



The COST of the THAI MONARCHY

CHAPTER ONE

Cost of revamping the royal grounds

Investigated and compiled by *Junya Yimprasert*.

ACT4DEM focuses on the huge inequality between allocations for the people and allocations for the Palace in Thailand's National Budget. For some years we have been looking into how national budget revenue is spent on upholding, worshipping, protecting and promoting the institution of the monarchy above all else in Thailand.

In Chapter One, using basic data from the Budget Bureau we will look at the budget of the “โครงการสนับสนุนกิจกรรมพิเศษหลวง” / ‘Special Royal Activities Support Project’, which is used solely for the design, construction and maintenance of the Royal Special Activities on the Royal Grounds / Royal Residential Precinct.

In 2020 we investigated the budget allocations that are both specifically designated to supporting the Palace or vaguely named to do the same, such as: the Royal Project Foundation; Monkey Cheek (flood prevention) Project; the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy Project and the Honouring and Protecting the Monarchy Project. These budget allocations we visit part by part.

We start by visiting the ‘Special Royal Activities Support Project’ which, handed down by the Interior Ministry, was developed from the plan to ‘Maintain Domestic Order’ in 2009. It comes now under the ‘Strategic Plan for Strengthening the National Main Institution’. The Special Royal Activities Support Project has the stated purpose to “support the design, renovation, construction and maintenance of the royal grounds.” According to the Interior Ministry’s 2020 budget, **the final total cost of revamping the royal grounds from 2010 to 2024 could top one billion USD / 821 million Euro.**

The original text published in Thai on 17 June 2020: <https://act4dem.net/?p=1764&fbclid=IwAR1cYK4iZn6nyzO8NzEzJGvy2SziVRz39Apcw4zhjABnFkz1kk-lxcckJow>

Original translation to English by Paul Parone with editing by Ann Norman.

This revised version 25 January 2021.

Royal Grounds Renovation Budget distributed by expense 2011 - 2020 (million THB)

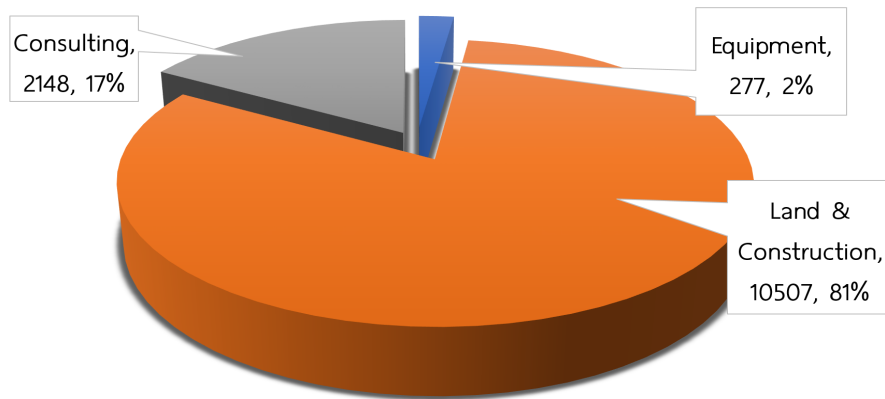


Chart 1: The spending for design, construction and maintenance of the Royal Special Activities on the Royal Grounds from 2011 - 2020.

This thirteen-year project was first granted by the Abhisit Vejjajiva government in 2009 with a total budget of 1,710 million Baht (56 million US dollars / 46 million euro). Under the Prayuth Chan-ocha government it exploded to a total of 21,238.78 million Baht (700 million US dollars / 573 million euros) in 2020, a more than 12-fold increase!

To date 13,000 million Baht (429 million US dollars / 351 million euros) has been spent.



Figure 1: The current boundaries of the new complex under construction for King Vajiralongkorn. Photograph from Google Earth, June 12, 2020.

In Figure 1, the red line shows the boundary of areas that will now be within the Royal Residential Precinct, and that boundary may expand further. The Royal Residential Precinct is actually bigger because it includes Vajiralongkorn's Thawee Wattana Palace on the

outskirts of Bangkok, as well as the palaces of the royal family in other provinces. In total there are about 40 palaces throughout the country. But the bulk of the spending in the Special Royal Activities Support Project is for this new expanded area in the center of Bangkok, with land reclaimed from public use and re-purposed to be part of a giant compound for King Vajiralongkorn. (In recent decades Vajiralongkorn has lived mostly in Germany.)

The Chitralada Villa, King Bhumibol's official residential palace, which is part of the Royal Residential Precinct, had a boundary enclosing 158 acres / 64 hectares of land, but the new site for Vajiralongkorn is approximately three times greater. In the picture we can see on-going construction that does not look near to completion.

