

CHAPTER III

RATTHANIYOM AND MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN SOUTHERNMOST OF THAILAND

1. Proclamation of Ratthaniyom

Not long after Field Marshall P. Phibunsongkhram came to the power, his government announced its Ratthaniyom, Statism, policy. The purpose was to inculcate in the Thai people a new culture and nationalistic sentiment, that is, the awareness of their nation and their sense of belonging to the nation.

The policy, which was first announced on 24 June 1939, represented an attempt of the prime minister to create the unity and cohesiveness of the country. Before the government issued the Ratthaniyom proclamation, it founded the National Council to be in charge of formulating Ratthaniyom. This council was composed of thinkers such as Luang Wichitwatakarn, Field Marshal P Phibunsongkhram, and those who specialized in the cultural management. Laung Wichitwatakarn expressed the need for Ratthaniyom as follows:

“Ratthaniyom happened from the concern of the Prime Minister about national problems. One of the problems was how to make Thai to be real Thai. The concern about such a problem had two implications. First, it reflects the desire for the Thai people to be free from the influences of some groups. Second, it is related to the desire to recover Thai culture and to make this nation acceptable at the international level. This idea is in line with the former greatness of the Thai State”.

Ratthaniyom was aimed first to be inculcated in the government officials. We could recognize this idea in the documents indicating that before the government would use this Statism, it would make the policy well understood among the civil servants. The government, in other words, expected that once imbued with Ratthaniyom the civil servants would promote it among their people. As Narong Paungpit (2002) has stated, “The ministry has to acquire the understanding of Ratthaniyom among the civil

servants and then encourage them to promote this sentiment among the people”.

The Ratthaniyom proclamation was modeled upon the Phrarachaniyom that had been used under absolute monarchy. The Ratthaniyom proclamation was aimed to become a public commitment, but in actual fact it was the commitment of the high-ranking administrators and thinkers who worked for the government. As Phibun himself stated,

“Ratthaniyom was the core idea to which all Thai people are committed. It is a commitment in the sense that all people have to practice it uniformly. It is to be the culture that contributes the common good of the nation...” (Khodsanakarn: 1939)

Each agenda aimed to raise the nationalistic sentiment and included the moral code of the nation. It is the purpose of the government to bring new tendencies and new things into Thai life. (Wyatt, D.K. 2003: p.244) The “*Ratthaniyom proclamation*” or the “*Statism*” policy was used to mobilize all Thais for the proper manner that the government prefers. This would stimulate Thai people to have the same nationalistic sentiment and practice in the same particular way in order to control the behavior of the people. There were two national cultural maintenance acts which aimed to serve as a regulation for the Thai people

The idea of Ratthaniyom proclamation or Statism policy came the desire to be like a civilized country. This desire was reflected in the expectation that the Thai people had to dress themselves in the same way as those in a civilized culture or in some specific behavior such as kissing one’s wife before leaving for work. Besides, the government prohibited the Thai people from eating betel nuts which seemed to be dirty in the eye of a western country.

The main purpose of the Ratthaniyom proclamation was thus to mobilize the Thai people to the same manner and the attitude towards the nation. As Phibun mentioned in one of his statements: “*To be the same as the civilized nation, it necessary that the country be in conformity with the great culture, tradition, and the customary life.*” Hence, according to this statement, to be civilized nation, it was necessary that one took care of the country’s cultural heritage as well as the internal affairs and other related factors.

The significance of the Ratthaniyom proclamation was shown as an agenda covering all aspects of culture, nationalistic sentiment, economic nationalism, national security, or the customary life of the Thai people. That is why it has been regarded as the government's mechanism to control their citizens

The policy encouraged the Thai people to live their life along the modern lines, eat and sleep appropriately, and engaged in a full day of productive labor for the good of the country. It also aroused economic nationalism by encouraging the people to forswear imports and buy only Thai products, and they also required to dress themselves in the modern fashion -- men wearing coats, trousers, shirt, and ties; while women were expected to dress themselves in skirts, blouses, hats, gloves and shoes. People would be forbidden to contact government offices without wearing hats. (Wyatt, D.K.:2003: p.244)

The Ratthaniyom proclamation was composed of 12 agendas. They were composed of various aspects the government aimed to change the identity of Thai people. We nevertheless focus only on those most relevant to our understanding of its impact on the Muslims in southern Thailand.

