

## CHAPTER II

### SOUTHERN THAILAND AFTER THE KINGDOM OF KING RAMA V

#### **A. The development of changing the rule in Southern Thailand**

In 1895, the era of the Rattanakosin Kingdom of the King Rama V, that he graciously to priest Wijitworasas to be the special commissioner for administrator to govern in the Southern Thailand. The combination with Nakhon Si Thammarat, Phatthalung and Songkhla that established to be Nakhon Si Thammarat county that office governor located in Songkhla. The rest cities were Pattani, Kelantan, Trangkanu, Kedah and Perlis which announced the cancellation rule of the Sultan, then as the one county belong to Siam.

In 1902, there was announced by the King Rama V to annexation of Pattani, Saiburi, Yala and Narathiwat which became the city under or "Jajaha" that belong to the territory of Siam which name as county of Pattani but the announced of Siam which there was rejected by "Tengku Abdul Kadir" as the Sultan of Pattani in that time. The Sultan Abdul Kadir did not accepted the annexation of Pattani to be part of Siam. Siam was sent the military troops which the chief of commander in that time was Prasri Suriyawong or Chuang Bunnak to repressed and catch the Sultan Abdul Kadir to imprison at the central of Siam.

The insurgent movement opposed the Siam after this situation which Tengku Abdul Kadir was changed the place to imprison to Pitsanulok. In 1905, Tengku Abdul Kadir was the royal permission by the King Rama V of Siam in that time to go back to the Pattani which still ruled by Siam government. Under the supervision of the

governor of the Songkhla that high commissioner was Mhibal Phraya as the based in Pattani. After Tengku Abdul Kadir was returned to Pattani until he was pass away in 1933.<sup>4</sup>

In 1902, as the turning point of the Siam policy to govern the Southern city. The continuing of the Britain had changing the policy administration to the several Malay states in the North of Malaysia. Siam was fearful to the Britain in Melayu district such as Siam was afraid to the Britain's goal to occupy Kedah and other states. The Sultan from several states were afraid the concessioners of the Britain advantages. The government of the Britain who own any territories might be persuaded to the Sultan to conduct any kinds of bad affected to Siam.<sup>5</sup>

In 1906, Siam has rectified the governor administration in the Southern to manage the new rule in order to annexation several district from 7 districts to 4 main districts which followed:

1. Pattani city consist of Nongjik, Yaring and Pattani.
2. Yala city consist of Raman and Yala.
3. Saiburi which still as before
4. Ra Ngea which still as before but it was just changed the name to Bang Nara and after that changed the mane to Narathiwat in 1915.<sup>6</sup>

In 1916, the city has changed to be province. After that Pattani county consist of Pattani, Yala, Saiburi and Narathiwat province. In 1931, Saiburi province has been abolished which became the only one of the district in Pattani. Several days after

Pattani county has been abolished which still remained of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat province belong to ministry of interior since 1933.<sup>7</sup>

Siam and Britain relations in that time have more effected to Pattani such as in 1909, the Anglo-Siamese treaty has occupied the several territory which under this Anglo-Siamese treaty 1909 that the Siam kingdom has cancelled over the sovereignty of Kedah, Kelantan, Trangkanu and Perlis. The benefit of this Anglo-Siamese treaty Britain was permission to Siam that could be borrowed money estimate 4 million dollars in order to develop the state railway of Siam. Moreover, Siam could develop within the state into several ways and brought the several standard form of the European such as the law, the regulation, norm to implemented in Siam.

During in 1910-1922, there was high intensified to resist the Siam government. Furthermore, the Siam government tried to adopt the law and the order which contrary to Islamic and traditional culture of the Muslim in Southern provinces. In 1923, in the era of the King Rama VI in which Muslim people had more role to self-rule that if compare with the previous. Since 1932, Thailand has been changing the rule system. There was the national election which to selected the representative of the people. After this the people has more chance to having the role to national

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<sup>7</sup> Kenedy, Langkasuka and the Earth History of Pattani, Thailand, P. 113

\*\* King Rama V Also known as Phra Chula Chomklao Chaoyuhua, and the eldest son of King Rama IV, he was born in Bangkok on September 20, 1853 and was crowned King on October 1, 1868, following the death of his father. The first few years of his reign were under a regency. King Chulalongkorn is perhaps the most revered of all the Chakri Kings--during his long reign of 42 years 23 days great advances were achieved for the country.

