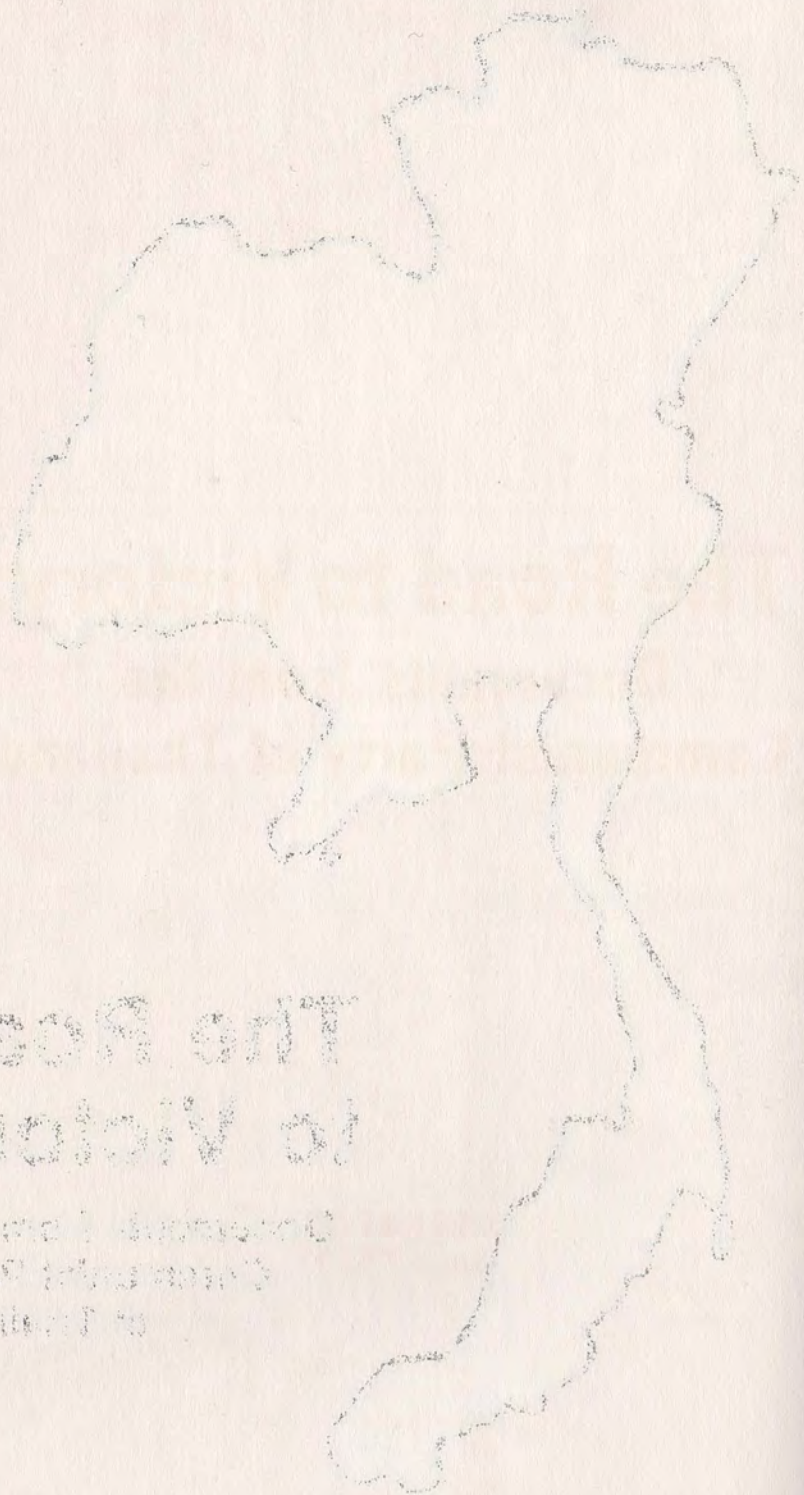


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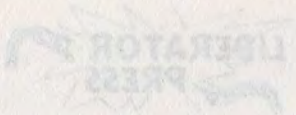
The Road to Victory:

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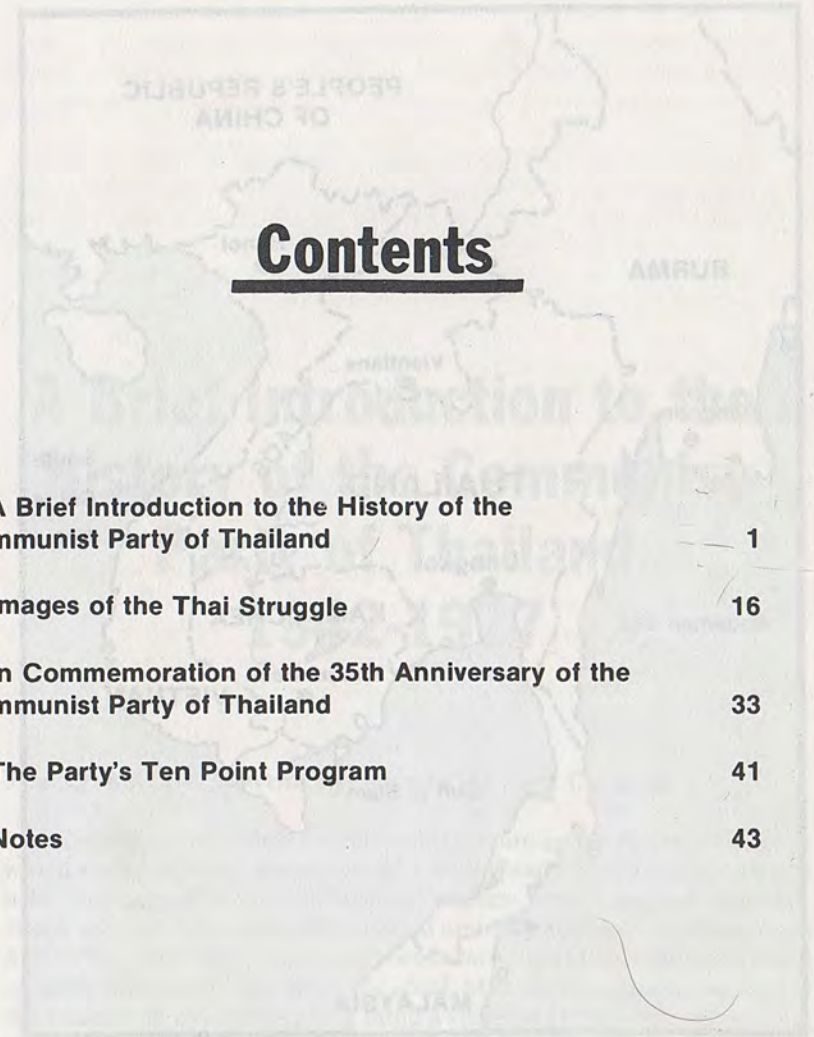
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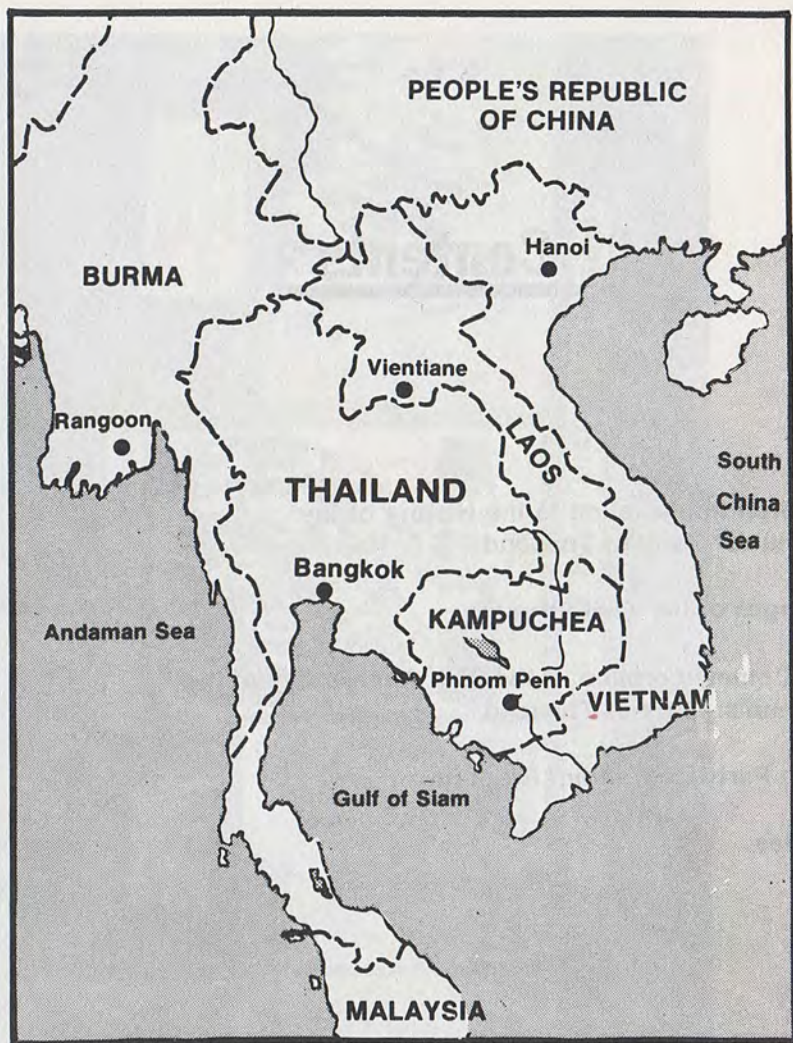


Revolutionary art from the PLAT. Poster at left reads: "You've treated us like animals. The time will come when we'll judge your crimes."