A close-up of one section of this area (Figure 2) highlights the extravagance and dictatorial overreach of the plans for Vajiralongkorn's super-complex. One of the buildings torn down to make way for the royal complex was the 'National Assembly of Thailand', that is to say Thailand's Parliament House! The Thai Parliament had to rent new quarters while a permanent building was being built. In the Google Earth picture we see only dirt at the location labeled National Assembly of Thailand. Also, circled in red, is a Thai Airways plane sitting in a park. Vajiralongkorn likes to collect planes and this one may be a symbol of his love for his fourth wife (the current queen), who he met while she was a stewardess on a similar plane.



Figure 2: Close-up of land shown in Figure 1, showing the excess of the new royal complex. From Google Earth, June 11, 2020.

8.2 แผนงาน : รักษาความสงบเรียบร้อยภายในประเทศ	807,219,000 บาท
8.2.1 โครงการที่ 1 : โครงการสนับสนุนกิจกรรมพิเศษหลวง	807,219,000 บาท
8.2.1.1 วัตถุประสงค์	
สนับสนุนด้านออกแบบก่อสร้างและบำรุงรักษากิจกรรมพิเศษหลวงในเขตพระราชฐาน	
8.2.1.2 สถานที่ดำเนินการ	
เขตพระราชฐาน	
8.2.1.3 ระยะเวลาดำเนินการ	5 ปี(ปี 2552 ถึง ปี 2556)
8.2.1.4 วงเงินทั้งสิ้นของโครงการ	1,710,278,000 บาท
- เงินงบประมาณ	1,710,278,000 บาท
- เงินนอกงบประมาณ	- บาท
กิจกรรม	
1) สนับสนุนกิจกรรมพิเศษหลวง	807,219,000 บาท

Figure 3: From the 2010 Annual Budget Book, Volume 6, page 166.

[Note: To change from the Thai Buddhist year to CE, subtract 543.]

In reading the figures and graphs, be aware that Thailand uses a Buddhist year system, such that one must subtract 543 from the Thai Buddhist year to get the so-called Common Era year used in most of the West. For instance the Western year 2021 is the Thai year 2564.

In Figure 3 we see that the plan to improve the Royal Grounds was initially under the supervision of the Ministry of Interior. Item 8.2 is “Work Plans: Maintain Domestic Order. Project 1: Royal Special Activities Support Project” with a total budget of 1,710.28 million Baht (56 million US dollars / 46 million euros) for the period of 2009 - 2013.

8.3 แผนงานยุทธศาสตร์เสริมสร้างความมั่นคงของสถาบันหลักของชาติ	2,378,063,000 บาท
8.3.1 โครงการที่ 1 : โครงการสนับสนุนกิจกรรมพิเศษหลวง	2,378,063,000 บาท
8.3.1.1 วัตถุประสงค์	
สนับสนุนด้านออกแบบ ก่อสร้างและบำรุงรักษากิจกรรมพิเศษหลวงในเขตพระราชฐาน	
8.3.1.2 สถานที่ดำเนินการ	
พื้นที่เขตพระราชฐาน	
8.3.1.3 ระยะเวลาดำเนินการ	14 ปี (ปี 2553 ถึง ปี 2566)
8.3.1.4 วงเงินทั้งสิ้นของโครงการ	21,238,781,400 บาท
- เงินงบประมาณ	21,238,781,400 บาท

Figure 4: Taken from the Ministry of Interior's 2020 budget, page 263, this figure highlights that the activities and spending are ongoing.

In 2020 the entire annual budget of the Strategic Plan for Strengthening the Country's Main Institution, 2,378 million Baht (78 million USD; 64 million Euro), is going to the Special Royal Activities Support Project. The total budget of the Special Royal Activities Support Project over a 14-year period is now 21,238.78 million Baht (700 million USD; 573 million euros). In Figure 5 we see THE TOTAL budget creeping up year by year.

8.3.1.6 เป้าหมายโครงการ งบประมาณ และกรอบงบประมาณรายจ่ายล่วงหน้าระยะปานกลางของโครงการ จำแนกตามแหล่งเงิน

ตัวชี้วัด/ แหล่งเงิน	หน่วยนับ	งบประมาณ		ประมาณการรายจ่ายล่วงหน้า**		
		เริ่มต้น - ปี 2562 แผน (ผล)*	ปี 2563 แผน	ปี 2564 แผน	ปี 2565 แผน	ปี 2566-จบ แผน
เชิงปริมาณ : จำนวนงานก่อสร้างปรับปรุงอาคารในเขตพระราชฐานแล้วเสร็จและเป็นไปตามพระราชประสงค์ภายในเวลาและงบประมาณที่กำหนด	แห่ง	6 (6)	6	6	6	6
เชิงคุณภาพ : งานก่อสร้างปรับปรุงอาคารในเขตพระราชฐานได้มาตรฐานตามหลักวิชาการ สวยงาม สมพระเกียรติ	ร้อยละ	100 (100)	100	100	100	100
รวมทั้งสิ้น	ล้านบาท	11,360.7184	2,378.0630	2,500.0000	2,500.0000	2,500.0000

Figure 5: Estimated budget expenditures from beginning to end of the project in 2023.

