

# การแก้ไขปัญหาโดยสันติวิธี : กรณีศึกษา ขบวนการแบ่งแยกดินแดนและการก่อการร้าย ในจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ของประเทศไทย

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## บทคัดย่อ

ราชอาณาจักรมลายูปัตตานีได้ผนวกเข้าเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของราชอาณาจักรไทยหลังจากการทำสงครามต่อสู้กันอย่างยาวนาน การปกครองในลักษณะอำนาจนิยม และใช้นโยบายเพื่อสร้างจิตสำนึกเรื่องชาตินิยม เนื่องจากชาวมลายูมุสลิมส่วนใหญ่ไม่สามารถรักษาเอกลักษณ์ของตนเองได้ ด้วยเหตุนี้ชาวมลายูมุสลิมส่วนหนึ่งได้ลุกขึ้นต่อต้านนโยบายชาตินิยมดังกล่าว ช่วงระยะเวลานี้เป็นยุคของการกวาดล้างผู้นำมลายูมุสลิมที่ต่อต้าน จึงเป็นสาเหตุให้เกิดขบวนการแบ่งแยกดินแดนและการก่อการร้ายขึ้น

ปัจจุบันรัฐบาลไทยได้ให้ความสำคัญและปรับเปลี่ยนนโยบายที่มีต่อชาวมลายูมุสลิมในจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ของไทยใหม่ โดยการยอมรับความแตกต่างด้านวัฒนธรรม และส่งเสริมให้ชาวมลายูมุสลิมมีส่วนร่วมในโครงการพัฒนาชุมชนต่าง ๆ โดยมีจุดประสงค์เพื่อจะพัฒนาคุณภาพชีวิตและสถานะทางเศรษฐกิจให้ดีขึ้น โครงการสามเหลี่ยมเศรษฐกิจของประเทศไทย-มาเลเซีย-อินโดนีเซีย มีส่วนทำให้ทุกอย่างเปลี่ยนแปลงไปในทางที่ดีขึ้น นโยบายดังกล่าวได้ทำให้การก่อการร้ายลดลง อย่างไรก็ตามภายใต้กระแสโลกาภิวัตน์ ยังคงมีการต่อสู้ในรูปแบบ ของสงครามอุคมการณ์ ซึ่งเปลี่ยนจากการใช้อาวุธมาเป็นการเผยแพร่อุดมการณ์ผ่านทางอินเทอร์เน็ต

ในปัจจุบัน “สันติวิธี” ได้รับการนำมาใช้ในการดำเนินงานของรัฐบาลไทยโดยเฉพาะหน่วยงานที่มีหน้าที่รับผิดชอบต่อความมั่นคงของชาติ กล่าวได้ว่า ปัญหาซึ่งเกิดจากความแตกต่างทางเอกลักษณ์ในจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ของไทยสามารถแก้ไขได้ด้วยวิธีแห่งสันติและในแบบของประชาธิปไตย

คำสำคัญ : ขบวนการแบ่งแยกดินแดนและการก่อการร้าย, จังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้, วิถีแห่งสันติ, เอกลักษณ์

# Peace Resolution : A Case Study of Separatist and Terrorist Movement in Southern Border Provinces of Thailand

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*The Malay Kingdom of Pattani was annexed into the Kingdom of Thailand after a long war. The regime was authoritative and the policies and the implementation aimed at nationalism. The Malay Muslims were not allowed to maintain their identities. As a result, some Malay Muslims were up against such policies. This led to the period of genocide against Malay Muslim leaders, which then caused the separatist and terrorist movement.*

*The Thai Government has redefined and redirected its policies towards the Malay Muslims in the southern border provinces of Thailand by accepting their cultural differences and encouraging them to participate in the community development projects aiming at improving the quality of life and economic situations, enhanced by the Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle Project. Although the policies have reduced the terrorists' activities, within this globalization, there are still some threats in the form of ideological warfare without arms through the Internet.*

*Now, the "Way of Peace" has been put into operation by the Thai government, especially those responsible agencies for the national security. It can be said that the problems of different identities in the southern border provinces of Thailand have been solved by peaceful means in favour of democratic patterns.*

**Keywords :** identities, peaceful means, separatist and terrorist movement, southern border provinces.

## 1. Pattani Historical Tradition

Pattani appears to have been a successor to an earlier kingdom, Langkasuka (Wheatley, 1961, 19). Sri Vijaya, is generally accepted as the progenitor of most Malay Kingdoms in the Straits of Malacca region. It had extended its overlordship to Langkasuka in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., thus bringing it within the realm of the Malay world (Wheatley, 1961, 263-264). With the decline of Sri Vijaya, particularly

after the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the isthmian principalities were able to reassert their independence, which was, however, to be challenged again later, particularly in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, by Majapahit and Sukhotai. The regional revival of trade and the spread of Islam in the region were also beginning to effect the traditional regional alignments and rivalry. Pattani, which was generally believed to have been founded between

the mid-14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, grew within this political and commercial milieu (Teeuw & Wyatt, 1970, 3). Syukri (1961, 5) suggests that Pattani evolved from an earlier Thai inland Kingdom of Kota Mahligai . Low (1849, 319) claims that Pattani was an offshoot of the Kedah Dynasty. However, it would seem that it was not so much the founding of the dynasty as that of its Islamisation that was to have a profound impact on the course of Pattani's later history. It was Islam that brought to a significant extent its continuing membership in the Malay world. The very basis of the identity of the kingdom, with the acceptance of Islam by its rulers, was transformed into something that became more computable and increasingly indistinguishable from the rest of the Malay world. There was no doubt that Islam, more than any other factor, began to institutionalise the differences between the Malay and the Thai worlds, which in pre-Islam times were considerably blurred by their common Hindu-Buddhist heritage. In the case of Pattani, the theme of conversion is even more important because of the phenomenon of Pattani's conversion from Buddhist power on the one hand, and Malacca, the propagator of Islam, on the other.