Contents

1. A Brief Introduction to the History of the Communist Party of Thailand	1
2. Images of the Thai Struggle	16
3. In Commemoration of the 35th Anniversary of the Communist Party of Thailand	33
4. The Party's Ten Point Program	41
5. Notes	43



A Brief Introduction to the History of the Communist Party of Thailand 1942-1977

Thai Communist Movements Prior to the First Congress

A society without class and class oppression and exploitation, one in which each and every person leads a happy and equitable life, this has been the aspiration of the toiling masses from time immemorial. It was not until human society entered upon the epoch of capitalism and only after Marxism came into existence that the aforementioned aspiration has become a scientific ideal. Marxism is a guide to action of the proletariat in its struggle to build a socialist and communist society, a common treasure of the proletariat and laborers the world over.

The communist party is the outcome of an integration of Marxism with the proletarian movement in each specific country.

Thailand is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. Foreign capital embarked upon industrial enterprises over 120 years ago. Thence the Thai proletariat came into being.¹

Around 1927, there had been Marxist groups engaging in political work among workers, poverty-stricken people and students. The Communist Party of Siam was later founded in 1930, but was severely suppressed by the reactionary regime soon after its formation. Leading

Party organs were disrupted several times, and numerous Party members imprisoned. The dissemination of Marxism and Party activities were kept within limits for a long duration, and the Party was still inexperienced. Its influence upon the society was not extensive and its political role limited.

Nevertheless, the first generation of communists in Thailand had laid the foundations for the political party-building of the proletariat in subsequent periods. Their revolutionary spirit dared to blaze the trail and to penetrate through the enemy's massive encirclement in order to proclaim and disseminate the truth of Marxism. In their persistence and adherence to their ideal, despite imprisonment and torture, they have established a glorious precedent for younger generations of revolutionaries. Their meritorious deeds shall be forever perpetuated in the history of Thai revolution.

In 1939, fascist Germany unleashed the Second World War. After that, Japanese imperialism launched the East Asian war and occupied Thailand on December 8, 1941. The Pibun regime capitulated. In this situation, while "the nation was in grave danger and the people were struggling for their salvation," the urgent task of the communists was to restore and build up a proletarian political party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tsetung, in order to lead the people's fight to expel the invading piratic Japanese, overthrow the traitorous regime, restore independence and safeguard the fatherland. The communist partisans set up anti-Japanese volunteer forces, launched "The Masses," a clandestine paper, propagated the idea of resistance to the Japanese imperialist invasion, and firmly consolidated with patriotic forces. In the meanwhile, the Party stepped up its preparation for the meeting of the National Deputies' Party Congress and readjusted its political movement into a revolutionary political party, with ideological and political unity and with organizational strength, that was able to shoulder the arduous and yet honorable task of the national democratic and socialist revolutions with which it was historically entrusted.

On December 1, 1942, the National Deputies' Party Congress began its meeting, adopted the Party program and Party constitution, and elected the leading organ at the national level. On December 8, the Party made an announcement of its 10-point program and held aloft the banner of national democratic revolution.

The Communist Party of Thailand was then founded in conformity with the historic demand, entered upon the political arena as an independent political force of the proletariat in Thailand, and proclaimed resolutely its ideals of struggle for national independence, people's democracy and socialism.

From the First to the Second Congress: The Period of the Japanese Imperialists' Occupation of Thailand

At the outset, since the mass bases of the Party were not extensive, it rallied members to work in factories, concentrated its efforts on mobilizing and organizing various social strata, specifically the workers, conducted different ways and means of its resistance to the piratic Japanese aggressors and the traitorous regime, led the workers to slowdowns, strike actions, destruction of products and machinery in Japanese factories, fearless of arrest and murder.

In the early part of 1945, the Party opened a meeting of representatives of various anti-Japanese organs and formed the Anti-Japanese United Association, a united front organization. In the middle of the same year, the Party clandestinely set up Bangkok's All-Round Trade Union and consolidated workers from different vocations into stronger united groups. At the same time, the Party endeavored to cement its relations with other patriotic groups in joint resistance against Japanese imperialism in order to restore national independence. The anti-Japanese volunteer force in the Southern region was ordered by the Party to initiate its attacks upon the enemy.

During this period, world events and the domestic situation evolved rapidly. On the European continent, the Red Army of the Soviet Union successfully laid siege to Berlin on May 2, 1945, and thus forced fascist Germany to capitulate on May 8. On the Asian continent, the Japanese imperialists were in the grip of disorder. The Pibun regime was pressured by the pro-Allied ruling class to resign on July 24. The Soviet Union declared war on Japanese imperialism on August 8, and it was six days afterward that Japan was forced to surrender. Thus, the Second World War was brought to an end.

During the two ensuing years, though the Party was in its infancy and the Party membership was fairly limited, the Party followed a correct line and policy, and Party members set themselves as exemplary models for the masses on all fronts. The Party, therefore, could play the role of vanguard of the proletariat, could lead the masses in their resolute struggle against the enemy of the people and the nation. It pushed forward the revolution and learned more experiences and lessons in the course of the struggle.

The Post-War Period

As soon as the war ended, the Party led workers' organizations in confiscating the assets of the Japanese imperialists and distributed them to the poverty-stricken workers and people.

After the war, the British imperialists attempted to reoccupy Thailand, forcing the Thai regime to concede the 21-point formal treaty, which deemed Thailand as the vanquished in the war.² The U.S. imperialists endeavored to eradicate British influence in order to take its place. All various strata of the Thai people, who had been governed under the fascists' dictatorial rule and had led a miserable life for a long time during the war, called for independence, democracy, peace and a better livelihood. Hence, different regimes that came into power after the war were bound to accommodate the people with democratic rights in some measure. Under these circumstances, the Party readjusted its policy and tactics in accord with the new situation, adhering to the principle of combining diverse forms of struggle—open and secret, legal and illegal. It also employed organizational, legal and legitimate forms of struggle. This was done in order to organize and lead various social strata to resist imperialist influence, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism; wrest back the rights due them and proceed to heighten the mass consciousness; accumulate forces and push forward the revolution.

In September 1945, the Kuomintang provoked the "Chinatown Incident," inciting quarrels between the Thai and Chinese peoples so as to seize the opportunity to interfere in Thai domestic affairs.³ The Party exposed their ulterior motives and rallied revolutionary masses to take part in safeguarding the peace.

Toward the close of 1945, the Party cooperated with other organizations in staging a demonstration in celebration of peace in Bangkok. There were more than 100,000 participants. The watchword "Punish the war criminals," as initially put forward by the Party, received popular support. During this period, the Party mobilized its propaganda organs and the revolutionary masses to cooperate with other patriotic and democratic groups and people to oppose the British imperialists' "formal" treaty. Workers in many rice mills broke off their work in a large scale strike action. The Party then exposed the true objectives of the U.S. imperialists, intervention under the guise of sinner-turned-saint, and also struggled for the abolition of the "Act of Communist Activities."

The Party launched a public newspaper, "The Masses," which propagated the Party's line and policy, introduced the revolutionary struggles of the people the world over, pointed out a correct solution for the Thai people. It also translated and published for circulation Marxist theoretical works and books on the analysis of Thai society. In addition, the Party forged its bonds with various social strata of patriotic and democratic people on an extensive scale.

Workers of various trades staged strikes in their struggle for the improvement of their living standards and for the right to set up trade unions. The All-Round Trade Union of Bangkok engaged openly in this

movement. The number of workers' organizations expanded by leaps and bounds, both in Bangkok and in rural towns across the land. By reason of this, the All-Round Trade Union of Bangkok was established in 1947. Hundreds and thousands of workers participated in the Phramane Ground rally in celebration of International Workers' Day.

Under the leadership and guidance of the Party, the workers' movements had grown mature and become highly conscious politically. This paved the way for a worker-peasant alliance, inasmuch as the bulk of the workers' class origins had been those of destitute peasants, and they were naturally bound up with the peasants. Peasants in many areas then waged their struggle for social justice as regards the land question, land rent and interests.

During the interlude, the Party built organizations of youth, women, pupils and college students, and it collaborated with progressive journalists and writers in order to fight for independence, democracy and social justice. Furthermore, it also joined hands with patriotic and democratic politicians in their struggle for the benefits of the people and the country.

The rapid growth and development of the revolutionary movements filled the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries with consternation. Thus, they schemed to restore the power of the fascist warlords' clique so as to be instrumental in repressing the revolutionary popular forces and protect their own interests. Accordingly, in the beginning of 1947, Pibun was acquitted of war crimes.

The Party could see through the atrocious designs of the U.S. imperialists and their reactionaries and thus, with might and main, stirred up mass opinion in exposure of them. And it also joined hands with a number of patriotic and democratic people to stage a mass rally at the Phramane Ground in opposition to the restoration of fascist dictatorial rule.

On November 8, 1947, Pibun staged a putsch to overthrow the T. Thamrongnawaswadi regime (1946-47). Once again Thailand was governed under fascism.

The Period After the Coup d'Etat of November 8, 1947

As soon as the fascist warlords' clique usurped power, they set out to liquidate the former rulers who had fallen from power and, at the same time, began to pose a menace to revolutionary movements and other progressives. The Party therefore readjusted its tactics in accordance with the new situation.

By early 1948, it led rice-mill workers to strike against the monopoly

of the rice-mill industry and against rice export by influential companies, opposed the division of workers and struggled for the betterment of living conditions. All these actions had repercussions and gained extensive support from various circles.

The fascist regime menaced and repressed the workers on an increasing scale and established the "Thai Workers' Association" to sow dissension in the workers' movements.

At the close of 1948, the Central Committee summed up its past lessons and published a booklet entitled "New Year Gift," giving guidance as to the necessity of mobilizing the peasantry and of forming and consolidating a worker-peasant alliance. A number of members, workers, pupils and college students followed the Party's call and enthusiastically went into the rural areas to mobilize and organize the peasants.

The victory of the Chinese people's liberation war and the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, gave powerful encouragement to oppressed nations and peoples all over the world, and it paved the correct path to liberation for all semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries.

At the close of 1949, the Central Committee of the Party reviewed all the past experiences and realized the necessity of the preparations for armed struggle. It laid out necessary measures for this action in the rural areas and, in particular, it set up the Thai National Liberation Movement, thus widening the basis for the revolution.

