

REFERENCES

Thai

- Arom Pongpangan. 1979. *Kammakorn*. Bangkok: International Confederation of Trade Unions(ICFTU).
- Arom Pongpangan. 1988. *Setsiri thueng Bangkhaen*. Bangkok: Daw Press.
- Arom Pongpangan Foundation 1987-2001. *Labour Review*.
- Arom Pongpangan Working Group. 1990. “Karnkheluenwai tosu khong kammakornthai choung 14 tulahkom 2516-6 tulakhom 2519”. In Boonhome Engchaiphume (ed.) *Prawatsart khabouwnkarn rangnganthai yuk reumton theung po so 2532*, pp. 65-73. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Boonthien Khamchu. Former President, Thai Trade Union Congress (TTUC). *Interview*, January 19, 2001.
- Bundit Thammatirat. 1989 “Botbat khanakkarn khaejang kab khabounkarn rangngan”. In Somsak Samukkethum et al. *Rabob tripakhee khab khabounkarn rangngan thai*, pp.121-195. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation and Union for Civil Liberty.
- Bundit Thammatirat. 1990(a). *Thamneub ongkorn rangngan thai*. Bangkok : Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Bundit Thammatirat. 1990(b). *Rangngan nai khate nihkom utsahakam nawanakorn*. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Bundit Thammatirat and Napaporn Ativanichayapong. 1987. *Raingan karn samroj lae roudroum hkoomoon nai kijakarn*. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Bundit Thammatirat and Piroj Polpech. 1989. *Botbath khong sahapaprangngan ratwisahakit nai karn pattana rangngan sathanprokobkarn lae karn sangsarn sangkhom* mimeographed Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Bundit Thammatirat and Prani Srikamneod. 1989 “Pajjai teemee itthipol tokarn yomrub lae maiyomrub botbat khong sahapap rangngan rathavisahakij” Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation (unpublished).
- Bundit Thanachaisethavut. 1997. “Karnreugrong hai rathabarn prakat wanti sib puetsaphakhom penwan sukhaphap lae hkawm plodphai hangchate”. *Labour Review* 12 (May): 57-60.
- Bundit Thanachaisethavut. 1999(a). “Botwichaue sadsoun rangnganying nai khongsang karn boriharn sahapap rangngan lae triphakhi. In Bundit

- Thanachaisethavut (ed.). *Karn tosue khong khabounkarn rangngan satri thai*, pp. 26-59. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Bundit Thanachaisethavut. 1999(b). "Sithi karn lakhlod lae karn pragan sungkhom sumrab lugjangying tam matrathan rangngan rawang prates lae kotmai thai". In Bundit Thanachaisethavut (ed.). *Karn tosue khong khabounkarn rangngan satri thai*, pp. 125-152. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Bundit Thanachaisethawut. 1999(c). *Khabounkarn sahapaprangnganthai chak ro so cho thueng yuk IMF*. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Bundit Thanachaisethavut. 2000(a). "Auwasarn hkong karn prub khajang khan tao?" *Labour Review Special Issue*.
- Bundit Thanachaisethavut. 2000(b). "Karnkheulnwai kudkarn rangporobothun rathavisahakit lae nayobai khay rathavisahakit" *Setthasart Karnmueng (for Community)* 13: 115-144.
- Bundit Thanachaisethavut. 2001. "Botreun khwamkhaeunwai saneu kotmai juttang sathabaun sookapap khwamplodphai lae singwadloum nai sathan prakobkarn". In Bundit Thanachaisethavut (ed.) *Maihet ubatphai khab10 peusaphakhom*, pp. 63-71. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Campaign Committee for Workers' Health and Safety. 1994. "Khonngan tong mee suanroum nai karnkhamnod matrathan sookaphap lae khwamplodphai". In Bundit Thanachaisethavut (ed.) *Molpit khanpattana kab tonthun chivi rangngan*, pp. 9-13. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Chesada Loohawenchit. 1984. "Rathawisahakit nai setthakiithai", paper presented in the seminar on "Thai State Enterprises: Past, Present, and Future", organised by the Faculty of Economic, Thammasat University, on January 26-27, 1984.
- Chirakarn Sa-nguanpuag. 1995. *Karn khleunwai khong kammakornying rongngan thopha*, 2504-2519. Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University.
- Chockchai Suttawet. 1996 "Raingan vijai reung ongkorn auegkachon satharanaprayot kaewkab rangngan nai pratetthai". Bangkok: Thailand Research Fund (unpublished)r.
- Chusak Chananiphon. 1983. "Ngakid sueg roadmalthai '25" *Paritatsarn 2* (January): 14.
- Chusak Chareonhongthong and Bundit Thammatrirat. 1991. *Rangngan nai khet utsahakam omnoi-omyai*. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.

