ARMED STRUGGLE
or
PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE?
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PREFACE

The great teacher of the revolutionary people of the whole world Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches us, "All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct desperate struggles. They are bound to resort to military adventure and political deception in all their forms in order to save themselves from extinction."

When the U.S.-Thanom clique uses its counter-revolutionary armed forces to suppress and slaughter the people, the Thai people under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand organize their own revolutionary armed forces, unfold people's war and have repeatedly defeated the U.S.-Thanom clique's counter-revolutionary armed forces.

When the U.S.-Thanom clique plays the swindle of democracy and proclaims its bogus constitution, the Communist Party of Thailand points out the correct road for the revolutionary people. The Patriotic Front of Thailand gives an all-out support to the revolutionary orientation and road pointed out by the Communist Party of Thailand.
and mobilizes the masses, resolutely exposing and condemning the enemy swindle of democracy and parliamentary road.

Now, we publish the documents of the Communist Party of Thailand and the Patriotic Front of Thailand, which are issued before and after the proclamation of the bogus constitution of the U.S.-Thanom clique on June 20, 1968.

Office of the Representative Abroad of the Patriotic Front of Thailand
November, 1968.
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Resolutely Carry On the People's War and Smash the Monstrous Political Swindle of U.S. Imperialism-Thanom Clique

—Statement by a Spokesman of the Communist Party of Thailand on November 9, 1967

The puppet Thanom-Praphas clique made such a gesture indicating that a bogus constitution will be proclaimed and bogus elections will be held shortly just at a time when it is stepping up the selling out of the country in the service of U.S. imperialism, and intensifying its suppressing, slaughter and arrest of the patriotic and democracy-loving people, thus plunging all the people of the country into the abyss of unprecedented misery. This, in fact, is a monstrous political swindle engineered jointly by U.S. imperialism, the Thanom-Praphas puppet clique and revisionist renegades. Their aim is to make use of this political swindle to split and undermine the revolutionary ranks and stamp out the raging flames of the people's armed struggle so as to maintain their reactionary rule and continue their dirty work of national betrayal, fascist dictatorship, and bringing havoc to the country and the people.

In the past years, all patriotic and democracy-loving people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand, have risen resolutely and persevered in fighting
against U.S. imperialist aggression and the selling out of national independence and depriving of the freedom and rights of the people by the Thanom-Praphas bandit gang. This gang has suppressed and arrested the patriotic and democracy-loving people who are opposed to it, and has revealed itself more and more clearly and flagrantly its treacherous and reactionary nature. It is willing to be a faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism. It has reduced our beloved country into an out-and-out U.S. imperialist colony of a new type. Our country has become an important strategic base for U.S. imperialism to launch an aggressive war. It has allowed the United States to station its B-52 bombers in Thailand and use the air bases in our country to conduct savage raids on Vietnam and Laos. At the same time it has sent Thai troops to fight in the war of aggression against south Vietnam and taken part in the suppression of the Laotian people's struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. Worse still, it has participated in the U.S. strategic plan for encircling and threatening the People's Republic of China. The traitorous Thanom-Praphas clique has also allowed scores of thousands of pirate U.S. troops to come to Thailand to trample on our national dignity, ride roughshod over the Thai people, bullying them and trampling them underfoot at will. It is working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists to plunder the people and suck their blood, plunging them into untold suffering, hunger and poverty. Consequently, the movement against the crimes of the U.S. imperialism-Thanom bandit gang has spread to the whole country. However, the Thanom-Praphas clique raised by U.S. imperialism does not want to realize its own crimes, on the contrary, it suppresses and slaughters the patriotic people more cruelly.
Lessons drawn by the people at the cost of their bloodshed and through their undaunted struggle for many years have taught our people to organize themselves into a revolutionary and patriotic armed force to resist and hit at the reactionary and treacherous armed force of the U.S. imperialism-Thanom bandit gang. This has opened the eyes of the people to the fact that armed struggle is the only way to drive out U.S. imperialism and overthrow the Thanom-Praphas clique, win genuine national independence and democracy and improve the life of the people.

Therefore, in the past two years, the armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand has won the enthusiastic support of the people. The surging flames of the armed struggle lit in northeast region have spread to the plains and hilly areas in south, central and north regions. The armed struggle has inspired and given an example to all the people of the country, and they have pinned their hope on it.

The development of the people’s armed struggle has increasingly struck terror into the hearts of the U.S. imperialists and the Thanom brigands. They have mapped out all kinds of schemes and have sent out more troops to conduct a feverish suppression of this struggle. But the patriotic people’s armed forces have not only effectively resisted the suppression but have dealt the U.S. imperialism-Thanom gang one blow after another, inflicting losses on them. Instead of being wiped out, they have grown in size and strength. It is against this background that the U.S. imperialism-Thanom clique resorts to the above-mentioned political swindle in an attempt to dupe the people and mislead them into engaging in peaceful and parliamentary struggle. The junk they are peddling, such as the “constitution”, “political parties” and “elec-
tion”, are designed to deceive the people in the hope of creating confusion and split in the ranks of the revolutionaries, isolating the patriotic people’s armed forces and making them renounce armed struggle and surrender. But this vile scheme of the U.S. imperialism-Thanom gang cannot fool the people. From their personal experience, the people have realized that the road of peaceful and parliamentary struggle cannot solve the problems facing the country and the people but can only be an instrument facilitating the fraud of that gang.

