

# The Hunger Diaries

*Translated by*



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## **Translator's Note: The Documentation of Suffering for Justice**

On 11 March 2023, Tawan, or Tantawan Tuatulanon, and Bam, or Orawan Phuphong, ended a hunger strike that they began nearly two months earlier on 18 January 2023. They began their hunger strike after the Thai judiciary failed to respond to three demands they made calling for justice for detainees and prisoners in Article 112 and other political cases. Tawan and Bam themselves are both accused in Article 112 cases, but on the day they made their demands they were free on bail. Yet they were uneasy at being free while fellow accused were not. On the afternoon of 16 January 2023, they met outside the Criminal Court in Bangkok, read out their demands, doused themselves in red paint and walked inside to request that the judges revoke their bail. The judges complied.

Tawan and Bam's three demands were for the protection of the fundamental human rights of political detainees and prisoners. First, they called for reform of the justice system for human rights and the right to freedom expression to be primary, rather than an afterthought. Second, they called for the release of political prisoners and for an end to the prosecution of those exercising their right to freedom of expression. Third, they called on every political party to propose the abolition of Article 112 (*lèse majesté*) and Article 116 (sedition) of the Criminal Code. If their demands were not met within 72 hours, they would commence a dry hunger strike. They would continue until either their demands were met or they died.

Since the beginning of the movement for democracy and reform of the monarchy that began in Thailand in mid-2020, those who hold power have harshly cracked down on activists who dare to call for rights, freedom, and equality, According to Thai Lawyers for Human Rights (TLHR), be-

tween 24 November 2020 and 29 March 2023, at least 237 people have been charged with violation of Article 112, which defines the crime and stipulates the punishment for alleged *lèse majesté*: “Whoever defames, insults or threatens the King, Queen, the Heir-apparent or the Regent, shall be punished (with) imprisonment of three to fifteen years” (see <https://tlhr2014.com/archives/23983> for current case numbers). Since November 2020, those who have been charged with violation of Article 112 have primarily been those who expressed opinions about or called for reform of the monarchy, including many charged for giving speeches, protesting and other peaceful actions. In this case, Bam was accused of violation of Article 112 for carrying out a poll about royal motorcades in a shopping mall in February 2022 and Tawan was accused for doing a Facebook Live broadcast when a royal motorcade passed by her in March 2022. Like others accused of violation of Article 112, they were initially denied bail before it was finally granted with conditions, including wearing an electronic monitoring, or EM, anklet.

The court’s initial response to Tawan and Bam’s demands was silence. So they stopped eating and drinking on the evening of 18 January 2023. Over the next seven weeks, their health rapidly declined. As they grew weaker and weaker, they remained steadfast in their demands and many joined them in calling for the courts to act justly. Their hunger strike was a mostly dry – meaning no food or water – hunger strike. They only accepted sips of water and IV fluids or medication when not doing so posed an immediate threat to their lives. They both suffered tremendously as their bodies declined, and yet they remained steadfast. Tawan and Bam’s seven week hunger strike is unprecedented in Thai political history. During the period of the seven weeks, many of those accused in political cases who had been denied bail were released, even as more people were arrested.

During the period of their hunger strike, Tawan and

Bam went from being held in the Central Women's Prison, to the Department of Corrections (DoC) Hospital, to Thammasat University Hospital, and finally to being in a tent in front of the Supreme Court. The Criminal Court had complied with their request to revoke their bail and ordered them remanded on 16 January. As their condition declined, they were then transferred to the DoC Hospital on 22 January. Concerned with their treatment and safety, Tawan and Bam then requested to be moved to Thammasat University Hospital, a hospital not under the control of the DoC. Initially, the DoC wanted to transfer them to the Police Hospital, but Tawan and Bam refused to be transferred to another hospital under state control. They said that if they could not be transferred to an external hospital, they wanted to be returned to the Central Women's Prison. The DoC relented and they were moved to Thammasat University Hospital on 25 January. When they first arrived, they were still under a detention order and so were heavily guarded by 4 prison guards at all times. Un-expectedly, and requested by the hospital director instead of Tawan and Bam, their detention order was revoked on 7 February. They remained at Thammasat University Hospital until 24 February, when they moved to a tent in front of the Supreme Court. They remained there until they ended their hunger strike on 11 March and returned to Thammasat University Hospital for treatment and to recover.

Throughout the seven weeks of their human strike, their lawyers visited them nearly every day to confer on their cases and bring political and legal news, particularly as pertained to the bail requests of other political detainees and prisoners. One of the members of the legal team, Kunthika Nutcharut, wrote memos of each of these meetings recording details of the condition of Tawan and Bam and the meetings themselves and then posted them in Thai to Tawan's Facebook page with a public setting (<https://www.facebook.com/tawan.tantawan.14>).

The memos are remarkable: they are a chronology of a political struggle, a diary of increasing physical suffering, and evidence of a ferocious hope for justice. Translated to launch The 112 Project, a new research and translation initiative around Article 112 at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, they are collected here to share the very details of Tawan and Bam's lives and struggles with a broader, English-language audience. They are presented as they were in the original Thai Facebook posts, to preserve the sense of urgency with which they were first written. This means that they are not heavily footnoted, and so readers unfamiliar with Thai politics may not recognize the names of the various political detainees and other figures who are mentioned. The reason for the lack of annotation is both to prioritize the speed of dissemination of the translated memos, and also because this is hopefully the beginning of translation and writing about Tawan and Bam's struggle and why it is significant. In addition, there are also other documents from this period which are not included, but would be useful complements to the memos, including press releases from the Criminal Court and the DoC; Tawan and Bam's statement declaring their refusal of treatment when they left Thammasat University Hospital to move to be in front of the Supreme Court; and essays, poems, letters and other material from both their supporters and those who wished they would call off their hunger strike. In the meantime, for those who wish to find additional information about the ongoing crisis of freedom of expression and human rights, and the legal struggle to redress it, Thai Lawyers for Human Rights (<https://www.tlhr2014.com>) and iLaw (<https://www.ilaw.or.th>) are two excellent resources.

-- Tyrell Haberkorn  
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# The Memos

## **22 January 2023**

Lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong would like to report that at 1:45 am on Sunday, 22 January, they were contacted by staff at the Department of Corrections (DoC) Hospital regarding the condition of both individuals. The lawyers spoke with the hospital staff and physicians for approximately 20 minutes. They requested that the lawyers come to meet Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong that morning.

For the aforementioned reason, the lawyers traveled to the DoC Hospital at 9 am on 22 January 2023. The DoC Hospital arranged for the lawyers to confer with Tawan and Bam for 20 minutes via the Google Meet application.

The lawyers would like to provide the details of the meeting to the public as follows:

Both are exhausted, especially Bam. She has fallen, is dizzy, and is suffering a significant amount from the hunger strike. Bam said that she fell in the bathroom that morning. Tawan is weak but her mind remains sharp and she is able to converse using long sentences. Both maintain that they will continue to refrain from consuming water or food. They will refuse treatment, IV drips, and parenteral nutrition until their three demands are met.

Both informed the lawyers that if the DoC maintains that they will monitor their condition under the supervision of a physician or in a hospital, they do not want to be in the DoC Hospital and would like to be transferred to another hospital. The reason is that they are concerned about their safety as they have both experienced treatment that is not in line with their wishes. Therefore, if the DoC wants them to be under the care of a physician, they request that they be sent to another hospital which is not under the control of the DoC. If the



DoC continues to refuse to do so, the two will not consent to remain in the DoC Hospital and will request to be held in the Initial Entry Zone of the Central Women's Prison. This will be safer.

