



# HOPE AND DREAMS FOR THE FUTURE OF THAILAND

Strategic Concepts for National Development  
for the period of 10 Years (2017–2026)

For The 20 Year National Strategy (2017–2036)

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## INTRODUCTION

At present, Thailand is facing significant changes in every dimension of strategic environments, both internal and external, which affect the country's future development, its people's ways of life and the private sector. While Thailand has been categorised as a second-world country and among the nations with middle level of gross domestic production (GDP) since mid-2010 due to its discontinuous and unstable economic growth, in addition to the current transition period of its domestic politics which is unstable and full of uncertainties, there are many worries that the country's status might deteriorate and turn into a third-world country unless its national strategy and development framework are clearly mapped out. Therefore, the government with the cooperation from all governmental and non-governmental organisations, has successfully formulated the National Strategy framework, covering the period of 20 years onward from now.

The author believes that to run a country by adopting certain strategic principles for use systematically should be a suitable means to designing the national development plan and help Thailand be able to overcome all possible challenges during the time of rapidly changing environments, as

well as to lead the country to move forward gracefully. Moreover, Thailand still has no strategic planning for the middle term for ten years. Therefore, the author would like to use all the knowledge received during the study at the National Defence College, Thailand, as a member of Batch 58, to suggest the strategic concepts for Thailand's development during the period of ten years (2017 – 2026).

### OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

1. To study the main factors affecting the changes in both internal and external security environments and the development of the nation.
2. To explore models for the formulation of the ten year national strategy.
3. To suggest the concepts for national development strategies for the period of ten years (2017 – 2026).

### SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

The author has studied the relevant strategic environments at the national strategy level by using the environment scanning method and the national strategy development models, containing both internal and external environments and then proposed the strategic concepts of the Grand Strategy level for the national development for 10 year period (2017 – 2026), focusing on the common goals and action plans for achievement during the period of ten years.

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research employs the method of qualitative research by using descriptive study techniques in order to collect secondary data from various sources, including websites and the lectures during the National Defence College's Batch 58 studies. Meanwhile, the primary data was gathered out of the author's direct experience as a member of the National Reform Preparatory Committee, under the 20 year National Strategy Drafting Committee and the interviews of several related experts and academics. Then the data analysis was conducted during the study of strategic concepts for the national development for the 10 year period (2017 – 2026), focusing on the common goals and action plans in an effort to present as the results of the study in accordance with the objectives of this research.

### BENEFITS OF THE RESEARCH

In addition to obtaining a wide range of data and knowledge for the research as expected, this data and knowledge will also benefit any study on the national strategy at the National Defence College as well as the author, for further use in the personal duty toward the drafting of national strategy, national conciliation and national reform. Moreover, it is also hoped that the research will eventually be beneficial to any agency and organisation which would be involved in mapping out the national strategy for the next ten years in the future too.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This research has covered the study of a wide range of concepts and theories of comprehensive security, which considers various problems of an intertwined society and focuses on individual members of the society to play a role in finding appropriate solutions to the problems and solve them jointly and systematically. The study has been focused on the context of changing Thailand's society in a way that the country tends to have a mix of people with different nationalities and classes from many countries, the same way as the context of the new world in general, with less collectivism as the citizen of the same nation. Thus, for a country to run smoothly and that can be prosperous, with security, prosperity and sustainability, it needs the "grand strategy" in order to successfully harmonise all minor strategies, which have been fully developed, for further implementation toward common goals at the most effective and productive time, this research has examined various relevant concepts, theories, literatures and researches into consideration and review for the study.

### Concepts and Theories on National Strategies

This Research will be based on the strategic principles, so the study will try to find the most appropriate strategy formulation process. Firstly, the meaning of the term "strategy" has been examined and found that its meaning had changed with the times, as before World War II the term was more in a sense of

military activities and seen as the art. However, the term had begun to become more of a science since the beginning of the 19th century and in the early 1920s the Harvard Business School developed the Strategic Management as a compulsory course for its graduate students. After World War II ended, Strategic Studies were developed to be a branch of subjects during the 1950s by a group of international relations academics in the field of realism politics, followed by the establishment of the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) in the United States in a bid to support US Army's strategic development, making strategic studies become more of a science. In 1981, General Maxwell D. Taylor stated that a strategy should comprise three components – ends, ways and means – and the concept has been widely accepted and used up to now. For the implementation of the concepts and theories of strategy, there are two types: the strategic process in the military and security activities; and the strategic management process in business sector. In this research, the strategic concepts and theories which have been used in the study are, as follows:

#### 1. The Concepts of Strategic Process

The strategic process for the formulation of national strategy would usually require certain models with the minimum components of national purpose, national interests, national policy, national objectives, strategic concepts, national power and risk assessment, as the clear understanding on the national purpose and the national interests are the most vital parts.

National purpose usually describes the basic needs of the citizens of such nations, so in order to determine the national purpose all enduring beliefs, ethics and values of the citizen must be realised. The thorough understanding about the basic needs of its people will help a government in the formulation of national strategies which will be used to address and solve the problems of the nation later on.

National interests, according to the basic strategic principles, are the goals of the entire nation which the governments of such nations has identified out of the national purpose to be used as the goals for national development. The general principles in determining national interests will be based on: survival of the nation; preservation of the people of the nation; well-being of the nation; and creation of favourable international environments for the benefits of the nation. As a result, the national interests can then vary in accordance with situations, times, periodical priorities of the nation and the intensity of interests at times; and they can be affected by global situation and internal politics. Therefore, the definition of national interests has changed from its original meaning.

In the twentieth century, national interests have been referred to the survival of the nation with regard to sovereignty, security and integrity; the prosperity of the nation and its people; and the dignity and prestige of the nation in relation to international relations with neighbouring countries and other countries in the world. Since the national interests are

considered as one of the important foundations for the formulation and implementation of foreign policies of a nation, to understand the foreign policies of any nation is to begin with trying to understand the national interests which are the motives of the nation.