At present, the U.S. imperialism-Thanom clique is doing its utmost to buy over certain political groups and politicians so as to play swindle together with it. It has been discovered that some politicians have entered into the service of the U.S. imperialism-Thanom clique, hastily and servilely participating in the monstrous political swindle. They docilely serve the U.S. imperialism-Thanom clique. The people will fight resolutely against those who make themselves the enemies of the people, but hope that those who are deceived and still have illusions about the sham democracy of the U.S. imperialism-Thanom clique will make an all-round consideration, and that they will no longer serve its swindle and draw a lesson from those who went astray.

The revolutionary people have profoundly realized that the U.S. imperialism-Thanom clique depends on its vile political swindle to maintain its treacherous and fascist dictatorship and the ruling system which brings havoc to the country and the people. By this way, they can continuously step up to sell the country, suppress, persecute and slaughter the people. They do not consider the interests of the country and the people’s rights of freedom and life.
The Communist Party of Thailand and the Thai patriotic people's armed forces under its leadership are determined to unite with all the patriotic and democracy-loving people to carry out resolutely the line of armed struggle and to persist in the people's war. No matter what savage and brutal tactics the U.S. imperialism-Thanom clique may adopt in their suppression campaign and how they alternate political swindle with armed suppression. They will gain nothing. On the contrary, these will expose more clearly their reactionary features as aggressors and traitors. Our Party and the entire patriotic and democratic forces will deal fierce counter-blows at the U.S. imperialism-Thanom clique and smash all its schemes.

Dear compatriots, the road of people's armed struggle is a bright road. Our patriotic struggle for democracy is a progressive and just struggle. The patriotic people of the whole country and the revolutionary people throughout the world stand on our side and support us. Our present difficulties and the twists and turns on the way are only temporary. So long as we are resolute, fear no sacrifice and overcome all difficulties, we will gradually win victory. The U.S. imperialism-Thanom brigands are opposed by people at home and abroad because their aggression and treachery are reactionary and unjust. There is not the slightest doubt that they will be destroyed.

Let us unite as one to denounce the treachery and oppression by the Thanom-Praphas clique, resolutely expose and combat its political fraud, strongly oppose its sham democracy and bogus elections, actively participate in, support or co-ordinate with the armed struggle and fight for the expulsion of U.S. imperialism and the overthrow of the Thanom-Praphas clique, for the establish-
ment of a coalition government pursuing a policy of independence and democracy and bring about prosperity and progress in our beloved country.

**U.S. imperialism and the Thanom traitorous gang will surely be destroyed!**

**The Thai people will surely win!**
Armed Struggle or Parliamentary Struggle?

— Declaration of the Central Committee of the Patriotic Front of Thailand

Dear compatriots,

Three months have passed since the proclamation of the bogus constitution by the traitorous Thanom-Praphas clique. There is no democracy in it. Our compatriots have seen through it. The Thanom-Praphas clique wants to use this bogus constitution and parliament to hide its traitorous and dictatorial countenance and use the rights that vest in such a constitution to prolong the life of the fascist, military-police, dictatorial regime and make its position legal. Therefore, people from all walks of life have been rising up to completely expose, condemn and fight the phoney constitution and the forthcoming false election.

Groaning under the shackles of the fascist dictatorship, the people of our country are very eager to obtain democracy. But we want genuine democracy, not sham democracy. That is to say, we want to overthrow the Thanom-Praphas dictatorial regime, formulate a constitution under which political power shall belong to the people, and establish a people's democratic government.

The Thanom-Praphas clique is the political representative of the U.S. imperialists and the bureaucrat ca-
pitalists and big landlords, the most reactionary classes in our country. The Thanom-Praphas clique sells itself to U.S. imperialism and betrays the country even further than the big traitor Sarit did during his rule. They let the U.S. imperialists control completely the whole of Thailand politically, militarily, economically and culturally. They bring the wolves in, let tens of thousands of U.S. troops occupy our territory, trample on our sovereignty, turn our territory into a base of U.S. imperialism to invade our neighbouring countries and send mercenaries to Vietnam and Laos to struggle desperately for U.S. imperialism. The Thanom-Praphas clique uses its power to carry out corruption, monopolize trading and occupy public land and rob the peasants of their land by force. Every member of this clique gets the wealth as much as thousands of millions and fine land as much as hundreds of thousands of rai. They are as greedy as wolves and even worse than the big traitor Sarit. They raise taxes endlessly, incur debts greatly and issue paper money lavishly in order to make up for the huge military budget. As a result, our country has lost its independence and become a new-type colony of U.S. imperialism; our people have lost their democratic rights and are oppressed like slaves and slaughtered at will by the U.S.-Thanom clique; our finance and economy are confronted with crisis, inflation and the soaring of prices. The national industry and commerce go bankrupt, the workers are out of jobs, the peasants lose their land. They have become poverty-stricken. Those persons with low income are also very miserable.