In addition, Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong asked the lawyers to inform society that, "We are very strong and are in very good spirits. We can hear the sound of fireworks that people have set off as encouragement to us. Thank you to everyone, and we offer our encouragement to everyone who is fighting outside." They held up three fingers before the signal was cut.

### **23 January 2023**

Lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong wish to report that on 23 January 2023, they met with Tawan and Bam via the LINE application on the computer system of the DoC Hospital.

The lawyers would like to provide details about the meeting with Tawan and Bam to the public as follows:

Both were exhausted when they met with the lawyers. Their faces could clearly be seen to be pale white on the screen. Their mouths were dry and cracked. Tawan and Bam said that at 4:30 pm on Sunday, 22 January 2023, both went to the bathroom to wash their faces and brush their teeth. After brushing their teeth, Bam, or Ms. Orawan, heard a loud thud. She turned and saw that Tawan had fallen and hit her head on the wall. A staff member quickly entered to prop them both up. Then Tawan, or Ms. Tantawan, was taken to lie down in bed and given a bag of ice to hold against the right side of her forehead.

Tawan refused to allow the hospital staff to scan her head.

Tawan and Bam informed the lawyers that neither dare to be treated or remain in the DoC Hospital. This is because yesterday, when Tawan fell and hit her head it occurred before the DoC daily press release, and this information was not reported. In addition, contrary to the report, they cannot walk on their own. They maintain that if the prison wishes for them to be under the care of a physician or in a hospital, they would like to be transferred to a hospital not under the control of the DoC. Otherwise, they would like to be returned to the Initial Entry Zone of the Central Women's Prison.

Therefore, from the conversation with Tawan and Bam, the lawyers are gravely concerned about the attitudes of the staff at the DoC Hospital. They are concerned with respect to their communications, the physical and mental safety [of Tawan and Bam], their devaluation [of Tawan and Bam], and whether or not their actions are in line with the regulations and respect for the human dignity of the detainees.

Tawan and Bam wish to send the message to political prisoners who have not been granted bail that, "Have faith in our will and place your hope in us. We will not stop for certain." To political prisoners who have been granted temporary release with conditions, they wish to send the message that, "We want you to request that the conditions be lifted. Keep fighting. We will keep fighting."

At the end, Tawan and Bam said, "We have never thought that we made the wrong decision. If we went back, knowing that we would suffer to this degree, to level of 100, we would continue to a level of one million. Even though our bodies are now in terrible shape, we are suffering a great deal and have no idea how we will make it to tomorrow, we will try to continue on."

Regarding their friends with whom they used to go eat to-

gether, they asked that they be told that if they get out, "If we don't die, we'll eat together again."

## **24 January 2023**

On 24 January 2023, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam at 11 am. During the first period, Mr. Pita Limcharoenrat, the guarantor and supervisor [for Tawan's previous release on bail], also visited.

The lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong would like to provide details about their condition and the meeting to the public as follows:

From inquiring about their symptoms, the lawyers learned that both have facial flushing, feel overheated and feel unwell for unknown reasons. Both have tried to wash their faces and their bodies. They have been unable to completely stop their suffering. They have been unable to sleep through the night and have only managed to sleep for brief periods. They have a constant feeling of wanting to vomit but there is nothing left to come out of their bodies. They are constantly dizzy, nauseated, burping, and can feel their hearts racing. During the entirety of the meeting, both were on the verge of vomiting, but nothing came up.

In the morning, before the lawyers and the guarantor came to visit, Tawan and Bam said that an individual who said that he was the director brought a memo for them to sign to provide their willingness to be taken to be treated at another hospital. He spoke nicely with them. Another official told them that they should take pity on the wardens who have to guard them. This made Tawan and Bam feel uneasy and they agreed to the memo. The memo did not stipulate to which hospital they would be moved. Subsequently, they learned that the DoC Hospital was going to send them to the Police

Hospital. Tawan and Bam then said that they would like to be taken to Thammasat University Hospital, which is the hospital of Thammasat University, and is not under the control of the DoC.

However, the pair continue to assert that they will continue their dry hunger strike. With regards to the move to Thammasat University Hospital, if the physicians wish to do anything, it will have to be in accordance with the conditions and consent of Tawan and Bam.

The lawyers informed the DoC Hospital in writing of the the wishes of Bam and Tawan. They also had Bam and Tawan convey their own wish to be moved to Thammasat University Hospital on the same afternoon. At this time (6:42 pm), the pair has not yet been moved.

Today, they gave the lawyers messages to send to their parents. The lawyers informed Bam that her father had called and sent a message that, “[Your] Dad stands on your side.” This caused Bam to cry out and say that on the day that she walked out of the house, her father yelled after her that she had to return to him. She promised him that she would return.

As for Tawan, she asked the lawyers to send a message to her parents that, “I know that Mom and Dad are very strong. No way will I give up. I am still fighting. I want you to know that I am still fighting every second. You know that I never give up, no matter the issue. I won’t give up on this either.” Tears accompanied her request.

Further, the pair expressed their awareness that they realize their lives will be endangered if they are not sent to another hospital. And yet they still maintain their original stance.

## **25 January 2023**

On 25 January 2023, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam and conferred with the physicians under whose care they are under at Thammasat University Hospital.

The lawyers for Tantanwan Tuatulanon and Orawan would like to provide details about their condition and the meeting to the public as follows:

The lawyers entered Bam and Tawan's hospital room at 2:52 pm. There were 4 prison guards in the room at all times. The pair were laying together on a single bed. Tawan is much thinner and her skull can clearly be seen. Both wore brightly-colored sweaters in matching patterns as they lay next to one another on the bed.

From inquiring, the lawyers learned that when they were examined upon arrival the day before, Tawan was at risk of her heart potentially stopping due to a lack of potassium. She therefore decided to accept potassium from the nurse at Thammasat University Hospital. But the pair still maintain that they are going to act in accordance with their original intention — no water, no food, no IV lines, no minerals, no vitamins, no drinking sweetened beverages or anything else — and are confident in the care of Thammasat University Hospital.

Today, their mental state is greatly improved. Bam expressed strong feelings upon learning that her parents went to the "Stand, Stop, Imprison" protest.

From conferring with the physicians, both Tawan and Bam are conscious within normal limits. They are exhausted. Their vital signs are within normal limits. Blood was drawn for examination and x-rays were completed and all indicate that they have not yet reached a crisis state. With respect to be-

ing on hunger strike without accepting medication, they will experience unrelieved pain and suffering. When patients refuse medication and treatment, Thammasat University Hospital will respect the decision of the patients and care for them according to set standards, such as checking their vital signs every 4-6 hours.

Mineral deficiency is beginning to emerge in the bodies of both Tawan and Bam. When the level of some minerals, such as potassium, is too low, the heart can stop beating. At this time, the pair are already at this stage. If this continues, and the pair continue to refuse minerals, their condition may not improve. But, lack of improvement or threat to life or body can arise due to many factors.

Tawan and Bam maintain to the lawyers that they are well aware of their bodies' own condition and what can happen. Tawan said that if her body enters into a crisis stage for any reason, she is well-aware that she may have a heart attack; of this she said, "If that happens, I won't be aware of anything anymore."

## **26 January 2023**

The lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong would like to provide details about their condition and their visit with Tawan and Bam to the public as follows:

On 26 January 2023, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam in the afternoon at Thammasat University Hospital.

