THE RATIONALE FOR CENTRALIZATION IN THE THAI POLICE DEPARTMENT

Thesis for the Degree of M. S.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Shalonglap Davivongsa
1965

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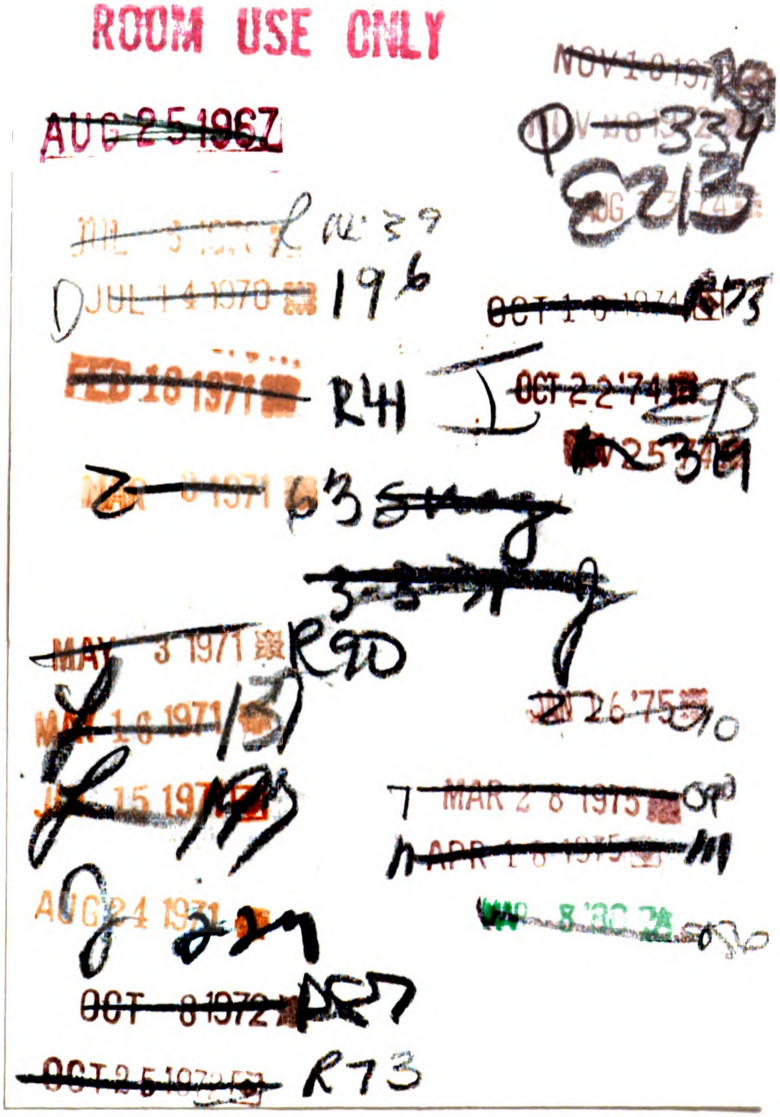

THE RATIONALE FOR CENTRALIZATION IN THE THAI POLICE DEPARTMENT

By

Shalonglap Davivongsa

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Police Administration and Public Safety

1965

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ABSTRACT

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by Shalonglap Davivongsa

This thesis is an attempt to explain the reasoning behind the centralization of the police force which exists in many countries in the world. It is hypothesized that there is a feeling among practitioners in government that the centralization of civil police necessarily leads to totalitarianism. It is the contention of this thesis that decentralization is not necessarily related to democratization; there may be factors which justify centralization of police agencies.

Thailand is chosen as a case study to prove or disprove the hypothesis. Its culture, geography, politics, police system and other factors relevant to the issue are explored and analyzed in order to determine the reason why Thailand utilizes the centralized police system.

The results of the study generally support the hypothesis. They reveal that the police system, either centralized or decentralized, depends upon many factors such as the historical background of the country, its culture,

its pattern of government, its economy, its geographical conditions, and the educational level of its population. The police system alone does not make a country democratic or totalitarian; many factors are involved, including the psychology of the Chief of State.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to Mr. Raymond T. Galvin for his guidance and encouragement during the preparation of this thesis.

Appreciation is also expressed to Mr. Paul R. Falzone, my best friend, whose continued interest in my efforts have carried me through many a difficult moment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Individual liberty is one of the most important of all the goals men seek, and sometimes even fight for, today. But freedom can be achieved only by those who live in a democratic society. In a totalitarian society, there is no freedom for the individual for the state has total control over man, and recognizes no limitations to its control. They regard the individual as a servant of the state. There is no individual human activity in political, economic, social, religious or educational realms. Their objective is maximum power for the state, power which is attainable only by maximum repression of individual freedom. Women and children are treated with the same harshness as men. Not even social relations such as friendship, and familial love, are permitted to stand in the way of the all-powerful state.[1]

In a democratic society, on the other hand, the people are the sovereign power; governmental powers are derived from the people. Here, the people are the master, and government is the servant.[2] Theoretically, all individuals

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[1] William Ebenstein, Totalitarian: New Perspective (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1962), p. 6.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

have equal chances of protection and enjoy life, liberty, and property. The individual is free to act as he wishes, within the limitations of the law. Democracy has been thought a superior--even the ultimate--form of government and way of life.[3]

But, democracy is not the same everywhere. The degree of freedom allowed to the individual varies widely between different countries, because of such factors as historical background, culture, law, and the general educational level of peoples. Because of these vast differences, the relatively free nations sometimes misunderstand the more controlled peoples, calling them absolutely totalitarian, when the difference is only a matter of degree.

What criteria can be used to distinguish between totalitarian and democratic societies? Any community needs rules or laws to regulate individual conduct and to provide cooperative action in the community. In order to enforce laws, and to protect the welfare and lives of individuals as well as the community as a whole, there is a need for an enforcing means, i.e., the police.[4] Thus, a simple way to distinguish between these two systems is to study the nature of the law and the role of the police in a given society.

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[3]Dwight Waldo, The Administrative State (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 15.

[4]Charles Reith, The Blind Eye of History (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1948), p. 14.

Since law is the restriction of human action, its relative severity or laxness will determine the extent to which people enjoy freedom and liberty. Jerome Hall described law in democratic society as follows:

> . . . Democratic law is ethical law. Democratic law also represents self-rule. That the law of democratic societies embodies the best values is especially manifested in legally enforced constitutions which give effect to freedom of speech, press, and religion, protection from abusive official conduct, fair trial, and other civil liberties. From another perspective, we find in democratic law standards of fairness, reasonableness, and human decency. Democratic law expresses and encourages equality and human dignity. It allows free play for value experience and consequence progress. It disciplines official who otherwise lack definite standards to apply regularly and consistently.[5]

In addition, Hall specifies certain methods of criminal procedure which democratic law provides, such as the presumption of innocence, notice and opportunity to prepare for trial, specificity of the indictment, right of counsel, an unbiased judge and, change of venue.[6]

Totalitarian law, on the other hand, neglects individual liberty for the ordinary citizen. Everything depends upon the leader who acts in the name of the state. Under totalitarianism, political criminals are tried in secret. Obviously, the citizen's rights to a fair trial is neglected. Every method which aids in obtaining a confession

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[5]Jerome Hall, "Police and Law in Democratic Society," Indiana Law Journal, 28:145, November, 1953.

[6]Ibid.

is used--"third degree," threatening, torture, etc. No constitution guarantees individual rights.

If there is no police to preserve the rules of law, democratic society cannot exist. But if the conduct of the police is lawless, then also there is no democracy. The police are the most important organ in a democratic society, because the primary function of the police is to preserve public peace and to protect life, property and individual freedom;[7] without the police, there will be no law and order, and no public peace. If the stronger are allowed to prey upon the weaker, then democracy is not existent. If the police themselves act as the law breakers, then, obviously democracy is impossible.

Therefore, it is obvious that the role of the police is a significant index to democracy. In totalitarian societies, the police enforce their will by means of brutal physical force. History bears witness to the cruelty of the arrests, the terror of the searches, and the savagery of the liquidation of those convicted without trial, which mark the performance of totalitarian police, who are a power unto themselves.[8] For example, after Hitler became Chancellor of his Reich, the arbitrary arrests by secret police, the

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[7]A. C. Germann, Frank D. Day and Robert R. J. Gallati, Introduction to Law Enforcement (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1963), p. 25.

[8]Quinn Tamm, "Law Enforcement in a Democracy," Police Yearbook, 65:19, 1959.

frequent use of torture and murder, and the setting-up of concentration camps followed by the massacre of the Jews, were notorious exercises in misuse of the police power in a totalitarian society.[9] Russia's N.K.V.D. is another outstanding totalitarian police force, still practicing today. Charles Reith, an English writer, criticized the conduct of U.S.S.R. as follows:

> Police infiltrate into all institutions of every kind; offices, factories, hotels, blocks of apartments and even into families in their homes. The outstanding and the most formidable power in the eyes of the public is their ability to cause the sudden disappearance of individuals, who pass out of the lives of their friends and relatives as finally and completely as if they were known to have died and been burried. . . . The police penetrate even the highly military and other service and professional circles. Their most powerful weapon is cruelty in the form of psychological "conditioning" of individuals by physical and mental torture. No one in Soviet Russia is allowed to live, or can live, in freedom from fear.[10]

Jerome Hall described the police of dictator states as a physical instrument of political domination. The police are answerable only to the political leaders. They have unlimited power to arrest and try in secret without any semblence of standardized procedure. The use of physical force is relatively usual. The worst crimes are political; the maximum penalty is inflicted.[11]

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[9]Ebenstein, op. cit., p. 1.

[10]Reith, op. cit., p. 248.

[11]Hall, op. cit., pp. 140-142.

Hall stated further that there is no sharp demarcation between the police job and judicial functions in a totalitarian state. The police act as judges themselves, decide cases, and enforce their decisions.[12] There is no hope for the arrestee once he is arrested, because the one who arrests is the judge himself.

In a democratic society, the police maintain order so that people may live safely in their homes, pursue their lawful business, and take their chosen relations. They are the protectors of individual life, property, and freedom, not aggressors, like the totalitarian police. The policeman's conduct in enforcing the law is under the control of laws issued by the representatives of the people, the legislature. Their power also rests with the people. To perform their function effectively, the police in a democratic society have to secure public approval, and public respect. This is done not by using physical force, torture, threatening, and the like, but by creating understanding between the police and the people. Reith, again, pointed out the necessity of securing public approval as follows:

> . . . Of even greater urgency in the light of world events in need of reflection on the tremendous fact that these policemen depend for their power on the good will, approval, respect and affection of the public whom they serve. Public approval of the police creates and maintains public co-operation with the police, without these, they would be powerless

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[12] Ibid., p. 155.

> and useless, and would have to be provided with other means of fulfilling their task.[13]

To secure public approval, the police must be impartial toward all kinds of people, regardless of status, rank, class, race, or nationality. All must be treated the same way. All kinds of criminals, regardless of their offenses, have the same legal rights. Any police action must be legally and morally justifiable. Generally, the duties of the police in a democratic society may be classified, in relation to their goal, as follows:[14]

> 1. The prevention of the development of criminal and anti-social tendencies in individuals. This is the process by which the crime is not committed yet. It is the process of preventing crime before it is committed and reducing the tendency in inclining of criminal offenses. This can be done by working with juveniles; by cooperating with probation and parole personnel in rehabitation of the convicted and other known criminals; by educating the public both at school and through other media; and by providing visible evidence of police ability and availability to eliminate the belief in the opportunity for committing crime.
> 2. Crime repression. This includes the investigation of criminal offenses, apprehension of the offenders, recovering stolen properties and preparing cases for presentation in court.
> 3. The regulation of people in their non-criminal activities and the performance of a variety of non-regulatory services. This included traffic regulation, domestic disputes and other for the purpose of maintaining community tranquility.
> 4. Provision of services. This included providing information for the public, direction, advice and general assistance.

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[13] Reith, op. cit., p. 172.

[14] See O. W. Wilson, Police Administration (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950), pp. 3-4. Also see, Germann, Day, and Gallati, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

> 5. Protection of individual freedom. This involved the protection of individual citizens against unwarranted interference on the part of the state. It also included instructing the people in terms of their duties, obligations, rights and privileges in reference to the law.

The foregoing discussion has pointed out the terror of totalitarianism and also the importance of the police both in totalitarianism and in democracy. The question of how the police become totalitarian is an interesting one. The history of the evolution of the police system may provide an answer to this question. In primitive times, the authority in securing law observance rested with the rulers of the community. Law enforcement may be accomplished in various ways: by the use of physical force; by tribal patriotism or loyalty to the person of the enforcer; by popular disapproval of breakers of tribal laws and defiers of custom and tradition; by contact with the supernatural influences he posses; by fear of his own or the magical powers of tribal religious leaders; or by his military force.

As civilization progresses, the community becomes larger both geographically and in population. It becomes impossible for the ruler to regulate individual conduct by himself. This leads the ruler to try to find new ways to solve the problems of law enforcement. Thus, two police systems evolve, which have been called by Charles Reith "kin police" and king police or ruler-appointed police."[15]

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[15]Reith, op. cit., pp. 17-20.

One solution which has been discovered by some rulers is appointment of individuals as representatives, who posses the full authority of the ruler in securing law observance. They have power to punish the offenders according to their own judgement. These representatives, usually military men, are relatives of the royal family, or friends who can be trusted. Besides dealing with breaches of law, these individuals serve as the ruler's bodyguards and they follow orders given by the ruler unquestioningly.

Because they are representatives of the ruler, they assume much power; therefore, any means which provide a quick way of solving the problems of law observance are utilized by them, including inspiring fear by threatening direct action by the ruler whom they symbolize and other crude methods. They also have immunity for themselves in their dealing with the people. Without a doubt, there is no justice, no democratic society; abusive uses of authority can be expected. This system is said to be the origin of the totalitarian police which exists today. This system is called "king police or ruler-appointed" system.

The alternate solution, called "kin police" is the basis of the democratic type of police system. In this solution, the ruler of the community confers his power and responsibility of securing and maintaining law observance on the members of the community as a whole. This practice has yielded satisfactory results. The tithing system is a good

illustration of the kin police. This system was developed in England in the early Anglo-Saxon period. The inhabitants of England were divided into groups of ten families, for the purpose of maintaining the peace and sharing the duty of protecting the community. Each member of the tithe was responsible for the good behavior of his neighbors. In each group, the members elected one of them to be the leader of the tithe. This leader was responsible for the duties of the other nine members. The tithingman is mentioned as a peace official in the laws of Edgar (A.D. 959-975).[16]

Generation after generation, these two systems were gradually changed. Currently, there is a belief that the localized or decentralized police system is inherited from the kin police system, since each community provides its own police by its own budget, as does the police system in the United States, or in England. On the other hand, the national or the centralized police system is believed to be inherited from the king police or ruler-appointed police system, since the police services are provided by the whole country, or in other words, the central government. Under this latter system, there is no local police; control is held by one or a few persons comparable with the king police system under which all law enforcement was controlled by the king. This national police system exists in many countries

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[16]Germann, Day and Gallati, op. cit., p. 41.

in the world today, including France, Japan, the Republic of China, and Thailand.

To support the above hypothesis, Germann, Day and Gallati have named the national or the centralized police system as a "police state" in which the police is the servant of the state rather than of the people.[17] They further state that:

> In a police state, law enforcement is organized as a national police force operating on the formula that no private life is permitted. This centralization of authority is another characteristic of a national police force. The organizational structure of the national police force vests authority and power in a single person. The force has nationwide jurisdiction. The chief of national police force is accountable only to the chief executive, or top oligarchy, of the national government. Therefore, edicts good or bad, of the ruling power, are executed by the police chief.[18]

J. Edgar Hoover,[19] chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the U.S.A., also strongly opposes any attempt to centralize the police system in the United States because centralization might be harmful to democracy.

O. W. Wilson, an outstanding scholar in the police administration field, concludes that

> No serious effort has been made to nationalize the United States police service or to extend the authority of Federal Law or its enforcement agencies

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[17] Germann, Day, and Gallati, op. cit., p. 71.

[18] Ibid., pp. 71-72

[19] J. Edgar Hoover, "The Basis of Sound Law Enforcement," The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science (January, 1954), 291:40.

> beyond the restrictions imposed by the United States Constitution. Neither does it seem likely that such effort will be made in the future. The existence of highly centralized police systems in the principle enemy totalitarian countries in the past decade serve as a warning to those who would exchange American freedom for increased police effectiveness.[20]

Since it is clear that freedom is desired by all people and that national police systems tend toward totalitarianism, some might wonder why this system still exists in countries who call themselves democratic. This thesis attempts to explore the rationale behind the nationalization or centralization of the police in these countries. Due to the limitation of time and resources, it is impossible for the author to explore all the countries which have centralized police systems. Therefore, the Thai Police Department was chosen for the purpose of this study.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In policing, as in sports, a tactic or formation which has been used effectively against one team may fail when used against another. The police system, whether centralized or decentralized, effectively employed in one country may not be useable in another country. Many factors influence the police system of each country. Economic conditions, geographical factors, inherited culture, laws, governmental system, and educational level of the people

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[20] O. W. Wilson, "Progress in Police Administration," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 42: 145, July-August, 1951.

are major concerns. No country whose economic condition is unstable can afford to provide a decentralized police system. Also, a country which has small geographical area should not provide an excessively decentralized police system. Patterns of the government and its historical development insert a powerful influence on the law enforcement system. The police system in the United States has traditionally followed the pattern of the government, Which is decentralization. Decentralization, it is said, is a symbol of American administration. It is often used as a synonym for democracy.[21] It is the same in many other countries: France, Japan, and Thailand, for example, have both centralized governments and centralized police. Even though centralized or national police systems have been employed in these countries, each of them still calls herself a democratic country, and her citizens rarely deny it.

Cultural and historical background is important. Before World War II Japan had a centralized police system. Police administration was regarded as a function of the national government. In 1945, when she was defeated, the American Military occupation decided to change the centralized system, which they regarded as inefficient and undemocratic. The occupation imposed a police system which was based upon the principle of local autonomy, or in other

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[21]John M. Pfiffner and R. Vance Presthus, Public Administration (3rd ed., New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1953), p. 212.

words, decentralization, borrowed from the United States. Japan had no tradition of locally autonomous police; her police system was begun in the capitol city, and control of the local police, which later developed, was retained by the capitol. The occupation-imposed police system diminished in 1954 after a nine-year trial period. It appeared to be an inefficient and uneconomical system because of the existence of so many independent autonomous police forces. The problems of increasing crime rates, morale, costs, mobility, and jurisdiction were recognized as factors to reduce their efficiency. Finally, Japan returned to the former system, centralization, which still exists today.[22]

The failure of the decentralization of the police in Japan served as a warning to proponents of decentralization; this system, even though it has been effectively used in one culture, may or may not be applied in another culture. People cannot concentrate on the problems of democracy and emphasis on individual freedom and liberty if collective security is in danger. Law enforcement agencies, whether centralized or decentralized, ought to think of the needs of the host culture; there must be reason behind the use of any particular law enforcement system.

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[22]Harry E. Wildes, "The Post-war Japanese Police," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science (January-February, 1953), Vol. 43, No. 5, pp. 655-671.

Key hypothesis. There is a feeling among practitioners in government that the centralization of civil police necessarily leads to totalitarianism. It is the contention of this thesis that decentralization is not necessarily akin to democratization; there may be factors which justify centralization of police agencies.

Scope of the study. This thesis is an attempt to present the reason for the centralization of the Thai Police Department. Thailand, her historical background, geography, culture, governmental system and police organization, will be discussed in order to present an analysis of why she has a centralized police system. The study, in some instances, will refer to the police organization of other countries for purposes of comparison. The matter of democracy in relation to the centralization of the police service will be covered to a degree.

Methodology. The nature of this thesis is partly historical and purely descriptive. The research involved in this thesis was primarily library research. Some documents concerning the Thai Police Organization were obtained from Thailand. The Thai documents are, of course, translated into English. But there are not many authoritative writers in the police field in Thailand; most of the documents were officially published. The author also attempts to utilize knowledge acquired from his past experience as an assistant

inspector in one of the outstanding police stations in the Metropolitan Police Bureau. In the first three chapters, pertinent information is presented and in succeeding chapters it is utilized to analyze the contention put forth in the hypothesis.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The question of centralization versus decentralization and their relationship to democracy is not limited to police administration, but effects government, business and other administrative fields as well. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., when acting as a head of General Motors, made great strides toward decentralization of the company. A great supporter of decentralization, he came to the conclusion that decentralization is a prime means of combining the best elements in bureaucracy and enterprise.[23] He stated that when managerial responsibility becomes concentrated among a few executives, the result is to limit initiative, create delay, increase expenses, reduce efficiency and retard development.[24] Other business administrators support the idea that decentralization provides democracy within the organization, because it provides a chance for subordinates to participate

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[23]Marshall E. Dimock, Administrative Vitality (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), p. 199.

[24]Ibid.

in making decisions; they can use their initiative and they have more freedom of action.[25]

Woodrow Wilson, on the other hand, had nothing against centralization. He stated: "The more power is divided the more irresponsible it becomes."[26] He further stated that power responsibly held and responsibly exercised presents no danger to democracy.[27] Arthur C. Millspaugh concluded that there is a tendency either to accept the tradition of local self-government or to denounce it as a relic of the horse and buggy days. The dangers of centralization are no more imaginary now than they were a century ago. But the safeguards against these dangers need not be the same as those which were appropriate in a simpler society.[28]

While most authorities recognize some advantages of centralization, they are also aware of the dangers to democracy which centralization present. This study may help to present some reasons that enable centralization to survive.

Many students have been confronted with the problem of sparse references and information in the police field,

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[25]Max D. Richard and William A. Nielander, Reading in Management (Chicago, Illinois: South-Western Publishing Co., 1958), p. 615.

[26]Woodrow Wilson, Congressional Government, p. 93.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Arthur C. Millspaugh, Local Democracy and Crime Control (Washington, D.C.: The Brooking Institution, 1936), p. 244.

especially concerning foreign countries. This study may also help in solving this problem.

