

Justice and Peace

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In 2008-2010, the work of CCJP continues to focus on collaboration with Suratthani Diocese to strengthen and empower the work of socialpartner organizations in the diocese under the plan on peace building, since the areas in southern Thailand are facing 2 serious cases of violence, namely violence resulted from political and administrative approach applied in the 3 southern border provinces and violence from Burmese migrant workers. Both cases affected economic and social life of local people. They also are issues that the local Church in the South is interested in introducing activities on promotion of human rights and peace as instrument for social work of its personnel. Therefore, activities that CCJP implemented with the social network of Suratthani Diocese are also another step forward for CCJP.

Human Rights Study Project : CCJP made a field visit to schools that enrolled Burmese children for schooling with Thai children in Muang District of Ranong Province.

*Students of
Ban Thung
Ngao School*



*Burmese students
help teach
Burmese language
to their friends.*



On January 20-22, 2009, the Human Rights Education Project of CCJP contacted the Thai-Burmese quality of life development centers in Ranong. The team has visited to study the work and have conversation with teachers of elementary public schools that enrolled Burmese children to study with Thai children, which is a good example of practice of Human Rights and access to education for all children regardless of race and nationality as provided by the Convention on Child Rights.

From the field visit to learning centers under supervision of Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), which provide assistance on education for Burmese children in Ranong, the team of CCJP has found that 4 Learning Centers run by Ursuline Sisters helped about 400 Burmese children to have access to education. The team comprised Associate Professor Walai Na Pombejr, Chairwoman of Human Rights Education Project of CCJP, Ms. Achara Somsaengsuang, Executive Secretary of CCJP and its staff. The team also learned that there were 12 public schools that were willing to accept Burmese children who could speak Thai and were able to adapt themselves well to study with Thai children. Therefore, the team visited 4 schools. Ban Bang Klang School



*Learning Center
of JRS*

provides education from kindergarten to grade 6 of elementary education with 108 students and 6 teachers. Among its students, 80 are Burmese children and 2 Burmese teachers. Ranong Pattana Mittraparb 60 School provided education from provides kindergarten to grade 6 of elementary education with about 400 students and 24 teachers. Among its students, about 50 are Burmese and Thai displaced children and 130 Muslim students. Ban Thung Ngao School provides education from kindergarten to grade 3 of secondary education with 823 students and 30 teachers. Among its students, 85 are Burmese children with 31 of them studying in formal education.



Akasin Ratpattana School provides education from kindergarten to grade 6 of elementary education with 142 students and 6 teachers. Among its students, about 80 are Burmese children.

The team had a chance to talk with teachers in these 4 schools, which helped them to realise that assistance to Burmese children to have access to education is a model in concrete respect to human rights. The teachers were proud that there were some people who recognise



Associate Professor Dr. Walai Na Pombetr and Sr. Prapassorn Sriworakul from JRS Ranong talk with a teacher.



Listen to problems voiced out by teachers and administrators of Ban Bang Klang School



Teachers of Akasin Rat Pattana School



A teacher is giving Thai language class to Thai and Burmese students.



Teachers of Ranong Pattana Mitraparb 60 School

the values in what they have done and gained confidence to carry on this action. Besides, the team has also got information and learned emotions of these teachers on some matters. For example, they were under pressure from parents of Thai students and the school neighbourhood which perceived the schools as Burmese schools and did not want to sent their children (local Thai) to study with Burmese children. As a result, the number of children dropped, which consequently led to decrease in budget. This situation posed greater difficulty to

teachers in small public school, which always had a problem of shortage of teachers and budget, lack of proper school building, space and teaching materials. These teachers proposed that larger schools that are more prepared should help smaller schools that are facing certain shortages.

In addition, the team also learned about attitude and prejudice of Thai people and state agencies towards Burmese. They said that Burmese were living everywhere. Ranong would belong to Burmese one day. Some teachers also had negative attitude towards Burmese children because

they thought that Thai children should get priority in education. On the other hand, the team also learned that while various organisations were helping Burmese children, several Thai children also lacked opportunity. Therefore, there was a recommendation that assistance should be equally given to Thai children as well, otherwise there would be comparison that lead to more serious prejudice against Burmese.

