

**THE MAKING OF POLITICAL SPACE IN PUBLIC POLICY  
ON BILATERAL FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS: THE CASE OF FTA WATCH**

**Miss Theerada Suphaphong**

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in International Development Studies**

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การสร้างพื้นที่ทางการเมืองแก่นโยบายสาธารณะเรื่องข้อตกลงการค้าเสรีทวิภาคี :  
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ปีการศึกษา 2550  
ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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By Ms. Theerada Suphaphong

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Thesis Advisor Assistant Professor Prapart Pintobtang, Ph. D

---

Accepted by the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree



.....Dean of Faculty of Political Science  
(Professor Charas Suwanmala, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE



.....Chairperson  
(Associate Professor Chantana Banpasirichote, Ph.D.)



.....Thesis Advisor  
(Assistant Professor Prapart Pintobtang, Ph. D)



.....Member  
(Buntoon Srethasirote)

ธีรดา ศุภะพงษ์: การสร้างพื้นที่ทางการเมืองแก่นโยบายสาธารณะเรื่องข้อตกลงการค้าเสรีทวิภาคี :  
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งานวิจัยเรื่อง "การสร้างพื้นที่ทางการเมืองแก่นโยบายสาธารณะเรื่องข้อตกลงการค้าเสรีทวิภาคี: ศึกษารณีนีเอฟทีเอวอทซ์" มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาบริบทของการก่อรูปองค์กรและการปฏิบัติการสร้างพื้นที่ทางการเมือง ประการที่สองเพื่อศึกษาโครงสร้างองค์กรและการเชื่อมโยงกับเครือข่ายแนวร่วม และประการที่สามเพื่อศึกษายุทธศาสตร์และยุทธวิธี รวมทั้งเงื่อนไขและปัจจัยที่มีอิทธิพลต่อการเข้าถึงและส่งผลให้เกิดความเปลี่ยนแปลงต่อนโยบายข้อตกลงการค้าเสรีทวิภาคี

ทั้งนี้ เพื่อตอบคำถามในการศึกษาวิจัยของวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้คือ "กลุ่มเอฟทีเอวอทซ์สามารถสร้างพื้นที่ทางการเมืองให้เกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลงในกระบวนการทางนโยบายเรื่องข้อตกลงการค้าเสรีทวิภาคีได้อย่างไร" โดยอาศัยการวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพและการวิเคราะห์ผ่านกรอบทฤษฎีขบวนการเคลื่อนไหวทางสังคม วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ได้แบ่งพิจารณาไปที่ปฏิบัติการสร้างพื้นที่ทางการเมืองที่เอฟทีเอวอทซ์อาศัยช่องทางและยุทธวิธีที่หลากหลาย ผ่านทั้งกลไกภายในระบบการเมืองและกลไกที่อยู่นอกเหนือระบบการเมือง และทั้งผลสะท้อนที่เกิดจากการเคลื่อนไหว

ผลการศึกษาพบว่า เอฟทีเอวอทซ์สามารถสร้างพื้นที่ทางการเมืองท่ามกลางพลวัตการเปลี่ยนแปลงในเวทีการค้าโลกจากระบบพหุภาคีมาเป็นทวิภาคี โดยประเทศที่พัฒนาแล้วหันมาเจรจาทำข้อตกลงการค้าเสรีทวิภาคีกับประเทศกำลังพัฒนา ซึ่งรัฐบาลไทยในขณะนั้นได้ตอบรับกระแสการเปลี่ยนแปลงด้วยการเจรจาและทำข้อตกลงอย่างเร่งรัด ขาดความโปร่งใสและขาดข้อมูลในแง่ของการประเมินผลกระทบอย่างรอบด้าน จึงเป็นเหตุให้นักวิชาการ นักเคลื่อนไหว เครือข่ายองค์กรพัฒนาเอกชนและองค์กรในระดับรากหญ้าที่เคยติดตามประเด็นและเนื้อหาสาระการเปิดเสรีทางการค้าในองค์การการค้าโลก หันมาจับมือสร้างเครือข่ายใหม่ที่เป็นขบวนการเคลื่อนไหวทางสังคมเพื่อติดตามและตรวจสอบการดำเนินนโยบายของรัฐบาล และเรียกร้องให้เกิดการมีส่วนร่วมของประชาชน ซึ่งเป็นผู้มีส่วนได้ส่วนเสียโดยตรงในกระบวนการนโยบาย รวมทั้งเรียกร้องให้รัฐบาลนำรอบในการเจรจา การประเมินผลกระทบและทำที่ของประเทศไทยในการเปิดเสรีเข้าไปหรือและขอความเห็นชอบจากรัฐสภา เอฟทีเอวอทซ์สามารถสร้างพื้นที่ทางการเมืองได้ก่อนจากการระดมทรัพยากรที่สำคัญต่อการเคลื่อนไหว กล่าวคือสมาชิกในองค์กรที่มีประสบการณ์และองค์ความรู้ในประเด็นต่างๆ ที่เกี่ยวข้องกับเนื้อหาสาระของข้อตกลงการค้าเสรีทวิภาคีในยุคปัจจุบัน โดยสมาชิกของเอฟทีเอวอทซ์สามารถนำองค์ความรู้เหล่านั้นมาพัฒนาสร้างขึ้นเป็นวาทกรรมที่มีหลักฐานเชิงวิชาการรองรับ เพื่อท้าทายวาทกรรมของรัฐบาลเกี่ยวกับที่อาศัยความชอบธรรมจากอำนาจเชิงสถาบันในการครอบงำสังคม และสามารถใช้อำนาจความรู้ขยายผ่านทางเครือข่ายพันธมิตรที่อยู่ทั้งในและนอกระบบการเมืองในการตรวจสอบ เข้าถึงข้อมูล สร้างพื้นที่สื่อ ใช้ยุทธวิธีที่เพิ่มแรงกดดันและอำนาจต่อรอง รวมทั้งยื่นข้อเสนอแนะในเชิงรูปธรรมต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงให้เกิดกระบวนการนโยบายสาธารณะที่อิงกับแนวคิดของการปฏิรูปการเมืองในรัฐธรรมนูญ

