

Silent History and ASEAN

TU.101: Thailand ASEAN and the World

Aj. Chontida Auikool

A dark blue diagonal gradient bar that starts from the bottom left and extends towards the top right, covering the lower half of the slide.

What is history ? Why do we study it ?

What is silent history ?

- Unknown / Less well -known
- Alternative history
- Forgotten history
- Less presented in school textbooks
- Prohibited
- Rejected by state
- Selective by state to be silent
- No public discussion
- No official commemorations by state to the events
- Why these histories become silent ?

Silent History

"Transitional justice is rooted in accountability and redress for victims. It recognizes their dignity as citizens and as human beings."

- History of state crime
 - State violence
 - Political crimes
 - War crimes
 - State claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of force
 - State engage in terror, torture
 - Killings seem to be legitimate
 - Suppression of citizens and minority
 - Genocide
 - No apology from state
 - No transitional justice

Thailand Democracy Development



- ❑ 24 June 1932 "Siamese Revolution"
- ❑ A crucial turning point in 20th-century Thai history.
 - ❑ Rise of the Western-educated "commoner" elites
 - ❑ The "revolution" was brought about by a comparatively small group of military and civilians, who formed Siam's first political party, the Khana Ratsadon (Peoples' Party).
 - ❑ An absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy.
 - ❑ First constitution.

6 Principles



1939



The University of Moral and Political Sciences 1934

- ❑ To maintain the supreme power of the Thai people.
- ❑ To maintain national security.
- ❑ To maintain the economic welfare of the Thai people in accordance with the National Economic Project.
- ❑ To protect the equality of the Thai people.
- ❑ To maintain the people's rights and liberties, insofar as they are not inconsistent with any of the above-mentioned principles.
- ❑ To provide public education for all citizens.

1932 coup memorial peg at
Dusit Palace Royal Plaza.



October 14 “1973 Thai popular uprising”



Field Marshal
Sarit Thanarat
1957 -1963



Field Marshal Thanom
Kittikachorn (1963
-1973)

- ❑ Major social, political, and economic changes
 - ❑ *Pattiwat and phatthana*
 - ❑ Maintaining the boundaries between hierarchical sectors while the process of phatthana was applied.
- ❑ **Martial law**
 - ❑ Strong control on political expression
- ❑ **Student activism in Thailand grew during the 1950s as many students became inspired by leftist ideology**
 - ❑ The publication of the *Social Science Review* in the 1960s was credited as being responsible for restarting intellectual thinking and debate in Thai politics.
 - ❑ **"Sapha Na Dome" and "Sethatham" and the "SOTUS" group.**
- ❑ The National Student Center of Thailand
 - ❑ Social Changes , Equality , Democracy
- ❑ October 6th - October 15
 - ❑ Demonstration , anti-government rally



- ❑ Morning of 14th October
- ❑ Vandalism and violence



October 6th 1976



- The return of Thanom
- 167 injured and 46 deaths
- 3,000 people were arrested
- Rejecting the return of Thanom Kittikachorn
- Student demonstration inside Thammasat
- King, Nation, Religion
- Paramilitary forces, Right wings
- Anti Communists





May 1992 (Black May)

“Give up your
words to protect the
nation”

- 17–20 May 1992 popular protest in Bangkok
- Against the government of **General Suchinda Kraprayoon** and the military crackdown that followed.
- 52 officially confirmed deaths, many disappearances, hundreds of injuries, and over 3,500 arrests.
- No trial , no punishment



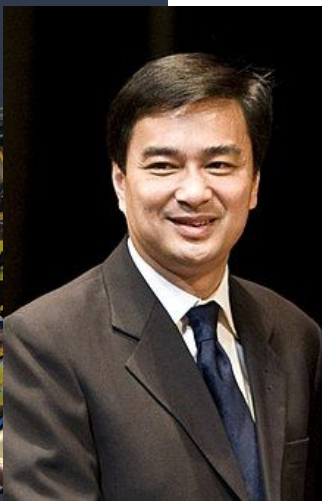




2001 - 2006



2011 - 2014



REUTERS

"Cruel April" (เมษาโหด Mesa Hot) and "Savage May" (พฤษภาอำมหิต).



