

Thailand's Social Movements

1973 Uprising

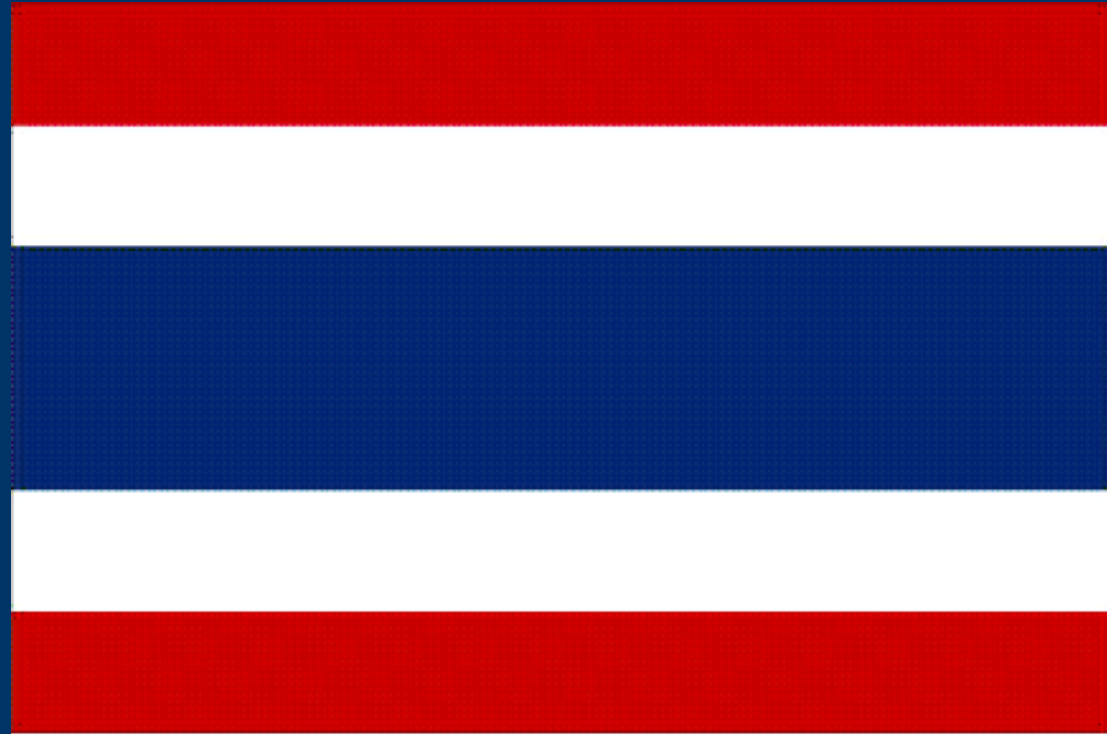
1976 Repression

1992 Black May

2006 Coup d'état

Red Shirts vs. Yellow Shirts





Geography

- Population is 64.6 million people
- Capital city is Bangkok
- Thailand is divided into 75 provinces
- Religions: Buddhist 94-95%, Muslim 4-5%, Christian, Hindu, Brahmin, other.
- The Thai language is Thailand's national language





Thailand & Neighbor

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Coups, attempted coups and constitutions of Thailand, 1932-2006