Today, Tawan and Bam have moved rooms due to construction and loud noises next to their original room. The pair are sleeping together on one bed and wearing knitted sweaters. The first question they asked was, so has the court decided to grant bail? Have our friends been granted bail? The law-

yers informed them that they have not and shared details of the Criminal Court's denial of every bail-related petition.

From observation, the lawyers observe that at this time, their mouths are dry and their faces are very pale. From inquiring about their condition, the lawyers learn that they both must use a walker and the prison officials to help support them to stand up. They are easily fatigued and easily become out of breath, even though they are laying down and resting. Tawan has swelling in the area under her jaw. Upon inquiring with the physicians, the lawyers learned that they suspect it is a swollen lymph node; if there is any additional swelling, it will have to be examined as there is the risk of infection.

Tawan and Bam have abdominal and epigastric pain. The pain comes in waves all day. This pain has caused them to consent to accept antacid medication to reduce their suffering and be able to sleep. In addition, both have low potassium that is in the range of causing their hearts to stop. Today, Bam accepted potassium but Tawan refused it. Both maintain that they will not accept liquids, food, a saline IV drip, vitamins, minerals, sweetened beverages, or parenteral nutrition. They will not accept treatment.

## **27 January 2023**

The lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong would like to provide details about their condition and the visit on 27 January 2023 to the public as follows:

On 27 January 2023, Tawan's mother and father, Bam's father and mother, and the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam at Thammasat University Hospital at 11:30 am.

When they came in to visit, they found the pair asleep and facing and embracing one another. They expressed a great

deal of happiness upon seeing the visitors.

From inquiring about their condition, the lawyers learned that physicians have drawn their blood to check various levels. Bam and Tawan said that they have to have their blood drawn each day and it has grown very painful. In addition, their fingers are pricked daily to test their glucose levels. Bam's glucose level is 86 and Tawan's is 67. Bam's hand has a needle inserted because she accepted antacids to relieve her suffering from stomach pain. Since they arrived at Thammasat University Hospital, Tawan has received antacids once and Bam has received antacids twice. Bam received antacids the second time because she could not breathe. They each drank one cup of water when they received antacids.

Tawan and Bam said that they are very exhausted even though all they are doing is laying down. Their stomachs hurt all the time.

From the lawyers' observation today, Tawan's face is so pale that she no longer resembles herself. Their lips are cracked, dry and peeling. Both have purple bruises on their hands and in their elbow creases from blood draws. Their eyes no longer sparkle as they did on previous days.

Both maintained that they are happy to be in Thammasat University Hospital. They feel that it is a good hospital. There is cool air and they feel safe.

When the lawyers entered the room, the pair immediately asked about the results of the bail requests. Upon receiving the news that the court has dismissed all of the petitions and denied bail to everyone, Tawan said not to worry and, "Okay, no problem. TLHR [Thai Lawyers for Human Rights] will request bail again. That's how it is."

The pair smiled and were satisfied when the lawyers showed



them pictures [of recent protests in support of them]. Tawan said that she admires Professor Thongchai Winichakul a great deal and was very happy. And when she learned the news that the court decided to not revoke the bail of the wife of Tuhao [Chainat Kornchayanan] and would let her fight the case from outside, Tawan said, "If that's how it is, it would be better to make an offering to a spirit house."

Their pair said that from now on, they will not eat, they will not drink and they will not accept any kind of medication at all. Bam said that she is going to take her struggle up a notch by having the physicians remove the IV needle left in her hand to give antacids. Upon learning that the lawyers were going to try to visit [over the weekend] but might be unable, Tawan and Bam said that they would try to bear it even though they don't know what might happen.

The pair sent a message to Bai Por and Get to look after themselves and wait to meet up at the victory line. They sent a message to people outside that that they trust in and believe them. Their spirits are in excess of 100%. Bam sent a message to her partner to be dedicated to their work. And the pair sent a message to the court for judges to be human before they are judges.

## **28 January 2023**

The lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong would like to provide details about their condition on 28 January 2023 to the public as follows:

On 28 January 2023, the lawyers went to Thammasat University Hospital but were refused entry to visit by the prison officials as it was the weekend and visits are not allowed. Subsequently, the lawyers inquired with the director and nurses of Thammasat University Hospital about the condition of Tawan

and Bam. They learned the following:

The patients continue to be exhausted and have abdominal. They both must use a walker to get up and walk around. Their blood results, vital signs, and glucose levels remain within normal ranges. The patients have not consumed food and they refuse water. Since they have not eaten, their stomachs hurt. In addition, at this time, the patients continue to refuse to accept painkillers and antacids.

The Thammasat University Hospital also said that, usually, when they assess a patient's condition, they do not do so by observing their outside condition, but by using tests and taking vital signs every four hours. When the lawyers inquired about the likelihood of Tawan and Bam going into shock, the Thammasat University Hospital nurse answered that their vital signs remain in normal range at this time. But the likelihood of going into shock may increase because a patient can go into shock from not eating. At this time, the potassium levels of both patients remain within normal limits. The hospital will periodically check their glucose levels.

With concern regarding Tawan and Bam's assertion the previous day that they were going to increase their struggle, the lawyers further inquired if Tawan and Bam's condition might reach a crisis. The Thammasat University Hospital nurse informed them that the two patients remain alive because they received potassium and other electrolytes to address their dehydration and reduce their pain. But today, the nongs [younger sisters] have refused all additional minerals and medication.

Thammasat University Hospital maintained to the lawyers that they will provide care to the fullest to Tawan and Bam. But as regards visiting, it is the prerogative of the DoC whether or not they will permit it. The Thammasat University Hospital nurse conveyed that at this time, the two patients are not

being treated as they have refused treatment and all liquids, food, medication and minerals.

### **30 January 2023**

The lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong would like to provide details about the condition of Tawan and Bam on 30 January 2023 to the public as follows:

On 30 January 2023, the lawyers went to Thammasat University Hospital to visit Tawan and Bam. From conversation, the lawyers learned that friends, family, and three representatives from the National Human Rights Commission visited today. In addition, yesterday, on 29 January 2023, from 3:15-5 pm, a delegation of five medical school professors visited.

From the physicians' report, Ms. Tantawan is conscious and aware, exhausted, and has a dry mouth and symmetrical jaw pain. She slept only intermittently because she feels overheated, has heartburn, and has sharp chest pain when she lays on her side. She is able to respond and her mood is appropriate in conversation. Ms. Orawan is conscious and aware, exhausted, and has a dry mouth and symmetrical jaw pain. She slept only intermittently because she was uncomfortable and grinding her teeth. She is able to respond and her mood is appropriate in conversation. They both have an increased level of ketones in their blood. This is to say that Tawan has a ketone level of 4.98, which rose from 2.40 originally. Bam has a ketone level of 5.31, which rose from 2.16 originally (25 January 2023). This is a result of their bodies breaking down and consuming a significant amount of muscle.

Tawan and Bam further said that in the meeting with the delegation of five medical school professors, one physician pled

with them to sip water to reduce their symptoms. In the end, the pair agreed to a sip of water and to use KY jelly.

In the report of the physician team caring for Tawan and Bam, under the "MSE" [Mental State Examination] category, the physicians note that they, "Are determined to hunger strike in order to make demands according to their aims. But they do not wish to end their own lives. They are aware that hunger striking poses a risk to their lives; they have not expressed fear of this risk."

