



Uprisings for extra reading only

Decision after talks with relatives of victims

Accounts of the Oct 14, 1973, Oct 6, 1976, and May 17, 1992 uprisings will be published for secondary school extra-curricular reading.

Somsak Prisanananthakul, a deputy education minister, said yesterday the accounts would be covered to educate students about the development of democracy since the change from absolute monarchy in 1932.

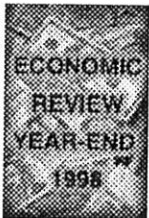
Mr Somsak's comment came after talks with relatives of victims. The relatives said the events were better incorporated for outside reading than for the mainstream study as the issue may be difficult to understand.

Amorn Amornrattananond, deputy secretary-general of the Campaign for Democracy, said the ministry should make clear the education level the books are intended for. The exercise, he said, would show the authorities' commitment to educational reform.

Mr Somsak said historical events marking major social, economic and political changes are emphasised in primary and secondary



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Pongpaiboon, the poet and scholar, would be published this year. The ministry would also sponsor special activities to encourage pupils to research the three turbulent events.

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Special

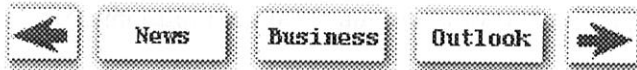
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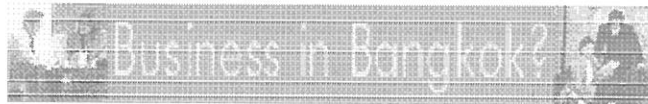
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OCT 14 UPRISING

School text to instil love of democracy

Poet laureate's book gives simple account

Ampa Santimetaneedol

An account of the October 14, 1973, uprising being prepared as a secondary school textbook will not go into details, but will provide an easily understood overview aimed at instilling a love for democracy in the students, the writer said yesterday.

Naowarat Pongpaibul, a Seawrite Award poet, said the easy-to-read account, full of illustrations and poems, would comprise 10 or more chapters aimed at the early secondary school level.

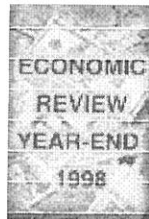
Although it would give no details about the people involved in the uprising, the textbook was aimed at bringing about students' understanding of the event and its importance, and instilling political awareness in them.

Mr Naowarat, who was assigned a team of 20-30 academics and ex-student activists by the Education Ministry in 1994 to write textbooks about the Seri Thai movement during World War II and the Oct 14 event, said he had already submitted the preface to the October 14 textbook to the Curriculum and Instruction Development Department.

The preface would give readers a background of Thai politics under the democratic regime since 1932, and important events leading to the October 14, 1973 uprising, he said.



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at the time.

He said the call for a review of the history of October 14 was different and separate from his textbook. Without a correct history, misleading acts could occur and continue to create trouble, such as the military honour given to FM Thanom by the prime minister.

"Such a book would have to be analytical and is not appropriate for early secondary school. It should be for late secondary school or for university level," Mr Naowarat said.

Any government which embarked on a review of the October 14 history would need to have a democratic conscience.

"The democratic conscience that you get from being part of the fight on October 14, 1973, is quite different from the conscience of politicians who did not join the fight. Those who fought have another level of democratic conscience. October 14 is very important to the country and Thai youth must learn about it," Mr Naowarat said.



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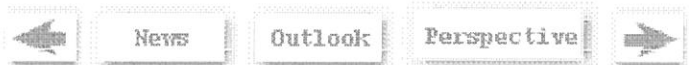
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Thai Visa

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PROFILE / NAOWARAT PONGBAIBOON

Setting down the record

The man chosen to write the high school textbook on the events of Oct 14, 1973 when student-led activists toppled the country's military rulers was himself a participant, albeit on the fringe, although he now sees himself as neutral.

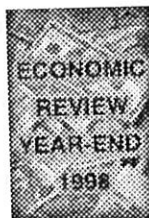
Supawadee Susanpoolthong

Naowarat Pongbaiboon, the winner of the 1980 Seawrite Award for poetry, has had his name in the newspaper headlines again in recent weeks after he was selected to author a textbook for early secondary schools detailing the Oct 14, 1973 uprising.

The reports have attracted unduly broad attention after Chuan Leekpai, the prime minister, came in for some heavy flak when he chose to approve an army recommendation for Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, the prime minister and leader of the junta in



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honour in order not to cause... angry and have demanded an apology from Mr Chuan, who approved the appointment in his capacity as defence minister.

The protesters also have demanded that the government set the record straight on exactly what took place in the days surrounding the Oct 14 uprising and include it in school textbooks. This demand has met with both support and opposition.

The prime minister has stood steadfast in refusing to apologise for approving FM Thanom's appointment, which continues to cause unease. And so many are hoping Mr Naowarat's decision to provide details of the incident in a school textbook will help ease the distress.

The Seawrite awardee was asked in 1994 by Adisorn Piengkiet, the deputy minister for education at the time, and the Curriculum and Instruction Development Department to help include details of the activities of the Seri Thai resistance movement during World War Two and the Oct 14 uprising in school curriculums.

Historians, scholars in other disciplines, writers and participants in the events were approached. The events surrounding Oct 14 were to be included in a textbook for early secondary school pupils while details of the Seri Thai movement were for more advanced studies. Mr Naowarat was chosen to handle the Oct 14 uprising.