Survey on peace in the 3 southern provinces with Diocesan Social Center of Suratthani on February 10-13, 2009

In the plan on peace building in the southern region, CCJP and Suratthani Diocesan Social Action Center (DISAC) have made field visit to learn experience of Muslim scholars, namely Dr. Sukree Langpooteh, dean of arts and social science of Islamic University of Yala, Assistant Professor Ibroheem Narongraksakhet, head of Islam study department, Islam Study College of Sri Nagarindra University at Pattani, Dr. Muslan Mahama, deputy rector of administration, Islamic University of Yala and Ms. Kalaya Lawsukul, a social activist of a popular network in Pattani. Information we have got helped us to understand problems in the 3 southern border provinces better. The survey was not only useful for us to get first hand information, but also a chance to build network with scholars and Muslim partners, which would lead to initiation of activities to promote personnel of local Church for greater confidence in the work amidst cultural and faith diversity and political conflict.



Conversation with Dr. Sukree Langpooteh, dean of arts and social science faculty, Islam University, Yala



Dr. Muslan Mahama, deputy rector for administration, Islamic University of Yala

Seminar on Papal Peace Message of Benedict XVI on the theme 'Fighting Poverty to Build Peace' on May 15, 2009 at Assumption Human Resource Development Center, Thonglor 25, Sukhumvit, Bangkok

Impacts of the current economic crisis at the end of 2008 have become a hot issue in Thai society that interested various groups of people who were confronted with greater difficulty in life, such as farmers, factory workers in eastern industrial estates and people at lower strata in large cities. This reality is the grave concern of the Church on poverty resulted from global economic development that ignored people in society.

In this seminar on Papal Peace Message 2009, CCJP has raised the issue of poverty in the present society for a common study and reflection, especially structural poverty resulted from policies on economic priority over politics in the administration, poverty from human rights perspective and social security, poverty in development dimension where people do not have equal access to education and healthcare.

The seminar started out with presentation by Fr. Vinai Boonlue, S.J. on a topic "Fighting Poverty to Build Peace", followed by a panel discussion on a topic 'Decoding Poverty: Making Oneself Poor or Being Made Poor?' by Mr. Pairote Polpet, chairperson of Thai NGO Committee on Development, and Mr. Jacques-chai Chomthongdee, a researcher of Focus on the Global South, Social Research Institute of Chulalongkorn University who discussed situation of poverty at national level and globalization that affected Thai society, structural problem that affected the people. At the end, the participants mutually searched for direction and guidelines in building peaceful society starting from change of self, thinking system and consumption pattern.

This seminar was taken part by 21 participants who were priests, religious brothers and sisters, personnel of education desk of Bangkok Archdiocese, members of Catholic Women Association, interested Christians and mass media.



Mr. Pairote Polpet, chairperson of Thai NGO-COD



Fr. Vinai Boonlue, S.J., led discussion on the topic 'Fighting Poverty to Build Peace'



Mr. Jacques-chai Chomthongdee, a researcher of the project on study and action on development, Social Research Institute, Chulalongkorn University

The fifth Human Rights Camp for Youth on March 10-13, 2009 at Ban Suan Suay Resort, Muaklek District, Saraburi Province

In total, 23 young people who were in senior high schools in Bangkok and the provinces (Songkhla, Phuket and Pitsanuloke) took part in this Human Rights Camp for Youth. The camp helped young people to learn about human rights and dignity, Universal Declaration on Human Rights and child rights in the present situation. These young people also learned about environmental problems from members of Kaengkhoi Environmental Conservation Club who shared situation of impacts of air pollution emitted by factories in Saraburi Province on local people. This learning helped the young people to be aware and realize the significance of environmental problem and shared their concern with affected people. They were also aware of a need for them to take part in mitigating such problems by changing behaviours in their daily life, such as saving water and electricity and reducing the use of telephone, etc.

Furthermore, these young people also learned techniques in communication with other people and expressing their need peacefully through the activity on "Communication with Peace" at the end of the camp. These young people have mutually initiated activities to promote human rights through various social services that they could implement back in their schools. They also expressed that participation in this camp helped to change themselves, especially their attitude towards people around them, their family and society, and they would apply the knowledge and experience gained from this camp in their daily life and also share it their junior students.

Activity on "Language of Kindness" which young people put on wolf and giraffe headgears: wolf head is a language indicating habit of blaming other people, while giraffe head indicates language that understand feeling and emotion and need of oneself and other people.