The medical report further stipulated the following under the category of "The communication of Ms. Tantawan and Ms. Orawan":

- Not afraid of dying if their deaths will lead to justice and freedom for those who made demands and are being prosecuted simply because they want change that will lead to a reduction of inequity. They are willing to die if peoples' lives and the nation will improve.
- The choice of the food and water fast is a method that will clearly and swiftly cause transformation.
- However, death is not their ultimate goal. They think that continuing to live so that they can continue to struggle for their primary goals is important and they are considering this point.
- The youth are those who will take care of the country in the future. The country should look after the youth so that they will grow to be strong to care for the country, instead of doing this and that to erect obstacles on the path of youth to grow and develop.

The lawyers wish to express gratitude to the delegation of five medical school professors who came to examine Tawan and Bam on 29 January 2023.

### **31 January 2023**

Today the lawyers went to visit Tawan and Bam at Thammasat University Hospital in Rangsit at approximately 4 pm. This is because today many groups of people visited the nongs [younger sisters] beginning in the morning. Pita Limcharoenrat, the head of Move Forward Party, and other party members visited. Then Tawan and Bam's parents and other relatives visited. Then, a group from the Ministry of Justice visited. The lawyers were the final group to visit, at approximately 4 pm.

From conversation with the pair, the lawyers learned that last night, Tawan had a nosebleed and her throat was irritated and coughed up blood, mucus and saliva. She bled from her gums, and commented that the amount of blood was significant.

Tawan said that the result of today's examination by a nurse was that her ketone level is still very high and her glucose level was down to only approximately 60. The physicians begged her to drink sweetened water, vitamins, and minerals. But she refused all treatment other than sipping water in response to the pleas of the previous day's physicians.

The physicians' examination of Bam indicates that her glucose level is down to only 70 and her potassium level is very low. The physicians asked her to accept sweetened water, vitamins and minerals, but she continued to refuse. Subsequently, the physicians pled again and Bam then assented to receive potassium and to sip water. But she refused other treatment.

They both looked very weak at all times. They said that they cannot really sleep at night. They both have abdominal pain and intermittent sharp chest pains.

Today, both look exhausted. This is likely a result from both starvation and conversations with the many groups of visitors. The lawyers therefore only spoke with them briefly to confer on their case and legal matters.

Tawan and Bam asked the lawyers to tell people outside that they thank everyone who is supporting them in their demands for the three points, whether or not they agree with their method. They request that everyone who agrees with their demands to help push them forward using every possible method.

They said that they are still fighting. No one needs to worry. They do not want to die, but it will be worth it if what they are demanding becomes real.

## **1 February 2023**

Today, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam at Thammasat University Hospital in the afternoon.

From the conversation, the lawyers learned that Tawan has check tightness from stomach cramping and her abdominal pain has increased in comparison to previous days. She cannot fully inhale into her belly. She had a nosebleed last night. Tawan said that she feels very tired, in a way that she cannot explain. She cannot get up, meaning she cannot sit up, when people come to visit. Tawan's glucose level is currently 63 and is no longer reaching 70. The physicians have asked the nurses to check their level frequently, as well as monitor them all the time. If their glucose levels fall any lower, they may lose consciousness. In addition, an older sister nurse gave them lozenges. Tawan said that she accepted it to make the physician happy. But she did not eat it.

Tawan further said that the physician told her that if she lost

consciousness, her brain may not function normally if she wakes up. This is because the brain uses sugar as fuel. This has caused Tawan to become stressed because she is a person who can compute numbers quickly.

Bam said that it is now very difficult for her to sleep. Once she does fall asleep, she wakes up constantly due to discomfort. Every time she wakes up, Bam tries to tell herself to get ahold of herself. Every movement now makes her feel dizzy. Her head spins and she wobbles. In addition, when she stands to brush her teeth, she feels that her muscles are very hard, like she has a cramp. Today, Bam's potassium level is in the normal-to-low range. Tomorrow, the physician will come to examine her again.

Bam said that she felt very tired when people came to visit her, but tried to force herself to engage them in conversation. Bam mentioned the case of Pinky being able to take off her EM anklet and said, "I feel terrible. Why does Pinky get to take off her EM anklet? I went and asked them to let me take off the EM anklet because I could not work. Wherever I applied to work, no one hired me. The court said, 'That's your personal issue, not the court's issue.'"

And why did the court grant permission for Pinky to remove it, even though it was for the same reason of work?

The pair said that a cabinet minister came to see them yesterday. The minister told them that, "I will take your demands and put them in the prime minister's plan. As long as I hold this position, I will work to make it more concrete. But I want you to get treatment first."

Tawan said that, "I still maintain, as before, that I will not accept treatment and I will only sip water." The minister can go ahead and do whatever he is going to do and there is no need to promise anything. Then, the pair will assess it

further.

Today, the lawyers observed that Tawan responded more slowly in conversation.

## **2 February 2023**

Today, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam at Thammasat University Hospital at around 4:30 pm.

Today, Bam said that she feels like her calf muscles do not have any strength and are always tight. Bam is very fatigued and has no strength at all. Sipping water no longer makes her feel better. Today, a physician came to assess her muscles by asking her to try to lift her legs, checking the state of her body, and testing her muscles. But the results have not yet come back and will arrive at approximately 11 am tomorrow morning. In addition, Bam has periodic heartburn and epigastric pain, like there is gas in her belly.

Tawan said that at present, her glucose level is approximately 62 and has not reached 70 for three days. She is bleeding from her gums. Last night, Tawan felt so much pain that she was unable to sleep. Her abdominal pain has returned and it is more severe and long-lasting. She has sharp pains in her chest when she lays on her side or moves. The physicians said it is likely because she is small-framed and her body has less muscle mass.

“Now I am starting to have blurry, speckled vision. I see pictures in grey. I don’t know whether or not to call it fainting.” Both of their faces look exhausted. They still maintain that they will only sip water and will not accept food, vitamins, sweetened liquids, or lozenges.

Tawan and Bam want to know when bail requests for their



friends will next be submitted.

“Now, our bodies can no longer make it, but we are trying to bear it.”

Both further said that they continue to believe in and have faith in the people outside. They will continue to fight until they receive good news.

“Our spirits are still very high. Even though our bodies are the opposite. Thank you to everyone who is part of our struggle. We are still fighting. Every bit of encouragement we glean from our lawyers gives us a lot of inner strength. We are still here because we believe in those who are outside.”

### **3 February 2023**

On 3 February 2023, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam at Thammasat University Hospital in the afternoon. The lawyers would like to provide details about their condition and the visit to the public as follows:

Today, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam and also gave them two bouquets of flowers given to the lawyers to give to them by those outside. Bam expressed a great deal of happiness and said that the bouquet of pink roses is very beautiful. Tam smiled quietly. She apologized to the lawyers that she could no longer sit up and asked if she could lay down during the conversation. Their condition is in line with the statement released by Thammasat University Hospital. At this time, the physicians have inserted an IV port into their hands in preparation for a likely emergency situation.

When the pair learned the news that a large number of their friends outside were able to take off their electronic monitoring, or EM, anklets, they expressed a great deal of happiness.

Tawan, who was laying down, began to cry and she lifted her hands to wipe her tears away multiple times.

The lawyers brought a document distributed at the Criminal Court at a press conference organized by the Courts of Justice to which they invited "every branch of media in order to explain the process of examination and orders of release on bail and the stipulation of conditions for temporary release, as well as the protection of the rights of detainees in criminal cases that are related to violation of the public assembly law and other accusations about demonstrations that arise from the current situation. Incomplete communication of information impacts the understanding of the process of examination by the Courts of Justice and the rights and liberties of the detainees, which further causes differences of opinions to spread and expand further." The lawyers brought the press release for Tawan and Bam to read and summarized the details of the press conference as the court spoke about the pair directly.