How can the people in our country gain independence and democracy? There is only one road, that of armed struggle. The road of peaceful struggle and the road of
parliamentary struggle used by the ruling classes to deceive us can in no way put an end to our fate as slaves.

Thirty years and more have passed since the coup d'état took place*. There has never been a constitution which lets the people possibly control the political power and in which the minimum democratic rights are ensured at all.

It is entirely up to the Thanom-Praphas clique to decide whether it is in its interests to have a general election and parliament. However, the general election and parliament rigged up by the Thanom-Praphas clique are simply a bogus general election and parliament. In the eyes of our people, they are worthless.

Besides, the ruling classes can play all sorts of dirty tricks to grind their own axes and buyout parliamentary members. They can exercise the right to dissolve parliament or use force to overthrow it when necessary.

From this one can see that a parliament which is not of and for the people is nothing but the ornament of a false democratic system. Never in the entire history of parliamentarism has there been a case where the oppressed and exploited classes ever succeeded in overthrowing the political power of the ruling classes through parliament. Especially in a country like Thailand, which has been under fascist dictatorial rule for such a long time, seldom have the power blocs within the ruling classes succeeded in overthrowing a regime in parliament. It is absolutely impossible for the broad masses of the oppressed people to overthrow the ruling classes through parliament. They must rely on the strength of armed struggle. This conforms to Chairman Mao Tse-tung’s teaching: “Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”
Having grasped the truth of this theory, our patriotic compatriots under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand are taking up arms one after another and fighting heroically against the U.S.-Thanom clique. Events in the last three years have proved that the road pointed out by the Communist Party of Thailand is a correct one. This road requires that we rely on the peasants, carry out guerrilla warfare, establish rural bases, use the countryside to encircle the cities, and finally seize political power throughout the country. The armed struggle by the people is sweeping our country like a prairie fire and has spread swiftly to four regions. The people’s armed forces armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung have steadily grown, from small to big, from weak to strong, winning victory after victory. The true features of the enemy as a paper tiger are exposed to the last degree by the heroic fighters of the people’s armed forces. They are getting a beating everywhere and are hopelessly bogged down. They are in an impasse. So they have turned to political fraud, proclaiming a bogus constitution and preparing for a false general election to hoodwink the people. They have done so as though they have reformed, cast away their true type fascist and dictatorial nature and now practise democracy. By doing so, they hope to ensnare our patriotic compatriots to lay down their arms, stop the fighting and have illusions on parliamentary struggle.

But the U.S.-Thanom clique has miscalculated. The vast majority of the Thai people know what this clique is worth. One and all, the people’s armed forces hold on still more firmly to the guns in their hands and attack the enemy still more fiercely. During this period, most of the people have already boycotted the provincial and
municipal elections, refusing to go to the polls to elect members of the provincial and municipal councils in many places, including the Bangkok-Thonburi municipality. Only 5 to 20 per cent of the population voted. The struggle to boycott the elections has made the Thanom-Praphas regime very worried and uneasy. If the ruling classes really hold the general election, we believe that patriotic compatriots are sure to boycott it on an even more extensive scale. We call on patriotic and democratic people of all political groups who wish to uphold their reputation to co-operate with the masses, and together boycott the Thanom-Praphas clique’s bogus general election and refuse to take part in the election campaign. Participation in canvassing means supporting the Thanom-Praphas clique’s fraud and undermining the democratic and revolutionary cause of national salvation. At present, the best expression of supporting the road of armed struggle and helping the people’s armed struggle is to resolutely boycott the general election, thoroughly expose and condemn the political fraud of the Thanom-Praphas clique.

It is known to everyone that the Patriotic Front of Thailand is a patriotic organization formed by the people of various circles and forces from different parts of the country. Its purpose is to fulfil the greatest revolutionary task in our era, that is, to drive U.S. imperialism out of Thailand, overthrow the traitorous Thanom-Praphas clique, strive for national independence and genuine democracy and establish a prosperous, strong and new Thailand. In order to achieve this goal, the Patriotic Front of Thailand will co-operate with all patriotic and democratic parties, groups and individuals, and firmly
support or take part in the armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Thailand.

Finally, we call on all compatriots to unite as one to support the armed struggle, and launch offensives against the enemy on all fronts and in all endeavours and unfold the people’s war more extensively. There are many difficulties and hardships confronting us and the road ahead is tortuous. Nevertheless, we firmly believe that under the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand, so long as we persist in people’s war, final victory will belong to the Thai people.

The Central Committee of the Patriotic Front of Thailand

September 20, 1968.

Note:

* This coup d'état took place in 1932 and since then the absolute monarchy has been replaced by limited monarchy.