

In Defence of the Thai Nation: The Study of Massacre of October 6 From an Ethno-Symbolic Approach

On 6 October 1973, the government arrested 13 students after they distributed leaflets demanding a new constitution. In consequence, Thai students poured into the streets in Bangkok, protesting day after day against the military dictatorship that held power for almost two decades. The military regime accused that the movement was a plot of communism against the monarchy. Student leaders countered the accusation by holding national flags and portraits of King Bhumibol (King Rama IX) and Queen Sirikit in front of the march against the junta. The riot erupted in the morning of October 14. The police and army clashed with the demonstrators. In order to stop the violence, Bhumibol allied with an army faction forcing the “Three Tyrants”- Field Marshals Thanom Kittikachorn, Narong Kittikachorn and Praphas Charusathien- to leave the country. The King later announced on television directing the protestors to go home.¹

The Uprising of October 1973 marked the beginning of political polarisation in the mid 1970s. Following the Marxist-Maoist ideology, university students started to present their campaign in a militant tone. By 1975, one of the student newspapers, *Atiphat*, published articles arguing that armed struggle was the only means to improve Thai society.² Alarmed by the domestic political unrest and the victory of communism in Indochina, the right wing began to devise organizations and form anti-communist movements. The Red Gaurs was a paramilitary organisation that composed of vocational students and ex-mercenaries. It was under the auspice of the Internal Security Operation Command (ISOC). ISOC also took part in forming a group named *Nawaphon*, or “the ninth power” which had a symbolic reference to King Rama IX.³ Main supporters of this second organisation were in the bureaucratic circle and business community. The last organisation was the Village Scouts. It was a product of the government’s counterinsurgency strategy that granted royal patronage. At first, it mainly recruited members in rural areas, but between 1975-1976 the movement

¹ For an extensive study of The October Uprising see, Prajak Kongkirati, *Lae laew khwam khluan wai koprakot* [Thus, the Movement Emerges] (Bangkok, 2005).

² David Morell and Chai-anan Samudavanija, *Political Conflict in Thailand: Reform, Reaction, Revolution* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 162.

³ David Morell and Chai-anan Samudavanija, *Political Conflict in Thailand*, p. 238.

became an urban middle-class phenomenon under the control of the reactionary elites.⁴

The political turbulence culminated in the Massacre of October 6, 1976. The return of exiled Thanom was the last straw. It provoked student demonstrations. On 4 October 1976 at Thammasat University, student re-enacted the garrotting of two activists who protested against Thanom's return. On the next day, the ultra-rightist newspaper, *Dao Siam*, pointed out the similarities between the actor playing the part of the hanged activist and the crown prince. It claimed that the students attempted to make a mockery of the royal family. In the name of the nation, religion (Buddhism) and king, the military radio began to mobilise the right wing forces against the students. In the morning of October 6, students were ferociously attacked. The police who surrounded Thammasat initiated the clash, and the right wing mob stormed onto the campus. The clash led to the coup and the re-imposition of martial law. The new government justified the brutal attack as protecting the monarchy from a communist revolution.⁵

The nationalist movements in the mid 1970s provoked conflicts amongst the Thai. The powerful popular attachment to the nation, religion and king led the reactionary forces to attack the students. My interest is to examine how these national symbols could create such a strong sentiment of patriotism. Most of the studies in the late 1970s and the early 1980s mainly focused on socioeconomic changes that led to political conflicts. These researches did not treat the rightist movements as nationalist movements per se; and since their prime movers were economics and politics, cultural elements that were redeployed to mobilise the mass were relegated.⁶ Marxist scholars interpreted the event as a series of class struggles. For example, Peter F. Bell called the right wing organisations as “proto-fascist groups” that emerged to save “the capitalist social order”. For him, the repression that culminated in the coup of 1976

⁴ For a study of the Village Scouts from an anthropological approach see, Katherine A. Bowie, *Rituals of National Loyalty: An Anthropology of the State and the Village Scout Movement in Thailand* (New York, 1997).

⁵ For the detailed account of the event of October 6 see, Puey Ungphakorn, ‘Violence and Military Coup in Thailand’, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 9, no. 3 (1977), pp. 4-12.

