Subscriptions

The Bulletin, like all publications, is faced with ever-increasing printing and mailing costs. For example, the cost of our paper has risen rapidly this year, and in July the rates for bulk mailing and single-issue mailing went up by nearly 25 percent. The result is that we must raise the price of a subscription to the Bulletin in 1978 and increase the price of a single copy to $2.50. (Institutional rates will be going up in 1979.) However, if you renew before January 1, 1978, you may purchase a subscription (new or renewal) at the 1977 rate. May we suggest that you renew for two or three years? You can determine the present expiration date of your subscription by looking at your address label. The number after your name refers to the volume and number/issue when the subscription will expire.

Rate before January 1, 1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 yr.</th>
<th>2 yrs.</th>
<th>3 yrs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>$ 8</td>
<td>$ 15</td>
<td>$ 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside N. America</td>
<td>$ 9</td>
<td>$ 17</td>
<td>$ 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries/Institutions</td>
<td>$14 per yr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time Students</td>
<td>$ 6 per yr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students outside N. America</td>
<td>$ 7 per yr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second-class Overseas Air</td>
<td>$19 per yr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beginning January 1, 1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 yr.</th>
<th>2 yrs.</th>
<th>3 yrs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>$ 9</td>
<td>$ 17</td>
<td>$ 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside N. America</td>
<td>$10</td>
<td>$ 19</td>
<td>$ 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries/Institutions</td>
<td>$14 per yr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time Students/Unemployed</td>
<td>$ 8 per yr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students outside N. America</td>
<td>$ 8 per yr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contributors

Benedict O’Gorman Anderson is a professor at Cornell University.

Thadeus Flood teaches at the University of Santa Clara, California.

David Millikin, a graduate student at the University of Massachusetts, is also very active in the work of the Union of Democratic Thais (UDT).

Puey Ungphakorn now lives in exile in England. He recently toured the United States giving talks on Thailand.

Carl Trocki recently joined the History Department, Thomas More College, Kentucky.

Jayne Werner, University of Arizona, Tucson, became Associate Editor for the Bulletin this past spring.

Rex Wingertter is with the School of International Studies, the University of Denver, Colorado.

Communications

Institute of Asian and African Studies
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
July 27, 1977

I would like to correct an error in the review of my book Individual and State in Ancient China (Bulletin, Volume 9, no. 1, Jan-March 1977, pp. 68-69). Professor Paul Ropp writes that I was dismissed from my position in the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow because of the anti-Soviet character of my book and that I applied for repatriation to Israel because I was unemployed. This statement, however, is in complete contradiction with the facts. I applied for an exit visa to Israel not because I was unemployed; just the opposite, in Soviet circumstances, my situation was very good. But I felt it to be a humiliating slavery to live under a totalitarian and anti-Semitic regime. I was forced to resign my position and became unemployed as a result of my intention to apply for an exit visa to Israel.

Sincerely,
Vitaly Rubin
July 28, 1977

To the Editors:

The Berkshire Conference of Women Historians will award its 1978 prizes to the best book and the best article in any field of history written by a woman and published during 1977. Inquiries and nominations, including two copies of the book or article, should be sent to Dr. Amy Hackett, c/o Professor Mary Hartman, Department of History, Douglass College, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903.

Sincerely,
Amy Hackett
Chairperson, Prize Committee
Berkshire Conference of Women Historians

Most of the photographs in this issue were gathered or snapped by David Millikin and by Mah Sze-ching. The map of the Indian Ocean Region is reprinted with permission.
VOLUME 5
SELECTED WORKS
MAO TSE-TUNG
1949-1957

JUST ARRIVED IN ENGLISH - the most important event in China since the "little red book!"

☐ Volume 5, paper $3.25
☐ Volume 5, cloth $4.75
☐ Vols. 1-5, paper $15.00
☐ Vols. 1-5, cloth $22.50

Send payment with order to:

China Books & Periodicals, Inc.
Dept. CCAS
2929-24th St., San Francisco, CA 94110
125 - Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10003
174 W. Randolph St., Chicago, IL 60601

Please add 50¢ postage and handling for orders under $10. Residents of CA, NY and IL add sales tax.