From the Ministry of Interior's 2020 budget, Figure 5 shows estimated budgeted expenditures from the beginning to the end of the project and makes clear that the project is continuous over many years. The highlighted row shows budget figures for different periods in millions of Baht. The first two columns show the budget from the beginning of the project to 2019 and for 2020. The next three columns are estimated amounts for 2021, 2022, and "2023 to the end". The amount spent from the beginning of the project to 2019 is 11,360 million Baht (374 million USD / 306 million Euro). 2,378 million Baht (78 million USD; 64 million euros) more will be spent in 2020, with similar but slightly higher amounts projected for 2021, 2022 and 2023 to the end.

Plan adjustments and modifications since 2010

Now we have seen the allotted spending for improving the Royal Grounds in budgets from 2010 until 2020. This shows the outline of the budget. In the following tables and charts we will look at changes in the budget over time and actual expenditures.

Table 1: Summary of the annual budget plans, modifications and actual expenditures (in millions of Baht)

Budget year	Period	Total budget	Annual budget and adjustment	actual expenditures
2024 / 2567			2,000	
2023 / 2566			2,500/2,000	

2022 / 2565			2,500/2,000	
2010 / 2564	2553-2567	21,438.78	2,500/1,700	
2020 / 2563	2553-2566	21,238.78	1,300/2,500	2,378,00
2019 / 2562	2553-2565	18,860.72	900/1,300	2,277,00
2018 / 2561	2553-2564	18,083.89	900/1,300	2,000,00
2017 / 2560	2553-2567	10,084.22	800/900	1,270,00
2016 / 2559	2553-2562	8,514.46	800/800	901,00
2015 / 2558	2553-2562	8,113.24	500/800	865,00
2014 / 2557	2553-2560	6,447.94	500/800	917,00
2013 / 2556	2553-2559	5,531,42	300	885,00
2012 / 2555	Not specified	Not specified	300	1, 010,00
2011 / 2554	2552-2556	1,836.33	300	429,00
2010 / 2553	2552-2556	1,710.28	807	807,00
Grand total	Total in million Baht		13,739 THB	
	Total in million Euro		381,64 €	

Looking at Table 1, figures for the total budget are adjusted upwards every year.

Adjustments are absurd and haphazard, especially after the 2014 [2557] military coup and even more so after Vajiralongkorn takes over as king. (King Bhumibol died in October 2016 [2559]) and was not at all well in his final years.) Summarizing it roughly:

In 2010 [2553] the total budget is 1,710 million Baht [56 million USD / 46 million Euro] covering the 5 year period.

In 2012 [2555], the project duration and budget are not specified.

In 2013 [2556] the total budget increased to 5,531 million Baht [182 million USD / 149 million Euro], and the project is extended to 2016.

In 2014 [2557] the total budget increased to 6,447.94 million Baht [212 million USD / 174 million Euro], and the project is extended to 2017.

In 2015 [2558], the year after the 2014 military coup, the total budget increases to 8,113.24 million Baht [267 million USD / 219 million Euro], and the project is extended to 2019.

In 2017 [2560], the total budget increases to 10,084.219 million Baht [332 million USD / 272 million Euro], and the project is extended to 2024.

In 2018 [2561], near the beginning of Vajiralongkorn's reign, the total budget nearly doubles to 18,083.8894 million Baht [596 million USD / 488 million Euro], and the duration of the project shortens to 2021.

In 2019 [2562], the total budget increases to 18,860 million Baht [622 million USD / 509 million Euro], and the duration of the project is adjusted to 2022.

In 2020 [2563], the total budget increases to 21,238.78 million Baht [700 million USD / 573 million Euro], with construction to continue till 2023.

In 2021, the budget plan was extended to 2024 with an increase of 200 million Baht (6.7 million USD / 5.4 million Euro).

[Note: Subtract 543 from the Thai Buddhist year to reach CE.]

Looking at this table we can say that the Thai people were unknowingly taxed for a project with constantly increasing budget and expenditures, and we see that project spending was constantly over-budget.

This runaway spending was facilitated by the complete lack of transparency or democratic feedback. It seems that no one dared say “No” or ask even “Why?” to a gigantic and mysterious construction project for the king that is eating up some of the most valuable real estate in downtown Bangkok.

