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"Political Developments in Thailand (1936-1938)"

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Abstract

This research examines the political developments in Thailand from 1936 to 1938. During that period, there were no political parties in Thailand as the constitutional government did not allow the establishment of political parties. The government, through the People's Party, maintained control over political power after overthrowing the absolute monarchy through a constitutional revolution in 1932. The government never recognized the element of democracy represented by the establishment of political parties participating in parliamentary elections, similar to the European model. Despite claiming to strive for the establishment of a democratic system in Thailand, a multi-party system, there were attempts and demands from some politicians and intellectuals to allow the organization of political parties in the country. However, the government consistently rejected this matter, citing flimsy reasons such as the Thai people's lack of knowledge or comprehension of the concept of democracy, or that the time had not yet come to implement or establish such an idea in reality. Consequently, the government opposed and feared the realization of the idea of forming political parties, as it posed a threat to its political power, especially given the significant political events that took place in the early years of the constitutional monarchy, which reshaped the concept of political democracy and popular participation in Thailand's modern political history.

The Keywords: political parties, the People's Party, government reforms, royal authority, Phibun Songkram.

Introduction

After the initiation of parliamentary democracy attempts in Thailand in 1932 through the Thai Constitution, new indications emerged for demanding the government's approval to organize political party pluralism, which forms the basis of democratic elements akin to the European model that were not applied in Thailand. Despite parliamentary elections being held since 1933, there were no organized political parties, with the only contender in those elections being the People's Party. It, in turn, ruled without any electoral competition, making it a popular demand to allow the formation of political parties in general elections. Various political figures in the government, as well as some newspapers and intellectuals in the country, expressed their desire to form political parties. They argued that following the People's Party's acquisition of political power in the country and the establishment of constitutional monarchy, they aimed to implement European-style democracy in Thailand. However, these claims were merely slogans used to achieve their goal of seizing political power in Thailand, overthrowing the absolute

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monarchy system, and reviving a constitutional monarchy. Those advocating for the formation of political parties emphasized that true democracy entails a multi-party system. Despite the government's opposition, certain factions sought to establish their own political parties. This period witnessed significant political events surrounding the government's approval of allowing political party formation.

Importance

The significance of this research lies in exploring the political role played by certain civilian and military leaders in Thai politics after the success of their constitutional revolution in 1932 and the transition from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy.

Problematic Aspects

The change in political governance in Thailand has posed a significant and evident challenge to important decisions concerning the people, as well as to certain political figures who now exert control over the country's domestic and foreign policies. This has intensified competition among them, negatively impacting the people. Therefore, in order to clarify these competitions and understand their underlying causes, we raise a series of important questions:

- 1- What are the reasons behind the Thai government's refusal to organize political parties after the success of their revolution and the establishment of constitutional democracy?
- 2- What are the reasons behind the insistence of some political figures on organizing political parties in Thailand, despite belonging to the People's Party?
- 3- What were the reasons that made the People's Party the sole dominant force in Thailand's domestic and foreign policies?

Hypothesis: The main role played by the leaders of the People's Party was to change the system of governance from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. Despite the numerous disadvantages of this monopolistic policy, it made it possible for the people to participate, even if to a small extent, in important political decisions.

Research Methodology: The historical methodology was adopted to understand the problems that occurred after the success of the constitutional revolution in Thailand in 1932 and to address some important questions by narrating the historical events, particularly the issue of organizing political parties.

The First Dimension: Historical Introduction to Thailand Until 1935

Thailand is located⁽¹⁾ in the central part of Southeast Asia. It is bordered by Myanmar (Burma) to the west, Laos to the north and east, Cambodia to the southeast, and Malaysia to the south. Thailand also has coastal islands in the Andaman Sea and the Gulf of Thailand. The country covers an area of approximately 513,120 square kilometers. It is divided into 76 provinces, with Bangkok as its capital city. According to the 2002 census, the population of Thailand was around 64.6 million people⁽²⁾

Demographically, the original Thais make up about 80% of the population in Thailand. Chinese, Lao, Mon, Cambodian, and Indian communities contribute to the remaining 20% of the total population. The official religion of the country is Buddhism, and the official language

⁽¹⁾(Thailand: It was previously known as Sayam, which is a historical name given by the Portuguese to the people who lived in the Chao-Phraya Valley since 1592. The name was later changed to Siam in 1850 and remained known as such until 1939 when it was changed to Thailand, which means "land of freedom".