CONSTITUTION

COUP/ REBELLION

1. 1932 (interim): 27 June - 10 December 1932

2. 1932: 10 December 1932 - 9 May 1946

1. Coup: 20 June 1933

2. Boworadet Rebellion: 11 October 1933

3. Songsuradet Rebellion: 29 January 1939

3. 1946: 9 May 1946 - 8 November 1947

4. Coup: 8 November 1947

4. 1947 (interim): 9 November 1947 - 23 March 1949

5. Coup: 1 October 1948

6. "Grand Palace Coup": 26 February 1949

5. 1949: 23 March 1949 - 29 November 1951

7. "Manhattan Coup": 29 June 1951

8. "Silent Coup": 29 November 1951

6. 1932 (amended): 8 March 1952 - 20 October 1958

9. Coup: 16 September 1957

10. Coup: 20 October 1958

7. 1959: 28 January 1959 - 20 June 1968

8. 1968: 20 June 1968 - 17 November 1971

11. Coup: 17 November 1971

9. 1972: 15 December 1972 - 7 October 1974

10. 1974: 7 October 1974 - 6 October 1976

12. Coup: 6 October 1976

11. 1976: 22 October 1976 - 20 October 1977

13. Coup: 26 March 1977

14. Coup: 20 October 1977

12. 1977: 9 November 1977 - 22 December 1978

13. 1978: 22 December 1978 - 23 February 1991

15. Rebellion: 1 April 1981

16. Coup: 9 September 1985

17. Coup: 23 February 1991

14. 1991: 1 March 1991 - 9 December 1991

15. 1991: 9 December 1991 - 11 October 1997

16. 1997: 11 October 1997 - 19 September 2006

18. Coup: 19 September 2006

17. 2006 (interim): 1 October 2006 - present



Left: Some prime ministers of Thailand, from top to bottom— Field Marshal Pibulsongkram (1938-1944; 1948-1957); Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn (1958; 1963-1971; 1972-1973); Field Marshal Sarit Dhanarajata (1959-1963); General Suchinda Kraprayoon (1992); General Surayud Chulanont (2006-present)

Background

- 1932 – A bloodless revolution led to a constitutional monarchy.
 - 1940- The democracy monument was built in Bangkok.
 - 2516: Student-led Uprising for democracy in October 1973 amounted to a revolution in Thai politics: 73 killed, 857 wounded.
 - 2519: 1976 – Hundreds of students were tortured and 41 killed at Thammasat University.
 - 1992 – another uprising for democracy: 52 killed, 293 missing, 505 wounded.
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1973 Uprising



as forces chief

Elections in six months



Students hit the deck on Rajaberm Avenue in a bid to escape rifle and machine-gun fire.

Hundreds die as Government falls

5 pages inside on the day's events

PAGE TWO: The day's events in pictures.

PAGE THREE: Constitution in six months, says the new Prime Minister; profile of Professor Sanyal, the King's speech to the nation; map of the "battle field."

PAGE FOUR: Leading article; the short and unhappy reign of the Thaksin Government; how student power came to Thailand.

PAGE FIVE: Post reporter's moving account of the Rajaberm scene; one man's last moments.

PAGE SEVEN: More pictures from the streets.



A picture that sums it all up: The past, the Democracy Movement, the present, the flames coming from the blazing Rajaberm offices and the future, a child held tight in her mother's arms.

CASUALTIES mounted as violence continued last night, despite a dramatic appeal by His Majesty the King to all concerned to keep the peace. It is thought that about 100 demonstrators were killed and hundreds more wounded while many police and soldiers were dead and injured.

Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn who resigned as Prime Minister yesterday still holds the position of Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. New Prime Minister Sanyal announced appointed by His Majesty the King to replace Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn called upon the military, the students and the public to end the present impasse and a permanent constitution and general election in six months.

Announcing the resignation of the Thaksin Cabinet, His Majesty the King, looking grim, concerned and sad, appealed for peace.

The Thaksin Cabinet submitted its resignation following a day of violence which climaxed a week of student demonstrations for early promulgation of a constitution and release of 12 students and a former MP arrested for an alleged communist anti-government plot.

Field Marshal Prapas Chrasachitra and his son-in-law, Colonel Nares Kittikachorn, were rumored last night to have fled the country, possibly for Japan.

The report could not be confirmed. The Government had released the 12 unconditionally and promised a constitution by October next year, His Majesty had appealed to a Delegation of the National Student Centre of Thailand (NSCT) to have the situation returned to normal, now that the students had obtained their objectives.

However, some militant groups clashed with police and "bloody Sunday" began.

The Supreme Commander ordered forces to protect government buildings and public property against groups

Tear start it a

It was a series of tearful... Chulalongkorn at 1:30 a.m. the bloody riots which have... and innocent people.

About one third of a... covered all night... towards at Wat Rajaberm... direction to Rajaberm... They had intended to... His Majesty the King and divide... the southern side of the... northwest corner.

But soon after... near the group at the... The explosion started...

The explosion started... Police... Department... Commander... Maj. Gen. No... - leading to... Wat Rajaberm... some... offered... with an order to... &...

...-... from... by... from... the... and...

"They killed these... student said.

At this point an... man... towards the... student's... club...

The students then ran... all... to go to a... bus... leaves... The students occupied... after a clash with the...

At 2 a.m., a... of... at the Royal... University by... and...

The students armed... impeded through... hundreds of... by...

The students arrived... in... and...

At 3:15 a.m., the... were... not... the... two... for...