⁶ Among the scholars who studied on the nationalist movement, they only focused on the Village Scouts. See, Thadeus Flood, ‘Village Scouts: The King's Finest’, *Indochina Chronicle* (1977), p. 19; Katherine A. Bowie, *Rituals of National*; Marjorie A. Muecke, ‘The Village Scout of Thailand’, *Asian Survey* 20, no. 4 (1980), pp. 407-427.

was the collaboration between the reactionary elites and the US imperialist in defence of their economic interest. While Bell tried to link the internal political turbulence in Thailand with the class conflict on a global scale, Marian Mallet focused on domestic confrontation. Mallet pointed out that the withdrawal of US troop from Thailand “horrified the military leaders for it meant a loss in substantial earnings”. The right got more support since the Royal Family⁷ identified with the armed forces; and because of the economic recession in 1975, the bourgeoisie began to ally with the reactionary forces.⁸

Marxist analyses reduced the 6 October incident as a mere capitalist episode, and failed to grasp cultural conflicts in Thai society. The other study by David Morell and Chai-anan Samudavanija gave a more detail analysis of internal conflicts in Thailand from a liberal perspective. Morell and Chai-anan interpreted the event of 1973-1976 in terms of “the continuing conflicts in Thailand between the forces of reform, reaction, and revolution”. They wrote that “the forces of modernisation clashed with inescapable impact on traditional Thai society”. The civilian governments were weak. The students failed to “ally themselves with the royal institution, nationalism, or even religion”. The monarchy “clearly rejoined the armed forces as the preferable alternative to continuing chaos and instability”.⁹ Morell and Chai-anan pointed out that the monarchy and Buddhism played a decisive role in unifying Thai nationhood, but both institutions failed to function in the mid 1970s.¹⁰ However, what they did not show was how the reactionary elites embroiled the plot of nationalism with religious belief and the monarchy. Furthermore, how the plot of nationalism “struck a chord” among the different strata of the mass that the reactionary elites seek to mobilise.¹¹

⁷ See the influence of Bhumibol on the right wing organisations in, Paul M. Handley, *The King Never Smiles: A Biography of Thailand's Bhumibol Adulyadej* (New Haven, 2006), pp. 214-237.

⁸ Peter F. Bell, “Cycle’ of Class Struggle in Thailand’, in Andrew Turton, Jonathan Fast and Malcolm Caldwell (eds.), *Thailand: Roots of Conflict* (Nottingham, 1978), pp. 51-79; Marian Mallet, ‘Causes and Consequences of the October ’76 Coup’, in Andrew Turton, Jonathan Fast and Malcolm Caldwell (eds.), *Thailand: Roots of Conflict*, pp. 80-103.

⁹ David Morell and Chai-anan Samudavanija, *Political Conflict in Thailand*.

¹⁰ See the impacts of the monarchy and Buddhism in Thai national politics in, S. J. Tambiah, ‘Sangha and Polity in Modern Thailand: An Overview’, in Bardwell L. Smith (ed.), *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma*, pp. 111-133.

¹¹ Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach* (London and New York, 2009), p. 19.

The study by Benedict Anderson on the 6 October incident was widely received among Thai scholars.¹² Although Anderson's work could be perceived as one of Marxist varieties, his analysis shed light on sociocultural factors that alienated the leftist movement. In contrast with neighbouring countries, Thailand escaped direct colonial control in the nineteenth century. Anderson argued that:

the heroes in Thai children's schoolbooks have not been journalists, union leaders, teachers and politicians who spent years in colonial jails, but above all the "great king" of the ruling house.¹³

Since the prevailing rhetoric in Thai society had "typically been conservative, conformist and royalist", the left was "anxious to defend its nationalist credentials". Any leftist idea was always equated with "un-Thai" or "anti-monarchy".¹⁴ Anderson was right when he pointed out that the symbolic role of the monarchy served to demarcate Thai community from "an alien" leftist movement. Yet, he did not emphasise how the reactionary elites shaped and coloured the "rhetoric of royalist".

Drawing on Anthony D. Smith, I propose to analyse the Massacre of October 6 from an "ethno-symbolic approach". In my dissertation, I will focus on the interplay between elite and majority responses.¹⁵ I will show how the popular beliefs in the monarchy and Buddhism influenced the view and actions of the reactionary elites. On the other hand, how the elites "reappropriated" these pre-existing symbols to mobilise the nationalist movement. The rightist movement was not created out of thin air. The challenge from the leftist ideology provoked the reactionary elites to hark back to heroic exempla in Thai history; and then, calling for sacrifice on behalf of Thai community. According to Smith, nationalism can be seen as "the religion of people", because its power lies in sacred symbols. The nationalist movement can create resonance among the mass because it draws on many of traditional beliefs and

¹² Charnvit Kasetsiri, '6 tula kub sathana tang prawatisart karnmueng' [October 6 and Its status in Political History], in *20 pi 6 tula* [20 Years After October 6] (Bangkok, 1996), pp. 59-66.