John W. Henderson , Area Hand Book for Thailand , Washington , 1971 , p. 6 .

⁽²⁾(Christian Erni , The Concept of Indigenous Peoples in Asia , International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) , Copenhagen-Denmark , 2008 , p. 443 .

is Thai ⁽¹⁾ the earliest human settlement in Thailand dates back to 1495 BCE when pottery artifacts from the Stone Age were discovered. It is believed that the original inhabitants of Thailand were known as the Tai people ⁽²⁾ Throughout history, various human groups have taken turns in exerting control over Thailand, including the Khmer and Mon peoples ⁽³⁾ They established strong kingdoms in most areas of Thailand, which were politically and socially interconnected ⁽⁴⁾ However, after some time, a leader of the Tai tribe successfully achieved independence from the Khmer kingdom in 1238 and established his own kingdom called the Kingdom of Sukhothai, located in the Chao Phraya River valley. In the 14th century, precisely in 1350, the ruler Phra Ramathibodi founded the Kingdom of Ayutthaya ⁽⁵⁾ After the fall of the Sukhothai Kingdom, the forces of Burma invaded Ayutthaya and destroyed its capital in 1767. However, two great leaders, Taksin and Chakkri, emerged and expelled the Burmese forces. They then unified the country under the rule of the Chakkri dynasty, which continued to dominate the political, social, and cultural life of Thailand until the 20th century. Thailand experienced extremely difficult political, economic, and social conditions during this period, exacerbated further during the reign of King Prajadhipok (Rama VII). ⁽⁶⁾

However, their attempts to address and find necessary solutions proved fruitless. In the aftermath of the crisis, certain civilian and military students who had studied in Europe, including Pridi Banomyong, Prayoon Phamornmontri, Phibun Pibulsonggram, and others, convened a meeting in Paris on February 5, 1927. They unanimously recognized the imperative of ending absolute monarchy, establishing a constitution for the nation, and subsequently formed a political party in the same month known as the "People's Party." They pledged to devise economic plans to revive the country's economy, ensure freedom and equality among citizens, and curtail the privileges and autocratic rule of the monarchy (Hubbard, 2023) ⁽⁷⁾

In 1927, Pridi returned to Thailand and led a group of 50 supporters advocating for a change from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy. Following the occurrence of the Great Economic Crisis (1929-1933), they aimed to replace the absolute monarchy with a constitutional monarchy ⁽⁸⁾

The severity of the crisis in Thailand escalated, particularly concerning the cost of Thai rice on the international level. However, domestically, the price of rice decreased by two-thirds, severely impacting farmers who were unable to pay taxes and repay loans. Meanwhile, King Prajadhipok was incapable of making decisive decisions to resolve the crisis, leading to a perception of government inefficiency among many officers and civilian students. They saw revolution as an inevitable and necessary solution. As a result, the leaders of the People's Party, who referred to themselves as "the promoters," decided to initiate the revolution. At that time, the king was spending his vacation at his summer palace in Hua Hin. During this period, the revolution leaders commenced their operations on June 24, 1932, seizing power without

⁽¹⁾(Timothy D. Hoare , Thailand Aglobal Studies Hand book , ABC Clio ,California , 2004 , pp. 16 – 19.

⁽²⁾(Matt Clayton , History of Thailand A Captivating Guide to the Thai People and Their History, n.p., Copyright , 2021, pp. 9 – 11 .