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Continued Page 3

Helicopters fire on fleeing students

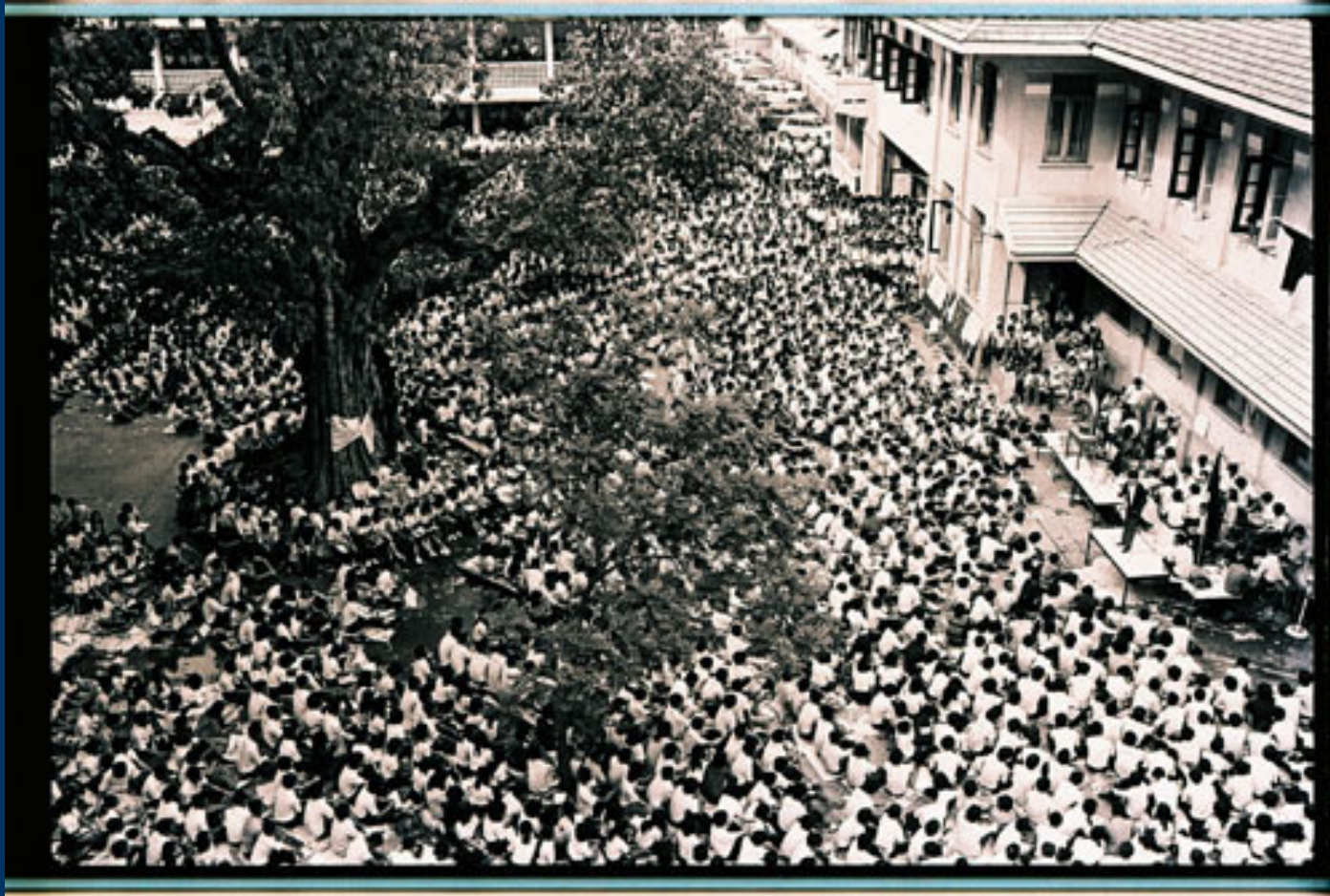
adventures... to far...