Tawan and Bam disagreed with the explanation by the spokesperson for the Courts that the attaching of the electronic instrument, or the EM anklet, is "with the consent of the accused." Tawan said that, "It was as if I have been coerced into having to accept every single thing. If I didn't agree to it, then I would not get out. I could starve to death and still not get out, if I didn't accept the conditions."

Bam opened her mouth, but did not say anything. Tawan said that, "I feel like the more they speak, the worse it is." They asked about the bail status of all of the political detainees. They firmly maintained that the court must grant bail to all of their friends who are being detained while they are fighting political cases, not only Article 112 cases.

Bam said that, "Even though the court may view them as impoverished and not good people, they are human just like us.

They have lives, they have feelings, they have parents, they have people who love them and who are waiting for them. And they must want to get out and eat with their families.”

Tawan said, “All of our friends must be released.” She then looked exhausted and fell sleep without saying anything else.

## **7 February 2023**

At around 4 pm, the lawyers received information that the director of Thammasat University Hospital submitted a petition to the Criminal Court and the Bangkok Southern Criminal Court for the courts to withdraw the detention orders for Tawan and Bam. After the pair submitted their petition to revoke their own bail, the Court placed the detention orders with the Central Women’s Prison. Both courts issued orders releasing Tawan and Bam.

In addition, the lawyers received information that the court denied the requests for bail for 8 political detainees, who are among those for whom Tawan and Bam are on hunger strike. This includes the Appeal Court denial of bail to Sitthichoke, who is currently on hunger strike and has refused to accept a saline drip.

The lawyers visited Tawan and Bam and conveyed all of this news. The pair was perplexed. They are not calling for their own freedom. They revoked their own bail and are demanding that the court release all people accused of political crimes.

Tawan and Bam asked the lawyers to urgently bring all of the relevant court orders to them by tomorrow (8 February 2023) so that they can decide how they will proceed in their fight.

Tawan and Bam maintained that they would continue their

dry hunger strike while they wait for information from the lawyer.

In addition, they still maintain that neither has acknowledged or was aware that Thammasat University Hospital and the court arranged and carried out the revocation of their detention order. They will definitely not acknowledge or sign their names on any documents that are about their release at this time.

## **8 February 2023**

On 8 February 2023, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam at Thammasat University Hospital, Rangsit Center.

The lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong would like to provide the details about their condition and the meeting to the public as follows:

Both feel disappointed that the court and the judges do not have a true understanding of the situation. They maintain that they will continue their dry hunger strike (no food, no water). They asked their lawyers to coordinate and request cooperation from other lawyers and various sectors of civil society to proceed with re-requesting bail for the remaining 8 political detainees.

If their 8 friends are not released within the next 3 days, which is from tomorrow until Saturday, 11 February 2023, the pair will no longer be a bother to Thammasat University Hospital. They will leave the hospital to continue their dry hunger strike (no food, no water) and struggle in an appropriate location.

## **10-11 February 2023**

On 10 February 2023, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam at Thammasat University Hospital, Rangsit Center.

The lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong would like to provide details about their condition and the visit to the public as follows:

Tawan is conscious and aware. Her gums are bleeding. Bam is conscious and aware. Her stomach cramps have lessened. She can stand for brief periods. Both are at significant risk for refeeding syndrome. Both could be treated but they refuse. They maintain that they will continue their hunger strike, sip water, accept liquid nutrients, and refuse the physicians' requests to accept vitamins and minerals through eating. They also refuse the physicians' suggested treatment to drink rice water mixed with salt.

From inquiring with the physicians, Tawan and Bam's condition is stable. Their kidneys are balanced. The physicians remain very concerned about their refusal to accept nutrients from eating and drinking. This is because the insertion of an IV line carries the risk of infection and could ultimately lead to difficulties in finding veins for various treatments.

Tawan and Bam said that they see that society is beginning to come to consciousness about the right to bail and the presumption of innocence. The Constitution is beginning to become real. This is to say, political detainees have started to be released, namely Mr. S and Mr. O (4 February 2023), Mr. T. (8 February 2023), Mr. S (2). (9 February 2023), Mr. K (9 February 2023), and Mr. S (3) (10 February 2023). Further, 34 defendants in political cases have been released from having to wear electronic monitoring (EM) anklets.

However, even though there has been some progress, some

friends remain detained following the denial of the right to bail. At this time, the lawyers and the civil society network continue to coordinate to request bail. This includes an additional 4 friends who are waiting for the results of the pre-release investigation by the Probation Department.

Tawan and Bam therefore decided that they will continue their hunger strike and will sip water. They will refuse all treatments by mouth. They will refuse the medical treatment of drinking rice water mixed with salt water. They will remain at Thammasat University Hospital and wait for the results of the pre-release evaluation by the Probation Department.

The pair have already selected the location appropriate to continue their hunger strike, but have asked to wait before publicly releasing it.

The pair maintain that there are no miracles in this world. There are only humans who can build the path themselves.

## **12 February 2023**

Today, Tawan and Bam remain very fatigued as a result of continuing to refuse to eat food and accept any medication by mouth. The pair assented to sip water in accordance with the advice of physicians.

Both Tawan and Bam have a great deal of pain in both of their arms. This is caused by severe phlebitis, which comes from giving liquid nutrients by IV until the arms and hands are swollen.

Tawan and Bam still have elevated ketone levels. Bam also has a very low potassium level.

However, Bam and Tawan maintain that they will continue

their hunger strike while they wait for the outcome of the Criminal Court's examination of the request for bail for the remaining defendants in political cases.

They maintain that they are not pressuring anyone, but rather that their stance is that they are continuing their hunger strike to be encouragement for those accused in political cases. Their view is that their detention is unjust and in contravention to legal principles.

### **13 February 2023**

Tawan is aware and conscious. She can respond. She is exhausted. She is bleeding from her gums. She is not eating food but is sipping water. She has gas and abdominal pain. She has pain in both arms and phlebitis from receiving IV fluids. She cannot sleep. She feels that her thinking and memory are slower than usual. But she still has appropriate responses in conversation. Bam is aware and conscious. She can respond. She is exhausted. She is not eating food but is sipping water. She has stomach cramps and a lot of pain in her arms. The pain in her arms is caused by phlebitis from receiving IV fluids. She is able to sleep more than Tawan. But she also feels that her thinking and memory are slower than usual.

The physicians informed the lawyers that both have a serious risk of refeeding syndrome after they cease their hunger strike. They can be given liquid nutrients to protect against dehydration. And they further recommend that they drink rice water with salt added, but they two patients have refused to consume food by mouth. They are only sipping water and accepting IV fluids only. The physicians further explained that they will not improve if they continue in this way; they will continue to decline.

The pair said that their arms hurt a great deal now. This is due to the condition of their veins, which may cause problems in the future. They can still move their arms, but both are very swollen and bruised. The physicians advised that if the veins in their hands cease to be functional anymore, they may have to use the veins in the area above the elbow crease or out in a central line in their necks. The latter would cause significant pain and suffering for the patients and carries a high risk of infection.

When they learned that the Criminal Court denied the bail request of Pornphot, one of their fellow political case defendants, even though there is a person willing to serve as guarantor and supervisor, and also learned the news that human rights defender [who is a defendant] did not receive permission to go speak at a United Nations meeting in Switzerland, despite having an invitation, the pair said that they feel very anxious. When they consider this refusal to grant bail and the placement of conditions that disproportionately limit rights, they do not know what standard is being applied.