In June 1950, the U.S. imperialists brought about aggressive war in Korea. The Pibun regime carried out the traitorous policy by concluding the Thai-U.S. Agreement on Economic and Technical Assistance and the Thai-U.S. Agreement on Military Assistance in September and October respectively, giving concessions to the U.S. imperialists to dominate Thailand and to use the country as a military base for aggression against neighboring countries, to pursue a policy of containment of China and intervention in Indochina, and to collude with the British imperialists in the repression of the national liberation struggle of the Malayan people. In addition, the regime also sent 5,000 Thai soldiers to fight together with the U.S. imperialists in the aggressive war against Korea. The Party counteracted this traitorous reactionary act on the part of the Pibun regime by mobilizing the revolutionary masses, patriotic and democratic writers, journalists, politicians and people in other circles in their extensive and resolute exposure and opposition.

At the end of 1950, the Party issued a statement calling upon people to strengthen their struggle for independence and democracy. A movement for safeguarding the peace was brought out into the light of day, and there were initially more than 150,000 people signing the petition. During the second campaign in early 1951, the number of

petitioners totaled over 170,000 people. From then on, the Committee for Safeguarding the Peace of Thailand was founded. The Peace-Safeguarding movement came into being as a massive force that opposed the aggression of the U.S. imperialists and the betrayal of the nation on the part of the reactionary regime, which disrupted the economy and aggravated the people's livelihood.

Right after the "Manhattan Incident" in June 1951,⁴ the occupation of the University of Moral and Political Science (Thammasat University) gave rise to the student movement which demanded the university's status quo from the warlords. This movement originated the glorious October 11 Incident, a struggle which scored outstanding victory.

In February 1952, the Party called a meeting of the Second National Congress of Deputies which adopted the political report of the Central Committee, "Accelerate the mobilization of hundreds and thousands of the masses to struggle and win victory for independence and democracy." It also called for formation of the national democratic liberation front on an extensive scale, with a view to carrying out struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys; and it affirmed the question of the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation of the united front, with an emphasis on "the rural areas as the basis of our forces."

During the seven years following World War II through the Second Congress, the Party held aloft the banner of national democratic revolution and led the people in their unrelenting resistance to the British imperialists, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. During the early interlude of limited democracy, the Party grasped the opportunity to engage in its open movements and expanded its influence far and wide. During the latter days of this interlude, even though it faced repression from the fascist warlords' clique, the Party still persisted in resolute struggle, using various forms and methods. As the Party became strengthened and developed, it comprehended the role of the peasantry in national democratic revolution more clearly. The Party then set about mastering its work in the rural area and formed a worker-peasant alliance with a view to laying a firm foundation for armed struggle.

The Interlude Between the Second and Third Congresses

The resolution of the Second Congress was transmitted throughout the Party. Members tried to study and carry it out in practice. A progressive artistic and cultural movement expanded and developed among writers, journalists, youth, pupils and college students. There were also extensive movements for democratic rights and, during the

same period, worker-peasant movements sprang up vigorously.

In August 1952, the Committee for Safeguarding the Peace of Thailand held a meeting in Bangkok in order to elect delegates to participate in the Asian-Pacific Regional Meeting for Peace, which was due to be held in Peking. The meeting, composed of representatives of workers, peasants, youth, pupils and college students, intellectuals and clergymen, called upon all social strata to unite in saving the nation from the economic crisis emanating from the pro-American policy and the "containment of China" on the part of the fascist reactionary regime. On November 10, 1952, the traitorous dictatorial regime arrested and imprisoned progressives in different circles, both in towns and in the countryside, charged with taking part in the November 10 Rebellion (demanding peace), with a view to restraining mass movements. And on Nov. 13, the traitorous dictatorial regime proclaimed a new Anti-Communist Act outlawing political parties and put censorship on newspapers and closed down all progressive organizations. The revolutionary tide was on the ebb, and yet the Party still took every possible opportunity to lead the masses in their resistance, using appropriate forms and methods.

At the same time that the Party was beset with frenzied menace, Prasert Sapsunthorn rose to the occasion and opposed the Party line of mobilizing the peasantry in preparation for armed struggle as put forward by the Second Congress.⁵ Members who were persistent in Marxist principle and Party line and policy opposed his incorrect line resolutely. Succumbing to reasoning, he feigned recantation. However, when, on the international front, there was a counter-revolutionary tide of modern revisionism—the formulation of the theory of "peaceful transition" by Khrushchev—he once again reaffirmed his initial idea. Eventually, he became a renegade in the service of the imperialist reactionary ruling class, hopeful of disrupting the revolution.

In 1953, U.S imperialism suffered a setback in the Korean War. In September 1954, it established the SEATO bloc to restrain and destroy the revolutions in Southeast Asia with a view to dominating different countries in this hemisphere. The Pibun regime implemented a policy of carrying the war to the home front by joining the SEATO bloc self-willedly and unmindful of the dissenting voice of the people.

In 1955, the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, proclaimed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence that brought about great repercussions in Thailand. During that time, the Thai people were increasingly indignant at the traitorous dictatorial rule of the Pibun regime and U.S. imperialism. The Pibun regime resorted to the chicanery of sham democracy, allowing "Hyde Park" speeches, lifting the censorship of the newspapers, allowing the right to set up political parties and making preparations for elections.⁶ The Party exposed the

ruse as being "democracy under the threat of the bayonet."

In November 1955, the Party issued a statement of appeal for the release of political prisoners. In December, the Party spokesman sent an open message calling upon the people to oppose the perfidious regime for the conclusion of a military pact with U.S. imperialism, oppose the U.S. imperialists for having sent troops to control the Thai Army, and also oppose Thai entry into the SEATO bloc.

In 1956, the Party put forward the slogan of the struggle to achieve the policy of "peace, neutrality and democracy" and was in opposition to the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, the implementation of the pro-American policy and the harassment and suppression of the people. This slogan won public acceptance from various strata of the masses, as well as progressive politicians and political groups on a wide scale, and it became a popular demand. Workers set about staging forceful demonstrations and struck several times over the demands for Labor Day and the Labor Act. Trade unions that were established during the interlude totaled 120. Peasants demanded a solution to problems of land tenure, land rent and interest, which were rampant in various localities. College students grouped together into an organization composed of five institutions.⁷ Journalists, writers and artists also engaged enthusiastically in various forms of struggle. In addition, the Party joined forces with progressive politicians in its struggle for peace, neutrality and democracy.

On March 2, 1957, college students demonstrated in protest over "the dirty election rigging," thus flustering the reactionaries and worsening the contradictions within the ruling classes.

In the face of these popular movements, U.S. imperialism bolstered the warlord Sarit to pull a putsch in the expulsion of Pibun on September 16, 1957. Later, on October 20, 1958, Sarit staged another putsch to usurp complete power. Martial law was declared, the Constitution outlawed, the National Assembly was dissolved, newspapers closed down and progressive mass organizations banned. All progressive mass movements were prohibited in every way, and a large number of patriotic and democratic people, both in cities and in the countryside, were arrested. Thailand then entered the reign of terror under fascist dictatorship.

The October 28, 1958 Incident gave valuable and profound lessons to the revolutionary people.⁹ The Party was definitely convinced that the liberation of the nation and the people could be achieved by taking the course of armed struggle, using the countryside to encircle the cities as the only path to be taken. The main force of the revolution must be the peasantry.

On August 1, 1959, the Party issued a message pointing out the quintessential nature of the Sarit regime as "traitorous, fascist, dictatorial and piratic," and that it must be resolutely overthrown. The

Sarit regime ruthlessly employed Article 17 to murder a number of people.¹⁰

Internationally, the struggle begun in 1956 between Marxism and modern revisionism as represented by Khrushchev, became increasingly fierce and acute. The question on the line of struggle for state power became a heated polemical issue. Since its inception, the Communist Party of Thailand persisted resolutely in safeguarding Marxism-Leninism and opposing modern revisionism. At the conference of 81 communist and workers' parties held in Moscow in 1960, the representative of the Communist Party of Thailand solemnly declared: "As for Thailand, there shall never be any other peaceful paths to be pursued, but that of the taking up of arms only." In face of this situation, the Party stepped up its efforts in the direction of resolute armed struggle. In September 1961, the Party called a meeting of the Third Deputies' Congress. The political report of the Central Committee called for the formation of an extensive alliance of patriotic and democratic people, and the carrying out of armed struggle as well as other forms of struggle. The meeting amended the Party constitution, formulated a 12-point immediate program and made concrete preparations for armed struggle.

Between the Second and Third Congresses, the Party still held aloft the banner of national democratic revolution, leading the revolutionary masses to unite with politicians and political groups, as well as with other patriotic and democratic people, in their tenacious struggle against the enemy of the people and the nation. The revolutionary movement as well as the Party had grown stronger in the course of the struggles against imperialism and the reactionary regime at home. From the struggle against modern revisionism internationally and against the inner-party opportunist line, the Party learnt many more lessons and experiences. The Party's theoretical level was thus elevated and it could integrate the theories of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tsetung with the concrete reality of Thailand on an increasing scale. The Party was able to understand firmly and profoundly the revolutionary course of using the countryside to encircle the town and the role of the peasantry in national democratic revolution. The Party became more mature and better developed with every passing day.

The Period After the Third Congress Through the Present Time

After the Third Congress, leading cadres of the Party went one after another into the countryside to live, work and eat in unity with members and the revolutionary masses in the jungle areas, mobilizing the peasants in preparation for armed struggle and training and educating

cadres in different aspects of work, particularly in the military domain.

On May 17, 1962, U.S. imperialism sent its troops to be stationed in Thailand. In August 1963, the Political Bureau of the Party adopted a resolution to launch preparatory work in building revolutionary bases in the jungle areas.

The Party's work in the rural areas expanded with every passing day. The enemy tried hard to keep track of and suppress members all the time. Eventually, on August 7, 1965, the first victorious gunshot exploded in Ban Nabua, Tambon Renoo, That Panom district, Nakorn Panom province. It was then that the revolutionary war of the Thai people began. The gunshot of "August 7" shocked the whole country and filled the reactionary ruling classes with consternation to the extent that they deployed their forces to suppress the revolutionary armed forces on an extensive scale, hoping to nip them in the bud. However, the enemy came to grief.