⁽³⁾For further expansion on the history of the Mon and Khmer, it is noted that:-

Ronald D. Renard , Anchalee Singhanetra Renard , Mon-Khmer Peoples of the Mekong Region , Chiang Mai University Press , Thailand , 2015 , pp. 2 – 6 .

⁽⁴⁾(Matt Clayton , op. cit . , pp. 9 – 11 .

⁽⁵⁾(For a more detailed account of the history of the Kingdom of Ayutthaya ,it is noted that:-

Chris Bake, Pasuk Phongpaichit , A history of Ayutthaya (Siam in the Early Modern World) , Cambrldge – University Preess , New York –USA , 2017 .

⁽⁶⁾To expand his rule and the reasons that led to the bad and deteriorating general conditions in Thailand are examined, it is noted that:-

Matthew Phillip Copeland , Contested Nationalism and the 1932 Overthrow of the Absolute Monarchy in Siam , Published Dissertation of Philosophy , The Australian National University , 1993 .

⁽⁷⁾(Maher Chasib Hatem Al Fahad ,Constitutional Revolution in Thailand 1932,Aegaeum Journal, Issue. 4 ,Vol. 8 , 2020 , p. 2 .

⁽⁸⁾To delve into the issue of the economic crisis, its causes and consequences are examined:-

Thilo Albers , Martin Uebec , The Global Impact of the Great Depression , London School of Economics and Political Science , No. 218 , 2015 .

shedding blood. The number of promoters at that time was 114, led by Pridi, Phraya Phahol, Phibun, and other important military leaders in the Thai army ⁽¹⁾.

After the success of their revolution, the commander of the Royal Guards and 40 high-ranking officials were arrested and detained in the Ananlasanakan Hall, which is part of the royal palace in Bangkok. Subsequently, the promoters issued a one-hour ultimatum to the king, demanding his acceptance of establishing a constitutional monarchy and his return to Bangkok to rule as a constitutional monarch of the country⁽²⁾. The king agreed to those demands, indicating that he had previously desired to establish a constitution for the country. However, some princes and government officials who held significant power strongly opposed his proposal. They feared that it would diminish their authority and personal interests. The king also emphasized that he did not want any violent acts that would threaten the country's security. Therefore, he returned to Bangkok on June 25, 1932. Two days later, he met with the revolution leaders at the Sukhothai Palace. On June 27, King Prajadhipok ordered the raising of a new Thai national flag symbolizing the new constitutional rule, replacing the traditional flag of the Chakri dynasty. On the same day, a National Assembly consisting of 70 appointed members was formed. Phraya Manopakorn Nititada, the former president of the Thai Court of Appeals, was chosen as the head of the executive committee responsible for appointing a committee to draft the constitution for Thailand. Meanwhile, King Prajadhipok signed the first constitution of Thailand⁽³⁾, from the beginning of its rule, specifically in early 1933, the People's Party realized that it had a small number of members and lacked a popular base. Consequently, they sought to expand their membership and gain support for their political decisions by officially registering one of their groups as the "People's Party Union." Through registration, the party would be able to attract a significant number of government officials. They also demanded the allowance of the establishment of political parties⁽⁴⁾. After facing criticism from the press and intellectuals for the government's policies, which were described as dictatorial, Luang Wichit, the Deputy Director of the Political Office in the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and some political and intellectual figures decided to form a political party called the National Party. The party consisted of twelve organizers, with Phraya Thona Wanikmontri serving as the party leader and Luang Wichit as the party's secretary-general. However, the government viewed the formation of this party with suspicion, considering it a royalist faction. They even sent spies to monitor the activities of its main leaders ⁽⁵⁾. It is worth mentioning that King Prajadhipok was uneasy about the recent developments in the country. As a result, he left Thailand in 1934 and traveled to Britain. Besides concerns about the political situation, there were also medical reasons that prompted his departure. Furthermore, the king frequently threatened to abdicate the throne, particularly when he opposed the proposed inheritance tax law. This law would have allowed the imposition of taxes on deceased individuals' properties, including the royal properties in Thailand. Additionally, he sought to withdraw some of his previous powers⁽⁶⁾.

