

The Nonviolent political movements: Case study of People Alliance for Democracy and People Power Revolution

Thannapat Jarenpanit¹

บทคัดย่อ

พันธมิตรประชาชนเพื่อประชาธิปไตยเป็นกลุ่มการเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมืองในประเทศไทย ในช่วงระหว่าง ปี 2548-2549 และ ปี 2551 เพื่อต่อต้านรัฐบาลของ พ.ต.ท.ดร.ทักษิณ ชินวัตร ต่อต้านระบอบทักษิณและเรียกร้องการปฏิรูปทางการเมือง ส่วน People Power Revolution เป็นการรวมกันของกลุ่มเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมืองและสังคมต่างๆ เพื่อต่อต้านระบบเผด็จการของประธานาธิบดีมาร์กอส ในประเทศฟิลิปปินส์ในช่วงปลายปี 1960-1986 การศึกษาครั้งนี้ใช้แนวคิดโครงสร้างโอกาสทางการเมืองในการเปรียบเทียบกลุ่มเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมืองทั้งสองกลุ่ม เพื่ออธิบายบริบทการก่อตัวของ การเคลื่อนไหวและการไม่ใช้ความรุนแรงในฐานะยุทธศาสตร์ของการเคลื่อนไหว ผลจากการศึกษาพบว่า การเปลี่ยนแปลงของสภาพแวดล้อมทางการเมือง สังคมและเศรษฐกิจมีผลต่อการเกิดการรวมกลุ่มและระดมมวลชนในการเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมือง สถานการณ์ทางการเมืองและปัจจัยกระตุ้นส่งเสริมให้เกิดการเคลื่อนไหวและเป็นเหตุผลรองรับความชอบธรรมในการเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมือง ดังนั้น เหตุผลหลักในการเลือกการไม่ใช้ความรุนแรงจึงมาจากการสร้างเหตุผลรองรับในการเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมืองเพื่อต่อสู้กับฝ่ายตรงข้าม รวมทั้งสถานะในพื้นที่ทางการเมือง โครงสร้างโอกาสทางการเมืองและปฏิกริยาจากฝ่ายสนับสนุน ฝ่ายต่อต้านและรัฐบาล

คำสำคัญ : การไม่ใช้ความรุนแรง โครงสร้างโอกาสทางการเมือง พันมิตรประชาชนเพื่อประชาธิปไตย พลังประชาชนปฏิวัติ, การปฏิวัติในฟิลิปปินส์

¹ Lecturer at Political Sciences Department, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Pibulsongkram Rajabhat University. Send correspondence to the author at e-mail: Fugith@hotmail.com.

Abstract

People Alliance for Democracy occurred during 2005 to 2006 and 2008 to against with Thaksin government, anti-Thaksin Regime, and call for the political reform in Thailand. And the People Power Revolution in the Philippines was a gathering of many political movements moved against with Marcos dictatorship which occurred since the late-1960-1986. In this study using concept of political opportunity structure to compare both of political movements in Thailand and the Philippines in order to explain the contexts of formation, mobilization and choosing nonviolent action as a strategy for their movements. The result of study found that the changing in political, social and economic environment results in framing of collective action and mobilizes of people in political movement. Political situations and trigger factors could encourage in the mobility of people and justify their legitimacy in political movements. So, the main reason of committing the nonviolent action would come from the justification in meaning of their political movement to against with the opponent including the position in their political sphere, the political opportunity structure and react of the alliances, counter movement and government.

Keywords: Nonviolent action, Political opportunity structure, People Alliance for Democracy, People Power Revolution, EDSA revolution

INTRODUCTION

The People Power Movement in the Philippines (or known as EDSA Revolution) and the People's Alliances for Democracy Movement (or known as Yellow Shirts Movement) in Thailand rose from the tensions in an exclusive polity, social and economic disparity in both countries. Both of two movements are the political movements against the government at the national level. Even though the political movements in Thailand and the Philippines occurred in different times, but they shared some similar contexts and factors related to the occurrence of the political mobilization in the country.

The changing in political and socioeconomic environment and political oppressive structure challenged in mobilizes of political movement in Thailand and the Philippines. In Thailand, People Alliances for Democracy happened during 2005 – 2008 to anti – Thaksin government, Thaksin – Regime, and calling for the politics reform in the country which most attended by people from people sectors (Phak Prachachon), the middle class groups, business groups, labor groups, conservative Buddhist groups and elites. PAD in Thailand considered as the royal nationalism movement. On the other hand,

People Power Movement (or known as EDSA Revolution) happened in the central of the Philippines mostly attended by the middle class groups, elite business, the church, students, workers, social and political activists and moderate democratic politicians group to anti – Marcos dictatorship in February, 1986. Actually, People Power Movement developed from the long history movement of alliances in anti – Marcos dictatorship since the late-1960s along with the expanding of the Communist in the Philippines. The crucial role of the Communist party in the Philippines (CPP), New People Army (NPA), the National Democratic Front (NDF) and social democrats in organize movements in urban and rural areas to against Marcos dictatorship, anti - US imperialism and feudalism considers as the significant contexts of EDSA revolution in 1986. However, the unsuccessful in using the violence actions to against with Marcos dictatorship, the conflict inside the Communist party and the rose up of the Church and middle class people from effected of economic deterioration and big dictatorship of Marcos in the country resulted in deciding to commit the non-violent actions as he strategy in EDSA revolution. So, this work aims to understand the political movements in Southeast Asia in case of Thailand and

the Republic of the Philippines in order to analyze factors and contexts which lead to mobilizes people ,and examine the factor that lead to commit the non – violence actions as the strategy of political movements in these country. The conceptualize of framework thinking in non-violent of mass political movement in case of Thailand and the Philippines shows the important of political opportunity structure lead to collective action and mobilize movements of people including choosing the nonviolent action as the tool and strategy in their movements.