He said recently: "I think they selected me for this job because I am neutral. The textbook will not be biased towards any side. They might have studied my works before making a decision." Mr Naowarat said he had completed a draft of the textbook and would submit it soon to the Curriculum and Instruction Development Department.

The account will not go into too much detail, but will just provide an easy-to-understand overview aimed at encouraging a love of democracy in young readers.

"The student movements had a leading role in this incident," said Mr Naowarat, "so I have tried to focus on the point that people of the same age as the readers participated in politics and young people sacrificed their lives and spirit for democracy." Mr Naowarat said the government needed to set straight the historical... the first time the Thai people

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incident. They have a lower level of conscience than those who joined the fight.

"There is no need to ask Oct 14 people what democracy is because they know well and have a strong political conscience." Mr Naowarat went on to reject the claim by some people in power that the writing of a textbook on the Oct 14 uprising was a confirmation of historical accounts of what took place. He said the record still needed to be put to the test.

"He (a clear reference to a statement by Education Minister Panja Kesornthong that events surrounding Oct 14 should be allowed to rest until all those involved are no longer with us) should not claim that a review of historical accounts is only possible after the death of all involved. History is always history. World War Two is part of world history and the historical accounts have been verified.

"Why should we have to wait until everyone involved in the war is dead?" Mr Naowarat said the Oct 14 uprising had had a major impact on the development of his thinking and work.

"Without Oct 14, I would have had nothing to write about and my work would have stuck to things like breezes or sunlight. But after I took part in those events, it was like I was reborn.

"If we know who we are working for and understand this, we will have a political conscience." Mr Naowarat, 59, won the Seawrite Award in 1980 for a book of his collected poems, Mere Movement. He has been named a national artist and the Rattanakosin Period's poet and was awarded with the Sri Burapa Prize, a major award presented to writers.

Several of his poems have been translated into different languages and his books have been approved by the Education Ministry as supplementary reading.

Mr Naowarat's works covering the Oct 14 uprising include Arthit Thueng Chan and Mere Movement, both collected works.

Most of his work before Oct 14 was poems involving nature and love. These include his first book of poetry, Kham Yaad.

According to Mr Naowarat, he memorised many poems even before he was able to read.

"In such a rural area, there were few toys to play with and not many places to go. So books were my best friends.

"My favourite place was a likae theatre. That was my childhood." After completing early secondary school, Naowarat continued his studies at Thaweethaphisek School in Bangkok.

He enrolled in Thammasat University's faculty of law in 1959, but his life was shattered soon after when his parents divorced.

"It was so bad. It was the worst situation for me.

"But I was lucky. I fled to stay with my friend at Wat Bovorn Niwes and found two books on dharma which later changed my life. One was Phra Buddhadasa's Phukhao Haeng Withi Buddha Dharma and the other was Somdej Phra Yarnnasangvorn's Anapanasati.

"I spent two days and nights reading the books. These two books brought home an understanding of Buddhism to me. While in trouble, dharma helped calm me down." After graduating from university in 1965, Mr Naowarat became a monk and stayed at Phra Buddhadasa's Suan Mok temple for 10 months.

After that, he worked for two years at Witthayasarn magazine under editor Sulak Sivarak, writing articles on Buddhism and Zen practices.

He taught Thai language at the Pattani campus of Prince Songkhla University for one year and then, in 1973, took a job with Bangkok Bank where he continues to work.

The Oct 14 uprising took place shortly after he started work producing the bank's in-house journals, and Mr Naowarat lent his support by writing songs which reflected the unfolding events for a folk band, what is known locally as a song-for-life band, called Chao Phraya.

"The band later split into Kareked and Ton Kla. We played at

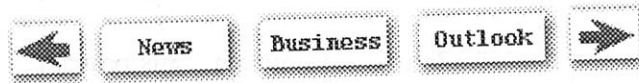
"During the (events surrounding) ... incidents, I also joined the rallies.

"I can say every one of these events gave us new life and broadened our outlook.

"Now, I hope that at my age I will not have to struggle along Ratchadamnoen Avenue again," he said.

Mr Naowarat currently is the director of Bangkok Bank's music centre and contributes a poem each week on local political, economic and social problems to Daily News newspaper. His favourite hobby is playing the Thai flute.

The Seawrite Award-winning poet dreams of one day visiting each of the Indochinese countries and writing poems detailing their society, economy and politics as well as the livelihoods of the local people.



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Postbag

Academics needed

I have followed events regarding the inclusion of the October 14, 1973 event in school textbooks and I completely agree with the idea. However, I cannot help wondering where all the historians in Thailand have gone as they are very quiet concerning this issue, at least as reported in the Bangkok Post. Starting with the minister of education's controversial definition of history, should it not be the job of the historians to tell us what should or should not be counted as history? Besides, I have learned that Khun Naowarat Pongpaiboon has been assigned to write a book about this event and this surprised me. Again, shouldn't it be a historian or a panel of people, including qualified historians who should be assigned to do this job? Khun Naowarat may be knowledgeable, but I believe that a body of knowledge should be the result of thorough scholarly-conducted investigation and research.

A piece of history, particularly that which will be included in a school curriculum, should not be one's opinion or personal experiences. Khun Naowarat may argue that he will do his research when writing this book, but we have to make sure that the content to be included is acceptable among historians in the academic arena, for Khun Naowarat himself is not a historian.

