

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Conclusion

From the first chapter in this thesis, it aimed to present the impact of the public policy which had towards the minority group which lived in this territory. In my opinion, Ratthaniyom proclamation was on of various public policies which affected to the ethnic identity of the people. It did not only mobilize people, but in the contrary it was the destroying of the relationship among the majority group and the minority.

This last chapter is divided into two parts. The first part would like to conclude the Ratthaniyom proclamation, the second part I would like to describe the affect that the Muslim in Southernmost of Thailand got from this proclamation

1. Ratthaniyom Proclamation

Concerning with the government under Phibunsongkhram government, it was divided into two period; the first period of his government founded in the end of 1938 until the mid of 1944. The second period founded in 1948 until 1948-1957. (Wyatt, D.K: 2003: p.256) In the period of Phibunsongkhram government, it emphasized on the Cultural Revolution and the campaign of the nationalism among the people in the nation. The government under Phibunsongkhram started the nationalistic sentiment campaign in 1939 which influenced from the German, and the Japan. The distinguish characters of this policy were the emphasizing on the leader and the character of the national culture which follow the civilized nation.

The government of Phibunsongkhram divided the campaign into 2 sessions; the first session we called the soft Cultural Revolution. The government would not have the penalty for the people who oppose to the declaration of the government; it happened in 1939. The important material that the government used for implementing this policy was the Ratthaniyom proclamation and the national cultural maintenance act which was part of the Ratthaniyom proclamation campaign. The second session was the hard national Cultural Revolution. It happened in 1942.

The government under the Phibunsongkhram started to adapt the concept of Hitler and Mussolini. (Thamsuk Numnondha: 1979: p.139) In this period, Phibunsongkhram and his colleague-Laung Wichitwatakarn launched the campaign "Following the leader" It emphasized on the leader.

Thamsuk Numnondha mentioned to this period as the period of dictatorship because the leader had the high authority in bureaucratic administration. Conclude from the state of the Prime Minister; "Japanese people put their faith to their King, but Thai people had nothing. Nation, Religion, King, and the Constitutional law did not complete for people. Hence the Prime Minister would like the people to follow the leader." (The state of the Prime Minister: Ref: Thamsuk Numnondha: 1979: p.141)

To precede the cultural policy during the period of Phibunsongkhram, the government promoted it by using the advertisement, lauding the sacredness of the leader. All newspaper and included the controlled radio-in the controlling of *Khodsanakarn* department; this department was responsible for promoting the declaration and informing the government information for the people. The government also established the National Cultural Council in order to control the people. (The National Culture Acts 1942) This organization divided into 5 departments which were the department which was responsible for creating the culture in the moral of people, the department which was responsible for the disciplinary and tradition, the department of Fine Art, the department of literature, and the department which was responsible for women.

The government under Phibunsongkhram also changed the Thai alphabet by canceling 5 vowels, and 13 alphabets. The government changed the way of writing Thai language; the government eradicated the Bali-Sanskrit influences and forced the people to use the right pronoun such as I-"Chan" was in stead of the first person, You-"Than" was instead of the second person, "Cha" represented the word "Yes" and "Mai" represented the word "No". The government also cancelled foreign language such as Hello, A-GO (The calling of Chinese people), and Here (Brother in Chinese language). Besides those things, the government also campaigned the people to have the proper name; women had to have the name which represented to the women such as Flower, vegetable, and fruit. For the men the name should be named

as the weapon, and etc. The cultural policy during this period brought to the big changing towards Thai people.

The cultural policy during the period of Phibun Songkhram proceeded too fast. To consider the cultural policy during the period of Phibun Songkhram, there were many factors that contributed to its establishment. From this research, I found that these were...

1.1 Internal Factor which included...

The national unification: During the first period of Phibun Songkhram government, the country faced with the influences of the Chinese people who lived in Thailand and the external which came from the expansion of the WW II and the invasion of the Japanese alliance. Due to these cases, the government during the period of Phibun Songkhram had to find out the method which made the unification and the stability of the nation. From the concept of the minority and the majority, I found that the minority groups usually lost their identity because the majority group tried to change their identity. The government which was from the majority group normally merged people. To create the unification among the ethnic groups, the government would use many methods to unite the people such as the government would use the integration, the assimilation, the legal protection, the population transfer, and etc that I mentioned in chapter 2. The government would apply these methods in order to unite the people.

