**UNSR Thematic Report on Natural Resource Exploitation and the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association**

**Response to Questionnaire by:**

**Protection International (PI)** is an international non-profit organisation that provides assistance, trainings and capacity-building support on security and protection management for HRDs working with communities and organisations striving for the respect and protection of human rights. Since 2010 PI has been working in Thailand through its Protection Desk based in Bangkok.

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**Questionnaire**

1. **What are the particular challenges to exercising assembly and association rights in the context of natural resource exploitation in your country or region? For example, are all stakeholders affected by projects consulted, with their rights and concerns taken into account? Are peaceful assemblies facilitated or viewed as a nuisance? Are companies cooperative and understanding of the need to preserve individuals peaceful assembly and association rights?**

Upon seizing control on May 22, 2014, General Prayuth Chan-o-Cha, consolidated his power by handpicking a legislative body. This body subsequently held an election that granted General Prayuth near unfettered rule over Thailand. The interim constitution adopted in late July grants the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) broad and unchecked powers to control the nation and various limitations to fundamental rights put in place. The NCPO identifies anyone who does not share their opinions and dissents in any way as an enemy of the happiness of the Thai people. Under Martial law prohibit the gathering of more than five people and prohibit against protest. During the first seven months following the coup, citizens protested regularly. The authorities responded by detaining, and in some cases, bringing charges of violating of martial law against them. These arrests and proceedings had the result of ending most public protest against the coup, although new forms of protest continue to emerge. On January 22, 2015 the civilian court in Bangkok convicted Mr. Nat Sattayapronpisut and imprisoned him for two months and twenty days for not report himself after been summoned by the Junta. [[1]](#footnote-1)

Regarding the consultation process in initiating natural resource exploitation processes, community rights have been persistently side lined and undermined. Between 2007 and 2014, the 2007 Constitution (in Article 66 and 67) enshrined community rights. However, duty bearers and stakeholders consistently ignored communities’ rights to prior and informed consent, instead siding with corporate parties. This neglect of community rights, combined with a range of intimidation techniques and lack of attention from security forces, has resulted in numerous cases of impunity for violations of community rights and consultative process. Furthermore, the interim 2014 constitution has no guarantee or recognition of community rights whatsoever.

For example, already in September 2013 under the previous constitution, a public hearing was held on the planned gold mine expansion in the Wang Saphung District in the Loei Province. The hearing captured media interest after local villagers were blocked from entering the hearing venue by as many as 700 police officers[[2]](#footnote-2). This serves to illustrate the consistent undermining of community rights, even to peacefully organise information campaigns on the issue of natural resource exploitation affecting their livelihoods at a time of civilian rule.

The right to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association is under severe control as a result of Thailand being under martial law since the 20 May 2014. Furthermore the junta has legislated t restrict rights to peaceful assembly and association, both online and offline. Such measures are severely enforced by military authorities in rural areas where community-based organisations fighting for community rights are based. The military junta has enacted an array of legislation and orders, all under the umbrella of martial law, which is severely restricting people’s personal liberties and mobility. Most significantly, a Public Assembly Bill being discussed now would severely restrict the right to freedom of assembly even beyond the restrictions placed by martial law; including a requirement for organisers of a public gathering having to notify authorities 24 hours prior of the location, time and expected number of attendees at the public gathering[[3]](#footnote-3). The legislation sets further conditions on public assembly, such as a rule that meetings must not obstruct and distance at least 150 meters away from government venues, hospitals or embassies and that gathering will only be allowed to run between 6am and 10pm. Peaceful assembly has many a time been a public response - where there are really no 'organisers' as such. People just come out and protest. However, Thai authorities always work on the premise that there are identifiable organisers, which is a strategy used by authorities to target community-based HRDs and other vocal voices in the public discourse. This targeting results in the isolation and incrimination of HRDs for participating in a collective act of protest. Furthermore the draft bill gives new and excessive powers to the judicial system to limit the rights of the public by creating a more strict interpretation in the case law, when the scope of rights is already being limited by the law itself.