OVERVIEW THE FORMATION OF MOVEMENTS

This part explains the formation of political movements in Thailand and the Philippines through applied the political opportunity structure concept. Political opportunity structure refers to consistent – but not necessarily formal or permanent – dimensions of the political struggle that encourage people to engage in contentious politics. This concept helps us to understand why political movements do not appear only in direct respond to the level of supporters' complaint. (Tarrow 1994 : 18-19)

Nevertheless this broad scope of concept is one of the vital components

for movement formation that is included by insurgent consciousness and organizational strength. It could allow us to analyze the relationship between political opportunities and protest, organizational formation, and especially policy outcomes which mostly affect the political situation in society.

Meyer,D.S., & Minkoff,D.C. (2004) addresses that the theory of political opportunity provides a means to predict variance in the periodicity, style, and content of activist claims over time and variance across institutional contexts. Explanations emphasize the interaction of activist efforts and more mainstream institutional politics. The premise underlying this approach that protest outside mainstream political institutions is closely related to more conventional political activity within was hardly completely novel to political science or sociology, but its systematic application to the analysis of protest politics represents an important step toward greater coherence and comparability in understanding a range of social protest movements. (Meyer,D.S., & Minkoff,D.C. 2004: 1458)

Above all, this means a dynamic that fostering movement and plays a decisive role in approach of organization because a key advantage of the theory is that it explains why social movements

emerge and/or increase their activities at a given time.

According to Cristina Jayme Montiel and Victoria Marie Chiongbian study (1991), EDSA revolution in the Philippines founded its foundation in the late 60s when youth activism in the Philippines were developed into a highly organized political force that fed on the issues of student rights (e.g. the right to form independent student councils and newspapers), economic equality (e.g., distribution of land from landlord to tenant), and nationalism. Accompany to the widespread of the communist in the Philippines. The students perceived this kind of political value, liberalism, from Americans via higher education and they were partly influenced by Marxism in 1960s, when self – taught Marxists spearheaded an anti –clerical and nationalist campaign in the University of the Philippines (UP). Nevertheless, the PKP (the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas; the old Philippines communist party) decided to decline all its activities in 1950s, but instead to grow the Marxists and Nationalist thinking in the university. It also led to the formation of student mass organization “the Kabataang Makabayan (KM: Nationalist Youth)” on November 30, 1964 (Montiel and Chiongbian 1991: 760).

On the other hand, the influence of post -Vatican II affected on the Philippines church in their role of society in the modern world, which stressing in human liberation to a faith that dose justice and demanding preferential options for the poor (Tolosa 2011 : 4). While the students from the private catholic schools as the ground framework of activisms done and accepted, the students from the Anteneo, La Salle, Holy Spirit, others Catholic schools, Young Christian Socialist Movement (CSM) and the Young Christian Socialists of the Philippines (YCSP) formed “The Laymen’s Association for Post Vatican II Reforms” (LAPVIR) (Tolosa 2011 : 4). It began organizing the student moderate group movement.

The student’s movement led to a series of violent confrontations between police and students, particularly during January 1970 or known as the “First Quarter Storm.” (FQS), which succeeded in acquiring sympathetic treatment from many of the Manila media, for instance the Manila times, Manila Chronicle and Philippines Free Press which strongly criticized Marcos and can rise up awareness of general people on that time. (Jose, T. Ricardo, Interview, January 30, 2014)

Including the formation to raise the CPP (the Communist Party of the

Philippines) and the New People's Army, an armed revolt was called for the redistribution of wealth and land reform in the Philippines. The Communist Party grew at its fastest rate during the mid – 1970s and the late 1970s in areas where the military's presence led to human violations and arrested the students, labor organizers, and who were suspicious of the communist detained without due process and were tortured. Finally, some of people became supporters of NPA. Moreover, a bloody Muslim separatist movement in the southern island of Mindanao led by the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), triggered the political destabilization which eventually led to President Marcos's declaration of martial law in 1972. During the early years of martial law, thousands of Filipinos were thrown into prison or killed. Most of them were movement leaders from the lower class, journalists, students and religious leaders from the middle class, and a few anti-Marcos politicians from the upper class. Some of student leaders escaped arrest and went to underground network.

However, there were the more radical activists occurred in this period. Most of them associated with the Communist Party of the Philippines. They strengthened their New People's Army and followed the Maoist approach of

building armed countryside forces to surround the city. The moderate groups connected to the nebulous Social/Christian Democratic movement. They organized semi legal activities such as political seminars and prayer rallies to anti – Marcos dictatorship.

Besides, the economic turned down was affected from Marcos crony capitalism which controlled economic of the country to serve the interests for his family and cronies, human violation, controlled free press and political conflict after martial law seemed depress the toleration of urban middle class, especially the assassination of Benigno Aquino., Jr in 1983 aroused extremely unpleasant and sorrow of Filipinos. Benigno Aquino, Jr. was the moderate democratic opposition leader. Shortly after the imposition of Martial Law, he was arrested in 1972 along with other dissidents and later incarcerated for seven years. In 1980, he was permitted to travel to the United States for medical treatment following a heart attack. His assassination shocked and outraged many Filipino. It caused a loss of confidence in Marcos government and also caused the economy of the country to deteriorate even further, and the government plunged further into debt. By the end of 1983, the country was bankrupt, and the economy contracted by

6.8%. (Torres 2006) The assassination of Ninoy Aquino led protests and rallies against Marcos in the country.