To campaign the people to be unification, the government need to create the sameness among the people in the nation which sometimes called the making of nationalistic sentiment.

Political Stability: This was because of this period; there was the transformation of the bureaucracy from the Absolute Monarchy to the Constitutional Bureaucracy. There was some resistance that came from the elite class. The case of the resistance was such as Bowaradet rebellion. Hence the government had to develop the country and rush in making the stability. We could see from the campaign of "Following the leader". This campaign was to convey the people to the leader and it tried to transform the opinion of the people from the King to Phibun Songkhram

Cultural Outdatedness: The government recognized that the people at that time did not have the civilized culture; there were the chewing betel nut, and etc. And it was because the country had to face with the invasion from the western country and the coming of Japan, the government was necessary to change this culture. The government had to stop the insult from the Japanese alliance which tried to present the Outdatedness culture of Thai people. During that time, there were the Japanese people took the photos of Thai people and presented them in Japan. Those people tried to present the Outdatedness of Thai people.

1.2 External Factor

Chinese Government

During that time, the government faced with the invasion from the Chinese government. The Chinese government would like to retain the loyalties of the Chinese people who lived in the other country. Chinese government tried to exert the internal affair of the Chinese ethnic by supporting the budget to develop Chinese school and support the Chinese newspaper. During that period, many Chinese people evacuated Thailand in order to seeking the better opportunity because the Chinese society during that time was poor.

The coming of the Chinese made the government to reconsider the role and the influences of the Chinese people. We could observe from the Prime Minister statement which mentioned that “The government had to find out the way to return the economics authority back to the hand of Thai people.” (Thamsuk Numnondha: 2005). The nervous of the government in the influences of the Chinese led to the Economic nationalism program which used for mobilizing Thai people to use the Thai product. The government also launched the Acts which limited the occupations of the Chinese people.

The other external factor that the government under Phibun’s regime concerned with was the invasion of Japanese alliance.

Japanese Alliance

Although the government of Phibunsongkhram would be the great alliance with Japan, but Field Marshal Phibunsongkhram still distrust the Japanese alliance because there were the attempt to promote the Japanese culture to Thai people. The other aspect that the government would use the Cultural Revolution in Thailand was the attempt of the Japanese which tried to state our culture as the Outdatedness. To escape from the accusation and the insult from the other, the government had to make the Cultural Revolution and created the nationalistic sentiment among the people in order to escape from the Japanese influences.

These are the causes that the government had to convey the people by using the Cultural Policy.

The Ratthaniyom proclamation was one of the tools which the government applied from the method of making the nationalistic sentiment and revolting the cultural. To consider the concept of this proclamation was the same as Phrarachaniyom which came from the Royal convention in the Absolute Monarchy period.

Ratthaniyom proclamation or the Statism under Phibunsongkhram had the character of the nationalism by emphasizing in the “Thainess” Related with 12 agendas in the proclamations covered all behaviors that tended to be Thai-ness much more than integrate with the other ethnic identity. On the other hand, it could compare with the assimilation concept which aimed to merge the people from the minority group to be the same as the majority.

The starting of this nation-building which emphasized on the nationalism feeling began from the changing the name of the Country from Siam to Thailand. Changing the name of the country occurred from the purpose of the government that aimed to eradicate the diversity among the people in various groups because during that period Thailand had to face with diverse sentiment among the ethnic group in Thailand. The beginning of the government in changing the name of the Country from Siam to Thailand brought the fast track reaction from various group of people who lived in Thailand during that time.

For the Ratthaniyom which contributed to the nationalistic sentiment, I found that there were four agendas which reflected to nationalistic sentiment.

Ratthaniyom proclamation no.1 indicated that all people who lived in Thailand had to be Thai nationality.

Ratthaniyom proclamation no.3 indicated that all people had to call themselves as “Thai”. The government prohibited the people to call their race.

Ratthaniyom proclamation no.5 indicated that all Thai had to use the products which were produced in Thailand. This proclamation led to the campaign “Thailand for Thai”

Ratthaniyom proclamation no.9 indicated to the character of good citizen and the attempt of the government to persuade all people to study Thai curriculum and speak Thai.

Ratthaniyom proclamation no.10 indicated to the dress code of the Thai people which had to follow the pattern of the civilized nation.

Ratthaniyom proclamation no.11 indicated to the routine of Thai people which had to categorize the proper routine. This aimed to Thai government would have utilized times to do their activities.