I believe that if the Thai contexts are open enough for research and criticisms (I mean, if academic investigation is not impeded or obstructed by political or other external influences), the truth about this historic event will eventually appear, except that Thai historians will confine themselves to their universities and not investigate this event.

Watana Padgate, Indiana, USA

SECONDARY school students are about to get a glimpse into events of the Oct 14, 1973, democracy uprising, although historians have warned that the textbook provides no insight into a tumultuous period of Thai political history.

Students would enjoy the reading, though, as the text has been written by awarding-winning poet Naowarat Pongpaiboon.

The uprising happened 26 years ago but debate rages to this day, focusing on the country's first popular movement to bring down a dictatorial regime and on the bloodbath resulting from a military crackdown executed as protests began to disperse.

Speculations, including many conspiracy theories, linger as to what exactly brought down the powerful military clique and what triggered the crackdown.

Former student leaders, democracy activists, academics, former military strongmen and their descendants, and just about every political watcher have their own version of the uprising, pointing an accusing finger at everyone but themselves for things gone wrong.

For the past decades, books and academic discourses have been written, trying to put a democratic transition into perspective. The Education Ministry has, however, attempted to explain it all as a "fairest and most impartial" version of the events.

Naowarat has completed his draft of the 40-page chronicle of fast-paced, one-week developments to bring down the dictatorship.

Pending editing by a three-member panel, the textbook should go into print and be in circulation this academic year as the recommended reading of modern history.

Suwit Yodmani, the son-in-law of overthrown dictator Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, historian Charnvit Kasetsiri, and archaeologist Srisak Vallipodom have been tasked to ensure factual accuracy.

The book is divided into 10 chapters, including a

student activists leading the popular movement.

The chapter arrangement is done in accordance with daily events during the historic week which transformed the political landscape.

Naowarat's chronicle, starting each chapter with a poem to encapsulate each day of protests, will guide readers through tumultuous events from Oct 6 to Oct 15, 1973.

The story began when a group of students and democracy activists started to distribute leaflets demanding a constitution and were subsequently arrested. The account went on to witness how the increasing number of demonstrators built up in Thammasat University.

It then followed them out into the Rajdamnoen Avenue in what was the largest-ever protest march heading to Government House, recounted the night-long confrontation between hundreds of thousands of peaceful protesters and fully-armed anti-riot forces.

The ending focused on the dispersion of protesters following the government agreement to bow to their demands, the sudden military crackdowns at two protest sites, the ensuing riots after the suppression, and the casualties and damages from the bloodbath.

One former student activist who participated in the Oct 14 uprising commented that the true story might be revealed only after the death of Thanom. He said Thanom and people directly involved with the military crackdown had given their accounts, but set conditions for the release of their reports of what had happened.

BY PRAPASRI OSATHANON

The Nation

การชำระประวัติศาสตร์ 14 ตุลา

ภายใต้พรรคคอมมิวนิสต์แห่งประเทศไทย (1)

ต้นเดือนกันยายน 2521 ศูนย์กลางพรรคคอมมิวนิสต์แห่งประเทศไทย ได้ระดมผู้นำและผู้ปฏิบัติงานสำคัญๆ ในขบวนการนักศึกษาและงานในเมืองอื่นๆ ในช่วงปี 2516 ถึง 2519 ที่เข้าร่วมการต่อสู้ด้วยอาวุธในชนบทกับพรรค เข้าประชุมสัมมนาเพื่อสรุปทฤษฎีการเคลื่อนไหว 14 ตุลาคม ที่บริเวณฐานที่มั่นจังหวัดน่าน เท่าที่ผมทราบ ตลอดระยะเวลากว่า 25 ปีที่ผ่านมา
นี่เป็นความพยายามที่จะทำการสรุปวิเคราะห์เหตุการณ์ดังกล่าวที่ทำในลักษณะเป็นหมู่คณะเพียงครั้งเดียว (แน่นอนว่างานเขียนของผู้เข้าร่วมในเหตุการณ์ทั้งโดยตรงและโดยอ้อม ทั้งในขบวนการนักศึกษา ในและนอก พคท. มีอยู่มากมายนับไม่ถ้วน งานสำคัญๆ บางชิ้นผมจะได้กล่าวถึงต่อไปในบทความนี้)

ถ้าไม่นับผู้นำนักศึกษาที่รู้จักดีบางคน เช่น ธเนศ อาภรณ์สุวรรณ และ เอนก เหล่าธรรมทัศน์ ซึ่งอยู่ในฐานที่มั่นภาคใต้ (เอนกเองไม่ได้มีบทบาทโดยตรงในเหตุการณ์) วิสา คัญทัพ และ ธัญญา ชูณ-ชฎาธาร ซึ่งอยู่อีสาน หรือผู้ปฏิบัติงานสำคัญบางคนที่อยู่ต่างประเทศ (เช่น อนุช อาภาภิรม, ระวี โคเมพระจันทร์ และ ฤดี เรืองชัย ซึ่งอยู่ที่สถานีวิทยุเสียงประชาชนแห่งประเทศไทยในจีน) กล่าวได้ว่า การสัมมนาสามารถระดมผู้เข้าร่วมที่ต้องการได้มากพอๆ ไม่เพียงแต่ เสกสรรค์ ประเสริฐกุล และ ธีรยุทธ บุญมี และบรรดากรรมการของศูนย์กลางนิสิตนักศึกษาแห่งประเทศไทยและอภิปไตยในสถานการณ์สู้รบที่ปฏิวัติ(เกรียงกมล เลหาไพโรจน์, สวาย อุดมเจริญชัยกิจ, จาตุรนต์ ฉายแสง, บุญส่ง ชเลธร), ยังมี วิวัติ ศักดิ์จิระภาพงศ์, พีรพล ตริยเกษม, สมาน เลือดวงหัด, พิรุณ ฉัตรวินิชกุล, สุเทพ ลักษณ์าวีเชียร, ณรงค์ฤทธิ์ ศรีวิฑโนภาส, สมชาย หอมละออ, จรัล ดิษฐาอภิชัย, เทียนชัย วงศ์ชัยสุวรรณ และ เสถียร จันทิมาธร เป็นต้น ฝ่ายศูนย์กลางพรรคที่เข้าร่วมการสัมมนา มี วิวัติ อังคณากร กรรมการกรมการเมือง และ 'ลุงประโยชน์' หรือมาโนช เมธางกูร ผู้นำของหนึ่งในสองสายงานหลักของพรรคในกรุงเทพฯ

