't tolerate separatism...</p> <p>Vinai Sama-oon, vice chairman of the Islamic committee: PM's attitude makes it difficult to solve the problems. Mercy is needed. Martial law is not working, and as long as the PM sticks to the use of force, the problems won't go away.</p>	<p>South (The Star commentary, TN 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Getting a Grip On The Terror Threat (editorial, TN 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Muslim Leaders Blame PM (news, TN 30/10/2004)</p>
<p>Thaksin lost people's belief that he can solve Thailand's problems. (-)</p>	<p>Nothing short of a revolution can change things in Thailand, and its reputation can only become even more soiled, especially with Thaksin at the helm.</p> <p>PM was not only unable to tackle the problem but had made it worse with local Buddhists and Muslims likely to turn against each other unless proper measures were thought up soon and swiftly implemented.</p> <p>Somchai Boonee, owner of a cell phone shop in Narathiwat: I don't understand why Thaksin cannot end the southern violence problem. He suggests Thaksin dissolve the House and call an election.</p> <p>...Thaksin doctrine is facing strong opposition from the middle class and the govt has been criticised for its failure to solve the bird flu outbreak, unrest in the South, rising fuel prices, corruption and</p>	<p>Poverty, Prostitution Not Simple Problems (letter, BP 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Muslim To Ask King To Change Govt (news, BP 29/10/2004)</p> <p>Blast Buries Recovery Hopes Of Businesses (news, BP 30/10/2004)</p> <p>Parties Gear Up For Fierce Campaign (analysis, BP 30/10/2004)</p>

	<p>conflict of interest within the administration... ...The only honest thing that Thaksin can do now is resign, hand back his ill-gotten gains and go live in a temple.</p> <p>What lies ahead for both urban and provincial folks in the next four years is not a better life, much less the extinction of poverty promised by our national CEO, who happens to be a native of Chiang Mai.</p> <p>...this glaring example of state-sponsored violence is reminiscence of the ambivalent public reaction to the news that Thaksin's administration's anti-drug campaign has left more than 2,000 suspects dead in its wake, including many victims of extra-judicial killings. The people of Thailand should call for Thaksin for resign.</p> <p>Govt is getting it wrong in the South again and again and is getting it wrong in bird flu again and again. Not to mention: the rising debt among low-wage earners; the increase in crime and social problems throughout the country; misguided ideas such as Thailand Elite card that are now embarrassing; the decision to spend Bt 2 billion on a private plane for the PM's office... Thaksin govt also gets a bad score for its management of bird flu crisis... Thaksin govt has failed to privatise the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand... ...its (govt's) soft spot has been its lack of skill in crisis management. When unexpected things turn up, we have clearly seen</p>	<p>Nothing Honest About That Mistake (letter, <i>BP</i> 30/10/2004) GDP Means Very Little To The Man In The Street (commentary, <i>TN</i> 24/10/2004)</p> <p>Has Thailand Lost Its Conscience? (editorial, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Why Is This Govt So Willing To Kill The People Who Oppose It? (letter, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004) A Catalogue Of Missteps And Serious Problems (letter, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>A Government Crisis In Crisis Management (commentary, <i>TN</i> 29/10/2004)</p>
--	--	---

	an absence of leadership.	
Thaksin believes that money can solve problems. (-)	<p>With the “remedy” compensation money he intended to pay out, the family could afford to send another member to the Haj (Mecca) in place of the dead person.</p> <p>Not everyone thinks money can cure every national ill as the telecom tycoon-cum-PM apparently does.</p> <p>We should thank PM Thaksin for showing us what “money politics” is really all about.</p> <p>PM should help in creating direct public participation, reducing the influence of money in politics and reviving education reform.</p> <p>PM won’t take action to undo the terrible wrongs in his govt. He isn’t totally ignorant of the danger of money politics. Up to a point, he gets the message. But power and authority have kept him in a state of denial.</p> <p>Paisan Promyong, deputy secretary-general of the Central Islamic Committee of Thailand: I urge Thaksin to stop using money to solve problems because it just creates an illusion.</p>	<p>PM In TV Appeal For Understanding (news, <i>BP</i> 30/10/2004)</p> <p>Tak Bai Product Of Closed Minds (commentary, <i>BP</i> 29/10/2004)</p> <p>A Prescription From A Disillusioned Doctor (commentary, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p> <p>Muslim Leaders Demand Action Against Officials (news, <i>TN</i> 31/10/2004)</p>
Thaksin’s policy to Burma situation is not appropriate. (-)	<p>Perhaps PM Thaksin thinks that he’s helping Burma by offering carrots. But the carrots he and his govt have offered will make the regime more able to terrorise the people, to humiliate the opposition and to eradicate the ethnic minorities.</p>	<p>If You Are For Junta, You Are Against The People (letter, <i>TN</i> 27/10/2004)</p>
Thaksin is unwilling to admit to any international criticism. (-)	<p>Thaksin was unwilling to admit to any international criticism (describing the incident as a massacre or a state crime against its own citizens): “You say it by yourself...There have been no such reports. This is a lie. The US hasn’t said anything...”</p>	<p>It Wasn’t Inhumane Treatment: Thaksin (news, <i>TN</i> 28/10/2004)</p>

Appendix E
(Period 5: February 6-13, 2005)

Messages	Details	Titles & Sources
<p>Thaksin is very successful in the election due to his political prominence, practical solutions to grassroots problems and timely alternation of election campaign strategies. (+)</p>	<p>Thai Rak Thai supporters: The party had written a new chapter in political history in being handed a mandate to “go solo” in forming the next govt.</p> <p>Observers: fruit from the populist policies gave Thai Rak Thai the leading edge. Also credited from the party’s poll triumph included Mr Thaksin’s political prominence, practical solutions to grassroots problems, and Thai Rak Thai’s timely alternation of election campaign strategies.</p> <p>Another reason for the defeat was a constant Thai Rak Thai barrage in the media, which had a great influence on housewives, who were previously Democrat supporter, but who turned into TV rather than reading newspapers.</p> <p>Anuj Arbhabirama, social thinker: Thai Rak Thai victory in Bangkok showed the party was now perceived as a “friend” of all groups of people, even middle class, because there were no other viable alternatives and because they believed only a strong and stable govt could lead Thailand through all the crises the country was facing.</p> <p>Gen Thammarak Isarangkura na Ayudhya, Thai Rak Thai deputy leader: ...the party’s landslide victory to PM Thaksin’s popularity and the success of party policies such as the village fund, the debt suspension plan, 30-baht health-care scheme and the war on drugs.</p> <p>...From now on, the long-standing problems of Northeastern folks, such as water shortages, will be seriously addressed. Local people will have enough water for consumption and use. Budgets have also been set aside for this purpose in about 100,000 villages nation wide. Existing water sources will be</p>	<p>Single Party Rule (news, <i>BP</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Democrats Lose Out In The Capital (news, <i>BP</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Democrats Wiped Out By Thai Rak Thai Sweep in the Northeast (news, <i>BP</i> 7/2/2005)</p>

	<p>improved for agricultural activities. This scheme will help eradicate the poverty in the Northeast.</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai successfully achieved its goal of being the “party of the North” yesterday after winning 70 of the 76 seats being contested, according to Suan Dusit exit poll.</p> <p>Suriyasai Katasila, of the Campaign for Democracy: Thaksin had become the most successful PM in Thai history...</p> <p>Thaksin earned the victory through hard work and good political marketing.</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai’s landslide victory is ascribed to people’s belief in the party’s campaign platform and Thaksin’s voucher that the party is a quality product.</p> <p>It was a relatively restrained reaction from a man who has apparently won the strongest popular re-endorsement in Thai political history and is set to be the most powerful PM ever elected to lead the Kingdom.</p> <p>The victory was made even sweeter against the backdrop of what was the bumpiest year of his premiership, marked by an escalation in the insurgency in the deep South, the bird flu crisis, several corruption scandals and tsunami disaster.</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai sticks to the core policies emphasis on continuity and potential benefits; expert marketing of its policies in a variety of media, with regular polls to detect the mood...; Thaksin puts his personality on display. Made speeches in the north by local dialect to be both entertaining</p>	<p>Thai Rak Thai Becomes The “Party Of The North” (news, <i>BP</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Thaksin Gets Total Control (news, <i>BP</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>Challenges Line Up To Test Thaksin (<i>Khom Chad Luek</i> editorial, <i>BP</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>Dawning Of New Kind Of Politics (comment, <i>BP</i> 13/2/2005)</p> <p>One-Party Rule Looms (news, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Thaksin As “Super Brand” (analysis, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p>
--	---	---

	<p>and inspiring....He ran his campaign like a personal crusade (same as in US or UK election)...“poverty” caravan, completed with village sleepovers was not unlike those tactics by Bush and Tony Blair...Thaksin’s personality intertwined with Thai Rak Thai brand, or even superseded it, with the PM himself becoming a “super brand”.</p> <p>Thaksin is arguably the country’s most powerful political figure, surpassing even military strongmen who ruled the country with an iron fist...</p> <p>...high expectations of a voting public...quick payoffs of populist policies...his tenacious style of leadership.</p> <p>Thaksin possess qualities that Thai voters favour...His tenacious leadership and businesslike efficiency...proved to be strong political assets, winning him solid support...</p> <p>Thaksin’s key populist policies...set a new benchmark for Thai politics. Voters like a man who can get things done.</p> <p>The confidence the voters placed in him was most impressive and without precedent.</p> <p>Goanpot Aswinvichit, director general of Govt Savings Bank: He is the most down-to-earth PM...When He is hungry, he’ll stop his car anywhere, just so he can have a bowl of noodles by the roadside...Just name one man who would diligently wake up to host a morning radio programme every Saturday...</p> <p>Sunee, a Chinese citizen: impressed with Thaksin’s strong leadership, especially on eradicating drugs.</p> <p>Sudarat Keyuraphan, Thai Rak Thai deputy leader: voters believe in Thaksin and are satisfied with the party’s performance over the past four years and want a stable govt.</p> <p>“During the week before the election, the party highlighted the importance of having a stable govt to counter the opposition’s charges that a check was needed in parliament. The voters</p>	<p>The Responsibility Of A Popular Mandate (editorial, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Nothing But Admiration (news, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Sudarat Says Poll Victory Shows Trust In Party (news, <i>TN</i> 8/2/2005)</p>
--	---	--

	<p>decided that they would rather have a stable govt. Phillippe Sachs of Standard and Poor's Sovereign and International Public Finance Ratings Group: As the first Thai PM to both complete a full term and win re-election, Thaksin has proven to be a highly effective leader by historical standards. He has managed to consolidate on-budget public finances without undermining economic growth prospects. PM Thaksin's massive mandate obviously suggests that the only reason for such a runaway success cannot be populist policies of giveaway alone, for more than beneficiaries must have voted to contribute to such a wide margin...</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai victory credited to IT investment and extensive databases population and voter profiles. Secret of the party's success lay in the understanding of the voters – their interests, their behaviours, wishes and problems. Dr Prommin Lertsuridej, Energy Minster: PM is very scientifically minded. He will not make decisions without scientific research...A month before election, the party conducted polls. That's why the result was not a big surprise...Thai Rak Thai is modelled after Shin Corp. Shin Corp business decisions with regard to telecommunication are all based on customer survey and database analysis. ...a political landscape that has been transformed by Thaksin's decisive leadership and populist policy platform.</p> <p>Thaksin is successful because he has good solutions and he implements them in both his private and public lives...I can understand Thaksin's impatience with slow solutions...I just</p>	<p>A Mandate For Reform, Growth (news, <i>TN</i> 8/2/2005)</p> <p>The Historic Achievement Of Thaksin and His Thai Rak Thai Is To Be Commended (letter, <i>TN</i> 8/2/2005)</p> <p>Secret Of The Thai Rak Thai Landslide (news, <i>TN</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>Can Youth Save The Party? (editorial, <i>TN</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>Thaksin Won Because He Can Deliver Solutions (letter, <i>TN</i></p>
--	---	---

	<p>hope more Thais will be inspired to look at Thaksin as a role model and listen to what he says...I am optimistic about Thailand's future as long as Thaksin can keep the Thai Rak Thai party culture in line with that of his companies.</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai used direct sales techniques to win voters upcountry, similar to the way Amway and Nu Skin sell their products via a chain of agents.</p> <p>First, Thai Rak Thai created 20 loyal voters in each village. Each voter was then asked to bring at least another ten families into the fold. Most families have at least two eligible voters, so they won at least 400 voters in one village alone.</p> <p>Thaksin adopted CEO within party. "Like corporate employees, all members have been gauging members' performance to make sure they achieve their objective."</p> <p>During the election campaign, the party only paid for posters and a little equipment for its candidates. After that the party conducted individual polling on each of its candidates. If any candidates were found to be lagging behind their rivals, the party injected huge sums of cash to bolster their standing.</p>	<p>9/2/2005)</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai Learns From Amway (news, TN 9/2/2005)</p>
<p>Thaksin is believed to be a good leader: determined, decisive, with strong leadership and can bring wealth to the country. (+)</p>	<p>Investors confidence should increase as a result, particularly as Mr Thaksin, one of the country's wealthiest businessmen, commands wide respect among business leaders for his pro-growth policies and no-nonsense management style.</p> <p>Among middle class, many chose Thai Rak Thai not just out of appreciation for Mr Thaksin's leadership style and policies, but also due to a lack of any credible alternative.</p> <p>Phillipe Sachs, an S & P sovereign ratings analyst: Mr Thaksin had proved to be "highly effective leader".</p> <p>Standard & Poor's: Mr Thaksin's strong mandate, if used to enact structural reform, "could improve the country's growth prospects and Thailand's credit standing".</p>	<p>Victory Ends Fears Of Govt Instability (news, BP 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Investors Cheer Thai Rak Thai's Clean Sweep (news, BP 8/2/2005)</p>

