INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THAI STATE: A CASE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENTOF THAILAND'S BANKNOTESFROM1900S TO 1960S

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Abstract - This study offers an historical overview of the development of Thai banknotes from 1900s to 1960s. Generally, although banknotes and their design will play a crucial role in creating national identity, pushed forward by State. However, in the case of Thailand, Its banknotes reflect that there are many limitations made Thai state could not impel profoundly its own ideology.Because the knowledge about the banknote printing was quite new for them. It was necessary for Thai state to depend on the foreign banknote printer, mostly the Thomas de la Rue company. However, Thai state established its own printing work of Bank of Thailand in 1969, it could design the banknote by itself. Albeit, Thai state still did not act independently under international norms.

Index Terms - Banknote iconography, Ideological transformation, Internationalization of state, Thailand.

II. INTRODUCTION

Themain objective of this paper is to offer an alternative perspective to the study of banknoteiconography and ideological transformation.Instead of looking at the change of ideological content of state elite's thinking about the relationship between state and citizen relating to thedomestic context of political and economic factors,which usually had been reflected onthe artistic designof banknotesin each period, it is proposed here that the changing of those one should be consideredon process of interactions between international context of political and economic factors and domestic social forces in the state.These interactions had significant impacts upon the limitation of state elite's ability inusing the currency to indoctrinate the public with a set of specifically national values.

In general, banknote design seems to be especially important for the new state formation as the political instrument for state's propaganda. Because banknote is oneof several channelsof mass communication like other printed materials officially approved by the state such as postage stamp, postcard, textbooketc., which circulate in people's everyday life;the state can insert a set of political ideology and political value, which it considers necessary for state building and nation building on the banknote iconography.

However, these state intentions may be not accomplish especially in case ofthe statewith less power or the relatively weak state by comparison with the great power when the decision making of the weak state's political leaders cannot perform independentlyin determining the domestic policies relating to international community without interference of the great powers, in this context, the western powers such as the British empire in 19th century and the US hegemonic power in 20thcentury could be understood to be the case. To examine whether it is in general true that the weak state cannotmake their policies independently, this article will present the case study of the development of Thailand's banknote from 1900sto 1960s.In brief, it shows that Thai state elites consciously following the western models of banknote design in early stage when Thailand's banknote printing rely on the external country banknote printerand later even if the Bank of Thailand has established their own Note Printing Work,the banknote design still depend on external political and economic factorsi.e.communist threat, high technology knowledge about banknote printing, global economic crisis, etc.

The article is organized as follows.SectionII concentrates on literature reviews about banknote iconography in several perspectives, and then shows the conceptual framework of this article about banknote iconography.Section IIIanalyzes the relationship between the developments of Thai banknote and the international political economy dynamics. Finally,section IVsuggests the implicationsof this study for understanding the Thai banknote designs rely on the interactions between state, social forces and the great power.

II. LITERATURE REVIEWS OF THE STUDY OF BANKNOTE ICONOGRAPHY

There are many studies about banknote iconography in Thailand but most of all only describe the details about images and signs of each banknote series or the basic information of the date of circulation. Furthermore, there are quite little academic studies about the Thai banknote iconography, the most famous works in this

topic in Thailand is Professor ChatriPrakitnontakarn's article on "Image, Tracery, and Signs on Thai Banknote: the Political Reflection"[1]. Although this article will analyze the development of Thai banknote excitingly, especially about Thai politics, it still mislead about the external context neglected in his work; for example, foreign tracery, portrait of King and so on. So, his critics by using specific internal factor; like role of the King, social transformation of rights, relationship between state and citizen, make Thai banknote in exception, unlike other countries' banknoteeven though, in fact, it does not different in context.Therefore, I wish this article will fulfill thatacademic gaps.