The King actively pursued a policy of "modernizing" the country and had a number of Europeans in his service to oversee such projects as the building of the first railway in Thailand. He himself made two visits to Europe, one in 1897 and another in 1907, during which he became acquainted with most of the rulers of Europe. Bonds of friendship between himself and the various European royal families were formed which exist to the present day. Not only was he the first Thai king to travel abroad [ he made several visits to the Straits Settlements, the Malay States and the Dutch East Indies ] but he also sent his sons to study in Europe [ to school in England and later for military training to Denmark, Germany and Russia ]. He successfully managed to cultivate the idea of Siam as a buffer state between the colonial possessions of the European powers in South-East Asia. The price he paid of losing certain border territories was amply rewarded, for Siam was never

administration. Even though, the first election in 1933, Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat provinces still had not the representative of Muslim people but after that the election which Muslim people has been increasing to selected to be representative in the parliament. For example, in 1996 which Muslim people from Southern of Thailand was appointed to be the chief of legislative in the parliament.

The result of election of the representative in the Parliament, in 1937-1938 at Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat have selected all of Muslim people in Southern provinces, but the result shows that some conflict still happened. For example the compulsory of education administration and used Thai language and several regulations during 1939-1942 that the Muslim people unsatisfied. When the Prime minister Plaek Phibunsongkhram adopted the policy state convention which giving the bad impact to Muslim people that several points were contrary to the traditional culture of the Muslim.

In 1947, Muslim people under lead by Haji Sulong Abdul Kadir which he claimed against to the Thai-government to review the rule for Muslim people in Southern Thailand on the special case. The movement has supported by Tengku Mahamad Muhaiyiddin which he was lived in the Kelantan of the Malaysia as the mutual historical closing relation with Pattani. Eventually, In 1948, Haji Sulong was arrested by Thai-government. The tension between Muslim and Thai-government has crackled at the Du-Song-nya, Ra-Ngea district, Narathiwat province. In that situation, Muslim people that was oppressed and clashed by police and Muslim people died and injured which Thai-government called that event "Rebellion of Du-Song-Nya". After this situation which many people who lived in Southern Thailand that they fled and migrated from that area. Some people was resettlement in Malaysia. In 1954, Haji

Sulong was disappeared after catch to Songkhla. The impact to continue the intensified, opposed and suspicious among them.

## **B. The beginning of resistance to the Thai-government**

The resistance to Thai-government has clearly started when the migrate from Southern Thailand since 1947-1948. There was compiled the member to established "Gabogan Melayu Pattani Raya" (GAMPAR, Melayu movement of Pattani) which had the center in Kotabaru and created the network in Kelantan, Kedah, Singapore and Penang, meanwhile there was Pattani people movement. In 1959, there was conducted the leader assembly, member of Pattani and GAMPAR, the result of that assembly which was established as new movement that called Barisan National Pembebasan Patani (BNPP, National front of Pattani Liberation). In 1960, the new movement called Berisal Revolusi National (BRN, National Revolutionary Front) which several those movements have been clashing with the military troop. In 1963, new movement was established in the name Parti Revolusi National (PARNAS, Liberation front of Republic of Pattani), the last movement was established in 1968 that called Pertubuhan Perpaduan Pembebasan Pattani (PULO, Pattani United Liberation Organization). This PULO has the main role which conducted the violence movement throughout they were advertised when they were taking action. Eventually this organization had credibility to foreign supporter.

