

25th  
Commemoration  
of OCTOBER 1973  
Bangladesh Post Website  
printed April 15, 1998



## Street Art commemoration for Oct 1973



### Introduction

Tuang  
Nittayananta

Board 1  
Board 4

Singhanoi  
Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2  
Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5  
Board 8

Sataphorn  
Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad  
Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board  
10

"The Artist Front of Thailand established in 1974 was the most concrete form of the 'Art for Life' movement. Its most significant and controversial united pieces are a large series of huge billboards installed in the middle of Rachdamnern Road. Those who had experienced such a street-turning art hall which ran over thousand square meters, could hardly deny its powerful arousalment of people political consciousness."

*Golden Jubilee Art:  
50 Year s of Thai Art.*

The "Art for Social Change" movement - tritely and inaccurately rendered as "Art for Life"- acted to bring a message using many art forms to raise the awareness people.

The Street art depicted in these pages was one of many projects in which the UAFT acted within the period 1974 to 1976. There were posters, paintings, songs and

theater works in conjunction with and as part of the student movement.

This was not without controversy as many artists did not involve themselves to protect their academic positions and commercial contracts.

After the October 1976 massacre the entire organising committee and many members were arrested. In the north and south UAFT members joined the armed resistance movement.

### **Exhibition Details**

48 billboards were consecutively displayed on Rachdamnern Avenue in Oct 1975.

Each billboard was constructed using house paint on four wood panels. The artist credited with the painting was the main designer with the the work being a collaborative efforts by many UAFT members.

The web site pictures were taken from a information provided by the Pridi Bannomyong Institute.

The pictures on the web site are recoloured reconstruction from black and white photographs.

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### **Background Articles from the Bangkok Post**

#### **The Events of October 1973**

[Student Unrest: A common cause](#)

[Chronology of 14 October 1973](#)

[How a show of strength led a tragic armed](#)

confrontation.

## **The Billboards**

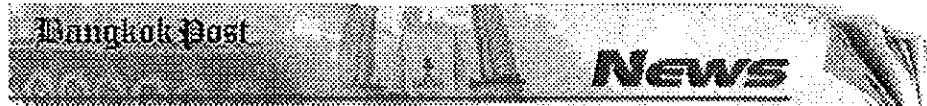
Gearing for  
commemoration

## **Memorial**

In memory of a memorial

Today's News

October 10, 1973

**Front**

# Student unrest: A common cause

*Bangkok Post*  
Oct 10, 1973

## Background to the student arrest by Paisal Sricharatchanya

THE WIDESPREAD student outcry for democracy and an early promulgation of the Constitution has now become a common cause shared by majority of the local campuses. Past records showed that most student demonstrations eventually led to the same conclusion: the drive for complete democracy and the constitution. The last city-wide student demonstration in June could serve as a clear example. While the initial motive of that uprising was to call for nine expelled students from Ramkhamhaeng to be reinstated, the marchers finally met at the Democracy Monument to demand for the much-heralded Constitution.

It originally appeared that the current student upheaval has also been triggered for the same cause. The only difference was that former politicians and journalists also joined the new movement demanding the early promulgation of the constitution. According to Deputy Prime Minister Field Marshal Prapass Charusathirara, the new movement was not only concerned about the Constitution but also aimed to overthrow the government has released a list containing 100 names who were described as "supporters" in the campaign.

The names included well-known personalities like former Deputy Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister's brother Pol Maj General Sa-nga Kitiyakorn, former Bangkok MP Pichai Rattakul, lecturer and China expert Dr Khien Thriawith, former student leader Thirayuth Boonmee and a large number of university lecturers, members of the Press, and civil servants.

As the new movement prepared to launch its extensive campaign the Special Branch Police authorities were reported to be keeping a close watch on their activities and planning an appropriate course of action. Deputy Police Chief Pol Lt Gen

Prachuab Sutharangkoon was reported to have said that police would have to step in and make arrests if more than five people gathered for a political meeting. The Deputy Police Chief claimed it was against an earlier National Executive Council announcement banning political gatherings.

All went when the actual campaign "to win the sympathy of the general public" was launched. A group of student leaders, former politicians met at Sanam Luang last Saturday morning and began to distribute leaflets to people at the weekend market place, urging them to join the campaign.

But the leaflets distribution was only shortlived. Plainclothes policemen and Special Branch agents who were closely watching the group sprang on them in the early afternoon of the same day and detain 11 persons, including the former Secretary General of the powerful National Students Centre of Thailand, Mr Thirayh Boonmee.

