



THE BUDDHIST POLITICAL PRINCIPLES AND THEIR RELEVANCE TO
THE CONTEMPORARY THAI POLITICS: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

PHRAMAHA JIMKAI TARUWAN

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION
ASSUMPTION UNIVERSITY OF THAILAND

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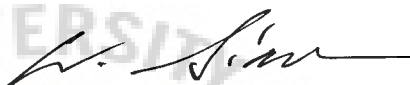
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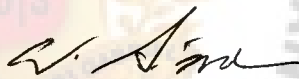
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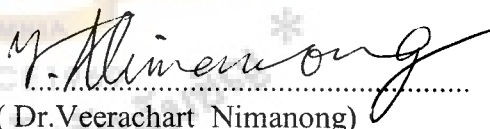


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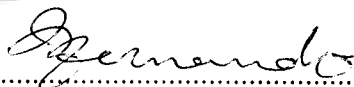
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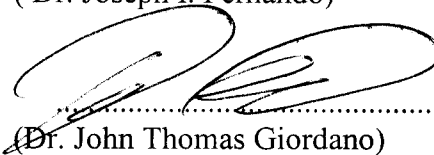
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Thesis Title: The Buddhist Political Principles and Their Relevance to the
Contemporary Thai Politics: A Critical Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Politics generally aims at the interests of the nation state which consists of that of the ruler and the ruled. The most appropriate type among political theories human beings established for their aims as political animals for the contemporary Thai politics is the dhammic political principle contributed by the Buddha in religious dimension. The dhammic political principle can be applied to politico-societal dimension as well due to the fact that this principle elucidates about the process of self adjustment that each individual human being has to go through in order to be with other people and other natural entities harmoniously. Substantially, each individual human being expects to attain happiness, but, due to the fact that one has misunderstandings or ignorance of what contacts to make and the appropriate to do most people follow only personal attitudes due to feeling and emotion. Besides, each individual depends on others because of biological weaknesses so that a political community can be established in order to create a happy atmosphere within each community. Consequently, there are some conflicts with other entities and individual human being. Then suffering occurs within human living situations. The contemporary Thai society is unavoidably in the flux of this conflict as well.

However, based on appropriate circumstances and an environment of dhammic atmosphere contributed by Buddhism, the contemporary Thai society officially administrated by Dr Taksin Chinawatr's government through the governmental policy announced on February 26, 2001, will enable people to attain happiness due to the fact that members of Thai society in status of both the governor and the ruled are familiar with the dhammic principle of governance claimed in *Dasabhiraja-Dhamma* and *Cakkavattivatta Sutta* in particular and the Threefold Training principles in general to avoid unjust governance through transparency and public inquiry as well as enhancing qualities of Thai people in not only economical but also societal and educational dimensions. Besides, the governmental policy does not adapt what Machiavelli contributed to the public which relater to Thai contemporary politics.



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All kinds of merit that this research can distribute, the researcher intends to devote to the triple gems and his parents from which his religious and worldly life have flourished. They should expand to the researcher's religious mater (*Upashaya*) Somdejphra Buddhacharn (Keing Upaseno, Pali 9) who warrants and initiates his religious life in monkhood; the researcher acknowledges him as his second father.

Besides, the researcher would like to express his deeply gratefulness to his advisor, Dr. Veerachart Nimanong who patiently guides him as a Herculean trainer so that he can overcome all obstacles and reach this achievement of his education. A special unforgettable person to whom the researcher would like to pay his gratitude is Asst. Prof. Dr. Warayuth Sriwarakuel, Dean of the Graduate School of Philosophy and Religion who has shared knowledge and cheered him as well as providing various kinds of necessary means to qualify him as appropriate to this academic rank.

The researcher would like to extend his sincere thanks to all faculty members of the school who have contributed worthy knowledge and encouraged him to accomplish this scholarly success.

In addition, the researcher wholeheartedly thanks Mr. Jay McCoy who assisted him improving his English and Mr. Chum Hansakul who facilitated him during his study in the school.

Finally, he would like to gratify Phrarajsithimuni (Suvit Nakamanee) who supports him the expense of his study.

The researcher lastly intends to dedicate this thesis to his father. Let him rest in peace.

ABBREVIATIONS

NE Nicomachean Ethics

Abbreviated Name of Tipitaka

1. V. I, xxx. = Vinaya I Mahāvibhanga, Pathamabhāga
2. V. II, xxx. = Vinaya II Mahāvibhanga, Dutiyabhāga
3. D. I, xxx. = Suttanta I, Dhīghanikāya, Sīlakhandhavagga
4. M. I, xxx. = Suttanta IV, Majjhimanikāya, Mulapaṇṇāsaka
5. M. II, xxx. = Suttanta V, Majjhimanikāya, Majjhimaṇṇāsaka
6. M. III, xxx. = Suttanta VI, Majjhimanikāya, Uparipaṇṇāsaka
7. S. I, xxx. = Suttanta VII, Samyuttanikāya, Sagāthavagga,
8. A. II, xxx. = Suttanta XIII, Anguttaranikāya, Jātakanipāta
9. A. III, xxx. = Suttanta XIV, Anguttaranikāya, Pañcakanipāta
10. A. IV, xxx. = Suttanta XV, Anguttaranikāya, Sattaka, Atthaka, Navakanipāta
11. A. V, xxx. = Suttanta XVI, Anguttaranikāya, Dasaka, Ekādasaka
12. K. I, xxx. = Suttanta XVII, Khuddakanikāya, Kuddhakapātha
13. K. II, xxx. = Suttanta XVIII, Khuddakanikāya, Vimāna, Petavatthu
14. K. III, xxx. = Suttanta XIX, Khuddakanikāya, Jātaka 1

Guideline for Tipitaka: Capital letter = The name of Pitaka; Roman Numeral = Number of Volumes in each Pitaka; and Arabic Number = Number of Verses in the volume

Ex. K. III, 135. = Suttanta XIX, Khuddakanikaya, Jataka 1

Guideline for Aṭṭhakathā: KA. I, xxx.= Two capital letters =Name of Tipitaka Atthakathā;

Roman Numeral = the volume of Atthakathā, Arabic number= page number

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Historical Background and Significance of Study

Due to the fact that the natures of human beings is substantially complex, multifaceted and also formulated by biological, physical, psychological, intellectual, social and spiritual factors which are usually manifested in individual behaviors effectively influenced by external motivators more than innate human substantial qualities because of the fact that sensual desire is stronger than natural conditions, communal statuses of living that sufficiently support them to accomplish their final goal of life have been gradually changed from tribal or racial communities to better stages of governmental stateship [according to modern approach] classified in various types of politics so that they can improve and develop qualities of human beings through self adjustment to live with others peacefully in both individual and political communal dimensions in not only spiritual aspects but physical ones as well (Heywood, 1994, p. 319). It is true that in the process of self adjustment, that each individual of humankind has to proceed to accomplish the final goal among those of other individual social members whose spirit are authentic, dynamically shaped, molded and refined through appropriate principles suitable for peacefully living together in order to harmoniously integrate natural requirements and enforcements from both external and internal factors in particular context of circumstances and environments through human beings' self-management and adjustment for survival on (1) avoiding any malefic obstacle that enables to cause problems and (2) initiating as best as possible beneficial means that helps such a person attain happiness within particular circumstances and environments that appropriately

nourishes such a contextual situation while each one is living in this world through planned deliberate change and progress under prudent modification and improvement between man and nature (Wanlass, 1953, p. 3).

History of humankind in this world consisting of a variety of local communal histories has also revealed the different patterns of citizens' living styles acknowledgeable as arts of living in various areas that have been unavoidably dictated by different types of political theories and developed from societal disciplines according to the unceasing growth in both idealistically internal and physically external dimensions of members in human societies in order to accomplish the *sumum bonum* or supreme good which is equivalent to excellence within a particular context (cf. NE. p. 14) but it is still within the scope of human nature (Sabine, 1973, pp. 4-5). Each political theory which concerns a particular pattern of governance that each human society assigned as disciplinary instruments for preserving justice and enhancing happy atmosphere due to the necessity of human community that requires harmony of living shared in common by all its members is idealistically expected to be the significant means that must be beneficial to all members of such a society radically responding to survival purposes through consciously understanding and solving the problems of communal life and organization (Sabine, 1973, p. 3). It can be claimed, in other word, that political governance is the peaceful condition on acknowledging rights and liberty of human living style when people have to live together through placing their voluntary acceptance on the governmental power of each other through legal authority. It implies that political governance has 'man' as its core element, primary source, and final goal and legal authority as its means.

However, a pattern of governance concentrating on 'man' in each community acknowledged as a nation-state that is appropriate to a current situation due to human nature as political animal (*politike sōon*) which Aristotle mentioned (Aristotle, 1995, p. 11;

Coker, 1938, p. 57) in a macro level of politics consisting of rules, procedures, roles played by individuals, and certain goals, ends and functions (Murphy, 1968, pp. 75-80) exercised by someone or a group assigned as governor or ruler, in a particular place and time is satisfactorily effective to members in such community as the ruled and does not depend on the approach and means that the governor(s) of each nation-state whose aims may concentrate on both ruled' or citizens' welfare obviously and his own sake particularly, or either one of them but not both. It substantially concerns human's life learning in two dimensions coherently. The first dimension is a governor or a ruler that may be an individual or a group of people who has to be the citizens' representative or governor that exercises citizens' rights in order to preserve harmony of a life shared in common for happiness. The second one is the citizens who intentionally allow the representative to exercise their rights for their final good. Yet it is similar to a micro level of each individual life style that each external performance each individual conducts obviously needs an internal governor, its mind, as its commander with or without consciousness; otherwise there is no action because physical organs cannot externally actualize without mind control except the heart. If a mind-commander is able to issue each command for conducting properly, a good consequence will come out automatically. It means that there will not be any suffering but happiness. In case of a macro level as nation-state, if the state-governor can exercise his authority and power of ruling his nation-state appropriately so that its citizens are enabled to avoid suffering and attain and maintain a happy life through deliberate change and progress (Wanlass, 1953, p. 3), those citizens will allow him to govern the country further; but if the governor does not exercise his authority on ruling the country appropriately, those citizens will not permit him to govern the country further such as the case of Puritan Revolution in England or French Revolution in France due to the nature of man as Jürgen Moltmann points out that each

man stands in a cultural process, which arises out of his inner biological incompleteness and openness to the world so that he attempts constantly to complete himself and to close the inner empty space which is embedded in his existence (Moltmann, 1974, p. 11). It implies that whenever each man successively accomplishes biological completeness and fulfils inner empty space in his existence he will have happiness. However, it is particularized in geographical condition as well.

It is evidential from the researcher's observations that there are, in this contemporary world, both happy and suffering citizens in particular areas who are physically under a pattern of governance that frame an interactive arrangement between a ruler and nation-state citizens and their qualities. Happy citizens inhabit nation-states whose governmental policies are fairly exercised by a legitimate leader(s) without bias under appropriate guidance of one particular political theory focusing on a democratic approach due to a commitment towards universality within diversified individuality of human liberty, freedom and dignity according to the nature of each one or even despotism such as political atmosphere within the beginning period of the Siam kingdom especially during the reign of King Ramkhamhaeng the Great.

On the other side, suffering ones live in any nation-state under another particular governmental policy such as a socialistic or feudalistic one due to the ideal commitment of communal properties and solidarity in theoretical viewpoints with egoistically dictatorial exercises of governmental authority in practices by any governor or ruler that keeps away from acknowledgement of human liberty, freedom and dignity such as

mainland China during last two decades or Cuba. Rather, there will be more worsened suffering in such a state if its citizens are also selfish. This does implicitly mean that pattern of governance is acceptable but a person who exercises governance of citizens is unacceptable. However, those citizens finally have to select, through populace

decision, the best means appropriate to support them accomplishing the common final goal of life¹: happiness². It implies a chronological viewpoint that each individual of humankind naturally has his own authenticity in both micro level of individuality and macro level of communal publicity that has to be adjusted appropriately under the guidance of governance which lays its foundation on ethics coherent to natural circumstances and environment unavoidably concerned according to physical conditions in order to live with others harmoniously without, or the least possible, malefic consequences that cause sufferings because of the fact that no one wants such devices (Barnes, 1924, p. 56). On the other hand, if one of them lacks ethical principles to

¹ It is noticeable that if everyone properly responds to religious teachings or ethical principles, there will not be any conflict and problem in both democratic and either societal or communism pattern of politics. Substantially each political theory attempts to propose the best means within a particular condition to guide people to accomplish happiness as concerning to particular environment for survival. Communism for example is one of the best political theory of sharing due to the aspect of commune properties, under the aspect of detachment as the first community of Christianity did in Jerusalem (Ac 2:43-47) or the life of the Buddha whose final approach was also detachment from properties.

² It has been well-known evidentially from mass-medias that communist countries among different natural environments and circumstances such as East Germany, USSR, North-Vietnam and the Mainland China finally change their state-governmental policies to democratic approaches in many levels. See more details in Samuel P. Huntington. (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remarking of World Order*. NY: Simon & Schuster, pp. 125-173.

guide their life's learning there will be also malefic results within such a society. However, such a cause derived from state citizens is more effective than that of a governor.

In addition, religious attitudes on enhancing quality of life for accomplishing such a final goal through guidance of religious virtues proposed by each religion is eventually more powerful than those of physical ones in current situations of mankind development. It spiritually reforms one's mind to make and to express an appropriate decision for performing satisfactory conduct concomitant to virtual view that everyone has to agree with due to the fact that it harmoniously matches a natural process that maintains peacefulness and causes happiness respectively.

It is naturally true as mentioned above that physical organs cannot actualize their performance automatically without the command from their internal commander. Yet, each conduct is acceptable if it is contextually religious. For, normally religious teaching is voluntarily purposive for not only particularity but universality that unavoidably contains particularity leading to happiness through peace. Even though, Samuel P. Huntington strongly confirms that the revitalization of religion through out much of the world is reinforcing cultural differences (Huntington, 1994, pp. 28-9). But each religion encourages its followers to be good. Therefore, it is sound to justify that religious teachings can effectively train and form followers to be good among those cultural diversities, if religious ministers of such a religion preach them to religious followers, both ruler and the ruled, as well as sincerely performing manners along with their sermons contextually and their audiences patiently apply those teachings in their daily life similar to those that their religious leaders do. For, no religion contextually and intentionally teaches its followers to perform malefic or unethical conducts. Each one usually promotes good deeds which everyone has to accept through moral principles

without coercion in order to attain glorious remunerations or rewards from one's deeds; and on the other side, prohibition to exercise bad deeds has been explained by illustrating the bad consequences that each performer will finally attain as well as the grave penalty that will be included due to the disconformity with natural condition. Besides, universally theoretical principles of religious teaching can be deductively applied to each individual in particular context effectively because religious teaching is generally a universal truth acknowledgeable as a theorem. It can be analytically inferred further in political dimensions undeniably interacting with human beings that religious influences which are the most significant dimensions on directing human living styles based on devout belief wholeheartedly so that such persons can reach the final goal of life due to the fact that human conduct actualized in community must be controlled by human mind that is either directly or indirectly influenced by religious principles (Nottingham, 1962, p. 21).

The researcher would like to add another factual aspect conditionally that if the human mind derives commands out of conducting a performance, physical organs concerned will respond to the command respectively because physical organs cannot think but the human mind can think and is able to control physical organs to activate a performance according to the mind's command. In addition, if every human mind follows religious teaching in each human society, there will be ethical members in human societies. Idealistic policies of each government which obviously lay foundation on governance in each country aim at enhancing qualities of citizens' lives earn as G. C. Field (1956, p.34) mentions "*salus populi suprema lex*" which means 'salvation [betterment] of people is the supreme law; Or, it can be said in other words, government for the interest of all not for the interest of selves in the form of tyranny, oligarchy or even democracy (Aristotle, 1995, pp. 99-101) otherwise that government will be directly or indirectly enforced to resign. It can be proposed further that political policies for

governance are officially issued for ruling citizens of that country through natural context which those citizens are familiar in order to keep a peaceful atmosphere and to dynamically develop living situations and conditions for accomplishing their final goal of life in both micro (individualistic) and macro (societal) levels appropriately. It is predicable that the consequences of political commands that follow ethical principles endorsed by religious teaching dogmas relevant to cultural context of citizens will be satisfied effectively if citizens in that country follow the political commands respectively; even though that country uses a format of governance in monarchy, aristocracy or polity (Roskin, 1997, p. 38). Hence, the researcher in accordance with gradually observation, particularly with the political condition in Thailand where both Indian civilizations and Buddhism have influenced to reshape and to reform her cultures since the origin of Siam Kingdom,¹ his beloved native land where later since May 8, 1939 has to be called “Thailand” (Chai-Anan, 2002, p. 62) sets his certain conviction that religious teachings of Buddhism in ethical viewpoints in particular due to the fact that majority of Thai people are Buddhists or are familiar with Buddhist culture generally spiritualize and guide their devout followers as well as others whose pattern of life have been laid beneath Thai culture and relevant to Buddhist ethics to reach their betterment of life without increasing

¹ R. C. Majumdar reports that the authoritative influence of Indian Civilization through authentic resources of both Brahmanical religion and Buddhism have flourished in the land of Siam, the Kingdom of Thailand under the patronage of monarchical rulers since eight or nine century A.D. See more details in P. V. Bapat. *2500 Years of Buddhism*. (Delhi: Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India, 1987), pp. 79-80 and George Coedès. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*. tr. Susan Brown Cowing, (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1968), pp. 194-8.

oppression towards other people but contributing compassion and charity through the spirit of detachment under the governance of Thai government if each follower in both statuses of citizens, ruled and governor or ruler, moralizes each one along the dhammic teachings of Buddhism whose substantial details generally concern nature of natural entities.¹ He assures himself as such because he certainly expects that if everyone follows the religious teachings wholeheartedly, each one, either a citizen or a ruler, in any hierarchical position will psychologically exercise only ethical deeds due to good governance if they know the truth of each entity exactly. Religious belief effectively influences all parts of human being in the dimensions of leading such a person to adopt a life style and that of acting out his behavior accordingly. This conviction is supported by the definition of religion which William B. Williamson proposes that:

Religion is the acceptance of a belief or a set of beliefs that exceed mundane matters and concerns; the commitment to a morality or the involvement in life style resulting from those beliefs; and the psychological conviction which motivates the relation of belief and morality in everyday living and consistent behaviour (Williamson, 1976, pp. 30-31).

In the case of Thailand, both Thai citizens and rulers living in the same context of Thai culture in both religious and political dimensions have been influenced by cultural formations of Buddhism due to the fact that Buddhism has been well acknowledged in

¹ Somboon Suksamran points out that Buddhism helpfully moulds societal members to be religious so that political authority is able to establish right to govern Thai state appropriately. See more details in Somboon Suksamran (1984) *Buddhism and The Change in Politics and Society*. (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press), pp.24-27.

this region since ancient time. The researcher convincingly indicates that every political policy that follows Buddhist ethics is good governance if the government suggests that people avoid harmfulness and promote justice and compassion in practice without bias because the radical teachings of Buddhism that are exercised in ethical viewpoints focus on acknowledgement of natural conditions of all entities, or middle way of acceptance, in their context of both rulers and ruled citizens through supreme wisdom that propose only supreme truth of the Middle Path or *Majjhimāpatipadā* (D. II, 299)

Even though it is, in Thailand as well as in other countries, impossible to adjust everyone to be the same in both physical and temporal status due to the chronological conditions of nature, there will be the same universal substance of rational being from within due to the fact that each one attempts to find ideal happiness in the concrete world of their current life even though there are various kinds of circumstances and environments in the chronological dimension. Besides, each one is composed of, according to Buddhism, only five aggregates in the form of *nāma* and *rūpa* which consists of six basic elements (*Mahābhūta*) that of extension (*Paṭhavī dhātu*), that of cohesion (*Āpo dhātu*), that of radiation (*Tejo dhātu*), that of vibration (*Vāyo dhātu*), that of space (*Ākāsa dhātu*) and that of consciousness (*Viññāṇa dhātu*) (M, III, 169). At the same time each one by nature will extremely avoid, according to personal attitude, malefic deeds that cause problematic consequences in general too. It means that at hand there will not be any problematic or malefic performance which disrupts a happy and peaceful atmosphere of living among them in both the micro level of each individual and macro level of nation state due to the fact that each one can accomplish what he wants to be (Roger, 1961, p. 180) depending on one's decision without ignorance. Rather, various innovations from human rationality enabling humankind to enhance their qualities of life will be appropriately initiated more and more through creative knowledge supported by

wisdom according to natural conditions in particular environmental circumstances because each one needs not to worry on preventing malefic consequences from any deed that other people may perform. Besides, both religious principles and political policies are similar in the point that they either explicitly or implicitly directed to authoritatively control human performances in both permissive and prohibitive status in the form of behavioral codes in order to enhance human life's quality in particular context of environment and circumstance. The external evidences in Thailand as follows support this conviction.

(1) There have been various devout followers of Buddhism in Thailand who accomplish their happy lives when they gradually follow the teachings of Buddhism under the governmental policies of Thai politics such as Buddhadasa Bhikkhu, Phra Ajān Fan Ājāro, Phra Ājān Mān Bhuridhatto and King Bhumibhol the Great.

(2) On the other side, there have been many offenders in not only laymen and/or religious ministers but also citizens and/or rulers who did not follow the Buddha's teaching according to one's status, or conduct unethical behaviors such as corruption or plutocracy so that they were penalized according to the rule of Karma exercised by governmental authority such as The rebellion of Meritorious¹ in various area in the

¹ It originated from the superstitious belief in Buddhism's context. Main idea of the belief was the propagation declaring that the leaders of rebellions were saviors enabling then to redeem people from poverty and suffering. Followers had to obey leaders' commands which concerned popular embezzlement through deceptive reference of Buddhist teachings. Some of male followers, due to false belief issued by the leaders voluntarily sent their wives or daughters to leaders to satisfy sexual desire of the leaders so that they could attain their salvation. See more details in Term Viparkpajanakij A

Northeastern part of Thailand in 1900, the tragic Democratic Revolution of October 14, 1973 or the Black May 17-20, 1992¹. Or they had caused tragic economical crises that were justly exposed in 1997 allegorically called “Tomyamkung decease” so that Thai people have suffered unavoidably. If each one preserves Buddhist ethical principles in general there will not be any kind of problem that causes horrible consequences as such.

