

An Open Letter from the Siamese Communist Party to the Masses on the Rule of the People's Party

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Introduction: The Public Propaganda Strategy of the Siamese Communist Party

The Siamese Communist Party (SCP) was formally established on April 1, 1930. At its inception, the SCP's organizational structure consisted of only two functional departments: the Organization Department and the Propaganda Department. The Organization Department was responsible for recruiting, managing, and training internal members, while the Propaganda Department handled external propaganda efforts, specifically the dissemination and promotion of communist ideology. It is evident that propaganda had consistently been a focal point of the SCP's revolutionary activities. Constrained by the weak strength at that time, the communist activists in Siam had relatively few propaganda methods at their disposal, with the primary one being the public distribution of leaflets.

The distribution of communist leaflets was already in existence prior to the establishment of the SCP. The Overseas Chinese Communist Party, known in the Chinese context as Qiaodang (侨党, an abbreviation for Huaqiao Gongchandang 华侨共产党), had initiated several leaflet distribution campaigns. The origin of such activities is difficult to ascertain definitively, but according to Eiji Murashima, there were individuals distributing leaflets advocating communism in Siam as early as late 1929¹. For instance, there exists a leaflet dated December 11, 1929, titled "Commemorating the Second Anniversary of the Guangzhou Uprising: An Open Letter to the Impoverished Masses of Siam," signed by "The South Sea Communist Party, Special Committee in Siam,"

¹ มุราชิม่า, เออิจิ (1996). *การเมืองจีนสยาม: การเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมืองของชาวจีนโพ้นทะเลในประเทศไทย ค.ศ. 1924-1941*. สถาบันเอเชียศึกษา, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, หน้า 80. [Murashima, E. (1996). *Siamese Chinese politics: The political movements of overseas Chinese in Thailand, 1924-1941*. Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, p.80]

and written in Chinese, English, and Thai. It enumerated ten major propositions, including:

1. Upholding the spirit of the Guangzhou Uprising;
2. Opposing imperialist wars;
3. Collaboratively overthrowing the oppressive British and French imperialist powers exploiting the Siamese masses;
4. Supporting the center of the world revolution—the Soviet Union;
5. Overthrowing the autocracy of the Siamese monarchy and landlords;
6. Establishing a Siamese democratic republic;
7. Full freedom of speech, press, association, and strike;
8. Maximally uniting the resistance struggles of various ethnic groups domestically;
9. Thoroughly achieving the revolutionary goals in various Southeast Asian countries;
10. Long live the world revolution!

Furthermore, Somsak Jeamteerasakul has mentioned in his research that in January 1930, there were people distributing leaflets commemorating the deaths of Vladimir Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Karl Liebknecht in the streets of Bangkok. Later, there were leaflets accusing the “cruel monarchy” of fabricating evidence and framing 22 revolutionaries².

On August 30, 1930, near Nakhon Sawan Road in the Nang Loeng district of Bangkok, the police found a Chinese leaflet affixed to a wall containing communism-related content. This discovery likely contributed to the subsequent arrest of an important leading figure within the SCP, Wu Zhizhi. Following the arrest of Wu and his wife on October 11, 1930, the Siamese police mobilized their efforts for nationwide raids, resulting in the arrest of a total of 30

² Jeamteerasakul, S. (1991). *The communist movement in Thailand*, Doctoral dissertation, Monash University, pp.62-72.

Chinese individuals. This crackdown had a significant impact on the organization and activities of the SCP. Throughout 1931, there were no records or reports about the communists in Siamese government archives and newspapers. In 1932, the SCP's public propaganda activities resumed, coinciding with the 1932 Revolution—a bloodless coup d'état led by the People's Party. This pivotal event brought a sudden end to the era of Siamese absolute monarchy and heralded the advent of a constitutional government.