Ratthaniyom or Statism No.1:

This Ratthaniyom agenda concerned issue relating the name of the country, its people, and their nationality. This proclamation was the announcement on the change of the country's name from Siam to be "Thailand". It also changed the nationality of Thai people to be the Thai people.

This Statism was to change the old name because the government recognized that the Siam was not related to the race of the people who were mostly Thai. On the other hand, Siam was the name used by the Chinese and later other foreigners to refer a Thai city or kingdom, be it Sukhothai or Ayutthaya, rather than the Thai nation as a whole.

Another reason raised by Laung Wichitwatakarn for the change the name of the country's name and nationality was that earlier the government had to face with the problem in using the nationalities. Before using this Statism, Thailand had been called by two names "Thai" and "Siam". This was problematic for the government when it had to

sign an agreement with another country. To solve this problem, the government would like to use this new name. In sum, there were four main purposes for this change:

1. It was to eradicate the differences among the ethnic groups in Thailand by lumping all of them together as Thai.
2. This was also to solve the problem faced by the country when it had to sign official documents with other countries.
3. The government believed that change of the country's name would create harmony among the people who lived on its territory.
4. It created the Thai people's awareness of being Thai.

Ratthaniyom or Statism No.2

The purpose of this agenda was to prevent the danger which would occur to the country. The dangerous situation that Thailand had to face at that time was the interference from other countries. This proclamation aimed to encourage the Thai people is aware of this nation-security problem. The people had to recognize the importance of national stability and had the sense of belonging the nation.

Ratthaniyom or Statism Vol.1-Vol.2 was aimed to maintain national stability. The Thai people had to rebuild their national characteristics that were proper for the new nation.

Ratthaniyom or Statism No.3

This aimed to decrease the feeling of separatism among Thai people. This Statism stimulated Thai people to stop calling themselves according to their ethnic identity. The announcement was to recognize all of them as Thai: no matter from what the ethnic community they came, they all had Thai nationality. It wanted all Southern Thai, Thai-Muslims, and Northern Thai and Northeastern Thai to be the same "Thai".

Narong Paungpit mentioned that this proclamation prevented the alienation among the people who lived in Thailand because during that period Thai people still had feeling of race classification. (Narong Paungpit: 2002: p.27) The government recognized this feeling; hence it launched this proclamation to eradicate this feeling among the people.

Ratthaniyom or Statism No.4

This concerned the respect for the national anthem, the national flag, and the anthem for His Majesty the King. This Statism represented the importance of national signs and the high respect for the country and the king. This Statism stimulated Thai people to recognize the importance of the nation and the king through these national signs.

Ratthaniyom or Statism No.5

This Statism aimed to represent economic nationalism. This Statism invited Thai people to use the products that were produced in Thailand. From this Statism, there was the campaign which was called "Thailand for Thai".

The letter simultaneously issued by the government stated that "This Statism was really important to maintain the economic stability of the nation. It aimed to support Thai products and these would lead to the development of the standard of the products. So it was really important that the Thai people had to support Thai products". (The invitation letter of the government that encourage Thai people to consume Thai products)

Ratthaniyom or Statism No.6

This involved the change of the tune and words of the national anthem. Because of the change of the country name from Siam to Thailand, the government had to change the lyrics of the national anthem. The government launched the campaign to persuade Thai people to compose national anthem by organizing a lyrics competition. The government also decreased the length of lyrics of the national anthem. This statism also represented the characteristic of Thai people who loved peace but who would not escape when the country was faced with the war. It also emphasized national victory.

Ratthaniyom or Statism No.7

All the Thais should join hands to build the nation. It aimed to respond to the purpose of the leader who would like to develop the country through the people's pursuit of honest occupations. This was also aimed to promote occupational means of Thais in order to improve their living conditions. (Ratthaniyom No.7)

The nation-building project was a big one. It needed the corporation of all citizens. If Thai people sought the honest jobs and did not deny doing the jobs, it would contribute to the social stability of the nation.

Ratthaniyom or Statism No.8

This was related the anthem for his Majesty the King. It was aimed to change some lyrics in order to be in conformity with the new name of the country. This proclamation erased the name Siam and adapted the anthem accordingly as well as shortening it.