From all above, it seems that there are significant factors gathering people to against Marcos in EDSA revolution. These conflicts were started with a difference in ideological thought on politics. Then it is followed by an abuse of power by the ruler, that is to say, Marcos, in order to maintain his political power. His abuses of power were widened into every arena of society. It caused massive group of people sharing their losses. For example, press had lost their freedom of expression; either ordinary people entirely lost their ability to criticize. Opposition of government has lost their chance to fight equally due to his power monopoly. And most of all people have lost their trust in government concretely after an assassination of Senator Benigno Aquino. These losses make itself political glue consolidating different groups into EDSA revolution.

On the other hand, there were the political dynamics of the EDSA Revolution. It was revolutionary in the sense that Filipinos did not passively entrust their futures into the hands of a few elite politicians but instead actively fought to shape their own future. And it was about People Power at EDSA remained an un-

finished revolution because the political structures of dictatorship were not yet completely transformed. (Magno 1986) Notwithstanding, sharing of losses of interest both mentally and physically functions well as the Filipino lives and thrives within a network of social relationship. This circumstance allows the alliance system assumes a significant role in the Filipino's life. (Montiel and Chiongbia 1991:762)

Cultural dimension reveals what had disappeared in political opportunity structure. It is fair enough to say that the sharing loss makes its inner sense a shared lack of opportunity, especially a political one. But it could not be rather possible if culture of living does not allow. This means political opportunity structure guilds us to note of direction of whom tending to join a movement but for what intertwine all of them together.

According to Lagmay (Lagmay 1986), there were three facets of Filipino culture that intimately intertwined with the People's Power at EDSA. One is the propensity to celebrate, to feast, to fiesta. Accounts of the crucial days in February 1986 unfailingly included stories of collective food-sharing amidst continuous singing and lightheartedness in spite of the Marcos's tanks, guns aimed squarely at the celebrating crowd. A second

culture dimension is the Filipino skill to improvise in problematic circumstances. The Filipino is generally skilled at ad hoc management of movement, taking things as they are, and playing by ear. The EDSA affair was, in effect, a gamble of unplanned spontaneous collective action. Another aspect of Filipino culture that manifested itself in the 1986 revolution was Catholic religiosity. Statues of the Virgin Mary “watched over” the unarmed crowd, nuns and priests confronted the tanks, and holy masses were observed daily at EDSA.

Similarly, in the Philippines, People Alliance for Democracy of Thailand or known as the Yellow Shirts Movement was driven by sharing of loss of interest. In case of Thailand, the political opportunity structure regarded in changing of political system since the 1997 Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand promulgated and Thai Rak Thai party had won the majority votes in the new election system. This party became a leading party manipulating the parliament from 2001 – 2006. Thaksin, the political party leader, became the strong prime minister in the sense of power monopoly. He was successful in seeking populism policies in public projects and neo – liberal economic policies, which regarded as enlargement of patronage system. Moreover, Thaksin

had a strong support from grass – roots class. With his series of populism policy, Thaksin had been criticized that he was abusing human rights principle in case of drug war policy, problem in Deep South part of Thailand, and media freedom. The hidden interest in his policies was widely criticized by people in society and his opposition party. The deal in which people distrust was the case of Thaksin’s family sold shares of Ship Crop Company to the Temasek Holding of Singapore.

The issue was criticized especially on his intention to avoidance of tax. Moreover, his privatization EGAT policy had been resisted by an Anti– privatization group led by State Enterprise Labour Union which expanded connection to other social and private organizations. However, there were other factors that drive people to anti -Thaksin such as the political opportunity structure openness, the violation of the constitution and royal prerogative (Pharrachaamnag). (Panthep Pongpuapang, interview, 8 May 2013)

His situation seemed to be more terrible when he decided to close “Muang Thai Rai Subda”, the only one TV program opposed him. This was emphasized of his lacking of political morality, devastation of democracy, and monopoly of political power. His government under the principle of “Elected Capitalist Abso-

lutism” or “Thaksin Regime” was accused widely especially among middle class.

Moreover, the one important factors that lead to gathering of alliance groups anti-Thaksin regime came from the serious conflict between government and political – social activists or we can call them as people sector (Phak Prachachon) including academic scholars people especially the conflict in approach of dealing with the poverty problem, human rights violations, and using the violence measurement of state in destroying the people sector process such as disband the oppose villagers group in the Thai-Malaysia Gas Pipeline project and arrested 12 social activists on December 20, 2002. Besides, the suspecting in killing to break the line of drug war policy. These were resulted in congregate of NGOs, social –political activists and academic scholars to anti with the government policy and working together to protect the human rights. (Uchane 2013: 283)

Thus, these were factors comprised to be opportunity structure for each alliances of anti – Thaksin to gathering altogether in the name of People Alliance for Democracy to against Thaksin (Thaksin – Out) or the yellow shirts movement.