Table I:The Example of the Study of Banknote Iconography

	Structure	Agency
Internal factors	- Grodecka and Markowski(2015)[2]	- Josh Lauer (2008)[3] - Jan Penrose (2011)[4] - ChatriPrakitnontakarn(2015)[5]
External factors	- Jacques E.C. Hymans (2004)[6]	Jacques E.C. Hymans (2005)[7] - Oliver Tappe(2007)[8] - Jacques E.C. Hymans (2010)[9]ques E.C. Hymans and Ronan Tse-min Fu (2017)[10]

As I have just described the state of knowledge about this study in Thailand, in the next I will review the studies about banknote iconography. Most of these studies could be categorized basically into two broader groups from structure/agency view in making changes on banknote iconography and two broader groups from external/internal factor view as follows.From Table I, the study of banknote iconography could group into 2x2 dimension table. Firstly, in the columns: groups of articles explained from the view of role of structure (political, social and/or economic context, etc.) or agency (political actors such as King, state authorities, etc.).

Secondly, in the rows: groups of articles explained from the view of the external factors (foreign countries, international organization, etc.) or the internal factors (roles of government, relationship between state and citizen, etc.).

In spite of simple categorization's reviewed article, I think it may be useful for future studies as I will endeavor to do with this article. From my viewpoint, I found that most of the past studies, although they will ponder with international context, still not consider to the internationalization of the state as I will present in this article.

The database of Thai banknote used in this study is based on the souvenir books of Bank of Thailand[11], the cremation books[12].Moreover, I used "Standard Catalog of United States Paper Money"[13] and "Catalog of World Paper Mone for the data about the international banknote.

III. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THAI BANKNOTE AND THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY DYNAMICS

Before considering in detail about thistopic issues,a brief history of Siamese or Thai modern stateshould be introduced. Most of the Thai people was taugh to believe that Thailand unlike all of its Southeast Asian neighbors and the majority of the globe had never been colonized by any imperial power. However, in fact, the

[1]ChatriPrakitnontakarn. (2015). "Image, Tracery, and Signs on Thai Banknote: the Political Reflection."in*Thai Architecture After the Coup of 19 September 2006*, pp. 129-161, Bangkok: Read Journal Press. (in Thai)

[2]Grodecka, Anna and Markowski, (2015). "Banknotes as a Symbol of Economic and National Power: A Case Study of German, French and Italian Banknotes in the 19th and First Half of the 20th Century," *BankhistorischesArchiv* 41, /1-2, pp. 41 – 66.

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[12] The book published for distribution to guests at cremation ceremonies which I used for details about development of Thai banknote in this article:Bank of Thailand. (1961).*Remind of Wiwatanachaiya.* Bangkok: Siwaporn. (in Thai), PipatKrairiksh. (1978).*Selected Writings of PipatKrairiksh*. Printed in Memorial for the Royal Cremation of PipatKrairiksh. Bangkok: Amrin. (in Thai) and ChaloemYongboonkerd. (2015). *Stories of Thai banknote.* Bangkok: Bank of Thailand.

[13]Cuhaj, George S., ed. (2013). *Standard Catalog of United States Paper money*, 32nded. Wisconsin: Krause Publications.

independence and the sovereignty of Thai state are crucial and controversial topic for further discussion.

The mainstream view credits Siam's monarchy for safeguarding the kingdom from the incursions of the British and other European powers into 19th- early 20thcentury in Southeast Asia whereas there are other interesting views too. One of them, reasonable for describing, is thatThai state transformsitself from traditional society to modern one. A strong argument can be made that the Thai statewas concluded to 'free market' world of the western power, particularly after the signing of the Bowring Treaty in 1855;the rapid development of Thai state depend highly on the transnational trade, especially exportationof agricultural raw materials i.e. rice, rubber, tin, teak,etc.After that, the internationalization of the Thai state led to not only the modernization of the existing bureaucracy but also the centralization of power of Siam's monarchy, which it hadnever happened before. The employment of a large number of foreign advisors could help Siam elites createdcolonial modernity in their own absolutist state with the mutually sharedinterests for Siam and the Great powers such as the British empire and the French empire in the late 19thcentury.[14]

In the same way of the origin of printing Thai banknote in the age of King Chulalongkorn or King Rama V of the Chakri dynasty, the newvarious government departments of the Siamese modern statewas under the direction of the appointed foreign advisor working for the Siamese royal court.This situation continued until the decline of Thai absolutist state, the role of foreign advisors decreased in the age of the People's party after the 1932 Siamese revolution had shifted the regime type from the absolutist monarchy to the constitution monarchy.Whereas the influence of the western powers still existin various political and economic projects linking to foreign interests, as seen from the adoption and evolution of Thai banknotein each period of time, which I will show you in the next.