¹³ Anderson, B., 'Withdrawal Symptoms: Social and Cultural Aspects of the October 6 Coup', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 9, no. 3 (1977), p. 21.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21. For studies of the leftist movement in Thailand see, Flood, T., 'The Thai Left Wing in Historical Context', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* (1975), pp. 55-67; Kasian Tejapira, *Commodifying Marxism: The Formation of Modern Thai Radical Culture, 1927-1958* (Kyoto and Melbourne, 2001); Somsak Jeamteerasakul, 'The Communist Movement in Thailand' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Monash University, 1991).

¹⁵ Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, p. 31-33.

rituals.¹⁶ In order to understand why people attuned to the rightist propaganda, first, I will trace the concept of Thai kingship and Buddhist worldview that were the distinctive cultural features readying for the reactionary elites to manipulate. In subsequence, I will focus on stirring songs that were used by the elites to infuse patriotic sentiment with an imaginative vision of the “foreign” communist threat.

Because Thailand was not colonised, Frank E. Reynolds pointed out that it provided “an opportunity for the established dynasty to play a positive role in the process of modernisation”.¹⁷ Although the Western science supplied a new way of thinking, the old cosmological worldview was not abandoned. The roles of the monarchy and Buddhism were downplayed after the 1932 Revolution, but they were restored under the military regime since the late 1950s.¹⁸ In order to enhance the political authority, Thai leaders continually supported Buddhism. The concept of leadership was intertwined with the religious belief. The notion of charisma was embodied at the heart of Thai society. Charisma, or “*barami*” in Thai, was the source of authoritative power. Morell and Chai-anan pointed out that *barami* “is believed to be vested in a person who has accumulated much merit”.¹⁹ In the religious myth, the monarch was seen as embodying an extraordinary amount of merit. Until the 1970s, Christine Gray argued that many Thai people still believed that the monarch was “*sommuttithep*” or a virtual deity.²⁰ The law of karma was pervaded in popular beliefs. The culmination of karma garnered through past lives as well as present one could explain all statuses in Thai social hierarchy.²¹ Thai modern nation was not secular in all aspects, since political legitimacy derived from divinity as much as from populations.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 74-79.

¹⁷ Frank E. Reynolds, ‘Sacral Kingship and National Development: The Case of Thailand’, in Bardwell L. Smith (ed.), *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma* (Chambersberg, 1978), p. 105.

¹⁸ S. J. Tambiah, ‘Sangha and Polity in Modern Thailand: An Overview’. See the revival of the monarchy since the late 1950s in, Thak Chaloemtiarana, *Thailand: the Politics of Despotic Paternalism*, rev. edn. (Ithaca, 2007) .

¹⁹ David Morell and Chai-anan Samudavanija, *Political Conflict in Thailand*, p. 33.

²⁰ Christine E. Gray, ‘Thailand: The Soteriological State in the 1970s’ (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1986), pp. 479-480.

²¹ Thomas A. Kirsch, ‘Complexity in the Thai Religions System: An Interpretation’, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 36, no. 2 (1977), p. 246.

According to Stanley J. Tambiah, Buddhist tenets relate to the concerns of politico-social order, “whose cornerstone was a “righteous” monarch who would promote a prosperous society and religion”.²² Like Anderson’s remark, the great kings were heroes in Thai official history. But, their roles were not merely secular, since they were guardians of Buddhism and Buddhist kingdom. Heroic deeds of Thai kings who were defenders of both faith and the kingdom conferred blessing on the land. The homeland was “sacred” in a sense that it was a place of reverence and awe, where its aura of sanctity lied in the role of heroic kings who bestowed the last resting-places for Thai kin.²³ The master plot of Thai official history was the struggle for independence against external threat; for example, the continual struggle with the Burmese in Sukhothai and Ayudhya period, and the wrestle with European colonialism in the second half of the nineteenth century. In each turbulent time, the role of the kings in fighting back to restore the country was highlighted.²⁴

The theme of heroic kings was exploited in the mid 1970s. The myth of King Naresuan- Thai king in the late sixteenth century who had been victorious against the Burmese- was redeployed to counter the leftist movement. It was recounted in the Village Scouts’ initial rites to remind the golden age of Thai past and the role of ancestors who sacrifice themselves in order to protect the nation.²⁵ The tale of the sacrifice was also narrated through a stirring song entitled *the Soldiers of King Naresuan*. This heroic myth of battle could be seen as a source of inspiration for the younger generation to emulate their ancestors. The conjuring trick of the reactionary elites was to link Thai heroic exempla with the everlasting commitment in defense of the sacred community.