Human rights are a concern of all. Hence, the most important first step would be the creation of awareness about human rights. There is also a need to highlight human rights violations so that people have the chance to also choose to participate in the process of ending injustice and promoting human rights. Every person has a duty and responsibility to highlight information about human rights violations to members of the caring public who, when made aware, will act to ensure that justice prevails and violations end. This duty and obligation of everyone, not just human rights activist or defenders, is clear from the United Nations Human Rights Defenders Declaration that states, "Everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, to promote and to strive for the protection and realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms at the national and international levels", and this includes the right to freely to publish, impart or disseminate to others views, information and knowledge on all human rights violations.

The respect for the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and association helps to address and resolve challenges and issues that are important to community0based HRDs, including  right to conserve the livelihood ,the environment, sustainable development, empowering women, social justice, right to redress, self determination, to achieve all human rights. They are also important guarantees of the right to civil and political participation for people to be involved in public decision making especially the development project that affected their livelihood and community rights.

Significantly, the junta is enacting a number of significant reforms to the natural resource exploitation industries in Thailand, without any mechanisms for democratic input or consultation with affected parties, including rural communities. A case in point is the new Mining Bill being proposed which would remove the Environmental and Health Impact Assessments as a pre-requisite for concession granting. Such disregard for community-based consultations and restrictions on the ability of civil society to influence policy has resulted in certain groups of rural civil society disengaging themselves completely from work with the junta, and issuing statements such as the ‘No Reform under the Boot of the Military.’[[4]](#footnote-4)

Furthermore, the impact of the National Council of Peace and Order's policy on the reclamation and restoration of protected areas nationwide has adversely affected rural poor communities. The policy was announced in NCPO Orders [64/2014](http://www.army3.mi.th/army3_internet/mod/book/view.php?id=31&chapterid=187)and [66/2014](http://www.army3.mi.th/army3_internet/mod/book/view.php?id=31&chapterid=195), issued in June 2014. While Order 64/2014 states that encroachers into protected areas shall be punished according to the law, Order 66/2014 acknowledges that the poor and settlers who have lived in areas overlapping with protected areas before the policies were announced would not be affected. Although the military government has said that the Orders would target investors and large-scale land encroachers, the actuality differs harshly from the leader's rhetoric.

Since June approximately 500 individuals have faced charges for encroaching into protected areas. Additionally, nearly 1,800 families, mostly from Thailand’s North and Northeastern regions have endured negative impacts from the NCPO Orders. Of those affected, around 80 percent are from poor communities. The disastrous reality is that many human rights defenders (HRDs) in Thailand are systematically targeted, persecuted and attacked as reprisals for their work in these communities. In various regions in Thailand we have witnessed a worrying and shameful increase in the rate at which these HRDs suffer violence and repression simply for standing up for human rights and justice. Under repressive regime people are considered either for or against army government, their policies, the economic model, and democratic reforms. This tendency to divide society into ideological, political or economic friends or enemies has created a situation in which freedom of expression and belief is often at imminent and high risk.

1. **To what extent do these challenges stem from:**

***a) Gaps/inadequacies in the domestic or international legal framework (e.g., laws on FOAA rights themselves, environmental laws, labour laws, trade agreements)***

***b) Government institutions (e.g., ineffective enforcement, lack of independence, lack of capacity, corruption, lack of political will, independence of the judiciary)?***

The military government has taken a clear position in favour of rapid, large-scale expansion of the natural resource exploitation industries. This has been clear in the northeastern province of Isaan which is rich in minerals. The National Reconciliation Centre (NRC) has been organising pro-mining seminars which are one-sided in favour of promoting the economic virtues of mining activities and projects. No space is provided for those expressing concern about livelihood disruption, economic inequality, environmental damage, etc. This was evident when, prior to the 28th June NRC seminar in Udon Thani, the Governor sent instructions to the district and sub-district level authorities to encourage people to come and listen to the seminar, which provided only pro-potash mining arguments. Yet the Governor explicitly admitted to intentionally not inviting the local community-based Environmental Conservation Group. Not only has there been such official disregard for community-based initiatives to defend their rights and livelihoods, but authorities have actively sought to undermine such organisations and their work. In the same community in Udo Thani, authorities have shown themselves willing and able to violate and override existing agreements such as the Memorandum of Understanding; this MoU between relevant government authorities and the Udon Thani Environmental Conservation Group was meant to safeguard a consultative process following the completion of contentious issues around the Environmental Impact Assessment. However, in order to push through investment projects to meet the goals of the Army’s dynamic economic policy, these agreements between authorities and communities are being brushed aside.

