709

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

Political and military tasks of the Free-Thai movement
Pridi Banomyong

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FOREWORD

Pridi Banomyong has always been a man of substance. I had been very impressed by his seriousness of purposes from the very first time I listened to his lecture to Thai students in Germany during the 1970s. He told the audience not to believe a word he was going to say if it turned out to be illogical or it did not have any evidence to support. He even requested anyone who had evidence to the contrary to kindly give him the evidence so that he could understand the issue "correctly".

This book, which started as a letter by Pridi to his colleagues, Phra Bisal-Sukhumvit, reflects his perception of the role of the Free Thai Movement (Why, What and how) during the war years and its immediate aftermath. Through his serious style of writing, it turns out to be a historical document, with may factual appendices and numerous primary references.

Even so, it would be advisable that one reads this book in its proper historical context. It was written in the late 1970s, the decade of questioning in which Thai intellectuals and students were soul-searching and histories as well as governance were being seriously re-examined. It was the decade that false claims were made in an attempt to connect the role of the Communist Party of Thailand to the leadership role of the Free Thai Movement. It was also the decade that Pridi left China (1970) and came to reside in France, which afforded him the opportunity to freely gather information, to research, to write, to give speeches, to try to correct all misunderstandings towards him and his deeds, as well as to sue anyone in order to uphold his innocence, integrity, dignity, honesty and honour. Once one has read his book, one can readily understand why Pridi had won all his cases before the court in Thailand. He drafted all the plaintiff's cases himself from his home in Paris, submitting all the relevant documents necessary, in the same manner as appeared in this book. The judges would have easy tasks in determining the issues before the court.

I am sure Pridi would have been consistent in requesting his audience to

apply a scientific investigation spirit (page 45) when reading this book and to reach one's own conclusion of the substance and the values of what one reads.

Finally, I find it appropriate that this book is re-published to commemorate the centenary anniversary (May 11, 1900 - May 11, 2000) of Pridi Banomyong, Senior Statesman. He certainly was a great common man who had fought throughout his life for peace, independence, social justice and democracy.

Long may his spirit live.

Charivat Santaputra
December 2000

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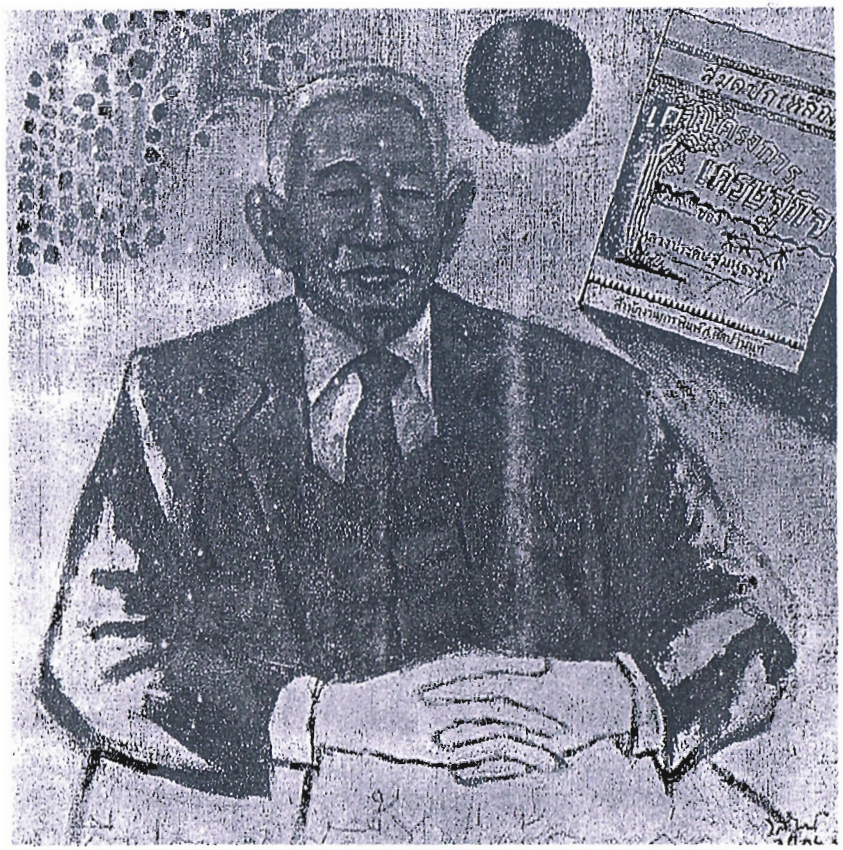
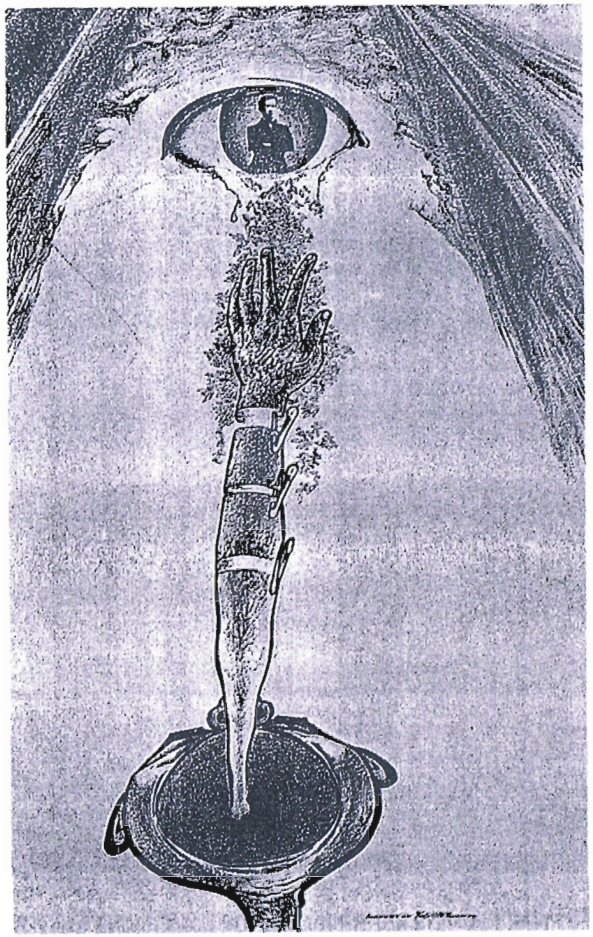
Expounded with official
authentic documents
by PRIDI BANOMYONG
in his letter
by Phra BISAL-SUKHUMVIT
a Free-Thai who has been entrusted
of missions in Kandy
New Delhi and U.S.A.



"THIS LAND DOES NOT WANT A GOOD MAN"
by Vasan Sitthiket
100 x 100 cm.
OIL ON CANVAS
Visual Art Exhibition Project for the National Celebration
on the Occasion of the Centennial Anniversary of
Pridi Banomyong, Senior Statesman
14 - 28 January 2000
At the National Gallery Bangkok



"SUB-CONSCIENCE OF PRIDI"
by Sintusawadi Yordbangtoey
51 x 75 cm.
PEN ON PAPER
Visual Art Exhibition Project for the National Celebration
on the Occasion of the Centennial Anniversary of
Pridi Banomyong, Senior Statesman
14 - 28 January 2000
At the National Gallery Bangkok

Paris Suburb,
June 10, 1979

My Dear Phra BISAL-SUKHUMVIT,

I have received your book entitled *Report of a Free Thai, His Missions in Kandy, New Delhi and USA*, which you so kindly sent me, along with Mr Pichai Vasanasong's comment, published in the Thai newspaper *Daily Time*.

I would like to express my thanks to you for presenting the truthful facts, confirming the important duties you and Luang SUKHUM-NAYA-PRADIT undertook on behalf of the Free Thai Movement, overcoming numerous obstacles and dangers until success was achieved for our beloved nation and the Thai people. Furthermore, I feel honoured and would also like to thank you for referring to my role in the Movement.

The book is valuable as a factual document for those interested in Thai history, especially concerning the Free Thai Movement. It shows that in performing its tasks of serving the nation at that time, the Free Thai Movement conformed to the specific particularities of Thailand's status during World War II in the following aspects:

1. Thailand was being invaded by Japan which was a member of the Axis (alliance between Germany, Italy and Japan).

2. The Thai government at that time had declared war on Great Britain and the USA. In retaliation, Great Britain together with Australia and

South Africa declared war on Thailand, thus accentuating Thailand's war commitments.

3. The USA were applying a policy of restraint by withholding their declaration of war on Thailand. However, according to international law, a state of war between nations exists when the government of one country declares war on the other or commits an act of war against the other without declaring war. This is not the same as in covenant dealings between private individuals, where both sides are required to sign an agreement.

Field Marshal Pibul's government had notified the USA of the declaration of war according to diplomatic practice and international law. That is, Pibul's government had notified the Swiss Consul in Bangkok, whom the US government had asked to look after its interests in Thailand during World War II. The Swiss Consul then forwarded the notification by telegram. This document can be found in the US government papers *Foreign Relations of the United States 1942* Vol. I page 915 as follows:

740.0011 Pacific War/1793: Telegram

The Chargé in Switzerland (Huddle) to the Secretary of State

Bern, February 2, 1942.

[Received February 2-S: 10 a.m.]

350. Department's 246, January 28. Swiss Foreign Office note January 31 communicates following telegram from Swiss Consul Bangkok.

"Foreign Affairs Ministry notified Consulate by letter 25th January: By royal command a declaration of war on Great Britain and the United States of America has been made as from noon of 25th January 2485 B.E."

Huddle

The Swiss Consul in Bangkok, who also looked after Great Britain's interests in Thailand during World War II, forwarded Pibul's declaration of war to his Foreign Office in order to convey it to the British government.

Last year, in 1978, I was asked by many Thai students whether it was true, as was written by some so-called history professors, that Field Marshal Pibul's government sent the Declaration of War on the USA to the Thai Minister in Washington but the Minister did not deliver it as instructed. One Thai professor wrote in one of the English newspapers in Thailand that the Minister kept the document of the declaration of war in his coat pocket and did not present it to the US government. I told the students that I did not know. However, I make some observations for them to consider:

(1) Pibul's government had already notified the Swiss Consul, which was the USA's representative according to diplomatic practice and international law. Therefore, I see no reason why the government should need an extra declaration of war for the US by sending another declaration to the Thai Minister in Washington to be delivered to the US government.

(2) During the war, there was no postal communication between Thailand, Europe and America either by air or sea. Therefore, no mail carrying the so-called document could have possibly been sent from Thailand to those continents.

(3) The Thai people at that time had heard the Thai Minister in Washington regularly broadcast over the American radio network that he would have nothing to do with the Thai government in Bangkok since mid-December

1941, before Pibul's government declared war on Great Britain and the USA on January 25, 1942. So why should Pibul's government send the minister a telegraphic declaration of war to be delivered to the US government, when it knew well enough that the Thai Minister had renounced his allegiance to it?

In order to make it easier for students, I remember that the government of Pibul's declaration of war on Great Britain and on the USA, were actually made on one and same document. Therefore, if the Pibul government had sent the declaration of war or a telegraphic instruction to the Thai Minister in Washington, it should have done the same to the Thai Minister in London, who still remained loyal to his government in Bangkok. So I telephoned Luang Bhadaravadi (a Free Thai who later became ambassador to many countries), who at the time of declaration of war was the First Secretary at the Thai Legation in London. The following is Luang Bhadaravadi's letter in answer to my query:

54 rue Faubourg Aumonerie
86300-Chauvigny

April 4, 1978

To My Most Respected Mentor,

I was very happy to receive your telephone call yesterday. It has been a long time since I last saw you at the annual meeting of Thai students in France at Poitiers University a few years ago. Since then, I haven't received any news from you.

With reference to your query about the declaration of war of the Thai government on Great Britain in World War II, my reply is as follows:

"In December 1941, I was the First Secretary at the Thai Legation (it had not yet been raised to an embassy). Phra Manuvet was then the Minister.

"The Legation first heard the news that the Thai government had declared war on Great Britain on the BBC radio. As for the document concerning the declaration of war, as far as my memory goes, the Legation did not receive any such communication from the Thai government, nor do I recollect Phra Manuvet, the Minister, delivering one to the British government at the British Foreign Office in London."

I hope you and your family are well and happy. My wife and I send you our kindest regards.

With my deepest respect,
Bhadaravadi
(Luang Bhadaravadi)

If anyone still has doubts about this matter, maybe he or she should ask the then Thai Minister in London himself, who is still in good health and living in Bangkok whether, if he did not receive any instruction from Pibul's government, could he have taken it that the news he heard on the BBC was the official declaration of war to be forwarded to the British government?

4. During the war, the Chinese Nationalist government was recognised by the Chinese Communist Party as being the central government of China: Chou En-lai had been appointed one of the Vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and the Communist Red Army had been transformed into "The Eight Route Army", and "The New Fourth Army" of the central Chinese government.

At the start of the World War, although China showed displeasure that Thailand was cooperating with Japan, she was not at war with Thailand. However, from December 25-31, 1941, Field Marshal Pibul began to broadcast on radio and to publicise in newspapers, invitations urging Chiang Kai-shek to reach an understanding and become allies with Japan in an effort to liberate Asia, explaining that Japan had only good intentions for the Asian people. But Chiang Kai-shek did not pay attention to Pibul's advice. After that, Thailand started to commit acts of war against China, for example, by sending troops to fight the Chinese Army based in the British Shan States, and by recognising Manchukuo State which had been established as a Japanese puppet in the Northeast of China. Furthermore, the Pibul government also recognised the Japanese-backed Wang Ching-wei government in Nanking, as being the central Chinese government. These actions were equivalent to a declaration of state of war with the Chinese lawful central government.

