

### **Political Roles of Military Factions and Politicians in the Period of General Prem Tinsulanonda's Government (1980-1988)**

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The Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 1978, drafted after a coup d'état on October 20, 1977, contained the 1978 Constitution that Thailand appear at best a semi-democratic country. This constitution was drafted by militaries and personalities appointed by military factions that seized power in a coup d'état in 1977. The constitution also authorized military factions to take a direct political role as the transitory period stipulated. At the same time the influence of politicians increased through the 1978 Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand. Therefore, the period of General Prem Tinsulanonda's government (1980–1988), during which the transitory period of the 1978 Constitution came to an end (in 1983), the conflict between military factions and politicians erupted, especially with regard to the issue of constitutional amendments. Military factions and politicians struggle for the lead of authority. However, Thai society has become more democratic and participatory, resulting in the reduction of the political role of the military factions.

This study aims to investigate the political roles and the usurpation for the lead of the authority between military factions and politicians in the period of General Prem Tinsulanonda's government by focusing on the 1978 Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, and on the conflict surrounding the constitution amendments. The scope of this study will cover the period when General Prem Tinsulanonda served as Prime Minister of Thailand, i.e. the years from 1980 to 1988. This study will be based on historical methodology which aims to gather an in-depth understanding of primary and second sources.

### **Soldiers, state, and constitution in post-Junta Myanmar: Back to Praetorianism**

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This paper explores the evolving political role of the Myanmar armed forces since the adoption of the 2008 Constitution and the subsequent military/civil transition engaged in 2011. It moves beyond transition and democratization studies and rediscovers theories of the "praetorian state" to apply them to the post-junta constitutional politics in Myanmar. Armed forces in transitional polities, the literature on praetorianism informs us, still aim to keep an eye on policymaking – mostly thanks to military-sanctioned Constitutions or through more subtle ways of political, social and corporate intervention. This paper therefore demonstrates how the Myanmar army still enjoys in a post-SPDC context the legal instruments, networks and political leverage to intrude as a "praetorian ruler" into state affairs, notably through the provisions of the 2008 Constitution. It argues that, instead of a direct military rule (as observed until 2011), "praetorian" practices will be rediscovered in the 2010s thanks to the constitutional prerogatives the Myanmar military institution has secured after a decade-long Constitution-drafting process. Indeed, whilst keeping vested interests in the newly formed post-junta and civilian-led executive and legislative powers, the Myanmar army seems however willing to now stay away from day-to-day politics. Gradually tolerating a greater policy role for civilians, it will nonetheless continue to shape, through various types of praetorian interventions, Myanmar's foreign and domestic policies, as well as influence future reforms.