For Thailand in the 21st century, the Ad Hoc Committee on Vision Determination and Future Design, under the National Reform Council, has in 2015 proposed that Thailand should have a finite national vision, based on the national interests, to move the country toward being one of the first-world countries. Since there are different definitions of national interests in the 21st century, national interests should however include six types of capital: natural capital, human capital, social capital, cultural capital, physical capital and financial capital. To obtain the national interests in the context of globalisation will depend on the capability of the country to manage the flows of these types of capital, as well as the capability to generate and accumulate these capitals. For instance, Singapore has quite a limited national capital but the country has successfully invested in its human capital in parallel to the management of other types of capital for the security, prosperity and stability of the nation. Thailand is a small country, so the national interests would rely very much on the efficiency of its management of these types of capital in the world context. Then, Thailand should seriously consider how it can efficiently utilise these six types of capital to benefit the development of

the nation to the utmost.

In addition to the components in the formulation of the national interests, this research has focused on the traditional principles of national strategic appraisal in an effort to adopt as an analysis process to examine the use of national power, which is considered as a tool of the nation, so that it will be appropriate for the environments the nation is currently facing and will face in the future. According to the traditional principles, the national strategic appraisal includes six steps, as follows:

- Identify all problems in order to develop a problem statement;
- Identify national interests;
- Examine international environment;
- Develop alternative national objectives or policies options;
- Analyse alternative national objectives or policies options; and
- Develop a conclusion and proposal.

## 2. Concepts of Strategic Management Process

In the private business circle, John A. Pearce II and Richard B. Robinson in 2015 proposed that the process of strategic management should comprise nine tasks, as follows:

- Formulate the organisation's mission, which includes purpose, philosophy and goals;
- Analyse internal conditions and capabilities of the organisation;
- Examine the organisation's external environments, both general and competitive contextual factors;

- Analyse the organisation's options with matching its resources with the external environment;

- Identify the most desirable options by evaluating each option based on the organisation's mission;

- Select a set of long-term objectives and grand strategies which will enable the achievement of the most desirable options;

- Develop annual objectives or goals and short-term strategies which are compatible with the selected set of long-term objectives and grand strategies;

- Implement the developed strategies in accordance with the resources and budget allocations with an emphasis on the matching of tasks, people, structure, technologies and reward system of the organisation; and

- Evaluate the success of the strategic process for future decision making.

## 3. Concepts of Models in the Formulation of National Strategy

From the study of 7 models of different countries, it was found that all models employed the same three components (ends, ways and means) but they contained different details. Therefore, the author has selected the structures in the formulation of national strategy of the United States, in which also contains the terms "grand strategy" and "strategic vision" and related components in the formulation as the model of this study.

## 4. Concepts of the Strategy Formulation Process

From the study of the models which have been used in Thailand by civilians especially in the public sector, the national strategy formulation process comprises the analysis of strategic environments and the establishment of organisational direction, which includes the formulation of the organisation's vision, mission, corporate goals, objectives, key performance indicators (KPIs) and strategies. The formulation of strategic plans in order to make all the strategies become concrete is by using SWOT (Strength, Weakness, Opportunities and Threats) analysis to examine the organisation, determining the strategic issues and then the objectives for each strategic issue, choosing the responsible units and their supporting units, determining strategic plan's KPIs for the organisation and individual units, mapping out the tactics or action plans and the targets of each activities, along with the action plan's KPIs.

During the study, the author found that the strategy formulation process and the strategy formulation model utilise similar thinking processes while having different components since the models in the business sector and the public sector might include visions in their processes in order to be their desirable goals and also to determine tactics or action plans in their strategic planning. This study has adopted both military and civilian concepts for use in determining appropriate steps in data analysis, by utilising the objectives or the national purposes in the stage of problem identification and then expanding the boundary of the term

"national interests" to cover the needs of the state, the people and the private sector in an effort to formulate the national interests. Moreover, the formulation of the grand strategy and its tactics has been included in a step of the strategic assessment.

### **Concepts and Theories on National Development**

The term "development" refers to the changes that improve various systems in a society, in the ways widely accepted by the members of such society, with focuses on quantitative, qualitative and environmental aspects of the changes, or the changes for the better. For national development scopes and strategies must be determined for implementation in order to achieve the desired goals, such as in economic development, rural development, industrial development, community development and educational development. The fundamental concepts of the national development are usually in the form of comparative thinking as in the social change perspectives that the development will be focused on the changes in social phenomena, such as social classification, reform and revolution, while in economic and political economy perspectives the focuses will be on the description of the mode of production, mode of consumption and mode of distribution; and in the community perspectives, adopted by the United Nations, the focus will be on people as the centre and goals of the development.

The study about the concepts and theories



of development has shown that the main emphasis of the development is to maintain the balance between capital accumulation and the growth of population as the two matters will try to adjust themselves toward each other and that all developing countries have a lack of efficiency in the financial sector in order to transform savings into investment, precluding the savings and the investment of the countries while a lack of quality of their people in terms of knowledge, capability and morality. The study also points out that (Thailand) should have big investment projects during the ten year period, along with the adoption of the concept of Dr. Angus Deaton, the winner of Nobel prize in economics in 2015, which recommends the use of household's well-being to measure economic growth instead of the measures of Gross Domestic Product for deeper penetration into microeconomic or household economic level for more balance and also the utilisation of the Philosophy of Sufficiency Economy as the framework for national development, in an effort to push the country forward, the development process in accordance with the Big Push Theory to enable the country to overcome all challenges. Such a mixed set of concepts will play a vital role in helping the analysis for appropriate common goals and strategies which can eventually lead to a balanced development.

## **RELATED LITERATURE**

National Strategy and Development of Singapore

The tiny city-state of Singapore offers an

example of rapid and effective successful development in various aspects as it has become the only nation in the world that can rise from a third world to a first world country within one generation. The success of Singapore can reflect many valuable thoughtful points for Thailand to take actions in national development toward suitable directions.

The factors of Singapore's economic success during the past decades were the successful utilisation of its favourable strategic location which is close to the main marine transport route of the world; the high quality of its educated, diligent and skilled people; the continuous development of modern infrastructure; the clear policies in attracting the investment of international corporations from all parts of the world; the governments with vision, efficiency and least corruption; the stability of political and public administration system; the visionary leaders with efficiency; the continuity of the governments; the bureaucracy with high morality and the legal and judicial systems with high responsibility and efficiency.

Singapore has recently mapped out its National Vision and Strategies, with focuses on the reforms in the nation's information technology, science and technology, innovation, skill development and higher education, while there will also be government funding for various institutes and centres for human resource and technology development.