The PAD was a chief player in Thailand political crisis of 2005 to 2006,

and the 2008 crisis. The rapid expanding of People Alliances for Democracy movements came from the political situations factor especially in the case of Thaksin’s family sold shares of Ship Crop Company to the Temasek Holding of Singapore on January 23, 2006. And moral and political legitimacy problem of Thaksin’s government lead to conflict between mass people and government. Finally, Thaksin decided to dissolve the parliament on February 24, 2006 and announced to organize the new general election on April 2, 2006 in order to claim the result of election to serve for his political legitimacy and take an advantage from providing the short period in organize the new election (only 36 days). Nevertheless, this general election was banded by the opposite political parties: Democrat party, Chart Thai party, and Mahachon Party including the occurrence of no vote display from among social groups until lead in the election crisis. The problem from unclean election appeared in the constitutional court decision to dissolve Thai Rak Thai party on May 8, 2006 including the 111 members of the party committee who were removed from politics. So, the result of election on April 2,2006 was invalid, because of contradict with the constitution law. While Thaksin announced that he rejects to be

a prime minister again in order to acquire the sympathetic from people and support group. (Korakit, 2011)

We cannot neglects that the rejection to be the Prime minister again of Thaksin and his complain in injustice of the Thai judgment process was affected in the less political legitimacy of opposition groups and can gain more sympathetic from his support group. And this is the one factor leads in conflict of political ideas among people emphasizing in between anti-Thaksin group and pro-Thaksin group. The escalating of political conflict in Thai society come from the conflict in demanding for amend the constitution of social and political groups and conflict between the yellow shirts group (anti-Thaksin) and the red shirts group (pro-Thaksin) emerges in discrimination thinking among people in society and the violence crackdown between two groups. The political propaganda of each group to mobilize people to support them and against with the other groups resulted in the severely social disparity and open for the military intervention in Thai politics again.

The military coup by the Council for Democratic Reform under Constitutional Monarchy (CDRM) on September 19, 2006 led the changes in the political situation in Thailand. The CDRM an-

nounced a temporally constitution (2006) and appointed General Surayut Guranon, a member in Privy Council to be the Prime minister. A new constitution was promulgated in 2007. Then, PAD decided to stop their movement and reorganized in "People's Assembly for Political Reform (PAPR) to prepare for political movement again. A new general election was held on December 23, 2007. The People's Assembly for Political Reform expressed support for the CDRM to reform the political system and overthrow the Thaksin Regime and criticized other anti – military coup movements. During 2007 when a new constitution was being discussed, PAPR organized the assembly to gather opinions and suggestions about the new constitution from their network alliances. PAPR subsequently agreed with their network alliances to accept the 2007 constitutional draft. While they considered that section 309 in the constitution could not led to new political reform, it gave more political opportunities to people than the 1997 constitution (Uchane Chaingsang (n.d).

The People's Power Party (Palang Prachachon Party, originally Thai Rak Thai Party which had been dissolved by the Constitutional Court) won a majority of seats in the new general election on December 23, 2007 and formed a

coalition government on the February 6, 2008, with Samak Suntharavaj as the Prime Minister. Furthermore, the Samak government was generally considered a proxy for Thaksin. When Samak proposed to budget 2,000 million baht to organize the referendum for amending the constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand (2007), the 117 members of house representative from People Power's Party and coalition parties including 21 senators attempted to amend the constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand (2007) under section 237 (Matichon 2008 :2) "In the case where any candidate in an election commits any act or instigates or aids and abets the commission of any act which violates the Organic Act on the Election of Members of the House of Representatives and the Acquisition of Senators or the Rule or Notification of the Election Commission and thereby results in an election not proceeding in an honest and fair manner, such person shall have his or her right to vote revoked under the Organic Act on the Election of Members of the House of Representatives and the Acquisition of Senators...". (Constitutional of the Kingdom of Thailand, B.E. 2007: 131-132)

This section related to abolishing the Inspection Commission and dissolving political parties. Samak also

attempted to interfere with the media and the legal process related with Thaksin and his family's case (People Alliances for Democracy 2008) by, for example, transforming the media under control of the Government Public Relation department such as channel 11 into the National Broadcasting of Thailand (NBT) and mandating that the Government Public Relation department take back all 5 radio stations (FM 88 Megahertz, FM 93.5 Megahertz, FM 95.5 Megahertz, FM 97 Megahertz, and Wisdom Radio FM 105 Megahertz) from private concession to be the under controlled of the government because of the government need to adjust all government media to present news as neutral and proper with the current situation of country (Matichon 2008, 15) However, the Media Association considered that Samak government's attempts to interfere with media violations of the press freedom guaranteed by the constitution (2007). (Matichon 2008:15)

When Thaksin returned to Thailand on February 28, 2008 after the military junta and the new election, PAD decided to gather again by holding a discussion at the Conference Hall in Thammasart University and by assembling on April 25, 2008 at Democracy memorial to oppose the constitution amendment proposed by Samak's government includ-

ing compiling a list of people to relieve a member of Representative house and member of Senate who were proposing the constitution amendment to a parliament. PAD moved against Samak by blocking Government House. They criticized that amending the constitution would advantage for Samak and his party and wipe out guilt of Thaksin and his crony. (Manager Newspaper Editors 2008: 7-8) PAD also condemned this action by Samak's government as dangerous to the nation, religion, and the institution of the Monarchy under the constitution. This is because it could overthrow the constitution to help Thaksin and his crony out from a judicial process. (People Alliance for Democracy 2008)

The Constitutional Court found Samak guilty of hosting a television cooking show and received payment from the show's sponsors. Those acts were in breach of Section 267 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand (2007) and Samak terminated from prime minister on September 9, 2008. The People's Power Party then chose Somchai Wongsawat, Thaksin's brother in – law, to be the new Prime Minister. This led to escalating of the protests until a violent crackdown happened on October 7, 2008. It rose up more alliances support of PAD to anti Somchai's government and

overthrow Thaksin Regime. The political conflict in Thailand seemed to be more serious when the group support Thaksin called Democratic Alliances Against Dictatorship (DAAD or the Red Shirts Movement) launched a counter – movement with PAD. Thereafter, the political conflict spread widely in every part of Thai society.