ไม่เพียงเท่านั้น เท่าที่ผมทราบ ในระยะเดียวกับที่มีการสัมมนาในป่านี พรรคยังได้สั่งการมายังสายงานในเมืองให้ระดมผู้ปฏิบัติงานนักศึกษาที่เคยเข้าป่าแต่กลับมาในเมืองแล้ว หรือที่ยังอยู่ในเมือง ให้จัดการสัมมนาอย่างลับๆ ในลักษณะเดียวกันด้วย ถ้าความเข้าใจของผมไม่ผิด มีการทำเป็นบันทึกหรือเทปของการสัมมนาไว้ด้วย ครั้งหลังสุดที่ผมได้ยิน (ซึ่งก็นานราว 10 ปีมาแล้ว) บันทึกดังกล่าวถูกเก็บรักษาโดยอดีตผู้ปฏิบัติงานนักศึกษาสมัย 14 ตุลา ซึ่งภายหลัง (จนปัจจุบัน) ได้เป็นอาจารย์ในจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัยผู้หนึ่ง แต่ผมไม่เคยได้พูดคุยกับผู้เข้าร่วมสัมมนาในเมืองโดยตรง ในบทความนี้ผมจึงจะขอเขียนถึงแต่เฉพาะการสัมมนาที่น่านเท่านั้น

ความเป็นมาและสถานที่

สถานที่ที่ใช้จัดสัมมนา คือ 'สำนัก 61' ซึ่งอยู่ในฐานที่มั่นจังหวัดน่านตอนเหนือ และเป็นที่ตั้งของศูนย์กลางนิสิตนักศึกษาแห่งประเทศไทยในสถานการณ์สู้รบที่ปฏิวัติ (ศนท-ป) ฐานที่มั่นจังหวัดน่านแบ่งเป็นตอนเหนือและใต้ น่านเหนือประกอบด้วยเขตงาน 1, 2 และ 4 น่านใต้ประกอบด้วยเขตงาน 3, 5 และ 6 ตัวเลขของเขตงานเหล่านี้เข้าใจว่าเรียกตามลำดับก่อนหลังของการเกิด เช่น เขต 1 ก็หมายถึงเขตงานแรกสุดที่พรรคมาบุกเบิกการต่อสู้ด้วยอาวุธและสร้างฐานที่มั่น (ขณะที่ 6 เขตแรกอยู่ในจังหวัดน่าน เขต 7 คือพะเยา และเขต 8 คือเชียงใหม่)

สำนัก 61 เองเป็นสำนักค่อนข้างใหม่ อยู่ในเขต 4 ซึ่งเป็นเขตของชนชาติลัวะ บุญส่ง ชเลธร เคยบรรยายลักษณะสำนักกระยะแรกเมื่อไปถึงตอนกลางปี 2520 ว่า "สำนักเล็กๆ ที่อยู่ในสภาพทรุดโทรมประกอบด้วยบ้านไม้ไผ่ 4-5 หลัง มีอาคารเรียนหลังใหญ่กำลังอยู่ในระหว่างการก่อสร้าง บริเวณสำนักมีพื้นที่ราบแคบๆ เป็นที่รวมพล ธารน้ำสายเล็กผานกลาง อากาศที่บริเวณเย็นและชื้นจัดด้วยเงาไม้แผ่ออกปกคลุมจนยากที่จะสังเกตพบจากทางอากาศ... สำนักนี้ถือว่าอยู่ในแนวหน้า เพราะตั้งอยู่ในประเทศ แต่เทียบกับสำนักอื่นๆ ที่อยู่แนวหน้าด้วยกันแล้ว ต้องถือว่าเป็นแนวหลังของแนวหน้า เพราะเป็นสำนักที่อยู่ท้ายสุด ค่อนข้างปลอดภัยจากการสู้รบ จะมีบ้างก็ตรงเสียงปืนใหญ่ที่ระดมยิงเข้ามาอย่างลุ่มส่ำลุ่มท่า"