Twelve Years of Armed Struggle

In September 1965, the Political Bureau of the Party adopted a resolution to embark upon armed struggle in every zone where conditions required. Within only a matter of two years or so, battle zones cropped up in all regions of the country. At the turn of 1968, the first revolutionary base was completed and its numbers augmented. From the end of 1965 through the end of 1968, every guerrilla unit and revolutionary base underwent severe tests and tempering, encountering the enemy's ruthless suppression countless times. The people in areas of armed struggle and in revolutionary base areas braved the "three all" policy of the enemy; that is, they burned all, looted all and killed all savagely and kicked innocent people off helicopters or mountain peaks or burned them alive in the so-called red tin-drum, so on and so forth. And yet revolutionary guerrilla units and revolutionary bases in different zones were able to make sorties on the enemy's encirclement and defeat them time and again. Though the enemy deployed several battalions, sometimes more than 10 battalions, plus artillery, tanks and planes in their operations, the guerrilla forces and the revolutionary bases could sustain, expand and develop their struggles on a larger scale.

Since the suppression of the rural armed forces proved to be futile, and the dissatisfaction of various social strata with the traitorous fascist dictatorial rule multiplied with every passing day, the Thanom regime resorted to chicanery by proclaiming a constitution on June 20, 1968, and allowing an election in 1969.

In order to push forward the revolution and make another great stride, at the close of 1969 the Central Committee adopted a resolution

to modify the 12-point minimum program into a 10-point one, and it announced the orders of the Supreme Command of Thailand's Liberation Army (PLAT) on New Year's Day, 1969, in regard to the strengthening of the Liberation Army. The Party's statement commemorating the 26th anniversary of the founding of the Party also exposed the democratic chicanery of the reactionary regime and declared its persistent commitment to wage armed struggle through to the end.

In 1970, U.S. imperialism expanded its aggressive wars throughout Indochina. In the same year, on May 20, Comrade Mao Tsetung made a "Statement in Support of the Just Struggles of the Three Indochinese Countries." In 1971, the People's Republic of China was restored its seat in the United Nations. These events brought about striking repercussions in the international situation, including in Thailand.

The chicanery of the 1969 election could not resolve the contradictions between the ruling classes and the people. On the contrary, rural armed struggle as well as other forms of popular struggle in the reactionary administrative areas had expanded. On May 17, 1971, Thanom, therefore, carried out a coup against his own regime, brushed aside the democratic facade and frenziedly stepped up the repression of the people in towns and rural areas.

From the end of 1971 until the beginning of 1972, the Central Committee systematically summed up its past lessons and experiences drawn especially from the period after the Third Congress. The Party's statement commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Party laid out the significant problems of the Thai revolution, so as to be the guiding principles to be followed throughout the Party. "The 30 Years' Statements" issued by the Party forcefully aroused the militant spirit of members, cadres, revolutionary fighters of the People's Liberation Army and the revolutionary masses. All responded to the Party's demands enthusiastically, making the best of their resources to achieve the tasks entrusted to them by the Party.

During the same interlude, in every area of armed struggle and revolutionary base, the PLAT, militia and people mounted attacks and victoriously resisted the encirclement and suppression drives, particularly in the revolutionary base areas in the border region of Pisanulok-Petchburn-Loei provinces.¹¹ They were able to disrupt the encirclement campaign of the reactionary regime on the largest scale ever, deploying 15,000 effectives. This gave tremendous joy and encouragement to the people's armed forces and the masses in guerrilla zones and the enemy's administrative areas.

In 1972 Nixon visited the People's Republic of China against his own will. In early 1973, U.S. imperialism was forced to conclude an agreement on the termination of the war and the restoration of peace in Vietnam.

The revolutionary situation all over Thailand strode forward by leaps and bounds. In 1973, the first revolutionary base in the Northeastern region was built up in the midst of the vast expanse of guerrilla zones and could as well make sorties on the enemy's encirclement in successive order. In reactionary administrative areas, the struggles of workers, peasants and other social strata, with the pupils and students in the van of the movement, cropped up wave upon wave. Eventually, these struggles crystallized into the great October 14 Movement in 1973. This movement was the Thai people's struggle against and opposition to fascist dictatorship on the largest scale ever, indicative of the high-level militant spirit of the people, specifically the young intellectuals of our country; and it brought about great repercussions on the youth and the intellectuals' movements at home and abroad.

On October 16, the Party issued a statement pointing out that the October 14 Incident was a definitive outcome of the implementation of the Thanom regime's traitorous policy, which is fascist-dictatorial, piratic and bellicose toward neighboring countries.¹² It was an eruption of the long pent-up discontent of the people. During this time, the international revolutionary tide, including the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, major youth and student movements and workers' movements in capitalist countries, together with the propagation of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tsetung, caused profound repercussions on Thai youth and students. In particular, the situation of armed struggle at home, which was daily expanding, gave tremendous encouragement to various social strata in reactionary administrative areas. Furthermore, the traditions of revolutionary struggle of college students, which had been carried forward since the end of World War II, were also a significant factor in the growth and development of the October 14 Movement.

During the period of the two years or so after the October 14 Incident, revolutionaries, intelligentsia and patriotic and democratic people in reactionary administrative areas made propaganda, organized and led various strata of the masses to struggle in successive order for independence, democracy and social justice against U.S. imperialism and the reactionary regime. These actions brought about resounding effects; namely, the awakening of mass consciousness, especially among workers and peasants, the accumulation of revolutionary forces, the education and training of revolutionary movements in the midst of furious struggles, and the extensive propagation of revolutionary theory.

At the same time, the People's Liberation Army all over the country, launched intense attacks upon its adversaries, scoring outstanding victories. Armed forces became better developed and the revolutionary bases were increasingly enlarged and consolidated. Guerrilla zones were

also extended far and wide, and new areas of armed struggle cropped up in several provinces. Thus, a new situation was brought about; that is, the revolutionary tide of rural armed struggle in coordination with the revolutionary tide of economic, political and cultural struggles in reactionary administrative areas. This gave firm and close mutual encouragement and support, which helped push forward the revolutionary situation all over the country by leaps and bounds.

During the interlude, the renegade Amnaj Yuthawiwat came out to undermine the revolutionary movements in concert with suppression and the "right-kill-left" design of the ruling classes.¹³ He proclaimed reformism, opposed the Party's course of armed struggle and created confusion among the masses. The revolutionary masses counteracted his revisionist theory and unmasked thoroughly the true character of the renegade, who had been in the service of imperialism and the reactionary regime. Later on, the VOPT (Voice of the People of Thailand) put on the air an article entitled, "The Path of Thai Revolution," which smashed the renegade's revisionist theory, defended the Party's correct line and pointed out the correct direction for the people.

In 1975, the Indochinese peoples achieved complete victory in the war of resistance to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Various social strata in our country became more assured of victory and stepped up more intense attacks on the enemy, both in areas of armed struggle and in reactionary administrative areas; whereas the ruling classes became more and more frightened and frenzied in their attempts to counter-attack the revolutionary side.

In the middle of 1976, the Party anticipated that the reactionary classes would resort to an open resumption of the fascist dictatorial regime. Therefore, it set in motion necessary measures to cope with the situation. And, at the same time, the Party made an all-round summary of the lessons and experiences of the period of armed struggle, set up new tasks, and also readjusted the immediate program in conformity with the newly developing situation.

On October 6, 1976, the fascist reactionaries provoked a bloody incident to a violent degree.¹⁴ On October 7, the Party issued a timely statement which laid out the reasons behind the fascist reactionaries' perpetration of this bloody incident, laid emphasis on the correctness of the path of armed struggle and elucidated the view that the red belt in the rural areas is a "reliable rear area and a powerful reserve" for the revolutionary movement in the reactionary administrative areas. A large number of the revolutionary masses and patriotic and democratic people made their way to revolutionary bases and areas of armed struggle to consolidate work in the revolutionary base and reinforce the People's Liberation Army.

On December 1, 1976, the Party issued a statement calling for the

"unification of the entire patriotic and democratic forces, expansion of the People's War in the fullest scale and the overthrow of the traitorous fascist reactionary ruling clique."

During the past year or so, the whole Party has carried into effect the task set forth by the Party. The flames of people's war have spread far and wide. The People's Liberation Army in different areas has made ongoing onslaughts on the enemy. The scope of battle engagements has become more extensive and more acute. In the reactionary administrative areas, the popular struggles have expanded, and Thai nationals abroad have consolidated their forces more firmly. Movements in active support of the struggles at home and the efforts to win over sympathy from foreign friends, as well as justice-loving organizations and persons who render support to the Thai revolutionary movement, have increased in number. In September 1977, the Committee for Coordinating Patriotic and Democratic Forces was also set up. The National Democratic United Front of Thailand is developing into a new higher stage.

The frantic administrative rule of the fascist dictatorship under the Sa-ngad-Thanin coterie produced quite a contrary effect than they desired. The reactionary administrative position was declining on an unprecedented scale and, thus, impelled the warlords to stage another putsch to expel Thanin's coterie. Warlord Kriangsak, the wily and notable underling of U.S. imperialism, has assumed power with a view to using chicanery to prolong its days of downfall. Nevertheless, no chicanery on the part of the adversary can ever hoodwink the people who have been tested and tempered in the midst of intense revolutionary flames. The force of unity of the masses shall demolish all the obstacles and shall inevitably march toward signal victory.

Long live the Communist Party of Thailand!