- Committee on Developing Democracy(CDD). 1995. *Patirop khanmueng thai*. Bangkok: Thaialnd Research Fund/CDD.
- Damri Ruengsutham and Jaroon Lasa. 1983. *Khabounkarn kammakorn nai pratetthai kab karn kheunwai tosue lae patthanakarn khong rangngan*. Nonthaburi: Santitham.
- Damri Ruengsutham. General Secretary, Central Union of Thailand(CUT). *Interview*, April 11, 2001.
- Friedrish Ebert Stiffung (FES). 2001. “Ekkasarn sarubphol kamsumma prameun botbat lae pholkarn damneun kitjakam khong khabuankarn rangnganthai nai roubpee 2544 lae wangphan pue kamnod kitjakham lae botbat khabuankarn rangnganthai pee 2545”, unpublished seminar paper, organised by the FES, on December 7-9, 2001, at Nakorn Nayok.
- Jadet Chaowilai. Coordinator, Friend of Women Foundation. *Interview*, August 10 and November 29, 2001.
- Jang Dawrung (psued). 1981. “*Khabounkarn nagsuksathai tailaew*” *Paritat* 1(September) : 7-9.
- Jarun Ditthapichai, Former cadre, Communist Party of Thailand. *Interview*, April 30, 2001.
- Jaturong Boonyarattanasoonthorn. 1992. *Thamneub ongkorn samachig ko po or pho cho phak ko tho mo lae ongkorn kheukhai*, 2535. Bangkok: The Bangkok NGO-Coordinating Committee on Development(NGO-COD).
- Kanoksak Kaewthep. 1987. *Bot wikhaeu sahaphan chaewna chaewrai hang pratetthai*. Bangkok: Publication Program, Social Research Institution, Chulalongkorn University.
- Kanya Leelalai. 1995. “Khawm penma khong ekasarn prawatsart kamtosue khong kammakornthat”, mimeographed. Bangkok: Thai Labour Museam.
- Kanya Leelalai. 1999. “Karn khuenwai tosu khong kamkorn jag 14 tulakhom 2516- 6 tulakhom 2519”. In Napaporn Ativanichayapong (ed). *Arom pongphangan panyachon khong khabounkarn kammakorn thai*. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation
- Kaow Phiset* 1997 June 12-18.
- Kriengsak Chetpatanawanich. 1998. “Lumdub hatekarn thangkarmmueng khong thai, 14 tulakhom 2516-2519”. In Chanviidh Kasetsiri and Thamrongsak Pechlert-anan(eds) *Chak 14 thueng 6 tula* , pp. 205-398. Bangkok: Foundation of Social Science and Humanity Science Textbooks.

- Lae Dilokvidhyarat. 1983. "Phatthanakarn khong khabounkarn sahapap rangngan phoso 2501-patjuban". In Bundit Thammatirat(ed.), *Khleun hang thodsawat*, pp. 234-258. Bangkok: Edison Press.
- Lae Dilokvidhyarat. (1987). "Krabounkarn sasom thun rangngan lae patthanakarn khong yuthasart karn khwbkhum". In Kraiyudth Dhiratayakinant (ed.) *Khawmru nagsethasartthai pee 2529*. Bangkok: Economic Association of Thailand.
- Lombard Frank. 1974. "Karn khluenwai khong kammakornthai." In Pichit Jongsathitwatthana (ed). *Khabounkarn kammakorn nai pratesthai*, pp.185-210. Bangkok: Pikanes Press.
- Napaporn Ativanichayapong. 1987. "Saroup botreun karn kheunwai khong khonngan srikao karntho". *Labour Review* 1(February): 15-18.
- Napaporn Ativanichayapong. 1990(a). "Prawatsart khabouwnkarn rangnganthai po so 2525-2532". In Boonhome Engchaiphume (ed.), *Prawatsart khabouwnkarn rangnganthai yuk reumton theung po so 2532*, pp. 155-183. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Napaporn Ativanichayapong. 1990(b). "Sathanakarn khong khabownkarn rangngan thai". *Labour Review* 4(February): 4-10
- Napaporn Ativanichayapong. 1993(a). "Wikhaue botbaht khabownkhanrangngan nai hetkarn peutsapathamin". In Suthchai Yimprasert (ed.) *60 pee prachathipprataithai*, pp. 114-145. Bangkok: The Committee for 60 Years of Democracy.
- Napaporn Ativanichayapong. 1993(b). Sarup botreun sognatakum rongngan kader". In Bundit Thanachaisethavut (ed.) *Rangnganthai 2536 sognatakum lae vigititkarn*, pp.51-65 Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES).
- Napaporn Ativanichayapong 1999 "Khabounkarn kammakorn nai thana tee pen khabounkarn khleanwai thang sungkhom, 14 tulakhom 2516- 6 tulakorn 2519". In Chalong Soontharavanich and others(eds.) *Prawatsart rangnganthai, kuleechine, 14tula- weeraburutkammakor*, pp. 97-119. Bangkok: Thai Labour Museum.
- Napaporn Ativanichayapong and Tula Patchimvej. 1987. *Rai-ngan karn samroj lae robroum khomoon nai utsahakam leg lae loha*. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Napaporn Ativanichayapong, Somsak Samukkethum and Bundit Thammatirat. 1989 "Sarub sathanakarn lae botreun khawmkhleunwai hkong khabownkarn rangnganthai pee 2531". *Labour Review* 3(January): 4-15
- Narong Petprasert. 2000. "Khan yuedkhrong kijakarn". *Setthasart Karnmueng (for Community)* 13 (April): 89-114.