Ratthaniyom or Statism No.9

This indicated that all Thai had the duties to learn the Thai language and alphabet and have civic duties of good citizens. This proclamation had three main objectives:

- 1) The government would like to have a national language by using the Thai ethnic language.
- 2) The government wanted all Thai citizens to assist it in promoting the Thai language. The government aimed that those who weren't Thai citizens could read and literate in Thai.
- 3) The government aimed to eradicate the different ethnic identities. Clause 3 of this Statism that mentioned that "Thai must not regard the place of birth, domicile, residence, or local dialects...Everyone must consider that being Thai means that he has Thai blood and speaks the same Thai language." (Ratthaniyom No.9)

In short, the government of Phibunsongkhram would like to unite all citizens to into the same ideology of being Thai.

Ratthaniyom or Statism No.10

This proclamation aimed to be specific on the clothes of Thai people. During that time Thai people still dressed themselves in the old style that seemed uncivilized and lacked discipline in the eye of the government. For the society to have discipline the government decided to announce this proclamation.

The government wanted the people to dress themselves in a civilized way. The government thus announced the rule that all Thai citizens had to dress as neatly as possible when they go out to public places. The government stipulated that the Thai people who contacted government offices had to dress in proper ways:

- 1) Men had to wear the uniforms of the department they belong to. Those who were not government officials had to wear trousers and shirts, or suits, etc.
- 2) Women had to wear skirts and clothes that were civilized and they had to wear hats cut-shoes before they went out.

Ratthaniyom or Statism No.11

This proclamation concerned the daily activities of the Thai. This proclamation mentioned the purpose of the government that would like to promote the hygiene and good health among their citizen. In order to follow this purpose, the government announced a royal decree that specified daily activities such as rest and exercises. The purpose was enhance the quality of life of the Thai people in order to have much through the creation of healthy conditions in their lives which finally contributed to the development of the nation.

Ratthaniyom Proclamation No.12

The Thai people had to aid and protect the young, the old and the infirm. The government recognized that to be the society, the citizens had to help each other without discrimination. All Thai citizens were encouraged to have a gentle mind to the young, the old, and the infirm were not able to fully help themselves. The people had to aid and provide safety for these people and the people who assist these people would be recognized as cultured persons. (Ratthaniyom No.12)

We could see from all these proclamations that the government still believed that Thai people lacked culture and this was an obstacle to national development. Hence, Ratthaniyom or Statism would be a tool for the government to achieve this goal. It seemed to be the master plan of the government to encourage the Thai people to practice in the same way within the concept of "All citizens are Thai" (Prasanee Kaysabutra; 1986; p.22)

The concept of each Ratthaniyom was hand in hand with the situations the nation found itself. It answered the need of the specific situation of each period. Each agenda of the Ratthaniyom proclamation had many purposes. In sum, these purposes are as follows:

National Stability: The need for the maintenance national stability was shown in the Ratthaniyom proclamation No. 2 which indicated that all Thai must not engage in any activities that might affect national security or Thai people must not reveal the national secret to a foreign country or being a spokesman of the foreign country. The Ratthaniyom proclamation No.7 also indicated that all Thai had to cooperate with each other in order to create the prosperity to the nation and create national stability by pursuing proper occupations. Both proclamations stressed national stability.

National Unity: The aim of launching the Ratthaniyom proclamation was to eradicate the diversity among the ethnic groups in Thailand. That could be observed from the proclamation No .1 and 3, which were related to the nationality, the name of the country, and the call for the people to give up calling by themselves using their ethnic names. This concern also was shown in Ratthaniyom proclamation No.9 that indicated that all Thai had to study the Thai language and literature. This indicated that the government would like to develop the nationalist sentiment by using the language to assimilate the Thai people of different ethnic origins. This was the attempt of the government to eradicate the diverse sentiments among the various ethnic groups who lived in Thailand. The government would like to mobilize the people to accept the same concept of nation by pushing the perception of Thai-ness among the population.

Culture and Tradition: This involved the use of products that were produced in Thailand and the nationalistic sentiment of belonging to the nation. This was shown in Ratthaniyom Proclamation No.1 and No.2 that aimed to eradicate the diverse sentiments among the ethnic communities that happened during that time and encourage the people to have the same belief in the “Thainess”. Beyond these two proclamations, the proclamation No .10 aimed to develop Thai culture to be the same as those of the civilized countries. The government’s attempt to encourage the people to wear western-

style clothes, hats or to stop eating betel nuts was relevant to the need to create the new culture among Thai people.