Basically, Pattani depended on trade for its prosperity. According to Anderson, in the beginning of the 16th century Pattani was a great place of trade, and later on it was visited by ships from Surat, Goa, the Coromandel Coast, and by junks from Japan and China (Anderson, 1965, 44). It was partly trade that linked Pattani to Ayudhaya, but it was partly its continued tributary status. Due to the fall of Malacca which earlier really provided it with an alternative focus of allegiance, Pattani was made once more, willy-nilly, a vassal of Thai. Pattani was obliged to send the Bunga Mas - the flower of gold - to Ayudhaya as a sign of tribute and loyalty. Pattani had been called to help Ayudhaya in its war with Burmar by providing military aid. It was largely this condition of unwilling vassalage that made Pattani an unreliable ally of Ayudhaya, as was demonstrated in the Pattani revolt of 1564. When

the Thais suffered defeat at Burmese hands, the ruler of Pattani (Sultan Mudhaffar) sought to exploit the situation by attempting to seize the throne. The rebellion failed. A series of efforts were made by Ayudhaya to bring the state under control. In 1632, for instance, the Thai attacked Pattani with a force led by Okya Decha, but without winning result (Wood, 1926, 119).

The ability of Pattani to defend itself against such an overwhelming military expedition clearly suggests its relative strength. Syukri attributes the success of Pattani to the support received from Pahang and Jahore and the role of three canons, which were Pattani's pride (Syukri, 1961, 32-33). The Thais didn't attack Pattani until the end of Ayudhaya period; Pattani seems to have had a peaceful co-existence with Ayudhaya.

The history of Thai-Pattani relations took a new turn in the Bangkok era. In 1776, the Thais again faced a Burmese attack, and Pattani was called upon to support the Thais, something which Sultan Muhamud again refused to do (Syukri, 1961, 39-40). Phraya Kalahom ran a massive Thai attack on Pattani. He had done this after his victory in defeating the Burmese in the Kra Isthmus region. The Pattani people, under the leadership of Sultan Mohammad, fought back, but were overwhelmingly outnumbered. The defeat of Pattani led to severe loss of lives, and large numbers of Pattani prisoners of war were brought back to Bangkok. For the first time in Pattani history the Thais were directly to decide on the appointment of the successor to the Sultan.

Tengku Lamidin was chosen by Bangkok as a new ruler of Pattani and was instructed to undertake the sending of tribute to Bangkok as a token of submission (Syukri, 1961, 45). But his authority and power had been cutrailed, causing him to harbour resentment against the Thais. Initially, Tengku Lamidin succeeded in overpowering Songkla and Phattalung and in repulsing a counter-attack launched by Nakorn Si Thammarat. Bangkok reacted swiftly and intervened militarily to subdue the uprising (Syukri, 1961, 45-46).

The consequences of this confrontation were even more debilitating for Pattani because this time not only Bangkok decided on the nomination of the Raja of Pattani (Ruler of Pattani), but also created another post intended for a Thai to oversee the administration and government of the State (Syukri, 1961, 46).

Thai direct rule of the Pattani region had begun in earnest since the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From 1901, in line with the provincial reorganization being undertaken in the whole kingdom, the Pattani States were grouped into a collective administration called "Booriwen Ched Huamuang" (Area of the Seven provinces) (Tej Bunnag, 1977, 146). The Malay rulers of the Pattani States who had agreed to compromise their traditional political rights were retained in their posts and were only replaced by Thai-Buddhists after their death or retirement. But their loss of authority and power was in any case total.

Nonetheless, although since 1902 the Malay had lost their political power and autonomy in the States of Pattani, Islam continued to enjoy the patronage of the Thai rulers. Thus, in 1901, the Thai King decreed that special provisions regarding the application of Muslim Law on matters pertaining to marriage and inheritance would be upheld for the benefit of his Malay subjects in the Pattani States (Narong Siripachana, 1975, 4). Later, during the reign of King Vajiravudh, according to Vella, the Malays were given more attention and accorded more favours than any other minority group. Although under the Education Act of 1921 the teaching of Thai became compulsory, "no bars were placed on instruction in Malay" (Vella, 1976, 197-199).

In 1906, the Pattani States were united into one provincial territory which was called "Monthon Pattani," demarcated into the Provinces of Yala, Narathiwat, Pattani and Saiburi (Tej Bunnag, 1977, 158-159). In 1932, when the Monthon system was discontinued, the Pattani region was then divided into the Provinces of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat (Nantawan Haemindra, 1976, 204). Earlier, in 1909, with the

signing of the Anglo-Thai Treaty, the Pattani region which "had been a major catalyst in beginning discussions for treaty arrangements, was removed from the discussion" (Koch, 1977, 88). The dismantling of the Pattani Sultanate, which had begun in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was by 1902 almost complete and irreversible, except, of course, for the Pattani royalty with men like Tengku Abdul Kadir, who in refusing to cooperate with the Thais, had helped to demonstrate a technical illegality. This illegality later to provide an invaluable weapon to the cause of Malay-Muslim separation in the Pattani region until today.

After the signing of the Anglo-Thai treaty 1909, Pattani was no longer a Malay Kingdom, but merely a number of Malay Provinces under Thai subjugation. The history of Pattani after 1909 can be regarded as the history of the Malay-Muslim minority in Thailand until today.