- Nibhond Puapongsakorn. 1987. "Wikhaue karn roumgroum lae karn mee sounroum thang karnmueng khong kum kammakorn". *Ratsapasarn* 35 (January): 78-96.
- Nidhi Aeusrivongse. 1982. "Watthanatham kradumpee kab wannakam ton rattanakosin", *Thammasat University Journal* 11(March):71-87.
- Nikhom Chandravithun. 1972. *Rangnganthai kab utsahakam*. (Bangkok: Social Science Association of Thailand Press.
- Nukool Kokit. 1996. "Samudchakhonjon khab karmmeesuanruam khong khabownkarn rangngan", *Labour Review* 10(May): 8-10.
- Pai-boon Kaewpathai. 1992. "Prub ngaendeaun rathavisahakit". *Labour Review* 6 (April): 16-18.
- Piroj Polpech. 1990. "Karn kluenwai khong khabownkarn kammakorn 2516-2519". In Boonhome Engchaiphume (ed.), *Prawatsart khabownkarn rangnganthai yuk reumton theung po so 2532*, pp. 89-98. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Pairoj Polpet. Director, Union for Civil Liberty. *Interview*, December 7, 2001.
- Pannee Bualek. 1986. *Wikhaue naithun thanakarnthai po so 2475-2516*. Bangkok: Sangsarn.
- Pannee Bualek. 1999. "Kulee lag rot kab prawatsart rangnganthai". In Chalong Soontharanich and association(eds.). *Prawatsart rangnganthai kuleechine 14tula- weeraburut kammakorn*, pp. 39-92. Bangkok: Thai Labour Museum.
- Pichit Chongsathiwattana. 1974. "Karn khleunwai khong kammakornthai tungtae po so 2488-14 tulakhom 2516". In Pichit Jongsathitwatthana (ed) *Khabownkarn kammakorn nai pratethai*, pp. 74-115. Bangkok: Pikanes Press.
- Pitthaya Wongkul, Columnist of *Athipat* (a newspaper published by the National Student Centre of Thailand in 1975-1976). *Interview*, January 12, 2001.
- Playthown ((psued). 1999. "Kam tosue hkong panagngan rathavisahakit pomprakarn sumkhun hae karntotan karn jomtee khong jakawadniyom mai". *Seubsarn* 14 (March-May): 1-2, 8.
- Prakaipueg Chayapong(psued). 1988. "Khabownkarn kammakornthai: neung tosawat hang khwam tagyag". *Political Economy* 6, 3-4, (October): 38-67.
- Prapass Pintobtang. 1998. *Khammueng bon thongthanon 99 wan samudchakhonjon lae prawatsat karn deun khabown choomnoom pratoung nai sungkhomthai*. Bangkok: Center of Research and Textbooks, Kirk University.

- Rangsan Thanapornphan. 1999. *Wikitkarn karnnguen lae setthakit* Bangkok: Khobfire Publishing Project.
- Sakdina Chatkul na Authaya. Academic Advisor, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. *Interview*, March 21, 2002.
- Sakul Seusongtham. Former Present, Labour Union of Bank and Financial Workers , Federation of Bank and Financial Workers Unions of Thailand . *Interview*, January 19, 2001.
- Sawalux Chaythawee. 1990. *Botbath khong rat khab karn pattana golayut karn khowbkhum rangnganthai nai thosawat tee 2515, po so 2515-252*. MA. Thesis, The Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasat University.
- Sawalux Chaythawee and Nukool Kogij. 1993. *Panha rangngansamphan nai khet phrapradang po so 2525-2535*. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Siam archive* 1981 (March 27- April 2).
- Siroj Khlampaiboon. 1990. "Wikhaeu karn khleunwai khajang khantum". *Labour Review*,4(December): 9-10.
- Siroj Khlampaiboon. 1999. "Chivit khawmkhid lae karn tosu khong thawat ritthidej". In Chalong Soontharanich and others(eds) *Prawatsart rangnganthai kuleechine 14tula- weeraburut kammakorn*, pp. 153-242. Bangkok: Thai Labour Museum.
- Somboon Srihamdogkhae. President, Council of Work and Environment Related Patients' Network of Thailand (WEPT) *Interview*, April 22, 2001.
- Somkiat Wanthona. 1982. "Wiwathanakarn chonchun kammakornthai 200 pee". *Thammasat University Journal* 11(March): 140-165
- Somsak Kosaisuk. 1994. *Khabownkarn rangngan kab puetsapa mahahod* Bangkok: FES, Thai labour Museum, and the Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Somsak plaiyuwong. 1992. "Yoksudthay kab karnprubkhajang khantum 15 baht". *Labour Review* 6(April): 9-11.
- Somsak Samukkethum. 1988. *Konlayut rangngan samphan karnluegjang phunam karn yuenkho reugronsau lae karn tobto karn nadyudngan*. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Somsak Samukkethum.1989. "Rabob triphaki khab Karnsang santiphab thang utsahakam. In Somsak Samukkethum and association *Rabob triphaki khab khabuwnkarn rangnganthai*, pp.7-39. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation and Union for Civil Liberty.
- Somsak Samukkethum.1990. *Chivit thang sethakit hkong khonngan thidairub khajang khantum*. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation

- Somsak Samukkethum. 1996. "Wikhaeu udomkarn khong khabawnkarn sahapaprangngan. In Sungsidh Piriyarangsang and Pasuk Phongpaichit (eds.) *Jitsamneug lae udomkarn khong khabuwnkarn prachathipatai ruamsamai*, pp. 207-240. Bangkok: The Political Economy Centre, Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Somsak Samukkethum, Srirapha Samanphan, and Akorn Puwasutorn. 1983. *Khabownkarn rangangan nai kitjakarn rongram*, mimeographed, Labour Federation of the Hotel Industry.
- Somsak Tamboonlertchai. 1980. "Saphap lae panha karnpattana utsahakamthai nai patjuban". 9 (January- March): 71-119.
- Somyos Puegsakasamesuk, Former Coordinator, Section of Promoting Labour Rights, Union for Civil Liberty . *Interview*, August 8, 2001.
- Somyos Puegsakasemsuk. 1989. "Khanakammakarn rangngansumphan khab karnsang santiphap thang utsahakam". In Somsak Samukkethum and association *Rabob triphaki khab khabuwnkarn rangnganthai*, pp.40-66. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation and Union for Civil Liberty.
- Suchati Sukonthakarn, Pongsak Tha-nomwong and Bundit Thammattrirat. 1989. "Botbat sarnranggan kab khabuwnkarn rangangan". In Somsak Samukkethum et al. *Rabob triphaki khab khabuwnkarn rangnganthai*, pp.67-120. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation and Union for Civil Liberty.
- Sungsidh Piriyarangsang. 1986. *Prawat karn to su khong kammakorn thai*. Bangkok: Social Science Institute, Chulalongkorn University.
- Sungsidh Piriyarangsang. 1991. "Wigit lae thangleug khong sahaphab rangangan ratthawisahakit". In Pasuk Phongpaichit and Sungsidh Piriyarangsang (eds.) *Polawatthai mummong jag setthasartkarnmueng*, pp. 147-175. Bangkok: The Political Economy Centre, Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University.
- Sungsidh Piriyarangsang. 1995. "Logaphiwat kab rangangan". In Sungsidh Piriyarangsang and Pasuk Phongpaichit (eds), *Logaphiwat kab sungkhom setthakitthai*, pp. 259-294. Bangkok: The Political Economy Centre, Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University.
- Sungsidh Piriyarangsang and Pasuk Phongpaichit. 1993. "Introduction: the Middle Class and Democracy in Thailand." In Sungsidh Piriyarangsang and Pasuk Phongpaichit (eds.), *Chonchanklang bon krasae prachathipprataithai*, pp. 24-37. Bangkok: The Political Economy Centre, Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

- Suvidh Yingwaraphan. 1977. "Karnboriharn rangngan nai pratesthai", mimeographed. Bangkok: Department of Labour.
- Suvidh Yingwaraphan. 1978. Karn rangngansamphun nai pratesthai. mimeographed. Bangkok: Department of Labour.
- Thairat* 1974. June 2
- Thanapol Iwsakul. 2001. "Poom prachachon tosue peu ratthamanoon jak tula 16 tueng tula 40". In Thanapol Iwsakul and others (eds.), *4 pee rathamanoon khab karmmueng pak prachachon*, pp. 19-34. Bangkok: The Working Committee for the Opening Ceremony of the Democratic Heroes Monument.
- Therdphume Chaidee. Former President, Labour Coordination Centre of Thailand *Interview*, April 1, 2001.
- Thienchai Wongchaisuwan. Former cadre, the Labour Coordination Centre of Thailand . *Interview*, January 12, 2001.
- Trirong Suwankhiree. 1982. "Karn tosue hkong kammakorn kab phawa setthakit phunphuan nai pratesthai 2515-2518". In Prida Khawbo(ed.), *Setthakitthai: khongsang khab karn peanpang*, pp. Bangkok: Dogya and The Political Economy Group, Social Science Research Institute, Chulalongkorn University.
- Vichai Narapaiboon. General Secretary(in 1984), Thai Melon Polyester Labour Union. *Interview*, August 6, 2001.
- Voravidh Chareonloet 2002. "Kgonnganying sahapaprangngan lae NGO krabuawnkarn pratiroob rabobsookapap khauwmplodphai". In Prani Khattiyo (ed.), *Withichivit withisue khawnkarn prachachon ruawmsamai*, pp.130-181. Bangkok: Thai Research Fund and Silkworm Book.
- Wanida Tantivihdayapitak. Advisor, Assembly of the Poor. *Interview*, August 14, 2001
- Wanna Aussawasuchoti. 1987. *Phawa khwam plagyag lae karn plodphone jak khwam plagyag: sueksa koranee rangganstree nai utsahakram seupha samrejroop* MA. Thesis, Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasart University.