The PAD movement consisted mainly of royalist upper and middle class who live in Bangkok and southern of Thailand, Democrat Party, some factions of Thai Army and state enterprise labor unions. (Kengkit and Hewison 2009) The support groups of PAD along its struggle were various kinds of interested groups like a group of Labour unions of state enterprise such as Thai Airways International Union, the Labour Union of State Railway of Thailand, the Labour Union of Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand, the Labour Union of Metropolitan Waterworks Authority, and the Labour Union of Bangkok Mass Transit Authority, a group of lawyers like the Lawyers council, a religious group such as the Santi Asoke, a group of royalist people who define themselves as the group of blue shirt (blue color is a symbolic of monarchy), a group of students as Young PAD Group, a political groups like Council for National Security, Council of National

Security, and a groups from the people's sector (phak prachachon) such as The Network of Citizen Volunteers Protecting the Land, Poor People Assembly, and Democracy Federation. (Nelson 2006). Thus, the PAD movement significantly reflected the role movement of people sector (Phak Prachachon) in Thai's politics since 2005.

The EDSA also had a wide variety of support group. Outside body of the movement, EDSA could convince some major participants such as the Armed Forces of the Philippines rebels under Fidel V. Ramos, Secretary of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile, and RAM (The Reform the AFP Movement), the young soldiers group movement to restore the value and welfare of military, restoring the people faith in their arms forces and enhancing the operational effectiveness of the armed forces in 1986. After, they realized that Marcos has violated the honor of the military and has lost the sense of discipline. RAM also connected with other sectors in society such as business, church, teachers, students, government executives, and the opposition politicians after the Aquino's assassination. (Guerero 1988) and protesters led by Jaime Cardinal Sin, the Archbishop of Manila and USA with Ronald Reagan who had a different attitude toward the "authoritar-

ian" dictators from the previous US presidents. While his race with the communist bloc finally contributed to the bankruptcy of the Soviet Union in late 1980s and its final collapse in 1991, he did not mute when his "authoritarian" allies offended the human rights of their own people. The EDSA was one of the most important cases reflecting the change of US policy toward dictators. (Hung 2012)

These participants ensured that EDSA sharing prospect with most in country especially the main national institutions, army and church. The crucial factor which moves effectively all Thai people especially middle class in Bangkok to PAD is an abuse of monarchy. Thaksin was viewed as a rival figure of the King since he was accused that he treated as an equal with the king. The protest finally become to defend King Bhumibol Adulyadej and the monarchy against the alleged disloyalty of Thaksin and the constitution in section 69 and 70 ; in the rights to resist peacefully any act committed as the acquisition of power to rule the country by a means with is not in accordance with the modes provided in this constitution (section 69) and to uphold the Nation, Religious, the King and the democratic regime of government with the King as the head of the state under the Constitutional (sec-

tion 70). (Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, B.E. 2550 (2007)

Monarchy in this case was used as a decisive role to mobilize movement as Church was treated in the Philippines. The two institutions were instrumental but Church in the Philippines is rather active since Monarchy in Thailand is logically confined by law. Not only these two main agencies are used to mobilize movements but also does it determine approach of organizations that is non-violent movement as we have seen especially in the case of the Philippines that EDSA was a Christian community, large Catholic-influenced, where people nonviolently confronted soldiers and tanks. (Hornedo 1987, 23-26)

Means to Peaceful Yellows

The PAD of Thailand and EDSA revolution of the Philippines were nonviolent movements by definition as Gene Sharp (Sharp 1973) points out. It is a generic term covering dozens of specific methods of protest, noncooperation and intervention, in all of which the actionist conduct the conflict by doing-or refusing to do- certain things without using physical violence. Its methods of action absolutely correspond with ten subclasses of the specific methods of nonviolent action

according to Sharp's list.

Considering with ten subclasses, in these movements, there were usages of formal statement which is one of ten subclasses such as public speech, letter of opposition or support, and declaration by organization, institution, indictment, and intention. PAD had continued their public speech until 2013, and Cardinal Sin's speeches, for example.

In communications with a wide audience, several methods were used to communicate ideas, point of views and information to a wider audience. Objectives are multiple; influencing the opponent groups, gaining sympathy and support from third parties, or gaining converts, members, or assistance for the nonviolent groups. For communicating, several calls through Radio Veritas for marching by the EDSA leaders or for important information like when Jaime Cardinal Sin went on Radio Veritas asking the people to support "our two good friends" which implied to the switched armed forces of the Philippines rebels, Corazon Aquino in the rally in Cebu on February 22, 1986 called for the boycott of Marcos crony-owned business for example. The Radio Veritas played an important role in mobilize people to join in EDSA Revolution, caused from Marcos controlled all media during the martial law. As well as

the PAD, media used to mobilize people to support the PAD movement such as ASTV satellite, manager newspaper, local radio, banners, posters and others new social media on Facebook, twitter, manager online and web blogs. The activities of PAD movement have broadcast live 24 hours a day through ASTV satellite. So, audiences can follow protestors live as they are watching the reality television shows at their home. (Panthep Pongpua-pang, interview, 8 May 2013)

Media was very attractive and its influence on people's perception. However, there are some different types of technology level and media used between PAD and EDSA, because they were occurred in different time and they were not controlled all media in Thailand as in the Philippines during martial law.