Arrested were;

Prapansak Kamolphet, a one-time Bangkok parliamentary candidate;

Boonsong Chalethorn, Deputy Secretary General of the NSCT;  
Bandhit Hengnilrat, a liberal arts student at Thammasat University;  
Visa Kanthap, a humanities student at Ramkhamhaeng University;  
Thanya Chankathatharn, a writer for the weekly Maharaj magazine;  
Thawee Muenthikorn, a Thammasat economics instructor;  
Montri, Juengsiri-arak, a writer for the weekly Social Science Review;  
Nopporn Suwanpanich, a former Chulalongkorn arts instructor;  
Pridee Bonsue, a Thammasat political science student; and  
Chaiwat Suravichai, former vice president of the Chulalongkorn Student Union.

Almost immediately after the arrests, police agents swooped in on their residences and seized a large number of documents about the movement's aims and planning. The eleven, after being interrogated by Special Branch Police, were rushed to a special detention centre in the Metropolitan Police Training School at Bang Khen.

On the following day, Special Branch Police nabbed a student leader of the Ramkhamhaeng University Kongkiat Kongkha in front of the campus at Hua Mark. Sunday's arrest raised the total number of arrested to 12.

The group was initially charged with violating the NEC order on political gatherings but it was not long before a much more severe charge was launched against them. Acting Police Chief Field Marshal Prapass Charusathira announced on Monday that the group was linked with a plot to overthrow the Government by instigating public unrest. However, Field Marshal Prapass maintained that the real plotters have "duped" the students into staging the campaign and that the students themselves knew nothing about the whole plot. They were merely used by some politicians, he claimed.

Authorities further alleged that seized documents showed the plotters were planning different stages of action in their attempt to oust the present regime. They even claimed that the seized documents, some of which were in foreign languages (presumably Chinese and English), showed that the plotters were also linked with Communism.

Despite the Government's attempt to "brush away the responsibility of the students" by reiterating that they were "used" by the real plotters, the arrest of the 12 persons has sparked off a bitter outcry and strong protests from the local universities.

The Thammasat students took the issue more strongly than other universities. Thousands of students refused to sit for examinations on Tuesday morning and joined in Hyde-Park style rallies to attack the Government. A continuous flow of posters appeared on the campus, condemning the arrests as an unjustified action which deprived the people of freedom of speech. Tension was also brewing at Ramkhamphaeng University and the Prasarnmitr College of Education. But as for Chulalongkorn University all was reported to be "quiet" as students had to sit for exams. As one Chulalongkorn student leader put it: "We would like to take action but with the exams pressing we are crippled."

The ultimate outcome of the current uprising has yet to be seen with the rising dissent on the local campuses a mass demonstration appears imminent unless the authorities reverse their earlier verdict and release those arrested.

**Front**

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Web Comments: Webmaster

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October 14, 1973

**Front**

# Timetable of events

*Bangkok Oct 14, 1973***1.00 a.m.**

The Student Centre of the National Student Council of Thailand (NSCT) gave orders to march to the Chitrlada Palace. Several helicopters were seen observing from above.

**2.00 a.m.**

The front line of the demonstrators were confronted by a Police Commando unit and came close to clashing a few times.

**3.00 a.m.**

H.M. the King granted an audience to nine student representatives including Mr Thirayuth Boonme and Mr Seksan who had been released from jail along with the other detainees earlier in the afternoon.

**5.30 a.m.**

The students were advised by their representatives and Col. Vasiit Dejkunchorn that nine student representatives had been granted an audience with His Majesty the King at 3 p.m. at Sala Dusitvalai. The student ere told that the 13 detainees had been unconditionally released and draft constitution had been promised before next October.

Col Vasiit read out the King's speech on which His Majesty called for a return to law and order and asked the demonstrators to go home peacefully.

Mr Somabat, secretary to the Student Centre also asked the demonstrators to go home peacefully.

Approximately half of the demonstrators dispersed, but several groups refused to budge, claiming they were not satisfied with the delayed drafting of the constitution.

**7.30 a.m.**

A group of about 100 demonstrators stoned police guarding the Chitrlada Royal Palace at Rajvithi Road. A government announcement said that police were trying their best to quell the rioters without resorting to violence.

**7.45 a.m.**



A group of demonstrators set fire to a police booth beside Thammasat University near Tha Prachan. A fire engine rushed to the scene to extinguish the fire but was commandeered by the protestors. At the same time another group of demonstrators gathered at Sawanee Bridge in an attempt to obstruct police operations while another group stoned the Metropolitan Police Headquarters on Rajdamnern Road destroying many windows and doors.

**10.45 a.m.**

An unknown number of protestors seized the Public Relations Department on Rajdamnern Avenue. The government later broadcasted that the department had been retaken without violence. The Government said that a number of arms had been uncovered including hand grenades, machine guns and anti-tank rockets.

**10.50 a.m.**

Shooting broke out between policemen and armed protestors near the Public Relations Department. A policeman was shot and injured in front of the Revenue Department.

