

References

Books

[In English]

- Anek Laothamatas, **Business Associations and the New Political Economy of Thailand: From Bureaucratic Polity to Liberal Corporatism**, Westview Press and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1992.
- Bhansoon Ladavalaya, **Thailand's Foreign Policy under the Kukrit Pramoj: A Study in Decision-making**, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, Northern Illinois University, August 1980.
- Buszynski, Leszek, **S.E.A.T.O.: The Failure of An Alliance Strategy**, Singapore University Press, 1983.
- Carr, E. H., **The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations**, Palgrave, 2001.
- Chaipat Sahasakul; Nattapong Thongpakde, and Keokam Krraisoraphon, **Lessons from the World Bank's Experience of Structural Adjustment Loans (SALs): A Case Study of Thailand**, TDRI, April 1988.
- Corrine Phuangkasem, **Thailand and SEATO**, Program of Publication and Research in Political Science, Thammasat University; Thai Watana Panich, 1973.
- Dannett, Raymond and Turner, Robert K. eds., **Documents on American Foreign Relations, Volume 8 (July 1, 1945-December 31, 1954)**, Princeton University Press, 1948.
- Thailand's Foreign Relations 1964-1980**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1984.
- Fifield, Russell H., **The Diplomacy of Southeast Asia: 1945-1958**, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958.
- Fineman, Daniel, **A Special Relationship: The United States and Military Government in Thailand 1947-1958**, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Gilpin, Robert, **U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporations: The Political Economy of Foreign Direct Investment**, Basic Books, 1975.
- Gordon, Bernard K., **The Dimensions of Conflict in Southeast Asia**, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.
- Toward Disengagement in Asia: A Strategy for American Foreign Policy**, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.
- Indochina Studies Program ed., **The Kampuchean Problem in Thai Perspective: Positions and Viewpoints Held by Foreign Ministry Officials and Thai Academics**, Asian Studies Monograph No.32, Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, August 1985.
- Jain, R.K. ed., **China and Thailand: 1949-1983**, New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1984.

- Jones, Barry, R.J. and Willetts, Peter, eds., **Interdependence on Trial: Studies in the Theory and Reality of Contemporary Interdependence**, London: Frances Printer (Publishers), 1984.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Nye, Joseph S., **Power and Interdependence**, second edition, HarperCollins Publishers, 1989.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Nye, Joseph S., eds., **Transnational Relations and World Politics**, first edition, third printing, Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Koh, Tommy and Lin, Chang Li eds., **The Little RED D.T: Reflections by Singapore's Diplomats**, World Science Publishing, 2005.
- Kroef, Justus M. van der, **The Lives of SEATO**, Occasional Paper No.45, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, December 1976.
- Lairson, Thomas D. and Skidmore, David, eds., **International Political Economy: Struggle for Power and Wealth**, Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1997.
- Ma, Makata, **Consequences of the Vietnam War on Thai Foreign Policy**, unpublished master's thesis, Department of Political Science, California State University, Long Beach, August 1980.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand), **Facts about the Relations between Thailand and Cambodia**, November 1961.
- The Withdrawal of U.S. Military Personnel from Thailand**, n.d., (probably 1976)
- Collected Statements of Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman, Vol.2 (October 1965-October 1966)**, n.d.
- Muscat, Robert J., **The Fifth Tiger: A Study of Thai Development Policy**, United Nations University Press, 1994.
- NESDB, The Office of Prime Minister, **The Fifth Economic and Social Development Plan (1982-1986)**, n.d.
- Nixon, Richard M. **United States Foreign Policy for the 1970's, Building for Peace: A Report by President Richard Nixon to the Congress (February 25, 1971)**, 92nd Congress, 1st Session, Washington: U.S. Government Printing office, 1971.
- Nuechterline, Donald, **Thailand and the Struggle for Southeast Asia**, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965.
- Olson, William C., **The Theory and Practice of International Relations**, eighth edition, Prentice-Hall International, 1991.
- Pasuk Phongpaichit and Baker, Chris, **Thailand: Economy and Politics**, Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Pranee Saipiroon, **ASEAN Governments' Attitude towards Regional Security 1975-1979**, Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1982.
- Rajaratnam, S and Lean, Lim So eds., **Trends in Thailand**, Singapore University Press, 1973.
- Randolph, Sean R., **Thailand and United States: Alliance Dynamics, 1945-1986**, Berkeley:

- Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1986.
- Rosenau, James N., and others eds., **Linkage Politics: Essays on the Convergence of National and International Systems**, New York and London: The Free Press and the Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1969.
- Saiyud Kerdphol, **The Struggle for Thailand: Counter-insurgency 1965-1985**, Bangkok: S. Research Center Co., Ltd., 1986.
- Sarasin Viraphol, **Directions in Thai Foreign Policy**, Occasional paper No.40, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1976.
- Shad, Liang Chi, **Thailand's Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Its Evolution since World War II**, Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences Occasional paper No.73, Singapore: Nanyang University, 1977.
- Sheehan, Neal; Smith, Hendrick; Kenworthy, E.W. and Buttherfield, Fox, **The Pentagon Papers**, New York Times edition, Toronto, New York and London: Bantam Books, Inc., 1971.
- Siddhi Savetsila, **Collection of Speeches by H.E.A.C.M. Siddhi Savetsila, Minister of Foreign Affairs (January-December 1984)**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.
- Collection of Speeches 1987: ACM Siddhi Savetsila, Minister of Foreign Affairs**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.
- Slocomb, Margaret, **The People's Republic of Kampuchea, 1979-1989: The Revolution after Pol Pot**, Silkworm Books, 2003.
- Staniland, Martin, **What Is Political Economy?: A Study of Social Theory and Underdevelopment**, Yale University Press, 1985.
- Stebbins, Richard P., **The United States and World Affairs 1950**, Harpers and Brothers, 1951.
- Documents on American Foreign Relations 1962**, Harper and Row, 1963.
- Suehiro, Akira, **Capital Accumulation in Thailand, 1955-1985**, Silkworm Books, 1996.
- Sukhumbhand Paribatra, **From Enmity to Alignment: Thailand's Evolving Relations with China**, Institute of Security and international Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1987.
- Tawanchai Xoomsai N., **China's Role in Thai-Vietnamese Tensions**, Working Paper No.47, The University of Toronto-York University Joint Centre on Modern East Asia, 1987.
- Thai University Research Association and the Canadian International Development Agency eds., **Thailand's National Development: Policy Issues and Challenges**, August 1987.
- Thak Chaloeontiarana ed., **Thai Politics 1932-1957: Extracts and Documents, Volume I**, Social Science Association of Thailand, 1978.
- Thailand: The Politics of Despotism**, Social Science Association of Thailand and Thai Khadi Institute, Thammasat University, 1979.
- Thanat Khoman, **Prospects of a New Pax Asiana**, Honolulu: East-West Center, October 1969.
- U.S. Department of State, **Foreign Relations of United States 1952-1954**, Vol. XII, East Asia and the Pacific Part 2, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987.

American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1977-1980, Washington: U.S. Government printing Office, 1981.

Withaya Sucharithanarugse, **Conceptualization and Implementation of Thai Foreign Policy in the Modern Period: A Study of Thailand and Regionalism in Southeast Asia**, unpublished master's thesis, Department of Political Science, Northern Illinois University, June 1970.

[In Japanese]

Aruga, Thadashi and others eds., **Kouza Kokusaiseiji 1: Kokusaiseiji no Riron** (Handbook of International Politics 1: Theories of International Politics), University of Tokyo Press, 1989.

Ikeda, Tadashi, **Kanbojia Wahei heno Michi: Shougen, Nippon Gaikou Shiren no Gonenkan** (The Road to Cambodian Peace: Testimony, The Five Years of Trial of Japanese Diplomacy), Tokyo: Toshi Shuppan, 1996.

Ishii, Osamu, **Kokusaiseijishi toshiteno Nijusseiki** (History of International Politics in the 20th Century), third edition, Tokyo: Yushindo, 2001.

Itoga, Shigeru ed., **Baatsu Keizaiken no Tenbou** (A Prospect of Baht Economic Zone), Institute of Developing Economies, 1993.

