

A play commemorating the centennial anniversary of Pridi Banomyong

The 1932 Revolutionist

by Kamron Gunatilaka Crescent Moon Theatre

Translated by S.J.



Committees on the Project for the National Celebration on the Occasion of the Centennial Anniversary of Pridi Banomyong, Senior Statesman (private sector)



Series to commemorate the centennial anniversary of the birth of Pridi Banomyong, Senior Statesman

THE 1932 REVOLUTIONIST By Kamron Gunatilaka, Crescent Moon Theatre Translated by S.J.

ISBN 974-74491-9-6

First English edition June, 1999, 1,000 copies

Publisher: Committees on the Project for the National Celebration on

the Occasion of the Centennial Anniversary of Pridi

Banomyong, Senior Statesman (private sector)

Front cover design: Suvapan Vattanasin

Printed at: Ruankaew Printing House, Bangkok, Thailand (Siam)

US\$ 10.-

Distributed by Suksit Sıam 113-115 Fuangnakorn Rd., Bangkok 10200

Fax: 662-222-5188







Preface

The 1932 Revolutionist is back on stage again after eight years. Certain questions raised by the play remain unanswered.

A warning from the play:

The younger: October. It's October again.

The elder: That's history.

The younger: No, history is repeating itself.

This prophecy was eventually fulfilled in May 1992, against the backdrop of exploding gunfire and corpses that strewed Rajadamnern Road. At present, with an election coming up, several people have decided not to go out and vote. Some plan to go and drop a blank card as a gesture of protest. Others are bored to death with *realpolitik*. In the mean time, the academia is busy preparing for political reforms.

Eight years ago, the protagonist of the play, Pridi Banomyong, said:

"Please uphold and safeguard the comprehensive democratic aspirations of the October 14 martyrs."

The 1932 Revolutionist is a historical play overlaps into the present. There seems to be a yawning gap between 1932 and 1995. Yet, if we consider the development of democracy sixty years are a rather brief period. We must stop bickering among ourseleves on what the definition (e.g. democracy is) and instead ask where can we find it. This is fundamental if we want to reach our destination.

Kamron Gunatilaka June 24,1995 (from the 2^{nd} Preface)

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History does not mummify itself; it is not stagnant or contained; and it is not about any particular person or class.
History travels forth into the future, providing lessons and insights for generation after generation. Interpreting history is relative to place, time, and culture.
I leave it to posterity to decide on what the truths really are.

PRIDI BANOMYONG



Pridi Banomyong

Pridi Banomyong was a great Thai, one of the greatest of this century, Great, that is, in strength of character, vision, achievement, and nobility of purpose, Like all great personalities in history, Pridi continues to live posthumously: Many of his ideas, because they are embedded in universal values, are still very relevant today, inspiring many in the younger generation. The Thais often find themselves returning to or rediscovering Pridi's ideas and vision of a better society, especially when they had initially rejected them.

The Upbringing of a Visionary Statesman and Democrat

Pridi Banomyong was born on 11 May 1900 in a boathouse off the southern bank of Mueng Canal in Ayudhya, the former capital of Thailand. He was the eldest son of a relatively well to do farming family. At the young age of 14, he completed his secondary education. Too young to enroll in any institution for higher education, Pridi stayed with his family for an extra two years, helping them in rice farming before darting off to law school in 1917. Two years later, he became a barrister-at-law and was simultaneously





awarded a scholarship by the Ministry of Justice to study law in France. In 1924, he obtained his Bachelier en Droit and Licencie en Droit from Universite de Caen and two years later his Doctorat d'Etat and Diplome d' Etudes Superieuse d'Economique Politique from Universite de Paris. Pridi was the first Thai to earn the appellation Docteur en Droit. In November

1928, he married Miss Poonsook na Pombejira. They had six children in all.

The Beginning of a Political Life

In February 1927, while still in Paris, Pridi and six other Thai students and civil servants created the People's Party and held a historic meeting. They vowed to transform the Thai system of governance from absolute monarchy to constitutional one. The group elected Pridi as their provisional chairman. As their guiding stars, the People's Party laid down the so-called "Six Principles" to put Thailand on the road to spiritual and material progress:

- "To maintain absolute national independence in all aspects such as politically, judicially, and economically;
 - 2. To maintain national cohesion and security;
 - 3. To promote economic wellbeing by creating full employment

and by launching a national economic plan;

- 4. To guarantee equality to all;
- 5. To grant complete liberty and freedom to the people, provided that this does not contradict the aforementioned principles; and
 - 6. To provide education to the people."

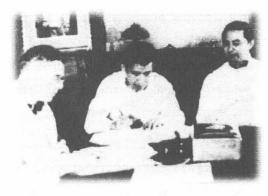
Later in 1927, Pridi returned to Thailand and joined the Ministry of Justice where he served as judge and subsequently as assistant secretary to the Judicial Department. He also became a lecturer at the Ministry's law school. However the hope for progressive sociopolitical and economic changes in Thailand never faded from Pridi's mind. The 1932 Revolution opened the avenue for Pridi to realize his vision of a better, more just society.

At dawn on 24 June 1932, the People's Party, consisting of government officials, military officers, and ordinary civilians rap-



idly and bloodlessly took control of the government, changing it from absolute to a democratic, constitutional monarchy and installing the 1932 provisional constitution as the supreme law of the land. Pridi, the civilian leader of the People's Party, was the progenitor of this provisional constitution.





The 1932 provisional constitution served as a solid and fertile foundation for the growth and development of democracy in Thailand. It introduced two funda-

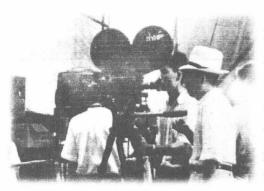
mental, hitherto unknown ingredients to Thai society and political culture: 1) the supreme power rests with all Siamese people; and 2) there must be a clear separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers. Together, these two unprecedented principles brought about a complete transformation in the nation's power structure, planting the seeds of democracy in Thailand.

The Prophet and Architect of Democracy in Power

Between 1933 and 1947 Pridi held many major political positions, including Minister of Interior, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Regent and Prime Minister. By the appointment of King Rama VIII, he also became, to date, the country's only Senior Statesman. Throughout these years as government official and leader, Pridi assiduously worked to realize the "Six principles." Among his notable accomplishments, some of them having long-term impacts, are: the drafting of the nation's first economic plan; the founding of the University of Moral and Political Sciences (Thammasat University); the proposal of the 1933 Municipality Act, which allowed the people to elect their own local governments; the revocation of un-

equal treaties that Thailand had been forced to sign with foreign powers; the reformation of the unfair tax system; the compilation of the country's first revenue code; the founding of, what ultimately became, Bank of Thailand; and the resistance to Japanese occupation during World War Two by creating and leading the Free Thai Movement (because of the Movement, the United States government subsequently recognized Thailand as an independent country that had been under Japanese military occupation as opposed to a belligerent state subject to postwar Allied control.)

Throughout these turbulent years, Pridi never lost sight of what 'democracy as a way of life' meant. He never tired of nurturing and protecting the infantile Thai democracy gurgling in its cradle. Unlike most of his genteel contemporaries, Pridi never related to the masses with distrust and trepidation. On the contrary, he had great faith in them. In the essay (1973) "Which Direction Should Thailand Take in the Future?", Pridi vividly and passionately reiterated his conception of participatory democracy, one that guided him all his life. He wrote, "Any system favoring a small section of a



community will not last. In any community the majority must shape its future. [Here the majority includes] the deprived people, poor farmers, lowbudget entrepre-





neurs, and patriotic capitalists who place the public interest above their own...and who want a new social system which provides a better living standard to the

majority of people... Social injustice [must be] abolished or reduced."

Pridi realized that a society is more democratic to the extent that fewer people are denied human rights and opportunities. He knew that political freedom without socioeconomic opportunities is a devil's gift. He tried to reduce and eventually to remove hierarchies of reward, status, and power in order to improve society. He wanted to foster solidarity and compassion among his compatriots, enabling them to develop themselves, come to care about, promote, and benefit from one another's well being as opposed to embarking on a cutthroat competition-a completely wasteful energy. Pridi envisioned a society where all citizens helped contribute to the enrichment of the lives of all.

As Pridi neatly put it, "A society exists because of the participation of its members, and a social system which enables most people to legally influence decisions and move society forward is a democracy". He added that since every society has political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions, it is essential for a democratic society to not only promote political democracy but also "eco-



nomic democracy" (e.g., fewer people are being denied economic opportunities) and democratic thinking (e.g., compassion).

For instance, to promote economic well being, Pridi advocated the creation of local cooperatives to undertake economic activities for the benefits of their members. The people should have direct control over their livelihood rather being dependent on

the ruling circles' charity or philanthropy, he believed. Not infrequently, magnificent philanthropy masks brutal economic exploitation and charity becomes a pretext for maintaining laws and social practices which ought to be changed in the interest of justice and fair play, Pridi implied.

Pridi and his colleagues deemed it necessary for the people to fully understand the system of democratic governance and to be aware of their new rights and, hence, responsibilities under the newly-found system. As a result, in 1934 Pridi, then Minister of the Interior, founded the University of Moral and Social Sciences. He was also appointed its first chancellor. The University was designed as an open institution offering numerous courses, including law, economics, human and social sciences. Reflecting to his ideals, Pridi, in the speech made at the University's opening, declared, "....A uni-



versity is, figuratively, an oasis that quenches the thirst of those who are in pursuit of knowledge. The opportunity to acquire higher education rightly belongs to ev-

ery citizen under the principle of freedom of education... Now that our country is governed by a democratic constitution, it is particularly essential to establish a university which will allow the people, and hence the public, to develop to their utmost capability. It will open up an opportunity for ordinary citizens to conveniently and freely acquire higher education for their own benefits and for the development of our country..." Indeed Thammasat University has been a leading institution in helping to promote and protect democracy in Thailand.

Pridi also firmly advocated international peace. As a minister in Field Marshal Phibunsonggram's government, Pridi consistently expressed his disagreement with the government's irredentism: the plan and aggression Thailand embarked on to reclaim former territories in Indochina from France while Paris was lying prostrate under German occupation during World War Two. Another evidence worth citing is his effort to tell the international community of the uselessness of international violence through the English-dubbed film he produced, *The King of the White Elephant*.

Not surprisingly, Pridi supported self-determination and independence for all colonial peoples. This was particularly apparent when he served as prime minister. Such a foreign policy was merely the international counterpart of his democratic reforms. After all, they attempted to empower the people, granting them the essential freedoms and rights necessary to manage their own destiny.

Again, Pridi was the architect of the 1945 constitution. The adoption of this constitution reflected the culmination of Pridi relentless efforts to establish a meaningful, as opposed to nominal, democracy in Thailand, The constitution guaranteed universal suffrage to both men and women and enabled the people to elect members of parliament in both the upper and lower houses. Human rights were recognized and upheld, for example in Articles 13, 14, and 15.