The factors or mechanisms that have

propelled Singapore's development to become very successful are: the visionary leaders and politicians whose political ideology is toward the nation's prosperity with the least corruption as they played their vital parts in establishing highly stable politics and focusing on the benefits of their city state, the strength of their political institution structures, the good governance and the strict enforcement of the laws. These factors have continuously benefited the formulation of Singapore's national strategy and the implementation of all development plans. Meanwhile, the country's education development and human resource development have been aimed at equipping its people with quality, morality and discipline and also with higher skills so that they can play the vital role in national development. The education in Singapore has been designed to be in harmony with the open market system of the country, without neglecting the importance of the country's strategic location and the accessibility of the target groups. In these aspects, Singapore has clearly shown the rest of the world that no other resources would be of more importance than its "human resource". During the implementation of its policies toward the free market economy, Singapore has successfully used research and development (R&D), science, technology and innovation as the driving mechanisms in order to make the city state become one of the world's logistics hubs, as well as the regional testing and standardisation centre for several products and

services. Among the most admirable efforts, Singapore has also implanted its people with the awareness of national unity, citizenship responsibility, competition acceptance and cooperation.

With all of the above mentioned matters, the author strongly believes Thailand can learn from the experiences of Singapore, which is now a developed country and a member country of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), for further development as a thorough study should be made.

### **The Main Concepts of National Development by the National Economic and Social Advisory Council (NESAC), Thailand**

The present situation and various changing internal and external contexts Thailand is facing has strongly affected, both directly and indirectly, its development in a way that the country's economic and social systems cannot adapt to the changes, resulting in several problems which include the decline in various types of national immunities and the existence of high level of corruption. Among the internal contexts currently threatening Thailand are: the country's progression into an aging society which has become one of the big obstacles to national economic and social development; social disparity; the deterioration in national culture, morals, virtues and ethics; severe political conflicts and the growing urbanisation in provincial areas to lessen the burden of an overpopulated capital city and other main cities.



Meanwhile, the threatening external contexts are: changing global economic conditions in the midst of the global wave of globalisation, capitalism, consumerism and fierce competition in the world's free market; natural and environmental deterioration; global population aging and change in population structure; the rapid changes in science, technology and innovation and the climate change. In the past, there seemed to be only the efforts to solve facing problems in Thailand, without any formulation of national strategies and methods laid down in advance for the sustainable national development. Therefore, the national strategies for national development should be formulated and reviewed from time to time in order to find the most appropriate strategies for the times.

Since all the problems currently facing Thailand, such as unbalanced development, economic and social disparities and the effects from global climate change, are related to complex economic and social structures, the country needs to have certain directions for its development by formulating development strategies, guidelines and long term measures, to successfully solve these problems and further develop sustainably. Besides, all related parties should have their parts in jointly working towards the formulation of these essential strategies for national development in the long run, so that Thai people and the entire society can gradually adjust to the coming changes in all dimensions in accordance with the Philosophy

of Sufficiency Economy, which emphasises self-reliance, self-immunity and the balanced ways of development in all dimensions, in parallel to the utilisation of all existing capitals – economic capital, social capital and natural and environmental capital – for the benefits and the strength of the nation. In order to develop the country to prosperity many factors will be needed and one of the most vital is the human factor, which has been well proved by many leading countries to be the solid foundation for sustainable development.

#### **UN Prediction on the Global Demand for Foods and Agricultural Products in the Next 20 Years**

The United Nations has estimated that the current world population of approximately seven billion will increase to about nine billion in the year 2040, and the world is now moving toward the scarcity of foods, water and energy to answer the demands of the increasing number of population. It is predicted that the demand for foods in 2040 will increase by at least 50 percent while those for energy and water will increase by 45 and 30 percent respectively. The countries that are at high risk of having insufficient foods and water will be China, India and the countries in Africa and the Middle East.

While the demand for agricultural products and foods is increasing, the quantity of edible plant production is dropping, due to more limitation of land for agriculture and agricultural technology expansion, the effects of climate change in the forms of severe droughts

and floods which have damaged the agricultural producing in many countries. As a result, more and more countries will apparently keep their agricultural products in stock for domestic consumption. Regarding the global energy consumption, the continuous growth of the newly industrialised countries like China and India has caused the energy consumption leapfrog. With the increasing oil prices, there have widely been attempts to develop new types of renewable energy, resulting in an increasing demand for energy crops which have long been used as food crops and eventually the conflict between food crop production and energy crop production. For example, the conflicts may be observed in the case of maize and tapioca which can both be used in animal feed production and ethanol production; sugar cane in sugar production and ethanol production; and oil palm in cooking oil production and biodiesel production. Such conflicts between food crop production and energy crop production in the future may cause a decline in certain food crop production, leading to the increase in prices of the food crops. Hence, the main problem in the changing agricultural sector is very likely to be the unbalanced production of energy and food crops.

## RELATED RESEARCH

1. Individual Research on “Strategic Concepts for National Security for the Period of 10 Years (1998 – 2007) by Jiraporn Bunnag, National Defence College student, Batch 40.

The Research pointed out that the contexts of both current and future national security would cover a wide range of issues in various dimensions, which are interrelated as a comprehensive security, involving both domestic and international politics, economic, psycho sociology, science, technology, energy, natural resources, environment and national defence. Thus the perspectives related to national security strategies will be examined by using a holistic and integrated approach to consider the relationship and the effects of all concerned issues.

2. Research project, entitled “Economic Reform for Social Fairness”, by Nipon Poapongsakorn and team (2011).

The Research summarised that the economic and social disparities, which have resulted in the conflicts in Thailand, stemmed partly from the implementation of certain economic policies and activities with an ill intent to obtain some personal or group benefits in the form of an economic surplus or “economic rent”. In addition, the study also found the concentration of big business structures which can overpower the market mechanism and the supervision of the government. These big business structures may possibly grow out of their monopolistic business patterns or the investment nature for lower unit cost of their products.

3. Area-Based Collaborative Research by Dr. Silaporn Buasai, Deputy Director for Area Strategy of the Thailand Research Fund (TRF)

The research discovered the fact from several area-based collaborative researches funded by TRF that the researches during which field data gathering was obtained through the collaborative comprehension and analysis of concerned parties in such localities can lead to the cooperation among these parties in an effort to realise the common goals of any development in the localities and jointly map out the development plans for the benefits of the localities.