Economics Stabilities: The Thai economy during the Phibun regime was dominated by the Chinese. Hence the government had to find out the appropriate way to limit the influences of these people. The Ratthaniyom proclamation No .5 was announced in order to serve as a tool for economic control. The campaign consisted in persuading the Thai people to use the products that were produced in Thailand by Thai people. This practice would finally lead to the development of the quality and the standard of the products. The main aspect of this proclamation was to eradicate the monopoly in the economic system by the Chinese people. The government would like to open the opportunity to the other ethnic groups to compete in the economic system.

Beside the proclamation No.5, the proclamation No.7 indicated that all Thai had to have honest occupations and that they had to have jobs. It was implied from this proclamation that all Thai had to have occupations which would assist them in gaining incomes for their family and finally contributing to national security.

2. Ratthaniyom or Statism in Practice

To promote the Ratthaniyom proclamation, the government relied on various means to communicate with the people on this ideology of Statism. The main tool which the government used was the government officials in all departments of the government sector. It was because these officials must be in direct contact with the people in their area. It was easy to expand the idea of the Ratthaniyom.

The training on the idea of Ratthaniyom proclamation for all officials was in the hand of each ministry. It had to inform its staff to clearly understand in the concept of Ratthaniyom. The government officials had to practice Ratthaniyom in order to be the sample for the people.

After the government officials passed the training from their ministry, it was the duties of these officials to pass on their knowledge and understanding to the people in their areas of responsibility. The idea was to arouse the feeling of the people.

And when the government published Ratthaniyom proclamations in the government gazette, each ministry had to follow the processes that I mentioned above. From this processes, we could see how the government attempted to reconstruct national culture.

The declaration and practice of Ratthaniyom had the impacts on Thai and un-Thai ethnic groups, especially the Chinese and the Muslim people in the southernmost part of Thailand. According to Siwalak, nation-building during the period of Phibunsongkhram was an attack on ethnic Chinese, the old elite notably, and the Muslim people in the southernmost part of Thailand. This nation-building policy meant that these people had to leave their identities. They had to adjust themselves to the new culture and practical way of life.

Although this proclamation would have an impact on all ethnic groups in Thailand, the Muslim people in the southernmost part of Thailand were most likely to resist this policy. As has been indicated, the Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand they differed from other Muslim groups. The key factor that created the difference between this group and the others was the Malayu sentiment. The Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand realized that they were not the same as Thai people. Their sentiment of being Malayu people seemed to be intense and was fundamental the practical way of life of the people in this region of the country.

The identity of Muslim people in southern Thailand before the declaration the Ratthaniyom proclamation or the Statism should be emphasized here again, as follows:

Cultural Identity: It included the belief system and ways of life of the people who lived in that area. Before the declaration of Ratthaniyom proclamation, we could separate the culture of the people in southernmost part of Thailand into five periods. The first was the culture which adhered to the animism; it happened when an independent state was established in this region. The second period was the culture which was related to Hyang or the belief in their ancestor. The third was the culture which adhered to Hinduism-Brahmanism; it expanded its influences during the period of Srivijaya Empire. The fourth period was the culture which adhered to Buddhism. This came from the influences of Majapahit Empire. The fifth period was the culture which

adhered to the Islamic culture. It happened when Islam came to this part of the world 300 years ago.

The culture of people in the southernmost part of Thailand was a mixture of these influences. This was inherent in some cultural traits, such as the demonstration of “Likae Hulu”, a traditional performing art of Muslim in southern Thailand. Here the actors must pay their respect to their teacher, “Wai Kru” ceremony, before the performance. There also was the ceremony for the baby which reflected the influence of Hinduism-Brahmanism. The shadow play of the Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand must have red and green ribbons around them. It represented the respect for the Guru of the demonstration. This gained influences from Hindu-Brahman culture. (Paitoon Jaehae: 2007: interview) These ceremonies and cultural traits had been with the Muslims in southern Thailand before the declaration of Ratthaniyom proclamation. They had blended with their lifestyle. There was not separation among these cultures. (Dr.Worawit Baru: 2007: interview)

Language: Malayu-Patani language developed from the Malayu-Polynesia ethno linguistic group. The Malayu language was one of the most ancient languages in this region. It was invented by the independent state named Malayu. This state was founded after the Srivijaya Empire. This language had developed for many decades before it became the official language for the kingdom which was founded on the Malayu Peninsular.