The Prophet Exiled

In June 1946, the young King Ananda Mahidol or Rama VIII was found dead in his chamber with a bullet in his forehead. Pridi was then prime minister. Intending to undermine his political popularity and power, Pridi's political opponents opportunistically trumpeted that the late King was murdered and that Pridi was involved in the regicide; however numerous court decisions had later proven Pridi's innicence. On the night of November 8, 1947, a group of military leaders and civilians staged a *coup d'etat*, using the regicide as one of the pretexts to destroy the Pridi government. Their tanks stormed Pridi's residence in Bangkok, forcing him to flee to

Singapore. On February 26, 1949, Pridi, aided by a number of naval officers and Thais who favored a democratic government, unsuccessfully staged a counter-coup. Once again, he was banished from Thailand-this time never to return. Between 1949 and 1970, Pridi resided in China. Subsequently, until his death from a heart attack in 1983, he lived in Paris. While in exile, he wrote profusely and gave numerous speeches, continuing to share with later generations his conceptions of democracy and peace. The seeds of democracy that Pridi planted in Thailand more than six decades ago are beginning to sprout. Whether or not his tree of liberty will continue to grow and branch out, to some extent, depends on how the Thais apply and learn from his thoughts.



Cabinet Resolution

Subject: The submission of Pridi Banomyong's name to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for its anniversaries of great personalities and historic events calendar.

The Cabinet officially sanctions the Ministry of Education's submission of Pridi Banomyong's name to UNESCO for its anniversaries of great personalities and historic events calendar. This official decision is also made pursuant to the centennial commemoration of Pridi Banomyong, the elder statesman proposed by Thammasat University.

11 May 2000 will mark the centennial anniversary of Pridi, is birth as he had devoted the bulk of his life to the betterment of his country and society, and had played a vital role in promoting and developing public awareness of issues of peace, democracy and education. He was a moral conscience for the Thai people, and more importantly, for humanity. Pridi still stands firm as a sociopolitical icon. He displayed, by any standards, a considerable degree of honesty, loyalty, courtly, courage and sacrifice throughout his long career as Regent to the King, Elder Statesman, Prime Minister, Minister of Interior, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Commerce, and as the first Secretary of Parliament. Needless to say, it is most appropriate that the Thai people look up to Pridi as a model.

Cabinet meeting on 13 May 1997



Introduction

The centennial commemoration of Pridi Banomyong is a matter of great importance for people who are concerned with issues of truth, justice, and liberty. No leading figure in twentieth century Thai history has been more thoroughly misunderstood and misrepresented than Pridi. None has done so much for Thai society, but has earned so little in return, in terms of credits and respect, than this man. Of course, Pridi himself never demanded the blind adulation of the public; he was far too selfless, too disinterested in accumulating personal glory. However, this commemoration is not merely intended for the sake of Pridi, but more importantly for the development of Thailand's political and spiritual culture. Not infrequently, and this point cannot be overemphasized, Thai people honor brutal and undemocratic autocrats, heartless and elitist technocrats, and mindless celebrities as if they are candidates for sainthood. Such a tendency is extremely unhealthy for the development of a humane and compassionate society.

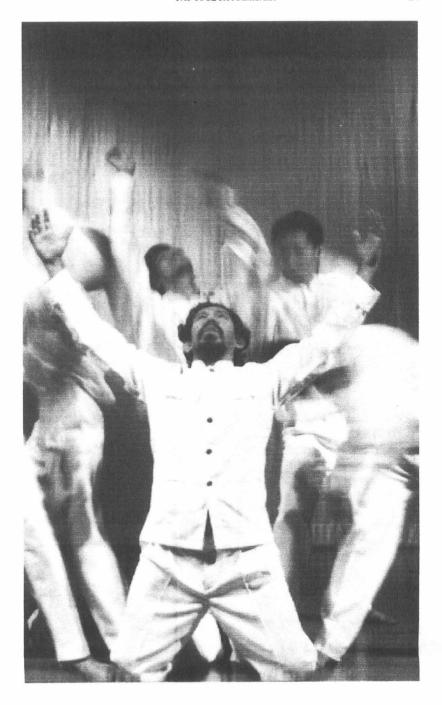
Pridi stood for a vision of a much better society: a society where hierarchies or status and privileges are gradually reduced and eventually eliminated; where social and institutional arrangements allow individuals to reaffirm their humanity and to fully and freely develop themselves; where compassion is promoted; where individuals benefit from promoting one another's well-being; and where salvation does not come from above, but is rooted in the hands of the masses. Pridi's iconoclastic political views and faith in participatory democracy earned him the undying hatred of a wide range of groups such as aristocrats, fascists, communists, and conservatives.

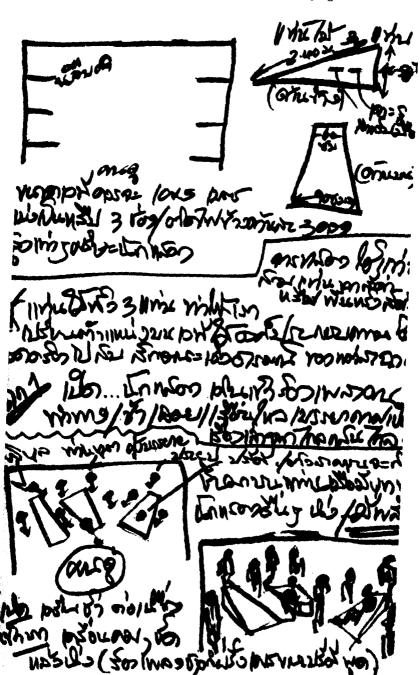
At present, the Thai people are basking in the warm glow of the so-called democratic success in the country—whether or not it is a meaningful democracy is another matter. It is also intellectually fashionable to utter pious democratic creed (often times without really understanding them) and to compare Thailand with its undemocratic neighbors. The Thais seem to know that their country's road to democracy was filled with hazards. Most could cite the democratic uprisings against the military dictatorship in October 1973 and 1976. However, few are aware of who really sowed the seeds of democracy in Thailand, for the name Pridi Banomyong had been thrown down George Orwell's memory hole. Pridi was the prophet and architect of Thai democracy. For example, the provisional constitution he largely drafted had served as the basis for successive democratic constitutions. The social security system that he proposed in 1933—then chastised as communistic—was revamped and

adopted by Parliament in 1990. And so on. Pridi's progressive ideas were ahead of his conservative times, were too much for his contemporaries to stomach. Hence they were rejected wholesale. Only now are the Thais really beginning to fully appreciate the relevancy of his thoughts.

The Crescent Moon Theatre has objectively and accurately captured crucial events in the life of Pridi Banomyong, and inextricably, in the course of Thailand's political development. In this magnificent performance, we have a chance to relive and better our understanding of those tumultuous years. Novices and experts in Thai studies will find the play indispensable and fascinating. Those that are engaging in willful historical amnesia will be reminded of what the truths are.

The Committee of the Centennial Anniversary
of Pridi Banomyong







Performers enter, humming the song "Creators."

History has many celebrated sides and personalities.

But individuals who contributed the most are often unknown and nameless.

They were the ones that shouldered the heaviest burdens and braved the deluge and filthy morass, Creating prosperous and spectacular cities out of jungles and wasteland.

How these trailblazers have sacrificed their blood and lives,

Paving the roads and future for others to travel!

Soliloquy

"Once upon a time, there was a little boy with neither father nor mother who sat all alone on a rocky





mound, hopefully waiting for daylight and brightness to pierce through the black veil of the seemingly perpetual darkness. As usual, the cold and heartless darkness was obdurate, adamantly fending off the sun's penetration and engulfing the earth in melancholic gloom. Blinding darkness had swallowed the universe.

One day the little boy, winged with Promethean hope and faith, flew to the sun in the belief that he could bring its fiery flames back to lighten the earth. However, he was disappointed for the sun turned out to be merely a shriveled, lackluster sunflower. Still determined, the small orphan darted off to capture the cool radiance of the moon. Unfortunately, the moon was simply a pale reflection emanating from an old aluminum tin can. Undeterred, the orphan left the moon for the luminous distant stars. There

he discovered that they were not stars but glittering eyes of countless wingless insects that were glued to the sky's ceiling. Returning, the shattered boy discovered that the earth had rotten into a gigantic heap of garbage, incessantly emitting an oppressive stench.

Till this day the orphan is sitting on that rocky mound, alone in perfect darkness and silence. Sometimes he still blankly stares at the black, indifferent sky. Sometimes he looks at the unreasonable and wretched earth."

- Narrator 1: "Among the Thai students studying in France between 1920 and 1927, Pridi Banomyong, a law student, was one of the most brilliant and visionary.

 Colleagues often respectfully called him "the professor."
- Narrator 2: "During these years, Thai students from France and Switzerland created a Thai student association.

 Pridi became its first secretary."
- Narrator 3: "Subsequently, Pridi served as the association's president for two consecutive terms. In France, Pridi first met Prayoon Pamornmonthri."
- **Prayoon:** "I became increasingly close to Pridi while he was the association's president. We constantly ex-





changed ideas and were engaged in a number of electrifying discussions. We both agreed that Siam desperately needed drastic political reforms in order to right the blatant socioeconomic inequalities in the country. Eventually, Pridi was caught in a bitter argument with Prince Charoonsak Kridakorn."

Charoonsak: "Pridi, are you transforming the student association into a labor union?"

Woman 1: "Oh, so this is Mr. Pridi."

Woman 2: "A commoner...."

Woman 3: "The son of a farmer...."

Woman 4: "Flirting with the Vietnamese Bolsheviks...."

Woman 5: "Plotting vicious schemes against His Majesty the King...."

All the women in unison: "Beware your head will fall off from your neck!"

Charoonsak: "Your Majesty, Pridi, the student leader, has caused numerous disturbances and has been a nuisance to the royal ambassador. He is also President of the Thai Association and seems to be obsessed with democracy. Undoubtedly, he can jeopardize the wellbeing of the throne."

Prayoon: "Pridi and I are close friends. We both vowed to politically and democratically transform Siam. We concluded that only a revolution would bring about these long overdue changes. As a sign of progress, we won the sympathy and allegiance of Lieutenant Plack Kittasanga [hereafter called Phibul], an Army artillery cadet studying in France."

Phibul: "I'm a soldier by profession. We soldiers intensely deplore nepotism, a corrupt system that is entrenched in the military. Most of our aristocratic superiors are, to be polite, simply inept, reducing and impeding the efficiency and capability of the military. I dream of transforming the military into a bastion of democracy. The pain and the disgust of





the 1912 event are still deep in the hearts of all justice loving soldiers. I am convinced that Mr. Pridi is our indispensable guiding Star, pointing towards democracy. He is the brain, and he shall have our firm military support."