Article 44 of the interim 2014 Constitution gives the Head of the National Council for Peace and Order (the executive branch of the junta) all powers to overturn or suppress any legislation that is, in his opinion, counter to the interests of the state, the Monarchy, national security or the economy. This absolute power directly threatens any community-based opposition to any junta policy in natural resource extraction, as the NCPO’s law and policy are final, irrespective of other laws and protections. Furthermore, there is an overt disregard for Thailand’s international Human Rights commitments in the judiciary, since provisions against torture have been erased from the constitution[[5]](#footnote-5), for example.

National human rights institutions are also important since it is within their mandates to advise governments to incorporate international human rights laws and principles, including the UN Declaration on HRDs, into national legislation. But the Thai National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) is facing main shortfalls, because of the lack of structural and fiscal autonomy, government interference in the appointment of members, overall ineffectiveness, and the lack of coordination and mutual support between NHRC Commissioners and HRDs. Dr. Niran Pitakwatchara has been the only NHRC Commissioner who has actively been taking and acting on complaints from community-based HRDs. The Thai NHRC has been highly criticized and at the moment the NHRC is facing a downgrade of its status by a network of international human rights organizations due to its failures in tackling human rights violations in Thailand. The Junta continues to undermine the general operation of the NHRC, as illustrated by the information on 30th January 2015, that the Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) has plans to merge the NHRC and the Ombudsman for the "benefit the people”. The CDC said merging these two organisations would make their work more efficient, with a selection committee to appoint the 11 members of the new entity. [[6]](#footnote-6)

***c) The broader business environment (e.g., lack of voluntary guidelines or industry standards, deregulation/pro-business attitude by governments and the “race to the bottom”, unequal bargaining power for affected communities)***

The very rationale behind the seizure of power by the military is, amongst other factors, in line with the objective of restoring strong business confidence in Thailand’s economy[[7]](#footnote-7) and stimulating a high level of investment. Such rhetoric has been clearly espoused by some of the richest Thai business families, claiming that foreign investors are not concerned about, but rather reassured by, Martial Law[[8]](#footnote-8).

Furthermore, with this environment the military junta is intent of accelerating the development of Thailand natural resource extractive industries. Most significantly, this has translated in an overt campaign of intimidation against local groups which oppose the current format of authoritarian reform and investment plans. Grave concern on the security of 12 leading campaigners was expressed by the Asian Human Rights Commission in December 2014[[9]](#footnote-9). Furthermore, there is much evidence to suggest strong conflicts of interest between natural resource businesses and local authorities, which further enables a cycle of impunity and intimidation against local communities that are opposed natural resource exploitation plans and/or businesses. This culture of impunity creates an environment of ‘permanent danger’ for community-based HRDs. It is a culture wherein violations against HRDs are ignored and perpetrators are not held accountable.

***d) Businesses themselves (e.g., focus on profits over rights, lack of interest in consulting local communities, willingness to leverage government corruption)***

***e) Any other factors***

There is a climate of fear and impunity surrounding activists working on natural resource issues. The recent shootings of two high profile activists, one working on land rights[[10]](#footnote-10) and another leading an anti-mining organisation[[11]](#footnote-11), were murdered in southern Thailand in late December. These murders contribute to feeling of dis-empowerment shared widely across community-based HRDs and other rural based communities.

Economic growth in Thailand has gone hand in hand with human rights violations, including the violation of civil, political and socioeconomic rights. Globalisation has outstripped and outpaced the regulatory capacity of national governments and local environmental and natural resources regulatory frameworks, creating so-called “governance gaps between the scope and impact of economic forces and actors, and the capacity of affected communities and societies to manage their adverse consequences.” The persistent exploitation and abuse of community rights and their natural resources in the global industry stems from both the failure of governments to protect the labour rights of their citizens and the reluctance of companies to take responsibility for workers at the bottom of their supply chains and fulfill their duty to respect human rights.