	<p>Two days after Thai Rak Thai's landslide victory, PM Thaksin yesterday started work on his promise to eradicate poverty by calling for an urgent meeting on the special-purpose vehicle (SPV) to help farmers.</p> <p>Thaksin: I have plenty of energy left after the general election so I want to see the SPV become a reality as soon as possible.</p> <p>The first Thaksin administration implemented the poverty registration scheme to identify the problems of poor people as part of an ambitious plan to eradicate poverty within six years...About 7.2 million people registered with the scheme and more than 12 million problems were reported. Most of the problems involved household debts owed to financial institutions and money lenders and of agricultural land deprivation.</p> <p>Few should now doubt Thaksin Shinawatra is a genuine political phenomenon previously unseen in Thailand. His Thai Rak Thai party's election victory on Sunday was crushing.</p> <p>I for one admire the PM. Where people criticise weakness, he is strong, and where people criticise strength, he is humble...We can see from daily news that he works tirelessly day and night. He has practically sacrificed his health, privacy and personal happiness just to serve Thailand...his exceptional leadership abilities in business world well before entering politics...He is a great image for the Kingdom. The leadership of Thailand has not been this bright since the "golden age" of Gen Prem Tinsulanonda.</p> <p>Mr Thaksin made history by gaining enough votes to form a single party govt. His strong leadership, vision and quick decision making have won people's confidence, who voted for continuity.</p>	<p>Thaksin Gets Down To Work on SPV Scheme For Farmers (news, <i>BP</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>Victory Places Thaksin At Crossroads (analysis, <i>BP</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>PM Has Many Qualities Worth Admiring (letter, <i>BP</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>Election Result Will Usher In Many Changes (Thai Rath editorial, <i>BP</i> 11/2/2005)</p>
--	---	--

	<p>The middle class wanted a leader who was generous to disadvantaged people but also decisive and ruthless, all in one, and that is why the majority of people, particularly in Bangkok, voted for Thaksin and his party.</p> <p>Despite an increase in violence in the South over the past week, PM Thaksin insists that he will go ahead with his plan to visit the restive region this week.</p> <p>Thaksin: "I'll be there and any other restive place, including Narathiwat. I'm not afraid."</p> <p>First-time voters who cast ballots for Thai Rak Thai: party leader Thaksin's decisiveness, strong leadership and govt-initiated projects...Thaksin demonstrated his quality as a leader through his determination and decisiveness...He was able to pay off the money owed to IMF after crisis and now Thai economy is growing well.</p> <p>Thaksin: Govt will aim to restructure the economy in the next four years..., pursue privatisation...there will be no political instability over the next four years.</p> <p>You have to give credit to the PM for the way he has laid the foundations for growth. He started with confidence-building measures in the early years of his administration, and once the conditions were ready for it, he set out to pump up the economy through cheap credit and lavish govt spending on populist policies.</p> <p>Thaksin I govt succeeded in putting the economy back on a growth path...The people came to see him as a strong leader able to make quick decisions in times of crisis. That was the strength of his incumbency.</p> <p>Thaksin is intelligent, coherent and academic, he has an unquestionably successful record in business and has a verifiable record of service to his country...There is no doubt</p>	<p>More Rights Abuses, Less Religious Tolerance Seen (news, <i>BP</i> 12/2/2005)</p> <p>Big Manhunt After Bomb Blast (news, <i>BP</i> 13/2/2005)</p> <p>First-time Voters Turn Out In Force To "Do Duty" (news, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Economic Reform To Get Priority (news, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Voting For Continuity (commentary, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Thailand Is Lucky To Have A Man Of The PM's Skills In The</p>
--	---	--

	<p>about his credibility, and that credibility should be honoured and protected...</p> <p>He helped Thailand come out of the Asian financial crisis, cracked down on crime and drugs and steered the Thai economy back onto the growth path. He swift hands on approach to the tsunami-stricken provinces of the country further enhanced his image among voters.</p> <p>PM has wasted no time in picking up where he left off with scholarship funds set to get a big boost.</p> <p>He is capable of using his massive public mandate to do really great things for his country.</p> <p>Dr Prawase Wasi: We know Khun Thaksin is a very capable and outstanding man...</p> <p>...They wanted Thaksin to continue serving as the country's leader because of his remarkable capabilities. They adored his leadership and strong mindedness...</p> <p>...his track record on modernising Thailand is dramatically better than anyone I can remember who has held the title of PM in Thailand.</p> <p>...the exceptional performance of his first term.</p> <p>Thaksin set out a clear macroeconomic framework for his second term...</p> <p>The economic performance during his first term...was also impressive...</p> <p>Silampha Lerdnuwat, Thai Rak Thai candidate in Bangkok: PM Thaksin's got a clear and strong vision. He is also decisive...</p>	<p>Driver's Seat (letter, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Cross-Border Cooperation Is Necessary (<i>The Star</i> commentary, <i>TN</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>PM Kicks Off New Season Of Giving (news, <i>TN</i> 10/2/2005)</p> <p>Unprecedented Victory And Obligation (commentary, <i>TN</i> 10/2/2005)</p> <p>Thaksin Should Listen To Thailand's Wise Men (commentary, <i>TN</i> 11/2/2005)</p> <p>Educated Politico Has More To Learn About The Voters (letter, <i>TN</i> 12/5/2005)</p> <p>PM Pinning Hopes On Big Projects (news, <i>TN</i> 13/2/2005)</p> <p>Many New Faces And Diverse Political Vision (news, <i>TN</i> 13/2/2005)</p>
Thaksin listens to people. (+)	Thaksin: "I'm all ears to the voices of people. The govt will	Single Party Rule

	<p>open door to everyone.”</p> <p>Mr Thaksin conceded it was not easy to find ideal choices for the top cabinet posts and asked the media to help him in his search.</p> <p>Thaksin: “From four years from now, my critics in academia and the opposition will know me better. I’m willing to open myself up to criticism. The race is over now, and it’s time we turned to each other and started working together.”</p> <p>Waeduramae Mamingji, chairman of Pattani Islamic Committee: felt better when PM Thaksin clearly stated that he would let local people participate in solving problems in the South and listen more.</p> <p>Thaksin: I’ll ask the people if the programme is useful or not. If it’s useful, I’ll continue to run the programme.</p>	<p>(news, <i>BP</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Pokin Tipped As Thaksin’s Top Choice For House Speaker (news, <i>BP</i> 8/2/2005)</p> <p>One-Party Rule Looms (news, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Listen to South, Local Leaders Tell Govt (news, <i>TN</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>PM Back On Air (news, <i>TN</i> 9/2/2005)</p>
<p>Thaksin is determined to form a single party govt. (+)</p> <p>Many people support Thai Rak Thai to form a one-party govt. (+)</p>	<p>Thaksin had already made it clear Chart Thai, a coalition partner in his first govt, would not join his administration this time.</p> <p>Thaksin: “We have 370-380 votes in the House and that is enough.”</p> <p>A Suan Dusit poll found that almost 62 per cent of the 1,569 respondents said they believed a one-party administration would be more stable than a coalition govt.</p>	<p>Banyat, Sana Call It Quits (news, <i>BP</i> 8/2/2005)</p> <p>One-Party Govt Preferred: Poll (news, <i>TN</i> 9/2/2005)</p>
<p>Thaksin receives huge public support for Thai Rak Thai’s grassroots populist policies.</p>	<p>Victory clearly pointed to the huge public support for Thai Rak Thai’s grassroots populist policies.</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai is organising a “caravan of thanks” throughout Bangkok today in appreciation for the outpouring of votes the party received in Sunday’s general election.</p> <p>Prayoon Chaichim, 51, made a prayer to offer nine chickens</p>	<p>Victory Ends Fears Of Govt Instability (news, <i>BP</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>“Caravan of Thanks” Hits The Road (news, <i>BP</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>PM Ducks Kiss From</p>

	<p>to the famous Luang Por Sothon if she did not kiss Thaksin on election day...called Thaksin “her father” ...spent whole day carrying PM’s portrait...wore an orange taxi motor cycle waistcoat with sms for Thaksin...</p> <p>Thaksin: Low-income people, who make up the biggest group in the country, made an effort to travel home to vote. They stop working to vote. This shows that they had every intention of voting (for Thai Rak Thai).</p> <p>As one of his priorities, Thaksin said that in April he would push for a Bt 50 billion supplementary budget which would be earmarked for an integrated scheme for the poor, billed as “the caravan against poverty.”</p> <p>...he would heed public concern triggered by his landslide election victory and pledge to carry out his duties with the public interest at heart rather than succumb to lust for power.</p> <p>With the clear mandate from the people, Thai Rak Thai can now start going about doing its own and the nation’s business. If that mandate is not abused there is no reason to doubt that Thai Rak Thai will be around for a long, long time to come.</p>	<p>Taxi Motorcyclist (news, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>PM Thanks Working Class For Big Support (news, <i>TN</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>Electorate Thanked For Landslide (news, <i>TN</i> 13/2/2005)</p> <p>The End Of Politics As Usual In Thailand (letter, <i>TN</i> 13/2/2005)</p>
<p>Thaksin’s victory results in prosperous economics. (+)</p>	<p>The Japanese yen and Australian dollar both registered significant falls, but the baht rose on the expected election victory for Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra.</p> <p>Fitch Ratings: The landslide victory of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra's Thai Rak Thai party completes a round of remarkably smooth political transitions in Southeast Asia over the last 12 months, underlining the region's growing political stability that is supporting the business climate.</p> <p>Celebrating PM Thaksin’s huge electoral mandate, Thai stocks</p>	<p>Fed Hike Hits Most Asian Currencies But Baht Gains On Expected Thai Rak Thai Victory (news, <i>BP</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Fitch Says Political Stability To Help Spur Investment In Region (news, <i>BP</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>Market Rises On</p>

	rallied to their highest in a year yesterday with a big boost from some telecom stocks and the construction sector, while the baht appreciated to near a five-year high.	Thaksin Landslide (news, <i>TN</i> 8/2/2005)
Thaksin frankly admit his faults and looks straight to challenges. (+)	Thaksin admitted his govt had lost patience and consequently matched violence with violence in two incidents that left nearly 200 people killed (Krue Se mosque and Tak Bai). ...“We were challenged by evil but we did not have enough patience , so the evil became a hero”...authorities from now would exercise patience even when provoked. Thaksin: failure in the South is a wake up call for the party as wrong evaluations have been made of people’s needs.	PM: No Change In Handling Of South (news, <i>BP</i> 10/2/2005) Southern Result A Wake Up Call: Thaksin (news, <i>TN</i> 8/2/2005)
Thaksin is confident. (+)	Thaksin fully confident he could solve southern problems. Thaksin: I’m confident that I can restore peace and normalcy in the three southernmost provinces, and my Thai Rak Thai will then sweep every vote.	PM: No Change In Handling Of South (news, <i>BP</i> 10/2/2005) PM Promises To Squelch Violence (news, <i>TN</i> 10/2/2005)
Thaksin has a happy family. (+)	PM Thaksin and his family were among the early birds at the polls yesterday morning. They cast their ballots shortly after 9.30pm – less than two hours after voting began at 8am – before heading off to Sogo department stop for shopping and lunch.	PM And Family Up With The Lark (news, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)
Thaksin has good ability to select right people for the right positions. (+)	Thaksin has three close associators : Pansak Vinyarat, chief policy strategist who helped found Thai Rak Thai, British-educated with a French influence; Bhokin Bhalakula, currently Interior minister, French educated with background in law; Bowornsak Uwanno, the Cabinet secretary, French educated with background in law. ...in looking for an ideal successor, Thaksin would apply the same method he used when he looked for a management	The Next Step For One-Party Rule: Ideology? (commentary, <i>TN</i> 9/2/2005) Picking A Political Successor (news, <i>TN</i>

	<p>whiz to lead his family's flagship company, Shin Corps... Potential successors include Somkid Jatusripiruk, finance minister; Suwat Liptapanlop, deputy PM and Suriya Jungrunreangkit, transport minister. Thaksin will be looking for strong management skills and respect from his fellow Thai Rak Thai politicians in the future heir to his leadership post. It is likely that a successor would be named only when Thaksin is absolutely certain the person can proceed with his plans, just like he did when he tabbed Boonklee to run Shin Group.</p>	11/2/2005)
Thaksin is aggressive and single-minded. (-)	But Mr Thaksin's aggressiveness and single-mindedness , while clearly appealing to a wide swathe of the electorate, also raises alarm bells among some executives who are concerned the landslide victory will significantly weaken the principle of "checks and balances" within parliament.	Victory Ends Fears Of Government Instability (news, BP 7/2/2005)
Thaksin is arrogant. (-)	When did the word "humble" come to mean " arrogant "? Is this the same PM who mishandle the Sars outbreak, the bird flu, the war on drugs, the purchasing of Fulham or Liverpool FC, the premature burial of tsunami victims, the problems in the South?...Is this the same PM who offended the UN, the Malaysian govt and threatened to walk out of the last Asian Summit if he was questioned?	Having Doubts About The PM (letter, BP 13/2/2005)
Thaksin's landslide will significantly weaken the principle of checks and balances within parliament. (-) Thaksin may become more autocratic. (-)	<p>... the landslide victory will significantly weaken the principle of "checks and balances" within parliament.</p> <p>Thaksin once insisted he knew a great deal about the workings of democracy, told a colleague in parliament: "Those who know less than me better shut up." Ammar Siamwalla: Thaksin already had the tendency to be an autocratic leader. Now that he has the mandate, he won't</p>	<p>Victory Ends Fears Of Government Instability (news, BP 7/2/2005)</p> <p>People Worried Thaksin May Become More Autocratic (commentary, BP 8/2/2005)</p>