The French national anthem, La Marseillaise:

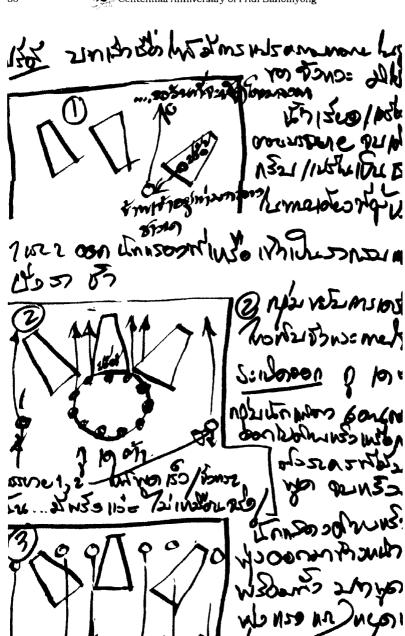
Allons, Enfants de la Patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrive
Contre nous, de la tyrannie
L' etendard sanglant est leve; (Bis)
Entendez-vous, dans les campagnes,
Mugir ces feroces soldats?
Ils viennent jusque dans nos bras
Egorger nos fils et nos compagnes
(Refrain) Aux armes citoyens!
Formez vos battaillons;

Marchons, marchons!

Qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons.

Pridi

(speaking simultaneously): "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity reign in France. Furthermore, Paris is a breathlessly beautiful and elegant city. Nevertheless, I long for Siam. The hilly and green scenery here reminds me of the Siamese countryside-the flail, the lush tropical forest and, of course, the poor and wretched farmers. I grew up in a farming familv in the countryside, and hence I had numerous chances to witness and understand the plight of farmers firsthand. Now, like back then, farmers have to endure countless natural challenges or calamities such as the drought, flood, crop diseases, and so on. Curable sickness would often impair their ability to work efficiently, and consequently would endanger their lives. Cattle are often stolen. Poverty kills after all. Many would become badly indebted and would have their land and crops confiscated. In the barn, there would be little to no rice left to feed the family; there would be even less rice seeds to sow. What have the government done to alleviate the miserable conditions suffered by farmers? Little to nothing! Not only is the government neglecting or ignoring these poor farmers, it is also directly injuring them through the obscene farm



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tax. Those who are unable to pay the annual farm tax are obliged to slave for 15 to 30 days on government projects. Some in the ruling circles have metaphorically called farmers 'the backbone of the country. Little do they know that the backbone is increasingly brittle and is on the verge of collabse."

[The scene changes from France to Siam.]

Narrator 1: "In 1927 Pridi returned to Siam and joined the Ministry of Justice where he served as judge and, subsequently, as assistant secretary to the Judicial Department. Additionally, he became a lecturer at the Ministry's law school. As lecturer, Pridi forcefully disseminated the democratic political creed. Also, he helped secretly expand and recruit new members to the civilian wing of the People's Party, which he helped found while in France."

Narrator 2: "When Prayoon returned to Siam, he broadened and cemented the Party's military ties. The People's Party was ultimately able to gain the vital participation of leading military figures, particularly of Chamuen Surarit Phraya Paholpolyuhasaena [hereafter called Pahol], Phraya Songsuradeth [hereafter called Song], Phraya Ritheakanae [hereafter called Rithe], and Phra Prasathsanapithayayuth [hereafter called Prasath]."



Group of revolutionaries: "Coup d'etat...."

Pridi: "It is the only way.... We must seize power with light-

ning speed."

Prayoon: "We must hurry up.... Rumors of the impending

revolution are spreading."

Pridi: "Sir...."

Pahol: "We, in the military side, are ready."

Phibul: "The King will leave Bangkok for a vacation some

time around the 24th of June."

Phraya Song: "Let it be then."

Pridi: "Be quiet" (Everyone freezes: Silence)

Pridi: "This is the draft Constitution you assigned me to

prepare."

Phraya Song: "I don't want any document that could be used as

evidence against us."

Pridi: "We should study it thoroughly because it encap-

sulates what we are struggling for, especially how

we are going to tackle the economic malaise."

Phahol: "Alright, you are to be responsible for all the paper-

work and declarations."

Pridi: "Let us blow this joint now. See you all on June 24."

Narrator 1: "At the dawn of 24 June 1932...."

Narrator 2: "...the revolutionaries deployed their troops."

Narrator 3: "Some went to arrest leading members of the royal family...."

Narrator 4: "...some, including tank and armored regiments...."

Narrator 5: "...occupied the Anantasamakhom Hall and the Royal Palace."

Narrator 6: "Cadets and officers from different regiments..."

All the Narrators: "gathered there, apprehensively, waiting for the events to unfold."

[Leading revolutionaries enter the scene.]

Prayoon: "Khun Luang [the official title of Pridi]...."

Pridi: "Khun Prayoon...."

Phibul: "Our tanks and armored cars have successfully

secured all strategic points."

Song: "Everything went as planned."

Phibul: "Order.... Halt...."



Soldier: "We have Krom Phra Nakornsawanworapinitch in

custody at the royal held."

"Order...Salute." Phibul:

[Pahol enters.]

Pahol: "Brothers and sisters, we have seized control of the

government. We will proceed to transform it from

absolute to constitutional, democratic monarchy.

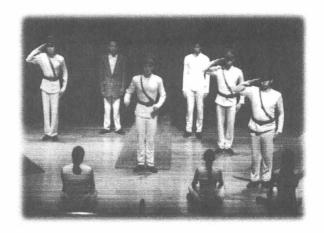
The People's Party hereby transmits its first decla-

ration."

[Performers distribute the declaration to spectators.]

Loudspeaker:

"Fellow citizens, when the present King ascended the throne most citizens had hoped that he would reign benevolently and judiciously. Subsequent events have proven that such hope is illusory and groundless. The King still esteems himself above the law and still indulges in nepotism, appointing his kindred and lackeys to assume important government positions. Furthermore, the King has failed to heed his citizens' cry for justice, allowing government officials to continue to abuse their power, to exploit, to engage in illegal and corrupt practices. The King and his cronies have completely



neglected the wellbeing of the masses as witnessed by the dire economic state the country is now in. In sum, a system of governance like the present one can never mitigate and alleviate the misery of the masses because it is not geared towards serving the people like in other countries. Rather, it is based on the contemptible premise that the masses are merely hordes of vicious animals or at best slaves that must constantly be towed in line. Small wonder that the masses are being blatantly oppressed and exploited."

[Performers re-enter the stage. Pahol reads the final portion of the declaration.]

Pahol: "The major principles that the People's Party have laid out are as follows:

 To maintain absolute nationaly independence in all aspects such as political, judicial, and Centennial Anni

economically;

- 2. To maintain national cohesion and security;
- To promote economic wellbeing by creating full employment and by launching a national economic plan[i.e., No one should go hungry];
- To guarantee equality to all [i.e., Aristocrats and royal family members would no longer have special privileges];
- To grant liberty and freedom to the people, provided that this does not contradict the aforementioned principles; and
- 6. To provide utmost education to the people.

Citizens, we beseech you all to help us realize these goals and make them permanent features of our society."

Pridi: "What is it, Chao Khun Song?"

Song: "I am having second thoughts about the declaration. I feel that it is too harsh."

Pridi: "The People's Party, led by Phraya Pahol, Song, and Rithe, has humbly invited H.M. the King to continue to preside over the country as a constitutional monarch. His Majesty has penned the following message to our military leaders."

[Loudspeaker] "For the sake of social peace and stability-shun-

ning bloodshed and mayhem-I have voluntarily vielded to the demands of the revolutionaries. Speaking frankly, I myself have contemplated embarking upon similar reforms; that is, the introduction of a constitutional monarchy to Siam. In so doing, I have not only not forcefully obstructed but have facilitated the quest of the revolutionaries. Had I refused to assume the position of a constitutional monarch, the international community would definitely not have accepted the change of regime in Thailand. As you are all aware, I am in frail health. And I have no son to inherit the throne. My loftiest goal is to promote the peace and prosperity of this kingdom, not the enhancement or entrenchment of personal wealth and power. I trust you believe in my sincere words."

Pridi:

"There are still many people who loathe and fear [socioeconomic and political] changes like they dread evil phantoms or spirits. In other words, the horrendous threats they perceive-and hence the fear they have-are merely a figment of their imagination. They have spread fanciful and malicious lies that the blue blood of aristocrats will carpet the streets of every city and town, that a Reign of Terror a la France will be instituted here, that Siam will be sovietized, that the guillotine will flaunt its





shining teeth at Sanam Luang, and that blood will flood the land. The main objective of this revolution is to correct the widespread socioeconomic inequities, to overthrow the yoke of oppression. I have no desire to shift the concentration of power from a single person to a single group. Remember I am a lawyer. All I ever wanted is to eliminate or minimize inequalities in their various guises. The hideous thought of slaughtering human lives has never crossed my mind.

[Mae Ploy Scene: A Parody of *Four Reigns*, a play by M.R.Kukrit Pramoj]

Choi: "Quick...come here...Mae Ploy."

Perm: "Mae Ploy, there is a big trouble...."

Ploy: "What is it, Khun Luang? What is going on?"

Perm:

"A revolt has just erupted."

Ploy:

"My dear...."

Perm:

"I saw it with my own eyes. Soldiers are all over the Plaza. And here is a copy of the declaration that they have been handing out since the morning. You can read it for yourself."

Ploy:

"It is not true. It is not possible. Do not believe them. The People's Party? Who are they anyway?

Perm:

"They are the ones that masterminded this revolt. I personally know one or two of them."

Ploy:

"What fate will belie the King...and all the aristocrats? Will they be all massacred?"

Perm:

"I don't know. I don't think anyone knows what will happen next. One thing is certain. If the revolution is successfully carried out, then we will have the Constitution as the head of our political life and kingdom."

Choi:

"Who? Who is this new leader?"

Perm:

"No, it's not a human being....I don't really know how to explain it to you."

Ploy:

"My, this is getting hopeless. If [a smart person like]



you cannot even explain it, how will I ever manage to understand it myself?"

Perm: "Before, the King was above the law, but from now

on he shall be under it."

"But if His Majesty refuses?" Ploy:

"That is it; that is the heart of the problem." Perm:

"And what about the other masters, lords and aris-Ploy:

tocrats?"

"Many have been incarcerated." Perm:

Ploy: "Why are they [the People's Party] so harsh, cruel,

and heartless?"

[Enters Aud.]

"Revolutions are by nature harsh and disruptive. Perm:

We must stand on our toes and attentively guard

our safety. Aud, are you aware of what is going on?"

Aud: "I am, uncle... I have been cognizant of it for quite a

long while now."

"I am glad you are around, Aud. Now you can ex-Perm:

plain to your mother what this whole constitution

thing is about."

Aud:

"Maybe the time is not yet ripe for an explanation. Right mother? A complicated issue like this cannot be fleetingly touched upon. We are better off patiently waiting to see what will occur next."

Ploy:

"Where is my other dear son, Arne? This is getting typical of him. He likes to disappear for days...staying over at his foreign-educated friends' houses.... Day and night, engaging in meetings...whatever...."

Perm:

"Oh...."