Slogan, caricatures and symbols are common forms of nonviolent. In case of symbols, these two movements accidentally used the same color, which yellow. Yellow is significant color in Thailand. It means color of Buddhism, and also representing of the king himself because he was born in Monday. The protests perceived themselves as the king's soldiers. On the other hand, yellow of EDSA came from the song "Tie a Yellow Ribbon round the Old Oak tree" and allies of senator Benigno Ninoy Aquino

used it as a sign that they still believe in him as their leader to oppose President Ferdinand Marcos. However, banner, posters, displayed communication, leaflets, pamphlets, and books were not heavily used in their organizations, rather there were newspapers, journal, records, radio, and televisions. Moreover, in case of EDSA, there was one of the most recognized gestures. People frequently flashed the LABAN (fight) sign, which is an "L" formed with their thumb and index fingers. (Crisostomo 1987)

As these were national movements, group representations highly required for effective operation. In PAD, a group of leaders were itself a body of its administration, leaders like Sonti Imitongkul, a media mogul, Major General Chamlong Srimuang, Activist Phiphob Thongchai, State enterprise labor union leader Somsak Kosaisuuk, and Somkiat Pongpaibon a university lecturer and activist of Assembly of the poor were in case. In EDSA revolution, representatives of a group were Corazon Aquino, the widow's of Benigno Aquino who finally became the "Icon of Philippines Democracy, She was the most prominent figure of the 1986 People Power Revolution, Salvador Laurel, a foremost leaders of the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO), Juan Ponce Enrile,

Justice Secretary and Defense Minister under Marcos regime but later became one of the leaders of the 1986 People Power Revolution, Fidel V. Ramos, Chief of the Philippines Constabulary, Gringo Honasan, Jaime Cardinal Sin, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Manila, and de facto Primate of the Philippines, and the former Senator Jose Diokno and Lorenzo Tañada who was the leader of Justice for Aquino, Justice for All (JAJA) (Thompson 1995 :123)

One of the popular methods to carry a nonviolent movement is pressuring on individuals. It is an attempt to put pressures on individual members of the opponent group whether officials or ordinary soldier. PAD went to government house, government office, to carry a series of Hyde-park. Sometimes they seized their offices to make them fail to run their businesses. For example; they seized Don Muang Airport, and then seized Suvarnabhumi Airport and other provincial airports in Phuket, Krabi, Hat Yai and blocked major roads and highways to pressure Prime Minister of that time to resign. They even pressured UNESCO for territory conflict case of Cambodia and Thailand as they perceived themselves that they were doing the right thing instead of government. It's quite the same in EDSA, the protesters

went to Juan Ponce Enrile and Fidel V. Ramos to switch side.

On the other hand, in EDSA Revolution Corazon Aquino, the widow's of Benigno Aquino, the opposition leader of Marcos, announced a seven-point program of civil disobedience to force Marcos to step down such as Holding of prayer meeting and rallies and persuaded people to fight against the "Forces of evil", Boycott the following media papers and television stations which were spread misinformation, and withdraw advertisement in the entire media: Bulletin Today, Daily Express, Times Journal, People's Journal and TV Channel 4, Boycott of products of Marcos's crony in particularly, San Miguel Corporation and Rustan, Withdrawal of deposits from Marcos's crony banks and refusal to deposit in all banks (Union Bank, Security Bank, Republic Planters Bank, United Coconut Planters Bank, Traders Royal Bank, Philippines National Bank and Commercial Bank and Trust Company), Delay payment of water and electric bills until a notice for disconnection shall have been received, General Stoppage of work on the day after the inauguration, and Listening to the eight's o'clock evening program over the Radio Veritas and noise barrage for fifteen minutes after the program of the day after the inauguration. (Macaraya

1988:48 -51)

Civil disobedience struggle in EDSA Revolution is the method of non-cooperation. The Civil disobedience is an expression of civility and disobedience synthesis and a time when men have a moral responsibility to disobey laws regarded as illegitimate and believe in higher laws. Sometimes, civil disobediences have to choose between obeying the laws of the organized government, but violating their own beliefs, and dissolving such laws though remaining true to their faithful. (Sharp 1973: 315)

In EDSA, they regarded the martial law authorized in Marcos regime as illegitimacy. So, the civil disobedience principle of EDSA revolution justified themselves based on their moral to fight with the injustice law and dictatorship rule as fighting with the evil. The justification in commitment of nonviolent action in civil disobedience related with their moral and religious belief, whereas, PAD announced to use a civil disobedience to anti – government by seize a regarded crucial place to pressure the government to accept their conditions and fight with Thaksin Regime.

Drama and Music are expressed within nonviolent movements, especially political humor may become a method of nonviolent action when expressed in

some social forms such as a humorous prank or a skirt, or, conceivable, a play or political satire. In such cases the humor or satire ceases to be simply verbal political dissents (as often expressed to dictatorial countries in political jokes passed from one person to another) and becomes as act of public political protest. (Sharp 1973:148) The prominent expression of this PAD case was a Chinese opera conducted by a group of Thammasart University students. It was an amateur theatrical used to politically satire government's contribution and operation. On the other hand it was used to entertain massive protestors. This play had either function of entertaining or propaganda mode.

Under appropriate conditions, singing may constitute a method of nonviolent protest, singing national or religious songs and hymns. For example, several groups sang Bayan Ko (My Homeland/ My Country) which had become a patriotic song of the Philippines. Sometimes, it was assumed to be a folk song because of its popularity, and has been frequently adopted by various political groups as a protest song at demonstrations due to the nature of the lyrics. In PAD organization they often used the national anthem or a patriotic song.