☐ Please send me your free catalog

BULLETIN
OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS

To our loyal readers:

A simple idea.

You enjoy reading the Bulletin. It informs you about the region or the discipline that interests you most. More importantly, in an effort to counter the pressures to "specialize" - pressures which occasionally blind us to the great issues of the era - the Bulletin informs you about other disciplines, other places, other subjects.

The point? Spread the word, please. We have back issues - and present ones - to sell, singly or in bulk.

- Assign the Bulletin in your classes/study sessions.
- Tell your students about the articles we have published.
- Order the Bulletin for your personal or college library.

Special Issues/Supplements:

Asian America
Asian Women
Imperialism and Development
Chinese Revolutionary Literature
Repression and Imperialism: South Korea
Thailand, Before and After the Coup of 1976

Surveys of the Field/Bibliographical Essays:

Tibet (Grunfeld)
Origins of the Pacific War (Breslin)
Japanese Imperialism (Bix)
"The Harvard Line" on China (a series)
Agricultural Development (Franke)
U.S. Occupation of Japan (Dower)

* * * *

For a complete list or further information, write to:

B.C.A.S., P.O. Box W, Charlemont, MA 01339

Coming in the next issue of the

Bulletin

Multinationals in Malaysia
The U.S., China and Taiwan
The Indian Economy and the Emergency
Reviews: Books on Indonesia
Review essay: China's Socialist Revolution and other essays.
### Contents: Vol. 9, No. 3  July - Sept., 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Special Supplement</th>
<th>October 1976: The Coup in Thailand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jayne Werner</td>
<td>2 Introduction to the Supplement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Millickin</td>
<td>3 Introduction to “Violence and the Military Coup”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puey Ungphakorn</td>
<td>4 Violence and the Military Coup in Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Anderson</td>
<td>13 Withdrawal Symptoms: Social and Cultural Aspects of the October 6 Coup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Thadeus Flood</td>
<td>31 The Vietnamese Refugees in Thailand: Minority Manipulation in Counterinsurgency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl A. Trocki</td>
<td>48 Boonsanong Punyodyana: Thai Socialist and Scholar, 1936–1976</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Back Cover</th>
<th>Map of Thammasat University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rex Wingerter</th>
<th>52 The United States, the Soviet Union and the Indian Ocean: The Competition for the Third World</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55 Map of the Indian Ocean Region</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Editors**

Herbert P. Bix (Tokyo); Bruce Cumings (Seattle)

Associate Editor: Jayne Werner (Tucson, AZ); Managing Editor: Bryant Avery (Charlemont, MA)

**Editorial Board**

Len Adams, Nina Adams (Springfield, IL), Doug Allen (Orono, ME), Steve Andors (Staten Island), Frank Baldwin (Tokyo), Helen Chauncey (Palo Alto, CA), Noam Chomsky (Lexington, MA), Gene Cooper (Hong Kong), John Dower (Madison, WI), Richard Franke (Boston), Kathleen Gough (Vancouver), Jon Halliday (Mexico City), George Hildebrand (Washington, DC), Richard Kagan (St. Paul, MN), Ben Kerckvliet (Honolulu), Rich Levy (Somerville, MA), Perry Link (Los Angeles), Victor Lippit (Riverside, CA), Jon Livingston (Berkeley), Ngo Vinh Long (Cambridge, MA), Angus McDonald (Minneapolis, MN), Victor Nee (Ithaca, NY), Felicia Oldfather (Trinidad, CA), Gail Omvedt (La Jolla, CA), James Peck (New York), Ric Pfeffer (Baltimore, MD), Carl Riskin (New York), Moss Roberts (New York), Mark Selden (Tokyo), Hari Sharma (Burnaby, BC), Linda Shin (Los Angeles), George Totten (Stockholm, Sweden), Anita Weiss (Oakland, CA), Thomas Weisskopf (Ann Arbor, MI), Christine White (Canberra, Australia), Martha Winnacker (Berkeley).