Aud:

"Well, Brother Arne has a lot of friends, most of them hotshots and notables. They are probably celebrating their victory now."

Ploy:

"What are you saying, Aud? I do not understand."

Perm:

"Aud, you don't mean to say...."

Aud:

"Yes, that is exactly what I meant."

Perm:

"...I thought so...."

Ploy:

"Khun Luang....Aud....This means...."

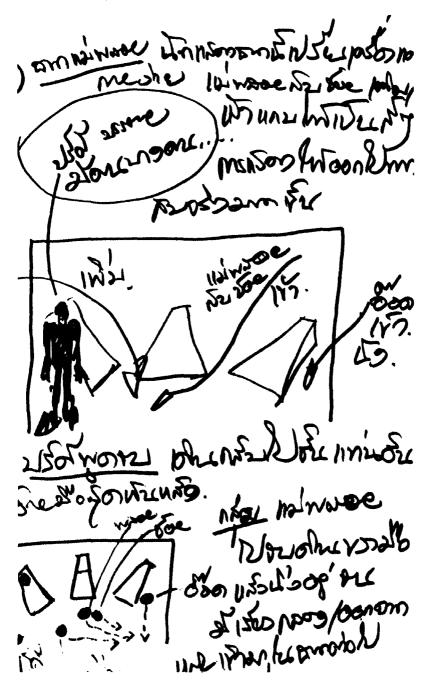
Perm:

"Yes, that Arne is one of the revolutionaries."

Ploy:

"It is not possible. I can hardly believe this. Arne





has promised me that he will never have malevolent intentions towards the King...the nation. Aud, if you still have any respect left for me, your mother, tell me the truth now."

Aud:

"I would be lying to you, mother, if I said that Arne has nothing to do with the revolution."

Ploy:

"How dare you taint the reputation of your brother? This is a sick joke, Aud. This is getting way too far. How can your brother be a traitor? How can something so malicious be true? I do not believe a word you said. You, yourself, know that it is untrue. If Arne is a traitor, you are also a traitor because you are his brother."

Aud:

"...Mom!"

Ploy:

"Oh, Arne...Khun Luang, please take me to the chapel."

[The scene changes.]

Pridi:

"That I would install a soviet-type regime in Siam is beyond my wildest nightmares. I doggedly believe in the validity of constitutional monarchy. Admittedly, in retrospect, the first declaration of the People's Party may sound a bit too heavy-handed. However, that was made when events were still fluid

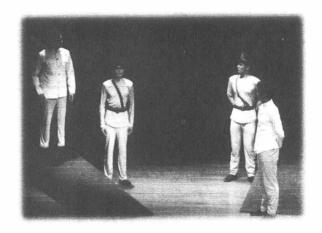
and tumultuous, when the success of the revolution was by no means certain. A little firmness or resoluteness on the part of the Party was then required to protect the revolution. But when events started to stabilize and when the dust began to settle, the People's Party has loosened the noose. For example, the Party has humbly asked the King to approve the new constitution and to grant amnesty to the revolutionaries. Deeds were also made to reconcile all sides—royal family members, revolutionaries, and aristocrats. Moreover, the Party has elected Phraya Manopakornittitada [hereafter called Mano], an emblem of the old order, as Prime Minister."

[Parliament scene]

[Loudspeaker] Quiet please. The first parliamentary meeting will hereby begin.

Pahol: "Pursuant to the provisional constitution, the capital military guardian has appointed 70 members of parliament. In turn, these members shall elect the Prime Minister and cabinet members."

Pridi: "After serious consultation, the People's Party has found no one more appropriate for the position and has proposed Mano."

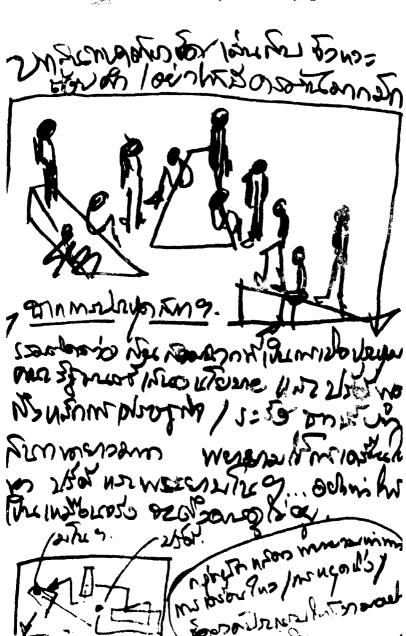


Mano:

"When Luang Pradit [i.e. Pridi] first approached me to assume the premiership, I had declined it. But now I feel otherwise. I am much honored and flattered to assume this position. I can foresee some of the great challenges that await me. This will be the most difficult task of my life. For the sake of 12 million Siamese people, I will do my best. Here are the names of the 14 cabinet members that I have proposed. Meeting adjourned."

Narrator 1: "The Cabinet subsequently established a constitutional drafting committee. It included Mano, Phraya Manavarachsaevi, Phraya Nittisartpisarn, and Phraya Pridanaruebeth, Luang Sinadyotharaks and Pridi."

Narrator 2: "Pridi and Mano were at loggerheads over the drafting of the constitution."



Pridi:

"I want a draft constitution that will empower the people, that will return the natural rights to the people, that will make the people the guardians of their destiny. That is why we had a revolution in the first place. Phraya Mano, it seems that you intend to rob the masses of these rights and privileges. It is apparent that you want a return to absolute monarchy. I can not allow such a reversal of policy to happen."

Farmer 1: "Who is this Mr. Constitution?"

Farmer 2: "He is the son of Pahol...."

Farmer 3: "Oh...I see...."

Farmer 4: "The son of a traitor...."

Farmer 3: "Here is my bet. The traitors will not be allowed to get what they want."

Pridi:

"I do not desire the kind of constitution that was granted by Emperor Motsuhito in Japan on 1 February 1889. Let me reiterate my leitmotif. The whole point of the revolution was to promote socioeconomic and political changes that would contribute to the betterment of the masses."

Narrator: "On June 28, 1932, the first Siamese cabinet as-



sumed their offices."

Mano: "Here is the revision of the proposed government

budget. As you all can see, it is balanced."

Pridi: "Simply trimming the budget of the royal family will

hardly alleviate the plight of the poor masses. An

aspirin will never cure a malignant cancer. We must

urgently reform the country's grossly unfair tax

system. Certain taxes that badly burdened the citi-

zens must be abolished."

Mano: "But that would lead to a great reduction in the

state's revenues. Since I have never been an eco-

nomics student, I know of no better way to main-

tain or increase the state's earnings."

Pridi: "I am not asking for all taxes to be abolished, only

the unfair ones in the name of social justice and

national prosperity."

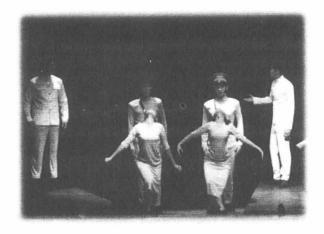
Narrator 1: "On July 11 [1932]..."

Narrator 2: "the salt tax was abolished."

Narrator 1: "On July 17..."

Narrator 2: "the annual land tax was abolished."

Narrator 1: "On August 1..."



Narrator 2: "the bank and insurance taxes were modified."

Narrator 1: "On 11 August..."

Narrator 2: "there was a royal decree putting a ceiling on farm tax."

Pridi: "This will definitely help tenant farmers, for a fairer rent"

Narrator 1: "On August 14..."

Narrator 2: "tax on property land was reduced."

Narrator 1: "On September 22..."

Narrator 2: "there was a royal decree on farmer's land and property confiscation."

Pridi: "Poor farmers will no longer have to fear that land



and property, vital to sustain their livelihood, will be unjustly confiscated."

Narrator 1: "On October 25..."

Narrator 2: "taxes on plantation are reduced and in some categories abolished. A royal decree ordered the creation of an economic council to oversee the country's economic development."

Narrator 1: "On December 10, H.M. King Prajadhipok graciously granted of the permanent constitution."

Narrator 2: "On December 20, the newly reorganized government asked Parliament for a vote of confidence."

"This government is willing to accept all the prin-Mano: ciples put forth by the People's Party in their first declaration except for point number three, the one concerning full employment and economic planning. This is a very important and controversial issue. I feel that the third point is realizable only in the theoretical realm; it is highly impractical. There are over eleven million people in this country. They have equal political rights and economic opportunities. What more do they want? They just don't have equal capabilities to take advantage of their equal rights. Tough! That's just life. Besides, it is impossible to satisfy everyone."

Pridi:

"Let us not delude ourselves. Our people do not have equal political and economic rights. In 1930, Central Siam had the highest number of tenant farmers. In Thanyaburi alone, 85 percent of the population are tenant farmers. It can be said that almost every farming family there has to rent their land. Sir, you are well aware who the actual landowners are. There are constant conflicts between landlords and their tenants. To complicate and worsen the situation, the small class of middlemenmerchants, distributors, grain millers-often exploits tenant farmers. We have to set up new economic structures and plans that would provide the greatest benefits to the majority of the people."

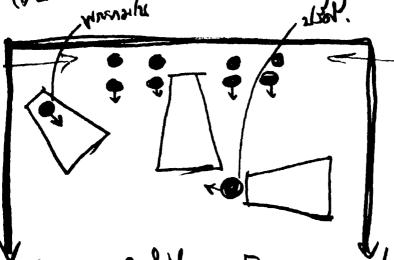
Narrator:

"On March 12, 1933, Pridi toyed with the issue of economic restructuring in an important meeting at Parusakawan Palace."

Pridi:

"Human beings are born to peacefully live together and to help and cooperate with each other. In a society, if an individual suffers others cannot fail to be also tormented. Freedom and equality, important as they are, are insufficient ingredients for social unity and peaceful coexistence. The caring and promotion of one another's wellbeing are fundamental as well. For example, social security must be provided to the sick, the maimed, the children

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and the elderly. That means providing essential food, clothing, and housing and guaranteeing an appropriate living standard.

A good socioeconomic system is one in which its members benefit from one another's wellbeing. The economic program I present to you all attempts to provide this kind of social security. Contrary to rumors, this is not a Communist program. Rather, it is a synthesis of capitalist and socialist ideas. The figures I suggested to successfully implement such program are simply preliminary. We need not bother debating them now; they can be settled later. All we need to decide now is whether or not to accept the proposed program in principle."

Song: "Mano, do you have anything to say or add?"

Mano: "I will save it for later. Please go on."

Song: "This is a very ambitious program. Perhaps we need some 200 to 300 years to realize it. The previous regime had governed for 150 years, and it did not have anything remotely similar to such a program. Yet Siam still manages to survive. This fact attests to the irrelevancy of the proposed program."

Mano: "I guarantee that this cannot be done in my lifetime. It is highly unfeasible. Please do not publicize



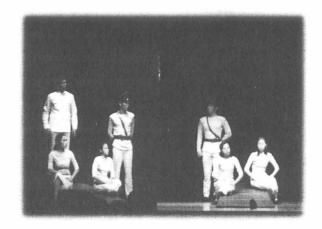
this program."