(3) It is intentionally enacted in the latest Constitution of Thailand, 1997, Chapter 5 Article 73 that the nation-state of Thailand has to patronize and protect Buddhism and other religions, to promote mutual understanding and impartiality among followers of all religions and to support application of religious teachings in order to enhance virtuous deeds and to improve quality of life acknowledged in Chai-Anan’s terms as political terms of security (S), development (D) and participation (P) (Chai-Anan, 2002, p. 8) being governed by appropriate committees of governance in the official form of Thai government. This means that the contemporary Thai government acknowledges ethical significances of Buddhism as well as those of other religions whose influences enrich the virtual qualities of Thai people in order to achieve a peaceful atmosphere of living together in political dimensions which consist of three significant factors of state, government and citizens whose approach must mutually direct and collaborate each other to both an external happiness evidential from economical wealth and an internal one observed from ethical conducts under the realization of each status ethically. Satisfactory conducts in the scope of ethics must be derived from a human mind that is

History of the Isarn Region. (Vol. 2), (Bangkok: Sociology Association of Thailand, 1970), pp. 97-135.

¹See more details in Likhit Dhiravegin. *Evolution of Thai Politics and Governance*. (Bangkok: Dhammasat University Press, 1997). pp. 190-243.

usually ethicalized such that the mind can automatically direct one's decisions to perform good deeds and to avoid any exercise of bad ones. But if the government of which its members do not follow ethical codes but handle strictly pure political approach dictatorially in order protect a ruler's benefits such as that of Machiavelli or similar ones in Thailand as well which emphasize the success of an autocrat without prioritizing to ethical concern (Coker, 1944, p. 277; Kriengsak Jarernwongsakdi, 1996, p.43), there will not be wealth and happiness within both citizens and governmental personnel because of the maladjustment between actual performance and natural format of each entity concerned.

Therefore, the researcher attempts to defensively propose his conviction in this argumentative research that the Buddhist political principles are relevant to the contemporary Thai political approach in theoretical view points through good governance as those of Aristotle, that of Thomas More, that of John Locke, that of Thomas Hobbes and that of Jean Jacques Rousseau compared to that of Machiavelli which promotes ruler's benefits. His hypothesis is that if every one classified in the citizen and/or government sector is ethical according to Buddhist ethical principles by context, each one will not suffer in both micro and macro levels because Buddhist ethical principles or those of others are substantially governmental principles which suggest each individual to manage, operate, adjust and control one's self to reach the final goal of life according to one's natural condition without misunderstanding or ignorance but with supreme wisdom to reach happiness in life. It is similar to current Thai politics which attempts to liberally manage, operate and govern Thai citizens to avoid malefic deeds and exercise good conduct to accomplish the final goal of life in wealth of properties and spirituality as well so that the Thai state can be a utopian state. This conviction is feasible because Thai people have been formulated culturally by Buddhism through both religious and familial

institutions that preserve Thai cultures in their pattern of life so that they are familiar with Buddhist ethical principles in both micro and macro levels. However, the possibility of relevance between Buddhist ethics and good governance of contemporary Thai government depends on the ethical quality of governmental personnel and that of ruled citizens as well.

In order to accomplish those approaches the researcher firstly proposes political ethics in Buddhism in Chapter II and then an argumentatively discussion about governmental policies of the current Thai government will be raised in Chapter III in order to form a critical assessment of relevance between Buddhist political ethics and contemporary Thai politics in Chapter IV before argumentatively summarizing and proposing suggestive topics of further research in Chapter V.

1.2 Status of the Questions

In order to have deep understanding about Buddhist political ethics that is relevant to the present Thai politics and to provide positive contributions for enhancing quality of Thai peoples live within the present period and the future to come, the following questions have to be raised:

1. What are the political ethics and approaches in Buddhism?
2. What are the political approaches of contemporary Thai government?
3. Can a good Buddhist be a good politician?
4. How can the contemporary Thai government feasibly apply Buddhist political ethics in Thailand's context appropriately in order to enhance sustainingly peaceful atmosphere of Thai people's living style?
5. Why will there still be disastrous affects within Buddhist society?

1.3 Objectives of Research

The researcher is eager to do this research to accomplish the following aims:

1. To scrutinizingly verify that the ethical principles of Buddhism are personal governance;
2. To verify that Buddhist political principles are relevant to governmental policies of current political governance in Thailand;
3. To justify that Buddhist political principles are beneficially relevant to current Thai politics; and
4. To provide sufficient suggestions for good governance within Thai society.

1.4 Preceding Relevant Research

Tinapan Nakata (1966) composed an outstanding research entitled “The Value of Buddhism in public Administration” in order to graduate with a Master’s Degree of Public Administration from Dhammasat University illustrating the magnificent value or the importance of Buddhism in Thai public administration and governance, by focusing on its worth towards Thai society, effective roles in administration, and beneficial influence to the morality of Thai people. He expects that there must be the possibility of employing Buddhist philosophy as ethical guidelines that public officers can apply to their duties. He proposes Buddhist ethics as one of the positive measures enabling the raising of moral standard of public officers and citizens, and also to help them improve their work and their living to some extent. He proposes that the spiritual well-being is the essential factor which must not be over looked because it is important foundation to other development.

He studies the significance and functions of religious ethics and their relationship to society and various sub-systems. He finds that the religio-ethical values of Buddhism

are the foundation of spiritual culture that patterns special structure of Thai public administration different from other societies or other countries both in perceptual and societal dimensions so that he values religio-ethical significance equivalent to academic qualities due to the conviction that ethics can only suggest using good conduct but academic knowledge can lead human beings towards either malefic or benedictory dimensions. Therefore, he seriously suggests that public administrators have to maintain their mission under ethical principles in order to serve Thai people as their beloved relatives without corruption because Buddhist ethics teaches everyone to be honest due to the nature of each thing having to be conformed or else there will be conflicts which cause unavoidable problems. In addition, he mentions that what is good can be improved appropriately along with the change of space and time. It implies that ethical teachings of Buddhism have to apply within Thai society contextually due to scientific and technological changes but those applications have to preserve the contextual of the Buddha's teachings for attaining happy life.

Somyot Jantawong (1992) entitled his thesis "Political Thought of Phra Dhevedhi" in order to accomplish his Master's Degree in Political Science from Dhammasat University. He finds that good society according to Phra Dhevedhi is a Dhammic society that has Dhamma as the significant foundation on life earning. It implies that societal members are ethical and, while maintaining right conduct they also avoid wrong behaviors. The approach of public administration only aims towards common happiness of society under any pattern of governance that contributes peaceful consequences in both internal and external dimensions towards societal members. He reports that Phra Dhevedhi realizes that the imbalance of developments is the primary cause of political problems in Thailand. It is necessary to change development from the cultural root of Thai people based on Buddhism ethical principles in order to the achieve

final goal of success through education. Somyot Jantawong finds a weakness in Phra Dhevedhi's approach in that he does not clarify clearly the feasibility of the idealistic proposals.

Phra Sorasiz Rakprom (1994) researched on his work entitled "A Comparative Study of Plato's Political Thoughts and Theravada Buddhist Teachings on Political Ideologies" for his MA degree in major of Comparative Religion from Mahidol University. He finds from his documental research that the moral, political theory for Plato is founded upon the metaphysical, epistemological, and ethical theory similar to the structure of the soul whose mission is to integrate appetitive, rational and spiritual elements together. It implies that individual soul and the ideal state soul have the same function in general. Figuratively similar to Buddhist ethical philosophy, it enables one to apply principles concerned in both individual and political structural patterns in order to implant the basic moral virtues within spiritual dimensions to direct people as well as political rulers as the Buddha did permanently accomplish the well harmony in daily life without suffering through moral preservation (*Sīla*), mind concentration (*Smādhi*) and perfect knowledge (*Paññā*) which contributes the same virtues of wisdom, courage, temperance and justice in Plato's aspect. However, there will be declination due to the ruler's attachment to a position without concern to public welfare. It is opposite to Buddhist approaches which detach from any worldly properties.

Somyot Raksakoolwitaya (1996) issued his political research in documental form entitled "Political Thought of Phra Paññānadhā Bhikkhu" in order to complete his MA degree in Political Science from Dhammasat University. He finds that Political Thought of Phra Paññānadhā Bhikkhu is influenced from Buddhism directly so that it is weakening in practice due to the fact that it is (1) idealistic which may be impractical for the Thai political situation which needs concrete application and (2) it is individualistic

without public application which matches the political requirement. However, it is worthy for further analytical application relevant to the historical background of Thai society. It means that various kinds of research concerning this field is still open for new comers.

It is observable that there is no direct research focusing on the analysis of Buddhist political principles for Thai politics which is in terrible crises with legal corruptions due to the lack of effective ethics even though ethical institutes have been acknowledged as authoritative means to abolish malefic conducts from Thai society. Besides, Thai people nowadays are more educated and have high technological means to assess current situations in order to agree with or sanction them but it seems to be indifferent on those crises. Hence, the researcher attempts to witness through his research entitled “The Buddhist Political Principles and Their Relevance to the Contemporary Thai Politics: A Critical Analysis” that Thai society under the contemporary political government enables the actuation of Buddhist ethical principles for enhancing qualities of lives far away from any kind of suffering initiated by unethical people.

1.5 Definition of Terms Used

The Buddhist Political Principles are the ethical teachings that the Buddha taught in Tipitaka concerning governmental policies during his period within both politically secular and religious dimensions that control participants’ conduct to accomplish the final goal of life: happiness. They have to be a concern in the scope to Theravāda Buddhism propagating in Thailand.

Relevance means applicative relation that is coherent in particular between the current governmental policies of Thailand under the Prime-Ministership of Dr. Taksin Chinawatr.

Contemporary Thai politics is the present political governance of the government which Dr. Taksin Chinawatr is the Prime Minister in lieu of the 1997 Constitution.

Thai government is a Thai political organization that exercises governmental policy approved by the Thai parliament. During this contemporary period Thai government must signify to the set of government that Dr. Taksin Chinawatr is the Prime Minister.

Governance is an interactive arrangement in which public as well as private actors participate aiming at solving social problems or creating societal opportunities, attending to the institutions within which these activities take place; and the stimulation of normative debates on the principles underlying all these activities.

1.6 Limit of Research

This research will scope its area of creative and analytic discussion on only the ethical teaching about politics in Tipitaka that the Theravāda sector acknowledges and the Thai politics concerning the policy of the government that Dr. Taksin Chinawatr chairs as the Prime Minister.

1.7 Methodology of Research

The researcher uses documental research strategy through philosophical analysis towards primary sources of present Thai politics issued in the latest constitution and latest governmental policy publicly announced by the current prime minister Dr. Taksin Chinawatr on February 26, 2001 as well as those of current Thai political scholars concerned and Tipitaka documents provided by Alumni of Mahachulalongkorn Rajavitayalai in the Thai version of 1999, and those of Rhys Davids, of Max Muller to

discuss political attitudes of Niccolò Machiavelli in *The Prince*. The use of quotation provides full details of Thai authors.

1.8 Expectations

1. This research will contribute new attitudes towards applications of Buddhist political ethics in current context of Thai politics.
2. Thai politicians will realize their status as members of societal rulers who have to wholeheartedly be concerned about public welfare rather than their personal benefits.
3. Religious ministers will endeavor to educate Thai citizens to improve their political responsibilities for enhancing their qualities of life in order to establish an actual utopian state in Thailand.

CHAPTER II

BUDDIST POLITICAL PRINCIPLES: DHAMMIC GOVERNANCE

Concerning the Four Noble truths that the Buddha found and described in *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* (V. IV, 13-17) after having great experiences in both secular dimension of democratic royal monarch of *Shakya* and extreme practices of ascetic life due to the attacks of four changeable phenomena of human life, they have been clearly analytical explanations of natural phenomena that consequently occur amongst worldly entities, especially human beings depending on general principles of cause and effect theory respectively in nature due to natural conflicts amongst them because of misunderstandings that human beings have for directing one's own activities so that most of them have sufferings from those misunderstandings about the nature of each worldly being. The Buddha indicated through the Four Noble Truths that human beings have ignorance in the form of misunderstanding so that they attain suffering while those who have proper understanding attain happiness due to the fact that they can govern themselves along with the flux of nature. It implies from his teaching that if every one realizes such a process and adjusts one's self harmoniously matching to natural conditions due to proper understanding or wisdom, there will not be any suffering within one's life as he had.

The Buddha, according to his teachings and practices through out his life, was one among other sages who knew the natural truth so that he could adjust his mind to be with the current of natural flux concerning context of human life with his perfect consciousness through thoroughly holistic understanding what was going on smoothly in each particular context of each thing without any conflict against the natural process of

other things that had to maintain their statuses as such. Comparing to pervious experiences in his princehood in which his mind had misunderstandings towards worldly pleasure in his palaces nourished by his royal traditions as well as his self mortification for six-years providing him only temporary satisfactions (Bapat, 1987, pp. 18-20), it implies that the Buddha was able to govern his feeling and emotion so that it would not attach any thing with misunderstanding but it contacted each thing with perfect wisdom that knows such a thing as such completely due to the wisdom from his Enlightenment. The substantial reality of each thing contacted by the awakening consciousness with perfect wisdom that the Buddha had is the order of nature of such a matter called *Idappaccayatā* (S. II, 61)¹ which is changeable according to spacio-temporal condition. Realizing as such he adjusted his mindfully consciousness to contact such a thing as without attachment due to the fact that such a thing cannot convince any knower permanently according to its changeability. Consequently, the Buddha, evidently according to Tipitaka, did not have any suffering but lived as a natural entity together with other natural beings. It was not the same as when he practiced self-mortification (K. 10, 26) in which he attempted to violate not only his natural condition but others' natural conditions also.

It can be argumentatively inferred from the Buddha's experiences that whenever everything goes in its natural path of its existence without conflict there will not be any problem or suffering. But whenever there is an external intervention that breaks or violates the natural process of such a thing which, of course, misunderstanding must be

¹ Those who want to know more about this concept can study from the outstanding treatise of Buddhadasa Bhikkhu entitled "*Idappaccayatā*" published in Thai by Sukkabhapjai Press. 2001.

the primary agent, there will be conflict and suffering due to the natural flux being blocked. It unfolds that, in case of a human being, if a human being can control or govern one's feeling or emotion so that it can penetrate what it contacts thoroughly until it knows the matter substantially and adjust one's self to harmoniously match with the nature of others, there will not be any suffering because of the fact that feeling or emotion is controlled by conscious wisdom that the human mind has and it manages physical condition to be with other naturally according to the true knowledge that the conscious wisdom has. This procedure of self adjustment can be defined as dhammic governance because it is a universal procedure of control according to nature of each thing. Consequently, it can be analytically acceptable that what the Buddha proposed in his teachings to accomplish personal enlightenment in the section of *Sīla* or the rules of conduct in the form of *Kusala-kammaṭṭhā* from which each one has to control mind, mouth and manner (D. III, 360; M. I, 485) are simply acknowledgeable as a means of self governance for through those means every practitioner is able to accomplish happiness without suffering. Rather, he established the Sangha institution through obligations of Vinaya Pitakas to model the proper pattern of communal governance (V. IV, VI, VIII) through self-control (V. I, II, III, V, VII) in order to attain detachment. In addition, he proposed idealistic political governance through Cakkavatti-vatṭa Sutta (D. III, 35) and ethical characteristics of statesman (S. XX, 240). It can be concluded that whole teachings that the Buddha proposed are the great discovery of supreme governance as well as the means that suggest his followers to govern one's self in order to adjust lifestyle matching the natural role of other entities without losing one's authenticity in a particular context of human status in society. It implies that the human mind must be the only governor that finally controls and manages as well as operates feeling or emotion allegorical as citizens of the governor in the natural channel of each part. It is able to

form a larger vision further that what the Buddha taught about self-realization and self-control which can be applied to a wider sense of good political governance. The reason that supports this conviction is the fact that every political territory similar to a human mind consists of citizens who may cause problems due to their ignorance similar to individual's feeling and emotion controlled by passion and its companions so that the ruler of each political territory similar to human consciousness that has supreme wisdom has to appropriately punish those offenders and his enemies whose conduct differ from their nature which is not effective for solving the problem of natural conflicts.

This chapter contributes convincing data that the researcher attempts to share on political aspects of the Buddha in various phenomena of governmental context in order to argumentatively verify that the Buddha knew how to govern both individual and communities in the form of state organization and Sangha institution as well as applying metaphysical level of the mind's governance that needs political principles and ethical viewpoints to control all components maintaining each natural status respectively and to reduce the malefic consequences of misunderstanding which each agent has. However, the only core element of the whole consideration in the Buddha's teaching is humanness that has to be adjusted by its owner who, of course, is its ruler, to match the nature of other *Dhammic* entities through *Dhammic* Democracy or ethical principles as mentioned above. That is the procedure of governance that absolutely abolishes sufferings from the human individual in particular and political society in communally general as well.

2.1 Statesmanship of The Buddha

It is sufficient to firstly discuss statesmanship which means the status of a good governor of the Buddha in order to prove that he had a political mind and could exercise such matter appropriately so that it can validate the argumentative conviction that

Buddhism has political aspects. The reason that supports this process is the fact that if the Buddha has a political mind, he can propose his political attitude to others because no one can contribute what he does not have. Rather, his governmental aspect can apply to both micro and macro level of a governmentally political approach.

2.1.1 Statesmanship Before Enlightenment

Historically speaking, the Buddha, as a prince named Siddhartha Gautama was born in *Kshatriya* (noble) solar race of Shakya republic ruled by his father, Shuddhodana (Bapat, 1987, p.18). Due to traditional practice during that period, the son of a leader has to inherit his father's position. It implies in the case of the Buddha that he unavoidably had to be trained for ruler's position by his parents through various means in order to motivate him to prefer royal life to being a great spiritual leader as the prediction of astrologers (Saddhatissa, 1987, p. 26). However, the spirit of a real statesman who has to take care of citizens' happiness had been internally awakened through great experiences of the suffering of his people through sickness, aging, death and pilgrimage so that he needed to seek the way that could abolish suffering (Radhakrishnan, 1999, pp. 347-8). Rahula elucidates this attribute that:

The young prince lived in his palace with every luxury at his command.

But all of a sudden, confronted with the reality of life and the suffering of mankind, he decided to find the solution --the way out of this universal suffering-- (Rahula, 1995, xv).

Factually, it was not his duty to be concerned with his people's situations due to the caste tradition of Hinduism (Raju, 1971, p. 113) which was not significant enough for a member of the *Kshatriya* (noble) caste was to handle but concerning to the merciful spirit of real ruler that wanted to abolish his citizens' suffering he attempted to be in charge so

that he had to leave his glorious status in order to search for the way to deliver his people from suffering.

2.1.2 Statesmanship After Enlightenment

The spirit of a good governor that shows concern for the benefits of others had been nourished after the Buddha's enlightenment. Even though the absolute Dhamma was quite difficult to understand so that the Buddha at first reluctant to proclaim (V. IV, 7) it he finally, after discussing with *Sahambodhi Bhrami* (V. IV, 8) shared with his first disciples the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* (V. IV, 13). Besides, he suggested his Bhikkhu followers preach the absolute Dhamma to other people that:

Go ye now O Bhikkus, and wander for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, and for the welfare of Gods and men. Let now two of you go the same way. Preach, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious at the end, in the spirit and the letter. Proclaim a consumable, perfect and pure life of holiness. There are beings whose mental eyes are covered by scarcely any dust, but if the doctrine is not preached to them they cannot attain Salvation. They will understand the doctrine (V. IV, 32).

These are the external evidence that point to the fact that the Buddha had a political attitude because he attempted to search the means that benefit those who were under his governmental status and other people concerned.

In addition, the Buddha initiated the new form of governance which did not follow customary tradition of caste discrimination in Indian tradition to propose human substance of equality consisting of the four or six basic elements while he exercised his

real nature of governor through the establishment of Sangha in order to demonstrate the external difference of phenomenal appearance that each human being has due to the natural changeability of worldly (*lokiya*) entities. He also enacted the constitution for Sangha's governance which relied on liberal equality. After realizing the truth of worldly entities in which the nature of human beings was included and relying on the truth the Buddha attempted to reveal the truth of human equality. He welcomed all those who wanted to be his disciples for accomplishing the final truth without distinction of caste other people in the society were familiar with. All of the Buddha's disciples must be equal after attaining monkhood due to the truth of equality that humankind has. The Buddha endorsed the equality in *Pahārādha Sutta* describing the metaphorically argumentative discussion between the Buddha and Pahārādha, the lord of monster that:

See... Pahārādha big rivers such as Ganges, Yumna, Ajiravati, Sarabhu and Mahi all after reaching the ocean, are without name and origin. They are ocean. All four castes of noblemen (*Khattiya*), Brahmins (*Brahmana*), merchants and farmers (*Vessa*) and labours (*Sudda*) are equal when they attain monkhood following my announced disciplines they will detach their name and origin and attain Shakyabutra [descendent of Shakyas status] (A. IV, 109).

The metaphorical proposal of difference that water from variety of rivers can be merged together due to the nature of water demonstrates metaphysically the substance of human beings particularly in the status of monkhood that the Buddha established in order to reveal the sameness of human nature which should be known through application of the Buddha's teaching in one's life. This was the new pattern of communal governance in order to accomplish happiness that never occurred in the land of Vedic cultures in Hinduism at that time. It was, rather, strongly against the classic tradition of all people in

the region. However, due to the proper understanding of human nature which substantially consists of four/or six elements and commitment of truth-propagation, any inventive aspect which does not match the fact of such a thing exactly must be changed. Whenever a truth is realized and is beneficial for others that truth has to contribute to others as well. Moreover, there will not be any fear of any objection through a harmonious strategy of declaration so that there is no harm from resistance.