**11.45 a.m.**

The demonstrators set fire to the Revenue Department and surrounded the Changsongkram Police Station.

An eyewitness from the Thon Buri side of the said that she heard machine gun fire near the Thammasat University and saw three to four Navy patrol boats and a Red Cross boat cruising up and down the Chao Phya River.

More than one hundred injured students were taken across the river in boats to Siriraj Hospital. Many of the injured were in a critical condition.

**2.47 p.m.**

The six firemen were struggling to put out the fire as protestors try to obstruct their work.

**3.30 p.m.**

The military gained control of Thammasat University. Large numbers of demonstrators withdraw across the Chao Phya River jamming the Pran Nok landing.

**3.40 p.m.**

BIFGO building was burnt down claiming one death - a janitor.

**4.00 p.m.**

Students set up a temporary rallying base at Phran Nok, Thon Buri. Many students still at Thammasat University campus waved white flags to their colleagues to pick them up at the landing opposite Pran Nok to join the rally.

**4.00 - 4.30 p.m.**

At Rajdamnern Avenue soldiers stationed in front of the Public Relations Department fired sporadically.

**4.10 p.m.**

A passenger car carrying a number of Buddhist monks with Thammachak flag passed along Rajdamnern Avenue. Several gun shots were fired. Each time short was heard all the spectators rushed for cover.

**5.00 pm**

Students and the general public started moving deeper into Rajdamnern. avenue. They set up barricades near the Majestic Hotel.

**5.32 p.m.**

Tanks and soldiers were ordered moved back from the Public Relations Department. The tanks started firing on demonstrators and onlookers on Pra Pin Klua Bridge.

**5.40 p.m.**

Four people were shot from soldiers hiding at the building of the Metropolitan Police Headquarters.

**6.00 p.m.**

The Government announced over Radio Thailand that it had tendered its resignation to His Majesty the King. The announcement asked the public to follow the radio and television networks for further details.

**6.05 p.m.**

Angry students and other went into the streets and set fire to a wrecked water truck and tried to overturn a fire engine and some wrecked cars lying in front of the Public Relations Department.

**6.15 p.m.**

A few army trucks carrying soldiers passed through Rajdamnern Avenue heading for the Defence Territory Command. At the sight of the trucks demonstrators ran for cover.

**7.15 p.m.**

His Majesty announcement through broadcasting stations and television the government's resignation and appointment of Professor Sanya Thammasakdi as the new Prime Minister. Many people cheered and ran into the street shouting "victory."

**7.30 p.m.**

Thousands of students and other people congregated at the Democracy Monument. Some student speakers pleaded with the demonstrators to leave in peace while thousands grouped at the Pan Fah Bridge and Chalerms Thai Theatre. Shots were fired from the Metropolitan Police Headquarters.

**11.15 p.m.**

Professor Sanya Thammasakdi spoke to the public over broadcasting and television networks and said there would be a Constitution and elections within six months.

**11.30 p.m.**

Shooting stopped at the Metropolitan Police Headquarters.

**00.10 a.m.**

The Princess Mother gave a brief speech over television and broadcasting networks.

**Front**

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October 15, 1973



**Front**

# How a show of strength led a tragic armed confrontation

*Bangkok Post*  
*Oct 15 1973*

THAILAND was stunned last June when more than 20,000 students gathered together to protest the suspension of several students who criticised the rector of Ramkhamhaeng University. It was the first time the students realised their own power. But June's demonstration was only an infant compared to the bloodshed of yesterday. The events of the past week gave no indication of the tragedy which would follow.

It began as an epilogue to the June demonstration when speeches calling for the rector's resignation shifted to include the demand for a constitution. The government at that time was talking about a constitution in terms of three years "or maybe longer."

Attention moved from localised campus complaints to national grievances.

During the summer, the National Student Centre of Thailand (NSCT) announced they were forming a committee to draft a constitution. This, they said, would be presented as a model for the government.

The constitution committee idea gained momentum until, Sunday, October 5, when 11 university students, former students and instructors who were leafletting for an early promulgation of the constitution, were arrested by Special Branch police.

All eleven were charged with violating a National Executive Council decree which forbade more than five people gathering for political purposes. Called by police "political activists" the eleven were part of a newly consolidated 100-strong movement which included among its supporters Police Major-General Sa-nga Kittikachorn, brother of the Prime Minister.

Police that night arrested a twelfth student and added a new charge.

Not only were they held on charges of holding a political gathering, now, the charge was treason.

The NSCT countered that the police swoop was the act of a "dictatorship" trying to create a "reign of terror in the Kingdom."

It was learned that under the law, investigating officers are empowered to postpone the litigation of the case eight times, 12 days each - thus the detainees could be in jail another 95 days.