2 ในจำนวนผู้ต้องหา 13 คนที่ถูกตำรวจจับกุม กำลังถูกนำตัวไปกองบังคับการตำรวจสันติบาล
ปทุมวัน วันที่ 6 ตุลาคม





Under the Bo Tree at Thammasat University

12.00.16



โลก (ประภาส) เฒาก

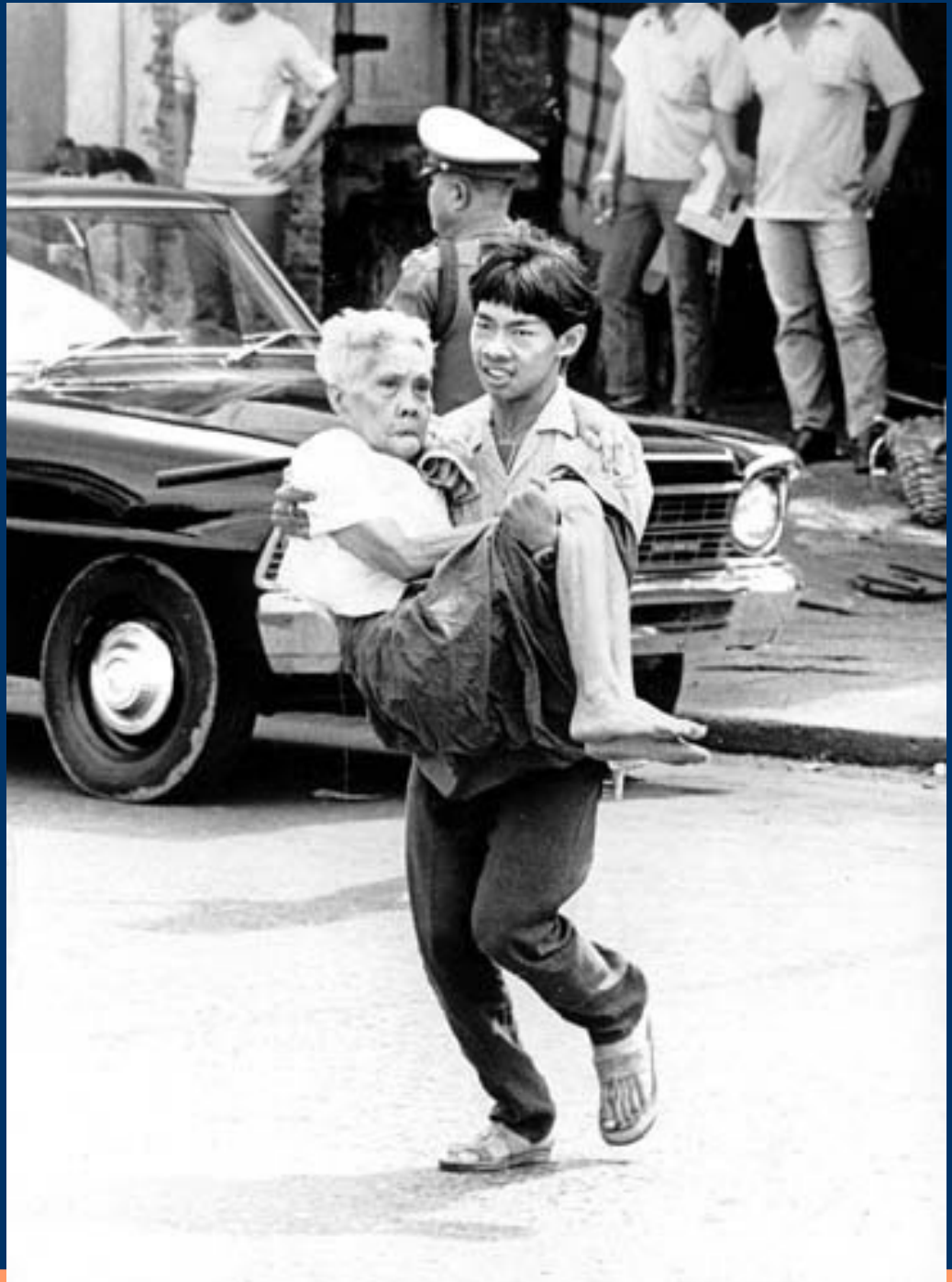


นี่คือ BANK SWISS
ชาติหรือยัง
จะแน่แล้วหรือ
ไทโย.

ประเทศไทย
ไทโย!