Because of all these factors, the legal status of Thailand was quite different from that of other countries which were being invaded by Japan or other Axis powers, but the government of those other invaded countries never declared war or committed acts of war against the Allies. The patriotic movements in those countries were thus able to concentrate whole-heartedly on their struggle against the invading forces without the problem of having to find ways to remedy the situation of being at war with the Allies and being the losers

at the end of the war. Consequently, the Chinese patriots, whether living in China or in Thailand, understood rightly according to the position of China that they had only to fight the Japanese aggressors without the problem of remedying the situation of being at war with the Allies and being the losers at the end of the war.

As for the patriotic movements in those countries that were being invaded by the Axis powers and whose governments had committed acts of war against the Allies; some thought only of fighting the enemy, which action alone could not save their countries from being the losers to the Allies. However, in some of those countries, the patriotic movements perceived clearly the true position of their own countries and tried to prepare ways and means to make the Allies recognise that their own nations would not be on the side of the defeated. Even then, many of these patriotic movements failed in their tasks, for example, Italy, Hungary, Romania, etc., where the dictatorial governments of these countries had declared war on the Allies. Although there existed free fighters in these countries, fighting both the Axis invaders and their own dictatorial governments, they were unable to persuade the Allies to guarantee their own country's positions. Consequently, these countries were obliged to transfer some of their territories to the Allies, and had to pay war reparations.

As for those countries which declared war on the Allies and had no resistance movement fighting in cooperation with the Allies, they were taken over and their territories were divided up and distributed among the Allied Nations. Some were even split into two states, such as East and West Germany. In the case of Japan, the islands of Okinawa were separated from her and given the right of self-government.

The High Command of the Free Thai Movement realised the true status of Thailand from the commencement of the war and, therefore, had set up plans to serve the nation in two complimentary political and military tasks, namely:

1/ To fight the Japanese invaders; and

2/ To obtain agreement from the Allies that Thailand would not be treated as one of the defeated nations and to minimise the consequences.

1/ To fight the Japanese invaders

Most Thais are proud patriots. Our forefathers have fought off invading enemies many times and our independence has been retained to this day.

When Thailand was invaded by the Japanese, the Thai people fought back both singly and collectively as circumstances permitted. However, it was not possible to destroy and drive out the mighty forces of the Imperial Japanese Army. Therefore, a Free Thai Movement was set up embracing all those who loved their country from far and wide into a unified movement to fight the enemy in cooperation with the Allies.

The Free Thai Movement knew well that Imperial Japanese Army was many times stronger than the forces of the Free Thais. Therefore, in fighting the Japanese, the Free Thai Movement needed to cooperate with the Allies.

In World War II, even countries of great power were unable to fight the Axis single-handedly, but had to join forces with other Allied countries. Take China, for instance:

China had the largest population in the world, but even so, neither her government nor the various patriotic organisations were able to fight Japan by themselves. The Chinese Nationalist government, which the Chinese Communist Party recognised as being the central government of China, had to join hands with the USA, Great Britain, USSR, etc., which were the then Allied Nations.

In conducting a world war involving many countries, the Allies divided their Command Operations into zones, with Supreme Command Headquarters.

Lord Louis Mountbatten had been appointed as the Supreme Allied Commander in Southeast Asia, while Chiang Kai-shek was the Supreme Allied Commander in China. Chiang tried to force the Allies to agree that his theatre of war extended down south to latitude 16, covering the northern part of Thailand which was above latitude 16 down to the districts of Umpang, Bangmoolnak, Khemarat; sub-district of Nong Buadaeng; Banpai and Borabue districts, Roi-et province, and Selaphumi and Nong Tabra districts, thus enabling him to move the Chinese forces into these areas. The evidence concerning Chiang Kai-shek's intention can be found in the US government papers on *Foreign Relations of the United States 1945* Vol. 6 page 1275 following the US Memorandum on June 25, 1945 concerning the situation in Thailand.

[The question of the division of some areas of operational responsibility in Southeast Asia was raised in a communication sent to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Supreme Commander, China Theater,

by President Truman on August 1, 1945. The President conveyed his conclusion that the portion of Indochina lying south of 16° north latitude should be the responsibility of the Southeast Asia Command, the area north of that line to be left in the China Theater. The Generalissimo agreed to this apportionment, subject to the stipulation that the 16° line also be considered the southern boundary of the China Theater within Thailand. For text of Truman's message to Chiang Kai-shek, see telegram of August 1, 1945, from the President to the Ambassador in China, *Foreign Relations*. The Conference of Berlin (The Potsdam Conference), 1945, volume II, page 1321. Regarding Chiang's reply, see *ibid.*, footnote 2.

Under the terms of General Order No.1, issued on September 2, 1945, Japanese forces in all of Thailand were called upon to surrender to the Supreme Allied Commander, Southeast Asia. For text of the General Order, see Report of Government Section, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers: *Political Reorientation of Japan, September 1945 to September 1948*, page 442.]

If Chiang Kai-shek's wishes had been realised, Thailand might have been divided into two parts, with China taking over the northern part, and Great Britain in command of the rest of the country. Hence, we might have been divided into North and South Thailand, in the same way as Korea was split into North and South Korea at the end of the War.

The Free Thai Movement's High Command was fully aware of this dire possibility, and was careful not to let Thailand to be thus divided. It sent representatives to seek reassurances from the Chinese government that the Thai people were not at war with China. At the same time, the Free Thai Movement did its best to prevent even a part of Thailand from coming under the Chinese Supreme Command.

The system within the Chinese Army was different to that of the Thai Army in that there was a political direction within the Chinese Army. Any talks between the Military concerning politics must further be transmitted to the political direction before being presented to the Chinese Generalissimo. The British, American and Free Thai representatives based in Chungking knew that the top military officer in charge of the politics concerning Thailand was General Tai-Li, who also headed the secret police (Gestapo) organisation. Secret agents of the Kuomintang in Thailand were all under General Tai-Li's

command. The Chinese general had much skill in using stratagem or tactics to attract his unaware counterparts to be ensnared in his trap. Thus the Free Thai representatives had to be most careful. When Mr Nicol Smith of the OSS came to see me in August 1945, he also told me of General Tai-Li's stratagem concerning Thailand, and how he planned during Pibul's regime to take some of Pibul's senior officials as hostages.

When the Emperor of Japan ordered the Japanese army and people to surrender unconditionally to the Allied Powers on August 15, 1945, I asked an American officer attached to the Free Thai High Command to send an urgent telegram to the US government stating that if the Chinese Army were to come and disarm the Japanese forces in the north of Thailand a state of unrest would ensue.

Eighteen days later, on September 2, President Truman issued the general order No. 1 instructing Japanese troops throughout Thailand to surrender themselves to the Supreme Allied Commander in Southeast Asia (Lord Louis Mountbatten).

When the section of Chinese Nationalist extremists saw the British troop coming to Bangkok to disarm Japanese soldiers, they were very disappointed because their earnest hope, which was to welcome the Chinese Army who would give a lesson to the Thais, was not realised. So the Chinese extremists started an armed disturbance in Yawaraj district (the incident was known as "Yawaraj Lia Pah"). But the Thai government successfully put down the disturbance.

The Free Thai Movement cooperated closely with the Allied Forces through the appropriate channel, that is to say, the Supreme Allied Commander in Southeast Asia (Lord Mountbatten), along with the American Forces under that command.

Thanks to the great sacrifice of all Free Thais in performing their military and paramilitary tasks according to the strategies of the Movement, which were part of common allied strategies in Southeast Asia, the High Command of the Movement was able to succeed in negotiating with the Allies that the British Army should enter Thailand for the purpose of disarming the Japanese troops, and would withdraw as soon as possible.

However, the first task of the Movement had to be combined with the second aspect, that is to say, with the "political task", as follows:

2/ The operation to secure agreement from the Allies that Thailand should not be treated as one of the defeated nations and thus to minimise consequences

The Free Thai High Command did not only plan to fight the Japanese, but it also worked on ways and means to ensure the Allies' guarantee that Thailand should not be treated as one of the defeated nations and should deserve some alleviation of any compensation, should the Allies demand payment for any acts of war that Thailand might be considered to have committed against them.

Perhaps you have read the documents released by the Allied Powers after the war, those released by the US government after 25 years, and the British government after 30 years. That is why you seem to know that the Free Thai High Command and several Free Thais worked hard to persuade the USA and Great Britain to recognise the fact that Thailand's declaration of war against them was null and void and was made against the will of the Thai people; and to make the Chinese government accept the fact that the alleged acts of war committed by Thailand on China were also made against the will of the Thai people. The work demanded great efforts on the part of the Free Thais. The task was not an easy one and could not have been accomplished through words alone. If this was so, then other patriotic, eloquent speakers of those other countries which were at war with the Allies would have also managed to save their own nations from being stranded on the defeated side. Consequently, at the end of the war, there would not have been a single country left on the side of the loser. Moreover, most Thais were able to see that the Allies were not mentally deficient and could not have been persuaded simply through the words of some so-called resistance leaders of those countries whose governments had declared war or committed acts of war on them. The Allies surely had to consider the true actions of the resistance movements against the common enemy and whether any benefit was gained by the Allies from any of the resistance movements.

Therefore, the Free Thai Movement did not use words in negotiation alone but actively fought the Japanese along the strategies laid down in close cooperation with the Supreme Allied Command in Southeast Asia. When the Allied Powers saw that we were loyal and sincere in our fighting and that our actions benefited them, they came to accept our declaration of war as being null and void. However, the three Allied nations, namely the USA, Great Britain, and China had quite different attitudes towards this matter.

(1) As I pointed out earlier, at the outbreak of the Great War, the Chinese showed only displeasure towards Thailand's collaboration with Japan. But later on, when the Thai government began to commit acts of war against China, she became very angry. The Chinese government saw itself as an elder, and applied upon Thailand the old Chinese tradition of 'teaching' a naughty child. With the use of radio broadcasting stations in Chungking it admonished Thailand many times, especially after Thailand recognised the Wang Ching-wei government in Nanking. As you may have already read from the document referred to by Mr Direk Jayanama in his book, *Thailand and World War II*, a section on page 270 contains the following information:

> **"Chiang Kai-shek was extremely angry following Thailand's recognition of the Wang Ching Wei government. At the end of the war, the *Ta Kung Pao* newspaper in Chungking published an article demanding that Thailand should make an act of unconditional surrender in the same way as other enemy countries and that all important persons in the government including Field Marshal Pibul should be arrested and sent to be court-martialled as war criminal."**
> (*The Chinese in South East Asia* by Dr Victor Purcell, page 190)

Since the government of Nationalist China was so angry with Thailand, the Free Thai High Command and the Free Thais who were sent to meet Chiang Kai-shek and those who were stationed in Chungking had to try and soothe China's anger towards Thailand and make her understand that Thailand, as a nation, was not China's enemy.

(2) As for Great Britain and the USA upon whom the Pibul government had declared war, they, understandably, must have been most dissatisfied, as was shown in several government papers released by the two countries. But the degree of their displeasure was naturally not of the same level. This depended on the damage each respectively received and the varying effect of Thailand's actions upon their interests.

Before the war, the Federation of Malaya and Burma (including the Shan States) were British colonies. These colonies were invaded by the Japanese, who used Thailand as their base. The Pibul government during the war took part in the invasion also. For instance, the Thai Army moved its forces into the Shan States and took over Keng Tung and Muang Pan, etc.,

annexed Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu. At that time, Britain was a major capitalist country and held Thailand's economy in her hands. There were, for example, three British banks operating in Thailand and many British companies held concessions of timber forests and mines. Furthermore, there were several British shipping companies and commercial enterprises, etc. Naturally, Britain was most unamused about the actions taken by the Thai government. Even though Lord Mountbatten, the Supreme Allied Commander, spoke in support of the Free Thai Movement, the British political and economic officials wanted the British government to regard Thailand as still being at war with Britain, and to consider her as a defeated country. The Free Thai High Command held many talks and sent several missions to negotiate with the British. Despite these attempts, however, Britain still would not declare, in an outright manner, that Thailand's declaration of war on Britain was to be considered as being null and void.

(3) With regard to the USA, before the war, they had a great deal of financial interests in other countries, such as in the Philippines, which was American colony, and in China. Some large American banks, for instance, had opened branches in China. Several American commercial enterprises and shipping companies had been set up there, etc. The USA, as correctly understood by many Chinese at the time, was one of the main capitalist powers in China. However, the US had very little economic interests in Thailand in comparison with Britain. None of the American banks opened their branches in Thailand, and there was only one small American commercial company, as you yourself mentioned in your book. Since American interests were so small, the American Legation at that time was comprised of merely three officials: one Minister, and two secretaries. Sometimes only one secretary remained, whom you personally knew well. Thus, in those days, in the opinion of the Thais, the economic interests of the USA in Thailand seemed limited. In China, however, the people knew that the USA played a predominant part in the economy of their country. Moreover, during the Second World War, China asked the USA for military assistance in the fight against Japan. China, thereby, agreed to the USA's recommendations concerning Thailand. Had President Truman not issued the aforementioned Order No.1, Chinese troops would have entered northern Thailand.