Iwasaki, Ikuo, **ASEAN-Shokoku no Seitouseiji** (Party Politics in the ASEAN Countries), Institute of Developing Economies, 1993.

Kamo, Takehiko and Yamamoto, Yoshinobu eds., **Sougiizon no Riron to Genjitsu** (The Theories and Realities of Interdependence), Tokyo: Yushindo, 1988.

Kohno Masaharu, **Wahei Kousaku: Tai Kanbojia Gaikou no Shougen** (Peace Operation: A testimony on the Policy towards Cambodia), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999.

Kato, Kazuhide, **Tai Gendai Seijishi** (Modern History of Thai Politics), Tokyo: Koubundou, 1995.

Suehiro, Akira, **Tai: Kaihatsu to Minshushugi** (Thailand: Development and Democracy), Iwanami-Shinsho No.298, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993.

Suehiro and Higashi, Shigeki eds., **Tai no Keizai Seisaku: Seido, Soshiki, Actaa** (Economic Policy in Thailand: The Role of Institutions and Actors), JETRO Institute of Developing Economies, 2000.

Articles

Among newspaper articles used in this thesis, only subjective analyses and commentaries are cited here and individual daily reports were excluded.

[In English]

Ammar Siamwalla, "Stability, Growth and Distribution in the Thai Economy" in Prateep, Sondysuvan ed., **Finance, Trade and Economic Development in Thailand: Essays in**

- Honour of Khunying Supab Ossundara**, Sompong Press, 1975.
- "The Thai Economy: Fifty Years of Expansion" in TDRI ed., **Thailand's Boom and Bust: Collected Papers**, December 1997.
- Arndt, Dorothea, "Foreign Assistance and Economic Policies in Laos, 1975-1986" in **Contemporary Southeast Asia**, Vol.14, No.2, September 1992.
- Bergsten, Fred C.; Keohane and Nye, "International Economics and International Politics: A Framework for Analysis" in Bergsten and Krause, Laurence B. eds., **World Politics and International Economics**, Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1975.
- Caporaso, James A., "'IPE'—Field or Fad?" in Olson, William C. ed, **The Theory and Practice of International Relations**, eighth edition, Princeton-Hall International, 1991.
- Chai-anan Samudavanija, "Thailand: A Stable Semi-democracy" in Diamond, Larry and others eds., **Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy**, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1990.
- Chai-anan and Sukhumbhand Paribatra, "In Search of balance: Prospect for Stability on Thailand in the Post-CPT Era" in Kusuma, Snitwongse and Sukhumbhand eds., **Durable Stability in Southeast Asia**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1987.
- Christensen, Scott; Ammar and Pakorn, Vichyanond, "Institutional and Political Bases of Growth-Inducing Policies in Thailand" in TDRI, **Thailand's Boom and Bust: Collected Papers**, December 1997.
- Chulacheeb Chinwanno, "Future Direction of Thailand-China Relations: Agenda for the 1990s" in Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand) Institute of Foreign Affairs ed., **Prospects for Thailand-China Relations: papers and Proceedings of the Second Joint Seminar of International Studies Center (Thailand) and Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs**, June 1992.
- Darling, Frank C., "Thailand: De-escalation and Uncertainty" in **Asian Survey**, February 1986.
- Doner, Richard F., "Approaches to the Politics of Economic Growth in Southeast Asia" in **The Journal of Asian Studies**, Vol.50, No.4, November 1991.
- Doner and Anek Laothamatas, "Thailand: Economic and Political Gradualism" in Haggard, Stephan and Webb, Steve B. eds., **Voting for Reform: Democracy, Political Liberalization, and Economic Adjustment**, Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Gourevitch, Peter, "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics" in **International Organization**, Vol.32, No.4, Autumn 1978.
- Holsti, Kal J., "Politics in Command: Foreign Trade as National Security Policy" in **International Organization**, Vol.40, No.3, Summer 1986.
- "A New International Politics? Diplomacy in Complex Interdependence" in **International Organization**, Vol.32, No.2.
- Kavi Chongkittavorn, "Thailand Can Be More Outward-looking" in **The Nation**, 14 September

1988.