English (Thai authors begin with first name)

- Adkin, Laurie. 1989. "Convergence? The Labour Movement and the New Social Movements," Karl Polanyi Institute of Political Economy and Programme of Studies in National and International Development (Queen's) Symposium on "Capitalism and Socialism at the End of the 20th Century," February 10, mimeograph.

- Adler, Glenn and Webster, Eddie. 1999. "The Labour Movement, Radical Reform and the Transition to Democracy in South Africa." In Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (eds), *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization*, pp. 133-157 London and New York: Macmillan Press and ST. Martin's Press
- Ammar Siamwalla, and Orapin Sobchokchai. 1998. "Responding to the Thai Economic Crisis," a paper prepared for the United Nations development programme (UNDP Bangkok), presented at the High-Level Consultative Meeting "Policy Response to Economic Crisis and Social Impact in Thailand", 22 May, Bangkok Thailand.
- Amnesty International. 1992. "Thailand: the Massacre in Bangkok", paper, No. ASA 39/10/92
- Ananya Bhuchongkul. 1992. "Thailand 1991: The Return of the Military" *Southeast Asian Affairs* 1992, pp. 314-333
- Anek Laothamatas. 1991. "Sleeping Giant Awakens?: The Middle Class in Thai Politics". unpublished paper prepared for the Conference on Democratic Experience in Southeast Asian Countries, December 7-8, 1991, at Thammasat University, Bangkok.
- Bello, Walden, Cunningham, Shea, and Poh Kheng Li. 1998. *A Siamese Tragedy: Development and Disintegration in Modern Thailand*. Bangkok: White Lotus.
- Bender, L. Frederic. 1986. *Karl Marx: The Essential Writings*. Colorado: Westview Press .
- Boggs, Carl. 1986. *Gramsci's Marxism*. London: Pluto Press Limited.
- Booth, Alison. 1995. *The Economics of Trade Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, Andrew. 1997. "Locating Working-Class Power". In Kevin Hewison (ed.), *Political Change in Thailand: Democracy and Participation*, pp. 163-178. London and New York: Routledge.
- Brown, Andrew. 2001. "After the Kader Fire, Labour Organising for Health and Safety Standards in Thailand." In Jane Hutchison and Andrew Brown (eds.). *Organising Labour in Globalising Asia*, pp. 1-26. London and New York: Routledge.
- Buketov, Kirill. 1999. "The Russian Trade Unions: From Chaos to a New Paradigm." In Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (eds). *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization*, pp. 107-120. London and New York: Macmillan Press and ST. Martin's Press .
- Catalano, Ana, Maria. 1999. "The Crisis of Trade Union Representation." In Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (eds). *Labour Worldwide in the*

- Era of Globalization*, pp. 27-40. London and New York: Macmillan Press and ST. Martin's Press.
- Chatthip Nartsupha, Suthy Prasartset, and Montri Chenvidhkarn (1978). *The Political Economy of Siam, 1910-1932*. Bangkok: Social Science Association of Thailand.
- Chhachhi, Amrita, and Pittin, Renee. 1999 "Multiple Identities and Multiple Strategies: Confronting State, Capital and Patriarchy". In Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (eds). *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization*, pp. 64-79. London and New York: Macmillan Press and ST. Martin's Press.
- Chokchai Suttawet. 1994. *Industrial Relations Practices and Strategies: A Theoretical Construction for Thailand*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Bielefeld University.
- Committee for Asian Women 1994, 1998 *Asian Women Workers Newsletter*, 13, (January), 17(October).
- Committee for Asian Women. 1994. "Onward to Beijing 1995: The First Asia- Pacific Symposium of NGOs on Women in Development", *Asian Women Workers Newsletter*, Vol. 13, No. 1, January 1994, pp. 22-23.
- Crouch, C. 1990 "Afterward." In G. Baglione and C' Crouch (eds), *European Industrial Relations*, pp. 356-362. London: Sage Publications.
- DeMartino, Gorge. 1999. "The Future of the US Labour Movement in an Era of Global Economic Integration." In Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (eds), pp. 83-96. London and New York: *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization*, Macmillan Press and ST. Martin's Press.
- Frank, Gunder Andre and Fuentes Marta. 1990. "Civil democracy: Social Movement in Recent World History". In Samir Amin, et al., *Transforming the Revolution: Social Movements and the World-System*. pp. 139-180. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Freeman, B. Richard, Medoff, L. James. 1991 "What Do Unions Do?" ". In Lloyd, G. Reynolds, Stanley, H. Masters, Colletta, H. Moser, eds., *Readings in Labor Economics and Labor Relations*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Frenkel, Stephen (1993). "Theoretical Frameworks and Empirical Contexts of Trade Unionism." In Stephen Frenkel (ed.), *Organized Labour in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Comparative Study of Trade Unionism in Nine Countries*, pp. 3-55 New York: ILR Press.

