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Thailand: A Regional Hub of Transnational Repression in Southeast Asia



Joint UPR Submission to the UN Universal Periodic Review

53rd Session of the UPR Working Group



Joint UPR Submission: Thailand: A Regional Hub of Transnational Repression in Southeast Asia **April 2026**

Submission by

Manushya Foundation, Power by the Keyboard, Khmer Democratic Rescue Foundation (KDRF, Cambodia), Thai CSOs Coalition for the UPR and UN Mechanisms, and additional civil society partners from Southeast Asia (including China, Myanmar, Vietnam, names withheld for security reasons)



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FOR MORE INFORMATION ON THIS JOINT UPR SUBMISSION, PLEASE CONTACT:

Lead: [Emilie Palamy Pradichit, Manushya Foundation](#)
Email: WeAreManushyan@manushyafoundation.org
Web: www.manushyafoundation.org

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1. Introduction

- 1.1. In this submission, *Manushya Foundation*, *Power by The Keyboard*, *Khmer Democratic Rescue Foundation (KDRF)*, and the *Thai CSOs Coalition for the UPR* examine Thailand's persistent failure to prevent and respond to **transnational repression**, including violations of the principle of **non-refoulement**, in light of recommendations accepted during the third UPR cycle (2021), highlighting critical protection gaps, systemic inaction, and the consolidation of Thailand as a regional hub for cross-border repression targeting human rights defenders, activists, and exiled dissidents.
- 1.2. During the third UPR cycle, Thailand received recommendations on human rights defenders, torture and ill-treatment, freedom of expression, enforced disappearances, and refugees and asylum seekers, most of which it supported. However, implementation remains largely lacking. No recommendations addressed the protection of individuals targeted by transnational repression or the prevention of such practices. On refugees and asylum seekers, Thailand supported recommendations to consider ratifying the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol (51.16), halt returns of refugees to situations of risk (52.78), strengthen legal protections (52.79), and ensure access to healthcare in detention (52.70). At the same time, it noted recommendations to ratify and implement the Refugee Convention (52.14, 52.15) **and to** expand socio-economic rights, including access to work (52.80).
- 1.3. Limited progress includes the ratification of the *International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance* in 2024¹ and the enactment of the *Prevention and Suppression of Torture and Enforced Disappearance Act* in 2023.² However, concerns persist regarding the independence, timeliness, and effectiveness of its implementation, particularly in cases involving transnational repression and risks of refoulement.
- 1.4. Thailand is frequently portrayed as a safe haven for human rights defenders (HRDs) fleeing persecution across Southeast Asia. In reality, it functions as a space of legal limbo and heightened vulnerability, where individuals remain exposed to transnational repression, defined, in line with OHCHR, as “*acts conducted or directed by a State, or its proxies, to deter, silence, or punish dissent expressed from outside its territory*”.³ In the absence of a formal asylum framework, HRDs are routinely treated as irregular migrants, leaving them at constant risk of arrest, immigration detention, and deportation, including in violation of the principle of non-refoulement. At the same time, mounting evidence indicates that Thailand has become a **regional hub for transnational repression**, facilitated by porous borders and patterns of cross-border cooperation among neighboring States. Thai authorities have enabled or acquiesced in acts of surveillance, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearance, targeted killings, and forced returns of dissidents and refugees, including through informal intergovernmental arrangements commonly referred to as “swap mart” practices.⁴
- 1.5. This pattern is reflected in recent findings by Freedom House, identifying **Thailand as the top host country globally for recorded incidents of transnational repression**.⁵



- 1.6. **Thailand does not recognize transnational repression in law or practice, and therefore fails to prevent and respond to it.** Its geographic position, sharing borders with countries that generate significant numbers of political exiles, combined with authoritarian consolidation in Cambodia, China, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam, and entrenched impunity, has enabled transnational repression to proliferate across the region. These risks are compounded by a lack of asylum and protection framework, as Thailand is not a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention,⁶ leaving those at risk without formal legal protection. At the same time, the rapid expansion of digital surveillance and cross-border cyber-harassment ecosystems has further facilitated transnational repression, allowing abuses to extend beyond physical borders.
- 1.7. Against this backdrop, this submission examines the structural drivers, lived realities, and systemic failures that enable transnational repression in Thailand, and sets out recommendations for reform. It is structured as follows:
- Section 2 examines Thailand's legal and policy framework, identifying the root causes enabling transnational repression;
 - Section 3 analyses Thailand's role as a regional hub, centring lived experiences;
 - Section 4 highlights protection gaps and systemic failures in addressing transnational repression;
 - Section 5 sets out recommendations to advance the implementation of UPR commitments and address the violations identified above.

2. Thailand's Legal and Policy Framework: Root Causes Enabling Transnational Repression

2.1. Legal Invisibility of Transnational Repression and Failure to Meet International Obligations

Thailand does not recognize transnational repression (TNR) in law or policy and lacks a framework to prevent or respond to such practices. This creates a structural protection gap that enables cross-border human rights violations to occur without accountability. Under international law, including the ICCPR, the Convention against Torture (CAT), and the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, Thailand has binding obligations to prevent, investigate, and ensure accountability for violations on its territory, including those involving foreign actors.

- 2.2. However, Thailand has failed to meet these obligations in practice. Acts such as surveillance, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearance, and killings of exiled dissidents engage non-derogable rights and trigger State responsibility, yet remain largely uninvestigated. Therefore, transnational repression reflects not a gap in international law, but a **failure of implementation**, resulting in persistent impunity and ineffective protection in Thailand.

2.3. Enabling Legal Frameworks: Immigration, Security, and Cross-Border Cooperation

Thailand's domestic legal framework actively facilitates transnational repression through broad and discretionary powers under immigration, security, and cooperation laws. **The Immigration Act B.E. 2522 (1979),⁷** particularly Sections 36 and 54, allows authorities to revoke legal status and detain individuals indefinitely without effective judicial oversight. In practice, human rights defenders (HRDs), refugees, and asylum seekers are routinely treated as irregular migrants, creating a pipeline from legal precarity to



detention and deportation. This framework exposes individuals at risk of TNR to arrest, prolonged detention, and forced return.