Political songs were part of the cultural warfare in Thailand. While the students played songs that telling revolutionary stories²⁶, the right reacted by composing stirring songs. Despites of its banal lyrics, stirring songs expressed love of

²² S. J. Tambiah, ‘Sangha and Polity in Modern Thailand: An Overview’, p. 132. For an extensive account on the concept of Thai kingship see, Christine E. Gray, ‘Thailand: The Soteriological State in the 1970s’.

²³ Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, pp. 94-95.

²⁴ Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu, 1994), pp. 140-163.

²⁵ Katherine A. Bowie, *Rituals of National Loyalty*, p. 200.

²⁶ Pamela A. Myers-Moro, ‘Songs For Life: Leftist Thai Popular Music in the 1970s’, *Journal of Popular Culture* 20, no. 3 (1986), pp. 93-113

the nation, and its object of scorn in a tangible form. The most popular one was *Scum of the Earth*. It usually played daily on radio and television, and its record was distributed to schools all over the country.²⁷ Its lyrics denoted natural ties to the country, and connoted an attachment to Thai nationhood. On the other hand, the vocabularies of kinship and that of home served to alienate the leftist movement. The students were portrayed as those who “appearance is Thai” but “selling their nation, insulting and demeaning the Thai race”: they are “a weight upon the face of the earth”.

The communist movement in Thailand was identified with the external threat. In the Cold War propaganda, communism was normally equated with countries such as Russia, China, and North Vietnam.²⁸ Most of the time, the leftist students were labeled as those who were deceived by the communist evils. For the right, communists were identical with “imperialist powers” that attempted to colonise Thailand. The plot of nationalism was embroiled by the reactionary elites in the language of self-defence.²⁹ To fight the communism was to strengthen the bonds of political solidarity. In the mid of the political turmoil, Bhumibol played a role of the messianic leader. He supported all the rightist organisations. He also composed one stirring song, *We Fight*. The lyrics was fused with the imagination that Thailand would cease to exist if Thai patriots did not fight the communists. This royal composition was used in the rightist campaign to mobilise the mass as if the king was the one who called for the fight. Religious belief was also manipulated by the elites. Kittivuddho, a monk who was a prominent figure of *Nawaphon*, said that killing the communist is not sinful, because:

²⁷ David Morell and Chai-anan Samudavanija, *Political Conflict in Thailand*, p. 252.

²⁸ Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, p. 171.

²⁹ Tanin Kraivixien, one of members of *Nawaphon* who was named prime minister by the palace after the incident of October 6, played a crucial part in this propaganda. I will clarify his role in my dissertation. See, Tanin Kraivixian, *Lathi lae witikarn khong communist* [Communism and Its Doctrine] (Bangkok, 1973); Tanin Kraivixian, *Phramahakasat thai nai rabob prachathipatai* [On Constitutional Monarchy] (Bangkok, 1976)

whoever destroys the nation, the religion, or the monarchy, such bestial types (*man*) are not complete persons. Thus, we must intend not to kill people but to kill the Devil (*Mara*); this is the duty of all Thai.³⁰

For the right, Thai nation was sacred, but communism was foreign profane. Fighting the communists was a hallowed act because it linked the living generation with a mythic and symbolic consequence for the national destiny. The cultural product of nationalism can inspire self-sacrifice love because it conjures up the image of the messianic movement. The rightist nationalism struck a chord among the mass since sacred symbols were redeployed to grapple with the current conflict. The violence clash in Thailand during the mid 1970s was not only the outer world conflict of power politics and social interests, but also the inner world conflict of cultural values.

³⁰ Quoted in David Morell and Chai-anan Samudavanija, *Political Conflict in Thailand*, p. 247. See the role of Kittivuddho in manipulating Buddhist concept to mobilise the right wing forces in, Charles F. Keyes, 'Political Crisis and Militant Buddhism in Contemporary Thailand', in Bardwell L. Smith (ed.), *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma* (Chambersberg, 1978), pp. 147-164.

Appendix: Stirring Songs

Nak paen din [Scum of the Earth]

There are those who use the name Thai,
and their appearance is Thai,
and they live on the land, from the land;
but in their hearts they would destroy it.
Selling themselves, selling their nation,
insulting and demeaning the Thai race,
they depend upon Thailand,
gain sustenance from it,
yet hate their countrymen.
They are a weight upon the face of the earth,
scum on the face of Thailand.