Communist leaflets reappeared in Siam on August 1, 1932. However, there are scant records of this public appearance, with only a brief mention found in a report submitted by the SCP to the Malayan Communist Party on September 20, 1932: "After the distribution of the handbills during the 1st of August, the printing office was raided on the 8th and one responsible C.P. comrade arrested together with one responsible comrade of the GLU (General Labor Union), one fellow worker, and 6 persons from the masses. These nine have been banished to China on the 16th instant."³

In late September to early October of the same year, the SCP organized another leaflet distribution campaign⁴. This campaign took place from the night of September 30 to the early hours of October 1. The leaflets were attributed to the "Siamese Communist Party" and the "Siamese Commu-

³ National Archives of Thailand (NAT), กต.39/25.

⁴ Both Murashima and Somsak have made references to this event, and while there may be slight discrepancies in the details, both scholars provide a generally consistent description of the situation. Therefore, the author believes that the leaflet distribution activities mentioned by Murashima and Somsak likely pertain to the same occurrence. Please refer to มูราชิม่า, เออิจิ (1996). *การเมืองจีนสยาม: การเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมืองของชาวจีนโพ้นทะเลในประเทศไทย ค.ศ. 1924-1941*. สถาบันเอเชียศึกษา, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, หน้า 102-103. [Murashima, E. (1996). *Siamese Chinese politics: The political movements of overseas Chinese in Thailand, 1924-1941*. Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, pp.102-103] and Jeamteerasakul, S. (1991). *The communist movement in Thailand*, Doctoral dissertation, Monash University, pp.71-72.

nist Youth League,” and they were written in Chinese, English, and Thai. These leaflets appealed to “workers, peasants, soldiers, and all oppressed people of Siam,” urging them to rise up against the rule of the People’s Party, which deceived the populace and pursued their own self-interests. These leaflets were distributed in Bangkok, as well as also along the railway lines and in provincial towns where Vietnamese immigrants congregated, such as Phitsanulok, Nakhon Ratchasima, and Udon Thani⁵.

The author discovered a leaflet at the National Archives of Thailand (NAT) in 2017⁶. The single-page document, originally mimeographed in Chinese, appears to be associated with the same distribution campaign. This inference is based on two primary factors: firstly, a rough alignment in terms of timing; and secondly, a notable resemblance to Murashima and Somsak’s descriptions of the leaflet’s content. Even if there were multiple instances of leaflet distribution activities or various versions of the leaflets during that period, their core contents likely remained uniform, with no substantial differences. This document, possibly the only surviving original leaflet from the SCP, holds paramount significance in elucidating the party’s propaganda strategies, ideological stances, and political visions. Given the absence of an available English original, the author has transcribed and translated it to facilitate access for readers and scholars interested in relevant historical subjects.

⁵ Throughout the history of the Chakri dynasty, Thailand witnessed multiple influxes of Vietnamese refugees. By the 1920s, a substantial population of Vietnamese émigrés had established themselves in the northeastern region along the Mekong River. This demographic presence rendered northeastern Thailand a crucial focal point for Vietnamese revolutionaries, who strategically regarded it as a significant base for fostering and expanding their overseas revolutionary networks. For a more detailed account, please refer to Goscha, C. E. (2013). *Thailand and the Southeast Asian networks of the Vietnamese revolution, 1885-1954*. Routledge.

⁶ NAT, สร.0201.89/3.

In analyzing this leaflet, the author identifies several facets that unveil its subtle political implications. To begin with, it offers insights into the SCP's stance toward the 1932 Revolution and the People's Party government. In this leaflet, the SCP portrays the 1932 Revolution as a coup d'état orchestrated through deception and fraudulent claims of popular support, with the sole aim of seizing power. As for the People's Party government that ascended through this coup, while it overthrew the despotic dictatorship, it is depicted as merely replacing the old regime with a new gang of oppressors and exploiters who continue to subjugate the masses. The leaflet explicitly names some of these newly identified "traitors (民賊)," such as Phraya Nitisatpaisarn, Phraya Manopakorn Nitithada, and Phraya Phahonphonphayuhasena⁷. This unvarnished criticism underscores the SCP's lack of faith in the People's Party government. It also indirectly reflects that the SCP did not play a role in the coup d'état and did not engage with the new regime in any capacity.