Communication on peace by Mr. Naris Maneekhao



Activity on dream community



Representative of Kaengkhoi Environmental Conservation Club, Saraburi Province talks about pollution in local communities resulted from factory emission.



The fifth human rights camp for youth



Activity on learning child rights where young people work on clay to communicate problems they see in current society.

Workshop on Human Rights Education for teachers and personnel in Catholic institutions in the South under the supervision of the religious sisters of the Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Our Lady

In giving workshop on human rights for teachers in Catholic schools in the first half of this year, CCJP had a chance to approach Catholic schools in the South, especially the southernmost provinces, namely Pattani and Yala. This workshop was given on human rights to teachers in areas with high risk of violence and religious and racial conflicts.

On March 25-26, 2009, a workshop was given to teachers of Darun Suksa School, Ronpibul District, Nakhonsithammarat Province

Workshop participants were 84 teachers and administrators of 4 schools (55 from Darun Suksa School, 7 from Don Bosco Pattana School, 8 from Mary Pitak Suksa School and 14 from Daughters of Charity Kindergarten. In

this workshop, school executives realized the importance of promoting human rights education in schools and fully supported this activity. The participating teachers have learned contents of related human rights, such as origin of human rights,

Universal Declaration on Human Rights, Convention on Child Rights and human rights in educational institutions. They have reviewed their behaviors that they used to do and what they have been treated by other people related to rights violation or promotion. Many teachers have shared that they used to do violence by deeds and words to their students, and this workshop helped them to learn that these actions violated rights of children. They also learned how to respect dignity of their fellow teachers.



Teachers of Darun Suksa School, Nakhonsithammarat





Teachers of Charoen Sri Suksa School, Pattani



On May 3 - 5, 2009, a workshop was given to Charoen Sri Suksa School in Muang District, Pattani Province

In total, 34 teachers took part in this workshop. Their executives realized the importance of promotion of human rights study in school and fully supported this workshop. The teachers were interested in the workshop and took part in all activities. They were able to develop teaching plan. They realized the need to take care of, offer affection to and understand their students. They were interested in laws and organizations giving rights protection from violations in various cases. Both the teachers and executives were interested to request for movie and video from CCJP as teaching materials on human rights for their students.



On May 6-7, 2009, a workshop was given to Thanom Sri Suksa School in Betong District, Yala Province.

There were 43 teachers taking part in this workshop. Their executives realized the importance of learning on human rights and also took part in the whole workshop. The teachers were interested in the work and actively took part in all activities and were able to develop good teaching plan. They were interested in laws related to different rights, such as labour rights, women rights, rights in family and judicial procedures. They shared that they have gained good knowledge and expressed their need for ongoing training also on other topics. They promised to disseminate the knowledge to their students and people around them, especially in their family and community. They realized that children should enjoy their rights more. They were aware that children should not get punishment with physical and verbal violence. Care of children should also include livelihood of their family and their greatest interest.



Teachers of Thanom Sri Suksa School, Yala

It is impressive that the teachers accepted their weakness on attitude and behavior that were part of their deeds on violence to children and prejudice against Muslim children or neighbours. Although they have taken part in only one workshop and were not able to change their attitude, at least they spent some time to reflect on their life and role as teachers towards children.

Decoding Poverty: “Make Oneself Poor or Being Made Poor?”

Mr. Pairote Polpet

Chairperson of Thai NGO Committee on Development - NGO-COD

One explanation of poverty is earning less income than daily need for subsistence, low education, difficulty in getting a job, no skill, no information, landlessness, lack of means of production, etc. This concept addresses people. Is it a fault of the poor that they do not have education? The state has a duty to provide education for all. It is a matter of a policy and administration. People do not get poor by themselves, but do not have access to education or basic necessities.

Explanation on poverty is also linked with two areas of human rights. First, it is a freedom from fear and freedom from hunger. The principles of human rights tell us that all human beings should at least have basic necessities for their livelihood, which the state must provide, namely 1) Food, 2) Healthcare, 3) Housing, and 4) Education. Second, people must enjoy justice when dealing with legal procedures. They must get protection when threatened. This explanation gives rise to a definition on poverty that, first, lacks of access to certain services, second, deprivation of rights, and, third, lack of power where people do not have participation in political administration. These are conditions of poverty linked rights, freedom,



human rights, development and human security. Government interventions to address these problems were not effective, especially in regard to lack of or poverty in rights, which still exists to larger extent in all groups of the population.