Pridi:

"The public deserves to know the truth about and the details of this economic program. On the one hand, mendacious rumors are spreading their tentacles and tightening their grip on the masses; that is, discrediting this program. On the other hand, and more importantly, the people will participate in every step of the program through the creation of an intricate network of economic cooperatives. These cooperatives will be comprehensive in nature, not only dealing with money lending like in the past but also with production and transportation. The government shall provide land and capital to facilitate the establishment and activities of cooperatives. There is no reason to fear this program. The government will never massacre the rich in order to confiscate their land and wealth. Instead land and capital will be bought from the privileged class. Certain categories of private enterprises will be exempted from such policy."

Mano:

"I completely disagree with the proposed program. We should not begin with a tabula rasa; that is, we should not totally dismantle the present economic structures. I suggest we implement the proposed economic program on a piecemeal and highly selective basis. To elaborate, we need to focus simply



on the agricultural sector, on improving the lives of farmers. For instance, we can provide them with greater loans or a debt moratorium in order to strengthen and expand certain activities of agricultural cooperatives. However the storage, distribution, and milling of grains must by all means be kept in private hands."

Pridi:

"So I see only certain aspects of the program are acceptable to you. I still insist on the wholesale adoption of the program. Remember we are not robbing land from the upper class. We are not stealing people's money. We are not turning the female population into public commodities, into comfort women. We are not forcing people to become slaves. Rather, we are forcing poor people to have enough to eat. We are forcing them to have decent shelters. We are forcing a modicum of happiness and comfort



into the miserable lives of the majority of people. I see nothing wrong with it."

Mano:

"Since we are unable to reach a compromise here, please hand in your proposal to the Cabinet via the People's Party. If Cabinet members agree with me and if you still insist on publicizing the program, please be explicit that it is your own proposal, not the government's. I do not want any misunderstanding. Please note that you are not omnipotent. Meeting adjourned."

Pridi (narrate): "Concerning the democratization of Siam, it is clear that the revolutionaries are unable to reach a compromise with the old guards led by Mano. Finally we have a constitution, but there are flies in the ointment. The present constitution, unlike the one drafted on June 24, is imbued with conservatism, attempting to increase the power of the monarch. Furthermore, the old guards have constantly attempted to rollback any economic reform. Lamentably, we are at a breaking point."

[Pesat or "The Devil": A play by Seni Saowapong's novel]

[Enter Sai and Lek at a celebration scene]

Lek: "Come in Sai.... Dad, this is my friend Sai Seemah."



Father (a member of the aristocracy): "Ladies and gentlemen, I have organized this banquet tonight so that we can have an opportunity to meet this young fellow. Well not exactly! It cannot be said that this gathering is for the sake of this person because it would grant him undeserved honor and respect. After all, he is a nobody, a son of a poor farmer. For your interest, this is Mr. Sai Seemah."

Lady 1: "No wonder, I can smell the pungent miasma of poverty here."

Lady 2: "I knew it! A person with such dingy and crude complexion can never be of noble birth."

Lek: "Excuse me! He is my friend."

Father: "Let it be known that he is my daughter's friend, not mine. I don't want to be misunderstood. No

doubt, he is taking advantage of my daughter, using her friendship to freely frequent our affluent home. My daughter is still young and naive. She often says that this is an age of equality and freedom, that we should not be bogged down by aristocratic traditions and class barriers. I find such thinking obscene and decadent; it will lead to the downfall of our society and high culture. Why? Because it creates uppity among the masses. The ignorant rabbles, because of their sheer numbers, may see and assert themselves as rulers. They can never be rulers because they lack the proper genes and blood. A swan will always be a swan; a crow can never be a swan. Freedom and equality may exist elsewhere, but not in this house. My daughter is an aristocrat, not any lady in the streets. The doors of this house welcome only a certain type of individuals."

Man 1: "Sir, I beg you to invite this person out of the house now."

Sai: "Does anybody have anything more to add? If not, I would like to take a few minutes of your precious time to say a few words. I know I am like that unwanted animal at a garden party. But somehow I was invited to this party, invited to be a crow among a flock of swans. Hence it is not my fault; this crow



is not trying to shed its black feathers and grow white, angelic plumage. Today, I am proudest of my humble origins. I am a son of a farmer; farmers are the majority in this country. I have never regretted not having been born into an elite family. Elitism is socially concocted; it is artificial. Furthermore, it is impermanent. It will not stand the test of time. Waves of progressive social changes are crashing on and eroding the bedrock of elitism. It is apparent that we live in two different worlds. Less conspicuous is that we are also from two different eras. I am the ghost of tomorrow, haunting and frightening those from the old world who are possessed by antiquarian beliefs. Nothing scares them more than seeing their power dwindling and witnessing the exponential multiplication of phantoms like myself. Hence they tried to exorcise me, the





specter of the common man, with their elitist sorcery. But they prove no match for me. Nothing will vaporize this spirit for I am shielded by time."

[Sai storms out of the banquet, and Lek scrambles behind him.]

Lek:

"Wait for me Sai...."

[Scene of Commotion]

Discordant voices

- Pridi is a Bolshevik
- A leading Communist
- He is planning to rob the rich in order to feed the poor
- He is attempting to confiscate all farmland

- Hey, Mano is slowing down the economic program
- Yeah, it seems that all the ministers also oppose it
 - We progressive government officials must unite
 - And back the programs of the People's Party
 - Anyway, Parliament still upholds the Six Principles of the People's Party
 - Will we be able to resist the conservative onslaught? It seems that Song is with Mano
 - Worse, Pahol is holding a neutral ground

Narrator:

"Mano dropped a bombshell. He ordered all government officials and members of parliament to resign from any political organization they belonged to, meaning the People's Party. He was trying to diminish the support for Pridi's reforms."

- Dictatorial!
- How dare you abusively issue such an order?
- This is a blatant violation of Article 14 of the constitution, concerning the political rights of the people

Pridi:

"Unless there is a new legislation advocated by Parliament."

Mano:

"On the 31st of March, I ordered troops to barricade Parliament."

- What is this? What are you doing?
- Why are soldiers searching for hidden weapons in Parliament?
- This is in the interest of public security and peace.
- By whose order were soldiers deployed?
- Why has not Parliament been informed?
- This is not a peace-keeping mission, but a declaration of war.

Narrator:

"It happened on April 1, the Siamese New Year's day. Who would have thought that a major political tragedy would occur that day."

Mano:

"Pursuant to the royal decree, I hereby dissolve Parliament and suspend certain provisions of the constitution." [In essence, this was a declaration of martial law.]

Pridi:

"The infant Siamese democracy survived for only 281 days. It was coldly strangled in its crib. Oh why? Song, Prasath, Prayoon, Phibul, Pahol, why?"

Pahol:

"In times of political and economic turmoil like these, I am obliged to listen to the views of the majority. The majority of people oppose the economic restructuring program. When news of the program leaked



out, there was a massive capital outflow, leading to the destabilization of our economy. Fear and panic pervaded the society, or so I am told. True, I have not made these startling observations myself. Rather, several high-ranking officials informed me of them. In times like these, I am compelled to err on the side of safety. National security and the wish of the majority pressganged me to reverse my policy. I must differentiate between my respect for Pridi and my love for Siam. I am well aware that by siding with Mano and the conservatives, I have severed the umbilical cord that has kept democracy alive in Siam. But we are in a crisis, and democracy has to be sacrificed-at least in the short run."

Narrator: "In the name of social peace and order, Pridi and his wife were exiled to France on April 12."

[A crowd gathers to bid farewell to Pridi and his wife, Poonsook. Enter Pahol.]

"I still believe that Pridi's actions and ideas are in-Pahol:

> tended for the betterment of Siam. I will remain loyal to the masses and will closely abide by the Six

Principles of the People's Party."

Poonsook: "In the end, only the two of us are left."

Pridi: "Funny how we are abandoned by both enemies

and friends."

Poonsook: "Some may find it a propitious time to stab us in

the back."

Pridi: "Phibul and Pahol are still our allies. No one will

dare lift a finger against the two of them."

Poonsook: "I have great faith in Pahol. But I can hardly be-

stow on the others such respect. You trust people

too easily, always assuming that they are like your-

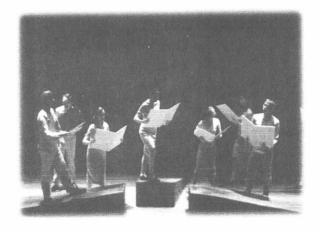
self."

Pridi: "Maybe you are right...."

[The White Book scene]

Mano: "Now that we have banished Pridi to a distant land,

let us reevaluate and analyze his economic re-



structuring program."

- One, on the plight of our citizens:

[Loudspeaker:] "That our people are starving is sheer fantasy. There is no report to support such assertion. In Siam, even beggars and stray dogs have more than enough to eat. Here, only the mortally sick are starving for they are too ill to eat in the first place."

- Two, the creation of a social security net or the protection of the people's wellbeing:

[Loudspeaker:] "Providing social welfare is a good idea. But simply collecting taxes to increase government revenues won't help us realize this ambitious program. This program, and this point cannot be overemphasized, can only be realized when the people have been deprived of all liberty and freedom as in Commu-

nist Russia."

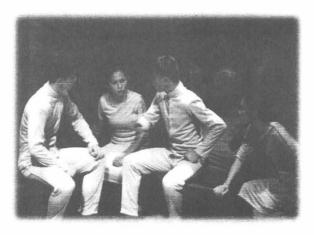
- Three, the proposal that the government should manage the distribution of land, capital, and labor in the name of fair play:

[Loudspeaker:] "Again, Communist Russia treaded on this infamous road. Property owners were brutally butchered or, if lucky, were robbed of all their wealth."

Mano: "The economic restructuring program is riddled with numerous other provisions that may be interpreted along these lines. Please observe and analyze them carefully and objectively. Do not let any prejudice or emotion obstruct an impartial analysis."

[Loudspeaker:] "To sum up, in both methods and practice, this proposed program is exactly the same as Stalinist Russia's. One can only wonder whether Pridi obtained the economic blueprint from Stalin or vice versa."

"On 10 June, Pahol, Song, Rithe, and Prasarth re-Narrator: signed from their positions in the government and military."



[The secret meeting between Pahol and Phibul]

Phibul:

"You've lunged at their bait. You should not have resigned. In the last three months they have done absolutely nothing but attempt to get rid of us. Moreover, there is no sign that Parliament will reconvene anytime soon. We must try to reassert our power and influence."

Pahol:

"Yes, if it is utterly unavoidable and if no compromise can be reached, we must topple the present government for the sake of our country and people."

[Loudspeaker:] "On 20 June 1933, Pahol, Phibul, and Supachalasai, backed by Army and Navy contingents, successfully overthrew the government. The King presided over the reopening of Parliament and invited Pahol to be Prime Minister."