	<p>be modest about it. He will probably make constitutional changes to make sure he will last longer. ...we will all have to get along for another four years under Thai Rak Thai, its autocratic leader and its populist policies.</p> <p>...it's absolutely certain that Thaksin's Thai Rak Thai will form a single-party govt. This worried people who fear the possible rise of a "parliamentary dictatorship". During his first term, Thaksin was condemned by parts of academia and the media for not tolerating criticism and over his authoritarian style of administration. That's why many people fear his next term will result in the greater exercise of "absolute power".</p> <p>Prachak Kongkitary, Thammasat political scientist: The new govt's absolute majority could lead to more human rights abuses and lessen racial and religious tolerance in the country.</p> <p>The one-party govt, with at least 377 seats, would restrict some checks-and balances mechanisms, including the impeachment of corrupt cabinet ministers because it required at least 125 voters for the opposition to file a motion in the House while the opposition would only have 123 seats.</p> <p>Dr Surapong Sothanasathien, lecturer at Thammasat University: Thaksin's tightened rule would result in bureaucrats, the military, police, academics and politicians becoming weaker. "Even the House will be a robot without a balance of power."</p>	<p>Opposition Has Its Work Cut Out (editorial, <i>BP</i> 9/2/2005) Thaksin Must Allay The Fears (<i>Thai Post</i> editorial, <i>BP</i> 10/2/2005)</p> <p>More Rights Abuses, Less Religious Tolerance Seen (news, <i>BP</i> 12/2/2005)</p> <p>Fears Of Dark Days Ahead (news, <i>TN</i> 9/2/2005)</p>
Thaksin acts quickly but carelessly. (-)	Chuwit Kamolvisit, chief campaigner for Chart Thai in Bangkok: It's (forming a one-party govt) just what Mr Thaksin wants. From what I see, he's no different from a fast-food	Vanquished Chuwit Now Eyes Senate (news, <i>BP</i> 7/2/2005)

	<p>chain. Quick and easy, but junk anyway. The people will keep on gobbling until they know it's bad for their health. The only constant in all this is...whenever he opens his mouth you can be sure it's to say something incorrect or offensive.</p> <p>Much to his credit, PM Thaksin promptly acknowledged his error, and promised to listen more to the local leaders...his change of heart has lasted less than a week, and he is now saying that "we will adjust nothing. Now the people do not believe us, but they will one day."</p>	<p>Having Doubts About The PM (letter, <i>BP</i> 12/2/2005)</p> <p>PM Must Change Spots Vis-à-vis The South (letter, <i>BP</i> 12/2/2005)</p>
<p>Thaksin was once a dictator with the worst record on human rights. (-)</p>	<p>Thaksin should make the most of his next four years in office by trying to salvage his reputation as the national leader with the worst record on human rights, an image that discourages Asian countries from recognising him as regional leader. Thaksin should lead the entire world in a fight against global environmental problems. That way, he can make the world forget he once acted as a dictator.</p> <p>...But the govt has been condemned for its human rights record, in particular the killing of more than 2,500 suspected drug dealers, the Krue Se massacre and Tak Bai horror. Freedom of expression has taken a beating, as have relations with regional neighbours such as Malaysia and Indonesia.</p> <p>Mr Thaksin's first term showed that he adopted policies affecting basic human rights in dealing with problems, despite strong opposition from rights advocacy groups: deaths of Muslim at Krue Se mosque, Tak Bai last year, arrest of protesters opposed to Thai-Malaysian gas pipeline in Hat Yai district of Songkhla two years ago.</p> <p>Tina na Nakhon, coordinator of Woman and Constitution</p>	<p>Our Future Lies Before Thaksin (analysis, <i>BP</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Voters Make Clear Their Preferences (editorial, <i>BP</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>Concern Over Civil Liberties (news, <i>BP</i> 12/2/2005)</p>

	<p>Networks: Mr Thaksin has never been “sensitive” to social problems. His drug policy claimed more than 2,500 lives of drug suspects last year.</p> <p>Prachak Kongkitary, political scientist at Thammasat University: There were no other govts after October 14, 1973 with such a high rate of human rights infringements, in which so many lives were taken, as the first Thaksin govt.</p> <p>Under his watch, more than 500 Muslims were killed last year, thousand of people were killed by police during a drive against drug trafficking. Many were innocent. A policy has been enacted to send back to Burma hundreds of thousands of refugees living in the country. As Burma’s military junta continues to oppress political opposition, and forced labour in the country is well documented, such an approach contravenes international practices.</p> <p>Concern for media freedom in Thailand is also high. Thaksin controls most of radio, terrestrial TV, and few newspapers criticise him. Journalists contend that opposing views in the electronic media are scarce, while it is decreasing in print.</p> <p>Niphon Bynyamani: It was the govt’s authoritarian policies and human rights violations that had brought about the failure (in solving problems in the South).</p> <p>“The abduction and murder of suspects and arrest without evidence or respect for the rule of law brought failure to the govt.”</p>	<p>More Rights Abuses, Less Religious Tolerance Seen (news, <i>BP</i> 12/2/2005)</p> <p>Test For Thai Democracy (<i>South China Morning Post</i> analysis, <i>TN</i> 8/2/2005)</p> <p>Democrats To Plan Ways To End Fighting (news, <i>TN</i> 12/2/2005)</p>
<p>Thaksin lost people’s trust in the South. (-)</p>	<p>Abdullahman Abdulsamak, chairman of Narathiwat Provincial Islamic Committee: the defeat of Thai Rak Thai in the South show people’s frustration and disappointment over PM Thaksin’s handling of the situation. The bloody Krue Se mosque and Tak Bai had a bad effect on Thai Rak Thai’s image.</p>	<p>Clear Signal Of Dislike For Thaksin’s Policies (news, <i>BP</i> 8/2/2005)</p>

	<p>Thaksin: More than half the country trust and believe in us, but not the South...</p> <p>Buraha Nudin, candidate of Thai Rak Thai party's Wadah faction in Yala constituency: the TRT's overwhelming victory ``meant nothing because the prime minister did not get even one constituency title from any of the five southern provinces''.</p> <p>Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra has never come up with a new approach and road map or peace process to bring peace to the South, apart from occasionally changing whoever is responsible for restoring order.</p> <p>Thaksin should be open-minded and sit down to brainstorm with different groups, including independent bodies and even international agencies, in a bid to win back the hearts of people living in the southern provinces and uproot the kingpins behind the continuing violence.</p> <p>A villager: Thai Rak Thai was unable to solve the problems but because it escalated them, causing loss of life for Muslims in the area.</p> <p>Despite the outcome, Mr Thaksin is everything but disheartened. In his latest interview, he insisted his policy was right.</p> <p>The sweetness of his election win badly soured, Thaksin was forced to admit that southerners are loyal to the Democrat Party and that the ongoing violence in the region may have contributed to his party falling short.</p> <p>Srisompob Jitpiromsri, academician from Songkhla University's Pattani campus: It was the first time that local Muslims here collectively used the parliament channel to</p>	<p>PM: No Change In Handling Of South (news, <i>BP</i> 10/2/2005)</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai's Deep South Fraction Say Defeat Was All Thaksin's Fault (news, <i>BP</i> 11/2/2005)</p> <p>Thaksin Must Not Give Up On The South (letter, <i>BP</i> 11/2/2005)</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai Is Losing The South (commentary, <i>BP</i> 13/2/2005)</p> <p>A Country Divided (news, <i>TN</i> 8/2/2005)</p> <p>No Thai Rak Thai Fever In The Troubled South (analysis, <i>TN</i> 8/2/2005)</p>
--	--	--

	<p>express dissatisfaction with the central govt...The continuation of an arrogant attitude and heavy-handed methods by the administration would only worsen the situation.</p> <p>Areepen Utarasingh, former New Aspiration Party MP: The crisis in the South has been going on for a long time and people now have negative feelings toward the govt and security personnel. They were in sympathy with the opposition's move against the govt and voted overwhelmingly for Democrat Party candidates.</p> <p>Despite the aggressive, big-budget Thai Rak Thai campaign, dominated by populist policies, the ruling party utterly failed to persuade southerners to shed their special affinity for the Democrat Party.</p> <p>So far so bad, PM Thaksin has failed to come up with a news approach, roadmap or process to bring peace to the South.</p> <p>Burahanudin Useng, Thai Rak Thai party member in the deep South: ...if the govt wanted to win the people's hearts, it needed to use peaceful ways, but no one listen to us and we became the victims of what the govt has done.</p> <p>Both Muslims and non-Muslims continue to suffer from the violence in the region, and yet the premier stubbornly maintains that it will be business as usual, despite the fact that about 600 people have been killed over these past 13 months.</p> <p>Victims of the Tak Bai massacre have called on the govt to provide compensation and assistance as promised as many are now disable following injuries sustained during the brutal incident.</p>	<p>Southern Result A Wake Up Call: Thaksin (news, <i>TN</i> 8/2/2005)</p> <p>Strong Messages From The South (editorial, <i>TN</i> 8/2/2005)</p> <p>The PM Should Seek More Inclusive Solutions In The South (letter, <i>TN</i> 10/2/2005)</p> <p>Former Yala MP Blames PM For Southern Defeat (news, <i>TN</i> 11/2/2005)</p> <p>Time To Think Outside The Box In The South (editorial, <i>TN</i> 11/2/2005)</p> <p>Tak Bai Victims Get No Cash (news, <i>TN</i> 12/2/2005)</p>
--	---	---

	A local: her family had not received the Bt 100,000 compensation for the death promised by PM Thaksin.	
Thaksin uses money to solve problems. (-)	<p>...He and his associates are accused of using their power and money to discourage dissent...</p> <p>Klee Yosob, local Muslim: We don't want his money. A big mountain of cash pouring into the South could not save people's lives. The dead cannot spend money. When the leader shows up at your village with his pockets full of money and starts throwing it around, you tend to like the guy...</p> <p>Thaksin has on more than one occasion promised to deliver what is generally regarded as the impossible. Then again, may be he will prove a new that getting away with broken promises is much easier than fulfilling them and that's always a possibility – particularly in the sort of gutter politics in which bought votes and those cast by the gullible count.</p>	<p>“Economists” Expresses Both Praise and Concern (news, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p> <p>No Thai Rak Thai Fever In The Troubled South (analysis, <i>TN</i> 8/2/2005)</p> <p>There Are A Few Bright Spots Worth Noting (letter, <i>TN</i> 9/2/2005)</p> <p>In Search Of The PM's “Mr Clean” (commentary, <i>TN</i> 13/2/2005)</p>
Thaksin doesn't get long well with the press, especially the foreign one. (-)	<p>Thaksin: I don't feel good about international press. What they ask is very negative and they have never been fair to me for the whole four years. Only a few gave me fair treatment...</p> <p>Thaksin will zero in on English-language media...</p>	<p>People Worried Thaksin May Become More Autocratic (commentary, <i>BP</i> 8/2/2005)</p> <p>PM's Challenges Here And Abroad (commentary, <i>TN</i> 7/2/2005)</p>

Appendix F
(Period 6: January 23-30, 2006)

Messages	Details	Titles & Sources
Thaksin is bold. (+)	...Thaksin may not be perfect but I think he is trying. I wish our leaders here in Canada had 1/10 of his nerve... Thaksin: This school taught me to be afraid of no one , but to be awed by a man's good deeds..."	Premier Should Set Canada Straight If Given Half A Chance (letter, <i>TN</i> 24/1/2006) PM Hits Out At "Bullies" (news, <i>TN</i> 28/1/2006)
Thaksin is a good father. (+)	Anek Laothamatas, academic-turned politician: "I found that he was a good father. "...he met some top executives of the university to ask for their support for his son Panthongtae, who was enrolled in a special course there.	He Was Charming In Those Days (news, <i>TN</i> 23/1/2006)
Thaksin is eager to learn. (+)	Anek Laothamatas: "He was charming then. He acted like a student. He allowed me to become his teacher. "	He Was Charming In Those Days (news, <i>TN</i> 23/1/2006)
Thaksin found his own way to reach out to listen to rural people. (+)	The poll conducted by Assumption University showed most people like the govt workshop to fight poverty. 44.3%: it would increase Thaksin's popularity 56.5%: reality show would do more good than bad 74%: reality show should be organized in other provinces too. PM Thaksin will inspect the project site and listen to villagers' complaints in Udon Thani on February 24. Thaksin: The (At Samat) show as a stage for him to act as a " poverty doctor " and demonstrate to concerned officials how to get information out onto the field first hand, diagnose problem and prescribe treatment. He listened to the villagers' tales of woes , from poor farm productivity, lack of land, and basic infrastructure. He then	NGOs Slam Reality Show, Public Loves It (news, <i>BP</i> 23/1/2006) Board Rejects EIA Report On Potash Mine (news, <i>BP</i> 24/1/2006) Critics Slam Thaksin's TV Stunt (analysis, <i>BP</i> 24/1/2006)