2.4. At the same time, **broadly framed national security and expression-related laws**, including Section 112 (lèse-majesté) and Section 116 (sedition) of the Criminal Code, and the Computer Crime Act⁸ (CCA), are used to criminalize dissent. These laws have extraterritorial effects, as they contribute to the targeting of Thai activists beyond Thailand's borders and enable cross-border judicial harassment. Several high-profile cases illustrate this pattern.

- **Wanchalearm Satsaksit**,⁹ a Thai pro-democracy activist living in exile in Cambodia, was abducted in Phnom Penh in June 2020 after years of facing charges under Section 112 and the CCA linked to his online expression. His enforced disappearance, which remains unresolved, has had a profound chilling effect on Thai activists abroad.
- Similarly, **Pavin Chachavalpongpun**, an academic in exile in Japan, reported being targeted in 2019 by a chemical attack at his residence in Kyoto, in the context of sustained harassment linked to his criticism of the Thai monarchy.¹⁰ Japanese authorities subsequently prosecuted the attacker, who was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment.¹¹ These cases demonstrate how Thailand's legal framework is used not only to prosecute dissent domestically but also to extend pressure across borders, contributing to a climate of fear, self-censorship, and prolonged exile among Thai activists worldwide.¹²

2.5. **Thailand's extradition and mutual legal assistance frameworks further lack adequate human rights safeguards.** Decisions remain highly discretionary, with no binding obligation to assess risks of persecution, torture, or unfair trial. This creates a legal environment in which politically motivated requests from neighboring States can be facilitated, enabling TNR through formal legal channels.

2.6. Recent developments illustrate these risks: in May 2025, Thailand and Vietnam signed a comprehensive agreement to combat crime and facilitate the transfer of convicted persons, raising serious concerns for Vietnamese refugees and dissidents at risk of return.¹³ In addition, informal practices of cross-border cooperation, often described as "swap mart" arrangements, allow States to exchange dissidents or facilitate returns outside formal legal processes, bypassing safeguards entirely.

2.7. **Non-Refoulement: Legal Recognition Undermined by Systematic Violations**

While Thailand has taken steps to incorporate the principle of **non-refoulement** into domestic law through Section 13¹⁴ of the *Prevention and Suppression of Torture and Enforced Disappearance Act*, this protection is not upheld in practice. The Committee Against Torture (2024) acknowledged the formal recognition of non-refoulement in Thai law but expressed serious concern regarding its implementation. The Committee highlighted cases of forced returns, including the **mass expulsion of asylum seekers from Myanmar** in June 2024 and the deportation of Vietnamese Montagnard refugees, including human rights defender **Y Quynh Bđăp** in November 2025, despite credible risks of persecution.¹⁵



2.8. These cases demonstrate a pattern in which Thailand fails to conduct individualized risk assessments, ensure due process, or provide effective remedies prior to removal. Courts have, in some instances, declined to assess human rights risks in extradition proceedings, further undermining protection safeguards. As a result, individuals at risk of transnational repression remain exposed to forced return, detention, and serious human rights violations, in direct contradiction with Thailand's obligations under the UN Convention Against Torture and customary international law.

2.9. Structural Protection Gaps and Impunity

The absence of a legal framework on transnational repression is compounded by broader structural failures, including weak accountability mechanisms, lack of independent investigations, and limited protection for human rights defenders. The Committee Against Torture (2024) raised concerns regarding the persistent failure to investigate enforced disappearances, including cases involving Thai activists abroad and foreign dissidents in Thailand.¹⁶ It also highlighted patterns of harassment, surveillance, and killings of human rights defenders, alongside the lack of effective remedies for victims.

2.10. **This protection gap extends to those providing support.** Section 64 of the Immigration Act criminalizes assistance to individuals without legal status, with penalties of up to five years' imprisonment, a fine of up to 100,000 Baht, or both, and provides no exemptions for humanitarian or legal assistance. In practice, it is used to intimidate lawyers, WHRDs, and civil society actors supporting refugees and at-risk activists. The CEDAW Committee (2025) explicitly called on Thailand to amend Section 64 to ensure that women human rights defenders are not penalized for supporting undocumented migrants.¹⁷

2.11. This chilling effect was evident in June 2024, when immigration authorities threatened legal action against **Manushya Foundation** and its Founder, **Emilie Palamy Pradichit**, following the provision of protection services to a Vietnamese activist refugee.¹⁸

2.12. In this context, Thailand's failure to recognize, prevent, and respond to transnational repression is not only a legal gap, but a systemic failure that enables its impunity. Urgent legal reform is also required to align Thailand's immigration framework with its anti-torture obligations and ensure that those providing humanitarian and legal assistance are protected rather than criminalized.

3. Thailand as a Regional Hub for Transnational Repression: Patterns, Practices, and Impunity

3.1. Thailand has become a central site for transnational repression in Southeast Asia, where foreign governments extend coercive power across borders to target dissidents. United Nations Special Procedures have raised concerns over a surge in transnational human rights violations in the Greater Mekong Subregion,¹⁹ including enforced disappearances, forced returns, arbitrary detention, and killings of activists and human rights defenders. Within this context, Thailand plays a dual role: as a **territorial hub** where foreign dissidents are targeted, and as a **State of origin** whose nationals are pursued abroad. These patterns reflect a broader system of cross-border repression, enabled by weak protection frameworks and a persistent failure to ensure accountability.



