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APPENDIX A

Origin of Annam-nikai

Despite the establishment of the first temple of Annam-nikai during either the refuge of Tôn Thất Xuân, as Prince Damrong Rachanuphap wrote, or after Nguyễn Anh's return to Vietnam as mentioned in the book of Peter A. Pool, it is certain that Annam-nikai reached Bangkok at the end of the eighteenth century. In order to uncover the origin of this Vietnamese Buddhist sect, it is necessary to study the situation in its original country, Vietnam. Special attention will be paid to the political and social conditions from the Trịnh – Nguyễn civil war up to the Vietnam War when the Annam-nikai lost contact with Vietnamese Buddhism.

In 1527, the Mạc usurped the Lê. A group of people who showed loyalty to the Lê ran to the South (Central Vietnam nowadays) and formed up the Court to support the Lê. Thus, since the 16th period, Vietnam had a Northern Court which belonged to the Mạc and a Southern Court- the Court of Lê's supporters. With the assistance of the Southern Court, the Lê dynasty recovered the throne, but Vietnam did not enjoy peace for long. The Trinh-Nguyen conflict- an internal conflict between two powerful families of Lê supporters- caused a civil war dividing Vietnam into two parts: the Northern part of the Lê Court under the Trinh family control and the Southern part which was under the Nguyễn family control.¹

Nevertheless, the more than two hundred year Trinh-Nguyen conflict created a better situation for Buddhism, because both the Trinh and the Nguyen Lords tried to win over people by restoring Buddhism which they held to be an un-detachable part of people's spiritual life.

¹ Nguyễn Quang Ngọc: *Tiến trình lịch sử Việt Nam*, Nhà xuất bản giáo dục, Hà nội 2001 [Nguyễn Quang Ngọc, *The Evolution of Vietnamese History*, Education Publishing House, Hanoi 2001] p372-373.

In the late 17th century, a new wave of Chinese immigrants, showing no allegiance to the Qing Emperor, fled their country and came to Vietnam. Among them were many Zen Buddhist monks. These Zen Chinese monks were mostly from two the main Chinese Zen sects of Lâm Tế (Lin Chi) and Tào Động (San Dong) and were heartily welcomed by the Nguyễn in the South. Buddhism in the North, in the meantime, acknowledged the restoration of Trúc Lâm (Bamboo Forest) Zen sect, a Vietnamese Zen sect created by King Trần Nhân Tông in the thirteen century.²

Through the migration of the Chinese monks, the Lâm Tế (Lin chi) Zen sect of China was once again reintroduced to Vietnam³ by Zen master Chuyết Chuyết, and Minh Hành in the North and Nguyễn Thiều, Minh Hoàng in the South. Additionally, the Tào Động (San Dong) Zen sect was also introduced to Vietnam for the first time by the Vietnamese monk Thuỷ Nguyệt in the North and the Chinese monks Hưng Liên and Thạch Liêm in the South.⁴ Since the Lâm Tế sect had been previously introduced in thirteen century, it was easily accepted again. The Tào Động sect was, not long after, welcomed by both the Trịnh in the North and the Nguyễn Lords in the South as well.

Master Chuyết Chuyết, a Ly family monk in Fujian, was from the Lâm tế (Lin Chi) Zen sect of China. In 1630, together with some of his followers (of whom Minh Hành and Minh Lương were the most mentioned ones⁵), Master Chuyết Chuyết left China for Vietnam by boat. They landed at several places such as Bắc Ninh province, Thăng Long (present Hanoi) in the North; Thanh Hoá province in Central Vietnam; then to the Southern most regions of Vietnam. One of Chuyết Chuyết's successors, Master Hương Hải who grew

² Nguyễn Lang : *Việt nam Phật giáo Sử luận*, tập II, Nhà xuất bản Văn Học [Nguyen Lang: *A Historical Interpretation of Vietnamese Buddhism*, Vol II, Hanoi Literature Publishing House, 1992], p119.

³ In fact, Lâm Tế was first introduced to Vietnam during the 13th Century by Chinese monks. King Trần Thái Tông and the Prince Preceptor were the excellent disciples of this sect. After the Golden time of Vietnamese Buddhism (from the 10th to 14th century), this Buddhist sect had no more successors. (See more detail in Nguyễn Lang, 1992).