	<p>quickly responded with solutions including ordering the setting up of new rice variety centres to improve farm productivity, handing out plots of land and ordering officials to find new water sources and build new roads...Many villagers impressed by such active response to their plight, hoping their lives would soon improved.</p> <p>Thaksin: Govt will break the poverty cycle within three years. Govt's Small, Medium and Large Village (SML) project, Village Fund and Bt 30-health care scheme would do the trick. Most SML projects that provided reports have been successful. The villages would be expected to decide for themselves how they will invest the money and govt officials will ensure committees follow certain guidelines, such as ensuring that 70% of eligible voters have a say in the decision-making.</p>	PM Vows To End Poverty In Three Years (news, <i>TN</i> 24/1/2006)
Thaksin wants to sell Shin Corps to avoid conflicts-of-interest. (+)	Since Mr Thaksin the businessman has been the Achilles' heel of Mr Thaksin the prime minister, getting rid of Shin Corp solves this problem.	Thaksin's Political Insurance Policy (analysis, <i>BP</i> 26/1/2006)
Thaksin has a vision in technology. (+)	Thaksin: Next year we'll have the one laptop per child project. This year we have the 250,000 PCs for school project. Yesterday we needed expensive workstations and software for animation and multimedia. Today, the average Intel box with inexpensive software is enough to do animation.	Local Content Is King (news, <i>BP</i> 25/1/2006)
Thaksin is creative in initiating mega projects, privatising Egat. (+)	Foreign investors attended a briefing on Thursday about mega projects which was chaired by PM Thaksin. Project areas identified included health, mass rail transit, water management, information networks and defence modernisation. Thaksin: international bidding on the projects would be transparent and broadcast live nationwide before cabinet made a final decision. "The bidding process will be famous around the world."	Bt 100bn To Upgrade National Health Services, Facilities (news, <i>BP</i> 29/1/2006)

	I see several positive things under PM Thaksin's administration and want to share a few with other readers...I don't know much about the privatisation plan of PM Thaksin but if it is to enhance the service and efficiency of Egat, I now fully support the idea.	Privatisation Might Help Egat Catch Up With The Times (letter, <i>TN</i> 27/1/2006)
Thaksin is impulsive in action. (-)	<p>Jessada Loha-oonjit, associate professor: "If he is not careful in his words and fails to control his anger, he will not complete his term."</p> <p>Thaksin acts like Mum Jokmok, the omnipresent television host, actor, filmmaker and clown.</p> <p>After repeatedly insisting his children were in control of Shin's future, Thaksin suddenly has a lot to say about the deal.</p> <p>On Monday, Thaksin turned into a "tongue twister," who knew everything about the deal; claimed that his children want him to devote his full attention to serving the country without fear over conflicts of interest.</p> <p>If Thaksin thinks the Thai people have got used to his twisted word-play, which has proved such a successful tactic for almost five years, he should have second thoughts.</p> <p>PM seemed to deliberately avoid raising the subject of the sale of Shin Corp shares to Temasek Holdings. Yet once, in what appeared to be a slip of tongue, he said: "All democratic countries are under imperialistic economic systems."</p>	<p>Trouble For PM In The Stars (news, <i>TN</i> 23/1/2006)</p> <p>The At Samat Model Is The Feudal Solution To Poverty (commentary, <i>TN</i> 23/1/2006)</p> <p>A Classic Display Of Double-Talk (commentary, <i>TN</i> 25/1/2006)</p> <p>PM Hits Out At "Bullies" (news, <i>TN</i> 28/1/2006)</p>
Thaksin has destroyed the checks and balances mechanism in society. (-)	<p>Thirayuth Boonmi, sociologist and former student activist: Thaksin is a "super PM" of a "closed institution" which had been left untouched because all the necessary monitoring agencies had been paralysed.</p> <p>The present govt tended to let only one person try to solve the problems single-handedly.</p> <p>Thirayuth: "Thaksin has destroyed the checks and balances</p>	<p>Bickering, Graft Will Scupper Govt (news, <i>BP</i> 23/1/2006)</p> <p>PM Won't Be Around For</p>

	<p>mechanism in society, leaving power in the hands of a super PM.”</p> <p>If your choice is Thaksin, then you can simply relax and allow the CEO-style PM to “execute” all the decisions in the land for you – at your all risk of course.</p>	<p>Third Term (news, <i>TN</i> 23/1/2006) Follow The Leader’s Politics A Threat To Democracy (commentary, <i>TN</i> 27/1/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin is insincere in solving poverty. (-)</p>	<p>Mr Thaksin gave money to villagers and land to landless farmers, as TV cameras followed him around...He tipped a man 2,000 baht for his driving, then gave a woman, who suffer from goiter, 3,000 baht for a bus trip to a hospital in Bangkok. He also gave one landless farmer a piece of land.</p> <p>Suwit Watwoo, president of Assembly of the Poor: his group gave Mr Thaksin’s show a “failing grade.” Mr Thaksin should use his money to create more jobs and welfare for the poor rather than let it go to small groups of wealthy people.</p> <p>It’s interesting to note that PM Thaksin has yet again ignored the advice of his wiser and betters. By handing out wads of cash, a la Santa Clause, Mr Thaksin has once more shown his true colours and his obvious insincerity in solving the problems of the dire poor.</p> <p>Critics: Mr Thaksin has totally ignored the social structural to window-dressing solutions by giving away land and cash to a handful of people...The show as an attempt to shore up the govt’s declining popularity and Thaksin’s prescription to cure poverty was no more than a typical top-down approach to problem-solving rather than involving the people to solve their own problems.</p> <p>There is no question that PM Thaksin is a great politician... Conventional wisdom means little to the former police lieutenant-colonel-witness his recent foray into reality TV...Mr Thaksin knew full well who his target audience was as he sat down on a</p>	<p>NGOs Slam Reality Show, Public Loves It (news, <i>BP</i> 23/1/2006)</p> <p>Thaksin Puts On Cynical Show (letter, <i>BP</i> 23/1/2006)</p> <p>Critics Slam Thaksin’s TV Stunt (analysis, <i>BP</i> 24/1/2006)</p> <p>Being Economical With The Truth (editorial, <i>BP</i> 25/1/2006)</p>

	<p>straw mat to share sticky rice in a palaver with his Roi Et constituents...</p> <p>Why doesn't Mr Thaksin keep, say three or four billion baht for himself and his family and hand out the rest to the poor in this country? That way, our poverty line might immediately move up one notch.</p> <p>PM Thaksin yesterday failed to come up with a concrete strategic framework for the govt's newly-established anti-poverty centre to fight poverty problems.</p> <p>Chairing a special workshop to craft a poverty eradication model at Govt House yesterday, the PM could only offer his pledge to take structural problems faced by the poor for cabinet consideration despite experts' views that the issue was critical and needed to be urgently tackled.</p> <p>The Roi Et programme has attracted criticism from many quarters as a window dressing solution, as it concentrated on quick-fix solutions and lacked in-depth analyses into the root causes of poverty.</p> <p>If PM Thaksin is so earnestly determined to do away with poverty in the Kingdom (citing his recent Roi Et excursion and broadcast) why doesn't he, his wife or one of his children just give half of their tax-free billions to the poor...</p> <p>Kriengsak Charoenwongsak, Democrat MP: PM's anti-poverty mission in Roi Et's At Samat district destroyed the value of encouraging people to be self-dependent... What PM did was teach people to see money as God and to ask for things from others than doing things for themselves.</p> <p>PM gave advice to almost 100 villagers, suggested over 200 activities for them. Only 52 activities promoted personal and community self-dependence such as introducing extra jobs.</p> <p>The majority were activities that required people to depend on the</p>	<p>One Way the PM Can Help Eradicate Poverty (commentary, <i>BP</i> 27/1/2006)</p> <p>Premier Fails To Craft Plan To Fight Poverty (news, <i>BP</i> 29/1/2006)</p> <p>Put Money Where His Mouth Is (letter, <i>BP</i> 30/1/2006)</p> <p>Public Sees Gains from At Samat (news, <i>TN</i> 23/1/2006)</p>
--	--	---

	<p>govt, such as debt moratorium.</p> <p>This is not a campaign of economic education, it merely demonstrates to local people how to turn a hard working farmer into a beggar, expecting free hand-outs rather than doing an honest days' toil.</p> <p>At Samat campaign was a big publicity coup...Thaksin did succeed in using the trip to portray himself as a leader who has the suffering of the rural folk at heart. If Thaksin's hidden agenda was to use the event to divert attention from more pressing issues and his personal political woes as alleged by critics, then he also pulled that off rather brilliantly.</p> <p>Thaksin administration's emphasis on domestic spending to stimulate the economy through easy loans and village funds has also contributed greatly to the increasing levels of indebtedness among the very citizens he is trying to help.</p> <p>...Santa Thaksin style...</p> <p>This time, the majority of the Thai public and the press seem to know what tricks are being played, and not too much attention has been generated...Luckily, the National Broadcasting Commission has yet to be established, so we don't have to give this programme a rating. How should it be classified: drama, politics or Greek tragedy?</p> <p>Can anyone give one example of how Thaksin has given of his own wealth to help anyone (other than the televised "unreality" show recently where he gave away Bt50,000 – pocket money for him)?</p> <p>The first story was about a man who stands on top of a cliff shouting all the time: "I will eradicate poverty!", "I do everything for the country!", "I do things in a straight forward</p>	<p>Crass Publicity Stunt Targets The Gullible And The Weak (letter, <i>TN</i> 23/1/2006)</p> <p>Lesser Officials Cannot match PM's At Samat Largesse (commentary, <i>TN</i> 24/1/2006)</p> <p>Reality Show Was Thaksin Giving Foes The Raspberry (letter, <i>TN</i> 24/1/2006)</p> <p>Was The Roi Et Show "Reality TV" Or A Greek Tragedy? (letter, <i>TN</i> 25/1/2006)</p> <p>Thaksin Should Share His Windfall With Charities (letter, <i>TN</i> 26/1/2006)</p> <p>Aesop's Fables Revisited For 2006 (commentary, <i>TN</i> 28/1/2006)</p>
--	--	---

	<p>manner!”...Then he visits villagers to listen to their problems and try to offer help, and when the sun, moon, and stars align at a particular position, he even stays overnight in some of the realm’s poorest areas.</p> <p>Five years pass and nothing changes...</p>	
<p>Thaksin tried to get as much profit as possible from his power, even through avoiding tax. He prefers to serve his own interests to that of the nation. (-)</p>	<p>Mr Thaksin has built himself up by deconstructing the telecom industry – winning a state concession which returned massive income to him.</p> <p>Ruangkrai Leekitwattana, tax lawyer: Mr Thaksin’s children had acquired the shares cheaper than their market price out of the stock exchange. They were not considered to have invested in the shares inside the stock exchange which would justify tax exemption.</p> <p>They should pay tax.</p> <p>This week Mr Thaksin once again defied observers and critics who have always suspected the billionaire of being a businessman first, a public servant second.</p> <p>How very sad for Thailand that we have a PM who is more interested in personal grand-standing than the real good of the people.</p> <p>Since the PM can get away with “honest mistakes” – giving away his fortune to his kids, maids and drivers – then transfer millions of shares (in such good faith) without tax obligations, and now even sell all his family’s assets, again without tax obligations (the man is a genius), I think the good people of Thailand should follow his good example and make an honest mistake by forgetting to pay their taxes altogether...</p> <p>Wilai Poolworoluk, president of Thai Investors Association: ...this deal affected the confidence of many. They failed to disclose information to the public and even denied things that ultimately turned out to be true. This is what I’d call a “super deal”. Ordinary people wouldn’t be able to do such a deal. Everything</p>	<p>Bickering, Graft Will Scupper Govt (news, <i>BP</i> 23/1/2006)</p> <p>PM: Shin Sale My Kids’ Idea (news, <i>BP</i> 24/1/2006)</p> <p>Being Economical With The Truth (editorial, <i>BP</i> 25/1/2006)</p> <p>Grand-Standing (letter, <i>BP</i> 25/1/2006)</p> <p>Let’s Not Pay Tax (letter, <i>BP</i> 26/1/2006)</p> <p>Regulators Defend Transparency (news, <i>BP</i></p>

	<p>was well planned before hand and was done properly, in such a way that you couldn't find a single thread...The lack of information and rumours affected share prices for sure. Some investors no doubt were hurt.</p> <p>PM has let a golden opportunity pass by to show his countrymen what a no-nonsense leader he is by duly paying taxes from his family's recent sale of Shin stock...Since Mr Thaksin always describes himself as a selfless and patriotic leader, it is a pity that his latest action or inaction portrays himself in quite the opposite light.</p> <p>The Revenue Department acknowledges growing concern that Thai people will no longer pay taxes after a storm of criticism over the tax-free sell-off of Shin Corp shares by the Shinawatra and Damarong families.</p> <p>Most of the criticism levelled at the sale was because the families did not have to pay even a single baht in taxes to the state, which, if the so-called capital gains tax was applicable, should be about 20 billion baht. The deal was deemed unfair because an ordinary person who makes 1,000 baht from a lottery still has to pay taxes to the state.</p> <p>Even the sale of Shin Corp was looked on by some as not being kosher, because he avoided paying a capital gains tax and a law was amended last year to allow foreign holdings in a Thai telecom firm upto 49%, which was raised from the previous 25%. The sale took place one day after the law was promulgated in the Royal gazette.</p> <p>Mr Thaksin, by not paying any taxes on this stock sale, is showing Thai people and the world that he cares more about himself than the well being of the nation or integrity of the govt.</p> <p>PM Thaksin has spent the better part of this decade building his</p>	<p>26/1/2006)</p> <p>A Bad Example (letter, <i>BP</i> 27/1/2006)</p> <p>Tax Officials Admit Shin Case Has Upset Public (news, <i>BP</i> 27/1/2006)</p> <p>Sale Of The Century (<i>Thai Rath</i> editorial, <i>BP</i> 29/1/2006)</p> <p>What Will They Do With All That Money (<i>Thai Rath</i> commentary, <i>BP</i> 29/1/2006)</p> <p>Tax Him, Not Us (letter, <i>BP</i> 30/1/2006)</p> <p>Singaporean Interests Seem</p>
--	--	--