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 ปีการศึกษา 2550

ลายมือชื่อนิสิต .....  
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THEERADA SUPHAPHONG: THE MAKING OF POLITICAL SPACE IN  
 PUBLIC POLICY ON BILATERAL FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS: THE  
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The research question of this paper is: How is FTA WATCH able to make political space in gaining access to pressure and influence the policy process on bilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTAs)? Using qualitative methodology and interpretations through social movement theory, this paper uses the term "the making of political space" as a conceptual framework which refers to the process which FTA WATCH creates and expands their influence into the realm of policy governance. It looks at the ways in which FTA WATCH operates in order to gain access over resources, to making the movement visible in the society, and to seek authority to influence changes.

The research reveals that the emergence and the operation of FTA WATCH are embedded in the context of the proliferation of FTAs which develop countries use in engaging in political and economic relations with developing countries. The government of Thailand has been eager to enter FTA negotiations with major economic power since 2003 onwards. However, the FTA policy governance was carried on in intransparent and accelerated manner without thorough impact assessments and substantive public consultation. The immediate results of FTAs caused vulnerabilities in the farming sector.

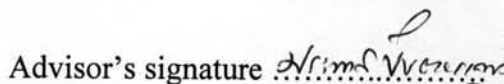
The members of FTA WATCH who are academics, activists from non-governmental organizations and grassroots network have formed a coalition to monitor and make changes in the policy governance. They can make political space under oppressive circumstances through the use of their accumulated knowledge on the issues related to the modalities in FTAs to create the discourse which counter argue with the government's discourse. They use a combination of strategies and tactics through institutional and non-institutional channels to influence changes in FTA policy governance.

Field of study International Development Studies Student's signature .....



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## ABBREVIATIONS

ACFTA	ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement
AD	Anti-dumping
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Agreement
AOP	Assembly of the Poor
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BIMSTEC	Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand Economic Cooperation
BOI	Board of Investment
BTA	Bilateral Trade Agreement
CACM	Central American Common Market
CAIN	Campaign for Alternative Industry Network
CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CCOT	Confederation of Consumer Organization of Thailand
CCOT	Confederation of Consumer Organizations in Thailand
CD	Countervailing Duties
CDC	Constitution Drafting Commission
CEP	Closer Economic Partnership
CER	Closer Economic Relations
CI	Consumers International
CL	Compulsory Licensing
CNS	Council for National Security
DIP	Department of Intellectual Property
DSG	Drug Study Group
DSM	Dispute Settlement Mechanism
DTN	Department of Trade Negotiation
DWP	Doha Work Programme
EGAT	Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand
EMO	Effective Micro-organism
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreements
FAC	Farmers' Aid Committee
FC	Foundation for Consumers
FGS	Focus on the Global South
FOP	Friends of the People
FPRIF	Fiscal Policy Research Institute Foundation
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the America
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GMO	Genetically Modified Organism
GSEI	Good Governance for Social Development and Environment Institute
GTAP	Global Trade Analysis Project
HRD-TH	Thai Coalition for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders
IEPC	International Economic Policy Committee
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation
IPR	intellectual property rights
ITNC	India-Thailand Trade Negotiating Committee
ITPGR	International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources
Japan-ASEAN CEP	Japan-ASEAN Comprehensive Economic Partnership
JSEPA	Japan-Singapore Economic Partnership Agreement
JTEP	Japan-Thailand Economic Partnership
JTEPA	Japan-Thailand Economic Partnership Agreement
MEA	Multilateral Environment Agreement
MFM	Most Favoured Nation
MGC	Mekong-Ganga Cooperation
MoAC	Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives
MSF	Medecins Sans Frontieres
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAMA	Non-agriculture product market access
NDF	Northern Development Foundation
NESAC	National Economic and Social Advisory Council
NESDB	National Economic and Social Development Board
NGO-COD	NGO-Coordinating Committee on Development
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
NLA	National Legislative Assembly
NSM	New Social Movement
NTBs	Non-tariff Barriers
PAD	People Alliance for Democracy
PCT	Patent Cooperation Treaty
PNN	Prachadhrama News Network
POS	Political opportunity structure
PPSTRB	Project Policy Strategy on Tropical Resource Base
PTA	Preferential Free Trade Agreement
RM	Resource mobilization
ROO	Rules of Origin
RRAFA	Rural Reconstruction Alumni and Friends Association
RTA	Regional Trade Agreements
SDT	Special and differential treatment
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
SMO	Social Movement Organization

