

Office of the Legislative Adviser,  
Bangkok, th. February 1934.

Dear Prince Varnvaidya,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 10th. Inst. concerning the legal and constitutional questions in connection with the death sentences by the Special Court.

I see the questions as follown.

(1)

question of Procedure: Whether the Royal Sanction is required for the execution of the sentence or not?

A sentence of death in Siam is governed by Section 30 of the transitory Criminal Procedure Act 27th. April R.S. 115, which (in my translation) reads:

Any final judgment inflicting the punishment of death, condemnation of property or imprisonment for life shall be submitted by the Minister of Justice to His Majesty together with any dika in respect to such judgment which may be made by the accused. Then his Majesty's pleasure has been ascertained, whether confirming the sentence or exercising the Royal prerogative of mercy, the orders of His Majesty shall be carried out in every respect."

H.S.H. Prince Varnvaidya,

Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

In other words, no final judgment of death in Siam may be executed if the King has not confirmed the sentence. Section 39 says that the rule applies always when there is "a final judgment inflicting the punishment of death". That is a "final judgment" is to be decided in each case. In the case of the Special Court, since there is neither appeal nor dika, the judgment is final as soon as uttered by the Special Court. And there is nothing to prevent the application of the normal rules of criminal procedure, especially Section 39. Besides Section 14 of the Criminal Code, which concerns also execution, reminds the reader of the provision in Section 39 Criminal Code when it says that the execution shall take place only "after Royal Sanction has been obtained". Section 14 P.C. also is general and applies to all final sentences of death given in Siam.

The provisions hereabove reminded are imperative. Then one must move beside that the Special Court has adopted the procedure of the Military Courts, which themselves apply the general Criminal Procedure law when there is no special solution in the Military Procedure, one understands that all the proceedings provided in the Criminal law Acts (including Section 39 of the Transitory Act R.S. 115) must apply unless there is something contrary in the Act itself constituting the Special Court (for instance, the suppression of appeal and dika).

To apply to the sentences of the Special Court all the provisions of the usual proceedings (when there is no contrary provision in the Act itself), and suddenly to refuse the application of Section 39 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which is general, should be charged with arbitrary decision. It looks too much as a wish to get rid of a provision of Criminal Procedure because it is inconvenient and makes a certain purpose difficult.

I am frankly afraid that, if execution should have had, or should proceed on, without applying Section 39, the impression abroad would be very bad. Of course many think that this is a purely internal Siamese affair, and that foreign opinion is to be disregarded entirely. Quite so one century ago. But the "affaire Dreyfus" in France was also a purely internal French affair however irregularities in procedure have raised the indignation of the whole world, which practically compelled to revise the case in spite of some French fanatic people. More recently the case of Sacco and Vanzetti in U.S.A. was also a purely internal American affair: however some alleged injustice in the procedure or sentence have made it a world affair. A few weeks ago, the arson in Reichstag was also a purely internal German affair: the world has however seen without any surprise a so-called Court of lawyers of several nationalities examining the case in London. Of course, Siamese affairs are as a rule unknown abroad. But it is enough that some journalist or correspondent finds out the case and gives it publicity to have it becoming a world affair as in the cases hereabove quoted, at least in the neighbouring countries such as French Indochina, British Malaya, Japan, etc. It is my duty to call the attention upon the possibility of such highly embarrassing development. They are to be feared more especially in matter of Criminal law where failure to comply strictly with the law is always severely appreciated. So much the more because death punishment for political offences has been abolished in almost all countries.

Now, Your Serene Highness wants to examine whether the Royal Sanction has the character of a judicial or executive Act.

The question for me may have only little interest in the present case for reason which I will explain hereafter. But however let us consider it.

It is noticeable first that we can get no help from precedents in the other countries: because the provision of Section 39 is special to Siam, and, as far as I know, does not exist elsewhere. Even the King of the State interferes only in sentence of death when the question of capital crimes arises.

If we take the position in Siam as it is, to decide between the judicial or executive character of the Royal Sanction is certainly very contentious.

On one part, those who claim that the Royal Sanction is a judicial Act interpret Section 39 as creating a Royal Sanction of the final judgment. This, in their opinion, is shown by the fact that the provision is purposely in a Code of Criminal Procedure (Chapter 6 "execution of judgment"), and that the provision says that the King is submitted the judgment in the same way as to is submitted a *dika* (when there may be a *dika*). Consequently Section 39 means only that the King admits that the final judgment is not contrary to law and the punishment of death is adequate to the offence committed. The consequence is that the Royal Sanction will permit to the Administrative Authorities to execute the sentence. In that opinion, the Royal Sanction appears as a remnant of the old times, when the King was taken as a Judge of all cases in His Kingdom, and was the highest authority to say, in a matter so serious as death sentence, that he agreed, as the supreme judge, that everything was in order from the legal point of view.