	<p>shares in Shin Corp at Bt 49.25 apiece was a legitimate and even shrewd deal: selling just as the competition was heating up and with global players joining in the fray, squeezing profitability.</p> <p>PM and his family sacrificed nothing, because their decision was based on calculated, self-serving motives, just like any other businessperson's.</p> <p>Thaksin has done nothing to resolve the key question of different tariff rates. AIS has enjoyed an advantage that has been factored into Shin Corp stock, the staggering capital gain of the shares and the cash that is now going into the Shinawatras' pockets.</p> <p>Examples abound that the PM's family and business associates have enjoyed preferential treatment and are likely to continue to do so...The Shin Corp sell-off proves that sometimes, politicians can have their cake and eat it, too.</p> <p>Chirmsak Pinthong, senator: The Revenue Code was apparently twisted by pro-govt officials to help the PM's family avoid paying huge taxes on profits made by the share sale.</p> <p>Many people these days see through his two-faced character and believe that he prefers serving his own interests to that of the whole nation.</p> <p>Govt MPs from Wang Nan Yen and Pho Mon Dam factions of the ruling Thai Rak Thai Party attacked Thaksin for acting like a sold out politician who put his family before the country.</p> <p>Thaksin misled 375 Thai Rak Thai MPs to vote for the amended legislation to boost foreign ownership in the telecom business to 49%.</p> <p>MP Pramuan Ruchanaseree: "It's ironic that the govt ends up as the administration for one family."</p> <p>Chirmsak Pinthong, senator: "The Shin deal should serve as a costly lesson about having a businessman to lead the country – as</p>	<p>Who Does He Serve? (news, <i>TN 25/1/2006</i>)</p> <p>A Classic Display of Double-Talk (commentary, <i>TN 25/1/2006</i>)</p> <p>Explanation Required (news, <i>TN 25/1/2006</i>)</p> <p>Revenue Dept Should Do Tax Audits On Yingluck</p>
--	---	--

	<p>business would come before national interest.”</p> <p>Shin Corp urged the Govt a month later to amend the law, a request that the Thaksin administration accepted and proceeded with at the speed of light. Sing Tel, Temasek’s subsidiary, was a major strategic partner of Shin Corp at the time. The amended law that restored the 49% limit took effect a few days ago.</p> <p>Sigve Brekke, DTAC’s CEO: “We are paying 36% of our gross revenues to the govt, but AIS pays only 25%...There is an 11% disadvantage and that is definitely not a fair play field.”</p> <p>Stock analysts lamented the fact that both agencies (SEC and SET) had acted as if they were part of the network that helped push through the deal, which benefited mainly the major shareholders of Shin...</p> <p>It might not be surprising when businessmen employ such legal manoeuvring to circumvent what can be regarded as the spirit of the law – but when it’s the family of the PM, who is supposed to be the first to uphold the laws, serious questions must be asked.</p> <p>True or not, all this talk about numbers doesn’t amount to much, unless Thaksin agrees to discount his price to Bt 23 billion or pay that much in taxes on the deal.</p> <p>Ample Rich Investments was registered in the notorious British Virgin Islands in 1999, and in 2000 it was officially confirmed that Thaksin owned it. The firm was based in Singapore. It bought a big lot of Shin shares from, strangely, Thaksin on June 11,1999. Then on January 20 this year, it sold all 329.2 million Shin shares to Pinthongta and Panthongtae Shinawatra at Bt1 per share. The big transaction was not reported to the stock market.</p> <p>Why was Ample Rich Investments founded? Why then did it buy shares from the very person who came to “own” it? And</p>	<p>and Bhanapot, Chirmsak Says (news, <i>TN</i> 25/1/2006)</p> <p>Don’t Begrudge Shin Corp, Just Be Proud (commentary, <i>TN</i> 25/1/2006)</p> <p>DTAC Wants Level Field For Telecoms (Deutch Press Agentur commentary, <i>TN</i> 25/1/2006)</p> <p>Slow Action By SEC, SET Questioned (news, <i>TN</i> 26/1/2006)</p> <p>Complex Transaction A Model For Avoiding Tax, Ownership Law (analysis, <i>TN</i> 27/1/2006)</p> <p>Is It Lucky For Thaksin? (news, <i>TN</i> 27/1/2006)</p> <p>Concealing Shares: Is This Part II? (analysis, <i>TN</i> 28/1/2006)</p>
--	---	---

	<p>why, again, did it sell the shares back to his children? And why wasn't the mega transaction reported as required by rules? Korn Chatakavanij, Democrat MP: Precedents have indicated that Thaksin might be willing to bend the law to benefit his family.</p> <p>Abac poll: Almost 2/3 of Bangkok residents believe there was a conspiracy to have the telecommunications law amended in order to facilitate the recent purchase of Shin Corp by Singaporean company Temasek Holdings.</p> <p>Thaksin has been a stout nationalist and defender of Thailand's sovereignty: he blasted the IMF for being too bossy with his country; he called the US a "useless friend"; he indicated that the UN was not his father, so he would not listen to the world body's comments...But when it comes to Singapore coming close to controlling his country's satellite and air-wave exclusivities, he simply stays silent. Is there too much personal stake in the deal to be patriotic this time?</p> <p>Thaksin has used harsh words to describe anyone who questions his style of managing, such as "selfish", "greedy", "unpatriotic". Now he must untangle himself from the same accusations.</p> <p>...The sale of Shin Corp to Singapore eventually proved that his nationalism is as flimsy as a negligee, perhaps even more so.</p> <p>All businessmen in the world over employ tax advisers to limit their exposure to payment of tax. If anyone is to blame it's the lawmakers who wrote the legislation enabling stock-market gains to be exempt from tax...Do we really expect the rich to serve the poor?</p> <p>Ongart Klampaiboon, Democrat Party spokesman: Thaksin lost his mandate to run the country because of allegations of tax</p>	<p>PM "Condoned Dodgy Deal" (news, <i>TN</i> 28/1/2006)</p> <p>Bangkokians Suspect A Conspiracy (news, <i>TN</i> 28/1/2006)</p> <p>PM's Patriotism Flies Out Of The Window As Soon As He Sees His Chance To Make A Buck (letter, <i>TN</i> 28/1/2006)</p> <p>PM's Claims To Patriotism Now Look As Flimsy As A Negligee (commentary, <i>TN</i> 29/1/2006)</p> <p>In The Real World, People Dodge Taxes Any Way They Can (letter, <i>TN</i> 29/1/2006)</p> <p>Thaksin "Has Lost Mandate To Rule" (news,</p>
--	---	--

<p>Thaksin's family sale of Shin Corp involves the transfer of public services to foreign investors, which was a dangerous signal of economic colonisation. (-)</p>	<p>avoidance and asset concealment that are haunting him again.</p> <p>Nirun Pithakwachara, Ubon Rachathani senator: the transfer of public services to foreign investors was a dangerous signal of economic colonisation.</p> <p>Somkiat Tangkitvanit, researcher with Thailand development Research Institute: The deal is an obvious violation of the Alien Business Law which limits foreign holding in a Thai company to a maximum 49%. Direct and indirect holding through nominees in Shin Corp by Temasek was up to 80%. By law, the deal was a liberalisation of the telecom sector, but in fact it amounted to a liberalisation of the entire service sector through pyramid holding by the foreign firm...It also set a precedent for other foreign investors to take up stakes in other sectors reserved for Thais through cross holdings.</p> <p>Somkiat Pongsaiboon, adviser to the Assembly Of The Poor: "this deal serves no one but the Shinawatra family. He's putting telecoms, which are owned by the public, in the hands of foreign investors. It shows the Thai public how frightful he is."</p> <p>What worries us is the sale to foreigners of satellite broadcasting and television frequencies which were granted to the Thai concessionaires, and are considered national assets. Political stability and national security could be jeopardised if the satellite and television stations are misused by the new owners.</p> <p>Chirmsak Pinthong, senator: criticised Thaksin for selling Thaicom Satellite to foreigners, saying the business name was bestowed by His Majesty The King.</p> <p>Dej-udom Krairit, president of the Law Society: The Law Society and the National Press Council will raise the issue of the sale of national assets – satellite slots and radio frequencies – to foreigners. Shares in Shin Satellite and iTV were also sold to the</p>	<p><i>TN 30/1/2006)</i></p> <p>PM: Shin Sale My Kids' Idea (news, <i>BP 24/1/2006)</i></p> <p>Shin Deal "A Threat To Security" (news, <i>BP 25/1/2006)</i></p> <p>Shin sale Draws More Flak (news, <i>BP 26/1/2006)</i></p> <p>Shin Sale Queries Need Answering (Khao Sod editorial, <i>BP 27/1/2006)</i></p> <p>"PM Should Apologise" (news, <i>TN 27/1/2006)</i></p> <p>Joint Statement (news, <i>TN 29/1/2006)</i></p>
---	--	---

	<p>Singapore group.</p> <p>Ongart Klampaiboon, Democrat Party spokesman: PM Thaksin has lost the right to run the country as he has “sold Thai sovereignty.”</p> <p>Supinya Klangnarong, Campaign for Media Reform secretary-general: the sale of iTV to foreigners as a result of the Shin Corp deal meant that the freedom of all other media was under threat. Broadcast media that have been privatised or are slated to be privatised, including Channel 5, Channel 7 and 200 govt-controlled radio stations, could all end up in foreign hands if a law is not issued to prevent such sell-offs.</p>	<p>Thaksin “Has Lost Mandate To Rule” (news, <i>TN</i> 30/1/2006)</p> <p>Groups Plan To Fight Sale In Court (news, <i>TN</i> 30/1/2006)</p>
Thaksin ignores criticism. (-)	<p>PM shrugged off harsh criticism of the govt under his leadership by sociologist Thirayuth Boonmi, claiming the academic was sick.</p> <p>Thaksin: would not respond to Thirayuth, whom he wryly characterised as a “sick man”.</p>	<p>PM Ignores Academic’s Harsh Words (news, <i>BP</i> 24/1/2006)</p> <p>Wang Nan Yen Backs Call For Charter Reform (news, <i>TN</i> 24/1/2006)</p>
Thaksin is not good at competition, only at monopoly. (-)	<p>Surat Horachaikul, political scientist at Chulalongkorn University: the sale signalled the liberalisation of the telecommunications industry.</p> <p>“He isn't good at competition, only at monopoly. And he knows he can't dodge competition. As he has already reaped huge benefits it's time to take a bow,”</p>	<p>PM Defends Family’s Sell-Off Of Shin Corp (news, <i>BP</i> 25/1/2006)</p>
Thaksin applies wrong policy to the South situation. (-)	<p>Thaksin: the govt had no policy to negotiate with insurgents...“The perpetrators have killed so many innocent people. How dare they ask for talks.”...the govt would continue to arrest separatist insurgent and turn up the heat on them.</p> <p>Thaksin: “The govt does not have any policy to open negotiations with the groups causing unrest in the South region...”</p> <p>Kasturi Mahkota, head of Pulo’s foreign affairs department: the</p>	<p>Govt Closes Door To Talks With Separatists (news, <i>BP</i> 26/1/2006)</p> <p>Thaksin Rules Out Pulo Talks (news, <i>TN</i> 26/1/2006)</p>

	<p>conflict could be solved if the govt agreed to sit down for talks. Bin Lima, Pulo deputy vice president: peace talks could be held is the govt removed the more than 20,000 troops it has stationed in the South, stopped killing innocent people and released Pulo president and military chief, Abdul Rohman Bazo, after seven years in prison.</p> <p>Other prominent exiled figures from Pattani include academic Wan Kadir Che Man, who stated last year that he wanted to return to Thailand and work for peace and reconciliation. But Thaksin gave his request the cold shoulder.</p> <p>Once again, PM Thaksin’s southern policies play into the hands of terrorists, for many will see his acts as showing insensitivity to our southern brethren – especially when he is stressed that non-Thai Rak Thai areas would get funds only after the others.</p> <p>The time for making our voices heard, after a learned and concerned study of the situation, is now-lest our PM unwittingly pour more fuel on the flames.</p> <p>...tourist numbers are off due to the blundering of the Thaksin govt’s handling of the unrest in the South.</p> <p>Small regressive steps like these (no alcohol sale between 2-5pm, bars close at 1am) are the first backward steps towards dictatorship.</p>	<p>New Southern Committees Represent Bangkok Interests (letter, <i>TN</i> 26/1/2006)</p> <p>Restrictions On Alcohol Sales Another Knock To Tourism (letter, <i>TN</i> 29/1/2006)</p>
Thaksin is a liar. (-)	<p>His reactions to the sell-off are plain lies...</p> <p>Sondhi Limthongkul: the country has to put up with cronyism under a “cheating” PM even though the people know the whole truth, and that the Constitution has failed to do its task of protecting the people.</p> <p>...he misled the public when he said questions of conflict of</p>	<p>An Outright Lie, No Matter How You Put In (commentary, <i>BP</i> 26/1/2006)</p> <p>One Goal, Very Different Visions (news, <i>TN</i> 24/1/2006)</p> <p>PM Confuses Gain With</p>