⁴ Ibid., p114 -15.

⁵ Nguyễn Tài Thu (ed) Hà Thúc Minh and Lí Kim Hoa: *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi 1992, p263- 64.

famous through his supernatural Dharma preaching and his mixture of Tantric and Amidism within his religious practices, had a great influence on the Nguyễn. In the South, the Nguyễn Lords admired his talent. Under the rule of Lord Nguyễn Phúc Tần, the Institute for Dhyana study was built in Phú Xuân (presently Huế) for Master Hương Hải and it was noted that this Institute received as many as 1,300 followers including the First lady of the Lord, three princes and many other generals and courtiers.⁶

Tào Động, although a small Zen sect in China, however, was also highly respected by the Nguyen Lords in the South. In 1695, Tào Động Master Thạch Liêm by the invitation of Lord Nguyễn Phúc Chu - who later became the first disciple of Thạch Liêm and was the 30th generation of Tào Động sect- arrived and settled at Thiên Lâm pagoda in An Cựu village (City of Hue). During his year long stay in Hue, besides opening courses teaching Buddhism, Thạch Liêm consulted to the Nguyen Lords in the domain of politics, diplomacy, and military.⁷

During the Trịnh – Nguyễn period, Vietnam was, theoretically, under the rule of the Later Lê dynasty. But the real power was in the hand of the Trịnh and the Nguyễn. Through their generous support of Buddhism, the Trịnh and the Nguyễn strengthened their power rather than praying for people. On the one hand they supported Buddhism, but on the other hand they oppressed common people. This led to the peasant movement of the Tây Sơn in Qui Nhơn (Central Vietnam). Gaining support from lay people, especially from peasants throughout the country, the Tây Sơn raised troops to overturn these two families and return power to King Lê. The Tây Sơn won the South province by province. The Nguyễn, consequently, withdrew further south eventually fleeing Vietnam to take refuge in Siam. In the North, after putting Lê Hiến Tông on the throne, Nguyễn Huệ, the second brother of the Tây Sơn, returned to his home town in Qui Nhơn. But King Lê was too feeble to lead the country, so power in the

⁶ Ibid., p 266- 67.

⁷ Ibid., p 289-90.

Court, once again, fell to the Trịnh family. King Lê Chiêu Thống ran for help from the Qing dynasty in China. Under the threat of losing the country to China again, Nguyễn Huệ led his troops against the Qing troops in the North and declared himself Emperor Quang Trung. Later, the Court of China recognized Quang Trung as the King of Annam.

In 1787, Nguyễn Anh left Bangkok, where he had been staying since 1784, to seek assistance from the French. After recovering power from the Tây Sơn, Nguyễn Anh ascended to the throne and proclaimed himself Emperor Gia Long. Gia Long continued to support Buddhism during his rule (1802-1819). But from the reign of Minh Mạng and Tự Đức onwards, Vietnamese Buddhism was once again replaced by Confucianism. Buddhism met neglect from the Confucianist monarchs. The situation worsened during the French domination.

Analysis

The end of the seventeenth century to the eighteenth century witnessed the arrival of Chinese immigrants bringing with them the Lâm Tế and Tào Động Zen sects to Vietnam dominating Vietnamese Buddhism especially in Central and Southern Vietnam. These two Zen sects' greatest influence was among Southern people in general and the Courtiers in particular. When the uprising of Tây Sơn broke out, Tôn Thất Xuân and Nguyễn Anh, who were originally from the ruling class in the South, took refuge in Thailand with many of their followers. These people were mostly from Huế (the capital of the Central part of Vietnam during the rule of the Nguyen family) and Cochinchina (the Southern part of Vietnam). During this chaotic period, Buddhism in Vietnam was in disarray: many temples and texts books were destroyed; monks were scattered from temples.⁸ During this time, the first Vietnamese temple was established in Bangkok. Therefore, it could be understood that the founders of Annam-nikai were from Huế (Central Vietnam) and/or Cochinchina (Southern Vietnam). As mentioned above, Buddhism in the Southern part of Vietnam was

⁸ Mật Thế: *Việt Nam Phật Giáo sử lược*, Nhà xuất bản tôn giáo, 2004 [Mat The: *A Brief History of Vietnamese Buddhism*, Religion Publishing House, 2004], p215.

greatly influenced by the two Chinese Zen sects of Lâm Tế and Tào Động. Most of the famous monks in the South were from these two Zen sects. The temples in the South were also built in the colorful style of Chinese architecture which was different from the modest style of Northern Vietnam temples.