Besides, the Buddha had an initiative vision to make a change of malevolently traditional practice in Brahmin culture to a better one of human living as it is written in *Kūtatantasutta* (D. I, 206-229). That was the change of Brahmin sacrifice from King Maha Vijitaraja intending to perform a destructive pattern of destroying worldly properties according to Brahmin tradition to a constructive one of providing peaceful atmosphere to inhabitants through abolishing poverty and enriching people themselves according to their status of merchant or farmer.

These are significant characters of a governmental leader which everyone has to accept. When the Buddha expressed his vision out as such, it can be inferred that he was a respected political person who knew how to govern in both micro and macro levels.

2.2 Political Attitudes in Tipitaka

Most academic readers usually agree that the details of Tipitaka are ethical because they are suggestions and prohibitions that practitioners can handle for accomplishing the final goal of life through self liberation from worldly attachments that cause suffering. But the researcher would like to extensively argue that even though the details concern ethical practices, their applicable processes and approaches concern politics if politics is able to denote governance. The reason that supports this conviction is the fact that each suggestion or prohibition concerns the procedure of self-governance

which a practitioner has to exercise by himself. Rather, the Buddha usually encouraged his followers to be separate from attachment. He expressed this word 1567 times in Tipitaka to express his intention for a political aspect. To have a clearer understanding about this conviction, the researcher proposes analytical details in both personal and communal viewpoints as follows.

2.2.1 Self Governance

It is obviously true that one part of Tipitaka descriptively explains the commonly substantial nature of the worldly entity acknowledged as the Four Noble Truths in order to reveal the truth of such nature to human understanding so that it can detach from any impermanent matter. However, in order to have such a type of understanding which the Buddha identified as supreme wisdom (*Adhipaññā*), each practitioner, without external enforcement except his own requirement, has to preserve the Three Folds Training (*Trisikkhā*): Training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*); Training in higher mentality (*Adhicitta Sikkhā*); and Training in higher wisdom (*Adhipaññā Sikkhā*) (D. II, 228; A.I,521).

Training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) which each individual has to practice in order to liberate one's self from suffering can be adjusted in the group of five precepts for layman (A. III, 172; Abh. II,767), that of Eight Precepts for advanced laymen (A. IV, 131) and that of Ten Precepts (K. I,1) for novitiates of the Buddha's disciples. All of them are prohibitive requirements which the Buddha issued for controlling human malefic desire or passion that ignorance persuades the human mind to cling with so that a practitioner gets suffering instead of meritorious happiness. The Buddha pointed out the significance of training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) in the case of monkhood that:

What is training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*)...Bhikkhus under Vinaya authority who have training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) as their refuge enable to keep one's manner in control who know where to go or not to go...undertake training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) of either small or big set as their foundation, practice, concentration, awareness, gate, the leader of an accomplishment towards merit. This is Training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) (K. V, 242).

Due to the preservation of training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) a practitioner can control one's manner in an appropriate way of living. This implies that training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) is the means that Buddha's followers use to govern their mind from attaching changeable entities so that they can liberate themselves from suffering. Considering the procedure of training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) in this dimension, it is the consequence of the Buddha's political thought of self-governance that provides satisfactory results of manner to practitioners. Each practitioner in any level will be an ethical person who can liberate himself from slavery of passion and perform one's conduct along with conditions of natural entities voluntarily. Phra Dhamapidok describes characters of those who have training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) that:

They have honest conducts in both physical and verbal dimensions. They earn their living honestly satisfactory to every noble people. They have *sīla* [or prohibitive rule] for liberation which means to be free from passion. They behave according to moral principle for goodness or neatness of human society that causes peaceful mind leading to training in mentality (*Adhicitta Sikkhā*) (Phra Dhamapidok, 1995, pp.395-6).

From self-governance through training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) which each individual attains a long with natural flux of worldly entities in each particular context,

there will not be any conflict that may cause suffering affecting anyone. Hence, prohibitive regulations of training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) govern the human mind to avoid malefic conduct and at the same time practice meritorious manners of speech action and livelihood (M. III, 267-278) due to the realization of malefic effects of evil conduct so that honesty towards each other occurs and leads to peaceful living in a happy life learning process. It can be said in other words that the preservation of training in higher morality (*Adhisīla Sikkhā*) is the means that initiates intention to abstain from any evil deed.

In the case of training in higher mentality (*Adhicitta Sikkhā*), it is an advanced significant means to control the intention the human mind has for performing activity. Due to the fact that the human mind enables a person to perform physical activity, it is the primary source of the consequence of each activity that carries a good or bad quality. If the human mind realizes the quality of consequence through its thorough consideration there will not bad action will be performed. It follows that human mind must have enough time to penetrate its object so that it realizes such a matter substantially for proper usage. According to the Buddha training in higher mentality (*Adhicitta Sikkhā*), it is useful for attaining wisdom and performing proper conduct as well. The Buddha described it in Smadhi Sutta of Suttanta Pitaka that:

All bhikkhus, there are four types of mind (mental) concentration as follows: (1) the effective mind concentration has been increased for current happy living; (2) the effective mind concentration has been increased for a vision of truth; (3) the effective mind concentration has been increased consciousness and awareness; (4) the effective mind concentration has been increased for the extinguishment of all defilements (A. II, 41).

A practice of concentration (*Smadhi*) or *Adhicitta Sikkhā* is the means by which a practitioner voluntarily controls one's mind to focus on an object so that it can penetrate the object thoroughly until it knows the worth of such a thing. However, this practice needs time to accomplish its highest level so that it can support human intellect to attain the supreme wisdom that can govern human activity being exercised in ethical fields happily.

In the case of training in higher wisdom (*Adhipaññā Sikkhā*), a practitioner has to control both physical organs and mind to realize each object of experience thoroughly so that he can perfectly purify his mind in order to be free from any attachment that clings to him to make him suffer and alternatively have happiness. The Buddha defined the training in higher wisdom (*Adhipaññā Sikkhā*) in *Sikkhā* section 1 of *Suttanta Pitaka* that:

See all bhikkhus, what is *Adhipaññā Sikkhā*. See all bhikkhus under the Vinaya authority have to know according to the truth that these are sufferings etc. These are practical principles that lead to distinction of sufferings. See all bhikkhus, this is *Adhipaññā Sikkhā* (A. I, 529).

It implies that a practitioner who fulfills the practice attains the status that he will not do malefic deeds any more; but he consciously knows which is good or bad and selects to perform only a good deed due to the fact that he will not have misunderstanding of the object of his experiences. This process of self-control will lead a practitioner to supreme wisdom. It means that whenever a person has supreme wisdom, he always conducts his deeds along with the natural condition of other things so that there is no conflict that causes suffering any more. Consequently, if someone attains this status, his mind will be free from any canker (D.I,111).

Considering the whole consideration of the Threefold Training that the Buddha proposed to each practitioner, it is a gradual process of abolishing ignorance that each

practitioner has to control and govern his mind to adjust his activity matching the current of flux of other natural entities through perfect understanding of the nature that each thing has. From logical analysis, the Buddha realized that every human being is capable to know the truth of impermanence in order to detach from if but attach to other things so that each ignorant one gets suffering instead of happiness. Consequently, he proposed the Threefold Training to abolish ignorance from the human mind and, at the same time, he also suggested the Eightfold Path as the guideline for attaining happiness. However, each practitioner has freedom to participate in the process or to maintain him in *samsara* or the wheel of flux.

Even though morality training is assigned as the first step of a practice and preceded by mental training in order to accomplish intellectual training factually all of them have to dialectically work together through gradual improvement of personal experiences which needs intellect unfolding the nature of each experienced object critically until wisdom occurs.

2.2.2 Communal Governance

Observing communal life in eight volumes of Vinaya Pitaka, on the one hand, even though the literal details of each volume emphasizes on personal control of each voluntary follower who intends to absorb the Buddha's teaching so that he or she can attain arahanthood, on the other hand they describe the procedure of forming an ideal communal unity through self-control of each individual as well argumentative discussions based on natural conditions of each situation. All details in Vinaiya Pitakas which have been condensed in to 227 precepts were issued under the acknowledgement of human nature in both positive dimensions that have to be developed and negative ones that have to be abolished so that such a person can reach real substance of himself. Details in

historical records of Vinaya Pitaka describe implicitly that the Sangha Order that followed the Buddha were governed by the Buddha automatically due to the fact that they only followed his teaching obediently and whenever there was any problem among them, the Buddha had to resolve peacefully. Whatever was justified by the Buddha was acknowledged as a legislative command that the followers had to acknowledge due to the fact that each case was for the good of each individual and also Bhikkhu's community at large due to its scandal or malefic consequences to a performer or violation of the principle of detachment that the Buddha usually proclaimed. However, before enacting each precept the Buddha had to consult Sangha members and critically explain the necessity of each one. When, for example, a bhikkhu named Chappakīya collected more than one set of yellow robes after having general permission to occupy a set of yellow robe for body clothing it scandalized bhikkhus who preserved contentment. The Buddha called a meeting of Sangha members and censured Chappakīya that:

..all evil doers your deed are not appropriate, correct, suitable. It is unacceptable... Why do you have more than one set of yellow robes. Your deed is not gloriously admirable from those who do not admire my [teaching] or for admiration of those who are gloriously admirable. Factually yours is not for admiration of those who are not gloriously admirable and for other purpose of those who are admirable (V. II, 1).

It implies that every precept of Vinaya principles has to respond to the final approach of absolute detachment and for survival of practitioners without any scandal to members and other people as well through a particular prohibitive or suggestive commandment. On the other, some activities may be neutral in themselves but alternative consequences could be derived due to the intention of their performers.

In the case of Bhikkhu Devadhata who attempted to separate young bhikkhus from the Buddha's group, the Buddha indicated that such performance was wrong. He informed his followers that Bhikkhu Devadhata had a detachment to position which caused him delusion of greed so that he could not reach real liberation (V. 7, 400-3). Moreover, it implicitly indicated that such an attempt violated the natural process of natural rules of communal governance.

It has to be noticed that the governmental procedure that the Buddha exercised amongst his followers did not subject any offender to physical harm. There was only a sanction from communal members and in any serious case there was only an excommunication toward the person who committed a grave offense can be exercised.

In addition, the procedure of government prefers constructive improvement to destructive mortification due to the fact that the Buddha understood human nature which needed wisdom to abolish ignorance which takes time in some particular conditions. Rather, the procedure can be generalized for usually adjusting each practitioner to natural conditions of his circumstance in order to avoid natural conflict that causes permanent suffering and attain natural conformity that causes absolute happiness. This is the strategy of dhammic or natural governance which a governor, who knows the natural condition of worldly matter, uses to properly attempt to adjust a circumstantial element in the natural process of each thing so that there will be only harmonious collaboration instead of oppositional conflict. Consequently, the Buddha, in order to avoid any confusion after his death about the refuge that his followers were to rely on, insisted on handling the dhammic teachings that he used to teach even though he decayed from this world (D. II, 93). It implicitly indicates that dhammic governance must be maintained due to the fact that the Buddha's teachings concentrate on governance in various dimensions.

2.3 Buddha's Attitude towards Phenomena of Governmental Politics

It is true that the Buddha had to be accustomed to a political atmosphere because he was the prince of the little Shakyas republic governed by his father, Suddhodana, whose plan was to provide his successor, as much as he could various kinds of both academic and military missions due to the royal tradition during that period. However, after his Enlightenment, the Buddha did not have any special preference or sanction to any particular pattern of political government which ruled regions in which he proclaimed his teaching. He willingly visited every region without any political discrimination due to the thorough understanding that any kind of governmental policy used by a human ruler who had not known the absolute truth must be imperfect as he described the origin of human society that needs governance in *Aggañña Sutta* :

Vāsettha, of greedy disposition, watching over his own plot, stole another plot and made use of it. They took him and holding him fast, said: truly, good being, thou hast wrought evil in that, while watching their own plot, thou hast stolen another plot and made use of it. See, good being that thou do not such a thing again! Ay, sirs, he replied. And a second time he did so. And yet a third. And again they took him and admonished him, some with clods, some with sticks. With such a beginning, Vāsettha, did stealing appear and censure and lying and punishment became known (D. III, 62).

It implies that society is important to human beings. Each member of humankind is, from the statement of Tipitaka, a being of greedy disposition. While one person was enjoying his own property, he violated and stole another's and made use of it. Other people grabbed him and censured him for his bad act and made him promise not to do it again. But he repeated the evil act again. They struck him, and with such beginning, stealing,

lying, violence and other social evils came into existence. Consequently, each human community needs a political government with an assigned a ruler to be in charge of resolving problematic situation according to personal attitude. Realizing this truth the Buddha attempted to suggest to the ruler of a particular region to improve governmental policy by dhammic governance in order to adjust appropriate conditions for the well-being status of citizens through abolishing ignorance from people's minds and installing dhammic consciousness instead.

In the case of the region where he visited governed through monarchy policy such as Kosala, Vajjī and Makadha, which emphasized on centralization and malfunction of authoritative power due to ignorance, the suggestion from the Buddha was *Dasabhiraja-Dhamma*. The quality of leadership according to the Buddha's governance for malfunction of monarchy policy that a monarchical ruler had to improve are categorized as follows

- (1) *Dana*: sharing with the populace; he rules for the common good, not simply for personal gain; he serves the people and sees to their needs, ensuring that they are at peace and free from danger, he provides aid to those who have suffered misfortune and encouragement to those who have behaved well.
- (2) *Sīla*: maintaining good conduct; he is impeccable in conduct and restrained in speech and actions; he sets an example for the populace that is worthy of honor and respect and creates no grounds for suspicion.
- (3) *Paricāga*: self sacrifice; he is prepared to sacrifice personal comfort, even his own life, for the benefit of the people and stability of the country. Rather, there will be spiritual sacrifice of ceasing evil thoughts and revenge and performing compassion.

(4) *Ājjava*: integrity; he is honest and adheres to truth; he is free of deceit and performs his duties honestly. This initiates trust toward each other.

(5) *Maddhava*: gentleness; he is not proud and arrogant, but pleasant, gentle and polite; he inspires both loyalty and respect.

(6) *Tapā*: self control; he resists defilements, he controls his mind and does not allow it to become lost in sensual happiness and debauchery; he is simple in life-style, and dedicated to the performance of duty.

(7) *Akkodha*: patience, non-anger; he is not given to fiery expressions of anger and makes decisions and acts with a mind that is even and circumspect with prudence.

(8) *Avihim^osā*: nonviolence; he does not abuse his power or repress his subjects; he is kind.

(9) *Khanti*: patient endurance; he endures a heavy work load; he does not lose heart in the face of tiredness, harsh words and criticism.

(10) *Avirodhana*: non-deviation from righteousness; he adheres to those religious teachings which have the well-being of the people and the country at heart, neither forbidding those good things which the people may desire, nor opposing those activities which are for the common good; he is firm in the Dhamma, steadfast, unwavering in the face of pleasant and unpleasant words, wealth and riches, pleasant or unpleasant experiences; he establishes himself in the law and tradition” (K IV, 240).

A good ruler has to follow such royal virtues and sincerely exercise authoritative governmental powers in such good activities as, for instance, self-sacrifice: if he were asked to, we are told, he would willingly have his head cut off or tear out his eyes or any other parts of his body, if they would be beneficial for others.

On the other hand, the ruler is the protector of natural rights, including the right to life, liberty and economical property. The ruler must pay attention to the way of living of people by providing social welfare from state funds and personal funds. Such a system of social welfare is for the people, especially those who are in a low status. If a state of immorality spreads, the state's prosperity cannot be hoped for. It leads to the destruction of both the ruler and the ruled (Chanya, 1993, pp. 94-95). At any time when rulers are unrighteous (*adhammika*), various kinds of disappointed phenomena of people living appear in the country. Thus, a ruler as a leader of government has responsibilities for satisfactory administration of country or else whenever the rulers are unrighteous, reverse consequence follows. The Buddha uttered these verses:

When kind are crossing, if the old bull swerve, they all go swerving,
following his lead. So among men, if he who's reckoned best live not a
right, much more do other folk. If the *rāja* be unrighteous, the whole
realm dwells in woe. When kinds are crossing, if the old bull goes
straight, they all go straight because his course is straight. So among men,
if he who's reckoned best lives righteously, the others do so too: the
whole realm dwells in happiness if the rajah lives aright (K. III. 111).

From the statement mentioned above, there are so many points to be considered by a good ruler. He is entrusted with great responsibility; he is to act rightly towards relations, officials, communities of the whole kingdom and maintain the righteous order in this world. He is deemed responsible, directly or indirectly, for all the bad or good things of his subjects. Everything in his country is right if the ruler is righteous due to the necessary condition of the cause-effect theory. Thus, if the ruler is good, he is a blessing; if he is bad he is a disaster for his subjects and his people. The faults of a ruler may even be the cause of the fall of the empire; drought, hunger and other calamities will afflict the

people (K. II, 124). It follows that, if a ruler is good and he surely is righteous, moral people admire him, because the voice of people is a voice of God according to political motto in western world. Such a motto can be applied to the Buddha's aspect that the ruler can adjust the nature of each person in natural status of each one appropriately.

According to the political approach of the Buddha each Buddhist state is ruled under righteousness: Dhamma. When we consider principles of Buddhist society, these principles divide into three factors as follows; first, the five precepts; second, the virtue of member of society (*Khipatipād*); and third, the righteousness (*Sadapidharajadhamma*). All people must follow the first factor, but the ruler follows all three factors, because the ruler gets honor and reliability from all people in his territory.

On the other hand, an acceptable ruler is, according to Buddhist political philosophy, anyone who governs the kingdom and reigns over the people; one who, is surpassing all men in his kingdom and bringing joy to his subjects, raises aloft the pure white sunshade of sovereignty and the renowned symbol of great fame and splendor; one to be highly honored by the multitude of people who approach him and come into his presence, one who approves of anyone who has pleased and satisfied him. These are the characteristics of Vassantara Raja (K. XI, 9)

Another group of ethical principles suitable to a monarchical reign is the issue for the universal emperor in order to perform five duties among twenty five duties of a supreme ruler. It is called the *Cakkavatti vatta* (the attributes of a supreme emperor) mentioned by the Buddha in *Cakkavattivatta Sutta* that:

(1) *Dhammādhipeyya*: he adheres to, upholds and respects the Dhamma, that which is true.

(2) *Dhammikārakkhā*: rightful protection; he provides protection to all people in the land: the royal family, the advisers, the administrators, civil

servants, scholars and professionals. Merchants, farmers, rural dwellers and inhabitants of the border provinces, the monks and religious persons who uphold moral conduct, and even those birds and animals which need protection.

(3) *Mā adhammakāra*: opposing unrighteous actions; he arranges preventative and remedial measures for unrighteous actions, exploitation, crime, and unrest in the country; he encourages the people in goodness and virtue.

(4) *Dhanānupadāna*: distribution of resources to the poor; he does not allow poverty to rise in the empire; he arranges for all people to have an honest means of livelihood.

(5) *Paripucchā*: seeking counsel; the emperor consults learned, heedful and virtuous advisers who can augment his intelligence and virtues; he seeks them out frequently and is constantly provided with reflection and inspiration, and is thereby assured of performing his duties for the common good (D. III. 35).

If the ruler and the ruled realize the natural law within themselves and society, then they can lead their lives by reason and prepare themselves to face reality. By so doing, they will attain happiness both at the individual level and at the social level. The ruler should have a supremacy of the law of truth and righteousness and provide the right of people, wardship and protection and let wealth be given or distributed to the poor; to go from time to time to see and ask for advice the men of religious life who maintain high moral standard; to have virtuous counselors and seek after greater virtue.

In addition, the ethical principles for those rulers who exercised their governance by *Rajaship* (kingship) or the ruler who was under parliament policy like democracy

called *Sandhagan* such as the ruler of *Sakhya*, *Malla* and *Lijchavi* got the suggestions from the Buddha for dhammic governance as follows: (1) There must be regular and frequent meetings; (2) There must be meeting together in harmony, dispersion in harmony as well as doing the business and duties of the order in harmony; (3) There must be no introduction of revolutionary ordinance, no breaking up of established ordinance, but there must be training oneself in accordance with the prescribed training rules; (4) There must be respect to elders of each town especially their words; (5) protection of woman and girls of family must be handled without enforcement or abduction; (6) There must be permanent honor to historical monument of both rites and politics; (7) There must be strong protection of religious people (D. II, 68)

2.4 A Governor Can Be a Good Buddhist

It is evidential that those who follow the teaching of the Buddha in either religious or layman status are enabled to govern themselves and are capable to govern a community in micro level such as a village or a group of sangha or even though a state nation because the teaching of the Buddha does not focus on a particular political policy but is directed to self-control to form a mutual relationship with other people for a peaceful living atmosphere. It is noticeable that in The Isarn area of Thailand, each leader of a village was an ethical person popularly appointed by all villagers of the village.¹ In case of religious groups, there will be a set of requirements which propose ethical qualities of candidates (King, 1964, pp190-2). In case of state government, a Buddhist

¹ See more details in Thaiwat Nilkhet. *The Values of the Belief in Phii Poota for the Isarn Catholics*. (Unpublished Thesis, Graduate School of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Assumption University, 1998), pp. 24ff.

can be a good governor such as King Aśoka. After following the teaching of the Buddha, he ceased to extend the territory of his state and kept on his monarch mission as a good Buddhist ruler. Winston L. King mentions King Aśoka's mission as a good ruler that:

And though the most powerful monarch in South Asia, he forebore to extend his empire further, as he might well have done. To be sure he did not give up any of the territory which he had acquired by conquest; but during the twenty-five or more years of his reign that remained he sought to rule as a Buddhist monarch (King, 1964, p. 205).