3.2. Transnational Repression on Thai Territory

3.3. Enforced Disappearances

Thailand has witnessed multiple cases of enforced disappearances and suspicious deaths of foreign dissidents, demonstrating the inability, or unwillingness, of authorities to guarantee protection even to those formally recognized as refugees, as illustrated in these cases:

- The disappearance of **Od Sayavong**,²⁰ a Lao pro-democracy activist and UNHCR-recognized refugee, in Bangkok in August 2019 remains unresolved. Despite the gravity of the case, no credible investigation has clarified his fate or whereabouts.
- Vietnamese refugees have also been targeted. In April 2023, **Duong Van Thai**,²¹ an independent journalist and UNHCR-recognized refugee, was abducted near Bangkok. Evidence compiled through CCTV footage, testimonies, and digital traces suggests the involvement of Vietnamese agents operating across borders. He later reappeared in Viet Nam, where he was detained, tried in a closed proceeding, and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment.
- Earlier, in 2019, Vietnamese journalist **Truong Duy Nhat**²² was abducted in Bangkok after being apprehended by Thai authorities. He subsequently resurfaced in Viet Nam, where he was prosecuted and sentenced to 10 years in prison. These cases illustrate a chilling reality: refugee recognition and physical presence in Thailand do not provide effective protection against cross-border abductions or enforced disappearance.

3.4. Extrajudicial Killings and Violent Attacks

Transnational repression on Thai soil has also taken the form of targeted killings.

- On 7 January 2025, **Lim Kim Ya**, a former Cambodian opposition parliamentarian, was shot dead in Bangkok shortly after arriving from Cambodia.²³ Investigations suggest cross-border coordination, with suspects linked to actors associated with the Cambodian ruling party.
- Just two years earlier, **Bounsuan Kitiyano**, a Lao activist affiliated with pro-democracy movements and a UNHCR-recognized refugee awaiting resettlement, was found dead in Ubon Ratchathani in May 2023 under unclear circumstances.²⁴

3.5. These killings demonstrates that Thailand is not only a place where dissidents are surveilled or abducted, but also a **site where lethal violence can be carried out with transnational dimensions**, raising serious concerns about the State's capacity or willingness to prevent such acts.

3.6. Forced Returns and Violations of Non-Refoulement

Thailand has repeatedly failed to uphold the principle of non-refoulement, a cornerstone of international human rights and refugee law, embded in Section 13 of Thailand's *Prevention and Suppression of Torture and Enforced Disappearance Act*.



- Indeed, in November 2024, Thai authorities forcibly returned **five Cambodian opposition activists**, along with family members, to Cambodia. Several of them were UNHCR-recognized refugees.²⁵ Upon return, they were immediately arrested and placed in pre-trial detention.
- On 27 February 2025, Thailand forcibly returned **40 Uyghurs to China**, despite well-documented risks of enforced disappearance, torture, and arbitrary detention.²⁶ This deportation took place in secret, with no transparency or due process. Thai authorities ignored a public call by UN experts to halt the deportations.²⁷ The 40 individuals had been held in de facto incommunicado detention for over a decade, with five Uyghurs reportedly dying in custody, two of them children.²⁸ Thailand's collusion with China in this act of transnational repression underscores its failure to uphold non-refoulement and exposes the deadly consequences for women and minority groups fleeing genocide.
- In November 2025, **Y Quynh Bđăp**, a UNHCR-recognized refugee, who was arrested in June 2024 following an extradition request from Viet Nam, was forcibly returned despite serious risks of persecution.²⁹

3.7. Surveillance, Harassment, and Cross-Border Intimidation

Transnational repression in Thailand is not limited to extreme violations such as killings or forced returns. It also manifests through systematic surveillance, intimidation, and coercion.

- Vietnamese authorities have conducted direct operations on Thai territory,³⁰ including visits to communities of Montagnard refugees, where individuals were pressured to return to Viet Nam, threatened with arrest, and recorded on video. These operations were reportedly carried out with the presence or acquiescence of Thai authorities. In addition, **Montagnard and Hmong communities** have been subjected to arrest under immigration laws, detention in immigration centres, and direct contact with officials from their countries of origin (Vietnam), creating a climate of fear and coercion.³¹
- Similarly, Cambodian authorities have actively pursued opposition figures in Thailand, including **Chhin Chou**, who fled after threats, surveillance, and accusations of treason.³² Cooperation between Cambodian and Thai authorities to locate and potentially extradite her raises serious concerns regarding her safety and risk of refoulement.
- Lao authorities have similarly extended repression across borders. **Jack Anousa Luangsuphom**, who was in hiding in Thailand following an attempted assassination in April 2023 in Laos, faced ongoing threats prior to his resettlement in 2025.³³ Likewise, **Joseph Akaravong**, who fled to Thailand after exposing corruption, continued to face transnational threats even after his resettlement to France, including an attempted murder in June 2025.³⁴

3.8. **Digital transnational repression** represents one of the most acute and under-addressed threats to human rights in the digital age. Thailand has become a regional hub where transnational repression operates with relative impunity, exposing individuals fleeing persecution to cross-border digital attacks



by the governments they have fled. The case of “**Khieo**” illustrates these dynamics. Khieo, a Lao migrant worker legally residing in Thailand since 2019, began publishing content on TikTok, Facebook, and YouTube in December 2025 addressing political issues in Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand.³⁵ He was subsequently targeted by a coordinated online harassment campaign involving pro-government actors, including individuals aligned with the Lao government and organised cyber groups. The attacks included threats of violence, defamation, and incitement, with users offering USD 8,000 for his killing and USD 2,000 for that of a supporter who defended him.³⁶ The use of AI-generated deepfakes and simulated violence further escalates these threats, blurring the line between online harassment and offline harm, and creating a climate in which violence is legitimised.

3.9. **These cases demonstrate that transnational repression often begins with surveillance and intimidation, creating a climate of fear and insecurity that can escalate into arrest, detention, or physical harm.**

3.10. **Arrests, Detention, and Criminalization as Tools of Transnational Repression**

Arrest and detention are systematically used in Thailand as tools of transnational repression, transforming immigration enforcement and legal frameworks into mechanisms of control over exiled activists and refugees. Refugees and human rights defenders are frequently targeted under immigration laws, particularly when their legal status is undermined by actions from their countries of origin, such as passport cancellation or politically motivated extradition requests.