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Decentralization. This commonly used term is frequently misunderstood. Most people overlook the ambiguity of this term and treat it in general. "Decentralization" is a broad term and involves many questions of interpretation. The literature of organization and management as well as public administration presents a number of interpretations of this term; it appears to be plagued by vagueness, ambiguity, and non-standard nomenclature.[29]

Decentralization is frequently confused with delegation of authority to persons or entities not responsible to the person who makes the delegation.[30] Decentralization and delegation are not identical terms. Decentralization is a process, and delegation is the technique for implementing this process. Delegation is the act of authorizing a person or persons to act for another.[31]

Decentralization is sometimes used interchangeably with the term "deconcentration," the latter being generally

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[29]Bernard H. Baum, Decentralization of Authority in A Bureaucracy (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1961), p. 21.

[30]Paul H. Appleby, Big Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. 101.

[31]Baum, op. cit., p. 22.

used to denote mere delegation to a subordinate officer of the capacity to act in the name of the superior without transfer of authority from him.[32]

Decentralization is applied sometimes to the relations between the different levels of government and sometimes to the relation between higher and lower authorities on a single level of government.[33] However, Leonard D. White specifies that the latter is a matter of deconcentration rather than decentralization.[34]

Decentralization often carries two meanings: geographical separation and separation of administrative process of authority. The police department that has geographically dispersed police divisions or sub-stations may be said to be decentralized from a geographic point of view. This geographic decentralization may be said to be a centralization, administratively speaking, if decisions have to be made at the higher level or at headquarters. These local units are mere executive agencies.[35]

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[32]Leonard D. White, "Decentralization," Encyclopedia of Social Science (New York: Macmillan Company, 1931), 5: 43-44.

[33]Luther Gulick, "Note on the Theory of Organization," Paper on the Science of Administration (New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1937).

[34]Leonard D. White, Introduction to Public Administration (New York: Macmillan Company, 1955), p. 101.

[35]W. F. Willoughby, Principle of Public Administration (Washington, D.C.: The Brooking Institution, 1927), pp. 153-154.

Therefore, in this study, the author will focus on administrative decentralization, which is defined as the distribution of administrative authority through delegation to subordinates.

Centralization. This term refers to a form of bureaucracy that brings all local administration under one central headquarters. Its structure may be decentralized in terms of geographical division, but the over-all planning, policy making, financial control and other necessary administrative functions are vested in the top hierarchy.

Democracy. This term can mean different things to different people. In its original meaning, it is a form of government where the right to make political decisions is exercised directly or indirectly by the people. Charles E. Merriam defined domacracy as follows:

> Democracy is a form of political association in which the general control and direction of the commonwealth are habitually determined by the bulk of the community in accordance with appropriate understandings and procedures providing for popular participation and consent of the governed.[36]

Some authors defined democracy as a flexible society.[37] Others emphasized only individual rights,

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[36]Charles E. Merriam, What is Democracy (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 6.

[37]Zevedei Barbu, Democracy and Dictatorship (New York: Grove Press, 1956), p. 3.

freedom and equality.[38] However, Hyneman concluded that:

> Democratic government is not something which a nation decrees for itself, or which another nation imposes upon it. It is something that a nation grows into. There is a democratic government only when there is vigorous competition for popular approval among men who for one reason or another desire to hold public office and to exercise the authority of government. There is democratic government only when a great number of men make public affairs their business, and in order to stay in business find out what is going on, harrange the public, and organize to put progress of action into practical operation.[39]

Democracy in this thesis refers to a state in which people are empowered to make and unmake its government, with freedom of opinion and expression, and equality as citizens. The degree of freedom is provided by laws confirmed by a majority of the people.

ORGANIZATION OF REMAINDER OF THE THESIS

The remainder of this thesis is divided into four chapters. Chapter II describes Thailand, a brief historical background, geographical aspects, culture and behavior of the Thai people and its governmental system.

Chapter III deals with the Thai Police Department, beginning with a brief history of its evolution through the present organization.

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[38]Charles S. Hyneman, Bureaucracy in a Democracy (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1950), p. 11.

[39]Ibid.

Chapter IV is an analysis of the present system of the Thai police: the reasons for the use of the centralized system and the limitations of the decentralized system. The discussion goes, further, to the problem of democracy and the present system.

Chapter V is the conclusion to the foregoing discussion.

CHAPTER II

THAILAND

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to provide background information about the country of Thailand. Items such as her history, geography, population, and social institutions are discussed only as they are related to the purpose of this thesis. The discussion will not be elaborate; rather, the purpose of the chapter is to provide the reader with a general description of the nation in order to increase his understanding of the problem under discussion.

II. BRIEF HISTORY OF THAILAND

The history of Thailand is a history of migration and war, little of which has been officially recorded. Because official records were destroyed when the Burmese invaded Thailand in 1767, most of the information concerning the early history of Thailand has been obtained from the records of neighboring countries and the chronicles of their elders.

The history of Thailand can be divided into five major periods: (1) the Nanchao Era (650 AD - 1263); (2) the

Sukhothai Era (1238 - 1350); (3) the Ayutthaya Era (1350 - 1767); (4) the Bangkok Era (1767 - 1932); and (5) the Constitutional Era (1932 to the present).[1] All except the last period were under an absolute monarchy. During those periods, the king was the supreme power of the nation: he was the law, the law-maker, and the law-enforcer. There was no rigid boundary line during the first three periods; the capital city was usually the name of the country. Other cities were treated like vassals and had to pay heavy tribute to the capital.

The Nanchao Era. This period is completely void of any official records; most information comes from Chinese dynastic histories. In Chinese history the Thais were sometimes called "Barbarians," who lived in the south of China. These Thai groups frequently competed with the Chinese over territorial claims; finally the Thais were defeated and migrated southward. For a period of time they formed into a powerful Thai State, Nanchao, and by the middle of the seventh century AD, they declared themselves independent from China. They fought successfully with the Chinese on a number of occasions in order to maintain their independence.

During this period, the culture of the Thai was undoubtedly influenced by Chinese culture. Nanchao frequently

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[1]Wendell Blanchard, Thailand: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture (New Heaven: Hraf Press, 1957), p. 21.

came into contact with the Chinese, not only through wars, but through diplomatic exchanges and trades as well. Many Thai royal families sent their children to study in China; some of them married Chinese and returned home with their spouses. Thus, Chinese language, art, and many customs were introduced and practiced in Nanchao.

The Sukhothai Era. Some centuries before the fall of the Nanchao empire, some Thai groups began drifting southward the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. They settled at various places along the upper Chao Phraya Valley. The drifting southward was increasing by the middle of the thirteenth century. Two of the Thai chieftains then managed to unite the Thais. At the same time, Nanchao was defeated by the Mongols led by Khublai Khan. The Thais in Nanchao fled and joined with the former group. Later, they took over the Sukhothai Empire by defeating the former natives, the Khmer (Cambodian), and established a capital city.

During this period there were many developments in Thai culture, much of it influenced by foreigners. From the Cambodians, the Thai people absorbed elements of political organization: the divine kingship. There was a story about the first king of Sukhothai, Phra Roung, stating that he could make things happen as he wished: he could turn man into a stone, etc. In this period, the kings were more paternal than in the later period. King Rama Khamheng, the

third king of this state, created the first Thai alphabet, adapting it from the Cambodian alphabet. Inscribed stones, made by him and his command, offer evidence of civilization during this era.

Because of contacts with the Chinese, Chinese workmen were allowed to migrate, and they established the famous pottery works of Sawankhalok. From India, the Thai adopted Indian art, literature, and religion--Buddhism. There was evidence in the inscribed stones showing the existence of slavery during this period. An inheritance law was also mentioned.

The Ayutthaya Era. The Sukhothai Era is the shortest era of the Thai history. The empire fell after the death of King Rama Khamheng. The new capital was founded at Ayutthaya by another Thai leader in 1350. He, later, became the first king of the Ayuthaya empire, Rama Tibodi I. This era saw both prosperity and deterioration.

King Rama Tibodi I promulgated the first Thai laws, including Laws of Evidence, Laws of Judicial Procedure, Laws on Offenses Against the Government and Against the People, Laws on Abduction, and Laws of Husband and Wife. He is revered as a great lawmaker of this period.

King Trailok (1448-1488) is one of the most outstanding kings in the Ayutthaya Era. He reorganized the governmental system into highly centralized form. His aim

was to convert high feudal governors and chiefs into ministers of the central government. Princes and feudal lords were brought into the government at Ayutthaya to head newly-created departments. All provincial officials were made subservient to the department officials of the capital. This reorganization of governmental forms went far toward unifying the country. Before the reorganization was made, the Thai principalities could wield effective control only over the circle of territory near the capital; beyond that the local chief held the power. Trailok also separated civil and military departments for the first time. Four ministries were organized: the Ministry of the Royal Household, the Ministry of Local Government, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Agriculture, each headed by a chief minister. Salaries for government officials were unknown to the Thai culture at that time. Trailok created what are called "Sakdi-na" grades. Instead of receiving wages or salaries, the government officials were rewarded with a piece of land which varied according to their status or rank. Trailok established the rules defining the various levels of positions of the official and assigning specific amounts of land to each, varying from ten acres for members of the lowest class up to four thousand acres for the members of the highest class. The officials, then, lived off the income from their land.

Trailok promulgated a new law in addition to those created by Rama Tibodi I, the Palace Law. It codified and clarified existing customs governing the operation of the royal household. It described fully the various court ceremonies and rules of etiquette. Severe penalties were exacted for violations of these rules. For immoral acts with a lady of the palace, a man was tortured three days and then killed, and the woman was killed. The penalty for shaking the king's boat, for letting stray dogs into the palace, etc., was death. Trailok also established a new position next to the king, Maha Uparat, i.e., the second king, who will succeed the king when he dies. This position later became customary.

Late in the fifteenth century, Ayutthaya came into contact with European culture for the first time. This relation, of course, brought new concepts and civilization to Ayutthaya. The first westerner to visit was a Portuguese; next came the Dutch, then English, Spanish, and French. During King Narai's reign (1657-1688), the French were allowed to establish churches and schools in Ayutthaya. There were diplomatic exchanges between Ayutthaya and these countries. Later it was found that there was an attempt to convert King Narai to Catholicism and to seize political control. The Thai, therefore, refrained from getting too deeply involved and the relationship gradually declined.

Ayutthaya was defeated in wars and was taken by the Burmese two times. The first was in 1568, but King Naresuan managed to get the Thai people freed after a fifteen-year period. This particular period was long enough for the Thai to absorb some of the Burmese culture, including the Burmese Calendar and many Burmese laws. Two centuries later, Ayutthaya was again invaded by the Burmese. This time the Burmese did not attempt to take over Ayutthaya as before. Instead they burned down the city and destroyed everything, including all official records, documents and written laws. Even the Buddhist temples were burned. They took with them much valuable property, including thousands of captives. This was the worst loss to Ayutthaya. However, only a few months later, the Thai people were able to reunite again, led by King Taksin. He moved his people to set up a new capital at Thonburi.

The Bangkok Era. For a decade, King Taksin attempted to reunite and reconstruct the Thai state. He later became insane. The throne was then taken over by Chao Phraya Chakkri, a head of the army in 1782. The new king decided to move his capital across the Chao Phraya River to Bangkok, the present capital of Thailand. He became the first king of Bangkok and the new dynasty Chakkri which continues to head Thailand to this day. The present king of Thailand is the ninth of the Chakkri Dynasty.

The first king of Chakkri, or Bangkok, was known as Rama I. During his reign, most of his tasks were devoted to the construction of the new city. He was concerned with rebuilding, restoring, and reinstituting what had existed in the past, since the time when all records and other evidence of former Thai culture was completely destroyed. The laws were rewritten and former traditions were restored.

The great change in the face of the Thai culture began in the reign of Rama III when Thailand again came into contact with the western countries. The greatest influence came from Great Britain, France and Germany. These relationships existed in the middle of the reign of King Rama III (1824-1851). Since then, Thailand has experienced both advantages and disadvantages from becoming involved with western civilization. This period is sometimes known as the "Westernization" period.

The change in the history of Thai's political system and customary way of life began during the reign of King Rama IV, known as King Mongkut (1851-1867), the fourth king of the Chakkri Dynasty. However, most of the changes in this period involved external rather than internal matters.

The light of democracy began in the reign of King Rama V, or Chulalongkorn (1867-1910), a son of King Mongkut. Here there was a great change in the Thai history. Many uncivilized traditions were abolished. The old practice of "crouching, crawling, and prostration" as a way of showing

respect to the king when in his presence was abolished. Instead, he adopted the western way of "standing, bowing, and lifting the hat." Slavery, a practice of long standing, was also abolished, in 1905. Many members of the royal families as well as the aristocrats were sent abroad to study western culture. At the same time, many foreigners were imported to aid in developing the country.

Western laws, especially those of France and Germany were borrowed and adapted to the needs of Thai culture. The first penal code of Thailand was drafted by French and Belgian advisors. An official salary system was introduced and used instead of the Sakdi-na system. Modern means of transportation and communication were installed, including roads, railroads, postal service, telegraph system and public schools.

The governmental system was reorganized; Chulalongkorn authorized a form of local government for the first time, called "Suka-pibal" (Sanitation). It involved a local body with some financial autonomy, administered by the local people, and empowered to supervise sanitation and public health within its jurisdiction. Later, its functions were extended to maintenance of roads and lights. Another democratic type of institution created by Chulalongkorn was the village and commune administration, wherein the villagers elect a man from among the householders to be chief of the

village. His powers and functions included administration and the preservation of peace in the village.

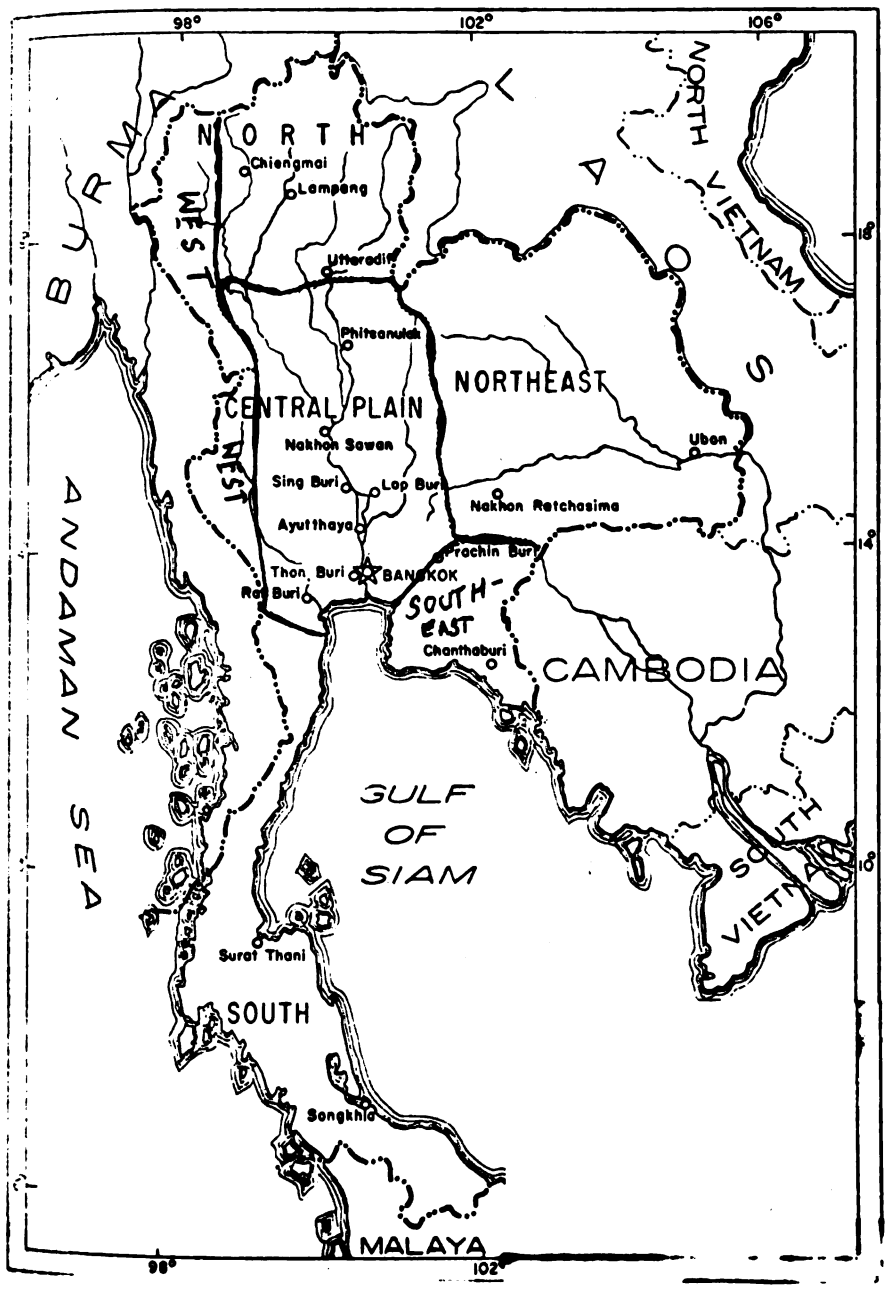
The Constitution Era. The two kings following Chulalongkorn (Vajiravudh or Rama VI (1910-1925) and Prajadhipok or Rama VII (1925-1935)) continued their predecessors policies of bringing western changes to Thailand and centralizing government control.

The trend toward democracy became stronger and reached its climax in the reign of King Prajadhipok. Since many of the Thais by that time had studied abroad, they understood the democratic ideal and had learned the pitfalls of the absolute monarchy. They had a strong desire for freedom and liberty. Before King Prajadhipok could make any movement toward the change to democracy which he had long been planning, a coup d'état took place on July 24, 1932, led by a young, non-royal civil and military leader who had studied abroad. A Constitution was introduced to Thailand for the first time in their history; although the authority of the king was reduced, he still headed the nation. No longer would he stand above the law as he had for centuries. Since 1932, Thailand has been a democratic state.

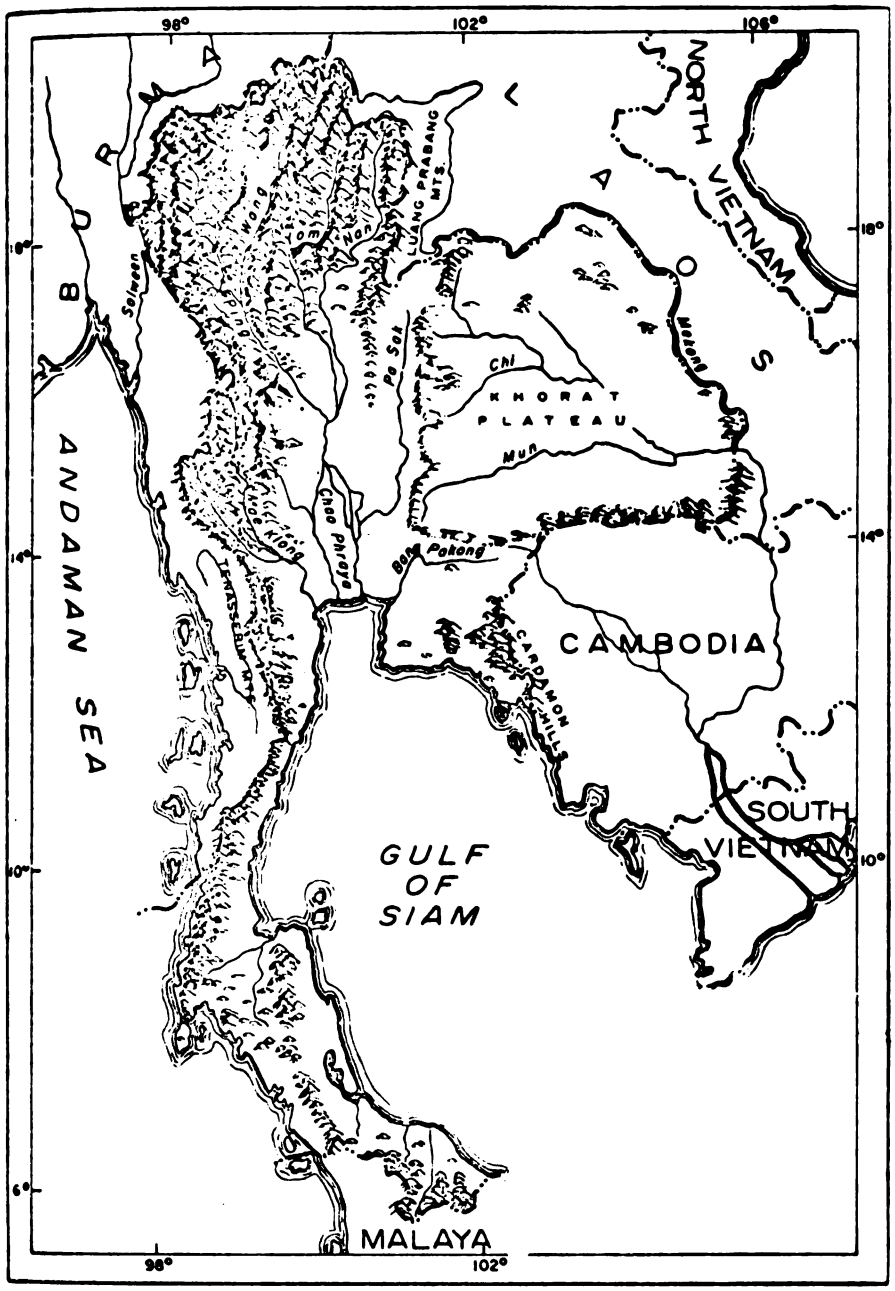
III. GEOGRAPHY

Physical features. Thailand is a country about the size of France, (comprising an area of some 200,148 square miles), and is located in the lowest portion of Southeast

MAP SHOWING THE REGIONAL DIVISIONS OF THAILAND



MAP SHOWING LANDFORMS OF THAILAND



Asia. The greatest length of the country is approximately 1,020 miles and the greatest width is about 480 miles. It has about 1300 miles of coast line. Her location is from North 5° 31" to 21° and from East 97° 30" to 105° 30". The surrounding countries, listed counter-clockwise, include Cambodia, Laos, Malaya, and Burma. The present population is estimated at 26 million. The majority are Thai nationals and the greatest minority are Chinese who account for about 3 million individuals.