Next in the leaflet is a signaling of the transformation of the Siamese Communists' revolutionary goal, shifting from advocating a democratic republic to establishing a Soviet regime. As previously mentioned, the leaflet distributed by members of the Overseas Chinese Communist Party on December 11, 1929, called for the establishment

⁷ Phraya Nitisatpaisarn held prominent roles in the Thai government, particularly within the Ministry of Justice. He was also the inaugural dean of Thammasat University's Faculty of Law and a law professor at Chulalongkorn University. Amidst the 1932 Revolution, he was appointed as a member of the first House of Representatives and continued to serve in subsequent sets, spanning from the second to the fifth. Phraya Manopakorn Nitithada was selected as the first Prime Minister of Siam after the 1932 Revolution. However, he was soon ousted due to the conflicts within the People's Party. Phraya Phahonphonphayuhasena, the Commander-in-chief of the Royal Siamese Army and the de facto leader of the People's Party and the 1932 Revolution, assumed the role of the second Prime Minister after a successful coup d'état.

of a Siamese democratic republic, closely paralleling the republican ideas of the Kuomintang (KMT) in China. Starting around 1924, the KMT, under the auspices of the Comintern, embarked on a collaborative venture with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), referred to as allying with Russia and incorporating the communists (联俄容共)⁸ or “allying with Russia and the communists (联俄联共)”. This alliance extended its influence into Siam but unraveled in 1927 when the KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek initiated a purge of the communists, sparking a long-lasting civil war between the two parties. Nevertheless, the revolutionary vision of the Overseas Chinese Communist Party continued to bear the imprint of the KMT’s ideals, with overseas Chinese communists envisioning the implementation of a democratic republic in Siam. However, from the 1932 leaflet, it is clear that the SCP underwent a profound ideological transformation. They shifted their focus towards emulating the example of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union and establishing “a Soviet government for workers, peasants, and soldiers.” This transformation was partly instigated by the collapse of KMT-CCP cooperation and further shaped by the directives of the Comintern. The SCP was founded under the guidance of the Comintern⁸, naturally aligning itself with the Comintern’s ideology of world revolution, with the establishment of a Soviet regime and the realization of communist socialism in Siam as the ultimate goals of their revolutionary cause.

Furthermore, this leaflet communicates the SCP’s enduring commitment to an anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist agenda. Within the page, the SCP not only called for the overthrow of the new dictatorship represented by

⁸ The Third or Communist International (Comintern) was established in Moscow in March 1919. It was the first organized attempt to promote world revolution. For a more detailed account of the Comintern, please refer to Studer, B. (2023). *Travellers of the world revolution: A global history of the Communist International*. Verso Books.

the People's Party but also targeted the Siamese monarchy, old elites, and foreign imperialist powers such as Japan, the United Kingdom, France, and the United States, which indirectly exploited Siam's resources. According to the author's research, even before the establishment of the SCP, overseas Chinese communists had prominently raised the banner of anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism. The SCP maintained and championed this stance, steadfastly engaging in revolutionary struggles against feudalism and imperialism until gradual changes emerged after 1937. However, if we consider the 1932 Revolution as the end of feudal autocracy, the extent to which these anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist slogans resonated in a country like Siam, which retained nominal independence and skillfully avoided complete colonization, remains an open question.

In the decade following the 1932 Revolution, the SCP organized intermittent leaflet distribution activities, with roughly a dozen to several dozen instances recorded, most notably from 1934 to the first half of 1936⁹. Multiple initiatives received coverage in both Thai-language newspapers of that era, primarily *Thaimai* and *Prachachat*, as well as in Chinese-language newspapers.