	<p>interest had everything to do with him and his family controlling Shin Corp and that the question would go away once they off loaded their shares.</p> <p>Thaskin insisted that he had no part in the transaction. But we've learnt that Thaksin was the one who made the phone call to Pong Sarasin – new chairman of Shin...Obviously, it must not have been as a politician, but as the beloved father of his two children who netted Bt52 billion from the share sale.</p> <p>He fooled reporters on several occasion: ...“I only went to Singapore for shopping. I enjoyed the food and had a good time with my family.” ...“I don't know. You'd better ask my children. I'm not the owner. They are.” ...“I don't know. I've never told my children what to do. They normally advise me how things should be. They are the real owners. I still ask my wife for pocket money.” On Monday, however, Thaksin turned into a “tongue twister”, who knew everything about the deal.</p> <p>Now that Thaksin was no longer pretending to play the role of the “good, honest, detached PM” who is accountable to the public, reporters decided that they were in fact talking to Thaksin the richest, shrewdest and most resourceful business tycoon of the country.</p>	<p>Public Good (editorial, <i>TN</i> 24/1/2006)</p> <p>Dad, It's Temasek On The Line (news, <i>TN</i> 24/1/2006)</p> <p>A Classic Display Of Double-Talk (commentary, <i>TN</i> 25/1/2006)</p> <p>Two-In-One Thaksin: PM and Shin Corp Man (commentary, <i>TN</i> 26/1/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin's prestige declines after the sale. (-)</p>	<p>Abac poll: PM Thaksin's popularity is sinking on the back of Shin Corp stock sell-off.</p> <p>Suan Dusit public poll: 31.7% believed that news coverage on the sell-off of Shin Corp shares by the Shinawatra and Damapong families to Singapore's Temasek Holdings had the most bearing on the country's politics.</p> <p>Jessada Loha-oonjit, associate professor, founder of the applied astrology institute: Public faith in govt would decline and govt</p>	<p>PM's Approval Ratings Sink (news, <i>BP</i> 28/1/2006)</p> <p>Public Loses Faith In Both Govt, Opposition (news, <i>BP</i> 30/1/2006)</p> <p>Trouble For PM In The Stars (news, <i>TN</i> 23/1/2006)</p>

	<p>would be besieged by many problems...Thaksin would meet protests throughout this year.</p> <p>More than half of the people surveyed for a poll in and around the capital believe the Shinawatra family's sale of Shin Corp shares was not handled transparently, while more than 4 in 5 respondents said the sale would not improve PM Thaksin's image with relation to conflict-of-interest suspicions.</p>	<p>Faith In PM Plunges: Poll (news, <i>TN</i> 26/1/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin is a dictator. He disregards human rights and democracy. (-)</p>	<p>US Congress has been unhappy with Thaksin's dictatorial tendency. Thaksin's reputation has dropped to an all time low in they eyes of US lawmakers and civil society organisations. The American media continue to attack Thaksin as a strong man who disregards human rights and democracy. Thailand's blind support for Burma has attracted the condemnation and wrath of key US lawmakers.</p> <p>A press that prints endless good news and criticises nobody, well at least not those in power, would be his dream come true.</p> <p>...less than six months ago, TV programming on state-owned channel 9 that was critical of Thaksin was ordered off the air.</p> <p>...less than two weeks ago, a radio station that criticised Thaksin was forced to close down by govt order.</p> <p>If Thaksin is looking to leave behind a legacy as a great leader, then he must clean up his govt's deteriorating reputation for nepotism, favourism and censorship.</p> <p>With the benefit of hindsight, the Constitution Court's dubious ruling on Thaksin's 2001 assets-concealment case was the beginning of the systematic weakening of the rule of law and system of checks and balances underpinning the country's democracy. Through intimidation and financial inducement, the</p>	<p>"Thaksinisation" Strains Thai - US Relations (commentary, <i>TN</i> 23/1/2006)</p> <p>Free Press In Singapore? What Utter Humburg? (letter, <i>TN</i> 23/1/2006)</p> <p>Ironic That Five Days Of Live TV Were Devoted To PM After His Govt Closed Down Stations (letter, <i>TN</i> 24/1/2006)</p> <p>Administration Is Closing Its Grip On Personal Freedoms (letter, <i>TN</i> 26/1/2006)</p> <p>Forgiveness Unending For PM (editorial, <i>TN</i> 27/1/2006)</p>

	Thaksin administration has also largely succeeded in its attempt to gag Thailand's once-vibrant free press.	
Thaksin favours cronyism. (-)	<p>Sondhi Limthongkul: the country has to put up with cronyism under a "cheating" PM even though the people know the whole truth, and that the Constitution has failed to do its task of protecting the people.</p> <p>If Thaksin is looking to leave behind a legacy as a great leader, then he must clean up his govt's deteriorating reputation for nepotism, favourism and censorship.</p>	<p>One Goal, Very Different Visions (news, <i>TN</i> 24/1/2006)</p> <p>Administration Is Closing Its Grip On Personal Freedoms (letter, <i>TN</i> 26/1/2006)</p>

Appendix G
(Period 7: September 20-27, 2006)

Messages	Details	Titles & Sources
<p>Thaksin is determined in his politic career and is a good leader of Thai Rak Thai. (+)</p>	<p>Mr Thaksin is fighting tooth and nail to reach election day, much as he did in March this year prior to poll results on April 2, and his announced and eventually aborted break from politics on April 4.</p> <p>Mr Thaksin disregarded the advice (he should not speak to the meeting) and addressed the meeting. He was calm...</p> <p>Thaksin will change his speech to be delivered at the UN last night and the content will be about the coup and his struggle to maintain democracy in Thailand.</p> <p>In the past, party members and former ministers would skip party meetings or cabinet meetings unless Mr Thaksin attended. This was clear proof that the party could not function without Mr Thaksin.</p> <p>Thaksin, the shrewd political operator,...</p> <p>A driver of one of several diplomatic cards on hand for Thaksin: “He’s number one. He’s a good man.”</p> <p>A Thai Rak Thai source: Thaksin was still communicating with his close aides from London and had told them to fight allegations. “Thaksin has no surrendered and told us to keep the party alive as best we may. He is only waiting for the right time to strike back.</p>	<p>Political Implications Of Elections Delay (commentary, <i>BP</i> 20/9/2006)</p> <p>PM Believed He Still Held “Upper Hand” (news, <i>BP</i> 20/9/1006)</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai Without Thaksin “Will Shutter” (news, <i>BP</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>Perfect Plot Ousts Great Manipulator (analysis, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>A World Away From The Tanks (news, <i>TN</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai Faction Now Backs Probe into Corruption (news, <i>TN</i> 24/9/2006)</p>

<p>Thaksin has been undisputed winner in two succeeding general election 2001 and 2005. (+)</p>	<p>Maew (Thaksin) was the undisputed winner when he was crowned champion of Thaksinomy Fantasia Season 1 in 2001. He led his Thai Rak Thai party to victory in the general elections. They votes for him and his party totaled 248 seats in parliament, almost double that of closest rival, the Democrat party.</p> <p>Thaksinomy Fantasia Season 2 in 2005 proved even better than Thaksinomy Fantasia 1. The champion garnered more supporters. Thai Rak Thai swept other rivals out with 345 of the 500 House seats. That made him untouchable to politicians, and the opposition could not grill him</p> <p>Elected as a new-breed, populist politician in early 2001, Mr Thaksin lived a meteoric political career. He won the greatest vote percentage in Thai history, the first parliamentary majority ever.</p>	<p>Thaksinomy Fantasia (commentary, <i>BP</i> 20/9/2006)</p> <p>A Step Back So As To Move Forward (editorial, <i>BP</i> 21/9/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin is still supported by majority of poor people thanks to due to his positive focus on rural grassroots and urban poor. (+)</p>	<p>During Mr Thaksin’s tenure, the motorcycle taxi drivers could earn their living without fear of dark influences. Now Mr Thaksin was no longer in power, they did not know what the future held for them.</p> <p>A motorcycle driver: “I feel sorry for Mr Thaksin so much I can’t say anything further. And I don’t know what is happening to Thailand...”</p> <p>...a new constitution will be drafted, its contents and enforcement will not ward off the likes of Mr Thaksin unless they incorporate parts of the overthrown leader’s legacy that was positive, such as his focus on the rural grassroots and urban poor.</p> <p>Through it all, Thaksin’s popularity remained solid here in the impoverished Northeast – home to a third of the country’s 63 million people – whom he wooed with business grants, cheap healthcare and a debt moratorium for farmers.</p> <p>Yao, 42: “He took care of us poor people first and foremost.</p>	<p>Most Agree With Coup But Have Reservations (news, <i>BP</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Stepping In To Heal The Breach (commentary, <i>BP</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>Even Many In Thaksin Territory Welcome Coup (news, <i>TN</i> 24/9/2006)</p>

	<p>Before, there was no one who looked after us.” Mana Panchalee, 36: “He reached out to the people more than any other PM.” “Almost 100%” of people in the area still support him.</p>	
Thaksin has a happy family. (+)	<p>Dressed casually and smiling as he emerged with his daughter, the ousted PM said he was now on “holiday” and “going out to buy some Thai groceries” as he left an apartment block opposite Hyde Park and got into the back of a blue van with Thai diplomatic plates. The wife of deposed PM Thaksin arrived in London yesterday to join her husband...</p>	<p>Thaksin “Holidaying” In London (news, <i>BP</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>Ousted PM’s Wife Joins Him In London (news, <i>BP</i> 26/9/2006)</p>
Thaksin made strong efforts to promote Thailand’s tourism. (+)	<p>Mr Thaksin had made a strong effort right from the beginning of his term to get the industry in full-speed-ahead mode. Some of the key developments under Mr Thaksin included the formation of the first Thai Ministry of Tourism and the Thai Convention and Exhibition Bureau, both in 2002, expedited liberalisation of Thai aviation and the formation (with Shin Corp) of Thai AirAsia, the country’s first low-cost airline, in November 2003.</p>	<p>“Amazing Thailand” Living Up To Expectations (news, <i>BP</i> 25/9/2006)</p>
Thaksin shows willingness for national reconciliation. (+)	<p>...my main aim of national reconciliation. ...would like to urge all parties to find ways and means to reconcile and work towards national reconciliation for the sake of our King and country. ..hope new regime will quickly arrange a new general election and continue to uphold the principles of democracy for the future of all Thais. ...plan to work on research, on development and possible charitable work for Thailand. Sudarat: Thaksin had instructed her and all party members to cooperate with the Council for Democratic Reform Under</p>	<p>Thaksin’s Statement (news, <i>TN</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>Family Life For Sudarat (news, <i>TN</i> 25/9/2006)</p>

	Constitutional Monarchy.	
Thaksin acted properly in Shin sale because according to Thai law, he didn't have to pay capital gains tax for stock market sales. (+)	<p>He founded AIS 20 years ago, long before he entered politics. By the time he did enter politics, AIS and Shin Corp were already market leaders, and he was already a billionaire. Every year, his companies paid corporate income tax and for all dividends and salary that Thaksin himself received. He also had to pay income tax.</p> <p>Then when he sold them, he paid income tax on the profits of the sale. According to Thai law, he didn't have to pay capital gains tax, because Thailand doesn't have an individual capital gains tax for stock market sales, and it has never had one in the past 30 years.</p>	CDRM Must Follow Letter Of The Law In Asset Freezes (letter, <i>TN</i> 27/9/2006)
Thaksin is arrogant and snobbish. (-)	<p>Chuan Leekpai: "Given his arrogant and snobbish behaviour, he might land himself in big trouble one day."</p> <p>As Mr Chuan said, Thaksin's arrogance brought this (the coup) on himself, and I hope we have all learned our lesson and that it is a good, long time before we trust any more of these loud-mouth, over confident "I will solve the traffic problem in six months if you give me a chance" types.</p> <p>Through his arrogance, Thaksin ignored and confounded the people's wishes...</p> <p>...his arrogance and autocratic proclivity might have served the last straw...</p> <p>For now, the military takeover has prevented wider schisms from developing among Thais and stopped the systematic pillage of the national treasury, among other perils caused by Thaksin through his arrogance, greed and folly.</p>	<p>Chuan Says He Feels Sorry For Thaksin (news, <i>BP</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Lesson Worth Learning (letter, <i>BP</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>A Coup With Human Face (commentary, <i>BP</i> 24/9/2006)</p> <p>"Yellow Ribbon Coup" Was A Very High Price To Pay (commentary, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Corruption Of Former PM Unparalleled In Thai History (letter, <i>TN</i> 22/9/2006)</p>

<p>Thaksin lacks basic criteria for legitimacy needed by a good leader: integrity, morality, honesty and self sacrifice. (-)</p>	<p>With this reassessment of Thaksin, the man and his past actions it was found that he lacked the basic criteria for legitimacy needed by a good leader: integrity, morality, honesty, and self-sacrifice. His character flaws came to light and were unacceptable to the Thai population, who agitated for a change and transparency. Mr Thaksin had brought great changes under his “think anew, act anew” slogan. But a “crisis of ethics” brought about by his own actions prompted the CDRM to take power. Mr Thaksin has been and still is a deceitful character.</p> <p>Thaksin was a seriously flawed political leader who tried to propagate a culture of corruption and deceit that threatened to undermine democracy as we knew it. Throughout his five and a half years in power, the former PM was exposed as a greedy politician who was driven by self-interest at the expense of the public good.</p>	<p>A Coup With Human Face (commentary, <i>BP</i> 24/9/2006)</p> <p>Ethics, Honesty In New PM Vital (Post Today editorial, <i>BP</i> 26/9/2006)</p> <p>Foot In Mouth (letter, <i>BP</i> 26/9/2006)</p> <p>Democratic Hopes Must Remain Strong (editorial, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin lost the belief of Thai people both in and outside the country. He is no longer wanted to lead the country. (-)</p>	<p>...an elderly man shouting “Thaksin Get Out” at Central World Plaza...</p> <p>Thais living in New York protested against caretaker PM Thaksin, shouting about his alleged failures and abuses of power after he delivered a speech at the Council on Foreign Relations.</p> <p>...they accused him of “murder” in the deep South and corruption...had “no respect” for the people of Thailand...</p> <p>The mounting anti-Thaksin pressure signifies Mr Thaksin’s desperate position. He can no longer govern Thailand as a whole, and has become a persona non grata in pockets of his own country.</p> <p>Chamras Sriprasom, director of Southern Region Investment and Economic Centre 1: southern people and investors welcome the</p>	<p>NHRC Wants Charges Pressed (news, <i>BP</i> 20/9/2006)</p> <p>Thais Rally Against PM’s NY Speech (news, <i>BP</i> 20/9/2006)</p> <p>Political Implications Of Election Delay (commentary, <i>BP</i> 20/9/2006)</p> <p>Southerners Welcome Coup (news, <i>BP</i> 21/9/2006)</p>