Thailand possesses almost every type of terrain--mountains, rivers, ocean, plateaus, sandstone and jungles. Rivers are found all over Thailand. Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, has been called "Venice of the East." Thailand may be divided into six major regions: (1) Northern Thailand, (2) Western Thailand, (3) Central Thailand, (4) Northeastern Thailand, (5) Southeastern Thailand, and (6) Southern Thailand.

1. Northern Thailand. This region consists of a series of roughly parallel mountain ranges extending north and south, and separated by broad open valleys. The ridges in this area are thickly forested. Their maximum height is 8,400 feet above sea level at the Southwest of Chiengmai.[2] These mountains contribute to four major rivers, Ping, Wang, Yom, and Nan, draining southward to Central Thailand. This

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[2] Ibid., p. 40.

region is bordered by the Salween River on the west and the Maekhong River on the east. People live crowded along the rivers growing rice. Forestry is another primary occupation of this area. The area produces more teak wood than any other part of Thailand.[3] In the mountains live many tribes of Thai natives. These people are rarely in communication with the settled areas. Most of them grow opium.

2. Western Thailand. This region is also covered with high mountains, and serves as a boundary line between Thailand and Burma. These mountains are the watershed of a number of tributaries of the Chao Phraya and the Salween rivers as well as the Maeglong river.[4]

3. Central Thailand. This is the most important and prosperous part of the country. It is the most densely populated and economically productive region in Thailand. The land is covered with small hills on the northern part which gradually decreased on the lower part. Many rivers run through this area, including the Chao Phraya and the Maeglong. In upper part of this region, the Ping, the Yom, the Wang, and the Nan Rivers combine into the Chao Phraya River. Because the land has a surface of alluvial soil, it is good for crop production. The majority of the people of

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[3]M. Palmer, Thailand (Singapore: Eastern University Press Ltd., 1959), p. 13.

[4]Robert L. Pendleton, Thailand: Aspects of Landscape and Life (New York: Duell, Sloan and Perce, 1962), p. 42.

this region grow rice, taking advantage of these major rivers.

4. Northeastern Thailand. This part, sometimes known as the Khorat Plateau, is a large plateau slightly tilted to the east. It is enclosed partly in a circle of mountains and bounded on the north and the east by the Maekhong River. The major city is Khorat. It can be considered the worst region of Thailand; soils are poor and natural resources are scarce. Large areas, which are flooded during the rainy season, are very dry in other seasons. Almost the entire region is drained by a single river system, the Mun, a tributary of the Maekhong River. This region accounts for about 60,000 square miles.[5]

5. Southeastern Thailand. This regions is bordered on the east side by hills and mountains which separate it from Cambodia; on the south it is surrounded by the Gulf of Thailand. In general, mountains in this area are thickly forested, and very wet. Rubber, timber, fisheries, and fruit-growing are occupations of the people in this section.

6. Southern Thailand. Sometimes called "Peninsular Thailand," it possesses coast lines on the east and the west sides. A range of mountains of highland runs down the whole length of the region. The peak is slightly lower on the south. The land is rich and full of minerals. People living in this part are wealthier than those who live in others.

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[5] Ibid., p. 43.

Climate. Although the whole country lies within the tropical monsoon, the climate in each region is affected by local conditions and, thus, the weather may vary from one to another. However, the differential is slight except in the Northeastern part. The following four seasons may be recognized in Thailand: (1) the dry season or northeast monsoon from December to February; (2) summer or pre-monsoon season in March, April and May (this is the transitional period from the northeast to the southwest monsoon); (3) the rainy or southwest monsoon season from May to October, the longest season; and (4) post-monsoon or cold season from October to November.[6]

While the peasants enjoy the long rainy season, the urbanites are miserable. The average yearly rainfall is 1600 mm. or 63 inches. The greatest rainfall is in the southern region along the coast line; the average per year is 3300 mm. or 130 inches. The northeastern region has the least rainfall and the average is only 880 mm. or 34.64 inches.[7] Flooding is usual during this season.

The temperature in Thailand is relatively stable. The mean monthly temperature ranges from the mid 70's (^{o}F) for the winter months to the mid 80's for the summer. The

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[6] Ibid., p. 113.

[7] Phra Sarasas, My Country Thailand--Its History, Geography and Civilization (Bangkok: Chatra Press, 1953), p. 156.

lowest temperature is around 50.4°F., the highest is around 100.4°F.[8]

Communication and transportation. Throughout Thai history, the waterways have been the most important means of inland transportation. Since Thailand is rich with rivers flowing through the country from north to south, these rivers are linked together by canals which enable the people to go any place they wish. Even today, waterways still dominate other means of transportation. Rice, fruit, timber and other goods are transported to Bangkok, the commercial center, largely by water. Moreover, Excell described the significance of the waterways as follows:

> The chief method of travel in Thailand has always been and still is, by river or canal. The bulk of the produce is carried by water, and crafts of every description are used. They range from small canoes to heavy types of barges which are towed or move up river under sail and return with the current. In many cases the boat is a home and the Thais live on it just as barge owners do in England. For generations the rivers and canals of Thailand have been its roads and this even applied to the capital city until little more than sixty years ago.[9]

Modern means of communication and transportation emerged in Thailand during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (Rama V), when the first roads and railroads were built.

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[8]Chamni Phimpisan & Associated (Comp.). The Siam Directory (Bangkok: The Compilers, 1960), p. A-6.

[9]F. K. Excell, The Land and the People of Thailand (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 33.

Today, all means of transportation are utilized in Thailand, including the airplane.

The use of automobiles, buses, and trucks is largely confined to Bangkok and some of the major provincial cities. There are a limited number of roads and highways connecting each city and town. Most highways are recent in origin. In 1936, there were only 100 miles of all-weather highways in Thailand, excluding Bangkok.[10] In 1949, there were reportedly 3,589 miles of rural national and provincial highways existing in Thailand. Of these, only 456 miles were paved, 447 by asphalt and 9 by concrete. Highways surfaced with stone, laterite, sand, or gravel aggregate total 3,018 miles, and there were 115 miles of surfaced earth highways.[11] Most of these roads originate in Bangkok.

Currently, the highway system is being improved by the government with the aid of the United States Operation Mission (USOM). Travel by automobile is possible to the major cities in the north, south, east, and west, although some parts may not yet be quite ready.

There are approximately 2,000 miles of railways radiating from Bangkok, to Chiengmai in the north, Malaya in the

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[10]William J. Siffin, O & M, An Introduction (Bangkok, Thailand: Institute of Public Administration, Thammasat University, 1961), p. 12.

[11]Study on Highways in Thailand--1950, Transport and Communication Review, United Nations, Vol. V. No. 1 (1952), p. 49.

south, Aranya Pradet in the southeast, to Ubol in the east, and to Udorn in the northeast. The line to the Burmese frontier at Karnjanaburi in the west, built by the Japanese during World War II, is not serviceable.

In places where there is no railway, highway, or waterway, the only means of transportation is by ox-cart, which is very popular in the rural areas. The villagers use the ox-cart to transport their goods to the market. The major obstructions to the building of highways and railways are flooding, and mountain ranges, both of which are frequently found in Thailand.

IV. CULTURAL ASPECTS

The culture of Thailand is a composite of the cultures of other countries. From the historical background mentioned above, it can be seen that the Thai culture is influenced by her neighbors, Cambodia, Burma, Laos, India and China, as well as by the western countries, England, France and Germany. Through contacts with other countries, the Thais assimilated into their way of life those aspects of the other cultures which suited them best. Wendell Blanchard stated that:

> If Thai history is the history of warfare it is also a history of borrowing and assimilation. Although the Thai have guarded their political independence, they have often experienced heavy foreign cultural influence. During their long journey from Nanchao to the sea the Thai lived in the shadow of successive rich and powerful civilizations--Chinese,

> Cambodian, Burmese. Through trade they met others--Indian, Japanese, European. Their history shows the Thai to be better emulators than creators, better students than teachers. They have been borrowers rather than bearers of culture. There is none of the missionary spirit in the Thai culture, no urge to carry vast and transforming ideas to other peoples. From many sources at many times the Thai have borrowed cultural elements, and integrated them into their existing system, adapting to match traits of their own character.[12]

If the people in Bangkok are used as an example this may be a false picture, because more than 80 per cent of the Thai people live in rural areas. These people possess distinctive cultural traditions, different from those of Bangkok. Most Bangkok Thais, especially the members of the middle and upper classes are influenced by Western and American culture. In Bangkok, clothing, dancing, and hair styles follow those of the West, but in the peasant's view, dancing western style is immoral and impolite. Therefore, when speaking of the Thai culture, one should include all Thais of which the peasant is the greatest representative.

Some characteristics of the Thai people.

1. Enjoyment of life. Basically the Thais are friendly people. They have an attitude of calm acceptance and often show in small ways their regard for other people. The hospitality they offer to strangers is often recognized and

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[12]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 3.

appreciated. This trait helps to make Thailand eminently agreeable for visitors as well as for residents themselves.[13] Excell also recognized this characteristic; he offers a clue to help the foreigner to distinguish the Thais from others, such as Chinese, Cambodians, Laotians, or Burmese (because they all look alike), as follows:

> The deciding factor is whether he smiles. The Thai is always smiling. He is a pleasure-loving, pleasure-seeking, happy-go-lucky sort of person. Greet as a friend and as equal and his response is immediate. His spontaneous friendliness is his most marked characteristic.[14]

This attitude is conspicuous enough for William A. R. Wood to name his book Thailand, Land of Smiles.

The Thai people always enjoy life. Their religion, Buddhism, encourages that life is to be enjoyed. Hard work is considered "good," but over-work is never thought to be appropriate. The Thai, especially the peasant, is often accused of being lazy.[15] The peasant works hard during the rice-growing season, but earns only what he needs. Once the harvest is gathered and the crop sold, he settles down to a life of relative leisure.[16] Only a few of them try to get other work to earn additional money.

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[13]Noel Busch, Thailand: An Introduction to Modern Siam (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1959), p. 4.

[14]Excell, op. cit., p. 17.

[15]D. Insor, Thailand: A Political, Social and Economic Analysis (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1963), p. 62.

[16]Excell, op. cit., p. 19.

The words of King Rama Khamheng, the third king of Sukhothai era, inscribed on a stone, "In the water there is fish; in the field there is rice," seem to have something to do with this habit. The idea is that if one has sufficient rice and there are plenty of fish in the river--what else does he need? Consequently, it leads to a state of laziness. Ruth Benedict states:

> The Thai certainly do not conceive of life as a round of duties and responsibilities. They accept work and make it as gay as possible; when it is done they are free to take their leisure. They have no cultural invention of self-castigation and many of self-indulgence and meritment.[17]

Besides being accused of laziness and irresponsibility, too much spare time drives them to find other excitement to kill time. Drinking and gambling seem to be the favorite ways. Excell made a criticism in his book:

> If there is such a thing as a born gambler then it is a Thai. Both men and women will gamble on anything--horses, cards, boxing, football, bullfighting, cockfights, lotteries and so on.[18]

These accusations may be true especially after the rice growing season, because during the off-season most peasants have nothing to do. Gambling then becomes a pastime. Furthermore, lotteries and parimutual betting are legal in Thailand. This may contribute to the gambling habits of the Thai people.

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[17]Ruth Benedict, Thai Culture and Behavior (Ithaca: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, 1952), p. 24.

[18]Excell, op. cit., p. 18.

2. Respect for the Elder. Unlike in American culture, age is a significant factor in Thai society. Most Thai people feel that both men and women should be modest, generous, and respectful to elders.[19] Every Thai person is taught to be respectful of elders, especially his parents and relatives, from childhood. The gesture of obeisance, the indication of respect, is learned and later the different degrees to which it may be extended. In training a child in gestures of obeisance, a mother holding her child in her arms puts its palms together between her own and raises them to the chin, to the nose, and to the forehead according to the degree of deference that is called for.[20] This gesture is practiced from early infancy and throughout life; even when dead, the Thai Buddhists have the palms of their hands put together in this manner before being cremated.

The tradition of respect for elders did not originate recently, but was handed down from the early Thai culture. The oldest evidence which can be traced back came from the prescribed stones made by King Rama Khamheng (1283-1317) which stated that:

> . . . During the life of my father I served my father, I served my mother. If I got a piece of game or a piece of fish, I brought it to my father. If I had fruit that was acid or sweet, delicious and

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[19]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 480.

[20]Benedict, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

> agreeable, I brought it to my father. If I went on a hunt for elephant, and got some, I brought them to my father. . . . My father died. There remained my elder brother. I continued to serve my elder brother as I had served my father. My elder brother died, the entire kingdom passed on to me.[21]

Besides showing the strong family ties and gratitude, the above quotation offers some idea about the respect for elders of the Thai in the past. This cultural trait, therefore, is transferred to the Thais from generation to generation and is accepted as good.

Furthermore, Thai children are also taught to be unobtrusive and quiet.[22] Thai children are noisy when they are among their own age group, but quiet before their elders. They learn that it is bad manners and disrespectful to interupt while the elders are talking. They are taught to obey the elders and not to argue although they may think they are right. Folk tales like the following scare the children: "One who insults his parents or the elders, in the next life his mouth will be as small as the hole of a sewing pin; and one who hits his parents or the elders, his hand will be as big as a palm leaf when he rebirth." These folk tales may sound ridiculous and unbelievable, but their result is rather effective. Finally, Blanchard concluded that:

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[21] Pendleton, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

[22] Lauriston Sharp, Siamese Rice Village: A Preliminary Study of Bang Chan 1948-1949 (Bangkok: Cornell Research Center, 1953), p. 86.

> Of the two physiological determinants, age is by far the most important. Age automatically commands respect, and this respect is the dominant theme of any relationship onto which an age difference enters. Young villagers address elders over 60 by the kinship terms of "grandfather" or "grandmother" even though the speaker is not related to the old person. A respect word meaning "very old" is often added. The respect pattern is a formal, almost impersonal thing, not a free expression of personal attachment. Where personal loyalties exist, it is difficult to develop them into voluntary leadership relationships since no one will admit respectively someone younger than himself. The only exception occurs when an individual is granted authority by the central government and thus come to share the aura of sanctity and prestige associated with this institution.[23]

3. Respect for authority. It can be seen that throughout their history the Thai people had been governed by the king and aristocrats, under an absolute monarchy, from the beginning of the nation until 1932. Moreover, before slavery was abolished, only sixty years ago, approximately one-fourth of the Thai population at that time were slaves.[24] That is why the old tradition under absolute monarchy, the habit of obedience to the authority, is still firmly ingrained in the Thai people. This habit is easily noticeable by the foreigner, as Bishop Pallegoix pointed out, "the Siamese are very obedient and show extraordinary respect for authority."[25] Ruth Benedict confirmed that: "The idea of

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[23]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 406.

[24]Benedict, op. cit., p. 8.

[25]Insor, op. cit., p. 67.

mass movements against authority seem foreign to the Thai's nature."[26]

Although Thailand has been changed to a constitutional monarchy, and the power of the king has been reduced so that he is no longer the supreme power of the nation, he has still retained the love and loyalty of his people. The status of the king is more highly regarded than before.[27] The feeling of the Thai people regarding the sacredness of their king still exists; reverence is high and goes beyond the respect shown to any other man in the country. Even in the latest Constitution the sacredness of the king is mentioned: Article 2 states "Thailand is a Kingdom, one and indivisible with the King as Head of the State and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Kingdom,"[28] and Article 3 states "The person of the King is sacred and inviolable."[29]

The Sakdi-na system, mentioned earlier in this chapter, also created a criterion for social status even though it has long been abolished. The status of the government official is always considered higher than that of others, and of course with status comes respect. Most educated men have ambitions to work in the government to secure

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[26]Benedict, op. cit., p. 37.

[27]Insor, op. cit., p. 99.

[28]Constitution (Interim) of the Kingdom of Thailand, 1959.

[29]Ibid.

prestige and status. Choop Karnjanaprakarn explains the reason why the government official acquires respect from the Thai people as follows:

> The Sakdi-na system, which characterized the individual status of the Thai people by the right of holding land according to rank and position, was the most influential reason for this attitude. For centuries, this right of the Thai people, especially for the village peasants who lived on the land all their lives, was a lesser one than that of government official, they found him in a certain rank granted by the king and a certain position assigned by the central government. Thus he was recognized as a representative of the king, who, being always superior and good, made the official superior and good also.[30]

Moreover, government officials or public servants in Thailand are officially called "Ka-racha-karn," which means those who serve the king's business, or slaves of the king's affairs.[31] It is a traditional feeling of pride within those who have the opportunity to serve their king.

On the other hand, the peasant views the government official as a person who has power over him. The word "Tahn" which is equivalent to "mister" to his office, or "Chao Nai" which means "boss" is used to address the government officer and show respect. The people go to him when they need help just as children go to their parents. After

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[30]Choop Karnjanaprakarn, Municipal Government in Thailand As an Institution and Process of Self-Government (Bangkok: Institute of Public Administration, Thammasat University, 1959), pp. 60-61.

[31]David A. Wilson, Politics in Thailand (New York: Cornell University Press, 1962), p. 94.

interviewing peasants in Thailand, Herbert Phillips wrote:

> The peasant attitude towards government officials was perhaps best summed up by a villager who said he was voting for the Pri-Minister and his party 'because he is our master. He has been very good and kind to us. He is like our father, and we are like his children.'[32]

Family training also exerts a powerful influence in this respect. In the early life, children not only learn to respect their elders, but to accept their position in the family hierarchy as well.[33] They learn what their responsibilities are, and their authority in family matters. The authority of the elder is unquestionable and autocratic. This family authority affects the Thai people both in their way of using it and the manner in which they accept it.[34] It becomes inherent in their habits even outside the family unit. Finally, Blanchard concluded that:

> Outside the immediate family, the general lack of groups and associations with clearly defined status positions permits the transfer of the respect relationship existing at home between family and child to the national community. In this context the king or the government fill the role of the father, and the behavior learned in childhood forms the basis of the Thai's patriotism, loyalty, and respect for his country. The king and the government is thought of as a "second parent," to whom one owes respect and obedience but who owes nothing in return. In the

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[32]Herbert Phillips, "The Election Ritual in a Thai Village," The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. XIV, No. 4, 1958, p. 39.

[33]John E. deYoung, Village Life in Modern Thailand (California: University of California Press, 1955), p. 55.

[34]Karnjanaprakarn, op. cit., p. 67.

> modern context, government officials are thought of as occupying their positions by virtue of superior qualities and their authority is accepted without question; they are not thought of as being "good" or "bad" any more than parents are subject to those moral judgements only as "kind" or "unkind."[35]

4. Individualism. The Thai people are individualistic rather than socialistic or nationalistic. This is due to the influence of family training, religious beliefs, and the traditions of the country. This characteristic is very conspicuous. deYoung, in his study of Thailand, observed a strong amount of individualism showing up in the peasant child.[36] The Thai children are taught to be self-reliant from the time they begin to learn to walk. His walking is something he learns by himself; no one offers any help or encouragement.[37] They are allowed to go freely to play with their mates after they are 3 or 4 years old; and at this age, they begin to accept some responsibility for the family, such as taking care of their own dishes after eating.[38]

At a certain age the children have to go to school, and here again, they are allowed to go by themselves without the company of elders. This may be partly due to the business of the family and absence of any traffic because

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[35]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 439.

[36]deYoung, op. cit., p. 24.

[37]Benedict, op. cit., p. 27

[38]Ibid., p. 30.

the number of roads and cars are limited. After graduation they are not subject to their parents' decision as to what they have to do. Most Thais decide for themselves whether to work or to continue their education. They are also allowed to choose their own mates. However, as mentioned before, Thais usually respect their parents; therefore, they always seek some advice before making any decision. In relating to family influence on individualism, deYoung writes:

> The strong individualism of Thai life is seen in the handling of money brought into the family by teen-age children who earn share or a cash wage by working for other farmers. If they come from a very poor family, much of their earnings, either in rice or cash, will go to support the family, but even then they are allowed to keep a certain proportion for their own needs. In families that are moderately well-off, minor children who work out side may turn their earnings over to the mother for safe-keeping but they can spend them as they wish.[39]

The Thai religion, Buddhism, also emphasizes individualism. The Buddha taught that everything has a cause and every cause must have an effect, at some time or another. Therefore, whoever did good will receive good in return; and whoever did bad will receive evil in return. But the effect may or may not occur in one life-time.[40] This philosophy is supported by the story of Buddha himself and how he was reborn as the Buddha. Furthermore, there are many folk tales which stress that one who accumulates merit will go to

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[39] deYoung, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

[40] Insor, op. cit., p. 55.

heaven after death, and on the contrary, those who are bad will go to hell. As Graham writes:

> The average Siamese layman . . . trusts that he will always have enough merit to avoid the more painful hells, and to escape the inclusion in his career of the life of a drought-ox or other long-suffering beast, and he hopes either for rebirth as a man in a better worldly condition than the present or for a few million years of rest among the pleasures of one of the lower Heavens.[41]

Consequently, the Thai people believe that what they are now is the result of what they have done in a former life. Violent death, or mental or physical disorder, resulting from accident or from heredity is believed to be the lack of merit accumulated in former life.[42]

Another Buddhist tenet states, "Man is a supporter of himself." The individual has to strive by himself to be pure of heart and deed for the sake of his own salvation without the intervention of God or any other divine being. Living on the expense of others is also taught as bad. Blanchard criticizes individualism among the Thai people as follows:

> Yet in the personality of the Thai as an individual one of the most fundamental traits is belief in the concept that, within wide limits, a person is

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[41]Walter A. Graham, Siam: A Handbook of Practical, Commercial, and Political Information (London: Alexander Morning, 1924), p. 228.

[42]Snit Smuckarn, "Culture Change: The Problem of Introduction of Land Co-operative into Thailand," A Thesis for Master of Art Degree, Sociology Department, Michigan State University, 1965, p. 74.