'เจ้าสำนัก' 61 (เลขาธิการหน่วยพรรคประจำสำนัก) ดั้งเดิมคือผู้ที่รู้จักกันในนาม 'ลุงกิจ' กล่าวกันว่า เคยอยู่ที่สำนักเอ 30 ในลาว (ซึ่งหลัง 6 ตุลาคมใช้เป็นที่พักของพวกแนวร่วม) มาก่อน แต่มีความคิดอยากจะทำของตนเอง จึงเสนอตัวมาเปิดโรงเรียนพรรคในประเทศศูนย์กลาง ก็ให้มาพอดีกับที่มีการตั้ง ศนท-ป (สิงหาคม 2520) จึงให้มาร่วมกันอยู่ที่นั่น เมื่อมีการจัดสัมมนา 14 ตุลาคม 'ลุงกิจ' ได้ย้ายไปที่อื่นแล้ว (เลย-อุดรดิตต์) ผู้ที่ขึ้นมาเป็นเจ้าสำนักแทนคือ จรัล ดิษฐาอภิชัย

สำนัก 61 แบ่งเป็น 2 ส่วน คือ ส่วน ศนท-ป และอธิปัตย์ และส่วนโรงเรียนการเมืองการทหาร ส่วนศนท-ป แรกสุดที่มีการก่อตั้งนั้น พิรุณ คัตรวณิชกุล เป็นผู้รับผิดชอบ ต่อมาราวปลายปี 2520 ชัยณรงค์ เตชะรัชต์กิจ ขึ้นมารับผิดชอบแทน (ชัยณรงค์เป็นอดีตรุ่นพี่ 'สิงห์แดง' ที่เคยเล่นงานเสกสรรค์สมัยเข้ามาเรียนปี 1 คณะรัฐศาสตร์ ธรรมศาสตร์ แต่ภายหลังไป 'ก้าวหน้า' เมื่อไปเรียนต่อที่อเมริกา) ตัวพิรุณไปช่วยงานด้านโรงเรียนเป็นเวลาสั้นๆ แล้วย้ายไปที่ 'หน่วย 20' ซึ่งเป็น 'หน่วยทฤษฎี' ตั้งอยู่ในลาว (เข้าใจว่าย้ายไปก่อนการสัมมนา) งานด้านโรงเรียนซึ่งอยู่ในความรับผิดชอบของ 'ป่าพลู' สมาชิกพรรคลูกจีนโดยตลอด (มีจรัลเมื่อก่อนขึ้นเป็นเจ้าสำนักเป็นผู้ช่วย) ก็หมดไปในช่วงปี 2521 นั้น ป่าพลูเองก็ย้ายไปอยู่หน่วย 20

ร่องรอยและหลักฐานการสัมมนา

หลังการสัมมนา หนังสือพิมพ์อธิปัตย์ในสถานการณ์สู้รบที่ปฏิวัติ ฉบับประจำเดือนตุลาคม 2521 (จาตุรนต์ ฉายแสง บรรณาธิการ, บุญส่ง ชเลธร หัวหน้ากองบรรณาธิการ) ได้ตีพิมพ์ 'คำแถลงเนื่องในโอกาสครบรอบ 5 ปีของการเคลื่อนไหว 14 ตุลาคมที่ยิ่งใหญ่' ลงนาม ที่ประชุมการสัมมนา "การเคลื่อนไหว 14 ตุลา" ซึ่งกล่าวว่า "เมื่อไม่นานมานี้ อดีตผู้นำนักศึกษากรรมาการศูนย์กลางนิสิตนักศึกษาแห่งประเทศไทยในสถานการณ์สู้รบที่ปฏิวัติ และผู้รักชาติรักประชาธิปไตยจำนวนหนึ่ง... ได้เดินทางเข้าร่วมการประชุมสัมมนาเกี่ยวกับ 'การเคลื่อนไหว 14 ตุลาคม' ณ ฐานที่มั่นแห่งหนึ่ง... "น่าเสียดายที่ตัวคำแถลง มีลักษณะเป็นเอกสารโฆษณาปลุกใจ ไม่ใช่เป็นรายงานข้อสรุปของการสัมมนาจริงๆ"

(ความสำคัญของคำสัมภาษณ์นี้ยังมีมากกว่านี้อีก เสกสรรค์โคธตอบคำถามเกี่ยวกับ 'ความรู้สึกส่วนตัว' ของการได้เข้าร่วมกับกองทัพปลดแอกประชาชนแห่งประเทศไทย ในลักษณะที่เป็นการวิจารณ์ตัวเอง)

เสกสรรค์เคยพาดพิงถึงการสัมภาษณ์อีกครั้งหนึ่งเมื่อออกจากป่าแล้ว ในลักษณะที่หยิบเอา 'เกร็ด' จากการไปร่วมสัมมนามาแล้ว ในความเรียงชื่อ 'คูกรรม' ซึ่งตีพิมพ์ในสู่อากาศ ยุคคำบุญ สิทธิสมาน เป็นบรรณาธิการ (14 มกราคม 2531) และซึ่งเป็นข้อเขียนต่อสาธารณะชิ้นแรกสุดหลังจากออกจากป่าและไปเรียนที่คอร์แนลจนได้ปริญญาเอกกลับมา เสกสรรค์ได้เล่าความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างเขากับธีรยุทธ บุญมี ตลอดหลายปีที่ผ่านมาไว้อย่างสนุกสนาน ตอนที่เขาเอา 'เกร็ด' ที่ได้จากการสัมมนามาแล้ว มีดังนี้