- In March 2026, Vietnamese anti-corruption activist **Le Chi Thanh** was arrested by Thai immigration authorities after his passport was cancelled by Vietnamese authorities, rendering him undocumented and exposing him to deportation.³⁷
- In January 2026, Cambodian woman human rights defender **Pen Mom**,³⁸ also a UNHCR-recognized refugee, was arrested and detained, placing her at immediate risk of deportation and renewed persecution.³⁹
- In June 2024, Montagnard human rights defender **Y Quynh Bđăp**, a UNHCR-recognized refugee, was arrested following an extradition request from Viet Nam and later forcibly returned despite serious risks of persecution.⁴⁰
- In February 2024, Cambodian activists **Kung Raiya, Phorn Phana, and Lem Sokha**, all UNHCR-registered refugees, were arrested alongside their family members ahead of an official visit by Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Manet.⁴¹
- In December 2023, **ten Cambodian refugees** were similarly detained while attending a workshop in Bangkok.⁴²

3.11. Transnational repression is further facilitated through administrative measures that deliberately create legal precarity. In some cases, authorities have revoked work permits and legal authorization on national security grounds, without adequate safeguards or due process. This has been observed in cases involving



individuals such as **Phyo Paing** and **Nay Nay Song**, two burmese migrant workers and activists, whose work permits were reportedly revoked, rendering them undocumented and exposing them to arrest and detention. These actions place individuals directly within the immigration enforcement system, transforming administrative decisions into tools that facilitate transnational repression. By stripping individuals of legal status, authorities effectively increase their vulnerability to detention, deportation, and cross-border targeting, reinforcing a broader pattern in which legal and immigration frameworks are instrumentalized to suppress dissent beyond borders.

- 3.12. **Taken together, these cases demonstrate that arrest, detention, and legal precarity are systematically instrumentalized to facilitate transnational repression, exposing individuals to forced return, persecution, and serious human rights violations.**

3.13. **Transnational Repression Targeting Thai Activists Abroad**

- 3.14. **Thailand's local laws governing freedom of expression are weaponized against dissidents:** and contain vaguely defined legal provisions, particularly those related to national security, democracy and the monarchy. Section 112 of the Criminal Code (Royal Defamation), has been used to silence dissent, while the laws on Sedition, Section 116 has been used to muzzle critics. Online, the Computer Crimes Act has been used to monitor and control online expression, banning content that could threaten national security. The Cybersecurity Act and the National Intelligence Act opens the door to online surveillance.⁴³ These laws have repeatedly been used as a dragnet to criminalize human rights defenders, forcing them to flee or seek refuge elsewhere while they remain vulnerable to further targeting in the form of transnational repression. Crucially, this repression is reinforced by a lack of accountability as Thai authorities have consistently failed to conduct credible investigations into cross-border abductions and enforced disappearances, while judicial oversight remains weak or ineffective. This environment enables the continuation of transnational repression with little consequence, signalling tolerance, if not tacit endorsement, of such practices. These patterns are evident in cases such as Wanchalearm Satsaksit, who was abducted in Cambodia after fleeing the post-2014 coup crackdown;⁴⁴ **Surachai Danwattananusorn**, whose disappearance in Laos followed years of criticism of the monarchy;⁴⁵ **Ittipon Sukpaen** and **Wuthipong** Kachathamakul, both of whom vanished in exile;⁴⁶ and **Chucheep Chiwasut**, **Siam Theerawut**, and **Kritsana Thapthai**, who were reportedly rendered back to Thailand and have not been seen since.⁴⁷

3.15. **Gendered and Intersectional Impacts**

- 3.16. Transnational repression in Thailand contains gendered and intersectional impacts, its laws and a deep culture of patriarchy and impunity perpetuates harmful practices against women HRDs. Online targeting and sexual violence function as gendered tools of transnational repression by disproportionately targeting women human rights defenders with harassment, threats, and abuse that exploit societal norms around gender and sexuality. These tactics, ranging from digital smear campaigns and surveillance to sexual intimidation and assault, aim not only to punish individual women but also to damage their credibility, isolate them from support networks, and deter their public participation. Together, they



create a climate of fear and stigma that discourages women from engaging in human rights work, reinforcing structural inequalities and shrinking civic space across borders.

4. Protection Gap: and Systemic Failures of Thailand's non-existent politics on transnational repression

4.1. Absence of a Protection Framework on Transnational Repression

Transnational repression is rapidly increasing worldwide, yet it remains insufficiently addressed by States.⁴⁸ As highlighted by the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression, this is not due to gaps in international law, but to a **failure of implementation**, resulting in “*a dangerous protection gap*” for individuals in exile.⁴⁹

- 4.2. **This protection gap is particularly acute in Southeast Asia**, where regional cooperation on security and political control has outpaced the development of human rights safeguards. Across ASEAN, transnational repression is rarely recognized as a distinct legal or policy issue, leaving affected individuals without effective protection mechanisms.
- 4.3. Similar gaps have been identified in other regions. In the European Union, there “remains a significant gap in understanding and addressing the issue, especially as a problem within the EU (as opposed to its dimension as a matter of external policy)”.⁵⁰
- 4.4. While international human rights and refugee law provide a robust framework to protect individuals at risk, these safeguards are not consistently applied in practice. Host States often fail to identify, prevent, or respond to transnational repression, whether due to lack of political will, capacity, or coordination. As a result, human rights defenders, activists, and political dissidents remain highly vulnerable despite formal legal protections.
- 4.5. In Thailand, this protection gap is compounded by the absence of any legal or policy framework recognizing transnational repression, alongside weak institutional coordination and limited accountability mechanisms. As a result, Thailand has become a permissive environment in which cross-border repression can occur with little resistance, exposing individuals in exile to serious and ongoing risks.
- 4.6. **Limitations of the National Screening Mechanism (NSM) in Addressing Transnational Repression**
Thailand's National Screening Mechanism (NSM), introduced as a framework to identify and protect individuals in need of international protection, remains inadequate to address the risks associated with transnational repression. While the NSM represents a formal step toward protection, its scope, design, and implementation fall short of international human rights standards.