> responsible only to himself and that, his actions are no one else's concern. Thus in general; the Thai people are not amenable to sustained regimentation. They do not make very good soldiers, for it is hard for them to adapt to the regimentation and routine of military life; neither do they have the sense of administrative regularity that attaches a person to business schedule or time clock. The vast majority are dependent, self employed rice farmers responsible to no one but themselves, their only schedule the seasons, their only master the distant goal of a 'better crop than last year's.'[43]

Moreover, he also states:

> They join very few organizations or associations, usually relying on individual strength and fortitude. Among the first things a Thai child learns is that he can depend only on himself and that his duty is to meet every situation adequately.[44]

Social institutions.

1. The family. The family is the primary basis of social organization in Thailand; it determines the individual's primary values, loyalties, and associations. The family in Thailand is a simple nuclear unit. Usually it contains five or six members: father, mother, and children, and sometimes one or more grandparents.[45] At times the rural family household may become a small extended family, including a son or daughter with his or her spouse and children; a widowed mother and her children may follow a daughter, to stay with her son-in-law. However, most Thai

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[43] Blanchard, op. cit., p. 481.

[44] Ibid., pp. 481-482.

[45] Ibid., p. 9.

young couples once they have become parents, normally leave their parents and build their own household, on their own land, and earn their own living. Ordinarily only one daughter or, if there is no daughter, only one son remains in the family household.[46]

The ties to the extended family are close. The warm tie between a brother and his sister is carried down into the next generation. Children of one family are always welcomed by their aunt or uncle, as well as their grandparents, to reside with them.[47] Consequently, it is a usual practice, if one's household has no children, to adopt a relative's son or daughter. This kin relationship can be observed easily during the rice-growing season because each family comes to help the other in planting and harvesting rice.

Family name and inheritance is transmitted through the father, who is the head of the family. A family name was introduced during the reign of King Rama VI.[48] But the law on inheritance has been practiced ever since the reign of King Rama Khamheng (1283-1317). The evidence is found in the prescribing stone which stated that:

> If a common man, a noble, or a child fell sick and died, the home of his ancestors, his clothing,

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[46] deYoung, op. cit., p. 22.

[47] Benedict, op. cit., p. 19.

[48] Sarasas, op. cit., p. 170.

> his elephants, his family, his rice granaries, his slaves, the areca palm plantation of his ancestors were all transmitted to his children. If the common people, the nobles, or the chief got into disagreements, the king made honest inquiry and then settled the affair for his subjects according to what was right.[49]

Today civil law, which follows Western law, provides the law of inheritance, but in the rural areas disagreements about inherited property seldom occur. Generally, if there is no will, sons and daughters inherit equal shares of the property.

2. The viallage community. For administrative purposes, Thailand is divided into many hierarchical territorial administrations varying in size and degree of authority. The smallest unit is called a village or muban. Thailand has been called a country of villages, for there are 49,832 villages in the country,[50] and more than 85 per cent of the Thai population reside in these villages.[51] Although the size of the villages varies, the average is about 100 to 150 households or from 500 to 700 persons.[52]

Villages in Thailand commonly fall into two main types: those gathered along the banks of a waterway, or

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[49]Pendleton, op. cit., p. 9.

[50]deYoung, op. cit., p. 13.

[51]Benedict, op. cit., p. 6.

[52]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 9.

those grouped together in a valley, or little forest of fruit trees, coconut palms or rice fields.[53] A village is governed by a village headman or pu-yai-ban who is elected by the residents who are over 20 years of age, upon the approval of the district officer. The terms of the headman are formally fixed at five years. However, in practice, a headman may serve continuously without election as long as he retains the confidence and respect of his villagers. Some of them maintain their positions until death or retirement. Nevertheless, the headman automatically loses his position if he is imprisoned on a criminal charge.[54]

The living pattern of the villager is simple, and similar throughout the country. Despite some minor and inevitable local differences in practice, and the development of new ideas, all of rural Thailand seems to have a single basic cultural pattern. The Thai peasants can move from one place to another without any trouble in adjusting themselves to the living patterns of the new place. In relating to the characteristic of the rural society, Blanchard writes:

> Rural society is characterized by the absence of a hierarchical class structure and by a relative lack of elaboration, complexity, and institutionalization in the social forms. There are only a limited number of social groupings to which an individual can belong or with which he can be identified, and most of these are organized informally, and there are only a few special statuses he can occupy, with even fewer

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[53] deYoung, op. cit., p. 8.

[54] Blanchard, op. cit., p. 190.

> clearly defined roles. As a result there is a minimum of hard and fast rules governing an individual's social relationship with other people.[55]

Furthermore, he states:

> Within the village, relationships are based primarily on kinship, physical proximity, and membership in the few groups that exist beyond the family. Relationships also depend on certain status factors--such as the distinction between monks and laymen, headmen and other villagers, the old and the young, male and female--and personal qualities such as moral and religious character or proficiency in farming, medicine, astrology, music and storytelling.[56]

In a village community, the headman, along with the abbot of the village Buddhist Temple, or Wat, are the most influential men to the villagers. Since the headman is elected by the villagers themselves, he must possess enough qualifications, such as his status in the village, his age, and his wealth. With these factors together with the authority inherent in his position as a headman, he can easily sway his villagers. Activities in the village which need cooperation among the members are coordinated by the headman. He also arbitrates quarrels between villagers, and other incidents which are not major crimes.[57]

Normal social relations within the village tend to push the monk to become involved in community affairs both sacredly and secularly. The local Buddhist temple is not

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[55]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 399.

[56]Ibid., pp. 399-340.

[57]Benedict, op. cit., p. 7.

only the religious center but also the social center of the community. Villagers customarily come to the temple on a number of occasions, such as weddings, childbirth, death, building a new house, etc. The monks especially the abbot of the temple, often play the role of counselors and the villagers always bring their problems to discuss. In time of crisis, a monk is often the first person sought out for counsel and encouragement.[58]

Besides the headman and the monks, the village school teacher also receives great respect. As Blanchard states:

> The village school teacher may have an important status within a rural community, his authority deriving from the central government, his education and his outside connections. He and the local abbot are often the actual leaders in the village.[59]

3. Religion. The national religion of Thailand is Buddhism and the King is the defender of the faith. Buddhism has existed in the country, coming from India by way of Cambodia, ever since the emergence of the nation. The oldest evidence, which is the only official record left from the fall of Ayuttha, is from the prescribed stone of King Rama Khamheng which offers evidence that the king had long been a proponent of Buddhism:

> King Rama Khamheng, sovereign of Muang Sukhothai, and also the princes and princesses, men as well as

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[58]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 403.

[59]Ibid., p. 405.

> women, nobles and chief, all without exception, without distinction of rank and sex, devoutly practice the religion of Buddha and observe the special precepts for the rainy season (the Buddhist lenten period).[60]

Recently, through interrelation with the western countries as well as others in Asia, other forms of religion have been practiced. Most of these other religions are Christian and Muslim. It is reported that 80 per cent of the Thai people are Buddhists, 7 per cent Christian, and 4 per cent Muslim; the rest belong to other religions.

There are about 21,385 Buddhist temples throughout Thailand, with a population of about 157,120 monks. In Bangkok, the capital itself, where Western civilization has had the greatest influence, there are about 300 temples.[61] Furthermore, the temples are the residences not only of the monks, but of Thai boys and students as well. It is a common practice for the Thai people, especially the peasants, to send their sons to live with their monk relatives. It is estimated that about 4500 students reside in these monasteries.[62]

Buddhism in Thailand is known as Hinaya Buddhism. It can not be described clearly and easily. Its spirit of tolerance has permitted the absorption of many beliefs and

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[60] Pendleton, op. cit., p. 10.

[61] Phimpisan, op. cit., p. A-27.

[62] Benedict, op. cit., p. 15.

practices from other sources, largely Brahmanism, which have served to supplement or extend its concepts. Buddhism has been described as the most reasonable of religions.[63] It says nothing about the supernatural being, and little about the nature of the universe, nirvana, or transmigration. The infiltration of Brahmanism is confirmed by deYoung as follows:

> The Thai peasant practices the Hinayana form of Buddhism, which through the centuries has become so blended with Brahmanism and with elements of an earlier animism that it is impossible to segregate pure elements of each. Buddhism and Brahmanism have become so closely interwoven as to be indistinguishable to the ordinary Thai worshipper. The animistic or spirit worship which is so important in the peasant's daily life has infiltrated into Buddhist practice, invading even the temple.[64]

The practice of Brahmanism is also found today in the conduct of court ceremony, designed to assure the supposed harmony of the monarch with the divine order, and thus the prosperity of the realm; on this Buddhism itself has nothing to say. The practice of Brahmanism goes further, to the marriage ceremony and other Thai festivals.

Basically, instead of ten, Buddhims provides five commandments:

1. Not to destroy life.
2. Not to obtain the property of another unjustly.
3. Not to indulge the passions.
4. Not to tell lies.
5. To refrain from all intoxicants.

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[63] Insor, op. cit., p. 54.

[64] deYoung, op. cit., p. 110.

However, these five commandments are not strictly followed by the Thai people. The most influential doctrines of Buddhism are those which make up the middle-way and merit making. Thai people do not do things to extremes. They also believe that every act must have a consequence; good act will have good consequence and vice versa. Merit making, therefore, is popular. Merit can be accumulated in a number of ways. To become a monk is considered to be meritorious. Thai males who are over 20 years old often become monks for a minimum period of three months. This practice is considered at the same time, to be a way of paying respect and gratitude to parents. Charity and other contributions are also ways to accumulate merit. Blanchard reveals that the cash outlays for merit-making range from 7 per cent to 84 per cent of the total cash expenditures of a single family; the average is around 25 per cent.[65] This figure at least indicates the degree of belief in Buddhism among the Thai people.

Buddhism teaches about the extinction of passion or delight, saying nothing about love of God and one's neighbor.[66] Love, desire, and anger are considered to be sinful passions. Religion, therefore, undoubtedly exerts a powerful influence over the culture and behavior of the Thai people.

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[65]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 116.

[66]Insor, loc. cit.

4. Economy. Thailand is an agricultural country. The production and export of rice, rubber, teak, tin and other crops have been largely responsible for the prosperity of Thailand. However, like other crop-producing countries, the economy of Thailand has always been subject to fluctuation.

The economy of Thailand is underdeveloped and undiversified. Close to 90 per cent of the population engage in agriculture.[67] Therefore, the national income depends largely upon agricultural production. Rice holds such a dominant position that the whole economy can be described as a "rice economy." The cultivation of rice by small landowners has been the principal economic activity for many centuries, serving both as the source of the people's contentment and as the economic strength of the country.

While Thailand's economy depends largely upon the export of rice, recently it has come across the problem of competition in a world market. Burma, Cambodia and South Vietnam are also rice exporters. Many countries which used to be rice importers have begun to overcome their agricultural problems and reduced the amount of their import. When the demand is decreased and the supply is increased, it is obvious that the price of rice must be decreased too.

In addition to rice, other Thai exports include teak, tin, and rubber. It is rubber that makes the greatest

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[67] Pendleton, op. cit., p. 134.

contribution to the national income. While the price of rice has decreased due to competition, the price of rubber has risen. In 1957, the income from rice exports was 3,943 million baht and rubber exports totaled 1689 million baht. But statistics show that in 1960 the income from rice exports decreased to 2,582 million baht while rubber exports increased to 2,579 million baht.[68] (1 dollar = 20 baht.)

The economy of Thailand, therefore, can be classified as an "export economy," highly dependent upon foreign trade. Rice, rubber, tin and timber are the principal exports, and the demand and world price of these products are reflected in the domestic economy.

5. Education. In the early days, the Thai people were educated in the Buddhist temples. The priest usually taught the people the Bali language, the Thai language, morality, and some arithmetic. Apart from this, vocational training was provided within the family group. During the reign of King Monkut (1851-1868), the modern system of education was introduced as a consequence of western influence. However, education in his time was limited only to the royal families within the palace. During the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), education of the Thai people was encouraged and many schools were built. In 1891, he organized the first

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[68] Insor, op. cit., p. 143.

Ministry of Education and planned an educational arrangement borrowed from the English system.[69]

The first university in Thailand was founded during the reign of King Vajiravudh (1910-1925), in 1917. The University was named after King Chulalongkorn as "Chulalongkorn University." King Vajiravudh promulgated the compulstory education law called "The Primary Education Act" in 1921 which required a three-year primary course for children between the ages of seven and fourteen.[70] However, this law was not strictly adhered to because there were many complications such as geographical limitations and the limited number of existing schools.

When public schooling was first established in Thailand, nearly all of the schools were still in Buddhist temples. However, the priest was no longer a teacher. All schools were run by the government teacher. In 1931, over 80 per cent of the government primary schools were located in the Buddhist temples. The number decreased to 60 per cent in 1944, and 48 per cent in 1950.[71] Currently, the number is not much less, because of the financial problems of the country.

The literacy term was changed from a three-year to four-year requirement in 1935, and the law came to be more

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[69] Palmer, op. cit., p. 62.

[70] deYoung, op. cit., p. 165.

[71] Ibid.

strictly enforced. In 1937, 14.9 per cent of the female and 47 per cent of the male population of Thailand were literate. By 1947, the number had increased to 40 per cent for females and 67 per cent for males.[72] According to the national education statistics of 1961, these figures have increased to 61 per cent for female and 80 per cent for male. The overall population literacy is 70.8 per cent.[73]

Before 1962, there were five levels to the educational system in Thailand--Pre-Primary Education or Kindergarten, Elementary, Lower and Higher Secondary Education, Pre-University Education, and Higher University Education. Pre-Primary Education had been designed for children between three and seven years of age, and it was not compulsory. Elementary Education was divided into four grades. This level was compulsory according to the compulsory education law. Lower and Higher Secondary Education respectively each had three-year courses. There were three channels of secondary education: primary extension, academic secondary education, and vocational education. There were two year courses for the Pre-University level, with University Education coming next.

Since 1962, the system has been changed. Instead of five levels, four levels of education are utilized, namely,

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[72]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 459.

[73]Educational Statistics 1962, Published by Department of Education Techniques, Ministry of Education, Bangkok, Thailand, p. 1.

Pre-Primary or Kindergarten, Primary Education, Secondary Education, and Higher Education. The Pre-Primary level is still the same as before. Primary Education is used in place of the former Elementary Education and the Lower Secondary Education; therefore, seven grades are added at this level. Secondary Education includes the former three years of the Higher Secondary Education and two years of the Pre-University level, and this change created five grades. The former three channels are reduced to only two: Academic and Vocational Education. Higher Education is at the college and university level. The policy of the government, regarding this change, is to raise the level of compulsory education from four to seven years of courses.

The education statistics of 1962 revealed that there were 4,550,174 students studying below the University level; of this number, 3,889,628, or nearly 85 per cent, were under the fifth grade level.[74] The number of students in adult education was reported to be 23,760; of these, 55 per cent, or 13,160, were in the primary level.[75] this statistic is used as a sample to show the low level of education among the Thai people.

Education in Thailand is confronted with many problems. The lack of trained teachers is the greatest

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[74] Ibid., p. 14.

[75] Ibid., p. 197.

single obstacle to the improvement of Thai education.[76] The insufficient number of schools for the children and the cost of text books are also regarded as problems. Many families cannot afford to send their children to school. Even at the university level, most of the students have to rely solely on their instructors' lectures because there are only limited numbers of books in each university's library.

6. Politics. For centuries the dominant pattern of Thai politics has been government by an elite group neither chosen by the people nor responsible to them. From early in Thai history, it has been the king alone who governs Thailand, under an absolute monarchy. The power of the king was above the law; he made all decisions, appointed all officials, and held the power of life and death over all subjects. The revolution of 1932 changed the pattern of the absolute monarchy into its present form. But the change is only in theory and not in reality. The elite still rules, and the centralization of decision-making still exists. As John K. King wrote:

> The Kings of Siam, prior to the 1932 coup, traditionally ruled by Royal Decree and retained a great deal of decision making authority for themselves. Advisers and cabinet ministers were introduced at the early date but, as King Chulalongkorn recorded in his diaries, the King seldom found his advisers or ministers holding opinions different from his own.
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> . . . Under the monarchy and under the constitutional regime since 1932, the tendency of all but the highest ranking public servants to avoid the

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[76] Blanchard, op. cit., p. 453.

> responsibility of decision making has continued. Many questions of detail or minor importance find their way up through the chain of command for decision from above and the obedience from below has created a 'vertically minded' bureaucratic tradition that has remained strong. Only the center of highest authority has shifted, from the King and his advisers to the Prime Minister and his council of Ministers.[77]

Power is the privilege of a small elite and for all practical purposes is beyond the control of the people. All evidence indicates that there was neither significant popular resentment against this system nor opposition to it. Elite rule has become familiar to the Thai people through long acquaintance and it is accepted as the natural order of society.[78]

Coup d'état is another characteristic of the Thai political scene. Every time changes are made in personnel or policies in the government, it must be done through the coup d'état, which is usually led by the army commanders. Civilian rule has never been effectively developed in the country. The great majority of the Thais are unaffected, and unconcerned by any formal shift in power among the ruling group. They remain politically passive as long as their usual routine is not interfered with.

Historically, the Thai capitals have been the sole centers of political power in the country. Bangkok is fully

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[77]John K. King, "Thailand's Bureaucracy and the Threat of Communist Subservation," Far Eastern Survey (November, 1954), p. 172.

[78]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 119.

in this tradition. In rural Thailand, politics are seldom a matter of conversation. Elections never arouse popular enthusiasm. The results of most elections are well known in advance. Many voters do not clearly understand the significance of the results of their votes. Some vote as the headman or as their commander says; some because their jobs or their status practically requires them to; some make their choice partly on the personalities of the candidate and not because of his political ideology; and others on the basis of nearness of the candidate's home town.[79]

From the past experience of the election statistics, it can be shown that only a small portion of the people have voted. In 1933, in the first election, only 10 per cent of those eligible have voted; the number increased in 1937 to 20 per cent; 1946 to about 30 per cent, and again decreased in 1948 to only 16 per cent.[80]

Political parties have relatively short lives in the Thai Bureaucracy. They were permitted for the first time in 1947, fifteen years after the change to a constitutional monarchy. Only three parties were formed during this early period. The number increased to twenty-three parties before all were abolished in 1958, as a result of the last coup d'état led by Field Marshall Sarit Thanarat, the head of the army.

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[79] deYoung, op. cit., p. 150.

[80] Ibid., p. 145.

Radio and the press, while still weak, exercise considerable influence in political information among the population. The ill effects of irresponsible reporting by small newspapers are recognizable. Their headlines always attract the attention of the public while the content itself may be only hearsay or rumor; thus they cannot be considered to be reliable. Their sole purpose is not to provide information to the public, but to increase their sales. Radio, while it is more reliable, especially the stations run by the government, has a limited network, only in Bangkok and the cities nearby. Some major cities may have a radio station, but the villagers rarely have radios.

V. GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM

Thailand is a small country and possesses a highly centralized government. A centralized governmental system had long been existent in Thailand ever since her early history. Although there was a change from an absolute monarchy, by which the king alone dominated all the government administration, to a constitutional monarchy, the practice of highly centralized authority still prevails. Because the coup d'état in 1932 was led by western educators, especially those of France and Germany, much of the Constitution has been taken from French and German Constitutional Jurisprudence, and a little from Anglo-Saxon tradition.[81]

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[81]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 157.

The government system, then, has a tendency to simulate western countries.

The doctrine of separation of power prevails. The latest constitution provides for three branches of government, executive, legislative, and judicial, with equal power for each. In practice, however, the executive tends to dominate the other two. The structure of the Thai Government and its administration can be divided into two major parts, namely, central, and provincial, with the latter subordinate and responsible to the former.

Currently, Thailand is under martial law, and a new constitution is in the process of being drafted, so it is difficult to say what the new constitution will provide. Nevertheless, according to the will of the promoters of the present government and the Interim Constitution which is temporarily used, it can be assumed that the new constitution would not change much in principle. The author does not intend to touch on this particular subject, and only a brief description of the former form of government will be presented.

Central government. According to the Constitution of Thailand B.E. 2475 (1932) as amended by the Constitutional Amendments B.E. 2495 (1952), the King exercises the legislative power by and with the advice and consent of the Assembly of the People's Representatives, executive power

through the Council of Ministers, and judicial power through the Court established by law.

1. The Assembly of the People's Representatives. This is the legislative branch of government. It consists of two categories of members. The first category is elected by the people. The second category is appointed by the Council of Ministers in the name of the King. Before the coup d'état of 1958, there were 283 members of the Assembly, 160 in the first category and the other 123 in the second category. Appointed members serve for ten-year terms and elected members must stand for reelection every five years, or sooner if the Assembly is dissolved. Members of both categories receive the same pay and possess equal powers. As a general rule, each elected assemblyman is supposed to represent 150,000 people, and each province has at least one elected member. Candidates must be Thai citizens at least twenty years old and their personal records must be free of criminal convictions.

Parliamentary procedure and organization are followed in the usual pattern of Western legislative bodies, including their general functions and their power of check and control of the executive branch. The Assembly writes its own rules and appoints its own officers and committees. Its president is always a man supported by the Cabinet. Committees are of three types: Standing, Special, and

Investigative. The Assembly is required to hold at least one regular session of ninety days each year.

2. The Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers is charged with the duties of administering the affairs of the country. The King appoints the president of the Council, subject to countersignature by the president of the Assembly. The president of the Council appoints his own member ministers. These ministers may or may not be members of the Assembly. The number of Council members consists of not more than twenty-eight and not less than fourteen persons. At the present time there are fourteen ministries. They are:

1. Office of Prime Minister
2. Ministry of Finance.
3. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
4. Ministry of Defense.
5. Ministry of Interior.
6. Ministry of Public Health.
7. Ministry of Agriculture.
8. Ministry of Education.
9. Ministry of Commerce.
10. Ministry of Industry.
11. Ministry of Communications.
12. Ministry of Culture.
13. Ministry of Justice
14. Ministry of National Development.

Each of the above is organized in a similar manner. The Minister's office has authority for policy supervision, and the undersecretary's office has authority for administrative supervision. Each ministry has a number of departments with specialized functions, and there are about sixty in the whole government. The department is headed by a Director-General appointed by the King upon the

recommendation of the Prime-Minister. All departments are usually broken down into further levels, namely, divisions and sections.