- Keohane, Robert O and Nye, Joseph S, "International Interdependence and Integration" in Greenstein, Fred I. and Polsby, Nelson W. eds., **Handbook of Political Science, Volume 8, International Politics**, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1975.
- "Power and Interdependence Revisited" in **International Organization**, Vol.41, No.4, Autumn 1987.
- Keohane, Nye, and Bergsten, Fred C., "International economics and International Politics: A Framework for Analysis" in Bergsten and Krause, Laurence B. eds., **World Politics and International Economics**, Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1975.
- Khien Theeravit, "Thailand: An Overview of Politics and Foreign Relations" in **Southeast Asian Affairs 1979**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1979.
- "China and Southeast Asia in the Changing International Environment" in Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand) Institute of Foreign Affairs ed., **Prospects for Thailand-China Relations: Papers and Proceedings of the Second Joint Seminar of International Studies Center (Thailand) and Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs**, June 1992.
- Krai Yudh Dhiratayakinant, "Public-Private Sector Partnership in Industrialization" in Medhi Krongkaew ed., **Thailand's Industrialization and Its Consequences**, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Kramol Tongdhamachart, "Thai Politics and Bilateral Relations" in Jackson, Karl D. and Wiwat Mungkandi eds., **United States-Thailand Relations**, 1986.
- Kusuma Snitwongse, "Thailand's Year of Stability: Illusion or Reality" in **Southeast Asian Affairs 1988**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988.
- "Thai Government Response to Armed Communist and Separatist Movements" in Jeshurun Chandran ed., **Governments and Rebellions in Southeast Asia**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985.
- Likhit Dhiravegin, "Thailand's Foreign Policy Determinants" in **The Journal of Social Science**, October 1974.
- Little, Richard, "Power and Interdependence: A Realist Critique" in Jones, Barry R.J. and Willetts, Peter eds., **Interdependence on Trial: Studies of the Theory and Reality of Contemporary Interdependence**, London: Frances Printer (Publishers), 1984.
- Michalak, Stanley J. Jr., "Theoretical Perspectives for Understanding International Interdependence" in **World Politics**, Vol.32, No.1, October 1979.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thailand), "The Signing Ceremony of Declaration of the Formation of Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Kuala Lumpur, 22 June 1982", Press Release No.262/2525.
- "Press Statement by ACM. Siddhi Savetsila, Thai Foreign Minister, Concerning the

- Agreement for the Establishment of Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Vienna, 25 June 1982", Press Release No.275/2525.
- Montri Chenvidyakarn, "Economic Interest Groups in Thailand: Some Observations on Legal, Public Policy and Political Process" in **The Review of Thai Social Science: A Collection of Articles by Thai Scholars**, Social Science Association of Thailand, 1977.
- "One Year of Civilian Authoritarian Rule in Thailand: The Rise and Fall of the Thanin Government" in **Southeast Asian Affairs 1978**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1978.
- Narongchai Akrasanee, "Import Substitution" in Prateep, Sondysuvan ed., **Finance, Trade and Economic Development in Thailand: Essays in Honour of Khunying Supab Ossundara**, Sompong Press, 1975.
- Neher, Clark D., "The Foreign Policy of Thailand" in Wurfel, David and Burton Bruce eds, **The Political Economy of Foreign Policy of Southeast Asia**, Macmillan, 1990.
- Niksche, Larry A., "Thailand in 1980: Confrontation with Vietnam and the Fall of Kriangsak" in **Asian Survey**, Vol.21, No.2, February 1981.
- Nixon, Richard M., "Asia after Vietnam" in **Foreign Affairs**, Vol.46, No.1, October 1967.
- Orhat, Ou, "Current Situation and Prospect for Future Development" in **Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia: The Path to Economic Development, Volume 2**, Tokyo: Sasakawa Peace Foundation, 1993.
- Reynolds, Bruce, "Thailand and the Southeast Asia League", a paper presented at the International Conference on Thai Studies, 22-24 August 1984.
- Saignasith Chanthavong, "Lao-Style New Economic Mechanism" in Than, Mya and Tan, Joseph L.H. eds., **Lao's Dilemmas and Options: The Challenge of Economic Transition in the 1990s**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1997.
- Sihanouk, Norodom, "The Future of Cambodia" in **Foreign Affairs**, Vol.49, No.1, October 1970.
- Singh, Bilveer, "Southeast Asia in 1987: Hopes and Problems" in **Southeast Asian Affairs 1988**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988.
- Snoh Unakul, "Thailand: The Fifth Plan Strategy" in NESDB, **National Development Strategy of Thailand**, n.d.
- Strange, Susan, "Cave! Hic Dragons: A Critique of Regime Analysis" in **International Organization**, Vol.36, No.2, Spring 1982.
- Sukhumbhand Paribatra, "Peace in Kampuchea Is Not at Hand, Part 1", *The Nation*, 21 July 1988.
- "Unholy Alliance Must End, Part 2", **The Nation**, 22 July 1988.
- Suphat Suphachalasai, "Export-Led Industrialization" in Medhi ed., **Thailand's Industrialization and Its Consequences**, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Tech Chongkhadikij, "Chatichai's Strategy" in **Bangkok Post**, 12 December 1988.
- Than, Mya, "ASEAN, Indo-China and Myanmar: Toward Economic Co-operation?" in **ASEAN Economic Bulletin**, Vol.8, No.2, November 1991.