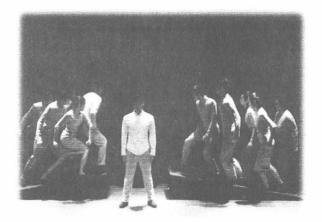


Phibul:

"As in the past, we have dealt with our real and potential political enemies quite fairly and leniently. We have taken the utmost care to preserve social cohesion, freedom, and stability. But some selfish and disruptive elements, in particular Prince Bowaradej's clique, are taking advantage of our good will. Included in this clique are important, influential individuals such as Prince Totsiriwong, M.C. Chutmongkol, M.C. Vongnirachorn, M.C. Kaisangrapipat, M.C. Soponparadai, Phraya Attikornprakart, Mr. Prayoon Pamornmonthri, and Phraya Sarapaipipat. Our intelligence has informed us that these individuals have recently instigated social unrest and chaos and are conspiring to do so again. Against this backdrop, the government has been unable to manage the state's affairs effectively. Since it is my official duty to preserve social peace, I suggest that these individuals discard their disruptive plan or intentions. If not, they shall be met with violence."

Pridi:

"I returned to Siam on September 29. Two days later, I was appointed a cabinet minister. The country's political life is still very heated and volatile. Many have branded me a communist. Undoubtedly they are planning to forcefully object to my return and official appointment-a pretext for overthrowing the Pahol government. On October 11,



Prince Bowaradej marshaled troops from Korat province and advanced towards Bangkok. Phibul led the government forces and met the Prince headon."

[The two sides clashed. Bowaradej lost.]

Phibul: "The rebels have surrendered. Prince Bowaradej fled

to Indochina. But important members of his clique

are still in Siam. I shall root them all out."

Pridi: "No, I beg you not to do so. Remember that we are

socialists and Buddhists. No more blood should be

spilled on this land."

Phibul: "Are you aware of the fact that they planned to be-

head us all had they won?"

Pridi: "Leave them alone. Do not be consumed by rage



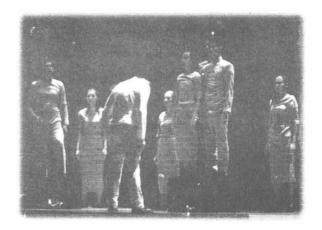
and fury. Forgive and forget."

Phibul: "Whatever....But when confronting a dangerous and poisonous snake one should not simply break its back; one must bludgeon it to death."

[Loudspeaker:] "When Pahol invited Pridi to assume the position of Minister of Interior, the latter declined. Pridi insisted that he was still being stigmatized as Communist, a political label that Mano-who had fled to Penanghad deviously attached to him."

[Conference scene]

- "Parliament has set up a committee comprising..."
- "M.C. Wanwaithayakorn, acting as chairman..."
- "Phraya Srisangkorn, as honorary member..."
- "Phraya Nalarachsuwat, as honorary member..."
- "Sir Robert Holland, as specialist..."
- "And Mr. Herve Giyon, as specialist..."
- "To ascertain whether or not Pridi is a Commu-All: nist."
 - "Mr. Chairman..."



M.C. Wan: "We are not determining whether Pridi's economic restructuring program is communistic or not. As I have publicly declared numerous times before, this economic program is not communistic. Instead, we have been determining whether or not the policies and reforms that Pridi had proposed in the past and is advocating for the present and the future are communistic. The details and results of this examination are before you. Let it be clear that Pridi is not tainted in any way as accused."

[Applause]

Pridi:

"With my image and reputation now cleansed, I decide to accept the post of Minister of Interior in the Pahol Cabinet. Perhaps the greatest difficulty confronting any leader is resisting the seduction by and temptation of power. Not infrequently, a

leader seeks absolute control or power. Power corrupts, gradually reducing and ultimately estranging a leader from his or her humanity. One is afraid to climb down from the tiger's back because one does not want to be devoured by it. Hence one allows the tiger to carry one deeper and deeper into the dense jungle. The same logic applies to the state. The state must immediately decentralize its power before heartless leaders carry us all down the horrendous road of tyranny."

Narrator:

- Draft Bill to restructure the administration of the Kingdom and the government's administrative chains of command
- Bill to modify ministries and departments
- A Juridical Council was created to replace the department for drafting registration.
- The founding of Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Higher Economic Affairs, Department of Physical Education, Department of Education, and Department of Municipal Construction.
- The promulgation of the Municipality Act of 1933, decentralizing the administrative power of the state, and thus allowing local authority greater participation in the policymaking process.

[Song]

Which institution attempts to uphold and promote the well being of the country?

Which promotes the clean and accountable governance of the state?

We are Thai people. We love and worship being Thai.

We will never allow anyone to drain freedom from this land.

That institution is the University of Moral and Political Science [presently known as Thammasat University].

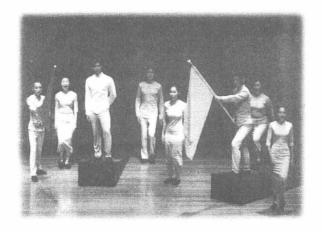
Pridi:

"27 June 1934, the founding of the University of Moral and Political Science."

[Song]

Thammasat brings love and solidarity,
Love of righteousness and freedom.
Truth and Justice guide our hearts
And dwell in our souls.
Dharma is embedded deeply in us
Come quickly
Why wait?

Solidarity. Solidarity. Glorious yellow-red [the official colors of the University]
Unite to demonstrate our power.



[The oath of Thammasat students]

"I will protect and abide by the constitution of the Kingdom of Siam. I will behave justly and rightly and will be guided by morality. My good deeds are intended for the honor of the University of Moral and Political Science and for our Nation, Religion, King, and Constitution."

[Loudspeaker:] "On March 2, 1935 King Rama VII abdicated."

Pridi:

"I assume full responsibility for the mistaken and careless policies that contributed to the abdication of the King. However, what I have done was all for the sake of protecting the constitution and the revolution. As Minister of Interior I found myself in an awkward position, trying to counterbalance the power and influence of Phibul who was Minister of Defense. The unbridgeable schism between Phibul and I occurred over the appointments of provincial governors and district chief officers. I turned down Phibul's request to fill these vacant 200 positions with his candidates, all military figures. Naturally, I am very much upset and disturbed by the break with an important, former ally. Had it not been for Pahol's encouragement and plea, I would have long left office."

Narrator 1: "At the age of ten, Prince Ananda Mahidol, nephew of Rama 7, was enthroned. The Council of Regents has three members."

Narrator 2: "In mid-1934, Pridi shuttled around the globe to discuss the reduction of interest from international loans and to pave the way for the revision of unequal treaties that Siam had signed."

Phibul: "The international arena is very tense and precarious. For the country's national security, I propose the increase of the Defense budget. In addition, I would like the appointment of certain young military figures to important positions in government."

Narrator: "Pridi returned to Siam in February 1936, and was subsequently appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

At the end of 1937, Siam successfully renegotiated

the unequal treaties with Western countries, ending their extraterritorial privileges in the kingdom."

Pridi:

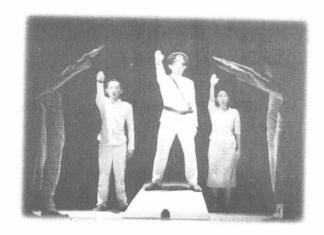
"Because of serious health problem, Pahol was out of the political arena. A political stalemate also ensued. As a result, Parliament was dissolved on 20 December 1938. Subsequently, elections were held, and Phibul became Prime Minister. Additionally, Phibul headed the Ministries of Defense and Interior. I became Minister of Finance. Oh. farewell Pahol, you great soldier of democracy."

Phihul-

"We should pattern our society like Japan's. Japan has the Emperor as the powerful unifying factor. Lamentably, in Siam no remotely similar factor exists. We only have pious, hollow words like King, Nation, Religion, and Constitution. The King is but a boy; he does not even reside in Siam. Religion is too unappealing and unattractive to the masses. The Nation is still fragile, and it is an imagined idea. The Constitution is merely a piece of paper. In times of crisis, we need a strong leader. We need to rally behind and follow the Prime Minister."

[Song: "The Thai stock"]

Our ancestors were brave and honorable Protecting and preserving the Kingdom for posterity



Sacrificing even their lives

So that we can have a land to live on

Rise up Thai people; do not lead a useless life

Love and cherish the country as if it is your life

Like our ancestors once did.

Phibul:

Let us put on our hats and bonnets [like in the industrially developed West] and transform Thailand into one of the great powers. We shall follow the decree of the Ministry of Culture and shun the practices of backward peoples like chewing betel nut. We must have great faith in our national security strategists.

[Song:]

If Siam leads a long and prosperous life
It is like we Siamese living such a life

It is the demise of all Siamese people.

If Siam deteriorates and collapses

We will fend off all invaders

Till our last drop of blood

Sacrificing our flesh and blood for the kingdom

Is the highest glory.

Phibul:

"Now France and Britain are lying prostrate under the mighty boots of Nazi Germany. The time is opportune for us to reclaim parts of Indochina that were stolen by France. Since previous diplomatic efforts proved futile, we have to regain these regions forcefully."

Pridi:

"Captain, wait.... An avenue is still open for us to peacefully regain these lost territories. We can resort to the International Court of Justice. I believe that we can make a strong case, and the Court will decide in our favor. Why embark on war?"

Phihul-

"I am a professional soldier. The settlement of any conflict shall be decided in the battlefield. We shall fight, and we will win."

Narrator 1: "The Franco-Siamese border disputes ultimately erupted into an open war between the two states."

Narrator 2: "The Japanese, who were trying to expand their empire into Southeast Asia, intervened in the con-



flict and supported the Thai irredentist claim."

Narrator 1: "On 7 December 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and declared war on the United States and Britain."

Narrator 2: "The next day, Japan demanded the right to deploy troops in Southeast Asia via Thailand."

Phibul: "We should accommodate the Japanese. Our military forces will not be able to resist them."

Pridi:"Wonderful! Who had previously rallied the Thai people to resist invaders to the death? To burn our cities down-to pursue the scorched earth policy-so that the foreign aggressor won't be able to capitalize on them? It was you!"

Narrator: "On 25 January 1942, Thailand declared war on



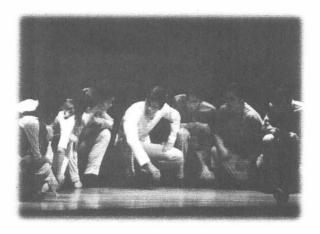
the US and Great Britain,"

Pridi:

"There is only one way to save the country from accompanying the Japanese down the road to destruction. We have to liberate our country. We have to create a secret organization-the Seri Thai or Free Thai movement. The two main objectives of the Free Thai Movement will be, on the one hand, to fight the invaders and cooperate with the Allied powers in defeating Japanese, and, on the other hand, to convince the Allies that, despite the country's present policy, the vast majority of its people are anti-Axis."

[Loudspeaker:] "In spite of unspeakable dangers and daunting challenges, Pridi's efforts to liberate the country began early on ever since the Japanese forces entered Thailand."