## 2. Emergence of Separatist and Terrorist Movements

As far as the Kingdom of Pattani is concerned, it was annexed into the Kingdom of Thailand after the latter was reformed and reorganized by King Rama V in 1902 in favour of the region-based administrative unit called "Thesaphiban," meaning a semi-autonomous unit of administration comprising several provinces and presided over by a lord lieutenant. Consequently, the seven former administrative units known as the Principalities were abolished, replaced by Monthon Pattani, (officially called Monthon Thesaphiban Pattani) resulting in the termination of the seven Pattani-based principalities. In 1909, the British and Thai Governments signed the pact known as The Anglo-Thai Treaty 1909 on the basis of which the demarcation line between British Malaya and Thailand was established. As a result, the so-called Pattani State was completely terminated and has been a part of the King of Thailand ever since.

Upon his loss of political power, Tengku Abdul Kadir Kamarudin, the last ruler of Pattani

State, was up against the Thai government. Eventually, he was arrested and accused of his disobedience to the Thai government. Finally he was brought to Bangkok, then proceeded to Pitsanulok Province in the northern Thailand where he was jailed for 10 years. Later on he was released with the creative action by Sir Frank Swethenham, the then Governor-General of Singapore, who did his best to get him released through a direct negotiation with the Thai government. He was granted royal amnesty on the condition that he no longer participate in any kind of political activities. However, in 1915 he was discovered engaging in active politics and was again imprisoned for another 2 3/4 years. At the end of his prison term he made a final decision to take a political asylum in Kelantan State and lived there until his death in 1933. Thereafter Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen, his youngest son, was determined to carry on his father's mission to reclaim the Pattani State from Thailand (Surin Pitsuwan, 1985, 57-58).

During his days in Kelantan State Malaysia, Tengku Abdul Kadir had established his connection with his own people in the southernmost provinces of Thailand and motivated them to take political action in the form of aggressive illegal movements, such as the Nam Sai Rebellion against the Thai government in 1922 (Surin Pitsuwan, 1985, 57). Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen also extended his political cooperation with some religious leaders in the southernmost provinces of Thailand to liberate Pattani state from Thailand. At the same time he put his great effort to spread out his political idea and mission worldwide especially in the Malay-speaking countries, as well as those in Middle East. In this regard it is evident that the relationship between Muslims in Pattani and those in the Kelantan State of northern Malaysia had been well-established ethnically, religion-socially and culturally. As far as the relationship in term of royal families in the Kelantan State and in the Pattani State is concerned, it is found that they have been very close to each other, as is the religion-based relationship between the two sides. This is found

to be deeply integrated, since Islam has converted a number of the native followers in this region (Emerson, 1964; Roff 1967).

To solve the critical problem of this kind, King Rama VI (King Vajiravudh) went on adapting his public policies regarding the Malay provinces in Southern Thailand by instructing and guiding his Interior Minister to pursue the following public policies:

1. Whatever practices or regulations appeared to oppose Islam should be abolished immediately. Any new guidelines must not be in violation of the Islamic Religious teaching.
2. The level of taxation among the Malays should not be higher than what people in Malaya were required to contribute.
3. The Public officials to be assigned to Pattani should be honest and polite. No officials should be sent there as a punishment on account of their misbehavior in other areas.

On the account of the aforesaid public policies, we can say that the Thai government at that time was quite active in many ways to solve a good number of the political problems. Such public policies were those that were formulated by the absolute monarch who himself was a nationalist in line with Chauvinism. The interesting point in this issue is that the monarch recognized the self-governed form or semi-autonomous self-government which benefited the southern provinces, as he had political attitudes as follows: "Prevent the Sacrifice of any bit of ground where our ancestors have planned our nation with these Thai borders" (Wilson, 1962).

King Rama VI did his best to reduce political tension between Pattani and other neighboring regions in such a way that the public policies and acts regarding a socio-cultural integration and nation-building had been carefully developed and applied. However, the ethnicity-based nationalistic attitudes of the Malay ethnic groups in the northern states of Malaya towards those in the southernmost provinces of Thailand had been obviously so strong and sensitive that the former were prepared to extend their possible political support to the later. The attitudes of this

kind were signs or marks of warning signaled the Thai government that the public policies and acts of suppressing Malay ethnicity and cultural identity carried out consciously and unconsciously would be met with a strong negative reaction from the Malay Muslims in this area. They believed that the best way to do in this regard was to get the people socialized in the demanding virtues such as honesty, faithfulness, truthfulness etc, in such a way that the concerned parties have a say by means of the participant culture. Added to this is that the quality of life of the people at the grassroots of a respective community should be upgraded by means of economic development. It is a fact that such public policies and acts were in operation in 1932 immediately after the 1932 Revolution, on the basis of which the King of Thailand has been running under the constitutional monarchy, resulting in the end absolute monarchy, replaced by the representative government. Since the Pattani state was annexed into Thai state in 1902, the political attitude of the Pattanians by their ethnic backgrounds has been on line with chauvinism, but now it has been criticized positively in term of Thai nationality to some extent by means of political participation under democratic system. Earlier than 1932, looking back in political history, we find that the Kingdom of Thailand was run as an absolute monarchy regime under which its administrative system was organized and managed by a King and his subordinates, while his subjects took no active part in political participation at all. When political conflict came into existence, it could not be solved through peaceful means but through political violence in the form of coup d'état or rebellion. The separatist and terrorist movements taken up against the Thai government by the Malay Muslims in the so-called former Pattani State are good examples.

The socio-political change brought forth by Khanarat (People's Party) on June 24, 1932 was the turning point of political change and development in Thailand (Tawat Makarapong, 1976; London, 1939).

The change brought in the constitutional government motivated by the democratic spirit on the basis of which the sovereignty belonged to the people, who before 1932 were never allowed to take part in the political decision-making at any level.

The change was welcomed by the people, especially the religious leaders in the so-called former Pattani State. They believed that they would be given a chance to win their political rights to run their own affairs in relation to religion, culture and language. Such political development was also welcomed by Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen, who had taken political asylum in Malaya. He decided to leave for Bangkok and informed the leaders of Khanarat that he and other Islamic leaders would be quite happy if they were allowed to lead their life in Thailand, which was now under constitutional regime (Pridi Phanomyong, 1974, 10-11).