- Than, Mya and Tan, Joseph L.H. "The Vietnamese Economy in Transition: Introductory Overview" in Than and Tan eds., **Vietnam's Dilemmas and Options: The Challenges of Economic Transition in the 1990s**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993.
- Than, Sina, "Cambodia 1991: Towards A Peaceful Solution?" in **Southeast Asian Affairs 1991**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993.
- Thanat Khoman, "American Military Withdrawal from Thailand" in **Southeast Asian Affairs 1976**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1976.
- Thant, Myo and Vokes, Richard W. A., "Vietnam and ASEAN: Near-Term Economic Co-operation" in Than, Mya and Tan, Joseph L.H., eds., **Vietnam's Dilemmas and Options: The Challenges of Economic Transition in the 1990s**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993.
- Tri, Vo Nhan, "Vietnam in 1987: A Wind of 'Renovation'" in **Southeast Asian Affairs 1988**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988.
- Vichitvong Pombhejara N., "The Second Phase of Thailand's Six-Year Economic Development Plan, 1964-1966" in **Asian Survey**, Vol.5, No.3, March 1965.
- Weatherbee, Donald E., "Thailand in 1989: Democracy Ascendant in the Golden Peninsula" in **Southeast Asian Affairs 1990**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1990.
- Wiwat Mungkandi, "Parallel Features in Thai-American Foreign Relations" in Indorf, Hans H. ed., **Thai-American Relations in Contemporary Affairs**, Singapore: Executive Publications, 1982.
- Worner, William, "Economic Reform and Structural Change in Laos" in **Southeast Asian Affairs 1989**, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989.
- [In Japanese]
- Amakawa, Naoko, "Kanbojia Keizai no Saishuppatsu (Cambodian Economy Starting All Over)" in Itoga, Shigeru ed., **Baatsu Keizaiken no Tenbou (The Prospect of Baht Economic Zone)**, Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1993.
- Kamo, Takehiko, "Sougoizon no Seijigaku (The Politics of Interdependence)" in Kamo and Yamamoto eds., **Sougoizon no Riron to Genjitsu (The Theories and Realities of Interdependence)**, Tokyo: Yushindo, 1988.
- Murai, Jiunichi, "Betonamu no Doi Moi Seisaku no Genjou to Tenbou (Present State of the Vietnamese Doi Moi and Its Prospect)" in Itoga ed., **Baatsu Keizaiken no Tenbou (The Prospect of Baht Economic Zone)**, Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1993.
- Suehiro, Akira, "Zaisei Kinyuu Seisaku (Financial and Monetary Policy)" in Suehiro and Higashi, eds., **Tai no Keizai Seisaku: Seido, Soshiki, Actaa (Economic Policy in Thailand: The Role of Institutions and Actors)**, JETRO Institute of Developing Economies, 2000.
- Sueuchi, Keiko, "Kokusaiseijikeizaikenkyuu no Doukou to Kadai (Trends and Problems of the