The Malayu-Muslims in the southern part of Thailand used the Malayu language in their daily communication. Their religious scripture was also written in the Malayu language. Hence for the Malayu-Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand, Malayu was part of their behavior and their religion.

Dr. Worawit Baru mentioned that the Malayu language represented the Malayu identity. The people who lived in Malay Peninsular and worshiped Islam had to speak Malayu. He also mentioned that before the adoption of the nation-building policy in the period of Field Marshal Phibunsongkhram, the people who would like to study the religious doctrine had to study the Malayu and then they would study Arabic.

The Malay language is the representative of Malay-Muslim identity. (Rathiya Salae: Narong Paungpit) It is not only used for understanding the scripture and the doctrine of Islam but it has been absorbed in the sentiment of being Malay. Naturally, Muslim in southernmost of Thailand refuses to use the Thai language because this represents the influences of the Buddhists. Thus the Thai language is not popular among the Muslim people in that area. As Arong said,

“The Malay language imbued in the Muslim social structure such as the folk law, literature, signs, and the philosophy. All these things are related to the Malay language. The eradication of the Malay language is the same as the cutting of everything that is the identity of the Muslim in southern Thailand. The relationship between Malay-Muslims and the Malay language showed the unification of the Malay people....For the Muslims in southern Thailand who lack education; this is the appropriate way to recognize who they are”. (Arong Suthisan: p.20)

Before the declaration of the Statism policy, the Malayu had combined with the roots of Hinduism-Brahmanism, as well as the Thai language. This research found that some elements in the Malayu language were translations from Thai language. (Paitoon Jaehae: 2007: interview) Some word such as “Rayoh Tapa” (meaning the official) was translated from the word “Chao Nathee” (เจ้าหน้าที) The Malayu-Patani language absorbed and accepted Thai language influence. Malayu-Patani language had an influence on the people in the southernmost part of Thailand. It represented the civilization which was rooted in various cultures.

Religious Identity: As was already mentioned, before the arrival of Islam, this area had passed through many religious influences. Anyway, the most powerful of them was Islam. The vast majority of the people in the area were Muslims.

Islam in this area was also most influential among other Muslim countries in Southeast Asia. The Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand especially “Ulama”- religious philosophers, had taught in many countries. This was the land that was famous as the centre of Islam. Pondok schools in this area were accepted in many countries. The Muslims from various parts of the worked came to study in this area. There was evidence which indicated that the Muslim people from Cambodia and other

neighboring countries studied religious doctrine and the religious philosophy from this area.

Racial Identity: The ethnic origin of the Malayu people who lived in this area is interesting. There was the assumption that they originated from the same Tai-ethnic group. It was believed that these ethnic groups migrated from the northwestern Yunnan in China. Their migration could be divided into two periods. The first was the migration of the Malay proto group; this group went down to the Malay Peninsula about 2500 years ago. This group was sea faring people. They settled their community near the sea and engaged in trade. The second group came 1500 years later. This group was called the Malayu-Malay Deutero. Then this group developed themselves to be the present Malayu people who passed through many belief systems and development.

Krukrit Pramroj emphasized that the Thai people have to recognize and accept the truth that the People in the southernmost part of Thailand are not Thai. There is no need to force them to do the same as Thai customary life. But we have to assist them to keep their identity and integrate them into our society.

The Muslims in southern Thailand are assumed to belong the same race those of the Java and Malay ethnic groups. Self-awareness of Muslim people in southern Thailand focuses on Malayness more than Thainess. They are Muslim. Before the announcement of Ratthaniyom, they also had the sentiment of being Malayu-Muslim more than being Thai-Muslim people.

3. Relationship between the Government and the Muslim people in the Southernmost Part of Thailand during the Ratthaniyom Period

Although the relationship between the Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand and the central government was not in peace and it frequently flared up into conflict, the period of Field Marshal Phibunsongkhram was one which had the most serious impact on Muslim identity of the people in this region.