The NSM does not explicitly recognize transnational repression as a risk factor, nor does it provide safeguards tailored to individuals targeted by foreign governments. In practice, the NSM is further undermined by procedural limitations and restricted access. Individuals often remain in situations of legal precarity or detention while awaiting screening, exposing them to arrest, surveillance, and potential deportation. The Committee Against Torture (2024) expressed concern over Thailand's



continued use of immigration detention and deportation practices, including cases involving individuals at risk of persecution, highlighting failures to uphold the principle of non-refoulement.

Critically, the NSM operates in parallel with immigration enforcement mechanisms that continue to criminalize undocumented individuals. As documented in Section 3, refugees and activists at risk of transnational repression are frequently arrested and detained under immigration laws, even when they may qualify for protection. This contradiction significantly undermines the effectiveness of the NSM as a protection mechanism.

Moreover, the NSM lacks independence, transparency, and effective coordination with international protection actors, including UNHCR. It does not provide guarantees of confidentiality or protection from interference by foreign authorities, an essential safeguard in cases involving transnational repression. UN Special Procedures have raised concerns regarding cross-border targeting and cooperation between States in the region, underscoring the need for stronger protective measures.

In this context, the NSM fails to function as an effective safeguard for individuals at risk of transnational repression. Instead, it coexists with legal and institutional frameworks that expose such individuals to continued harm, reinforcing rather than mitigating protection gaps.

5. Recommendations

5.1. Legal Recognition of transnational repression & HRD Protection

- a. Where applicable, review and revise national laws or adopt new laws to allow for the prosecution of the perpetrators and facilitators of transnational repression. Foreign State immunity laws should also be revised to enable individuals affected by transnational repression to seek legal remedies in national courts;
- b. Undertake due diligence to identify risks of digital transnational threats against exiled media and journalists, with input from exiled media, and enhance safety tools and other measures to mitigate them;
- c. Review protection policies and programmes so that HRDs and others who seek refuge or are in exile benefit from support and holistic protection, including through documentation/legal assistance, humanitarian visas, effective resettlement programmes, psychosocial or livelihood support, counselling, and peer support and tailor measures to different needs, including those of women and different communities;
- d. Ensure that protection policies and programmes are victim-centered, gender-sensitive, intersectional, inclusive and non-discriminatory
- e. Establish an in-government focal point to act as first point of contact, record cases, make referrals and coordinate measures by government agencies to address specific protection risks and gaps
- f. Take measures to foster a safe, respectful and enabling environment for civil society and human rights defenders, especially women human rights defenders, free from persecution, intimidation



and harassment. Ensure the protection of human rights defenders, including through prompt and thorough investigation of attacks.

5.2. Non-Refoulement Implementation (Section 13)

- a. Ensure in law and in practice that no one may be expelled, returned or extradited to another State where there are substantial grounds for believing that he or she would be in danger of being subjected to torture, including by prohibiting mass expulsions.
- b. Ensure the right to an individualized determination of the risk of torture or ill-treatment that expulsion, return or extradition may present, by a judicial authority endowed with sufficient competence to make a determination that takes into account all necessary facts and circumstances, and guarantee effective access to procedural safeguards, including the right to appeal adverse decisions, with automatic suspensive effect.

5.3. Immigration Reform (Sections 54 & detention)

- a. Amend the Immigration Act; establish a national asylum system that is compliant with international standards; provide protection and access to justice and basic services to asylum-seeking and refugee women; systematically assess their individual risks and specific needs, and implement the measures and guidelines to prevent mothers and their children from being held in immigration detention centres.
- b. Ensure that its legislation, including the Immigration Act B.E. 2522 (1979), conforms with international standards that prohibit criminal prosecution and indefinite detention for irregular entry.
- c. Ensure that administrative detention is applied only as a last resort, when determined to be strictly necessary and proportionate in the light of an individual's circumstances, and for as short a period as possible, with regular judicial review, both procedurally and upon application.
From CAT COB.

5.4. Protection of Lawyers & NGOs (Section 64)

- a. In line with the 2025 CEDAW' s concluding observations to Thailand, Amend section 64 of the Immigration Act B.E. 2522, so that women human rights defenders, lawyers, and civil society actors, are not penalized for supporting undocumented migrants, and refugees.

5.5. Accountability for Disappearances

- a. Thailand should ensure that the crimes of torture and enforced disappearance are not subject to any statute of limitations, in order to preclude the risk of impunity for the perpetrators of such crimes.



- b. Ensure that all complaints of torture or ill-treatment are investigated in a prompt, effective and impartial manner by an independent mechanism and that there is no institutional or hierarchical relationship between the mechanism's investigators and the suspected perpetrators of such acts, in line with the 2024's CAT concluding observations to Thailand.
- c. In line with its mandate to research and disseminate knowledge relating to torture, compile and make available to victims and to the general public disaggregated data on the number of complaints of torture and ill-treatment, including enforced disappearance, received by all bodies mandated with their investigation, along with data on all investigations, disciplinary measures, prosecutions and convictions that have taken place, including information on the punishments handed down to perpetrators and whether victims received redress.
- d. Enhance transparency regarding the work of the National Committee on the Prevention and Suppression of Torture and Enforced Disappearance, including by regularly keeping victims and the public abreast of efforts and developments relevant to cases, intensifying efforts to ensure effective collaboration with civil society and ensuring the National Committee's prompt operationalization, and consider amending the Prevention and Suppression of Torture and Enforced Disappearance Act to include victims of torture and ill-treatment, including enforced disappearance, in the membership of the National Committee.

5.8. Refugee Protection & Asylum System

- a. Ratify the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, and adopt a rights-based asylum system that guarantees protection from refoulement, arbitrary detention, and cross-border persecution, including transnational repression, in line with international human rights law.
- b. Ensure that extradition procedures are transparent, efficient, take into account international human rights and refugee law safeguards and guarantee compliance with the prohibition of refoulement and respect for fair trial;
- c. Ensure that relevant national authorities, including law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, judges, intelligence services, diplomats, and officials working with refugees and asylum seekers, know how to detect and deal with different forms of transnational repression.