- Studies of International Political Economy)" in **Kokusai Seiji**, No.93, March 1990.
- Takehara, Shigeru, "Raosu no Jiyuukaseisaku to Keizaikaihatsu (Liberalization Policy and Economic Development in Laos)" in Itoga ed., **Baatsu Keizaiken no Tenbou** (The Prospect of Baht Economic Zone), Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1993.
- Yamakage, Susumu, "Sougoizon Ron no Karute (The Chart of Interdependence Theories)" in **Kokusai Seiji**, No.67, 1987.
- "Sougoizon Ron: Paradaimuka no Nakano Rirongun (Interdependence: Theories in A Paradigm Building)" in Aruga Tadashi and others eds., **Kouza Kokusaiseiji 1: Kokusaiseiji no Riron** (Handbook of International Politics 1: Theories of International Politics), University of Tokyo Press, 1989.
- "The Formation of ASEAN: National Incentives to Regional Cooperation" in **Tounan Ajia Kenkyuu** (Journal of Southeast Asian Studies), Vol.19, No.2, September 1988.
- Yamamoto, Yoshinobu, "Kokusai Seiji (International Politics)" in Iwata Kazumasa and others eds., **Kokusaikankei Kenkyuu Nyuumon** (Introduction to International Relations), second edition, University of Tokyo Press, 1996.

Newspapers and magazines, journals, periodicals

[In English]

- Asia Magazine* (news magazine)
- Asiaweek* (news magazine)
- Bangkok Post* (newspaper, Thailand)
- Business Review* (business news magazine, Thailand)
- Far Eastern Economic Review* (news magazine)
- Foreign Relations of the United States* published by Department of State, U.S.A
- Newsweek* (news magazine)
- The New York Times* (newspaper, U.S.A.)
- Time* (news magazine, U.S.A)
- Southeast Asian Affairs* published yearly by Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Thailand Foreign Affairs Newsletter* published by Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand.
- The Nation* (newspaper, Thailand)
- The Washington Post* (newspaper, U.S.A.)

[In Japanese]

- Kokusai Seiji* (*International Relations*), journal seasonally published by Japan Association of International Relations.
- Tounan Ajia Youran* (*The Journal of Southeast Asian Affairs*) published yearly by Tounan Ajia Chousa Kai (The Research Society of Southeast Asian Affairs).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Conditions, Assessments and Achievements of Structural Adjustment Loans of the World Bank

Original SAL Conditions	Assessment by the W.B. as of July 1984	New Developments up to February 1989
<p><i>Agriculture</i></p> <p>Marketing and Pricing Policy Reduction and/or elimination of export restrictions on major export products; improvement in the price support program.</p>	<p>Export duties for rice and rubber had been lowered and other restrictions on the export of maize, rice and partly sugar had been lifted; the costly and ineffective rice price support program was substantially eliminated.</p>	<p>Duties and premiums on rice exports dropped to zero percent since September '85 and January '86 respectively; a reserve requirement for rice exports abolished in May '82; possible establishment of National Fertilizer Corporation.</p>
<p><i>Industry</i></p> <p>Export Promotion Broad based improvement in organization of customs department and in procedures for implementing the import tax drawback Act; establishment of export processing zones and adding five bonded warehouses.</p>	<p>The export rebate and duty drawback system overhauled; an attempt made to move towards duty-free status for export production in a few selected areas; an Export Development Fund established in 1982, an Export Development Committee in 1983; bonded warehouses increased and the Export Service Centers upgraded.</p>	
<p>Reform of the Protective Structure: Tariff rates would be modified so that all imports would be subject to the ratio ranging from 5% to 60% with few exceptions; implementation of appropriate non-tariff reform policies in the sub-sectors under review.</p>	<p>The export rebate and duty drawback system overhauled; an attempt made to move towards duty-free status for export production in a few selected areas; an Export Development Fund established in 1982, an Export Development Committee in 1983; bonded warehouses increased and</p>	