## **TUESDAY, October 9.**

Deputy Prime Minister Field Marshal Prapass Charusathira announced "a plot" had been discovered. The 12 political activists, he said were trying to overthrow the government. Bangkok police were put on full alert.

Field Marshal Prapass said the plotters had used the guise of the constitutional drive to draw people from all walks of life unknowingly into the devious plot to overthrow the Government. "I fear the students may have been fooled by the plotters," he said. The Field Marshal then dropped the biggest bombshell of the week. A search of the suspects' houses, he said, had revealed a number of communist documents in Thai, English and Chinese languages.

At 10:30 a.m. Mr Khaisaeng Sooksai, former MP from Nakhon Phanom surrendered to Special Branch Police. Mr Khaisaeng had been caught as the "mastermind" of the plot.

## **WEDNESDAY, October 10.**

Violence was threatened for the first time, when the government declared it would detain the students through Article 17 which gives them absolute power.

Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn shifted the burden of guilt from the students, to arrested former MP Khaisaeng Sooksai. Citing again the alleged communist documents found in some of the prisoner's homes, he announced that "Police have sufficient documentary evidence against the former MP to prove that he masterminded the plot to overthrow the government."

Said the former MP. "I have never met the other 12 prisoners before, nor have I ever possessed any such communist documents either in my home or in my office. I don't know where the police got such documents." Khaisaeng was charged with internal and external treason, and threatening the security of the Government.

Special Branch Police Maj-Gen Chat Suwansorn explained that the others had been charged with treason because they had joined in carrying posters attacking the Government. He also mentioned that Mr Khaisaeng had been arrested twice before on charges of Communism and had served 10 years for this.

At Thammasat University, 177 professors sent a letter to the Prime Minister urging immediate release of the students.

Classes at the university were closed, final examinations were postponed and the campus overnight became plastered with political posters attacking the government.

#### **THURSDAY, October 11,**

saw a rising concern both by students and the government. Thousands of students from universities all over the country converged on the Thammasat campus. Through the day and night speakers recounted the events of the past week. They spoke to their audience, cajoled them, and entertained them with political satires.

Estimates placed the number of students at 20,000 and leaders of other university delegations promised more were on the way. In a move to "restore peace and order" Deputy Prime Minister Prapass was appointed head of independent machinery to counter the escalating student opposition.

Rectors and deputy rectors of nine state universities appealed to the government to find a way to ease the tension before "the issue escalates out of control"

Field Marshal Thanom explained the charges:

1. A group of eight politicians and five students or former students had held a political meeting of more than five persons (illegal under martial law), toted placards and distributed leaflets. They were arrested under Revolutionary Party Announcement No 4.
2. Documents concerning a plot to overthrow the Government were found. Posters did not call for a constitution by peaceful means. The charges here are "attempting to destroy national security."
3. Communist documents and plans for communists activities have also been found. The arrested persons are charged with engaging in communist activities.

#### **FRIDAY, October 12.**

A crowd of 50,000 students gathered in Thammasat's football field heard their leaders announce the government's proposed compromise: a constitution would be ready in 20 months. The students were unimpressed.

In a two-hour meeting with NSCT representatives, Field Marshal Prapass refused demands that the arrested students be released. Asked why Article 17 was imposed against the political detainees, the Field Marshal said it was for the benefit of the detainees because authorities would be empowered to expedite the case "without going through normal legal procedure in postponing the litigation of the case."

On the sixth night to their imprisonment the government offered bail

and freedom to the arrested activists. The students refused.

The activists remained in jail, remained on their 36-hour hunger strike and the 70,000 students crowding Thammasat's football field made it clear they supported their leaders stand.

### **SATURDAY 13.**

Nearly half a million students flooded around the Thammasat. At noon they began marching toward Democracy Monument lead by a phalanx of secondary school boys and girls carrying pictures of the King and Queen.

Along route the marches were swelled as thousands of non-students - vendors, workers, salesmen and other white and blue-collar workers - joined them.

The mood was electric and spread through the area. Bus lines working the Sanam Luang area refused to pick up passengers who were not going to the rally as bus conductors asked passengers if they planned to join the students before they let them board.

Speeches at the Democracy Monument lasted for several hours. At 4pm His majesty the King, meeting with student representatives, asked them to end the demonstration and go home. The students left the Chitrlada Palace at 4:20 p.m.

Confusion began. Rumours circulated that the government planned to use tear gas. To counter the threat, the demonstrators were divided into three groups. Plans were announced to seize the Public Relations Department. Just before 6 p.m. Field Marshall Prapass told student leaders that the 13 had been released - unconditionally and that the constitution would be completed by October next year.

Through the night some of the marchers, told of the decision, left in small groups and celebrated throughout the city. But at least 100,000 students, unaware of the government's compromise, remained in front of Parliament House.

A feeling of relief spread through the students. While some complained that the time for drafting the new constitution was too long, most were satisfied.

