

## 論文の英文要旨

論文題目 シヤムにおける国家発展をめぐる  
言論と立憲革命

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### Opinions on National Development and the 1932 Revolution in Siam

On June 24, 1932, the 'People's Party', that was a group of middle and lower-ranked military officers and civilians seized the power of an absolute monarchy and established the constitutional monarchy. From 1930 to 1934, many people had put forward various opinions to the King and the new government. Among them there were opinions that suggested the way of solving social problems the country had faced, or the way of developing the country. Of more than 539 appeals that came to the authorities after the Revolution, some were radically opposed to the old regime. The purpose of this study is to discuss the transformation of the people's consciousness in this period and to mention social function of newspapers. In my study I would point out that there emerged autonomous discontented elements of society, everywhere in Siam, mostly autonomy-minded advocates, who acted for the sake of their country and the nation. And at the same time I would like to put stress on the fact that newspapers had

provided them with forums where they could express their own views.

In most previous studies, they regarded the Revolution had merely brought an oligarchic regime in lieu of the pre-revolutionary dictatorship and concluded that the majority had stayed still in political apathy. Since the latter half of 1970s, however, it had become obvious that media and some intellectuals criticized the previous royal government. Since 1990s, some scholars came to suggest that the change of political culture or perception of middle class people or disenfranchised urban literati was not irrelevant with the overthrow of the absolute monarchy.

Both Copeland and Atthacak conducted studies useful for us to get a good insight into the people's consciousness. Copeland noted that the nationalism among disenfranchised urban elite arose already before the Revolution took place and it came to contest with the official nationalism constructed by royal elites. On the other hand, Atthacak argued that political consciousness of officials and some people changed as a result of being inspired the idea of the nation by ruling elites. I think, however, those people who submitted opinions had accepted the official nationalism and were skeptical to the royal government at the same time. The question we have to ask here is how people interpreted messages about the official nationalism.

Second questions is that what newspapers had to do with the people before the Revolution. The previous studies had focused mainly on this subject from the publisher's point of view with a little attention to the people's acceptance of these newspapers. Moreover, although Copeland concluded the pervasion of the nationalism among literati in Bangkok, no speculation had taken place in terms of consciousness of local people.

In my study, I picked up four points to figure out the questions stated above. First comes investigation on the relationship between the messages about the official nationalism and the people's political consciousness. Secondly,

to examine the social function of newspapers with paying attention not only to the publisher's side but also to social acceptance. The third is to analyze the reaction of the King and the royal elite to opinions on newspapers and government policy concerning opinions. The fourth is to have a better insight into opinions submitted before and after the Revolution.

The study consists of five chapters.

The contents and the conclusion of each chapter are as follows:

In Chapter 1, "Creation and Transmission of the Official Nationalism", I studied the policies on national development among royal elites and the messages of the official nationalism propagated in the form of school textbooks and others. Those policies were different in political principles even among royal elites. As for the message of official nationalism, it aimed not only to produce the obedient subject to the King but also to provoke the autonomous subject who acts for the sake of the nation and the country.

In Chapter 2, "Newspapers Serving as Forums for Expressing Opinions", I investigated the function of newspapers before the Revolution. Although newspapers were published mostly in Bangkok, they were sent to local people by mail. The King, royal elite, officials, and intellectuals living in Bangkok and local places contributed their own opinions to these newspapers. It inevitably called many arguments in the same newspaper and among different papers. Publishers and contributors were all anonymous or used pen names without mentioning their social ranks and positions. Therefore, these arguments created the horizontal communication, which was quite different from the social order under the absolute monarchy.

In Chapter 3, "Rise of Opinions in Newspapers", I analysed how the people interpreted messages of the official nationalism. In the 1910s, some intellectuals put forward the arguments with the King on Chinese politics and some newspapers criticized the government insisting that the government should



accept the 'public opinion'. In the 1920s, opinions on national development were expressed on more newspapers. They from time to time criticized the government or the injustice officials who became 'obstacles' to the nation. Although the people accepted messages of official nationalism, they interpreted them differently from the original meanings.

In Chapter 4, "Opinions and the Royal Government", I examined the reaction of the King and the royal elite to opinions on newspapers and the government policy concerning opinions. After the abortive revolt of young military officers in 1912, some royal elite began to consider the influence of newspapers. In 1927, the King came to be serious about the influence of the 'public opinion' and recognized the necessity to conduct some political reform. The Press Act was enacted in 1923 followed by its revision in 1927. The gist of this law was to get rid of agitative propaganda written by members of National Party (Kokumin-to) and by communists in Chinese newspapers and handbills spreading in Siam. The government did not intend to restrict the freedom of speech but even allowed the people to express opinions for the sake of 'public interests'.

In Chapter 5, "Opinions During the Revolution", I investigated opinions submitted to the King and the new government. These opinions were written mainly by officials and intellectuals who lived in Bangkok and local places as well. Some people who expressed opinions on newspapers and who submitted opinions achieved direct political participation after the Revolution. Pre-revolutionary newspapers functioned as forums for expressing opinions for the people who were interested in politics and autonomously acted for the sake of the country and the nation.