This summary indicates that to be an ethical ruler does not depend on only military exercise but the application of ethical teaching of the Buddha in his mission. Moreover, King proposes King Aśoka's philosophy from his Rock Edict Six and Thirteen that:

There is indeed no better work than the welfare of all the people. And whatever efforts I am making are in order that I may discharge (my) debts to (all) beings, that I may make them happy here (in this life) and that they may attain heaven in the next (life). (Rock Edict Six)

That conquest which has been won everywhere by this the practice of the Dhamma generates the feeling of satisfaction. All that satisfaction is obtained in conquest by the Dhamma. But (of) small (consequence) indeed, is that satisfaction. It is (matters) of the next world alone that the Beloved of the gods [Asoka's name for himself] considers to be of great consequences (King, 1964, pp. 205-6)

It can be inferred that from being a good Buddhist that one can be a good politician. Moreover, a particular pattern of government is not a significant matter for establishing an ethical community. It depends on ethical qualities of both the ruled and the ruler.

Phramaha Chanya Khongchinda proposes this concept with a summary reference to the age of Buddha that:

In the Buddha's time there were monarchical and republican forms of government but the Buddha did not guarantee any system as the best one. He had paid attention to principles of rule as the important factor. He, thus, laid emphasis not on the form of government but how it, in fact, runs. We find that whenever the Buddha visited some state, he made himself as a good friend of the ruler and advised him on the appropriate virtues for the stability of each system. No new political system was given by the Buddha. He believed in improving the systems of government already available. He wanted the rulers to be virtuous (Phramaha Chanya Khongchinda, 1993, p. 12).

The researcher, from his several observations unfolded above, would like to summarize that ethical principles mentioned in the Tipitaka are the processes of self-adjustment that both the ruler and the ruled have to use to collaboratively enhance one's life quality along with the natural condition of each surrounding entity through perfect realization of nature that each one has. In order to accomplish such, the process the Buddha's teachings on dhammic governance implicitly proclaimed throughout Tipitaka in various contexts of human lifestyle have to be applied in each personal contextual status appropriately.

2.4 Argumentative Summary

That the Buddha was born in *Kshatriya* or noble class is sufficient condition for enriching his noble life in his palace instead of wandering to find out the supreme truth in order to help people liberate from suffering. But due to the fact that the Buddha had a real spirit of a governor who had to take care of his people so that inventive happiness in

the palaces was not permanent for his life but true living with nature must have been the permanent way to have happiness as he had found while he was enlightening true self-adjustment in his real nature of humanity (V. IV, 12; M. I, 418-426) as well as realizing the nature of human capacity in ethical viewpoint which is classified into four groups like four types of lotus (V. IV 9). The core detail of the truth that the Buddha realized about human life is the fact that lifestyle of human being does not match the natural procedure of changeability which each worldly entity has due to ignorance. The effects of inappropriate adjustment are that each human being encounters the resistance of nature that such a person confronts due to the fact that nature has its own path that no one can change. Other worldly things in this world have to adjust one's own nature to match with the law of nature that one confronts; otherwise, the one who resists the law suffers. It is true that whenever each thing adjusts itself according to one's need but does not match the natural pattern of other things there will be unavoidable conflict. Particularly, a human being who has capacity to think rationally should know how to adjust himself to be harmonious with other worldly entities through proper knowledge because human beings are unavoidably worldly entities which have to follow a natural order as well. Hence, from one's own experience of proper self adjustment in the current of nature of other things as well as one's own is the only way to accomplish the supreme happiness that liberates a human being from suffering.

In order to accomplish status in a human community, according to the Buddha's attitude, a human being has to control one's mind to realize the truthfulness of everything it contacts. *Trisikkha* or the threefold of training is the means to accomplish that approach. The perfect means to control the process must be the dhammic governance that has to be applicable to every particular situation in both individual and communal dimension due to the fact that it has the same function but a different location in space

and time. However, each factor of self-adjustment must be the same in general even though different in particularity of a spacio-temporal condition due to the fact that a human being is the core element of governance in either personal or communal dimension in order to reach the final goal of life. Rather, only human beings that require particular process of self governance for satisfying one's expectation which may cause happiness or suffering dependent on self control. Considering other dimensions, the procedure of self adjustment is acknowledged as a social contract which each human being has to voluntarily make with other persons in societal dimension and with himself in personal dimension in order to serve one's interest and purposes (Butr-Indr, 1978, p 141).

Other natural matters have to adjust their material elements to natural flux automatically but a human being needs to control his mind to realize other things properly otherwise there will be a great conflict that leads to suffering due to misunderstanding about other things or ignorance in Buddha's term. The Buddha proposed such an appropriate aspect of both personal and communal governments through the acknowledgement of democracy (liberty and freedom of each one) without special preference to any governmental pattern in *Adhipateyya Sutta* about (1) individual democracy (*Attā Dhipateyya*) which concerns individual maturity or dominant influence by oneself, (2) worldly democracy *lokā Dhipateyya* which concerns supremacy of the world and (3) natural-truth democracy (*Dhammā Dhipateyya*) which concerns dominant influence by the Dhamma (A. I,479). All of them can be combined into the Eightfold Paths of practice (D. II, 299; M. I,149; M.III, 704). We can infer that there will not be any problematic consequences of political exercises if everyone follows Dhammis teaching of the Buddha. P.A. Payutto endorses this aspect that:

By adhering to Dhamma even in a negative sense, by giving up pride,

Craving and views in favor of the Dhamma, people are capable of

governing themselves. When they have this capability, democracy becomes a viable reality. The kind of people who can govern themselves are those who uphold the Dhamma. Thus democracy is government by people who are (in the main) *Dhammadhipateyya* who do not let the operation of craving, pride and views take precedence over Dhamma (P.A. Payutto, 1995, p.22).

From those processes of self adjustment which the ruler of each self has to do, it is possible to reach supreme happiness due to the fact that there have been many Buddha's followers in various kinds of political status either laymen or the venerable who can accomplish such a status through gradual practice in the scope of *Trisikkhā* through exercising the Eightfold paths which in the context of ruler, it will be recognized as *Dasarāja-Dhamma*, the Ten Governmental Virtues for Governor or *Cakkavatti vatta*, the virtual principles of emperor. At the same time the ruled have to follow the Eightfold Paths or else there will be suffering due to the fact that each natural conflict that the ruler or the ruled performs cannot be outside the scope nature. It implies that either a lay-individual or governmental member can accomplish such a status as well as the venerable if each one applies dhammic governance within personal contextuality according to one's nature in order to control one's consciousness to detach worldly things through fairly accepting complementary value of each contacted thing as such.

On the other hand, anyone who does not follow his teaching could not elevate oneself from suffering even though he has worldly properties that can provide worldly happiness but each is not permanent as an absolute detachment which offers supreme happiness gradually initiated from dhammic governance through the elimination of ignorance from misunderstanding and attaining supreme wisdom. Only those human beings who preserve dhammic governance acknowledged metaphorically as idealistic

constitution automatically attain the status due to the fact that they make a natural conformity to other matters without contradiction with other things in the world that adapt themselves to natural conditions for survival without any resistance. This is the procedure that the Buddha attempted to promote through self-realization according to wisdom which either individual or communal members must have in order to make self adjustment to natural system appropriately. Procedure can be observed from his life which has revealed the great pattern of governance which focuses on both his interests and those of others: supreme happiness in *Nibbhāna* through forming self-arrangement along with natural flux contextually.



CHAPTER III

CONTEMPORARY THAI POLITICS AND ITS GOVERNANCE:

GOOD GOVERNANCE

The Thai community, according to chronological issues, located in the contemporary territory known as the kingdom of Siam and later officially changed to Thailand has been acknowledged as an authentically political community since the period of Sukhodhaya Empire which was established in the 13th century by Porkhun Bang Glang Haaw or later called Porkhun Sri Intrathit. It consists of various groups of ethnic peoples whose ancestors used to live in this area. Since then various styles of political governance have been exercised by authoritative rulers for ideologically nourishing and enhancing the quality of those who inhabited in this area and the current of change was influenced by both internal and external factors in order to increase happiness within the territory. But there was suffering during some periods of governance when both absolute monarchy and democracy system were exercised due to the fact that rulers abused their authoritative power. However, it is evident that Thai governmental communities still maintain their living peacefully in a democratic atmosphere through independency of their beloved country even though various types of governmental politics have been exercised within the history of Thailand. The argumentative approach in this chapter is to unfold that contemporary Thai politics is good governance due to the fact that governmental policy is concordant with the nature of Thai people that prefer liberal self governance rather than a dictatorial one; and the contemporary Thai government exercises its authority to enhance the quality of the Thais effectively.

In order to accomplish such an approach, a critical analysis of Thai politics has to be the highlight of discussion through a review of Thai politics from its beginning up to present time so that an appropriate justification of a governmental system and the concept of nation state will be revealed because governance must be the governmental procedure that enables one to justly satisfy the ruled citizens in the scope of nation-state according to circumstance and environment concerned.

3.1 Historical Background of Thai Politics

Chronological speaking, Thai politics was established officially in the Sukhodhaya period when Porkhun Bang Glang Haaw King was enthroned to rule Sukhodhaya Kingdom and its alliances firstly in the 18th century. The political system that the king and his descendents governed the kingdom with was an absolute monarchy in the particular pattern of paternal governance which carried a special characteristic of paternal governance (Amorn Raksasacca, 2001, p. 24) which demonstrated special characteristics in the form of father-son relationship; however the father had a special dignity of nobility and had particular authority on governmental duty of giving free trade and free tax as well as exercising dhammic justification to every problematic case. Prachak Panchoopet elucidates the special characteristics of Thai king that he ruled his people as if they were his children or subordinates. The king usually pretended he was the father of the people in his country. Even though he had absolute power in his hands, he was close to his people treating them paternalistically (Prachak Panchoopet, 1999, p. 6).

It is observable that in the period of the Sukhothai Kingdom, the ruler's title was "Porkhun" or the 'lord-father' which literally clarifies the close relation between king and citizens like a compassionate father and beloved son. His functions were to protect

people, to prepare well-being welfare-state, and to promote Buddhism as the national religion. He usually shared suggestions of morality with his people (Vilailekha Thavarathanasara, 1987, p. 33) while, the people gave him power, respect, and followed his commands respectively. Therefore, if we consider the form of such the paternal governance or paternalism, we may call it a paternally absolute monarchy; but this style became the character of a king of righteousness which means a ruler of ten royal virtues or a king of duties emperor.

Such characteristics of an appreciated ruler were explicitly demonstrated in the reign of King Ramkhamhaeng, while Dhammic democracy was exercised. It was the governance which applied the Buddha's teachings for ruling the country (Amorn Raksasacca, 2001, p. 26). Consequently, citizens were well treated but the kingdom was weak due to the fact that other kingdoms prepared their army to conquer the kingdom ruled by such a policy. Therefore, the Sukhodhaya Kingdom collapsed due to the military attack of King Ramadhibadi I of the Audhaya Kingdom according to the fact that the later rulers of Sukhodhaya Kingdom were not strong enough to govern the kingdom. It implies that the later rulers did not exercise their governmental functions properly. However the pattern of a paternally absolute monarchy has been appreciated since then.

In the Ayudhaya Kingdom, the governmental system was a deistic absolute monarchy and later an integrated bureaucratic system as complementary due to the influence of Khmer culture. The functions of each king were assigned as those of a noble boss, because this period was influenced by the Janela or Khmer Kingdom. Thus, the king was like a divine king who incarnated from God due to the influence of Hinduism (Vidhaya Sudjaritdhammarak, 1989, pp. 181-2) so that each king had an absolute power of governance like an incarnated god in both theoretical and practical approaches. However, it was adapted by a Buddhist trend that assigned a king as a conventional god

so that each king was nobly elevated higher than lay people due to deistic status without wrong doing but justice and kindness; however, citizens could contact the governor through his officers systematically (Amorn Raksasacca, 2001, p. 27). Practically speaking politics in Ayudhaya Kingdom was, later, improved to a modern pattern of government in which the king exercised his authority through his noble officers due to the fact that there were legislative enactments from the royal institute of the kingdom based on external conditions of territory expansions and international relationships in order to protect the royal and Thai citizens' benefits in political and commercial dimensions so that nation state status was externally demonstrated (Vidhaya Sudjaritdhammarak, 1989, p. 184). Rather, the noble bureaucratic system made some change to the general governmental system. But it did not affect governmental procedures so much while it did affect societal situations marvelously. Anyhow, due to the influence of Buddhism acknowledged as a citizens' refuge whose ethical teaching includes the wheel of karma and the belief of fate, there was no horrible affects to Thai society. Instead it helped restoration of the kingdom rapidly later on (Likhit Dhiravegin, 1997, pp. 49-50, 66). However, it was noticeable that, during the reign of King Aekadhat who did not respectively preserve Buddhist governmental principles nor did he have leadership but cowardice (Damrong Rajanubhap, 1977, pp. 388-91; Likhit Dhiravegin, 1997, p. 48), there was corruptible conduct among governmental officers in governmental procedure so that this kingdom collapsed because of the Burmese attack. It implies that whenever a governor did not handle ethical governmental principles properly his kingdom would be occupied while citizens of the state confronted suffering.

The period of the Thonburi Kingdom was too short to be mentioned particularly due to the fact that it maintained that same governmental system as the following one so the researcher jumps to the Ratanakosin period in which the system of government was

still an absolute monarchy. However, each royal governor still maintained the principles of righteousness influenced by Buddhism to solve political problems that expanded to the commercial dimension as well. It can be said that the kings in the Chakri Dynasty had a right to establish a kingdom and patronized Buddhism because the population in this period acknowledged Buddhism as their refuge as and also indifferently acknowledged each royal ruler. They thought only that a good king must promote Buddhism and each king must be a king of righteousness who should preserve the precepts to attain enlightenment (Nithi Eawsriwong, 1989, p. 56). Besides, an administrative system of government was improved to an international level more than that of Ayudhaya Kingdom, due to the fact that rulers in the Ratanakosin period had more chance to contact other nations so that the governmental strategy must be equal to those of other countries in order to avoid political colonization. However, deistic kingship of a royal ruler was still acknowledgeable.

Even though there was a great political change of Thai governance in June 1932 from the absolute royal monarchy system to constitutional democracy one by the People's Party, it was only the activities of governmental officers concerned (Thanapol Chadchaidee, 2002, p. 8). The change did not affect Thai citizens at large like the French revolution but it was quite influential to bureaucratic and governmental systems. In societal dimensions, rural people were not responsively activated in either acknowledging or rejecting. They were indifferent. However, some urban people were but not so much due to the fact that activities of new governmental system affected their common lifestyle. The governmental system was seriously changed due to the fact that societal institutions of noble and common people were abolished causing their loss of benefits but governmental officer employment that recruited any qualified person was established. Consequently, academic institutes for training governmental employees were created in

order to provide qualified governmental officers to work in governmental offices effectively. When the democratic government changed the name of Siam kingdom to Thailand on May 8, 1939, (Chai-Anan Samudavanija, 2002, pp. 62-3) there was no aggressive response from the Thai population. This implies that the Thai people preferred peaceful simplicity implicitly devoid of a sense of justice or morality but fate and *karma* more effectively influenced by simple Buddhism. Moreover, common people usually thought that they had to run their common life as they were used to as a powerless group and political activities were not their duties but were those of governmental officers. Oppositely, political and governmental officers who were acknowledged as bureaucratic members attempted to gain powerful authority for their beneficial advantage under the arbitrariness of the patronage concept (Mulder, 1985, pp. 6-10). Chai-Anan Samudavanija comments on the general political atmosphere in Thai society after the change of the political system from an absolute monarchy to a democratic system from which a constitution was established that:

It seems that the objective of the constitution was to establish and strengthen the power position of the new regime rather than to develop a true democratic political system. The constitution and constitutional symbols were utilized to distinguish between the ancient and the new regime (Chai-Anan Samudavanija, 2002, p. 87)

It is observable that political activities have belonged to those who have a chance to partake in political positions for their own benefits rather than public interests. Most of them were authoritative civil or governmental bureaucrats that could directly or indirectly

control a weaponry force.¹ However, public interest has been raised as the only necessary reference to actualize the politician's personal political authority while many of the Thai population had no effective response to those games played by either civilian or military political officers except those who had more interest in politics; but, they were acknowledged as communists who attempted to abolish the democratic government (Likhit Dhiravegin, 1997, p. 145). Consequently, there were some governmental members who did political business and adapted to Plutocracy which caused a political crisis later on.

The external recognition of a citizen's political right and power in Thai society was unfolded after the grief revolution for real democracy on October 14, 1973, when demonstrators consisting of students and civilians fought with military government officers due to the unbearable suppression from mini-, semi- and non-democracy for along time even though there were more than ten constitutions and nearly forty cabinets (Chai-Anan Samudavanija, 2002, pp. 93, 102). This event indicates that whenever democratic power was exercised by Thai people whose status was governed or ruled improperly in the dimension of corruption or deception, political crises immediately occurred. The significant witnesses occurred again when there were the resumption of

¹ Frankly speaking from the researcher's observation, Thai politics have never been independent from a weaponry force assigned as a means to operate governmental policy smoothly. It is evidential that whenever there is a new government a leader of army forces must express his opinion toward the government in order to implicitly enforce new government and exercise political power appropriately in the scheme of democracy. See more details in Likhit Dhiravegin. (1997). *Evolution of Thai Politics and Governance*. (Bangkok: Dhammasat University Press), pp. 145-167.

military rule in 1976 and 1992. It is noticeable, however, that those crises were calmed down through personal order of the contemporary king (Likhit Dhiravegin, 1997, p. 198) who maintained ethical precepts respectively as he officially announced after his enthronement ceremony that “I will govern through Dhamma for Siamese’s happiness” even though his functions was under the national constitution but his respective status has been both a dhammic and deistic ruler. So, Juree Vichit-Vadhakan comments about the outstanding meritorious characteristics of the king as shown in the case of the political crisis in 1984 which implicitly reveals the balance of misuse power through justice and proper usage of political authority that:

If any significance emerged from the eventful and volatile political developments of 1984, it was perhaps that the highest institution in the land, the monarchy, revered as a symbol of justice and authority, was likely to be the single most important force capable of holding the country together during times of chaos and crisis and of assuring the viability of a democratic process in Thailand. With a clear commitment of the monarchy to a constitutional government, democracy Thai-style ultimately may have a chance to take root (Juree Vichit-Vadhakan, 1985, 240).

This conviction on meritorious characteristics of the real ruler implicitly reveals that appropriate governmental characteristics in Thailand have to preserve authentic justice towards the ruled without bias due to the fact that the ruler has sufficient authoritative power to exercise for any purpose while the ruled have to bear the authoritative power unavoidably with satisfaction or dissatisfaction that enables them to spiritually reflect to the source of power equally due to the fact that the king realizes himself so that he exercise his power and authority properly according to his personal responsive duty. This principle can be applied to everyone who attains governmental authority.

Nowadays, Thai politics administratively handled by Dr Taksin Chinawatr generally seems to be the appropriate way to enhance the democratic system for the holistic betterment of Thai population even though there have been some rumors about its non-transparency disqualified by implicitly corruptive members. It is true that the pattern of governance is similar to what has been structured according to the democratic governmental model. However, the researcher can confirm as such because the political circumstances in Thailand are suitable for democratization such as the authority of the latest the constitution and governmental policy of the contemporary government on the one side and the actively political participation of Thai population on the other side that can balance the governmental procedure for such a goal. However, it does not mean that all political exercises that Dr Taksin Chinawatr applies to Thai governance are absolutely acknowledgeable. The researcher will comment on this later.

3.2 Authenticity of Contemporary Thai Politics

It is true that one of the most important conditions for the development of a pluralist democracy is the more or less neutral umpire role of the state (Chai-Anan, 2002, p. 127). In the case of contemporary Thailand, its state and governmental elements have usually played active and dominant role in society through the dictum of the latest constitution and the governmental policy which was already approved by the cabinets on February 26, 2001. The researcher attempts to critically analyze details of them in order to acknowledge its appropriateness in Thailand's circumstances and environment.

3.2.1 Governmental Policy of 1997 Constitution

Political science usually emphasizes that government and the people of each country must have certain powers and rights; however, there must be an objective

limit of the exercise of powers and rights in a fair balance between governmental powers and civilian's liberty derived from their rights. It is ideally acceptable that a national constitution must be the supreme documental authority in a democratic atmosphere acknowledged as the ground rule for governing a society. The authoritative function of a national constitution must be a yardstick by which any activity of the government or the people are to be measured. It implies that constitutional law must be applied to special incidents. It has to be (1) a statement of national ideals, (2) a blueprint structure of government and (3) a stamp of governmental legitimacy (Roskin et al., 1997, p. 48-50).

Factually since the official beginning of the democratic period in Thailand, there have been sixteen issues of national constitutions. The latest one has been effective since October 11, 1997. It is acknowledged as the best constitution due to the fact that it has been prudently issued by a group of assigned representatives of Thai people, one from each province, and experts in political and governmental fields from senior cabinet supported by civil voices from public hearings. Its significant contents can be drafty divided into three parts (Amorn Raksasacca, 2001, p. 186). Part one focuses on civil rights and freedom as well as civil participation in politics. Part two concentrates on investigation of government authority's transparency. Part three concerns political institutions and their relations.

In the case of civil right and freedom, the constitution divides them into human rights and civil rights. The human rights concern the approval of equality of human dignity (Acts. 4, 26 and 28), the right and freedom to life and body especially under the governmental treatment during period of arresting (Acts, 31.2, 237). The civil rights expand to public expression of thought and opinion and collective rights to enact or to abolish law (Act. 170) as well as to impeach officers under at least fifty thousand voluntary votes (Acts 303-4). Any treatment by governmental offices towards any

civilian must maintain human rights and civil rights of each one respectively (Act. 27). In addition the constitution mentions about basic education that the government has to provide in order to train learners with sufficient knowledge. These are some significant examples that the latest constitution contributes to Thai civilians. It indicates that Thai civilians belong to their sovereign authority as issued in Act 3 that “Sovereign authority belongs to all Thai citizens.”