3. The courts. Judicial power is exercised by the courts, which must proceed according to the law and in the name of the King. The courts may be established only by law. There are three grades of courts in Thailand. Courts of First Instance include some eighty-six courts throughout the provinces, plus a civil and a criminal court in Bangkok; these province courts hear both civil and criminal cases. Secondly, the Court of Appeals is located in Bangkok and hears cases for the entire country appealing on points of fact or law. Thirdly, the Final Court of Appeal sits in Bagnkok and hears appeals only on points of law. All judges are appointed, transferred, or dismissed by the King. This is done on the recommendation and approval of the Judicial Commission.

Provincial or territorial administration. For administrative purposes, Thailand is divided into provinces (changwads); each province is divided into districts (amphurs); each district into communes (tambols); and the smallest unit division of a commune, is a village (muban).

1. The Province (Changwad). The province is the major unit of local administration in Thailand. There are seventy-one provinces at the present time. The average population in a province is between 225,000 and 250,000 people. The

administration of the province is under the authority of a Governor (Ka Luang). The province is established by the Changwad Government Act B.E. 2498 (1955) as a juristic unit. Its powers and duties include the maintenance of public peach, law, and order; establishing and maintaining a communication system within the provnices; social welfare including hospitals, public utilities and other business necessary for the good of the people. All of these activities are carried out within the provincial budget.

The province is empowered to enact ordinances that are not in conflict with other laws in order to implement their functions. It can engage in commercial activities, procurement of supplies, and the letting of contracts, but all of these are subject to the absolute veto of the Minister of the Interior over provincial by-laws.

Provincial financial powers are also specified and subjected to important restrictions. The law states that the annual budget is to be enacted as a regular ordinance, and, of course, subjected to ministerial veto, and that budgetary expenditures may cover only those activities for which the province is specifically made responsible for by law. Supplementary appropriations may be enacted in cases where the original budgetary allotment has proved inadequate. Sources of revenue of the province, also specified by law, include taxes, fees, license fees, fines, income from the province's property, and public utilities along with

commercial enterprises. Province expenditures include salaries, ordinary and extraordinary expenses, outlays connected with investments, obligatory payments and debts.

The governor, or head of the province, is appointed by the Minister of the Interior and is responsible to him. He is a full member of the national civil service system. Traditionally, the governors are rotated from province to province. The term in each province is not specified. In addition to the Minister of the Interior, the governor also presides over a provincial council, composed of senior civil servants--public prosecutor, chief of police in the province military conscription officer, local chief of ministries. Half of the members of the council are appointed by the governor and the other half are elected. In theory, the council supervises and coordinates the general administration of the province and advises and informs the governor. In effect, it means little to the governor and he usually dominates the council.

The governor acts as the primary communication link between the central and provincial governments. He receives policies and orders from the Council of Ministers, the Ministries and departments, and other public agencies and is responsible for their application in his province. According to the Administrative Law, the Governor is the chief official in his area, and he has the power to appoint, punish, and reward provincial officials under the limitation of the

law. His primary functions include coordinating the work of the various ministry representatives--Education, Public Health, Public Prosecutor, and Police--and maintaining law and order in the province; review of the reports of district officers and granting final approval to the selection of commune headmen. He is also empowered to dismiss municipal mayors and their council and to dissolve municipal assemblies. Power to do this is granted through the Municipal Reform Act of 1953.

The governor, then, is in firm control of the province, but over him stands the central government, and particularly the Ministry of the Interior, which not only appoints and removes governors but also controls the provincial staff and the provincial police.

2. District government. The district (amphur) is a subdivision of the province. The number of districts varies from three to seventeen in each province with the average somewhere between five and ten districts. There are 411 districts in the whole country, each one headed by a district officer (nai amphur). He is a civil servant appointed by the Minister of the Interior and is subject to being moved from place to place. He is directly responsible to the governor of the province in which his district is located. To reduce the burden of his responsibility, the district officer usually has two or more assistants (palad) to assist him in carrying out the responsibilities of his office.

The district officer has more of a variety of duties than other governmental servants. He is the chief administrative officer and chief magistrate of his district. He supervises the collection of taxes, issues certificates of birth, marriage, divorce and death. He records all deeds and wills, arbitrates land disputes, and administers local elections. The district officer, in the eyes of the villagers, is the closest and most vivid of all contacts with the central government.

3. Commune government. The district is divided into many groups of villages called communes (tambols), of which there are 3,327 in the country. The number varies from 23 to 185 communes in each district. Each commune has a supervisory headman known as a Kamnan who is elected by his fellow headmen at the village level. Kamnan is not a civil service officer, but he is paid a small salary by a central government of about $6 (120 baht) a month. All duties of the kamnan, both civil and criminal, are performed under the close supervision and sometimes direction of the district officer. His duties include recording some vital statistics, looking after the health and sanitation of the commune members, and reporting the monthly number of births and deaths to the district officer.

4. Village government. This is the smallest rural unit in the territorial administrative hierarchy. Village administration is under the hands of a popularly elected

headman, as mentioned previously. The headman is assigned duties both civil and criminal in nature. He is subject to the supervision of the kamnan as well as the district officer. He also receives $6 a month for salary.

Municipal government. The Thai municipality is an incorporated area intended to provide the major urban areas with some self-government. According to the Municipal Act of 1953, municipalities are classified into three types:

1. City (Nakorn) Municipality. To be a city the area must have 50,000 or more inhabitants and an average density of 3,000 persons per square-kilometer.

2. Town (Muang) Municipality. It requires 10,000 inhabitants in the area with the same density as the City Municipality.

3. Commune (Tambol) Municipality. Here the municipality can be established without restriction and in accordance with need.

The boundaries of all of these municipalities can be changed by action of the central government in the form of a Royal Decree. The dissolution of a municipality is possible through such a decree. The municipality must be composed of a Municipal Assembly and a Municipal Council. Prior to 1953, all the members of the Assembly were elected by the people; the Assembly then selected the President of the Council, who in turn selected his own councilor. In the past, votes were bought and sold; only a small number of persons were

interested in voting for this type of government. Incompetent persons were elected, which resulted in corruption and failure. Therefore, the central government had to take action in controlling the Municipalities. The mayors of the city or town were made appointive officers by the governor, and of the commune by the district officer. The governor also is empowered to dismiss mayors and councilors and to dissolve municipal assemblies. District officers were given similar power over commune municipalities. Of the members of the assembly only half are elected and the other half are appointed by the Ministry of the interior.

Municipal expenditures are met from local taxes on shops, houses, utilities, and grants and loans from the central government. The financial affairs of all municipalities are under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior.

CHAPTER III

THE THAI POLICE DEPARTMENT

I. BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

There is no evidence showing the existence of the police in early Thai history. The earliest evidence which can be found reveals that the police existed in the Ayuthaya era during the reign of King Trirok (1448-1488). His administrative law provided the four ministries: the Ministry of Local Government, which governed the city and province of Ayuthaya; the Ministry of the Royal Household, which was in charge of palace affairs; the Ministry of Finance; and the Ministry of Agriculture. Also, he created a police force which was attached to the Ministry of Local Government.

The police of that period were divided into two major units: the Metropolitan Police and the Provincial Police. The former unit was responsible for maintaining peace and order within the city and the latter was responsible for the same in provincial areas. The officers were appointed only by the King, and were chosen from trusted warriors and members of the royal families. The primary purpose of establishing the police force was to protect the king and his throne. The preservation of public peace was

an outgrowth of this responsibility. The honor of the police at that time was very high, since they always stayed close to the king wherever he went. The Sakdi-na system, mentioned in the previous chapter, also applies to the police. Evidence reveals that the amount of land given to the police varied from 600 to 1,000 rais dependent upon the position they held.[1] (2.5 rais = 1 acre.)

The police system in Thailand gradually developed from period to period. In the Bangkok era policing was changed due to the influence of western contact. The change in the police system was directly followed by a change in the administrative system of the government. In 1861, King Monkut (Rama IV) hired Captain S. J. Bird Ames, an Englishman to help in planning and reorganizing the police system in the metropolitan area. This reorganization followed the pattern of the European system. During this period Thailand was under pressure from the western countries in their effort to seek a colony. Thus, the development of the police system was aimed at political strategy and toward protecting the country.[2]

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[1]Police Brigadier-general Loung Plommopakornkit, Functions and Responsibilities of the Provincial Police, Police Publication, Division Heads' lecture series, No. 29. B.E. 2499, p. 2. (Translated by the Author.)

[2]Police Major Pao Sotthipan, Mimeograph of his lecture concerning the history of The Thai Police Department, Given at the Police Cadet Academy, 1963, p. 2. (In Thai Language.)

Development during the reign of King Rama IV was done mostly in the Metropolitan police. When King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) succeeded to the throne, the development extended further to the provincial areas. Mr. A. Jadine, also an Englishman, was employed to assist in metropolitan development, while Mr. G. Shau, a Dane, was employed to lay the foundation for the Provincial police which followed the Gendarmerie pattern.[3] The Provincial police agencies were not set up all at the same time. The rapidity with which they were set up depended upon the need of each province and its necessity in political strategy. Personnel for the Provincial police were largely transferred from the army. In addition to preserving peace and order, the provincial police were designed to be used as a military unit in time of war. Their functions also included the task of quelling uprisings and rebellions which were fairly common in those days; it was also responsible for the defense of the nation against border violations.[4]

The Provincial police were organized into departmental form in 1897 under the Ministry of the Interior and were separated from the Metropolitan Police which were attached to the Ministry of Metropolitan (the former Ministry of Local Government). It was named the "Provincial Patrol

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[3]Plommopakornkit, op. cit., p. 4.

[4]James Cramer, The World's Police (London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1964), p. 392.

Department: but later the name was changed to the "Provincial Police Department" at the end of the same year.[5] The separation of these two police departments was ended in 1915, when they were rejoined under one chief and attached to the Ministry of the Interior on the 13th of October. This date later became known as "Police Day."[6]

King Rama V promulgated a "Police Law" in 1875 containing fifty-three sections. This law described the authority and responsibility of the police, their powers in handling the criminal, the use of weapons, and extended their activities to non-criminal duties: protection of morals and health, public welfare, and fire control.[7] Regarding the education of the police, in 1901 King Rama V also established the first Police Academy, located outside the Capital at Khorat province. Students graduating from this Academy were awarded the rank of second-lieutenant. Rama V also established the metropolitan police training school in 1908, located in Bangkok. Students were recruited according to the National Service System Act, which allowed recruits to choose between the army and the police. The training period was from three to six months, after which they were assigned patrol duty.[8]

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Suwan Boonpling, (ed.), Outline of the History of the Thai Police (Bangkok: Thai Watana Panich, 1963).

[7] Prommopakornkit, op. cit., p. 5.

[8] Sotthipan, op. cit., p. 3.

During the reign of King Vajiravudh (Rama VI), nothing was changed, in principle. The provincial force was geographically extended and Mr. Erik St. J. Lawson, another Englishman, was hired to help in planning for the Metropolitan police. The Inspector-General Bureau and the Central Division were established. The former was empowered to appraise the performance of the police all over the country, and the latter was set up for the purpose of coordinating the work among various units and providing information for the local forces. Various records were maintained in the latter division.[9]

After Thailand changed its form of government to constitutional monarchy in 1932, police organization also changed. The Police Department was given a new title, "The Royal Thai Police Department," and it was divided into four main Bureaus, namely: (1) Central Administration; (2) Metropolitan; (3) Provincial and (4) Central Investigation. Since the reforms of 1932, at least fifteen reorganizations have taken place. The present form of the Thai National Police, described in the following chapter, has been in existence since 1960.

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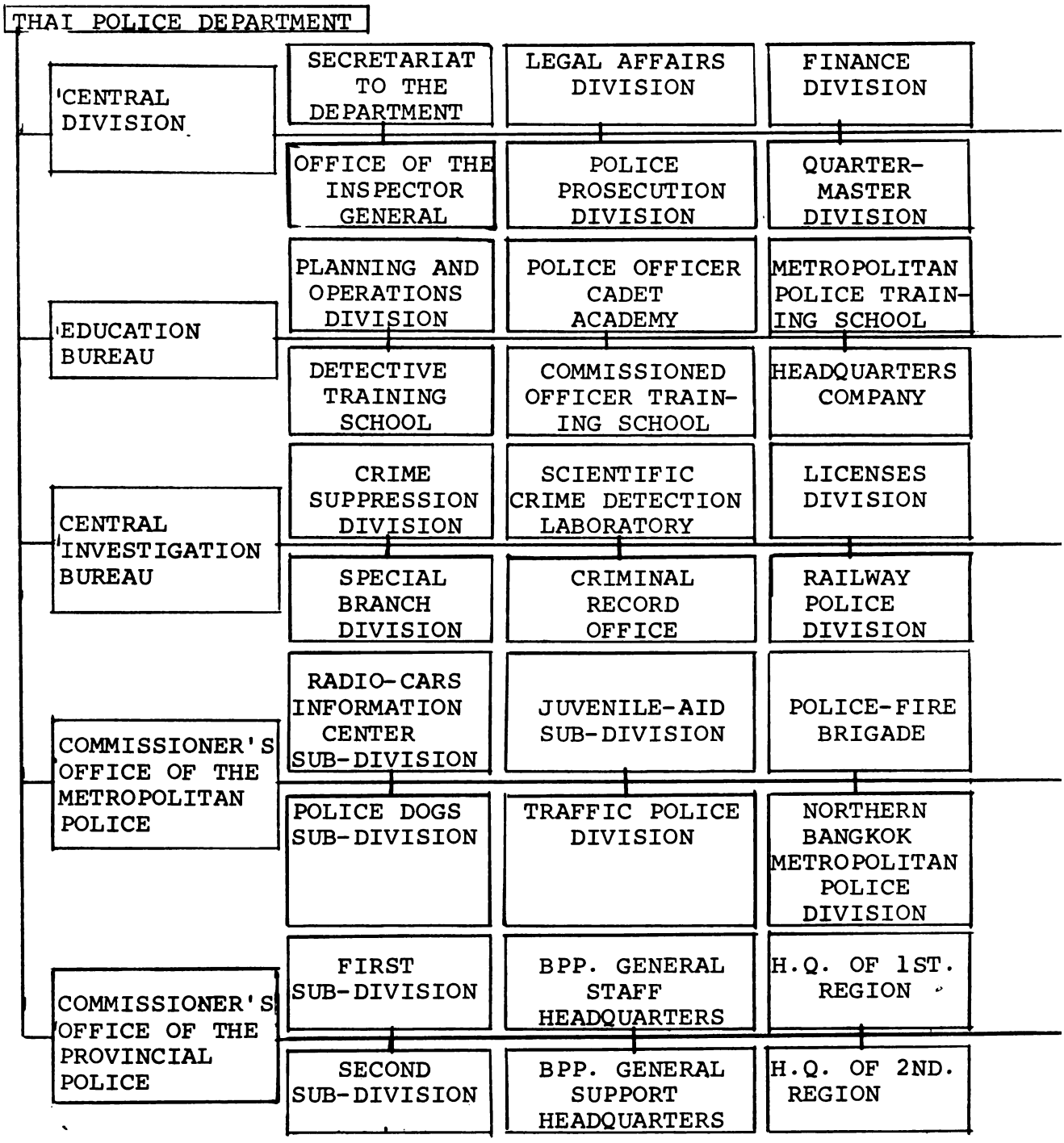
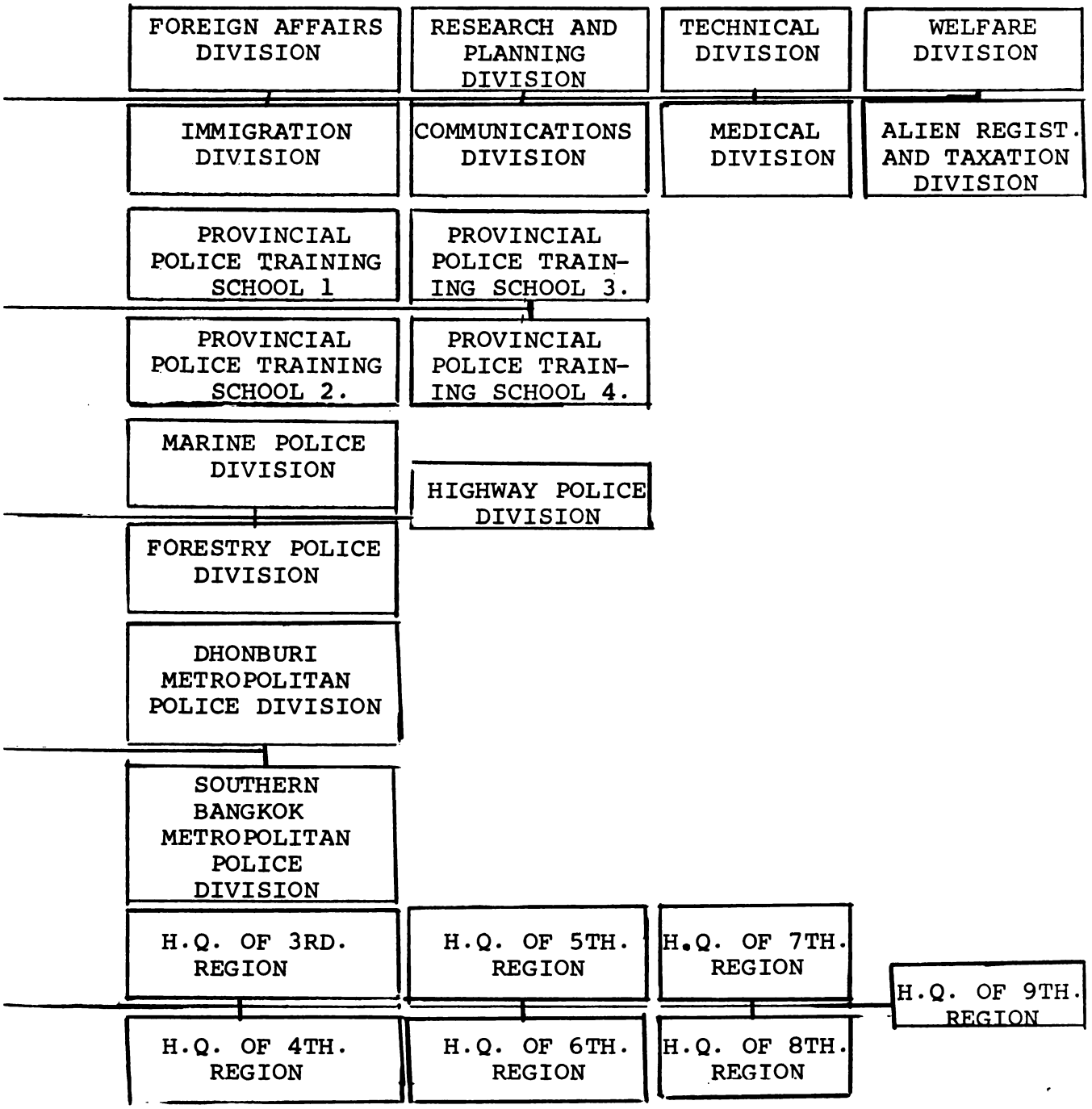
[9] Ibid., p. 4.

ORGANIZATION OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT OF THAILAND




FOREIGN AFFAIRS DIVISION
RESEARCH AND PLANNING DIVISION
TECHNICAL DIVISION
WELFARE DIVISION
IMMIGRATION DIVISION
COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION
MEDICAL DIVISION
ALIEN REGIST. AND TAXATION DIVISION
PROVINCIAL POLICE TRAINING SCHOOL 1
PROVINCIAL POLICE TRAIN-ING SCHOOL 3.
PROVINCIAL POLICE TRAINING SCHOOL 2.
PROVINCIAL POLICE TRAIN-ING SCHOOL 4.
MARINE POLICE DIVISION
HIGHWAY POLICE DIVISION
FORESTRY POLICE DIVISION
DHONBURI METROPOLITAN POLICE DIVISION
SOUTHERN BANGKOK METROPOLITAN POLICE DIVISION
H.Q. OF 3RD. REGION
H.Q. OF 5TH. REGION
H.Q. OF 7TH. REGION
H.Q. OF 9TH. REGION
H.Q. OF 4TH. REGION
H.Q. OF 6TH. REGION
H.Q. OF 8TH. REGION

II. PRESENT ORGANIZATION

The present organization of the Thai Police Department still retains the old tradition of a highly centralized system. The whole organization is under the control of one man, the Director-General, who in turn is responsible to the Minister of the Interior. The Thai Police Department has nation-wide jurisdiction. It is established as a department and placed under the Ministry of the Interior. According to the Royal Decree concerning Police Administration B.E. 2503 (1960), the Thai Police Department is divided into five bureaus, each bureau is divided into divisions, and each division into sections respectively. The Bureaus and their divisions and sections are:

A. The Central Administration. This is not really a bureau but a group of mutually exclusive divisions, each responsible directly to the Director-General. The primary purpose of these divisions is to assist the Director-General. Thus their functions are basically staff in nature. The name and general functions of each division can be summed up as follows:

1. Secretariat to the Department. This division consists of five sections. Its general functions include various secretarial jobs for the Department head and his assistants. It is responsible for personnel management; records and identification, promotion, transfer, reward,

discipline, and pensions. It is also responsible for establishing good relations between the public and the police; information relating to the activity of the Department is distributed to the press by this division. The maintenance and collection of various records and statistics concerning the yearly performance of the police department are included within its responsibilities.

2. Office of the Inspector-General. This office is in charge of the investigation of morale and conduct of personnel throughout the country. It appraises the performance of both line and staff employees and makes appropriate recommendations and comments pertaining to any improvements needed. Undesirable conduct or poor performance are reported to the Director-General who will take disciplinary action. Its duties include keeping disciplinary records and maintaining daily numerical strength.

3. Legal Affairs Division. Its functions concern the legal matters between the Department and other parties. They check and correct the preparation of cases submitted by local inquiry officers before presenting them to the prosecuting attorneys according to Criminal Procedure. They inform the authoritative unit when a government official is involved in a criminal offense, and set up committees for investigating cases of quarrel between the police and military. They also investigate complaints and allegations of malpractice against police officers including criminal charges.