รถถังและรถหุ้มเกราะจากกองพันทหารม้าที่ 4 เกือบทุกยว รวม 6 คัน กำลังเคลื่อนผ่านถนนสงคราม



ทหารกำลังเตรียมจะขว้างระเบิดมือเข้าใส่ประชาชนที่หน้ากรมประชาสัมพันธ์





ภาพโดย
แปลก เข็มพิลา

การประจัญหน้ากันระหว่างประชาชนเมื่อเปิดประตูบ้านต้อนรับเหล่าทหารอเมริกันและครอบครัว
ครอบครัว ทั้งสองฝ่ายเป็นกันเองต่อกัน



អង្គការសហប្រជាជាតិ ក.ស.វ. ថ្ងៃទី ១៤ ក.ស.





รถพยาบาลได้เตรียมออกจากโรงพยาบาลไปรับผู้บาดเจ็บ ในบริเวณที่มีการต่อสู้กัน โดยมี พระภิกษุนั่งบนหลังการรถ

ถ้าเลขงผู้ขาดเจ็บข้ามฟากไปโรงพยาบาลศิริราช





เด็กออกจากโรงเรียนต่างๆ ทำหน้าที่เป็นจราจรแทนตำรวจที่กรุงเทพมหานคร เพราะเจ้าหน้าที่ตำรวจไม่กล้าออกมาปฏิบัติงานในขณะที่เหตุการณ์เพิ่งสงบ วันที่ 16 ตุลาคม 2516