- Frenkel, Stephen. 1993. "Variations in Patterns of Trade Unionism: A Synthesis," In Stephen Frenkel (ed.), *Organized Labour in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Comparative Study of Trade Unionism in Nine Countries*, pp. 309-369. New York: ILR Press.
- Fuentes Marta and Frank, Gunder Andre (1989). "Ten Theses on Social Movements," In *World Development*, Vol.17, No.2, pp. 179-191.
- Goldfield, Michael. 1989. *The Decline of Organized Labour in the United States*, Chicako and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gorz, Andre. 1987. *Farewell to the Working Class: An Essay on Post-Industrial Socialism*, London and Sydney: Pluto Press.
- Gorz, Andre. 1999. "A New Task for the Unions: The Liberation of Time from Work". In Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (eds). *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization*, pp. 41-63. London and New York: Macmillan Press and ST. Martin's Press.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Greenfield, Gerard. 1998. "The Non-Political Politics of OSH" *Asian Labour Update* (June-August): 4-5.
- Hewison (ed.), *Political Change in Thailand: Democracy and Participation*, pp. 163-178. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hewison, K., Rodon, G., and Robinson, R. 1993. "Introduction: Changing Forms of State Power in Southeast Asia." In K. Hewison, G. Rodon, and R. Robinson (eds.), *Southeast Asia in the 1990s: Authoritarianism, Democracy and Capitalism*, pp. 2-8. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Hewison, Kevin and Brown, Andrew. 1994. "Labour and Unions in an Industrializing Thailand," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 24: 483-514.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1989. "Farewell to the Classic Labour Movement," *New Left Review* Vol. (January- February): 69-74.
- Hyman, Richard. 1994. "Changing Trade Union Identities and Strategies." In R. Hyman and A. Farmer (eds.), *New Frontiers in European Industrial Relations*, pp. 108-137. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hyman, Richard. 1994. "Changing Trade Union Identities and Strategies." In R. Hyman and A. Farmer (eds.), *New Frontiers in European Industrial Relations*. pp. 108-137. Oxford: Blackwell.
- International Labor Office (ILO). 1997. *World Labor Report: Industrial Relations, Democracy and Social Stability 1997-98* (Press). Geneva: Bureau of Public Information (Press).

- Jadet Chaowilai. 1993. "Chronology of the Movement to Call for 90 Days Maternity Leave for Women Workers in the Private sector". *FOW Newsletter* 4 (June): 32-34.
- Ji Ungpakorn. 1997. *The Struggle for Democracy and Social Justice in Thailand*. Bangkok: Arom Pongpangan Foundation.
- Ji Ungpakorn. 1999. *Thailand: Class Struggles in an Era of Economic Crisis*. Hong Kong: Asia Monitor Resources Center and Workers' Democracy Book Club.
- Kanchada Poonphanich. 1989. *The Making of the Third World Country: A Cultural Analysis of the Labour Movement in Thailand: 1920s-1950s*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Bielefeld University.
- Khan, Mushtaq. 2000. Lecture Notes of Lectures on Theories of Collective Action. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1991. "Resource Mobilization Theory: A Critique". In Dieter Rucht (ed.) *Research on Social Movements*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Kittipak Thavisri 1991. *Trends towards Corporatist Labour Controls in Thailand and Malaysia*. Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Northern Illinois University.
- Kneitschel, Dietmar (1997). "Social Partnership with Limited Conflict Industrial Relation in Germany," mimeographed.
- Lae Dilokvidhyarat. 1993(a). "National Economic Development and Marginalisation of Social Group in Thailand." Bangkok: mimeograph.
- Lae Dilokvidhyarat. 1993(b). "200 Dead in Factory Fire and Not a Word from the Trade Unions". *Bangkok Post*, May 16, p.15.
- Lenin, V.I. 1978. *What Is to Be Done?* Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- Pool, Michael. 1984. *Theories of Trade Unionism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Pornpirom Iamtham. 1987. "The Student-Led Democratic Movement after the 14 October 1973 and Its Relations with the Communist Party of Thailand." *Asian Review* 1: 7-44.
- Mabry, D. Bevars. 1977. "The Thai Labour Movement". *Asian Survey* 17: 931-951.
- Mabry, D. Bevars. 1977. "The Thai Labour Movement." *Asian Survey* 17: 931-951.
- Marx, Karl. 1978. *The Revolution of 1848*. London: Penguin Books.
- Marx, Karl. 1990. "Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future". In John Riddell (ed.), *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*. New York: Pathfinder Press.
- Matichon Daily* 1992 May 10: 17, June 3