- ❑ The culmination of months of protests that called for the Democrat Party-led government of Abhisit Vejjajivato dissolve parliament and hold elections.
 - ❑ **On 10 April, troops executed an unsuccessful crackdown on protesters at Phan Fah bridge on Ratchadamnoen Road,** resulting in 25 deaths (including one Japanese journalist and 5 uniformed soldiers) and over 800 injuries
 - ❑ On the evening of 13 May, Khattiya Sawasdiphol ("Seh Daeng"), a popular security adviser to the protesters, was shot in the head by what was apparently a sniper's bullet while he was giving an interview to *The New York Times*. the military commenced an extended crackdown, leading to an additional 41 civilians deaths (including an Italian photographer) and more than 250 injuries.
 - ❑ **The clashes continue nationwide until 19 May**

State crime is activity or failures to act that break the state's own criminal law and public international law.

Abhisit, Suthep cleared for 2010 crackdown on red-shirts

31 Aug 2017 at 11:53 5,935 viewed 23 comments
WRITER: ONLINE REPORTERS



The Supreme Court has upheld the decisions of two lower courts to **dismiss the case against former prime minister Abhisit Vejjajiva and his deputy Suthep Thaugsuban** for the deadly military crackdown on...

August, 17 1945

“We, the people of Indonesia, hereby declare the independence of Indonesia. Matters which concern the transfer of power and other things will be executed by careful means and in the shortest possible time. Djakarta, 17 August 1945 in the name of people of Indonesia”

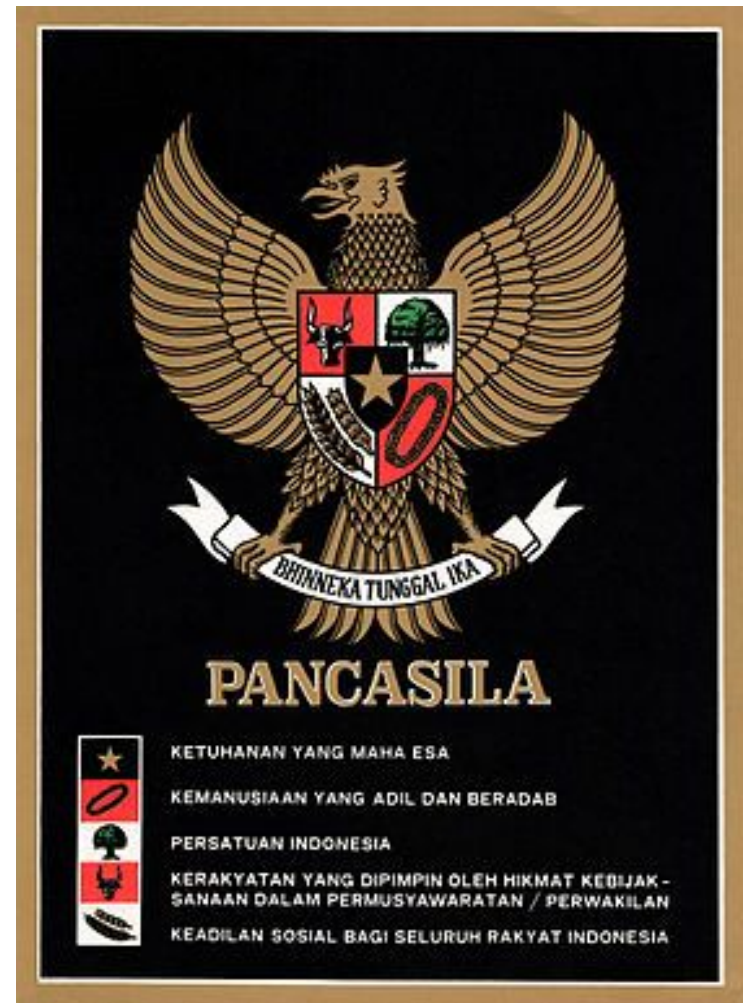


1945 - 1949 Indonesian Revolution

Pancasila

- ❑ Belief in the One and Only God
- ❑ Respect humanity
- ❑ A unified Indonesia
- ❑ Encourage democracy
- ❑ Social justice for all Indonesians

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika and Gotong Royong



30 September Movement (G30S, Gestapu), 1965



Anti - Communist Regime

Who are the targets ?