4. The academic paper on “The Grand Strategy and the Solutions to Preah Vihear Temple Conflicts”, by Colonel Sopon Siringam, in 2013

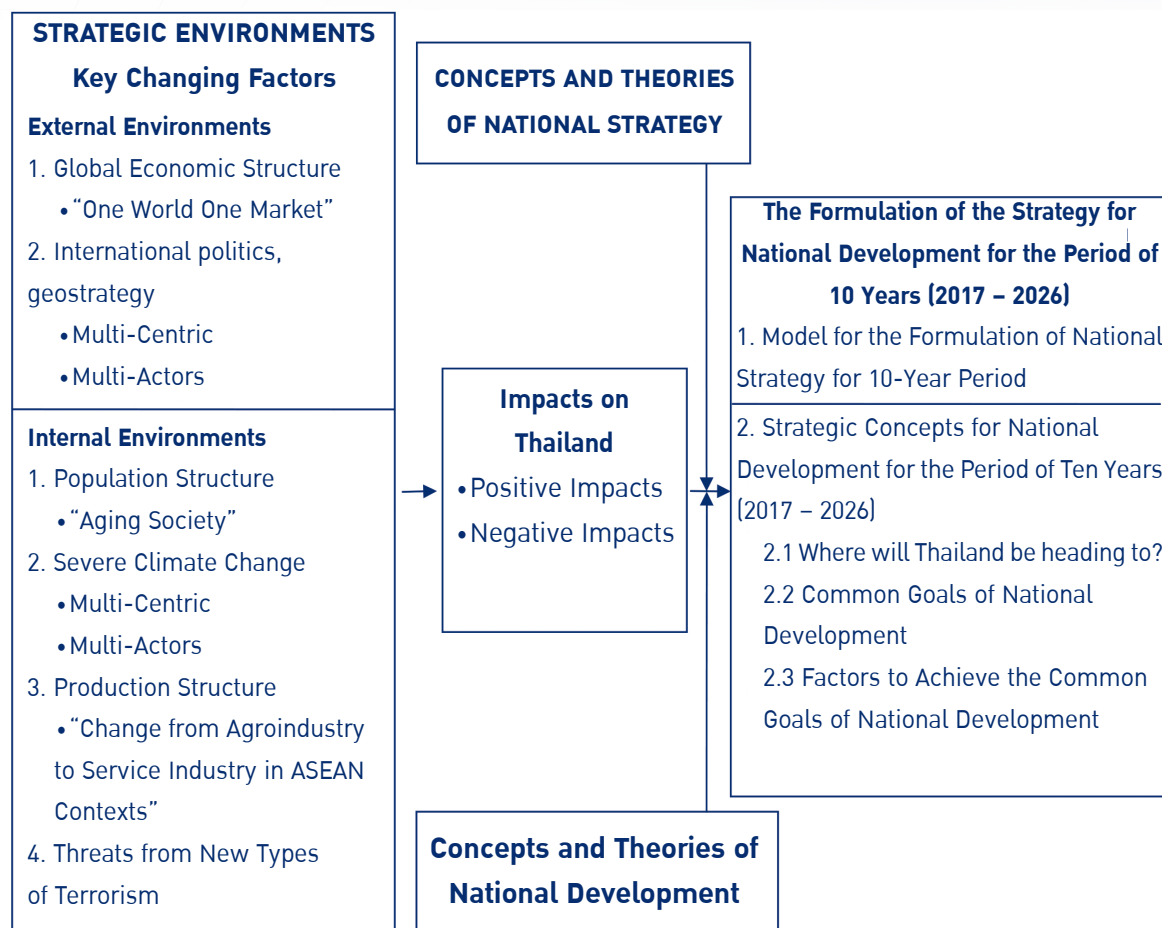
The author had studied the grand strategy and the solutions to Preah Vihear Temple conflicts between Thailand and Cambodia and found that there are some guidelines which can be used in the analysis and presentation of the research results in accordance with the steps in the formulation of national strategies.

From the study of various aspects which include the concepts and theories of national strategy, related literatures and related researches, it can be concluded that, regarding the national strategy concepts and theories, although the key components of the strategies still remains the same, the definition of national interests have changed toward the new concepts of the 21st century which involve the six types of capital and the emergence of new and non-state actors. Therefore, the protection of national interests will have to expand to cover

the interests of both the private sector and the people of the nation, in addition to those of the state as in the conventional procedures. Besides, the models for the formulation of national strategy, both in the military and the business sector, would similarly require the establishment of national purpose or the business purpose prior to the formulation of respectively the national interests and the grand strategy, with several sub-strategies and this concept has been widely adopted and it can also be utilised in making the most appropriate model for the formulation of national strategy.

Moreover, regarding the concepts and theories on national development, it is also found that Thailand's national development has not yet been in the process of national development systematically in all aspects of the society, resulting in the lacks of balance and the extreme economic and social disparities. The result of the study suggested that the Big Push Theory be used in Thailand through big investment projects during the ten year period, as a means to push the country into the genuine national development process, otherwise it would be impossible to overcome all existing challenges. In parallel, the concept of Dr. Angus Deaton, to use household's well-being, instead of Gross Domestic Product as economic growth indicator should be adopted in order to be able to reach the microeconomic or household economic level for more balance, while using the Philosophy of Sufficiency Economy as the framework for national development concepts.

Diagram 1 Conceptual Framework of the Research on “the Strategic Concepts for the National Development for the Period of 10 Years (2017 – 2026)”



Meanwhile, the study about related literatures and related researches, it is found that Singapore’s nation building and national development have different background and history from those of Thailand in many aspects, especially in political stability, good governance and the continuity in the implementation of the policies in accordance with the laid national strategies. However Thailand can still use some development patterns of Singapore which is now

a developed country and a membered country, for its national development. Finally, from the study about the grand strategy and the solutions to the Preah Vihear Temple conflicts between Thailand and Cambodia, it also offers some guidelines which can be used in the analysis and presentation of the research results in accordance with the steps in the formulation of national strategies.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

From the study of all information in the above documents, the conceptual framework of the Research has been made, as shown in Diagram 1:

## RESEARCH RESULTS

The results of this study are able to meet all the three Research Objectives after the national strategy and the strategic principles have been examined and found that there have been significant changes in the strategic principles, both in the components of national interests' definition and the model of national strategy formulation process, as these changes are challenging the traditional concepts.