(4) While awaiting the British decision that Thailand's declaration of war should be considered as being null and void, the USA issued a policy statement concerning Thailand in a letter written by Mr Cordell Hull, the US

Secretary of State, to the Deputy Director of the Office of Strategic Services. The letter, No. 892.01/32 dated August 26, 1943, is hereby reproduced:

892.01/32

The Secretary of State to the Deputy Director of the Office of Strategic Services (*Goodfellow*)

Washington, August 26, 1943

My Dear Colonel Goodfellow: In reply to your oral inquiry of August 4 relating to possible American operations conducted in connection with a Free Thai movement, the position of the Department of State is as follows:

The United States recognizes Thailand as an independent state which is now under the military occupation of Japan. This Government does not recognize the Thai government as it is now constituted; but this Government has refrained from declaring war on Thailand, has continued to recognize as "Minister of Thailand" the Thai Minister in Washington who has denounced his government's cooperation with Japan, and has sympathetically regarded a Free Thai movement in which he is prominent.

The Government of the United States looks forward to the reestablishment of Thailand's independence as quickly as possible. Available information indicates that there remain in the present Thai government a number of officials who opposed the capitulation of that government to Japanese pressure. It is understood that Luang Pradist Manudharm (known also as Nai Pridi Bhanomyong), a member of the Council of Regents, is one of these officials and that he has participated prominently in a secret movement which aims to restore the government as it was constituted prior to the Japanese invasion.

In the light of this understanding Luang Pradist Manudharm is presumed by the Government of the United States to represent a continuity in the government of Thailand as it was constituted prior to the defection of the Thai Prime Minister to the Japanese at the time of the Japanese invasion and to be one of the outstanding leaders in the movement for Thai independence. Accordingly, until this Government has indications to the contrary from the Thai people, it feels warranted,

without in any way committing itself in respect to the future, in regarding Luang Pradist as one of the leading representatives in Thailand of the Thai nation.

The attitude of this Government, as above outlined, is a provisional position pending a free expression of the wishes of the Thai people following the liberation of Thailand by United Nations forces. The efforts of the Government of the United States are and should be limited to assisting the Thai people to restore a native regime capable of discharging its responsibilities and free from foreign control. The final choice of the leaders of such a government is a matter for the Thai people alone to decide.

It is believed that this will give you information you wished.

Sincerely yours,
Cordell Hull

Pridi's comments

The question arose as to whether the US recognition of Pridi as representing the continuity of the pre-Japanese invasion government was valid according to international law or not.

Those interested in international law and diplomatic practice will surely know that a diplomatic Plenipotentiary Minister is accredited to the Head of State, not to the Chief of government. Thus, before Japanese invasion of Thailand, the American Minister was presenting credentials of his President to the Council of Regency who represented the King of Thailand. As I was considered by the USA as being the continuity of the pre-Japanese invasion government, diplomatic relations between our two countries remained intact.

Another problem arose with the fact that there were three regents on the council; I alone did not have the rights to act in the name of the council. The problem, however, was resolved by the Thai People's Representatives Assembly who, on August 1, 1944, appointed me as the sole Regent.

(5) Although the American government adhered to its policy concerning Thailand mentioned in (4), it did not want to give the Thais free benefits without having us fight the Japanese. So the Free Thai Movement was contacted and requested to act alongside the Allies against Japan.

The Free Thai Movement welcomed Free Thais from both the USA and Britain who had been well trained in guerrilla and tactical warfare. The High Command of Free Thai Movement even sent some Free Thais from Thailand to be trained in British India and Ceylon, after which they returned and were posted throughout the country. Meanwhile, both the USA and Britain sent several officers to represent them to the Free Thai High Command, and to help train the men in Thailand. The High Command of Free Thai Movement, on the other hand, sent a number of Army and Air Force officers to be attached to the Southeast Asia Supreme Allied Command, and a number of naval officers to Washington.

The Allied officers had noted the competence of the Free Thai Movement in fighting the Japanese and had reported it to their governments from time to time. The Supreme Allied Command was not so easily gullible as to believe mere words of propaganda: proof by real actions was needed.

Before President Roosevelt set out to attend a meeting with Mr Churchill, the British Prime Minister, and Marshal Stalin in Yalta at the beginning of February 1945, he ordered the Southwest Pacific Affairs Division in the State Department to draw up a memorandum for possible use in discussion with Mr Churchill and Marshal Stalin on the future status of Thailand. This memorandum appeared in the US government papers *Foreign Relations of the United States 1945* Vol. 6 pages 1242-1244 as follows:

Memorandum Prepared in the Division of Southwest Pacific Affairs.

Washington, January 13, 1945

Memorandum for the President
(for possible use in discussion with
Mr Churchill and Marshal Stalin)

Subject: Future Status of Thailand

British policies towards Thailand are divergent from ours. The British regard Thailand as an enemy and it is their view:

1. That Thailand's postwar independence should be conditioned on its acceptance of "special arrangements for security or economic collaboration... within an international system."

2. That the peninsula of Thailand from Malaya to about 12°

north latitude should be considered a vital strategic area and its defense under international security arrangements be undertaken by a protecting power or by an international consortium. This is reported to be the opinion of Mr Churchill. Such action might substantially impair Thai administrative rights in the area.

3. That actual military government will not be needed, except perhaps in combat zones. However, they believe that an Allied Control Commission should be established in Thailand, which should be continued for some time.

4. That they should not deal at the present time with any Thai government.

In contrast, we do not regard Thailand as an enemy but as an enemy-occupied country. We recognize the Thai Minister in Washington as "Minister of Thailand" with a status similar to that of the Danish Minister. We favor a free, independent Thailand, with sovereignty unimpaired and ruled by a government of its own choosing. Thailand is the one country in Southeast Asia which was still independent before the war. We believe that it would be prejudicial to American interests throughout the Far East if, as the outcome of the war in which we will have had the major part in defeating Japanese aggression, Thailand should be deprived of any of its prewar territory or should have its independent status impaired. The history of European pressure on Thailand and of European acquisition of territory in Southeast Asia is vivid in Asiatic memories. This Government cannot afford to share responsibility in any way for a continuance towards Thailand of prewar imperialism in any guise.

Within Thailand, the administration which first yielded to Japan and which was notoriously collaborationist has been replaced by an administration largely controlled by Pradist, present Regent, most respected of Thai leaders and opponent of Japan from the first. American contact has been established with Pradist who is actively siding Allied intelligence work and who has expressed his desire that Thailand enter the war against Japan and that the Thai Army fight by the side of the Allied.

It is the view of the Department that an effort should be made to persuade the British to alter their plans so that they are not inconsistent with our own. It is believed that if Thailand joins in the war against Japan she should be treated as a liberated country and her government be recognized, at least provisionally. Although there are disadvantages from a political viewpoint in having American troops, except where militarily essential, participate in the recovery of European colonial areas, there would be advantages from a political viewpoint in having American troops under independent American command responsible for the liberation of Thailand, rather than having Thailand occupied as enemy territory by British forces. Whether or not American forces should be used in Thailand, however, is a question which would presumably be decided in the light of overt or strategic considerations.

Attached is a brief memorandum regarding the Regent Pradist.

(6) Although President Roosevelt took a favourable view towards Thailand as was mentioned in (5), the US still had many problems to be worked out with the Free Thai Movement before the state of war between the two countries could be settled peacefully. The American wanted someone with true knowledge of the situation in Thailand during the war to represent the Free Thai Movement and explain the changes that had taken place in order to facilitate in negotiations both with the USA and Britain. Several Free Thais were thus sent from Thailand to work with the Thai Legation in Washington. Later, in November 1944, I thought of you and your brother, Luang Sukhum, who were then senior officials and had wide knowledge of the situation of the country. Moreover, you were well acquainted with the American Minister and Secretaries at the American Legation in Bangkok, and had many American friends who had been in Bangkok before the war. Those diplomats and civilians had returned to America in an exchange of prisoners of war between Thailand and the USA. I thought that you and your brother were well suited to the task of improving the war situation, and also to negotiate with the USA ways and means of obtaining aids for the restoration of the country after the war. With true patriotism in your heart, both of you volunteered to take this journey.

(7) While preparing for the journey which you, your brother, and five other Thais were to undertake, the Free Thai were given help in the supply of weapons and arms by the Allies and were strengthened to the extent that the Japanese might be driven to attack us first. The majority in the Free Thai High Command thought that it might be to our disadvantage if the Free Thai forces were to remain on the defensive as was requested by the Allies. We, therefore, decided to take the initiative. At the same time, we realised that this would go

against the request of the Allies who had asked us to wait for the landing of the Allied forces. So, on May 21, 1945, the same day that you and your group of Free Thais left Bangkok, I sent two very urgent top secret telegrams to the US Secretary of State and Lord Mountbatten stating the same message. You can find the content of my message and the reply from the US Secretary of State in the US government papers on *Foreign Relations of the United States 1945* Vol. 6 pages 1269-1270 as follows:

740.0011 P.W./5-2948

Memorandum Prepared in the Department of State (Washington) May 28, 1945.

The following message for the Secretary of State from RUTH was received by the Department of State on May 21, 1945.

"Thai Resistance Movement, in all its dealings, has continually adhered to the advice of American representatives not to take any premature action against the enemy. But at this time, I believe the Jap desire to fight can be weakened if the Resistance Movement no longer tries to remain under cover. The Jap will be more quickly forced to surrender unconditionally to the Allies because of the fear of the dissolution of the so-called co-prosperity sphere. Nevertheless, we were advised that the Resistance Movement should attempt to block every effort of the Japs for assistance from Thailand. We have followed this line as closely as possible, but you realize the Japs are becoming more suspicious all the time. Not long ago the Thai government would not accede to a Jap demand for an additional credit of 100,000,000 baht. I have been informed by the present government that they will not remain in office if the Japs persist in this matter. In that event, a new government would have to be installed and it would have to take action against the Japs by first ordering void all debts and agreements the Pibul regime had contracted with the Japs, including the treaty on the incorporation of four states in Malaya and Shan States(s) into Thailand, as well as the declaration of war against England and the United States. The basis of relation between these two nations and Thailand will to us (have to?) be set up as they were prior to Pearl Harbor. Before going ahead with this plan I want to keep you advised of the current situation.

Although I am positive that the US has good intentions concerning the independence of Thailand and that they have deep regard for the Thais themselves, I believe if the US, on the day of the beginning of our action, would declare her respect of Thailand's independence and state that she regards Thailand as a member of the United Nations and not as an enemy, it would greatly encourage the Thai people who are already prepared for any sacrifice. I have also advised the Supreme Commander, SEAC, of this whole matter."

The following reply was sent on May 28, 1945:

"Your message to the Secretary is deeply appreciated.

"We understand your desire that Thailand actively oppose the enemy as soon as possible. We are sure you realize, however, that all opposition to our common enemy must be coordinated with the overall strategy against Japan and that it would be unfortunate if the Thai prematurely and before reasonably assured of success should commence overt action which was not integrated with the strategic plan of SACSEA. We hope, therefore, you will continue your endeavors to prevent premature overt action by resistance movement or action which would precipitate taking over of Thai government by the Japanese. We are confident, you will keep us and the British fully informed should either development become imminent despite your efforts.

"The sincere desire of yourself and the Thai people to repudiate the Pibul declaration of war and agreements is fully understood and appreciated but it is not clear why present government should resign at this time or what compulsion would cause succeeding government to make such repudiation its first act. It would appear that the resistance movement could more effectively accomplish its objectives when emerging from cover by coordinated surprise attack on enemy supplies, communications, forces, and equipment and by seizure of enemy officers, officials, documents and key points. Political acts of repudiation and realignment with the Allies could follow.

"We attach great importance to existence of an effective constitutional Thai government on Thai soil to work with Allies. We hope that all possible preparations will have been made to forestall seizure or scattering of important pro-Allied personnel so that such government could promptly function in areas free from Japanese, could

direct Thai military operations and coordinate them with Allied operations, and could reestablish effective civil government machinery as areas are liberated.

"The United States cannot unilaterally declare another nation a member of the United Nations but it will be happy publicly to reiterate at an appropriate time its respect for Thai independence and to declare that it has at no time considered Thailand an enemy. We look forward to the day when both our countries can appropriately make public our common cause against our common enemy."

Grew
Acting Secretary of State

N.B. See the admission of Thailand into the United Nations in paragraph (17).

(8) After the State Department had conveyed the above message to me, they then sent a memorandum dated June 25, 1945, to the British Embassy in Washington, as was published in the US government papers *Foreign Relations of the United States 1945* Vol. 6 pages 1272-1275, urging Britain to consider their policy towards Thailand along a similar line as the USA.

The following is a copy of the first part of that memorandum.

892.01/6-2545

The Department of State to the British Embassy
Aîde-Memoire

The United States Government believes that the basic policies and objectives of the British and American Governments in regard to Thailand are substantially similar: both Governments favor the restoration of the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of Thailand; both Governments agree that the territories acquired by Thailand from Malaya, Burma, and Indochina must be restored; neither Government has any territorial ambitions in Thailand; both Governments are apparently confident of the sincerity of RUTH's desire to align Thailand with the Allies, to drive the Japanese out of Thailand, and to aid in the final defeat of Japan; and both Governments are in accord that it would

be unwise under present conditions to recognize a Thai government-in-exile.