"At last, this is the end," said one student who, after three days at Thammasat, was finally going home. But it proved to be the beginning of the end.

**Front**

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October 10, 1975



Front



# Gearing for commemoration

*Bangkok Post*  
10 Oct. 1975

**H**uge posters depicting the bloody fight of students and people to topple the Thanom-Prapass regime were put up along th Rajdamnern Avenue (above) and other main intersections in Bangkok Metropolis yesterday in preparation for the October 14 commemoration ceremony .

Labourers, engineers and architects were yesterday hastily preparing site of the once-powerful Board of Inspection and Follow-up of

Government Operations (BIFGO) for a commemoration ceremony for the October 14 heroes.

Meanwhile the National Students Centre of Thailand (NSCT) said it had planned ceremonies with other students in the country. NSCT's deputy secretary for social and education affairs Somboon Simasaengyaporn said yesterday the NSCT has urged the Education Ministry to announce October 14 as a public holiday to commemorate the brave struggle of the heroes. He also said the Education Ministry has told him that all schools throughout the country has been ordered closed on October 14 to allow students to participate in the ceremonies.

A 30-minute documentary film on the 1973 October uprising will be shown on TV 3 Colour at about 10.00 p.m. tonight, an NSCT spokesman announced.

The film will show the events that led to the uprising, the uprising itself and the aftermath, the spokesman said.

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# SHOOTING OVER POSTERS

*Bangkok World*  
*11 Oct. 1975*

Shooting erupted on Rajdamnern Avenue this morning when a group of youths who were trying to burn down posters erected for the October 14 uprising fired on students from the National Student Centre of Thailand who tried to stop them.

The youths escaped on motorcycles and a car across the Chao Phya River over the Tha Chang Bridge to Thon Buri. No injuries were reported but two posters near the Chalerm Thai cinema were partly burnt. However a taxi which was passing the former Board of Inspection and Follow-up of Government Operations (BIFGO) was hit by two bullets.

The driver, Mr Thawil Charalkul(35), told police he saw youths at about 3.45 a.m. with burning torches trying to set fire to the posters. They were attacked by students who chased them and shots were fired. He had said that students were keeping watch outside the former BIFGO office in a BMW car.

**Partially damaged**

Meanwhile, Samranrat police reported that six or seven men in a pick-up truck soaked one poster in petrol and set fire to it but it was only partially damaged.

Later the President of the United Artists Association of Thailand, Mr Kamchorn Sunthornsri, said he greatly regretted the incident since the creation of the posters had been a co-operative effort of over 100 members of his society.

Together with students from the NSCT, the members had erected 37 posters along the avenue in the honoured memory of those who gave their lives during the October uprising, he said.

### Official Complaint

Mr Kamchorn said he would consult with NSCT leaders whether to file an official complaint with the Director General of the Police Department.

He noted earlier that a group of people had complained to the State University Bureau over posters on the grounds they encouraged disunity among soldiers, police and the public.

**Front**

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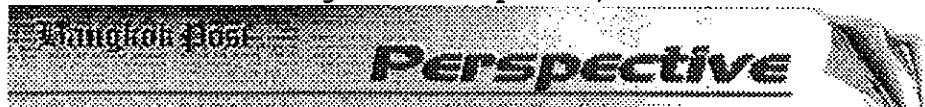
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Bangkok Post April 6, 1997



**Front**

IRONY

# In memory of a memorial

*The October 14 memorial project has been passed from government to government for 24 years. It is ironic that a controversial Defence Ministry order could finally lead to another pledge to build a monument to the student martyrs*

**P**Prime Minister Chavalit Yongchaiyudh pledged to build a monument to the martyrs of the October 14 student uprising in 1973.

Democracy groups, however, have good reason to doubt that promise.

Twenty-four years have passed since the historic event, and the quest for a memorial has gone through many governments - all to no avail.

**Revived hopes:** Gen Chavalit revived the hopes of the families of the October 14 victims last Tuesday when he pledged to bring the long-delayed memorial project into existence during his term.

His promise was seen as an attempt to repair the damage wrought by his order in granting a pension to Col Narong Kittikachorn, a man accused of heading the suppression of the October 14 demonstrators.

The prime minister promised to appoint a committee comprising representatives from state agencies, democracy organisations and the people to look for an appropriate location.

**Doubts:** But there are those who are taking the Prime Minister's promise with a grain of salt.

Weng Tojirakarn, chairman of the Confederation for Democracy, said his organisation had never trusted politicians.

The group, he said, would keep a close watch on Prime Minister Chavalit and make sure that he will fulfil his promise.

The skeptical response is not entirely surprising, since the memorial for the student martyrs has been around for a long time.

Let's review its drawn-out history.