These agendas conducted with the sameness of people in being Thai. The character of Ratthaniyom based on Thai-ethnic identity and consist of the civilized culture which the government gained influences from the western country such as the United State, Britain, and Japan. But when we conducted with the social structure in Thailand, it was not the monopoly society. Being Thai society, it composed of various ethnic group-Pluralism societies. Thus, when the government launched this program, it affected to the other ethnic especially Chinese people and the Muslim people in Southern Thailand. The Ratthaniyom proclamation was the key-mechanism of the Phibunsongkhram government for making the Nation-Building policy which emphasized on the Cultural Revolution policy. It aroused the nationalistic sentiment among the people which led to the sameness. It aroused the feeling of the people to conduct with the prosperity of the nation.

2. Ratthaniyom and the conflict in the Southernmost Thailand

Muslim people in the southernmost of Thailand were the strong believer in their religious doctrine. Religion and the living of Muslim people in that area could not separate from each other. For the Muslim people in the deep southern part, they were part of the Malayu culture which adhered to the Islamic culture. It was the sacrifice for the Muslim because it could not change by the people. For the Muslim their culture was part of the sacrifice of the religion.

Although, Thailand would have various Muslim group, such as Cham in the northeastern part, or the Muslim in the central part of Thailand, but the Muslim people in the southern part of Thailand seemed to distinguish from other because the social structure of the Muslim in that area merge of the historical sentiment, and the feeling of ethnocentric sentiment. These were their identity.

Describing to the Muslim identity in the southernmost of Thailand, their identity could categorized to...

Historical Background: It was part of the greatest Malayu world. It also assumed as the centre of the civilization and religion. That area was well known as the Patani Kingdom; the independency state located in the Pacific Ocean. The earlier past of the Kingdom foundation, this area was the centre of the Hindu-Brahman culture. Then in the period of Majapahit Empire this area gain the Buddhist influences and turn to be the centre of the Buddhism. Until 300 year ago, this area gained the Islamic concept from the trader who came from the Arab, and the Middle-east. The king of Patani kingdom had the faith in this religion. He attempted to develop and expanded the Islamic doctrine to the other area which did not know the Islamic doctrine. This area produced many Ulama; the religious philosopher who was accepted in the Muslim world.

From this evidence, it was clearly that the Muslim in the southernmost of Thailand had the priding in their historical background. They also tried to protect their independency status and tried to precede the Islamic doctrine together with their living.

Religion and Culture: From the interviewing with the director of the election commission in Songkhla province, the culture of the people in the Southern Part of Thailand was developed from the 3 dimension; first came from the Hindu-Brahman influences, second was the Buddhist influences, and the third was the Islamic influences. Their culture, before the declaration of the Ratthaniyom proclamation had the character of the integration between those religious cosmologies. In the case of the reign of King Rama VI, the Muslim in the southern part used the Malayu language which adapted from Thai language. They did not deny the Thai government but they followed the culture that Siam government. There were the translations from Thai-word to Malayu-Patani language. (Paitoon Jaehae: 2007)

The distinguish cultures and custom of the Muslim people in Southernmost of Thailand before the Ratthaniyom were

Language: Malayu was the ancient linguistic in the Southeast Asia. It developed by the small independent state which established on the Malayu peninsular. This independent state was strong and established instead of the Srivijaya Kingdom in the area which called Palembang in Indonesia. For the people who lived in the Malayu peninsular, this language had an important role and reflects to their identity. Before the Ratthaniyom proclamation, the Muslim in Southernmost of Thailand spoke Malayu-Patani language which wrote with the Jawi alphabets. It came from the Malayu-Polynesian ethno linguistic, they had close relationship with the Malay language much more than Thai language. For the Muslim people in southernmost of Thailand, Malay language was not only the language for communication but it also their ethnic identity which represented to their culture and civilization.

Malayu-Patani was not only the language which used for communicating, but for the Muslim in the southernmost, it was their identity which was the linkage between them and the other Muslim in this region. It represented the sameness among their ethnic group which the Malayu was part of the language in the doctrine. The Muslim in the southern part of Thailand would learn the Islamic doctrine by using the Malayu-Patani language.