- ❑ PKI members
- ❑ Affiliated association members
- ❑ PKI sympathizers
- ❑ Alleged communists
- ❑ Atheists
- ❑ Chinese ?
- ❑ East Timor
- ❑ Papua and West Papua

Results

- ❑ **An operation to “annihilate” the 30th September Movement and the PKI**
- ❑ Mass Killing
- ❑ Mass arrest and detain suspicious PKI member in concentration camps
- ❑ **Army operation to destroy the PKI**
- ❑ Army cooperated with Muslim villagers, paramilitary, youth organizations to take violent actions
- ❑ Forced disappearance , sexual violence , body mutilation , torture , forced labour

Youth Organizations

Anti - Communist death Squads

- ❑ Anti- Sukarno , Anti - PKI
- ❑ KAMI (University Students)
- ❑ KAPI (High School Students)
- ❑ KAPPI (Students and Youths)
- ❑ Pemuda Ansor (Youth of NU)
- ❑ Catholic and Protestant students
- ❑ Pemuda Pancasila (Paramilitary)
- ❑ Etc.



Religious Mass Organization

- ❑ NU (Nahdlatul Ulama)
- ❑ Ansor
- ❑ Banser
- ❑ NU Security Coordination Body (BKKJNU)
- ❑ **“holy war”** driven by the anger of its deeply religious Muslim population
- ❑ Catholic Party
- ❑ Operated under army direction
- ❑ <https://www.insideindonesia.org/killing-for-god>

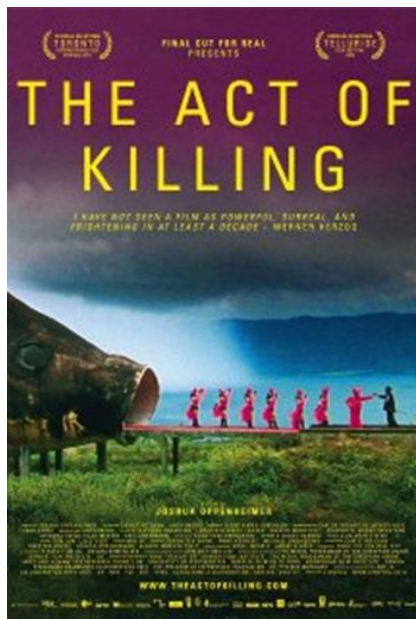
According to a US Embassy record in mid November 1965, in the Solo area alone **“the army was training and equipping some 24 thousand Muslim youth for action against communists”**



40 years of silence

- ❑ Chinese family
- ❑ Central Java
- ❑ Reconciliation ?





Anti - Chinese ?

❑ The biggest number of PKI member outside Java Island is in North Sumatra.

❑ Chinese Consulate in Medan

❑ Big population of Chinese people

❑ Baperki office

❑ Number of Chinese schools, Chinese association , Chinese newspapers

❑ “Sumatra military officer reported that Army is actually encouraging Muslim to kill all PKI cadres. Hundreds of them are being killed everyday in North Sumatra”





- ❑ Banning all teaching and activities related to marxism
- ❑ Bersih lingkungan program
- ❑ Tapol (Ex-political prisoners)
- ❑ Suppressing freedom and opinions , Ban student activities
- ❑ **SARA (suku, agama, ras, dan antargolongan)**
- ❑ **Dwifungsi (Dual Function)**
- ❑ Maintain their defense role and be able to occupy socio-political position at the same time.
- ❑ Kodam (Komando Daerah Militer)
- ❑ Konstrad and Kopassus
- ❑ **Military had legitimize their actions of violence such as torture, abuse and in many case kill as the way to unite the country and guardian pancasila**
- ❑ **Golkar**

Do we need to kill ?

- Different in ideologies
- Different in religions



**Cour
Pénale
Internationale**

**International
Criminal
Court**

Next Week Presentation

- ❑ Place of suggestions
- ❑ ASEAN Cultural Center
- ❑ Museum Siam
- ❑ Rachadamnoen Rd. (Oct 14 Museum)
- ❑ Historic park inside Thammasat University
- ❑ Presentation 10 - 15 mins
- ❑ 6 -7 people
- ❑ Hand in group list and summary of presentation (2 - 3 pages)
- ❑ 10 Points

- ❑ Group Paper
- ❑ 5 - 6 people
- ❑ Answer the Questions
 - ❑ Do you think October 6th is a silent history in Thailand , why ?
 - ❑ Do you think why do we need to remember October 6th ?
 - ❑ How Oct 6th related to Democracy struggles in Thailand
 - ❑ Provide your opinions about the documentary
 - ❑ 5 points

**Submitted on 8 September by Midnight to
chontida.a@arts.tu.ac.th**