นักศึกษาและประชาชน กำลังช่วยทำความสะอาดถนนราชดำเนินกลาง วันที่ 16 ต.ค. 2516





1976 Massacre

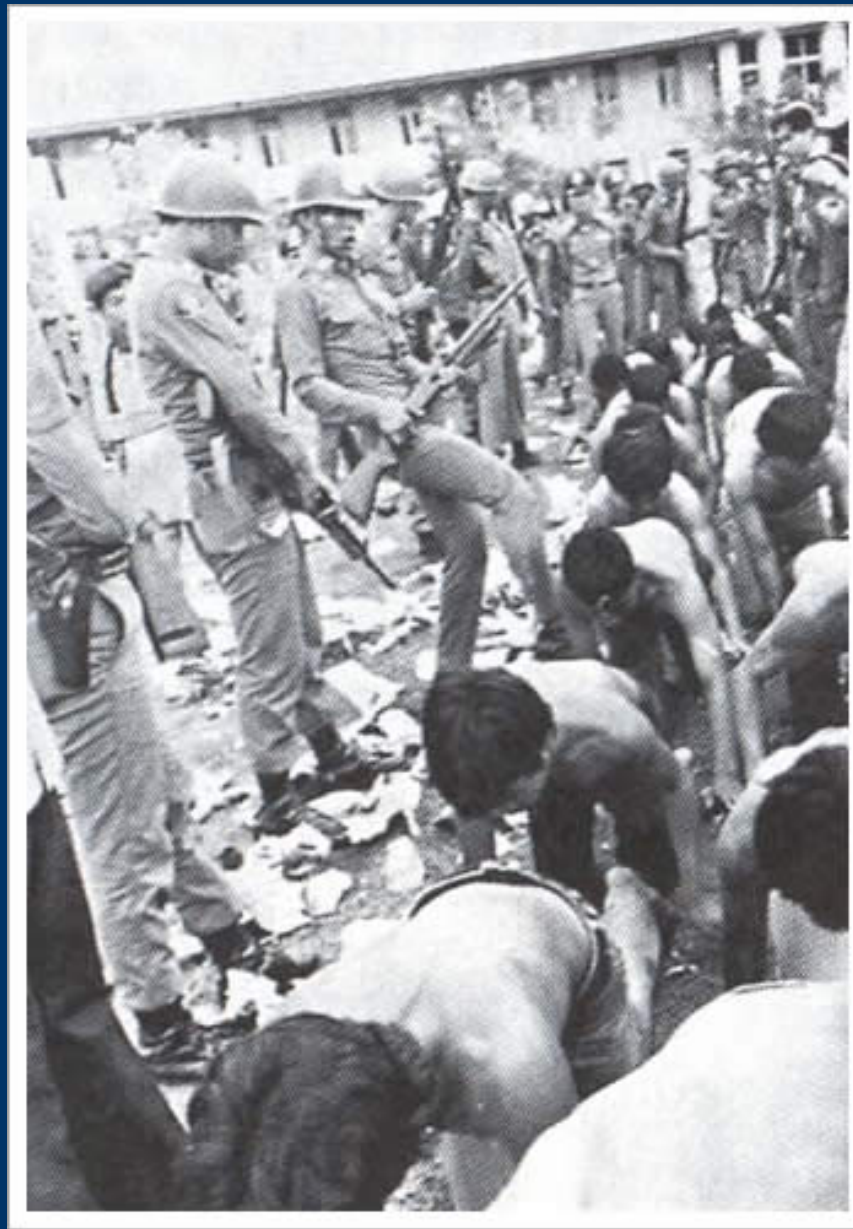








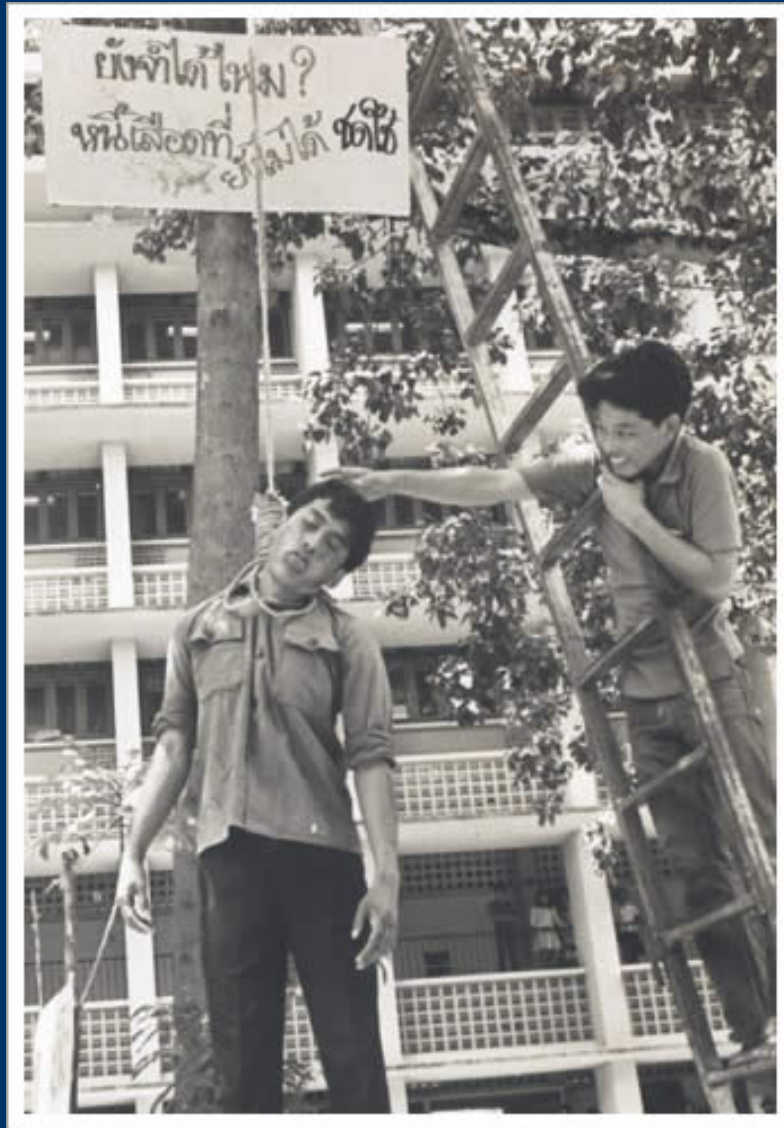




























“For the states security”



“For the nations identity”

















1992 Black May



Background to Black May

- On 23 February 1991, Army Commander Suchinda Kraprayoon overthrew the government of Chatichai Choonhavan.
- After he formed the National Peace-Keeping Council (NPKC), they appointed Anand Panyarachun as Prime Minister.
- Anand's interim government scheduled parliamentary elections for 22 March 1992.
- After the election, Sunchina was appointed Prime Minister.
- On 17 May 1992, the two leading government parties announced that they supported the constitutional amendment which allowed Suchinda to serve as prime minister for the life of the current Parliament.