There are several matters, however, on which further discussion would appear desirable in order to assure a common understanding. In view of recent military developments in Southeast Asia and of political developments within Thailand, such discussion is regarded as urgent. These matters are:

1. Postwar International Arrangements in Regard to Thailand

Mr Eden's communications of September 4 and November 22, 1944, referred to postwar international arrangements to which Thailand should agree. This Government believes that at an appropriate time Thailand should be admitted to the United Nations Organization on its pledge to cooperate fully as a sovereign power in all pertinent international arrangements. It believes that it would not be desirable to make acceptance of such arrangements a condition to the restoration of Thailand's independence and sovereignty.

(9) Arriving in the USA on June 17, 1945, after 27 perilous days of journey, you and Luang Sukhum were right to go over the plan again, because it was not easy to clarify the fact that Thailand had declared war on the USA. Those Americans who were living in Thailand when Thailand was invaded by Japan and suffered directly from Thailand's declaration of war must be considered. As you and your brother had known these people well, you were able to clear up any misunderstanding about the Thais being the enemy of America. Not only did you and your brother achieve the above, but you also secured American support for the cause of the Thai people, and they even advised the Foreign Relations Committee of the Congress to listen to your views. Thus Thailand further gained the support of the Congress Committee of the American legislative branch. Had they not done so, no matter how good will the US government may have felt towards us, Thailand would have been faced with many obstacles from the American Congress.

(10) Even though the US government had good intentions towards us, the disavowal of the state of war between Thailand and the US could not be done in a secretive way, since the Thai government at that time had publicly 'declared war' on the USA. Also, the declaration of war on the US and Britain was inaugurated in one and the same document.

Moreover, as those who were interested in the political aspect of World

War II would know, there was an agreement among the Allied nations that no single country should make a separate peace treaty with any of the countries that were at war with them. Therefore, the Free Thai Movement could not possibly have asked the US government to disassociate itself from Britain in the attempt to disavow the state of war with Thailand. The renunciation of the declaration of war on the USA and Great Britain must be done in a single prociamation.

During the war, the Free Thai Movement had made a secret negotiation with the USA and Great Britain over the possibility of letting the Regent announce the disclaiming of the declaration of war. However, the USA asked us to wait for a more appropriate time.

The British government, meanwhile, remained silent to any approach towards such a settlement, because Britain had suffered a great deal from Thailand's declaration of war, much more so than the USA. Moreover, the "phony war" carried out against Britain over the radio of Pibul's government was conducted in such a voracious manner. The Thai people who listened to the radio in those days would have remembered hearing quite a number of such broadcasts attacking the King of England and his Royal ancestors. Most British citizens respected and loved their King. Naturally, they would not only resent those who were responsible for the broadcasts, but would also harbour their resentment against the Thais as a whole. The Free Thais faced insurmountable obstacles when they were sent to conduct secret talks with the British concerning the disavowing of our declaration of war.

It must be pointed out that because of the hard work and sacrifices made by all the Free Thais in carrying out both aspects of the operation mentioned above, Britain became increasingly more sympathetic towards the Thai people.

(11) It was not until August 15, 1945, when the Emperor of Japan ordered all his troops and people to surrender to the Allies, that Lord Mountbatten received permission from the British government (Mr Atlee was then the Prime Minister of the Labour government) to send an urgent message to me advising us to disclaim the declaration of war on Great Britain and the USA as soon as possible. The message was also relayed to the US by the British Foreign Office. The content, which was published in the US government papers on *Foreign Relations of the United States 1945* Vol. 6 pages 1278-1279, is as follows:

740.0011 PW/S-1545: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in the United Kingdom.
(Winant)
Washington, August 15, 1945—3 p.m.

6922: British Embassy has informed us:

a) that FonOff has authorized Mountbatten personally to advise RUTH to make announcement as soon as possible after final Japanese surrender disavowing Thai declaration of war upon Great Britain and United States and all measures flowing therefrom which may operate to prejudice of Allies, repudiating alliance and all other agreements with Japan, placing Thailand and its armed forces at service of Allies, and declaring his readiness to send a representative immediately to Kandy to get in touch with Allies. British suggested that announcement might also state that RUTH had informed British and American Governments at an earlier stage that resistance movement wished to initiate overt action against the enemy and refrained only on expressed request of Allies for operational reasons.

b) that FonOff also informed Mountbatten if RUTH takes necessary initiative as advised, British are disposed, because of support by Thai resistance movement and of Allied request not to take action last May, to forego pressing for separate act of unconditional surrender which under existing circumstances would be considered normal procedure, and to mold their policy according to Thai readiness to make restitution for the past and to cooperate for the future.

c) that if RUTH follows advice and sends representative to Kandy, British propose to communicate with Dept before commencing negotiations regarding the terms on which they would be prepared to terminate state of war.

BYRNES

(12) As soon as I received the message mentioned in (11), I, in my capacity as Regent, asked Khuang Abhaiwongs, the Prime Minister, and Tawee Bunyaketu (Boonyaket), the Minister of the Prime Minister's Office, to come and see me to discuss the Peace Declaration. We agreed that Tawee was the

most suitable person to countersign the Royal Declaration.

The following is the Peace Declaration:

PEACE DECLARATION

In the name of His Majesty King Ananda Mahidol
The Regent
by Notifications of the President of the Assembly
dated August 16, B.E. 2488 (1945)
(signed) *Pridi Banomyong*

Whereas Thailand has pursued a fixed policy of maintaining strict neutrality and of combatting foreign aggression by all means, as is clearly evidenced from the enactment in B.E. 2484 (1941) of the Law 'Defining the Duties of Thais in Time of War', this fixed determination was made clear, when Japan moved her forces onto Thai territory on December 8, 2484 (1941), by acts combatting aggression everywhere and numerous soldiers, police, and civilians lost their lives thereby.

This circumstance, which stands as evidence in itself, shows clearly that the declaration of war on Great Britain and the United States of America on January 25, B.E. 2485 (1942), as well as all acts hostile to the United Nations, were acts contrary to the will of the Thai people and constituted an infringement of the provisions of the Constitution and the laws of the land. The Thai people inside as well as outside the country who were in a position to help and support the United Nations and who are lovers of peace in this world, have taken action by every means to assist the United Nations, as most of the United Nations are already aware. This shows once again that the will of the Thai people does not approve of the declaration of war and of acts hostile to the United Nations as already mentioned.

Now that Japan has agreed to comply with the declaration of the United States of America, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union which was made at Potsdam, peace is restored to Thailand as is the wish of the Thai people.

The Regent, in the name of His Majesty the King, hereby openly proclaims on behalf of the Thai people that the declarations of war on Great Britain and the USA are void and not binding on the Thai people as far as the United Nations are concerned. Thailand has resolved that the good friendly relations existing with the United Nations prior to December 8, B.E. 2484 (1941) shall be restored and Thailand is ready to cooperate fully in every way with the United Nations in the establishment of stability for the world.

As for the territories the occupancy of which Japan entrusted to Thailand, namely the States of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, Perlis, Kengtung and Muang Phan, Thailand has no desires on those territories and is ready to arrange for their delivery as soon as Great Britain is ready to take delivery thereof.

As for any other provisions of the law having effects adverse to the United States of America, Great Britain, and the British Empire, their repeal shall be considered hereafter. All damages of any kind resulting from those laws will be legitimately compensated.

In conclusion, all the Thai people, as well as aliens who are in the Thai Kingdom, are requested to remain in peace and not to commit any act which will constitute a disturbance of the public order. They should hold steadfastly to the ideals which have been laid down in the resolution of the United Nations at San Francisco.

Given on the 16th of August B.E. 2488 (1945), being the 12th year of the present reign.

Countersigned by
(signed) *Tawee Bunyaketu* (Boonyaket)
Minister

(13) As was shown in the documents mentioned in (9) and (10), Britain agreed not to force Thailand to make an unconditional surrender like other defeated countries which came to lose their independence and sovereignty. Nevertheless, Britain did force Thailand to make a bilateral agreement to return what had previously been lost and to cooperate in the future. In this agreement, Britain drew up 21 articles along with a number of appendices placing Thailand under British economic and military authority.

N.B. In June 1967, a senior military officer who was a member of the Constitution Drafting Assembly supported a proposal to repeal the War Criminals Act of B.E. 2488 (A.D. 1945). The aforementioned senior officer alleged that the War Criminals Act came into being because a certain person wanted to vindicate Field Marshal Pibul. Members of such an illustrious Assembly should better enlighten themselves with the correct facts before saying anything. The

facts of the matter are:

a) In the draft agreement of 21 articles proposed by Britain and submitted to the House of Representatives by the Thai government, there was an article dealing with war criminals which stated that the Thai government must:

> *"Cooperate in the arrest of, and charge the person or persons who are accused of having committed war crimes or are known as having helped the Japanese and the enemies of the Allies."*

b) A course of study on Military History in the higher military academies in many countries often mentioned the year 1943, when the 19 Allied Nations agreed in London to set up a War Criminals Committee. The War Criminals Sub-Committee for the Far East was also set up in Chungking, China, in order to make a survey of anyone involved in war crimes in the Far East who should be taken to trial.

(14) The US government found out about the British drafting of the 21 article Agreement without previous consultation with the US. So, Britain had no warrant for such action contrary to the pledge given by the British government to the US, on August 15, 1945 (see previous Paragraph 11) which contains a clause as follows:

> *"If RUTH were to follow the advice (disclaiming the declaration of war) and send representatives to Kandy, Britain would contact the US State Department before negotiating with Thailand in preparation for the disclaiming of the declaration of war."*

Although the US government agreed to the clause concerning the arresting and bringing to trial all war criminals, they thought that the other clauses were much too harsh, and protested vehemently against Britain for drawing up the draft agreement in the name of the Allies without consulting the USA. Consequently, the British government was asked not to press forward with the Agreement, and at the same time Thailand was informed that she should refrain from signing it. The Free Thais working in Washington, including you and your brother, did their best to encourage the American officials and our American friends to render strong support for the US government in persuading

Britain to be lenient towards Thailand.

The government of Tawee Bunyaketu (Boonyaket) resigned on September 17, 1945, and M.R. Seni Pramoj was appointed the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the new government, taking office from September 17 onwards. It must be stated that M.R. Seni has done his best in the negotiations with the British. Finally, on January 1, 1946, the Thai delegation headed by HSH Prince Viwatchai Chaiyant, and the British delegation headed by Mr M.E. Dening signed the Formal Agreement which was less severe in nature than the original draft.

A part of the preamble of the Formal Agreement is as follows:

> **"Whereas by a proclamation made in Bangkok on August 16th, 1945, the Regent of Thailand did, in the name of His Majesty King of Thailand, proclaim the declaration of war made by Thailand on January 25th, 1942 against the United Kingdom to be null and void, in that it was made contrary to the will of the Thai people and in violation of the constitution and laws of Thailand, and**
>
> **"Whereas the proclamation of August 16th, 1945 aforesaid was the same day unanimously approved by the National Assembly of Thailand, and**
>
> **"Whereas the Thai government have repudiated the Alliance entered into Thailand with Japan on December 21st, 1941 together with all other Treaties, Pacts or Agreements concluded between Thailand and Japan, and**
>
> **"Whereas the Thai government are anxious to play their full part in mitigating the effects of the war, particularly in such measures that may be designed to assist in the restoration of international security and general economic welfare, and**
>
> *"Whereas the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of India, in consideration of the acts of repudiation already carried out by the Thai government, and not unmindful of the services rendered by the resistance movement in Thailand during the war with Japan, desire to bring the state of war to an immediate end."*

(15) As for the proceeding made towards the termination of the state of war with China, at the early stages of war China had followed the same line of policy as the US in observing the sovereignty of Thailand. However, after

Pibul's government sent their armed forces to take the Shan States (Keng Tung) and to drive the Chinese troops from the land, and later still when it recognised the Manchukuo government, which was a Japanese puppet state and the 'Wang Ching-wei' government as being the rightful government of China, the government of Nationalist China expressed its desire to 'teach' Thailand a lesson. They made several broadcasts on radio and published many articles in the pro-Nationalist China government newspaper, calling on Thailand to make a formal surrender, and to send the persons responsible for starting the war to stand trial at the War Criminal Court as mentioned in (1).

The Thai postwar governments took the following action to free Thailand from the obligation of having to make a formal surrender to China:

(A) The Tawee Bunyaketu government entrusted his Ministry of Defence to order an immediate withdrawal of Thai troops from the Shan States. Since Thailand had removed what China had considered to be military act of war, the Thai Army had no need to make a surrender to China.

Nonetheless, any fair-minded officers and soldiers would be well acquainted with the terrible living conditions of the Thai troops stationed in Shan States. General Netr Khemayothin wrote the following account in his book called *General Yothi's Underground Operations* Vol. 1 page 105:

> *"The Thai Army sent to the north of Keng Tung was still holding out against the Chinese Army. The soldiers seemed to be fighting against diseases, illnesses, and scarcity of medicines and clothing rather than the enemies' guns and bullets. Inside Thailand itself, many regions were increasingly affected by air blitz. Many communication routes particularly railway lines were cut off."*

The government of Nationalist China were preparing to move a large number of troops to Keng Tung in order to advance into the north of Thailand as far as latitude 16, the area of which Chiang Kai-shek considered to be in the Chinese battle zones, as I have earlier mentioned. If the Tawee government had not withdrawn Thai troops from Keng Tung before President Truman issued the Order No. 1 dated September 2, 1945, ordering the Japanese Armed Forces stationed in Thailand to surrender to the SE Asia Supreme Allied Commander, the Thai troops, weakened with illnesses as mentioned in General Netr Khemayothin's account, would have surely been met with the onslaught of the mighty Chinese army.