Former SCP member Ouyang Hui, recalling his involvement in distributing communist leaflets during this period, shared the following account:

"Leaflet distribution must be completed within a very short period of time, which did not allow for reading the contents carefully. Distributors would receive about 10 leaflets from

⁹ มุราชิม่า, เออิจิ (1996). *การเมืองจีนสยาม: การเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมืองของชาวจีนโพ้นทะเลในประเทศไทย ค.ศ. 1924-1941*. สถาบันเอเชียศึกษา, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, หน้า 104-116. [Murashima, E. (1996). *Siamese Chinese politics: The political movements of overseas Chinese in Thailand, 1924-1941*. Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, pp.104-116]

their superiors before heading to the designated site, with instructions to complete the task within 10 minutes. The limit of 10 leaflets per person was to avoid situations where it would be difficult to distribute them all within a tight time-frame or if someone noticed and reported it to the police. Having only about 10 leaflets in hands made it possible to quickly dispose of them in case of an emergency. Also, the main purpose of leaflet distribution was to inform the public about the existence of the communist party. Therefore, distributing 10 leaflets per person was deemed adequate; there was no need to distribute a large quantity.

Although termed 'leaflet distribution,' the leaflets were not directly handed to people. Typically, a team of two individuals would wait for a quiet time and then affix the leaflets to the trunks of trees in a park, the walls of a restroom, or toss them from the rooftop of a building. When affixing the leaflets, one person would apply the glue and the other would place the leaflets. When distributing from a rooftop, a crowd often gathered, allowing the distributors to blend in and escape."¹⁰

Based on the research by Murashima and Somsak, and the recollections of Ouyang Hui, the author has recognized recurring characteristics of the SCP's leaflet distribution activities. These characteristics include:

1. Leaflet distribution often took place on significant holidays and commemorative occasions, such as International Women's Day, International Workers' Day, the anniversary of the October Revolution, the anniversary of Lenin's death, and Thailand's Constitution Day.
2. At first, leaflet distribution was centered in Bangkok and its surroundings, but it gradually extended inland, particularly along railways and into the northeastern provinces where overseas Vietnamese communities resided.

¹⁰ 村嶋, 英治, & 鄭, 成. (2012). 中国に帰ったタイ華僑共産党員-欧陽恵氏のバンコク, 延安, 大連, 吉林, 北京での経験. WIAPS リサーチ シリーズ, 1, 25. [Murashima, E., & Zheng, C. (2012). *A Thai Chinese communist party member who returned to China: Mr. Ouyang Hui's Experiences in Bangkok, Yan'an, Dalian, Jilin, and Beijing*. WIAPS Research Series, 1, p.25.]

3. The leaflets were written in multiple languages. In the Bangkok area, the primary languages were Chinese, English, and Thai, while in the northeastern region, Thai and Vietnamese predominated.
4. Most leaflets were signed either by the Siamese Communist Party or the Siamese Communist Youth League, both collectively and separately. At times, other SCP-affiliated mass organizations like the Siamese Red Labor Union (or General Labor Union), Siamese Students' Union, and the Anti-Imperialist League, also appeared, alongside unsigned leaflets.
5. The primary distribution method included rapidly disseminating leaflets from rooftops or moving vehicles within a short time. Occasionally, leaflets were placed in envelopes or inserted into newspapers and periodicals.
6. Individuals engaged in leaflet distribution operated within organized teams, usually consisting of two to three members. Each team member had specific roles: some distributed leaflets, some acted as lookouts, and others diverted the attention of nearby crowds and the police.
7. According to Ouyang Hui, the primary objective of distributing leaflets was to inform the public of the communist party's existence rather than to engage in ideological propaganda. Nevertheless, SCP leaflets still contained elements intended to incite revolutionary sentiments.
8. The content of the leaflets often exhibited a close connection to concurrent international and domestic political events.
9. In terms of results, leaflet distribution proved conspicuous yet relatively inefficient as a public propaganda method. Almost every activity resulted in the apprehension of SCP members, significantly impeding the organization's operations.