Endnotes

1. United Nations Thailand, UN Human Rights Office for South-East Asia welcomes Thailand's ratification of the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, 14 June 2024, available at: <https://thailand.un.org/en/271638-un-human-rights-office-south-east-asia-welcomes-thailand%E2%80%99s-ratification-international>
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Annex: Assessment of implementation of UPR recommendations received during the 3rd UPR cycle of Thailand, particularly in relation to the prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment), conditions of detention, freedom of expression, protection of human rights defenders, and migrants and refugees

Recommendation	Position	Full list of themes	Assessment/comments on level of implementation
Theme: Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment)			
51.3 Continue efforts in revising legislation to be in line with the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Bahrain); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) - Constitutional & legislative framework - Scope of international obligations SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Implemented. The new law on The Act on the Prevention and Suppression of Torture and Enforce Disappearance, which came into force on 22 February 2023. Source: Paragraph 1.3
51.6 Consider ratifying the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Morocco); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) - Ratification of & accession to international instruments SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Not implemented.



51.7 Ratify the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Costa Rica) (Cyprus) (Denmark) (France) (Germany) (Norway) (Portugal) (Switzerland) (Togo) (Turkey); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) - Ratification of & accession to international instruments SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Not implemented.
51.9 Ratify the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and pass legislation criminalizing enforced disappearance and torture (New Zealand); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) - Enforced disappearances - Constitutional & legislative framework - Ratification of & accession to international instruments SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Not implemented.



51.24 Adopt national legislation criminalizing torture and enforced disappearance, and recognize the rights of victims (Finland); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) - Enforced disappearances - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Disappeared persons - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Implemented. Source: Paragraph 1.3
51.25 Enact legislation that criminalizes torture and ill-treatment (Zambia); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Implemented. Source: Paragraph 1.3
51.26 Enact legislation criminalizing torture and enforced disappearances (Australia); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) - Enforced disappearances - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Disappeared persons - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Implemented. Source: Paragraph 1.3



51.27 Align the draft prevention and suppression of torture and enforced disappearance act with Thailand's obligations under international law (Italy); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) - Enforced disappearances - Constitutional & legislative framework - Scope of international obligations SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Implemented. Source: Paragraph 1.3
51.28 Adopt legislation to implement Thailand's international human rights commitments on torture and enforced disappearance, and investigate and prosecute all alleged cases (Canada); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) - Enforced disappearances - Constitutional & legislative framework - Scope of international obligations SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Partially implemented. Source: Paragraph 1.3



51.72 Expedite the process of the legislation outlawing torture and enforced disappearance (Republic of Korea); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) - Enforced disappearances - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Disappeared persons - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Partially implemented. Source: Paragraph 1.3
51.73 Adopt measures preventing abuse and other ill-treatment by law enforcement authorities (Ukraine); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Prohibition of torture & ill-treatment (including cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment) SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Law enforcement / police & prison officials - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Partially implemented. Source: Paragraph 1.3
Theme: Conditions of detention			
51.75 Reform the penitentiary system in order to ensure humane conditions of detention in accordance with international standards (Russian Federation); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Conditions of detention SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.6 – 2.9



51.76 Improve conditions for detainees and sentenced persons to ensure their right to humane treatment in detention (Ukraine); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Conditions of detention SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.6 – 2.9
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Theme: Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information

51.86 Promote and protect the right to freedom of expression and media freedom, as well as the safety of journalists (Latvia); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Media	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
51.87 Ensure that laws and policies on the rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association comply with relevant international human rights standards (Republic of Korea); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Freedom of association - Right to peaceful assembly SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
51.88 Enhance its efforts in ensuring that all citizens have the rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly in compliance with article 19 and 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Timor-Leste); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Freedom of association - Right to peaceful assembly SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12



51.89 Uphold its international obligations regarding the rights to freedom of expression and peaceful assembly (Australia); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Right to peaceful assembly SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
51.91 Improve the human rights situation, including by ensuring the freedom of expression (Japan); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
51.92 Improve the capacity of police, security forces and other law enforcement agencies to carry out their work while respecting the rights of people to freedom of assembly and expression, and civil society space (Malawi); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Right to peaceful assembly SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Civil society - Law enforcement / police & prison officials	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.49 Ensure that rights of freedom of expression, opinion and peaceful assembly are not unduly restricted by cybersecurity laws and its criminal code (New Zealand); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.21	Supported	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Right to peaceful assembly - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.54 Consider revising its legislation on freedoms of expression and peaceful assembly in alignment with international human rights standards (Brazil); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.8	Supported	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Right to peaceful assembly - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12



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52.55 Ensure that the right to freedom of expression and opinion and the freedom of assembly are fully respected and protected, including in the context of a state of emergency (Czechia); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.8	Supported	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Right to peaceful assembly SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
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Theme: Migrants			
51.14 Consider ratifying the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (Morocco); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Migrants - Ratification of & accession to international instruments SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Migrants	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.4-2.5
51.181 Strengthen efforts in the protection of the rights of migrants and members of their families (Nigeria); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Migrants SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Migrants	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.4-2.5
51.182 Take all necessary steps to immediately end forced labour and human rights abuses in the fishing industry, including by providing medical and social security services to migrant workers in the industry (Indonesia); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Migrants - Labour rights and right to work - Human trafficking & contemporary forms of slavery SDGs: - 1 - NO POVERTY - 8 - DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH Affected persons: - Migrants	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.4-2.5