A Militant Unity Translation



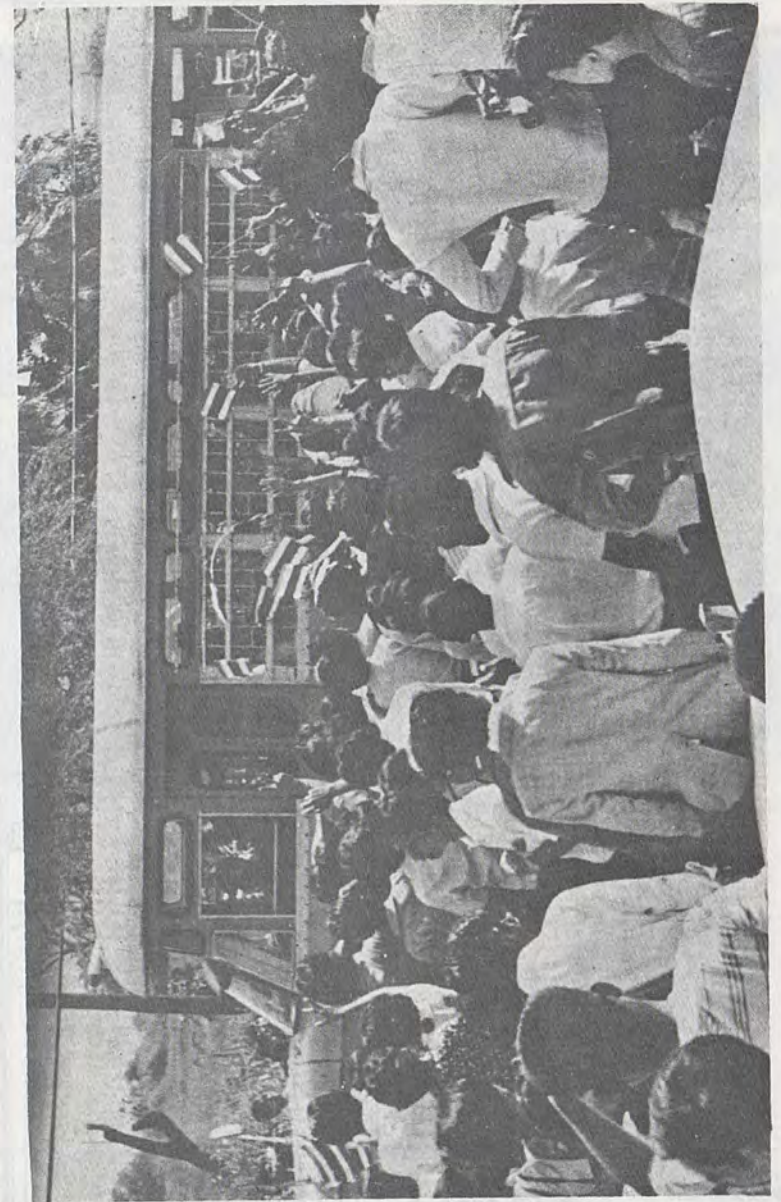
Students rebel against the government in the great October 14, 1973 movement. This mass upsurge of peasants, workers and intellectuals deposed the dictatorship of the Thanom-Prapas-Narong clique.



Thammasat University students under guard during bloody massacre of October 6, 1976.

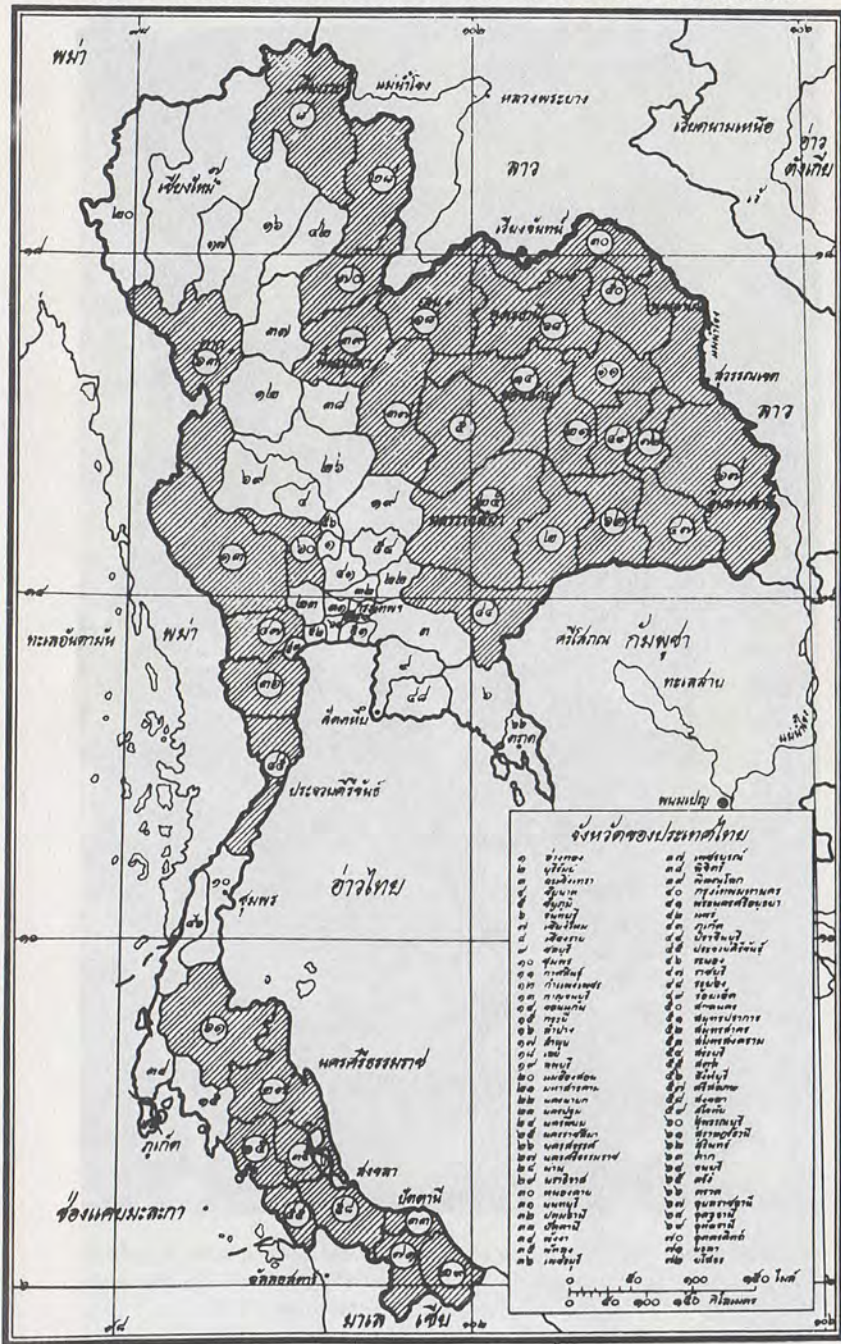


Injured student being taken to ambulance.



The Bangkok 18 (left), student and trade union leaders, were jailed by the regime in October 1976. Support demonstrations like the one above won freedom for the Eighteen in September 1978.

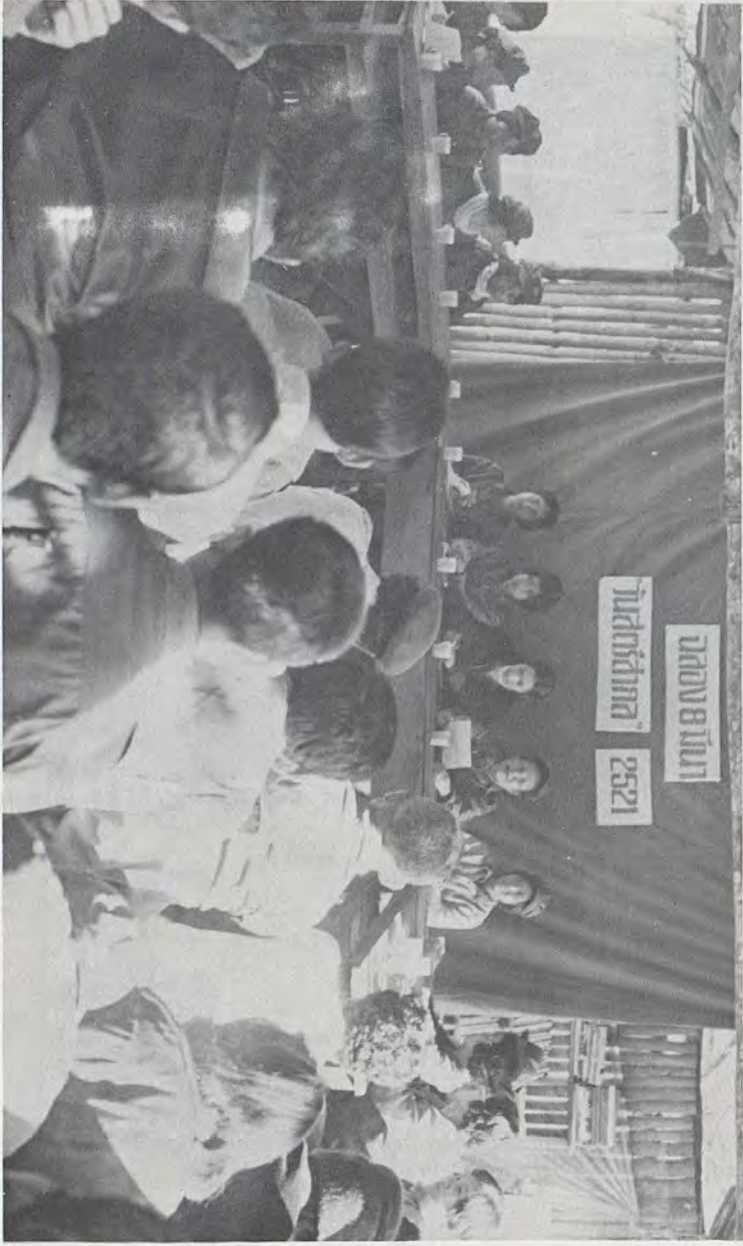
แผนที่ประเทศไทย แผนที่ท้องถิ่นซึ่งได้ประกาศเป็นเขตทหารอาชีพของคอมมิวนิสต์แล้ว



Troops of the military dictatorship on alert for the PLAT at a rural village in southern Thailand.

Official 1974 Thai government map (left) shows areas believed to be under control of the revolutionary forces in gray.

Seminar at a revolutionary base honors March 8, 1978. International Women's Day.