A. Development of Thai Banknote from King Rama V Era to Siam Revolution 1932(1868 – 1932)

Since the late 19th century Siam's economy system was integrated in the British world-economy, the economic growth rate of Siamwas increasedrapidly.Butthe precious metal coinslacked the ability oftransactions; especially when the price of tin rose substantially, people melted down the tin coins into slab for export aboard; so that the currency crisis was too severe. Although the government adopted the other things (materials) which ordinary people used insteadof the invaluable coins,i.e. porcelain chips (so called 'pee') of the gambling house; the problem still existed. Moreover, the coins was inconvenient for large amounts of commercial exchange.Finally, the banknotewas officially usedin 1902 when King Rama V promulgated the Currency Notes Act, B.E. 2445.

As explained before, the foreign advisors in Siam modern state played a crucial role. Accordingly, in the case of banknote printing,due to lack of knowledge, King Rama V seekforeignersto be the financial advisor.Therefore, in May 1900, Siamese Government employed W.J.F. Williamson, an officer of Government of India, for drafting the laws and regulations about banknote issues and banknote printing based on the Indian practice. Then,Siamese government requested the Bank of England for printing Thai banknote, but that request did not accomplish.At that time, the Bank of England printed banknote for the Indian Government because it was one of the colonial under the British rule.However, the Bank of England recommended the Thomas De La Rue company for Siam, as this company was under service for the Bank of England.Since then the variety of Thai banknote serieswas printed from the Thomas De La Rue company, although this company sometime suffered the financial crisis and no matter that it had not specialization for new banknote printing techniques which Siamese government desired for anti-counterfeiting.

Notably, the beginning of Thai banknote indicates that the internationalization of the capital and the stateduring the period of British hegemonyoccured in Siam when it, linking to the free market economy,adopted the standard of capitalismlike using banknoteas a medium of exchange for plenty of commercial transactions. Depending on the English banknote printer, the first series of Thai banknotes in circulation received characteristics of Indian banknoteshown on the unifacei.e. many languages on the front, a printed date, textslike 'promise to pay the bearer on demand', color for each denomination,etc. These norms of the banknote printing become limitation of using banknote as a tool of state propaganda, because Siamese government couldn'tdesign independently its own pattern of banknote.

Significantly, before going into detail about the 2ndThai banknote series, at that time the technology of banknote printing moved forward rapidly, so the trends of banknote designchanged i.e. the banknote bore the image of human, places or some activities on the banknote. So, they were useful for the state communicating both domestically and internationallywith people who had to take them in

[14] See Jim Glassman. (2004). *Thailand at the Margins: Internationalization of the State and the Transformantion of Labour*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 33-34.AndKulladaKesboonchoo Mead. (2004). *The Rise and Decline of Thai Absolutism*. New York: Routledge, pp. 25-37.

everyday life.As Jacques E.C.Hymans' data presented in "table 3" of his work "The Changing Color of Money: European Currency Iconography and Collective Identity"[15]; in the epoch of currency issue from 1920 – 1949, the trend of European countries' banknote camewith a boom in depictions of society.Certainly, these changes brought the diffusion of characteristics of European countries' banknote to the Thai banknote too.

In the reign of King Vajiravudh or King Rama VI[16], the 2nd Series of Thai banknotes, still printed aboard from the Thomas De La Rue company, were used on July 21, 1925; there are many changing appearances on the banknotes, for examples, these banknotes had two face and they were the first series of Thai banknote an inserted an image. During this period King Rama VI attempted to create 'official Siamese nationalism' for maintaining his throne, thus, the banknote is one of many tools selected for taking advantage after enormous incidents of World War I happened, especially the Chinese revolution in 1911. The 1911 Chinese revolution which overthrow the Qing dynasty was imitated by the group of young army officers in Siam, generally called 'Kabot R.S. 130', the first great challenge to absolutist monarchy in 1912.