In Vietnamese Buddhism Nguyễn Thiều – the 33rd successor of the original Lâm Tế sect in China – is considered the first preceptor who reintroduced this Zen sect to Vietnam, and Thạch Liêm – the 29th successor of the Tào Động Zen sect in China – can also be recognized as the first progenitor of the Tào Động sect in the South.⁹ Moreover, according to the inscription at Phổ Phước temple (Wat Kusolsamakhorn where the Head office of Annam-nikai is presently located) the first master of the Lâm Tế sect in Thailand was the 38th generation master Chánh Tạng Nguyễn Bảo. Also, according to stone inscriptions at temples in Huế, Bình Định, and Quảng Nam provinces in Vietnam, Minh Hành Tại Toại, the 34th generation of Lâm Tế and an outstanding disciple of Nguyễn Thiều, transmitted this Zen sect to Chơn Tú as the 35th generation and to Như Tuỳ (36th generation); this line was then lost from the 37th generation,¹⁰ the timing coincides with the migration of Tôn Thất Xuân and Nguyễn Anh to Siam. Though master Như Tuỳ was notably spreading this Buddhist sect in the North,¹¹ the unstable situation in Vietnam, which saw monks move from one temple to another, might have caused the disciples of master Như Tuỳ to come to Bangkok during the migration of Nguyễn Anh.

On the other hand, the Tào Động sect found its first temple in Kanchanaburi province (Khánh Thọ Temple or Wat Thawvonvararam) during the reign of King Rama III (1824-1851). The inscription on the master's altar at Long Sơn Temple (Wat Thamkhaonoi) notes their first preceptor as Master Tân Thành Tánh Huyền who was the 39th generation of the original Tào Động sect.

⁹ Nguyễn Tài Thu (ed), 1988, p 327.

¹⁰ Mật Thế, 2004, p 210.

¹¹ Ibid., p 210.

At present both Tào Động and Lâm Tế sects in Thailand share similarities in most of their practice except some differences in details such as the accents monks use in chanting. Due to lack of Vietnamese language capacity, most Annam-nikai monks in Thailand, though possessing transliterated sutras, do not understand much about the meaning of the Sutra, thus they have learned sutras by repeating after their Masters. Therefore, their accent remains close to the original accent of their Vietnamese masters. As a result, monks from the Tào Động sect were influenced by the Central and Southern accents while the Lâm Tế sect has a Central and Northern accent. None of the Annam-nikai monks have a pure Northern accent.

Through migratory studies of Vietnamese people in Thailand, the development of Annam-nikai, and the social situation in Vietnam, it is deduced that Annam-nikai came to Bangkok through the migration of Vietnamese people who fled and took refuge in Bangkok since the Thonburi and early Rattanakosin period. Moreover, the Vietnamese people who came with Tôn Thất Xuân and Nguyễn Anh were from the Central and the South of Vietnam where the Lâm Tế and Tào Động Zen sects dominated people's lives. Annam-nikai, as a result, combined these two sects.

Since the word Annam was first used by the Chinese to refer to the country of Vietnam; the French later adopted it to refer to the Central part of Vietnam, thus, upon official recognition by the Thai Royal Court during the reign of King Rama V, this Vietnamese Buddhist sect was given the name Annam-nikai, which means the Buddhist sect from An Nam. Throughout its development, Annam-nikai still keeps this original name marking it as an independent Buddhist sect in Thailand. As a result, An Nam tông or Annam-nikai is a new term; it does not exist in Vietnam nor is it widely known in Thailand either.

APPENDIX B

Vietnamese Christian Community in Bangkok

Although the objective of this thesis is to study the conditions and forms of the adaptation of Annam-nikai in Bangkok, it is necessary to outline some information about the Christian Vietnamese who also came to Bangkok as early as the Buddhist Vietnamese.