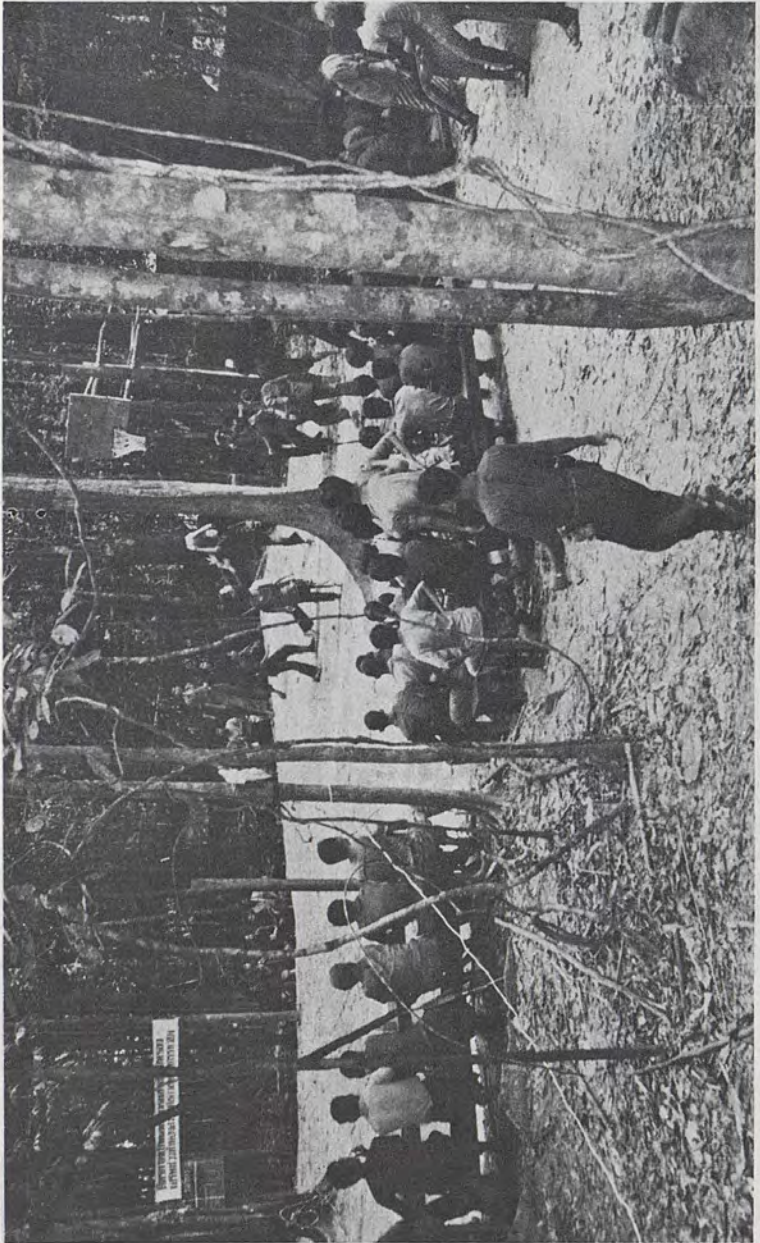


Leading members of the Committee for Coordinating Patriotic and Democratic Forces (CCPDF), founded September 1977.

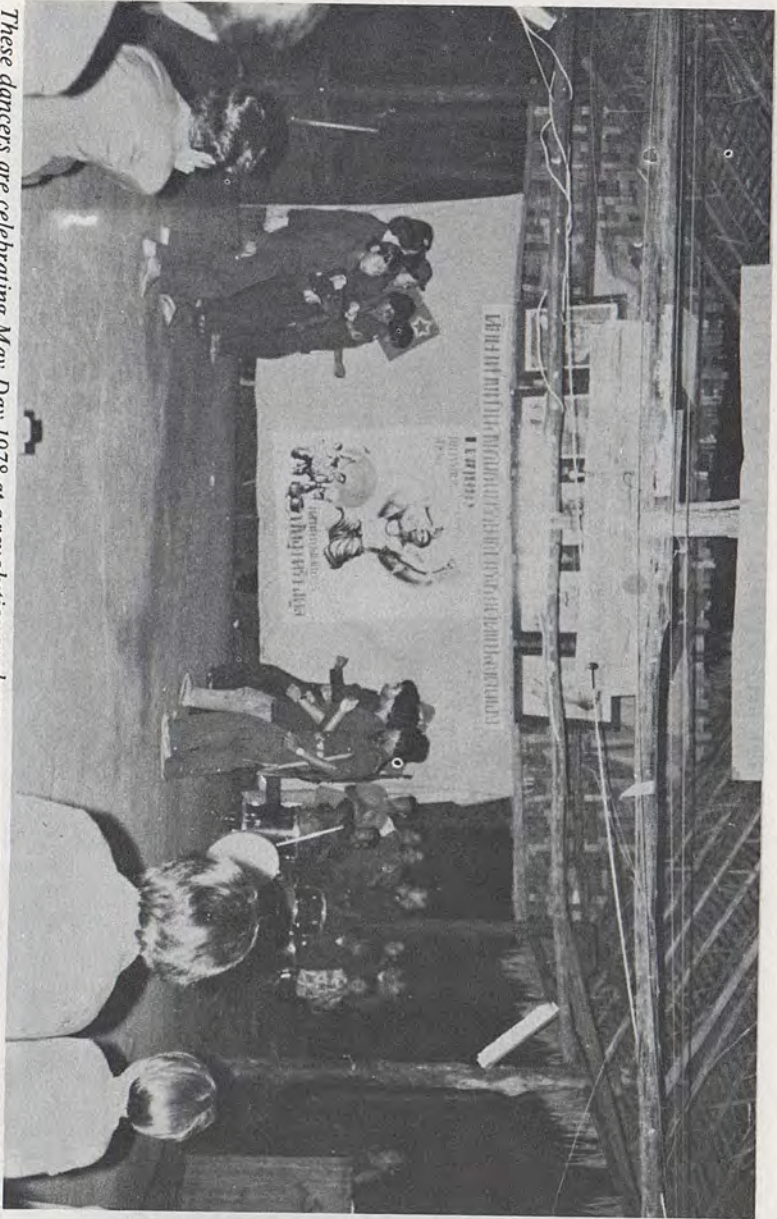
PLAT militia women



CCPDF leaders participate in International Women's Day program.



Young fighters take part in sports activities.



These dancers are celebrating May Day 1978 at a revolutionary base.

Women are struggling alongside men for liberation of their country.



Performing a traditional dance during a cultural event at a revolutionary base.

In Commemoration of the 35th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of Thailand

by Mitr Samanand

The following article was originally an address delivered on November 30, 1977, the eve of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Thailand and was delivered by Mitr Samanand, First Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand. This article is a translation of the official French version of the speech which originally appeared in the Thai Information Bulletin, France, No. 14, January 1978.

During the past 120 years or so, the Western colonialist aggression has gradually turned Thailand into a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. The oppression and exploitation inflicted by the imperialists, feudalists and bureaucratic capitalists have prompted patriotic and democratic-loving Thai people to rise up and strive for independence, democracy and justice resolutely, courageously and dauntlessly. Precursors are followed by successors shedding their blood and lives as a sacrifice for the nation in an uninterrupted succession. Prior to the change of regime on June 24, 1932,¹⁵ there had been for example peasants' uprisings in the Northeastern region, alias the Holy Man Rebellion, the Shan Rebellion in the North, the uprising of peasants in the four Southern provinces, alias the Pattani Rebellion,¹⁶ anti-French

colonialist resistance led by Phra Yod of Muang Kwang, Tienwan's struggle and the Kek-Meng Rebellion in the 130th Year of the Chakri era (1911).¹⁷ After June 24, 1932, there had been anti-Japanese volunteer forces, a Free Thai Movement, the Anti-Japanese United Association, a movement to oppose the British imperialists' treaty of extraterritorial rights, and also a number of anti-dictatorial struggles in various periods, for example: the Peace Movement,¹⁸ the round-up of patriotic and democratic-loving persons in the October 20, 1958 Incident, the people's war which started August 7, 1965, the October 14 Movement in 1973, the patriotic and democratic-loving movements before and after the bloody event of October 6, 1977. These heroic deeds set the glorious record and tradition of the popular and national struggle. This glorious spirit and tradition shall certainly be carried forward perpetually.

The Communist Manifesto issued forth by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, great teachers of the proletariat, over a hundred years ago, and, in particular, the glorious victory of the great October Revolution in Russia led by Lenin and Stalin have illuminated the path for the proletariat and the oppressed nations the world over. The revolutions of the oppressed nations have become an integral part of world proletarian revolution. The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism has in turn become a guide to action for the struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples throughout the world. Fifty years ago, Marxism-Leninism was propagated to Thailand and the communists in Thailand, who have adopted this universal truth and integrated it with the concrete reality in Thailand, with the struggle of the Thai working class and with the struggle for independence and people's democracy. The Communist Party of Thailand was founded on December 1, 1942, based upon the principle of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tsetung in regard to party formation, being a political party of the proletariat in order to shoulder the highly honorable historic task. The Party has set forth the task in uniting with people of various strata and the entire patriotic and democratic-loving forces, forming a democratic united front based on the worker-peasant alliance, persisting in its opposition to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and resolutely and consistently striving for national independence and people's democracy. During the past 35 years, the Communist Party of Thailand has been tested and tempered amidst the flames of fierce struggle waged against the enemy at home and abroad and has undergone struggles with inner-party opportunism. It accumulated its direct and reverse experiences and lessons, thus becoming a more and more developed, strengthened and well-tempered party, adhering to a more correct and perfect line and policy.

From the lessons the Party and patriotic and democracy-loving people learnt through bloodshed, the Third Deputies' Congress of the

Party adopted a resolution to determinedly take the course of armed struggle to seize state power, using the countryside to encircle the cities. The people's war conducted for the past 12 years has burst forth and spread far and wide into more than half of the country's different provinces. Guerrilla zones, revolutionary bases and people's new State areas have been widened and become further consolidated.