	<p>coup because they have enough of the conflicts of interest plaguing Thaksin govt as well as Mr Thaksin's favouring of the North and the Northeast and simultaneous ignorance of the South.</p> <p>Surichai Wankaew, political scientist at Chulalongkorn University: He should not blame anyone but himself. He had a chance to step down gracefully once, but he didn't take it. Now the chance has gone.</p> <p>Former senator Chirmsak Pinthong: "The time is ripe, and no action would be worse than letting Mr Thaksin continue running the country. Mr Thaksin had virtually seized control of the country using his money, his abuse of power and corruption.</p> <p>The coup only overthrew the Thaksin system that has damaged the country.</p> <p>Thailand has been deeply divided for almost a year, with many parts of civil society – academics, journalists, health professionals, and universities – repeatedly calling upon PM Thaksin to step down, so that allegations of wrongdoing could be properly investigated. He used every means to stifle these legitimate attempts, including dissolution of Parliament.</p> <p>Thai might find themselves escaping the Thaksin regime to end up with a dictatorial regime.</p> <p>Many of us will already know the reason and causes of this hiccup in our democratic growth (the coup). It was triggered by the legally correct, but morally unethical sale of Thaksin's Shin Corp to Singapore's Temasek. This was the impetus for the Thai people to deeply reassess their support of Thaksin. This support was manipulated and used as propaganda for the systematic abuse</p>	<p>Academics In Quandary After Putsch (news, <i>BP</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Most Peaceful Military Coup in Thai History (news, <i>BP</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Chamlong Hails Putsch As Justified (news, <i>BP</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>Thaksin Overstepped His Mandate (letter, <i>BP</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>Civic Groups Want End To Political Assembly Ban (news, <i>BP</i> 24/9/2006)</p> <p>A Coup With A Human Face (commentary, <i>BP</i> 24/9/2006)</p>
--	--	--

	<p>to Thailand's democracy and the hijacking of the constitution. New York's Park Avenue resounded with the refrain "Thaksin get out" yesterday morning Thai time...About 50 protesters were waiting outside the Council on Foreign Relations building on East 68th Street holding signs that read "Down with Thaksin" and chanting "No more Thaksin" and "Thaksin get out". Thaksin should have been impeached and jailed instead.</p> <p>Thaksin has been a US favourite for years, but relations soured recently when he was accused of abusing power for profit and undermining the parliament, the opposition and the media. Although Thaksin won re-election handily last year, the opposition took to the streets this year to protest the sale of the PM's family holdings in a telecommunication satellite company for US\$ 1.9 billion (Bt 71.1 billion) tax free. Michael A Mc Faul, director of Standford University's Centre on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law: "Nobody wants to go to bat for Thaksin. He's just an odious figure."</p>	<p>Protestors Hound PM All Across New York (news, TN 20/9/2006)</p> <p>Ouster Only Option Given Former PM's Massive Wealth (letter, TN 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Ideals And Realities Clash In US's "Freedom Agenda" (Washington Post commentary, TN 22/9/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin's control of govt limited the checks-and-balances system. (-)</p>	<p>His decisive control of parliament precluded the opposition from performing its check-and-balance duties...</p> <p>He achieved and kept power by harnessing the communications power of his own media empire, using his vast personal wealth and power to influence and silence his critics, and devising populist, if unsustainable policies... Charan Pakdithanakul, the Supreme Court President's secretary: ...The powers-that-be did not allow any system of checks-and-balance to function, leading to political deadlock... All independent organisations mandated by the constitution to</p>	<p>Thaksinomy Fantasia (commentary, BP 20/9/2006)</p> <p>West Shouldn't Be Too Quick To Condemn (letter, BP 22/9/2006)</p> <p>Who Will Be Interim PM (Post Today news, BP 24/9/2006)</p> <p>Thaksin Is Out, But Not</p>

	<p>preserve political checks and balances were crippled by his backroom manoeuvring to put his cronies on their decision – making panels. Even the supposedly non-partisan Senate was a faithful servant to his whims.</p> <p>...The checks-and-balances mechanisms were powerless, leading to accusations of corruption in govt.</p> <p>The term “checks and balances” has been bandied about a lot lately, but these are not enough to avoid a repeat situation of determination if determination is there to pervert the spirit of the constitution.</p> <p>...He subverted all independent agencies and treated Parliament, which he bought, with full contempt...</p> <p>...I wish Thaksin had not completely disabled other check-and-balance mechanisms as he did on so many occasions during the past five or six years.</p> <p>Once Thaksin gained power, he proceeded to subvert the Constitution by undermining independent watchdog agencies, including the Constitution Court, the National Counter Corruption Commission and the Election Commission. Their job was to ensure the rule of law, serve as checks and balances on govt power, and ensure sound governance, public accountability and fair competition among political parties.</p> <p>It’s interesting to note that in retrospect the greatest threat to Thailand’s democracy was not Thaksin, who admittedly did do damage to independent checks-and-balances mechanisms and was self-serving...</p>	<p>Yet Defeated (commentary, <i>BP 25/9/2006</i>)</p> <p>Coup Should Restore Unity To Country (<i>Thai Rath</i> editorial, <i>BP 25/9/2006</i>)</p> <p>People Need Reforming, Not The Constitution (letter, <i>BP 25/9/2006</i>)</p> <p>Corruption Of Former PM Unparalleled In Thai History (letter, <i>TN 22/9/2006</i>)</p> <p>The Unfulfilled Wishes Of The September 19 Coup (commentary, <i>TN 24/9/2006</i>)</p> <p>Let The Clean Up Of Govt Commence (editorial, <i>TN 24/9/2006</i>)</p> <p>Upcountry Poor Will Bear The Brunt Of The Results (letter, <i>TN 25/9/2006</i>)</p>
Thaksin’s key policies	His rush to implement the healthcare scheme caused financial	Thaksinomy Fantasia

<p>proved drawbacks. (-)</p>	<p>problems for hospitals and working problems for doctors, nurses and other medical staff. Money did reach the poor villagers quickly. But instead of using it to improve their productivity, the villagers ended up with new motorcycles, pick-up trucks, mobile phones electronic gadgets and the like. The result is that the country faces rising household debt. His campaign for a better society by getting rid of drug dealers resulted in human rights watchers within and without the country crying foul over innocent people becoming victims of power abuse by the authorities.</p> <p>The Democrat Party had criticised the fact that the Thaksin govt used 200 billion baht over the past five years to promote its “populist” programme.</p> <p>Prior to the Bt 30 healthcare scam, most health services provided by govt hospitals had been free or available at a low cost for many decades. All Thaksin did was package and rename the existing scheme and claim credit for what already existed.</p> <p>To help guarantee a good return on his purchase of five hospitals, he changed a rule that followed private hospitals to recover money from the Public Health Ministry for each patient equivalent to the value of the same services at a govt hospital. The entire scheme was underfunded, causing great duress for many hospitals and resulting in many doctors quitting govt services, due to exhaustion.</p>	<p>(commentary, <i>BP</i> 20/9/2006)</p> <p>CDRM Calls For Revision Of Budget (news, <i>BP</i> 26/9/2006)</p> <p>Thaksin’s Control Of Media Blinded Upcountry Voters (letter, <i>TN</i> 27/9/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin ran the country with corrupt intent and favoured cronies. (-)</p>	<p>The key reason cited by the CDR to justify its coup d’etat is that the Thaksin administration allegedly ran the country with corrupt intent and their management favoured cronies.</p> <p>Academics suggested political reforms should address the development of “policy corruption” that marked the governments led by Thaksin.</p> <p>Corruption was a major factor cited by the leaders of the Council</p>	<p>King Endorses CDR (news, <i>BP</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>OAG’s Jaruvan Told To Keep Working (news, <i>BP</i> 21/9/2006)</p>

	<p>for Democratic Reform for Tuesday coup against the govt. Mr Thaksin also had policies that skirted the definition of good governance and often benefited interests close to the govt. Somkiat Tangkitvanich, a researcher at Thailand Development Research Institute: “Previous govts engaged in corruption more conventionally, such as granting land to their cronies rather than the poor. But the Thaksin govt developed this in a way where it became policy.” Mr Thaksin had virtually seized control of the country using his money, his abuse of power and corruption.</p> <p>...Then he proceeded to plunge his country into a decisive, insoluble hell of corruption, intolerance and, above all, cronyism.</p> <p>...The PM also tried to wrest control of the army by promoting his loyalists and former classmates to key commands including the position of army chief, in the annual reshuffle. The military and police are poised to flush remnants of Thaksin’s regime from key positions to prevent counter activities in the aftermath of the coup...</p> <p>...His track record while in office glaringly shows his true colours: muzzling of the media, control of state mechanisms, curtailment of civil liberties, human rights abuses, money politics, interference in NGOs, cronyism, and corruption on a level never seen before. The next action was to announce an assault on corruption. That is to start with the appointment of a committee to investigate the undoubted corruption of ex-premier Thaksin, his family, his relatives, his cronies and his political toadies. Many stories are yet to be told of the profound moral and monetary corruption of the Thaksin era.</p>	<p>Most Peaceful Military Coup In Thai History (news, <i>BP</i> 21/9/2006) A Step Back So As To Move Forward (editorial, <i>BP</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Stepping In To Heal The Breach (commentary, <i>BP</i> 22/9/2006) Thaksin’s Cronies Get Shown Door (news, <i>BP</i> 24/9/2006) A Coup With A Human Face (commentary, <i>BP</i> 24/9/2006)</p> <p>Time For The Vision Thing (editorial, <i>BP</i> 25/9/2006)</p>
--	---	--

	<p>Chulalongkorn University's political science lecturer Surat Horachcukul questioned why the council had supported the former deputy PM under the ousted govt, which had caused the country's human rights record to deteriorate, and described him as a member of a corrupt govt.</p> <p>The assets concealment farce showed Thaksin was corrupt from the start and should have been removed from office...</p> <p>Thaksin was a seriously flawed political leader who tried to propagate a culture of corruption and deceit that threatened to undermine democracy as we knew it. Throughout his five and a half years in power, the former PM was exposed as a greedy politician who was driven by self-interest at the expense of the public good.</p> <p>Selfishness and corruption overtook democracy. It is clear as day that Thaksin's plan was to take over Thailand by installing his close associates and cronies to positions of power.</p> <p>The fact that Thaksin didn't resign after the last general election proves that he wanted to stay in power to protect his own personal interests and those of his cronies.</p> <p>Hopefully this will be a turning point to eliminate corruption and cronyism and to introduce a decent democracy based on morals, ethics and merit.</p> <p>Apart from allegations of corruption and scandals, controversy surrounding the bilateral trade talks with the US also partly triggered the downfall of the govt of Thaksin, which resulted in the successful attempt to overthrow his administration on Tuesday night.</p> <p>I regret it had to come down to a coup to get rid of Thaksin.</p>	<p>CDRM Backing For Surakiart (news, <i>BP</i> 26/9/2006)</p> <p>Voters Are To Blame (letter, <i>BP</i> 27/9/2006)</p> <p>Democratic Hopes Must Remain Strong (editorial, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Let's Hope That The Tools Of Democracy, Once They Are Returned, Are Put To Good Use (letter, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Ray Of Hope Might Finally Be Invisible For Strife-Torn South (letter, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>The End Of A Corruption-Plagued Era In Thai Politics (letter, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>US Still Keen On FTA Talks (news, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>US Condemnation Quite</p>
--	--	--

	<p>However, I view it as a necessary measure, a first step to uproot the endemically corrupt and intransigent Thaksin regime.</p> <p>In the past five and a half years under Thaksin, democracy was kidnapped. Later in his rule, Thaksin installed his cronies to run the Election Commission. They are now convicted felons.</p> <p>Most people believe that his administration was plagued with irregularities and corruption...</p> <p>Findings of police investigations into corruption scandals involving Thaksin and his corruption-prone cronies were known to have been altered, or watered down to help them evade prosecution and justice.</p> <p>They talked about the corruption and nepotism that characterised Thaksin administration...</p> <p>...There was also corruption, but this is a common phenomenon among all Thai political parties, the army and the police.</p> <p>Political pundits are working overtime trying to figure out how to dismantle Thaksin's legacy of deceit and corruption, which has dominated Thai politics over the past five and a half years.</p> <p>Thaksin's regime promoted cronyism, corruption and a total disregard of democratic principles by his autocratic rule leading to a virtual standstill of true democratic practices.</p> <p>In its campaign to root out corruption, the CDRM is, in fact,</p>	<p>Simply "Economic Black Mail" (letter, <i>TN</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>Corruption Of Former PM Unparalleled In Thai History (letter, <i>TN</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>His Majesty Endorses Sonthi (news, <i>TN</i> 23/9/2006)</p> <p>Police Overhaul long Overdue (editorial, <i>TN</i> 23/9/2006)</p> <p>Was Ousting Thaksin Really A Strong Enough Measure To End Systematic Corruption? (letter, <i>TN</i> 23/9/2006)</p> <p>There Were Democratic Alternatives To The Staging Of A military Takeover (commentary, <i>TN</i> 26/9/2006)</p> <p>Corruption Must Be Cut Off At Its Roots (editorial, <i>TN</i> 26/9/2006)</p> <p>Coup Enables Thailand To Take A Giant Leap Forward (letter, <i>TN</i> 26/9/2006)</p> <p>A Compromise Is Needed</p>
--	---	---