In addition to leaflet distribution, the SCP frequently employed another propaganda tactic: the discreet placement of red flags. Despite being called a flag, it was, in reality, a

piece of red cloth, approximately the size of a handkerchief. This operation involved positioning a red flag in prominent locations, such as from the center of a bridge railing or on the facade of a government office building. It was consistently carried out on the party's anniversaries and during peak times in busy locations. This task required the coordinated efforts of at least three individuals, with two serving as look-outs while the third person surreptitiously inserted the red flag, striving to avoid notice from passersby. Similar to leaflet distribution, the primary objective of inserting red flags was not so much to promote communist ideologies but rather to draw public attention to the existence of the communist party.

The SCP's public propaganda strategy, particularly their extensive leaflet distribution, evoked a deep sense of unease within Siamese society. This pervasive sentiment among the public was such that anything considered suspicious was often associated with the communist party¹¹. At that time, even the government officials found it difficult to gauge the full extent of the SCP's influence and the potential threat posed by communism. Consequently, the SCP's frequent public activities inevitably heightened the vigilance of the ruling authorities, resulting in an escalation in their forceful suppression of the movement.

In the latter part of 1936, the SCP's leaflet distribution activities began to decline, and mentions of them vanished from newspaper reports for several years. Although occasional leaflet distributions continued on significant occasions like International Labor Day, they were notably reduced in scale and impact. Furthermore, the majority of these leaflets

¹¹ มุราชิม่า, เอจิชิ (1996). *การเมืองจีนสยาม: การเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมืองของชาวจีนโพ้นทะเลในประเทศไทย ค.ศ. 1924-1941*. สถาบันเอเชียศึกษา, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, หน้า 100. [Murashima, E. (1996). *Siamese Chinese politics: The political movements of overseas Chinese in Thailand, 1924-1941*. Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, pp.100]

were written in Chinese. This trend persisted until around 1939 to 1940 when the SCP's leaflet distribution activities came to a complete halt. This cessation can be attributed to three key factors. Firstly, government crackdowns and suppression made it increasingly challenging for the SCP to operate openly, leading to a weakening of the party's activities. Secondly, the SCP began to realize the limitations of this form of public propaganda and deliberately reduced such activities, possibly due to concerns about their effectiveness and sustainability in the face of government repression. Thirdly, after the full-scale outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War in 1937, overseas Chinese communists in Siam shifted their focus to anti-Japanese national salvation endeavors, no longer considering the Siamese revolution their top priority. These three factors jointly contributed to the complete discontinuation of the decade-long communist leaflet distribution in Siam.

Chinese Names, Places, and Events

Qiaodang (Huaqiao Gongchandang) 侨党 (华侨共产党)
Guangzhou Uprising 广州起义
Wu Zhizhi 伍治之
Jinde Teahouse (or Jinde School) 进德茶楼 (进德学校)
Lin Wunong 林务农
Chen Keqiu 陈克邱
Allying with Russia and incorporating the communists 联俄容共
Allying with Russia and the communists 联俄联共
Ouyang Hui (Ou Huixiong) 欧阳惠 (区惠雄)

Thai Names, Places, and Newspapers

Phraya Nitipatsatsapaial พระยานิติศาสตรไพศาล
Phraya Manopakorn Nitithada พระยามโนปกรณนิติธาดา
Phraya Phahonphonphayuhasena พระยาพหลพลพยุหเสนา
Nakhon Sawan Road ถนนนครสวรรค์
Nang Loeng นางเล็ง
Thaimai ไทยใหม่
Prachachat ประชาชาติ

暹罗共产党对国民党政治告群众书

全暹的劳苦群众们！

暹罗的暴君的政府是专治独裁的统治阶级，他用高压的手段剥削民众、愚化青年的罪恶已达极点，现在他们的地位已经被民党的推翻了。他的罪状亦由国民党在发动时候向民众宣布了，大多数的劳苦群众都能够明白无须再说。然而民党的招牌到底怎样？他们果能为全暹民众谋利高唱？他们所提出的君主立宪真能改变为群众所希望的政治吗？这就是我们必要将他们的假面揭开宣布于全暹的被压迫民众：