## **14 February 2023**

On 14 February 2023, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam at Thammasat University Hospital, Rangsit Center.

They found that the pair have grown much weaker. The physicians have not come to examine them today, but may come tomorrow to draw blood.

The pair said that their condition remains the same and is not so terrible. They are suffering from pain in both of their arms. Tawan is still bleeding from her gums. They both feel blurry and are thinking very slowly. The lawyers had to slowly and carefully explain various matters to them. But they can still respond appropriately to the situation and context.



Tawan has been unable to sleep for many days in a row. Therefore, she feels that her body has deteriorated a great deal, but remains in good spirits. Bam explained that she feels that the condition of her body is declining. There has been no improvement.

The pair said that they are now thinking and making plans much more slowly. But they continue to follow the situation. They are happy to see that Khongpetch and Khun Sombat have been released and are living outside prison. Seeing such things makes them feel like they have the energy to keep fighting. They hope that all Thai people are going to receive equal and fair treatment. They hope that all people will be able to access the right to bail.

Regarding their path of struggle, they maintain that they will continue their hunger strike and will sip water. They hope that the outcome of the evaluation by the Probation Department and their friends' bail requests will come before their bodies give out.

## **15 February 2023**

On 15 February 2023, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam at Thammasat University Hospital, Rangsit Center.

The lawyers for Ms. Tantanwan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong would like to provide details about their condition and the visit to the public as follows:

Tawan is conscious and aware. She is more fatigued. She is bleeding from her gums. She is not eating food but is sipping water. She has gas. Her abdominal pain has lessened. Both her arms hurt due to phlebitis from receiving IV fluids. She has insomnia. Her thinking and memory are slower. She can

converse appropriately with the topic of conversation. Bam is conscious and aware. She can respond. She is not eating food but is sipping water. She is more fatigued. She has sharp stomach cramps. Her arms hurt on both sides from phlebitis due to receiving IV fluids. She has insomnia. Her thinking and memory are slower. She can converse appropriately with the topic of conversation. Both are at significant risk for Refeeding Syndrome. Both are continuing their hunger strike and only sipping water.

Both have anemia and various blood values are all low. Today, both accepted potassium because a too-low level of potassium impacts heart function. The physicians are worried about their insufficient nutrients and their lack of physical improvement. They are stable, but stably unwell. The physicians' view is that Tawan and Bam should quickly accept treatment.

Today, the pair intently followed the situation of Get and Bai Por, friends whose bail was revoked by the Criminal Court and therefore had to re-enter the prison. At this time, Get is in bad condition because he has protested by refusing to sleep for many days. Bai Por remains lively and in good spirits. Tawan and Bam are worried about their friends who are making the same demands.

"The Court has not judged any of us guilty yet. We are fighting our cases. But we don't have the right to live normal lives."

## **16 February 2023**

On 16 February 2023, the lawyers went to visit Tawan and Bam at Thammasat University Hospital, Rangsit Center.

In the morning, the physicians came in to draw blood from Bam and found that her potassium remains low. The physi-

cians are concerned that it will cause her heart to beat irregularly and will lead to heart failure. Bam's general condition is stable. She has intermittent stomach cramps and a lot of gas in her stomach. Her feeling of blurriness has increased a bit. Tawan did not have blood drawn. She has similar feeling of blurriness to yesterday. She feels a lot of confusion and her thinking is slow. Both have significant bruising and purple marks all over their arms.

Both of the pair are very happy that 4 of their friends from Thalugaz have been released on bail. They are waiting to see when their remaining friends are going to get out of the prison.

Yesterday, a judge from the Criminal Court was mentioned during debate in Parliament. They said that they knew this judge because he issued orders in many of their cases.

"We are on hunger strike due to people like him," Bam said. "If I survive, I want to be a judge, because I want to change things like this," Tawan said.

Both sent a message to those outside to send encouragement to Get and Bai Por: "We are making the same demands."

## **17 February 2023**

On 17 February 2023, the lawyers visited Tawan and Bam at Thammasat University Hospital, Rangsit Center.

The lawyers for Ms. Tantanwan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong would like to provide details about their condition and the meeting to the public as follows:

Tawan is unwell. She has sinus congestion with green mucus. Her gums are bleeding. She is weak but can respond.

She has no other unusual bleeding and she does not have a fever. Her arms still hurt. She has only slept a little bit. When she stands, her vision blurs. Her thinking and memory have grown slower. She can respond in a mood appropriate to the conversation. Bam is weak and fatigued. She can respond. She has stomach cramps and gas. Her arms also hurt. She can sleep. Her thinking and memory have grown slower. She can respond in a mood appropriate to the conversation.

The physicians explained that these symptoms are a result of insufficient nutrients and provided information about other modes of treatment, including for example, beginning to eat again.

When asked why they continue to fight, Tawan and Bam responded that they made a decision, and it is a decision that they believe is good. Everybody is human, all the same. No one should be abandoned and left behind. Even though they do not know all of the political prisoners personally, and they know that many of those who have been released may not support their method, they feel that what has happened to the political prisoners is not right. Therefore, they want to make demands and they want a country that is better than this. They have reached today and do not feel that what they have done has been in vain.

Both further explained that since the court easily revoked their detention order, even though they did not request it, they are aware of how the world of those who hold power works, and how those who hold power think.

But since they have not yet lost hope, their decision is that they want to continue on, as there is nothing that is not worth it.

## **18 February 2023**

On 18 February 2023 at 6:17 pm, the lawyers informed Tawan and Bam of the court's denial of bail to Khathathorn Thiranai and Chaiyaporn via telephone.

The pair were both quiet at first. Tawan remained silent. Bam asked, when will the older brother and sister lawyers submit a request for bail again?

The pair did not say very much on the phone. Of their physical condition, they said that their brains feel dull. They thanked the lawyers for providing them with what happened with the bail request because it is relevant to their decision-making process.

## **20 February 2023**

The lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong wish to provide details about their condition and the visit on 20 February 2023 to the public as follows:

Today, Tawan remains in similar condition to before. Her thinking remains slow and she is weaker. When she changes position, she gets dizzy and feels faint. Her gums are still bleeding. Bam is weaker than before as well. She has started to have an intermittently increased heart rate. Her legs have no strength. Her potassium is low. She is fatigued and feels blurry.

This afternoon, bail results will come out for six fellow political prisoners who are still being detained and dispossessed of their rights and freedoms. This includes Get, Bai Por, Khathathorn, Pornphot, Thiranai, and Chaiyaporn.

Tawan and Bam informed the lawyers that if the outcome

of the today's requests for bail are not in accordance with the law, they will no longer bother the Thammasat University Hospital. They will move and install themselves to hunger strike and continue to fight in front of the Supreme Court at Sanam Luang. They will wait there to hear the outcome of the request for bail of all of the political prisoners.

## **21 February 2023**

The lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phuphong wish to provide details about their condition and the visit on 21 February 2023 to the public as follows:

Today, Tawan and Bam said with a smile that they followed the live news from every media outlet that disseminated video of Bai Por and Pornphot walking out of prison and the ambulance that went to pick up Get. They were exuberant with the at the images of everyone hugging and encouraging one another. They said that today they are very happy, even though not everyone has gotten out of the prison..