**Round One - December 1974:** The Sanya Thammasak government decided on December 11, 1974 that a memorial for those who died during the protest be built at the Kawk Wua intersection on Ratchadamnoen Avenue.

**Round Two - August 1975:** The Kukrit Pramoj government decided to set up a committee to implement that resolution on August 5, 1975.

After five meetings, the committee came up with a 10-point proposal.

Finance Minister Boonchu Rojanastien reviewed the plan and agreed to all points bar one - He argued that the National Student Centre of Thailand (NSCT) should meet the construction costs.

He did agree, however, that the Finance Ministry, having contacted and received the consent of the Crown Property Bureau (CPB), should buy the plot of land at the intersection for about three million baht.

At the end of the Kukrit government, the new finance minister, Mr Sawet Piampongsarn, submitted a proposal to Cabinet in a letter dated June 29, 1976 and undertook to send another letter to the CPB requesting to buy the land for 4 million baht.

A coup ended the Kukrit government.

**Round Three - October 1976:** Soon after the coup d'etat of October 6, 1976 the finance minister in the Thanin Kraivichian government, Mr Supat Suthatham, sent a letter to Cabinet suggesting the project be abandoned.

His suggestion was approved on December 14, 1976.

**Round 4 - March 1980 to August 1988:** The matter was put to rest during the years under the prime ministership of Gen Prem Tinsulanonda.

**Round Five - October 1989:** When Chatichai Choonhavan became prime minister in 1988, academics, students and heads of non-governmental organisations formed a committee to follow up on the construction of the October 14 Memorial.

The committee was set up on October 20, 1989 and chaired by Prof Rapi Sakrik, former rector of Kasetsart University.

The committee sent representatives to meet the prime minister on October 27, 1989 and received his assurances of cooperation.

On October 31, 1989, Cabinet decided to return money confiscated from the NSCT by the Kriangsak Chomanand government in 1977 (about four million baht) to the Ministry of University Affairs (MUA) for use in further consultation with students.

On May 1, 1990, Cabinet decided to set up an official committee to be chaired by Prof Rapi. A division within the MUA served as secretariat.

**Round Six - August 1990:** The Rapi committee in August 1990 sought to rent land from the Crown Property Bureau (CPB) to build the memorial.

The CPB informed the committee that the land at Kawkwua intersection was now rented by Ratchadamnoen Stadium Company (RSC) which sub-leased it to the Lottery Sellers Association (LSA).

The CPB asked the committee to negotiate directly with the two organisations.

As a result of a preliminary negotiation, the RSC asked for time for the consideration of its board of directors and the LSA also revealed that they wanted to jointly use the land - even after the construction of the memorial.

Sensing that negotiations would lead nowhere, the MUA asked the CPB to mediate. In reply to the MUA request, the CPB reiterated its previous stand.

The university affairs minister, Anuwat Wattanapongsiri, then talked to the manager of the RSC and received verbal agreement to allow the MUA to use the land.

In November 1990, the RSC asked the MUA to set up a team to negotiate the matter in detail with the RSC.

In the meantime, the Rapi committee received cabinet approval on July 24, 1990, to set-up a foundation called the "October 14 Foundation" (to be in put in charge of the memorial construction) and to transfer the confiscated money to the foundation.

The foundation was subsequently set up on October 8, 1990 - the only tangible progress in the whole process.

Before any serious negotiation with the RSC could start, there was a coup d'etat.

**Round Seven - April 1991:** Mr Anand Panyarachun became prime minister. On April 16, 1991 his cabinet reappointed the committee.

On July 25 and on August 14, 1991, the MUA requested the office

of the CPB as a coordinator and urged the RSC to enter negotiation.

The CPB reacted to the MUA request by sending a copy of the MUA letter to the RSC.

Nothing happened until the end of the Anand government.

**Round Eight - August 1992:** During the height of the mass protest against the Suchinda government in May 1992, the Public Relations Department (PRD) building went up in flames.

Mr Anand was reappointed prime minister after the resignation of Gen Suchinda.

On June 29, 1992, the Anand Cabinet resolved that a public park be built on the PRD area. The Supreme Patriarch graciously gave the name of Santiporn Park. The name means the blessing of peace and suggests a reconciliation.

A new committee was appointed by the Anand government on August 25, 1992, and its scope was extended to build a memorial for both the events of October 14, 1973 and May 1992.

This time, the Minister of University Affairs replaced Prof Rapi as its chairman.

Nothing more happened until the end of Mr Anand's term.

**Round nine - December 1992:** Mr Chuan Leekpai succeeded Mr Anand after the general election in September 1992.

On December 8, 1992 his cabinet reconfirmed the appointment of the new committee.

The committee resolved in its first meeting on December 18, 1992 to negotiate again with the RSC. This time the RSC gave no response to the MUA request.