1) (Patit Paban Mishra, *The History of Thailand : The Greenwood Histories of The Modern Nations*, Published by ABC – CLIO, LLC, California, 2010, pp. 104 – 105 .

2) (Ibid, pp. 104 – 105 .

3) To elaborate on the provisions of the Thai Constitution of 1932 and the tasks of the National Assembly, are examine:

Par Jean Marie Crouzatier ,*Transitions Politiques en Asie du sud –est Le systeme constitutionnel et politique de la Thaïlande* , 1 edition , Presses de l' Université Toulouse 1 Capitole , Toulouse , 2012 , pp. 38-44 .

4) (Chaiwatt Mansrisuk , *Successful Transition Failed Consolidation : Historical Iegacies and Problems of Democratization in Thailand* , Unpublished Dissertation of Philosophy , der Albert – Ludwigs – Universitat, 2017 , pp. 49 – 50 .

5) (Eiji Murashima , *Democracy and the Development of Political Parties in Thailand 1932 -1945* , Graduate School of Asia – Pacific Studies , Waseda University , Tokyo, 1991 , p. 20 .

6) (Federico Ferrara , *The Legend of King Prajadhipok Tall Tales and Hard Facts on the Seventh Reign in Siam*, Department of Asian and International Studies, University of Hong Kong, n .d. p. 27.

As a result of the Assembly's and Phraya Pahol's government's rejection, who formed his new government in 1934, King Prajadhipok decided to carry out his previous threat and abdicated the throne in 1935⁽¹⁾

The Second Dimension: People's Party's Control Over Domestic Politics in Thailand in 1936.

The People's Party sought to seize control of the military, the National Assembly, and the Cabinet. They did not hesitate to perceive themselves as the defenders of democracy. Since most members of the People's Party were leaders of the constitutional revolution, they considered their party as the guardian of the constitution and utilized this guardianship to implement democratic governance in the country.⁽²⁾ At the same time, the People's Party considered the main problem to be the concept of building democracy and the formation of political parties among the general public, as well as the implementation of representative democratic governance in their view. They emphasized that the lack of emphasis on education hinders the understanding of the constitutional concept and leads to misunderstandings about "democracy and constitution"⁽³⁾. On the other hand, the government sought to reduce government spending and diminish the authority of the monarchy system starting from late 1935 and early 1936. They also lowered the status of the Ministry of Royal Family⁽⁴⁾. From a ministry to an administration, it means that the royal family had a dedicated ministry to manage its political affairs. However, the government abolished that ministry and established a smaller administration office to oversee the royal family's affairs in the country. This was done to reduce the number of employees and enhance government control and oversight over the expenses of that administration.⁽⁵⁾

The Third Dimension: Military-Civilian Competition for Power, 1937

At the beginning of 1937, there was a monopolization of power and administration by Phibun and some military leaders in order to gain control over the domestic political landscape. Generally, they preferred to utilize political persuasion, along with bribery and favoritism. Most political conflicts revolved around personal interests. Thus, Phibun exerted his utmost effort as the Minister of Defense and State Advisor to ensure that the military forces supported him and were stronger than any other local source of power. The military was always under his control, underscoring the importance of the army for the country. Phibun even issued a slogan that said, "The nation is the homeland and the soldiers are the walls"⁽⁶⁾

The issue of forming political parties resurfaced and came to the forefront again in 1937, particularly with the upcoming parliamentary elections. On March 25, 1937, five men stormed the National Police Office at the Ministry of Interior. All of them were members of an association and approached the head of the responsible department, informing him that they had come to register a new political party called the "People's Party." However, none of these members openly identified themselves as part of a political organization, and the name of the

⁽¹⁾ (Yun han Chu, *How East Asians View Democracy*, Copyright Columbia University Press, New York, 2008, pp. 115 – 116.

⁽²⁾ (Eiji Murashima, op. cit., pp. 10 – 12.