As far as the Malay Muslims in Southern Thailand are concerned, they are said to have had a dilemma, due to the fact that they were having difficulty assimilating into Thai identity by means of education, economy and polity. As a result, they rose in arms against the Thai government in the form of separatist and terrorist movements. In addition, they did not take part in active politics in the form of general elections organized by the Thai government due to the fact that they were not prepared to become involved in such politics because most of them were comparatively illiterate. That was why only one Muslim was elected as MP province at the 1933 general election. He was Tuibin Abdullah elected from Satun Province (Hadbamrue, 1968, 140-146).

Because of this, the leading Muslims were of the idea that the younger Muslims in this region had to be provided with compulsory education as to meet such an urgent educational demand. Such a demand was in accord with the sixth policy set up by the Khanarat upon the 1932 successful revolution (Siri Permchit, 1962, 31).

As far as the primary education in Thailand is concerned, it has been evident that since the national administrative form it is compulsory

for all Thais to receive education according to the nation's educational pattern, from primary education to higher, but problematic when put into practice in the southern border provinces. This is because of the fact that the Malay-Muslims in the area are of opinion and attitude that their religion (Islam) and cultural identity, especially their traditional education in line with Pondok School system, Islam-based tradition, practices and religious leaders will be second to the Thai national identity under the present national compulsory education. Added to the above is the role of the Thai Buddhist monks, who played an important part in the Thai educational system in the past. This is why the majority of the Malay-Muslims in the area do not participate, nor extend their helping hands in the present Thai national system which puts more emphasis on the secular education than the Islamically oriented one. The enrollment in the state-run primary school is believed to be a starting-point which will no doubt weaken and finally eradicate the cultural identity of Malay-Muslim ethnic groups. The urgent thing to be done right now by the Thai government is to uproot or exterminate the antithetic opinions and anxious attitudes of the Muslim natives of the region before the government development projects of different kinds are put into operation. These are the words of request and warning from their religious leaders who are found playing a leading role in this issue.

Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen has again appeared to be the native's beloved leader who was once kept away from political activities but now was made to take part in political arena under parliamentary system at the national level. However, he was afraid that upon his taking an active role in the politics under the Thai political system, it would be harmful to his identity or lose it completely to the Thai one. Therefore he tried his best to establish an autonomous or independent state while taking an active part in running the Thai political system.

However, the idea and dream of Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen, who had hoped for an autonomous or independent state, was not yet

materialized under the new political system due to the fact that the parliament was under control of a few powerful elite groups, especially the military elites who treated the parliament as their rubberstamp as far as the public policy and administration were concerned. The political demand raised by some members of parliament was hardly attended to by the executive or administrative majority of whom were recruited from the military or pro-military groups. That was why the politicians from the southern border provinces were so discontented and dissatisfied upon the political failure. In short, the struggle for political power was more centralized than decentralized under the control of the militarymen and bureaucrats who were by and large Thai Buddhists. The power struggle was carried out in favour of a nationalistic approach as well as through the military-led political means and socialization in favour of social integration. As a result, the Malay-Muslims in the southern border provinces were so upset that they were up in arms against the Thai government.

All taken into consideration it was found that things went from bad to worse when the Thai government, lead by Pibul Songkram, the young militaryman in 1938 was strongly determined to stand in strong support of "ethnic Thai chauvinism" which impinged upon the lifestyles of the Malay-Muslims in the southern border provinces so much that they were taking action against the Thai government by terrorist and separatist movements. In this situation the public policy and acts in favour of socio-cultural integration by means of socialization was announced and publicized by the government under the leadership of Prime Minister Pibul Songkram (Thomas, 1966, 91).

As a result, political conflict, tension and violence of different forms came into existence in the country once again. They were relived due to the struggle for political power in the central or national government, as well as the socio-cultural fighting between ethnic groups nationwide, including those in the southern border provinces. The policies and their implementation

in line with “nationalism” put into operation by the government led by Pibul Songkram had greater negative impact upon the minority groups, especially the Malay-Muslims in the southern Thailand and the Chinese. Apparently Songkram was a man who established the so-called racist state known as the nationalist state or Thai Rathaniyom in Thai. The nationalist state was an independent state which put more emphasis on the culture of central Thailand, to which the culture of the Thai in other parts of the country was considered inferior. It is thereby implied that the minority groups were bound to follow cultural patterns or lifestyles of the Thai. To obtain this result, the term “Siam”, the name of the Kingdom, was changed into “Thailand” in 1939 and again in 1949 and thenceforth remains in use with emphasis on Thainess. On this basis the minority groups were bound to be socialized and socially integrated in line with Pan-Thai or the Greater Thai Movement.

As far as the Malay-Muslims in the southern border provinces during Pibul Songkram’s regime were concerned, they were suffered greater negative impact on their cultural identity. They were not allowed to dress themselves in their traditional customs; nor to speak Malay language; nor to use their names, both personal and family after Islamic terms. More to the point is that the Islamic laws regarding family and inheritance were in use in the southern border provinces with the royal permission of Rama V were rescinded. In addition, the non-Buddhists are said to have been converted into Buddhism through socialization in line with primary education, as were the Muslim government officials through Thai bureaucratization (Fraser, 1966, 51).

On the above account they were again up in arms against the regime under the leadership of Pibul Songkram for their autonomous or independent state. Otherwise they would be losing their own identity and finally became assimilated into the Thai fold in favour of Thai identity. All in all, taken into consideration, they had sympathy from the international forums or

organizations, especially the Muslim world in regard to their struggle for an independent state. For this issue, nationalism based on ethnic backgrounds was again active after it had been calmed down for a long time, due to the British foreign Policy in this region.