It is practical that civilians of a democratic country exercise their governmental power through their representatives. Constitution implicitly indicates that civilians of the country belong to their sovereignty. Hence, it is proper an issue in previous constitutions that “Sovereign authority comes from all Thai citizens” which implicitly means that the representatives in parliament have complete legal authority to exercise the rights of the civilians they represent. Kriangsak Chareonwongsak (1995, p. 23) comments that the necessary reason that requires the change is the conditions that the representative in the parliament has been assigned by citizens to substitute for them by exercising some of their rights and duties especially on legislation and control of governmental activities but not all their rights and duties.

Part two of the constitution concentrates on civilians’ rights to investigate government authority’s transparency. In practical procedure, the latest constitution provides the constitutional court with the means of investigating the governmental transparency for civilians in the instance that some politicians might commit corruption. The court has its own sovereignty to justify any legal enactment issued by the parliament (Act 63). There is the governmental court that is different from a justice court in order to justify the procedure of governmental policy exercised by governmental officers and determine whether it harms civilian’s rights or not (Acts 276-280). Also, the constitution

establishes a special commission whose duties are to investigate corruptive deeds of governmental and political officers (Act 291-302).

Constitution implicitly reveals that the constitution attempts to control particularly those who have been assigned as the representatives of Thai civilians to exercise their duties justly on the one side. At the same time, it indicates that some politicians abuse their responsibility from working for public interest to earning personal benefits through their positions. It signifies that a governmental officer functioning as a ruler has to be ethical accordingly.

Part three concerns political institutions and their relations. These authoritative enforcements are issued in order to defend authoritative abuse by a political party for particular benefits and abandon public interests. Due to the fact that constitutional policy attempts to avoid corruption strategy on gathering various political parties to establish governmental groups according to the justification of the constitution, some kinds of obligation that political party has to preserve respectively have been issue such as the improvement of the election procedure (Acts 65, 105). There is some enforcement that prevents any political officer from exercising one's political authority during improperly their duty (Acts 110, 111, 128, 209). In addition, the constitution sets principles for justly recruiting politicians for administrative positions especially the Prime Minister (Acts 202, 203).

Frankly speaking, the latest national constitution issues authoritative enforcements to protect the natural right and freedom of Thai civilians in order to enhance their quality of life which other previous constitution did not issue. The existence of the latest national constitution reveals two significant political phenomena. The first one is the fact that Thai civilians, in the past, did not have and exercise complete right and freedom as political civilians who are substantially the legal owners of sovereignty but politically

transferred their rights and freedom to their representatives who egoistically attempted to earn only their own benefits from such a chance without contribution to public welfare; or else there will no such enactment. From this chance, some politicians distorted the authority they have from public welfare to personal benefits. It implies that Thai civilians do not have enough political knowledge to exercise their political right and freedom properly. And there unethical politician practicing egoism as well due to the fact the latest constitution issues the requirement for governmental transparency. According to Wit Wisathaves, such a deed does not match an ethical way for the reason that ethics and egoism cannot match to each other. He point out:

Generally, a good deed for someone is internal expected from everyone that such a deed must not be for personal benefits. Besides, the performer of the deed must be non-egoistic. If a person only works for himself, he does not follow any ethical principle and [consequently] every ethical principle is worthless (Wit Wisathaves, 1997, p. 13).

The researcher agree with Wit Wisathaves due to conviction that an internal force of the human mind only enables it to command the external deed. And if a man is non-egoistic, he will deserve good deeds via preserving ethical principles for both of his and the public good. The second one is politicians, who act as their representatives, abuse their rights and freedom according to the literal details of the national constitution Act 3. This implies that some politicians are corruptive. They do not have a commitment to be responsible in political activities but they do want to use the political opportunity to earn their personal benefits.

Finally, the real intention of the latest national constitution is to abolish corruption from political officers and attempts to eliminate civilians' indifference for vitalizing Thai politics. It can be interpreted on the other dimension that it intends to ethicalize Thai

politics and to awaken Thai politicians from ignorance; in the other words it can be said that the national constitution sets a pattern of self-adjustment that both ruler and ruled have to follow according to personal status respectively in order to maintain a peaceful atmosphere in Thailand. This means that each one has to maintain one's own nature for enhancing the quality of the common interest at large. Kriengsak Chareonwongsak critically comments before suggesting later about concrete phenomena of Thai society that:

An ethical abandonment through misunderstanding of acknowledging wrong doing as acceptable deeds destroy Thai society seriously. Attachable values of power, money and high position replace the ideal value of goodness and distort the value of being a good person. Rather such abused value values a good person as a silly, abnormal one and a stranger (Kriengsak Chareonwongsak, 1995, p. 41).

He then suggestively guides that whenever we all participate in political activities, we liberate politics from declination. The means to solve the problem is to develop Thai civilians to know the truth of what they misunderstood through academic education and moral training so that Thai civilians are enabled to know which one is good or bad contextually. Rather, there must be creative leaders that are enabled to introduce other people to find out an appropriate way to enhance the quality of life (Kriengsak Chareonwongsak, 1995, p. 41).

In the national level nowadays it is suitable to claim that the contemporary government, if it is considered in the realm of Thai politics, attempts to qualify itself through actualizing its governmental policies in Thai society so that qualities of Thai citizens have been enhanced. The researcher attempts to indicate of the policy significance step by step in the following topics.

3.2.2 Governmental Policy of The Contemporary Government

Being approved by Thai population's votes and the majority of political party alliances, the contemporary government led by Dr. Taksin Chinawatr of Thai Rak Thai Party proclaimed its governmental policies on February 26, 2001 in order to make total development within Thai society effectively concordant to the policy of the latest national constitution respectively. The governmental policies can be summarily divided into three categories: economical restoration; societal strengthening, and civilian political participation (www.thaigov.go.th/general/policy/policy_thaksin.htm). The researcher provides brief details of each part for making critical analysis with the governmental policy of the latest national constitution.

Economic restoration is set as an urgent project due to the fact that Thai economics has been affected by the 'Tomyamkung disease' since 1997 as Dr. Taksin Shinawatr points out:

Nowadays Thailand is still in economic crisis which needs special and serious management. It cannot be managed as usual due to the crisis being difficult to solve and may be more worse than before. Nowadays people in every social class get suffering due to the imbalance between income and expense because of unemployment, devaluation of agricultural products...so that the government aims to handle the policies that enable to reduce poverty and to concretize employment in order to increase income for survival and revitalizing themselves... (www.thaigov.go.th/general/policy/policy_thaksin.htm).

It is quite suitable from the researcher's observation to start declaring governmental policy as it affects the current life of people who are the owners of state sovereignty. Physical survival of national citizens must be the most important approach so the

government must set its aims on a betterment of the national population. The government as well as other know the external primary factors of the crisis from previous experiences so that it can eliminate the primary factors of the crisis correctly. In addition, it is true that whenever a human being can satisfy himself he can have capacity to solve the problem concerned. Hence, deduction of the causes of economic crisis in particular context of farmers, that of workers and that of mini investors in various fields is the best way to solve the problem through postponing the period of debt payment for the majority as well as providing urgent advance capital in the form of village funds and other economic projects that improve the economic flow in general will be undertaken and then betterment of living will occur automatically. It matches the saying that “a sound mind is in a sound body.”

This policy responds to the national constitution Act 83 which mentions about the just distribution of income and Act 87 which requests government to support economics based on fair competition through legal approval.

The second main policy concerns social strengthening. Factually, this is the most significant cause of the all effects on society due to the fact that nowadays Thai society is collapsing (PCHSD, 1986, pp.11-2). Consequently, governmental policy for holistically strengthening society must be concretized in both personal and communal dimensions as well as avoiding health declination such as consumption of destructive drugs and promoting nurturing health through hygiene and sports. In addition, development of education, revitalization of religion and revaluation of cultures as well as improvement of economical procedure and strategies in every level must be the great duties that help qualifying civilians so that they can know how to enrich themselves not only in economical but in both physical and mental dimensions as well.

This trend of policy can respond to the policy of the national constitution Act 73 which requires that the government patronage and protect religions as well as promote mutual understanding among religious believers through preserving religious teaching in society. It also matches Act 80 of the national constitution which claims that government has to protect and develop children, (youth) as well as promoting equality between males and females as well as establishing solidarity of the family and societal community. Also, the Act 81 is concerned due to the details about educational arrangements at the national level that have to respond to the current circumstance and environment of economics and high technology.

Civilian political participation is the last trend by which this government attempts to enrich in Thai society due to the fact that Thai people feel indifferent in the political atmosphere. The policy of decentralization is effective in rural areas due to the fact that each sub-district has a change to form self governance matching its own context. The government attempts to make complete democratic governance that people are enabled to participate in the process of the governing based on civilian rights and freedom issued in the latest national constitution in order to make governmental transparency in every social level. This aspect responds to the national constitution Act 76 which requires government to support civil participation in setting governmental, economical policy as well as investigating governmental performances at every level. In addition, bureaucratic administration must be effective at the service in international level through human resource and technological improvement.

The brief presentation of governmental policies in various dimensions that harmoniously responds to the latest national constitution indicates that the contemporary Thai politics satisfies the requirements of the whole Thai people expressed in the details of the national constitution: public welfare and betterment of life learning. This brief

analysis reveals that the policies of this government aim at total development of Thai citizens which is generally normal for every political government. For, each government has to intend to abolish suffering from the society it governs and nourish them with happiness. It is observable that each political goal that the government attempts to accomplish is to abolish suffering and to enrich people through their own capacity and partial governmental supports in not only economical, but physical and mental dimension as well. It seems to the researcher that the practical policies of this government are effective at a certain level. These phenomena are evidential from the growth of economics in the both micro or local and macro or international level. Besides, Thai people are more interested in political participations. However, there have been some inappropriate political performances from egoistic politicians which have been isolated due to the fact that there was been an exercise of transparent investigation from an independent organization.

3.3 Argumentative Discussion about Authenticity of Contemporary Thai Politics on Good Governance

History of Thai and other groups' politics have unveiled special characteristics of participants concerned, the ruler and the ruled, that enable them to conduct their performance according to one's authentic status in a particular context. A general point that everyone has to consider about politics is the fact that it is a particular encounter between a ruler and the ruled under beneficial conditions under different circumstances (Harmon, 1964, p. 2). Similar to Thai context, Thai ruler and Thai citizens have particular circumstances of traditional and cultural factors.

According to the academic study that Niels Mulder (1985, pp.2-3) did about characteristics of Thai people, the characteristic depends on the status of each one under

one's authenticity of independence. In Thai society there are two main classes of people: Ruler and ruled, who have been classified in various particular types such as landlord and peasantry, noble and common people, boss and minion. These two types can be generalized as a commander and subordinate respectively. A commander has to show his superiority to a subordinate while the subordinate is willingly inferior to a commander due to the characteristic of self-acknowledgement. Besides, the subordinate usually is indifferent toward any unsatisfied condition if he can bear or else he runs away. But whenever his tolerance is out of control there will be some resistance. However, two of them still have a special deeply unity and harmony defined by their shared symbols, customs, and rituals. In addition, they share a language, a history, a national consciousness, and a sense of belonging, a religious system of rituals and beliefs that influences so much toward their peaceful conduct. More importantly, they share a common system of thought and perceptions and a way of living and dealing with their order. The shared perceptions about power and its quality, about goodness and morality, about protection and safety, danger and the ways to avoid it animate the behavior of various groups and classes in Thai society according to status and opportunity. These observations demonstrate that Thais can establish solidarity within their groups easily. These special characteristics nourish Thais' mind to maintain their authenticity of compassionate dependency so that they can preserve their independency up to present evidentially. In order to know the outstanding characteristics of good governance within Thai politics properly, an argumentative analysis of government in an absolute monarchy period and constitutional democracy period has to be made.

3.3.1 Absolute Monarchy and Governance

The governmental system of an absolute monarchy in Thai history characterizes the particular pattern of governance which differentiates a ruler from the ruled distinctively. It is general to observe that a ruler in an absolute monarchy system officially has a higher level of prestige to rule by fate due to the belief that a ruler is a deity so that such a person has a proper right to punish or reward the ruled according to his feeling without any resisting response from the ruled. The ruler has a just right to exercise the power of ruling his people according to his nature (Likhit Dhiravegin, 1997, p. 21). The ruled has nothing and his status is as a ruler's property; and he has to be subordinate automatically.

However, the absolute monarchy in Thai context has its own authenticity. It is acknowledgeable that in the Sukhodhaya Kingdom, the paternal oligarchy, a kind of absolute monarchy which a ruler exercised compassionate dominance towards his people, was applied by the rulers of Sukhodhaya kingdom. However, it contributed abundant prosperity to the kingdom.

Besides, kings of the Ayudhaya Kingdom usually exercised their dominant authority through an absolute monarchy system to rule the kingdom. But the noticing point was that each ruler had to preserve ethical principles called "*Dasabhiraja-Dhamma*" so that those ethical principles controlled their governmental strategy so that various kinds of prosperity occurred in the kingdom. Even though the pattern of governance was developed from *Dhammaraja* to *Dhevaraja*, there were not any serious affects to society due to the fact that "*Dasabhiraja-Dhamma*" was respectively preserved. But whenever any king did not follow "*Dasabhiraja-Dhamma*" such as king Aekadhat, suffering happened in the kingdom.

It is noticeable at a significant point that Thai society during those periods acknowledged Buddhism as their spiritual refuge so that the principle of “*Dasabhiraja-Dhamma*” was highly acknowledgeable respectively. The teaching of Buddhism of uncertainty and changeability elucidated an ethical pattern of detachment from worldly things internally molded lifestyle of both ruler and the ruled in the same pattern of Buddhist ethics. It can be observable that the influence of the Five Precepts and the Eightfold Path was strongly activated in Thai society. Harmlessness and compassion were demonstrated in both dimension of ruler and the ruled.

It is sufficient to convincingly summarize that a particular type of governance was not a significant matter in Thai society during the period of absolute monarchy but the quality the ruler was the most important matter for shaping the governmental structure. The ruled would acknowledge governmental authority of the ruler if that authority did not harm them or even if it harmed but was just according to a particular context.² Alternatively, if the monarch unjustly exercised his authority in governance so that the ruled could not bear such a governmental policy, the ruled would not accept and peacefully attempted to be away from the ruler. It infers that a governmental style that the ruler who automatically has a right to govern has to exercise in governance needs to follow ethical principles rather than monarchical codes in the context of Thai society in the past.

² The popular example was the case of Pantaiy Norasing the chief officer of the King's ship which is well-known in Thai society.

3.3.2 Constitutional Democracy and Governance

Political phenomena after the change of Thai politics since 1932 which the royal monarch has been respected under the policy of constitutional democracy have not been changed so much in the part of the ruled even though there were a lots of change in the part of civilian rulers which consisted of various types of civilian political groups. The main reason has been that those political groups have exercised their governmental authority not only for the sake of common interest but also personal benefits as well so that economical conditions were affected. It follows that there have been struggles for political authority and power within political groups in the form of a coup d'état and revolution or reformation by political, civilians and authoritative troops under the external reference of public interest (Likhit Dhiravegin, 1997, pp.134-159).

Before the Terrible October 1973, there was not serious political resistance from the majority of the ruled group because this group observed that politics was not their duty, but after realizing from evidentially unethical governance through mass media with the increase of political education from various sources, their spirit of justice came to action so that the unethical governors were abolished since 1973 onwards. However, the royal monarch has been respectively influential within both groups due to his *Dasabhiraja-Dhamma* which adjusts self-maladjustment which each one has to a proper pattern of each one's nature. Whenever there was unbearable bloodshed crisis of political revolution or reformation, the royal monarch had to exercise his absolute authority that everyone sincerely obeyed.

A critical analysis of political attitudes in Thai society can be condensed briefly that people prefer collaborative governance to dictatorial control due to the fact that the political atmosphere in Thailand has been influenced by Buddhist ethics which basically propagated a democratic approach through *Majjhima patipada* for along time so that

whatever violate the spirit of Buddhist ethics has to be rejected automatically. Even though there may be some worldly attachment remaining in political exercises, religious detachment enable one to control such a problematic situation so that political progress in Thai society has increased gradually until the ruled has legal right to investigate political activities of the ruler according to their realization of political right and human right which each one has under the revelation of Buddhist ethics.

The consequence of dhammic governance which has been exercised within Thai political history externally witnesses that the properly interactive arrangement in political dimension does not depend on a governmental system entirely but ethical quality of the political persons who should be trained within Buddhist environments. In addition, it should be noted that politicians unavoidably are the ruler and the ruled whose equally fundamental status are civilians can at the same time be enabled to arrange one's self into personal status contextually without conflict that causes problems within society. The means that supports the approach is education in both religions and scientific dimensions. Wit Wisathaves mentions the general significance of education in Thailand even though he studies her historical situations, he projects appropriate being good civilians that Thai people should have by comparison on to political phenomena in previous period that:

In previous period those who were good members of religion can be good civilians. Hence, there was not any necessity of educational system in order to form 'good civilian' particularly. But during the time that we are studying [1868-1932] being only good member of religion is not sufficient for the expectation of state –nation which is constructed but they have to be 'good-statesmen' through education as well (Wit Wisathasves, 1983,p. 109).

This aspect is relevant to the policy that the current government has issued and attempts to concretize it nationwide: to ethicalize and to modernize Thai civilians. It has to be acknowledged that the world and societies are changeable and advancing to betterment. Societies automatically need development and improvement within both individual and societal conditions with high technologies. The current government of Thailand attempts to accomplish such a purpose. However, there exists controversy due the non-transparency its officially members as well.

3.3.3 Controversial Discussions on Governmental Policy

It is noticeable that when the contemporary governmental policy has been administrated by the Prime Minister Taksin Chinawatra, there have been some arbitrary political activities. It does not follow the proposal being issue in the beginning of this government. Two significant exercises which contradict the policies are: 1) the policy of drug abolishment and 2) promotion on materialistic consumerism.

In case of exercising the policy of intoxicant drug abolishment, the Prime Minister officially permitted police officers to perform a legal homicide towards any drug agent who did not give up their illegal activities. Consequently, there were nearly three thousand Thai citizens that were killed legally due to the accusation of them being drug agent. The argumentative hypothesis that the Prime Minister applies to justify his conviction on this case is that each drug agent is the core cause of the malefic affects towards majority of Thai people. In addition, the affects that expand in long term will destroy the both quality and quantity of Thai people. If it is considered in the philosophical approach of utilitarianism, this means is quite acceptable due to the fact that it can protect great amounts of interest for Thai people. It is true that the means is violent in itself due because it is evidentially a kind of homicide; and whatever is categorized in

the scope of homicide must be illegal and unethical. But if it causes beneficial interest to the majority of Thai people, even though there is a serious controversy it should be acceptable because of good consequences to the majority. However, if it is considered in the scope of Buddhism which is the refuge of all Buddhists, it cannot be acceptable due to the fact that it does not follow the First Commandment of the Five Precepts. And when the Prime Minister Dr Taskin Chinawatr, a Buddhist, ordered the command of the execution he must unavoidably receive the karmic consequences of the command.

In the case of promotion on materialistic consumerism, the Prime Minister insists that this is the only means that can help Thai society to increase its income and interest if it is considered in the scope of economics. In addition, activities that are conducted illegally such as gambling and the underground lottery should be legalized. Moreover Thai people should be modernized in order to enhance the quality of Thai people. Therefore, it will not be bad policy in itself it is considered in economical viewpoints. But if it is considered in the scope of Buddhism, it should not acceptable due to the fact that it is one among various kinds of means that motivates Buddhist to attach to material properties which are not permanent in the aspect of Buddhism. Consequently, Thai Buddhists, if they still detach with material consumerism which the current government attempts to promote as well as the promoter. Dr Taskin Chinawatr, cannot accomplish the status of good Buddhists. They can be only good statesmen in the scope of political attitude due to the fact that they can help state citizens to be externally better off in economical viewpoints; but in the scope of the Buddhist ethics they have to be in the wheel of rebirth circles and have to confront suffering according to their deeds and desire due to their ignorance even though they have modern education.

The researcher will not argue in order to find the compromise way for being good Buddhists as well as good political people with these two controversial topics in the

chapter even though he disagree with them as he will discuss in the coming chapter. However, he would like to make an interrogative remark to such deeds whether those who perform as such are against the proposal of being good Buddha's followers who can accomplish the final goal of life asserted in *Sigalovada Sutta* which Winston L. King summarizes its details that:

It begins with the Five Precept as basic rules for each layman. To these it adds that the virtuous laymen should avoid unseemly, i.e. hours on the public streets, fairs place of worldly amusement, gambling, idleness, and association with evil companions. The motivation that is stressed in the Sutta for such avoidance in the above habits lead to ill health, social disharmony, and waste of resources(King, 1964,p.202).

The activities of current government on legalization of unethical business or activities namely, illegal lottery, gambling, execution of intoxicant drug agents and promotion of materialistic consumerism on acknowledging the benefits of worldly amusements such as legalization of modern massage, indifference on prostitution, etc. have to cause malefic affect in the long run as what the Sutta point out. It follows that the current government can keep on exercising its activities as such or should look for other means to maintain happiness and comforts for Thai civilians if it wants to be a good government in the scope of Buddhism which is the core refuge of civilians in Thailand.

3.4 Argumentative Summary

Everyone knows that human beings in society have to follow governmental principles for preserving both individual and public interests and benefits contextually according to spacio-temporal conditions.

Thai society has been a nation state for long time under various types of governance but it still maintains its own sovereignty because its members have a special authenticity of being nourished by Buddhist ethics. It is observable that the governmental policy of the contemporary Thai government responds to the requirement of the latest national constitution which is acknowledged as the best national constitution that Thailand ever had according to that fact that all legislative obligations of the national constitution were issued for goodness of Thai citizens as well as implicitly obliging governmental personnel to maintain transparency through citizen's right of investigation in the form of fifty thousand votes or legal verification of the constitutional or government court. It logically follows that when the major premise of the details of the latest national constitution is acknowledged as the best one, a particular case that is in the same category of the major premise must be logically the best one as well. The external characteristics of goodness in the national constitution and governmental policies of the contemporary government is the strategy of governance that expect to eliminate crises or sufferings (Religious term) from the contemporary situation of Thai society. It means that they attempt to eliminate suffering from Thai citizens as well. It is true that everyone acknowledge a means that enables eliminating suffering as a good thing. So, the governmental policy of the contemporary government is also good because it attempts to eliminate suffering from Thai society effectively. It follows that the contemporary politics that follows such a satisfactory policy must be as well.