⁽³⁾ (Pinai Sirikiatikul, *Remaking Modern Bangkok :Urban Renewal on Rajadamnern Boulevard (1932-1957)*, Unpublished A thesis of Master of Philosophy, The Bartlett School of Graduate Studies, University College London, 2013, p. 29.

⁽⁴⁾ The Royal Household Ministry was established during the era of absolute monarchy, specifically during the reign of King Shulalongkorn (Shula Longkoren) in 1892.

Prakan Klinfoong, *Crown Property and Constitutional Monarchy in Thailand 1932 –1948*, Unpublished Dissertation of Philosophy, Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies, Waseda University, 2018, pp. 25 – 27.

⁽⁵⁾ (Scot Barne, *Luang Wichit Wathakan: of Ficial Negitimacy Prior To World War II*, Unpublished A thesis of Master of Philosophy, Faculty of Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 1989, p. 106.

⁽⁶⁾ (Charivat Santaputra, *Thai Foreign Policy (1932- 1946)*, Second edition, Ruankaew Printing House, Bangkok, 2000, pp. 116 – 118.

party they proposed was the same as the disbanded People's Party during that period. One of the party's main goals was to support the six principles of the constitutional revolution. Through these goals, it appears that the intended party did not openly intend to oppose the government or the People's Party⁽¹⁾

The issue not only involved problems between the government and certain members of the National Assembly, but there were also other events and issues between the royalists on one side and the constitutionalists on the other. In July 1937, Deputy Liang Sirikhan proposed an open discussion in the Assembly regarding the matter of certain government leaders, who were members of the People's Party, purchasing residential properties from the Royal Office under the Crown Property Act at unreasonably low prices⁽²⁾

As a result, a major problem arose at that time due to two reasons. Firstly, the government's prohibition of political party organization, and secondly, the implementation of the Crown Property Act, which was enacted in 1936 but officially published in the official gazette on July 19, 1937. During that specific period, a significant amount of crown properties were sold, which were categorized into three types: crown properties, government properties, and personal properties. Those who purchased these lands were high-ranking government officials. Since the king was a minor at that time, the transactions were made with the approval of the Regency Council, led by Prince Adityadibabha.

During the eighteenth session of the External Committee meetings of the Assembly on July 28, 1937, Deputy Ubon Nai Luang Jayakan questioned the reason for selling the properties at a cheap price to high-ranking government officials. Prime Minister Phahol attempted to justify the land purchases, but he failed to convince the Assembly members. On July 29, 1937, the resignation of the President of the Regency Council, Adityadibabha, was announced⁽³⁾

In July 1937, the Prime Minister and his government submitted their resignations collectively. As a result, the Council immediately convened in a secret meeting to consider these collective resignations and appoint a new Regency Council, as well as a new Prime Minister and ministers. On July 31, 1937, they received a letter from the President of the Regency Council requesting the withdrawal of his previous resignation letter due to pressure from some military leaders who wanted him and the other Council members to remain. After heated discussions between the two sides, the Council finally voted to accept the previous resignation letter.

Regarding the political disputes over the sale of lands under the Crown Property Act, the government and the members of the Regency Council resigned. Secret negotiations were underway between some political figures in early August 1937, in an attempt to find a solution to the impasse. Eventually, they managed to persuade Phahol to return to the position of Prime Minister. Phahol agreed to the proposal in August of the same year but placed two conditions for accepting the position again. Firstly, he requested that his tenure be limited to a specific period, and secondly, he sought support and backing from the members of the National Assembly⁽⁴⁾.

Meanwhile, the government was required to hold parliamentary elections in 1937 due to the expiration of the four-year term of the National Assembly. The parliamentary elections were conducted in October 1937, marking the first direct elections to take place. Additionally,

⁽¹⁾(Eiju Murashima , op. cit. , p. 48 .

⁽²⁾(Ibid , p. 50 .