King Rama VI used the 2nd banknote series for presenting the 'Thainess', for example,images of the Garuda and the Airapote elephant on the front and image of the royal ploughing ceremony on the back; simultaneously reduced the foreign signwhich had been usedin the 1st banknote series such as English script, Chinese script and Malay script on the banknote, etc.Notwithstanding, King Rama VI's promoted'Thainess', it did not fall out of the international contexti.e.at that time the nationalismwas widespread over Europe and other places under the western colonial rule. At this point, the image ofthe royal ploughing ceremony on the back should be mentioned remarkably because thesimilar image appeared on the back of the Indian banknotes' 1000 Rupee denomination, which were used in 1928 or about three year later since the 2nd Thai banknoteseries were circulated.

As mentioned before, the political and economic situations in the global context fluctuated as a result of the World War I, the economic recession in Siam thus began inevitably. This is one of the crucial factors brought to the decline of Thai absolutism when the People's Party, comprised of civil servants, military officers and ordinary people, seizing the royal power of the King Prajadhipok or King Rama VIIin 1932. The Siamese Revolution not only revampedthe political and economic deteriorations, but alsoinitiated the new lifestyle for Siamese citizen. In the next topic, various aspects which originated in the People's Party era including the People's Party-style banknote design in detail, should be described.

B. Development of Thai Banknote in People's Party Era to the Wartime Period(1932 – 1945)

Although the political regime of Siam has already changed from the absolute monarchy to the limited monarchy in 1932, the conflicts between the People's Party and the royalist still exists in transitional period about two years later. The temporary defeat of the counter-revolutionary led to the abdication of King Rama VII in 1934.Thereby, the ideas ofnew state and nation building of the People's Party were used to lay the foundation for enhancing the rights of citizenship of Siamesei.e. the equality's principle, one ofthe six principles of the People's Party,was implemented, etc.

Although the banknote, 3rd Series, were first issued in 1934, or about two years after the change of the Siamese's regime, the democratic signs on the banknote did not appear. Meanwhile, the absolutism was toppled by the People's Party, the 3rd banknote series, which showed a portrait of King Rama VII on the front, was in process and delayed for several year for circulation. So, these could be confused that why the old regime still continued to be important on the banknote design. Therefore, it was necessary to state that at that time the Thomas de la Rue originally proposed this idea, because it was new famous technique for anti-counterfeiting. Thus, it was not exaggerated claim that the portrait of King Rama VII on banknote wasone of the example of the internationalization.

The 4th Series of Thai banknote, first issued in the reign of King Ananda Mahidol or King Rama VIII, certainly printed by Thomas de la Rue Company. There were many signs of new regime appeared on the banknote such asan image of the Constitution placed on a pedestal tray andan image of the Anantasamakom Throne Hall – it was used to be the firstparliament in the constitutional monarchy era.Obviously, it was the first time the democratic values of the new regime reflected on the banknote design.Unfortunately, the incursion of World War II began in Europe (1939) and the transportation were blocked, so the publicrequirements for using the new banknote were increasing highly. Turning back to look at the expansion of Japanese power in Asia, theirtroops invaded Thailand in 1939 and then, coerced Thai leaders to sign the treaty of alliance for annexing

[15] See Hymans, Jacques E.C. (2004). "The Changing Color of Money: European Currency Iconography and Collective Identity," p. 13.

[16] King Vajiravudh becomes the sixth monarch of the Chakri Dynasty with his coronation held on November 11, 1910.

Thailand to the Japanese strategy of the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere'.