The two trends—namely, the patriotic and democracy-loving movement in the enemy's administrative areas and in the foreign countries, and the rural armed struggle—have forcefully and extensively merged together in their mutual support. The national democratic front has expanded and forged ahead, thus increasingly menacing the administrative stand of the traitorous dictatorial reactionary class.

In the cause of proletarian revolution and national liberation, no small number of Party members, cadres, soldiers of the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary masses have shed their lives valiantly amidst the earth-shaking revolutionary struggle. Their great merits shall be forever recorded in history.

As for patriotic and democracy-loving persons who have persistently struggled for independence, democracy and justice, many of them have fallen. Their noble merits and contributions towards the cause of national independence, people's democracy and social justice shall be forever perpetuated in the memory of the Thai people.

II

We commemorate the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party in a highly favorable situation.

The world is still in turmoil. The capitalist world is hard hit by crisis after crisis. Different monopoly capitalists tried to save their own skin, making havoc of others, shoving all the burdens upon the laboring people, contending for foreign markets, pillaging and exploiting the developing countries extortionately. The struggles for the betterment of livelihood, for independence, democracy and socialism waged by peoples of various countries throughout the world, specifically by the third world peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are expanding in magnitude.

The two superpowers, the hotbeds of turbulence in the world, each of which enters into rivalry for world supremacy and conspires to suppress and destroy revolution, are making use of sham disarmament talks to camouflage their arms race. They are contending full scale for military superiority, thus more and more endangering the risks of world war. At the same time, the revolutionary forces of the peoples the world over have grown unrestrainedly. Peoples the world over have extensively opposed the unleashing of war waged by the two superpowers. Should

they eventually unleash a world war, they would inevitably be annihilated by the peoples the world over.

We adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tsetung, persist in uniting with all the genuine Marxist political parties and organizations, oppose imperialism, especially the two superpowers, oppose modern revisionism with the Soviet Union as its axis; oppose the reactionaries of various countries; and push forward the national democratic revolution and socialist revolution of the peoples all over the world through to the end.

As for the domestic situation during the last year, the reactionary fascist Sa-ngad-Thanin regime has perpetrated numerous atrocities. They frantically concentrated their forces to suppress and slaughter the people in succession, deprived the people of their rights, plundered the people and thrived on their corrupt practice predatorily. The regime restored and expanded U.S. influence in Thailand, persuaded foreign monopoly capital to disrupt the national economy, made concessions to Malaysian mercenaries to suppress and massacre our Thai brethren in the South and vilely encroach upon national sovereignty. They conspired to frequently create border incidents, served the U.S. imperialist designs to blockade and menace the neighboring countries so as to conceal their crimes and divert the indignation of the people.

Their acts have increasingly aggravated and disrupted the national economy. The livelihood of the people in various strata has been in distress. Dissatisfaction, different forms of struggle and opposition by patriotic and democracy-loving people in the cities, in the countryside, and by the Thai people abroad, have expanded extensively. The dissenting voices of the progressive and justice-loving persons have multiplied and dealt crushing blows to the reactionary fascist administration. During the past year, in the vast expanse of all the regions of the Thai countryside, the revolutionary forces, specifically the people's armed struggles, have widened by leaps and bounds. The People's Liberation Army and various other people's armed forces have performed their duties according to the demands of the Party, have taken initiative in their attack and annihilation of the enemy's mobile and positional forces more frequently, have expanded the warfare tactics, thus damaging, wiping out and wounding the enemy more severely than in any previous year. Guerrilla zones and revolutionary base areas have expanded far and wide. The victory, growth and development of the people's armed forces are daily becoming more menacing to the enemy's reactionary administration and have rendered them even more apprehensive and demoralized.

After the October 6 Incident, a large number of pupils, college students, intellectuals, laborers, peasants and patriotic and democracy-loving politicians have rushed in flocks to the armed struggle's

revolutionary areas in the countryside, enthusiastically participated in various aspects of revolutionary work and vigorously announced their statement of armed struggle with the people.

After the representatives of political parties and organizations, and patriotic and democracy-loving people had made their mutual consultation, the founding of the Committee for Coordinating Patriotic and Democratic Forces was announced, thus marking a milestone in the expansion of the national democratic front.

That the just struggle of the Thai people receives enthusiastic support from progressive and justice-loving foreign friends all over the world does not only isolate and fluster the enemy, but also gives powerful encouragement and boosts morale of our people, who are struggling against the enemy. The Thai people shall never fail to keep in mind their services performed and shall perpetually cherish this noble friendship.

The implementation of the fascist reactionary policy of the Sa-ngad-Thanin regime intensified the contradiction between U.S. imperialism, big landlords, big capitalists and the people, and the contradiction among various cliques within the ruling class have been aggravated. U.S. imperialism and its close underlings are concerned over the fact that should they let things take their own course, then they shall be more and more opposed by the people; their administrative position would soon collapse. Hence, the U.S. imperialists sent out orders to warlord Kriangsak, its notable lackey, to stage the coup d'etat of October 20, 1977, ousting the Thanin coterie and establishing himself as chief of the new regime, so as to safeguard and prolong its present rule of oppression and exploitation.

Kriangsak's is a regime of a fascist warlord's cohort who once again usurped state power after the Thanom-Prapas tyrants were overthrown on October 14, 1973.⁹ No matter how they deck themselves out, they are, in essence, representatives of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. They try to effect compromises within their own class and bring into full play all ruses and artifices in order to concentrate their forces to suppress the people, restrain the revolution, conspire with foreign monopoly capitalists, and have a spree in amassing their wealth by pillaging the people through corrupt practice.

The salient features and quintessential nature as mentioned earlier characterize the Kriangsak regime as the arch-enemy of the people. The regime can never hoodwink the people who have passed through armed struggle for a duration of 12 years and have encountered the great October 14 Incident and the bloody October 6 Incident. On the contrary, contradictions between them and the people, and the contradictions emerging within their own camp, would only be sharpening. The more they repress the people, the more the people will rise up in resistance, launching intense, fierce and extensive attacks upon them, and the days of their downfall would soon be numbered.

III

The revolutionary forces are developing and growing, whereas the enemy is tumultuous and collapsing. The Thai people will no longer allow warlord Kriangsak, the wily henchman of U.S. imperialism, to repress them to his heart's content. In order to hurry the death of the enemy and grasp a more resounding victory, further consolidation of forces and expansion of rural armed struggle all over the country in coordination with other forms of struggle in the enemy's administrative area are necessary to eradicate U.S. imperialist influence and uproot the traitorous fascist regime through to the end.

In order to unite with patriotic and democracy-loving forces of the people in various strata, our Party has steadfastly persisted in cooperating with political parties, organizations and patriotic and democratic-loving persons. Under new circumstances, at present, our Party calls for an extensive furtherance of this cooperation. We firmly believe that the Committee for Coordinating Patriotic and Democratic Forces, an upshot of multilateral cooperation, will play a role in pushing forward the growth and development of a national democratic front and will gain cooperation from people in all strata and circles, as well as political parties, organizations and patriotic and democratic-loving persons both at home and abroad.

People from various strata and all the patriotic and democratic-loving people in reactionary administrative areas, and the Thai nationals abroad must be broadly and firmly united. They must employ appropriate forms of struggle to expose the traitorous, reactionary regime, striving for the rights due them and for national independence and people's democracy, uniting with justice-loving foreign people extensively and supporting the popular struggle at home.

As for patriotic, democratic and justice-loving civilian officers, policemen and soldiers, it is high time that you should choose the correct path, cooperate and support the people and you shall be honorably accorded a warm welcome by them.

Cadres and fighters of the People's Liberation Army and other popular armed forces: uphold the spirit of revolutionary heroism, persevere, dare to struggle, dare to win, obey your commands, go everywhere the Party calls upon you, grasp firmly political work, elevate tactical and technical capabilities, annihilate more enemies, heighten mass viewpoint, mobilize, organize and arm the masses, expand the People's Liberation Army into a strong, well-developed army, expand guerrilla zones and revolutionary base areas far and wide.

Cadres and functionaries in various Party organizations, new state areas, armed forces and mass organizations in revolutionary bases must correctly carry into effect the line and policy of the Party, uphold the spirit of self-reliance; struggle perseveringly; pay attention to the

masses; continually promote political propaganda; educational work for the people; actively lead the masses in improving their economic, cultural, medical and health work; persist in the slogan "Everything for the Front, Actively Support the Revolutionary War;" expand and reinforce the regional and militia forces; safeguard, expand and strengthen the revolutionary bases.

Party members and Party cadres must pay great attention in studying Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tsetung, firmly grasp the line and policy of the Party. Promote the style of work that links theory with practice, closely integrate with the masses, use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, remould world outlook into a proletarian type, forge Party spirit, set good example in actively implementing the line, policy and task of the Party, study, investigate and check up on your work, continually sum up lessons and experiences, strengthen and develop the Party, enhance the leading role of all the echelons of the Central Committee of the Party, promote the vanguard roles of each Party member, observe unity throughout the whole Party, the whole army, and people of various nationalities, uphold the spirit of proletarian internationalism and surmount all obstacles and hardships. During the past 35 years, traitorous reactionary regimes that aim at repressing and destroying the popular forces have fallen in successive order. The administration of the traitorous reactionary class is increasingly tottering. The difficulties besetting the traitorous reactionary class are insurmountable. Whether it be warlord Kriangsak, this wily underling of the U.S. imperialists, or not, none of them can tide over the obstacles. On the contrary, during the past 35 years, our Party and the patriotic and democratic-loving popular forces have grown, developed and been strengthened amidst life-and-death struggles against the enemy. Even though the arduous path that lies ahead is beset with obstacles and hardships, the people can surmount all of them insomuch as our cause is a just one, the people's forces are invincible, and we have our friends all over the world.

The prospect for the future of our people is bright and glorious. Let us be more firmly and more extensively united and persist in our struggle through to the end. Then we shall be able to overthrow the reactionary traitorous regime, eradicate U.S. imperialist influence, and inevitably build a new Thailand with independence, democracy and prosperity.

Long live the popular unity!