It is observable that the ruler and his personnel of contemporary Thai government attempt to respond the policies that to the Prime Minister announced in the parliament at a certain level. It is true that there may be some problematic appearances that do not follow the policies. But it has to be understood that an interactive arrangement has to take time for achieving the expected approach due to the fact that some components of the political

arrangement such as political officers or citizens have been unable to arrange themselves to the proper pattern of living contextually due to their misunderstanding. However, there will be success of an interactive arrangement when every one can understand and know what they have to do properly through appropriate governance of the government; otherwise the opposite parties will change it successfully. The duty of both the contemporary Thai government and Thai citizens is to collaboratively work together in order to complete the nature of good governance perfectly.



CHAPTER IV

AN ASSESSMENT OF BUDDHIST ETHICAL PRINCIPLES IN CONTEMPORARY THAI POLITICS

Throughout humankind history, every human being attempts to find ways for biological survival through social life and organization developing from familial-tribal groups to nation state (Sabine, 1973, p. 3). And each nation state has to consist of a governor who is assigned by the ruled or citizens to exercise the ruling principles in order to enrich the ruled holistically. In environmental circumstances of gradual natural change, there have been various types of politics through political theories proposing their suitable governance for survival and happiness of members in a particular territory of nation state in a democratic, oligarchic, monarchic, tyrannical, or social pattern. They are contributed in great works such as Plato's *The Republic and Law*, Aristotle's *Politics*, St. Augustine's *The Two City*, St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, Dante's *De Monarchia*, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, Hobbes' *Leviathan*, Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, Rousseau's *The social Contract*, Bentham's *A Fragment on Government* or Marx's *Capital* and even the irrationalism of Fascism of Mussolini and Nazism of Hitler (Sabine, 1973, p.799-801). Their approaches, generally observed, argumentatively describe a governmental procedure or governance which, according to personal attitude, enables the abolishment of problematic conditions of human life in a nation state through proposing possible causes of the current crises derived from disagreement between human beings and nature of other things and suggestions to achieve happiness are contributed according to personally argumentative approaches (Coker, 1938, p. xiii). Alternatively, a nation state exists due to the fact that human beings want to prevent themselves from being evil

or any way disposed to evil; and its legislative means has to make goodness and righteousness among state citizens (MacIVER, 1960, p. 482; Murphy, 1968, p. 14). Theoretical suggestions from each expert's work mentioned above observed as acknowledged suggestions or a proper ways in a particular context can be used to accomplish the final goal which normally has to be happiness, as Aristotle firstly mentioned in the ancient time (NE, p. 11), of both the ruler and the ruled. It is the human nature of both the ruler and the ruled as a rational creatures with a freedom and self-determination need happiness and avoidance of suffering. The researcher relies on this hypothesis due to the fact that both the ruler and the ruled are human beings who substantially have the same nature of acquiring truth and happiness as Joseph S. Murphy emphasizes:

Lying at the center of the western tradition is the concept of man as a rational creature with a free and self-determinative will and with an ultimate destiny that transcends the political and social processes in which he is involved. As a moral being endowed with reason and will, and living in a world at the center of which is a Divine Reason holding and directing all, the human individual aspires to truth and happiness (Murphy, 1968, p. 10).

This statement implies that human nature of reason itself which is one amongst God's creatures according to western view or even a thought of Hinduism nourishes human conduct to accomplish the final goal of life that has to be truth and happiness. It can be said in the other words that human beings naturally search for truth and happiness with consciousness guided by reason through proper natural understanding of each matter concerned as such under the conceptual influence of either God's creation or natural products which can be understood as the same human being consecutively.

However, what is acknowledged as a proper means in political dimension exactly, according to the researcher's viewpoint, has to assist those who follow such a suggestion in attaining the final goal of their life which maintains good qualities truly. The researcher acknowledges that the political attitude that Aristotle proposed to the public, a constitutional democracy [polity], is an appropriate governance theory for establishing happiness in human society concretely due to the fact that it is empirically practical and effective natural. It implies that whatever brings human beings in the status of the ruler and the ruled, to accomplish the final goal such as honor, pleasure, reason, and a set of virtues naturally has to be the proper means to reach such the goal as Aristotle mentioned:

Now such a thing happiness, above all else, is held to be; for this we choose always for itself and never for the sake of something else but honour, pleasure, reason, and every virtue we choose indeed for themselves (for if nothing resulted from them we should still choose each of them), but we choose them also for the sake of happiness, judging that through them we shall be happy (NE, p. 11-12).

The scope of procedure being applied for attaining happiness that humankind has to follow implicitly elucidated by Aristotle concerns with a possible good means of activity that those who are involved have to actualize in order to accomplish the goal; and of course it is goodness of the body and that of the soul (Aristotle, 1995, p. 251). Aristotle further insisted firmly about good activities obviously being performed by each practitioner in order to bring each individual of humankind to accomplish the final goal, happiness, that:

We may therefore join in agreeing that the amount of happiness which falls to each individual man is equal to the amount of his goodness and his wisdom, and of the good and wise acts that he does. God himself bears

witness to this conclusion. He is happy and blessed; but he is so in and by himself, by reason of the nature of his being, and not by virtue of any external good. This will explain why there must always be a difference between being happy and being fortunate. Accident and chance are causes of the goods external to the soul; but no man can be just and temperate merely from chance or by chance (Aristotle, 1995, p. 253).

The statement that Aristotle suggestively contributed above and the researcher unavoidably has to agree with is that goodness in either singular or plural form and wisdom have to qualitatively mold each deed of individual from within without any expect for external support in order to accomplish the final goal, happiness. This Aristotle's suggestive contribution can be applied to a wider scope of an individual's conditions in community at large of state nation (*polis*) existing in the form of partnership (*koinōnia*) within proper understanding of nature that each one has to partake (*phusis*) through inventive law (*nomos*) for self adjustment of state citizens in order to attain happiness (*eudaimonia*) which requires excellent deeds surely carrying goodness in the form of virtues for the sake of good life. When each individual has good life there must be, in nation state, happiness automatically because a nation state consists of individuals whose nature should direct to happiness as Joseph S. Murphy elucidates that:

The good of the whole group is dependent on the proper functioning of the members, and these in turn profit from the existence of the social whole. The latter, however, has no existence independent from that of the members who compose it. These members, on the other hand, have an end of their own separate and distinct from the social whole of which they are a part. Each member performs his separate function under an order that is

directed toward the good of the whole. The function of politics is the direction of this common life (Murphy, 1968, p. 14).

The excellent human deeds, according to Aristotle, can be observed noticeably in the middle class of Greek society due to the fact that this class is free from the ambition of the rich and the pettiness of the poor (Aristotle, 1995, p. 156). It can be applied to what Murphy contributes in the case that each individual has to actualize one's good intention in order to gain a good consequence; and many of social members who behave with good conduct must receive good profits unavoidably. This aspect should be further applied to any particular type of human community (in which Buddhist communities have to be included) as well due to the fact that whatever is discussed about such a good deed directly focuses on that of human beings and their possible interests has to be included.

Due to the necessarily significant components of politics in nation state level consisting of the ruler, the ruled and governmental codes being merged together for attaining happiness, there must be a prudent consideration of the consequential output from the interactive arrangement acknowledged as governance declared officially in a legislative constitution which the ruler exercises to rule the ruled according to each particular status whether their qualities provide and protect interests of both the ruler and the ruled effectively or not. Rather, they do as such for either the ruler or the ruled but not both. If a consequential outcome from such governance provides and protects interest of both the ruler and the ruled satisfactorily without malefic affects, such the governance is undeniably good. On the other hand if a consequential output provides and protects only interests of either the ruler or the ruled but not both, it implies that such a governance is not exactly good because it is automatically dissatisfactory; and of course, the ruled or/and the ruler has to seek another style pattern of governance that

appropriately provides and protects interests of both, otherwise there will be an anarchic situation in such a nation state.

In particular, the researcher intends to make a critical analysis of the governance policy in contemporary Thai politics announced publicly and officially by Dr Taksin Chinawatr at the parliament on February 26, 2001 in order to prove that it is appropriate for providing and protecting interests of both the ruler, the government that Dr Taksin Chinawatr is administrating, and the ruled or Thai citizens at large. In addition, he intends to indicate that the announced governance policy is intrinsically concordant to the dhammic governance of Buddhist ethics that the Buddha contributed to his followers as the path to accomplish supreme happiness according to one's nature. Moreover, it also follows governmental strategy which Aristotle contributed to public in his treatise *Politics* that has to lead people to true happy life living in freedom from impediments. Albeit, he assigns Machiavelli's political principle described in *The Prince* a controversial issue of governance for justifying the dhammic governance concordant to contemporary Thai politics.

To have a firm conviction on the claim, the researcher intentionally proposes an argumentative discussion on the concordance of Buddhist dhammic governance and the contemporary Thai one and their discordance against Machiavelli's political pessimism then he proves such a claim.

4.1. Concordance between Dhammic and Good Governance

The final goal of nation state in general has to be the same as that of an individual citizen of the state in particular due to the fact that the nation state is the official representative of individual's assembly whose members voluntarily share their legislative rights and interests with each other and then assign a political government or governing

body to exercise their rights for their interests which has to be common good; and each member of the assembly has an opportunity to participate in the common good legally (Murphy, 1968, p. 16). The final goal must be happiness and goodness or excellence which opposes misery¹ or if it is considered in the scope of Buddhism, it is suffering. The means that directly helps each individual in personal or communal level has to be good governance or a suitable political system which the official governmental institute who is assigned to administer the nation state to bring the nation state to reach its final goal. This conviction is derived from the general definition of governance given in Chapter I as well as that of Adam Kuper's definition elucidating that it is the exercise of power in a variety of institutional contexts, the object of which is to direct, control and regulate activities in the interests of people as citizens, voters and workers (Kuper, 1996, p. 347). It implies that this term, governance, is not particularized to only political matters but also to other institutional dimensions of economics or business as R. A. W. Rhodes (1996, p. 653) observed in British political system that there were at least six separate uses of the term 'governance' in the denotation of the minimal state, corporate governance, new public management, good governance, a socio-cybernetic system, and self-organizing networks. Moreover, whereas common usage associates the term with government, the exercise of authority, or a method or system of government or management, an analysis

¹ Aristotle argumentatively proposed the desirable objectives of human life from one's deeds in his *Nicomachean Ethics* that if activities are, as we said, what determines the character of life, no blessed man can become miserable; for he will never do the acts that are hateful and mean. For the man who is truly good and wise, we think, bears all the chances of life becomingly and always makes the best of circumstances, as a good general makes the best military use of the army at his command...(NE, p. 21)

of the Social Science Citation Index between 1980 and 2000 shows that the academic literature applies the concept to more than twenty distinct subject areas (Weiss, 2000, pp. 795-796.) including the analysis of administrative structures, colonial rule, democratic decision-making, international development, the administration of colleges and universities, environmental protection, multilevel decision-making within the European Union, the regulation of markets, sectoral self-government, the devolution of political authority to the local and regional levels, and transnational regimes. However, in a particular dimension of an analysis within the national level, the term governance frequently substitutes for well-established concepts such as political systems, when concerned with democratic, non-democratic, presidential, or party political regimes, or with state structures that describe federal, national, subnational, civil, or public government. So, the researcher acknowledges the definition of governance that Gerry Stoker similarly connotes that it is “a concern with governing, achieving collective action in the realm of public affairs, in conditions where it is not possible to rest on recourse to the authority of the state” (Stoker, 2000, p. 3). This approach refers to one’s independency from absolutely direct support of the authority of the state. But self support has to be prioritized for the goodness of both individual and political community as well.

Academically speaking from a political viewpoint, governance idealistically focuses on ‘an interactive arrangement in which public as well as private actors participate aimed at solving social problems and creating societal opportunities as well as attending to the institutions within which these governance activities take place and the stimulation of normative debates on the principles underlying all governance activities.’ This aspect can be implicitly analyzed that one part of the core element of governance is

an actor and the other part must be ruling principles that enable a ruled to reform his conduct to reach the final goal of life.

The actor being mentioned must be a human being functionalized as the dominant, the ruler or the subordinate, the ruled citizens in a nation state territory whose approach of solving problems or creating social opportunity must aim at satisfactory accomplishment of their living pattern which is a kind of survival through interactive arrangements.

The governing principles or policy must be obligatory guidelines that the actors have to comply with in order to accomplish the goal (Heywood, 1994, p. 18). Good quality of actor's performances according to the commands of the governing principles will be the consequence of every empirical deed responding public and individual satisfaction. It can be analyzed from the procedure of self adjustment into natural situations observable from contemporary behaviors of individuals. If each individual, on the one hand, behaves along with natural patterns in a particular circumstance and environment, there will not be any conflict between him and other things concerned that cause suffering. It is true that a suffering deed causes dissatisfaction. Alternatively, whenever there is no cause of suffering there will be satisfaction logically. On the other hand, if each individual behaves against a natural pattern in a particular environment and circumstance, there will be obviously a conflict because the natural system of each particular natural matter will enforce the entity to be with its natural system or else it will be excluded from the natural system concerned. If each one obeys one's natural system there will be no conflict; but if there is no obedience of one's natural system there will be conflict. And then, consequently, there will be dissatisfaction due to the fact that a conflict causes suffering. Hence the most important point is the fact that the one concerned with such a case has to know his natural system and that of others.

In politics, various governmental systems have been exercised in order to provide interests for nation state's citizens through proper administration of human performances and conduct. But what is acknowledged as the best governmental system, according to the researcher's viewpoint considering the secular world, is the Aristotle's constitutional democracy [polity] due to the fact that it is able to solve social problems and to create social opportunity to have good quality of life through reason, if each individual follows its guidelines which emphasize self-ethicalization that surely enhances holistic development of human beings. It is identical to the ethical teaching of the Buddha on the Eightfold path in general and in the *Dasabhiraja-Dhamma* as well as the *Cakkavattivatta Dhamma* mentioned in Chapter II in particular under the gradual formation of the *Trisikkha*; and the researcher will propose this identity later. It implies that each individual citizen is virtuous and guidelines must be the paths to reach virtuousness. This conviction relies on the fact that only virtuous deeds must be derived from a virtuous performer; and it has to be acknowledged as good unavoidably. Aristotle characterized the guidelines in the general pursuit of a middle way, that of mean or balance which concerns the nature of such matter in both transcendental and physical dimension. He made a competitively argumentative statement that:

If we were right when, in the *Ethics*, we stated that the truly happy life is one of goodness life in freedom from impediments and that goodness consists in a mean, it follows that the best way of life is one which consists in a mean, and a mean of the kind attainable by each individual... Now since it is admitted that moderation and the mean are always best it is clear that in the ownership of all gifts of fortune a middle condition will be the best. Those who are in this condition are the most ready to listen to reason. Those who are over-handsome, over-strong, over-noble, or over-wealthy,

and, at the opposite extreme, those who are over-poor, or utterly ignoble,

find it hard to follow the lead of reason (Aristotle, 1995, p. 157).

From general aspects on moderation and mean which is idealistically acknowledged as the best pattern of human lifestyle, Aristotle applied them to the practical level of observable characteristics which some human beings perform and accomplish happiness due to self arrangement in balance without extremeness. Besides, he figuratively elucidated the two extreme ones which are undesirable for normal human beings due to the fact that they do not accomplish happiness. He also figuratively described the characteristics of both in some examples that:

With regard to pleasantness in the giving of amusement the intermediate person is ready witted and the disposition ready wit, the excess is buffoonery and the person characterize by it a buffoon,...With regard to the remaining kind of pleasantness, that which is exhibited in life in general, the man who is pleasant in the right way is friendly and the mean is friendliness, while the man who exceeds is an obsequious person if he has no end in view, a flatterer if he is aiming at his own advantage, and the man who falls short and is unpleasant in all circumstances is a quarrelsome and surely sort of person (NE, p. 42)

Pleasantness which is a kind of happiness and those who attain it satisfactorily can be reached practically by the middle way while the excess of pleasantness is buffoonery which normally is unsatisfactory. This is the output from the conduct of each individual who commits the middle way as his guideline performance. Raised up to a political level in which an assembly of citizens consists of a big amount of individuals who have to be virtuous while they are living among others, each nation state through a governmental body can rule its citizens to reach happiness, if it is thought further that the big amount of

those people are good (Aristotle, 1995, p. 108). This means that not only in personal section that an individual needs balance or mean of behavioral adjustment in order to attain virtual status but in political communities in large as well in which assemblies of citizens need balance and mean also in order to accomplish happiness which is the final goal of goodness.

The virtual form of balance mentioned by Aristotle is justice that a practitioner knows distinctively between the consideration of good and bad dimensions in order to make a final choice for performance. It is acknowledged as the greatest of virtue or the virtue entirely exercised in the form of distributive and rectificatory reciprocity at least through lawful obedience in order to establish appropriate human relationships in political society so that it is handled among men and their neighbours for peaceful interaction as Aristotle descriptively emphasized:

This form of justice [lawful acts], then is complete virtue although not without qualification, but in relation to our neighbour. And therefore justice is often thought to be the greatest virtue, and ‘neither evening nor morning star’ is wonderful; and proverbially ‘in justice is very virtue comprehended’. And it is complete virtue in its fullest sense because it is the actual exercise of complete virtue. It is complete because he who possesses it can exercise his virtue not only in himself but towards his neighbour also; for many men can exercise virtue in their own affairs, but not in their relation to their neighbour. This is why the saying of Bias is thought to be true, that ‘rule will show the man’; for a ruler is necessarily in relation to other men, and a member of a society. For this same reason justice, alone of the virtues, is thought to be ‘another’s good’ because it is related to our neighbour; for it does what is advantageous to another, either

a ruler or a co-partner. Now the worst man is he who exercises his wickedness both towards himself and towards his friends, and the best man is not he who exercises his virtue towards himself, but he who exercises it towards another (NE, pp. 108-9).

Though Greek society consisted of differently hierarchical castes of its inhabitants according to tradition, when a balance of virtue was exercised toward other people properly dependent on the personal status of each one there will be happiness due to that fact that goodness is initiated. Moreover, whenever a just act is performed other virtues such as courage, temperance, pride, good temper, friendliness, truthfulness, etc. have to support the initiation of a just act due to the fact that justice is the virtue entire which initiates wisdom in practice so that a practitioner is enabled to do only good as Aristotle argumentative commented:

...for with the presence of the one quality, practical wisdom, will be given all the virtues. And it is plain that, even if it were of no practical value, we should have need for it because it is the virtue of the part of us in question; plain to that the choice will not be right without practical wisdom any more than without virtue; for the one determines the end and the other makes us do the things that lead to the end (NE, p. 158).

Hence, even though Aristotle proposed that political justice in the form of wisdom may not be the same as individual justice (NE, p. 147) in the Greek context of caste, it has to be recognized as the means to adjust balance between two compartments concerned, otherwise there will no end expected because only virtual human beings are enabled to respond to such an expectation. And human beings are members of politics. It can be inferred that in the beginning of political aspect, good governance in the format of balance formation within political members or a governmental body partaking has been

proposed and supported by virtues and then the satisfactory output of human behaviors will be observed in friendship which is essential in the pattern of living together peacefully (NE, p. 246).

It has to be observed from Buddhist religious viewpoint that the teachings which the Buddha shared with his disciples and later followers in order to attain *Arahanta*-hood called *Majjhimā paṭipadā* which means the middle path or the noble Eightfold path can be substantially acknowledged as dhammic governance due to the fact that it is derived from general *Dhamma* or the law of nature which the Buddha proclaimed. The details of the teaching that propose various types of rightness in particular situation which are literally opposite to 'wrongness' can be briefly summarized from Tipitaka (V. IV, 13) as follows: (1) right view of all truths (*Sammādiṭṭhi*), (2) right thought (*sammāsaṅkappa*), (3) right speech (*Sammāvācā*) (4) right action (*Sammākammanta*) (5) right livelihood (*Sammājīva*) (6) right effort (*Sammāvāyāma*) (7) right mindfulness (*Sammāsati*) (8) right concentration (*Sammāsmādhī*). All of them can be concretely derived from the threefold training (*Trisikkhā*) if a practitioner has not accomplished the right understanding of that he contacts truly. They can be identified as the principle of balance in mind on knowing such a thing naturally due to the fact that when it is right it has to be in the position of balance automatically.

The eight dimensions of *dhamma* teaching concerning the holistic development of human beings to accomplish final goal of life can be applied for such a purpose in personal dimension and communal one as well. They are the consequential patterns of self control derived from the threefold training. The Buddha made an argumentative suggestion on realizing the significance of the middle path and the malevolence of extremeness of practice in order to persuade his followers to apply only the middle path in daily life practices that:

Bikkhus, there are two extremes which ascetics should not attain: the first one, the extreme of sensual indulgence which means to cling with sensual desires...it is for lay people but not for noble ones. It is not beneficial. And another one the extreme of self mortification which is suffering it is not for noble ones. *Tathāgata* has enlightened the middle way which never connects to the two extreme ones already. It is the means of clear insight, that of wisdom for peace, for supreme knowledge, for enlightenment and for *Nibbāna* (S. V, 1664).

The middle path that the Buddha proposed to the public is not the middle spot between two poles, but it is the between-ness of two extreme preferences. Through an enlightened mind guided by supreme wisdom in each particular situation of human behavior which actually responds to feeling or emotion, an extreme preference due to misunderstanding will be controlled to a middle one and a performer will perform only conduct that maintains a balance between two poles of extremeness in each particular case.