While there is a growing recognition of the need for improved global governance concerning these issues there is little progress in practice. Corporate Social Responsibility frameworks so far have largely remained voluntary and therefore restricted to the 'willing'. While they have resulted in some improvements in health and safety, very little progress on the ground has been made with regard to core human rights related to the community rights and their livelihood, such as: right to be heard, to due process of law, access to justice, freedom of association and collective assembly to negotiate for their rights and protection, right to participation and self determination. Such enshrined community rights would empower community based HRDs to achieve substantive and long-lasting changes in their human rights situation.

1. **What type of action should be taken to mitigate these challenges?**

The most significant step to be taken at this stage is the removal of Martial Law as it compounds authoritarian power with impunity. Furthermore, all unjust laws restricting democratic participation of the people and infringing on their Human Rights must be completely removed in order to pave the way for democratic rule.

There is an urgent need for a new Constitution with community rights enshrined as a counter-balance to the excessive powers and ‘rights’ of businesses. However, it is imperative that such a Constitution be elaborated by channels other than the National Legislative Assembly and such non-participatory and authoritarian structures. All polices, action plans and projects which affect the forests, natural resources and the environment must be stopped immediately. Also, all concessionaire rights given to projects located in forested land must be revoked in order to reclaim the forests for the sake of sustainable conservation and restoration.

A participatory review and reform of the procedures for granting natural resource extraction permits, approving projects, and monitoring activities by businesses, should be conducted. A key component of this review and reform of procedures should be local communities and local HRD networks and support groups.

Finally, there is a need to lobby international trade agreement structures to incorporate effective Human Rights standards and participatory evaluative mechanisms in the approval process of goods that are traded. This should require implicated businesses, as well as States and civil society, to have a mandate to contribute to the evaluation of Human Rights-compliance standards of products that are to be traded internationally.

1. **Please provide any specific case studies illustrating natural resource exploitation activities which you believe had a positive or negative impact upon FOAA rights, for example: (1) suppression or facilitation of lawful/peaceful protests regarding a project; (2) harassment or facilitation of civil society or grassroots groups involved in opposing a project; (3) outcomes when consulting – or failing to consult – with affected communities; (4) harassment/violation/sexual abuse committed particularly against women; (5) involvement of private security companies; (6) role of the trade unions in these contexts. *We would especially appreciate examples that demonstrate how government or business action helped or hurt the protection and promotion of FOAA rights.***

Prior to the military takeover of power, at 10 pm on the evening of May 15, 2014, a group of approximately 100 unidentified armed men wearing black entered Nanongbong village, Wang Saphung District, Loei Province, northeastern Thailand. The armed men attacked the villagers and took 30 villagers as hostages, including two of the key leaders of the struggle against the neighbouring mine. The hostages were placed face down on the ground and their hands and feet were bound. The barrier that the villagers had constructed to block access to the mine was destroyed and trucks were seen transporting materials from the mine. The villagers were released at 4 am, and report being assaulted and threatened with guns as well as their hands and feet being bound. When other villagers called the police, only two police were sent to aid them, and they turned back once they saw the large number of armed men. Following this incident no investigation into this attack has been conclusively conducted, instead, the Army occupied the village for 3 months following the coup d’etat. Death threats against ten of the community leaders still stand and the company has resorted to judicial harassment of community members to put pressure on the community to lift the barricade which the community had set up around the mine. No investigation has been conclusively conducted on the 15th May attack.

*Judicial harassment*

One strategy used by Tung Kha Limited ltd. (TKL., the company running the mine next to Nanongbong village) to coerce the community has been to lay criminal charges against the villagers. TKL filed seven lawsuits against 33 villagers. TKL sought to lay criminal charges on the villagers for trespassing and loss of property. TKL have alleged that seven villagers trespassed into the company’s compound on 11 October 2013. Additionally, the company has also taken civil action against 20 villagers. TKL demanded compensation of 50 – 70 million Thai Baht (approximately 1.5 to 2.2 million US Dollars) from each villager. The total amount of monetary compensation being sought by TKL is 270 million Thai Baht (approximately 8.3 million US Dollars).