一、这次“六·二四”政变的鼓动，国民党主持利用被裁退的官僚军人，假冒民众的声势，煽动爆发政变，攫取政权，以期达到他们的专政目的，试看国民党新政府正式成立后即指定党员七十人参加议会，而群众反不能参与，所谓国民党，已经暴露其假冒的招牌了。

二、国民党简直是强盗式的“新集团”，过去我们受着暴君政府的压迫多么痛苦，现在更加了一批新的民贼——披耶呢滴塞派训、披耶吗努巴功呢滴里拉、披耶派盛等等，我们根据国民党的入党条律的观察，凡是加入国民党的必须参加他的侦探队监视民众举动，以预防革命的爆发。

三、这次政变，国民党却呼出种种欺骗民众的口号：这次政变目的是要模仿各文明国家的政体，改善暹罗臻于富强，为人民谋图自由平等，以及生活文化种种的幸福，这是他们用甘言蜜语来欺骗群众的事实告诉我们，现在各帝国主义的立宪国家的劳苦群众生活的痛苦已不堪言状，正在爆发革命以达到劳苦阶级整个的解放，所以全暹劳苦群众必要团结起来，推翻国民党的统治阶级成立工农兵政府，才能够得到真正自由平等的幸福。

四、现在国民党领袖们口头决议裁剪垆田税，及减收田税和果蔬畜物等杂税，这不过是他们施小惠以欺骗民众，来收买群众的欢心。至如本年届期的十余兆铢的身税，以及屠猪每头缴税五铢，斩树一株缴税三铢的种种杂税，他们仍旧的剥削，使一般工农劳苦群众仍在水深火热中，不得解脱！

XX劳苦群众XX不但受着暴君和国民党两层的剥削，还加

上一层各XXX的间接压迫榨取。全暹的森林、矿山、南部及东部各省肥美的土地，共各种特殊权利，都被日英法美等帝国主义的种种不平等条约来侵略，民党却依旧承认，那么民党不但代理各帝国主义直接压迫民众，而且甘心做帝国主义的新走狗！

劳苦群众们！民党的真面目不但如上述的几件丑恶，他如最近八日间，无辜逮捕劳苦群众施行酷刑；用调和劳资的名义，压迫三千多人力车夫斗争；共抓捕工人丧心病狂的肆行罚款。他不但对工农群众是这样压迫，而对于易三仓学校一千多学生的罢课风潮，也勾结学校当局——法帝国主义——来破坏学生正当的要求，不肯收容学生转学其他学校，使一般青年失学而不顾，民党统治者种种的罪恶已明白摆在我们面前了吧！我们要谋解放，只有被压迫群众联合起来，打倒一切统治阶级，效法苏联十月革命的政策，建立工农兵苏维埃政府，我们要实行下列的口号：

- a. 全暹被压迫群众联合起来！
- b. 打倒新的独裁政府！
- c. 打倒民党！
- d. 打倒资本帝国主义！
- e. 成立工农兵苏维埃政府！
- f. 实行共产社会主义！

暹罗共产党
暹罗共产青年团
一九三X年九月XX日

Translation

An Open Letter from the Siamese Communist Party to the Masses on the Rule of the People's Party

To the working masses of all Siam!

The Siamese tyrant's government was nothing but an authoritarian dictatorship of the ruling class. He had employed coercive measures to exploit the populace and dumb down the youth to an extreme extent. But his position has been overthrown by the People's Party. His crimes were exposed to the public by the People's Party when launching [the coup d'état]. Most of the working masses are now aware of it, and there is no need for further explanation. However, what is the true nature of the People's Party? Can they truly act in the best interests of all Siamese people? Can their proposed constitutional monarch truly bring about the political changes that the people hope for? It is our duty to unmask the People's Party and reveal their true faces to the oppressed people of all Siam.