The second group of the poor is the landless. Bangkok has over 800,000 rai (1 acres = 2.5 rai), but only about 50 people own about 80,000 rai, or 10% of the total land area in Bangkok, while the smallest land holders own only 8-12 square meters. If the structure on land resource continues in this pattern, access to land is impossible without having to mention about 600,000 households living in forest and national parks. We

have tried to limit holding size, but it was lifted during the administration of Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, because it hindered investment of private sector. The government at that time introduced freedom of land holding. What is threatening is that foreigners own more land. A study shows that 100 biggest land holders own about 100 rai in average, while 90% of the people own about a little over 1 rai. There was concentration of land holding, which made a group of people to lose their land and became poor. The government dared not to introduce a genuine land reform starting from taxing the 50 largest land holders in Bangkok. An additional 0.1% of tax would earn state revenue up to 4,000 million Baht.

Structural poverty does not occur naturally on its own. It is made by state policies or national development that claimed to help people earn more income with more employment. For example, the development of Mabtapud industrial estate in 1985, a total investment of over 100,000 million Baht was put in, which was able to generate huge amount of income. However, less than 100,000 people actually got employed, and they were not local people. Secondly, we have not considered resource capital

we have lost. The sea was the habitat of marine life, but it was not safe due to contamination and has lost its natural balance. Looking at the air, the Pollution Control Department confirmed that no more projects could be introduced in Mabtapud because air quality could not be restored anymore and local people had high risk of cancer. If our development did not take into account capital of human life and resource, but aimed only at wealth in figures, we would face many more problems.

What we have to do is if poverty is caused by lack of access and rights, we must provide this access and rights so that people would have bargaining power, such as rights to management of soil, water and forest resources as provided by the Constitution B.E. 2540. We should adopt the direction that environmental and resource management should not be in the hand of state agencies, because they caused injustice on access to resources. We should

provide opportunity for other parties to take part in this management. When people are poor in power we must provide opportunity for all to have access to power in decision making on state policies, with which we would be able to address poverty in power.

The Papal Peace Message 2009 of Pope Benedict 16 tells us to go for “a change of life-styles, of models of production and consumption, and of the established structures of power which today govern societies”. Today, we adopt a capitalist way of life with excessive consumption. Food crisis is over production of food but could not be sold. Yet, hundreds of million people around the globe do not have enough food. There are 2 realities in this situation. Around 11 million Thai people did not get food with enough quality. We need to change our pattern of consumption and reflect on ourselves. Second is production. We produce too much, using too much chemicals. But farmers did not get rich. The patterns

of production, consumption and way of life were dictated by the structure of power that directs the present society. How we could change this power structure, and make it more just and all people could take part in management so as to address poverty.

First, we need to change our knowledge and understanding. We need to get prepared and change our way of thinking and looking. We must help push for correction of the structure. For us, apart from reviewing our concepts we need to search for new meaning of life. Do not let other people to define meaning for our life. **We will have value only when we value other people. We must make our life valuable for other people because today we are made blind from seeing values in other people, but only our own value.** We thought we are the best. When we see the value in other people, then our life will also have value. This is the teaching of all religions.



From a seminar on Papal Peace Message of Benedict 16 with the theme “Decoding Poverty: Make Oneself Poor or Being Made Poor?” On May 15, 2009 at a conference room of Assumption Human Resource Development Center, Soi Thonglor 25, Sukhumvit, Bangkok

Voices from the Areas Affected

by Violence



From *'The Liberator'* issue no.79
entitled *'Voice of the Voiceless'*,
January-April 2009

*Ms. Kalaya lawsakul, chairperson
of Peace and Justice Center of
Pattani*

In the past 4-5 years until today, there are several thousand people affected by violence. They are widows and orphans whose fathers or brothers died from the violence. In Pattani alone, the death toll is more than a thousand. Narathiwat (the southernmost province of Thailand) has the highest death toll. Her center has conducted a research on innovation on pattern of remedy, and organized a caravan to the South. Since 2004 until today, over a hundred thousand million Baht has been pumped in. The remedy introduced by the state or private organizations were in monetary term. They thought that Southern people need cash. Actually, it was no. What people want most is psychological remedy. Only a call from a concerned friend from other province asking how they were could make them happy.