The Vietnamese in Thailand belong to two main groups of religion: Mahayana Buddhism and Catholic Christianity. The Catholic Vietnamese arrived in Thailand as early as the 17th century. During the Ayutthaya period, in 1662, Lambert De la Mothe, a French missionary, upon arrival in Ayutthaya, aimed to use the Vietnamese living there to spread Christianity throughout Siam. But it was not until the 18th century that the first Catholic Vietnamese church was established in Chanthaburi. After several restorations, this church is now still ranked one of the most ancient churches in Thailand.¹ In Bangkok, the first Christian Vietnamese community was recognized at the same period as Nguyễn Anh. The first Vietnamese Catholic Church, named Saint Francois Xavier, was built under the King Rama III's patronage in the Samsen area.

Like Annam-nikai temples in early Rattanakosin, the Vietnamese church was the spiritual center, the meeting place, holding significant meaning in the fostering and unifying of the Vietnamese Catholic community. As in other Vietnamese *Ban*, the administration in the Samsen area was led by a Vietnamese elected from the members of the community. Even though the Vietnamese Catholic community functioned somewhat independently, the community still had to listen to the French bishop, rather than the locally elected official, due to the ecclesiastical status.

¹ Trịnh Diệu Thìn, *Thai Culture in the Community of the Vietnamese in Thailand*, (7th International Conference on Thai Studies, Amsterdam 4th – 8th July, 1999), p1-2.

Since the Catholic Vietnamese were under the French Bishop's control, the Catholic Vietnamese living in Samsen area listened to French Bishops rather than the Siamese government. When French missionaries used the Catholic Vietnamese in Siam as a negotiating tool to influence the Siamese government, in order to assuage the Catholic Vietnamese in Siam, King Rama III granted land in that area to the Catholic Missionary of Siam. This land grant relieved some of the pressure placed upon the Catholic Vietnamese and other foreign Catholics living in that area. King Rama IV and Rama V, following King Rama III, held favorable policies towards the Catholic Vietnamese. They were viewed as complete Thai people with full rights and obligations of citizenship.

The first two Christian schools for boys and girls of the Catholic Vietnamese community were established in the 19th century. The Vietnamese language was used as the media in all subjects taught in those schools. By the end of the 20th century, many other schools were opened in this area not only for Christian Vietnamese children but also for other Christian children in the area.² Presently, these schools remain some of Bangkok's most popular.

In regards to the social life of the Vietnamese in Samsen, the Catholic Vietnamese are well known for their strictness in religious practice. Since the Vietnamese in Samsen originate from the same heritage, living in a small community of their own parish under the Church abbot's leader, all their rites and religious ceremonies occur inside the church such as baptism, giving baptismal names, funerals, weddings. Small conflicts between people in the community were cleared up by the Head of the village; serious conflicts were brought to the Church abbot.³

Under the government of Phibul Songkhram, foreign language was not allowed in Thai schools. Thus, a kind of language called "Church language" (*Pa sa wat*) was created by transliterating Vietnamese into Thai script. Prior to this time, the Bible and church chanting used Vietnamese books. The

² Ngampit Satsanguan, *The Family Institution of Ethnic Groups in Bangkok Metropolis: A Case Study on Vietnamese Families*, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 2001, p137-142.

³ Ibid., p137-138.

Vietnamese language was used in daily life in Samsen. But due to this policy change, the children of Catholic Vietnamese can only speak Vietnamese. Very few of them can read and write. Their grand children, can not read and write. Some may understand Vietnamese but they can not speak.

The anti-communist policy and its ramifications for the Vietnamese during the Indochina War and the Vietnam War, bylaw, did not affect the Catholic community because: first, they are all legal Thai citizens; second, they are strict believers and live considerably closed within their community. For example, one Catholic Vietnamese in Samsen who told me that people here prefer to come back to the church where they have been christened for their wedding ceremony. This unwritten law acts like an adhesive joining the community together. Another example: marriage within members of the community is encouraged. By the 1970s the intermarriage rate of the Catholic Vietnamese to non-Catholic Vietnamese was still very low in Samsen.

Thus, the **strictness** in religious practice of the Catholic Vietnamese in Samsen and the **flexibility** in Vietnamese Buddhism explains why the Buddhist Vietnamese around Vietnamese temples prefer to have intermarriage and move out, while the Catholic Vietnamese still remain in their original area in Samsen.