The study also found that the external factors which have strategically affected the changes in the structure level and outcomes of Thailand's national development are international politics, geo-strategy and global economy while the internal factors mainly affecting the structure level are the change in population structure toward an aging society, the participation in the ASEAN Community, the new types of security threats – home-grown terrorists and cyber-attack and the severe domestic climate change.

Despite the hope among various parties to see Thailand move forward to become a developed country while the government, private and civil sectors have all mapped out their own excellent strategies with clear directions, the study found that these sets of strategies and

directions are not harmonised and do not reflect the common goals, resulting in the lack of efficient power to drive the entire society. Therefore the more each sector attempts to push its efforts harder, the more the society becomes confused and chaotic.

Moreover, based on modern concepts and theories on national development, the study also found that Thailand's national development is yet to enter the process of national development systematically in all aspects of the society; as a result such development has led to the lacks of balance and the extreme economic and social disparities. However Thailand cannot use the conventional means to solve the problems of the country by focusing on immediate problem solving as in the past because in the current global contexts, with the influence of globalisation and localisation which enable the entire to become a single market, all the changes have become more rapid and indistinct and full of uncertainties, the utilisation of conventional problem solving techniques would no longer be effective but would eventually create more problems.

While the country, as a nation state with the coexistence of non-state actors which have lately played a more active role, is having the mix of people with a wider range of nationalities and classes leading to less national collectivism and less power of the country, the private businesses which once competed domestically have to turn to fiercer competition in the global market, making them become more powerful



as the state actors used to be in the past. As a result, the strategic planning in both the public and private sectors will have to take global environments into account, making their models for strategy formulation become more similar and the necessity of the joint public and private efforts in the making of national strategy to fit into new global contexts becomes more vital.

Along with various changes, the definition of national interests has also changed from the conventional realist concepts to the new concepts of the 21st century in which the national interests have been considered in the dimension involving six types of capital. The protection of national interests now has to cover not only the interests of the state as in the conventional procedures but also to extend to the interests of both the private sector and the people of the nation in the national strategy formulation process. As a consequence it needs to determine national purpose prior to the formulation of the national interests, as the mutual benefits among the stakeholders of the country and the grand strategy, containing the sub-strategies of the national power or business groups. Then the conventional model for the formulation of national strategy must be adjusted to become more appropriate.

In addition to the principles of strategic studies, this research has focused on the utilisation of three concepts and theories as the strategic concepts for Thailand's national development, they are: the Philosophy of Sufficiency Economy, as the framework and core thinking methods in order to counterbalance the impacts of the Big Push

Theory which has been recommended for pushing Thailand into the genuine development process during the ten year period; the economic concept of Dr. Angus Deaton regarding the use of population wellbeing as the economic indicator in an effort to minimize the economic disparity between the rich and the poor; and the conceptual framework of the current government's 20 year National Strategy for Thailand, which includes six primary strategies, (to enhance and develop the potential of human capital; to ensure justice and reduce social disparities; to strengthen the economy and enhance competitiveness on a sustainable basis; to promote green growth for sustainable development; to bring about national stability for national development toward prosperity and sustainability and to enhance the efficiency of public sector management and promote good governance), as the guidelines for further implementation to be effective. The research results have offered appropriate strategic concepts for the Thailand's national development during the ten year period (2017 – 2026) which can fully support the 5 year Twelfth National Economic and Social Development Plan and the 20 year National Strategy and perfectly intertwine with them via its eight strategies in order to help boost a balanced national development, with essential flexibilities which will enable Thailand to cope with future uncertainties while enhancing the readiness and the guarantee for Thailand's security, prosperity and sustainability during the next 20 years.

**The study results which can answer all three research objectives are as follows:**

1. The results of the study on key factors which can affect both external and internal environments and the impacts on national development

**1.1 External Factors and Their Impacts**

The external factors and their impacts affecting the national strategies and strategic structure, which have been focused during the study are international politics, geo-strategy and global economy.

On international politics and geo-strategy, the study found that there has slightly been the global power shift as China emerges to challenge the United States on the international arena, tending to make the world become multipolar. With some levels of suspicion, the United States seemed to have adapted its relationship with China, apparently accepting China as a strategic ally but at the same time attempting to reduce the competitive capability of China which has led to international disputes in the South China Sea. Any conflict escalation into a war would undoubtedly affect Thailand's foreign policies and national security prevention so that the country must carefully consider in an effort to maintain good relations with both China and the United States. The dispute with China in the South China Sea has triggered Japan to adjust its self-defence policies, strengthen its self-defence forces and also expand its alliance with some of China's competitors in Asia, resulting in a more serious situation in this part of the world. Russia

meanwhile has been trying to maintain its influence over the former Soviet states in Eastern Europe, resulting in a cold war between Russia and the membered countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In addition, Russia's attempt to strengthen its ties with long-time ally Vietnam may lead to more disputes and conflicts in the Southeast Asian region. In the midst of the emergence of multipolar world, there has also been the rise of non-state actors in several international organisations with increasing influence.

On the economic side, the transformation of the world economy to the "one world one market" system, the power shift from the West to the East especially to the Asian Economic Triangle (China – Japan – South Korea) and the more open market in accordance with the agreements among the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 2015 will offer more opportunities for Thailand's manufacturing sector in agro-industry and service industry so that there will be more markets, development to modern technology based production and services and also further development of agricultural products to agro-industrial products, to avoid any fiercer competition with neighbouring countries like Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar in the markets for primary agricultural products.

On the global situation on foods, water and energy there is a risk of extreme scarcity of these resources. This is mainly due to: the increasing number of world population; the limitation of land for agriculture and agricultural

technology expansion; the rapid climate change which might lead to severe natural disasters and the higher demand for energy which is accelerating the development of new types of renewable energy while causing the conflict between food crop production and energy crop production, resulting in less food production and higher prices of food crops.