4. Police Prosecution Division. This division is in charge of the correction of case preparation under the jurisdiction of the district court which has venue over misdemeanor cases. It gives advice and recommendations to the local officer as to problems of law. Its function includes prosecuting offenders in the district court.

5. Finance Division. It is responsible for budgeting, accounting, and auditing for the entire police department. Money acquired by the police through fines, fees, and taxes is sent to this division, which is responsible for delivering it to the Ministry of Finance. Preparation for the request for the Department's annual budget is made through this division.

6. Quartermaster-General's Division. It provides supplies and services to all units. Maintenance of buildings and other departmental properties--automobiles, housing, clothing, firearms and other materials used in the Department--is under its control and scope of responsibility.

7. Foreign Affairs Division. This division is in charge of all international relations. It provides information requested by the police department from various countries. It coordinates with international police in criminal matters including extradition. Officials studying abroad are under the supervision of this division. It is also responsible for the translation of foreign texts and

documents for research purposes and for providing up-to-date procedures to the Thai police.

8. Immigration Division. This division is responsible for enforcing the immigration laws. They investigate persons or automobiles coming in, out of, or through the country; control the yearly quota of immigrants; issue identification cards for aliens and register these persons. It can be stated that this division performs line functions rather than staff activities like other divisions in the Central Administration Bureau. It too has nation wide jurisdiction, extending over both land and water.

9. Research and Planning Division. Its function is involved in collecting and analyzing data concerning both criminal and non-criminal activities, and planning for the future.

10. Communication Division. This unit is in charge of maintaining communications between various units throughout the nation--provincial headquarters, railroad police headquarters, and water police stations--for both routine and emergency calls.

11. Technical Division. This division provides librarian service for both central and provincial units. The members collect data and conduct research for the betterment of practical police procedures and tactics. Its functions also involve: distributing text books, police manuals, and relevant statistics to all units; planning and

controlling the curricula of all police schools; establishing the regulations for the Department covering both criminal and non-criminal matters; and evaluating the conflict between the law and the police procedure and offering recommendations.

12. Medical Division. This division maintains the police hospital and is responsible for all medical fields. It provides a nursing school for its personnel and offers first-aid instruction to police officers. The services of the police hospital are available not only to police personnel but to the general public as well.

13. Welfare Division. It is responsible for the welfare of police personnel. This unit takes care of pensions, funeral services, and provides aid to families of officers who have lost their lives in the line of duty. Police personnel can seek help in their economic problems from this division. It is also in charge of providing sport tournaments among various police units; maintaining police co-operative programs, police band and police publications.

14. Alien Registration and Taxation Division. They are in charge of maintaining alien records, and coordinating work among various alien registration units. Their duties include the enforcement of laws pertaining to taxation, fees, excise taxes and customs.

B. Central Investigation Bureau. This bureau is responsible for criminal investigations all over the country. Its tasks are somewhat like those of the F.B.I. of the United States or the C.I.D. of Great Britain. Its branch offices are located in all administrative regions of the country to help local forces in scientific crime detection and identification. It maintains criminal records, fingerprints, a crime laboratory, and other specialized services. It is also responsible for the prevention and suppression of crimes particularly relating to offenses which concern the security of the nation. This Bureau is headed by a police commissioner who is responsible to the Director-General. Attached to the office of the Commissioner are six staff sections to assist him. They are: Administrative; Legal Affairs and Discipline; Record and Personnel; Finance and Supplies; Statistics, Research and Planning; and Welfare Section.

The Central Investigation Bureau is divided into nine divisions. Their names and function can be briefly described as follows:

1. Crime Suppression Division. This division is responsible for crime detection all over the country which is not under the jurisdiction of local authority. It also assists the local police when matters become too serious for them to handle. It consists of seven sections which are jurisdictionally divided.

2. Special Investigation Division. This division performs mostly confidential tasks. Their job is designed specifically for each section by the Commissioner himself. Generally, these tasks are related to the security of the nation as well as to the safety of political leaders and other important persons. The number of personnel and sections are not revealed, for security purposes.

3. Criminal Record Division. It is the central collection of all the criminal records, modus operandi and fingerprints file etc. This division is divided into three sub-divisions. Each sub-division is composed of three to five sections, their names explaining their functions, as follows:

a. First Sub-division. It consists of (1) the Administrative Section; (2) the Missing Persons, Unidentified Dead and Lost Property Section; and (3) the Police Museum Section.

b. Second Sub-division. This sub-division is divided into (1) Criminal Record Section; (2) Ex-Convicts, Hoodlums, and Local Thieves Control Section; (3) Wanted Persons and Stolen Property Index Section; (4) Modus Operandi Section; and (5) Criminal Album Section.

c. Third Sub-division. It consists of (1) Fingerprint Searching Section; (2) Fingerprint Filing Section; (3) Regional Fingerprint Section; (4) Fingerprints

of Government Officials Section; and (5) Conviction Records Section.

4. Scientific Crime Detection Laboratory Division. This division maintains a scientific crime laboratory and provides specialized service to all local units of the police department. Its services are extended to other governmental agencies as well. This division is divided into four sub-divisions:

a. First Sub-division. It consists of (1) Administrative Section; (2) Photography Section; (3) Crime Scene Investigation Section; and (4) Single Fingerprint Section.

b. Second Sub-division. It is divided into (1) Handwriting, Signature and Typewriting Section; (2) Chemical and Physical Document Examination Section; and (3) Tool Marks and Counterfeit Section.

c. Third Sub-division. It breaks down into two sections: (1) Forensic Ballistics Section; and (2) Firearms Identification Section.

d. Fourth Sub-division. This sub-division consists of (1) Chemistry and Physical Section; (2) Biology Section; and (3) Toxicology Section.

5. License Division. This division controls all licenses regulating motor vehicles, firearms, pawn shops and second hand dealers, hotels, and films or motion pictures. It is divided into:

a. First Sub-division. It consists of (1) Administrative Section; (2) Firearms Section; and (3) Vehicle Section.

b. Second Sub-division. It is divided into (1) Pawnshop and Second-hand Dealers Section; (2) Hotels, Prostitution, Gambling and Public Subscription Control Section; and (3) Film Censorship Section.

c. Third Sub-division. It is composed of (1) Motor Vehicle Registration Section; (2) Motor Vehicle Driving Section; (3) Motor Vehicle Inspection Section; and (4) Province Vehicle Supervision Section.

6. Railway Police Division. This division is responsible for all criminal law enforcement and has jurisdiction over the railroad only. It, too, has nationwide jurisdiction. The central headquarters are located in Bangkok. It provides its own training for all personnel to teach them how to perform their duties on the railroad. This division is geographically divided into four sub-divisions.

7. Water Police Division. It is in charge of maintaining law and order in the waters of the country: the sea, rivers, and the water fronts. It regulates offenses pertaining to customs, fisheries, immigration, import and export, smuggling and cruising law in the Thai jurisdiction. It is also geographically divided into 6 sub-divisions.

8. Highway Patrol Division. This division is responsible for enforcing traffic laws on the highways outside the city. It is also responsible for the prevention and suppression of crimes committed on the highways; and for providing services to the public who travel along the highways. This division probably is the smallest division in the Central Investigation Bureau. It was just recently established and is divided geographically into three subdivisions. It has jurisdiction only upon the highways.

9. Forestry Police Division. Its function is to enforce all the laws pertaining to forestry control. The prevention and suppression of crime against preserving natural resources and other related crimes are within the scope of its jurisdiction. This division is the biggest one in the bureau. It is composed of both staff and line units and possesses modern equipment such as radios, field telephones and helicopters to enable them to fulfill their responsibilities.

C. Police Education Bureau. This Bureau performs a completely staff function. It controls all kinds of police education, training, and schools. This bureau consists of five general staff sections related directly to the Education Commissioner, and ten functional staff sub-divisions and divisions, each directly under the bureau.

The five general staff sections are (1) the Administrative Section; (2) the Discipline Section; (3) the Records

and Personnel Section; (4) the Finance and Supplies Section; and (5) the Welfare Section. Their names explain their duties.

The ten sub-divisions and divisions are divided according to type of work as well as geographical basis. These are (1) Planning and Operation Division, planning for all training and for curriculum and providing all education facilities to the following sub-divisions; (2) the Detective Training School; (3) the Police Cadet Academy; (4) the Non-Commissioned Officer Training School; (5) the Metropolitan Police Training School; (6)-(9) the Provincial Police Training School Regions I, II, III, and IV; and (10) Headquarters Company.

D. Commissioner's Office of the Metropolitan Police. This bureau deals with criminal law enforcement in two metropolitan areas, Bangkok and Thonburi, the biggest cities in Thailand, with the population approaching two million. This bureau can be said to be the backbone of the entire organization and the most important. The police, for the good or ill will of the public, are dependent upon this bureau. It has a strength of nearly ten thousand men. The Bureau is headed by a police commissioner with two deputies and one assistant to help him.

The jursidiction of this bureau is geographically divided into three divisions, Northern Bangkok, Southern Bangkok, and the Thonburi Division. Each division is under

the supervision of a police commander who has three deputies to assist him. The three divisions are divided into eleven sub-divisions and have fifty-five police stations. The police stations are set up on the basis of population density. Each station is responsible for prevention and suppression of crime in the jurisdiction designated.

The organization structure of the Metropolitan Police Bureau is rather complicated. It consists of six general staff sections under the direct command of the Commissioner. There are five divisions and four sub-divisions which are not sub-divisions of those five divisions but responsible directly to the bureau.

The six general staff sections under the bureau are: (1) the Administrative Section; (2) the Discipline Section; (3) the Record and Personnel Section; (4) the Finance and Supplies Section; (5) the Statistics Research and Planning Section; and (6) the Welfare Section.

The Sub-divisions under the Bureau are:

1. Radio Cars Information Center Sub-division. It is a central dispatcher of radio cars who perform patrol duty in the metropolitan area in order to help the local police stations in prevention and suppression of crime. It also provides ambulances for transporting emergency cases to the hospital.

2. Police Dog Sub-division. This sub-division is in charge of training the dogs, and for providing services

for local police stations when a police dog is needed.

3. Building Safe-guard Sub-division. This unit is responsible for protecting all the government buildings such as the Public Utility Building, the King's Court, the Police Department building, and the Ministries building, etc.

4. Juvenile-Aid Sub-division. This is a relatively new unit. Its function deals with juvenile offenders only. The prevention of crime is its major responsibility.

Divisions under the Commissioner's Office are:

1. Traffic Division. This division deals with traffic law enforcement and traffic safety. It is responsible for traffic control in the metropolitan area and provides personnel to regulate traffic. It is also responsible for planning the operation of a unified traffic safety program pertaining to accident prevention, traffic engineering, enforcement, and regulation of drivers and vehicles. It is divided into three sub-divisions and sections respectively. The mounted Police are also attached to this division. The Sub-divisions are as follows:

a. Central Sub-division. It consists of the (1) Traffic Control Section; (2) Traffic Planning Section; (3) Statistics and Research Section; (4) Accident Investigation Section; and (5) Training Section.

b. Mechanical Sub-division. It is divided into (1) the Construction Section; (2) the Traffic Light Section; and (3) the Maintenance and Mechanical Examination Section.

c. Mounted Police Sub-division. This sub-division consists of (1) Operation Section; (2) Training and Remount Section, and (3) Stores and Supplies Section.

2. Police Fire-Brigade Division. This division is in charge of fire prevention, fire control, and fire fighting. It also provides instruction to the public relating to fire control. This division has two sub-divisions, namely:

a. First Sub-division. It consists of two sections which are (1) the Fire Prevention Section and (2) the Training section.

b. Second Sub-division. It is divided into (1) the Fire Fighting Section and (2) the Mechanical Section.

3. Northern Bangkok Metropolitan Police Division. This division is responsible for enforcing all criminal laws in the Northern Bangkok area. It is divided geographically into five sub-divisions and twenty-one police stations.

4. Southern Bangkok Metropolitan Police Division. This division carries the same responsibilities as its northern counterpart but in the Southern Bangkok area. It has four sub-divisions and eleven police stations.

5. Thonburi Metropolitan Police Division. It has general jurisdiction in all of Thonburi city. It is composed of five sub-divisions and twenty-three police stations.

Each Metropolitan Police Division also has one Investigation Sub-division to assist the local police station in the investigation and apprehension of criminal

offenders. It does not have the authority to prepare a case as an inquiry officer which is under the jurisdiction of the local police station. Each Investigation Sub-division is divided into five sections responsible for specific types of offenses as follows:

a. The First Section: Responsible for offenses relating to Life and Body.

b. The Second Section: Responsible for offenses relating to Property.

c. The Third Section: responsible for offenses relating to Counterfeiting and Alteration, and also offenses relating to Sexuality.

d. The Fourth Section: Responsible for offenses relating to Public Peace and Arson.

e. The Fifth Section: Responsible for offenses relating to Gambling, Smuggling and other offenses which are not the formers' responsibility.

E. Commissioner's Office of the Provincial Police. As mentioned earlier, before 1915 the provincial police was a separate department apart from the metropolitan police, therefore, there will be no doubt about the size of this bureau. Its responsibility is to enforce the law in the provincial areas which consist of sixty-nine provinces and more than 20 million people. The force has the strength of approximately thirty-three thousand men. This bureau is divided into nine geographical regions. Each region maintains

a Regional Police Headquarters under the supervision of a police commander. The region is divided into sub-divisions, having their headquarters in the main cities or towns of the provinces. Each sub-division is composed of police stations varying in numbers according to the size of the province.

Besides the provincial police units mentioned above, a new addition to this bureau is the Border Patrol Police. This division was formerly under the direct command of the Director-General but was later detached and placed under the provincial police because its sphere of operation was in the provincial areas. This unit does not perform real police duties. It has no authority in criminal investigations unless there is a request for cooperation from the local forces on some occasion. Its main task is to safeguard the long national frontiers against border smuggling, banditry, illegal immigration and hostile infiltration. Another responsibility assigned to this unit is the operation of an air-crash rescue service. This force is trained to fight as a military unit. It is organized into platoons and stationed in remote border areas barred from the outside world by the jungles and mountains. The force maintains its own aviation unit of medium transport air craft and helicopters. A parachute unit is also attached in this division.

The organization structure of this bureau can be summed up as follows:

1. Staff units attached to the Bureau and directly under the supervision of the Commissioner, consisting of two sub-divisions:

a. First Sub-division. It is divided into (1) an Administrative Section; (2) a Records and Personnel Section; (3) the Welfare Section and (4) a Finance and Supplies Section.

b. Second Sub-division. It consists of (1) an Investigation Section; (2) an Information Center Section; (3) a Statistics, Research and Planning Section; and (4) a Legal Affairs and Discipline Section.

2. Border Patrol Police Division. This division is divided into:

a. Border Patrol Police General Staff Headquarters. They have four sections: (1) Personnel Section; (2) Intelligence Section; (3) Operations and Training Section; and (4) Logistics Section.

b. Border Patrol Police Support Headquarters. They consist of the (1) Quartermaster Office Center; (2) Police Aviation Unit; (3) Police Air Reinforcement Unit; and (4) Communications Unit.

3. The Provincial Police. They are divided into nine regions. Each region covers an area which varies from six to nine provinces. There is a sub-division in every province and a police station in every district. Some communes may have a sub-station depending upon the size and the

need of each commune. At the village level, the village headman performs the police function but his power is limited to arresting offenders and turning them over to the local police. They are not permitted to undertake an investigation.

III. PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

Regulations. The Government of Thailand controls all civil service employees in the nation. There is a law called "the Civil Service Regulation B.E. 2504" (1961) which outlines all regulations regarding examinations, classifications, appointments, salaries, promotions and disciplinary measures for civil servants. Since the police personnel are also regarded as civil servants, in addition to the police regulations, they are also subject to Civil Service Regulations. The police regulations are divided into two parts, (1) Police Regulations concerning Criminal Cases, and (2) Police Regulations Concerning Non-Criminal Cases. The former was developed in accord with, and designed to modify, the Criminal Procedure. It prescribes police procedures and methods of handling criminals, including the preparation of a criminal case in order to present it to the Prosecuting Attorney. The latter was written in accord with and at the same time to modify the Civil Service Regulations. It describes all methods and procedures not relating to criminal offenses, such as promotion procedures, how to acquire a

pension, how to deliver government funds to the Ministry of Finance, etc. These two sets of regulations are very detailed and complicated. Both are large volumes of about 1,000 pages each.

Appointments. Police officers and civilians of the non-commissioned class in the Police Department are appointed by the Director-General. The commissioned officers, that is, officers of the rank of second lieutenant and above, are appointed by the Minister of The Interior.[10] The position of the Director-General usually has been a political appointment made by the King upon the recommendations of the Prime Minister. During the past decade, as well as at the present time, this position has been filled by a transferred army officer.

Ranking system and positions. The ranking system of the Thai police is uniformly established and follows the army system. In descending order, the ranks of the Thai police and the equivalent positions which they may hold are listed as follows:

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[10]The Police Regulations Concerning Non-Criminal Cases, 1962, Title 5, Section 1.

RANKS	POSITIONS	
	LINE	STAFF
Police General	Director General	
Police Lt. General	Deputy Director General	
Police Major General	Assistant Director General	
	Commissioner	Bureau Chief
	Deputy Commissioner	
Police Colonel	Assistant Commissioner	
	Commander	Division Head
	Deputy Commander	
Police Lt. Colonel	Superintendent	
	Deputy Superintendent	
Police Major	Chief Inspector	Section Head
Police Captain	Inspector	
Police Lieutenant	Assistant Inspector	
Police Second Lt.		
Major Sergeant	Sub-station Head	Chief Clerk
Police Sergeant		
Police Corporal	Squad Head	Clerk
Police Lance Corporal		
Police Private	Patrol Man	

It is extremely difficult for a Thai police officer who starts as a police private to work his way up to the rank of a commissioned officer. Most of the commissioned officers are either recruited from the Police Cadet Academy, or are college graduates, or are transfered from the army.

Pay and step increases. The wages of police personnel are also regulated by Civil Service Regulations. Officers' wages are paid on a monthly basis. Special pay is provided when special trips are made. There is no additional pay for overtime work. Those working in a rough area receive special pay. There is no bonus system in the Thai Police Department. The monthly pay received varies in accordance with rank. In each rank, there are different steps or

grades which vary from two to five steps. The amount of pay in each step varies from 25 baht up to 500 baht. (20 baht = $1.)

RANK	PAY AND STEPS (in baht)				
	1st. step	2nd. step	3rd. step	4th. step	5th. step
Police Private	450	475	500		
Police Lance Corporal	500	525			
Police Corporal	550	575	600		
Police Sergeant	625	650	675	700	
Police Major Sergeant	725	750	800		
Major Sgt. Special	850	900			
Police Second Lt.	750	800	850		
Police Lieutenant	900	1,000	1,050	1,100	
Police Captain	1,200	1,300	1,400	1,500	1,600
Police Major	1,750	1,900	2,050	2,200	2,350
Police Lt. Colonel	2,500	2,650	2,900	3,150	
Police Colonel	3,600	3,800	4,000	4,300	
Police Col. Special	4,600	4,900	5,200		
Police Major General	5,700	6,200	6,700		
Police Lt. General	7,200	7,650	8,000		
Police General	8,300				

Promotions. There is no system of promotion by examination in the Thai Police Department except for Sergeant-Majors, who can be considered for promotion to the rank of Second Lieutenant upon passing an examination over a six-month training period. The promotion system in the Thai Police Department is based primarily on merit and job performance rated by a man's superiors. The commissioned officers are required to submit annual performance reports to the superior in order to facilitate consideration for promotions. This will also help them in case they have done

something which the superiors have overlooked.[11] Bravery is still a great influential factor in decisions for promotion. Those who engage in dangerous missions, or suffer injuries in the line of duty, are always rewarded with two- or three-step advances in pay directly mutually inclusive with rank.[12] Moreover, seniority is usually taken into consideration when the number of positions are limited.

Retirement and pensions. The regulation provides that the police officer is to be retired at the age of sixty. There is no specified number of years for service, like most American local police departments which usually provide for twenty years. In Thailand, as long as you are able to do work, you can stay with the department until you reach the age of sixty, unless there is a disciplinary action which causes a discharge or suspension. After retirement, the officers are entitled to acquire pensions. The pension can come in either one of 2 forms--a lump sum, or on a monthly basis. The calculations for these two systems of pension are different. The first system is calculated by multiplying the last level of salary received by the number of years in service. For example, if an officer is retired as a captain-first-step who received 1200 baht salary, and who

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[11] Ibid., Title 29, Section 3.

[12] Ibid., Title 29, Section, 2.

served for 30 years in service, he will receive a pension of 1,200 x 30 = 36,000 baht. The second system is calculated by dividing the last salary by fifty and multiplying by the number of years in service. In this case the officer will receive $\frac{1200}{50}$ x 30 = 720 baht. per month.[13] The officer is free to choose either alternative. In both cases if the officer dies, his wife or his descendants can obtain his pension. The number of years in service for purposes of calculating a pension may not be the actual years a man was in service. The regulation provides that during wartime or during the declaration of Martial Law, like in the present time, service years are counted double.[14] Thailand has been under Martial Law since 1958; therefore, those who are in the service from 1958 up to now will be counted for sixteen years, instead of eight, when they apply for pension.

Selection. There are two systems of selection for police employees, selection through examination and selection without examination. The latter is usually applied to those who want to transfer from other units of the government (including the army), or to police personnel who earn college degrees. The qualifications required for applicants for both commissioned and non-commissioned classes are basically the same except for the education requirements.

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[13] Ibid., Title 39, Section 3.

[14] Ibid., Title 39, Section 5.

Medical examinations and background checks are required for all applicants.