51.183 Streamline cooperation processes in order to guarantee that migrant workers can access the rights provided in applicable laws, from their countries of origin to those of destination, in order to avoid problems such as debt bondage and the worst forms of child labour, in accordance with Sustainable Development Goal 8 and international labour standards (Paraguay); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Migrants - Labour rights and right to work - Children: protection against exploitation - 2030 Agenda & other voluntary commitments SDGs: - 8 - DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH Affected persons: - Children - Migrants	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.4-2.5
51.184 Further promote the rights of migrant workers by guaranteeing their access to essential services (Sri Lanka); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Migrants - Labour rights and right to work SDGs: - 8 - DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH Affected persons: - Migrants	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.4-2.5
51.185 Continue efforts aimed at ensuring that migrant workers have access to legal and social protection (Tunisia); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Migrants - Labour rights and right to work - Right to social security SDGs: - 8 - DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH - 10 - REDUCED INEQUALITIES Affected persons: - Migrants	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.4-2.5
51.186 Intensify efforts to protect the human rights of migrant workers (Turkey); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Migrants - Labour rights and right to work SDGs: - 8 - DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH Affected persons: - Migrants	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.4-2.5



51.187 Continue proactive efforts to ensure that migrant workers can access rights as prescribed by applicable laws, including universal health coverage, access to information and proper documentation (Viet Nam); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Migrants - Labour rights and right to work - Right to health SDGs: - 3 - GOOD HEALTH AND WELL-BEING - 8 - DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Migrants	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.4-2.5
51.188 Continue efforts to ensure the welfare of migrant workers, including extending social security to them, particularly in the context of the onslaught of the COVID-19 pandemic (Bangladesh); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Migrants - Labour rights and right to work - Right to social security SDGs: - 1 - NO POVERTY - 8 - DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH Affected persons: - Migrants	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.4-2.5
51.189 Continue to deploy proactive efforts to ensure that migrant workers can access the rights provided in the applicable regulations (Colombia); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Migrants - Labour rights and right to work SDGs: - 8 - DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH Affected persons: - Migrants	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.4-2.5



Theme: Refugees & asylum seekers			
51.16 Consider ratifying the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol (Sierra Leone); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Refugees & asylum seekers - Ratification of & accession to international instruments SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Refugees & asylum seekers	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.3-2.5
52.78 Stop immediately the return of refugees from Myanmar in view of the severe risk that it implies for their lives and integrity in the current circumstances of that country (Spain); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.16	Supported	- Refugees & asylum seekers - Right to life SDGs: - 10 - REDUCED INEQUALITIES - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Refugees & asylum seekers	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.3-2.5
52.79 Implement legal measures to ensure proper protection of refugees and asylum seekers (Ukraine); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.16	Supported	- Refugees & asylum seekers - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 10 - REDUCED INEQUALITIES - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Refugees & asylum seekers	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.3-2.5
Theme: Human rights defenders			
51.191 Take measures to foster a safe, respectful and enabling environment for civil society and human rights defenders, especially women human rights defenders, free from persecution, intimidation and harassment (Latvia); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Human rights defenders - Rule of law & impunity SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Human rights defenders & activists - Women & girls	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.1 & 3.6



51.192 Ensure the protection of human rights defenders, including through prompt and thorough investigation of attacks (Norway); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Human rights defenders - Rule of law & impunity SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Human rights defenders & activists	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.1 & 3.6
51.193 Protect human rights defenders, including under a gender perspective, and investigate any reported cases of intimidation, harassment and attacks against them (Austria); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Human rights defenders - Rule of law & impunity SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Human rights defenders & activists	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.1 & 3.6
51.194 Create a safe and enabling environment to exercise the rights to peaceful assembly and freedom of expression and prevent attacks and intimidation against human rights defenders (Italy). Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.51	Supported	- Human rights defenders - Right to peaceful assembly - Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Human rights defenders & activists	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.1 & 3.6
52.82 Ensure the protection of civic space and human rights defenders, including youth, members of civil society, lawyers, media and academics, so that they can operate freely and fully exercise the rights to freedom of expression, including online, and freedom of peaceful assembly and association (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.8	Supported	- Human rights defenders - Freedom of association - Right to peaceful assembly - Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Human rights defenders & activists - Civil society - Youth & juveniles - Media - Judges, lawyers and prosecutors	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.1 & 3.6



52.84 Take further steps to ensure a safe and enabling environment for human rights defenders, stop all forms of harassment, violence and intimidation against them and ensure prompt, transparent and independent investigation of all reported cases (Czechia). Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.19	Supported	- Human rights defenders - Rule of law & impunity - Access to justice & remedy SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Human rights defenders & activists	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.1 & 3.6
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Theme: Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information			
52.46 Guarantee freedom of opinion and expression by amending articles 112 (lèse-majesté), 116 (sedition), 326 (defamation) and 328 (attack on honour) of the criminal code as well as the law on computer crime (Luxembourg); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.47 Decriminalize freedom of expression and peaceful assembly and avoid the detention of minors for exercising these rights (Mexico); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Arbitrary arrest & detention - Right to peaceful assembly - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Children - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12



52.48 Abolish restrictions on freedom of opinion and expression in the national legislation in line with international standards on human rights (Montenegro); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.50 Guarantee the rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly, and protect individuals, including political opponents, from judicial harassment (Norway); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Freedom of association - Right to peaceful assembly SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.51 Repeal all provisions that criminalize or unduly restrict the rights to freedom of opinion and expression and of assembly (Portugal); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Right to peaceful assembly - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.52 Guarantee the rights to freedom of expression and assembly and stop targeting civilians engaging in peaceful protests under criminal charges entailing punishment with exorbitant prison terms (Austria); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Arbitrary arrest & detention - Right to peaceful assembly SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12



52.53 Remove undue restrictions and infringements on the enjoyment of the freedoms of expression, association and peaceful assembly (Botswana); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Freedom of association - Right to peaceful assembly SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.56 Review the usage of lèse-majesté legislation in its entirety and especially against minors to comply with international human rights standards, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Finland); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Legal & institutional reform - Children: definition; general principles; protection - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Children	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.57 Guarantee the protection of the freedoms of opinion and expression, including by amending article 112 of the criminal code (France); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.58 Review the lèse-majesté law, the computer crime law and the criminal defamation law (Germany); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Legal & institutional reform - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12