### 1.2 Internal Factors and Their Impacts

The study has examined key internal factors affecting the strategic structures and the future development of the country. These internal factors are: the changing structure of Thailand's population and its progression into an aging society; the country's participation in the ASEAN Community; on national security in relation to the changing threats from international terrorists to home-grown terrorists and the computer network attacks and the domestic impacts from global climate change.

The change in Thailand's population structure toward the aging society, with a decline in number of population of working age, has affected the country's human resource readiness for national development, the social security and quality of life among the elderly and the increase in public welfare expenditures; but the change in the aspect of the nation's population structure might probably create some new business opportunities. Thailand's participation in the ASEAN Community has been observed as the movement for both collaboration and competition, with the risks from existing weaknesses of the country such as the quality of people and education, academic research

and the development of science, technology and innovation. The new threats for national security also include the operations of home-grown terrorists and the cyber-attack via widely used social media and the rapid expansion of criminal networks which benefit from a modern and rapid transport system. The domestic impacts from global climate change which will affect the country's agricultural production and the widespread of plant diseases. Finally, due to the emergence of the virtual world which offers online community environments, as in various popular social media, it is essential that Thai people must understand the existence of both worlds, the real world and the virtual world.

### 2. The model for the formulation of the 10 year National Strategy

In this research, a total of 13 models for the formulation of strategies in Thailand and other countries have been studied in order to be able to select the most suitable concepts to be used in the model for the formulation of the 10 year National Strategy for Thailand, as shown in Diagram 1, by emphasising on the simplicity of model components and the participation of all the public, private and civic sectors which can separately use parts of the National Strategy for their own benefits. This research has used the knowledge obtained from the Literature Review in considering three main concepts, which have similar components and are most contemporary, with a similar focus of all concerned parties which is in line with the requirements of this research. The selected concepts are those of the US National Strategy;

the concepts of Colonel Sopon Siringam on required components of the models for the formulation of the National Strategy and the concepts on the process of strategic management in the private business circle of John A. Pearce II and Richard B. Robinson, which should comprise nine tasks.

The model for the formulation of US National Strategy has applied the principles of strategic appraisal, starting from: the consideration of national purpose which is the fundamental purposes of the nation – the beliefs, ethics and values of the people; the identification of national interests and the Grand Strategy which is the strategic vision of the nation; the examination of global environments and internal environments in parallel and then the formulation of national policies in all aspects by using the national objectives as the “ends”, the strategic concepts as the “ways” and the national power as the “means”.

The concepts of Colonel Sopon Siringam, in 2016, proposed that the models for the formulation of the National Strategy in accordance with international standards should at least comprise the national purpose based on the enduring beliefs, ethics and values; the national interests; the national policy; the national objectives or the “ends” of the strategies; the strategic concepts or the “ways” for the implementation of the strategies; the national power or the “means” of the strategy to drive the national strategy toward the goals and the risk assessment which can help identify possible risks in order that the strategists can prevent any failure during the implementation of the national strategy.

In the book, entitled “Strategic Management: Planning for Domestic & Global Competition”, John A. Pearce II and Richard B. Robinson, the co-authors, suggested that the strategic management in private business circle, of which should comprise nine tasks as follows: formulate the organisation’s mission, which includes purpose, philosophy and goals; analyse internal conditions and capabilities of the organisation; examine the organisation’s external environments, both general and competitive contextual factors; analyse the organisation’s options with matching its resources with the external environment; identify the most desirable options by evaluating each option based on the organisation’s mission; select a set of long-term objectives and grand strategies which will enable the achievement of the most desirable options; develop annual objectives or goals and short-term strategies which are compatible with the selected set of long term objectives and grand strategies; implement the developed strategies in accordance with the resources and budget allocations, with an emphasis on the matching of tasks, people, structure, technologies and a reward system of the organisation and evaluate the success of strategic process for future decision making.

From the above mentioned concepts the author has created a model to be used in the formulation of the national strategy for the 10 year development period which can be adopted by the public, private and civic sectors of the country, as the components of the strategy formulation model shown in Diagram 1, as follows:

- National Purpose refers to Thailand’s

values which are quite stable and hardly changed from the traditional values and have been emphasised by the current government in accordance with the nation's cultural and ethical values as the "12 Thai Core Values;

- National Interests in this research have covered both the traditional definition and the new definition in the 21st century, including the interests in the perspectives of the public, private and civic sectors. The determination of national interests should be conducted by a joint public-private committee, comprising the people from all walks of life and occupations who should really understand the concepts of national interests and their groups' interests, in order that they can play their parts in making the national interests become the true interests of all concerned sectors;

- National Objectives for 10 Year Period will be the core essence of the National Interests, which should be clearly determined as the goals to be substantially achieved during the ten-year period, to be utilised as the goals in the process of operation planning;

- Annual National Objectives refers to the goals set for achievement each year, which would be the vital steps toward the success in accordance with the National Objectives for 10 year period;

- The Examination of Internal and External Environments is aimed at analysing the strength, weakness, opportunities and threats (SWOT) in order to gather all the data for further utilisation during the stages of national strategy, strategic vision and national policy formulation later on;

- The Grand Strategy will be for the

determination of development directions by means of applying and combining all national power instruments in order to achieve the National Purpose and the National Interests;

- Strategic Vision provides an overview of the strategic position where the nation wants to be in the future, with a linkage to the National Purpose and the National Interests;

- National Power is the ability of the nation to achieve the National Interests. In the 21st century, the four elements of the National Power are diplomacy, information, military and economy (DIME);