Generally, individuals who apply for police work must meet the following requirements:

Age:	18 years or over, must not be over 35 years for those applying for police private rank.
Nationality:	Thai
Physical Measurement:	158 cm. in height, 70 cm. in breast, or 235 cm. all together, no weight is required.
Physical Condition:	Good physical and mental ability, no defect or illness.
Background:	Good character, no debt, never been sentenced to imprisonment, never been suspended from other governmental units.
Education:	Junior high (10th grade) for police private, except in the areas which lag in education special leniency are granted. College or equivalent is required for the commissioned rank.[15]

Those who are selected usually have to go to the police training school for a period of time which varies from three months and up to one year. General police duty and law are the basic courses. After they are put on probation for a period of six months before appointment.

Education and training. Police education in Thailand is centrally controlled by the Police Education Bureau. Prior to 1961, the Police Education Bureau was merely a division under the Quartermaster Bureau which is now a

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[15] Ibid., Title 4, Section 1.

division under the Department. Police education is now recognized as essential for the improvement of police services and public relations. Education is, therefore, provided for both pre-service and in-service training. Now, more police officers are sent to study abroad than ever before. Generally, there are four major categories for the police schools:

1. Police Cadet Academy. It is a four-year training school available only to high school graduates, who must pass a competitive entrance examination composed of both physical and mental tests. Before 1957, the Cadet Academy was also open to all police personnel who had completed high school work; the new regulations however, limits the age of the applicants to under 21, thus eliminating most incumbent personnel. Unlike the United States' or the Republic of China's Police Cadet Academy, there are no specialized fields of police work, such as criminal investigation, criminalistics, criminology, or administration, offered in this school; instead, the cadets are trained to be generalists. The courses cover all police fields, such as law, social science and foreign language (English and Chinese). In physical training, the cadets are trained for self-defense, military drill, and sports. Strict discipline, just as in the military, is also applied. Upon graduation, the candidates are awarded with a diploma equivalent to a bachelor's degree and appointed as second-lieutenants. Most

of them are assigned to police stations in various places, both metropolitan and provincial areas. The purpose is to make them acquainted with the primary police duty. After one or two years they may be rotated from place to place and from division to division.

2. Non-Commissioned Officer Training School or Police Sergeant Training School. This school is open to all police privates who have served in the department at least for one year. The applicants must pass an entrance examination for candidacy, and only a limited number are accepted each year. The training period is provided for one year, basic law and police procedure and tactics are instructed. Upon graduation, a rank of police lance sergeant is awarded.

3. Police Private Training School. This school is provided for recruiting police privates or patrolmen to work in the force. At least junior high school graduation or the equivalent is required, and a competitive entrance examination is also provided at this level. After completing a six-month training period, the candidates are assigned to patrol duty. This level of education is carried separately for the Metropolitan, the Provincial, and the Central Investigation Police.

The Metropolitan Police Training School and the Central Investigation Police Training School are located in Bangkok. The Provincial Police Training Schools are geographically separated. There are four Provincial Police

Training Schools in the country, located at Nakornpathom province for the Central part, at Khorat for the Eastern part, at Lampang for the Northern part, and at Pattani province for the Southern part. The number of the candidates in each school varies from 90 to 300 persons, depending upon the needs of local regions.[16] The curriculum and major training programs are uniformly provided for this level.

4. Detective Training School. This school is open to commissioned officers only. The opportunity is also available to other government workers who engage in investigative types of work, such as district officers, customs officers, army officers, or military police, and excise officers. The training runs for six months. There is no entrance examination for admission at this level. The members are selected as representatives of the unit which is interested in the program. The course instruction emphasizes investigation techniques. However, other subjects are also taught. The students are returned to their former units after the training is completed.

5. Special Training School. This training is provided for sergeant majors who are considered for promotion to a rank of second lieutenant. The training period is fixed for three months. Its purpose is to prepare the men to accept the role and the burden of responsibility when they become commissioned officers.

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[16]The Annals of the Thai Police Department, 1962, p. 33.

Besides the training schools mentioned, there are many short period in-service training programs carried on within the division, for example, training provided by the Communication Division, training in fire fighting by the Fire Brigade Division, training for the railroad police, training for the water police, training for the traffic police, and police dog training. These are the kinds of work in each division which are relatively specialized in their nature. There is no specific training school for their recruits; so these divisions have to maintain their own training programs.

The Police Department also initiates its personnel for higher education. Many police officers spend their past time in the college and vocational training school, some are selected to be a representative of the unit and some on their own financial. However, the number is small at the present time.

Strength. The strength of the police in Thailand is theoretically regarded as sufficient, according to the text Municipal Police Administration.[17] According to the latest figures, there are 51,428 police officers in Thailand. This This is approximately 1 police officer per 500 inhabitants,[18]

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[17]The International City Managers' Association, Municipal Police Administration (Chicago: The Association, 1961), p. 87.

[18]The Annal, op. cit., p. 5.

compared with 1 : 600 for the Republic of China,[19] and 1 : 720 for Japan.[20] The highest numerical strength in Thailand is at Bangkok and Thonburi with an average of about 1 : 104. The lowest numerical strength is at the third region (Khorat Plain) with the average being 1 : 990.[21]

Mobility. In 1954, there were reportedly 635 police automobiles of various types and 195 motorcycles.[22] These numbers have gradually been increased as a result of foreign aid and government funds. In 1961, there were 1411 automobiles of various types in the Police Department, (including 63 fire engines), 330 motorcycles and 1,399 bicycles.[23] The number increased in 1962 to 1593 for automobiles (including 83 fire engines), 353 motorcycles and 1839 bicycles.[24] These automobiles were used for communication maintenance, public relations, escorts and personal car for high officials. Only small numbers are used for patrol and investigation purposes. Some, but not all, police stations are

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[19]Ko-Wang Mei, Oriental Police System and Counter-Subversion Measures (East Lansing: Michigan State University, School of Police Administration and Public Safety, 1964), p. 24.

[20]Ibid., p. 56.

[21]The Annal of 1953, p. 61.

[22]The Annal of 1954, p. 41.

[23]The Police Annal of 1961, pp. 9-10.

[24]The Police Annal of 1962, pp. 21-22.

provided with one or two jeeps or land rovers for communication and transportation purposes.

In the provincial areas, in addition to a few automobiles for each province headquarters, there are other means such as bicycles, horses, boats, and canoes. A few major police stations may have automobiles, but most of them do not. Automobiles may be unnecessary in the light of geographical conditions and systems of roads in the rural areas.

The Water Police is provided with high-speed motor boats, equipped with two-way radio systems and armed to help in fulfilling their duties. Motor boats account for 91 vehicles, differing size and speed.

Communications. Telephone, radio, and teletype are modern means of communication in Thailand. Direct-dial telephone calls can be made only in Bangkok and Thonburi. In the provincial areas, the hand crank-type, connected through the operator, is used, but extends within the city only. Radio communication has a central control in Bangkok and extends its network to every region headquarter. In 1961, a teletype system was added to supplement the radio system. However, its network is still the same as the radio. Ordinary mail or personal carriage is still the way to communicate between the provinces and among local police stations within the province.

Table 1. Means in transportation of the Thai Police Department.

	NUMBER		
Automobiles	1960	1961	1962
Two or four door sedan	353	353	257
Convertible and Land-Rover	357	357	423
Bus	3	3	9
Truck	149	149	150
Ambulance	11	11	6
Jeep	323	323	527
Jeep Station Wagon	4	34	66
Jeep Truck	39	39	64
Fire Engine	36	63	83
Crane	3	3	4
Motor Tricycles	2	2	1
Trailer	5	5	3
Tractor	1	1	1
Motorcycles	327	327	352
Other Vehicles			
Bicycles	1,399	1,399	1,389
Boats			
Motor Boat	247	247	253
Stream Boat	2	2	2
Sampan	115	115	89
Canoe	75	75	68
Animals			
Elephant	1	1	1
Horse	842	842	762
Air Plane	---	---	14

Note: Data acquired from the Police Annual of 1960, 1961, and 1962.

IV. NATURE OF WORK AND AUTHORITY OF THE POLICE

The term, "police duty" is intended to mean the primary police duty--the preservation of peace, and the protection of life and property of the individual--which is carried on by the Metropolitan and the Provincial Police, who have jurisdiction over all the land in Thailand. Special units such as the Central Investigation Bureau are supposed to implement and assist the local police station in specific types of crime.

The authority of the police in Thailand is somewhat unusual compared to the police in other countries; the Thai police possess more power than the police of any other democratic country. This power is not considered tyrannical or authoritarian, but it is provided by law and upon the approval of the majority of the people.

The law empowers superior officers--from the position of Inspector and up for the Metropolitan Police, and head of the police station having the rank of at least police second lieutenant in the Provincial Police--to issue a summons, search or arrest warrant either of his or its own motion or upon an application;[25] but there must be reasonable grounds to issue such a warrant, as stated in the Criminal Procedure, section 66 and 69. The law also provides authority to keep

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[25]The Criminal Procedure of Thailand 1961, section 52, 59.

the person arrested in custody. The length of custody varies depending upon the degree of the offense. In misdemeanor cases, the police can keep the offender in custody only for interrogation about his identity and his residence. The period of custody is extended to 48 hours in case of a need for further investigation or other circumstances of the case. If the necessity to keep the arrested person for more than 48 hours arises, the officer has to send the offender to court and request a warrant of detention.[26]

The period of detention by the court is limited to a single period of seven days for those offenses with the maximum punishment of not more than six months' imprisonment or five hundred baht fine or both. If the offense has a penalty of more than six months' imprisonment, but not exceeding ten years, the court has the power to grant several successive remands not exceeding twelve days each, but the total period shall not exceed forty-eight days. If the offense is punishable by more than ten years' imprisonment, the period is extended to a time not exceeding eighty-four days.[27]

The superior police officer is also empowered to release the alleged offender while he is in custody with or without bail. The offender can make an application either

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[26] Ibid., section 87.

[27] Ibid.

at the police level, during the first 48 hours, or at the court level.[28] The authority to grant a release differs according to the position of the officer; for example, a Chief Inspector is empowered to grant release for an offense which is punishable up to 2,000 baht; Superintendent from 2,000 baht to 5,000 baht fine; Commander, from 5,000 to 10,000 baht fine; more serious cases are under the authority of the Commissioner.[29] The amount of the fine is directly related to the number of years of imprisonment, e.g., a fine of 2,000 baht is equivalent to one year's imprisonment.

The police official is also empowered to conduct an inquiry in preparing the case for the prosecuting attorney. Section 120 of Criminal Procedure states that "The public Prosecutor shall not enter a charge in Court without an inquiry having previously been held in reference to the offense in respect of which the charge is entered." Moreover Section 121 states, "The inquiry officer has the power to hold inquiry in reference to all criminal offenses. But in case of compoundable offenses, inquiry shall not be held unless a regular complaint has been made."

The inquiry officer can be a police officer from the rank of second lieutenant up. The police station in Thailand generally is composed of the Chief Inspector, two

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[28] Ibid., section 106.

[29] The Police Regulation Concerning Criminal Cases, Title 7, Section 2, No. 184.

Inspectors, and three to four Assistant Inspectors, for Metropolitan Police. The Provincial Police may have a head of the station with one to three assistants. (This does not count the non-commissioned officers.) These men, usually the assistants, are rotated to be on duty and in charge of an inquiry duty for a six-hour period in the Metropolitan police station, which may be prolonged up to twenty-four hours for the Provincial Police, because of insufficient manpower.

When a case is submitted to an inquiry officer by complaint either of a private person or the police officer, an inquiry must be made without delay. It may be conducted at any place or time, with or without the presence of the offender.[30] This is an attempt to collect every kind of evidence in order to know the facts and circumstances relating to the offense, ascertain the offender, and prove his guilt.

In order to accomplish a successful inquiry, the officer is empowered to make an arrest, and search and seizure of evidence, in order to prove or disprove the case. He is also empowered to take the offender into custody or make a request for further detention from the court. However, this must be done according to the law as previously mentioned.

When he has the complete results of the inquiry, the officer can submit, to the Public Prosecutor, his opinion as to whether prosecution should be made or not. If the

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[30]Criminal Procedure, Ibid., Section 130.

opinion submitted is for a non-prosecution order, only file and opinion is sent. In case the offender has been arrested, the officer is empowered to grant him a provisional release if he is under police custody. If the person has been detained according to a court order, the inquiry officer will request the Public Prosecutor to apply to court for his release.[31]

If the opinion submitted is for a prosecution order, the alleged offender must be sent, together with the opinion and file, to the Public Prosecutor unless the person is already under detention.[32]

The opinion of the inquiry officer is subject to review by the Public Prosecutor for the purpose of making the final decision either agreeing or disagreeing with the opinion of the inquiry officer. He is not obligated to act according to the opinion of the police. He may prosecute the offender even though the opinion is non-prosecution. Moreover, if he thinks the investigation and interrogation are not completed he may send the file back to the officer for additional inquiry.[33]

The authority to give an opinion, like the authority to grant release, varies according to the degree of the

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[31] Ibid., Section 142.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., Section 143.

offense. In case of prosecution opinion, the Chief Inspector can give an opinion on offenses punishable by up to seven years' imprisonment. The Superintendent is authorized to give an opinion in cases punishable by from seven years' to fifteen years' imprisonment. The rest are under the authority of the Commander.[34]

Authority is lessened in an opinion of non-prosecution. The Chief Inspector can make a non-prosecution opinion only in a misdemeanor punishable by one month or less. The Superintendent has authority over offenses punishable by up to five years' imprisonment, and the Police Commander controls all the rest.[35]

However, there are some types of offenses in which only the Director-General or the Police Commissioner (depending on the case) preserve the power either to grant release, or give opinions of prosecution or non-prosecution. These types of offenses are those relating to politics, communism, arson, narcotics traffic, and some specific types of gambling.

Moreover, the inquiry officer is also empowered to fine the offender in misdemeanor cases where the penalty does not exceed one month's imprisonment or a fine not exceeding 500 baht, on the consent of the offender who pleads

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[34]The Police Regulation Concerning Criminal cases, Section 276.

[35]Ibid.

guilty to the police, for example, in cases of traffic violations, littering, and possessing arms in public. The purpose of granting this authority to the police is to facilitate matters and reduce the burden of the court for these petty offenses, and at the same time accomodate the public.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

I. LIMITATIONS OF DECENTRALIZATION AND FACTORS FAVORING CENTRALIZATION OF THE THAI POLICE DEPARTMENT

History. The police system in any country is mostly a product of the country's history and its forms of government. Law enforcement in the United States is more radically decentralized than in any other civilized nation. The structure of U.S. law enforcement is also a reflection of historical development and patterns of government administration.[1] The government of the United States is not merely one of divided power--it is one of divided and subdivided powers. The nation is composed of the national government, the state, and the local governments, such as counties, cities, districts, townships and other subdivisions.[2] Like governmental structure, law enforcement in the United States is also divided into national, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation; the state, such as Marshal's force, highway

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[1] Hoover, op. cit., p. 39.

[2] Arthur C. Millspaugh, Local Democracy and Crime Control (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1936), p. 11.

patrol, and, in the county, sheriffs and their deputies; and city police.

Throughout the long history of Thailand, centralization of authority has been in evidence. Ever since the emerging of the nation in the Nanchao era it was the king alone who exercised absolute power in Thailand. He made all decisions, innovations and initiations in government and patterns, laws and other matters necessary to facilitate his ruling. This practice had been in existence for many centuries until the change to constitutional monarchy in 1932. However, this change did not effect the pattern of the government, it only changed the hand of the ruler, or the power-holder, from the king to the leader of the elite group. The traditionally strong centralization of authority still prevailed.

There is no tradition of popular initiative in Thailand. The creation of the police force as well as other units of the government has been initiated from the top down. Even though some forms of local self-government were introduced into Thailand during the reign of King Rama V (1851-1910), it was carried on by government officials, or at least under their close supervision, rather than by the local people. Regarding the possibility of local autonomy, Choop Karnjanaprakarn writes:

> The application of western democratic concepts in such a country as Thailand, in which the people were ruled and dominated by an absolute monarch

> and the aristocracy for centuries, was apt to be over shadowed by old tradition. The explanation of this lies not only in the experience of the people in controlling the government but also in the fact that the government, with few exceptions, never allowed itself to be controlled.[3]

The police force in Thailand was first established for the purpose of protecting the king rather than the public; the preservation of public peace was added to their responsibilities later. Absolute police power was vested in the king only. For centuries, the Thai people have had experience with this centralized system. The idea of a decentralized police system based on local autonomy, therefore, seems to be foreign to Thailand and its people.

Police administration in Thailand has been regarded as an administrative function of the national government. It is not only responsible for preserving public peace but in wartime it is also used as a military unit. Since the reign of King Rama IV, the police force has been expanded and is trained like an army for the purpose of patrolling the border against infiltration. To serve such a purpose, the police force needs to be unified rather than separated. This is one factor favoring centralization.

Traditionally, to serve as a king's man is regarded as good and has great prestige. In the past, many families sent their sons to work for the government or, in other words, the king. Later, these men were rewarded with a

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[3]Karnjanaprakarn, op. cit., p. 38.

certain rank and were given a certain amount of land according to the Sakdi-na system which implicitly set up the class system in the Thai culture. Government officials are always regarded as superior to others. This traditional concept is still followed today, and the Thai people's main objective in life is to work for their government. Besides the prestige of being a government official, or a king's man, they need security and the benefits when they are retired. Moreover, they also seek power when they are in high positions. This opportunity can be accomplished only in a centralized system, a bureaucracy with many positions and hierarchical levels. It is clear that decentralization, with its limits in position, step increases, and power, is not suited to this traditional feeling.

Geography. Geographical characteristics and the living patterns of the population may be two factors affecting the governmental system as well as the police system. In a small and densely populated country, it is not feasible to have several police forces operating because problems of overlapping, duplication, and non-uniformity of services might arise. Also, a country in which the population is very dispersed could not afford to have a decentralized police system because of the problem of wasting manpower. A large area requires more men to cover it, and consequently it becomes costly to provide police services.

Geographical conditions in Thailand present various types of natural barriers to the expansion of decentralization. In the northern part, the land is covered with large mountains and jungles which are great obstructions to communications and transportation. Many areas are unpopulated and are beyond the reach of governmental services. Many native tribes are cut off from civilization due to natural obstacles.

In the Eastern part, which is the largest part of the country, the land is poor and water is scarce. People living in this part are mainly rice cultivators or silk weavers, considered to be the poorest people in Thailand. It is almost impossible to collect taxes because people earn just enough to make a living. Their income depends almost entirely upon the rainy season when they can grow rice successfully. Their lives, therefore, depend upon the mercy of nature; if there is not enough rain, the rice crop will fail. Aid is often granted to these people of the Eastern Thailand, and a program to develop the area is in process. A dam is being constructed to retain the water for the summer months. In addition to the poor, dry soil, the land in this part is also covered with mountains and hills. Communications in this area are rather limited, and roads are few in number. Cow-carts seem to be the main means of transportation in this area. It is certain that this part of Thailand could not afford to provide its own police, based

on the concept of local autonomy, due to both geographical and financial reasons.

The Western part of Thailand is the smallest, and it is predominantly mountains and jungle. Malaria and other diseases are common in this part. The southern part of the country is also covered with mountains and jungle. Rubber and tin manufacturing are the major industries in this area. The people in this area are comparatively rich. Communication and transportation systems in this area are satisfactory.

Considering geographical conditions and the communications available in Thailand, it can be seen that although most areas have inadequate roads, still the construction of roads is difficult or impossible due to natural limitations. Moreover the population in the rural area is sparse. Thailand has plenty of unoccupied land, the average population density being only 114 persons per square mile or approximately 75 persons per square kilometer.[4] In Maehongson, the biggest province in the Northern part, with an area of about 15,278 square kilometers, has an average population density of only 43 persons per square kilometer.[5] In Khorat, the biggest province in the Eastern part which has

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[4]Blanchard, op. cit., p. 7.

[5]deYoung, op. cit., Appendix IV, V.

an area of 20,360 square kilometers, the average population density is only 20 persons per square kilometer.[6] These figures are used to point out the pattern of living in the provincial Thailand.

Geographical conditions together with the dispersion of the population in the rural areas make it impractical or even impossible to apply decentralization. It is not feasible to have a police department responsible for an area of 100 square kilometers covered with mountains and jungles with only a few residents. Besides geographical factors, the economy in each area is another problem. A few provinces are able to finance their own police, but most of them cannot. The authority of the police cannot be delegated only to those who can afford to provide their own police. In his study, Choop Karnjanaprakarn pointed out the geographical problems which made it difficult to apply local government:

> The ecological structure of the villages has three results. There wide dispersion results in difficulties of political organization for municipal government and administration. There are no highly populated areas which could serve as tax bases to support new welfare activities. The dispersion poses a problem regarding the control of welfare, both administratively and financially.[7]

Furthermore, the dispersion of population, in combination with the inadequacy of the mass media, keep the

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Karnjanaprakarn, op. cit., p. 57.

villages secluded from the changing world. The lag of civilization and education would make it easier for those who had full authority without any control from the central government to make their way to a dictatorship. Consequently, many small feudal forms would arise.

Cultural and behavioral aspects. The traditional culture and behavior of the Thai people favor the centralized police system. The same factors make it difficult to apply the decentralized police system in Thailand.

First of all, the Thais are friendly and calm. The lack of enthusiasm for any change makes them conservative rather than liberal. Centralization of both the government and the police force is of long standing, and they consider it good and satisfactory. Any attempt to change this institution might cause popular resentment, even though the change would be for democracy's sake, because their perception is not deep enough to appreciate the new and foreign ideal.

The Thais like to continue in their easy life and do not want to get involved in any social action; sometimes they are even accused of being lazy. This apathetic attitude would make it difficult to establish decentralization or any democratic type of institution which needs popular participation and cooperation. Past elections have served as a good illustration of the apathy of the Thai people.

The Thai lack a feeling for responsibility and often shun it if they have a chance. Most superiors do not want to delegate their authority and responsibility to their subordinates because they do not want to be responsible for what their subordinates have done. Moreover, they feel that they should be completely informed about all activities carried on by subordinates. This attitude is contrary to effective decentralization, which requires a great amount of delegation of authority as well as ability to delegate by superiors.