<p>Reform of the Protective Structure:</p> <p>Tariff rates would be modified so that all imports would be subject to the ratio ranging from 5% to 60% with few exceptions; implementation of appropriate non-tariff reform policies in the sub-sectors under review.</p>	<p>the Export Service Centers upgraded.</p> <p>The general tariff reform undertaken in the SAL context and succeeded; a somewhat scaled-down program of sub-sector studies has been under way since 1982 (electrical study since 1982, automotive study completed and reviewed in 1983, chemical and plastic study nearly completed).</p>	<p>Sub-sector studies on electrical goods, automotive industry, chemical, plastic products, ceramics, iron and steel products, machinery and other equipment and textile have been completed.</p>
<p>Investment Incentives:</p> <p>Plan for the reform of the BoI; a study of economic and financial consequences of the present and proposed incentives.</p>	<p>New policy guidelines for investment promotion and for tax privileges issues as a framework for the BoI in 1983; a fiscal implication of investment incentives study to be completed within 1984.</p>	<p>An attempt to revise various investment incentives as part of a tax reform package; the study on the fiscal implication of investment incentives and promotion efficiency completed in 1984.</p>
<p>Large Scale Projects:</p> <p>Ad hoc arrangements would be made for reviewing whether large scale projects met the criterion of economic viability.</p>	<p>A study on the evaluation of large-scale projects completed in the mid-1984 and a series of seminars being held to review it</p>	<p>A committee set up to evaluate large-scale projects but only one meeting held since then.</p>
<p>Energy Pricing:</p> <p>A study of the relative price structure of petroleum products; appropriate steps to gradually moderate the large price differential between gasoline and diesel fuel.</p>	<p>The range of retail prices for the various petroleum fuels narrowed; the Oil Fund got surplus since 1983; a comprehensive energy pricing study completed in late 1983.</p>	<p>The range of retail prices for gasoline and diesel subsequently narrowed. For example, a price ratio of premium gasoline to high-speed diesel dropped from 1.82 on Dec. 2, 1981 to 1.39 on Nov. 25, 1988 with several downward adjustments in price differential in between.</p>

<p>Public Sector Management</p> <p>Consolidate Public Sector Finance:</p> <p>Mid-term projection for the financial operations of public enterprises, extra-budgetary funds and local government would be integrated into an overall financing strategy for the entire public sector; broadening and strengthening of the Fiscal Policy Office of the Ministry of Finance as a central fiscal planning unit.</p> <p>Tax/Revenue Policy:</p> <p>The target of FY1986 central government revenue/GDP ratio was 18% in SAL 1 but dropped to 16% in SAL2; restructuring of personnel and corporate income taxes; simplification of business taxes and exercise duties; enactment of selected revisions of the revenue code, customs law; development of an action program to strengthen local finances.</p> <p>Tax Administration:</p> <p>Set up of area tax offices in Bangkok; decentralization of operational functions of the Revenue Department's headquarters to the area offices; reorganization of the Revenue, Customs and Exercise Departments (RCEDs); rationalization of import/export forms and documents; creation of a tax training institute; establishment</p>	<p>Integrated fiscal plan firstly prepared in 1982/83, NESDB updated development expenditure program and financing plan since then on a routine base; proposal incorporated as major elements of fiscal planning for the entire public sector with FPO as central role in leading coordination efforts.</p> <p>Robust revenue projection model developed for multi-year revenue planning and annual budgeting purposes; annual tax packages introduced in 1981 and 1982, and 1983 increased the revenue/GDP ratio from 13% in FY 1981 to 15% in FY1984; a change to ad valorem rates for various exercise taxes; adjustment in tax rates on business tax to reduce cascading effects; extensive adjustment on export and import duties.</p> <p>District tax offices set up in Bangkok and the Revenue Department HQ functions reorganized; various reforms of the RCEDs, including separation of Customs Department HQ's functions from customs administration at Port of Bangkok; a study for centralized tax training with a conclusion that decentralized</p>	
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

<p>of a tax ruling committee.</p>	<p>training functions developed by the MoF departments provided an adequate initial response to training needs of MoF staffs.</p>	
<p>Expenditure Policy: Improvement of the methods to project central government outlays.</p>	<p>Gov. expenditure growth for items other than debt service significantly reduced; two studies for further comprehensive expenditure programming carried out.</p>	
<p>State Enterprises (SEs) Financing and Management: A classification of the SEs into commercially-oriented, public utilities, loss incurring and other SEs with appropriate policies attached to each classification (the policies aimed at reducing subsidy from the central government)</p>	<p>Most programs of tariff increases for SEs not implemented because of political obstacles; some small manufacturing SEs liquidated or put up for sale to private sector; private bus operators were licensed; corporate planning introduced to all SEs, financial revitalization programs for loss-making SEs being prepared; Bangkok Oil Refinery reorganization planned.</p>	<p>Tariff on water supply and bus fare were substantially raised in 1985; tariff on electricity was substantially reduced in 1987 after the world oil price has substantially declined since late 1983.</p>
<p>External Debt Management: Formulation of a 3 year rolling plan for planning, evaluation and monitoring of the government's external borrowing program; improvement of coordination mechanism for external resources mobilization; reduction of the ceiling on public external borrowing from US\$2.4 billion to US\$2.06 billion per year.</p>	<p>Comprehensive 3-year rolling program for public foreign borrowing introduced; FPO acquired computer facility for public debt analysis and monitoring but lacked analytical capability to utilize them; the original annual public borrowing ceiling reduced in 1983 from US\$2.6 billion to US\$2.04 billion.</p>	<p>The annual borrowing ceiling was reduced to US\$1 billion and recently in 1989 was raised to US\$1.2 billion.</p>
<p>Institutional Development Policy Analysis and Coordination: Strengthening the in-house</p>	<p>The mechanism for policy supervision and implementation for SALs program significantly</p>	<p>Coordination among key planning agencies in terms of management information system has now</p>

<p>capabilities of the core agencies (primarily NESDB, Ministry of Finance and Budget Bureau); creation of an autonomous economic and social policy research institute to provide research report and continuing services to NESDB and other government agencies</p>	<p>improved with a committee structure and a joint NESDB-MoF secretariats, which became effective in September 1983; Thailand Development Research Institute established in early 1984 as a private foundation</p>	<p>improved substantially.</p>
<p>Program Formulation, Evaluation and Implementation: Consultants would assist the NESDB to design; test and introduce new planning and programming system (investment programming system, project preparation and investment appraisal system, program monitoring and evaluation system)</p>	<p>A project appraisal/investment planning system developed in the NESDB; consultants failed to produce an appropriate blueprint for the development of a monitoring and evaluation system; FY1984 was the first year of implementation of government-wide program budgeting; a new performance auditing division established in the Office of the Auditor General.</p>	

Source: Chaipat, Nattapong and Keokam, *Lessons from the World Bank's Experience of Structural adjustment Loans (SALs): A Case Study of Thailand*, revised edition, May 1989, p.30-32. Note: The items, comments and categories of the Conditions cited above are intentionally selected by the author of this thesis for the purpose that the restructuring and structural adjustments in industrialization and foreign trade policy well be understandable with ease.

APPENDIX 2

U.S. Military Forces in and Assistance to Thailand around 1970

Years	Number of Thais Employed by U.S. Forces	Number of U.S. Troops in Thailand	U.S. Military Assistance (thousand US\$)
1968	43,750	44,400	89.8
1969	37,100	47,600	96.4
1970	35,800	44,100	100.0
1971	32,300	36,100	98.7
1972	27,200	30,200	122.1
1973	31,000	43,500	62.8
1974	32,700	35,000	35.4
1975	n. a.	n. a.	41.7
1976	-	-	65.8

Source: Toru Yano, "Thailand as A Penetrated System [in Japanese]", *Tounan Ajia Kenkyuu* (Journal of Southeast Asian Studies), Vol.25, No.3, December 1987, Kyoto University Center for Southeast Asian Studies, p.136; David Elliott, *Thailand: Origin of Military Rule*, London: Zed Press, 1978, p.131.



BIOGRAPHY

Mr. Makoto SHIOKAWA was born in 1974 in Japan. He graduated from Department of Policy Sciences, Faculty of Policy Studies, Chuo University, Tokyo with a bachelor's degree of policy sciences in 1997, and entered the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper and spent seven years as a staff writer. Registered as a full time student at the Southeast Asian Studies Program, Graduate School in June 2005.