Impacts of this violence on young people are also a grave concern. After a dialogue organized for all

groups of people in the 3 Southernmost provinces, namely widows, orphans, villagers, religious leaders (Imam) and state officials like military, police, local administration organizations and other state officials, all came out with a common analysis that the offenders and victims of this unrest were young people. Then, a forum of youth was organized to see how to support young people to love their homeland. This forum made the voice of youth who were affected from this violence heard in such a way that it has never been expected to be heard before. When we first talked with a military we were asked, 'How do you think to work with children of bandits?' The orphan youth would reply, 'Is it wrong for me to be branded as children of bandits? How can I live when everyone brand me as children of bandits?' Military said like this, while young people said like that. In this situation, how can we delete the stigma in the heart of these young people? They said it was not their fault. They dared not go to school or anywhere. They dared not meet people. We have tried to talk with them

and destroy a thin wall between them and state officials because it has been a scar between the state and the people for a long time.

Some youth and people joined these insurgents because of lack of education. When children and adults did not get education, they would face problems. Many young people in the 3 Southern border provinces were unemployed and did not get education. They wanted to drive car and have mobile phones. These were what the insurgents saw and tried to attract these young people. Children in grade 4 or 5 of elementary education could make explosives. They manipulated children. First, they gave money, later they gave drug before prayer. Earlier, they planted bombs at around 7 pm. Before that at around 6 pm, they distributed a locally made drug mix 'Si Koon Roi'.¹ Then, young people were brave to do violence when they were not fully conscious. In their head there was only 'kill, kill, kill'. They were taught to kill other people. Young people who came to talk with us cried. They admitted that if they did not

¹ 'Si Koon Roi' is a favourite drug that young people in the 3 Southern border provinces use. It is made of materials easily found locally, such as leaf of *Mitragyna*, roasted buffalo shit and chemical substance in fluorescent lamp.

do it they would not know how to live. They were submissively forced to do.

A group of young people was at risk of being easily attracted. They were Muslim whose fathers were put in detention camp for correction or 'Vivat Polamuang'² (civil rehabilitation). Their fathers were put in container housing and it was not clear if their fathers have committed crime or not. They were detained and far from their families. When a husband of a Muslim family was absent, his wife had to raise their children alone. Their mothers told their children that their fathers were like this because of military. Therefore, this group of young people might stand up to take action. They are at risk.

There was also an affected group of women from the Northeast, whose husbands were police and military sent to the area and lost their lives from the daily violence. The affected people were also Thai Buddhist families who were the minority in the 3 Southern border provinces and were ignored or did not get any assistance from the state. This is the concern on inequality and injustice that occurred, that might be a drop of honey that could destroy unity of the community due to lack of understanding and equality.

There was a small matter that Thai Buddhist children were affected. Thai society used to look at hill tribe people as marginalized. The 3 Southern border provinces were in the similar situation. Children and youth started to think if they were people of Pattani,

because Thai Buddhist children did not get anything while all projects were aimed at Muslim children, like a project initiate by General Prem which took Muslim children for excursion. Thai Buddhist children asked when they would have a chance to travel by plane like Muslim children. We tried to talk to them that if both Buddhist and Muslim children would travel together, they should travel by train to learn from each other how their communities are. When they arrive in Bangkok, they could separate. This group goes to Muslim families and the other group goes to Thai Buddhist families. At the end of the trip we would ask what they gain from the trip. This is a small activity because in the future they would replace our generation and they should have good relationship with one



another. At the moment, Buddhist and Muslim children do not talk with each other at school. **For us, people around us are Muslim and our colleagues are mainly Muslim because we love each other and in our hearts we want this generation of children love each other. We want to have sharing between Buddhist and Muslim children.**

The unrest in the South does not only harm and destroy lives, but also the way of life and diverse cultures. This area has been called the 'land of colorful flower' where it has religious and cultural diversity but could live together in peace between Thai Buddhists and Muslims. Yet, today there is something like a thin line separating both religions.