⁽³⁾(Vinita Krairiksh ,The Politics of Pibul :The National Leader 1932-1944,Unpublished Dissertation of Philosophy, of The American Universit , 1975 , pp. 92 – 93 .

⁽⁴⁾(Vinita Krairiksh , O. Cit. , pp. 92 – 95 .

preparations were made for the establishment of a future political party. According to the report, Prime Minister Phahol did not object to these activities. However, despite this, the formation of political parties posed a problem for some members of the Assembly, who believed that the majority of voters still did not understand the meaning of political parties ⁽¹⁾.

On another note, the candidates participating in the elections were individuals outside of the People's Party. In other words, they were not members of the People's Party, but rather, the majority of them ran as independent candidates⁽²⁾

As for the voter turnout, it reached 22.40% of the total eligible voters, which is equivalent to 2.46 million out of 6.12 million individuals. The elections, which took place in October 1937, continued until the beginning of December of the same year.⁽³⁾ , New members were elected to the Assembly, which means an increase in the number of elected members from 156 to 182⁽⁴⁾.

The Fourth Dimension: Internal Power Struggle in the Country in 1938

Prime Minister Phahol conducted an interview with an American journalist in 1938. During the interview, he was asked about the relationship between Thailand and Japan. He affirmed that the relationship with Japan was not more special than with other countries. He further stated, "What I want to say is that we do not play favorites with Japan, and we do not seek a special friendship with any country that does not share the same democratic principles as ours." He also explained that the recent purchase of Japanese river gunboats, artillery, tugs, weapons, and submarines by Thailand was due to the fact that Thailand had informed several countries, including the United States, Great Britain, Denmark, France, Italy, and Japan. However, the bids from Japan and Italy had the lowest prices compared to other countries. As the governments of these two countries supported the manufacturers, it was only natural for Siam to buy from the cheapest markets, and not due to friendship ⁽⁵⁾.

During the year 1938, it becomes apparent that there were differing opinions among the Thai elites regarding the policy towards Japan. Pridi and Phahol aimed to maintain normal relations with Japan, without any special distinction from other countries. On the other hand, there were other figures, including Viboon, who held a different view. Viboon placed more emphasis on the policy towards Japan and sought to strengthen closer ties between the two countries⁽⁶⁾

In July 1938, Member of Parliament Tiang Sirikhan presented a bill to the National Assembly that proposed the repeal of the Constitution Preservation Act, which had been enacted in 1933 during the Boworadet Rebellion⁽⁷⁾

This proposal was considered a bold move, especially coming from a newly elected member in the National Assembly compared to other members who were mostly hesitant about such a bill. Tiang, the deputy, justified his proposal for several reasons. Firstly, he aimed to fully develop the democratic governance system and uphold it according to the constitution. Secondly, he sought to protect individuals who openly express their opinions in favor of the

⁽¹⁾(Eiji Murashima , op. cit. , pp. 50 – 51 .

⁽²⁾(Paul Chambers ,Napisa Waitoolkiat , Faction Politics in an Interrupted Democracy: the Case of Thailand, Journal of Southeast Asian Affairs, Naresuan University ,Vol. 39 ,2020 , p. 147 .

⁽³⁾(Vichitvong Na Pombheirara , op. cit. , p. 121 .

⁽⁴⁾(Vinita Krairiksh , op. cit. , p. 95 .

⁽⁵⁾(Supaporn Jarunpattana , Siam-Japan Relations 1920- 1940 , article Japan Foundation's , Faculty of Liberal Arts , Thammasat University , n.d. , pp. 27 – 28 .

⁽⁶⁾(Ibid , pp. 30 – 31 .

⁽⁷⁾To delve into the rebellion of Prince Boworadet, we examine:-

Nattapol Chaiching , The Boworadet Rebellion 1933 , International Journal of Management and Applied Science , Volume 4 , Issue 4 , April , 2018
www.KurdishStudies.net

government and society. Additionally, he aimed to pave the way for the formation of political parties as soon as possible. Consequently, the bill to repeal the Constitution Preservation Act was passed in its first reading by the members of the National Assembly ⁽¹⁾.