During Parti Komunis Thailand (PKT) and Parti Komunis Malaya (PKM) had the role in the border of Thailand and Malaysia that it was clearly evident of both the communist parties who supported to the insurgent movement in Southern Thailand and incited to the Muslim people in Southern Thailand to fight against with government. In 1963, the student activities had directly role to political movement in

Southern Thailand which has established the SUARA SISWA as the student union. Moreover, this group was the main spread up the ideology of the student in that time and publication administration department located in Kuala Lumpur. In Kotabaru and Kelantan had established Gerakan Islam Pattani (GIP, Pattani Islamic Movement), this movement supported by some party in Malaysia.

In 1979, there was the new Islamic movement that established in the name of Bersatu (United Fronts for Pattani Independency), in the Melayu name Berisian Bersatu Kemerdekaan Pattani which has the aimed to compile all of the groups who has the same ideology and the target in which consist of BNPP, BRN, PULO and GIP. Bersatu has the main principle movement to oppose the Thai government that is opposing to fight against with the Thai-government and demand to Muslim countries around the world to support them in order free Pattani from Thai-government. The main highest aim to establishing the Pattani of Islamic State which this group has the certain operation that shows in the charter of Bersatu ideology on 26 April 1991.

The framework structure of Bersatu consist of policy council (majlis Syura), executive council (majlis Eksekutif) and committee (biro biro). As the writer has mentioned before that the highest aim of Bersatu to establishment the Melayu Pattani Republic of Islam. Bersatu movement is mostly conducting the political movement which sometimes not take action to military movement but the military movement is relating to other groups such as BRN and PULO.

The operation of Bersatu has more success which this group could be coordinator with other groups that has the same ideology in order to fight against with Thai-government. For example seek for the foreign aid in order to adopted the

righteousness of Islam as Jihad Menentang Penjajahan and as one of the main

to overcome with their enemy. In 1995, they were established the Komite Bertindak Kemerdekaan Pattani (KBKP) and the Committee of the negotiation with Thai-government.

Meanwhile in 1995, there was established the Barisan Bersatu Muahidan Pattani (BBMP, Mujahidin Pattani) which compile the people who has experienced with Mujahidin in Afghanistan and the people who has the good relation with Mujahidin in Southeast Asia. This group has been conducting the violence movement. Moreover, basically, the relationship between the Muslim community and state government are conflicting because the different of the rule way, as the historical setting inside the Muslim people mine. Thai-government has oppressed and occupied to rule Pattani which the demand to return flow around the Southern Provinces. Thailand as the ruler as the main enemy to eradicated.

Nowadays many people who work for the state service has died. To consider with the charter of Mujahidin namely as fighting for Islam and establishment the Islamic State to comprehensively within 5 provinces such as Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat Songkhla and Satun.

The insurgent movement in Southern Thailand has long been conflicting which depend on internal and external situation especially in Malaysia and Indonesia throughout the role of the ideology influence from Middle East which including to restore the Islamic instruction. Thai-government ever adopted the military operation policy to repress the Muslim people. Meanwhile the government adopted the economic and social development policies along with the patronage of Islamic religious and adjustment of the Muslim and Buddha relation on the attitude and

In 1977, government of Thailand was established the Southern Border Province Administrative Center (SBPAC) in order to coordinate between government and local people in Southern Thailand. Moreover, to create the unity and quality of the official office which expect, the situation will be reduce to get peaceful. In 2002, the government had dissolved agency of SBPAC but the unrest situations still happen and more intensify. Since 2002, several situations such as school burned, gun robbery, car bomb, assassinate to the officer and people.

### **C. The fact that trigger separatism movement**

Political Oppression, this group formed the resistance movement because they thought which the government was totalitarian power and not giving enough space for citizens to express their political demands and interests. If there was a general election, they tend to be used as a tool to perpetuate and justify the regime or the political system. Political regimes often suppress these aspirations and desire of a people, but sometimes to exploit the majority of the people to the ruling group. Political regimes often suppress these aspirations and desire of a people, but sometimes also to exploit the majority of the people to the ruling group.