Today, Get said that he missed Tawan and Bam. His eyes only look forward and he is unable to follow a physician's finger with his eyes. He has to have a CT scan of his brain today. But he maintains that he will continue to fight. He will not stop calling for rights to be afforded according to the law. If conditions are attached to temporary release, this means that, "When the court releases all of us, the court can still catch us and take us back in again."

Regarding this recent release on bail of fellow political prisoners, the news of which they can follow because they themselves are not detained, Tawan and Bam said it makes them think that there are still many people in the judiciary who are trying to do what is right and following the law.

Tawan and Bam said that at present, they are preparing to leave Thammasat University Hospital to move to their new destination. They need more time to prepare because there are many concerns about their health and factors that put them at risk of death. This has made it impossible for them to leave the hospital as they anticipated today. Once they are ready and have set the date and time for movement, they will inform the public.

Tawan and Bam maintained that once they have prepared themselves, they will move to in front of the Supreme Court to wait for all of their friends to return home. They will go in a peaceful and orderly way. They will wait with hope, and will wait as long as their bodies can stand it.

(2)

Today, a large number of plainclothes police stationed themselves outside the ward where Bam and Tawan are in the hospital. At 6:15 pm, one went to stand in front of Bam and Tawan's room.

The plainclothes police threatened individuals in Bam and Tawan's families all day. They followed every relative who went anywhere. They waited around the smoking area. They followed them to the cafeteria. They greeted and talked to Bam's father. In the end, they tried to walk into Bam and Tawan's hospital room without obtaining permission.

Tawan and Bam would like to convey that they were not afraid. But they feel that these actions disturb Thammasat University and other patients in the ward too much. It will cause the people in the university to become afraid. In addition, they are still unwell and must rest and not have any visitors. Therefore, it is inappropriate for anyone to barge in without permission or follow their friends and families all day.

Therefore, Tawan and Bam would like to ask for understanding from the police in and out of uniform from every station, and all officers of various security agencies. If they are coming to “to protect” them, please do so in a time and place that is appropriate. Because Thammasat University is a safe place. It is a university. And they are not criminals. They are simply people who are preparing to leave the hospital. Will the officials who represent the state respect the law and their privacy, please?

## **22 February 2023**

Through their lawyers, Tawan and Bam conveyed that they wish to officially apologize to Thammasat University Hospital and its personnel created by the threatening behavior of the Special Branch police.

They will try to speed up their preparations to leave the hospital so that the Special Branch police will no longer threaten the hospital.

They wish to offer gratitude and an apology to the medical personnel, the patients, the older brother and sister physicians, and the older sister nurses – everyone who was affected.

Regarding their preparations to leave the hospital, they would like to convey that it has been delayed due to the preparation of necessary instruments. Despite yesterday’s situation, they are moving as quickly as possible. The news of the Appeal Court’s ruling in the bail request of two additional fellow political prisoners, which they just learned of, has made them decide that whether they are ready or not, they should leave the hospital.

In addition, the lawyers called to inquire with the Khlong Lu-



ang Police Station [area that covers the Thammasat University Hospital], and received confirmation that the officials from Khlong Luang Police Station were not involved at all.

## **25 February 2023**

On 24 and 25 February 2023, the lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon, or Tawan, and Ms. Orawan Phuphong, or Bam, visited the pair in front of the Supreme Court, or Ah Kong Plaza across from Sanam Luang. The lawyers visited a total of two times to confer about the case and assess their physical condition. Tawan and Bam wrote a letter on 24 February 2023 refusing treatment that has been released to the public already.

The lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon, or Tawan, and Ms. Orawan Phuphong, or Bam, would like to report the following to the public:

From conversation, it is clear that the pair are exhausted and very weak. But they remain conscious and can still respond.

From inquiring about their condition, the lawyers learned that at this time, both have removed the IV lines that were used to give fluids by Thammasat University Hospital. At present, they must sip liquid nutrients in order to preserve their lives. This is because insertion of an IV line to provide fluids while they are on the streets carries a high risk of infection. But if they do not receive fluids, they will go into crisis and may die, from mineral deficiency, ketoacidosis, kidney failure, etc.

Tawan and Bam explained that when their bodies entered crisis at Thammasat University Hospital, they had to accept fluids in order to protect against death. They received fluids via an intravenous line and of a calorie amount calculated to avoid Refeeding Syndrome. This is a condition that arises

from being on a severe hunger strike for a long period of time. This means that their lives are currently at risk from receiving either too many or too few calories.

Tawan and Bam both conveyed that their intention is to continue fighting by maintaining a food and water fast until their demands are heard by the court. They do not have any desire to stop and return to treatment by physicians. They maintain that they will sip fluids only to keep themselves alive to continue to fight, not to improve their health.

From inquiring with the people looking after them, the lawyers learned that what is concerning is that as they have not had food and water for a long time, Tawan and Bam are not really able to sip liquids. Doing so causes them pain and suffering. If they are unable to sip sufficient liquid, they will be fatigued and dehydrated, and at risk of ketoacidosis and ultimately kidney failure. On the first day of drinking fluids, Tawan and Bam were able to sip approximately only 1/3 of what the physicians recommended. They had constant symptoms of faintness, dizziness, leg weakness, and abdominal pain.

Tawan and Bam told the lawyers that they are in excellent spirits. They are still trying to see a path to take their fight up a notch in case the court does not listen and respond to their demands. But they don't know how they will do so. They will wait to listen to the court's order first, which they anticipate will come out in the next day or two. If there is no order, they will consider what to do next and come to a decision together.

Tawan maintained that, "When we made this plan, we imagined that there were only two possible end points." Bam said that she felt surprised that they traveled here without anyone opposing them and that they were well looked after by the police.

They pair asked to thank their friends, the brothers and sisters, the aunties and uncles, and everyone who has come to offer encouragement around the tent. They want to thank everyone who came to take care of safety and preserve order and peace in the area: this has made them feel safer. They want to thank the society and everyone who came to the “Stand, Stop, Imprison” protest at Ah Kong Plaza, the plaza in front of the Supreme Court and across from Saman Luang. This has made them feel that they are not alone and gives them strength to struggle to make real the rights of defendants and accused in criminal cases.

“I feel that when Monday arrives, and they have to pass through this area where we are both laying, they may be able to act as though they don’t see us. But I will still be here. We will still be here,” Bam said.

## **26 February 2023**

Today, after the press conference, Tawan and Bam could still hear the sounds and yells of their friends who came to join the “Stand, Stop, Imprison” protest.

Tawan said that she wanted to get up and see what was happening. But she felt dizzy when she tried to sit up and so was unable to get up. Bam said that she propped herself up to see in time. She saw that there was a royal procession that passed and the yells came from those who joined the “Stand, Stop, Imprison” protest.

“We talked about it. Doing a poll about royal procession is the reason why we were charged,” the pair said.

The pair said that they feel gratitude because everyone was yelling and making demands that are just and everyone is

doing things that are just.

They then conveyed that they would submit a letter to the Supreme Court tomorrow at 10:00 am. If it is possible, they want to go themselves. But they are not confident that they will be able to go themselves or how they will go. If they are unable to go themselves, they want the officials to come to them to get the letter. They are less than ten steps away from the front of the Supreme Court.

## **27 February 2023**

Today, the lawyers were informed by Tawan and Bam's caretakers that they are much weaker than when they were released from Thammasat University Hospital. Bam only lays there and does not speak with anyone when they come in to take her blood pressure. Tawan can still speak and respond. When asked about how they feel, Tawan and Bam both said that they do not want people to be so interested in their condition. But they invite everyone who agrees with them that Thailand must have guarantees of the rights of the accused and defendants in criminal cases to follow the outcome of the request for bail in the case of "Ta" or Khathathorn, a youth political detainees who is one of those who has been detained the longest. Currently, he is waiting for the result of the probation evaluation and the order of the Criminal Court. They also ask that people follow the outcome of the request for bail for Thiranai and Chaiyaporn tomorrow by Thai Lawyers for Human Rights.