Furthermore TKL filed a defamation suit in Phuket provincial court against Mr. Surapan Rujichaiwat and Ms. Porntip Hongchai. Mr. Surapan Rujichaiwat and Ms. Porntip Hongchai received a court summons on Saturday 13 September 2014. Based on the court affidavit dated 15 August 2014, the company accused Mr. Surapan Rujichaiwat of damaging the reputation of the company by giving an interview to TV station TNN24 on 16 and 17 May 2014. The company demanded that both defendant/s publish the judgment in five main daily newspapers in Thailand for 30 days and that the defendant/s be responsible for expenses. Despite all the legal cases being withdrawn by TKL in December 2014, the process of these judicial proceedings has lengthened the time during which the communities are both vulnerable to extra-judicial threats and under pressure to meet the needs of attending trial (time, legal fees, transport costs, etc.). Because of these trials, community leaders who have had charges raised against them are at greater risk of threats or being followed. This falls directly into the same strategy of pointing out, isolating and incriminating community-based HRDs, thus setting them apart from the rest of the community and make the former more vulnerable.

Following the coup d’etat, an incident reflective of the Army’s power to intimidate activists and repress community-based opposition to in the junta’s economic policy, happened on 5th November 2014: Delegates and organizers were harassed and intimidated during a conference 'Human Rights and the Constitution' held in the North-eastern city of Khon Kaen. The discussion organized by the Northeast’s Natural Resource Protection and Management Network and by the National Human Rights Commission; it was attended by approximately 30 participants. Many of the participants are activists working on issues related to Natural Resource Exploitation. Initially two plainclothes police officers came around 9:50am and asked organizers to clarify the conference's content. They were joined within minutes by members of the military. At around midday, five more police officers and three soldiers came into the conference and proceeded to collect documents to be photocopied for further investigation. At this time they reviewed the list of participants. The event organizer believed the military and police infiltrated the event looking for 17 human rights activists and NGO workers who had recently signed a statement denouncing the military government titled “No Reform Under Military Top Boots”. All 17 co-signatories are now on the run from the Army as the Army has summoned them to attend ‘adjustment camps’.

1. **What measures/actions would you recommend that States, businesses and individuals take to enhance the promotion and protection of freedom of peaceful assembly and of association in their policies, projects, goals and other engagements with civil society?**

1. Urge all stakeholders to ensure that accountability and review structures of businesses involved in natural resource extraction provide for the participation of community-based HRDs as they are crucial to the verification and challenging of corporate actors’ claims. Official recognition of the role played by community-based organisations and activism would provide villagers and HRDs with more leverage against, and ability to expose, less tangible human rights violations such as death threats, arrests and summons, ‘adjustment camps’, intimidation and repression.

2. Urge Thai authorities to ensure that their law enforcement officials comply with the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials and to incorporate these principles into its legislation.Authorities must also obstructing open public debate on issues of common interest, such as human rights issues, e.g. by blocking independent websites and using defamation suits or other legal cases as a means to silence critics.

3. Urge all stakeholders to stop and legislate against judicial harrassment of community-based HRDs. The use of criminal and civil actions by corporations and/or governments to silence HRDs, and to deter others from continuing the struggle for human rights is wrong, and must be condemned by the UN. Such cases by corporations are attempts to divert the HRDs attention from the human rights issue; afflicts the HRDs with stress, loss of time and monies; and also impacts on the future struggle for human rights by community members or HRDs. As such the actions of TKL must be condemned as being anti-human rights.

4. Laws need also be enacted to protect HRDs especially now since it is seen that many of the businesses are using also the civil courts to silence HRDs through defamation suits. Even some alternative media have been targeted by such civil suits – the result is that media also plays safe – and avoid highlighting human rights violations and the names of the perpetrators. The government has used its many laws to curtail freedoms and rights, and now we see that even companies are using means like taking court actions against HRDs who highlight injustices and human rights violations.