Rao sue [We Fight]

The Ancestors of the Thai since ancient times
Have defended the nation and the motherland
They have sacrificed their blood and their lives
Our duty is to keep that heirloom forever
Our children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren,
and their offspring will have a land to live on
The future map must show the Land of the Thai
We will not allow anyone to destroy it
Unmoved by any threat of annihilation
We will fight without any thought of flight
We will fight here in this place, fight to death
Let it be known, to the last man it shall be
This land of ours is in our keeping
Come any destroyer, we will fight
Our honor and dignity are ought to maintain
We will fight without backing even one step.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archival Sources

National Archive of Thailand

Thammasat University Archive

Newspapers and Periodicals

Baan Maung

Dao Siam

Far Eastern Economic Review

Jaturat

Prachachart

Pracharayasarn

Sangkomsat Parithat

Siam Rath

Thai Rath

Published Materials

Harn Pongsithanonda, *Kao pi nai kor or ro mor nor* [Nine Years in ISOC] (Bangkok, 1975)

Khadi prawatsat khadi 6 tula [Documents and Testimony of October 6] (Bangkok, 1978)

Kukrit Pramoj, *Sathabun Kasat* [The Monarchy] (Bangkok, 1965)

Rao khu phuborisut [We are Innocent Defendants] (Bangkok, 1978)

Saiyud Kerdphon, *Addresses of Lieutenant General Saiyud Kerdphol, 1968-1971*

-----, *The Struggle for Thailand: Counter-Insurgency, 1965-1985* (Bangkok, 1986)

Sutham Sangprathum, *Phom phan hetkarn 6 tulakhom ma dai yang rai?* [How I Have Been through October 6 Event] (Bangkok, 1979)

Tanin Kraivixian, *Lathi lae witikarn khong communist* [Communism and Its Doctrine] (Bangkok, 1973)

-----, *Phramahakasat thai nai rabob prachathipatai* [On Constitutional Monarchy] (Bangkok, 1976)

The Royal Speeches and Addresses of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand (Bangkok, 1984)

Vasit Dejkunjorn, *Khwamphitplat khong nai Mak* [The Flaw of Marx] (Bangkok, 1975)

Songs

Tahan pra Naresuan [The Soldiers of King Naresuan]

Nak paen din [Scum of the Earth]

Rao sue [We Fight]

Nok see lueang [The Yellow Bird]

Jit Poumisak

Sutham lae puen [Sutham and Friends]

Posters

Wake Up, Thai People

We Fight

Secondary Sources

English Publications

Anderson, B., 'Withdrawal Symptoms: Social and Cultural Aspects of the October 6 Coup', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 9, no. 3 (1977), pp. 3–30

-----, 'Murder and Progress in Modern Siam', *New Left Review*, 181 (1990), pp. 33-48

-----, 'Radicalism after Communism in Thailand and Indonesia', *New Left Review* 1, no. 202 (1993), pp. 3-14

-----, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 2006)

Anderson, B. and Ruchira Mendiones, *In the Mirror: Literature and Politics in Siam in the American Era* (Bangkok, 1985)

- Aminzade, R., and Perry, E. J., 'The Sacred, Religious, and Secular in Contentious Politics: Blurring Boundaries', in Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly (eds.), *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 155-178
- Baker, C., and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Thailand* (Cambridge, 2005)
- Boonsanong Punyodyana, 'The Revolutionary Situation in Thailand', *Southeast Asian Affairs*, no. 2 (1975), pp. 187-195
- Bowie K., *Rituals of National Loyalty: An Anthropology of the State and the Village Scout Movement in Thailand* (New York, 1997)
- Calhoun, C., *Nationalism* (Buckingham, 1997)
- Chai-Anan Samudavanija, *The Thai Young Turks* (Singapore, 1982)
- Chai-Anan Samudavanija, Kusuma Snitwongse, and Suchit Bunbongkarn, *From Armed Suppression to Political Offensive: Attitudinal Transformation of Thai Military Officers Since 1976* (Bangkok, 1990)
- Chatterjee, P., *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (New York, 1993)
- Darling F. C., 'Thailand: Return to Military Rule', *Current History* 71, no. 422 (1976), pp. 197-230
- Duara, P., *Rescuing History From the Nation: Questioning Narrative of Modern China* (Chicago and London, 1995)
- Flood, T., 'The Thai Left Wing in Historical Context', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* (1975), pp. 55-67
- , 'The Vietnamese Refugees in Thailand: Minority Manipulation in Counterinsurgency', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 9, no. 3 (1977), pp. 31-47
- , 'Village Scouts: The King's Finest', *Indochina Chronicle* (1977), p. 19
- Fujitani, T., *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, 1996)
- Gawin Chitima, 'The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Thailand, 1973-1987' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Kent, 1990)
- Geertz, C. (ed.), *Old Society and New States* (New York, 1963)
- , *The Interpretation of Culture* (London, 1973)
- Girling, J. L. S., 'Thailand: The Coup and Its Implications', *Pacific Affairs* 50, no. 3 (1977), pp. 387-405
- , *Thailand: Society and Politics* (Ithaca, 1981)
- Gray, C. E., 'Thailand: The Soteriological State in the 1970s' (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1986)