The attitude of respect for elders and for authority tends to foster centralization. The Thai people are taught to be submissive and obedient to their elders throughout their childhood. The autocratic role played by the elders in the family hierarchy is unquestionably accepted by young people. This training affects the Thai people both in their way of using and in the manner in which they accept it, and it is carried to the governmental level as well as any social interactions. A superior expects to treat his subordinates in the same way in which family authority is exercised. He feels disgust at having to face any deviation of opinion, even that growing spontaneously out of free speech. Consequently, a subordinate will rarely disagree with his superior's opinion. The decentralized system, which is considered to be a democratic system, encourages as well as requires full participation and initiation by

subordinates.[8] William Given stated that true decentralization gives officers a stimulating feeling of personal freedoms--freedom to think and plan boldly, freedom to venture along new and untried paths, freedom to fight back if their ideas or plans are attacked by the superiors, and freedom to fail.[9] With the autocratic type of superior and the submissive role of subordinates like the Thai people, it is unlikely that this system could fully meet its objective.

It follows that the Thai people are well prepared to be under authority as well as to be led. They are unenthusiastic toward resentment or opposition to authority. Decentralization of the police department where considerable authority is devolved upon field officials seems to be dangerous in this respect. The submissive behavior of the officials will make it easier for local groups to exercise their influence over them. On the other hand, the official will abuse his authority by taking advantage of the respect of his people. Finally, the police force will be a machine for the elite group to use tyrannically on the poor people. Injustice, inefficiency, and anarchy will result.

Decentralization requires a high degree of cooperation and coordination as well as group participation and

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[8]Truman, op. cit., p. 18.

[9]William B. Given, Jr., Bottom-Up Management (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), p. 6.

group effort. Poor coordination will result in contradiction and duplication of work. The belief in individualism of the Thai people would make it difficult for each local force to maintain a proper cooperation and coordination. They would rather think about their own welfare first. Inefficiency could be expected especially in cases of ill-defined jurisdiction, in which neither force would take responsibility, thinking, "It's none of my business." Individualism in the people who are the elements of an organization might also lead to individualism in each local force. Any request for help or aid made by one force might be ignored by another. Individualism among the Thai people, therefore, is a barricade to decentralization.

The major problem which may hinder a decentralized police system in Thailand is the financial problem. Since the main sources of income are rice and rubber exporting, which depend on the world market (as mentioned in Chapter II), the economy is relatively unstable. To decentralize the police system requires a high degree of competency in the personnel, especially the supervisory officials. It also requires modern means of communications and mobility in order to facilitate coordination and cooperation both between the central and field units and among the local force itself. These requirements lead to the problem of costs. As mentioned earlier, Thailand is administratively divided into seventy-one provinces; the income of each province, not

including the annual budget provided by the central government, is obtained mainly through taxation, fees, fines and benefits from the province's property. The income thus varies from province to province depending upon the natural resources and other geographical factors. It would be no problem for the wealthy provinces to provide their own police force, but who is going to take care of the rest. A centralized police system can eliminate the financial problem because there is only one police department in the nation. Through central financial control, funds are distributed to the local units based on necessity. Uniformity of service can be achieved and the status of the police will be the same no matter what city or town they are working with.

Education in Thailand creates personal problems for decentralization. Since there must be some growth in the number of executives and specialists, each police headquarters of the local units requires a larger staff of technicians to provide more expert advice As Waldo mentioned, the field officers must be selected, trained, and supervised with a view to increasing their capacity to decide questions on the ground. They must be able to understand the broad, general policies, and adapt them to local situations.[10] But Thailand has only a limited number of qualified people. A small number of students graduate from college each year and

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[10]Waldo, op. cit., p. 150.

this number is not sufficient to fill the need in various units. This is due partly to the small number of colleges and universities, and also books and instructors, consequences of the economic condition of the country. Moreover, the well educated man has little opportunity to advance himself in a local force, and besides he hesitates to leave Bangkok.

Police duties are rather unusual and require special training especially in the inquiry type of work. Unskilled investigators or inquiry officers will weaken the case and let go the offender. The Police Cadet Academy, the main source of recruiting commissioned officers, has a yearly average of 80 students graduating compared with the 50 commissioned officers retired each year. The number of commissioned police officers in Thailand is about 4,000 of all ranks. Of these, only about 30 per cent are capable of doing, and acquainted with, the inquiry job. The inadequacy of able personnel would make any attempt at administrative separation improper. As Simon, Thomson and Smithburg stated, the more trained persons would be required for more decentralization.[11] Conversely, then, insufficiency of trained personnel in Thailand should result in less decentralization, which means centralization is more desirable.

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[11]Herbert A. Simon, Donald W. Smithburg and Victory A. Thomson, Public Administration (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Publisher, 1961), p. 365.

Moreover, many communities in Thailand lag behind in education because of the communications problem, coupled with financial inability. To accept the authority delegated, the local community should be competent enough to carry out responsibility. Lack of education of the local people will encourage and facilitate the official group in their exploitation, deception, corruption or bankruptcy. Finally, it would be easy for a dictatorship to evolve.

Buddhism, the national religion, emphasizes the "middle way" of achievement; it does not encourage either hard work or very little work. This philosophy creates an unenthusiastic personality in the Thai people. Thus the change toward decentralization, a new notion to them, will not attract the Thai people as long as the old system does not bother them in their day-to-day living.

Past experience with the politics of the Thai people seems to preclude the successful application of decentralization. Free election, which is considered to be an element of democratic institutions, interests only a small number of people. As mentioned in Chapter II, only a small percentage of the people voted in the past election. Some of them did not know what they were voting for or for whom they should vote. Qualified men failed to be elected. Votes can be bought and sold. If fair play cannot be preserved, it is better not to have any election. Public apathy toward government of any kind may be one cause that makes any

initiation occur only from the top down in the Thai tradition.

Political instability is another factor contributing to centralization. Since the coup d'état in 1932, Thailand has had more than ten minor and major revolutions lead by elite groups. High officials in the Thai government are distrustful and highly aware of revolution, so they try to get as much control as possible of political power. Since this kind of control is possible only in a strongly centralized system, the government too is averse to decentralization.

Advantages of being centralized. Since Thailand is a relatively small country, considering both geographical area and population, decentralization seems to be unnecessary. The present organization, following the centralization concept, has many advantages and fits into the traditional Thai culture. It provides uniformity of law and its enforcement. It is not appropriate for a small country, unevenly educated to have different laws from one place to another which will confuse the people. The number of unintentional violations of law would be increased. Centralization reduces problems of conflicting and overlapping jurisdiction and since it, in turn, requires a lesser degree of coordination, gaps due to inadequate cooperation are also eliminated.

Centralization provides better and more effective selection results. There are indications that police personnel today are becoming aware of the need for professional police service. Police officers are expected to be better educated and better qualified to perform police tasks. With the uniform selection program under central control, unqualified persons can be completely eliminated from the organization. The dishonest policeman would be out of the police work forever, once he was discharged by the department. Under the decentralized system, where careful checks might not be made by local departments, another police job might be secured by a dishonored member of a distant police department.

Centralization eliminates training problems. Under a decentralized system, many small departments might not have training divisions for their personnel, due to financial inability or lack of need. Consequently, the recruits are untrained and as a result of lack of police knowledge, inefficiency and poor service would occur. The present system of the Thai police provides central control of training. Uniform training programs are provided all over the country. The training schools are located in the major regions under the same methods and program as recruitment. Police personnel in Thailand are very flexible; they can be rotated from place to place without any difficulty in adjusting themselves to the new rules and regulations.

A unified records system makes effective crime control possible. A criminal who escapes from one place and gets arrested in another on a different charge can be discovered easily through a central fingerprints check. Uniform crime reporting as well as other administrative reports facilitate the supply of data for administrative control and research; it aids in judicious distribution of manpower and police effort; it enables more reliable evaluation of the efficiency and economy of operations; and it makes readily available information for both short- and long-term planning. Separated record systems, under decentralization, coupled with lack of coordination, would result in inefficiency of work and increases in costs of maintaining each record division.

The crime laboratory is another problem confronting any attempt to decentralize the police system in Thailand. It is costly to maintain a crime laboratory in terms of both equipment and personnel. Scientific crime investigation requires not only the police knowledge, but knowledge of science to help in detection of crime. It requires special knowledge and skill on the part of the personnel, which is limited in number in Thailand as far as education is concerned. The present crime laboratory of the Thai Police Department provides services to all the units in the country with satisfactory results.

Modern means of communication will, of course, facilitate centralization, for control could be effected promptly at a distance. Conversely, poor communications could be an obstacle to decentralization. In Thailand, as well as in the police department, direct dial telephones operate only in Bangkok and Thonburi. A few major cities may have telephones connected through the operator within a city limit. The only quick means of connecting the central headquarters in Bangkok with provincial areas is by a radio system, which has only nine locations in each region. Otherwise, it is done through personal carrier or regular mails. Within the provincial areas, messages can be carried only by individuals. Transportation is also inadequate; some provincial units may have one or two automobiles. Horses, bicycles, and walking are their means of mobility. Moreover, a limited number of often antiquated weapons, make them incapable of protecting themselves from any invasion. In these respects, to decentralize the police force would be like throwing a group of men on the mercy of the local bandits; poor communications would cut them off from hope for any aid or assistance from other units nearby. Past experience of decentralization of the police in Japan serves as a warning in this respect. Harry E. Wides described the effect of poor communications and poor coordination in the decentralized police system in Japan as follows:

> Even where the police were honest the tiny forces were inefficient; often they were at the mercy of the gangs. Villages with but a single constable were helpless; cities as large as 10,000 population, having perhaps half a dozen policemen on duty, and these unarmed, were vulnerable to armed attack. A few gangsters, wielding swords or baseball bats, warned Chief Iwasuki of the National Rural Police, could easily dominate a town. Poor telephone communications, bad roads, absence of police motor equipment, and above all the lack of coordination and cooperation prevented the rush of help from the neighboring communities. That the danger was real was evidenced when Konosu and Honjo cities in Saitama prefecture, close to Tokyo, were captured by armed thugs, when Taira in Fukushima prefecture was taken over by Communist mobs, and when in Osaka itself the governor was held as a gangster prisoner until he yielded to their demands.[12]

The responsibility of the police department in Thailand is not limited only to criminal matters but extends to other administrative jobs as well. Many functions which should be the responsibility of other government units, as in other nations, are vested in the police. This is due partly to the traditional development of the police force, and partly to a shortage of well-trained and competent personnel in other governmental units. As a consequence, they are not ready to accept this responsibility from the police. The burden of duties implicitly makes it difficult to reduce the size of the organization.

Finally, the present bureaucracy provides great opportunity for advancement, more security for personnel and huge benefits after retirement, which are major incentives in recruiting personnel and suiting to the Thai behavior.

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[12]Wildes, op. cit., pp. 663-664.

If opportunities were limited due to the hierarchical level of the organization under decentralization, and if the pension system should differ according to local financial ability, it is doubted that the new system would survive. All things considered, the attitude of the Thai people seems to be in favor of the old tradition of centralization.

II. CENTRALIZATION AND DEMOCRACY IN THAILAND

As mentioned in the first chapter, democracy means different things to different people. People conceive things in different ways based on their past experience. American people, from their very origins, had to fight for freedom from the control of Great Britain. The sense of freedom and the desire for equality are, therefore, inherited in their blood. Even though today this nation is well recognized as one of the most democratic states in the world, still, within the United States itself, many American citizens still blame the Government and its procedure as being undemocratic; personal liberty, freedom, and equality are still denied; methods of third degree and other abusive uses of police power are often heard of. Contemporarily, racial bias, discrimination, and denial of the right to vote are matters of controversy within this country.

As for Thailand, the Thai people have been ruled under absolute monarchy ever since the emergance of the nation. They are well acquainted with limitations of

equality and freedom, civil rights, and liberty. In the past, there was almost no individual freedom. The king held absolute power, power of life and death, over the people. All property and land were supposed to belong to the king. The royal family and the official classes were superior to the common man. For centuries, this tradition has been followed and the Thai people have seldom taken this matter as a bitter grievance. After the change toward democratization in 1932, the attitude of the Thai people in general did not change. The realization of the traditional right and freedom were still in their sub-conscious mind. They still maintained their calm role in society and did not participate in any movement of the government, except for some minority groups in the capital. Whatever changes happen in the country are mostly made by an elite group which rules the country. Certain right, liberty, and freedom are now given to the Thai people to a degree, although less than other civilized nations, but the majority of the Thai people are satisfied with whatever they have because it is still better than three decades ago. Almost every Thai citizen recognizes that democracy does exist in Thailand. They rarely imagine that the present government is a dictatorship or an authoritarian state.

In comparing the political conditions of the United States and Thailand, it can be seen that life in the United States is more democratic than life in Thailand. But

present conditions in the United States are still a matter of controversy among the American citizens, while it is rarely that in Thailand. This means that there is no certain measure of democracy, and democracy cannot be the same in every nation. Now, democracy should be granted to a degree which will be in keeping with the preservation of public peace in any particular culture and society. On the other hand, the power of the government should be exercised within limits that are acceptable to the people as a whole.

Thailand has had experience in democracy for only 33 years. It can be considered as democratically immature. Many practices of a democratic institution have been adopted, but mostly the results are unsatisfactory and the failure of this system is noticeable. Take the election, which is a primary means of a democratic institution, for instance. Only a small number voted, and most of them did not know the purpose of the election; many vote-getting tricks were employed, whether they were legal or not. Public apathy, together with these dirty tricks, killed the election.

Past experience also shows that many Thai people do not understand and do not even try to understand what is their right and what is their freedom. Many Thais confuse liberty with license. Freedom of speech frequently leads to riots. The government, therefore, has had to forbid any speech pertaining to the criticism of the government for fear that it might open up chances for the Communists to infiltrate.

Too many small newspapers exist in Thailand, with small circulation in spite of great competition. Irresponsible reporting and headlines which will create excitement and arouse the attention of the people are commonly found. Their main purpose is not to provide information for the public, but to increase sales. They are unaware of the consequences of misrepresentation, which frequently affects the economic condition of the country as well as public peace. As Blanchard writes:

> Writers, especially in the Thai-language newspapers are interested in attracting and entertaining the leader, rather than giving accurate facts or mobilizing public opinion. With rumor often the only basis, sharp attacks on individuals and highly personal references to public figures are made. Stories commanding big headlines are more important than accurate accounts. There appear to be little concern that stories will be exposed as groundless, since everyone knows that about half the published news is inaccurate.[13]

The irresponsibility of the press has forced the government to take action in controlling the information presented. Every page of the newspapers has to pass the censor before it can be published. This restriction is not what the government wanted to do, but the situation required it.

The above factors, combined with the traditional attitude, and the submission to authority of the Thai people renders true democracy unfeasible in Thailand. A lesser degree of democracy or a so-called "quasi-democracy" seems to

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[13]Blanchard, op. cit., pp. 207-208.

be more appropriate, considering all the circumstances involved. Thanat Khoman, the Foreign Minister, once said:

> While certain countries can be justly proud that their government is under the civilian control, it does not necessarily mean that each and every nation must immediately achieve their ultimate political perfection without regard to prevailing circumstances, political as well as economic education and . . . All this, to be realistic, has to depend on various factors such as unstable political conditions due to economic disturbances or even to external pressure.[14]

Although the present government controls the press, and freedom of speech and some other social activities, still a certain degree of freedom and equality among individuals, which are the basic ingredients of democracy, are noticeable in Thailand. The Thai people are free to choose any way of life which is not contradictory to law or public peace. They are free to choose their occupation, education, and religion. Unlike some authoritarian or Communistic states, what they have earned belong to themselves, not to the state. They have equal opportunity to hold public office or to enter any branch of the government. The Civil Service Regulation provides uniform recruitment for government officials, including the police. Selection is based on merit, and examinations are provided for their competition. Political influence is relatively rare in the recruiting process.

Individual rights and liberty are also recognized. The Thai people are safeguarded against unreasonable arrest,

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[14]Insor, op. cit., p. 109.

search, and seizure by police offices or any other government officials. Any evidence attainable through illegal arrest, search, and seizure is inadmissible in court and may lead to disposing of the case. The authority to search is prohibited for both individuals and private property unless accompanied by a search warrant. Search without a warrant can be made in cases mentioned by law, such as search after a legal arrest; also, upon reasonable grounds for suspecting that an article obtained criminally is concealed or to be found inside the house, together with the delay in obtaining a search warrant, that article may be removed;[15] or when there are reasonable grounds for suspecting that a person has in his possession an article for the purpose of committing an offense, or obtained through an offense, or the possession of which is an offense.[16] Search must be made in daytime only except in case of extreme emergency, or continued searching from the daytime if the search is not finished. A search for the arrest of a dangerous or notorious outlaw may be made during the nighttime, but only upon the permission of the Director-General or the Governor, if the search is made in the provinces.[17] This reserve power shows respect for the privacy of the individual and

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[15]The Criminal Procedure of Thailand, Section 92.

[16]Ibid., Section, 93.

[17]Ibid., Section, 96.

protects them from any invasion by the police officer. Since nighttime is the time when people get some rest, it is considered to be an important matter, and this authority is not to be given to the ordinary superior officer.

The law also provides that the police can make arrests of individuals only with an arrest warrant. However, there are many exceptions to this. For example: when the person arrested is committing a crime or attempting to commit a crime; or when there are reasonable grounds for suspecting that such person has committed a crime and about to abscond; or when another person has requested the arrest of such a person charging him with the commission of an offense and stating that a regular complaint has been made.[18] In any case, if arrest, search, or seizure is made by the superior officer who is empowered to issue a warrant, no warrant is needed. Nevertheless, either arrest or search in this case can be made only where a warrant could be issued.

The law also gives the right to counsel and the privilege to be released either with or without bail, to the person arrested. There is no law or police regulation that provides the right to make a phone call for the offender as in the United States. This may be partly due to the inadequacy of the telephone system in Thailand. However, in practice, the police usually notify relatives or whoever is

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[18] Ibid., Section, 78.

requested by the arrested person. This is not required by law for the police to do but it is a courtesy of the police.

It can be seen that democracy does exist in Thailand, at least to some degree, in the sense of civil rights and individual freedoms carefully observed by the constituted authority. Thailand needs a little more time to develop towards true democracy. Western democracy or American democracy could not be put into operation immediately in Thailand, because the present condition of the country and the immaturity of the people in matters pertaining to the democratic idea.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The controversy of centralization versus decentralization and their relationship to democracy has been strong recently. Many administrators in the United States, regardless of their specialized field, contend that only decentralization can foster democratization both within and outside the organization. In police administration it has been said that centralization of the police force will lead to dictatorship, for when this system is under the control of one or a few persons it is easy for them to abuse their power over individual freedom, right, and equality.

The police system, whether centralized or decentralized, may or may not bear any influence on the democracy of the country. There are many factors other than the police itself which make up democracy or dictatorship. Among these factors, the ruling group's potential is the most significant; if they have a dictator potential, they will lead the nation into a dictatorship state regardless of what system, centralized or decentralized, is utilized, and vice versa.

Centralization may, as many authors believe, make it easier for the ruler group to secure political control. But

democracy is not the only concern; efficiency and economy must also be taken into consideration. As Dwith Waldo said, true democracy and true efficiency are not incompatible.[1] Besides, there are many factors which, directly or indirectly, influence the centralized or decentralized system either of the government or of the Police. Thailand is an example, presented in this thesis, showing the rationale of utilizing the centralized police system.

Thailand from her very origin had been governed by the King under an absolute monarchy; this system came to an end in 1932. The change to constitutional monarchy is only in the principle; the aristocrats still rule the nation under the same strong centralization of authority of the central government. The police force had its origin from the top down (the King) and followed the pattern of government structure from the beginning. The long experience of the Thai people with centralization, an uncomplicated form of bureaucracy, makes it difficult to attempt to introduce decentralization, which is a new form and is foreign to the Thai people.

The Thai people have an attitude of respect for the elders and for authority, which tends to foster centralization, the system for which strict discipline is usually utilized. A decentralized system, to be effective, needs participation from subordinates, for their initiative; with

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[1]Waldo, op. cit., p. 133.

the submissive role of the subordinate and the autocratic role of the superior this need will not be met.

The Thai tends to believe in the individualistic way of achievement. This behavior is not proper for decentralization, which needs a greater degree of coordination and cooperation as well as group effort. Economic and political instability are other factors which contribute to centralization. The decentralized system is not considered an economical system, because it requires a large number of competent men and modern means of communication to facilitate coordination among many small local units, and this means money. Too many revolutions took place in Thailand together with external pressure from the neighboring countries, which had already turned their faces toward Communism, make it necessary for the Government to be unified and have control of political power in order to facilitate the prevention of subversion or infiltration.

The low level of education among the Thai people creates a personnel problem for decentralization, which requires more competent men. Geographical conditions of Thailand, the pattern of living in the rural area, and the inadequacy of communications and transportation systems might turn the decentralized system system into a feudal form of organization.

Traditionally, the Thai people have a tendency to work for their government, because they need prestige and

also security. The present police organization is so large and has such a high degree of advancement that it conforms with the Thai behavior. Moreover, the present organization also provides a considerable number of fringe benefits such as free uniforms, housing, and other welfare programs which are major incentives. In addition, after retirement, a considerable amount of pension is given, dependent upon his rank, to guarantee the financial position of a policeman.

A change in the Thai Police Department will not be only a change in the organization, but in the whole institution. The governmental pattern, the law, personnel and material must have an effect on this change. Due to the problems mentioned, Thailand has to take the risk of utilizing the centralized system, and hope that the authority exercised by the governing group will not exceed its proper limits.

Democracy is now provided to a degree in Thailand especially with regards to individual rights, freedom and equality. It is hoped that in the near future, Thailand will become a full democracy. It is just a matter of time that this country needs for its development toward the democratic state. Thirty-three years of democratic experience are not sufficient for this nation, or any other, to be completely democratic.

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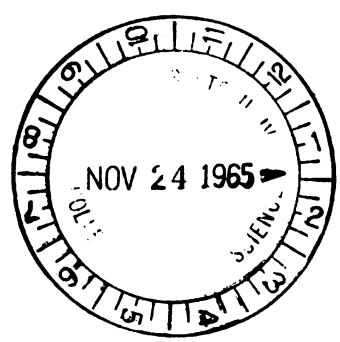
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