Clothes: The Muslim in the southernmost of Thailand wore the clothes which covered their body especially for the women. The clothes identity which represent to the Muslim in the southernmost of Thailand was the women clothes such

as Kabaya; it composed of blouse, sarong, and the Hijab. It would cover all the women body from the head until the foot. For the men, they usually wore Sarong, white shirt, and the Kapiya (the hat of the Muslim people), sometimes they wore "Tope" the white long dress when they had the special occasion. Their clothes represented to the respective that they had towards their Allah and the Prophet Muhammad.

Before the declaration of the Muslim in the deep southern part wore these clothes when they went out and did their religious ceremonial at the Mosque. It was an ordinary customary life of the inhabitants in that area to wore these clothes.

Way of life: The Muslim in the southernmost of Thailand was clam society. They did not have much interaction with the other ethnic. For the Muslim they had to Nemaha 5 times a day. They did not concern much on the prosperity because they usually lived in peace with their believing. The Muslim in the deep southern part of Thailand was strong community and it was difficult to assimilate with the other. They also had high self awareness in their ethnic identity. They did not permit the other to change their identity because it was part of the religion and the greatest historical background.

Anyway the way of the people in the southernmost of Thailand before the Ratthaniyom proclamation was integrated with the Hindu, Brahman, Buddhist, and Islam because of the people in that area still believed and followed in the Central government. It might be the King during that period; both of King Rama V and the King Rama VI, permitted the Muslim in that area to study and speak their Malayu-Patani language. The people could precede their life together with their religion doctrine. These things invited the Muslim people to accept and listen to the government.

These identities would be still going on, if there was not the Ratthaniyom proclamation during the period of Field Marshal Phibunsongkhram. The proclamation which emphasized on the Thainess created the disappointment among the minority group. For the Muslim people in Southern Thailand, it opposed to their identity.

That this thesis mentioned above, the Muslim in the Southernmost of Thailand recalled themselves as the Malayu-Patani people. This presented the

ethnocentrism in their ethnic group. They did not call themselves as Thai or Siamese people. That's why they had the alienation feeling when the government declared this proclamation.

The declaration of this State convention did not only have an impact to the Chinese people although it aimed to eradicate the Chinese influences. It had widely impact to all ethnic which lived in Thailand but the sentiment which emphasized on the ethnocentrism of the Muslim in the southernmost of Thailand had highly impact because of it crashed with their religion doctrine. From this thesis, it found that there were 4 of the Ratthaniyom proclamation had directly impact to the identity of the people in southernmost of Thailand. These are the Ratthaniyom proclamation no. 1, no.3, no.9, and no.10. It forced the Malayu-Muslim people in the southernmost of Thailand to change their identity especially the custom and tradition. They covered the lifestyle of the Muslim people which finally must adhere to the Thai tradition and the westernized culture.

The impact which happened showed in various kinds such as the language identity which the people in the southernmost of Thailand had to stop using Malayu-Patani and Malayu-Malay language in their daily communication. Religious scripture must translate into Thai language. The people in the southernmost of Thailand were forced to study in the government school which provided Thai-curriculum education. The people in the southernmost of Thailand must leave their language identity. It was not only the language identity which had the impact by this proclamation. There also were Culture identity, education system, and clothes which had an impact from this proclamation. The Muslim in the southernmost of Thailand must face with the changing of their identity which seemed opposing to their religious doctrine but the people in the southernmost of Thailand must follow the government otherwise they must be punished by the government.

This proclamation had both of positive impact and the negative impact. Most of positive impact must be shown in the view of the government but the negative usually was in the opinion of local people. These are the positive and negative impacts which found in this research.

2.1 Positive Impacts from the Ratthaniyom proclamation towards the Muslim identity

Language: The Muslim in the deep southern part could speak more Thai language which created the convenient when they had to contact with the government. It was because of most of the Muslim in the deep southern part of Thailand could not speak Thai. This solution of campaign the people to speak and learn Thai language was the attempt of the government to solve this problem. It contributed the people to have more ability in communication with the government organization.

Education: From the Ratthaniyom proclamation no.9 which indicated that all Thai people or the habitant who lived in this territory had to learn Thai literature and study Thai language. In my opinion, this was the good impact were the promotion of the education because the people in the deep southern part of Thailand lacked of the national education. The Muslim children usually were submitted to the religious school in order to learn religious doctrine which was not enough for earning and seeking for the opportunity to do the job which had in the country. This proclamation opened wider opportunity to the Muslim. Besides there was the promotion on the youth education, the attempt of the government in opening the adult education opened the opportunity to the Muslim adults to improve their ability and learn more the other culture.