The Pan Malayan Movement came into existence to do its best to support nationalism formulated and developed by the Malay ethnic groups under colonialism in the Malay Peninsula. So also was the nationalist movement carried out by the Malay Muslims in the southern border Provinces of Thailand under the leadership of Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen, who was found organizing separatist movements outside Thailand to liberate the so-called Pattani State.

While Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen and his close associates were active in organizing the people of the same backgrounds and attitudes in the southern border provinces of Thailand and British Malaya in 1939, the World War II burst out. The Thai government led by Pibul Songkram took side with Japan in favour of the Rome-Berlin Axis, while the Malay Muslims in the Southern border provinces sided with the British government, hoping that the colonizers would support them in getting the so-called Pattani State liberated after the end of the World War II (Prudi Phanomyong, 1974, 11). However, time did not work in their favour. Their hope was totally destroyed.

Later on the Thai government led by Sarit Thanarat was in favour of the assimilation policy by means of socialization in line with Thai culture. The Act was passed, at demanded that Pondok schools or Islamically oriented schools were transformed into the status of Private Religiously-Oriented schools, which operated under the rules and regulations ordered by the Ministry of Education. So also was the curriculum followed by the schools. The Thai language was a prerequisite for all those who attended the primary schools. The texts and related documents which were not yet approved by the Ministry of Education were illegal. The Malay language which was offered in the schools

was cancelled. The population project, by means of which a number of populations between Thai Buddhists and Malay Muslims in the region were kept proportionately in balance, went into operation. The self-help settlement was allotted to the people evacuated from the northeastern provinces, while the Malay-Muslims natives were allotted nothing .

Later on during the rule led by the Prime Minister Thanom Kittikhachon, the above-mentioned public policy remained in use and no major change was made. The Malay-Muslims were treated as second class citizens ; they were exploited, social ills and injustices were common. More important to this point is the fact that killings and punishments of different forms went on without legal repercussions. They had no alternative but to fight against the Thai government through different means and finally resumed their struggle in the forms of separatist and terrorist movements, since the end of The World War II. The movements in different forms and strategies have been developed and all are active for the same goal, that is, the liberation of the soc-called Pattani State.

At this point, some remarks should be made that the separatist and terrorist movements by the Malay-Muslims were initiated and carried out by their political and religious elite. The reasons behind this were that the political elite lost their power while the regionsí elite played a significant role in maintaining and preserving their cultural identity in terms of language, ways of life, and Islam or Islam-based popular tradition. They have been supported by the former students of Islamic schools and the faithful, followers of Islam.

It is evident that they were not alone in the struggle for their independent Pattani State. They got possible support from the neighbouring states, especially Malaysia, due to the fact that the Malay Muslims in the southern border provinces of Thailand and those in the northern border states of Malaysia are very close to each other religiously, racially and culturally. In short, they share similar socio-cultural backgrounds. More

to this point is that the leaders of the two are closely related by blood. When the Malay Muslims in the southern border Province of Thailand were in political and socio-cultural troubles under the Thai regime, they got sympathy and support from those in the northern border states of Malaysia. Their acts with intention to help each other became the sources of misunderstanding between the Thai and Malaysian governments. This was the starting-point of the movements of different forms.

The following are the separatist and terrorist movements of different forms and strategies, calling attention to their destination and doom. Some went into oblivion; some are defunct and some are still active in the southern border provinces of Thailand.

## 2.1 GAMPAR

GAMPAR stands for “Gabungam Melayu Pattani Raya” meaning the “Greater Pattani Malayu Association,” the first Pattani Malay organization which was set up at Kotabaru, Kelantan State on March 5, 1948. The organization came into existence after Haji Sulong was arrested and imprisoned by the Thai government. The organization is said to have been structured on the basis of PKMM-Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya. This organization was officially opened on March 3, 1948 at Madrasah Muhammadiyah, Kotabaru, attended by about 200 concerned members, especially Malay Muslims who were Pattanian by birth. Tengku Ismail bin Tengku Nik was elected as the chairman of the GAMPAR. Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen did not attend the opening ceremony; nor was he given any post of the GAMPAR. However, there was a strong belief that he was certainly behind the movement.

The GAMPAR set up its three objectives as clearly stated in its manifesto as follows.

1. The four provinces of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun be united under Malay Islamic state and its residents be liberated from disdain, oppression, and exploitation.

2. The state under the appropriate governance in line with Islamic tradition and practices be established as to meet the demands

of the Malay-Muslims.

3. The status and quality of life of the Malay-Muslims in the area be upgraded from standpoints of humanity, justice, freedom and education at the earliest possible moment (Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud, 1999).

After Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen died in 1953 and Haji Sulong bin Abdul Kadir died, the GAMPAR came under new leaders and developed into various independent groups and organizations with their strong determination to liberate the so-called Pattani State.

## **2.2 Barisan National Pembebasan Pattani (BNPP)**

Barisan National Pembebasan Pattani (BNPP) was known in English as the National Liberation Front of Pattani (NLFP). This organization was established by the Pattanian Malay-Muslim radicals or fundamentalists who were motivated to raise up in arms against the Thai government to establish the independent state of Pattani, separate from Thailand. It was the one of the earliest separatist movements in this regard. This organization was established by Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen in 1948. It was developed from the GAMPAR. After the death of Tengku Mahmud Mahyideen in 1953, the BNPP was led by Tengku Jalal Nasir Adul Na Saiburi or Adul Jalal (Che Man, 1980, 20). Its Headquarters were situated in Kalantan state, Malaysia.