In political movement, the best-known methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion are forms of processions. There are many ways to do it, commonly including parades, religious processions, pilgrimages, motorcades, and marching. In both of movements, a group of people walked in an organized manner to particular places which were regarded as intrinsically significant to their grievance or point of view. For example, on February 24, 1986, on a call by Cardinal Sin and other Catholic bishops, church belled rang eerily then residents walked out to the streets surrounding Camp Crame. There were word spreads that Marcos's forces were going to attack the rebels' stronghold. (Bullentin Today 1986) Thousands of people camped outside the Philippines Constabulary headquarters overnight to form a human shield for protecting any attack from loyal forces of President Marcos. It was also a religious procession since some of the leaders used their status as priest to run the movement as Inquirer had said "crowding every step of the way up the spiral staircase were nuns sitting, kneeling, and reciting the rosary. A battalion of armed soldiers could not have attacked the station without drowning in a sea of martyrs' blood". (Philippines Diary Inquirer 1986)

PAD's marching was often operated along with the long term protest. Mostly they marched to government offices, such as Government House, where settled by thousands of demonstrators, Ministry of Transport, etc. PAD even created a strategic marching commonly known as "Asteroid Marching" or "Dao Kra-jai" which means an operation of marching with several small groups at the same time. This means a multi-pressuring at one time.

The other ways to carry movement are paying respect and sharing the memory of deceased persons. These persons could be heroes from previous decades or centuries, or who have recently died from participating in the struggle. This takes place whether the death persons were prominent opposition leaders or unknown demonstrators, which were killed by a private individual or secret group on the one hand, or the police or troops of the regime on others. For instant, along with PAD's operation, there were 11 peoples who died in the course of the struggle, including unknown person and police. All of them became hero and heroine of the movement. Their funerals expressed protest and moral condemnation. The PAD has continued to organize anniversary of their deaths every year.

In case of EDSA, the significant deceased person was Benigno Aquino, Jr. or Ninoy Aquino. His death was strongly used as a drive to resist Marcos regime. It could be said that Aquino's death was one of the powerful motivations for EDSA. The death of Aquino was set in tone of justice since his assassination was entirely believed that it associated with Marcos. Paying homage at his burial place brings a large number of people together.

However, one of the most common ways for nonviolent movement is to gather some types of assemblage or meeting an opponent or support for certain policies. This method was used in both movements. People from these organizations frequently gather at appropriate places such as government offices, courts, prisons, or some other place around the statue of hero or villain. Above of all, it depends on the particular laws and regulations and the general degree of political conformity, such as assemblage could be either legal or illegal. The Philippines circumstance under martial law was the good example for defining an early EDSA as illegal movement.

Withdrawal and renunciation is the final subclass of methods of nonvio-

lent movement. It is about withdrawing from certain usual behavior or renouncing some honor the opponent holds. However there is a slightly difference between these method and noncooperation since the latter is an elementary level of predominantly symbolic but these methods are intended to express protest and to persuade.

People from these movements sometimes use silence and renouncing honors as tools, especially the later one. It involved the voluntary renunciation of titles of honor, medals and honorary offices, and resignation from prestigious societies closely identified with the opponent's cause. It often regarded as a means of self-sacrifice for the cause and weakening the authority of the government. When Fidel V. Ramos and Juan Ponce Enrile decided to break away from the administration of Marcos, it could be said that EDSA almost reached the goal. Their decisions were indeed weakening the authority of Marcos. It offered officials other choices to conduct their political activities. On the other hand it gave EDSA authority to resist Marcos since Ramos and Enrile were a decisive clue on army side. However, in case of PAD, the method was rarely used.

Table 1: The Method of Non-violent actions in EDSA revolution and PAD movements.

EDSA	PAD
1. Formal Statement/ Pubic Speech.	1. Formal Statement/ Pubic Speech.
2. Communication with a wide audience such as the Radio Veritas play an important role in mobilize people to EDSA revolution.	2. Communication with a wide audience. Using the new media such as ASTV satellite which broadcast live 24 hours a day impacted to people.
3. Slogan, caricatures and symbols. (In EDSA using the yellow color as their symbol from the song tie a yellow ribbon round the old oak tree.	3. Slogan, caricatures and symbols. (PAD using the yellow color as their symbol represents the color of the king's birthday and religious.)
4. Banner, posters, displayed communication, leaflets, pamphlets, and book. (In EDSA using "L" from the LABAN fight sign)	4. Banner, posters, displayed communication, leaflets, pamphlets, and book. (PAD using the Hand Clap as their sign)
5. Pressuring on individuals such as pressuring the Arm Force of the Philippines.	5. Pressuring on individuals such as pressuring Thaksin to resign from prime minister. (Thaksin – Out)
6. Drama and Music such as my homeland song (Bayan Ko).	6. Drama and Music such as Thai National Anthem, patriotic song.
7. Praying such as praying to the death persons as Aquino Jr..	7. Praying and religious ceremony for death persons (their hero and heroine in their memory).
8. Civil Disobedience based on moral fight with the injustice law and dictatorship rule by boycott the media papers and television stations which were spread misinformation, products of Marcos crony, withdraw deposit from Marcos's crony banks, delay payment of water and electric bills, and general stop working etc.	8. Civil Disobedience to anti-government, pressure the government to accept their conditions and fight with Thaksin Regime by seizing a regarded crucial place such as air ports and government offices.

EDSA	PAD
9. Parade and Marching to protest and persuade people.	9. Parade and Marching in long term protest and marched to various significant places by several small group of the protests at the same time. (Asteroid Marching or called “Dao Kra-jai” strategic marching)
10. Withdrawal and renunciation to express protest and to persuade people such as Fidel V.Ramos and Juan Ponce Enrile decided to break away from the administration of Marcos.	10. This method was rarely used.