TAA	Thai Agricultural Alternative
TAFTA	Thailand-Australia Free Trade Agreement
TAG	Thai Action on Globalisation
TDRI	Thailand Development Research Institute
TIFA	Trade and Investment Framework Agreement between the United States and the Kingdom of Thailand
TJA	Thai Journalist Association
TNCA	Thai NGOs Coalition on AIDS
TNP+	Thai Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS
TNZCEPA	Thailand-New Zealand Free Trade Agreement
TPA	Trade Promotion Authority Bill
TRF	Thailand Research Fund
TRIPS	Trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights
TRT	Thai Rak Thai
TUFTA	Thailand-US Free Trade Agreement
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPOV	International Convention for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants
USTR	The US Trade Representative
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ACFTA	ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement
AD	Anti-dumping
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Agreement
AOP	Assembly of the Poor
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BIMSTEC	Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand Economic Cooperation
BOI	Board of Investment
BTA	Bilateral Trade Agreement
CACM	Central American Common Market
CAIN	Campaign for Alternative Industry Network
CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CCOT	Confederation of Consumer Organization of Thailand
CCOT	Confederation of Consumer Organizations in Thailand
CD	Countervailing Duties
CDC	Constitution Drafting Commission
CEP	Closer Economic Partnership
CER	Closer Economic Relations
CI	Consumers International
CL	Compulsory Licensing
CNS	Council for National Security
DIP	Department of Intellectual Property
DSG	Drug Study Group
DSM	Dispute Settlement Mechanism
DTN	Department of Trade Negotiation
DWP	Doha Work Programme
EGAT	Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand
EMO	Effective Micro-organism
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreements
FAC	Farmers' Aid Committee
FC	Foundation for Consumers
FGS	Focus on the Global South
FOP	Friends of the People
FPRIF	Fiscal Policy Research Institute Foundation
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the America
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GMO	Genetically Modified Organism
GSEI	Good Governance for Social Development and Environment Institute
GTAP	Global Trade Analysis Project
HRD-TH	Thai Coalition for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders
IEPC	International Economic Policy Committee
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation
IPR	intellectual property rights
ITNC	India-Thailand Trade Negotiating Committee
ITPGR	International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources
Japan-ASEAN CEP	Japan-ASEAN Comprehensive Economic Partnership
JSEPA	Japan-Singapore Economic Partnership Agreement
JTEP	Japan-Thailand Economic Partnership
JTEPA	Japan-Thailand Economic Partnership Agreement
MEA	Multilateral Environment Agreement
MFM	Most Favoured Nation
MGC	Mekong-Ganga Cooperation
MoAC	Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives
MSF	Medecins Sans Frontieres
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAMA	Non-agriculture product market access
NDF	Northern Development Foundation
NESAC	National Economic and Social Advisory Council
NESDB	National Economic and Social Development Board
NGO-COD	NGO-Coordinating Committee on Development
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
NLA	National Legislative Assembly
NSM	New Social Movement
NTBs	Non-tariff Barriers
PAD	People Alliance for Democracy
PCT	Patent Cooperation Treaty
PNN	Prachadhrama News Network
POS	Political opportunity structure
PPSTRB	Project Policy Strategy on Tropical Resource Base
PTA	Preferential Free Trade Agreement
RM	Resource mobilization
ROO	Rules of Origin
RRAFA	Rural Reconstruction Alumni and Friends Association
RTA	Regional Trade Agreements
SDT	Special and differential treatment
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
SMO	Social Movement Organization

TAA	Thai Agricultural Alternative
TAFTA	Thailand-Australia Free Trade Agreement
TAG	Thai Action on Globalisation
TDRI	Thailand Development Research Institute
TIFA	Trade and Investment Framework Agreement between the United States and the Kingdom of Thailand
TJA	Thai Journalist Association
TNCA	Thai NGOs Coalition on AIDS
TNP+	Thai Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS
TNZCEPA	Thailand-New Zealand Free Trade Agreement
TPA	Trade Promotion Authority Bill
TRF	Thailand Research Fund
TRIPS	Trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights
TRT	Thai Rak Thai
TUFTA	Thailand-US Free Trade Agreement
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPOV	International Convention for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants
USTR	The US Trade Representative
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization