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HUMAN RIGHTS IN THAILAND REPORT

November - December 1977

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## INTRODUCTION

This report uses the same format developed in the September-October 1977 report, as it is again divided into four self contained parts, with this introduction summarising some of the most important contents. The first part concentrates on matters relating to political prisoners, and includes stories on the campaign for amnesty, and trials of political prisoners. The second is concerned with broader human rights issues such as the misuse of government power, arrests and killings, academic freedom, trades unions, and the situation up country. The third part summarises the activities of CGRS and other human rights groups in Thailand, whilst the final section includes a summary of news that we consider important for our work and for an understanding of the human rights situation in a broad sense.

This report starts off in Part One with an analyses of the campaign for the amnesty of all political prisoners (particularly those arrested in the events of October 6th), in which our friends in all parts of the world played such an active and crucial role. However what was particularly interesting about this campaign was the extremely wide participation and support it received from inside the country. From the day the first CGRS petition was presented on 27th October, until HM the King's birthday, and even after, the issue was constantly kept alive on the front pages of several newspapers, particularly Siam Rath. More than a dozen petitions were presented, including these from university professors, lawyers, students, trades unions, relatives of the detainees, and CGRS. Many statements were made by elite personalities (including Kukrit Pramoj, and Marut Bunnag). Many newspapers and magazines ran cover stories on the whole question and on history of political amnesty in Thailand etc. The net results of this huge campaign were threefold:-

- The 20 March 26th coup plotters were granted an amnesty, as well as tens of thousands of common criminals, and about 20 Thai/Vietnamese detainees.

- The majority of the literate Thai population gained a greater understanding of human rights, and gained a greater sympathy for the October 6th detainees

- The government was put in a very embarrassing situation, because its stated reason for not granting an amnesty (because the case was being considered by the court) was refuted by all legal experts. This amnesty thus showed up the government in its real colours. (Particularly as the only group of petitioners the Prime Minister agreed to meet were those protesting against the amnesty)

Two explanations have been given as to why no amnesty was granted; namely

i. The Prapass/Thanom group is extremely influential in the new government set-up and they were dead against any concessions being made to their student "enemies".

ii. Various military groups want to use the occasion of the trial to clear their names from involvement in the Oct 6th events, and dirty the names of other groups.

The role of the palace in the refusal of the amnesty is unclear, though it should be noted that ex F.M Thanin has been appointed as a privy councillor, and it seems likely that the ex Minister of the Interior will be appointed as Director General of the Royal Properties Department.

Turning now to the on-going trials, our friends overseas are obviously most interested in that of The Bangkok 18.

During the last month there has only been one hearing in the case on the 17th November. Despite the government efforts to make it difficult for people to attend (by moving the trial to a site 25 kms outside Bangkok) more than 3,000 people turned up including representatives from 15 foreign embassies. Nothing much happened at this hearing except that lawyers for half the defendants were appointed.

However outside the court site a small group of right wing protesters gathered, and uninterrupted by the large numbers of security forces present, insulted those who had come to listen to the hearing, and stoned the buses containing the defendants. This event led to a letter from the relatives of the detainees requesting greater security in the future.

A defence fund has been established for the October 6th cases, and has received generous support from overseas friends.

The defendants and the lawyers have submitted a petition showing the illegality of trying the defendants in a military court, and also the illegality of much of the prosecutors indictment. Their main arguments are that the NARC decrees cannot be applied retroactively as they are being done. These matters will certainly be discussed in the next hearing, which was first set for the

2nd January 1978, and has now been postponed to the 9th January.

We continue to follow other trials in detail, and provide whatever support possible for the defendants. In terms of creating a healthier human rights atmosphere, through the courts considerable progress is being made because:-

i. The endangering society decrees 22 has been successfully challenged twice in the courts in the last two months, firstly the workers at Saengfa Battery Company and secondly by Kaew **Lakratoko**.

ii. Three released endangering society prisoners are suing for damages for false arrest. (Pimpun Pwapan, Phra Maha Sward, and Nokkaew Seekaew)

iii. Various people who were arrested for endangering society, and ~~subsequently~~ lost their jobs are suing their employers.

iv. In the trial of Bunchart Sathienthamanee (which can be considered in a way as forerunner of the Bangkok 18 trial), very little hard evidence has been presented, even by the key witnesses such as the journalists who took the crucial pictures.

In order to provide our readers with some background information on the October 6th incident, we also reproduce a copy of a letter describing what happened in the cabinet on the 6th October. This letter is one of three written by Surin Masadit, Minister of Interior in the Seni Pramroj Government.

We also report on other trials, but little of importance in these has happened except for frequent postponements.

On the legal front, one further serious point should be mentioned. Because many lawyers are also politicians there are only an extremely small number of lawyers who are prepared to actively defend those charged with communism, or terrorism. Such people often do not get a fair trial.

In Part two the most significant incidents reported are those relating to the large number of cases that are being uncovered of people being arrested by the police (often for petty reasons) and either being murdered, or disappearing.

These incidents are not confined to any one region of the country, with cases being reported from Naratiwat, Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, Nakhon Phatom, Samut Sakorn, Chiangmai, and Sri Saket, infact from all regions of the country.

Fortunately many of these cases have received very great press coverage which will help make their reoccurrence less likely in future. However only junior policemen involved in the most highly publicised cases have been charged, with more senior people the normal process is to transfer the offending police officers to some more remote duty station. The government's reaction to this spate of stories is to give provincial governors more power, and police less power. It remains to be seen whether governors are purer than the police.

Despite the Kriengsak government's attempts to create a positive human rights image for itself, not only have extremely few endangering society and other left of centre prisoners been released, (with more than 1400 endangering society prisoners still being held), but arrests under NARC decree 22 are still taking place. For example the Governor of Nong Khai led a brave group of 700 police and village defense volunteers in a midnight raid on the largest Laotian refugee camp in the country and managed to find 32 people there who he arrested and detained as endangering society. A few weeks later he led another midnight raiding party, this time on two villages, and netted a further 8 people.

It also continues to be the case that large numbers of endangering society people are being illegally detained in police station for more than 30 days (after 30 days they should be sent to Vocational Training Centres)

We continue to report on infringements of academic and intellectual freedom under the Thanin regime, mainly because many of the actions taken are still in force, but also to provide some historical record.

One of the very last significant actions of the Thanin government was to completely ban 124 books, amongst which are many that can only be considered leftist by severely stretching ones imagination. These books remain banned. Similarly many of the university professors who were forced to resign, or moved to other positions are still not allowed to teach.

One area where considerable progress has been made is with press freedom. Newspapers, if they are careful can, and do print stories unfavourable to government officials, though they have not yet dared to directly attack the government. However Prime Minister Kriengsak has said that he would not allow the newspapers and magazines closed by NARC after Oct 6th to reopen "because NARC had good reasons to close them, and there are enough newspapers in any case". Thus most if not all newspapers remain right of centre, NARC decrees are still in force, and most chinese language newspapers remain closed.

Finally it should be mentioned that the editor of Chao Nakhorn Phanom newspaper (Mr. Chookiet Poonchai) was murdered on 28th December 1977. We have still not ascertained the reason for his murder, though his exposure of local corruption seems the cause.

We continue to discover gross misuses of government power in all areas in the South of Thailand, with large numbers of people being detained illegally in bad conditions, with their relatives and friends not able to visit them, with spies being paid for information which is often the settlement of past scores or made up for other reasons, with large numbers of people being arrested and disappearing forever, with decapitated bodies of detainees being found etc etc. The net effect of this bad situation is that increasingly the people live in fear or insecurity, or flee to the jungle to join the guerrillas. Though the situation is worst in the mid-southern belt (Suruthanee, Nakorn Sri Thammarat, Phattalung, and Trang) similar events are happening in other areas of the country.

In the North East we continue to discover new detention centres for different categories of prisoners, and are also following up released endangering society prisoners, and Thai/Vietnamese detainees.

Of the five Thai/Vietnamese who were arrested on October 6th and are being held in Lard Bua Kaw detention centre in Korat, two were released as a part of the general amnesty for H.M. the King's birthday, (Dan and Dai Chan), and two others (Frayong and Sittipong) are on the list of those to be released, but have not yet been released as officials hope to get 'Bail' money from their relatives (what bail means for someone who is permanently released we are not completely clear about). Of the five, only Wirat Truen is likely to remain in detention. A further sixteen Thai/Vietnamese have or will be released from Lard Bua Kaw.

On the Trades Union Front some slight progress is being made, since the State Enterprise Unions will now be allowed to fall under the Labour Law. In addition a new more liberal Director General of the Labour Department has been appointed, and the Prime Minister continues to court labour leaders with beautiful words and little more. However, despite two petitions to the new government, unions are still not allowed to have meetings without police permission, or even to run educational programmes. And of course the NARC decrees prohibiting strikes are still in force.

Employers continue to exploit the lack of union power by attempting to assassinate union leader, dismiss unionists, and generally thwart attempts at collective bargaining.

We include in the report a statement by Arom Pong-pa-ngan, explaining the real reason for his arrest (his efforts to uncover corruption in building a water tower).

Finally we include some details of the campaign for raising bail money for four workers arrested with Supap at Cm Noi in 1976, that CGRS is undertaking. We hope that these four will be able to be bailed out during January 1978.

In the third part of the report we very briefly discuss the expanding activities of CGRS and other human rights groups in Thailand. CGRS itself has been unable to expand its activities too much in this period as it has been involved to a very great extent in running various campaigns, particularly the campaign for release of political prisoners, and the campaign for raising bail money.

However, CGRS continues to grow in strength, with two new committee members:-

- Phra Maha Sward (ex endangering society detainee)
- Mr. Vitavas Kongkakul (representative from the Church of Christ in Thailand, and Chulalongkorn University Professor)

an expanding network of up-country volunteers, and increasing numbers of Thais who offer their moral support.

Unfortunately, because of the active role CGRS has had to play in campaigns, it is beginning also to be attacked in the press, notably in Thawan Siam, with a completely false story.

CGRS is also becoming more active in other human rights areas too, particularly into the area of Labour. An increasing proportion of CGRS efforts are being devoted to conscientizing the people on the importance of Human Rights, the peaceful solution of the country's problems through the application of religious principles, and the creation of other action groups. However CGRS always tries to act more as a catalyst than as an organiser.

At present CGRS is preparing jointly with the relatives of the 6th Oct. defendants a book containing biographies, photos, letters, and poems from the defendants. This book should be published by mid-January. There are plans for others topical books to be published from time to time.

Finally it should be mentioned that a 'Human Rights Research Group' is in the process of being formed. Thus despite some problems of right wing reaction, it does appear that human rights concerns, and groups are at present growing rapidly in Thailand.

In Part IV we summarise and analyse the news as it relates to our work. With the reduction in restrictions on press freedom we are obtaining increasing amounts of useful information from newspapers, both national and up-country.

From our analyses, the wide gap between the statements of the leaders of the present government and their real intentions becomes apparent. For example; they do not want any left wing newspapers though they advocate freedom of the press; they do not want labour unions to have any power, though they want the support of the unions; they do not want to make real concessions to this left though they advocate national reconciliation and unity; they do not want to have interference from a national assembly though they advocate democracy. Basically one has the distinct impression that the power in the government is as right wing as ever, but for present short term political expediency they are trying to create a liberal public relations image, without being willing to turn their liberal statements into reality.

The interim constitution itself reflects more truly the situation than anything else. It is designed by the revolutionary party for the revolutionary party and only members of the revolutionary party have any power. As always there is a catch 22 article, this time article 27 which says:-

"whenever the Prime Minister deems it necessary for presenting, stopping or supressing any activity which endangers the security of the kingdom, throne, economy or state affairs, or which disrupts or threatens peace and order, or good public morals, or any activity destructive to national resources or the health of the public, no matter whether this activity has taken place before or after the promulgation of this constituion, or whether it has taken place within or without the kingdom, let the Prime Minister, with an approval of the Cabinet, and the National Policy Council, have the authority to issue any order or carry out any action. The order or action of the Prime Minister, and the carrying out of the order are to be considered legal"

This article, and the refusal to grant an amnesty to the October 6th and endangering society defendants show more than anything else the real colour of the governments stripes.

Nevertheless the temporary liberalisation of the atmosphere, and the difficulty of the government to take the type of action, it would like to take without destroying its self created image, is providing a new opportunity for a flowering of creative ideas for the solution the country's problems, solutions where people become more important than ideologies, and values more important than material things.

PART ONE: Political Prisoners

1. Campaign for Amnesty of Political Prisoners

Since October 6th, 1976 Coup d'Etat, a large number of people have been arrested for political reasons, some for the October 6th events, some as endangering society and others as suspected communists. Although most of these arrested on October 6th except the 18 students and labour leaders, had been released because of internal and international pressures, thousands more were arrested under the "endangering society" category of the regime's Decree No. 22. According to the latest statement of Mr. Vichit Thongkam (Deputy Director General of the Corrections Department), "There were about 2,000 persons being held on this charge", amongst whom are also many people arrested for political reasons. However, the national and international campaign for amnesty of political prisoners seems in the past to have concentrated on the 18 October 6th defendants only.

This report includes a summary of the campaigns that have taken place particularly those inside the country since the October 6th Coup up until now. The report will be divided into 2 parts. The first part is a brief summary of the campaigns that took place in Prime Minister Thanin Kraivixien's time and the latter in Prime Minister Kreingsak Chamanan's time, will go into more detail.

Campaign in Prime Minister Thanin Kraivixien's time

After the Coup d'Etat in October there was no open national or international campaign for amnesty, even though the people were very interested in the political prisoners. Not until April 1977, 6 months after the bloody coup, concerned organizations in several countries, including Amnesty International, made public requests to the Thai government for the release of the people arrested at the time of the coup. Hundreds of letters, petition and cables were sent from all over the world.

In June 1977, when the detention period of the Oct 6th detainees ended, only to be extended for another three months, and there were rumours that the detainees would soon be brought for trial in the Military Court, a second wave of international action was launched, urging a fair open public trial with defence lawyers. Inside the country, a group of relatives of the prisoners as well as Bishop Boonlean Mansap, Chairman of CGRS, made petitions to prime minister Thanin Kraivixien on July 28, 1977 and August 31st, respectively, requesting a fair and public trial and also on August 31st, Dr. Koson Srisang, General Secretary of the Church of Christ in Thailand wrote a letter to Thanin, expressing his support for the news that the Prime Minister was seeking ways to ensure a just trial.

On September 5th, 1977 when the 18 students and labourers were brought to the Military Court for the first trial, public opinion inside the country, especially press opinion, were in favour of the Bangkok 18. The 18 defendants were welcomed warmly by over 3,000 people and journalists.

On October 6th, 1977 the first anniversary of the bloody massacre in Thailand, about 200 people made merit for those who were killed in the coup outside Thammasart University and at the Monks Hospital. From outside the country, many citizens, organizations as well as patriotic overseas Thais from all over the world started big international campaigns for the release of political prisoners, particularly the Bangkok 18.

Between June 1977 and October 1977 there was a stream of influential visitors who came to visit Thailand with pleas for leniency and justice in dealing with political opponents including representatives from Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, the Young Lawyers Association of Victoria, Clergy and Laity Concerned, and the Lawyers Guild of America. All these visitors met and discussed with influential people in the government.

Campaign in Prime Minister Kriengsak Chamanan's time

On October 27th, 1977 one week after the revolution, a group of 632 people from all walks of life signed their names on a petition organized by CGRS and addressed to the Revolutionary Council. This petition asked for the release of all political prisoners. The petition received very wide newspaper coverage and interest from the people. However, the revolutionary council made no response to the petition, not even bringing the matter to the meeting of the Revolutionary Council.

After this petition, there was a spate of newspaper articles, cover stories in news magazines, and interviews with influential people talking about the pros and cons of an amnesty for political prisoners. However the steam was taken out of the campaign, and it was redirected towards March 26th coup plotters when Kriengsak announced that lawyers would be allowed to represent the October 6th defendants.

However on November 17th two events reactivated the campaign. The first was the trial of the Bangkok 18, which despite the inconvenient location of the court was attended by thousands of well wishers, and representatives from 15 embassies. Secondly Prime Minister Kriengsak Chamanan called the students who fled to the jungle back home and promised to forgive them and ensured them protection and justice. This raised the question that if the government would forgive the students who had fled to the jungle, why would it not also give an amnesty to the October 6th defendants too. In addition if the government really wanted unity and reconciliation in the country, it should release all the political prisoners.

However it still took some time to more the campaign towards the Bangkok 18, again, particularly since the leader of the Young Turks Colonel Prachak made a statement in favour of a March 26th Amnesty; and because on November 23rd, five press societies held a meeting, the result of which was a demand to the government for an amnesty of the March 26th Coup prisoners. It is remarkable that even though the press had made big news of the amnesty petition for all political prisoners, they seemed to emphasise the March 26th prisoners, not the October 6th nor the endangering society. This was probably partly because there were 6 journalists arrested over the March 26th event and also because it was rather risky to struggle for the October 6th prisoners or other political prisoners.

On November 22th, the government decided to give an amnesty to all the March 26th prisoners on the occasion of His Majesty the King's Birthday on December 5th. However, the amnesty did not include the October 6th, communist or endangering society prisoners. As if to answer the questions in the people's heart, Prime Minister Kriengsak said that the administrative power did not want to interfere with the judicial power, because the Oct. 6th case was still under trial proceedings in a court.

On November 23th, the next day, a group of 52 university teachers made a petition to the Prime Minister for a royal amnesty of the October 6th and endangering society prisoners and also explained that the amnesty would not interfere with the authority of the court.\* On the same day Mr. Manit Bunnay ex-president of the lawyers association gave a press conference saying that there were many precedent of amnesty being offered to political prisoners whilst the trial was going on.

On November 25th, the CGRS presented a petition to the Prime Minister for the royal amnesty of the October 6th prisoners to ensure that national reconciliation would be a reality.\*

On November 25th Mr. Mongkol Sukonthakajorn, present president of the lawyers association of Thailand, made a press statement saying that there was nothing wrong with granting an amnesty whilst a case was under the jurisdiction of the court.

On November 26th the Prime Minister said to journalists that he was thinking of withdrawing the charges against the Bangkok 18 except for those relating to lese majesty (a suggestion made by Kukrit Pramoj a few days earlier in his column in Siam Rath).

On November 28th, the October 6th prisoners' relatives group made a petition for the royal amnesty for their children.\*

On December 2nd, ten representatives from 5 universities in Bangkok handed in a petition at government house signed by 5901 students for the release of all political prisoners, including the October 6th defendants.\*

All these events received newspaper coverage, especially the first petition from CGRS., that from the university professors, and that from the 5901 students. There was also wide international campaigns for the same purpose from all over the world in terms of petitions cables and letters to His Majesty the King the prime minister and the government, newspaper articles and other publications. These also received wide press coverage in Thailand. However, the King's Birthday passed without an amnesty for any political prisoners except for those arrested after the March 26th Coup.

But the cry for amnesty did not stop. On December 8th, there was a seminar over the problems of amnesty at the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, which received great interest and a huge overflowing audience. On the next day, over 100 lawyers presented a petition to the government for amnesty of October 6th, prisoners and explained that the amnesty would not be against the law nor did it interfere with the authority of the court.\* And later on on December 23rd a group of labourers from 35 unions also made a similar petition.\*

In spite of all these national and international campaigns and a public opinion which was definitely in favour of an general amnesty, the government still insisted that there would be no amnesty for the October 6th prisoners until the court makes a decision, because the government doesn't want to interfere the authority of the court. This is very unreasonable, especially when the lawyers and the judges have all given the same opinion that an amnesty would not be an interfere to the authority of the court. In the pleas for amnesty of 6th October defendants, the plight of the thousands of endangering society, and suspected communist prisoners seems forgotten.

"The problem of amnesty depends on whether the government wants to do it or not" said Mr. Prapat Uoichai, Head of the Supreme Court of Thailand.

The problem is that the government is not united on this question, with many of the civilian members being in favour of at least withdrawing some charges, whilst military elements resisting these pressures.

( \* See text of the petition below. )

Annex Petitions For Amnesty From Groups Inside Thailand

1. Open Letter From 52 University Professors

Bangkok  
Thailand

November 23, 1977

Excellency,

According to Your speech on the occasion of the policy announcement of Your government dated November 16, 1977, there was a passage that said that "....for you students who deserted your education and went away to live in the jungles, the government realizes very well that you had no intention to damage the country; but it was because of your impatience and desire to develop the country's administration rapidly in your way. I plead with all of you to return home. The government assures you that we will give you the best protection and justice. Please remember the love and the worries of your parents and your families. I want you to forget the events of the pasts. I want you to join together with us to adjust, to adapt and to correct many faults for the progress of the country as desired by Thai people and by you yourself. It is the moment to understand that we have no longer the time for quarrels. I ask each group to join together to carry out his own duty correctly...." And also in an interview to reporters on November 20, 1977 Your Excellency said that there would certainly be an amnesty on December 5th, the Birthday of His Majesty the King, and later on November 22 that there would be an amnesty for the 26th March 1977 prisoners. We have the honour to express some opinions to support your policy and your deliberation. In the case of the amnesty for political prisoners, we feel that the amnesty should cover the 6th October 1976 prisoners and also prisoners arrested for endangering society too. Our reasons are:-

- If the amnesty doesn't cover the October 6th case, your policy on persuading students in the jungle to return home will be unlikely to succeed. They will see that their friends, who have been the prisoners in the October 6th case, without fleeing to the jungle, still have been accused of many serious crimes. In addition, the atmosphere in Thailand especially in universities and amongst students and educators is still subdued because the October 6th case may be thought as an example of suppression of academic freedom. Another important point is that the October 6th case is very interesting to foreign observers concerned with human rights problems. If this case doesn't get an amnesty with the other political cases, the country's image about the human rights climate will be bad.

There are many good reasons for considering an amnesty for the 6th October case. One visible effect is to show that we hold the Buddhist principle which says that we should forgive each other without any anger. It will also prove that Thailand is a land of liberty in which everyone pays respect to the rights of expressing different ideas.

On the matter of whether the October 6th amnesty will interfere with the authority of the court or not, we have the honour to say that an amnesty means "no wrong", not "forgiveness" and should be used for all prisoners not only for sentenced prisoners. The amnesty case in B.E. 2500 mentioned that...any faults done before the 8th of November B.E. 2499 would no longer be considered as wrong doing, although they were carried out by rebels in or out of the country or as a part of an uprising. If the cases have already been judged and the prisoners in jail or if the cases were still in the court, the judge and the public attorney had to issue a command to set them free or to acquit the accused. In the case that the prisoners, who received the amnesty, were accused in other cases which were not in the amnesty announcement, the court or the public attorney had to issue a command to set them free or to acquit the accused only from the cases received by the amnesty.

Therefore, we can see that there are enough reasons to give an amnesty for cases being considered in court. In addition, there are many well known foreign examples such as the Watergate Amnesty, the End of Indira Gandhi's case after the electoral law proceedings, and many other cases being in court which were <sup>ended</sup> through special

legislation connected with those cases.

We have the honour to express the above ideas with the hope that Your Excellency consider them in building the unity of the country and concentrating the efforts of people from all sides to bring progress to the country.

Please accept your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Signed by 52 University Professors,

2. Petition from CGRS

Coordinating Group for Religion in Society (CGRS)

16 Pramuan Rd. (21)

Bangkok, Thailand

November 25, 1977

Excellency,

I, on behalf of the Coordinating Group for Religion in Society, send Your Excellency best wishes on the occasion that our Excellency has taken over the onerous responsibility of the country's administration. I have heard with pleasure that Your Excellency has policies to reduce the tension in the country by encouraging national unity and national reconciliation. These policies are already succeeding especially since Your Excellency has invited the students who fled to the jungle to return to their families and since the government has considered to grant an amnesty to the 26th March 1977 political prisoners.

Before expressing other opinions to Your Excellency, I would like to introduce to Your Excellency The Coordinating Group for Religion in Society (CGRS) so that Your Excellency understands briefly the objectives and the activities of the group. The CGRS was formed at the beginning of 1976. It is composed of priests and laymen from the Buddhist, the Catholic and the Protestant religions. All members have the same idea that people from all sides should face each other ready to compromise and to follow the way of ahimsa (Non-Violence) in order to get rid of problems and obstacles in society. Then they should work together to develop the society along the path of the Dhamma of all religions. Up to present, the group has come out coordinating activities among persons in different religions in terms of their development activities. In addition it has carried emergency activities such as paying visits to wounded soldiers and policemen, and also to prisoners in cases arising from the conflicts in society.

Although the news about the amnesty for those arrested after the 26th March coup attempt is very encouraging, I and the CGRS members still think that the occasion of His Majesty the King's 50th Birthday should be an important opportunity for everyone in the nation to celebrate by forgetting different points of view in the past. We should uphold the universal principles of all religions which say that human beings should live together, without seeking selfish ends, but with mercy and forgiveness in our hearts. In order to achieve national reconciliation of the people from all sides, Your Excellency should consider an amnesty for the 6th October 1976 prisoners too, so that this amnesty is not seen as an example of choosing or dividing prisoners into side or another. It should not be said that one group have too dangerous intentions to make reconciliation possible.

I would like to use this occasion to support those of Your policies that will help Thai society to be peaceful and to progress in both material and spiritual terms.

Please accept, Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

Bishop Boonleun Mansap  
President of the CGRS.

Copied to every Minister  
Tel. 2342851

3. Petition from Students

Bangkok

Thailand

December 2, 1977

Excellency,

It was a great pleasure for us to hear that Your Excellency has policies to build the unity of the nation in order to unite all groups of people together to solve the problems of the country. One of the policies is an amnesty that Your Excellency has considered to announce for December 5, 1977, The Birthday of His Majesty the King. However, this amnesty is only aimed at the case of the 26th March 1977 coup plotters

We, on behalf of students from many institutions, have the honour to suggest to Your Excellency that the amnesty should cover the 6th October 1976 case also and any other political cases. Then, it will be said that Your consideration of the amnesty brings real unity to the country. Such an amnesty will help Your policies to be successful.

We thus have the honour to express our opinion with the hope that Your Excellency will consider and implement policies in a way that benefits to the country.

Please accept, Your Excellency the assurances of our highest consideration.

Signed by 5901 students,

4. Open Letter from 100 Lawyers

December 9, 1977

Excellency: (through the editor of Siam Rath Daily Newspaper)

Subject: An Amnesty for the 6th October case

Your Excellency granted an amnesty for all the political prisoners of the 26 th March attempted coup and gave a pardon to general prisoners also, but the amnesty didn't cover the 6th October case, since it was being considered in court, and such an amnesty would therefore, according to your argument, interfere with the courts authority.

Dr. Sompope Hothavakit, a Deputy Prime Minister, supported the above statement of the Prime Minister and also added that the 6 October detainees would not be granted an amnesty at this moment, not until they had already been sentenced by the court.

Later Marut Boonnak; the former president of the Lawyers Association of Thailand

who now is its advisor, and the president of the Lawyer Association of the Asian and Australian Region, and Mongkol Sukonthakajorn, the present president of the Lawyers Association of Thailand had a different opinion from the above two persons. These two lawyers thought that an amnesty could be granted whenever the prime minister wanted even if the case was being considered by the court. It would not be an interference with the court's authority.

We, attorneys, whose names are at the end of the petition, think honestly that the opinion of Marut and Mongkol are right and consistent with international opinions and ways of practice more than any other for the following reasons:-

1. The Royal Thai Dictionary gives the meaning of "Nirathosa" as follows; Nisa means "have no", and "Nirathosa" means "have no mistake", so "Nirathosakrama" (Thai word for 'amnesty') means "have no doings which are mistaken according to the laws". Having no illegal doings, and thus having no cause for the police to investigate, so having no dossiers for prosecutors to accuse, and having no facts for the court to judge these doings whether they are right or wrong; so the cases are ended. An amnesty does not have the effect of showing that those doings become right, nor does it have the effect of taking power from the court's judgement. Therefore, it is not an interference with the court's authority. It is also unnecessary to wait for the judgement of the court.

2. In Thailand there have been amnesties given to cases being considered by the court; for example, the Amnesty Act on the occasion of the 25th Buddhist century anniversary in B.E. 2499, section 3 said, "Any doings of any persons before November 8, B.E. 2499 if they are crimes in the penal code because of rebellion in or out the country, or plotting uprisings, or crimes under any other codes. Let those doings be no longer crimes and those persons no longer wrong doers. If the accused has been sentenced, the person should be thought of as never having done such a crime. If he is being penalized, stop the penalty". And section 6 said, "A governor, a local judge and a local prosecutor are members of the committees to examine the persons who will be granted an amnesty; but if they have already been judged by the court and are still in detention or if their cases are in court; the committees have to send the list of their names to the court or the local prosecutor in order that they will issue a command of release or drop the charges in each case. The prisoners should be released from the day this act is issued".

3. The United States of America is a country which has been ruled for more than 200 years through democracy and is very strict in providing three independent powers, the Legislative power, the legal power and the administrative power, keeping each separate from each other. It is agreed in the USA that an amnesty can be granted whenever it is suitable even if the case is being considered by the court.

The Supreme Court of USA. made judgement on this matter (in the legal system of USA., the judgement of the Supreme Court has the same standing as an act of the assembly) as follows:

"The Ex parte Grossman", in this case the President granted an amnesty for Grossman who had broken the law. The Supreme Court judged that, "The President has power to grant an amnesty for any mistakes. The amnesty can be granted at any time even if the case doesn't come to the court or it is in the court or if the court has already sentenced or punished the prisoners.

Black's Law Dictionary and The American Political Dictionary written by Jack C. Plano and Milton Greenberg explain in the same way that an amnesty can be granted when it is considered to be advantageous to the public to drop a case and not to punish a wrong doers. An amnesty can be announced even though the case hasn't come to the court or is in the court, or it is already judged. Granting an amnesty doesn't interfere with the courts' authority.

We have the honour to encourage Your Excellency's policy of granting an amnesty for political prisoners. We have a further opinion that there should also be an amnesty for the 18 accused in the 6th October case in order to stop dividing Thai People into many groups. Such an amnesty will build unity in the nation and will save expenses. Your strong desire in appealing to the students in the jungles to return home and study again without any guilt or punishment. Your Excellency told the people that, "for you students who left your studies to live in the jungles. The Government knows well that you have no dangerous intentions to the country, but were in a hurry and full of ideas for developing the administration of the country too quickly in your way....."

In addition, the 6th October case interests foreign countries all world. Therefore any of Your decisions on this case especially a decision connected with problems of basic laws which are universal will reflect steadily the image of the government and the reputation of Thai lawyers.

We write this letter with the honest objective of suggesting some ideas to the government and in response to the government policies spoken in the National Legislative Assembly on the 1st December 1977 that, "The government will reduce the inequalities

and the injustices in society as fast as it can. It will be strict in legal doings and will give an opportunity to the people to express ideas about the administration of the country. In order that they will believe in trust in and cling to the constitutional monarchy, and also in order that there will be unity amongst people in the nation with the people ready to die for the nation, the religion and the King.

We have the honour to write this letter for Your consideration.  
Please accept, Your Excellency our high respects.

Bodinthra Aussawanich  
Plus 98 other lawyers

Chingchai Sukumpat

11. The Statement of Labour Unions  
December 23, 1977

Subject: Asking for an amnesty for the 6th October detainees

Having promised the people that it would promote democracy, the government of the revolutionary party improved the political climate and gave a level of freedom to the people, including the granting of an amnesty to the 26th March coup plotters.

After consideration, the Labour Unions think that the 6th October case is a case connected with the problems of democracy and with the unity of people in the nation. The government should thus also grant an amnesty for all wrong doers in this case too for the following reasons:-

The 6th October event was connected with and similar to the 14th October 1973 event in the following respects:- there were constitutional and legal meeting to protest against the same persons or group of persons as in the 14th October event. The meetings caused serious confrontation with the armed forces and later turned into an uprising as in the case of the 14th October 1973. However, the two governments proceeded legally in different ways:- with the 14th October event the government of Sanya Thammarasak didn't arrest any wrong doers from either side for punishment, but instead issued an amnesty act for all wrong doers except Field Marshall Thanom Kittikachorn, F.M. Prapass Charusathian and Col. Narong Kittikachorn. A set of committees was formed to investigate these persons. This was a right and a legal proceeding. But in the 6th October 1976 event, the government of Thanin Kraivixien arrested only wrong doers who were labourers and students. He didn't arrest any other wrong doers from the other side, and this in our view, was a wrong and illegal proceeding.

In fact, the wrong doers in the 6th October case who were not labourers and students committed such serious crimes that their wrong doings became headline news which spread throughout the world. And this news won't be put to rest unless there is an amnesty granted to these defendents.

The difference between the 6th October case and the 26th March case is:- the 6th October case involves directly large numbers of people, whilst on the contrary, there was no public involvement in the 26th March coup case. Thus the 6th October case relates to democracy and the unity in the nation for more than the 26th March case.

Someone said that to grant an amnesty for a case being considered by the court is an interference with the court's authority. In fact, to grant an amnesty is a way of using a democratic process, as legislative power comes only from the legislature, so it is not in interference to the court's power or with administrative power.

Therefore the government that acts well in terms of human rights and that promises to give the democracy to the people in order to encourage the unity of people in the nation must consider granting an amnesty for the 6th October case as this is an important factor in supporting democracy and unity in the nation, to a greater degree than with the 26th March case.

The Labour Unions would like to ask the government to grant an amnesty for all sides of wrong doers in the 6th October case as was done with the 14th October 1973 case, except the wrong doers in the case of Lese Majeste to the Crown Prince.

Annex 6

International Campaign for Amnesty of Political Prisoners for HM the King's Birthday  
Petitions were submitted by a group of members of Parliament in Japan, and by various groups in the USA. The text of one of the petitions (with 227 signatures of people from all walks of life in the Los Angeles Area of USA) reads as follows:-

"We petition His Majesty the King of Thailand, who by the nature of his exalted position, is above controversy and self-interest, to exercise his kingly prerogatives and actively intercede on behalf of the unfortunate "Bangkok 18" who are now charged with offenses ranging from conspiracy to lese majesty.

We feel that His Majesty could greatly promote harmony among the Thai people by demonstrating his paternal concern for all his subjects. Those now being held in prison over a year without trial believed they were acting from patriotic motives however greatly they may have erred in their assessment of the issues involved. With the change in government starting October 20, we feel that it is time to correct the abuses of the former regime with regard to human rights.

We, the petitioners, urge that all charges against the "Bangkok 18" be withdrawn or, at the very least, that they be granted bail and the right of appeal.

It would be most suitable if this act of clemency were to occur on the occasion of His Majesty's birthday!"

This petition was sent to H.M the King and copied to the P.M, President Carter, and Congressman Fraser.

Cables were sent to H.M the King, and the P.M, from Amnesty and Human rights groups in Canada, USA, Japan and Europe; from Church Groups in Canada, USA, and Japan; from student organisations in Europe; from a group of 20 concerned American Scholars; and from the International Commission of Jurists. In addition many cables and letter were sent by individuals throughout the world.

What is significant is that for the first time CGRS was kept well informed of these international initiatives, and thus was able to publicise them inside Thailand, which added considerable force to the campaign.

Annex 7

P.M Kriengsak Chamnan Farsonally Receives Petition Against Amnesty for October 6th Defendants from 24 Right Wing Groups

Though large numbers of petition for October 6th Amnesty were submitted to the Prime Minister, he refused to personally meet or receive the petitioners.

However on December 29th 1977 when representatives from 24 right wing groups (led by Captain Amnuay Panprasert of the Thai Protection Group) come to the P.M's office to present a petition against the amnesty for the 6th October Defendants, because "the charges against them are too serious", the Prime Minister met and discussed the case with them.

At this meeting the Prime Minister as reported to have told the representatives that "the government will not interfere in the Military Courts' trial of the Thammasat 18 case"

It is significant that the Prime Minister only deems it necessary and worthwhile to meet right wing petitioners.

2. Trial and Legal Process

A. October 6th, 1976 defendants

The trial of Boonchart Sathienthamani at the Criminal Court

Witness: a photographer for 4 newspapers including the Bangkok Post

On October 4th, the day of the theater performance, the witness went to Thammasart University at around 10 am, because he knew that there was a demonstration there. He stood about 15 feet from the stage. He did not know if there were any other newsmen from other newspapers there; except one from Dao Siam newspaper. He was there for only 5 minutes.

The witness said that the actor was made-up like a tortured man but could not remember if his clothes looked like a soldier's clothes or not, nor had he noticed whether they were the kind of clothes that were sold everywhere. He did not know where the defendant was and what he was doing during the performance. While he was taking the photos, he did not have any idea that the performance was attacking the Crown Prince. The reason he took photographs was not because the performance was lese majeste but because it was an interesting scene.

The witness did not develop the film by himself but let it done by Mr. Lek. When he saw the pictures again, he still had no idea that they were like the Crown Prince until people talked about it. Five days later, three policemen came to interrogate him, one of whom he knew by name as Mr. Krit Patchimsawat. After the investigation, a policeman read his statement to him and he signed his name without reading it with his own eyes.

Witness: Mr. Wacharapong Wacharapisit, a photographer for Daily Time Newspaper

The witness was one of those who informed the police about the play at Thammasat University after having seen the picture on the front page of Dao Siam Newspaper of October 5th. He accepted that Dao Siam had always attacked the NSCT and the students. But when asked if he knew that Dao Siam had once reported that Mr. Chuan Leekpai, a former minister of the Ministry of Justice and his group, had given 8 million baht to the NSCT, the witness said that except for the Crown Prince's news, he had no interest in any other news.

The witness understood that the hanging performance was part of the demonstration against Thanom Kittikajorn. He thought that the NSCT performed the play; he did not know that there had been some reports in newspapers that the NSCT had nothing to do with the play.

After having informed the police about the play, he returned home and did not join the demonstration against the students.

November 21, 1977

Witness: Mr. Prayad Pongkam, head of the Graphic Arts Department, Silpakorn University

Prosecutor: The prosecutor tried to point out that the witness was an expert in make up. Mr. Prayad has been a teacher of fine arts since 1958. He got a certificate from the Arts Academy in Rome. His works were once exhibited in a Art Exhibition in Rome and the King of Thailand had seen them too.

Mr. Prayad thought that the picture of a hanged actor in Thammasart University as appeared in the newspaper looked like the Crown Prince's face, by observing the shape of the face, the hair, the chin and the cheekbone. He also thought that to make up the man to look like the Crown Prince, it needed a skilled and experienced artisan, because Apinan (the actor), when he was not made up, looked very different from the Crown Prince. He also said that the films had not been touched up.

December 9, 1977

Witness: Mr. Prayad Pongkam, head of the Graphic Arts Department, Silpakorn University

Defence lawyer's cross examination: The defence lawyer pointed out that the evidence that the investigator gave the witness to examine consisted only of pictures cut from newspapers. The witness spent one day examining the pictures. According to his previous statements given to the police, he said that the pictures looked like the Crown Prince, and the person who had made up the face must have been very skillful and experienced. The reason that the police chose him to be the one to examine the picture was because he was expert in fine arts.

The defence lawyer asked if his certificate from Rome in decorating had anything to do with living things or not. The witness answered so unclearly that the judge asked him directly whether he had ever made up a man's face. He agreed that he had not and accepted that he had not studied in this field before. And as far as he knew, nobody in Thailand had studied in this field, either. He said that as far as the picture itself was concerned, there was no touching up.

The defence lawyer asked the witness whether he knew Professor Lawan Daorai or not. (There were rumours that she was the one who made up the actor's face).

He accepted knowing her. And when asked if he and Professor Lawan had argued against each other and whether she had, before October 6th last year, charged him of defamation, he accepted that it was true.

The witness had also been against the students at the University in 1974, when the students had gone on strike to get rid of the dean of the faculty. At that time, Professor Lawan was among the group of the strikers.

Conclusion: The defence lawyer in his cross-examination tried to clarify 4 points, namely:

1. The witness was not an expert in make-up, nor did he know much about photographs.
  2. To make up a man to look like another, it needed a skillful person and a good preparation. However, there was very few or no experts at all in this field in Thailand. Therefore, it was hardly possible that the actor was made up to look like the Crown Prince on purpose.
  3. The rumours that the actor was made-up by a particular person, that is, professor Lawan Daorai, was not too credible, especially since professor Lawan had argued against the witness in the past.
  4. The witness had been against the students and thus had prejudice towards the students. Therefore, his evidence was not trustworthy.
-

2. The Trial of October 6th Defendants (Bangkok 18) November 17th 1977.

The first hearing, held at the Army Quartermasters Division of the Royal Thai Army, was postponed to January 2nd next year as half of the 18 defendants had failed to appoint their lawyers due to the lack of time. The use of defence lawyers has been made possible following the former Revolutionary Party's order amending Military Court Act which had previously not allowed defendants to have defence lawyers.

Several hundred people, including students and newsmen, arrived at the entrance gate early in the morning but were not allowed to enter the compound until 8.30 am. At 7 am, the 18 defendants detained in several detentions were brought to the court under heavy police escort. A security force of about 300 men (including army marksmen) guarded office buildings. Those allowed to enter the compound of the courthouse underwent strict body and ID card checks. ID cards had to be deposited at the gate. No cameras or taperecorders were allowed in the compound or the courtroom. However, a huge crowd of more than 3,000 people were present, amongst which only 300 people, including representatives from international human rights organisations and 15 foreign embassies in Bangkok (including the United States, Australia, Israel, United Kingdom, New Zealand and West Germany) could listen to the trial in the courtroom. The rest had to stay outside and listen through loudspeakers.

The three-man Military Tribunal chaired by Air Vice Marshal Sapsorn Vanich, took the bench at 9.30 am, and Judge Col. Paiboon approved the appointed defence lawyers. (See names of the lawyers in the attached list) and asked the other nine defendants without lawyers whether they needed the court to provide lawyers for them or not. Every defendant said that this was not necessary as they would seek their own lawyers. The defence lawyers claimed that they had much difficulty in meeting the defendants, although it was in fact the right of a defendant to meet his lawyer even though the lawyer had not yet been appointed officially as defence lawyer.

Over the problem of the right of appeal, the judge clarified that according to the Revolutionary Party's order No. 25, the October 6th defendants were allowed to appoint lawyers but had no right to appeal to higher courts. Here, Mr. Prapon Wangsiripitak, the 5th defendant asked the judge whether this lack of right to appeal was against the basic principles of Human Rights. The judge answered that his question was out of order in the court. As half of the defendants still had no lawyers, the hearing was adjourned to January 2nd, and subsequently to every Monday in January.

After the hearing, the authorities insisted that the defendants would not be let out of the courthouse until everybody had left the compound. However, thousands of people still waited until finally after one hour the defendants were let out. People greeted them warmly, waving hands and calling their names. At the front gate, a group of 20 men, calling themselves the Kratingdaeng (Red Gaurs) group and members of a Teacher Training Students Union and Vocational Students Union, verbally attacked the defendants and the crowd, and threw stones and pieces of wood at the defendants' buses. Yet, the police and the military guards did not do anything against them.

Finally, two things should also be mentioned here. First, the mother of Mr. Thongchai Winijakul, the 13th defendant, who had with her a temporary ID card, as her real ID card had expired and the new one could not be issued in time for the hearing, was not allowed into the compound. She cried with sorrow over this lost opportunity of seeing her son. Secondly, Maj Gen Sudsai Thephasadin and a group of Kratingdaeng were seen to enter through special entrance to the compound and the courtroom without any body and ID card checks.

Names of defence lawyers appointed on November 17th, 1977

- 1st defendant: Mr. Sutham Saengpratum -- Mr. Tongbai Tongpau
- 3rd defendant: Mr. Apinan Buahapakdi - Mr. Wasan Panit
- 7th defendant: Mr. Mahin Tanboonpurn - Mr. Tongbai Tongpau
- 8th defendant: Mr. Arom Pong-pa ngan - Mr. Chan kaewchusai & Mr. Narin Saranyasuntorn
- 9th defendant: Mr. Prayoon Akrabauvorn - Mr. Tongbai Tongpau
- 11th defendant: Mr. Attakarn Uppatampakul - Mr. Tongbai Tongpau
- 13th defendant: Mr. Thongchai Vijijakul - Mr. Chai-hai Kaewpraisee
- 14th defendant: Mr. Kongsak Asapak - Mr. Suriyan Vorasiri
- 15th defendant: Mr. Somsak Jiemjirasakul - Mr. Tongbai Tongpau

Annex 1 : Letter from Relative Group  
December 22, 1977

Sent to: Chief Quartermaster General's Department  
Subject: Asking for safety for the detainees and the people who come to listen to the court's proceedings

About 3,000 people, including foreign and Thai newspaper reporters, and many foreign diplomats came to listen to the court's proceedings on the 6th October case held on November 17th, 1977 at quartermaster general HQ at Amphur Pak-Kred, Nonthaburi. As relatives of the 6th October detainees, we would like to thank you very much for your kindness in arranging shelter for those people.

There seemed to be no problems about the court's proceedings because the people cooperated well with the officials and they were also calm. However, there was a group of about 50 people, outside the front gate on the left of the compound; these people created the following disturbances:-

1. After the proceedings on that day, as the people were going one by one out of the compound, this group of people standing at the gate were rude and impolite and threatened people walking out of the areas in various ways such as saying "A communist./", "Are you very interested?", "Look at me for what?" etc. In addition, they used some sticks to poke some women who passed by them.

2. The vans containing the detainees and taking them out of the area were showered with stones, sand and clay by this group of people, especially the van containing detainees from Bang Kwang maximum security prison. A small glass window on the Bang Kwang van was broken and a piece of stone hit the head of Surachat Bamrungsuk, one of the detainees in the van.

3. There were a lot of military and civilian policemen both in and out of uniform in front of the court but they (considerably more than the people causing disturbance) didn't even warn them to stop.

We consider that those events (especially the event no.2) may in future become more serious and might cause the detainees or the people injury. We would like to ask you to do something in order to ensure the safety of the detainees and the people more than last time. We appreciate your kind consideration of this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Relatives of the 6th October 1976 detainees

Annex 2

Legal Defense Fund Established for October 6th Defendants

Altogether 47 lawyers have agreed to offer their services free for the defense of the Bangkok 18. However it is likely that there will be heavy expenses involved in a trial of this magnitude, expenses for copying documents, for expert witnesses, for travelling, for gathering information and so on.

In order to ensure that the defence lawyers who have so kindly offered their services at no cost for the defence of the Bangkok 18, would not actually be out of pocket, they were persuaded to open a defence fund to which sympathisers and supporters both inside and outside the country could make contributions. This fund would also be used for the defense of Bunchart Sathienthammani, who is presently being tried for lese majeste for events arising out of 6th Oct.

An account for this fund has been opened at the Bangkok Bank, Tanon Branch, under the supervision of Tongbai Thongpao (leader of the defense team), Narin Saransuthorn (from the Marut Bunnag Law Firm) and Chatchai Chantraplaisri. All sums of money donated to CGRS for the defense of Oct6th Defendants by church groups in Asia and Australia has been transferred to this fund

In addition on December 30th 1977, a sum of \$ 1818.18cts was received by CGRS, having been collected by Thais and Americans residing in the USA, for the defence of the Bangkok 18. At noon on December 30th there was a public handing over of this money at the Royal Hotel. CGRS was represented by two committee members, Dr. Gothom Arya, and Mr. Vitavas Kongkakil, and the lawyers by Mr. Tongbai Thongpao, Mr. Marut Bunnag, and 20 other lawyers involved in the defense, journalists from 10 newspapers were present at the ceremony, and it thus received good press coverage.

The following are some excerpts form the statement of the group that raised the \$1,818.18 cts (note the symbolism of the amount).

"The prime objective in sending money to the amount of 1,818 dollars or approximately 36,818,15 baht is to help defray expenses for the defense of the Bangkok 18 in court. The money was raised within one week. The contributors are Thai people and their American sympathizers from various states throughout the United States. This amount of money is only the first contribution. Subsequent contributions of money will be forthcoming and will continue to be pledged.

The Thai people in the United States deeply regret the failure on the part of the Thai government to respect the wishes of Thai public opinion both at home and abroad as well as world public opinion which is overwhelmingly in sympathy with the Bangkok 18.

We earnestly hope that the Thai government will weigh public opinion carefully and release the Bangkok 18 in the near future. By so doing, the government might restore a harmonious atmosphere in the country and promote the goal of Premier Kriangsak Chamanan if he seriously desires, as he has stated, the return home of those students who have fled into the ranks of the insurgents."

CGRS would be most willing to channel any donations for the defense of those being tried for events arising out of the 6th October to this newly established defense fund.

In addition however we would like to point out that there are a large number of other cases, which are less well known inside and outside Thailand, and which also require legal assistance. For example various appeals for habeas corpus of endangering society prisoners, cases such as those of Supap Pasaong's and Udom Pkakraeng's groups, and even cases involving suspected communists, which also require legal assistance. CGRS is willing to channel any donations for any of these other cases to the lawyers involved.

Annex 3

Document of Defendants  
No253/2520

The Military Court of Bangkok  
December 15, 1977

To The prosecutor of the military Court of Bangkok  
On the subject of the criminal case against Mr. Sutham Sangpratum  
defendant No.1 and his 7 friends

Prosecutor

I am Mr. Sutham Sangpratum defendant No.1 with my 7 friends	Accused
Year of birth 1953	Date of Birth
Nationality Thai	Citizenship Thai
Address Bangkok maximum security prison	Age 24
	Profession student
	Street



All of us will ask to give testimony that from BE.2495 until now there were several times an annulment of the system of constitutional monarchy in Thailand, but the persons who abrogated the constitutional monarchy system were not punished for those acts. Punishments were used only for people who committed no crime and didn't participate in any such abrogation.

These acts both in aims and in use are against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and against the Constitution of Thailand BE.2517 which was in force at the time of the crime. We want the court to consider whether they should be accepted or rejected.

In order to make your consideration clear, we request to be able to give testimony that before the 14th October 1973 Thailand was under a dictatorship. Having no rights and freedoms, people rose peacefully to appeal for a constitution, but they were squashed violently. The great movement of students and people on the 14th October 1973 enabled Thailand return to a system constitutional monarchy again.

All the people loved and were protective of democracy because they know well that they would have rights, freedom and security under a democratic administration. They still remembered that they gained democracy through fighting, with blood and lives lost in the battle against dictatorship in Thailand. This struggle will go down in history.

The NSCT (National Student Centre of Thailand) was formed under a period of dictatorship and joined with the people in fighting for a democratic system of administration. The NSCT also loved and wanted to protect the democracy of the Thai people.

In addition, the NSCT realized well that it was the duty of Thai people (written in the constitution) to protect democracy and constitution. People from various other groups realized the danger of dictatorship and tried to protest against its revival from its remains in many private and government organisations. These democracy lovers gathered together and formed a group with the one aim of protecting the constitutional monarchy and protesting against the revival of the dictatorship in Thailand, not to abrogate the system of constitutional monarchy as stated in the prosecutor's indictment no.1.

From the 14th October 1973 until the 6th October 1976 there were a lot of fights between people who loved democracy and those who wanted to abolish the system of constitutional monarchy. We dare emphasise that these arguments of ours took place according to the aims of the constitution in order to preserve democracy. There were open and peaceful meetings without arms, however the other side assassinated and ambushed a lot of good people both in and out sight of the officials. Though these actions were illegal and took place visibly, there were no arrests or attempts to prevent their recurrence.

All of us were against the cancellation of the Constitution of Thailand BE.2517, the overthrow of the government, the disbanding of the House of Representatives elected by the people, the destruction of the system of constitutional monarchy and all other doings on the 6th October 1976. On the other hand, we were arrested and were accused of being rebels because there was an annulment of the system of constitutional monarchy.

5. We have to inform the court that when King Rama VII promulgated the first Constitution of Thailand, which was the beginning of the constitutional monarch of Thailand, on the 10th December 1932, His Majesty the King said that the important duties of officials, soldiers, civilians and the general public were that they work together to preserve and to observe the constitution in order to build happiness for all people forever. All the people of high birth and the senior officials promised His before the King, but later there were a lot of transgressions time after time until the present day. Many high ranking people distorted the meaning of paying respect to the King and also misused the King's authority to gain their own advantage.

The accused no.1-no.6 and Mr. Bunchart Sathenthhammani, (who is being tried in a criminal court) deny having done anything that can be considered as Lese Majeste to the Crown Prince, as is stated in the indictment of the prosecutor. All of us respect and honour the royal institution, which is the highest institution in the nation and is above politics, and we have never even considered committing lese majeste to this institution. The prosecutor's indictment is a result of conflicts in ideology amongst the people, and is a part of one group of people's plan to renew dictatorship in the country and destroy the work of students and the people. In addition, on the night of 5th October, we had emphasised our honour and respect for H.M the King as well as other facts to the public. We state

again in this document our honour and respect for the royal institution. We deny completely the prosecutor's indictment, point out that it was not us who distributed the news and pictures to the public in order to create lese majeste to the Crown Prince.

6. The killings that took place in Thammasat University on the 6th October 1976 were the doing of a group of people who wanted to annul the constitutional monarchy and were not the doing of the government. These killings were the most savage that have ever taken place in Thai history because the people and the students had no weapons to defend themselves.

The intentions and attempts of the group who wanted to annul the democratic system of government took place quite openly in the cabinet (Council of Ministers) on the 6th October 1976. At this cabinet meeting, a group of people gave false reports about the activities of the people and students to the Ministers and asked for permission to kill them. Although the Ministers refused this request, the killing took place in any case and very barbarously. We will present to the court the facts, the details, and also the pictures and the films of the event for its consideration.

Besides committing no crimes neither were we the ~~one~~ who participated in the murdering hanging and burning alive of people, the beating and stamping of helpless victims, the killing and their raping of them, and other cold-blood killing with weapons of war in the area of Thammasat University.

7. The prosecutor's indictment no.4 which said that the defendants .. no.1-no.6 and the defendants no.9-no.18 fought together against the police with pistols and dynamite which wounded and killed policemen in large numbers, is not correct because all the 16 defendants had no weapons, especially the defendants no.1-no.6 who were arrested in front of the house of Seni Pramoj, the Prime Minister, before the killings. In fact, the 6th October case was not a case of a legal arrest, but instead was a mass assassination and an arrest only of those people who remained alive. It should be noted that the officials were not wounded and killed through our doing.

8. The defendants no.1-no.6 and the defendants no.9-no.18 deny that the arms and other weapons outlined in the lists at the end of the indictment are theirs. These harmful things have been falsely associated with us in the same way as the story of the nonexistent underground tunnel to the Chao Phya River and the imaginary office on the roof of Thammasat University. All of these are false stories invented to make people misunderstand, hate and protest against students and people in order to create a justification for the assassinations.

9. Besides the above testimony, we deny completely the whole of the prosecutor's indictment. We will present facts, witnesses, documents, pictures and films of the barbarous assassination for the consideration of the court.

With the principles of law and details of our action included in this paper, we hope the court will consider our plea and reject the prosecutor's indictment. We hope that the court will help bring about the realisation of constitutional monarchy in the country.

signature: \_\_\_\_\_ of the defendants no.1-no.18  
This document is edited by Nai Thong-Bai Thongpou, the lawyer of the defendants no.1-no.18  
signature: T. Thongpou The editor

Annex 4 Letter from Surin Masadit

Wat Phromloka Sub Amphur Phromkeri  
Nakornsritammaraj  
October 24, 1977  
Dear friends,

My letter dated October 3, 1977 told you about some events before the Reform Council Coup, but there are still many unrecalled secrets about the events of 6th October. So this letter will tell you about them.

On the 6th October 1976, I arrived at the Office of the Prime Minister at about 7 o'clock. Newsmen on the stairs came to ask me about the picture of the hanged man that looked like the Crown Prince. I answered that there was no longer any problem because the Prime Minister had already met with the executives of the National Student Centre of Thailand and some of them had given themselves to the police. "We have to proceed legally" I said. Then I hurried to go to see the Prime Minister. After having seen the picture in Dao Siam and Ban Muang,

I suggested to the Prime Minister that he should declare a state of emergency. MR Seni Pramoj, the Prime Minister, agreed with me and would propose this at the cabinet meeting at 9 o'clock. In the cabinet meeting Maj.Gen.Chatchai Chumhawan, Minister of Industry, and other Ministers from the Thai Nation (Chart Thai) Party didn't agree to an announcement of a state of emergency. Their reason was that there were numerous village scouts who were going to have a meeting at the Royal Plaza and would be angry if they could not meet and would turn against the government. However, most of the Ministers agreed to the announcement. Therefore, Maj.Gen.Chaichai brought Pol.Maj.Gen.Charcenrit Chumradroamrun, a village scout head from the Border Patrol Police, to the cabinet meeting. Pol.Maj.Gen.Charcenrit said that they should have killed all the students at Thammasat University completely. From my point of view, I understood at once that they had already planned a coup and I was sure that it would be successful.

Before noon the state of emergency still was not declared. Pol.Lt.Gen. Chumpol Lohachala, Deputy Director-General of Police Department came to report with tears in his eyes that students with weapons of war had killed a great number of policemen. Therefore the border patrol policemen were sent to squash the students. But a few moments later, the Director General of the Police Dept. came to report that the police could control the events at Thammasat University and no policemen were killed, they were only wounded. Pol.Maj.Gen.Krajang, the head of the border patrol policemen who had entered Thammasat to arrest the 3,000 students, came to report that there were only three .22 pistols seized from the students. He said that the students had no weapons of war, on the contrary, the policemen were the attackers.

After noon the cabinet met again. I didn't agree to presenting a bulletin with untrue details. Maj.Gen.Chatchai went out of the room and came back to say that the village scouts were going to come to Government House with a petition. The Prime Minister told us that yesterday the "Group of House-Wives" issued a petition calling for the removal of Surin Masdit, Chuan Leakpai, Damrong Lattapipat from the post of the Ministers; and for arresting Dr.Puey Ungpakorn, Klaew Narapati and all the executives of The Social Democratic Party. The Prime Minister didn't agree to the petition and said that demanding were too great. Having understood that some Ministers of The Thai Nation Party were involved in this affair, I said that I would not resign my post and that I would fight to prove the truth. "I am faced with dirty political tricks. I won't resign, but I'll fight for my honour," I said.

Maj.Gen.Chatchai went out of the room. For a while after that the village scouts and their men, Dhamnoon Thienguen, Samak Sutaravej and Songsak Pakasen, moved to surround the Government House in the heavy rain. After the cabinet meeting, I went to my office to go on working, but a policeman standing in the heavy rain warned me that I should go home as quickly as I could, otherwise I would be killed. I then realised the circumstances and went home safely.

Another coup has happened. This time it has been said that there would be elections. We have to meet one another again. We have to join together with unity. Don't let a traitor into the party. To join together to become a political party, one has to choose only persons who have the same idea. It is not necessary that those persons come from other parties. Politicians of all sides should join together truly for the nation, not for power, money or private interests. The successful combination of political parties having the same ideas and policies can overcome fascism. Good luck and happiness for all of you.

Yours faithfully,  
Surin Masadit

B. Those Arrested Before October 6th

1. The Trial of Workers of Thai Blanket Factory  
December 13th, 1977

Defendant: Eight workers of "Thai Blanket Factory" arrested under the charge of causing a delay (during a strike) in sending a sick person to hospital so that he died. The defendants are:

1. Miss. Suchada (Lang) Pratansap
2. Miss. Hieng (Pia) Sae-Kuai
3. Mrs. Chaloi Sriluesang
4. Mrs. Saman Intraruengsri
5. Miss. Ampai (Ampan) Chaipong
6. Mr. Sombat Sukpluem
7. Mr. Prateep (San) Prakkatoke
8. Mr. Samang Suntranon

Background of the arrest of the workers of the Thai Blanket Factory:

Workers at the Thai Blanket Factory staged a strike from March 27th, 1976 in accordance with the labour laws. The strike went on until April 2nd. On that day the employer purposely took the head-guard for a heavy drinking session, disregarding his recurring ill-health. As a result, his condition worsened and he had to be hospitalized. Since the strike was still going on, the entrance of the factory was blocked. Workers had resisted any attempts by the employer's supporters to shift the goods for regular distribution as a means of increasing their bargaining power. The employer demanded that the patient should be sent out through the main gate on a bus which was coincidentally loaded with goods. The workers refused to open the gate; but finally, seeing that their fellow worker was very sick, they opened the gate. The sad thing that happened was that instead of sending the patient to a nearby hospital which was only about 20 minutes drive, the employer sent him to Vachira Hospital, located very far from the factory. The patient finally died. The policemen then arrested 8 workers under the charge of detaining a patient resulting in his death.

Every defendant has been bailed out, except Mr. Prateep Prakkatoke, who lacked the necessary bail. He is being held in the Bangkok Special Detention Centre. It should also be mentioned that Mr. Prateep Prakkatoke and Mr. Sam-ang Suntranon were not workers of the Thai Blanket Factory, and neither had they joined the strike. The day when the workers of the Thai Blanket Factory were settling their issue with the employer at the Labour Department, Prateep, who was a representative of the Thai-American Textile Labour Union, was also up there to negotiate with his employer. As both factories were located in the same direction, the representatives from both factories came back together on a bus. On arriving at the Thai Blanket Factory, Prateep had some talks with the strikers there. Consequently, he was arrested and charged with the same allegation as the Thai Blanket Factory's workers.

Trial Process

The defence lawyer examined the first defendant, Miss Suchada Pratansap:

Miss Suchada has worked at the Thai Blanket Factory since September 1969 until now. She is the only defendant who still works at the factory. When the strike occurred, she was a personnel head of a department. Her duty during the strike was as a cook.

On April 2, 1976 at 4 pm, the gate of the factory was blocked by the strikers. The employer wanted to take the sick guard, Mr. Kulap, to the hospital through the gate that was blocked. She saw the employer talk with these workers and finally the workers opened the gate. But the employer took the sick worker to Vachira Hospital, which was very far from the factory. The sick person died there after. During the strike, the employers hired policemen and the Kratingdaeng group to guard the factory.

The defence lawyer examined the second defendant, Miss. Hieng Sae-Kuai:

Miss. Hieng told about the strike and how it began when the workers asked for more wages and welfare in accordance with the labour law, but could not come to an agreement with the employer, therefore, the workers were on the strike. She said that the workers and their representatives were always threatened and persecuted by the employer's hired men. For example by Mr. Sampan Raiprig, the workers' guard, was hit on the head by these hired men. Sometimes, poisonous reptiles were left in the crowd of strikers on purpose. She said that the 7th and 8th defendant, Mr. Prateep Prakkatoke and Mr. Sam-ang Suntranon were not workers at the Thai Blanket Factory but at the Thai-American Textile Company.

Conclusion

Originally it was expected that this trial, which has been going on since April 1976, would be completed within this year, and thus it was decided not to try to bail out Prateep. However because of frequent trial postponements (the latest which took place on December 27th) this is no longer possible.

For Prateep, what is more serious is that all trial sessions have been postponed in January, because the lawyers in this case are the same as those involved in the 6th October trial (Mr. Tongbai and his team). This draws attention to the severe shortage of lawyers prepared to take up political cases.

The next hearings have been fixed for 1, 2, 9 and 14 of February.

2. The trial of Supap Pasa-ong group at Criminal Court

November 9th and 16th - Mr. Prasit Chaitongpan was a witness for the fourth and fifth time, but there was nothing interesting.

November 23rd - The trial was postponed.

November 30th - Mr. Arun, a policeman was a witness to give information about the strike of workers at Hara Jeans Factory, where Supap had been an advisor and representative of the workers.

December 7th - The trial was postponed to January 11th.

c. From Sensitive Areas

The trial of Udom Prakrong and this Group at the Criminal Court

This trial is notable for its frequent postponements. Most of which have been caused by one of the defendants being tried for another case in Nakorn Sri Thammarat.

The only significant hearing during this reporting period was on Dec. 1st when a soldier was called as a prosecution witness. Though he was obviously well briefed by the prosecutor, and had rehearsed his statement he made many mistakes, and his evidence was in conflict with that made by other prosecution witnesses. For example he claimed to have identified Udom in the darkness, but got his name wrong, and then later said that he had never seen Udom before the trial.

The defence lawyer thought that this overprepared witness was very significant because it showed the real falsity of the prosecutors case.

The next hearing is fixed on the 12th and 13th of January 1978.

d. Endangering Society

i. Mr. Kaew Leekratoke appeals for Habeas corpus November 30, 1977

Mr. Kaew Leekratoke was arrested on June 28, 1977 at his home in Nakornrajsrima Province under endangering society charges. He was accused of supporting the communist guerrillas, in terms of providing food and commodities, persuading people to join the guerrillas, destroying forests and having influence over the people.

He was detained at Bangkaen Temporary Prison in Bangkok. Later on, he appealed for Habeas Corpus at the Court in Nakornrajsrima, in accordance with the Criminal Code Decree 90, which allows people illegally imprisoned to appeal to the court for their release. The judge acquitted him of the charges as the police did not have enough evidence to prove that he had really supported the communist guerrillas.

Remarks: During the appeal, although Kaew was detained in Nakornrajsrima Province, he was still a prisoner of Bangkaen Temporary Prison in Bangkok. Consequently, everytime he was brought to the court, officials from Bangkok had to <sup>go</sup> to the court too. And everytime when the officials came, they would ask for food and drink from Kaew's relative. His relatives had to obey for the sake of Kaew, for the 4 months that Kaew was arrested, they had to spend about 40,000 - 50,000 Baht. On the day that Kaew was released the officials asked for a pair of cows from them.

The real reasons for the arrest of Kaew was that he was once a village headman and was loved and trusted by the villagers. When the position of Tambon headman was free, everybody expected that he would apply for it. One of his rivals tried to get rid of him. Meanwhile, there was waste water flowing from a mine into the town and Kaew called the villagers to prevent this. His rival informed the police that Kaew called the "men from the jungle" to do the work. Therefore he was arrested.

ii. The Trial of the Workers at Saengfa Battery Factory

November 17, 1977 : The Decision of the Court

Defendants: 12 workers from Saengfa Battery Factory who were arrested under the charges of striking during a time of Martial Law and of endangering society

The incident occurred on January 19th, 1977 when 800 workers at the factory went on strike in order to adjust their wage scale from 25 baht to 28 baht per day. However, the employer insisted on 27 baht; therefore the strike continued until the Labour Department intervened in the negotiations and insisted that the employer must increase the daily wages of every worker by 3 baht. However, on January 22, 1977, the police arrested 12 strikers with the above mentioned charges. They were held for 28 days, and then were released on bail, the endangering society charge being dropped. Since then the Saengfa Battery company has refused to employ

any of the twelve (of whom 10 are women) and thus they have faced severe hardship in their lives, many only managing to earn a bare living by selling goods. This is why they are suing for damages.

Decision: The judge saw that the incident was only a gathering to ask for security in employment, not a demonstration. The judge therefore made a decision to free all the defendants.

iii. Endangering Society Ex Detainees Sue for Damages

Nokkaew Seekaew

Nokkaew, a former member of the Provincial Council of Chiangrai Province was arrested on March 15th, 1977 under endangering society charges, together with his son and four other students at his own house in Chiangrai Province. The charge filed against them was holding a political gathering of more than five people. Nokkaew was allowed a bail soon after the arrest, but after one month he was rearrested. On July 7th, he was sent to Bangkaen Temporary Prison in Bangkok and was detained there until he was released on November 7th, 1977 together with 27 other persons from Bangkaen.

In January, Nokkaew will bring a civil action against

1. Police Colonel Somnuk Nuchangkit, a former chief policeman of the local police station at the Central District, Chiangrai Province.
2. Mr. Chum Boonrueng, the governor of Chiangrai Province.
3. Police General Monchai Pankongchuen, head of Police Department.
4. General Kriengsak Chamanan, Minister of Interior.

He will bring a civil action against them for causing defamation of character and for unjustified temporary loss of freedom.

Pimpan Puwapan and Pra Maha Saward

The other two former endangering society prisoners who are bringing a civil action against the authorities are Mrs. Pimpan Puwapan and Pra Maha Saward (See Human Rights in Thailand Report: September \* October 1977, page 17) At present, the two cases are still in process.

Other Civil Actions

Furthermore, the workers of Saengfa Battery Thai Factory are going to bring a civil action against the government. (See ii above)

And also Mr. Suwit Prayoosak, a worker of Kurusapa Trade Association, arrested under endangering society charges and at present already released, will bring a civil action against the director of the Kurusapa Trade Association for having dismissed him from his work after he had been arrested without proper reasons.

Part Two : The Human Rights Situation

1. Misuses of Government's Power

One of the most serious implications of absolute power being in the hands of the government, of there being no possibility of democratic protest, and of there being no freedom of the press, is that this opens the way for gross misuses of power on the part of local officials and policemen. These misuses are often considerably more serious than those committed by the central government, which are more often than not committed in furtherance of some specific policy, however erroneous this policy might be.

Though there have always been misuses of power of government officials and policemen in up-country areas (particularly in sensitive areas), during the Thanin administration, when all criticism of government and government officials was completely muzzled these misuses reached a new peak, not only in the numbers of cases that took place, but also in their geographical coverage, with cases occurring in all regions of the country, even within 25 kms of Bangkok.

In the following paragraphs we include details of some of the cases on which we have managed to gather some precise information, and in addition summarise some other cases to provide the reader with a perspective of their wide occurrence.

It should also be noted that in section 3 of the Summary of the News (Part IV) we include an analyses of the newspaper coverage of these stories.

Finally we would like to emphasise that the cases reported are only the tip of the iceberg of the harassment ordinary citizens have faced from the police and other authorities over past few months. In this section we have not included details of those arrested for no reason who have had to pay dearly to obtain their freedom, nor have we included details of those arrested by armed forces in sensitive areas who have disappeared (see for example details from the report from the South in section 3 below)

Only if there is a free society where people have ways in which they can protest against misuses of power, where newspapers can report these cases, and where the offending officials are punished (not merely transferred elsewhere) is there a chance of preventing these types of incidents from occurring in future.

a. Murder of Mr. Wijit Intraram

Mr. Wijit Intraram was arrested, charged with causing bodily injury and robbery at his home in the Central District, Samutprakarn Province at 5 pm. on October 23rd, 1977, and was detained at the police station there. On October 24th, at 4 pm. his wife and 3 relatives who went to the police station to visit him saw him lying almost naked in the cell but they were not allowed to visit him. On the next day, they went to visit him again and found him lying unconscious. His wife asked for permission to take him to the hospital, but it was too late. On the next day, at 5 pm. he died. According to the doctor, he died from a broken spinal cord, which was apparently caused by torture. (See details from the petition from his wife and relatives)

134 Moo 3 Tambon Tai-Ban, Amphur Muang  
Changwad Samutprakarn

November 3, 1977

Dear Sir,

Subject: Policemen beat a prisoner up until he died

At about 5 pm. on October 23rd, 1977 while Mr. Wijit Intraram was eating dinner with his wife and sons, he invited two men, whom he knew, who were passing his house to join his family for dinner. Instead of thanking him, the two men spoke to him so aggressively that Wasan (Wijit's son) felt angry and started a fight with them. Those two men went to notify Pol. Capt. Suwan Hunosawad at the Amphur Muang police station that they had been injured and had 600 baht stolen from them. Later at about 10 pm. two policemen came to arrest Mr. Wijit at his home and brought him to be detained at the police station.

At 9 am. on the next day, Mrs. Sangwean (Wijit's wife) and his relatives went to call on him and brought him some food. He still spoke to them normally and showed no signs of pain. But when they came back to call on him again at 4 pm., Wijit was wearing only his underclothes and lay unconscious in the cell. The relatives tried to ask the policemen to look after him, but the policemen refused so firmly that Mrs. Sombat (one of Wijit's relatives) said "You are very cruel!" Pol. Capt. Suwan then fined her 20 baht for insulting an official. They came from the countryside, so they were very afraid of the police. Feeling cross and disturbed, they went away from the police station.

At 8 am. on October 25th, Mrs. Sangwean, the relatives and Mr. Boonruang (who would bail out Wijit) came to see the police. Pol. Capt. Suwan said that

must pay 200,000 baht for the bail. He valued the land title deeds offered by Mrs. Sangwean at 200,000 baht and wanted a further 4,000 baht in a cash for the bail of Wijit. Mr. Boonruang asked the police for permission to see the accused and found that Wijit was in an unconscious state and was unable to speak. He asked the police again to send Wijit to the hospital. But Wijit was not sent to the hospital until 4 hours after that time. Doctors at Samutprakarn Hospital tried very hard to save his life, but he was unconscious all the time. He died with a lot of subbering on the evening of the next day through the police's cruel treatment. The doctors told Mrs. Sangwean that the policemen had been very brutal. They agreed to help her by sending Wijit's body for an autopsy at the Police Hospital. The document enclosed with this letter contains details of the autopsy carried out by a Pol. Maj. doctor at the Police Hospital.

We are afraid that Wijit was killed by policemen's hands. Please give justice to poor people like us. The person who died was a carpenter of the Diamond Plastic Factory at Samutprakarn. He was very strong. He had 8 sons and 3 of them are still students. His wife and sons are in deep sorrow and want to know the reason for his death. Please investigate this case in order to punish the wrong doers.

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. Sangwean	Intraram	wife	Mr. Suwit	Intraram	relative
Mrs. Somsri	Intraram	daughter	Mr. Sakpichai	Yomana	relative
Mr. Chatri	Sawadikosol	relative	Mrs. Sombat	Yomana	relative
Mr. Boonlert	Bangprang	relative	Mrs. Rabiab	Intraram	relative
Mrs. Tuan	Bangprang	relative	Mr. Niyom	Intraram	relative
Mrs. Mali	Kamploi	relative	Mr. Boonsri	Intraram	relative

b. Murder of Mr. Pitak Paramal

Mr. Pitak Paramal was arrested under unclear charges by a policeman from the Local Police Station of Ra-ngae District, Naratiwat Province at 5 pm. on October 30th, 1977. His friend, having seen him taken to the Ra-ngae police station, went to his home in Patani Province to tell his relatives about this. However, on November 1st, 1977, when his brother went to police station, Mr. Pitak was not there. His brother was very worried. He was suspicious that the police might do something in excess of their legal authority, because Mr. Pitak had been active in a massive demonstration in Patani Province against the massacre of 5 villagers at Sapan Takau in 1975. Up till now, Mr. Pitak is still missing and unaccounted for. (See details from the petition from his brother, Mr. Waemayi Paramal)

140/1 Mu 7 Tambon Pu-Yud  
Amphur Muang, Pattani Province  
Thailand

November 14, 1977

Under - Secretary of State for Ministry of the Interior

My name is Wemayi Paramal, 23 years old. I live at 140/1 Mu 7 Tambon Pu-Yud, Amphur Muang, Pattani. I would like to appeal to you for justice in the case of my brother's death. His name is Pitak Paramal. At about 17.00 pm. of the October 30, 1977, the policemen of the (Amphur) Range police station, Naratiwat Province, arrested him because he had no identification card and brought him to imprison him at the Range police station. But a few days later he disappeared without any trace. Being suspicious of the behaviour of the Range policemen, I and my family are appealing to you for justice. The event is told in detail to you as follows:

At about 17:00 pm. on October 30, 1977, while Pitak Paramal was watching a football game at the field in front of Tanyongmas School, there was a policeman (called "Wee" by villagers) who came to see him and invited him to the Range police station by telling him that a lieutenant wanted to meet him because he had suspicious behaviour. Pitak went to the police station with the policeman. At the same time Mr. Rawya Mama, Pitak's friend, who was also watching the game, also went to the police station and saw that Pitak had entered the police station. After that Mr. Rawya went home and then came to tell Pitak's family at Pattani Province on the next day.

Therefore, on November 1, 1977, I went to visit my brother at the Range police station, but I didn't meet him. I enquired from a policeman about the Pitak arrest on that day and that time, but the policeman said that there have no arrests of a man called Pitak. Then I came to meet Mr. Rawya who was the

witness. Mr. Rawya insisted strongly that Pitak was arrested by the Range policeman. I went to the Range police station again on November 2. I asked a policeman for a meeting with the lieutenant who was in charge on October 30. That policeman told me that his name was Pol. Lt. Lim (unknown surname). I therefore went to meet him to find out the truth. Pol. Lt. Anim told me that on that day Pitak was really arrested because he had no an identification card, but later on he was released for a while in order to bring money for the fine. I asked him to see the record of the arrest in the daily record book of the police, but he refused and said that this would break the police regulations. I tried to ask him several times, but he refused until the end. I had to go home to Pattani on that day. I have tried to find him for several days. At present I still have not met him. I and my family worry about him very much and also suspect the behaviour of the Range policemen. We are afraid that they will do something over and above their legal authority. It's because Pitak had a role in appealing for justice in the case of the murder of 5 villagers at Kaw Tau Bridge in 1975 in which there was a great demonstration of the people in Pattani. He became well-known amongst those people. From this point on, I, my family and also general public are afraid that some policemen with bad ideas may use more than necessary force on him without considering the principles of the country's laws.

I, therefore, appeal to you to clear this case and to give us justice.

Yours faithfully,

Mr. Wemayi Paramal  
(appealer)

c. Murder of Mr. Baen Kitpadung

Mr. Baen Kitpadung, aged 28, a worker at Marongchai Transport Company was arrested while going to a cinema in the Central District of Nakornsrithammarat Province by four policemen of the Local Police Station at the Central District at 9 pm. on November 25th, 1977. The four policemen asked to see his I.D. card and then arrested him. Baen resisted, thinking that he was not guilty; therefore, the policemen punched him and took him to the police station. On the next morning, his wife went to the police station, but he was not there. An hour later, the dead body of Baen was found near Kuan-lui road in Ronpiboon District, which was known as a communist infested area. He had been shot in his head and body; his jaw was broken and his face was smashed shapeless. His wrists were cut deeply by handcuffs.

Four days later, his body was paraded around the city; thousands of people and hundreds of mini-buses and lorry drivers joined the demonstration. On the lorry carrying his corpse were some posters, saying "Dead body of 4 policemen's murder victim" and "Baen Kitpadung, aged 28, died of chains, torture, shots, and stabs."

The case drew much interest from people all over the country. This was not because it was a rare case. On the contrary, such cases have repeated themselves again and again, but people concerned kept silent out of fear. Now that there is somebody to speak out, everybody waits for its outcome.

The case was on the front page of many newspaper for many days. Meanwhile the witnesses and everybody concerned were threatened by the police. They dared not be investigated or interviewed. The wife was ordered to withdraw the charges. However, as the case was big and everyone was interested in it the Head of Police Department made an urgent order to investigate the case. Consequently, three policemen, namely, Lance Corporal, Pirom Seeyarak, Policeman Somboon Iepachuen and Policeman Boonchoke Nuannak were arrested. Later on Pol. maj. gen. Sakrapee Paimueng, police inspector in charge of the Local Police Station of the Central District, Nakorn Province, was arrested also. There was enough evidence that the three had killed Mr. Baen Kitpadung under the order of Pol. Maj. Gen. Sakrapee Paimueng.

d. Murder of Young People at Nakorn Fathom Province

Not long after the people at Nakorn Srithammarat Province had succeeded in obtaining some justice over the case Mr. Baen Kitpadung's death, the people at Nakorn Fathom Province who had long suffered from local policemen's misuses of power for the first time dared to cry out for justice. Parents of 5 youths made a petition to the Ministry of Interior stating that their children had been killed by policemen from the local police station at Nakorn Fathom. The five youths are:

1. Mr. Preecha Sintanaporn

2. Mr. Pongsak Waewpongsee
3. Mr. Somsak Ruenla-or
4. Mr. Somchart Chotimoon
5. Mr. Yongyut Ampornprapa

The five were arrested at 9.30 pm. on November 18th, 1977 near the railway station by many policemen, two of which were recognized as Policeman Praktik Saengplueng and Policeman Tongchai Boonsee. They were taken in a blue mini-lorry and have not been seen or heard of since. Ten days later their parents appealed at the police station about this disappearance but nothing happened. Moreover, Mr. Tan, the eye-witness who saw the whole incident was threatened by the police. Two days after the event, a police-car went around to his house and the man in the car took photographs of him. He was very afraid and fled away.

After that many people whose children had been arrested and had disappeared appealed at the local police station for justice. Most of the people who had been arrested and had disappeared are young people of not more than 25 years old; they include the following:-

6. Mr. Amornchai Hanjiab, a tricycle driver, 21 years old, who lived at No. 419, Rajviti Road, Central District, Nakorn Pathom. He was arrested and disappeared at around 6 pm. on November 17th, 1977.

7. Mr. Somkiert Chumsecharoen, aged 18, who lived at No. 412, Rajviti Road. He was arrested and disappeared at 8 pm. on November 10th, 1977.

8. Mr. Wasan Juisuwanatat, a boxer, 17 years old, who lived at No. 9 Rajviti Road. He went out for a walk with his friend in the town and never come back.

9. Mr. Boonrod Yang-yuen, aged 17, lived at No. 20, Rajviti Road. He was arrested and disappeared on November 17th, 1977.

10. Mr. Somchoke Seeprasurt, aged 18, lived at No. 115, January 25th Road. He was arrested and disappeared at 6pm. on November 25th, 1977.

11. Mr. Sutan Tanpreecha, aged 18, lived at No. 58, January 25th Road. He was arrested and disappeared on November 5th, 1977.

12. Mr. Narong Saengsee, aged 17 and his friends Mr. Somchai Karnchanee, Mr. Don Saison, Mr. Chom Songmueng and Mr. Chalurmsak Chantakot were tortured by policemen at the local police station at Kampaengsaen District, Nakorn Pathom Province led by Policeman Sanit. They were arrested while they were going back home after fishing work at 12 am. on November 25th, 1977. After that they were detained under endangering society charges. Their parents appealed that their children had been unjustly arrested and the policemen had no evidences against them.

13. Mr. Tavorn Kingsawat, a guard of 26 years old, lived at No. 6, Tambon Salaya, Nakornchaisee District, Nakorn Pathom was arrested by 3 policemen, two of whom were Policeman Chaveen Soison and Policeman Tawee Nitcharoen. Mr. Tavorn disappeared after the arrest.

More and more people in Nakorn Pathom and also in other provinces are appealing and disclosing the inhumanity of the policemen. In Bureeram Province, the father of Mr. Aneg Chulamane appeared that his son, aged 38, was shot dead by policeman Duang Arpornpong and Policeman Poon at Nangrong District, Bureeram Province at 7 pm. on September 20th, 1977. Mr. Aneg had a quarrel with the two policemen and they shot him. His wife and parents had informed the police about this but nothing happened to the two policemen.

In Chiangmai a vocational student and a teenage villager were arrested and disappeared whilst in custody. In Sri Sa ket a similar case was reported by the mother of a youth.

There are also reports about the policemen's misuses of power in Songkla and Nakornpanom. At Nakorn Panom policemen tortured a common citizen to death and at Songkla a prisoner was tortured to death. At Karnchanaburee 3 people were arrested under endangering society charges and later on the three disappeared from the prison.

The above cases are merely small examples of the events resulted from the misuses of power. It is believed that if real justice is given to these cases, a lot more of such cases will be disclosed by the poor people who have kept silent for such a long time.

## 2. Arrests, Detentions and Releases

### Arrests

#### Nongkai

1. Fifty four Laotian refugees were arrested from a refugee camp in Nongkai on charges of espionage and subversive activities on December 13th, 1977. The Governor of Nongkai Province, Mr. Chamnan Patchana led seven hundred policemen, militiamen and also village scouts to the refugee camp at 3 am. to inspect the papers of each of the 24,700 refugees. The operation ended at about 7.30 pm. with 54 persons being arrested and some 700 being placed under house arrest for further questioning.

Governor Chamnan told the reporters that the 54 captives were spies and had been creating confusion and fomenting dissatisfaction in the camp. They were all brought to the Central District police station for detention. Among the 54 suspects who include eight women, are former Captain of Nonpeng Military Camp in Vientiane, Capt. Srithad Promchanhom, aged 32, a former police officer of the Laotian Special Branch Police Lt. Kamlai Vilaisarn and a woman identified as Miss Soujai Norah. The other refugees were being held at the camp's auditorium pending further investigation for alleged illegal entry without passing through official channels.

A spokesman for the Interior Ministry said that the raid had been carried out by the local authorities and that Bangkok had not been consulted on the matter. (Bangkok Post, 14/12/77)

2. Eight people were arrested from three villages in Pongpisai District in Nongkai Province during a raid on charges of being communist terrorists. Nongkai Governor Chamnan Patchana led the three hundred strong government force which consisted of village defence volunteers, special action force member, border patrol policeman and Internal Security Operations Command officials to surround Ban Kamchi, Ban Nong Sa-ard and Ban Nong Khantha villages on December 29th and made a house to house search.

The action was taken following a report that 300 heavily armed communist terrorists had taken refuge in these villages. According to the report, these terrorists have been forcing the villagers to supply them with food and ammunition since their arrival at the three villages.

The raid on the three villages resulted in the arrest of eight suspected terrorists including a female. The eight arrested were identified as

1. Mr. Tuan Prakarntho (father)
2. Miss Malai Prakarntho (daughter)
3. Mr. Somporn Fatthanasoon
4. Mr. Kensri Seansrimaol
5. Mr. Koonmoon Pruchsachart
6. Mr. Saurai Buaban
7. Mr. Arphorn Suapho
8. Mr. Sudchai Chanthasongkroh

One of the arrested, Mr. Tuan Prakarntho was reported to be a leading communist terrorists in Nong Khai Province. He, according to an official sources, was a former headmaster of Ban Kranuan School in Konkaen Province.

The eight were finally taken to the provincial town where they were being held for further investigation. (Bangkok Post, 29/12/77)

#### Yala

1. Seven secessionist guerrillas, whose leader was reportedly shot dead by police several months ago, surrendered to Commander of the Fourth Army Region Lt.-Gen. Pin Thammani on December 6th, 1977. The seven people were identified as

1. Mr. Bauraheng Doloh
2. Mr. Arwae Sema
3. Mr. Ratch Manoe-hiya
4. Mr. Arsae Lacha
5. Mr. Yusoh Tayeh
6. Mr. Ma Mada
7. Mr. Mahae Arma

(Bangkok Post, 7/12/77)

#### Nakornaritammarat

1. Mr. Neep Vongswat lived at Tambon Tai Sam Pau, Fipun District, he was arrested not long after the October 6th incident in 1976. At present there is still no report of where he is detained.

2. Mr. Chana Taweensuang and Mr. Lom Kaewsuan lived at Moo 11, Tambon Intakeree, Promkeree Sub-district. He surrendered at the beginning of November 1977 and

was detained at Ban Cha-ien Democracy training School of the Fourth Army, Nakornsri-tammarat Province.

3. Mr. Ruensak Chautanz lived at Mu 11, Promkeree Sub-district. He was arrested by the Marine special force while they were clearing the place. There is still no report of where he is being detained.

4. Miss Franee (Last name still unknown) was arrested under endangering society and detained at the Central District police station at Nakornsritammarat. She was not allowed a bail nor a visit. Franee is the wife of Mr. Koper (who disappeared), one of the people's leaders in a mass demonstration against the Governor of Nakorn-sritammarat Province 1975.

5. Mr. Prayoon Bunta aged 19, lived at 95 Mu 15 Tambon Selaming, Warinchamrab District, Udbonrachatani Province, was arrested from Central District of Nakornsri-tammarat Province under the charge of possessing forbidden books.

6. Mr. Supat Chintjai a student, lived at 39 Mu 1 Tambon Ihurm, Bang Moon Nak District, Pichit Province was arrested from Central District of Nakornsritammarat Province under the charge of possessing forbidden books.

Surattani

1. Four persons were arrested from Mu 6, Tambon Prupee, Nasarn District at different time. The four are identified as

- 1. Mr. Muk Vichienchai (husband) and
- 2. Mrs. Lang Vichienchai (wife). The two were arrested at the middle of 1976. The detention centre and the real reason for their arrest is still unknown.
- 3. Mr. Ging was arrested in 1977, place of detention unknown.
- 4. Mr. Nikom Tanchawang was arrested in November 1977 and detained at Ban

Cha-ien Democracy Training School of the Fourth Army, Nakornaritammarat.  
2. Mr. Chinda Charoenrak, aged 33, lived at Mu 4, Ban Nakarn, Tambon Tamchee, Nasarn District. Chinda was a farmer and rubber planter and had had no political activities before being arrested. He was arrested in November 1976 under endangering society charges. He was detained at Nasarn police station for one month, then sent to the central prison of Surattani Province for another 10 months. He was brought to the court and was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment. After 6 months he was released. However, the police from Nasarn District recharged him under endangering society charges, and detained him at Nasarn police station. At present, he is still detained there and is allowed only 5 minutes visit at a time.

According to Chinda's mother, the reason for the arrest resulted from the fact that Chinda and his brother in law had competed for the estate. His brother in law, being a friend of a local policeman, made up a story that Chinda had sold firearms for a long time and also had had a close relationship with the guerrillas. He did so in order to get rid of Chinda. Consequently, Chinda was arrested.

Chinda has 3 children, but one of his children died not long after he had been arrested. At present, the other two children are taken care of by his mother.

3) Four released endangering society prisoners were rearrested by the local policemen of Viengsa police station. The four are identified as

- 1) Mr. Dam Duergpume (father)
- 2) Mr. Tawee Tuergpume (son)
- 3) Mr. Fawin Tuergpume (son)
- 4) Mr. Serce Tuergpume. (son)

The four were arrested under endangering society charges in December 1976. On December 18th, 1976 a group of soldiers led by Col. Chamlong Lokaklin were attacked by communist guerrillas. Nine soldiers died and five soldiers were injured, including the Colonel. The incident took place not far from the four persons' house.

When they were investigated. They did not give any useful information to the officials. Not long after that the four were arrested. They were sent to Bangkaen prison in Bangkok. Mr. Dam, the father, was released on May 1st, 1977. However, the four were rearrested under Communist charges and detained at Viengsa police station at Surattani Province.

Detention Centres

There a few more reports about the detention centres up-country. Up-country, the people arrested are not only sent to the Department of Correction's detention centres but also detained at the local police stations. Many arrested people are

detained at the local police station detained at the local police station for a long term and many are mistreated there. Up till now, there are not many reports about the situation inside the detention centres and the exact number of people being detained at these police stations which exist all over the country. Some of the reports we have got are as follows:-

1. Central District police station, Nakornsritammarat

There are 109 detainees here, 54 detainees of whom are charged with endangering society and the other 55 are charged with normal criminal charges.

The prisoners are detained in 46 metres rooms; in each room there is one light (fluorescent) and one rest room. At least 20 persons are detained in each room. The prisoners get two meals a day and are not allowed to buy any thing, not even food or cigarettes. They can have one shirt, one pair of trousers and one piece of cloth.

2. Nasarn District local police station, Surattani

There are 15 prisoners here. (15/12/77) Visitors are not allowed to give anything to the prisoners. Further details are still unknown.

3. Professional Training Camp, Nakornraijiasima

There are 83 endangering society prisoners here.

4. Setsiri Detention Centre, Bangkok

There are also some more reports about Setsiri Detention in Bangkok. According to two released Vietnamese prisoners arrested over the October 6th incident, there are, as far as they know, 10 cells for solitary confinements. The cells are painted white, there is one low light and no windows at all. The room is very narrow and the toilet and the sleeping place are in the same room. Consequently, many of the prisoners have skin diseases. Most of the prisoners are detained there for a long time. The information, for example, was detained there for 3 months without being allowed to go outside at all. Only after 3 months he was allowed outside for a very short time each day.

Releases

Among the 2,000 endangering society prisoners, 525 persons were released on November 6th, 1977. There were 51 prisoners being released from Bangkok, 199 from the Central Region, 97 from the north-east, 118 from the North and 60 from the south. However, these people still have to face a lot of problems after the release. Many of them are unemployed, many might be rearrested, (as it has often occurred), have to attend reeducation programmes or are watched closely by the officials.

It is reported that a further 400 endangering society prisoners will be released on January 6th, 1978, 40 of these from Bangkok (including all from Bangkok) and a further 400-500 in local police station.

After this release there will still be 600-700 endangering society prisoners in vocational training centres (a further 20 all women in Bangkok at Lard Yao)

List of prisoners released from endangering society charges from Bangkok Vocational Training Center, Bangkok on November 7, 1977

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>OCCUPATION. REASON FOR ARREST</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>
1. Chan Maisri	a driver for the Government Transportation Organisation	298, Amphur Ban Fai, Konkaen.
2. Prathwon Ngamkam	student, speaker in demonstration	75 Banklongdindam, Nakornrajaseema.
3. Un Suporn	farmer, did the farming in free-fire zone	11 Mu 9, Amphur Porncharoen, Nongkai.
4. Sawang Sirikan	" " "	" " " "
5. Aiewphat Sae Aiew	rubber plantation worker	Amphur Hadyai, Songkla
6. Bowon Sakanak	government official (District Chief of Amphur Terng, Chiengrai)	172 Lumpun Rd., Amphur Muang, Chiengmai
7. Kanha Sitsri	Tambon Headman	2 Mu 13 Ban Nongrua, Sub-Amphur Chaiwan, Udon.
8. Nokkaew Srikaew	merchant, political assemble	168/14 Tanalai Rd, Chiengrai
9. Sansakrit Srikaew	student at Chiengrai Teacher College	" " " "
10. Boonnom Panyoyai	school-boy at Samakkee Withayakom Amphur Muang, Chiengrai	Mu 6, Ban Keintatt, Amphur Chiengkong, Chiengrai.
11. Da Ningna	merchant	153 Nityo Rd., Sakonnakorn

- |                          |   |  |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| 13. Yon Chompuwong       | rubber worker   | 3 Mu 8 , Namuansri District,<br>Amphur Chaibedan, Lomburi.                                       |
| 14. Arong Worawon        | a teacher in Muslim School                                      | 55 Mu 6, Bajaw District,<br>Amphur Yii-Gaw, Narativat.<br>arrested in Amphur Yarang,<br>Pattani. |
| 15. Yuan Kirirat         | rubber plantation worker,<br>surrendered communist<br>guerrilla | Tambon Namuensee, Amphur<br>Muang, Trang.  |
| 19. Boontam Dejduangboon |   | Nakornsritammarat.   |
| 20. Song Butsaba         |   | " " "  |
| 22. Cheur                | Rubber plantation Owner   | Trang  |
| 23. Sutin                | " " " "   | Trang.   |

Note: 1. Kaew Leekratok moved to Nakhonrachasrima Vocational Training Center, Nakhonrachasrima before Nov. 7, 1977  
 2. Phaisan (Muslim) of Yala province was moved to Songkla on Nov. 9, 1977  
 About 36 prisoners released from endangering society charges of Ladyoa Center Frison, Bangkok on 6 Nov. 1977. There are about 24 prisoners charged of endangering society still detained there.

Lists of prisoners charged 'Endangering society' detained in Bangkok Vocational Training Centre, Bangkok.

- |                              |  |          |
|------------------------------|--|----------|
| 12. Surin Suanpan            | Staff in Siam Continental Bangkok Hotel. |          |
| 17. Suntorn Satamahachalasin | Thammasart University student            | Bangkok. |
| 18. Sirisak Sae-ue           | " " " "                                  | Bangkok. |

Note: These 3 prisoners will be released on January 6, 1978.

STOP PRESS: 458 Prisoners Going Free Today (January 6, 1978)

A total 458 inmates on charges of endangering society will be released from various prisons throughout the country today, Deputy Corrections Director General Vichit Thongkham said yesterday.

Forty of them, he said, will be set free from prisons in Bangkok and 36 of the 40 will be women.

Those to be released from prisons in the provinces are reported in a breakdown of 169 from Ayudhya and nearby provinces, 96 from Ubon Ratchthani and Nakhon Ratchsi 106 from Songkhla and 47 from Phitsanulok, Chiang Mai and Lampang. All of them are

A total 3,888 inmates, 90 of them women, have already been released in six separate batches, the deputy director general said, citing that the rest of 611 prisoners on the same charges are expected to be given freedom on March 7.

Cabinet, meanwhile, approved the Interior Ministry's proposal to launch a scheme to provide occupation and welfare to released prisoners and their families "so that they may lead normal lives in society again".

### 3 Reports From Up Country

#### a. Report from the South: Misuse of Power

In comparison with other parts of Thailand, the southern part is a region with the greatest conflicts. There are conflicts among groups of influential people, amongst groups seeking personal benefits amongst government officials, between people and governmental authorities and also amongst the people themselves. These conflicts result from two main reasons, namely, social problems and the problems of conflicts of personal interest.

Social Problems: A large number of the people in the South are muslim, whose beliefs and culture are different from those of the government officials sent from Bangkok, who are usually Buddhists. These government officials never understand the people their beliefs and culture, and even worse, they always ignore, insult and break their social customs. This has caused a lot of conflicts and hatred in the people's hearts.

Problems of Conflicting Personal Interests: The south is the most productive part of the country; the soil is fertile and resources are plentiful. Besides, there are also benefits to be gained from gambling dens, brothels, narcotic drugs including heroin, kidnapping and corruption, which, according to a local newspaper reporter, cannot exist without the protection of policemen, soldiers and government officials.

Because of this and because most parts of the south are buffer zones between the government controlled areas and those controlled by communist guerrillas, the government officials have the opportunity to arrest or even to kill anyone they want to, including their rivals or their personal opponents, accusing them of false charges (most of the time communist charges) later on.

Moreover, the government officials, especially the soldiers, also have their spies everywhere, to spy on "communists or communist sympathizers". These spies get money from their "news"; a small piece of news earns 200-500 Baht and the bigger pieces can earn up to 10,000 Baht (or even 100,000 Baht for information leading to the capture of communist leaders). Consequently these spies always make up some stories to get money, or give names of their personal enemies in order to get rid of them. At Karnchanadit District, Suratthani Province, for example, the officials have a list of 1,000 people under suspicion of being communists or communist sympathizers (Laem Highway and Dailytime Newspaper, 13th September, 1977) and this has driven 200 men into the jungle (Siamrat 22nd November, 1977).

In the following paragraphs we give some names and stories of people arrested by policemen and soldiers and of people who have been assassinated.

Policemen: often misused their power under the "endangering society" category of the former regime's Decree No.22. According to this decree the arrested must not be held under police detention for more than 300 days and after that must be either sent to the vocational training centres or set free. But in practice, many are detained for more than 30 days in police stations and many others have disappeared. Examples are the cases of Mr. Pitak Paramul, Mr. Baen Kitpadung (See Misuse of Government Power, page 25) and Mr. Haiy Arong, an islamic priest who was arrested in the Central District, Yala Province, because he did not have a driving license. According to the policemen, he was set free soon after his arrest. Nobody has seen him since. It is believed that he has already been killed.

Soldiers: A large number of people in sensitive areas have been arrested by soldiers. The arrested are sent to "democracy schools" at the Border Patrol Police Camp in Pupun District, Suratthani Province, and the Fourth Army Camp at Nakornsri Thammarat Province. However, many of the detainees are tortured and many have disappeared.

Some precise details of those arrested by soldiers have been obtained from Tambon Viengsa, Viengsa District, Suratthani Province:

1971 was the first year in which people disappeared from this district when six people from Moo 8, Tambon Viengsa disappeared. This year, at least 20 people have been arrested. Most of them were sent to Cha-ien Professional Training Camp and many have disappeared. Some of them are

1. Mr. Chamlong Noo-nguen, aged 25, who lived at Moo 4, Ban Kuan, Tambon Viengsa and had 3 children. He was arrested on April 3rd, 1977 together with many people while travelling to Krabee Province, and was sent to the Military Camp at Wat Bansong and disappeared. The others were sent to Cha-ien Professional Training Camp and have already been set free.

2. Mr. Kloi Petnoi, aged 50-60, who lived at Moo 3, Tambon Viengsa. He was arrested in May 1977 and sent to the Military Camp at Wat Banson. Later on, when his relatives went to visit him, the official informed them that Kloi had died and gave them his ID card. At the Military Camp Kloi was tied to a rubber tree in the sun and rain without being given any food to eat nor water to drink until he died.

- 3. Mr. Pra dit Wankaew, aged 28, who lived at Moo 3, Tambon Viengsa, had 5 children
- Mr. Charan Wankaew, aged 33, " Moo 4, " 6 "
- Mr. Tong Nu-nguen, aged 40-50 " Moo 4, " 5 "
- Mr. Prasit Boonnam, aged 40-50 " Moo 4, " 4 "
- Mr. Mi chien Suraka, aged 30 " Moo 4, " 7 "

These five men were arrested on May 11th, 1977 together with about 15 people without any reason. These people did not know before hand that they would be arrested. They were brought to the Military Camp at Wat Banson and were tied to a rubber tree, being given no food nor water. On May 15th, 1977, in the morning the 5 men were sent to the Military Camp at Prukrachaeng and in the evening they disappeared. The soldiers said that they had been sent to Ban Cha-ien Vocational Training Camp but when their relatives went there, they were not there either.

4. A villager (names not disclosed) who lived at Tambon Banson, Viengsa District, was arrested at the end of the year 1976. At present he is still detained at Bau Tong (or Inrayut) Military Camp at Patani Province. According to his secret letter, many people from Viengsa District are still detained there.

5. Nakornsri Thammarat Province: Mr. Iam Sangkakul, a reporter of Mueangtai local newspaper and Dailynews was arrested in September 1977 and disappeared. The official said that Iam had been set free. Later on, a shallow hole was found and in the hole lay 3 dead bodies with their heads cut off. However, Iam's relatives and friends insisted that one of the dead men was Iam Sangkakul. The official concurred said that the other two men were "communists"

Iam had been an adpet reporter and had known many secrets of the officials. "The assassination could be nothing else but designed to shut him up", reported Thainikorn weekly magazine.

Assassination

1. Mr. Manas Kreunmueng, aged 20, lived at Ban Densai, Moo 3, Tambon Tachee, Nasam District, Suratthani Province. He was shot dead by Mr. Den Saeng, a Village Defence Volunteer (VDV). Mr. Den fled to the VDV camp and the police did not charge him or do anything against him.

2. Mr. Ket Ketkaew, and Mr. Suttitham Ketkaew, a teacher, were shot dead at their home in Pattalung Province on August 3rd, 1977 because Mr. Ket had asked questions about corruption in the Province Council.

3. Mr. Abdul Rauman, a teacher of a Panch school, was shot dead in front of the school in the Central District, Yala Province. He had been active in a massive demonstration at Pattani Province in 1975.

4. A teacher (name unknown) at Densak District, Suratthani Province was shot dead in the town while he was shopping in mid-year 1977. The reason for the assassination is not clear. However, the district is in the sensitive areas and he was loved by the villagers, and it always happens that many of those who are loved by the people are taken as "communist" and are assassinated or arrested.

The above cases are only a small example of the atrocities which the southern people are facing. People in the south, especially in the sensitive areas are living a life of fear and insecurity. The reason for this is because the government officials, especially the policemen and soldiers, have too much power and always use their power to oppress the people and to gain profit for themselves.

b. Report from the North-East

Nakorn Panom

Situation of Thais of Vietnamese Origin at Ladbaukau Detention Centre

Ladbaukau is a detention center for Vietnamese prisoners. At present, about 40 persons are detained there, including 5 people arrested over the October 6th incident. Every year there is one training programme. Each training lasts about 40 days or 200 training-hours. Those who have passed the training can be bailed out for a bail of about 20000 baht. Up till now, there have already been 4 training programmes, but not all of those who passed the training were bailed out.

One of the prisoner reported that on December 6th, on the occasion of His Majesty the King's Birthday, there were names of 20 prisoners to be released, amongst who were four October 6th. prisoners, namely Mr. Dad Chan, Mr. Dai Chan, Mr. Suttipong and Mr. Prayong. These 20 people were brought for a final investigation carried out by the policemen from Bangkok. The prisoners were asked if

they had the bail money or not. Twelve persons answered that they had no money for the bail, the other eight said that their relatives might have it. The policemen then released the 12 people. As for the other eight, they had to wait until somebody bailed them out. This was very ridiculous, because the 20 prisoners had been granted a permanent release. Why should they have to have bail money?

Among the October 6th group, Mr. Dad Chan and Mr. Dai Chan have been released. Mr. Suttipong and Mr. Prayong have to wait until somebody bail him out. Mr. Wirat Truen, however, is likely to remain in the prison, further as he was not on the list for release on H.M. the Kings birthday.

Mr. Dad Chan and Mr. Dai Chan The two brothers were arrested over the October 6th incident at Thammasart University. They were detained at Sethsiri Detention Center for about 5-6 months and were then released. They returned to their home in Nakorn Panom and were rearrested and detained at Iardbuakau. Dad and Dai reported that as far as they knew, there were 9 persons of Vietnamese origin arrested over the October 6th incident and detained at Sethsiri. These nine persons were detained in solitary confinement. The two brothers were detained in the cells next to each other but neither of the two knew that his brother was detained in the next room until 3 months had passed, because during the first three months nobody were allowed outside nor to talk with other prisoners. They were interrogated every day during the detention. (For further details of Sethsiri Detention Center see section two above; arrests, detentions and releases)

Dad and Dai come from a poor family. Their father was already dead and their mother sells vegetables in the market. Being the sons of Vietnamese migrants, they were not allowed to go outside Nakorn Panom Province; but the two brothers fled to work in Bangkok, because they were both technicians and in Nakorn Panom there was not much work for them.

After the release, they have to report themselves to the Vietnamese Concerns Unit in Nakorn Panom Province twice a month for 6 months. The two brothers now live in Nakorn Panom under restriction. They are both unemployed at present.

It should be noted that people of Vietnamese origin such as Dad and Dai are restricted to one province. If they leave the province and are caught, the first time they are fined 500 baht, and the second time sent for permanent detention in a place such as Iardbuakau.

Mr. Prayong Saenchai (See details about his background and arrest in Human Rights in Thailand Report: September-October 1977) Prayong's name was on the amnesty list, but he was not released because when the policeman asked if there was somebody to bail him out or not, he answered that his father might bail him out. However, his father can not afford the bail money, so he is still in the prison.

Mr. Sittipong Sittipong was another one who should have been released but was not released. He is very disappointed and sorry. He used to be cheerful and talkative, but now he is silent. He cut off all of his hair and said that he missed his three year old son very much. At present, his son lives with Sittipong's elder sister at Aran-yapratot, Prachinburi Province, because he has been divorced from his wife for a long time.

Mr. Wirat Truen Wirat has got an official letter from Chalalongkorn University, where he used to study before being arrested, saying that he is still a student of the university and that if he is released, he would be able to continue his study there.

Report from some released endangering society prisoners in the North East region

Although people arrested under endangering society charges under NAC decree 22 have been from time to time released, it does not mean that all their problems and troubles end and they can start a new life. As a matter of fact, these people fall into another trap. They are, for example, rearrested, sent for reeducation or have to report to local officials regularly, are prevented from employment or harassed in some ways or other.

Surin

Mr. Prayong Sai-yod a former endangering society prisoner who used to be detained at Bangkaen Vocational Training Detention and was released on July 10th. He has been called for reeducation in accordance with a "Peace Plan". At present, his reeducation is finished but he is watched closely by the local officials.

Mr. Yen Sai-yod and Mr. Chaloci Kingkaew used to be detained at Bangkaen and were released on May 12th. After the release they went back home and were soon taken by soldiers to be trained at Sakonnakorn Province. At present they are still watched closely by the local policemen and the village defence volunteers.

Mr. Sien Kingkaew was, before his arrest under endangering society charges a Buddhist monk and the abbot of Wat Piaram, Central District. Mr. Sien now wants to enter the priesthood again, but the chief abbot of the province refused, although Mr. Sien

tried to explain that he was not guilty and the reason he was arrested was because he had been falsely persecuted. At present, Mr. Sien lives with a friend at Ban Diaram, Central District.

There was also a report that the villagers in this village have been forced to join the training for "Thai Self Defence Volunteers". The tambon headman noted down the names of the people without asking if they wanted to join the training or not. He also threatened that anyone whose name was noted must join the training or else they would be sent to the military camp in Sakonnakorn. The reason for this resulted from the fact that the more people the Tambon headman could persuade to join, the more favour he would get from the authorities.

#### Konkaen

Mr. Chan Maisee was released from Bangkok. He used to be a driver for the STO at Sattahiep, Chonburi Province. Now he does not work there anymore, for fear that if he works there he will be rearrested at any time, because the headman there does not like him due to past political conflicts. At present he lives at Bonpai District, and is unemployed.

#### Nakorn Rajseema

Mr. Kanung Lotklang was released from Bangkok. Before being arrested he was a teacher at Tanontua School in Mueang District. Up to now he has not got a permission to work at the school again, although it is his right because he was not expelled from his work, but merely put on temporary leave. Now he makes a living by being a hired rice harvester and gets 20 baht per day.

He told us that on October 20th, 1977, four policemen drove to his house but he was working on a casava field 2-3 kilometers from the house. The policemen told his mother that they would rearrest Kanung. His mother was shocked and fainted. The policemen then went to the field. Kanung was frightened and thought of fleeing, but one policeman shouted that they wanted him to help make a wreath. In ways such as this policemen make fun of the people's sorrow.

#### Journalist Assassinated in Nakorn Panom

Mr. Chukiert Poonchai, aged 30, and his one year old son were shot dead in the provincial town of Nakorn Panom Province, on the 28th December 1977. The reason for the murder was supposed to result from the fact that Chukiert had disclosed in his newspaper corruption in the building of schools, streets and drains in the town.

Chukiert was picking up his wife and children when he was shot. His wife, Mrs. Wanpen and his two sons were in the car and he, carrying his one year old son, was getting into the car, when three men shot him with carbines, and then one murderer, fearing that he might not be dead, stabbed him with a bayonet. He and his son died instantaneously. One murderer has evidently been arrested.

#### 4. The Problems of Labour

In this report we do not include a detailed analyses of the situation of labour unions after the Oct 20th coup as the situation is still far from clear. However in section 1 of Part Four (Summary of the News) we do provide the reader with some indication of the significant development in the labour field. These can be summarised as follows:-

- The setting up of a Labour Foundation by Prime Minister Kriengsak in his individual capacity
- The agreement to include state enterprise unions under the Labour law
- The replacement of the old Director General of the Labour Department
- The occurrence of a few strikes
- The lack of response of the government to petitions from Labour Unions for permission to hold meetings and run education programmes without seeking police permission

In the following sub-sections we include several short stories which indicate the problems that labour union leader are facing and have faced in the past.

##### a. Murder of Labour Union Leaders and Members

As was stated in the last report, the employers have taken advantage of the undemocratic situation to the detriment of labour union members and leaders, and that their action have not only included arbitrary dismissals, harassment and threat but also killing. In the last report we included details seven deaths of labour union leaders and members. These killings (and attempted killings) unfortunately are still continuing:-

1. Mr. Vichien Srivichian, President of Sea Transportation Labour Union, was shot and wounded in September 1977.
2. Mr. Kittisak Chumnummani, a committee member of the Telephone Organization Labour Union, was shot near Suttisarn Flyover in November 1977 but the shot missed.
3. Mr. Nikom Temyai, vice president of Kurusapa Trade Association Labour Union was shot on the road by two men on a motorcycle. The bullets missed him.
4. Mr. Nara Pkaprom, a committee member of the Motorcycle Producers Labour Union, was stabbed during the conference of the Union at the time of the executive committee election at Samutprakarn Province. He died in hospital. The policemen then arrested his two friends who took him to the hospital and charged them of being in an assembly of more than 5 people whilst the real murderer was not arrested. (see contd.)\*

Finally, it should also be noted that the policemen have not arrested any the above assassins and that there are very few people in Thailand who know about these attempted killings and killings, because for most cases there are no reports on the newspaper at all.

b. Arom Pongpa-ngan: What happens to a worker who fights for his basic rights? Arom Pongpa-ngan began his work at the Water Works at Sapandam in 1972 in the Construction Control Department. He was sent outside the office to control construction. However, being too honest, he was called back to work in the office where there was not much work for him.

In 1975 the Metropolitan Water Works Labour Union was established. Arom then worked actively in the labour union. The most outstanding work of the union was the fight against corruptions in the Metropolitan Water Works. One of the most significant fights performed was a protest against the tendering for the distribution pump enginehouse construction at Tapra, Bangkok, in the middle of 1975. The Italian Thai Co. was the only company which submitted a tender of 147.74 million baht for the construction which was 31 million baht higher than the budget. Another significant fight was the one against the tendering for the construction of water distribution tunnel. The submitted tender was 300 million baht higher than the budget. The two fights were successful. Besides the work in the Metropolitan Water Works Labour Union, Arom was also vice-chairman of the National Labour Union of Thailand. He had been a representative of the employees in the negotiation with the employers many times, including the well known Nara Jeans negotiation.

Arom is one of the Bangkok 18 prisoners. One charge filed against him was of performing communist activities. The accusation was levelled on him according to the supposition that he had cooperated with 17 other people accused of belonging to an organization which carried out communist activities. The organization mentioned was in fact the labour union. The real reason for his

\*5. Mr. Chareaw Saengamorn, Secretary of Chalaprathan Cement Labour Union in Cha-am District, Prachuabkirikan Province was shot dead early this month (Jan. '78). His body was quickly cremated on Jan. 5, 1978.

arrest is suspected to result from his struggle for the fundamental human rights of the workers, which has made him become an enemy of many rich and influential people.

In his fight against the corruption in the Metropolitan Water Works, Arom had attacked Dr. Boonrod Bintasan, the administrator of the Metropolitan Water Works as the one who had caused a loss of millions of baht. In this fight, he also made the Italian-Thai Co. lose a large amount of money. Moreover, being a representative and advisor of the workers in many factories and labour unions, he was an enemy of many employers including the employers of Hara Jeans Co. and Lucky Tex Co. and also former Minister of Interior, Samak Suntonvej. The cooperation of the Metropolitan Water Works Labour Union and the National Student Center of Thailand in the celebration of May Day produced an image that the members and particularly the leaders of the Union are leftists. Also, his progress and trust as a labour leader made some people suspect him for "jumping" forward so fast.

Arom has now been detained for more than fourteen months and is being tried with the Bangkok 18.

Large numbers of petitions letters and protests have been sent to the government demanding the release of Arom, from Labour Unions and Amnesty groups all over the world. The latest is from the powerful US confederation.

At present Arom's health is not well, as he has some disease in his leg. Though it is not too serious he is not receiving adequate medical attention.

c. An Expelled Worker Sues the Employer

Mr. Suwit Prayoosak, a second grade clerk of Kurusapa Trade Association's publishing house Bangkok, who was arrested under endangering society charges and now has been released, sued the Kurusapa Trade Association for having dismissed him from his work without proper reasons and for defamation.

Mr. Suwit was expelled from his work on November 4th, 1976. The reason for the expulsion, according to the Order of Kurusapa Trade Association, No 142/2519-20, resulted from the fact that Suwit had been arrested under endangering society charges, and had been absent from his work since Oct. 14, 1976 which was against the regulations of the Kurusapa.

On April 15th, 1977, Suwit appealed to the director of the Kurusapa Trade Association that he should be allowed to work again, because he was not guilty, and that many government officials and state enterprise workers are allowed to work after having been released from endangering society charges. But his appeal was not answered.

The trial process was supposed to be on November 14th, 1977, but as the defendant claimed that he had not enough evidence, therefore, the trial was postponed to December 26th. However, on December 26th, the judge claimed that he wanted to clear up former cases, so the trial was postponed again to February 2nd, 1978.

Finally, it should also be noted that Mr. Nikom Tenyai, Vice-president of the Kurusapa Trade Association Labour Union was shot, but he was not killed. (For more details of this assassination attempt see section 7 of this part.)

STOP PRESS: Labour News

Jan. 4, 1978, Employer representatives form one part of the National Labour Advisory Council. There are:-

1. Banjaed Chalawijan represented Thai Textile Industrial Association.
2. Lieutenant Chan Mamutham represented Electrical Instrument Employer Association.
3. Dr. Chaiyut Kannasut (Director of Italia-Thai Company) represented Thai Constructor Employer Association.
4. Sujin Benjarongkhakul represented Iccroona Industry Employer Association.
5. Op Wasurat represented Medical Employer Association.

But 10 persons from the part of the government (5 from the government and 5 from experts in labour affair) are not selected yet.

5 Academic Freedom

a) Thammasart University

As far as academic freedom is concerned, Thammasart University, the stage of the bloody massacre of October 6th., was effected by the incident to no lesser extent than other universities. Its rector, Dr. Puey Ungpakorn, had to flee abroad in the evening of that day as 'patriotic gangsters' (villegé somts) accused him of 'supporting' the students and threatened him of his life. A new rector, Dr. Preedee Kasemsap was appointed by the Thanin dictatorial government. Since then many teachers have resigned, been expelled or moved to other academic institutes and many students have fled to the jungle. The rest continue with their work, and study in a dull and oppressive atmosphere.

After the October 6th. incident, the university was closed for three months because almost every building had been damaged and had to be repaired. When it was reopened, its students had to wear uniforms and have their student cards checked before entering the university. The new rector promised academic freedom, but practically it seemed as if academic freedom would never exist again in the university.

The first alarm came through the establishment of a committee for book censorship. The committee worked blindly in accordance with Thanin's anti-communist policy and a lot of 'forbidden' books were taken from the libraries and the teachers' rooms. Consequently, both teachers and students have a great lack of books. Besides, both students and teachers, like those in other academic institutes, cannot talk, criticize or discuss problems in the university and society freely, and neither can they write reports or carry out relevant <sup>research</sup> freely. This is first because it is forbidden and secondly because there are secret spies all over the university. After the Coup in October, many research projects which had already begun had to be stopped because the topics were too 'sensitive'. Many compulsory and fundamental subjects were banned or had their teachers

changed. Besides, the lecturers involved in the training for Graduate Volunteers (for up-country service) and the editors of 'Thammasart Journal' were replaced, although they had been working for a long time before. After Dr. Preedee was appointed as rector., Many teachers who asked for permission to continue their studies or to carry out research or join academic conferences abroad were not granted permission. Students and teachers who join together in groups are suspected of holding political meetings. For example, once, when students in the sociology Department were preparing for their examinations in a group, somebody informed the rector that the students were holding a political meeting and the rector came to see them. Such happenings do not only exist in Thammasart but also in every other academic institution in Thailand.

Posters and leaflets against dictatorship and the situation in the university often appear in public places such as lecture rooms, libraries but particularly in the rest-rooms. The authorities have tried to find out the sources of these papers and finally two students, namely Mr. Santorn Sitamahachasin and Mr. Sirisak Sae-ung were arrested by the police on August 13th., 1977 on charges of possessing and distributing pro-communist and anti-government documents.

The administration of Dr. Preedee, the rector, caused a great deal of trouble and dissatisfaction to both teachers and students. His 'Thanin's rightist policy' to suppress the leftists had very bad effects upon those in the middle of the political spectrum. Many teachers, (approximately 34) have resigned from their work or been moved to other universities (See names in list attached). Finally in exasperation 488 teachers and officials signed their names on a petition demanding the resignation of the rector. There followed a meeting of teachers and everybody expected that the rector would resign; but he did not. Therefore, vice-rectors and deans resigned to protest against him. But finally on November 14th, 1977 the State Universities Bureau relieved him from the position of rector 'to eradicate the trouble'.

Although there is now a new rector, people still have no hope for academic freedom in Thammasart University. One sign of the continuation of the oppressive atmosphere was the order of the new University authorities to destroy students' posters talking about the history of Thammasart University, which, of course, can never be separated from politics.

Names of teachers who resigned or moved to other academic institutions

(from Thammasart)

- 1) Miss. Patchasiri Satchaban
- 2) Miss. Wilaiwan Wongwanit
- 3) Mr. Wuttibong Priebechariyawat
- 4) Mr. Wichai Yongpradit
- 5) Mr. Uab Sanasen
- 6) Miss. Yupa Chomchan
- 7) Mrs. Arunee Suwanwanitkit
- 8) Mrs. Prarom Maneenan
- 9) Miss. Sunita Potiwihok.
- 11) Mr. Adisorn Rotarakarn
- 12) Mr. Tongchai Santiwong
- 13) Miss. Chintana Sutchanan
- 14) Mr. Somboon Chaidejsuriya
- 15) Mr. Edward W. J. Fitzgerald
- 16) Mr. Wasan Tanmanta
- 17) Miss. Preeya Ponnawat
- 18) Mr. Satit Utaisee
- 19) Miss. Pranaporn Tanprasurt
- 20) Miss. Sudatip Intorn
- 21) Miss. Maeng-noi Pongsamart
- 22) Mrs. Duangporn Maccamnon
- 23) Mrs. Wanpen Thantnawiro
- 24) Mr. Satit Limpongpan
- 25) Mrs. Klinkaew Chintakanon
- 26) Mrs. Suwanna Pattranan
- 27) Mr. Sukchit Na-nakorn
- 28) Miss. Pornpan Mahattanon
- 29) Mr. Sue Law-utai
- 30) Mrs. Suda Lilanut
- 31) Mrs. Wariwan Benchaporn
- 32) Miss. Ueisattra Meesuk
- 33) Miss. Uaiporn Milintangkom
- 34) Mr. James Gilbert Ward.

b) Chulalongkorn University

In general, the situation in Chulalongkorn is similar to that in other universities as far as academic freedom is concerned. Books were taken from the libraries, many courses were banned, teachers and students have no freedom to assemble or criticize, and so on. The old repressive image which had almost disappeared from the university during the past three years has come back again- for example first year students are forced to join conservative, ~~political~~, activities such as cheering, parading and dancing.

In comparison with Thammasart University, not as many teachers have resigned. However, Mr. Chaisiri Samutavanit, a teacher of the Faculty of Mass Media has resigned because of the mental breakdown which resulted from the October 6th incident. Mr. Mangkorn Chaichanadara, a teacher of the Faculty of Mass Media, was forbidden to teach, therefore he resigned. Mrs. Chontira Kladyoo, a teacher of the Faculty of Arts and a wellknown writer resigned from her work and joined the Communist Party in the jungle.

Student activities

At present Chulalongkorn is the only university which has officially reallocated student activities in many fields, including social and rural development activities, which were banned after the Coup in October 1976. But practically student activists are still oppressed in every way. There are about 100 teachers in the student activities department whose duty is to control the students, and for every activity there must be an advisor to control them too. Although rural development activities are allowed, students have until now not been allowed to go up-country.

After all the student organizations, clubs and activities had been banned in October 1976, the students' offices were closed and hundred thousands of Baht as well as property such

as typewriters, books, electric fans etc. were confiscated. Now that the activities are allowed again, the property and money confiscated have not been given back. The university gave a very small budget for the activities and the students have to give receipts to the authorities for every baht that they opened. Students have also been given a small and unserviceable place to work, where those who are not students are not allowed to enter, and there are guards who spy on them too.

In reality it seems that the situation in terms of student activities in this university is no better than in other universities although the authorities have officially allowed student activities to take place. Students still cannot join in groups to discuss political or even social problems, neither can they go up-country or hold political seminars. Once, a group of students made a poster talking about the misery of the people in up-country areas so as to exhort the students to go to the countryside. These posters were destroyed by the teachers, and the students who made them were blamed for bringing the 'old bad image' back to the university.

c) Kasetsart University

As most of the teachers in Kasetsart University are rather conservative and the curriculum and subject matter in agriculture and engineering does not deal directly with political science and social science and is thus not so sharp and politically sensitive as in other universities; therefore, after the Coup in October, there were no problems of subjects being banned or teachers being dismissed. However, there are secret spies at the university who are mainly students who attend class and report to the university administrators in case the teachers are involved in politics or criticize the government.

At the time of the rector's election, 3 professors, namely Dr. Ban-chuet Katikarn, Dr. Paitoon Ingkasuwan and Professor Rapee Sakrig had their names proposed by teachers

and officials at the university. The Council of the university chose Professor Rane Sakrig, the former rector who got the lowest number of votes from the teachers and officials, as rector of the university for the second time, which was against the majority's opinion.

Students and student activities

Students here, like teachers, are rather conservative. There had been some politically active students too, but most of them disappeared after the October 6th. incident. Because of this and because the students are afraid of the university administrators, they are oppressed and taken advantage of by teachers and administrators. For example, the rate of the university fees and dormitory fees have been raised higher than ever before. A lot of students signed their names in a petition against this. The outcome was that the organizers of the petition were called and 'warned' about this and the petition was destroyed.

One way to 'deal' with political active or even only justice loving students is to expel them from the university dormitories. During the first semester of academic year 1977 (June-October), at least 100 students were expelled from the dormitory. This caused a lot of trouble for them because they then have to live in a private dormitory which costs a lot more money than the university dormitories.

Moreover, some teachers, having attended the indoctrination seminar run by The Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC), introduced a similar seminar for the students also. After the seminar, many students become spies amongst students for the administration. This caused a situation of considerable mutual mistrust in the university.

d) Konkaen University

Konkaen University is a small university in the North East of Thailand. Not long ago, there were rumours that the students of the university would hijack a Thai-International airplane to bargain for the freedom of the October 6th prisoners and there were also rumours that the students would hijack a lorry and go to join the communist guerrillas on Puan Mountain range. Such rumours resulted from the conflicts inside the university, between the students as well as teachers and the university administrators. In 1975, at the time of the rector's election, Dr. Tawat Magarapong, a former Governor of Pang-nga Province who had been expelled from his position because he had fought against corruption in that province received the most votes. But the council of the University appointed Dr. Kawee Tongsaboot as rector. There followed a big protest until the Council of the University had to change the rector. However, Dr. Thawat still did not get the position. Since then, the students and teachers who had joined the protest and supported Dr. Tawat are considered as leftists or even communists. Their names, background and actions have to be reported to the security organization in Konkaen Province and also in Bangkok. There are also ISOC secret spies and CID officials who spy in the university. For example, four Konkaen University students, who had fled to the jungle after October 6th arranged to meet some friends at the university. However they were betrayed by a spy, and on the way out of the jungle were ambushed and killed. The atmosphere of fear and mutual untrust is consequently unavoidable.

e) 124 Books Banned By Thanin Government

On the 6th October 1977 Interior Minister Samak signed his name to a list of 124 books which it was prohibited to sell or even possess. This banned list was officially promulgated as a royal decree on October 19th and still remaining in force.

Though about half the books on the list can definitely be considered Marxist or leftist, for many there seems very little reason why they should be banned. The list includes books such as Education for Self Reliance by Julius Nyerere, Pedagogy of the Oppressed by Paulo Freire, and Education for the Masses by Nicholas Bennett and others.

This banned list of books was one further sign of the paranoia of the Thanin Government.

f) Four teachers Sue vice-rector of defamation of Character

Four teachers of Ayathya Teacher College sued Mr. Saman Weerakamhaeng vice-rector of the college for defamation of character. According to official reports, Mr. Saman had stated in public places that the four teachers were leftists and communist admirers and that the four should be arrested, because their names are in the ISOC and CID lists. The four teachers claimed that what Mr. Saman had said was wrong and had caused defamation of character and hatred on them. At present the case is still under the consideration of the court.

The four teachers are identified as

1. Mr. Yong-yot Lekklang, aged 27, a teacher of history.
  2. Mr. Anan Laksanadamusorn, a teacher of Mathematics.
  3. Mrs. Somporn Lekklang, a teacher of history.
  4. Mr. Isara Panchud, a teacher of Thai language.
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PART THREE

CGRS ACTIVITIES - November-December 1977

1. Visiting, Helping Prisoners and Their Families

The prisoners whom we visit weekly are:

1. The prisoners of the October 6th case.
2. The endangering society prisoners at Vocational Training Bangkaen 2, Bangkok.
3. The teacher, Mr. Udom Pakakrong, and his friends (Total of eleven persons).
4. Supap Pas-ong and his friends (seven persons).
5. Prateep Prakatok (The Thai Blanket Factory case).
6. Somboon and Vichai Bunlusilp, accused of being communists, who are now retained at the Bangkaen Police School.

There are some special visits to Banrur Sri-Udom, Tongchung Srinual and Sao Sao-kaew who were given the death sentence in a lower court; and have appealed to the court for leniency. These three persons are accused of being communists and of murdering an official. CGRS could not consider these people as prisoners of conscience because there was some strong evidence of their using violence. But, according to humanitarian grounds, even they are wrong we should help them. (but not necessary campaign for their release). CGRS has visited them three times during the past two months and has helped in their expenses when necessities).

Banrur is a special case (she is at the Woman's Prison, Lam Yao Prison, Tongchan and Sao are at Bang Kwang), As she was arrested while she was pregnant, she gave birth to her child in prison. Her child is now three months old and is with her; we have brought clothes and milk for her child. The total amount used in helping this case was 550.50 baht. The other cases we have helped are as follows:-

1. The Oct 6th case. We brought them some presents such as beverages and stamps. Helping Sangium Chamduang monthly for 200 baht. Helping Seree Sirinupong monthly for 150 baht per month. In December, AI Netherlands sent an amount of 1203 baht for helping Arom Pongpanan's family, and in early January a similar amount was received.

2. The endangering society prisoners at the Vocational Training Centre Bangkaen 2 Bangkok are Surin Suanpan, Sirisak Sae-Bu and Sunthon Satamahachalasin.

These people do not have visitors nor friends as do the detainees of the October 6th case; we have provided them with necessities such as medicine and food which cost 339 baht.

3. Mr. Udom Pakakrong, a teacher and his friends are helped with necessities to the amount 770 baht.

Furthermore, we help San Bupeng's family monthly for 600 baht, and Jeng Sae-Tan's family monthly for 300 baht.

4. Helping Supap Pasong and his seven friends for 68.50 baht; Vanta Rungpha's and Promma Manok's families monthly for 300 baht each.

5. Prateep Prakatok, a worker, was arrested during the strike at the Thai Blanket Factory in 1975 (this case was described in the July - August report) At first, we thought of raising bail for him but as his case would be ended in a few months so we decided that it would be better to use money in a more useful way; in effect, Prateep Prakatok has to be in prison for a longer time than we first anticipated (see Part One, section b of this report).

6. Somboon and Vichai Bunlusilp were helped to the amount 87 baht.

Visiting in the provinces

Besides visiting prisoners in Bangkok, we had been visiting the political prisoners in different provinces some of which we were allowed to visit once or twice a week.

Virat Treun, a vietnamese, who was arrested in the 6th October case, was once released, but then again detained in custody at Lad Bua Kaw detention center which is a prison specially for the vietnamese. There were five Vietnamese political prisoners that we visited there regularly, two of which have now been released. The weather there is very cold, and thus we detained blankets and pull-overs for them. We brought them some food for them to cook also, it cost 275 baht. We visit other up-country detention centres on a less than regular basis. In some centres we are refused entry (see the report from the south in Part two above). As our up-country volunteer network expands we hope to be able to visit this centres on a more regular basis. It should be noted that there is a considerable risk involved in visiting these centres. When we visited political prisoners up-country, what they wanted the most was that we find lawyers for them. Usually lawyers in the provinces would not like to take up political cases especially people who were charged under the anti-communist act. We try to contact good lawyers and encourage them to take up the cases. We hope that in the near future there would be

more and more lawyers working for political cases.

Helping the detainees who were released

We also help cover the travelling expenses of released detainees up to 1500 baht. One of the other detainees was given an amount of 200 baht while another one was given a loan of 1500 baht to establish a business. Other families and detainees who are being helped prefer that the assistance they receive is not publicised.

2. Listening to trials

We follow and note down the proceedings of the trials of the following people:

1. 6 October detainees
2. Udom Pakakrong and his friends
3. Supap Fas-ong and his friends
4. Prateep Prakratok and his friends
5. Bamlung Jaranyanon and his friends
6. Thongchan Srichan and friends
7. Boonchard Sathientammani
8. Sutie Puapan and Pimpan Puapan
9. Suwit Prayoonsak
10. Workers from the Saengfa Battery Company
11. Kaew Leekatoke

3. Other Human Right Activities of CGRS

In the Provinces

During the past two months we have been concentrating on building new branches of Human Rights activities in the South and North-East. We now have new volunteers working in the South and in the North-East.

Information received from these volunteer networks in the South are:-

1. Many prisoners accused of endangering society were detained at some police stations for over a month which was illegal. We have tried to find lawyers in order to charge the authorities for false detention but, until now, no lawyers prepared to accept the case.

2. People who have disappeared - a number of people have disappeared after being arrested by either police or soldiers.

Labour

In fact, we have been interested in the labour issue from the beginning of our work because the Thai people who are most oppressed, besides the farmers, are the labourers.

In the past two months, one of the CGRS full time workers began to study the problems of labour and to discuss with different types of labour leaders. The main problems which can be identified are:-

1. Workers cannot hold meetings conveniently as they must ask for permission from the local police.

2. Workers are not allowed to strike.

3. There is no real safety for the leaders of the workers. Some factory owners hired gun-men to murder some labour leaders. It is to be noted that the workers' leaders who were shot at and, either killed or not, worked in factories belonging to the same owner.

4. As it is, the owners of factories are able to break the law because workers have no legal rights to deal with them. What CGRS has done and plans to do as follows:-

a. Promote education on human rights especially on the rights of the workers to unite and bargain with the owners of factories.

b. Find out what is behind the murders of the workers' leaders and try to find ways of stopping these actions.

Non-Violent Training

We will cooperate with their Catholic Justice and Peace organisation in Thailand to organise a Non-Violent Training programme in April.

The objectives are to promote non-violent action and to strengthen the non-violent movement throughout Thailand, and to supply to those who are already activists with details of the tactics and practise of non-violent action.

4. Publicised Activities of CGRS

Campaign for Political Amnesty

After we launched the campaign to release all political prisoners on 27 October 1977, the tendency of the Press became more and more in favour of releasing only the March 26th detainees not the October 6th case or the other political prisoners. We were afraid that the good will of the people who signed our first petition would

be abused, so we sent another letter to the Prime Minister on 25th November 1977 asking him to consider also the Amnesty for October 6th detainees. And also on 25th November we sent a petition to H.M. the King for him to grant an amnesty to the October 6th detainees on the King's Birthday. These actions encouraged people to express themselves. More than a dozen petitions of different groups followed. (See more details about the campaign for amnesty that we helped organise in section one of part one of this report).

#### Campaign for Bailing 4 workers from the Om Noi Case

After the campaign for amnesty of the October 6th detainees, the CGRS decided to start a campaign to raise bail money for bailing 4 workers from the Omnoi case. As for Supap Pasa-ong and Pisit Patanaseree, who belong to the same group, we committed to campaign for them at this time, as it was the desire of them. Both Supap and Pisit are afraid that if they are included in the campaigns, there will be more tendency that the whole group will not be allowed a bail.

The campaign was first decided to be launched on 12th December, by distributing leaflets saying about the background the 7 detainees, their lives and work which led to the arrest and the trial process in the court; the bail money was supposed to be collected on December 29th. However, this campaign had to be abolished because some lawyers told us that some parts in the leaflets, which said about the confusing statements given by the prosecutor witnesses and the slowness of the trial process might be regarded as an interference to the authorities of the court.

However, we decided to continue with our campaign by postponing it to January 2nd, to give time for the reprint of the leaflets. At present, the leaflets has been distributed since January 2th to people from all walks of life, and particularly the labourers. The money, a total of which is 50,000 baht will be used in hiring the land deed for the bail. However CGRS has already 30,000 baht; therefore, we need another 20,000 baht from this campaign.

We hope that the campaign will not only help bailing 4 workers from the prison, but also help creating more understanding about the problems of the workers among Thai people. Also, this campaign will encourage more people to get involved in human rights activities.

#### 5. Other Human Rights Groups

1. There is a new group formed up called Human Right Research Group. It is composed of main of 20 lecturers from Universities in Bangkok, bankers and civil servants.

At present it is planning to carryout a comprehensive research project to help to try to identify the real Human Rights situation in many areas (law, labour, media, farmers, consumers), and to propose solutions. It intends to publish a whole series of short reports and hold conferences and seminars. At present the detailed research project is being drafted.

In addition a Human rights promotion association has been formed composed mainly of intellectuals and high level civil servants.

The relatives of the Oct 6th have become an effective pressure group now, and the group of lawyers (47 in all) are working in favour of the Oct 6th defendants. Significant sums of money have been channelled through CGRS for these lawyers.

Thus the number of people and groups involved in human rights activities is rapidly expanding, as our the people concerned with forming a viable third force in Thailand. This growth of course does not take place without reaction, and right wing groups are already beginning to oppose human rights activists. (See the annex to section two of part one, and the annex to this part)

However all the groups are prepared to take the risk to create a more just society.

#### Annex 1: Two new committee members of CGRS

Since CGRS had taken action in Dec., 1976, there has been no high-ranking monk in our group. Yet many monks were in sympathy with us, but no one thought that they would join in. Pra Maha Sawat is a senior monk, well educated in Buddhism. He, himself was arrested on endangering to society charges and released after being detained for six month and six days without any trial. When he was released we asked him to join our group as a committee member. He accepted the invitation.

As Dr. Kosol Srisang, the first courageous chairman of CGRS, has gone abroad to do some research in the U.S.A. Dr. Vitavat Kongkukul joined in our committee as a representative from the Protestant Church. Dr. Vitavat Kongkukul is now teaching in the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University.

This support from elders will help the young to fulfil their aims in establishing peace and justice in Thai Society.

#### Annex 2: Tawan Siam Attacks CGRS

According to Tawan Siam of December 16th, 1977 on the front page it said that there are representatives from the CGRS went to have discussions with some



PART FOUR  
SUMMARY OF THE NEWS

1. Labour

2 Nov. 1977 - The Labour Department Director General announced that only workers in Bangkok and nearby provinces, whose current wages are generally less than 28 baht per day, will have their minimum wages of 25 baht per day increased by 3 baht to 28 baht per day. But the current minimum wage for those in the central provinces is 21 baht per day, and 19 baht per day for those in the South and Northeast.

6 Nov. 1977 - Thai Rath: About 40 workers of Boon Yok Ship Construction Company, at 25 Mu 1 in Rarsburana District of Bangkok, struck for a three baht increase in their daily wage. Eventually, the manager agreed.

However, Mr. Charl Noi-sward aged 20, who lived at 62 mu. 6 in Rarsburana District of Bangkok, was arrested as one of the leading instigators of the strike and was charged with violating the Labour Law article no. 36. Other strikers will be arrested, the police chief of Thonburi announced.

6 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Forty-six dock workers went on strike to protest against their employer's flat rejection of a three baht a day wage increase. The manager Mr. Boonyok Silaburanavit, finally accepted their demands on condition that they work six days a week instead of five, 'otherwise they will not be entitled to the wage increase'.

6 Nov. 1977 - A proposal has been submitted to the Revolutionary Party for the establishment of a national stevedoring company to register some 30,000 dock workers whose security, welfare and status are almost nil under the present "chin peng" systems (Chinese for foremen) since most of them are unskilled workers and former farm workers.

Mr. Sunthorn Kaewnetr, president of the Express Transport Organization (ETO) Workers' Union, said that the proposal calls for the company to become a state enterprise so that stevedores' security could be legally protected.

9 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: The ETO Workers' Union officially elected Mr. Mirand Ngarmdee as its new president. With his failure to get re-elected, Mr. Sunthorn Kaewnetr remained a member of the Union's 25-man executive committee since he had served in the position of the president for several terms.

4 Nov. 1977 - Siam Rath: Labour leaders all over the country will set up a grand fair called 'Thai Labourer Foundation Fair' at Somboon Restaurant and will invite Gen. Kriangsak to join, said Mr. Paisal Thawatchainant.

It has been rumoured that a Thai Labourers' Foundation will be established at Gen. Kriangsak's house.

16 Nov. 1977 - Khamthis Newspaper: Labour Department Director Suwit Yingveraphandu rejected an application to form the national employee's council, saying that most of the state enterprise labour unions' leaders were not qualified since they were employees at an administrative level not common employees.

Mr. Paisal Thawatchainant said that all the relevant state enterprise labour unions were registered through the process of the Labour Department so the department should reconsider its announcement and not just follow the policy of the now defunct Thanin government.

16 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: The National Policy Council has invited labour leaders for a meeting at the Supreme Command Forward Section to discuss labour problems.

The source added that the labour union of state enterprise workers, headed by Mr. Paisal Thawatchainant, suggested that the present Labour Law should cover state enterprise workers, and also that an employees' labour council should be allowed to be registered.

19 Nov. 1977 - Several points of recommendation were submitted by labour leaders to Prime Minister Kriangsak during a meeting at the Central Security Command today. Mr. Armand Khamthesthong of the Metropolitan Authority Labour Union made the following suggestions:

- a. The Government should see that the labour law is strictly enforced by government officials, employers as well as employees.
- b. The Government should consider revoking a resolution of the former Cabinet which excludes state enterprise workers from the existing labour law and allow them to register their unions legally.
- c. The Government should set up a Labour Ministry and labour courts to handle labour disputes.
- d. The Government should enact a social welfare law with labour and employee representatives as well as the Government participating in drafting the law.
- e. The Government should solve unemployment problems and promote labour-intensive and agro-industries.

19 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Labour Unions, including those of state enterprises whose application to form an employees' council were flatly rejected by the former Thanin

administration will now be allowed, Deputy Interior Minister Damri Noimanee hinted. He also said that National Labour Advisory Council would be set up in accordance with Announcement No. 47 of the now defunct National Administrative Reform Council. The 20-member council will consist of five representatives from the employers, five from the Government and five experts in labour affairs. The council will hold its first meeting to discuss labour problems as soon as the government makes its policy statement in Parliament.

20 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Prime Minister Kraiangsak stated that state enterprise workers should not be excluded from the labour law and should be treated like other workers, and added that he did not see any reason why labour unions should not be permitted to be set up.

21 Nov. 1977 - Deputy Interior Minister Damri Noimanee revealed that a court to be established to rule on labour disputes will function by January. The court will derive its authority from the judiciary power vested in the Ministry of Justice, but the administration of cases concerning labour disputes will be in the hands of the Labour Protection and Labour Relations divisions of the Labour Department.

23 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Labour Department Director Suvit Yingvoraphandu said that it was the previous Government's idea to have a labour advisory council made up of employers and employees to jointly solve labour problems. (He had said earlier this month that all registered labour unions will have an unchanged status since the laws and the announcements of the NARC before October 20th are still effective; Thai Ruth, 4 Nov. 1977)

26 Nov. 1977 - The Nation Review: Labour Department Director General Suvit Yingvoraphandu was abruptly transferred yesterday to the post of an inspector of the Interior Ministry. He will be replaced by Mr. Vichit Saengthong, former Deputy Director General of the Labour Department, who was shifted to the Accelerated Rural Development Office by the previous government.

It was reported in the newspaper that Mr. Suvit, while heading the Labour Department, was besieged by a series of conflicts with labour leaders who considered him unsympathetic to their grievances.

9 Dec. 1977 - Labour director-general Vichit Saengthong told labour leaders that he wanted to see all registered labour unions join together into a single employees' confederation in order to show that there is integrity and unity among the labour force.

Labour leaders' representative, Mr. Udom Rawai-samarn, told Mr. Vichit that the labourers wanted a labour confederation and he affirmed that none of them were Communists. He also raised the question of the labourers' desire for a labour court, a national labour advisory board, and the right to call meetings without having to seek permission from police.

14 Dec. 1977 - Deputy Interior Minister Damri Noimanee said that the cabinet had decided to put all private sector and state enterprise workers under the existing Labour Protection Law and Labour Relations Law. This was a reversal of the order of the previous government. He added that the cabinet had decided that there should be revision of the two labour laws in order to close any loopholes.

All state enterprise labour unions which had earlier registered with the Labour Department will therefore be legal, he said, adding; "This however does not mean that they have the rights to stage a demonstration or set up a federation".

As for the establishment of the Advisory Council for Labour Development Mr. Damri said the employers will select their five representatives next week.

27 Dec. 1977 - Labour leaders resubmitted their petition requesting permission to form a labour confederation, and for the right to call meetings and to run education programmes for workers without having to seek permission from the police. They wondered why their previous request (see 9th December above) had not been granted.

## 2. Mass media

7 Nov. 1977 - Under-Secretary of State of the Prime Minister's Office Lt-Gen Boonruan Buacharoon said that he would propose to the new Government to re-organise the Public Relations Department, the National Information Centre, the Government Spokesman's Office and other bureaus. He also said that consideration would be given to turning the Mass Communications Organisation (which was established by the former government) into a state enterprise.

7 Nov. 1977 - The Journalists' Association of Thailand, headed by Mrs. Sornsri Aekcha urged all newspapers to comply with the request made by authorities to refrain from attacking neighbouring countries.

22 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Deputy Minister of Interior for internal security Lt-Gen. Irem Tinasulanonda, at a Press conference at the ministry yesterday, invited Press criticism of "bad people" but requested that the news be based on reason and truth. He said that it is the

ardent desire of the Government to promote unity among all people. "In these days of abnormalcy, unity and good understanding among our people is not only desirable but is essential since misunderstanding and divisiveness among ourselves will be of tremendous benefit to our opponents," Gen. Prem emphasised.

23 Nov. 1977 - As for national harmony, five press associations declared that they supported the government decision to grant an amnesty to the March 26th prisoners. (Six of the March 26th prisoners are newsmen.)

24 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Prime Minister Kriangsak Chamanan, yesterday, appealed to the Press for sympathy, and requested them not to be spokesman for those who wanted to destroy the country. He added that the government will not permit publication of 13 newspapers which were closed down at the time of the October 6, 1976 takeover by the National Administrative Reform Council.

9 Dec. 1977 - The Nation Review: The five press associations yesterday requested that the government review the Press Code which they described as "obsolete". Prime Minister Kriangsak affirmed that he will consider the request. He also asked the press to refrain from criticizing the government's major policies, particularly its foreign policy, to normalise relations with the Indochinese neighbours.

Bangkok Post: Regarding the six Chinese language newspapers which were closed down after the October 6 uprising, Gen. Kriangsak said in the same meeting what the closure was justified and added that there was no reason that the papers should be permitted to resume publication. But for the banned Thai-language papers, the prime minister said that he would consider the publishers requests case by case.

12 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Papers to reopen?? The National News Agency reported yesterday that editors, publishers and journalists of defunct left publications such as the Frachathipatai, Prachachart and Jaturat are planning to commence a daily publication either called the Frachchart or, failing approval to revive the old banner-head, will publish under the name of Khemthis Rai-wan or the Daily Compass. The group of journalists and businessmen, whose publications were shut down after the October 6, 1976 Thammasat incident, were reported to have formed a group calling themselves Kao Na.

12 Dec. 1977 - Prime Minister Kriangsak said that Thailand and Laos will ask their respective mass media to apply restraint so as not to jeopardise the progress being made to improve relations between the two countries.

14 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Radio stations have been instructed to refrain from doing anything that will jeopardise the Government's reapproachment with its Indochinese neighbouring countries and to refrain from doing anything that will stain the religion, said Director - General of Public Relations Department, Mr. Kamjad Keapanich, yesterday. The director-general said that the Prime Minister had complained that some radio stations had made critical comments of newspaper reports about the misbehaviour of some monks in such a way that may persuade the general public to lose faith in the religion. He said further that the Public Relations Department was planning to improve the transmission power of the stations under its control to match that of those in neighbouring countries.

15 Dec. 1977 - Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Thai Army and Bangkok Peace Keeper Gen. Sern said that press reporting of alleged police brutality may have been "overblown" and may be exploited by the opposition to attack Thailand.

### 3. The Police Scandal is Uncovered

11 Nov. 1977 - Daily News: Mr. Vjitre Intraram, a village volunteer who used to struggle against heroin traffickers and smugglers in Samuth Prakarn Province, was arrested by a group of Samuth Prakarn policemen without charges and formal interrogations. He was tortured to death.

18 Nov. 1977 - Four youths mysteriously disappeared after being taken away by Nakhon Pathom police. It was later reported that at least a total of 15 young men had disappeared in that province. In all cases, policemen were found to be involved.

20 Nov. 1977 - Daily News: An old police staff-sergeant named Boonrieng Kum-pook, aged 54, was hit until he became unconscious and passed bloody urine by the drunken chief warden Police Lieutenant Thani Sin-chai-kij, during his 45 days imprisonment for disciplinary action in Bangkaen Police School's temporary prison.

"When you see what the police do to an old policeman like me, then you can imagine what they do to common people," said Boonrieng.

29 Nov. 1977 - Daily News: A young prostitute named Miss Vee Vora-voeth working at Mrs Boo Ruengboon's whorehouse was arrested by Loei Provincial police and was later fined 120 baht by the provincial court on 17th November.

At 5 pm. on the same day, for no apparent reason, she was rearrested by a police officer named Sumrith. The next morning her dead body was found at the police station. She was brutalized to death; her nose was broken, her eyes protruded, her neck twisted, and her breasts and body contused.

28-30 Nov. 1977 It was reported in several newspapers that an innocent citizen Mr. Baen Kitpadung, a truck driver of Narongchai Transport Co., aged 28 was arrested by Lance Corporal Phrom Sriyarakse, Pol Pvt Boonchoke Hualnark and Pol Pvt Smboon Thepchuen of Nakhon Sri Thammarat's Muang District police station, following a quarrel between two groups of teenagers in front of a cinema in Ron Phiboon District, on Nov. 25th Loy Krathong night. He was allegedly handcuffed and taken away in a police vehicle after he failed to produce the required identification document.

Baen's body was found next day in Village No 1, Tambon Saothong, Amphur Ronphiboon. His body was riddled with six .38 calibre bullets, and the handcuffs on his hands were believed to belong to lance Corporal Phrom, according to the report.

Baen's wife Mrs Riem, and his mother Mrs Yim, had been making enquiries as to his whereabouts until his body was found.

1 Dec. 1977 Bangkok Post: Police Director-General Montchai Pankongchuen yesterday indicated that drastic action would be taken against a number of policemen if they are found to be involved in the murder case in Nakhon Sri Thammarat. Nation Review: A huge sign was placed on the coffin carrying Baen's body saying "This is the body shot dead by four policemen..."

Evening editions of several newspapers continued to report the case with great details, particularly after provincial reporters claimed that their lives had been threatened by some unknown persons if they continued to follow up the case.

The Press was not going to relent. "Siang Fuang Chen" said that a group of local reporters had sought protection from the Fourth Army Commander. "They are afraid that local police may stage a vendetta against them for digging into the case," the newspaper said.

But a strange twist emerged yesterday when "Siam Ras" reported that the victim of the case had in fact been accused of being a bandit with more than 30 crime cases reported against him. People in the district heaved a huge sigh of relief with the death of the big gangster." The newspaper also said that Chief of the Amphur Muang police station, Police Maj Sakrapi Taimuang had never planned to flee the scene.

"Daily News" said Police Chief Montchai had ordered Chief of Zone Four Police to be in direct charge of the case.

"Thai Rath" had a new angle to the story. It reported that Police Maj Sakrapi has threatened to sue some newspapers which filed reports unfavourable to him.

"Ban Muang" reported that Deputy Interior Minister Prem Tinsulanond is determined to shake up the Police Department.

"Daily Time" said the police chief, Maj Sakrapi, was being protected by his direct boss in the province.

And as if that controversy did not put a big enough dent to the police image, Thai Rath headlined yesterday that a police lieutenant colonel had been found to have traded illegally with Khmer Rouge soldiers.

2 Dec. 1977 Bangkok Post: The three Nakhon Sri Thammarat policemen accused of killing Mr. Baen Kitpadung whilst he was in their custody surrendered and were charged with implication in the murder.

4 Dec. 1977 Nation Review: Police Maj Sakrapi Taimuang was moved within 48 hours from Nakhon Sri Thammarat to Pang-nga. Police Command in an order signed by Fourth Police Commander.

9 Dec. 1977 Nation Review: Police Maj Sakrapi Taimuang was arrested in Pang-nga yesterday and charged with premeditated murder of Mr. Baen Kitpadung.

9 Dec. 1977 Nation Review: A senior police officer of Trat Province was abruptly transferred to an inactive post in the Police Department for implication in smuggling of goods to Cambodia.

2 Dec. 1977 Daily News: On 26th July this year, Mr. Feol Kaewmanee aged 39 was arrested by Supanburi police. On the day following, he was found dead at the police station.

10 Dec. 1977 Bangkok Post: Three policemen in Muang District of Songkhla Province were arrested for beating Mr. Sunan Saengwong (21), son of a former policeman, to death. Sunan had been suspected of having heroin in his possession.

15 Dec. 1977 - In a bid to save the police department's reputation, Police Director General Montchai ordered the appointment of a 10-man committee to "overhaul" the department's structure.

15 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: The Chief Inspector, Police Lt Col Mongkol Sriphoh was abruptly transferred yesterday, as a probe continued into the fate of 15 suspects reported to have "disappeared" after police arrested them in a number of cases. He was transferred one day after two other senior police officers were given the same lightening order.

17 Dec. 1977 Bangkok Post: The Nakhon Pathom "police scandal" took a new twist yesterday when about 1,000 residents from five central provinces marched to the Interior Ministry protesting against the abrupt transfer of the senior police officers from the province.

11 Dec. 1977 Former Metropolitan Police Commissioner Lt. Gen Vichien Saengkaew claimed that the sub-committee appointed by the Civil Service Commission to investigate his appeal over his dismissal from the Police Department had ruled that he was not guilty (He was dismissed by Police Chief Gen Montchai Pankongchuen on grounds that he had refused to comply with orders given him by Gen. Montchai during the March 26 abortive coup.)

13 Dec. 1977 Dao Siam: The frequent disappearance of suspects might have stemmed from the outdated attitude that "if a few hundred gangsters are shot dead, the country will be in peace." The Police Department, the editorial noted, is "too big for one man to be in charge". The solution would be to improve the administrative system and decentralize power.

23 Dec. 1977 Deputy Interior Minister Gen. Prem Tinsulanonth signed an order to reduce the administrative power of Provincial Police Chiefs and the high level administrative staff, and to decentralize the existing power to provincial governors.

#### 4) The Far South

13 Nov. 1977 Daily News: Four men were killed and five others were believed missing when about 20 armed men opened fire on a group of 11 men who were selling Buddha images to villagers at Tambon Thung Wa in Thung Wa District of Satun Province on the afternoon of Nov. 11th. Trang police reported. The police were told by Mr. Virat Noonak and Mr. Sunit Niyomrat the two survivors of the incident.

13 Nov. 1977 Sieng Puang Chon: Over 100 terrorists in green suits attacked Southern Nikm Patana Centre in Yala, they were reported to be in Je-ku-ding's unit of the FULO movement. Three workers were killed and a woman injured. This was said to be the first time that the centre was attacked. (Some sources said that Je-Ku-ding's unit is the BRN unit, and BRN unit is a unit of the Communist Party of Malaysia. But some said that BRN is a Marxist-Islamic movement.)

The questions arise as to  
(1) What is the relationship of Je-ku-ding's unit, BRN unit, FULO movement and the Communist Party of Malaysia?  
(2) Does FULO link with the COMMUNIST Party of Malaysia (CPM)?  
(3) What is the relationship between the Communist Party of Thailand and CPM?  
(A. r. - this Journal reported in its Nov. 22 nd issue that even the governmental information source was confused in answering these questions since the situation in the South is confusing.)

15 Nov. 1977 Bangkok: A radical wing of the Pattani United Liberation Organisation (PULO) is trying to build up its influence among Muslim communities in the South and to gain power in the administration of the organisation according to the commander of the 12th Zone Provincial Police.

He went on to say that the PULO has been increasingly waging its activities in Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun even after the death of its veteran chieftain, Tunku Yala Masae, better known as tunku na Saiburi, last month. Last year the movement was able to field a delegation to the World Muslim Conference. He also said that the leader of the separatist movement's progressive wing lives in exile in a Middle East country.

He cited the group's recent terror activities as the bombings at Don Muang airport, the Hat Yai railway station and Narathiwat. An explosion at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs this month was also believed to have been carried out by the group's followers, he added.

25 Nov. 1977 - Nation Review: About 2,500 people had been evacuated from two sensitive villages in Tumbon Yarom of Betong District to the government-protected settlement in Chantarat village, to escape the guerrillas' harassment - the Central Security Division (CSD) reported yesterday. Military and police forces have moved into Chantarat village to protect villagers who are building their own shelters.

27 Nov. 1977 - Sieng Puang Chon: twelve young men and women were seriously injured by an explosion at a Loy Kathong ceremony near the Yala Provincial Women's School, two nights ago. The PULO movement was allegedly reported to have claimed responsibility for the incident by planting a home-made bomb.

1 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: (AP), Gen. Ibrahim the former chief of Malaysia's armed forces who retired yesterday said that joint Thai-Malaysian military operations against communist guerrillas along the common border will continue despite the change in government in Bangkok a few weeks ago.

7 Dec. 1977 - Nation Review: Yala; seven secessionist guerrillas who surrendered to the Commander of the Fourth Army Region Lt-Gen Pin Thammavasi yesterday intend to clear themselves of all criminal charges in court. They are followers of Sang Manang-sima who was reportedly killed during a clash with police last month. The seven are: Maha Sika 21, Lateh Maneehiya 33, Berraheng Dorloh 22, Arwae Sama Sama-ae Sama 25, Wae-arsae Laeha 29, and Arsae Yusoh 20.

7 Dec. 1977 - A meeting of top authorities in Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat concluded yesterday that the current peaceful situation no longer requires the enforcement of curfew. Lt. Gen. Pin Thammavasi promised to remove the curfew as soon as possible. One of the chief complaints against the dusk to dawn curfew in the three southern Muslim-dominated provinces is that it has prevented rubber tapping.

11 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Satun police reported that 20 insurgents struck at bridge construction camp Thursday and burned construction equipment. The insurgents numbering about 20, suddenly opened fire on the construction camp of a local company building a bridge across the Ma Nung Klong between Kuan Khanun and La Ngu districts.

14 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Yala; a band of 15 terrorist bandits burst into a Tumbon Mudee underground gambling hall located in the Muang District coconut grove and shot dead 11 gamblers and wounded eight others yesterday.

14 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Police and soldiers in Hat Yai District of southern Songkhla Province were put on maximum alert yesterday following the discovery of the so-called PULO plan to sabotage commercial planes at Hat Yai International Airport. The intelligence report received by police revealed that if the airport plan was foiled, attempts on other premises would be carried out. The Songkhla governor said that according to the plan, six young members of PULO, who were living in a market in Yi-ngo District of Narathiwat, were to carry out the sabotage.

15 Dec. 1977 - Yala; the curfew in the communist-infested district of Betong will be lifted from Dec. 30 to Jan. 2 to enable people to celebrate the New Year, the Deputy Governor.

Meanwhile, Bangkok Peace Keeping Director Gen Serm said the government is considering a request for absolute cancellation of curfew in some cities but no conclusion has been reached as yet.

14 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Surat-thani; Mrs. Tuenjai Kaewpradab (23) a communist suspect was captured after a clash between a government patrol unit and a band of communist insurgents in Ban Konpa, Tumbon Charng Sai of Kanchanadit District, last Monday. She denied being an insurgent, but claimed that she was forced to join the guerrillas.

21 Nov. 1977 - Nation Review: Surat-thani; more than 200 villagers from Kong Tak, Kong Chang and Sai Khun-in villages in the Communist-infested Kanchanadit District have joined insurgents after the reinforcement of police and volunteers in this province early last month, Provincial Assembly Speaker disclosed.

Surat-thani Governor Chalit Pimolsiri, meanwhile, said that thousands of villagers in Kanchanadit had surrendered to provincial authorities to "prove that they were innocent". Only 53 of them were detained for advocating terrorism but most of them were released after 'indoctrination' by government officials, the

governor said. He added that about 300 communist sympathisers also gave themselves up to authorities in Wiang Sra District during the past three months. (A source told us that the above mentioned numbers are unreliable; and that in fact lots of people in the province had mysteriously disappeared.)

(Kanchanadit District is said to be the biggest stronghold of supplies and forces for terrorists operating in four other districts of Kung Ching, Na Sarn, Wiang Sra and Tha Sala).

23 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Songkhla; about 50 heavily armed communists killed four policemen, a tambon headman named Kamnum Charoen Petchprakob and seriously wounded seven others in an ambush at village no. 1 Ban Tab Luang, Tambon Kuhar in Saba Yoi District yesterday.

6 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Nakhon Sri Thammarat; two policemen were killed after 80 communist guerrillas ambushed 50 policemen attached to the Special Action Force while they were patrolling on a road leading to Village No. 9 in Ban Naban of Chauat District, two days ago. The dead were identified as Pol. Lance Corporal Suchart Piboon and Pol Pvt Sawai Thipsawan.

6 Dec. 1977 - Thai-rath: On Dec. 4th, Pol Lance Corporal Suchart Piboon and Pol Pvt Sawai Thipsawan of the Nakhon Sri Thammarat Special Action Force were shot through their heads, while they were in a minibus on their way to Amphur Cha-uat, by communist terrorists. (See above)

(Daily News on 28th October reported that the local police chief of Amphur Cha-uat said the crime rate here was increasing and the police forces were unable to control the situation. It was due to that bandits and insurgents in Pattalung and Surat-thani provinces moving to the district after they had been heavily attacked by the governmental forces. He planned to ask for military support from the Fourth Army.)

7 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Nakhon Sri Thammarat; eight persons were killed Friday in an attack by communist insurgents in Tha Sala District of this province. Six of the eight victims were Marines providing security for villagers repairing a bridge linking Huay Parn and Paknok villages; all were members of the Special Force Unit 202 based in Tha Sala. The names of the dead villagers were not available.

9 Dec. 1977 - Army Commander-in-Chief Gen. Serm estimated communist insurgents at about 8,000, but noted that guerrillas in the South had disintegrated into small bands following government suppression campaigns. He added that at present the insurgents' movements are weak.

Gen. Serm said that communist insurgents were still unable to re-take the Kung Ching base which fell into the hands of government forces several months ago. He also said that policemen and armed volunteers would be sent to guard villagers against threats from bandits and terrorists in areas where the outlaws' influence has not been eliminated.

Touching on student issue, he said that several students who had joined the insurgents after the October 6 incident had already surrendered to government forces. The exact number of these defectors will be revealed in due course.

14 Dec. 1977 - Tawan Siam: 700 people mostly from Amphur Wiang Sra of Surat-thani and Amphur Ta Sala of Nakhon Sri Thammarat had completed their 'democracy' training course. Among them there is Miss Nai-ya-na aged 19, who is reported to be the daughter of Mr. Jit Jongjit a leading insurgent of the Kung Ching base. She was released and sent back to her hometown Chwang after "indoctrination" by government officials.

27 Dec. 1977 - Daily Time: Nakhon Sri Thammarat; eight communist insurgents were killed, and a stronghold at Kao Kluey Nam in Moklan sub-district of Amphur Phromkiri was seized by a special unit of the Navy. The stronghold was reported to be a base of those escaped from "Kroong Ching".

27 Dec. 1977 - Daily News: On 20 Dec, 11 men who were selling Buddha image to villagers in Tambon Muangpromkorn of Kiansa District were savagely killed as reported by Mr. Kumlai Koksri who claimed to be one of the survivors.

Mr. Chawalit Phimolsiri, Suratthani Governor, disclosed that such crime must be committed by communist insurgents since Ban Klong Rong in Tambon Muangpromkorn of Kiansa District is a closed communist-infested area.

29 Dec. 1977 - Sieng Puang Chon: Commander of the Fourth Army Region Lt. Gen. Fin Thammasri granted an absolute cancellation of curfew in the 14 southern provinces, as a new year gift, so that local people can earn their living more conveniently and more economically; effective from 31 Dec. 1977.

5. The North  
13 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post, and Daily News: About 40 communists struck at a

road construction site and nearly wiped out the entire construction guard unit killing 25 and wounding 15 in Chiang Kham District of Phayao Province Wednesday evening.

The Chiang Mai Asiatic Construction company is building the new stretch of highway between Pan Kar Village and the Chiang Kham District town, a was reported to have received an extortion note from the terrorists last month.

Security guards were recruited from among Hoi Chinese tribesmen official forces in the area have been so undermanned as to be unable to supply construction company with sufficient protection.

20 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Communist insurgents attacked armed guards protect the construction of the Chiang Kham - Ta Wang Pha road in Nan Province, killing 45 guards in 45 days.

25 Nov. 1977 - Three road construction workers were killed and five wounded after communists attacked a Chiangmai Construction Company unit in Chiangklang District of Nan Province. (Bangkok Post 29 Nov. 1977)

25 Nov. 1977 - Daily Time: Colonel Jumlong Salesung, ISOC's spokesman, told the Press that the communist operations had decreased since October 20th, this year; he added that, so far, over ten fugitive students had surrendered to the army. Special Col. Ruamsukdi Chaikomin said that lots of communist insurgents were killed in Chiang Kham District of Phayao Province.

28 Nov. 1977 - Nation Review: A curfew will be imposed in five terrorist-infested villages in Pong District in Phayao Province, effective as of today.

The curfew, ordered by Third Region Army Commander Lt. Gen Somsak Panjamanond, will be from 6.00 pm. to 6.00 am. and covers five villages of Pong District: Huay Takern, Maipangkha, Tangprik and Pangma-oh in Tambon Pachang No. of Pong District Phayao, Chiang Kham, Chiang Muan and Pong Tao were described as sensitive areas where about 200 fugitive students have joined the communists.

30 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: The curfew imposed in Phayao Province about a month ago had brought about good results in the suppression activities against communist insurgents in the province, Provincial Governor Sanya Palavatvichai said yesterday.

A 6 pm. to 6 am. curfew has been clamped down on Chiang Muan, Chiang Kham and Pong districts in Phayao Province to facilitate security forces' activities in the suppression of terrorists who reportedly consist of local villagers, some Laotians, a small number of Meo hilltribesmen and a handful of former students.

He added that despite authorities' efforts to persuade fugitive students to return with a promise of amnesty, not one of them has, so far, surrendered in his province.

3 Dec. 1977 - Nation Review: Phitsanulok, nine villagers including two infants died on last Thursday when Communist insurgents ambushed a military truck on the Friend Highway in Nakhon Thai District; more than 20 others were wounded.

30 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post and Nation Review: 20 communist insurgents were killed in Petchaboon province when they were ambushed by a group of Meo special force volunteers. Acting on a tip off, the government forces planted three claymore mines on a jungle path.

#### 6. The North-East

19 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: The Communist Party of Thailand's central committee for the Northeast is overwhelmingly dominated and directed by Thai-speaking Chinese with Chong Sia-ung as its secretary-general, according to a defector named Tern Wong-orn (25) alias Comrade Supote who claimed to be a former leader of the art section of the political affairs division of the CPT's northeastern central committee.

Comrade Supote said that he had seen the former secretary-general of the Socialist Party of Thailand, Mr. Khaisaeng Sooksai, and some former student activists who have fled to the jungles following the October 6 uprising. None of Khaisaeng's group was accepted as members of the CPT, said Supote, adding that under the CPT's rule a person to qualifying for membership in the party must pass vigorous tests for at least four years and prove himself satisfactory to the central committee. According to Supote, Khaisaeng, however, was eventually appointed chairman of the Socialist Party Front of Thailand with its headquarters in Laos. But the position was just a puppet one because Khaisaeng has to receive directives from the CPT, and any policy has to be approved by the CPT's northeastern central committee which is dominated by Chinese.

Supote said in the interview that Khaisaeng had once told that he led the Oct. 6 struggle; and that at a central committee meeting had pointed out that the mistake of the Oct. 6 uprising was the lack of co-ordination between communist forces in the jungles and their comrades in the city. He disclosed that he had often seen foreign troopers, Vietnamese in particular, visiting communist camps. Local communists were barred from making contact with the foreigners by the central committee. He added bitterly that the leaders were given good food while the low-

ranking insurgents were frequently starved.

21 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Loei; a 16-year-old school girl, whose name was withheld for security reasons, had been reported to be lured by communists. Authorities are investigating reports that communist elements have infiltrated a government secondary school in Muang District with the purpose of indoctrinating students with communist ideology, an informed source said.

25 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok World: Nakhon Phanom; a sixty-man strong government unit clashed with an equivalent number of communist insurgents in Nakae District on Tuesday resulting in heavy casualties on the latter.

25 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Buri Ram; a civilian officer of the Accelerated Rural Development (ARD) was killed last Wednesday after an unknown number of communist terrorists ambushed an ARD unit here.

28 Nov. 1977 - Nation Review; Buri Ram; the communist terrorists had reportedly declared that they would give themselves up if the government could ever re-open the Raharnsai-Trapraya Road which they have closed for nine months. Construction of the road began two years ago but it was suspended since not a single construction firm dared to enter the bidding.

(Daily Times, 19 Nov. 1977, reported that the Second Army Commander had earlier announced Marshal Law over Laharnsai District of Buri Ram Province from 14 to 24 Nov. 1977)

25 Nov. 1977 - Daily Times: Loei; ISOC's speaker Col. Jumlong Saleesung told the press that there was a medical student among seven killed in the recent big clash; he was identified by his identification card as Mr. Chutchai Junsuwon. He added that recently a girl student identified as Miss Ninlanet Wirasombat of the Faculty of Nursing, Midwifery and Health, Mahidol University, surrendered in Chiang Khan District of Loei Province.

25 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok World: Director of the Supreme Command Information Office told reporters yesterday that terrorist activities this month were not so violent. During this period 55 terrorists surrendered to the authorities compared to 39 the month before. Scores of students who had fled to jungles have returned and were pardoned by the government. He added that, however, big number of students have lost their lives in clashes with the government forces.

29 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: None of the students who went underground in the wake of last year's October 6 incident have, so far, given up following the government recent call for them to return home. There are no clear statistics on the number of fugitive students following the Oct. 6 incident; but knowledgeable sources put the number at well over 2,000.

1 Dec. 1977 - Siam Rath: Deputy Interior Minister Gen. Prem Tinsulanonth disclosed that the communist insurgents love the country as well. Heavy suppression should be limited to only a few sensitive areas; efforts should be directly aimed to rural development and mutual understanding.

1 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Nakhon Ratchasima; four village volunteers were killed when communist guerrillas attacked a defence outpost in Saeng Saeng sub-district yesterday.

8 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Seven policemen and village defence volunteers were killed in two separate pre-dawn attacks by communist terrorists in Sakon Nakhon and Phitsanulok yesterday.

10 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Nine village volunteers and soldiers were wounded in two guerrilla attacks in Lahansai District of Buri Ram Province Thursday. (Siam Rath on 24 th November reported that ISOC will train more villagers to become village volunteers. Next year 774 more villages in the North, North East and South will have village volunteer establishments.)

14 Dec. 1977 - Thai Rath: Loei; Mrs Pranom Chareonchai, the kidnapped woman accountant of the Universal Road Construction Company was yesterday released unharmed by her communist abductors after 120,000 baht ransom was paid. Insurgents in the area have warned the company on several occasions to give up the work.

(Nation Review on 6th Dec. : The Highway Department reported that communist terrorists have launched no less than 300 attacks against highway construction workers throughout the country since 1969).

15-16 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post and Nation Review; The Governor of Nongkhai led a raiding party of 700 police and village scouts on the largest refugee camp in Thailand containing more than 23,000 Laotian refugees. The predawn raid netted more than 40 suspected spies, of whom 32 were later booked on endangering society charges. Several hundred other refugees were having their documents checked.

23 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post. A Village Defence Volunteer Tui Pudhiraksa was assaulted and severely injured by policemen.

29 Dec. 1977 - Dao Siam. The editor of Chao Nakhon Phannom newspaper, Mr. Chookiet Poonchai was shot dead whilst driving his car.

29 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post and Nation Review. The governor of Nong Khai led a further predawn raid, this time with 300 police and volunteers on two sensitive villages. 8 villages were detained as suspected insurgents.

7. Article 27

10 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: The Revolutionary Party yesterday decided against immediate summary execution of two alleged Singaporean heroin traffickers. The source explain that 'there are international implications and in the eyes of the world it may be important for us to give a fair trial to the accused.'

27 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: The new government has proposed that the National Policy Council (NPC) impose Article 27 of the Interim Constitution against two Singaporean drug traffickers. Admiral Sa-ngad expressed the opinion that there no reason why Article 27 should not be imposed upon foreigners who had committed crimes in this country.

(Article 27: Whenever the Prime Minister deems it necessary for preventing, stopping or suppressing any activity which endangers the security of the Kingdom, the Thai economy or state affairs or which disrupts or threatens peace and order or good morals or any activity destructive to national resources or the health of the public no matter whether the activity has taken place before or after promulgation of the Constitution or whether it has taken place within or without the Kingdom, let the Prime Minister, with an approval of the Cabinet and the National Policy Council, have the authority to issue any order or carry out any action. The order or act of the Prime Minister and the carrying out of order are to be considered legal.)

8) The General Political Situation

9 Nov. 1977 - The revolutionary Party issued Order No. 21 for the setting up of National Policy Council (NPC) to carry out administrative and general affairs concerned with national policy.

All the activities of the Prime Minister's Advisory Council are transferred to the NPC. The NPC chairman will have the powers and duties similar to those of a Cabinet Minister. In case the National Policy Council is dissolved the Prime Minister will exercise the NPC chairman's authority.

The present Chairman of the National Policy Council is Admiral Sa Chaloryoo.

10 Nov. 1977 - The Interim Constitution proclaimed.

11 Nov. 1977 - His Majesty the King appointed Gen. Kriangsak Chomanan, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, as Prime Minister of Thailand under the Interim Constitution of 1977.

12 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Prime Minister Kriangsak will seek to reunify the country and bring all factions to work together to pull the nation through the political and economic and social crises anticipated in the months ahead.

He will try to heal the wounds caused by divisive policies of the past and involve as many groups as possible in the administration of the country so that there is in effect a sort of participation even before elections.

He may consult with such respected personalities as M.R. Kukrit Prayudh, Dr. Thanat Khoman, Air Chief Marshal Dawa Chullasart and Mr. Boonchu Rojanastien. 16 Nov. 1977 - His Majesty the King appointed a 360-man National Legislative Assembly. Of those appointed 125 are from the Army, 39 from the Navy, 36 from the Air Force and 12 from the Police. Colonel Prachak Sawangchit, one of the leading youngturks, was also appointed. In addition there are two labour leaders, Mr. Paisal Thawatchain and Mr. Sunthorn Kaewnatr. A few of remaining members included people from all walks of life. It is perhaps one of the least inspiring assemblies that has ever existed in Thailand.

15 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Prime Minister and Minister of Interior Gen. Kriangsak Chomanan will appoint Lt-Gen Prem Tinsulanond, Mr. Chamnong Thephasdin na Ayudhaya and Mr. Damri Noimanee as deputy ministers of Interior.

18 Nov. 1977 - Bangkok Post: The Ministry of Interior will send 25,000 officials and knowledge of elections to the rural people in order to prepare them for a new election promised to be held next year.

17 Dec. 1977 - Bangkok Post: Prime Minister Kriangsak Chomanan will quietly celebrate his 60th birthday at his residence in Bangkok today.

22 Nov. 1977 - Dr. Krasae Chanawong, former leader of the New Force (Palang Mai) Party, and one of the party's executive committee member's Dr. Arthit Uthirat, were among the 20 people appointed to the Prime Minister's Office. Mr. Krachang Panthumviavin (who was said to have close links with the establishment of Red Guard the North-East of Thailand) will be Deputy Secretary-General for Political Affairs

psychological warfare against the insurgents.

Oct. 21, 1977 A military spokesman said communist casualties in the trouble-plagued region (which covers 16 provinces bordering Laos) were the highest in the 12-year history of the insurgency. Government forces, this year, killed 50 communist guerrillas and captured 59 in Northeast Thailand; and between January and September there were 297 communist sympathisers in the area surrendered to the authorities.

Oct. 21, 1977 Ian Wan, a Vietnamese refugee, was arrested in Khon Kaen on charges of illegally leaving a restricted area and indulging in subversive activities.

Nov. 1, 1977 Two lady volunteer village defence corpsmen brought Miss Lek Phukuang-samphao (19), a communist terrorist, to surrender herself to the authorities since she could not endure the hunger and hardships. Miss Lek also revealed that the communist camp in Pak Thongchai District's Kampaeng mountain range contained cadres numbering anywhere from 800 to 1000 hard-core communists and said that about 100 students had joined the group.

Nov. 2, 1977 An official source said that 8 Cambodians at Ban Non-ian, 7 at Ban Klong Namsai and 5 at Ban Tabplik were arrested as being suspected of being spies in Aranyaprathet District of Prachinburi Province. (Over 50 Khmer Rouge "spies" had so far been arrested and placed under custody at the Surasinghanart military camp in Aranyaprathet pending an expected exchange with Thai prisoners detained by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia.

Sept. 17, 1977 Bangkok Post: Police yesterday arrested Kamnan Somnuk Kaewkiew (43), who was a Tambon Kao Prabaht district officer, and his assistant Sa-nguan Boonsuangkwan (40), who was a village headman, on suspicion of murdering a local resident and kidnapping Mr. Erik Nielson the Danish engineer of Christiani and Neilson Company.

Sept. 20, 1977 Bangkok Post: Three suspected student insurgents were captured after BFP combed hilly jungle areas adjoining Mae Chaem District of Chiang Mai and Mae La Noi area of Mae Hong Son. The three students refused to answer any question, declining even to identify themselves; they were believed to be among the students who had fled to the jungle in the aftermath of the Oct. 6th military take-over.

Sept. 29, 1977 Two former Thai guard leaders Jai Nooham and Vichai Chamniyom (arrested together with two other Thai Guard leaders Bankit Thong-own and Cherd Nantho in Dec. 1975) were each sentenced to two years imprisonment by the Criminal Court after they were found guilty of illegally detaining other persons and gathering with over 10 people to create unrest in the country with the use of weapons.

Sept. 5, 1977 The Judges gave a suggestion concerning the use of Decree No. 22 of the NARC to Prime Minister Tanin Kraivichien in the seminar of judges from all over the country at the Justice Ministry. The judges claimed that the administrative power had intervened the judicial power in the use of Decree No. 22. They also claimed that in up-country, the police had absolute power in arresting and charging anybody with endangering society charges, which in fact, the Governor of the province should have taken part in the decision. Finally, the judges asked the Prime Minister to cancel the Decree No. 22.

Sept. 23, 1977 Lawyers' Association of Thailand urged the Government that certain types of cases which come before a military tribunal should come before the criminal court so that those accused could be defended and have right to appeal. Their reasoning was based on the view that the situation had become "normal"

Sept. 19, 1977 A group of villagers of village No. 5 of Tambon Fai Lom petitioned Prime Minister Tanin Kraivichien over the detention of four villagers of Tambon Fai Lom on murder charges. The four were accused of murdering another village headman, Rampruan Sookchai on May 11 this year. They said in the petition that just before the arrest (July 19) they were called up by the Headman of Tambon Fai Lom who allegedly demanded 6,000 baht each from the four and told them to flee from the village if "they did not want to be arrested". However, the four refused to pay the money and also denied having anything to do with the killing; and because of this, they were arrested. They also claimed that on the night of the murder, at least two policemen, who were on patrolling duty, were present at the murdered's house.

Oct. 18, 1977 Sergeant Prathung Rodsartra of the Army Transport Department lodged a complaint with Interior Minister Samak Sundaravej, saying his son had been assaulted and detained at Samsen Police Station although no formal charge had been made against him.

Oct. 26, 1977 A former Member of Parliament from Surathane Province proposed to the Revolutionary Party to decree an amnesty to all students and people involved in the October 6 incident last year, including those in custody and those who had fled to join the Communists in the jungle. The amnesty, he said, would help to reduce tension and disunity in the country.

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Oct. 1, 1977 Police Chief Gen. Montchai Phankhongchuen ordered the closure of Tawan Siam daily newspaper for an indefinite period for publishing a sensational story saying October as a 'month of doom' which could cause misunderstanding and unrest in the country in violation of the MRC's Order 42. The management of Tawan Siam, however, immediately published a new newspaper under the name of Siam Rattana.

Oct. 6, 1977 President of the Journalists' Association of Thailand, Mrs. Sermak Ekachai planned to resign her position because of the disappointment over the Government's failure to improve its relations with the Press and that too many newspapers had been closed down.

Oct. 14, 1977 Police Chief Montchai ordered the closure of the Tawon-ok Parith weekly magazine for an indefinite period for having published several articles, the October 6 trial and labour unions, which might have caused public disorder and inciting unrest among the public.

Oct. 15, 1977 Police Chief Montchai ordered the closure of Dao Sayarn newspaper seven days, starting today, for publishing a column criticising Defence Minister Marshal Sa-ngad Chaloryoo in its October 13, edition.

Oct. 20, 1977 Chao Praya, the Thai-language daily run by the now dissolved Thang Government, was closed down for the first time following the takeover of the Revolutionary Council.