- Japan asked for a loan from Thailand.
- As Minister of Finance, Pridi obstructed.
- The Japanese pressured Phibul to fire Pridi from the government.
- On 16 December 1941, Pridi was "kicked upstairs" to become a member of the Council of Regents.



- Since early 1944
- Pridi established contacts with the United States and Britain.
- Narrator 1: "On 24 July 1944, the Phibul government resigned."
- **Narrator 2**: "Pridi helped engineer the premiership of Khuang Aphaiwongse."
- **Phibul:** "I am deprived of all my military power since the office of Supreme Commander of the Army has been abolished."

All characters: "In 1945, Seri Thai activities accelerated and expanded."

- On 14 August, Japan unconditionally surrendered.
- On 16 August

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Pridi:

"As Regent to King Ananda Mahidol and speaking on the behalf of my compatriots, I publicly declare that the Thai declaration of war on Great Britain and the US did not reflect the true feelings of the vast majority of Thai people and thus is null and void."

Narrator 1: "The struggle for postwar Thai independence continued on the negotiating table with the support of the United States."

Narrator 2: "In early 1946, Thailand signed an agreement with Britain; the latter no longer perceived Siam as an enemy state."

Pridi:

"By royal edict, I was made Senior Statesman and advisor of state affairs to the King. The political atmosphere of the country is very lively. Political parties are mushrooming. At the Supreme Court, Phibul narrowly escaped being indicted for war crimes. The turnover rate of civilian governments in this period is also high. I can sense an undercurrent of resentment towards civilian rule coming from the military. On 24 March 1946, I was elected Prime Minister."

[Mae Ploy scene]



Ploy:

"Sir, Khun Luang...What can I do? Ohn... Arne... Why are you involved in a fight again? Aud, please help your brother. You can help him, cannot you? Sir, I do not understand what is going on."

Pridi:

"Mae Ploy, everything is impermanent. We cannot arrest changes and time. Had I not changed the country's political system now, somebody else would do so later anyway."

Ploy:

"Now that Master Kukrit has invented me, how am I supposed to live in a masterless society filled with common people who deride the aristocracy. My whole existence will be thrown in cosmic disorder!"

Kukrit:

"Mae Ploy...Mae Ploy...settle down. Trust me, I will never allow these people to prosper and live happily in this kingdom. You will see what I am up to." Narrator:

"On the morning of 9 June 1946, King Ananda Mahidol was found dead on his bed with a bullet in his head. News of the tragedy quickly spread."

- Pridi assassinated the King.

Pridi:

"It is a blatant lie! Such a monstrous thought has never even occurred in my mind."

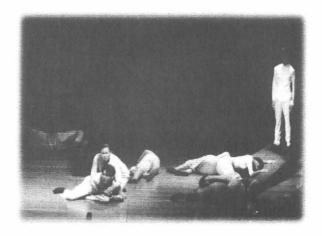
Kukrit:

"We, the Siam Rath Company, led by M.R. Kukrit Pramoj, Sumniang Kuntachawana, Prachuab Tongurai, and Prayath S. Nakanart, publicly declare that we have incorrectly accused Pridi Banomyong of involvement in regicide. The plain truth is that Pridi has never been even an accused in the regicide case and was never found guilty of the crime by the court. Hence, he is an innocent man. He fled the country because of the military coup d'etat, not because he was guilty and feared legal persecution."

Pridi:

"In mid-1947, the Democrat Party joined hands with the Army to topple the civilian government of Tawan Tumrongnawasawat. They aimed to resurrect Phibul to power."

[A motorcade of tanks]



All characters: "At dawn on 8 November 1947, a motorcade of army tanks led by Lieutenant Colonel Lamai Uthayanon stormed the Tha Chang residence of Pridi."

Poonsook: "Khun Luang!"

Child: "Dad just left, mom."

Poonsook: "Oh no! Hold your fire. Please do not shoot. There are only women and children here."

Soldier: "Soldiers, search the building!"

[Boat scene]

Pridi: "I secretly returned to Thailand on February 26, 1949. The Navy supported me in an attempt to overthrow the military government. A brief battle erupted





between the military and our forces. We lost, and I set sail for China."

[Issuing a warrant for arresting Pridi]

Government official: "This is a warrant to arrest the rebel who meets this description. Age?"

All characters: "47"

Official: "Hair color?"

All characters: "Black"

Official: "Eye color?"

All characters: "Black"

Official: "Nose shape?"

All characters: "Pointed"

Official: "Chin?"

All characters: "Rounded"

Official: "Facial shape?"

All characters: "Oval"

Official: "Skin color or complexion?"

All characters: "White"

Official: "Birthmarks?"

Ail characters: "None"

[Poonsook, On Love]

Poonsook: "I will persevere and move on with pride and dignity. But sometimes despair and loneliness attack me. Sometimes it is terribly difficult to confront the confused, disdainful, and condescending stares from passers-by, the multitudinous pairs of eyes that harbor a clashing mindset and worldviews underneath. Some nights amidst the dark quietness a cornucopia of hateful apparitions bludgeon me-images of people witch-hunting me, grinding me to powder with their double- barreled barrage of





angry accusations. Yet through all these turbulent years, I have never regretted having you as my husband and lifelong companion. I cherish the great love you bestowed on me. I can never fully express my gratitude for how you have transformed me from a mere housewife; you have taught me what it meant to be a human being in the highest sense. I have grown immeasurably stronger and wiser, thanks to you. Parting from loved ones is most tormenting."

Pridi:

"My heart is heavy with grief and pain. Please take good care of the children; they are still so youngand so beautiful. Please tell them how much I love them. Tell them that I have also extended my great love for them to all other human beings. My beloved Poonsook, distance shall part us only physically, never emotionally: the farther we are apart, the stronger the chains that bind our love will become. The journey to the stars is far too long, but



we must always look up high and ahead so as not to lose sight of our destination."

Pridi:

"I resided in China for 21 years. In 1970, I went to France. Meanwhile, the Thai political merry-goround had never stood still.

[Performers playing a traditional Thai game]

Performers singing.

- The 26th Prime Minister of Thailand is Field Marshal Phibulsonggram.
- The 28th Prime Minister of Thailand is Lieutenant General Thanom Kittikachorn.
- The 29th Prime Minister of Thailand is Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat.



- The 30th Prime Minister of Thailand is General Thanom Kittikachorn.
- The 31st Prime Minister of Thailand is Field Marshal
 Thanom Kittikachorn.
- The 32nd Prime Minister of Thailand is Field Marshal
 Thanom Kittikachorn.

All characters: "Again, again, again...."

[The two Octobers scene: October 14, 1973 and October 6, 1976]

Narrator:

"On October 14, 1973 all roads led to Thammasat University. Powerful cries for freedom, justice, constitutional and parliamentary democracy-rights and principles that were brutally trammeled under the fearsome boots of the military for some twenty years-reverberated through all the sectors of the population."

[Song: "Fight on without retreating"]

We will fight on without retreating
The masses are with us.
Unite to demolish the enemy
We are fighting for justice.
Shoulder to shoulder we stand



Unperturbed and with undaunted courage
Despite their blows and strikes
We will fight on even with our lives
Push onward and do not desert
The cause of great freedom
Oh unite all Thai people
Fight on, we freedom-loving people

All characters: "Chaos...Justice...."

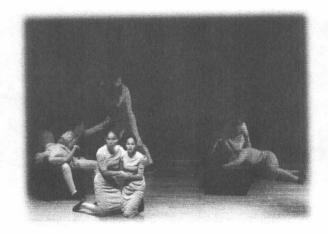
The younger: "October...It's October again."

The elder: "That's history."

The younger: "No, history is repeating itself. Do you not hear our voices? Do you not see us amassing in great numbers in the Ratchadamnoen Avenue?"

The elder: "Yes! Your crowded shadows have carpeted the streets from Thammasat University to Phanfa





Bridge!"

The younger: "We are led by a group of women displaying the Dharmma Chak (Discus of Righteousness) and portraits of the King and Queen."

The elder: "I can hear gunshots, helicopters, and tanks!"

The younger: "Oh please! Do not shoot at us! We are innocent!"

The elder: "All we want is democracy."

The younger: "We fell like trees, one after another; our crimson blood snaking down the streets."

The elder: "Get down! On the ground!"

Pridi: "Please uphold and safeguard the democratic aspirations of the October 14 martyrs."

The younger: "On October 6 [1976], the military rained bullets and destruction on us."

The elder: "It is all passé now."

The younger: "No, it is coming back."

[Song: "The Yellow Bird"]

Spreading its wings

The little yellow bird flies away from the city

Towards freedom

And now it is dead.

(Hum..)

Pridi:

"Coldly massacring people for the sake of maintaining one's power and position is dastard, heinous, and unpardonable. It is a crime against humanity."

The younger: "Do you remember the tragic events of 14-15

October?

Do you recall

the bloodshed and tears

the darkest of nightmares that befell on the people?

The unarmed youths that braved the raining bul-

lets and exploding tear gas.

They died while raising thin bare hands, appealing for freedom.





Lest you have forgotten, these sacrifices were made to bring back and protect democracy.

Let us pause for a moment and think of them.

At least, as a reminder and to encourage those.

Who are still fighting on "

[Performers singing "International" in Thai]

This will be the last struggle.

Unite until tomorrow.

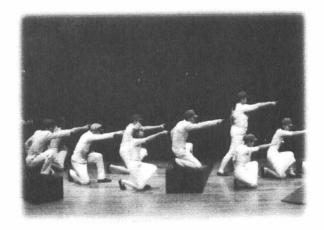
International will come true.

Together, International will come true.

International will come true.

All characters (pointing to Pridi): "Communist Revisionist!"

"Go back and reread the works of prominent leftist Pridi: communists! Your understanding of them is abysmal or at best elementary. And stop lying with a



straight face to the people that the Communist Party of Thailand led and liberated the country from Japanese control. I am condemned by dictators from both left and right because I steadfastly uphold only the virtues of democracy."

[The clock scene]

[Loudspeaker:] "The clock is ticking. It is always ticking. Time races on unstoppably. Will we head towards chaos and anarchy? Or towards eternal bliss? Time is only in our Imagination. Nothing is permanent and immutable. Everything is always in constant flux, in various degrees. Changes are inevitable. Life has both positive and negative sides. The new builds on while the ruinous old crumbles. The same law of impermanence governs all social organizations and systems. The old system gradually drowns under its

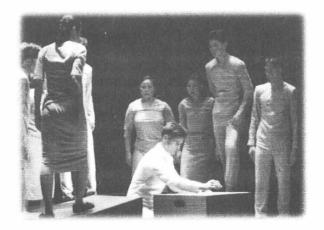


own weight, and a new one elevates to take its place.

Just like life its elf. It's impermanent, just like life itself."