- Handley, P. M., *The King Never Smiles: A Biography of Thailand's Bhumibol Adulyadej* (New Haven, 2006)
- Heine-Geldern, R., 'Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia', *Far Eastern Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1942), pp. 15–30
- Hewison, K., 'A Book, the King and the 2006 'Coups'', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 38, no. 1 (2008), pp. 190-211
- Hewison, K., 'The King Never Smiles: A Biography of Thailand's Bhumibol Adulyadej', *Journal of Historical Biography* 4 (2008), pp. 115-22
- Hobsbawm, E., and Ranger, T. (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983)
- Jackson, P. A., *Buddhadasa: Theravada Buddhism and Modernist Reform in Thailand* (Chiang Mai, 2003)
- Jackson, P. A., 'The Thai Regime of Images', *Sojourn: Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 19 no. 2 (2004), pp. 181–218
- Jackson, P. A., 'The Performative State: Semicoloniality and the Tyranny of Images in Modern Thailand', *Sojourn: Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 19, no. 2 (2004), pp. 219–253
- Jackson, P. A., 'Markets, Media, and Magic: Thailand's Monarch as a 'Virtual Deity'', *Inter-Asia cultural studies* 10, no. 3 (2009), pp. 361-80
- Jory, P., 'Books and the Nation: the Making of Thailand's National Library', *Journal of Southeast Asia Studies* 31, no. 2 (2000), pp. 351-373
- , 'Thai and Western Buddhist Scholarship in the Age of Colonialism: King Chulalongkorn Redefines the Jatakas', *Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 3 (2002), pp. 891-918
- , 'The Vessantara Jataka, Barami and the Bodhisatta-Kings: The Origin and Spread of a Thai Concept of Power', *Crossroads* 16, no. 2 (2002), pp. 36-78
- , 'Problem in Contemporary Thai Nationalist Historiography', *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*, no. 3 (2003)
- Kasian Tejapira, *Commodifying Marxism: The Formation of Modern Thai Radical Culture, 1927-1958* (Kyoto and Melbourne, 2001)
- Kershaw, R. 'Three Kings of Orient: The Changing Face of Monarchy in Southeast Asia', *Contemporary Review* 234 (1979), p. 256
- Kershaw, R., 'Elusive Truths: British Media and the Thai Monarchy', *Asian Affairs* 32, no. 3 (2001), pp. 287-294
- Kershaw, R., *Monarchy in South-East Asia: The Faces of Tradition in Transition* (London, 2001)
- Keys, C. F., 'Buddhism and National Integration in Thailand', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 30, no. 3 (1971), pp. 551-567