During the meetings of the National Assembly on September 10, 1938, another problem arose between the government and some members of the Assembly. Some members proposed a motion demanding that the government present its annual budget to the Assembly with detailed specifics. The government opposed the proposal, arguing that such a detailed budget would take a considerable amount of time to prepare and was unnecessary. Prime Minister Phahol openly stated before the Assembly that if he were forced to comply, his only alternative would be to tender his resignation. In response, some members of the Assembly made a secret proposal, which was supported by 45 members compared to 31 members in opposition. Based on this, Prime Minister Phahol submitted his resignation. However, at that time, the Royal Council of Regency proposed an alternative solution on September 11, 1938. A royal decree was issued to dissolve the National Assembly and immediately conduct general elections on November 12, 1938. This led some members to re-nominate themselves for candidacy ⁽²⁾.

After the vote count at the end of 1938, in the elections held on November 12 of the same year, Phahol, having served as the country's executive for more than five years, decided to refuse another term. He claimed to be physically exhausted, but it is possible that he grew tired of the frequent disputes among the political class. Following this, members of the People's Party held an immediate meeting where they reached a consensus that Pibul Songgram should be the next Prime Minister. They then sent representatives to the Royal Council of Regency and the President of the National Assembly to inform them that they all supported Pibul's appointment as the next Prime Minister. Subsequently, on December 15, 1938, the members of the Assembly gathered and elected Pibul as the Prime Minister. Pibul formed his new government on December 26, 1938. In his new role, Pibul also held positions as Minister of Defense, Interior, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army. His initial cabinet consisted of twenty-four ministers, including Pridi as the Minister of Finance, Adul Dejaras as the Deputy Minister of Interior, Kwuang Abhaivong as the Deputy Minister of Education, and Direk Jayanama and Toua Labhanukrom, who all held ministerial positions in Pibul's first government ⁽³⁾.

It is evident from the composition of Pibul's government that it had a military inclination. This suggests that the military elite were the ones leading Thai politics. Based on this premise, Pibul attempted to govern in an authoritarian manner, especially after assuming the ministries of Interior, Defense, and Foreign Affairs simultaneously.

Conclusion

The conclusion of the study reached several findings, including:

1. Political disagreements increased during Phraya Phahol's second term in 1936, due to his weakness and inability to control certain politicians, whether from the civilian or military wing.
2. During that period, there was an urgent need to establish political parties in Thailand, especially after Pibul's speech acknowledging the possibility of initially recognizing the formation of political parties in the country.

¹⁾(Eiji Murashima , op. cit , pp. 51 – 52 .

²⁾(Vichitvong Na Pombhejara , op. cit . , pp. 121 – 122 .

³⁾(Ibid , pp. 122 - 125 .

3. Some members of the People's Party believed that the majority of the Thai people did not understand the concept of constitutional democracy and a multiparty system, which hindered the implementation of democracy in practice.
4. That period witnessed general elections, marking the first elections to bring in new members to the National Assembly, leading to an increase in the number of members, along with the participation of southern provinces in those elections.
5. After the conclusion of the 1938 general elections, members of the People's Party chose Pibul to assume the position of Prime Minister, who in turn attempted to govern in a dictatorial manner.

Results and Conclusion

1. The majority of political disagreements in Thailand after the constitutional revolution were due to the attempts of royalists to seize political power in the country, as well as the People's Party members' efforts to monopolize authority.
2. Some political leaders attempted to organize political parties, despite the government's refusal to allow it. However, they were not prevented from organizing secret parties that were not officially recognized by the constitutional government.
3. The political conflicts and problems in Thailand were not limited to the constitutional government and the royalists but extended to some leaders within the People's Party.
4. These problems escalated into attempts by some individuals to stage coups and overthrow the political authority in the country. Consequently, that period witnessed several political coups instigated by either the royalists under the influence of King Prajadhipok or by certain military politicians within the constitutional government.

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