หลายปีในป่า ผมกับธีรยุทธแยกกันไปชนิดไม่รู้เหนือรู้ใต้ หูคโด้ง่ายๆ ว่า ไม่มีภาระงานอะไรร่วมกันแม้แต่เน้ย นอกเสียจากความเป็นคนป่าด้วยกัน มีอยู่เพียงครั้งเดียวที่เราต้องมานั่งประชุมร่วมกันบนยอดเขาในเขตจังหวัดน่าน ผมกับไอยูทธรอนอยู่บนแคร่ไม้ไผ่ติดกันในกระต๊อบซึ่งมีแคร่พักเป็นแถวยาว ไม่รู้มันไปได้บะหมี่ถุงมาจากไหน จึงเอามาต้มน้ำร้อนชงกิน ผมเพิ่งเดินทางมาจากกรุงเก่า และไม่เคยมั่นเห็นอาหารชั้นเลิศแบบนี้มานานแล้ว จึงแลบลิ้น ลีลามฝีปากอยู่ข้างๆ ชะรอยไอยูทธรองจะนึกถึงความหลังสมัยทำหนังสือพิมพ์ด้วยกัน รีบส่งให้ผมหนึ่งห่อ ซึ่งผมก็จัดการอย่างรวดเร็ว

ผมเห็นมันดมๆ บะหมี่ของมันอยู่พักหนึ่ง แล้วทำท่าจะเททิ้ง จึงถามว่าเกิดอะไรขึ้น

"น้ำมันก๊าดตกลงไปวะ"

ไอยูทธรองตอบอย่างรวดเร็ว ตาก็มองไปที่ตะเกียงน้ำมันก๊าดเจ้ากรรมตัวนั้น

"อย่าทิ้งๆ เอามาให้กู"

ผมบอกกับธีรยุทธด้วยน้ำเสียงเกือบจะล่ำลึงลัก เมื่อเขาส่งขามบะหมี่มาให้ ผมก็รีบกินเสียก่อนที่เพื่อนจะเปลี่ยนใจ วิธีแก้ปัญหาลิ้นน้ำมันก๊าดคือ กลืนใจไว้ตอนที่เคี้ยวและกลืน

ผมเชื่อว่าไอยูทธรองมันคงมองผมด้วยความปลงสังเวชอยู่ไม่น้อย...

หลังจากวันนั้น ผมกับธีรยุทธก็ไม่ได้พบกันอีกเลย จนกระทั่งเราต่างคนต่างออกจากป่ามามอบตัวกับรัฐบาล ก

(มีต่อสัปดาห์หน้า)

Asiaweek, 26:3 (28 Jan. 2000)

'I Didn't Order the Shooting'

The former strongman gives his version

Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn held power in Thailand in 1958 and from 1963 to 1973. Today, while conceding he may have made mistakes - including being slow to introduce a promised democratic constitution - he insists he was not behind the October 1973 shooting of student protesters in Bangkok. In his home in a quiet street near the King's palace - a house still in the possession of the state following confiscation of his assets - Thanom spoke with Asiaweek Correspondent Julian Gearing. Excerpts:



What specific orders did you give to the army and police to

ordered it or because Field Marshal Praphat ordered it. When property was burned, when police and soldiers were getting fired on and dying, the deputy police chief gave permission to the police to defend themselves. What I have been accused of is absolutely contrary to the facts.

Snipers shot at demonstrators from the rooftops, sparking the major clashes. Do you have any idea who these people were?

I don't know. They couldn't speak Thai. The way they were dressed, they couldn't have been students. They were not ordinary people. From their identification, they came from Bor Kor 333 [a northeast military unit]. So they may have been mercenaries sent in to create trouble, to stage a coup.

Many people believe that your son, Col. Narong [Kittikachorn - labeled afterwards as one of the "three tyrants"] was in a helicopter shooting at protesters. How do you respond to these allegations?

The helicopter was not armed. And he did not have a weapon on him. When he saw the situation, so many people and small children in there [Thammasat University grounds], he said [to his men]: "You cannot go in there. This is not the way to do things."

A police investigation of your actions found no evidence to support allegations that you ordered violent action against the protesters. Why do you think the findings of this investigation, completed in December 1976, were not widely publicized by the press?

I cannot guess why succeeding governments did not disclose the findings. The police found they did not have enough grounds to place formal charges for the three of us to go to court. The prosecutor's office agreed with them. Unfortunately and tragically, this was never disclosed. This is democracy. The ones who agree are democratic; the ones who disagree or say things others don't want to hear are absolutely crazy.

Many people view your decade in power as a corrupt dictatorship. How would you like to be remembered?

People see according to their own glasses. Even if they look at a white shirt, they will say it is not white. They are influenced by the color of the glass. I would like people to remember me for what I was - a man who was trying to work honestly and hard for his country, and one who did not order any suppression of students.

The Murky Events of October 1973

A book proposal reopens Thailand's wounds

By AJAY SINGH and JULIAN GEARING Bangkok

Will Thai schoolchildren ever get to learn the truth about a defining moment in their country's modern history? Of all the key dates, Oct. 14, 1973, stands out like none other. On that day, thousands of people, mainly students, marched on the streets of Bangkok to demand the end of a corrupt military dictatorship and a return to constitutional rule. The protest got out of hand when rioters attacked and torched government buildings. The police and army



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demonstration, calls "the fear of rule by dictatorship."

Details of the crackdown have always been blanketed in bombast and rhetoric. The incident is not part of official Thai history and is not taught in schools. Now, 26 years later, there is a move to fill this void. The Ministry of Education has commissioned one of the country's leading poets, Naowarat Pongpaiboon, to write an account of the students' revolution and its immediate aftermath. The government hopes to publish the work, *The Oct. 14, 1973, Incident*, as a supplementary reading book for secondary-school students.