(B) The Tawee government entrusted the Director-General of the Police Department (Police General Adul) to close the premises of the Manchukuo Legation in Bangkok immediately after the Peace Declaration, but Manchukuo's diplomatic officials had secretly disappeared from the Legation since the night of August 15, 1945. The Thai government had no idea (even now) where they had gone to or were hidden. Therefore, the government of Nationalist China were unable to force the Thai government to hand over Manchukuo's diplomatic mission to them.

As for the Thai Legation set up in Sin-King (Chang Chun) in the state of Manchukuo by Pibul's government, it was automatically dissolved when Manchukuo ceased to be a state on August 6, 1945 (nine days before the Japanese surrender). The USSR had declared war on Japan. Her Army, along with the Outer Mongolian army, made a lightning attack on Manchukuo, took Sin-King and most of the territories of Manchukuo, arrested Emperor Puyi and his government officials and sent them to Siberia. Thus ended the State of Manchukuo.

(C) The "Wang Ching-wei" government never opened a diplomatic mission in Thailand. Any diplomatic dealings between them and Pibul's government were carried out through the Thai Embassy and the Wang Ching-wei Embassy in Tokyo. Wang Ching-wei himself died in 1944, and the Japanese "puppet" government also collapsed after the Japanese surrendered to the Allies.

(D) The government of Nationalist China believed it had the right to bring anyone responsible for starting the state of war to be tried in the Allied War Criminal Courts, as was stipulated in the Allied Agreements of 1943 concerning the setup of the Allied War Criminal Courts, previously mentioned in (13).

However, to uphold our sovereignty, Seni's government wanted to have our own jurisdiction over the Thai war criminals. The Thai government, therefore, introduced the War Criminal Act of 1945 to the National Assembly of the People's Representatives, proposing that the Thai war criminals be tried in the Thai Supreme Court rather than be sent to the Allied Courts. The Act was passed on October 8, 1945. Acting in accordance with the legislation, the government then arrested a number of suspects. By doing so, the Thai government was able to restrain the Chinese government from asking for extradition to China those it considered to be involved in war crimes.

(E) After Seni's government had signed the "Formal Agreement" with

Great Britain and Australia on January 1, 1946, the government of Nationalist China sent a mission to Thailand to draw up a Treaty of Amity between Thailand and China. The Treaty was signed by both governments on January 23, and was ratified in Chungking on January 28, 1946.

(16) Apart from pursuing the anti-Japanese activities and persuading the Allied nations to disavow the Thai declaration of war and to be lenient towards Thailand, the Free Thai Movement had also prepared the way for the postwar restoration of the country. For even though the battle zones had not fully extended into Thailand, the Thai people were suffering enough from scarcity of food, medicine, and consumer goods. Roads, bridges, railway lines, electricity and other public works had been destroyed in the blitz, etc. Had the war gone on, and had Thailand become the battleground, the suffering of the people would surely have been increased.

Those who followed the news of the war would have known that the great Allied Powers, i.e. Great Britain, the USSR, and China had received such terrible damages in their own countries, while the USA had received much less. Therefore, the USA was the obvious choice towards which other Allied countries turned for aids and assistance in rebuilding their countries after the war. That was why the Free Thai High Command set you and your brother another task. You were both sent to Washington to make contact with the American organisations in request for American assistance for Thailand after the war. Both of you carried out your task admirably, as was described in your book.

N.B.

Some propagandists thought that China did not need American aid after the war. I would like to take this opportunity to relate to you what I saw when I was living in asylum in Peking from 1949. During the first 2-3 years of my stay, there were American war surplus products on sale. A large number of goods trains bore traces of American war surplus trains. Later, under the 'Gang of Four' a policy against foreign investment and technology was pursued. After their fall, however, the new Chinese government announced a new policy to accelerate the four new developments in the country, namely "Agriculture, Industry, Science & Technology, and Military". The announcement, as published in Sin Hua News on June 6, 1979 and disseminated worldwide, stressed that *"We must have foreign investments. We need to absorb the advanced technology of foreign countries and absorb their experiences in management."*

(17) I would like to add further on Thailand's membership admission to the United Nations, after your return to Bangkok.

You, of course, know that in 1942, the 26 allied nations made a joint communique declaring the aims and purposes of the Allies. Later, just before the war ended, on April 24, the Allies held a meeting in San Francisco (USA) to establish the United Nations Organization.

On May 21, 1945, twenty-six days after the San Francisco meeting, I sent a secret telegram to the US government asking them to declare Thailand a member of the UNO and that she was not an enemy country. The US government sent a reply stating that the USA alone could not pronounce any one country to be a member of the United Nations. The Free Thai Movement, therefore, had to continue its efforts to attain Thailand's admission into the UNO.

In August 1946, after I had tendered my resignation as the Prime Minister, Rear Admiral Thamrong was appointed as the new Prime Minister and was entrusted with the task of forming a new government. The four Allied Nations which had permanent representatives in the UN Security Council, namely China, the USA, Great Britain, and France, invited me and my wife to pay an official visit to their countries. Luang Sukhum acted as my Secretary and went with us. Thamrong asked me to request the four governments to support our application for the membership.

Since Thailand had already cleared up all the problems and misunderstanding arising from her being at war with those countries, she was admitted as a member of the UNO in December 1946, ahead of 20 other countries which had not been enemy countries and had also applied. Take, for instance, Portugal, who practise a form of neutrality compatible with the old Anglo-Portuguese Alliance by allowing Great Britain to use some facilities of its bases, had to wait until 1955 before being admitted into the UNO.

As for Outer Mongolia, which had bravely resisted the Japanese threat, she had also been very useful to the Allies in many aspects during the war. Their cavalry, for example, famous from the time of the great warrior GENGHIS KHAN, was able to, once again, in August 1945, give an unbelievable performance, charging through and driving off Japanese troops who were occupying the territories between Manchuria and the north of China. They then advanced on to the Liaoning Peninsula. After the war, Mongolia applied for membership to the UNO. However, the government of Nationalist

China, as a permanent member of the Security Council, vetoed the application all along. It was not until 1961 that Outer Mongolia was finally admitted as a member of the UNO.

(18) In 1949, during a Communist led International Labour conference in Pekiand (M. Louis SAILLANT, a French communist, was the Secretary General), a Thai delegate spoke at a plenary session, stating that "during the Second World War, his party had organised powerful 'Thai workers' forces as the backbone for the intellectuals to succeed in fighting the Japanese aggression. Is this the truth or a mere pretension to support a false report by his comrade to his superior, I reserve the right to prove the truthful fact on a proper occasion. It must be noted that during the war when the USSR was attacked by the Axis (Germany, Italy, ect.), Stalin did not consider it to be a war of struggle between classes, or even that the working class played a vital part in fighting the Axis. Stalin, whom communists of those days respected as one of the great teachers, saw the war against the Axis as being the Soviet 'Patriotic War'. Russians of all classes, including descendants of the nobility, all fought in the Patriotic War. Thus the Party of that representative of a section of the Thai Workers seemed to differ with that of Stalin's.

a) The Free Thai Movement, during the Second World War, definitely did not represent a class struggle within Thailand. It was a movement which drew Thai patriots from all classes, including several members of the Royal House of Chakri. A part of my speech to the Free Thai representatives before the dissolving of the Free Thai Movement on September 25, 1945, was as follows:

> *"We did not set up the Movement as a political group or party. We do not consider ourselves liberators. The liberation was participated by all Thais numbering 17 millions (the population of Thailand at that time), who even though not members of the Movement, had fought on their own and in their own ways, or had given their moral support. There were also the passive resistants; by not opposing anti-Japanese activities they facilitated the work of the patriots. All these Thais, everyone of them, participated in the liberation of the nation. Of course, there were a few who obstructed the work of their compatriots either physically, verbally or psychologically. Their actions were not the actions of true Thais. They were Thai national only by provision of the law on nationality."*

b) After that Thai delegate at the meeting had made his speech, someone wrote articles in some books, published annually as a kind of "Year Book" of an Asian country. In those articles it was mentioned that the party to which the Thai delegate belonged had led the Thai people to fight the Japanese during the Second World War. However, it did not say how that Party had led the Thai people in the fight on their own, or which Supreme Allied Command did they cooperate with and what was the outcome?

Later, this same sort of theme was published in Thai language propaganda many times over.

c) In 1978, there was another article elaborating further that after the war that same Party had set up an organisation to fight the infamous British Formal Agreement. However, it did not mention just how the organisation fought against it. It is such a pity that I only heard about the organisation 32 years after the event; because after the Second World War up until the coup d'état of November 8, 1947, political factions were given the right to openly declare and propagate their manifestos and ideology. However, why was it that they never publicised to the people, at that time, their role in setting up an organisation to resist the British Formal Agreement? Furthermore, after the war, one Member of Parliament resigned from his "Democrat Party" to become a member of the Central Committee of a Party who recently claimed to have set up an organisation to fight the British Formal Agreement 32 years ago. If such claim had been true, he should have informed me and the government after the war that such an organisation had been set up, in order to enlarge his Party's united front against the Formal Agreement.

After all, the matter did concern the Thai nation as a whole. (Stalin himself stressed that the Soviet struggle against Axis enemies during the Second World War was a struggle which involved all Soviet patriots including the descendants of the old nobility.)

d) I do hope that all Thai people who understand the true situation of Thailand, from the documents I referred to earlier, would realise that the Free Thai Movement and the Thai postwar government did everything in their power to dissolve the state of war with Britain and Australia as quickly as possible, so that Thailand could begin her task of reconstructing and developing the country.

Although the Thai government had to sign with the British the Formal Agreement, succeeding governments from Seni's to my own and also that of Thamrong who succeeded me, all tried to negotiate with the British to change

several commitments stipulated in the Agreement. For instance, instead of giving free rice to the British, they agreed to buy it from us.

In 1947, Direk Jayanama was appointed the Thai Ambassador to London, with a specific order from Thamrong's government *"to negotiate for the dissolution of the Formal Agreement as soon as possible, and to resume the prewar friendly relations, for that will ensure our country's revival and rid us of the worry caused by our endless commitments"*.

Direk wrote in his book, *Thailand and World War II*, concerning the negotiations he made with the British about raising the price of rice as follows:

> *"Seven days after the negotiation on the price of rice was settled, Luang Attakit (Klueng Banomyong), the Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent me (Direk) a telegram on September 7, 1947, informing me that the government had decided to proceed with the plan to dissolve the Formal Agreement, and had presented a memorandum to the British Ambassador and the Indian Chargé d'Affaires. We planned to meet in New York, where I was going to be informed of the plan in detail."*

c) The negotiations to dissolve the Formal Agreement started by the Thamrong government were halted by the 'coup d'état' of November 8, 1947. This was because the British government refused to recognise the Thai government that was set up by the Constitution of November 9, 1947 (also known as "The Constitution under a jar").

Direk wrote the following account in his aforementioned book, pages 362-363:

> *"The negotiation carried out to dissolve the Formal Agreement was temporarily halted. Later, Field Marshal Pibul's government resumed the negotiations. The two governments exchanged notes on May 4, and November 8, 1950. On January 3, 1951, Field Marshal Pibul's government agreed to pay the sum of money about which I was in the middle of negotiating at the time I was Ambassador in London. The sum agreed upon was £5,224,220. However, even after the money had been paid, it was not until three years later, on January 14, 1954, that the Formal Agreement was abrogated."*

(19) After Thailand had been absolved from being a defeated country

and finally admitted into the United Nations as a full and independent country in December 1946, eleven months later, on November 8, 1947, a group of people staged a 'coup d'état' and the Constitution of May 10, 1946, was discarded. The 'Coup' planners instituted a provisional Constitution of Novermber 9, 1947. The Constitution was countersigned by Field Marshal Pibulsongkram, who was appointed by the 'Coup' planners as the Commander-in-Chief of the Military Forces. (This Constitution was the basis upon which the 1949 Constitution was drafted and promulgated by the National Assembly that was formed according to the provisional Constitution of 1947.)

Many Free Thais were arrested; several had to flee the country and seek asylum abroad; a number of them were murdered by the police of the Pibul government.

After I had moved from China to live in France in 1970, I tried to contact several Free Thais in order to gather documents on the Free Thai Movement, so that I may be able to make a compilation and present the true facts about the Movement to the people. Unfortunately, a number of official papers and documents have disappeared. However, by the help of the Almighty Sacred Truth, several important papers did turn up, for instance, the sworn statements given by Police General Adul, HRH Prince Atitaya and Tawee Bunyaketu (Boonyaket), etc., in the War Criminal case in 1945-1946, with several Public Prosecutor Officers, who were endowed with a perfect sense of justice, as the cross-examiners, namely Colonel Suwan Penchand of the Department of Military Judiciary, Luang Attakaiwal, etc. Other important documents are, of course, the American and British state papers that have been released from their files, of which I have referred to in this letter.

Your brother, Luang Sukhum had also documented my conversation with President Chiang Kai-shek in Nanking on November 5, 1947, in which Dr T.V. Sung, the Chinese Prime Minister, had given his approval as being the true copy. This document was used by me as a reference No. 10 in my plaint before the Civil Court in the case No. 4226/2521. It shows the truth of Chiang Kai-shek's opinion towards Marshal Pibul's emissaries.

As I have said earlier, your book is valuable as a factual document. May I ask you to contact as many Free Thais as you can in order to obtain their account of the activities and compile as many factual documents as possible in order to present the truthful facts about the Free Thai Movement to the Thai people?

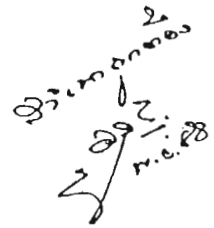
I would like to thank you once again. May the Buddhist Triple Gems and

the merits that you have achieved by devoting yourself to our beloved nation and the Thai people and by carrying out your tasks which were assigned to you by the Free Thai Movement with perfection, bless you with all that is best, along with a long life, happiness, and good health.

With love and respect,
Pridi Banomyong

Appendice I

Copy of a letter from the British Chargé d'Affaires to Luang Pradist (PRIDI)



PERSONAL and CONFIDENTIAL.
BANGKOK.
28 Oct 45.

Dear Luang Pradist,

With reference to our conversation yesterday I am instructed by my Government to repeat to you that the terms proposed by them at Kandy take into account the assistance received before the collapse of the Japanese from the Siamese Resistance Movement, and represent the minimum that in their opinion is required to wipe out the past and to pave the way for Siam's early collaboration with the Allies. I am empowered to say that when those terms have been accepted you will find His Majesty's Government reasonable in their application and in their ultimate presentation to the public in the eventual formal agreement.

At the same time I am to say, and I have no doubt you will be able to make this clear in the proper quarter, that if His Majesty's Government had had to deal with a Siamese Government headed by Marshal Pibul, their terms would have been very different from those proposed at Kandy; that Siam would in fact have been treated as an enemy country with all that that implies, that is like Germany and Japan.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) H.R. BIRD.

H.E. Luang Pradist.

Appendice II

Copy of a letter from the Chairman of the British Special Forces Club

01-589 0490
01-589 4315

SPECIAL FORCES CLUB

8, HERBERT CRESCENT,
KNIGHTSBRIDGE,
LONDON, S.W.1

17th December 1970

H.E. Nai Pridi Banamyong,
E.c. 3 - 5,
17, rue Emile Dubois,
PARIS XIVe.

Your Excellency,

It was the unanimous decision of the Committee that I should write to express the wish that you would accept our invitation to be an Honorary Member of this Club.

As you may know, the Club was formed in 1945 by and for those who served in Special Forces and who were engaged in resistance and underground movements during the 1939/45 war.

It would give us, and all members of the Club, great pleasure to learn that Your Excellency will accept this Honorary Membership. I know that it would give particular pleasure to those members, both Thai and British formerly in the Siam Country Section of Force 136 who in the war years worked so closely with and received at all times such steadfast support and encouragement from you.

This invitation is offered as a mark of our acknowledgement and high appreciation of the outstanding part played by Your Excellency in promoting and sustaining the resistance movement which in days of peril and hazard rendered service to both our countries.

I am, Your Excellency,

Yours sincerely,

CHAIRMAN.

Appendice III

LORD MOUNTBATTEN'S DISCLOSURES

Times 18/12/1946

A VISITOR FROM SIAM

Campaign of Luang Pradit
Lord Mountbatten's Disclosures

Lord Mountbatten of Burma, lately Supreme Allied Commander, Southeast Asia, who was entertained at luncheon by the City Livery Club yesterday at Sion College, described in his speech the great part played by Luang Pradit, Senior Statesman of Siam, in the overthrow of Japanese army of occupation there. He elaborated in detail the account published in *The Times* on December 22, almost a year ago, and announced that Pradit, 'one of the romantic figures of the war in Southeast Asia', is due to arrive in England by the Queen Elizabeth tomorrow morning.

Pridi Banomyong, Senior Statesman of Siam [Lord Mountbatten said], is better known to the world as Luang Pradit, and to many of us in SEAC by the code name of 'Ruth'. He is paying a short goodwill visit to this country as the guest of the Government, and I hope we shall use the occasion to give him a very warm welcome. For Pradit is one of the most romantic figures of the war in Southeast Asia. During the war, of course, his name could only be mentioned in whispers and the whole story was 'top secret' — even now the British public may be largely unaware of his exploits.

When the Japanese overran Siam, Pradit was a member of the government, but refused to put his signature to the declaration of war on us. Pibul knew he was one of the most powerful and popular personalities in the country, and hoped to make a figurehead of him by promoting him to the Council of Regency. He accepted. Little did Pibul or the Japanese realise that from the moment Pradit took on the job he began to organise and direct the Siamese resistance movement.

Vanished Missions

We knew from various sources that Pibul was not having it all his own way in Siam, but contact was very difficult, and it was hard to find out what was really going on. Two missions from Pradit got lost on the hazardous journey to China and were never seen again. At last a rendezvous was made. It coincided almost to the day with my own appointment as Supreme Commander. From that time on we were in constant touch. It was a unique relationship, because a Supreme Allied Commander was exchanging vital military plans with the head of a State technically at war with us.

A force of Free Siamese, trained in this country and operating with detachments of British V Force and Force 136 as well as with American OSS Detachments, were parachuted in to help him. Some were caught by Pibul's men and imprisoned. In order to allay Japanese suspicion they remained nominally in prison, but had secret meetings with Pradit and established wireless contact with my Command.

In January 1945, he sent a body of his key resistance leaders under the command of the present Foreign Minister of Siam for consultations with me in Kandy. We got them out and back again by seaplane, or by flying-boats. During our talks we laid concrete plans for future action in conjunction with the main forces of my theatre. I had constantly under review the need for Pradit himself to be flown out in an emergency. By the end of the war he had organised sabotage and guerrilla forces comprising some 60,000 fighting men and numerous passive supporters, who were in positions at all the key strategic points in Siam and poised to strike.

'Never Failed Us'

I realised the difficulty he had to hold these forces in leash, but I had also to keep in mind the tremendous danger of a premature move which would bring down crushing Japanese counteraction and disturb my strategic plans for the theatre as a whole. The strain imposed on Pradit and the risks he ran for over three years were very formidable, but his own discipline and that which he inspired in his followers won out. He never failed us.

There are, I know, many who were prisoners of war in Siam who have good reason to be grateful for Pradit's goodwill to us. So let us honour a man who has rendered high service to the allied cause and to his own country, and who from my personal knowledge of him is a firm advocate of Anglo-Siamese friendship. The chain of local resistance to Japanese oppression in the occupied lands of Southeast Asia had very few gaps in it, and one of the strongest links was forged by Pradit in Siam. [Loud and prolonged cheers.]

Appendice IV

REPORT MADE BY THE PARLIAMENTARY Ad Hoc COMMISSION IN THE INVESTIGATION OF THE EXPENDITURE MADE BY THE FREE THAI MOVEMENT OUT OF THE NATIONAL FUND

The report on the Ad Hoc Commission set up by the People Representatives' Assembly to investigate the expenditure made by the Free Thai Movement out of the national fund was dated May 7, 1946.

The Ad Hoc Commission consisted of the following members:

1. *His Excellency Phya Debvidura-Bahul-carutabodi*
   (Former Lord Chief Judge of the Supreme Court, and Former Minister of Justice)
2. *His Excellency Phya Nolaraj Suvajana*
   (Former Chief Judge of many Courts, and Former Minister of Justice)
3. *His Excellency Phya Vikrom Ratanasupas*
   (Former President of the Supreme Court)
4. *His Excellency Phya Nitiçastra-Paisal*
   (Former Director-General of the Royal Judicial Department, and Former Chief Judge of the Criminal Court, and Former Minister of Justice)
5. *Nai Picharn Bulyong*
   (Monsieur Rene Guyon, Adviser to the Judicial and Legislative Council)

The report was translated from Nai Direk Jayanama's book, *Thailand and World War II*, pages 1118-1134 as follows:

First of all, the Commission would like to explain what is meant by national fund. The Commission has invited Mr Bunchuay Attakorn, MP who proposed the motion, to give his opinion to this matter. Mr Bunchuay pointed out that there is no evidence which suggests that there was corruption. However, the existence of slanderous gossip indicates that someone has used the money issued by the HQ of the Free Thai Movement for personal gains. As for the other expenses such as armaments, there was no mention of them. Moreover, according to His Excellency Pridi Banomyong, the armaments were donated by the Allied Nations and not taken from the national fund. Therefore, the armaments do not count as being a subject under investigation by the Commission.

Following is a report concerning money received and sent by the Free Thai Movement both inside and outside the country.

The Commission has looked into various documents and found that document-D page 2, concerning receipts and expenses since 1942, shows that money belonging to Thailand deposited in the National City Bank in New York amounting to $2,730,478.61 has been spent. This was done:

1. For the expenditure of the Embassy in Washington, a sum of $657,092.39

2. Paid to the OSS for the expenditure of the Free Thai unit, a sum of $411,557.95

3. Paid to the OSS for further delivery to the Free Thais within Thailand, a sum of $63,124.18

The first sum of money is not directly relevant. It concerns the expenditure made by the Thai Embassy in Washington in usual matters such as salaries of officials, students' allowances and the expenses of Free Thais in England and America.

However, concerning this sum of money there are 3 points worthy of notice:

a) a sum of $34,747.00 was used by the Free Thais in England,
b) a sum of $13,451.44 was spent by the Free Thais in America for the purchasing of their uniforms, and
c) a sum of $63,417.54 was advanced to the Free Thais who were sent on missions from Thailand.

Concerning the amounts a and b, Luang Ditakarn who was in charge of financial matters, confirmed that they were spent in the proper way. However, amount c was an advancement. Therefore the Embassy had the right to recall it, and so it is not a concern of this Commission.

As for the second sum of money that which was spent through the OSS,

it must be understood that this was for the Free Thais in America. The Free Thais in England received their money from amount 1. The OSS had received a sum of $500,000 and spent it on five items: salary, equipment, the HQ building in China, delivery, overseas expenditure, leaving $88,442.05 left which was sent back to the government. The spending of five items has been given confirmation by the American Embassy. As for the $411,557.95, this has been confirmed by the Thai Embassy in Washington. Luang Ditakarn has also confirmed that the OSS has sent the remaining $88,442.05 back to be deposited into the account at the National City Bank in New York on March 24, 1946.

Thus, in the Commission's opinion, the sum of money ($500,000) which the OSS had received for the expenditure of Free Thais outside Thailand, has been spent in the correct way. According to the evidences, a sum of $411,557.95 was spent while $88,442.05 was sent back. These two sums, when combined, add up to $500,000 the same amount which the OSS had received.

As for the third sum of money, $63,124.18, for Free Thais within Thailand, this was used to buy gold and then sent to help the Resistance within Thailand. The sum of the first instalment was $49,957.06, plus operating expenses of $128.62. An amount of $13,038.50 was sent to Mr Tawil Udol in China. All these add up to $63,124.18 and when subtracted from the total amount of $500,000 assigned for the Free Thais in Thailand, $436,875.82 was left as stated in the account of the OSS from April 17, 1945 to November 19, 1945.

In the opinion of the Commission, the sum $49,957.06 is the correct amount as received by the Free Thais in Thailand as shown in a letter from the American Embassy signed by Charles W. Yost (Chargé d'Affaires), dated April 17, 1946, to Mr Direk Jayanama, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The letter confirms that the gold which sent through the OSS to the Free Thais in Thailand in the Autumn of the year 1945 amounted to $49,957.06. Apart from this piece of document there exists a detailed account concerning the expenditure of this sum. It is a letter from the American Embassy, signed by Major James H.W. Thompson, dated April 17, 1946, to His Excellency Pridi Banomyong, stating that the gold worth $49,957.06 was received by Mr Vichitr Lulitanond (who was attached to the Free Thai HQ in Thailand) and Mr Tawee Tawetikul from Major Westor on April 7, 1945. According to the evidence, Mr Direk Jayanama had signed that "I certify that all is correct, D.J. April 9, 1945", concerning the gold which weighed 50 kg and was worth $49,957.06. This sum was only 50 cents less than the quotation mentioned in the letter of the

American Embassy and the report of the Thai Embassy in Washington. The Commission has interrogated Mr Vichitr Lulitanond who explained that in the hand-over there was no bill of lading. The counting was done hurriedly in a secret rendezvous. The Commission feels it could disregard such a small sum (50 cents only).

Mr Vichitr Lulitanond then arranged to have a bank sell this gold, which, after subtracting the bank's expenses, came to 1,520,184.84 baht (1 US $ for 29.20 baht). According to document D page 2, the sum was used by the Free Thai HQ in Thailand to pay for 18 items. They are:

1.	Cost of sending men abroad	184,605.00	baht
2.	Expenditure of Uttradit-Sukhothai units	20,000.00	"
3.	" Bangkapi unit	20,000.00	"
4.	" Loey unit	36,000.00	"
5.	" Kanjanaburi unit	3,500.00	"
6.	" Nakornsrithammarat - Petchburi units	42,100.00	"
7.	" Chayapoom unit	5,000.00	"
8.	" Hua Hin - Pranburi units	1,000.00	"
9.	" Ranong unit	80,000.00	"
10.	" Sakolnakorn - Nakorn Panom - Nongkai - Mahasarakarm - Udorn - Ubol units	165,200.00	"
11.	Expenditure made by special secret agents	47,000.00	"
12.	" for river transports	168,253.30	"
13.	" for British camp in Thailand	158,292.10	"
14.	" for American camp in Thailand	165,510.00	"
15.	" on secret radio communications	211,127.00	"
16.	" made by Chinese Affairs unit	57,197.51	"
17.	" in fuel	30,800.00	"
18.	Miscellaneous expenditure: reception, per diem, transportation, repairs of vehicles	124,599.93	"
	Total	1,520,184.84	baht

Therefore, the $49,000 plus was properly spent by the Free Thai as Mr Vichitr confirmed.

As for the cost of $128.62, a report of the Thai Embassy in Washington confirms that the cost included $72.08 for the mould of gold coins and $56.54

for transportation in America. These two sums add up to exactly $128.62. The documentary evidences are confirmed by signatures of officials so their validity can be depended on.

Document B recorded that gold worth $13,038.50 was sent to Tawil Udol. The report of the Thai Embassy in Washington confirms this and states further that a part of the gold worth $11,783.54 was sent on August 30, 1945, and on October 5, 1945 the remaining amount worth $1,255.96 was sent. These two amounts add up to $13,038.50. The documents concerning the sums were also confirmed by signatures of officials and so they must have been spent to support activities of the Free Thai in China.

When the three sums of money are added up, $49,957.06 for the cost of gold sent to the Free Thai HQ in Thailand, $128.62 for the cost, and $13,038.50 for Mr Tawil Udol, the total amounts to $63,124.18. When this is added to the sum returned to the government by the OSS an amount of $436,875.82 — the total reaches $500,000, the same as the original amount designated for the Free Thais in Thailand through the OSS. Therefore all the expenses of the Free Thai in Thailand were made in the correct manner. The remaining sum of $436,875.82 was returned on December 31, 1945 as evident in document D page 3.

In conclusion, the money which M.R. Seni Pramoj arranged to have paid to the OSS in two amounts of $500,000 each taken from the Thai government's account in America was the correct sum.

As for the national budget which was known as "the people's aid budget" and later termed as "the Peace budget", this was used in the Resistance against the Japanese. The sum spent, up until August 10, 1945 was 8,867,989.71 baht according to document F. The account, as shown in document J, is as follows:

1. The Free Thai Military units.....300,000.00 baht
2. The Free Thai Police units.....2,000,000.00 "
3. Cholburi unit.....567,450.00 "
4. Kanjanaburi unit.....528,000.00 "
5. Supanburi unit.....217,500.00 "
6. Prachin & Chachoengsao units.....39,217.00 "
7. Arngthong & Ayudhya units.....350,465.00 "
8. HQ unit.....42,000.00 "
9. Ubol unit.....53,000.00 "
10. Home Affairs unit.....536,441.87 "

11. Sukhothai & Uttradit units.....120,000.00 "
12. Communications unit.....223,000.00 "
13. Kratumban unit.....25,310.50 "
14. Prae unit.....6,117.72 "
15. Foreign unit.....109,287.97 "
16. Sakolnakorn unit.....52,000.00 "
17. Northeast units.....100,000.00 "
18. Korat unit.....50,000.00 "
19. Fuel & Transportation units.....3,548,199.65 "

Total.....8,867,989.71 baht
(about US$443,399.00)

With reference to this account, the finance official of the Council of Ministers' Secretariat, Mr Arun Prasarnthong, confirmed that all was correctly spent on behalf of the Free Thai. Further, according to document F, the People's Aid Budget contained a second account, a sum of 15,088,996.20 baht, out of which 737,839.91 baht was spent by the Free Thais after the Japanese surrender. The money was spent on 9 items, and this has been confirmed by the finance official of the Council of Ministers' Secretariat. The account is as follows:

1. Kanjanaburi unit.....488.10 baht
2. Prachin - Chachoengsao units.....61,260.49 "
3. Arngthong - Ayudhya units.....28,752.39 "
4. Kratumban unit.....1,650.00 "
5. Ubol unit.....8,885.00 "
6. Sakolnakorn unit.....190,000.00 "
7. Nakorn Pathom unit.....10,000.00 "
8. Propaganda and reception units.....323,139.23 "
9. Fuel Transportation units.....113,664.70 "

Total.....737,839.91 baht
(about US$36,877.00)

According to document G, certain expenditure was made on behalf of the Free Thai but has not been reimbursed. Such an example is Group Captain Kaj Kengradomying, who was said to have spent 114,660 baht on behalf of the Free Thai and has not been paid back. These cases should receive proper considerations from the chief of the Free Thai Movement.

The Commission would like to point out that because the Free Thai Movement operated under secrecy, the keeping of detailed accounts of

expenditure was not always possible. The investigators in this matter must be satisfied with the fact that certain expenditure had to be made in special circumstances, as exemplified above, in order to ensure the success of operations. In the Commission's opinion, army camps, runways, Headquarters building, etc., which were constructed under harsh conditions, were accomplished with great competence. These results indicate that the expenditure was made as appropriate. General Jacques (British Representative), in particular, stated that the runway which the Free Thais constructed was done most economically. This compliment serves as a credit to those who were responsible for the task.

Out of necessity, some of the money was, as General Jacques termed, "unaccountable", such as the sums given to the parachutists in enemy's countries.

In secret operations where a lot of danger was involved, in order to guard the safety of the men as well as possible, it was necessary to conceal their names. The chief of the Free Thai, for instance, had to use the code name "RUTH". In various documents, such as cheques, receipts, orders, etc., it was not possible to reveal the names of the receiver or sender because the lives of the persons involved may have been put at risk especially if the documents fell into the hands of the enemy. A secret code system was the only method to prevent such a happening.

This did not apply to Thailand only. If such an incident occurred abroad, the same procedures must be taken also. Major Thompson pointed out to the Commission that the resistance movement in France also had to preserve their secrecy, and trust each other, there, no misunderstanding occurred as in Thailand. Lieutenant Commander McDonald also pointed out that the OSS did not even have to give detailed accounts of their expenditure. General Jacques, Head of the English Force 136, ordered that in order to keep utmost secrecy, no documents, receipts or names of any persons should be kept because they could lead to captures and the destruction of the organisation. In fact for the sake of security, Force 136 asked the Free Thai to destroy all documents which could have been of danger. In carrying out a mission, its completion was what counted and the details must be kept secret. Therefore, in the Commission's opinion, the procedures in Thailand should follow that of the other countries. In which case it would be unreasonable to demand for the presentation of the accounts and documents mentioned above.

It seems that the misunderstanding occurred over the sum of $500,000 in America which was the original amount designated to the Free Thai. M.R. Seni Pramoj, it seems, had originally intended to send this amount forward to the Free Thai Movement in Thailand. However, only $63,124.18 was sent to Asia in the end. The remainder of the sum was left in America and none was actually missing as clearly shown by the investigation. However, it was before the investigation was made that suspicions occurred over the whereabouts of the money.

Such misunderstanding, which although may occur among those with good intentions, could lead to a widespread of gossip especially when politics is mixed up with money. Whatever, the Commission is certain that the rumours contain no truth. The investigations made into the documents and accounts which were handed over to the Commission clearly show that all is in order. The proposer of the motion has absolutely no evidence which could be presented to the Commission to prove the validity of the rumours, (e.g., the embezzlement of national fund, the expenditure on items outside the affairs of the Free Thai, mismanagement of the funds, etc).

The Free Thai Movement, otherwise known as the Underground Movement, infringed the law that any member who in anyway gave help to the enemy was liable to suffer a death penalty under the criminal law article 110. Thus, the Free Thais were men and women who risked their lives for their nation because their ideal was to regain independence for Thailand in actuality and not just in name.

According to document D, which is the reply of the acting American Minister written to the head of the Free Thai, the former promised to respect Thailand's independence. Furthermore, Mr H.R. Bird, the Chargé d'Affaires of the British Embassy stated that, following the results of the Free Thai's anti-Japanese activities, the British government agreed to negotiate a milder settlement programme, however, if the Thai government was still being led by Field Marshal Pibulsongkram, the settlement terms would have been totally different in nature because Thailand would still have been regarded as being an enemy country like Germany and Japan.

In another document which contains the words of Mr Bevin (British Foreign Secretary) made on August 20, 1945, concerning the Free Thai, the above stated that the British government recognised the help contributed by the Free Thai's anti-Japanese activities. However, its dismissal of Thailand's declaration of war against Britain and Thailand's seizure of British territory from the Japanese depended on the Thai attitude towards the British soldiers

entering the country.

Moreover, Mr Yost (Chargé d'Affaires of the American Embassy) replied to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on April 17, 1946 that the American government still gratefully appreciated the sincere cooperation of the Free Thai Movement.

In another document, Mr Harrington stated that the Free Thai Movement played a major part in convincing America that Thailand was her ally. Consequently, she was willing to give financial aids to restore the economy of the country.

From these various documents, it is clear that the Free Thais performed remarkably well during the war to regain our national prewar status. The Thai people owe a great deal to them, and if there is any way in which the country can do with a sense of gratitude to those who sacrificed their lives for the country, it would be most admirable. Finally, let no one be discouraged from taking the initiative in future crises, should there be an investigation made into the financial affair of such a person, which is impossible to comply with. In such case the result and effort made by him should be honoured and respected.

(signed) *Debvidura*
Nolaraj Suvajana
Vikrom Ratanasupas
Nitiçastra
Picharn

Appendice V

MORE EXPLANATIONS BY PRIDI BANOMYONG ON THE EXPENDITURE OF THE FREE THAIS

1. At the beginning, during December 1941 - August 1942, the Thai Resistance Movement, which later was amalgamated with the Free Thais in the USA and England into one and single Free Thai Movement, received money for expenditure in their internal resistance activities from the following sources:

(1) Reception budget for the Rector of Moral and Political Sciences, (Thammasat) University

(2) Reception budget for the Regent (Pridi Banomyong's allotment only)

(3) Donations from a number of nationalists for the purpose of resistance activities against the Japanese

(4) Private fund of each Free Thai on mission, for instance, Nai Chamkad Balangkura, the first representative of the Resistance Movement to go on mission to China paid for his own expenses. Later on when Nai Sa-nguan Tularaks and other Resistance Movement's representatives went on a mission to China, they also paid for their own expenses, etc.

2. When Field Marshal Pibul resigned from his premiership in July 1944, Abhaiwongs became the Prime Minister on August 1 of that same year and formed the cabinet on August 2, with Nai Tawee Bunyaketu as the Minister of Education and Minister of Prime Minister's Office concurrently. The Free Thai Movement in Thailand received assistance from Kuang's government. The national budget allotted for the expenditure of the Free Thai Movement was originally called "People's Aid Funds" budget but was later changed to "Peace budget", as appeared in the Parliamentary Ad Hoc

Committee's report set up by the People's Assembly.

The list of units which appeared in the report were those which received money directly from the Free Thai Commanding HQ. There were several units which obtained money from the major units that received money directly from the HQ. They were as follows:

2.1. The Free Thai military officers had their expenses paid for from the Ministry of Defence's budget where each of them was attached. They also received a part of the 300,000 baht budget allotted for the "Armed Forces Unit" from the Free Thai Commanding HQ.

2.2. Free Thai police forces all over the country, which came under Police General Adul Aduldecharas, including "Chumporn" unit which was led by Police Captain Chiep Chaisong (Ammpunand) received their money from the 2,000,000 baht budget allotted for the "Police Units".

2.3. The Free Thais whom Earl Mountbatten called "The Numerous Passive Supporters", recruited by the governors, deputy governors, district officers, etc., from every village all over the country under the direction of Captain Boong Supachalasai RN, the Minister of Interior, had their expenses paid for from the Ministry of Interior's national budget allotted for official duties of each Free Thai. Another part of their expenses was taken from the 536,441.87 budget allotted for "The Home Affairs Units".

2.4. As for the active Free Thais who were recruited from teachers all over the country, Nai Tawee Bunyaketu, the Minister of Education, set up a budget for them in the Ministry of Education's national budget.

3. The report of the Parliamentary Ad Hoc Committee clearly showed that none of the Free Thais either in Thailand or abroad ever received any money from the OSS. On the contrary, the Thai Legation in Washington D.C. paid $500,000 to the OSS for expenditure concerning the Free Thai activities. The money was paid from the Thai government's bank account deposited in the US bank.

Pridi Banomyong

Paris Suburb
July 11, 1979

Appendice VI

A COPY OF PROFESSOR VICHITR LULITANOND'S LETTER TO THE "CHATURAS" MAGAZINE

MR THADEUS FLOOD'S DISTORTED ACCOUNT ON THE ANTI-JAPANESE ACTIVITIES

Mr Thadeus Flood, a lecturer at California University, wrote an article called "A Historical Account of the Thai Left Wing" in a journal called *Bulletin of Asian Concerned Scholars*, in a winter edition of 1975. His account was distorted in several places, especially the parts concerning the Free Thais. Mr Thadeus Flood's account was derived from the hearsay of some Chinese under the influence of the "Gang of Four".

The Feature Editorial Board of the *Chaturas* Magazine translated the article into Thai and had it published on Tuesday, August 21, 1975. The Feature Editorial Board praised the article and asserted that it was the truth along the line of Marxism-Leninism Theories.