[Pridi writing a book]

[Loudspeaker, Pridi's voice:] "Because time and circumstances were unpropitious, there are things I know but cannot say now. If I am unable to record them in this lifetime, then time and history shall judge their relevancy. Human history does not mummify itself; it is not stagnant; and it does not end with any particular person or class. History travels forth into the future, providing lessons and insights for generation after generation. Interpreting history is relative to place, time, and culture. I leave it to those who cherish the truths to decide on what the truths really are."



Narrator 1: "Antony: Suburb of Paris: A quarter before noon, on 2 May 1983, a fatal heart attack struck Pridi.

The Senior Statesman of Thailand passed away peacefully nine days away from celebrating his 83rd birthday."

Narrator 2: "A candle light blazing in the dark

Drops of melted wax falling down,

This one candle which has

Consumed itself completely

To enlighten the world

Is now flickering...

Struggling till the dark end.



Orescent Moon Theatre Orescent Moon Theatre

Just a bird, decorating the woods Listen the song that we sing Don't call us, our name



Kamron Gunatilaka

Kamron Gunatilaka holds a degree in psychology from the Faculty of Arts, Thammasat University. His previous works include producing and performing in the play *Death of a Salesman*, which was held at Thammasat University, and collaborating with Bruce Gaston in producing a set of plays on the rural areas: *The Rural I,II and III*.

Kamron was very productive and active between 1975 and 1983. He co-founded Crescent Moon Theatre and subsequently served as Executive Producer and Director. Kamron then directed several plays such as *Before Dawn*, which was performed at The National Theatre. Also, he served as a panelist of and conducted a workshop on Body Expression and Non-verbal Communication in a conference organized by the Philippines Educational Theatre.

After the tragedy of October 1976, Kamron went to France and joined the Theatre de la Mandragore as an actor and assistant





director. He participated in the production of, among other plays, Antigone, Woyzeck, Leon & Lena, La Mort de Danton, L'Avar, La Mort de Bucher, Escalade, La Liberation, and L'Enemie and Terminal. There he reaped enormous experiences. For instance, Kamron had an opportunity to perform in numerous countries, including

France, Belgium, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Sweden, Morocco, Tunisia, Gabon, Qatar, and Sudan.

In 1987, on behalf of Crescent Moon Thertre, Kamron wrote and produced *The 1932 Revolutionist*. The play was first performed at the Art and Cultural Hall of Thammasat University. Subsequently, it was played at many universities throughout the country.

Once again in 1995, Kamron directed *The 1932 Revolutioist*. The play was performed by Crescent Moon Theatre and was held at the Pridi Banomyong Institute. Additionally, Kamron participated in the first Theatre Festival at the Saeng Arun Arts Center. Moreover, he became Director and Executive Producer of the Permanent Theatre, a collaborative project of Crescent Moon Theatre and Saeng Arun Arts Center. In his new position, Kamron directed *Koo Chue Phaya Pan, The October Nightmare*, and *Madam Mao's Memories*. He also produced *High Bank Heavy Log, The lighthouse, Woman and Constitution*, and *Da Dee Dum Dream*.



Crescent Moon Theatre

The beginning

In 1969, a group of Thammasat University students who were enamoured with literature founded Crescent Moon. The founding group was comprised of Suchart Sawasdisri, Nikom Raiyawa, Tianchai Lapanan, Veraprawat Wongpourpan, Winai Ugrit, Wittayakorn Chiangkul, Kamron Gunatilaka and Tanya Ponanan. Some of the members' notable theatrical pieces include *I just want to go out* (by Wittayakorn Chiangkul), *The Seventh Floor* (by Suchart Sawasdisri), *Mr. Apaimanee* (by Tanya Ponanan), and *Bird across the sky* (by Wittayakorn Chiangkul and Kamron Gunatilaka).

Since its inception, Crescent Moon has served as a countercurrent to mainstream Thai culture and has often reflected the angst and concerns of society. Even in its formative years, Crescent Moon was quite widely known, not only to students involved in theatre arts but also to the public at large. This was because Channel 4 Bangkhunprom often broadcast its plays. In 1972, the Theatre performed the classic *Death of a Salesman*.

Soon one of its members, Kamron Gunatilaka, became Lec-





turer in Dramatic
Arts and Mass Communications at
Chiangmai University (Chiangmai,
Thailand). During his
stay there he co-produced three impor-

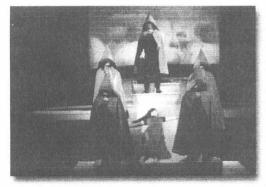
tant pieces of contemporary plays, which is known as *The Rural* series. Kamron's plays blended the style of Jerry Grotowski with Bertolt Brecht's. In the other words, they are critical of society and focus on the theme of alienation. Performance-wise, they employ the theatrical detachment of setting, light and sound and stress the actors' ability to capture the audience's attention but at the same time ensuring that the latter remains emotionally non-involved.

After three years in Chiangmai, Kamron, armed with inspiration and greater experiences, returned to Bangkok with his theatre troupe. They continued to produced new plays with vigor and interest. However, for reasons of personal security, they avoided political themes. Three highly acclaimed plays that were produced in

this period are Here Is The World, The Mother, and Before Dawn.

After the nightmares of October 1976 the fortune of Kamron's





troupe plummeted, reflecting the general political and sociocultural malaise of the time. Therefore, Kamron left for France and eventually joined a Parisian theatre company.

There he accumulated vast experiences and new techniques.

In 1987, Kamron returned to Thailand and directed *The 1932 Revolutionist*, a play about the Siamese Senior Statesman, Pridi Banomyong. Crescent Moon came back to life, heralding a new era of contemporary Thai plays.

Crescent Moon is one of the leading theatre groups in Thailand. And Kamron is one of the country's best-known dramatists and playwrights. Together they make a powerful combination.

Special Characteristics of Crescent Moon Theatre

As its modus operandi, Crescent Moon Theatre stresses the importance of sharing, group work, and consensus decision-making. No particular individual







dominates the Theatre; no one is able to set its agenda and direction without the consent of all other members. Every play performed by Crescent Moon thus reflects the shared values and convictions of the members.

As mentioned earlier, the Theatre, excluding the lull after the October 1976 bloodshed, has con-

sistently produced plays with social, cultural and political themes. The Theatre deems it essential to reenact and theatrically recapture these vital issues and concerns-matters that have direct influence on human relations and that are often swept under the rug. It presupposes that the audience is also motivated by the desire for a better society and world.

However, this does not mean that Crescent Moon represents any special interest or pressure group. The Theatre never dreamed of indoctrinating its audience with its views, political or otherwise. It never arrogantly proclaimed that it has answers to all social problems. Crescent Moon merely envisions itself as an earnest mir-





ror that is determined to responsibly reflect and represent important issues ti its audience.

Aside from their content, the plays of Crescent Moon are also presented differently. As aforementioned, the Theatre emphasizes the emotional detachment of its audience. Put differently messages, no matter how

provocative or heartbreaking, are generally disseminated to the audience in a rather dispassionate manner. Hence the audience will be in a more analytical and 'objective' mood.



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Past and Present Performances

1973-1976 - The Mother (by Maxim Goreky)

- Before Dawn
- The Party
- Mr.Apai Manee
- This Is The World
- Bird That Across the Sky
- 7th Floor
- I Just Want To Go Out
- Mob Theatre and Street
 Theatre, many stories
- 1974 The Rural I,II and III
- 1987 The 1932 Revolutionist
- 1988 Lang; the rural No.4
- 1995 The 1932 Revolutionist
 - The Picnic on the Battlefield (by Fernando Arrabal)
- 1996 My Mame is...Phaya Pan
 - The October Nightmare
 - Madam Mao's Memories (by Henry Ong)
- 1997 High Bank Heavy Log (by Nikhom Rayawa)
 - The Lighthouse



- Woman and Constitution

 Da Dee Dum Dream (Thai literat Suwan)

- Bangkok Labyrinth

1998 - Moo Baan Jok Juang

- The Creative speech

- Dhammanusti

- Yattipak

- FloWar

- Mr. And Mrs. Marathon

1999 - The 1932 Revolutionist

- Da Dee Dum Dream 2000



Appendix

The 1932 Revolutionist, made its deput at the Art and Cultural Hall of Thammasat University, 1987. Its second major performance was at the Silpa Birasri Hall a year later. After years of absence from the stage, the play was brought back and was performed at the Pridi Banomyong Institute and Saeng Arun Arts Center in 1995. This year in late February and early March, the play was performed at the Pridi Banomyong Institute. It was organized by The Committee of Project for the National Celebration on the Occasion of the Centennial Anniversary of Pridi Banomyong. The cast of the latest performance includes:

Nimit Pipithkul

Soontorn Meesri

Pintip Satpretpry

Sineenadh Keitprapai

Teerawat Mulvilai

Phiunam Chalermyat

Farida Jirapan

Wonlop Saengjoy

Pakorn Rungsitsathien

Chartchai Ketnust

Woraluk Chueng

Pruesa Roongsang

Rujiroj Tanasarnkitiwat

Directed by Nimit Pipithkul

Lighting Designed by Tawit Keitprapai

Costume Designed by Sahawat Srihiran

Yodmaung Aramruangpaisan

Musicians Anant Narkong

Hiran Boonchuen

Lighting Operator Kamolnut Indratang

Sound Operator Rujiroj Tanasankitiwat

Stephan Funke Photographers

Pongsit Silapasuwanchai

Komkrit Fugmul

Tawit Keitprapai

Public Relations Kawinporn Jaroensri

Pataya Ofrit

Winij Meerod

Voice Training Parichart Janthai

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Chiwaprawat Kong Nai Pridi Banomyong (Pridi Banomyong's Biography) by Pridi Banomyong :Pridi Banomyong and Thai Culture Project, Bangkok, 2526.

Chiwit 5 Phandin Kong Kaphachao (My Life Through Five Reigns) by Prayoon Phamornmontri ,Banpakit, Bangkok, 2518.

Bantuek Reungrao Karn Plianplang Karn Pokkrong B.E. 2475 Waduay Kwammai Karn Patiwat Kwam Samrej Lae Karn Phitphlad (On The 1932 Revolution: Implications, Changes, Successes and Failures) by Prayoon Phamornmontri, Bangkok, 2517.

Chiwat Lae Phonngan Kong Dr. Pridi Banomyong (The Life and Works of Pridi Banomyong), Bangkok: Prajak rinting, 2514.

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Special Thanks to

The Committee of Project for the National Celebration on the Occasion of the Cenennial Anniversary of Pridi Banomyong.

Pridi Banomyong Foundation

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THE 1932 REVOLUTIONIST









"Human history does not mummify itself; it is not stagnant; and it does not end with any particular person or class. History travels forth into the future, providing lessons and insights for generation after generation. Interpreting history is relative to place, time, and culture. I leave it to those who cherish the truths to decide on what the truths really are."

Pridi Banomyong

To celebrate the centennial anniversary of Pridi Banomyong (11 May 1900 - 11 May 2000)

THE 1932 REVOLUTIONIST ISBN 974 - 74491 - 9 - 6