- Moody, Kim. 1998. "Towards an International Social-Movement Unionism," *New Left Review* 225: 52-72.
- Morell, David and Chai-anan Samudavanija. 1981. *Political Conflicts in Thailand*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Oelegeschlager, Gunn and Hain Publishers.
- Munck, Ronaldo. 1988. *The New International Labour Study: An*
- Munck, Ronaldo. 1999. "Labour Dilemmas and Labour Futures." In Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (eds.). *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization*, pp. 36-78. London and New York: Macmillan Press and ST. Martin's Press.
- Napaporn Ativanichayapong. 1986. *The Development of Political Economy Though in Thailand, 1932-1982*. Master of Economic Thesis, Faculty of Economic, Thammasat University.
- Narong Petprasert. 1992. *White Collar Workers in Thailand*. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, School of Social Science, La Trobe University.
- Narong Petprasert. 1992. *White Collar Workers in Thailand*. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, School of Social Science, La Trobe University.
- Nikom Chandravithun and Vause W. Gary (1993). *Thailand's Labour and Employment Law: A Practical Guide*. Bangkok: Manager Publish.
- Olson, Mancur. 1971. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Pasuk Pongpaichit and Chris Baker. 1995. *Thailand: Economy and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pasuk Pongpaichit and Chris Baker. 1997. "Power in Transition in Thailand 1990s" In Kevin Hewison (ed.), *Political Change in Thailand: Democracy and Participation*, pp. 21-41. London and New York: Routledge.
- Philion, Stephen 1998. "Bridging the Gap between New Social Movement Theory and Class". *Rethinking Marxism* 10, 4 (Winter), pp. 79-104.
- Prachachati Weekly* 1976 3(March)
- Prizzia, Ross. 1985. Thailand in Transition: The Role of Oppositional Forces. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.
- Prudhisan Jumbala and Maneerat Mitprasat. 1997. "Non-Governmental Development Organisations: Empowerment and Environment". In Kevin Hewison (ed.), *Political Change in Thailand: Democracy and Participation*, pp. 21-41. London and New York: Routledge.

- Prudhisan Jumbala. 1987. "Interest and Pressure Groups". In Somsak Xuto (ed). *Government and Politics of Thailand*, Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Prudhisan Jumbala. 1998. "Thailand: Constitutional Reform amidst Economic Crisis." *Southeast Asian Affairs, Institute of Southeast Asian Study*, pp. 265-291.
- Samrej Zepongsekul. 1987. *Organized Labour in Thai Society: A Critical Analysis of Its Action, 1973-1985*, Department of Sociology, La Trobe University.
- Scott, Alan (1990). *Ideology and the New Social Movements*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Sombat Ragsakul. 1994. "Mysterious Deaths in Lumphun" *Bangkok Post*, February 27, pp. 22-23.
- Somchai Homlaor. 1988. Labour Rights in Thailand, mimeographed. Bangkok: The Workers' Solidarity Group.
- Somsak Samukkethum. 2001. *The Institutionalization of Labour Conflict in Thailand: Strategies of Labour Control, 1958-1992*, Ph.D. Thesis in Politics, School of Humanities, James Cook University.
- Student Federation of Thailand (SFT) and Movement for Democracy and civil Society (MODEM). 1992. "Merely the Truth-Distress, Painful and the Challenging Future", paper published to mark the 18th anniversary of the October 14 event.
- Suehiro, Agira. 1983. "Development and Structure of Textile Industry in Thailand: 1946-1980". Final report submitted to the National Research Council of Thailand.
- Suehiro, Agira. 1989. *Capital Accumulations and Industrial Development in Thailand*. Bangkok: Social Research Institute, Chulalongkorn University.
- Sungsidh Piriyanargsan. 1980. *Thai Bureaucratic Capitalism, 1932-1960*. MA Thesis, Faculty of Economic, Thammasat University.
- Sungsidh Piriyanargsan. 1988. "The Rise of Labour Movement in Thailand: An Analysis of Public Enterprise Workers." *Asian Review* 2: 54-78.
- Sungsidh Piriyanargsan. 1989. *The Formation of a Workers- Strategic Group: An Analysis of the Labour Movement in Thailand (1958-1976)* Ph.D. Dissertation, Bielefeld University
- Sungsidh Piriyanargsan. 1991(a). "State Enterprise Unions: a Step Backward". Working paper, Bangkok: The Political Economy Center, Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University.