MAKING SENSE OF NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT

According to Gene Sharp (1973), the non-violent action is a mean to fight. The power of nonviolent action comes from the will of people in withdrawing support and disobeying government. So, the nonviolent action is based on two views; first, government depends on people which its power is pluralistic, and that political power of the government is fragile because it depends on many groups from reinforcement of its power sources; and Second, the nonviolent movement has had its own power to threaten the hard power of the state efficiency. (Sharp 1973:8)

The PAD and EDSA revolution allows us to see at least one point. It is to examine whether movement tends to be nonviolent or not, type of group of the protests is needed to be considered. Non-violent action is a means to fight, then, it needed here to know who tends to use this tool. On the other hand knowing that what kind of group the protests is useful to predict the way they drive their movements. Even though a great movement usually consisted of varied groups, but it is not too hard to find their main road to walk. Both of movements are mostly filled by middle class, and social group plays an interesting role in its organization. Middle class in Thailand are mostly royalist and the Philippines is one of two

predominantly Roman Catholic Countries in Asia. Even the Philippines is a secular nation with a constitutional separation of church and state but church has a strong influence in almost every sector of society. Then it is easy and clear that the PAD driven mainly on the King path and EDSA ran on the God path. The King of Thailand is as supreme and clean as the god of Filipino is; therefore, to fight in these paths is to do things on behalf of them. And it is not easy to make them to be soiled with blood or violence action. That is to say as a means to move on behalf of these supremacies, nonviolent action is legitimately for these two cases. Especially EDSA, these nonviolent actions are made to respond to Marcos's violent actions. So, it supposes to be strategic movement to win the mass heart. However, it does not mean that there is no violent action conduct under religious movement rather the further study is required. Means to be used in movement is dynamically. It depends on how much the movement gains from it in every respect. For PAD and EDSA which organized by middle class, nonviolent action legitimates their fights more than any other kind of action.

CONCLUSION

The political opportunity structure is very important in subserving and forming of mass political movements in Thailand and the Philippines. The changing in political, social and economic environment results in framing of collective action of people and mobilizes structure of political movement. The changing in political situations and trigger factors could encourage in the mobility of people and justify their meaning or legitimacy in movement of political or social movements. For example, the dictatorship rule of Marcos, economic crisis under his crony capitalism and the assassination of Ninoy Aquino in case of the Philippines led to form alliances network to anti – Marcos and open the opportunity for movement groups to challenge and mobilize of people based on the same target and constructing in a large frame of meaning in fight for truth, justice and freedom regarded as the consensus in national democracy meaning of popular. Supported by the media as the Radio Veritas in spread the statement and propaganda, people have come out to aggregate in people power movement. On the other hand, the monopoly state power of Thaksin regime has brought to change in political and economic sphere and

challenge the social movement to form their collective action in anti-Thaksin government. The movements included insulting Monarchy, nation and religious mostly worship institution of Thai people encourage in framing of social belief in Royal nationalism. These movements were excited by Sondthi the media mogul after his television program closed and considered as one trigger factor awakened to people and criticized in Thaksin moral legitimacy from academic scholars, media and social especially when his family sold the Chin Corp shares to Temasek Holding of Singapore as another trigger led in rise of unpleasant people and other social movements and organizations to anti-Thaksin until occurring of People Alliances for Democracy in 2006. Besides, with the play role of new media helped in spread their ideology and elaborate the social network connection to framing the organization.

In the Philippines, Marcos maintained his political power more than 20 years and because of the spread of Marxism ideology among students to anti-imperialism, feudalism, and to change the Philippines society. This led to set up of the communist party and organized the demonstration in urban areas and guerrilla war in rural areas before the EDSA revolution happened

in central Manila. The main points were anti-Marcos dictatorship and return their national democracy back.

In Thailand, the People Alliance for Democracy needs the change of Thai politics that has been held in patronage system and led in corruption and dominated political power by elite politicians similar to the Philippines where Marcos has been maintained his power under the patron-client relationship among his cronies and abused the constitution. Thaksin has done the same in this point of using patronage relation with his crony as his supporters in political power, but Thaksin advanced the patronage system in his populism policy and attempted to legitimize his political power by claim the result of the election, and faced with opposition and alliances of anti-Thaksin. Marcos has also done the same thing to use the election to maintain his power, but he lost in his moral and political legitimacy from resistance of people.

However, resistance in political legitimacy of authorities could express both in violent or nonviolent action. The main reason of people movement committing to the nonviolent action would come from the justification in meaning of their political movement to against with the opponent including the position in their political sphere and the political

opportunity structure and react of the alliances, counter movement and government. If it expressed in violence against the protest, it would lead in no chance of people to react with the violence action or it caused people to have less power to confront the hard power or army forces and some people hesitated to join in violent protest.

In this sense, people would choose the nonviolent action as a strategy to react with the opponent and to acquire more legitimacy and support in their movement. Even though, the outcome of nonviolent action is unpredictable, it encouraged of solidarity among the protests. With these disruptive actions, it has mobilized people to have more power against the authorities. As in the case of EDSA Revolution, they boycotted media

agencies which carry misinformation. The protest even dismissed advertisement from media of government control. They boycotted Marcos crony capitalists. On the other hand, the PAD and its alliances lied in long march to seize the significant places relevant to government.

The power of nonviolent action comes from the will of people in withdrawing support and disobeying government. Hence, nonviolent action is based on the second of these views: first, government depends on people which its power is pluralistic, and that political power of the government is fragile because it depends on many groups for reinforcement of its power sources. (Sharp 1973, 8) Second, the nonviolent movement has had its own power to threaten the hard power of the state effectively.

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INTERVIEW BY AUTHOR

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