The committee decided to move the memorial location to an area next to Santiporn Park.

On May 11, 1993, the Cabinet agreed that a memorial should be built on a one-rai plot of land close to Santiporn Park.

The MUA on June 2, 1993, requested the Ministry of Finance - which is in charge of Santiporn Project - to allocate the land.

The Rattanakosin Committee, which supervises all construction inside the inner city, objected to the idea of constructing a memorial next to Santiporn Park. It favoured the Kawkwua location and offered to contact the CPB on this matter.

It did so and sent a letter dated October 21, 1993 to the committee saying the CPB is willing to consider the MUA's rental request.

The demolition of the fire-gutted building and the design of Santiporn Park took quite a long time.

Finally on June 14, 1995, the Ministry of Finance told the committee a plot of about half a rai in the shape of an elongated triangle next to the National Lottery Office was earmarked for the memorial's construction, but details depended on the completion of the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration's road design.

Nothing more happened until the end of the Chuan government.

**Round Ten - July 1995:** A general election on July 2, 1995 installed the government led by Mr Banharn Silpa-archa.

The committee in charge of Santiporn Park project met on September 11 and resolved that, although the park construction contract had been signed, priority should be given to solving the traffic problem.

Nothing more happened until the end of the Barnharn government.

**Round Eleven - Today:** With the public outcry against Col Narong's pension, the memorial project is again revived. It's now up to Prime Minister Chavalit to make good his promise.

● *Editor's Note: This report is based on an article by Dr Gothom Arya of the PollWatch Committee as well as through a compilation of newspaper clippings.*

**Front**

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## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Tuang Nittayananta

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## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Tuang Nittayananta

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Institute



## Introduction

**Tuang Nittayananta**

Board 1

**Board 4**

**Singhanoi**

**Fuswadstaphorn**

Board 2

Board 3

**Manas Siansingha**

Board 5

Board 8

**Sataphorn Chaiyasate**

Board 6

**Sinsawad Yodbangtoey**

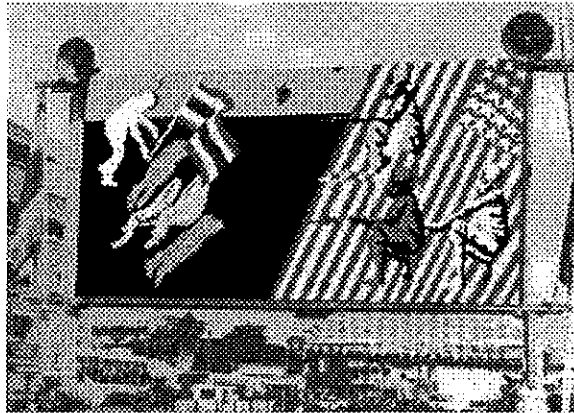
Board 7

**Takun Perapun**

Board 9

**Choakchai Takpoe**

Board 10



**Tuang Nittayananta**

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Institute



### Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

### Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

### Board 2

### Board 3

Manas Siansingha

### Board 5

### Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

### Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

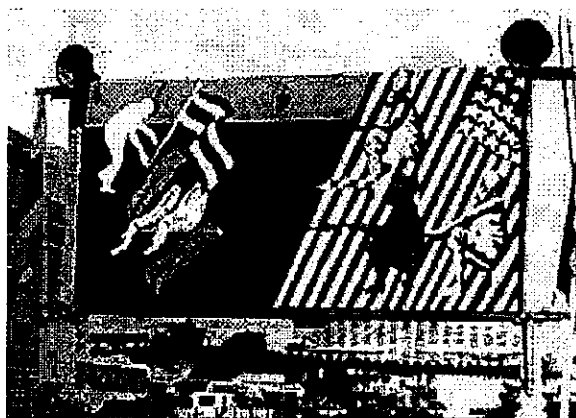
### Board 7

Takun Perapun

### Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

### Board 10



Tuang Nittayananta

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Institute



### Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi  
Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Singhanoi Fuswadstaphorn

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Institute



## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi  
Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Singhanoi Fuswadstaphorn

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Institute



### Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi  
Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Singhanoi Fuswadstaphorn

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Institute



## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi  
Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

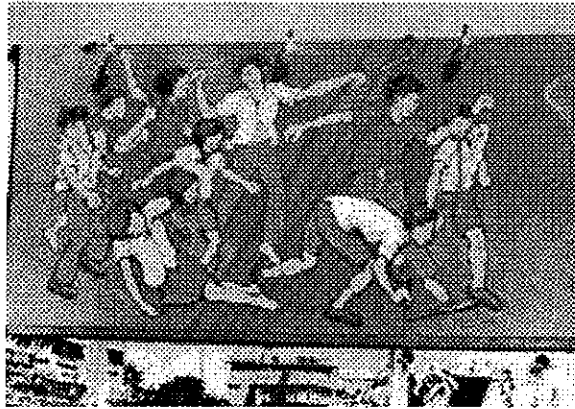
Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Singhanoi Fuswadstaphorn