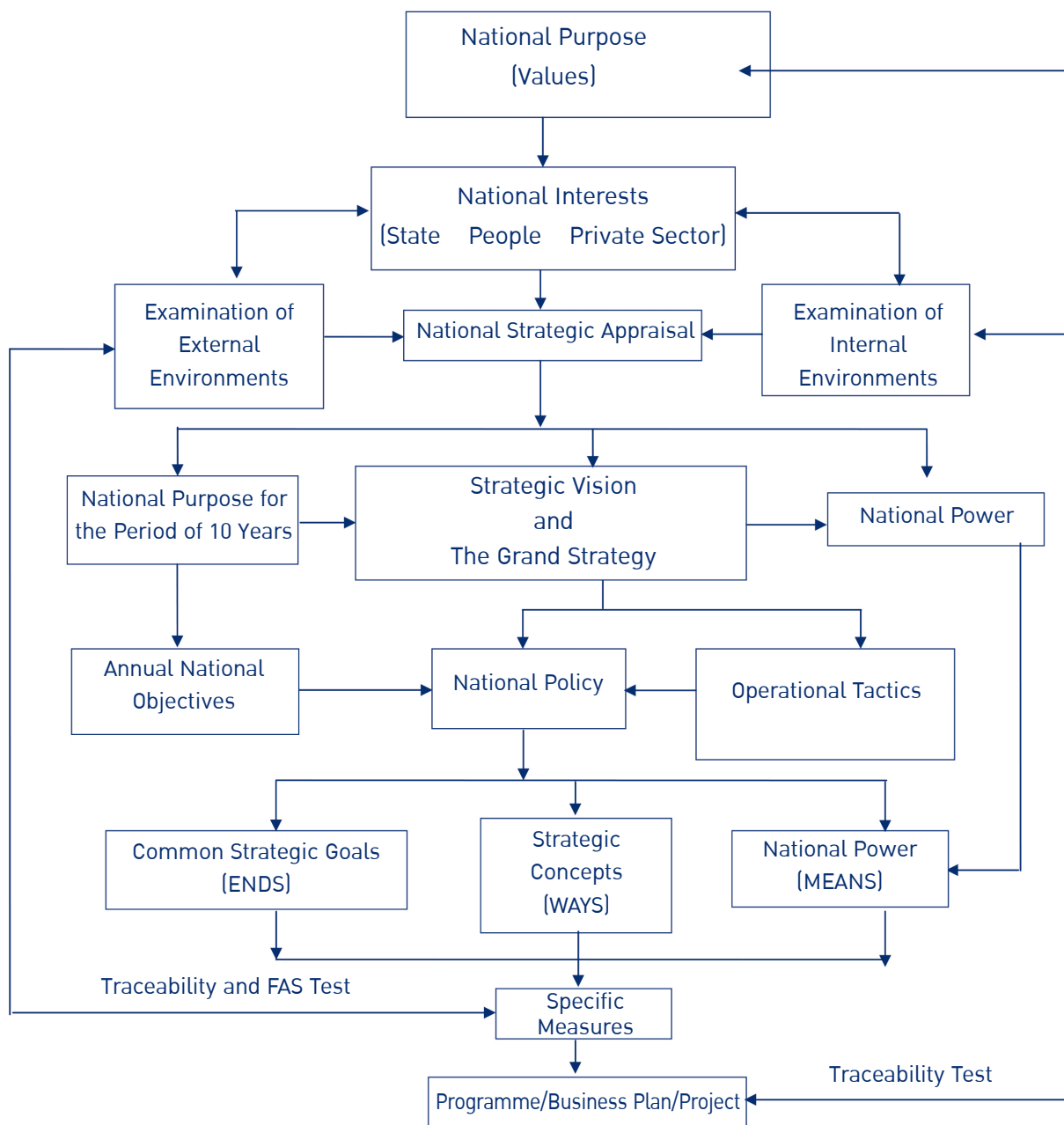
- National Policy comprises common goals, strategic concepts, and national power which will be used as the framework of certain guidelines of the government for the formulation of sub-strategies of the National Strategy;

- Operation Tactics are the artful methods to obtain certain advantages during the operation and finally the success of Annual National Objectives; and

- Specific Measures and Programme/ Business Plan/Project, Traceability and FAS (feasibility, acceptability, and suitability) Test are to facilitate the transformation of strategies into operations and the strategy appraisal (which is beyond the scope of this research).



Diagram 1. The Model for the Formulation of the National Strategy for National Development for the Period of Ten Years



### 3. Recommendation on the Strategic Concepts for the National Development for the Period of 10 Years (2017 – 2026)

Regarding the determination of the strategic concepts, this study believes that in order to successfully transform Thailand to become a developed country within the next 20 years, there should be preparations of the nation's various potentials during the first ten years (2017 – 2026) to be ready for further development, as the passive strategy and then the utilisation of the active strategy during the next ten years (2027 – 2036). During the first ten year period there will be two urgent tasks: Firstly, to unify all the efforts of both the public and private sectors to jointly move Thailand forward into the genuine process of national development and urge each sector to move toward the same direction to facilitate the realisation of Thailand's hope and secondly, to rearrange and reform all related factors and enhance the national security to have the needed capabilities for the second stage of the development especially on the nation's human capital which needs the improvement in quantity, quality and morality with a focus on the love for locality and the nation among the young generation in an effort to have the common goals for national development and the achievement of such goals.

#### 3.1 The Common Goals of National Development

The study found that during the timeframe of this research the desired strategic position of Thailand is for the country to transform to become a developed country (in the first world) whose

majority of its people thoroughly have higher income and quality of life with the following common goals:

“The directions of national development are aimed at: achieving the nation's unity among all Thai people; enhancing the country toward security, prosperity and sustainability and environmental-friendly economic growth; developing Thailand to become a high income country with thorough and fair income distribution among its people; establishing Thailand as the nation with dignity in the global community; promoting Thailand as the regional transport and logistics hub; transform Thailand into innovation driven economy; making Thailand as a happy society where its people live happily together and enjoy a better quality of life and implanting the young generation with creativities in building a better society.”

#### 3.2 The Practice Guidelines for the Achievement of Common Goals of National Development

The study found that the practice guidelines for the achievement of common goals of national development need the collaboration from all concerned parties – the people, civil society, private business sector and the public sector with the supporting factors for success, strategies and strategic tactics as follows:

##### 3.2.1 Critical Success Factors

The domestic situation of the country must be stable and peaceful without any political and social conflict, while the foreign situation must also be peaceful and the country must have the

thinking process which is in line with the Philosophy of Sufficiency Economy to be used as the supervisory tool for national development.

### 3.2.2 Strategies

The study also found that in order to transform Thailand to become a developed country there are eight strategies involved, they are: to establish the national security under the political stability and the strong democracy of the nation; to enhance sustainable corruption prevention and suppression system of the nation; to build the country as a happy society with equality and fairness; to establish the connectivity with other countries in the region for the economic and social stability; to develop the nation's human resource as members of the life-long learning society; to develop the nation's economy toward the economic growth with quality and sustainability; to develop the nation's science, technology and innovation for national development and to manage the nation's natural resources and environment with balance and sustainability.