Dr. Sukree Langpooteh, dean of arts and social science faculty of Islam University, Yala

The violence in the 3 Southern border provinces has been occurring in the past 4-5 years until now. Thailand is like a family with 3 children, namely Buddhist, Christian and Muslim. The Buddhist does not have any problem. The Christian is strong and self-supporting. However, the father always gives everything to Muslim without asking his need first. Yet, when Muslim asks for something, the father declines and says that this child is aggressive with no respect to the father. For example, Haji Sulong Abdul Kadir, governor of Pattani stood up and raised 7 demands from the state. Because of this, he was arrested with a charge of rebellion. The 7 demands include dedication of Friday as a Muslim weekly holiday, use of Malay as another official language side by side with Thai, etc. If in the past the

² Vivat Polamuang group is the name that the state gives to those involved in the unrest in the 3 Southern provinces. They are taken to a military camp for retraining and forced to repent and promise to cooperate with the state in addressing the unrest in the Southern border areas.

demands of Haji Sulong were responded, we would not have to pay hundred thousand million Baht to build peace in the 3 Southern border provinces while the problems still remain.

We heard of the violence in the 3 Southern border provinces, in which we see people shooting and killing each other, people beheaded or planting bombs, through media. This is the direct violence, like Buddhist kills Muslim, Muslim beheaded Buddhist monk, etc. Yet in reality there is something that we have not seen, that is cultural violence. For example, a military man walked into a mosque without removing his shoes, while a villager who has lived and grown up there for 60 years has never once going into the mosque without washing his feet first. Although he is not quite clean, he has never worn shoes into a mosque. Now, he sees a military man from somewhere else fully armed went into a mosque that Muslims protect, without removing his shoes. This is a condition that leads to vengeance.

There is also another violence which is difficult to resolve. This is a structural violence. For example, the state sent officials from other region to lead people in this area, or the national

security agents went to search Pondok school, or private school teaching Islam, for offenders and mastermind because the state always refers to the global theory of international terrorism of Al Qaida or Ji. The situation is not at peace until today. The state perceives that violence in this area originates from religion and looks at Pondok as a place that nurtures violence and the cause of the insurgents. Today, the number of students going to Pondok has not decreased. Parents continue to send their children to Pondok because they want their children to learn Malay and Islamic teachings, which they see as importance for them and their children. This is not provided by public schools.

Solution to the problem is to return to religion, a return to Islam, and this area will find peace. Islam holds the principle that **'From Peace, With Peace, To Peace'**. If we want to address problems in the 3 Southern border provinces, we must adhere to religion, be they Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. Teaching religion should start with commonalities in each religion followed by differences. Thai education should go beyond race and religion. Thai history should mutually be written so that it will

be history that all are proud of being Thais like during the reign of King Narai where Muslim went into the royal court and helped build the nation in the past, or during a transition period from absolute monarchy to monarchical democracy in 1932 where there were 4 Muslims in the Promoters or the People's Party (Kana Ratsadorn). One of the four is the Chula Ratchamontri or the Grand Imam. If Thai history started from democracy and nation building is the main content of the learning including various ethnic groups living in Thailand, they should learn to be Thai with a common point that we all are proud of.

The most important thing is that we need to promote knowledge on peace. Apart from Buddhist, Christian and Islamic perspective on peace, there should also sociological and health perspectives as well. There is an example of a research of Pondok on environmental management, like managing garbage from the source to the destination, environmental management, and exposure trip to resort for improvement of their homes so that they would live happily. This is a concrete move to build peace.

Assistant Professor, Dr. Ibroheem Narong Raksakhet, head of Islam Study Department of Islam Study College, Songkhla Nagarindra University at Pattani

Problems in the 3 Southern border provinces is resulted from long years historical conflict, cultural alienation and pride that local people did not get due respect, and education. The state sees that success of an attempt to help people in the 3 Southern border provinces learn Thai language is its major concern, while local people see that learning Thai language will hinder their children from reading and writing Malay fluently, and might lose their ethnic language. The state also has a weakness that it could not communicate with local people and time and again wrote wrong words, which pushes people to lose their trust.

The goal of the insurgents is territorial separation, but this has not yet been achieved. We must help address the problem before that goal is achieved. For us local people, we do not want separation, but peace, good and healthy livelihood. The people want to take part in various projects that the state introduces to develop their homeland. The state should not do anything without consultation with the people. The group of people who is able to help relieve the problems and mediate between the state and the people is religious leaders, because Muslims listen to their leaders. Therefore, religious institution should be empowered and strengthened and make peace a common agenda for all.