Firstly, the People's Party utilized dismissed officials and military personnel to instigate the "June 24" coup d'état, deceiving the people with false claims of popular support to seize power and pursue their dictatorial agenda. After establishing the new government, they appointed 70 party members to the parliament while deliberately excluding the working masses. The so-called "People's Party" has already exposed their deceitful nature.

Secondly, the People's Party is simply a bandit-like "new group." We have suffered greatly under the tyranny and oppression of the old regime, only to be confronted by a new set of traitors, including Phraya Nitipatsatsapaisal, Phraya Manopakorn Nitithada, Phraya Phahonphonphayuhasena, and others. According to the People's Party's

admission requirements, anyone who wants to join the party must participate in its surveillance networks to monitor the activities of the people and prevent any revolution from taking place.

Thirdly, the People's Party used various deceptive slogans during the coup in order to mislead the people. They claimed to emulate the political systems of civilized countries, improve the prosperity of Siam, and strive for freedom, equality, and happiness for all people in every aspect of life and culture. The use of such honeyed words to deceive the masses demonstrates that the working classes in imperialist constitutional countries are suffering unbearable hardships and rising up in revolution to achieve complete liberation. Therefore, the working masses of all Siam must unite to overthrow the rule of the People's Party and establish a new regime of workers, peasants, and soldiers. Only then can genuine freedom, equality, and happiness be achieved.

Fourthly, the leaders of the People's Party have made verbal commitments to reduce land taxes and miscellaneous taxes on crops, fruits, vegetables, and livestock to win the people's hearts and deceive them with these small favors. However, the more than ten trillion baht of capitation taxes due this year, the five-baht tax per pig slaughtered, and the three-baht tax for every tree cut down continue to burden and exploit the working masses, leaving them in dire straits with no hope of escape.

The working people [of all Siam] are not only suffering under the dual exploitation of the tyrant and the People's Party but also face indirect oppression and exploitation from various [foreign powers]. Through various unequal treaties, imperialist powers such as Japan, Britain, France, and the United States have invaded the forests, mines, and fertile lands of the southern and eastern provinces of Siam. However, the People's Party has chosen to accept these treaties,

which shows that they not only act as proxies for various imperialist powers in directly oppressing the people but also willingly serve as the new lapdogs of imperialism!

All working-class masses! The People's Party's true nature is not only reflected in the aforementioned atrocities but also in their recent activities. They have arbitrarily arrested working-class people and subjected them to torture over the past eight days, used the pretext of "harmonizing labor-capital relations" to oppress over 3,000 rickshaw drivers' strikes, and imposed heavy fines on the arrested workers. Furthermore, they have conspired with the school authorities, the French imperialists, to undermine the legitimate demands of more than one thousand students in the Assumption School who went on strike. They refused to transfer the students to other schools, forcing many young people to drop out. The People's Party's crimes have been clearly presented before us! If we want to strive for liberation, we must unite the oppressed masses and overthrow all ruling classes. We must follow the example of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union and establish a Soviet government for workers, peasants, and soldiers. We must implement the following slogans:

- a. Unite all oppressed masses of Siam!
- b. Overthrow the new dictatorship!
- c. Overthrow the People's Party!
- d. Overthrow capitalist imperialism!
- e. Establish a Soviet government for workers, peasants, and soldiers!
- f. Implement communist socialism!

Siamese Communist Party
Siamese Communist Youth League
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About the Authors and Translator

The Siamese Communist Party (SCP) was a communist political organization active in Thailand, formerly known as Siam, during the 1930s. Established in 1930 and operational until the late 1930s, the SCP played a significant role in advocating for leftist ideologies and engaging in anti-government propaganda, particularly against the People's Party.

The Siamese Communist Youth League (SCYL), the youth wing of the SCP, had an indeterminate founding date. It was dissolved around 1936 to 1937, during when the SCP shifted its focus towards supporting the anti-Japanese national salvation movements in China.

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