However, due to family and social developments: the integration of the Catholic community into Thai society has been forecast. While the family expands, the traditional family of “three generations under the same roof” seems narrow. The new family moves out. Besides, as the metropolis develops, younger generations have to work far from home, thus moving out is convenient in a congested city like Bangkok. Nevertheless, those Vietnamese still try to return to Samsen area for Misa ceremonies on Sunday or other Christian days to attend ceremonies and meet their relatives.

It is, however, necessary to mention the connection of this Catholic community with the Vietnamese Buddhist refugees during the anti- communist period. The Vietnamese refugees, during this time, upon arrival in Bangkok, also came to this area. But since they were not Catholic, they did not want to be

under the strict regulations of the Catholic Vietnamese. Moreover, their status in Bangkok was illegal, thus a long stay in Samsen was unsafe for them.

APPENDIX C

Questionnaire for Annam-nikai temple's attendants

(Questionnaire No 1)

Part I: Information of the interviewee

1. Age :
2. Sex : Male Female
3. Occupation :
4. How do you identify yourself?
 Thai Chinese Vietnamese
 Vietnamese-Thai Chinese-Vietnamese Chinese-Thai
5. Length of living in Bangkok
 Less than 10years 10-30years More than30years
6. Education
 Primary school Secondary school High school
 Bachelor degree Higher than Bachelor degree
7. Religion
 Buddhism Christianity No religion
 Others

Part II: Questionnaire concerning Annam-nikai and Vietnamese monks

1. How long have you been to this temple?
 Less than 10 years 10-30 years More than 30years
2. Do you know that this is Vietnamese temple?
 Yes No
3. How do you know this temple?
 Through my parents and relatives
 Through friends
 From personal respect to the temple /or to the monks
4. How often have you attended this temple?.....

5. Members of your family also came to this temple?

- Yes No

6. If you are Buddhist

For a man: Have you ever thought of ordain as Annam-nikai monks?

- Yes No

For a woman: Have you ever thought of having your Child/Grandchild ordain in Annam-nikai?

- Yes No

Why?.....

7. How do you think of Annam-nikai and Annamese monk?

.....
.....
.....

8. According to you, is Annam-nikai Mahayana different from Theravada?

- Very different Slightly deferent No different

Result of the questionnaire No 1

(Total of interviewee: 200)

Part I: Information of the interviewee

2. Sex :

Male	70	35%
Female	130	65%
Total	200	100%

4. How do you identify yourself?

Chinese-Thai	150	75%
Thai	30	15%
Vietnamese-Thai	20	10%
Chinese	0	0%
Chinese-Vietnamese	0	0%
Vietnamese	0	0%
Total	200	100%

5. Length of living in Bangkok

Less than 10 years	62	31%
10-30 years	78	39%
More than 30 years	60	30%
Total	200	100%

6. Education

Primary school	32	16%
Secondary school	54	27%
High school	48	24%
Bachelor degree	46	23%
Higher	20	10%
Total	200	100%

7. Religion

Buddhist	172	86%
Christian	16	8%
No religion	8	4%
Others	4	2%
Total	200	100%

Part II: Questionnaire concerning Annam-nikai and Vietnamese monks

1. How long have you been to this temple?

Less than 10 years	108	54%
10-30 years	70	35%
More than 30 years	22	11%
Total	200	100%

2. Do you know that this is Vietnamese temple?

Yes	182	91%
No	18	9%
Total	200	100%

3. How do you know this temple?

Through parents and relatives	66	33%
Through friends	88	44%
Personal respect to temple/monks	46	23%
Total	200	100%

5. Members of your family also came to this temple?

Yes	162	81%
No	38	19%
Total	200	100%

6. If you are Buddhist

For a man: Have you ever thought of ordain as Annam-nikai monks?

Yes	22	11%
No	178	89%
Total	200	100%

For a woman: Have you ever thought of having your Child/Grandchild ordain in Annam-nikai?

Yes	32	17%
No	168	84%
Total	200	100%

8. According to you, is Annam-nikai Mahayana Buddhism different from Theravada Buddhism?

Very different	18	9%
Slightly different	166	83%
No different	16	8%
Total	200	100%

APPENDIX D

Questionnaire for Vietnamese people in Bangkok

(Questionnaire No 2)

Part I: Information of interviewee

1. Age :
2. Sex : Male Female
3. Occupation :
4. Time of living in Bangkok:
 Less than 10 years 10- 30 years More than 30 years
5. Education :
 Primary school High school University (B.A)
 Higher
6. Place of birth: Vietnam Thailand
7. Religion :
 Buddhist Christian Others.....