As far as its members who operated in Narathiwat province and its vicinity are concerned, they were led by Bapa Idris or Dereh. At present they are led by Badri Hamdan and Sumsuddin who organized a temporary army called *Tentera National Pembebasan Rakyat Pattani* (TNPP). It is believed that the members of the TNPP are several hundred in number, recruited from Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat provinces, and divided into subdivisions, consisting of 10-20 staff members. Their immediate goal is to restore or revive the former Pattani State which was prosperous in the past and the topmost goal is to unite the Pattani state with the Federation of Malaysia.

As it is, the BNPP has been in operation for a long time and has played a significant part in the struggle for separation with special emphasis on the public relations by means of which adequate information about the Pattani State was well publicized, so much so that the people both inside Thailand and beyond have been kept well informed. The focus was stated on the people in the Arabic world. Under the possible support by the BNPP the young Malay-Muslims were sent to study at universities in the Middle East, such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia. After completing their studies the young graduates returned to their home place, working under the direction and supervision of the BNPP. This organization was initiated by the former rulers of the former Pattani State, who lost their political power. This is why the BNPP was in full support of the monarchical system and in good relationship with the conservative Muslims, as well as the religious leaders, including the Pondok school leaders in the southern border provinces of Thailand. The Islamic teachings are the guidelines on the basis of which the followers and supporters are motivated to take part in the movement. In addition the TNPP participants established a good relationship with the members of Parti Islam, especially those in the northern states of Malaysia bordering on Thailand. At present the role of the BNPP is on the decrease on account of its political defeat to the UMNO. However, the relationship between the BNPP and the Parti Islam is still in a positive and satisfactory (McBeth, 1980, 20). Apart from that, the BNPP is found doing its best to help the Malay-Muslims in the southern border provinces of Thailand obtain Malaysian nationality in return for their support to the organization. The TNPP members have been organized and re-organized into a guerrilla band, hiding along the mountainous chains such as Boodo Mount in Narathiwat Province. Their stated approaches and policies are as follows.

1. Do no harm to women and children.
2. Neither interfere nor cause peril to legal private property and the people's means of

living.

3. Give full support and cooperation to the people's ways of living.

4. Ethically and courageously fight for the organization's ideology as well as keep the arms / weapons seized in the topmost hidings.

5. Reach decisions by the participation of most, if not all, of the concerned members of the organization (Suara Siswa, 1970).

### **2.3 Barisan Revolusi Nasional (BRN) or the Liberation Front of Republic Pattani (LFRP).**

This organization was established on March 3, 1963 with Ustaz Abdul Karim as its leader. Karim was a teacher at Pondok school, Rusoh District, Narathiwat Province. He started his movement as an illegal organization based on nationalism, socialism and Islam. His movement is quite different from the other organizations in this regard. It was organized in favour of leftism and violence in spite of the fact that it was considered weaker than other because its field operations were limited in its scope, at least in terms of space. Later on Karim reorganized his movement and expanded its field operations with a strong intention to establish the Pattani State. He placed more emphasis on political organizing than on political activities in line with a guerrilla band. The BRN used the Pondok Schools as its operational bases and the former Pondok school teachers as its active leaders. Therefore, their activities within the Pondok schools were easily carried out by the BRN. Within a short period of time (1966-1972, 5 years) the BRN was successful in exerting its influence over a number of Pondok schools in the provinces of Yala and Narathiwat and later in Pattani Province.

### **2.4 Pertubuhan Perpaduan Pembebasan Pattani (PPPP) or the Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO)**

The PULO was organized on March 22, 1971 with Kabir Abdurrahman, Tengku Bira or Abdul Na Wang Kram as its first Chairman and secretary-general. He was graduated in Political Science from Delhi University, India. The PULO was established with a good intention to be the

centre for a effective cooperation among the separatist movements which were at that time up in arms against the Thai government. It is by and large acknowledged that, out of the existing separatist movements, the PULO is the most effective organization and has an extensive network. In addition, it has its own clearly defined structure and constitution which is divided into four main chapters, as follows :

Chapter I deals with the liberation of the Pattani state from the Kingdom of Thailand. To do so successfully, is not an easy task, but it requires a devotion from everyone to carry out the mission to achieve the stated objective.

Chapter II deals with the administrative system of the Pattani state after it gains independence. This chapter describes a parliamentary system as well as the election for the president of the state.

Chapter III deals with the operational plan to achieve Pattani state liberation in both the long and short term, including a guerrilla war plan which was distributed throughout the Pattani state and strategies in Thailand.

Chapter IV deals with state policies both within the Pattani state and beyond.

The policies set up by the PULO are clearly stated in its official documents as follows.

1. The PULO is a political organization established for the benefit of the Pattanians with its stated objectives:

A. To unite the various political groups who are Pattanians by their socio-cultural background to fight against Thai imperialism.

B. To fight for freedom of the world against imperialism, both old and new. "We are determined to raise up in arms against the imperialism by any available means. We will fight against the Jews who occupy the Arabs' land."

2. The PULO has its own history and ideology which related to with political, military and economic systems, all of which are of great use to the lifestyles and tradition of the Pattanians.

3. The liberation from Thai imperialism is the top priority for all the Pattanians at all times,

with a great hope to establish an Islamic Republic.

The outstanding performance by the PULO is its military division, which has deployed the militarymen or the so-called separatist forces in the provinces of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and some districts of Songkla Province.

Apart from the aforementioned separatist movements, there are many other movements that are organized as to disturb the daily life of the residents in the region, such as Islamic Movement, Da'wah Movement, Tariqah Movement, and the Islamic Militant Groups. Their roles or performances are different in their approaches and strategies.

However, it can be said that the separatist movements of different forms came into existence in the southern border provinces of Thailand because of historical conditions as well as the relationship between the Thailand and the Pattani State or Principalities in the past. Added to this point is the fact that the Thai government policy toward the Malay-Muslims in this region is said to have a negative impact and therefore caused their discontent. In short, the approaches and strategies put into operation by the Thai government have been more or less the sources of conflict and violence. More to this point is that the Thai bureaucrats who are on duty in this region are not aware of ethnic differences; nor do they understand the ways of life of the native Malay-Muslims; nor do they trust each other. Instead they suspect each other as far as national security is concerned.