Then, the lawyers were informed about their blood test results. Both have very high ketones and a level of ketoacidosis that is medically dangerous. Their blood sugar is low, especially Bam. Bam's liver is inflamed and the physician explained that it has started to decline. In addition, the physician maintained that the pair should both return to the hos-

pital immediately. This is because in a situation of a hunger strike this lengthy, no one knows whether or not they will be able to treat and save the lives of the pair if an emergency arises.

Tawan and Bam conveyed that they submitted a letter to use the space to the President of the Supreme Court today. They invited the officials to receive the letter in the tent, but they refused. They had hoped that if court officials saw their condition, they might convey it to the president of the Supreme Court. One of their friends submitted the letter. There has been no response yet.

Both expressed concern that their presence was creating problems for the people who use the Ah Kong Plaza in front of the Supreme Court. They can clearly hear the voices of the police chasing them away. They feel torment when they know that the city and district officials, including the police, are using metal fences to close off the area around the footpath and are starting to destroy the signs and messages, with an intention to reclaim the area.

“We may have made a mistake in coming here. We thought it was safe, but it is not actually safe. The police followed us. Both the police from the hospital, those that tried to come in at night, and the police who were yelling today,” Tawan said.

## **28 February 2023**

Today, a physician from the Police General Hospital came to meet with Tawan and Bam; a lawyer was present. The physician did not speak with Tawan and Bam for very long. He expressed concern and proposed that the hospital was ready to send an ambulance to be on standby to care for them, and if Tawan and Bam trusted them, to come in and look after them. But Tawan and Bam refused. They do not wish to be

treated or cared for by physicians who are under the control of the state.

Tawan's physical condition is that in general, she can respond and understand what is going on. She is somewhat weak. She still gets dizzy when she changes position, but she can sit up. She does not have nausea or vomiting. She has pulsing left-sided kidney pain at times. Her muscles are atrophying. When she lays down, she has pain in her right shoulder, because she has a bone spur extending from her emaciated body. Regarding her mental state, she is worried about a dispersal of the protest and worried about her friends in front of the court. This has caused her to not really be able to sleep. Last night she did not fall asleep until 4 am, and then only for a short period. But now she is feeling better.

Bam's physical condition is that in general, she can respond and understand what is going on. She is somewhat weak. She still gets dizzy when she changes position, but she can sit up. She is more comfortable sitting because laying down causes her to feel dizzy. She has some numbness in her legs and her muscles are atrophying. She is exhausted. She does not have nausea or vomiting. She has chest tightness under her sternum, like there is a lot of gas. When she lays down, both her knees hurt because there is friction between the bones. Regarding her mental state, she is worried about the dispersal of the protest and worried about her friends in front of the court. This has caused her to not really be able to sleep. Last night she did not fall asleep until 2 am, and then only for a short period. But now she is feeling better. She thinks and thinks, but she is not very anxious right now.

Both conveyed that they are not able to sip the recommended fluids. A lot has happened in the past two days, including the worries that there was going to be a dispersal of the protest, the moving of where they are located, and the spraying of mosquito repellent by court officials in the evenings. The

scent of the repellent that came into the tent caused alarm. But as they are still waiting for the outcome of the bail request for three more of their friends, they promise that they will increase their sipping of fluids. They maintain that they will continue to fight by not eating or drinking and will continue to refuse treatment.

Tawan and Bam wish to thank everyone for their understanding and apologize for creating hardship. They ask to be able to continue their fight.

## **2 March 2023**

Today, the lawyers met with and visited Tawan and Bam in the evening in the area in front of the Supreme Court at Sanam Luang.

The lawyers for Ms. Tantawan Tuatulanon and Ms. Orawan Phupong would like to provide details about their condition and the meeting to the public as follows:

Today, Bam is much fainter and weaker. In general, she can respond and understands well. She is clearly more subdued than yesterday. She is very faint when she changes position. She has chest tightness and could not breathe in the morning. She was fatigued and slept until the afternoon. She has no abdominal pain. Her urine output has declined until she barely produces any urine. She urinated a small amount at 6 pm yesterday and 2 pm today.

Tawan feels much the same. Her muscle pain has increased. In general, she can respond and understands. She is weak, dizzy, and faint when she changes position. She has no nausea, vomiting or diarrhea. Her urine output has decreased; she has not urinated since 2 am. Today was the first day of her period and she passed a clot and also had menstrual

pain. She refused pain medication and medication to delay her period.

The mental state of both is that they are worried about the stance of the court. They are exhausted. But they have not yet made decisions about their plan of treatment or their emergency plan.

From the conversation, Tawan and Bam say that they feel sad about the order of the court to not release Thattapong today. They explained that the court has not released him for the reason that he has been accused of a grave crime with a severe punishment. He is accused of using a banned explosive that exploded on a public street in the city, that the court says could have been a grave danger to people and property. If he is temporarily released, he might flee and so bail was denied. This is an untenable reason, since Thattapong has always cooperated with the court and the judicial process, including going to the court so that the prosecutor could indict him [most recently]. He has displayed no indications of fleeing, at all. If being charged with a grave accusation is a reason to deny bail, then many Thai people [who are granted bail] would never have been granted bail.

Today they also said that they know that the probation evaluation report for Khathathorn has been sent back to the Criminal Court. But the officials informed the bail bondsman that the order would be read on 7 March. The pair does not know what their condition will be on that day.

However, the pair told the lawyers not to worry. They will for the orders about bail of all of their friends with the hope that the court would examine their own actions.



## **11 March 2023**

Bam and Tawan returned to Thammasat University for treatment and are now in the close care of physicians. The physicians and related individuals are concerned about their kidney function and the functioning of other organs which have been affected by their lengthy hunger strike.

Tawan and Bam wish to inform the public that they have ceased their hunger strike. They will be treated in order to preserve their lives to continue to fight. They are still waiting for responses from the court [in several cases].

Regarding their condition: they can respond. They are conscious and aware. They can converse as appropriate with the context. At this time, even though they have passed the danger point of their lives, they anticipate that they will have to spend a period of time being treated at Thammasat University.

Tawan and Bam remain worried that additional people have been arrested in political cases. They are worried that some of the defendants in the Article 112 case related to the protest at the German Embassy do not have the opportunity to fight the case from outside prison. Tawan and Bam view this as proof that their demands are just.

In the end, the pair asks for everyone to keep fighting, even though they are no longer on hunger strike`.

## ***About the 112 Project***

Over the past twenty years, the use and abuse of Article 112 to suppress peaceful expression and silence discussion of crucial social and political questions in the Thai polity has risen at an alarming rate. Despite the urgency of this rise, and the analytic questions it necessarily raises, scholarship has remained relatively spare and restriction of freedom of expression in Thailand remains unknown outside the country. The 112 Project responds to this lacuna by expanding scholarship and public engagement through translation, research-led undergraduate and graduate teaching and collaboration with relevant U.S., Thai, and international scholars and nongovernmental organizations. The 112 Project is an initiative of the Justice in Southeast Asia Lab in the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, with generous support from the Anonymous Fund. For more information, contact Tyrell Haberkorn [tyrell.haberkorn@wisc.edu].