Economy, the natural resources become a main fact of separatism in Pattani and especially in oil and seed. Some are rich in oil and forest products demand fairness from the government. Exploitation of natural resources in the region less enjoyed by the local community. This condition is to be one trigger separatist movements. Areas which are rich with natural resources but its people are poor. On the other hand if economic interests of local communities are not the only motive that could encourage separatist movements. Economic interests of foreign countries also played an important role in the separatist movements in many countries. Associated with separatist movements, it can be expected, that economic interests are also an



important factor or the role of the entry of foreign intervention. As we know the abundant natural resources in Pattani.<sup>8</sup>

Foreign Intervention, there are many case shows that the foreign intervention wants to solve the problem, want to be the main actors who have abilities to solve problem something like "Supranational" such as United Nation, NATO, Organization of the Islamic Conference, and also another Islamic states in the world.

History aspect, as we know Pattani as former empire "Langasuka" thriving elsewhere in the Peninsular Malaya, one of the ancient kingdom of Southeast Asia. A territory covering the south of Peninsula Malaya. Pattani has long been an important area due to economic access of economics by Indian and European merchants. There were many natural resources such as wood, tin, silk and ivory.

During the Ayutthaya kingdom, in 1902, Pattani's inclusion in Thailand was reinforced by an formal Anglo-Siamese agreement between Siam (Thailand) and Malaysia that drew a border between Pattani and Malaysia. Later, Pattani was divided into three provinces, Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat. Siam let Pattani develop independent political, economic and cultural structures. The sultan of Pattani was required to send gold and silver to the Thai king as symbols of loyalty and troops when requested during war. Although Pattani was a colony, it wanted to be independent. When Thai control was weak, Pattani would fight against the government and cut off ties. Almost all of the people in the 3 provinces are Muslims and speak Malay, rather than Thai. Thailand has tried to accept the three provinces completely as a member of the country, policies began to inflame separatist emotion

engendered the sense that the Islamic culture was under attack. Muslim children in Pattani attended religious boarding schools (Ponohs), which were a source of resistance. In 1921, the Compulsory Primary Education Act required that all children must go to state primary schools for four years to learn Thai language. This made the Muslims feel that the Thai government was attempting to turn Muslim Malays into Thais.

Human Rights Issues, human Rights Watch cites abuses on both sides. The insurgents have attacked monks collecting alms. School teachers, principals, and students have been killed and schools torched, presumably because schools represent the Thai government. Government workers have been targeted for assassination. Buddhist villagers have been killed going about their routine work like rubber tapping. According to the Thai Journalists Association, there have been over 500 attacks resulting in more than 300 deaths in the four southern provinces where the insurgents operate in 2008.

Meanwhile, Muslims have been beaten, killed, or "disappeared" during police questioning and custody. Human Rights Watch has documented at least 20 such disappearances. Soldiers and police have sometimes been indiscriminate when pursuing suspected insurgents, resulting in civilian collateral damage.<sup>9</sup>

### **C. The rising of the insurgent in Southern Thailand**

The Muslim people in Southern Provinces unsatisfied to central government because of the disappeared of Haji Sulong. Moreover, in 1957, other factors which the Britain government gave the independent to Malaysia, this case which the trigger to Muslim people to awaked and returned to Malaysia. In March, 1958, Haji Ameen To-

Mina as the son of Haji Sulong was published the Melayu book called Peaceful of the light, this was the original book that wrote by Haji Sulong which he wrote this book before he was disappeared. This book contained the history of the territory, ethnic groups, religious and tradition culture.

Meanwhile the administrative officer thought that Haji Ameen as the inherited by his father to establishment the Pattani state of Islamic to be independent which consist of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun. On 17-19 March 1960, in the Ramadon month that the spy of Thai-government reported which the compile of the insurgent members to conduct the meeting in several places in order to operate the violence. There was demonstrated to many places in Southern Thailand which the police have to used fire to the demonstrator. Moreover the propagandas were reported the negative of polices used the violence to the people who pray, eventually many insurgent had occupied the police station and several main official office in Southern Thailand.<sup>10</sup>

During in 1960 July-August which Haji Ameen was arrested by police and his fellows, there was accused to those people who conspired to conduct the insurgent movement. The administrative officers were filed with the military court in Bangkok. However during the considered in the court that the cabinet has concluded to withdraw one's case on his defendant in order to the political flow and the peace in the Southern provinces. Eventually, in 1964, he went back to his resident at Pattani and he was fled to others country in order to escape from the oppression of the political aspect.