Crisis of Japanese encroaching into Thailand was not only political burden for Thai, but also economic burden too, especially, theinflation rate increased terribly. In this context, the external factors, like World War II and Japanese power, became the structural condition for changing of the Thai banknote, 4th Series type II, which was printed in Thailand to alleviate the problem of money scarcity instead of waiting for the banknote from Thomas de la Rue Company. At this point, I will emphasize that the consideration of banknote designsshould not only interpret appearances i.e. tracery, format, etc.,butalso prioritize with structural context of the origin of them too, as I will explain in details about the Thai banknotes during the Greater East Asia war.

At the beginning of the Japanese military's invasion in Thailand, Japan and Thailand made an agreement about monetary expenditures and financial credits. In summary about agreement proposals of Japan to Thai Government are "...to change the exchange rate between the two countries, setting up a new rate at 100 Baht per 100 Yen. Payment in business transactions between Japan and Thailand had to be done in Japanese currency..."[17] Moreover, since Thailand did not have the central bank at that time, Japan also proposed the establishing of Thailand's central bank with Japanese officials in various significant positions. Therefore, many Thai leaders hurried to establish bank of Thailand with Thai officers in every positions to protect the financial independence of Thailand.

However, during wartime period Thailand's expenditure was increasing in large scale, this led to the inadequacy of Thai banknote in circulation. Therefore, Thai Government requested the Japanese Government to arrange for the banknotes and, finally, the 5th Series of Thai banknotes was printed by Japan'sthe Mitsui Bussan Kaisha Company.At the same time, Thai Government decided to print the banknotes in the country (the 4th Series of Thai banknote in Royal Thai Survey Department version)[18] by using local materialswith poor quality at some private printers and the several state department such as the Survey Department, the Hydrographic Department, the Department of Highways, the Department of the Royal State Railways of Siam[19].

The 4th Series of Thai banknote (Royal Thai Survey Department)was colorless and looked like the note of Chinese using for the traditional funeral ceremony, so itwas called "Kongteck" note.Besides, the 6th and 7th Series of Thai banknote was printed by domestic printer like the 4th Series for solving the insufficiency of banknote circulation during wartime. These are the examples of the structural context of banknote designs which should be considered exactly.

Moreover, the attempt of the United States in replacing the British power could be distinguished through the banknote printing i.e. the 8th Series of Thai banknote which printed in U.S. with Tudor Press Inc. by using the printing plates of the U.S. Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Because the press of Thomas de la Rue company was damaged during the war, Thai Government requested the assistance of U.S. Government for printing the banknote. Consequently, the 8th Series of Thai banknote had characteristics of American styles.[20]

C. Development of Thai Banknote in "Americanized Development Era" to 1960s(post - WWII - 1960s)

After the World War II,U.S. Government became the great friends who supported everything Thai Government wanted, because Thailand's geopolitics was useful for advancing the benefits of U.S. Government in the mainland of Southeast Asia. Exactly, Thailand was not under the western colonial rule and located near the group of Indochina countries – Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos – which was under influences of Communism from People's Republic of China (PRC) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in the Cold War period; therefore, Thailand was like the most important democratic and capitalist fortress for U.S. Government to struggle with antagonist countries.

Finally, the Indochina countries turned gradually to communism from 1975 to 1976 but these did not happen with Thailand under anti-communist's claims supported by U.S. Government. The post-World War II's economic development plans in Thailand, pushed forward by World Bank and U.S. Government, expanded the free market economy and foreign direct investment, thus, it was necessary to have a large number of Thai banknotes for transactions.

However, it was useful togo into detail that the Bank of Thailand had established already since the wartime period, after WWII finished, Thailand still hired the Thomas de la Rue company for printing the Thai

[17] See Bank of Thailand. (2003). *Centenary of Thai Banknote: 1902 – 2002*, p. 120. AndBank of Thailand. (1961).*Remind of Wiwatanachaiya*, pp. 28 – 29.

[18] The banknote of this series will have the phrase "*Royal Thai Survey Department*" at the lower center of the front and back. See Bank of Thailand. (2003). *Centenary of Thai Banknote: 1902 – 2002*, p. 120.