But the work is stuck in limbo, a "hot chili," as one critic put it, that nobody appears to want to chew on. Former leaders of left-leaning student groups and their one-time oppressors, including the state-sponsored "Red Gaur" death squads, are locked in argument over what the book should or should not say. Thais got a preview of this debate early last year, when Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai conferred an honorary award on former dictator Thanom for his services to the 31st Regiment, the Royal Guard. Democracy activists were outraged. Adul Khiewboriboon spoke for many when he said that Chuan, as a self-professed proponent of democracy, should not have signed his name to the award. By contrast, Maj.-Gen. Sudsai Thephasdin na Ayuthaya, who once led the (now-defunct) Red Gaur movement, stood up for Chuan and the proposal. "These activists say Chuan should apologize to the people," Sudsai, 82, told *Asiaweek*. "But he has done no wrong. I have come out to speak. I want to stop the wind."

An embarrassed premier was saved when Thanom, 88, emerged from seclusion and turned down the award. It was a victory of sorts for the liberals, who hold sway over the bureaucracy, academia and the national media, though activists are still calling on Chuan to apologize. But the liberals' attempts to have their version of events appear in *The Oct. 14, 1973, Incident* are meeting determined resistance. "History is being distorted to serve the interests of people who took part in the uprising," says Suvit Yodmani, Thanom's son-in-law, and one of three co-editors associated with the project. For Suvit, there were no clear-cut heroes or villains. Any attempt to paint such a scenario, he says, over-simplifies what was a complex power-play intertwined with foreign involvement during the Cold War era. "Nobody is saying the students were not heroes," Suvit acknowledges. "But young people should not be prevented from knowing the truth."

Suvit's interpretation of the events infuriates Thais who participated in the uprising. According to sociologist Thirayudh, Suvit represents "vested interests [who] should not be involved with the book." Many former left-wingers were further incensed when the government announced a last-minute delay in the release of the work, originally scheduled to coincide with the 26th anniversary last year of the uprising. On Oct. 8, Vinai Rodjai, director of the Book Development Center, said Suvit and the two other editors had asked author Naowarat to make revisions and rectify what they said were factual errors in his manuscript. Suvit described the account as one-sided and subjective, betraying the author's emotional involvement in the incident.

Naowarat denies this, though he remembers the euphoria of marching on the streets in defiance of military authority. The poet says he has steered clear of finger-pointing in his treatise because "the objective is to stimulate the people's minds about democracy, not to say who is right or wrong." The schoolbook is now on hold, with no date set for publication.

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There is no shortage of witnesses to the crackdown on protesters, but precisely what happened is still unclear. Democracy activists put the blame for the military action squarely on one man: Thanom, who returned from exile in 1976. But in an interview with Asiaweek, the former field marshal says he specifically ordered troops not to use force (see following page). As proof, Thanom produces what he says is the last remaining copy of the order he gave to his generals, asking them to refrain from opening fire. (The government that replaced Thanom's military regime ordered the documents burned, but one general kept his copy.)

Thanom's accusers are not inclined to believe him solely on the basis of a single piece of paper. Many activists and former left-wingers accuse the one-time premier, along with son Narong and Narong's father-in-law, Praphat, of being behind the violent crackdown on the demonstration. Critics say that if the army was indeed not directly involved in the action, it was because Thanom had lost control of his troops. Whatever the truth of this, the Thanom-Praphat-Narong triumvirate could not hold on to power. After Thanom had an audience with King Bhumibol Adulyadej, all three left the country.

One vital, unanswered question is whether there was a "third hand" behind the killings. Thanom and his colleagues insist it was not the police or army that started the shootings. They suggest an agency was involved that wanted to discredit the dictatorship. The officer allegedly connected with this mysterious force is Maj.-Gen. Witoon Yasawat, now 74 and ailing. In a recent interview with the Siam Post newspaper, Witoon admitted he acted on behalf of a third party. But he refused to identify who it was, saying only that "the secret will die with me."

The first shots, according to sources close to Thanom, came from rooftops and were fired by Lao mercenaries in the pay of the CIA. Narong told Asiaweek that two senior Thai officers were in league against the military command. "They took those forces that were fighting in Laos and brought them here. Half of them were dressed as students and half as military people. Nobody wants to talk about this."

Narong claims the snipers started firing on demonstrators - providing the spark for a wider conflagration that culminated in the massacre. According to his version, some very senior members of the armed forces wanted to topple the ruling trio through a "silent coup." This is another question that Thai historians have failed to examine.

Did the alleged plotters use CIA-funded mercenaries? And, if so, why? A clue, suggests Thammasat University's Seksan, might be found in recently declassified CIA files covering the intelligence agency's actions in Southeast Asia in the 1970s. But even if evidence does lie there, will it ever be published to let Thais know the truth about what is called modern "Thailand's most important day?" Judging by the wrangle over a school textbook, the answer is probably no.

role

SHOULD the son-in-law of a former dictator be appointed to scrutinise what would be the first school textbook on the historic events that toppled his father-in-law, Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn?

Pipop Thongchai, a leading political activist, is strongly against this move. "No matter how we look at it, it's really inappropriate," he said.