On 16 September 1957, the national revolution when the Marshal Sarit Thanarat was toppled by Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkram, In that time, Thailand still

ruled by military government which completed of the authoritarian. The southern conflict still ignored by military government that cause to intensified of the unrest situation. On 30 January 1960, the cabinet of government has concluded to public social department to establishment of self-development toward Southern province in order to migrate the Buddha people from other regions to resettlement in that places. The minister of interior Lieutenant Prapas Jarusatian to in charger the public social department which has established self-settlement into 5 places such as Yala and Satun have 2 places and 3 places for Narathiwat.

What did happen after the people from other regions who lived in Muslim places which many Muslim people unsatisfied because they thought that the government tried to operate the policy of the Muslim swallow. Moreover in 1965, Buddha people was created the big Buddha statue at Narathiwat. This was the big problem of the Muslim people which they did not want to have big Buddha statue in uncommon situation because if the Buddha people built Buddha statue which mean increased misunderstanding among Muslim people and Buddhist .

Since the gap between government of Thailand and the Muslim people in Southern Thailand have been uncomforted which that time the people who has different opinion that established two insurgents movement that followed:

1. Barisan National Pembebasan Patani (BNPP, National front of Pattani Liberation) was established in 1945 which the aim to built Islamic State of Pattani to be a greater that has the sultan as the head of state. BNPP opposed the Buddhist who migrated to Southern Thailand in the era of Marshal Sarit Thanarat, therefore Thai Buddha-officer administrative and Chinese merchant which as the victims of protection and intimidate. In the previous BNPP. was operated both Thailand and

nationality from Kelantan officer in order to be the supporter for operate of the organization and its easily to cross the border.

2. Barisan Revolusi National (BRN, National Revolutionary Front) was established in 1956, this group has concentrated to Islamic socialism. They took action on political movement and created the own military troops. The main actor member of BRN. was graduated from abroad especially Malaysia and Indonesia.

When the situation of the Muslim was exploited by Thai officer and injustice by officiate from central government officer in Bangkok. There was never accepted the difference opinions which cause of many Muslim people joined with both BNPP. and BRN. especially the foreign aid has supported with the huge money. Eventually the group of insurgent was rapidly growing and strong enough to fight against with Thai-government.

In 1973, the government of Thailand was reported that the insurgent had 49 groups in Southern Thailand except Satun. A number of radical movement under control by insurgent had only 429 people. Several small groups has operated to vexatious in every provinces of the Southern Thailand and ready to used the arm forces to get self-demand such as money and magnate in that regional area.

#### **E. The Pattani insurgency and international Jihadism**

While the increasingly religion orientation of Pattani insurgent has been, to a great extent, the result of developments within Thailand, a number of analysts have suggested regional and international influence, notably Islamist terrorist network, have to played an important role in reigniting the insurgency and altering the character of conflict. During 1990s, Al-Qaeda saw Southeast Asia fertile ground of expansion and is reported to have built up terrorist networks in the region based largely on existing groups and grievance. It is a widely held view that in this way,

long standing insurgencies in Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippine became linked through cooperation between the regional groups.

#### **F. Support from militants**

Foreign support whether in a form of arms, money, ideological influence for the southern separatist movement remains difficult to ascertain due to a lack of clarity over the group responsible for attacks. Croissant suggests that educational opportunities extended to Thai Muslim by Islamic nations have functioned as a kind of Trojan horse for outside influence. Thai Muslims, long denied equal educational opportunities, study abroad in the Middle East and Pakistan. Many return to Thailand to instruct in southern religion school, causing a surge in more radical Islamic teaching in recent year. <sup>11</sup>