General Suchinda Kraprayoon

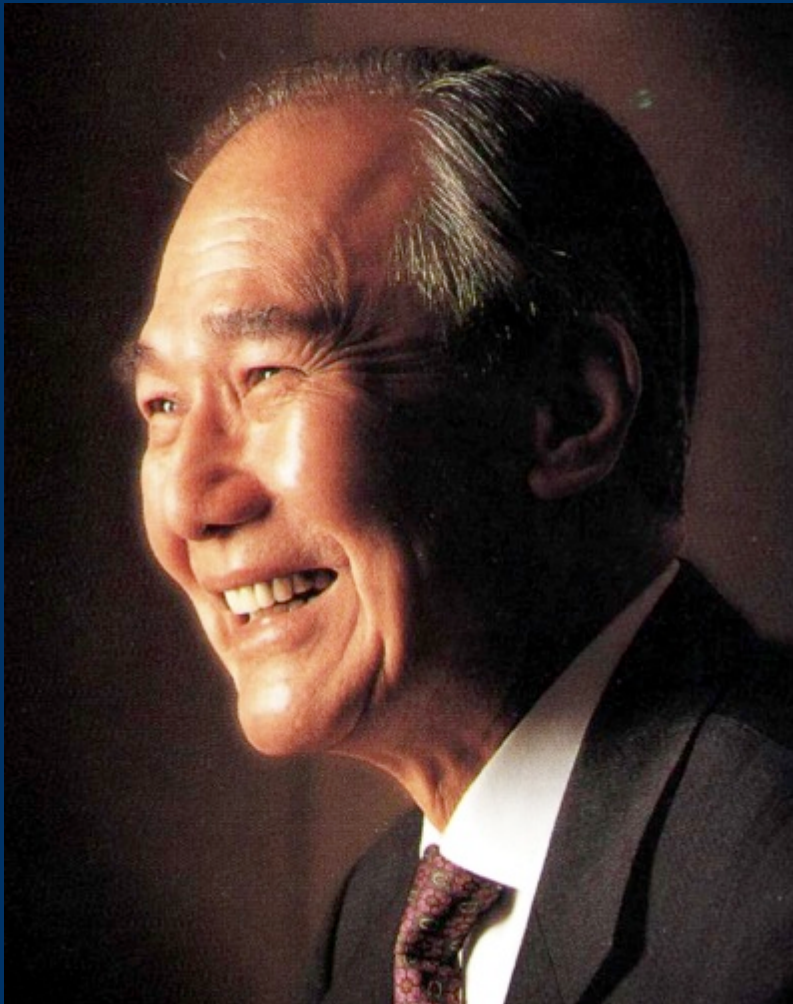
- **Born on August 6, 1933**
- **Class 5 Graduate**
- **Suchinda was a leader of the National Peace Keeping Council (NPKC)**
- **had a coup d'etat that got rid of the government of Prime Minister Chatchai Choonhavan on February 23, 1991**



- **Suchinda became Prime Minister and was supported by five parties (Rassadorn, Samakkee Dhamma, Social Action, Thai Citizen, Chart Thai)**
- **Suchinda becoming Prime Minister was the main cause of “Black May”**



Anand Panyarachun



- Born August 9, 1932
- Had no Military connections
- College Educated
- Had 23 years in diplomatic service

Chamlong Srimuang



- **Born July 5, 1935**
- **Activist and former politician**
- **Served 6 years as governor of Bangkok since 1985**
- **Had a good reputation, strong religious beliefs, and wanted to end corruption**

Black May

- On May 17, 300,000 people demonstrated in central Bangkok (Sanam Luang) and called for Suchinda's resignation.
 - Chamlong Srimuang led the protestors on a 2-kilometer march toward Government House, but they were stopped at Phan Fa Bridge.
 - Just after midnight, Suchinda declared a State of Emergency.
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-



- The crowds did not disperse, and the violence escalated.
 - Troops had secured the area around Phan Fa Bridge and the Democracy Monument.
 - Troops open fire, people fight back
 - Protests shifted to Ramkhamhaeng University across the city.
 - By the evening of 19 May, some fifty thousand people had gathered at Ramkhamhaeng University.
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Bloody May 1992



- Soldiers attacked the nearly 50,000 protesters with M16 automatic rifles.
 - The King demanded Suchinda and Chamlong consult through a parliamentary process and work together.
 - Suchinda broadcast an amnesty for protestors.
 - Chamlong asked the demonstrators to disperse.
 - On 24 May 1992, Suchinda resigned.
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May 17, 1992

- On the afternoon of May 17, 300,000 protesters walked down Rajadamneorn Avenue from Sanam Luang, apparently on their way to the parliament building
- However, troops arrived quickly and set up barbed wire on a bridge that would have led out of Rattanakosin Island area, thereby blocking the way of the protesters.
- Chamlong Srimuang, a former military commander, former Bangkok governor, and Palang Dharma Party leader, led the protestors on a 2 KM march to Government House



May 17, 1992



Soldiers from the 1st Combat Engineer Battalion arrived at the bridge and prepare to set up barbed wire.