52.59 Review the lèse-majesté law to bring it into conformity with international standards and to prevent it from being used to silence opponents (Norway); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Legal & institutional reform - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.60 Amend article 112 of the criminal code on royal defamation to bring it into line with Thailand's international human rights obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and, as an intermediate step, remove mandatory minimum prison terms for violations of that provision (Sweden); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Arbitrary arrest & detention - Legal & institutional reform - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.61 Amend articles 112 and 116 of the criminal code to ensure that the application of the crimes of lèse-majesté and sedition complies with human rights (Switzerland); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Legal & institutional reform - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.62 Review and revise laws and regulations that unduly restrict freedom of expression, including online expression, in particular the computer crimes act and the 2005 emergency decree, and eliminate mandatory minimum sentences for lèse-majesté violations (United States of America); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Legal & institutional reform - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12



52.63 End arrests and prosecution of children under article 112 and other articles related to security and public order in the criminal code, and ensure the respect of Thailand's obligations under articles 13, 15 and 37 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Austria); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Administration of justice & fair trial - Children: definition; general principles; protection - Constitutional & legislative framework - Scope of international obligations SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Children - Persons deprived of their liberty & detainees	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.64 Amend article 112 of the criminal code and bring it into line with article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Belgium); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Constitutional & legislative framework - Scope of international obligations SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.65 Amend, repeal or restrict the use of legislation that curtails the exercise of rights of expression, association and peaceful assembly, including online, with particular reference to sections 112 and 116 of the criminal code and the computer crime act (Canada); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Freedom of association - Right to peaceful assembly - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12



52.66 Ensure that the most severe criminal sentences are not applied to children, including in the context of article 112 of the criminal code, and in line with article 40 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Denmark); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Children: juvenile justice - Children: definition; general principles; protection - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Children	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
52.67 Remove the broad range of restrictions on the rights to peaceful assembly and freedom of expression (Estonia); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Freedom of opinion and expression & access to information - Right to peaceful assembly SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12

Theme: Enforced disappearances

52.45 Conduct prompt, transparent and impartial investigations into reports of enforced disappearances, including in the case of Wanchalearm Satsaksit and seven other Thai political activists missing since 2014 (United States of America); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.23	Noted	- Enforced disappearances - Access to justice & remedy SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Human rights defenders & activists - Disappeared persons	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.2 & 2.12
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Theme: Refugees & asylum seekers



52.80 Expand social welfare initiatives to refugees and asylum seekers that would allow them the right to work (Afghanistan); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.17	Noted	- Refugees & asylum seekers - Labour rights and right to work SDGs: - 8 - DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH - 10 - REDUCED INEQUALITIES Affected persons: - Refugees & asylum seekers	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.3-2.5
Theme: Human rights defenders			
52.81 In order to ensure the protection of human rights defenders, amend sections 326 to 333 of the criminal code (Switzerland); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.20	Noted	- Human rights defenders - Constitutional & legislative framework SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Human rights defenders & activists	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.1 & 3.6
52.83 End arbitrary detentions, arrests and any acts of harassment against political actors and civil society, including human rights defenders (Ireland); Source of Position: A/HRC/49/17/Add.1 - Para.9	Noted	- Human rights defenders - Arbitrary arrest & detention SDGs: - 16 - PEACE, JUSTICE AND STRONG INSTITUTIONS Affected persons: - Human rights defenders & activists - Civil society	Status: Not implemented Source: Paragraph 2.1 & 3.6

Joint UPR Submission: Thailand: A Regional Hub of Transnational Repression in Southeast Asia

April 2026

Submission by



Manushya Foundation is a women-led, decolonial and intersectional feminist organisation building cross-border safety nets of protection, solidarity, and accountability across Asia. We strengthen the political power and decision-making leadership of feminists, youth movements, and frontline communities. Our work shifts power by bridging emergency protection for activists facing repression and transnational repression, movement lawyering to confront corporate abuse and false climate solutions, defense of digital rights and civic space in increasingly surveilled environments, and grassroots-led advocacy engaging international accountability systems to advance structural justice. For more, see <https://www.manushyafoundation.org/>.



The **Thai CSOs Coalition for the UPR and UN Mechanisms (Universal Periodic Review)**, established during Thailand's Second UPR cycle, is a people-led, intersectional feminist movement bringing together local communities and national civil society organisations across all human rights sectors. As one of the largest intersectional grassroots-led movements in Thailand, it engages with the UPR and UN treaty bodies, connecting struggles from Indigenous Peoples' rights, land and environmental justice, and labour rights to digital rights, freedom of expression, transnational repression, and the protection of human rights defenders, migrants, political refugees, youth, LGBTIQ+ individuals, and communities facing systemic marginalization. It fosters solidarity among communities facing shared challenges and strengthens collective action to demand accountability from the state and companies for their international human rights obligations.



Power by The Keyboard (ຂອບເຂດພາບພາບ, Laos) is a Facebook page created by pro-democracy youth in March 2022 and advocates for true democracy while criticising Lao PDR's growing dependency on China. It focuses on human rights, including China's dominant influence on investments in Lao PDR and education rights for Lao youth. The page also addresses environmental concerns and fiercely supports LGBTIQ+ rights in Laos. For more, please see here: <https://www.facebook.com/powerbykeyboard>.



Khmer Democratic Rescue Foundation (KDRF, Cambodia), is a nonprofit organization committed to advancing democratic values and human rights in Cambodia through the empowerment of women and youth. By engaging Cambodian diaspora communities in civic education, leadership development, and advocacy, KDRF fosters transnational solidarity and mobilizes resources to support democratic movements and inclusive governance. For more, please see here: [Khmer Democratic Rescue Foundation \(KDRF\) kdrf.org](https://kdrf.org)



Additional civil society partners from Southeast Asia
(including China, Myanmar, Vietnam, names withheld for security reasons).





THAILAND UPR IV
2026



Contact us at:
WeAreManushyan@manushyafoundation.org

#WeAreManushyan



@manushyafoundation



@ManushyaFdn



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