- , 'Boonsanong Punyodyana', *Journal of Asian Studies* 36, no. 2 (1977), pp. 331-332
- , 'Millennialism, Theravada Buddhism and Thai Society', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 36, no. 2 (1977), pp. 283-302
- , 'Political Crisis and Militant Buddhism in Contemporary Thailand', in Bardwell L. Smith (ed.), *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma* (Chambersberg, 1978), pp. 147-164
- , *Thailand: Buddhist Kingdom as Modern Nation-State* (Boulder, 1987)
- Kirsch, T. A., 'Complexity in the Thai Religions System: An Interpretation', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 36, no. 2 (1977), pp. 241-266
- Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, 'Thailand in 1976', *Southeast Asian Affairs* 4, (1977), pp. 239-264
- , *Kings, Country and Constitutions: Thailand's Political Development, 1932-2000* (London, 2003)
- Kukrit Pramoj, *Red Bamboo* (Bangkok, 1961)
- Kusuma Snitwongse, 'Thai Government Responses to Armed Communist and Separatist Movements', in Chandran Jeshurun (ed.), *Governments and Rebellions in Southeast Asia* (Singapore, 1985), pp. 247-272
- Lobe, T., and Morell, D., 'Thailand's Border Patrol Police: Paramilitary Political Power' in Louis A. Zurcher and Gwyn Harries-Jenkins (eds.), *Supplementary Military Forces: Reserves, Militias, Auxiliaries* (London, 1978), pp. 153-178
- Lysa, H., 'Invisible Semicolony: The Postcolonial Condition and Royal National History in Thailand', *Postcolonial studies* 11, no. 3 (2008), pp. 315-27
- Marks, T. A., 'The Status of the Monarchy in Thailand', *Issues and Studies* 13, no. 11 (1977), pp. 51-70
- McCargo, D., *Chamlong Srimuang and the New Thai Politics* (London, 1997)
- 'The International Media and the Domestic Political Coverage of the Thai Press', *Modern Asian Studies* 33, no. 3 (1999), pp. 551-79
- , *Politics and the Press in Thailand: Media Machinations* (London, 2000)
- , 'Buddhism, Democracy and Identity in Thailand', *Democratization* 11, no. 4 (2004), pp. 155-70
- , 'Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand', *Pacific Review* 18, no. 4 (2005), pp. 499-519
- , 'Bhumibol's Hollow Crown', *New Left Review*, no. 43 (2007), pp. 135-44
- 'Military Coup in Thailand', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 6 (1976), p. 424

- Morell, D., Chai-anan Samudavanija, *Political Conflict in Thailand: Reform, Reaction, Revolution* (Cambridge, 1981)
- Muecke, M. A., 'The Village Scout of Thailand', *Asian Survey* 20, no. 4 (1980), pp. 407-427
- Murashima, E., 'The Origin of Modern Official State Ideology in Thailand', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19, no. 1 (1988), pp. 80-96
- Myers-Moro, P. A., 'Songs For Life: Leftist Thai Popular Music in the 1970s', *Journal of Popular Culture* 20, no. 3 (1986), pp. 93-113
- Naphaphorn Laosinwatthana, *The Accession to the Throne: Royal Ceremonies, Beliefs, Meanings and Symbols of a "Virtual God-King"* (Bangkok, 2006)
- Ockey, J., 'Monarch, Monarchy, Succession and Stability in Thailand', *Asia Pacific viewpoint* 46, no. 2 (2005), pp. 115-28
- Panom Wannasiri, 'Student Protest in Thailand: An Educational Outlook: A Case Study of the Incident of October 6, 1976' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Kansas, 1982)
- Peleggi, M., *Lords of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image* (Honolulu, 2002)
- Puey Ungphakorn, 'Transcript of an Address by Dr Puey Ungpakorn, October 14, 1976 at The School of Oriental and African Studies, London', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 6, no. 4 (1976), pp. 497-500
- , 'Violence and the Military Coup in Thailand', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 9, no. 3 (1977), pp. 4-12
- Prizzia, R., *Thailand in Transition: The Role of Oppositional Forces* (Honolulu, 1985)
- Reynolds, C. J., 'Buddhist Cosmography in Thai History: With Special Reference to Nineteenth-Century Culture Change', *Journal of Asian Studies* 35, no. 2 (1976), pp. 203-220
- , *Thai Radical Discourse: The Real Face of Thai Feudalism Today* (Ithaca, 1987)
- , 'A New Look at Old Southeast Asia', *Journal of Asian Studies* 54, no. 2 (1995), pp. 419-446
- (ed.), *National Identity and Its Defenders: Thailand Today* (Seattle, 2003)
- , *Seditious Histories: Contesting Thai and Southeast Asian Pasts* (Seattle, 2006)
- Reynolds, C. J., and Hong L., 'Marxism in Thai Historical Studies', *Journal of Asian Studies* 43 (1983), p. 77
- Reynolds, F. E., 'Civic Religion and National Community in Thailand', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 36, no. 2 (1977), pp. 267-282

-----, 'Legitimation and Rebellion: Thailand's Civic Religion and the Student Uprising of October, 1973', in Bardwell L. Smith (ed.), *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma* (Chambersberg, 1978), pp. 134-146

-----, 'Sacral Kingship and National Development: The Case of Thailand', in Bardwell L. Smith (ed.), *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma* (Chambersberg, 1978), pp. 100-110