The troops set up mounds of barbed wire, preventing the crowds from passing and affirming army/governmental control of the situation

May 18, 1992

- Early on the morning of May 18, soldiers opened fire on the protesters to clear the streets and arrest the leaders.
- Many people were still not convinced that the army would use live ammunition on people. Slowly, protesters started running from the Phra Sumen-Dinso intersection.
- Suchinda publicly accused Chamlong of fomenting violence and defended the government's use of force. A short time later, troops fired continuously in the air and moved in on the crowd surrounding Chamlong. The troops handcuffed and arrested Chamlong.



People burnt government buildings and an “army of motorcycles” fought the police



Morning, May 18, 1992



(Right) Protesters occupying Ratchadamnoen Avenue and Tanao Road (Kok Wua intersection).



(Above) Planters blocking off Tanao Street.



(Right) Tanao Road closed with barbed wire. Only foreigners could pass through though.

Afternoon, May 18, 1992



- Ratchadamnoen Avenue

- Thousands of troops and protesters milling around Ratchadamnoen Avenue and Tanao Road near the monument dedicated to those who died in the October 13, 1973 protests



Afternoon, May 18, 1992 (cont)



A German-language banner

Phone booth graffiti: "Prime Minister must come election only. Suchinda you are dictator."



Afternoon, May 18, 1992 (cont)

- Afternoon May 18, there were probably 10-15,000 camped out in front of Phan Fa Bridge.



May 18, 1992 (cont)



The front lines on Phan Fa Bridge. The troops try to prevent people from heading towards the Parliament Building and Government House areas.



Government House of Thailand



People set up sheets of plastic to create shade



Soldiers at Kok Wua intersection camping out to prevent protesters from returning to Sanam Luang.

Soldiers started to open fire with live ammunition



May 19, 1992

- On May 19, the military clamped down around the city. They fired on protesters near the bridge over Banglamphu Canal in a sweep through Banglamphu.
- In the evening of May 19, some fifty thousand people had gathered around Phan Fa Bridge and the Democracy Monument.



Doctors and Nurses set up a makeshift hospital in the Royal Hotel on May 18

- On May 19, soldiers assaulted it, beat everyone and made them lie outside in the sun for hours









May 20, 1992

- Early on the morning of May 20, Princess Sirindhorn addressed the country on television, calling for a stop to the unrest.
- In the evening, her brother, Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn, broadcast a similar public appeal.
- However, not until 9:30 pm was a television broadcast of King Bhumibol, Suchinda, and Chamlong shown, in which the King demanded that the two put an end to their confrontation and work together through parliamentary processes.
- Shortly after the agreement between the three, Chamlong asked the demonstrators to disperse.
- On 24 May 1992, Suchinda resigned.



End of Uprising

- The King commanded Suchinda and Chamlong to come together in his royal place and told them to stop the violence.
- On 24 May 1992, Suchinda resigned
- On May 28, the military parties elected Air Force Chief Marshal Somboon Rahong as their Prime Minister.
- On June 10, Anand Panyarachun became Prime Minister.

Aftermath

- At least 52 deaths, hundreds of injuries, and many disappearances
- Over 3,500 people were arrested; hundreds of them were women and children
- Many arrested were tortured; some were beaten, left to sit in sweltering sunlight, soaked in gasoline and threatened with immolation, and left to starve.
- Later, Chamlong apologized for his role in the events: "I wanted a peaceful rally," "I can't deny some responsibility for the damage and loss of life. I feel deeply sorry for those families whose members were killed in the incident, for those people who were injured and their families." Nevertheless, he noted that "we were right in what we have done." And he later retired from politics.



Aftermath



- 52 Deaths, 293 missing, 505 wounded.
 - 3500 people were arrested.
 - The front page of the International Herald Tribune 20 May 1992 issue was blacked out.
 - Three other newspapers were shut down on May 21.
 - Suchinda was appointed chairman of Telecom Asia.
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Yet Another Coup 2006



How Easily the Best Constitution was Overthrown



Red Shirts vs. Yellow Shirts



September 2008



Ongoing struggles

- For more details on previous uprisings, see Asia's Unknown Uprisings (PM Press, 2012)