On the other part, those who claim that the Royal Sanction is an Executive act, interpret Section 39 as having nothing more to do with the judgment which is final. Instead of being the last part of the judicial proceedings, the Royal Sanction is then the first part of the administrative proceedings. The King, as the Head of the Executive Power, directs the administrative authorities (that is to say the authorities in charge of the execution of the judgments) to execute the sentence. In minor cases, the King does not interfere, and the administrative authorities proceed on

the execution by themselves. But, in a matter so serious as a death sentence, the order of the King, as the Supreme Head of the Executive, is necessary. And as soon as the order is given the execution can proceed.

Consequently, if the King gives the Royal Sanction, it is of no interest that he does it as the Supreme Judge (judicial act) or as the Supreme Head of the Executive (executive act) since the effect is the same, namely that the sentence may be executed at once.

But if the King refuses the Royal Sanction, or if he keeps silent, it must be reminded that, in both cases also, Section 39 remains very strong. It does not say that the King shall give His decision within a certain period of time. It results from its provisions that "the orders of His Majesty shall be carried out in every respect", when his pleasure has been ascertained. In those conditions, under the Act R.S. 115, to say that the silence of the King should be interpreted as an order to carry on the sentence, or to say that in case of conflict between the King and the Government the opinion of the Government shall necessarily prevail upon the King's opinion, should have been an arbitrary solution raising serious difficulties.

But is the same solution to be given under the Constitution R.S. 2476, that is to say since Siam has become a Constitutional Monarchy The special principle of a "Royal Sanction" in case of sentences to death, etc., has certainly nothing contrary to the Constitution. As to the exercise of the said Sanction, one may certainly agree that the wording of Section 39 is more suitable with an Absolute Monarchy than with a Constitutional Monarchy. The powers of the Sovereign in a Constitutional Monarchy are so limited, that it may be well contended that in a question of procedure, either judicial or administrative (and the Royal Sanction is nothing else), the executive power of the King, being exercised through the State Council (Constitution Section 7), cannot result in another decision than the decision of His Government. It is reading that the question is specially delicate, because it is one of life or death, likely to stir up the public opinion; but this comes to the political dangers of the decision.

Now, in the present case, the question of the "Royal Sanction", in my opinion, has become fairly irrelevant. Why? Because the question of the Royal Sanction is in any case a question of procedure (judicial or administrative). And, as soon as a petition for pardon springs up, the executive must be postponed (even if a Royal Sanction has been already given) as long as there is no decision as to the question of pardon itself. The question is brought in another field. The important point is to realize that the question of pardon supersedes the question of the Royal Sanction. And then we come to consider the question of pardon, when it arises by the fact of a petition. It is unnecessary to say that, should the Royal Sanction be obtained in a way or another, to order the execution pending the examination of a petition of pardon would raise a storm of protest if the public opinion here and abroad.

## (2)

question of pardon.- Under Section 55 of the Constitution, "it is the King's prerogative to grant pardon". Whichever may be the exact wording of the section, it is above any doubt that the intention has been to invest the chief of the state in Siam or elsewhere with the well-known prerogative of pardon, which is probably as old as have been Chiefs of States themselves.

As a rule, in the countries where the Chief of the State has the prerogative of pardon without any Constitutional limitation, his right is constructed widely: that is to say, he can decide in the last resort if he pardons or if he does not

pardon<sup>1</sup>. If the prerogative of the King was in fact reduced in such a way that he could pardon only when the Government does agree, the prerogative should be a more mockery, and, in the adlence of the Constitution, we cannot admit that it was intended to construct much a high prerogative in that way.

I want to insist here upon the special character of the prerogative of pardon. It is too narrow to consider it from the point of view of criminal or administrative law. By essence, it is something higher, something "sui generis". Why? Because the prerogative of pardon is in itself a reminding of the divine character which was invested in Sovereigns in the old times, especially Monarchs. To take the life of a man or to save his life is something which surpsees the legal questions. This only can justify the subsistence of the prerogative, which is as a fact the only subsistence in the hands of the Sovereigns of their former extensive power. It is why, in my opinion, they can use it without justification and even contrary to public opinion or to the Assembly's or the Government's opinion. Otherwise, it is to transform the nature of the pardon, and it is clear that the prerogative could in that case be invested as well in the Government itself or in the Minister of Justice (this has been made in some Constitutions) without giving to the Chief of the State a deceiving power.