[19] PipatKrairiksh. (1978). *Selected Writings of PipatKrairiksh*, p. 105.

[20] This banknote series is look like both the Military Payment Certificates (MPC),which were special currency issued by the U.S. Armed Forced between the end of World War II and 1973, and the 1941 Issue's banknote of Philippines , pp. 430 – 443 and 462.

banknote; because Thai printing officers had not high skills and techniques for printing the banknote.These limitations of Bank of Thailand opened the way for competition of the foreign banknote printer to take the benefits from Thailand.

There were many attempts to establish the banknote printer in Thailandboth by Thai people and by foreigner since 1954.In this case, we will see the political intervention of several foreign actorsfrom both state authorities and businessman in Thai politicsusing personal relationship with some Thai political leaders who functioned as internationalized broker.In 1954, Mr. William P. Hunt[21] - the chairman of Security Banknote company in United States which printed the banknote for Philippines, Vietnam, Indonesia and Ethiopia - negotiated with several Thai politicians in FMPhibul'scabinet and senior officers of Bank of Thailand to engage in printing Thai banknote; he claimed that the communist will destroy Thai economy by using the counterfeit banknote because the Thomas de la Rue's banknote printing technique was very poor.[22] However, Thai Government denied Hunt's request. When FM SaritThanarat was Thailand's prime minister, Hunt got in negotiation with senior officers of Bank of Thailand for printing the Thai banknote again, but on behalf of the Security Columbian Banknote. Finally, Hunt's attempts accomplished, Thai government agreed to hire Hunt's banknote printing companywith a payment in advance about 14 millions baht formaking banknote printing block.

However, this agreement was a scandal about corruptionof the politician in Sarit cabinet, so Thai Government canceled this agreement later. The path of Thai banknotecame to the turning point again when Thai Government decided to establish the banknote printer in Thailand and departed from services of the Thomas de la Rue company.This was not happy ending of history of Thai banknote with the Thomas de la Rue company as seen from the quote of the Chairman of the company below:

"My boy, you are too young to print banknote It is highly technique. It is better to print from aboard. It is too dangerous."[23]

In 1969,Field Marshall ThanomKittikachorn's cabinet established the Bank of Thailand Note Printing Works with advice of Mr. Charles Aussems, the founder of Bank of Belgium. Exactly, this was an indicator ofthe rise of the Pax Americana,which intended to replacethe Pax Britannica in Southeast Asia. That was the structural context of Thai banknote at the beginning of "Thainess" on its own banknote design more than before. These imply that state could use the banknote as the mass communication for cultivating the state ideologyefficiently.

Albeit, Thailand had its own banknote printing works and could design any tracery on the banknote, it did not mean that they were independent from international influences i.e. the printing officers' skills in development of anti-counterfeit techniques received from training aboard and so on.

CONCLUSION

The article shows that the Thai banknote reflects the interactions between international context of political and economic factors and domestic social forces in the state. Considering only the format and tracery, although it is useful for interpretation about the state ideology inserting in the banknote, is not sufficient for analyzing the social changes and ideological transformation.Because it leaves behind many factors influencing to the banknote design such as the role of the great power like the British empire and U.S. hegemonic power in each period of time. Thus, the claims like that state can use the banknote as mass communication containing the state ideology by designing the banknote independently was misleading, so it could not justtake state abilities for granted. In this article, itconfirms that state, especially the developing country like Thai state, has its own various limitations, for example, knowledge, technology, political power in negotiation; thus the consideration about the development of Thai banknote should pay attention to both external and internal factors.However, when Thai state had its own banknote printing works, it rather reduced many roles of foreign intervention about designing banknote too.

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[21]Mr. William P. Hunt was intimate with William J. Donovan (the U.S. ambassador to Thailand)

[22] See Bank of Thailand. (2014). *72Years of Bank of Thailand*, p.144.

[23]Chairman of Thomas de la Rue company talked to Commander PrapatPhothipala in Luds(a city in England), see Bank of Thailand Note Printing Works. (1994). *25 Years Note Printing Works*, p. 32.

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