Long live the Communist Party of Thailand!

Long live Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tsetung!

November 30, 1977

TEN POINT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THAILAND

1. Consolidate the forces of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national capitalists of all nationalities, as well as all patriotic and democratic-loving political parties, organizations and people. Expand the people's war, eradicate U.S. imperialist influence, topple the reactionary, fascist and traitorous regime. Set up a People's Government composed of representatives of the entire revolutionary forces. Build up an independent, democratic and prosperous new Thailand.
2. Abrogate all anti-popular laws, announcements, orders, rules and regulations. Release all the patriotic and democratic-loving detainees. Grant the people freedom of speech, writing, printing and publication, assembly demonstrations, strike actions, freedom of religion and the setting up of associations and political parties. The people must be entitled to vote and stand for election at the age of 18.
3. Confiscate the assets of the U.S. imperialists, the atrocious traitorous reactionaries and the hooligan landlords, and appropriate them for the benefit of the people and the country, and bring to justice the counter-revolutionaries and reactionaries who have perpetrated crimes against the nation and the people in accordance with their wrong-doings. Those who have perpetrated crimes and come to repent and correct their misdeeds will be shown leniency.
4. Carry into effect the foreign policy of independence and sovereignty; revoke all traitorous and unjust treaties, conventions and agreements; oppose imperialism, especially the hegemonism of the two super-powers; establish friendly relations with all countries on the basis of equality, respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, facilitate mutual benefits, unite and cooperate with, support and assist the just struggle of all oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world.
5. The people of various nationalities in Thailand shall enjoy equal rights, should respect, support and assist each other, shall be entitled to use their own languages and scripts and preserve their fine traditions, custom and culture, oppose any discrimination against and oppression of all nationalities. In nationality regions, autonomous administration will be accorded under the big family of Thailand. Economic, educational and public health development must be implemented thoroughly and universally.

6. Abolish the oppressive system of feudalism; carry out agrarian revolution with differences in treatment on a stage-by-stage basis in accordance with the condition in each locality, allow all peasants and planters to possess their own land, oppose all usurers, annul all unjust debts and loan contracts, develop agricultural production, and improve the livelihood of all agriculturalists.

7. Safeguard national resources; develop the industry, commerce and other enterprises of the state; protect the industry and commerce of national capitalists; and assist manufacturing and trading beneficial to the people.

8. Guarantee employment, wages and welfare of workers and office employees. Equal wages will be paid to all persons for the same work with equal production, irrespective of sex, age and nationality.

9. Women and men are entitled to enjoy equal rights in political, economic, cultural, educational and working opportunities. Enhance the role of women in carrying out the revolution and production; guarantee the welfare of women and children.

Education and employment of youth will be ensured; youth will be encouraged to love their nation, democracy, people and manual labor, and dare to sacrifice for the common good, participate energetically in the revolution and the building of a new society.

Relief and welfare will be provided for disabled revolutionary soldiers and persons, the families of those persons who have sacrificed their lives for the revolution and the families of revolutionary soldiers.

10. Make a clean sweep of the culture and education of the imperialists and feudalists; promote the revolutionary culture and education which is national, democratic and scientific in its character, critically carry on the culture of the Thai nation and critically adopt foreign culture; and thoroughly and universally expand medical and health work, specifically in the rural areas.

Notes

1. Although Siam (now Thailand) was never colonized by European powers during the 19th century, it was compelled to sign unequal treaties with foreign countries.

In 1855, the Bowring Treaty gave extraterritorial and free trade rights, among other things, to British citizens in Siam. Between 1856 and 1899, Siam had to sign similar treaties with the U.S., France, Denmark, Portugal, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Japan and Russia. Foreign capital began to flow into Siam and was invested in different industries. Siam thus became an important source of cheap raw materials, economically dependent on foreign powers.

2. After the Second World War, the British imperialists attempted to regain their influence in Thailand and imposed a 21-point agreement on the Thai government in January 1946. It stipulated that Britain would control Thai foreign trade and that Thailand deliver annually one and a half million tons of rice to Great Britain.

3. The Kuomintang instigated a bloody quarrel between Thais and overseas Chinese who lived in Yaowarat, Bangkok's Chinatown.

4. This incident occurred in Bangkok during a ceremony in which the U.S. government formally handed over the dredge *Manhattan* to the Thai government. A group of young navy officers who were disenchanted with the government's dictatorial and pro-American policy, forced Prime Minister Pibun Songkram onto the royal warship *Sri Ayuthya*. Eventually the *Manhattan* rebels were outnumbered by government forces and had to surrender. Some were imprisoned, others went into exile. The incident forced the Pibun regime to tighten its repressive measures against the opposition, and soldiers were sent to occupy Thammasat University.

5. Prasert Sapsunthorn was first a deputy from the Democrat Party and later became a member of the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT), elected to its Central Committee. Following his differences with the CPT's line in the 1960s, he quit the Party. From 1969-71, he was an advisor to dictator Thanom's Saha-Prachathai Party. It is said that he is now an "expert" on communist suppression and attached to the Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC), which is directly in charge of communist suppression operations.

6. Prime Minister Pibun Songkram, being quite impressed with freedom of speech in Great Britain, ordered the opening of the Thai "Hyde Park" in Bangkok. Here opposition politicians and dissidents were allowed some freedom of speech. But the experience backfired on the regime, which was violently criticized by "Hyde Park stars." Many of the latter were eventually arrested or went into clandestinity.

7. The Five-Institution Group was composed of progressive students from the five prestigious Thai universities: Thammasat, Chulalongkorn, Kasetsat, Phaestat and Silpakorn.

8. The Pibun regime used its power to manipulate and "win" the general election held February 26, 1957. This prompted the students and the masses to take to the streets. The regime was then forced to retreat and promise a new election, but it was too late. The ambitious Gen. Sarit Thanarat and his clique made use of rising mass discontent to oppose the Pibun regime, which was finally overthrown in the September 1957 coup d'état.

9. October 28, 1958 is the date of the general election which is said to be one of the most rigged in Thai history. Students protested the election and brought great turmoil to Thailand. This set the stage for the U.S.-backed General Sarit Thanarat to once again engineer a coup and get rid of his opponents in the government. Sarit ordered mass arrests shortly after the coup, abolished parliament and set up martial law. Thousands were arrested, including well known politicians and intellectuals.

10. Article 17 is a special decree empowering the prime minister to arrest without warrant, detain without trial and execute without court approval. Several CPT leaders have been executed under its provisions.

11. When armed struggle broke out near the junction of these three provinces in 1968-69, the Thanom government ordered its troops to launch a large scale encirclement and suppression drive. The campaign had a lavish budget, and a force of 15,000 civil, army, air force and police troops was deployed. The operation lasted more than 100 days and ended in disaster for the government side. Between 600 and 700 government troops were killed or wounded, and a large amount of equipment and arms was destroyed. The People's Liberation Armed Forces and the revolutionary base areas remained practically intact.

12. The October 14 Movement in 1973 was the greatest mass movement against fascist dictatorship in Thai history. The students' and people's struggle brought about the fall of the military government and forced the three tyrants, Thanom, Prapas and Narong, to go into exile.

13. Amnaj Yuthawiwat (Pin Bua-on) was a member of the CPT Central Com. During the 1973-76 period of "democracy," Amnaj advocated parliamentary and

peaceful means of struggle and, to a certain extent, compromise with the ruling class. The CPT declared Amnaj a traitor, working with the Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC) to suppress the popular movement. His theoretical works and "treacherous acts" were broadly condemned in broadcasts by the Voice of the People of Thailand (VOPT).

14. An extreme right-wing coalition (feudalists, military and big capitalists) staged a coup d'état which provoked the bloody events of October 6, 1976. Hundreds of students protesting peacefully against the return of the tyrant Thanom were brutally massacred. More than 3,000 students and workers were arrested and some, like the Bangkok 18, are still held in prison and are being tried by military tribunals.

15. This date marks the beginning of the contemporary period in Thai politics. The change of regime was carried out by the People's Party, composed of civilians and military officers who were discontented with the monarchy and favored a Western-type democracy. The People's Party proposed six political principles for maintaining national independence and equal and free participation in government.

16. These were a series of peasant rebellions against feudalism which occurred in the early 1900s. During this period, the peasantry had been hit by a series of natural disasters which greatly affected their harvests. At the same time, the central feudalist government was attempting to expand its influence over the provincial regions, and the French imperialists were out to extend their influence over the northeast and eastern parts of Thailand.

The Pattani, Yala, Satool and Narathiwat Rebellions in the Southern provinces were exacerbated by religious oppression. The majority of people in these provinces were of Malay and Muslim extraction, whereas the majority of the Thai people are Buddhists.

17. Phra Yod Muang Kwang is recognized as a patriotic hero of the Thai nation, who valiantly fought against the French invaders. For this, he was imprisoned for 20 years, but he never gave up his defense of Siamese independence. His good deeds are well remembered to this day.

Tienwan (1842-1919) was a renowned intellectual who opposed slavery, feudalism and corruption. He proposed reforms such as: the abolition of slavery and of feudal taxes and gambling houses; the building of hospitals and post offices; and the establishment of a parliamentary system. The feudal government sentenced him to 17 years in prison for his progressive ideas.

The Kek-Meng rebels were a group of young officers who favored drafting a "constitution for the formation of democracy." They were very much influenced by the reform of Japan during the Meiji period (1868-1912) and by the Chinese revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1911. Owing to the betrayal of one of the conspirators, the rebellion was abortive.

18. The Peace Movement was organized in late 1950 to protest U.S. imperialist intervention in various parts of the world, Korea in particular. It opposed the complicity of the Phibun Songkram government in the war. This regime arrested and imprisoned many progressives who were part of the Peace Movement at the time.

19. When Sarit Thanarat died in late 1965, his two deputies, Thanom and Prapas, installed themselves as the government heads. They were elected in 1968 and dissolved the parliament, banned political activities and abrogated the constitution, immediately setting up a military government. Thanom and Prapas are the most hated of dictators and were ousted and sent into exile by the student uprising in 1973.

in Thailand
and equipment

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