**General Correspondence:** BCAS, Post Office Box W, Charlemont, Massachusetts 01339. **Typesetting:** Archetype, Berkeley, California. **Printing:** Valley Printing Company, West Springfield, Massachusetts.

**Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars**, July-September 1977, Volume 9, No. 3. Published quarterly in Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter. **Subscriptions:** $8; student rate $6; library rate $14; foreign rate (outside North America) $9; student rate $7. Bryant Avery, Publisher, P.O. Box W, Charlemont, MA 01339. Second Class postage paid at Shelburne Falls, Massachusetts 01370.

**Copyright © Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars 1977. ISSN No. 0007-4810 (US)**

**Postmaster:** Please send Form 3579 to BCAS, P.O. Box W, Charlemont, MA 01339.
Introduction to the Supplement

by Jayne Werner

The return of the generals to power in Bangkok last year, after only three short years of civilian rule, brought fears that Thailand would be Asia's Chile. Political repression was harsh and swift, and the international circumstances surrounding the coup pointed to at least partial United States responsibility.

According to the U.S.-based Union of Democratic Thais, over 10,000 students, professors, political figures, labor and farm leaders have been arrested since the coup, accused of having communist affiliations. U.S. military aid to Thailand has increased over the last five years (from $68 million to $83 million) in an apparent attempt to strengthen the position of the right-wing military. The new junta used CIA-trained forces to crush student demonstrators during the coup, and two of the right-wing terrorist squads suspected of responsibility for political assassinations have been tied directly to CIA operations.

The special supplement on Thailand in this issue focuses attention on several aspects of the reversion to military rule. The essay by Dr. Puey Ungphakorn, with an introduction by David Milikin, describes the events leading up to the coup and establishes the conspiratorial role of the military and police in triggering the coup. Puey Ungphakorn, the former Rector of Thammasat University in Bangkok, is now in exile.

The military claimed the following justifications for their action: student confrontations and violence, internal and external communist subversion, parliamentary ineptness and stalemate, and depreciation of the ancient trinity of "king, religion, and country." But what were the underlying sources of the coup? The essay by Benedict R. O'G. Anderson is a detailed and original analysis of the political consequences of the rise of new groups in Thai society over the last two decades. Incidentally, Anderson prefers the use of "Siam" instead of Thailand, as this has been the choice of some democratic and non-rightist elements in the country.

Thadeus Flood turns to a consideration of another aspect of the change to military rule—the presence of a Vietnamese minority in Thailand. What is the history of their presence in Thailand? This issue has been an important one in Thai right-wing justifications of military rule, and of course in U.S. propaganda. It also carries an added dimension—what will be the long-range implications for political and diplomatic change in Thailand as a result of the victories of the Indochinese revolutions?

Finally we have a tribute written by Carl Trocki to Boonsanong Punyodyana, one of the thousands of victims of the conspiratorial violence which led up to the coup and the subsequent repression. Boonsanong, a Cornell Ph.D. graduate in Asian Studies who was known personally to many of the Bulletin's readers including this editor, was Secretary General of the Socialist Party of Thailand and the author of numerous scholarly articles on the sociology of Thailand. Boonsanong studied in the U.S. during the early days of the anti-war movement, which were also, of course, the formative years of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars and the Bulletin.
largest gathering of police, Red Gaur, Village Scouts
and other right-wing attackers; the scene of most of
the atrocities

**

M-79 rocket launchers
Museum

Law School

Student Union

Journalism

Lecture Hall

Political Science

Library

Economics Dept.

Auditorium

Administration Bldg.

Sociology Bldg.

Commerce/Accounting Bldg.

Liberal Arts

ferry

patient

CHAO PHRAYA (RIVER)