Professor Vichitr Lulitanond who acted as the Secretary-General of the Free Thai Commanding Headquarters during the Second World War, therefore, wrote a letter to the Administrative Editor and the Feature Editor of the *Chaturas* Magazine. The letter was finally published in the Tuesday, December 16, 1975 edition as follows:

AN OPEN LETTER FROM A FREE THAI:

THE FREE THAI MOVEMENT AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THAILAND

Dear Executive Editor and Feature Editor of *Chaturas* Weekly Magazine,

As the Secretary-General of the Free Thai Commanding Headquarters during the Second Warld War, I was asked by many Free Thais if there was any truth in the propaganda claim that the Communist Party of Thailand led the Thai mass in the fight against the Japanese during the war, consequently misleading the younger generations to believe that the Free Thai Movement was under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand. Furthermore, some people even said that the CPT fought the Japanese even before there was a Free Thai Movement. It was like a chain reaction, from one claim to another, until a Mr Thadeus Flood, an American member of a group who called themselves "The Asian Concerned", was told to write an article for a journal in a winter edition of 1975. In that article, the writer wrote that the Free Thais cooperated with the CPT in order to fight the imperialist Japanese and the fascist government of Marshal P. Pibulsongkram. You reprinted that article in *Chaturas* Magazine on October 21 of this year, calling it "A Special Article" on "The Growth of the Thai Left Wing", with this comment:

"This article can be considered a true analysis of the economic and political situation of Thailand along the Marxist-Leninist theory. All facts presented were true and correct, reflecting a most accurate picture of the Thai social history. It must be said that this article is a most accurate piece of work."

In another article in that same magazine — "The Book Market after October 1973", which was a book review, the writer mentioned in the early parts of the article that:

"To go back to the written works "For Life" of the B.E. 2490's the publishers have not only re-published the works of Chitr Poumisakdi, but have included also the works of Udom Sisuwan who uses a pen name of P. Muangchompoo."

Those who have read Udom Sisuwan's books, who is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand, and has been released from detention, will know that he wrote a book call "A Way-out for Thailand" using a pen name of "Arun Promchompoo". In that book, Udom wrote that the only way-out for Thailand was to be under the leadership of the CPT. Therefore, you or the writers of the aforementioned articles have every reason to support Mr Flood's article, and to suggest to the readers your belief way-out for Thailand.

As for the facts connective with the Free Thai Movement, I, as the Secretary-General of the Free Thai Commanding HQ, must ask you to be sporting enough to print the whole of my letter in your magazine. This letter will not take up as much room as Mr Flood's article and your "Book Market Review". I beg of you this favour, so that the public may read the letter and judge for themselves as to the truth of the matter.

1. The Free Thai Movement in principle was the movement of the mass. In the speech given by the Head of the Free Thai Movement to the big gathering of the Free Thais' after the Parade on September 25, 1945, he said:

"All the seventeen million Thai people (the number of population at that time) are the true liberators, both legally and actively. Therefore, firstly, I must give my heartfelt thanks to all the Thai people."

With this ideal in mind, the Free Thai Movement never boasted that they ever led the Thai mass to fight against the Japanese, or even boasted that they fought the Japanese before any organisation or political party. For to serve the nation is not a commercial enterprise that needs to be advertised.

The Head of the Free Thai Movement had already stated in his speech to the Free Thais Gathering the necessity of setting up a Commanding Headquarters:

"This movement was not set up as a group or a political party, but rather a cooperation of the Thai people struggling to regain our national independence's status as existed before the Japanese invasion on December 8, 1941. Although executive bodies were set up, i.e. the Commanding Headquarters, offices and their branches, they were set up for the sole purpose of carrying out the duties and activities with good orders and discipline. A society however small needs to have a committee to run it, and so the Free Thai Movement which involved a great number of people must have a Commanding HQ."

Any group or organisation which boasted about being the leader of the Thai mass in fighting the Japanese during the war surely had quite different ideals from the Free Thai Movement.

2. Since the Free Thai Movement upheld the principle of the mass, it therefore took into consideration the thinking of the Thai mass (before the

Japanese invasion on December 8, 1941), how they would fight the Japanese and what their views were when the country was invaded by the Japanese.

The thinking of the Thai mass differed from those of the Chinese who were living in Thailand. China was invaded by the Japanese many years before Thailand. If you knew any history or even asked any elderly Chinese who had lived in Thailand before the Japanese invasion, you would probably know that there were many secret gangs or organisations set up by the Chinese people in Thailand. Some of these used to attack or kill any merchants or businessmen who had any commercial dealings with the Japanese. All these were solely the activities of the Chinese. It should not be claimed that the Chinese in Thailand fought the Japanese even before the latter invaded Thailand.

3. You and those who have listened to the "Voice of the Thai People Radio" (belonging to the Communist Party of Thailand) which was set up about 10 years ago may remember hearing the radio broadcasters announcing every year on December 1, that the Communist Party of Thailand was established on December 1st, 1942. Even if this was true, it means that the CPT came into being one year after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour and the invasion of Thailand. If you would use your common sense in this matter: Were the Thais so foolish and such weaklings as to let the Japanese trod on for one whole year and then only getting up just because a political party was set up?

4. As for Mr Flood's account which was supported by both of you which stated that the Free Thais cooperated with the CPT in fighting the fascist government of Marshal P. Pibulsongkram, it seemed to be setting a historical stage for the CPT even before its inception. You and your comrades know or ought to know that the campaign to remove Marshal Pibul from office began in November 1942, one month before the so-called birth of the CPT which took place on the 1st of December, 1942. In November 1942, the Marshal tendered his resignation to the Regency's Council who gave an approval. Then Mr Tawee Bunyaketu, Secretary-General to the Council of Ministers, had the news of the resignation broadcast over the Radio Thailand straightaway. The Marshal was greatly annoyed and asked the Royal Secretary at that time to withdraw the resignation paper. He also fired Mr Tawee Bunyaketu and ordered the army to threaten the Regents, who, in turn, had to ask protection from the Navy.

In 1944, Marshal Pibul introduced a Bill to the parliament asking for an approval of the emergency decree enacted by the government on the creation of the new City of Petchaboon and Budhaburi Monton. Most of the Members of Parliament (both 1st and 2nd categories) voted against the Bill, so the Marshal was obliged to resign. The details of these events may be found in the book *Some aspects of the Royal Family during the Second World War* published on May 11, 1972.

All thinking men must surely see that at that time there was no member of the CPT in the Parliament. When then, in unseating Marshal Pibul, should the Free Thais have to ask for cooperation from the CPT?

Moreover, numerous CPT talks, articles and announcements have shown that they are against struggle by parliamentary means. So if the Free Thais had really asked for the cooperation of the CPT to fight the Marshal through parliamentary means, I daresay they would never have cooperated.

Therefore, Mr Flood's analysis was not a Marxist-Leninist one, but rather done by using facts that had been wrongly given by unreliable persons.

5. After the Proclamation of the Peace on August 16, 1945, the Free Thai Commanding HQ, which upheld the principle of the mass, announced to all units of the Free Thais and any other units which had not been under the Free Thai Command but had taken part in the fight against the Japanese (for instance, Nai Boonpong's unit in Ban Pong's area and Kanjanaburi, etc.) to send representatives to the Free Thais gathering in Bangkok and take part in the Parade, before the Free Thai Movement was disbanded.

The Parade was held on September 25, 1945, and watched by a tumultuous crowd. Many of them still alive today would surely remember seeing the military Free Thais dressed in Thai military uniform and the Free Thais under the Allied command dressed in the allied military uniform, the Free Thais who had no officially recognisable uniform did have identifiable placard's name of respective units. The Department of Publicity (now the Public Relations Department) took many photographs of the Parade. Perhaps you should ask those who saw the Parade what the names of the units with placard's name were. The Parade on that day should have given the best opportunity to all parties which had taken part in the fight against the Japanese to show themselves to the people without fear of being persecuted by the government. If they were for the mass, and had good relationship with the mass, the mass would definitely have given them protection.

6. After the war was over and the Free Thai Movement was dissolved all members of the Free Thai Movement returned to their previous professions. Those who were politicians set up political parties according to their ideals such as the Sahacheep Party, Progressive Party, Democrat Party, etc. The Communist Party also appeared at that time, even while the Constitution 1946 was being

drafted. But the government then was very liberal and permitted even the setting up of a communist party.

Some ex-Free Thais, such as Nai Krong Chandawong, when they were with the Free Thai, were not members of any political parties. The fact that they became members of such parties after the coup d'état of November 8, 1947 is irrelevant to the Free Thai Movement.

7. Many readers probably know that communists of many countries had set up their branches and offices in Thailand.

Communist parties of the Marxism-Leninism school of thought that were set up between 1919-1943 must be members of the Comintern. Other parties of different schools of thought did not have to be members of the Comintern, and nor did the branches of the Comintern-member parties, since they had been affiliated to the main party already. Therefore, I would like you or Mr Flood to supply a list of names of all parties which were members of the Comintern.

Although the Comintern was abolished during the war, afterwards there was a Cominform in its place. Although it was an organisation for the communist parties in Europe, communist parties of the Marxist-Leninist school of thought all over the world were invited to be observers. Moreover, before Stalin died, he delivered an important speech at a Congress of the Soviet Communist Party on the upholding of the national flags. A great number of Marxist-Leninist parties were invited to that Congress. Even after Stalin's death in 1957 when the Soviet Communist Party held a Congress in Moscow on a very important issue — that of voicing against the worshipping of Stalin personality cult — a great number of Marxist-Leninist parties were also invited to attend. I would like to request you and Mr Flood to publish the list of all the Communist parties which attended the above-mentioned Congresses so that the readers may know about them.

Yours sincerely,
(signed) *Professor Vichitr Lulitanond*

Appendice VII

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE WORKS OF WRITERS BASED ON HEARSAY CONCERNING THE FIGHT AGAINST THE JAPANESE IN THAILAND DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Several books and accounts have been written on the subject of anti-Japanese activities in Thailand during World War II by foreign as well as Thai writers. Some writers began by basing simply on hearsay of a single individual, the account has been re-quoted by subsequent writers whose works have, in turn, been used by others. This has falsely led many to believe in the validity of the accounts since no less than three authors have dwelt upon the subject. Further-more, the work of some Thai writers tended to illude those who have faith in foreign writers. The fact is, however, all these accounts were derived from a single source, a single individual whose exposition may have been based on either truth or prejudice, which may or may not have resulted in distortion of facts.

Those who desire to know the truth can apply a scientific investigation of the historical and literary documents coupled with six manners of the scientific spirit, namely: (1) through observation's spirit, (2) measurement's spirit, (3) logical reasoning's spirit, (4) analysis and evalution's spirit, (5) unpreconceived idea's spirit, (6) systematic spirit. All these I have described in my book "WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY" and in the lecture given to Thai students in West Germany, England and France. Also, I have noted down the observations and queries made by students who were writing these on the Thai governments. These were published by Thammasat University on June 27, 1976.

The above procedure is an extension of common sense which is the root of human logic, unaffected by the four prejudices: love, anger, fear and delusion. One is thus able to analyse whether the hearsay is indeed true or false. Allow

me to give some examples for the sake of those who wish to apply "common sense" for their own judgment.

1. Some claim that their own organisation could have also led the mass against the Japanese and thus prevented Thailand from falling on the defeated side. However, it is widely known that during World War II, Thailand was in an unusual position in that, while being invaded by the Japanese, her government had also declared war on the Allied Nations.

Evidently the aforementioned claim could not have been true.

In the same way, claims about any organisation being able to save Thailand simply by securing the guarantee from the Allies could not have been true either.

Therefore, in order to restore Thailand's independence and unity it was essential to fulfil both tasks simultaneously of fighting the Japanese and securing a guarantee from the Allies that Thailand will not be on the defeated side.

For this reason, it is clear whether the claim made by that organisation was true or false.

2. Some foreigners who have written theses and accounts maintain that the negotiations made with the Allied Nations concerning the guarantee of Thailand's position were more important than the anti-Japanese activities pursued by the Free Thai Movement.

However, these foreign writers did not make a study of American documentary evidences which already showed the ways in which the Free Thai Movement had negotiated with the American government and the Allies and whether the result was simple one of verbal settlement or were certain course of action initiated in order to prove that Thailand was not an enemy of America and the Allies. In writing carelessly on hearsay for commercial purpose, some writers could mislead the readers. This is a distortion of historical truth.

July 14, 1979
Pridi Banomyong

Appendice VIII

TÉLÉGRAMME 28/8/1979

HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELISABETH
BUCKINGHAM PALACE
LONDON

MY WIFE AND I LEARNED OF TRAGIC DEATH OF OUR BELOVED LORD MOUTBATTEN WITH GRIEF AND SHOCK STOP WE HUMBLY CONVEY TO YOUR MAJESTY OUR PROFOUND CONDOLEANCES STOP

PRIDI BANOMYONG
FORMER REGENT AND FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF THAILAND

TELEGRAM FROM H.M.QUEEN ELISABETH II
TO
PRIDI BANOMYONG

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ETATPRIORITE
MR PRIDI BANOMYONG 173 AVENUE ARISTIDE BRIAND 92
ANTONYFRANCE

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR KIND EXPRESSION OF SYMPATHY ON THE DEATH OF LORD MOUNTBATTEN. I WAS TOUCHED BY YOUR MESSAGE.
ELIZABETH R

COL 173 92