Saichol Sattayanurak, 'Intellectuals and the Establishment of Identities in the Thai Absolute Monarchy State', *Journal of the Siam Society* 90, no. 1 (2002), pp. 101-24

Smith, A. D., *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (London and New York, 1998)

-----, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford and New York, 1999)

-----, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (Cambridge, 2001)

-----, *Chosen Peoples* (Oxford and New York, 2003)

-----, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach* (London and New York, 2009)

Somsak Jeamteerasakul, 'The Communist Movement in Thailand' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Monash University, 1991)

Surachart Bamrungskul, *United States Foreign Policy and Thai Military Rule, 1947-1977* (Bangkok, 1988)

Tambiah, S. J., 'Sangha and Polity in Modern Thailand: An Overview', in Bardwell L. Smith (ed.), *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma* (Chambersberg, 1978), pp. 111-133

Tanin Kraivixian, *His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej: Compassionate Monarch of Thailand* (Bangkok, 1982)

Thak Chaloemtiarana, *Thailand: the Politics of Despotism*, rev. edn. (Ithaca, 2007)

Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu, 1994)

-----, 'The Changing Landscape of the Past: New Histories in Thailand since 1973', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26, no. 1 (1995), pp. 99-120

-----, 'Maps and the Formation of the Geo-Body of Siam', in Stein Tonnesson and Hans Antlov (eds.), *Asian Forms of the Nation* (Richmond, 1996), pp. 67-92

-----, 'Remembering/Silencing the Traumatic Past: The Ambivalent Memories of the October 1976 Massacre in Bangkok', in Shigeharu Tanabe and Charles F. Keyes (eds.), *Cultural Crisis and Social Memory: Modernity and Identity in Thailand and Laos* (London and New York, 2002), pp. 243-283

-----, 'Nationalism and the Radical Intelligentsia in Thailand', *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (2008), pp. 575-591

-----, 'Toppling Democracy', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 38, no. 1 (2008), pp. 11-37

Tonnesson, S., and Antlov, H., 'Asian in Theories of Nationalism and National Identity', in Stein Tonnesson and Hans Antlov (eds.), *Asian Forms of the Nation* (Richmond, 1996), pp. 1-40

Turton, A., Fast, J., and Caldwell, M. (eds.), *Thailand: Roots of Conflict* (Nottingham, 1978)

Vasit Dejkunjorn, *In His Majesty's Footsteps: A Personal Memoir* (Bangkok, 2006)

Yonemoto, M., Thongchai Winichakul, and Wigen, K., 'Geographies at Work in Asian History', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 3 (2000), p. 527

Yuangrat Wedel, *The Thai Radicals and the Communist Party: Interaction of Ideology and Nationalism in the Forest, 1975-1980* (Singapore, 1983)

Zimmerman, R. F., 'Insurgency in Thailand', *Problems of Communism* 25, no. 3 (1976), pp. 18-39

Thai Publications

Collection of Royal Addresses and Speeches During the State and Official Visits of Their Majesties the King and Queen to Foreign Countries, 1959-1967 (Bangkok, 1974)

Chanida Chitbundit, *The Royally-Initiated Projects: The Making of King Bhumibol's Royal Hegemony* (Bangkok, 2007)

Charnvit Kasetsiri, '6 tula kub sathana tang prawatisart karnmueng' [October 6 and Its status in Political History], in *20 pi 6 tula* [20 Years After October 6] (Bangkok, 1996), pp. 59-66.

----- (ed.), *Thammasat University and the Space of Politics, 1932-2004* (Bangkok, 2005)

Kanungnit Tangjaitrong, 'Thoughts on Social Change of Those Involved in the Thai Student Movement, 1973-1976: A Case of the National Student Centre of Thailand' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 1987)

Kasian Tejapira, 'Tummai 6 tula jueng jam yak?' [Why October 6 is Hard to Remember?], in *20 pi 6 tula* [20 Years After October 6] (Bangkok, 1996), pp. 68-83

Nakharin Mektrairat, *Phra phusong pok klaow prachathipatai: 60 pi siriratchasombat kap kanmuang kanpokkhrong Thai* [His Majesty Who Protects Democracy: 60 Years of the Reign and Thai Politics and Administration] (Bangkok, 2006)

Prajak Kongkirati, *Lae laew khwam khluan wai koprakot* [Thus, the Movement Emerges] (Bangkok, 2005)

Somsak Jeamteerasakul, *Prawattisat thi phueng sang* [History that Was Just Made Up] (Bangkok, 2001)

Supthod pharakit khong wirachon (Bangkok, 1977)