- Sungsidh Piriyarangsan and Kanchada Poonpanich. 1994. "Labour Institution in an Export-Oriented Country: A Case Study of Thailand". In Gerry Rodgers(ed.) *Workers, Institutions and Economic Growth in Asia*, pp. 212-253. Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies
- Surin Maisrikrod. 1996. "The Making of Thai Democracy: A study of Political Alliances Among the State, Capitalists and the Middle Class". In Anek Laothamatas (ed.) *Democratisation in Southeast and East Asia*, pp. 141-166. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Study.
- Suthy Prasartset. 1995. "The Rise of NGOs as Critical Social Movement in Thailand". In Jaturong Boonyarattanasoonthorn and Gawin Chutima(eds), *Thai NGOs: The Continuing Struggle for Democracy*. Bangkok: Thai NGO Support Project.
- Suthy Prasartset. 2001. "Grassroots Movements in Thailand: The Case of the Assembly of the Poor". *Asian Cultural Study*. 10: 149-164
- Thai Development Support Committee (TDSC) 1997 *Thai Development Newsletter* 3(January-June).
- Thailand. 1968-2000. Ministry of Interior, Department of Labour. *Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1968, 1983-2000*, Bangkok:
- Thailand. 1983-2000. Bank of Thailand. *Annual Economic Report 1983, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1992, 2000*. Bangkok: Bank of Thailand
- Thailand. 1984. National Economic and Social Development Board. *Fact Book on Labour, Employment, Salaries and Wages*. Bangkok: National Economic and Social Development Board.
- Thailand. 1984, 1986. National Economic and Social Development Board. *National Income of Thailand*. Bangkok: National Economic and Social Development Board.
- Thailand. 1997. Bank of Thailand. "Letter of Intent, No.1-2".
- Thailand. 2001. Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Women and Child Labour Division *Women and Child Labour*. Bangkok: Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare
- Thitinan Pongsudhirak. 1997. "Thailand's Media: Whose Watchdog". In Kevin Hewison (ed.), *Political Change in Thailand: Democracy and Participation*, pp. 21-41. London and New York: Routledge.
- Thompson Virginia. 1947. *Labour Problems in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Thongbai Thongpao. 1986. "The State of Human Rights in Thailand in 1985", *Thai Development Newsletter*, 3, (Issue 9), First Quarter.
- Thrope, Vic. 1999. "Global Unionism: The Challenge." In Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (eds.). *Labour Worldwide in the Era of*

- Globalization*, pp. 24-37. London and New York: Macmillan Press and ST. Martin's Press.
- Touraine, Alain. 1986. "Unionism as a Social Movement." In Seymour Martin (ed), *Unions in Transition: Entering the Second Century*, pp. 151-173. Libset, San Francisco, California: Institute for Contemporary Studies.
- Touraine, Alain. 1986. "Unionism as a Social Movement." In Seymour Martin (ed), *Unions in Transition: Entering the Second Century*, pp. 151-173. Libset, San Francisco, California: Institute for Contemporary Studies.
- Turton, Andrew. 1978. "The Current Situation in the Thai Countryside." In Andrew Turton, Jonathan Fast, and Macom Caldwell (eds), *Thailand Roots of Conflict*, pp. 104-142. Nottingham: Russell Press
- Udehn, Lars. 1996. *The Limits of Public Choice: A Sociological Critique of the Economics of Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Vellmeyer, Henry. 1997. "New Social Movements in Latin America: The Dynamics of Class and Identity," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 25 (October): 139-69.
- Voravidh Chareonloet. 1998. "Health and Safety in Thailand" *Asian Labour Update*, (June-August): 21-24.
- Waterman, Peter. 1999. "The New Social Unionism: A New Union Model for a New World Order?" In Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (eds.), *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization*, pp. 247-264. London and New York: Macmillan Press and ST. Martin's Press.
- Waterman, Peter. 1993. "Social-Movement Unionism: A New Union Model for a New World Order?" *Review*, XVI (Summer): pp. 245-78.
- Webb, Sidney and Beatrice. 1920. *The History of Trade Unionism, 1666-1920*. Westminster: Printed by the authors.
- Wipaphan Korkeatkachorn and Suntaree Kiatiprajak. 1997. *Directory of Non-Governmental Organisations 1997*. Bangkok: Thai Development Support Committee (TDSC).

CURRICULUM VITAE

Napaporn Ativanichayapong was born in Bangkok, on September 11, 1959. She got a bachelor's degree and a master's degree in Economics from the Faculty of Economics, Thammasart University, in 1982 and 1986 respectively. From 1986 to 1997, she worked with several non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Bangkok, Arom Pongpangan Foundation, NGO-Coordinating Committee on Development, and Foundation of Education for Life and Society.