2.2 Negative impact of the Ratthaniyom proclamation towards the Malayu identity of the people in the southernmost of Thailand

To consider the bad impact on the Muslim identity, this research found that the Ratthaniyom proclamation directly impacted to the ethnic identity much more than the religion because in the Qu-Ran had not the prohibitions to learn the different culture. This thesis found the negative impacts from this proclamation which I would like to classify into 2 groups. These were ways of life of the Malayu people in the southern part of Thailand and the other was the race.

Ways of life: For the clothes of the people which emphasized in the Ratthaniyom proclamation no.10; that concerned with the women had to wear the blouse with the skirt, and also wear the hat. And the men had to wear the trouser, the shirt, and the hat which differed from the Kapiya of the Muslim, opposed to the belief of the Malayu people in this area, because they believe that being the Malayu Muslim had to dress with the proper clothes.

The proper clothes in the Muslim opinion were the clothes which covered their body. They could not show their part of body in front of the public. Hence it had to separate from their customary life. They had to oppose their religious doctrine. This finally led to the fearful in the sinful circulation of the Muslim people.

The other way of life that the Malayu people gained the impact, was the religious study. The tying of the government to expand the Thai curriculum education to all Thai people forced the Pondok School to close themselves. For the people in the deep Southern Thailand, Pondok School was the institution which produced the religious philosopher. It contributed this area to be the centre of the religious education in this peninsular. The closing of Pondok School was equal of the shutting down of the Malayu spirit.

The aiming of the government to persuade the people to speak Thai also had impact to the Malayu identity of the people in southern Thailand. For them, the Malayu-Patani language represented their root of culture and history. This language not only used for communication in their daily life but also used for studying religious doctrine.

For the people in the Malayu people in the deep southern part, their ethnic identity related with the Malayu language. Hence, the declaration which indicated that they had to speak Thai directly impacted to their identity. The people in the deep southern part had to stop speaking Malayu and they had to learn in Thai curriculum, these oppose to their identity.

Race: Mentioning on the ethnicity of the Malayu people in the deep southern Thailand, it was the same as other ethnic which has high self awareness. Malayu society in the deep southern part of Thailand was the same as Thai people, they had passed many circumstance until being the greatest kingdom. The Malayu race was tight and strong. It was difficult to change or the merge with the other. The

character of the Malayu people in the deep southern Thailand was the character of ethnocentrism which preferred to incorporate with the people who had the same ethnic identity.

The Ratthaniyom proclamation which declare during the period of Phibunsongkhram government opposed to their race because of the people in the southern Thailand, they did not recognize themselves as Thai. For them, they were the Malayu. The Ratthaniyom proclamation no.3 which emphasized that all people had to call themselves in the contradiction with their race, created the alienation among the Malayu-Muslim in the deep southern Thailand.

After the declaration of the Ratthaniyom proclamation, and it had an impact to the Malayu identity, there was the response from the people in that area. The people in that area separated into 2 groups; one was the group which agreed with the government and had close relationship with the government. The other group denied the government authority such as the local philosopher and the religious leader. This group rejected to interact with the government. It had much influences in the Malayu community in the deep southern part. Hence when the government caught the religious leader; the people would have the protest to the government official.

The declaration of the Ratthaniyom proclamation had directly impact toward the Muslim people in the southernmost of Thailand. It had an impact towards the mind of the people and made the alienation feeling among them. Although they would not like to change their identity but the forcing of the government pressured them to change their practical way of life. Many custom and tradition which were the descent of the Malayu-Culture such as language, clothes, and ritual ceremonies were assimilated with the national culture and tradition.

Conducted with this research there were many Malayu-Muslim identity which must be changed in order to be in the line of national culture. The character of the Ratthaniyom proclamation which monopolized with the Thai ethnic identity and the western culture was considered as the opposition of the Malayu-Muslim in the Southernmost of Thailand.

The impacts which happened towards the Malayu-Muslim cultures and tradition crashed the Malayu-Muslim identity. An obvious identity which represented to the impact was the language which they must stop speaking Malayu-Patani

language and the other was the mode of the clothes which they must follow the western culture. Although this proclamation would have an impact towards on every ethnic group which settled the communities in Thailand, the ethnocentrism in the southernmost of Thailand were the key factor which aroused the people in that area dissatisfaction with the government policy. It created the feeling of alienation among the Muslim in the southernmost of Thailand.