It is true that the Buddha applied this virtual formation in a political level as well due to the fact that human beings have been in a communal society and ruled by leaders for long time in order to avoid problems of greedy needs derived from ignorance within their society. The Buddha preferably assigned the pattern of governance in the form of democracy by selecting a good leader as the Buddha figuratively revealed through his discussion with *Vāseṭṭha* that:

Now those beings, *Vāseṭṭha*, gathered themselves together, and bewailed these things, saying: From our evil deeds, sirs, becoming manifest, in as much as stealing, censure, lying, punishment have become known, what if we were to select a certain being, who should be wrathful when indignation is right, who should censure that which should rightly be

censured and should banish him who deserves to be banished?...Chosen by the whole people, *Vāseṭṭha* is what is meant by *Māha Sammata* (D. III, 62).

This metaphoric statement reveals the political aspect of the Buddha in constitutional government due to the fact that both subdominants and ruler or a dominant one expect for reciprocity of goodness preservation in both idealistic and practical dimensions. In addition, the one being chosen as a ruler, according to the *Sutta* must maintain special qualities of good looking, favored and capable to decide justly in socio-economics as well as performing his duties on the basis of a constitution issued by the agreement of the whole people which focuses on righteousness of the ruler in order to protect common properties and benefits.

According to *Aggañña Suttanta* the first ruler was entitled *Māha Sammata* which later the Buddha modified further to *Khattiya* or lord of the field and lastly was *raja* because the Buddha qualified the ruler with *Dhamma* that based on the virtue of justice (D. III, 63). In addition, the Buddha described virtual qualities of a ruler in *Chakkavatti sutta* that:

But what, sir, is this *Ariyan* [noble] duty of a wheel-turning Monarch [*Cakkavatti-raja*]? This dear son, that thou, leaning on the Norm [*Dhamma*: the law of truth and righteousness] honouring, respecting and revering it, doing homage to it, hallowing it, being thyself a Norm-banner, a Norm-Signal, having the Norm as the master, shouldst provide the right watch, ward, and protection for their own folk for the army, for the nobles, for vassals, for *Brahmins*, and householders, for town and country dwellers, for the religious world, and for beasts and birds, throughout the kingdom let no wrong doing prevail. And whosoever in thy kingdom is poor, to him let wealth be given (D. III, 35).

Referring to the concept of Dhamma, the supreme concept of governance which governmental body has to preserve in the technical term of politics should be justice for Dhamma in Buddhism context means every natural pattern of each existence which each existing entity has and no one can change except by making a harmonious self adjustment to be fit for one's survival (Buddhadāsa, 2001, p. 23).

Besides, the great examples which the Buddha demonstrated through his worldly life as well as his *Jātaka teachings* have been a sufficient demonstration of good governance in both personal and communal levels especially what he did during his after-enlightened period. Moreover, the establishment and administration of his Sangha community since his *Dhammacakkappavattan Sutta* (V. IV, 13-24) was the great example that revealed the special governance that those who acknowledge him as their refuge have to follow.

It is observable that from the Buddha's first proclamation the policy of Buddhism was not directed towards serving the self interest of Buddhism but for the happiness and benefits of the people (V. IV, 9). It is also noticeable that during the beginning stage of the Buddha's period the power of decision making was vested in the hands of the Buddha without any violation. The governmental practice as such can be identified as a monarchical style of governance. But when there were great amounts of Sangha members authority, distribution of governance was distributed to a group of senior Bhikkhus according to virtues as a supervisory body which can be identified as an oligarchy. However, the special characteristics of the Buddha's political government can be identified in the pattern of dependency to Law of Dhamma under the preservation applying to decentralization (D. II, 93) with the spirit of equality (SK. I, 140), that of fraternity and integrity or homogeneity (D. II, 95) directing to the betterment of human living in a particular circumstance and environment.

Similarity of governmental patterns that Aristotle initiated and that of Buddha can be summarized in virtuous preference. Each of them focuses on virtuous deeds of both governors and subordinates which have to support each other so that the nation state in which they live can exist without any conflict due to the enforcement of virtues that unavoidably harmonize natural principles. Moreover, the governance policy directed to common interest if both governor and subordinates mutually partake it fairly and justly. Besides each of them emphasizes on taking a balance of every thing in the form of justice so that this kind of virtue is acknowledged as the greatest one. If the policy of each governmental body maintains balance or mean or middle way it is the procedure that follow natural condition of each thing concerned. The researcher still relies on the principle which claims that whatever maintains its natural principle and that of others will not confront any conflict. And the political governance of Aristotle and that of Buddhism follow the pattern of nature in the form of justice and middle way which consist of the same quality of meanness in each particular situation. It follows that there will not be any conflict. Consequently, whenever there is no conflict there will be happiness in such a pattern of living. This type of policy should be acknowledgeable due to the fact that it provides happiness to those who are under its influences and understand characteristics of each one properly.

4.2. Discordance between Dhammic and Good Governance, and Non-dhammic Governance

Human freedom gives chance to everyone to initiate and to manage personal and communal life according to individual decision for personal interest dependent on one's status influenced by the contextuality of the each one. Besides, some firm convictions are derived from empirical experiences rather than rationality which a seer and a performer

externally demonstrate apparently. From such a source there are, in political view, various governmental opinions being expressed which influence political situations in this world. One of the political aspects which are quite disputable and contradictable to normal people in political field and different from what was mentioned above is that of Italian politician named Niccolò Machiavelli (1469 -1527) whose attitude was influenced by Renaissance philosophy.

Due to his particular circumstance and environment in political declination influenced by religious and moral profligacy for fourteen years of his diplomatic missions and various experiences of governmental policies, Machiavelli had a great chance to contribute his political ideas which should be an antithesis of the current religio-politico-social profligacy during his era in *The Prince* (1513) which contains advocacy of an all forcefully powerful ruler whose actions are to be unrestricted by moral consideration and to be unconcerned with the matter of the responsibility of a ruler to his people with ignorance of theological foundation for government and *The Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius* (1521) which provides what can be termed the laws of political revolution similar to the style of Aristotle's *Politics* but different in details and aspects (Machiavelli, 1975, p. xl). In order to form Italian unity and strength according to Machiavelli, foreign oppressors must be thrown out. He assumes his main political attitude that power is an end in itself while the others proposed that power is only the means. Hence, it is sufficient to observe only the aspect focusing on the existence of a prince's status and that of a principality, stability and security, as the most important approach through the art of war that the prince has to exercise his power and authority through making war as he argumentatively mentioned:

Thus a prince should have no other object, nor any other thought, nor any thing else as his art but the art of war and its orders and discipline; for that

is the only art which is of concern to one who commands. And it is of such virtue that not only does it maintain those who have been born prince but many times it enables men of private fortune to rise to the rank; and on the contrary one sees that when princes have thought more of amenities than of arms they have lost their states. And the first cause that makes you lose it is the neglect of this art; and the cause that enables you to acquire it is to be a professional in this art (Machiavelli, 1985, p. 58).

This is the approach of the ruler who has function to rule and protect his principality by any means that enables him to maintain the existence of princehood and that of the principality which is only his property. But it is learnt that political elements must consist of both the ruler and the ruled on the one side and governmental policy which has to provide and protect interests of not only the ruler but also the ruled. In case that it proposes just only the policy for the prince's property it is unacceptable. It is quite noticeable that this is the new approach of politics which attempts to protect a ruler's properties in the format 'the end justifies the means.' In addition, the virtue of the prince has to be harmful, ambitious, ruthless and crafty in order to control others (Ebenstien, 1960, p. 281), instead of nonviolently virtuous deeds through meanness or middle way. Machiavelli disputably pointed out that:

Thus, since a prince cannot, without damage to himself, use the virtue of liberality so that it is recognized, he should not, if he is prudent, care about a name for meanness. For with time he will always be held more and more liberal when it is seen that with his parsimony his income is enough for him, that he can defend himself from whoever makes war on him, and that he can undertake campaigns without burdening the people (Machiavelli, 1985, p. 63).

Virtuous deeds of the prince especially justice or mean are not significant factors for governance according to official duty of the prince or ruler any more due to the fact that there will not be any successful approach because of the point that state citizens do not rely on their prince nor does the prince towards state citizens. It implies that there were no virtuous people in such human community but only those who attempt to protect and to increase personal interests and benefits by using personal power and authority from each status. All deeds focus on personal interest of those who have authoritative power without preservation of appropriate means for common interests. Consequently, there is no real friendship which creates a human relationship for enhancing betterment of human life in both dimensions of ruler or the prince and ruled or citizens. The priority of benefits is directed to only the interest of the prince as Machiavelli mentioned:

A prince is also esteemed when he is a true friend and a true enemy, that is, when without any hesitation he discloses himself in support of someone against another. This course is always more useful than to remain neutral, because if two powers close to you come to grips, either they are of such quality that if one wins, you have to fear the winner, or not. In either of these two cases, it will always be more useful to you to disclose yourself and to wage open war; for in the first case if you do not disclose yourself, you will always be the prey of whoever, wins, to the pleasure and satisfaction of the one who was defeated, and you have no reason, nor anything, to defend you or give you refuge. For whoever wins does not want suspect friends who may not help him in adversity; whoever loses does not give you refuge, since you did not want to share his fortune with arms in hand (Machiavelli, 1985, p. 89).

The political aspects that Machiavelli mentioned seem to be fair to both friend and enemy of the prince. But if it is considered deeply there still will be harmfulness, aggressiveness and destructiveness in order to increase and to protect the prince's power which are acknowledged as good deeds due to the fact that they protect the prince's interest. But if such are deeds are maleficent to the prince while they are beneficent to others, they are not acceptable. It follows that there is no universal standard of goodness or badness or even evil except that which benefits the prince who has the same substance as other state citizens. Machiavelli emphasizes further about the reality of human life, in case of being prince, that the point concerned is that the prince has to be an existentialist. It means that the prince has to use every means for his position and survival. Practically speaking, since a prince is compelled of necessity to know well how to use the beast, the prince should pick the fox for avoidance from snares and the lion from annoyance that wolves make (Machiavelli, 1985, p. 69). It indicates that governmental policy of a prince aims at particular purposes of self defense from enmity without acknowledgement of citizens' dignity and right which should be the same due to the fact that both the prince and citizens of state or principality are all human beings. Citizens of a principality or nation state in the case are acknowledged as only a means that support the prince's achievement through either good or bad treatment. It follows that goodness and badness are degraded from an absolute to a relative level which is not just and fair for each individual human who should be naturally treated equally. So, William Ebenstien argumentatively comments on Machiavelli's aspect of good and bad that:

Good and evil are thus reduced from absolute to relative categories, and it depends on the basic assumption of a system of value whether a particular action is good or bad. If the basic assumption and objective of conduct is friendship, service, fellowship, justice or God, the individual action will be

judged good or bad to the extent that it agrees with, or deviates from, such assumptions and goals. If, as for the ruler, the basic assumption is power, the decision as to whether a particular action is good or bad will depend on the extent to which it furthers the gain, retention, and growth of power. In this sense the use of poison may be called “good” if it does a good job in eliminating a political opponent, perhaps by acting slowly and imperceptibly so that the author of the crime can not be easily detected (Ebenstien, 1960, p.281).

Justification of goodness or badness depends on a subjective standard for individual profits. Such an individual is the one who has power and authority of a political community. And the main approach of principality administration which a prince has to follow is to protect and strengthen his political power in order not only to protect his principality’s territory but to conquer others as well. This is a kind of tyranny that enables to initiate mass revolution whenever people are unable one to bear the impression which the prince puts on the shoulder of citizens without any reciprocal benefits but loss. Moreover, it does not respond to the law of human nature which needs fair treatment for happy life.

The researcher disagrees with the political theory which Machiavelli contributed to the public due to the fact that politics substantially handles its function on providing good conditions for citizens’ living through appropriate administration of an appointed governmental body. It is true that each member of the nation state has their duty according to individual status for the sake of both one’s own and others but, if it is out of virtue, it is unacceptable in the governmental attitude of Buddhism. The Buddha mentioned in *Dasabhiraja-Dhamma* that the ruler has to be virtuous especially in precepts number 2 *Sīla* which means to maintain good conduct, number 10 *Avirodhana* which

means non-deviation from good righteousness and 8 *Avihim^osā* which means nonviolence but Niccolò Machiavelli emphasized war and evil deeds as wise strategy for the sake of the ruler only as he claimed “he who does not recognize evils when they arise in a principality is not wise, and this is given to few...that without its own arms no principality is secure” (Macchiavelli, 1985, p. 57). If it is considered in the function of the ruler it should be acceptable due to the fact that he has to protect his principality. But it is not sufficient to use evil and destructive means of war acknowledge as a wise strategy to protect interests. This is not such a means to exercise the ruler’s policy as such due to the fact that it does not product total good public interests. Good governmental policy should produce total good for all. If a ruler follows the Buddha’s principles there, will not any damage to human society.

Besides, it can be said in other words that a governmental body in the form of governor or ruler assigned by state citizens has to administer a governmental policy of justice in sections concerned for the betterment of the state in which both governor and the ruled are included. In addition, the amount of citizens is concretely bigger than the governor body. Hence, it can be imagined that if the governor body does not observe just administration for the betterment of the public or for the profits and interest of the citizens but for only the governor body’s sake, it will be abolished by popular power in order to protect their rights and profits automatically. The reasons that support this conviction are the fact that everyone wants natural treatment that causes good consequence from any kind of environment and circumstance; and a natural entity has its own natural pattern of survival which each one has to adjust to be with other harmoniously. This is the substance of justice. If, in the political viewpoint, citizens are treated unnaturally there will be equal resistance due to natural physical theory.

In the case of Machiavelli's political theory, there is no harmony between citizens in the principality and the prince or ruler. There are only the powerful exercises of the prince for his own sake with, if it is necessary, harmfulness and aggressiveness without observation of the principality's dwellers. The prince's governance is only the strategy for protecting personal properties. The prince uses citizens and other people as the means without sufficient remuneration. The governance policy of the prince in general seems to be similar to one requirement of *Cakkavattivatta Sutta* when it claims about *Dhammikārakkhā*, or rightful protection to all in the land, but in practice there is no relevance. Machiavelli knows about prince's qualities that bring to him either blame or praise but when suggestions for application are shared, he prioritizes the benefits of the ruler through indifferentiation of political justification. He proposes:

And I know that everyone will confess that it would be a very laudable thing to find in a prince all of the above mentioned qualities that are held good. But because he cannot have them, nor wholly observe them, since human condition do not permit it, it is necessary for him to be so prudent as to know how to avoid the infamy of those vices that would take his state from him and to be on guard against those that do not, if that is possible; but if one cannot, one can let them go on with less hesitation. And furthermore, one should not care about incurring the reputation of those vices without which it is difficult to save one's state; for if one considers everything well, one will find something appears to be virtue, which if pursued would be one's ruin, and something else appears to be vice, which if pursued results in one's security and well being (Machiavelli, 1985, p. 62).

It is true that a ruler or a prince has to find an appropriate means to accomplish a final goal of one's approach. But it is inconsistent to acknowledge vices as a way to

accomplish a good end. In addition, a ruler, idealistically, has to be a good exemplar for others. So, it is unacceptable to raise a good end to justify bad means. It seems to the researcher that Machiavelli's suggestions to a prince attempt to avoid vices and keep virtues but they are not permanent to maintain excellence. It is noticeable that there should not be only limit options to choose for betterment of the future if a ruler who should be officially qualified is prudent and wise enough to preserve peace rather than war, both for his own sake and the sake of others without discrimination rather than that of his allies and permanent fame rather than blame. Though it is not in the *Lokutara* or supramundane level, Buddha's strategy never agrees with harmful policy but nonviolence or *Ahimsa* (K. I, 29)¹ and *Mā adhammakāra* which is oppose unrighteous actions but promotes preventive arrangements and remedial measures against unrighteous actions, exploitation, crime, and unrest in the country through encouraging people to permanently preserve goodness and virtue. Only ignorant followers respond and obey selfish and egoistic commands issued by such a prince which indirectly violate personal rights of citizens and people. But whenever the prince's followers realize the perversion of just governance there will not be obedience but resistance.

Aristotle also disagreed with those governmental policies that perform unjust treatment towards citizens and elucidated the significant character of each one that:

The perversions that correspond to the constitutions just mentioned
[Kingship, Aristocracy, and Polity] are: Tyranny, [the perversion of]
Kingship; Oligarchy [the perversion of] Aristocracy; and Democracy [the

¹ in *Katha Dhammaboth* of *Dhammathavatta* the Buddha point out that a sage justifies each case prudently. Those who have truth, *dhamma*, *ahimsa*, self-control (*saññāma*) and self command (*dama*) he declines from evil temptation.

perversion of] ‘Constitutional Government’ [or polity]. Tyranny is a government by a single person directed to the interest of that person; Oligarchy is directed to the interest of the well-to-do; Democracy is directed to the interest of the poor. None of these benefits the common interest (Aristotle, 1995, p. 100-1)

It follows that governmental policy which Machiavelli proposed is in the scope of a unwanted political system in Aristotle’s aspect. Especially the prince’s performance can be identified as tyranny style. For, the prince administrates his governmental policy himself and focuses on his own profit that is to maintain his own power and position of princehood. It factually opposes the common pattern of governance which should be a procedure of mutual exchange of benefits between ruler and the ruled. Moreover, the ruler or the prince has to provide and to protect common interest especially citizens interest. If the ruler’s interest is increased, the interests of the ruled have to be increased as well. This is the just procedure of sharing and gaining between the ruled and ruler.

Besides, the politics of Machiavelli opposes that of Buddha’s aspect also. The ruler’s performance like that of Machiavelli in the Buddha’s period was criticized as being unacceptable due to the fact that morality and politics have to be supportive of each other in order to enhance the human quality of life so that each of them can attain higher stages of meritorious performance sufficient to accomplish the final goal of life of happiness which, in the other words, is the status of life without suffering. Doing goodness is the only way to accomplish such a status as the Buddha figuratively identified:

Then this, brethren, will occur to those beings: Now, only because we had gotten into evil ways, have we had this heavy loss of kith and kin. Let us therefore now do good. What can we do that is good? Let us now abstain from taking up and do. And they will abstain from slaughter, and will

continue in this good way... Then this brethren, will occur to those beings: Now we, because we have gotten into good ways, increase in length of life and comeliness. Let us now do still more good. Let us now abstain from taking what is not given...adultery...lying... evil speaking... let us now abstain from covetousness from ill-will, from false opinions...three things incest, wanton greed and perverted desired...let us now continue to practice each of these good things (Davids, 1957, pp. 71-2).

Good deeds cannot be categorized in slaughter, adultery, lying or even covetousness that is maintained in the heart of the prince in order to protect his authoritative power through war making and insincerity due to the preference of appearance rather substance as Machiavelli points 'Everyone sees how you appear, few touch that you are... So let a prince wins and maintains his state: the means will always be judged honorable, and will be praised by everyone' (Machiavelli, 1985, p.71).

The Buddha did not accept non-virtuous and riskily changeable activities which are not absolute truths that human beings can rely on for valid justification. Political policy is a kind of governmental strategy that human beings use for directing their behaviors to accomplish their final goal of life which has to be based on a universal standard principle. The political policy that Machiavelli proposes can be acceptable only in the ruler or the prince sector due to the fact that it satisfies the ruler's or the prince's need without prioritization of citizens' benefits. But its maleficent affects are directed to those who are subordinate. It is true that there must be loss in each war; and war preparation must also create loss. Fighters in each war do not want to kill their opponents but, due to the command from the prince who needs victory they have to kill them while the fighters are afraid of being killed as well. A just dispute should be raised in the form of why the prince does not personally fight for his interest. Contradictorily, it is

unbelievable case that a fighter has to fight for the benefits of others. It can be identified that Machiavelli's political principles contradict the natural principle of human beings who need to survive rather than to be killed. It can be justified that such the political principle is unacceptable if it is consider justly in every dimension of those who have to participate in such a case.

Another way to say this is that the Machiavelli's political principles do not follow the natural principle in general. It is acceptable that a ruler or a prince has to keep his responsibility of state protection; but the means to protect his state is not any harmful or violent strategy that may damage both his allies and rivals. Besides, in particular it can be said that such principles are not dhammic ones that require balance of treatment among people who should have the same dignity and right even though different status due to societal assignment. Prioritization of the prince's benefits and properties is more preferable than those of inhabitants of principality while each part has to mutually help each other in protecting and preserving both personal and communal interests and benefits. This approach does not match the political aspect of Buddhism due to the fact that Machiavelli proposed the political process which causes suffering to some one. The fact that the Buddha attempted to promote the middle way that has to abolish suffering but Machiavelli attempted to provide the strategy that motivated the prince whose authoritative enforcement enabled him to cause suffering to others legally. It is sufficient to justify the prince's authority of exercising monarchical power for his own interest through harmfulness of war making if the prince substantially were the one who has nature to do as such; and the subdominants in the prince's principality naturally maintain their status as the victims of harmfulness for the prince interest. But, naturally, both the prince and his subdominants have the same substance of human beings who need happiness rather than suffering. It follows that the Machiavelli's political principle is not

acceptable in Buddhism due to the point that whatever violates natural law is not acceptable according to Buddhism. It is evident that Machiavelli's political principle does.

This aspect can be expanded further that such principles are not acceptable in contemporary Thai politics as well due to that they do not respond to Thai people who have been molded by Buddhist ethics and cultures for along time. Buddhadasa insist from the Buddhist viewpoint that:

The real politics has establish peace without criminal force. It means that real politics has to apply wisdom (*panna*) to understand each other amongst worldly creatures. In order to live with others peacefully each viable entity has its own responsible duty to fulfill authentically without criminal force, without quarrel, without destruction to each other (Buddhadasa,1988,p.81).

The researcher agree with Buddhadasa aspect because if there is a criminal force obliging someone to do same deeds without self commitment and concern of other's dignity there will not be any progressive collaboration to enhance political strength. There will be controlled resistance waiting for explosion.