It is the high time for the concerned parties to work out the ways and means through which conflicts and violence of different forms between the two sides can be resolved peacefully, for now and forever.

### 3. Peace Resolution

The approaches and means put in practice by the Thai government under the leadership of the three Prime Ministers, namely, Field Marshall Sarit Thanarat, Field Marshall Thanom Kittikhachorn and Thanin Kraivichien to resolve the problems in relation to separatist

and terrorist movements in southern border provinces of Thailand were authoritarian in nature. Such approaches and means were those which were in favour of merciless suppression of the movements in the same way as in the case of suppressing the communist movement. (Santi Mingmonkul, 1981, 22-25) The suppression of this kind is said to have been merciless, barbarous and inhumane. The policy and its implementation carried out by the aforesaid leaders were the undisputed conditions under which those who were in oppression to the government were alienated from the majority of Thais, that is, they were made to adapt an alternative "otherness" -something/someone other than Thainess, and therefore could not be easily suppressed and quelled. As a result, the movements or activists in the forms of separatism, terrorism and/or communism became so strengthened and integrated that they were able to rise in arms against the governments effectively. That was a good lesson for those government leaders who went in for authoritarianism: the problems were getting worse, the more the separatists and terrorists in the southern Thailand were suppressed, and the stronger they became; they received more support of different kinds from the natives of region, and also from the Muslims of foreign lands. They day by day gained more and more sympathy from the Muslim brothers worldwide, who believed that the Malay Muslims in Southern Thailand were suppressed and crushed by the Thai government. However, such approaches, policies and means were changed when the Prime Minister, General Prem Tinasulanond came to power and issued the Governmental Order 66/23, thereby setting up "Policy to Win Communists," in order to bring an end to the revolutionary war staged by the communists as soon as possible. The Order was of one special notice that the existence of the opposition was accepted. The opposition had to be reoriented and reunified into the Thai fold on the basis of fact that social evils and injustices existed and had to be minimized to stop the

expanding of the support of many forms given by the sympathizers to the communists. That apart, they were misguided and misled ideologically and to some extent practically. In fact, they were Thai by birth and nationality. Therefore they should be treated as part of the Thai brotherhood and reunified into the Thai fold as soon as possible.

In the same manner the policy and acts in accord with the Order 66/23 were also implemented to solve the problems regarding the separatists and terrorist movements. The 43<sup>rd</sup> Civil-Police-Military Joint Head quarters (hereafter referred to as CPM 43) and the Administrative Center for the Administration of Southern Border Provinces (hereafter referred to as ACASBP) were also established in Yala Province to tackle and solve the problems in regard to the terrorist movements and conflicts in the Southern border provinces. The CPM43 was assigned to suppress and subdue the terrorist movements of all kinds, while the ACBSBP was allocated to supervise and oversee the problems in connection with political and psycho-social aspects. All the agencies were supposed to work in a cooperative manner under leadership and supervision command of the 4<sup>th</sup> Region Army Commander-in-chief.

At the same time, the socio-cultural conditions leading to the conflicts of different issues were minimized by the governmental agencies to give no chance to the terrorists to get support in terms of foodstuffs and other provisions from the natives. The government has come to realize that some mistakes were made, while trying to tackle the problems. The government hardly paid pay more attention to the administrative and economic problems which have been the root causes of social evils and injustices in the southern border provinces, while more attention was directed to national security from a military sense. Therefore, the succeeding governments, especially the one under the Prime Minister General Prem Tinasulanond, laid a new public policy based on a good understanding between the government officials who were on

duty and the natives of the region. They initiated and developed the newly recreated officials and those who were transferred into the region reoriented and retrained in the ethnic backgrounds in terms of religion, language, traditions and ways of life of the natives. On the above-said account, the government officials would behave in an appropriate manner toward the Muslim natives, especially the Muslim leaders who were invited to participate in community development projects in the southern border provinces. In addition, the policies and development projects in favour of quality of life and economic development were initiated and put into operation in the region by the government. Added to those was the Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle project (hereafter called IMI-GT) which came into existence, thereby accelerating the economic development of the region. The Malay language was considered to be of a great significance to community development and was offered as courses of study at the secondary school level, as well as higher houses of learning countrywide. More significant to this point is that the Thai political system in favour of democracy has become more powerful, working its way into a public life of the Thai citizens so much so that the 1997 constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand which has gone into effect is said to be more democratic in its nature, giving more opportunity to the populace to participate in politically activities and government than the past. The citizens of the land are equal under the constitution of the Kingdom as far as their political functions, rights and freedom are concerned. So also is the pluralism in terms of ethnicity recognized by the constitution. The present 1997 constitution is by and large called the iPopular Constitutionî and therein is contained the National Security Policy for Southern Border Provinces (1999-2003) which has encouraged the natives of the region to take part in the public affairs.

At present the terrorist movements, namely, the BRN and PULO (whose members are limited in number, say, about 150-200 at the

most,) have been suppressed and subdued in such a manner that they are no longer threatening to the national security. At present the number of the terrorist movements is on the decrease. Some of them have surrendered themselves to the government and joined the Thai Nation Development Project under the supervision of the ACASBP some are employed, and some practise their own businesses. The active members are said not to be more than 40 in number. Those who are still acting against the government are few, say, about 30-40 people. However, they are said to be low-spirited due to a lack of strong leadership and also a shortage of a good support from the outside. The ideology in terms of separation and liberation by means of terrorist movements is in doubt or no longer exists. The groups have done their best to retain and regain their status quo. The afore-mentioned account was taken into consideration and it was concluded that the situation in the southern border provinces was under control and would not impinge upon the upcoming cabinet meeting to be held in Narathiwat Province during March 29-31, 2002. The current disturbances in the region were agitated and staged by the criminals as well as the interested groups who could be controlled effectively by the local administrators and police. By all accounts the ACASBP and the CPM 43 were terminated by the order issued by the office of the Prime Minister on May 1, 2002. However, the projects and responsibilities under the Internal Security Operation Command Area 4, 2nd detachment has been kept active. One month later, the ACASBP was reorganized to meet the current situation.