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### Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

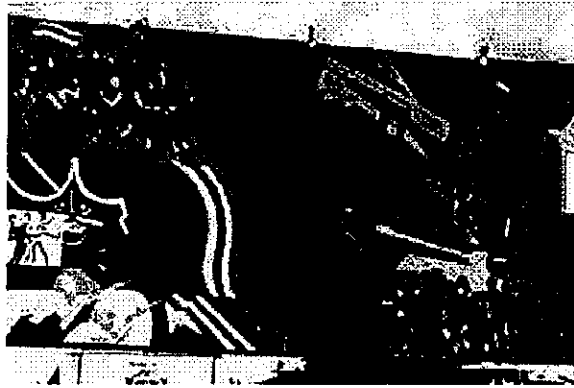
Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Manas Siansingha

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## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

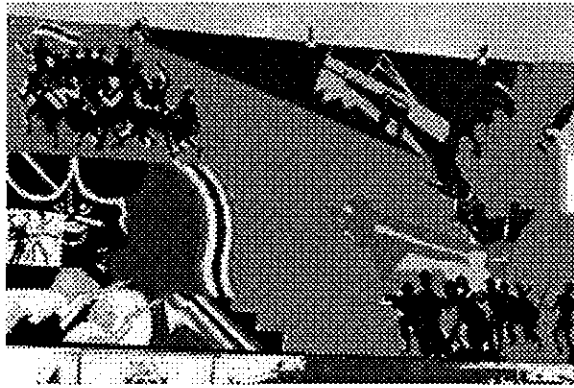
Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Manas Siansingha

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## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Manas Siansingha  
Died Oct 6 1976

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Institute



## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Manas Siansingha  
Died Oct 6 1976

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Institute



## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

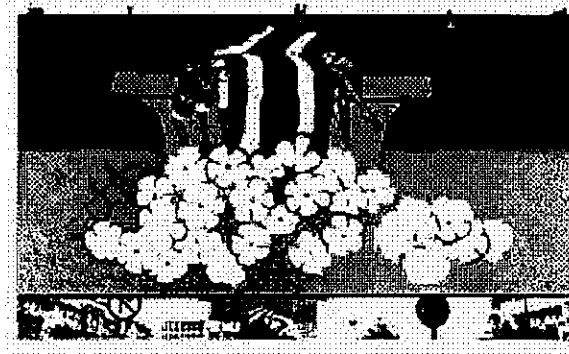
Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Sataphorn Chaiyasate

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Institute



## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

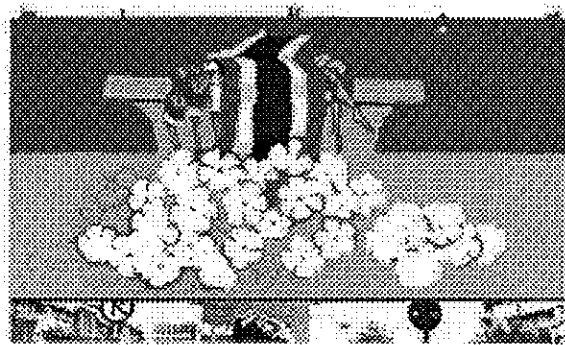
Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Sataphorn Chaiyasate

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Institute



## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi  
Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

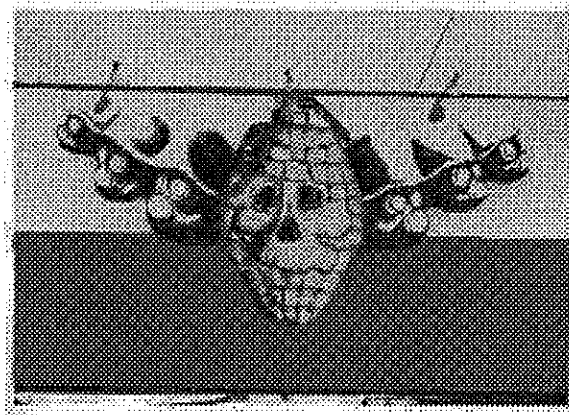
Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

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Institute



## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi  
Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

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Institute





### Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Takun Perapun

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Institute



## Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Takun Perapun

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Institute



### Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn

Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad

Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Choakchai Takpoe

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### Introduction

Tuang Nittayananta

Board 1

Board 4

Singhanoi

Fuswadstaphorn

Board 2

Board 3

Manas Siansingha

Board 5

Board 8

Sataphorn

Chaiyasate

Board 6

Sinsawad

Yodbangtoey

Board 7

Takun Perapun

Board 9

Choakchai Takpoe

Board 10



Choakchai Takpoe

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