4.3. Feasible Assessment of Buddhist Ethical Principles in Contemporary Thai Politics

The researcher prudently considers and finally accepts that the harmoniously nurtured process of external circumstance and environment is more influential to human lifestyle than that of an internally natural process within his own existence due to the fact that an internally natural process of human life attempts to survive through a harmoniously nurtured process which external circumstance and environment provide for

each individual. It is observable that human beings attempt to adapt themselves to be within other natural entities. They sometimes live amongst other things peacefully but sometimes they confront suffering due to the fact that they cannot adjust themselves to the natural conditions of other things. Floods and storms from nature are the disastrous entities that human being cannot overcome easily. However, if human beings attempt to be with natural entities harmoniously, there will be no conflict. Whenever human beings respond to the requirements of natural beings properly through complete understanding of themselves and others there will be no suffering but happiness.¹ It implies that there should be a smoothly relative interaction, through appropriate governance between a governmental body in a particular type whose function is to be representative of a nation state and members of state society in order to maintain security, development and participation for the betterment of a nation's citizens. The Buddha was the great exemplar for this conviction in the micro level. Tipitaka writes that when the Buddha gave up the practice of self mortification and followed the natural need of his physical requirement appropriately, he attained the Enlightenment due to his clear understanding of his nature without extreme response to its need (M. II, 495-506). This is the process of self governance which concerns the meanness of physical requirement for survival. This can be applied to macro level of national state governance.

If one considers this in a politic dimension of contemporary Thai societal context, it is suitable for Thai people nowadays to be familiar with the Buddhist context due to the fact that Buddhism has been welcome in Thai communities for long time so that each Thai has Buddhist spirit of self adjustment within life automatically because of the fact

¹If human beings avoid tree cutting and attempt to make their residence strong flood and storm will not harm them.

that a human being will absorb good suggestions from an external environment when it is useful (Williams, 1938, p. 3). When each one in Thai society knows the Buddhist direction of life learning to the point that everyone has to adjust oneself to natural requirements through clear understanding of problematic situations nowadays, it implies that the one in Thai society can apply such direction to guide her life because everyone has to use good means to accomplish a good life.

It seems, through the details of its policy announcement in the parliament according to the researcher's viewpoint, that the contemporary Thai governmental body has known and understood the primary sources of problematic situations in Thai society already. There should be an appropriate societal adjustment through the realization of duty with each one functioning in each status appropriately so that everyone will not encounter suffering but each one will attain happiness contextually. Rather, the political strategy of problem solving as well as political improvement and development declared on February 26, 2001 by the Prime Minister Dr. Taksin Chinawatr smoothly follows Buddhist strategy for attaining happiness through a natural abolishment of suffering in daily life by using self governance and self improvement under the guidance of the government so that Thai citizens are enabled to attain happiness sustainably. Moreover, the contemporary Thai government responds to the constitutional policy on transparency and accountability of governance. These are means that ensure the researcher to indicate that the contemporary Thai politics applies dhammic governance to administrate political elements so that problematic conditions in Thai society are gradually eliminated and are enriched Thai citizens in both physical and spiritual dimensions. The researcher attempts to validate these proposals to solve the problems in the Thai society by point logically.

The leader of the contemporary Thai government firstly pointed out the primary sources of current crises in Thai society. The first one is poverty. He indicated that

current Thai economics cannot support Thai people to be wealthy which is acknowledged as a sufficient means to attain happiness even though they have raw materials that can bring wealthy to them. But they do not know how to gain wealth due to their ignorance of global economics. Hence, this governmental body attempts to establish good economics after proposing identifying the crises in Thai society as Dr. Taksin Mentions:

So, the urgent and significant mission of the government is to be hurry on problem solving in economics. There will be a great improvement in economic production sector as well as in social and political administrations. The two of them have to be collaboratively developed and improved together in order to solve the urgent problems effectively through coincident strategies of ceasing the economic crises on the one hand and that of establishing new structure of national economics and society toward national stability and security on the other hand (www.thaigov.go.th/ general/policy/policy_thaksin.htm, 2001).

This is the actual realization of the current crises in Thai society. It is undeniable that human societies nowadays in which Thai's is included, acknowledge economics as an external significant means to improve the physical dimension of human beings. For, when people in societies have enough material facilities for their survival, they are energetically able to search for self-improvement and development if there are sufficient suggestions resented them. Moreover, Dr Taksin Chinawatr proposes a concrete process of solving economic problem of the nation by demonstrating the strategy of using raw materials that Thai people still have which enables then to enrich themselves as he keeps on clarifying continuously the contextual potentiality Thai people have that:

All [the policies mentioned above for solving national problems especially in economic dimension] are not only the cause of economic declination but

they are distributions of chances to people. The government gives chances to them partaking in financial distribution for investment and a chance to merchandise raw materials which people occupy through their authentic wisdom in order to partake in new economic system which requires intelligence as the significant tool for self enrichment. This government realizes that Thais have biological diversity with radical authentic cultures and perseverance and diligence. If those potentialities are supportably actualized, there will be great mass power sufficiently to strengthen Thailand so that she can maintain her self-sustainability proudly (www.thaigov.go.th/ general/policy/policy_ thaksin.htm, 2001).

This is an appropriate process of problem solving without causing more problems within the social context of Thailand if is considered as strategic dimension of the administration. The reasons which support this conviction are the facts that Thai people are the same as other people in the world who are capable of enriching themselves if they have enough property and energy; and no one contribute one's property to other forever except state administrators who commit themselves to govern such a state for the betterment of state citizens. It is sufficient to claim that, Dr Taksin Chinawatr, as the leader of governmental body, knows that there are lots of natural raw materials especially for food productions sufficient for at least self sustainability in all regions in Thailand. Also, he also knows that Thai people are capable and efficacious due to the fact that Thai people have attractively transmitted cultural heritages. A possible proposal can be make in the form that if Thailand can commercialize those products and adjust economic management for trading those products appropriately, there will be a great amount of income to people who produce such products unavoidably. Hence, the governmental policy that Dr Taksin Shinawatr mentioned is quite reasonable for eliminating poverty through actualizing the

potentiality that Thai citizens have on industrializing raw material they own. Moreover, actual plans that support such procedure on local economics through providing village fund, SME's and OTOP projects as well as prolongation of peasants' debts are effective. In addition, the Road Show project of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is another possible means to commercialize local products in international markets.

The political relevance between Buddhism and the contemporary governmental Thai policy is the procedure of solving problems that begins from finding out the primary source of the problems. While Buddhism indicates that suffering is a great problem in human life, the contemporary governmental Thai policy finds that poverty is the cause of a problem in Thailand. When Buddhism empowers practitioners to avoid causes of suffering after realizing them, it empowers Thai people to manage and adjust raw materials they have to increase wealth which is the only way to solve an economic crisis through self sustenance with the OTOP, village fund, etc.

Besides, the improvement of national education project is another means that provides a way to increase wisdom for Thai people to have sufficient intelligence for enriching their talent. It is relevant to Buddhism when it suggests that followers gain wisdom through self sustenance in moral practice. This is an appropriate strategy of using materials that one has to enrich oneself because it is the only way to eliminate suffering from poverty gradually. It can be implied that this is a strategy of problem solving concerning to natural application due to the fact that the governmental policy attempts to use raw materials which the victim of suffering has to be adjusted matching to the natural procedure of other things so that there is no conflict within factors concerned. It is sure that there will be no suffering any more.

It can be analyzed further that this strategy is relevant to the general pattern of problem solving that the Buddha applied to eliminate suffering. That is to find out the

cause of suffering and use one's energy to eliminate such. External suffering from poverty in the contemporary Thai society has been necessarily caused by the declination of economics. It is logically expected that if the declination of economics is destroyed as the Buddha destroyed the cause of suffering, ignorance, poverty will be also destroyed as suffering was destroyed in the Buddha context.

The means in the Thai political pattern of problem solving in such a case is to adjust Thai economics in a proper way due to the fact that Thai people own raw materials sufficient to commercialize so that Thai people can be enabled to have economic wealth. Thai people are efficient enough to use their talent for enriching themselves if they know how to do it. This is an appropriate process of problem solving through natural application or adjustment of particular materials to natural patterns of other natural things because it is the process that adjusts natural elements of raw materials, both internal and external ones which the victims of the problem have to its natural function of commercially valuating so that the owners are enabled to gain real value of those materials. This is a kind of dhammic process of problem solving due to the fact that it is the proper adjustment of natural entities in current Thai society without intervention from outsiders. This process is concordant with the Buddha's pattern of dhammic governance in both individual and political communal dimensions in this contemporary Thai political circumstance of the environment.

However, two controversial disputes, namely, the policy of drug agency abolishment and the promotion of materialistic consumerism do not respond to the ethical principles of Buddhism. The former violates the first precept of *Five Sila* which prohibits life killing. No religious principles agree with human life destruction even though it provides benefits for majority of Thai people. In the later case it violates the aspect of detachment which is the path to Nibbana. As a Buddhist follower the Prime Minister has

to find another way to solve these problems. The sustainable theory which King Bhumipol proposes to his people will be the best means to enrich people in both economical and ethical dimensions. If the Prime Minister handles his policy as such he will be the second Machiavelli. Besides, the problems cannot be eliminated from Thai society. As a Buddhist, Dr Taskin Chinawatr should find appropriate ways to solve these two problems. Based on the natural foundation which Thai civilians in general that is Buddhist ethics, the Prime Minister enables to administrate raw material which Thailand has such as religion members and cultural authorities to reform and reshape Thai society in a harmonious way to which there consequently will no resistance due to the fact that it is the procedure of solving problems from within that the beloved king, king Bhumipol the great, usually suggests. The researcher convinces dues to the if each Thai civilian applies Buddhist ethics in their daily life effectively, especially, governmental administrators who have to take unavoidably responsibilities for all over the country. The researcher indicates its possibility in the following topic.

4.4 A Buddhist Can Be a Good Politician

In Buddhist ethics according to the Buddha's teaching the Buddha did not insist an extreme aspect of absolute liberation from the world. He supported worldly life for worldly happiness (*lokiya sukkha*) through right livelihood (*sammāājīva*). Right livelihood (*sammāājīva*) means to live according to the nature of each individual as the Buddha mentioned in *Ananādhā sutta* when he shared his idea with Anadhabindhika that "Happiness of layman consists of what is derived from having properties, from purchasing properties, from no debts and from career without guilt" (A. IV, 62). This is the procedure of livelihood which an ethical man can adjust to and manage oneself among

other worldly things without conflicts through self- purification. Saying in other words is that to adjust oneself in the nature of other things, it can from a good society as well.

Winston L. King also insists that:

In other words the goodness of society is but the sum of the goodness of its component individuals. Good character will result in good community character; which will in turn result in good national character; which will in turn produce good international relations. Or to apply the same philosophy to a specific problem; if every individual gains peace within his own heart, then world-peace will come. Ergo, the method of working for world-peace is primarily to cleanse one's own heart of greed, hatred, and delusion. And since these later are nourished by the illusion of the reality of itself, one should really being to work for world peace by purifying himself of the error of self-illusion through meditation (King, 1964,p. 181-2).

It is not the same as the strategy that Machiavelli applied for solving political problems in his context because Machiavelli focused on enforcing other things to satisfy the requirement of the prince of the prince without purification one's self. Moreover, Machiavelli did not exercise his governmental policy concerning the nature of citizens of principalities who preferred peace to war but he exercised his authoritative power for his own benefits only. It follows that Machiavelli's political policy has not been popular generally. It is observable that whenever a ruler exercises governmental policy as such in any territory there will be severe resistance from people in that territory. The great example is the horrible revolution for democracy in Thailand in 1973 when Thanom's government exercised its governmental power for personal benefits and interests contradicting to the teaching of Buddha and the natural pattern of Thai living style.

Finally, the government was dismissed from the political history of Thailand. Likhit Dhiravegin analytically comments about the case that:

Within the period of crisis good governance of a governmental body is the real political problem. Generally, Thai politics prioritize common interests rather than good governance. Those governmental bodies that are able to provide and protect common interests and benefits are acknowledgeable... But at that political moment of starvation of rice and sugar ...This indicates that the government is unable to 'abolish suffering from and provide happiness to Thai people'... (Likhit Dhiravegin, 1997, pp. 195-6).

The bipolar concept of 'to abolish suffering from and provide happiness to Thai people' is the most significant mission that each governmental body has to perform in order to maintain its position in Thai politics. This concept is similar to the political aspects that the Buddha suggested in *Dasarājadhamma* and *Cakkavatti vatta* focusing on holistic betterment of citizens in the nation state of which its ruler has to be concerned.

It is acceptable that ethical principles of Buddhism enable to form and train practitioners to accomplish the final goal life without violence as the Buddhist sages were in governmental procedure even though nowadays human right and liberty have been promoted as significant properties of each political citizen. Moreover, each political representative in the state parliament should be idealistically ethical people who have to work for the people as a whole in Thailand due to the fact that no one would like to have unethical representatives. In addition, Thailand has been nourished by Buddhist ethics for along time. Hence, it should be sufficient to infer that each Buddhist can be a good politician as well as a good governor through continuous formation of Buddhist ethics or else such a person cannot be a Buddhist. Referring to Sigalovada Sutta, each activity

relevant to the suggestion of the sutta can format each one to be holy in his duty. Winston L. King elucidated in the context of society that:

So far as the social situation itself is concerned, there is no prescription for a good society or the ideal structuring of human relationships. There is here no possible doctrine of social revolution or change of any sort. All that is called for is that each man do his duty with faithfulness and gentleness in the place or relationship where his destiny has put him (King,1964,p,204).

It is true that in the modern form of state governance there must be proper acknowledgement of the right and liberty of each individual fairly without bias. It is true that there must be legal administration in politics in order to maintain a peaceful atmosphere in Thai society. But there must be appropriate application. Sompran Pomta referred to Buddhadasa Bikkhu (1998) and Preecha Chnglwanyeeun (1981,1995,1997) proposed that the preference of right and liberty in western attitude is not appropriate due to the fact that it is not the fair treatment to societal members and most of Thai people are not familiar with the new approach of westernized legalization. He insists that:

Thai law which follows western attitude formats Thai people to have a mechanical attitude without compromise. Factually, Thai society does not have a culture that refers to individual rights. Consequently, the new application of Thai laws is strange in the mind of Thai people who are not familiar with western style of legalization (Sompran Pomta,1999,p.214-5).

It is reasonable to comment as such due to the fact that the life style of each individual should be nourished and formed gradually within the culture and tradition. It is true that Thai society has been formed and enriched by Buddhist ethics for long time. It is not suitable to exercise governmental authority according to the right and duty of the Prime Minister-

ship to protect the benefits and interests of the majority of people by sacrificing the lives of the majority who commit a crime and are guilty due to the fact that such an act, namely execution of drug agents, is a gravely sinful act being prohibited by the Five Precepts. It is valid in the aspect of peaceful protection in the society but it is invalid in the aspect of Buddhist ethics which promotes mercy and harmony instead of fierce and violence. Factually, state-government should behave as a father of state civilians who has to give appropriate guidance children to be good familial members without life-destruction but appropriate punishment for goodness of each individual. Sompran Pomta suggests that the state should be a paternal state which patiently train its civilians to be good citizens. He writes:

State can be figured as father and civilians are children. In order to train children to be good, father has to sometime coerce his children to abandon from bad deeds... It is similar to state level where the governor has to force his civilians to change their habits bad to be (Sompran Pomta, 1999, p.212).

It can be summarized that whenever there is an exercise of governmental power against the law of Dhamma or the law of human nature there will be severe resistance. Hence, the contemporary Thai governance policy which usually goes along with the natural procedure of Thai lifestyle will be acceptable in both worldly and religious dimensions. In addition, the political attitude in Buddhism is not only liberalism and communitarianism but it is also beyond the two of them and it should be nominated as dhammicism due to the fact that it attempts to comply with the order of nature of each thing to a particular context of living. Moreover, Thai people can apply it to their daily life if there is no any malefic motivator to distort their approach from what they have been trained within dhammaic society. It implies that a governmental administrator such

as the Prime Minister has to take charge of this duty without rejection of Buddhist ethics. However, he has to maintain wisdom in his duty. Wit Wisathaves suggests in applying either a utilitarian or deontological process of ethics to solve the problem each governor Should concern wisdom that:

...prudence, calmness, long sight and wide vision, detachment from Personal benefits and interests and careful consideration only that enable to form appropriate decision making with both ethical principles. Human beings are the result of complex civilization. It is impossible to apply only one method to heal the illness of human health, it is impossible to apply only one governmental method to administrate oneself properly (Wit Wisathaves, 1977, p.131).

The researcher would like to close his political attitude that Buddhist can be a good politician because he can control and govern himself properly. It implies that Dr Taskin Chinawatr can apply his virtuous deeds to govern other civilians in Thailand properly as well.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1 Conclusion

This research now comes to its end. The researcher has found and justified from his long argumentative discussion that the Buddhist political principles are relevant to the contemporary Thai politics. The researcher finds in general that good politics is the first means among other significant factors and that a ruler and the ruled in each nation state have to collaboratively help each other to initiate the middle way of living for attaining happiness which is the supreme good in worldly circumstance and environment. Aristotle points out when he first discussed the way to reach the supreme good that:

It would seem to belong to the most authoritative art that which is most truly the master art. And politics appears to be of this nature; for it is this that ordains which of the sciences should be studied in a state, and which each class of citizens should learn and up to what point they should learn them; and we see even the most highly esteemed of capacities to fall under this, e.g. strategy, economics, rhetoric; now, since politics uses the rest of the sciences, and since, again, it legislates as to what we are to do and what we are to abstain from, the end of this science must include those of the others, so that this end must be the good for man. For even if the end is the same for a single man and for a state, that of the state seems at all events something greater and more complete whether to attain or to preserve; though it is worth while to attain the end merely for one man, it is finer and more godlike to attain it for a nation or for city-states. These,

then, are the ends at which our inquiry aims, since it is political science, in our sense of that term (NE, p. 2)

The most important point is the procedure of self adjustment which each individual in a political community has to do in order to avoid disconformity of natural systems with other natural entities in this world in each particular circumstance and environment.

In the particular case of contemporary Thai politics, the researcher realizes that Thai people have been familiar with Buddhist ethics for long time due to the fact that Buddhism has been acknowledged as their spiritual refuge since ancient time in both the ruler sector and the ruled communities. Moreover, Buddhism has expanded its influence in Thai traditions and cultures so that Buddhist cultures and Thai cultures are merged as a unique pattern of Thai lifestyle. In addition, Buddhism emphasizes self governance or ethical formation by each individual in order to abolish suffering permanently because each one has to help one's self through self-realization. Buddhism proposes ethical formation based on dhammic application as what each one is or acknowledgement of natural authenticity and that each one has to apply one's nature into nature of each natural thing concerned. If each person realizes such a condition, that person will not confront any problem or suffering if it is considered in the Buddhist attitude.

In order to accomplish such an approach, each human being must have supreme wisdom to find out the cause of suffering in order to govern one's feeling or emotion to avoid any attachment of such a cause of suffering. Moreover, each individual has to adjust one's self to be along with the natural pattern of other things concerned through ethical suggestions that the Buddha preached and contributed on his performance of both personal and communal governance based on *Trisikkha*.

Considering a communal level especially in the national political level in Thailand, the researcher finds that Buddhist political principles are appropriate to help Thai people

improve their living conditions in order to be far away from suffering but attain happiness through self sustenance within the scope of the contemporary political policy that Dr Taksin Chinawatr declared at the parliament on February 26, 2001. The reasons which support this conviction are as follow:

(1) The policy focuses on self sustenance through using raw material that Thai people have. Moreover, Thai people have to use their energy to increase their wisdom for improving their living conditions in a better way contextually.

(2) The policy concerns 'suffering abolishment and happiness nourishment' in the procedure of democracy which is similar to the political principles of *Dasarajadhamma* and *Cakkavatti vatta* in Buddhism.

(3) The policy does not establish the conflict between the natural pattern of human living in general and the particular pattern of living styles that Thai people have been familiar with through Dhamma governance endorsed by Buddhism with which Thai people have been familiar for along time.

(4) The policy does not apply a dictatorial strategy of communal control for enriching personal benefits and interest but mutual exchange.

It follows that the contemporary Thai politics which is relevant to Buddhism aspects on politics in both the personal and communal level will help Thai people to accomplish happiness exactly.

It should be noticed that this research does not emphasize a personnel dimension so that there are no critical comments on the possibility in practical governance of the contemporary Thai politics. Moreover, the researcher is not concerned about globalizational politics that may affect Thai governance in large. It follows that the researcher proposes some topics for further researches.

5.2 Recommendations for further Research

Other topics for further research that the researcher can found during his critical study are:

- 1) Monarchical Democracy in Thailand and Good Governance: A Defense
- 2) The Immorality of Thai Oligarchic Governments: A Critical Study
- 3) Democracy and Buddhist Ethics in Thailand



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Phramaha Jimkai Taruwan whose recent residence is at 344/7 Saket Rajmahavihara Royal Temple Pomprab District of Bangkok, was born in Ubonrajthani province on April, 3, 1970. After completing obligatory education of Thai government at grade six he became a Buddhist novice when he was 14 years old and has kept on the status of Buddha's follower as a monk.

He attended the Buddhist doctrine studies for three years and accomplished the Buddhist curriculum degree as Nak Dham Ek. He then kept on studying both Pali courses at Wat Bochanang of Amnatchareon province for three year in order to accomplish the 4th level of Pali Study and normal academic courses according to the requirement of Ministry of Education so that he graduated high school level at the same time.

He moved to Bangkok after his high school graduation and has resided in Wat Saket Pomprab of Bangkok for further educational discovery in both religious and worldly dimensions. While he was attending the Pali courses so that he enabled to pass the general examination for attending graduation of the 6th level of Pali Study he also obtained B.A. in Education from Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University. Due to the spirit of being a discoverer he enrolled himself to study in the M.A. Philosophy program of Assumption University in 1998.

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1991-1995: a teacher of Buddhist course at Sainampheung School.

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