Certainly, it is desirable, as you say, that some understanding could come between the Sovereign and the State Council, the State Council endeavouring to fall in with the views of the Sovereign, and the Sovereign being desirous to satisfy the State Council. This is perfect, when both parties are as reasonable and compromising. But this is not our case. We must think of a case where both parties are unreasoning. In that case, I see nothing in the Constitution, especially Section 55, which will compel the King to give up His personal opinion and to yield necessarily to the adverse opinion of the State Council.

Now, and subject to the foregoing considerations, it appears that the exercise of the prerogative of pardon granted to the King by the Constitution is made difficult and questionable by questions of procedure only: namely the fact that the Decree by which the King exercises His prerogative must be countersigned by a State Councillor, and that the State Councillors (practically the Government) may refuse to countersign it because they disagree upon the opportunity to pardon.

The question is very delicate, and I would like to examine which cause may happen:

a) the Sovereign grants the pardon by issuing His decision in a decree which He presents to the Government for the Constitutional countersigning. The Government refuses to countersign. The conflict is open. (To be complete, the same would happen exactly in the contrary case, if the Sovereign would reject the petition by a formal Act, as is provided in some countries, and the Government refuse to countersign it because they want a pardon to be granted.) As to the solution of the conflict so open, I entirely agree with the opinion of Your Serene Highness, that is to say: "If the Sovereign insisted, then the Government would have to resign, but if the same Government is returned to power, that is to say, if the Government has the support of the majority of the Assembly, then the Sovereign would have to yield," but

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<sup>1</sup> So is the case in France, where the President is only given an advice by the Minister of Justice, and is not bound by it "Le droit de grace appartient toute sa plénitude au Président de la République qui l'exerce sans restriction ni réserve." (Uepertoire Fuzier-Kerman, Vo.France). This although the Decree granting pardon must be countersigned by a Minister, exactly as in Siam. When there are exceptions to the full exercise of the right of pardon, they are specified expressly in the Constitution (see Helgium Const. Sect. 91, Denmark sect. 26, Greece sect. 84, etc.).

I add "unless he prefers to resign". Of course that last consequence is much more striking in the case of a Nesarah, because complications arise on account of dynastical questions, successions, etc. But if you apply it irrespective of the name of the Chief of the State, - say to a President of Republic - the resignation and election of a successor is quite practical.

b) But supposing that there is only a passive resistance by the Chief of the State, which is the solution.

May I insist upon the point that we are now (Item 2) in the matter of pardon exclusively, and that this must not be confused any longer with the matter of Royal Sanction, as it has been explained before. And that, even if the King had given the Royal Sanction, the petition of pardon has created an entirely new position of the question. Not to discriminate should be a legal refusal of two different systems of law, and, when we are dealing with the question of pardon, we cannot retransfer the case in the domain of the Royal Sanction.

Being in the matter of the prerogative "sui generis" of pardon, the ..... of the King as to the pardon is true, and it is only the ..... of His decision which may be obstructed by the conflict.

Then, what is the solution of the conflict if the Sovereign shows a passive resistance; Again in that case it is not said in the constitution that the Sovereign must decide upon the petition of pardon and give his answer within a certain period of time. As long as the sovereign has not answered, no other answer can be substituted to his can, and it cannot be said that silence means rejection of the petition of pardon. This should be an arbitrary addition to the Constitution. The conflict by silence of the Sovereign is provided in the Constitution in the case of wills (Section 39 conflict with the legislative power). But the conflict by silence of the Sovereign is not provided in the Constitution in the case of decrees (Executive powers). Why? Because say conflict arising not between the Executive and Legislative, but "suoin" of the Executive power itself, shall necessarily result into the disappearance of one of the two conflicting parties, either the Chief of the State or the Government, and we come again to the same position as in number (a). It would mean practically that the Government should require the Sovereign to notify His decision, and, if He does not, should resign and leave the Assembly to support one of the two conflicting parties.

Of course it is regrettable that there is no provision in the Constitution to avert the conflict between the Sovereign and the Government as mentioned in (a) and (b) above. But that deficiency is far from being special to the Siamese Constitution alone.

Yours sincerely,  
R. Guyon