### 3.2.3 Strategic Tactics

In Diagram 5-2 the strategic tactics are divided into two axis. The left-hand side shows the Big Push Theory which will be used to increase the competitive capabilities and growth, as the business sector plays the major role in the ten year period of national development, with the collaboration with neighbouring countries with common borders in order to grow together, while Thailand develops its young generation to be ready for further development steps in the following ten year period.

On the right-hand side, the development will utilise the economic concepts of Dr. Angus Deaton in a bid to join forces with existing directions and make more balance in the mechanisms of the public sector -- human resource, structures and related regulations – to have the readiness to support the private sector in the primary stage for further nation development in the following period in parallel to the efforts to make the society with more fairness and less economic and social disparities to create the favourable atmosphere for human resource development toward quantity, quality and morality and to implant the values of homeland loving among all Thai people within the first nine years. Meanwhile the defence diplomacy and national security will be used as the basis and the concepts of the Philosophy of Sufficiency Economy will be used in the creation of proactive measures to intertwine all the strategic tactics on both sides to move upward for the development of the nation's human capital of new generation to have desired quantity, quality and morality, to become the future leaders of both the nation and ASEAN and be able to support Thailand in the realisation of hope and dreams of the country with the goal to develop Thai people in all three sectors within the first ten years. This new generation of Thai people is expected to be the joint main efforts after those of the private sector in the first ten years in Thai society to move Thailand into the genuine development process to match the criteria of the United Nations in becoming a developed nation through sustainable development during the proactive period so that Thailand's dreams to

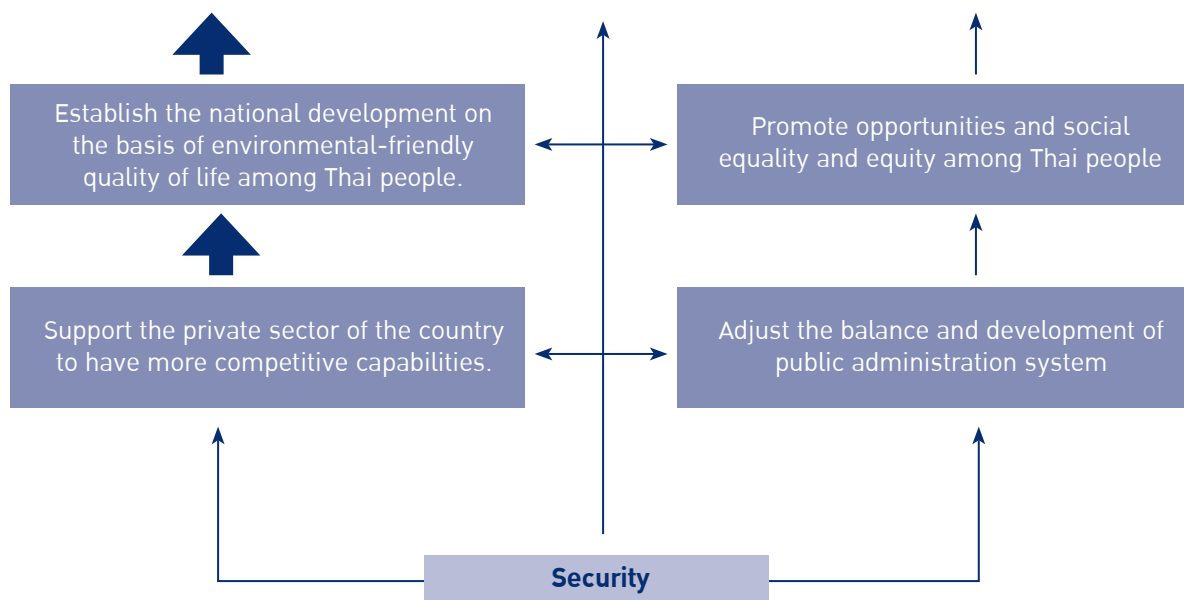
For the period of 10 years, adopt the Big Push Theory to move Thailand forward into the genuine development process, use cities as the key mechanism in national development, and form alliance with neighbouring countries to jointly develop each sub-region, with the support from the government.

For the period of 10 years, prepare the human capital to have desired qualities, with a sense of homeland loving, to support the national development in the long run.

For the period of 10 years, reform all essential structures of the country, lessen the economic and social disparities, and suppress all forms of corruption to enhance the internal strength of the country.



### Development and Enhancement of the Potentials of Thai People



Use the nation's strengths in geography and history, along with national security intelligence and foreign affairs, in an effort to develop Thailand into a strong and wealthy nation.

Diagram 5-2: Strategic Tactics

come true within the year of 2036 in accordance with the joint common goals of all concerned parties.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. This research found that there are many concepts of national development and each of the concepts and theories looks at national interests and national objectives in different aspects and all social changes in a period of time that also differ from those in another period. Therefore the government should establish a policy to periodically conduct the research project on the “Joint Strategic Concepts for National Development” at several levels of education institutes, possibly from the secondary school level, in parallel to the formulation of National Strategy of the government so that the information from these studies can be used for the formulation or the review of the National Strategy to move the country forward to stability, prosperity and sustainability.

2. There should be a study on the national development with a focus on how to set the nation free from the middle-income trap as a case study, so that the results of the study can be used as the options for Thailand’s future development in all possible aspects, such as economy, society, politics, natural resources and environment and so on.

3. There should be a research on the appropriate model for the formulation of the National Strategy which can be jointly used in

all sectors, with the strategies and sub-strategies that can be technically and harmoniously applied at all levels down to the operational level. The model proposed in this research can be useful for further study at a certain degree.

4. There should also be the formulation of the strategies on national intelligence and anti-intelligence for both the real world and the virtual world in order to help Thai people to thoroughly understand and realise the threats which might occur in both worlds and to provide the society with sufficient immunity and guarantee against new types of threats and the capability to adjust to current and future changes.

5. The Thai Traditional Knowledge Operation Centre should be established in order to utilise all traditional agricultural practices along with the modern technology and innovation and the Centre should have several operation units in various parts of the country so that these units can be the centres for food production and storage as well as to be used as the reforestation centre to promote reforestation as the means to create sources of renewable energy in four regions of the country.