However, the separatists and terrorists, especially the PULO, are found to be struggling for the survival of their ideology. They have carried on their activities through new strategies by non-stop spreading of their ideology through the Internet. Their determined goal is not only the spreading of their ideology in terms of separation and liberation but also the encouraging of consciousness in terms of their Malay-Muslim identity, which is now challenged by

globalization.

The conditions by means of which the separatist and terrorist movements have been minimized and controlled by the government are due to the approach, policies and acts which are in line with peaceful ones adjusted and readjusted by the Thai government. They are as follows:

**3.1** The Office of the National Security Council (ONSC) : the proposed National Security Policy for the Southern Border Provinces, especially the present one (1999-2003), has been formulated and developed continuously by the ONSC with an emphasis on the development of quality of life and the participation of the natives in them area; the recognition of pluralism in terms of ethnicity leading to peaceful coexistence and the local religious and cultural identity of the natives in the area to be able to "live as Muslims" in Thai society peacefully and cooperatively. This is the first time that the national security policy has been widely publicized in the region and translated into the local Malay dialect in the Jawi alphabet as well as Romanized one and English. It has been distributed to the public free of charge in the area. The publication of the policy in the provinces of Yala, Narathiwat and Pattani has been carried out with good cooperation of the personnel at Prince of Songkla University, Pattani Campus. By these processes, consciousness in favour of national security has been built upon and the conflicts of different forms in the area have been minimized through peaceful means. In this regard, the personnel, especially the professors at Prince of songkla University, Pattani Campus, have played an important part in encouraging the public to study and understand through mass media such as radio and television. The ONSC is doing its best to build up awareness and understanding for all concerned by peaceful means.

**3.2** The Internal Security Operation Command Area 4, 2<sup>nd</sup> Detachment: It has been assigned, in place of the works of prevention and suppression, those of conflict solving through peaceful means, psycho-social operation and public relations. In

order to establish a better understanding among the concerned parties, a series of seminars and meetings between the government or public officials on one hand and the religious leaders and the teachers of religiously-oriented private schools on the other hand have been organized to exchange their views and activities. Similarly programmes have been developed, organized and reorganized with good support and supervision of the ACASBP. This shows that approaches and means followed by the government have changed a lot, that is, a change from those in favour of strategies based on the military-led national security policy to those based on peaceful means, which are in accord with the present national security policy. At the same time the approaches and means adapted by the PULO have also changed in favour of peaceful means, namely, the Internet Website : [www.pulo.org](http://www.pulo.org). to meet new challenges in terms of IT and information system management. This is a new form of liberation staged by the separatist and terrorist movements against the Thai government to get the masses and the intellectuals on their side. The struggle of this kind is more threatening to the national security if it is not brought under control.

In reaction to the afore mentioned strategy, the Internal Security Operation Command Area 4, 2<sup>nd</sup> Detachment is well-aware of the fact and therefore has produced the counterattack Website under the title "<http://www.isoc4-2.mi.th>. with an intention to keep the public informed about the facts and foibles in this issue, so that the public won't be confused. This is a new approach and means based on information and technology under globalization.

Accordingly, the 4<sup>th</sup> Army Area, the Internal Security operation command Area 4, 2<sup>nd</sup> Detachment and all other established governmental agencies in the area have also included the peace resolution policy/program as one of duty and burden in order to operate and tackle the problems in the same direction.

**3.3** The 1997 Constitution of the Kingdom: The present constitution is considered the best

one Thailand has produced so far. Under the 1997 constitution, pluralism based on ethnicity, human rights and freedom of the citizens, regardless of their religion, race and social backgrounds, are recognized and protected in equal terms as clearly stated in the Article 5: Thai citizens, regardless of their family, kinship, sex or religion, are protected on equal terms by the constitution. In good cooperation with Prince of Songkla University, Pattani Campus, the Internal Security Operation has done its best to get the 1997 constitution in Thai translated into the local Malay dialect in the Jawi alphabet. As such the constitution in Malay has been distributed free of charge, to the Muslim natives of the area for their understanding of their own country's constitution in their own language. Similarly the constitution was later translated into a Malay version in Romanized alphabet and was made available for the public by Institute of Peace Strategy, the Office of National Security Council, along with good cooperation of the Political Science Division, Prince of Songkla University, Pattani Campus.

Likewise the Thai political system has been redefined and reorganized in such a manner that the power structure has been decentralized in favour of Tambon (district) Administrative Organization (TAO) based on nationwide autonomy and reciprocity, thereby people are given a chance to take part in the political decision making for their own respective district. As a result, the native Muslims in the southern border province are entitled to political participation in their own respective district. In short, it can be said that the TAO is the political mechanism through which the political conflict in the area has been resolved peacefully.

However, the peace resolution as such has to be put into practice in favor of holism based on social integration to establish such an attitude as "loving/kindness-based esprit de corps", the statement made by King Bhumipol Aduldej, the present King of Thailand- a thoughtful guide for problem-solving through peaceful means—to his subjects.

Now, the Thai Government has considered a Peace Resolution as one of the National Policy for solving problems among different social cultures, and ethnic groups within and between societies in Thailand. As the result the government is able to pacify political tension in southern Thailand.

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