The Education Ministry has appointed Suwit Yodmani as one of the three panel members to review a high school textbook on the Oct 14, 1973, popular uprising. The other two review panellists are academics Srisak Wallipodom and Charnwit Kasetsiri.

Deputy Education Minister Somsak Prissanananthakul said the review would be completed within two or three weeks.

"Dr Suwit is a respectable man, but his relation with Field Marshal Thanom could raise a lot of questions. Some people may ask why relatives of those killed in the bloodshed are not represented in the review," Pipop said.

Suwit has often campaigned on Thanom's behalf to refute charges that the former strongman was responsible for the political tragedy.

The draft of the textbook was written by SeaWrite award-winning writer and poet Naowarat Pongpaiboon.

Another democracy activist agreed with Pipop, saying Suwit "is by all means not suitable for the job". Adul Kheowboriboon, who lost a son in the May 1992 bloodbath during the harsh military suppression of a peaceful demonstration, said even if Suwit did the review job neutrally, there would always be suspicion from the public.

Meanwhile. Adul yesterday threatened to mobilise

and would also request Chuan to help trace those missing -- and presumed dead -- following the military crackdown.

He also said he would meet with Chamlong and opposition leader Chavalit Yongchaiyudh to seek their support.

Despite official denials, speculation lingers that hundreds of people classified as missing were actually shot dead and buried in remote military sites to cover up the atrocities.

Activists have pinned their hopes on the Pichit report, which focuses on the military anti-riot operations, to shed light on what had triggered the crackdown on the peaceful demonstration against unelected premier Suchinda Kraprayoon seven years ago.

Mandated by the second Anand Panyarachun government, Privy Councillor Pichit and former Supreme Court president Sophon Rattanakorn headed separate probes into the May 1992 incident, concentrating their investigations on the military operations and those missing, respectively. Both had already made their reports public in 1992, but the Pichit probe had classified most of the military details.

Chuan, who returned from a visit to three South American countries yesterday, is scheduled to hold a meeting with military leaders next week to sound out their views over disclosure of the report.

Army Commander-in-Chief Gen Surayuth Julanont yesterday reiterated his stand in favour of disclosure, although the prime minister would have the final say on the matter.

Meanwhile, a senior Defence Ministry official, Maj-Gen Kamthorn Chuenboon, revealed that the ministry was processing the disclosure petition filed by the local press. Citing the Official Information Act, The Nation and other newspapers had requested public access to the Pichit

simply cannot teach

THE first high-school textbook covering the October 1973 popular uprising met with criticism from a leading historian yesterday. The first publications covering the event failed to provide a balanced view to students studying recent Thai history, a member of the committee reviewing the books and son-in-law of former prime minister Thanom Kittikachorn said yesterday.

Dr Suwit Yodmani said there were several inaccuracies in the new school books in terms of context and balance.

"The textbook should present both sides of the story to students, yet there are several inaccurate sections," he said.

Pro-democracy groups have opposed the appointment of Suwit to the three-member committee reviewing the textbook covering the crisis since he is the son-in-law of Field Marshal Thanom. The latter was the prime minister responsible for the violent crack-down on protesters.

The draft of the textbook was written by SeaWrite award-winning writer and poet Naowarat Pongpaiboon.

Suwit, a historian by training, said he had respect for Naowarat but he was not a historian although he was a great poet.

"Thai historians should join hands to write the book and disseminate accurate information," he said.

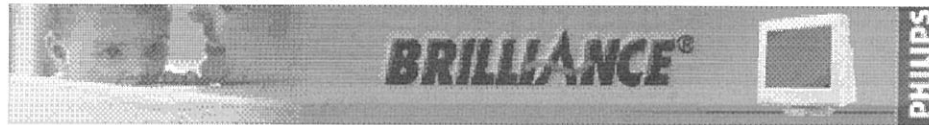
Suwit said he had written officially to the Education Ministry and the Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development to inform them of the mistakes he had spotted in the draft.

He also said he supported Army Commander-in-Chief

When told that several newspapers wanted to invoke the Official Information Act in order to see the reports, Chuan said: "It isn't only the media: I want to see it myself. I've not seen the full report yet, only read the summary."

The Nation

August 5, 2000



OCTOBER 14

New textbook now a diary with no details

Not intended to be historical record

Sirikul Bunnag

The textbook on the Oct 14 uprising will not be in the form of a historical record as intended but a diary without details of the figures involved.

The Oct 14 1973 Incident by Naowarat Pongpaiboon, the SeaWrite laureate, has been completed and will be edited by a panel to be chaired by Noranit Setthabutr, former rector of Thammasat

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Weekly

and Mr Naowarat had agreed to the change from a historical record to a diary to recognise the heroism of the people and to instil a love of democracy in children. The book will deal with related incidents on a daily basis but not go into detail about those behind the use of violence against the demonstrators.

Any students wanting to know more about the uprising can study from books produced by private publishers.

"The book was meant to be a historical record but this led to conflicts of ideas between extreme rightists and extreme leftists who wanted different angles covered," he said. "They could not find common ground.

"This caused a delay in publication from October last year until now."The Chart Thai MP said the change of form was inspired by suggestions from academics and Anand Panyarachun, former prime minister.

Witthayokorn Chiangkur, a lecturer at Rangsit University who took part in the uprising, said the ministry had bowed to pressure in agreeing to the change of form. Students could not be expected to gain a good understanding from the textbook, which has the depth of a news bulletin, he added.

Student weekly



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