5. Urge the Junta to put an end to excessive controls and undue interference in the work of civil society, community groups and NGOs, as well as to intimidation and harassment of individuals and groups who address human rights issues. Ensure that human rights groups, activists and lawyers can carry out their work without hindrance and fear; duly investigate incidents of harassment against them and hold those responsible accountable; and release all HRDs who have been imprisoned in retaliation for their work. Refrain from political initiatives and rhetoric that stigmatize and discredit human rights NGOs and defenders because of their work and do not portray or treat NGOs (local or international ones) as a threat to stability or national security and national reconciliation. Instead, acknowledge publicly the importance of community groups and other civil society efforts to promote human rights; condemn attacks on community based HRDs and other HRDs and their members; support their participation in decision-making at all levels; and cooperate with community based HRDs on improving human rights protection in law and in practice. All these measures would be achieved if the government were acting in accordance with guidelines and recommendations adopted by UN bodies and other international human rights mechanisms, to create and maintain an enabling environment for civil society.

6. Urge UNSR to raise concerns to the Thai Junta, with a request that the government investigate the allegation against HRDs. The UNSR should investigate further and repeatedly to ensure that the right to defend human rights is restored and then respected, namely by looking into Human rights violation cases via the existing UN procedures. The current UNSR report should also look at thematic issues and see which are other UNSR can be brought together on the issue of Human Rights violations in Thailand, in order to present a collective and wholesome critique of the Thai Junta’s record on Human Rights. These include but are not limited to, the UNSR on Violence Against Women, UNSR on business and HRs, UNSR on Freedom of expression. The UN special procedure should develop a monitoring system, a complaints procedure and an adjudicating body with penalizing powers for Human Rights violators. This procedure should be open and accessible to to everyone, including WHRDs. The proposed action relates directly to UN Special Representative on Business & Human Rights John Ruggie’s framework, in its emphasis on the need for credible grievance mechanisms for HRDs especially those who live in rural communities and who work on land rights and natural resources.This impetus seeks to bring all corporate practices to have the respect for Human Rights at their core.

7. Urge the UNSR should support the work of UNOHCHR in Bangkok, as the office continues to

7.1 Raise particular concern about the security of and challenges faced by community based HRDs during bi-lateral meetings with the Royal Thai Government and other relevant duty bearer stakeholders at the national, provincial and district levels;

7.2 Identify communities at risk and establish a plan to visit them regularly. If deemed necessary and appropriate, such visits should combine with meetings with police authorities, local and provincial government officials and other duty bearers, or stakeholders in respective provinces or districts;

7.3 Provide, where appropriate and with previous consultation with community based defenders, visible recognition to their work, through the use of appropriate publicity or invitations;

7.4 Communicate to the Foreign Affairs Ministry all information regarding cases of human rights violations of community based HRDs where companies and/or investors of your home country might be directly or indirectly involved.

8. States, should take the responsibility of using economic value created by natural resource industries to provide direct financial resources and material support to community-based HRDs working to check, evaluate and change natural resource extraction practices.

9. There is the need for a concerted effort to strengthen the capacity of communities and community-based HRDs to pursue their work in the long-term. This necessitates the recognition of these HRDs as facing particularly vulnerable positions, especially due to their opposition to corporate elite interests, lack of a democratic setting, and little interest in the plight of rural communities from centres of political power.

10. Finally, there is a need to realise and act upon the inter-sectional nature of the vulnerabilities faced by community-based HRDs campaigning for community rights against corporate interests. This requires both a coordination of research conducted by instances such as the UNSR on different HR issues, but also in the policy recommendations and assistance provided to HRDs in the most vulnerable positions.

1. Mathichon online <http://hilight.kapook.com/view/114619>, last access on January 30,2015 [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. [http://www.humanrights.asia/news/urgent-appeals/AHRC-UAC-073-2014](http://h) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. [http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/general/444103/cop-bill-curbs-gatherings](http://h) [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. [http://www.prachatai.com/english/node/4460](http://h) [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. [http://www.prachatai.com/english/node/4394](http://h) [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/webmobile/politics/Charter-drafters-agree-to-merge-NHRC-with-Ombudsma-30253041.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. <http://englishnews.thaipbs.or.th/junta-says-china-understands-situation-praises-intent-restore-business-confidence> [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. [http://www.prachatai.com/english/node/4678](http://h) [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. [http://www.humanrights.asia/news/ahrc-news/AHRC-STM-197-2014](http://h) [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. [http://www.prachatai.com/english/node/4564](http://h) [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. [http://www.prachatai.com/english/node/4563](http://h) [↑](#footnote-ref-11)