	<p>crusading to uproot the tentacles of power and the legacy of abuses left by the Thaksin regime. Graft-busters have to tread carefully through myriad cases involving ousted politicians.</p>	<p>More Than Ever (news, <i>TN</i> 27/9/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin's hawkish policies toward the deep South has polarised the country. (-)</p>	<p>In contrast to Thaksin's hawkish toward the deep South, Army Commander-in-Chief Sonthi Boonyaratkalin, himself a Muslim, has shown willingness to build bridges with instigators who consider themselves Pattani freedom fighters.</p> <p>...his incompetent efforts to solve the problems in the South...</p> <p>..His handling of the situation in the Muslim South wasn't beneficial to the country at all. His "divide and rule" style of politics has sent Thailand into chaos.</p> <p>If we had given 100 credits when he was re-elected in last year's landslide: About 20 wasted in tragically misguided policy to handle the Muslim South...</p>	<p>Thaksin's Out, So Will Peace Come To South? (commentary, <i>BP</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Good Bye, Good Riddance (letter, <i>BP</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>Ray Of Hope Might Finally Be Visible For Strife-Torn South (letter, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Deposed PM Spent Five Years Squandering Public's Goodwill (letter, <i>TN</i> 23/9/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin's Thai Rak Thai is not a political institution with clear ideology. (-)</p>	<p>Thai Rak Thai source: In fact, Thai Rak Thai was never a political institution as some people thought. It belonged to a single family...The ex PM and his wife were the party's main financiers and fund raisers.</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai is a party of quantity, not quality. It has no direction. When its leader is in the doldrums, the party's future is bleak.</p> <p>Pichai Ratanadilok, a social development lecturer at the National Institute of Development Administration: Thai Rak Thai was a loosely-grouped party united on the basis of financial benefits, not ideology and several factions were independent of one another.</p>	<p>Thai Rak Thai Without Thaksin "Will Shatter" (news, <i>BP</i> 22/9/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin tried to destroy democratic system in Thailand. (-)</p>	<p>...as a man who tried to destroy freedom of speech and free press.</p> <p>...as a man who allowed Thais to discover just how easy it was to</p>	<p>Good Bye, Good Riddance (letter, <i>BP</i> 22/9/2006)</p>

	<p>subvert all previous efforts to ensure a truly democratic Thailand through their 1997 Constitution.</p> <p>Thaksin was destroying the democratic system in this country. He was intimidating dissenters and using his power to discredit his opponents while maintaining his popularity through money and propaganda among the rural poor.</p> <p>The credibility of democracy was already lost when Thaksin dissolved Parliament to avoid answering any questions regarding the Shin share sale.</p> <p>Democracy under Thaksin was an illusion under the facade of populist giveaways and economic growth that was funded by governmental mega-projects and soft money.</p> <p>He used democracy and his “majority” support to mask his corruption and human rights abuses. He did not uphold the ideals and concept of democracy and the positive changes that can come about by embracing democratic ideals...What he did was resort to the politics of yesteryear and improve upon them. His track record while in office glaringly shows his true colours: muzzling of the media, control of state mechanisms, curtailment of civil liberties, human rights abuses, money politics, interference in NGOs, cronyism, and corruption on a level never seen before.</p> <p>It is not adequate to think of this coup as a conflict between dictatorship and democracy. It is the democratically elected govt that has been by and large responsible for so much violence, including those who died in the drug wars, in southern violence and the NGOs rights advocates who have been killed over the last five years.</p> <p>Mr Thaksin’s statement from London is a sick one. How ironic it is for a man like Mr Thaksin to call for a quick return to democracy in Thailand when he himself has trampled democracy under his</p>	<p>Ignorant White House (letter, <i>BP</i> 23/9/2006)</p> <p>A Coup With A Human Face (commentary, <i>BP</i> 24/9/2006)</p> <p>The Moral Enigma Of A Popular Coup (commentary, <i>BP</i> 25/9/2006)</p> <p>Thaksin Is Out, But Not Yet Defeated (commentary, <i>BP</i> 25/9/2006)</p>
--	--	---

	<p>feet...</p> <p>If the executive and legislative branches as well as independent organisations are controlled by a single party, the democratic system becomes an autocracy.</p> <p>Sonthi had accused the ousted PM of being a threat to the monarchy, and someone who had deeply divided the nation and grossly interfered in the country's independent bodies.</p> <p>Thaksin himself has nothing but contempt and ridicule for democracy.</p> <p>The very relationship that Thaksin had with the Thai press – one of the freest and most vibrant in Asia – had been held as the most concrete proof that the man was an enemy of democracy.</p> <p>Thaksin was portrayed as greedy and power-hungry, as evidence by designs to install a one-party system alongside private investments that tended to monopolise every industry they touched. But as to the charge that he was a tyrant, what stuck was his heavy-handed dealings with journalists.</p> <p>Thaksin demonised the media and harassed them in court. He tried to buy them out or squeeze them dry. Even small community radio operations – and even experiments in more progressive online news casting – sounded the alarm over a clampdown targeting the most vocal among them.</p> <p>Under Thaksin, state media were used to serve his interests and political ambitions. A public broadcasting model should be given serious thought to promote non-commercial community news, learning and information.</p> <p>Thaksin was a bad leader who himself weakened Thai democracy by trying to intimidate and monopolise the media and by supporting brutal tactics in campaigns against drug traffickers</p>	<p>The Lessons Of money Politics (Thai Rath editorial, <i>BP</i> 27/9/2006)</p> <p>Sonthi: Civilian Govt In Two Weeks (news, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Corruption Of Former PM Unparalleled In Thai History (letter, <i>TN</i> 22/9/2006)</p> <p>Litmus Test For Thailand's Ruling Military Council: Leave The Press Alone (commentary, <i>TN</i> 23/9/2006)</p> <p>How To Salvage The Coup And Move On To The Reform (commentary, <i>TN</i> 25/9/2006)</p> <p>A Leap Backwards (<i>The Washington Post</i> news, <i>TN</i> 25/9/2006)</p>
--	--	--

	<p>and Muslim separatists.</p> <p>After coming to power in early 2001, Thaksin systematically brought all the broadcast media under his control. Critical journalists and commentators were taken off the air or fired. The mass sacking of over 20 journalists at iTV who tried to oppose interference in editorial decisions by the management after the station was taken over by Shin Corp was undoubtedly the most blatant case of media intervention Thaksin-style.</p> <p>...we were nevertheless officially accused at the time of being “a threat to national security”. The Thaksin govt spokesman subsequently said we were “terrorist”. We were, of course, nothing of the sort, and were simply the first foreign press victim of Thaksin’s war on the critical press, both foreign and domestic.</p> <p>Our thanks go to the military for freeing us from the bondage of the “Thaksin regime” which was, indeed, a dictatorship under the guise of democracy.</p> <p>Thaksin controlled all TV stations; therefore, all the information presented served a single, self-serving point of view.</p> <p>Thaksin’s interference with media is not one of the biggest blots in Thaksin’s record...The pressure (by Thaksin to media) was financial.</p>	<p>CDRM Must Not Mistake Support For License To Control Media (commentary, <i>TN</i> 26/9/2006)</p> <p>Former FEER Journalist Urges UK To Remember How Thaksin Dealt With Outsiders (letter, <i>TN</i> 26/9/2006)</p> <p>Coup Enables Thailand To Take A Giant Leap Forward (letter, <i>TN</i> 26/9/2006)</p> <p>Thaksin’s Control Of Media Blinded Upcountry Voters (letter, <i>TN</i> 27/9/2006)</p> <p>Greed, Not Intimidation, Skewed Reporting On Thai Rak Thai (letter, <i>TN</i> 27/9/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin’s CEO style leads to conflicts. (-)</p>	<p>Pairroj Polpetch of National Social and Economic Advisory Commission: was critical of the past govts’ efforts to initiate power centralisation, as in the CEO style of former PM Thaksin, which he said leads to conflicts.</p> <p>“In the political reform process, every sector wants their rights and privileges clearly and unambiguously stated in the constitution. If the politicians or businessmen take a leading role in reform, the</p>	<p>What Comes Next: A New Charter (commentary, <i>BP</i> 24/9/2006)</p>

	<p>constitution will benefit them. Therefore, the people’s networks must initiate their own agenda emphasising the people’s rights, and strongly address them during the reform process.”</p>	
<p>Thaksin violated human rights. (-)</p>	<p>...2,500 supposed “drug dealers” were shot rather than tried in a court of law. ...dozens of journalists who have been threatened. ...billions wasted during their (Thai Rak Thai) term in power. This is money that could have been spent providing better healthcare and education to this country’s millions of poor; isn’t that a denial of basic human rights? They should be ashamed to call themselves Thai when they themselves lack respect for the law and human life... “...four years of human rights violations, four years of abuse of power, four years of uncaring for due process of law...”</p> <p>Thai Rak Thai Party leader proved to be a tyrant who sought to roll back civil liberties, suppress dissent – not to mention his flagrant violation of human rights... Deposed PM Thaksin was known to have used police and other law enforcement officials to commit crimes, including human rights violations linked to the controversial war on drugs, in which some 2,000 suspected drug traffickers were killed under dubious circumstances. A Thai team was in Geneva last week to participate in a UN human rights meeting. Thailand was one of 47 countries that had to provide explanations for a wide range of human rights violations. The public does not realise that Thailand had to report on seven cases up from just two in the previous year. All violations occurred under the Thaksin regime.</p>	<p>Thai Rak Thai Has Picked A Convenient Time To Get Serious About Human Rights Violations (letter, <i>TN</i> 20/9/2006)</p> <p>Kraisak Set For Foreign Portfolio (news, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Democratic Hopes Must Remain Strong (editorial, <i>TN</i> 21/9/2006)</p> <p>Police Overhaul Long Overdue (editorial, <i>TN</i> 23/9/2006)</p> <p>Coup May Be Unwelcome, But It Prevented Chaos (commentary, <i>TN</i> 24/9/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin’s over self-confident made him fail to</p>	<p>Thaksin, the shrewd political operator, miscalculated badly.</p>	<p>Perfect Plot Outs Great Manipulator (analysis, <i>TN</i>)</p>

<p>calculate the coup. (-)</p>	<p>Unfortunately for Thaksin, a key commander in this plot, one of his powerful classmates in the military, did not lend his support, enabling Army Chief General Sonthi Boonyaratkalin to launch a countermove and eventually prevail. Overconfidence, hubris and a misplaced trust in friends combined to ensure his downfall.</p>	<p>21/9/2006) Coup May Be Unwelcome, But It Prevented Chaos (commentary, <i>TN</i> 24/9/2006)</p>
<p>Thaksin is deceitful, insincere, greedy and selfish. (-)</p>	<p>Duplicity and insincerity brought about the downfall of the caretaker govt on Tuesday night.</p> <p>Thaksin was a master at gaining popular support by playing on the ignorance of the people...</p> <p>For now, the military takeover has prevented wider schisms from developing among Thais and stopped the systematic pillage of the national treasury, among other perils caused by Thaksin through his arrogance, greed and folly. Thaksin was portrayed as greedy and power-hungry...</p> <p>Thaksin has been and still is a deceitful character.</p> <p>Thaksin portrayed himself as an elected and democratic leader. This self-aggrandisement has worked well so far. In foreign countries, he pretends to embrace the wisdom of free markets and talks of good governance, transparency and accountability,</p>	<p>Deceit Led To Downfall Of The PM (news, <i>TN</i> 22/9/2006) The End Of Getting Rid Of The Thai Rak Thai Party Justified The Means Used By The Army (letter, <i>TN</i> 22/9/2006) Corruption Of Former PM Unparalleled In Thai History (letter, <i>TN</i> 22/9/2006) Litmus Test For Thailand's Ruling Military Council: Leave The Press Alone (commentary, <i>TN</i> 23/9/2006) No Thanks To Our Critics In The International Community (letter, <i>TN</i> 24/9/2006) How To Salvage The Coup And Move On To The Reform (commentary, <i>TN</i> 25/9/2006)</p>

	and he has quickly won over his audience. At home, he is a different animal.	
Thaksin disrespects the King. (-)	At least 100 points were spent trying directly or symbolically to show disrespect to the monarchy.	Deposed PM Spent Five Years Squandering Public's Goodwill (letter, TN 23/9/2006)

BIOGRAPHY

Huong Thi Le Nguyen is a journalist from Viet Nam. She worked for Viet Nam News, the National English Language Daily of Viet Nam, before being granted a scholarship by Rockefeller Foundation in 2005 to take part in the Masters Program in Southeast Asian Studies at Chulalongkorn University. She graduated from the Ha Noi Open University with a bachelor degree in English language in 1998.