To mobilize the local people in the southernmost part of Thailand to accept Ratthaniyom, the government relied on many processes. The government sent the formal announcement to the government offices in that area in order to ask for the cooperation from the merchants to stop selling Muslim clothes such as Sarong. The street vendors were prohibited to carry things on their heads but they must carry them on their shoulders with poles. The Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand were prohibited to wear Muslim clothes when they contacted government offices and went outside. The western clothes were instead promoted.

The Ratthaniyom proclamation had an impact on all people because it changed ways of life of all Thais. (Piyart Bunnak: 2003: 100) For the Muslim people, it was the limit on their freedom to practice their tradition and custom. According to Rawat Rachamukda, the attempt to change the attitude of all people during the period of Field Marshal Phibunsongkhram led to the alienation of the Muslims in the southern Thailand. (Rawat Rachamukda: quoted in Piyart Bunnak: 2003: p.105)

The policy had a negative impact on the government and its relations with the Muslim people in the southernmost part of Thailand. The prohibition on the wearing of Muslim clothes, the use of the Malayu language in the government offices, the instruction of the Malayu language in school was in contradiction with their fundamental way of life. They were instead encouraged, or even forced, to change their name into Thai names, to dress with new clothes, to speak Thai and to deal with Thai customs – all this was an attack on the religious doctrine of the Muslim people. (Piyart Bunnak: 2003: 102) This destroyed the faith and the honour of the Muslim in the southern Thailand. (Bandit Sama-ul: 2003: 90-100)

Cheman Wan Kadir mentioned that the nation-building policy during the period of Phibunsongkhram, especially the declaration of National Cultural Acts and the Ratthaniyom proclamation, was the discrimination against the Malayu people. They were forced to separate from their language and culture and this finally led to the distrust of these people in the central government.

The Ratthaniyom proclamation was the key-factor for the creation of the dissatisfaction with the central government. It aroused alienation of the Muslims in the

southern Thailand and the government. The reaction of the Muslims in this part of the country gradually increased, resulting in their negative attitude towards the Thai government.

From the interviews with Paitoon Jaehae (2007), during the period of Ratthaniyom proclamation, people refused to go out and to interact with the government. They refused to go to the market or to do their business. It finally led to economic gaps among the people. Some of them moved to the other areas instead of losing their identity. The fight against the government was shown in the strike and the refusal to interact with the government. The people disagreed with the government because the Ratthaniyom proclamation was opposed to their identity.

However, in so far as the relationship between the government and the people in the southernmost part of Thailand was during the period of Ratthaniyom proclamation was concerned; two groups of people need to be distinguished.

The first group included the people who agreed with the government. They sent their children to the Thai government schools and supported their children to speak Thai. These people were usually the government officials who would like to be promoted to higher ranks in the government bureaucracy.

The second group consisted of those local philosophers and teachers. They disagreed with the government policy. They tried to arouse the local people to resist the government policy. These people realized that the government would like to eradicate their identity and aimed to assimilate their way of living with the Buddhist cosmology and the western culture. The second group of people seemed to be in greater number than those in the first group. These people would accuse the people who agreed with the government as the rebels. They refused to cooperate with them and objected to bringing Thai books into their houses. Some Muslim children were sent to the Middle-East to study religion instead of studying in the Thai educational system. They rejected the Thai curriculum promoted by the Thai government its encouragement of the Muslim people to speak Thai.

The tension between the government and the Muslims in southern Thailand could be described by the phrase used by Hajji Sulong Abdulkadeh: "We (the

Malayu and Islam) felt the pressure. The prohibition to teach language and religion (Malayu and Islam), and being forced to teach Buddhist, to have Thai name, and to follow Thai traditions and customs obviously showed that the government was attempting to change the Muslims in the southernmost part Thailand into Buddhist Thai. (Phrayaratanaphakdi: 1976: p.45-46) The people in this region were bitterly disappointed with the government policy and it had an impact on their mind. (Surin Pitsuwan: 1982: p.6)

The relationship between the government and the people during that time was full of conflict. There were many resistances from the Malayu-Muslim people in the southernmost part of Thailand. The most famous case was the case of the brother of Taunku Yala Naze; he wore Sarong in order to represent his objection to the government policy. He refused to pay the fine and stayed at the police station until his friend asked him to go back home. Most of Muslim people felt reluctant to follow the Rattaniyom proclamation because it was different from their identity and some of its elements were opposed to their culture and customs.