Part II: Questionnaire

1. You identify yourself as
 Vietnamese Thai-Vietnamese Chinese-Vietnamese
 Chinese Thai-Chinese
2. Language used in everyday life:
 Thai Chinese Vietnamese
3. Do you have relation with other Vietnamese in Bangkok?
 Yes No
If Yes, How often:
If No, Why:
4. Have you ever heard about Vietnamese temples (Annam-nikai temples) in Bangkok?

- Yes No
5. Have you ever gone to/attended Annam-nikai ceremony?
 Yes No
6. Do you worship your ancestor at home according to Vietnamese custom?
 Yes No
 Why.....
7. Do you worship Buddha at home?
 Yes No
 Why.....
8. If you want to make merit, where do you often go to?
 Thai temple Vietnamese temple others.....
 Why.....
9. Do you want you children/grandchildren have intermarriage?
 Yes No
10. Do you think that Mahayana Buddhism of Annam-nikai is different from Theravada Buddhism of Thailand?
 Very different Slightly different Not different
11. How do you think of the Vietnamese community in Bangkok nowadays?
 Always keeps its Vietnamese custom and identity
 Being more and more integrated into Thai society
12. How do you think of the future of Annam-nikai?
 Will exist independently as one Mahayana Buddhist sect in Thailand.
 Will be absorbed by the larger Theravada Buddhism of Thailand

Result of the questionnaire No 2

(Total of the interviewees: 60)

Part I: Information of interviewee

2. Sex

Male	24	40%
Female	36	60%
Total	60	100%

4. Time of living in Bangkok:

Less than 10 years	15	25%
10-30 years	33	55%
More than 30 years	12	20%
Total	60	100%

5. Education :

Primary school	20	33.4%
Secondary school	29	48.3%
High school	6	10%
Bachelor degree	3	5%
Higher	2	3.3%
Total	60	100%

6. Place of birth:

Vietnam	48	80%
Thailand	12	20%
Total	60	100%

7. Religion :

Buddhist	48	80%
Christian	6	10%
No religion	6	10%
Others	0	0
Total	60	100%

Part II: Questionnaire

1. You identify yourself as

Chinese-Thai	9	15%
Thai	0	0%
Vietnamese-Thai	51	85%
Chinese	0	0
Chinese-Vietnamese	0	0
Vietnamese	0	0
Total	60	100%

2. Language used in everyday life

Thai	42	70%
Chinese	0	0%
Vietnamese	3	5%
Thai-Vietnamese	15	25%
Total	60	100%

3. Do you have relation with other Vietnamese in Bangkok?

Yes	54	90%
No	6	10%
Total	60	100%

4. Have you ever heard about Vietnamese temples (Annam-nikai temples) in Bangkok?

Yes	33	55%
No	27	45%
Total	60	100%

5. Have you ever gone to/attended Annam-nikai ceremony?

Yes	9	15%
No	51	85%
Total	60	100%

6. Do you worship your ancestor at home according to Vietnamese custom?

Yes	55	91.6%
No	5	8.4%
Total	60	100%

7. Do you worship Buddha at home?

Yes	54	90%
No	6	10%
Total	60	100%

8. If you want to make merit, where do you often go to?

Thai temple	48	80%
Vietnamese temple	2	3.3%
Other	10	16.7%
Total	60	100%

9. Do you agree if your children/grandchildren have intermarriage?

Yes	57	95%
No	3	5%
Total	60	100%

10. Do you think that Mahayana Buddhism of Annam-nikai is different from Theravada Buddhism of Thailand?

Very different	12	20%
Slightly different	48	80%
No different	0	0%
Total	60	100%

11. How do you think of the Vietnamese community in Bangkok nowadays?

Always keep its Vietnamese custom and identity	12	20%
Being more and more integrated into Thai society	48	80%
Total	60	100%

12. How do you think of the future of Annam-nikai?

Will exist independently as one Mahayana Buddhist sect in Thailand	33	55%
Will be absorbed by the larger Theravada Buddhism of Thailand	27	44%
Total	60	100%

BIOGRAPHY

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