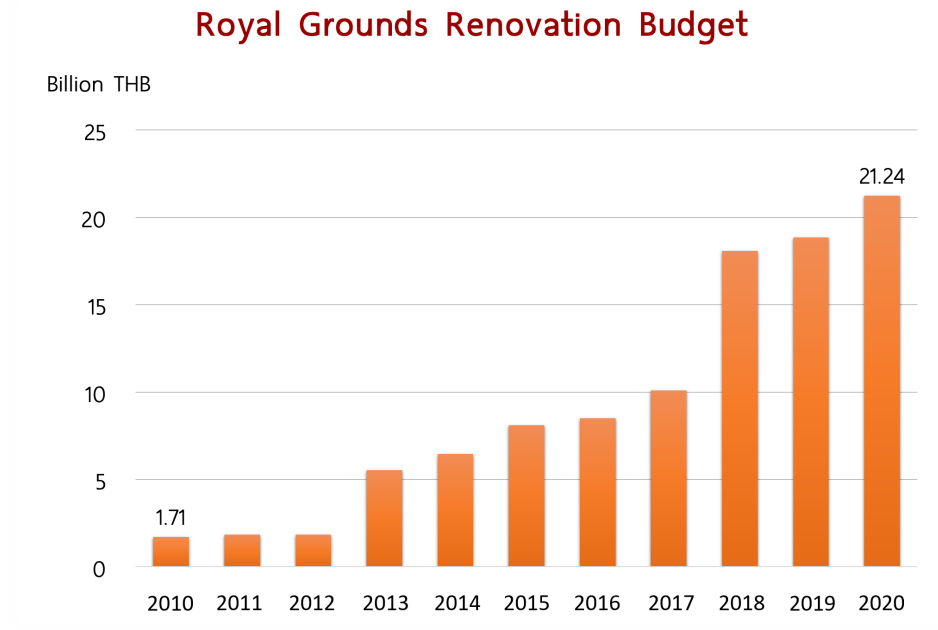
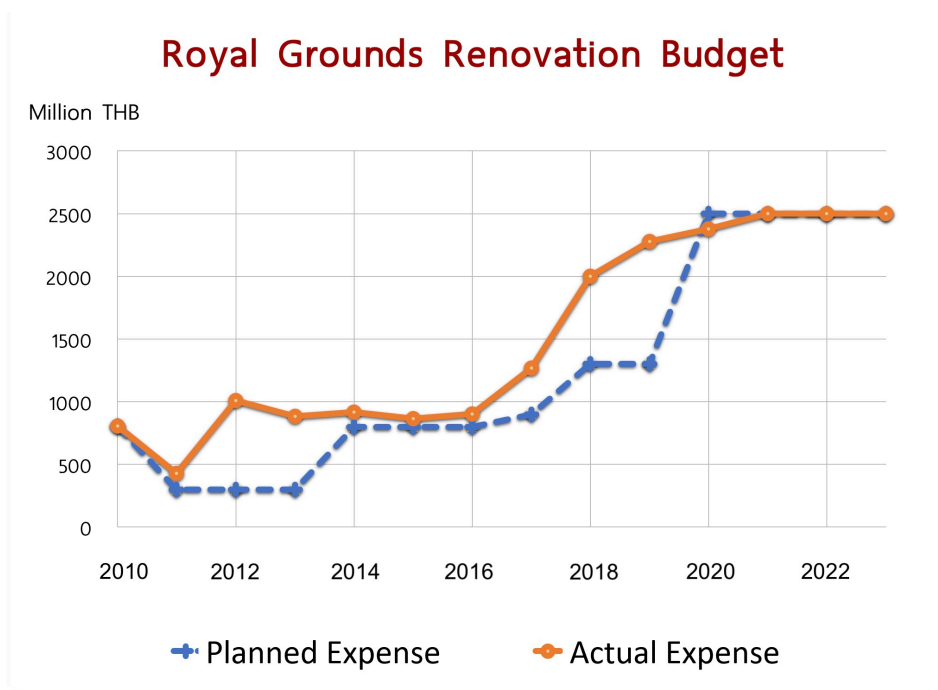


Chart 3: The Increasing Total Budget for Improving the Royal Grounds

The construction plan specified in various annual budgets

Ministry of Interior budget documents 2010 - 2020 include some interesting details about the construction and improvement of the Royal Residential Precinct.

In the 2011-2014 budget plan details are categorically specified for items exceeding one million Baht [33,000 USD; 27,000 Euro], with interesting details shown for the Amporn Satarn, Thawee Wattana and Chakri Bongkot Palaces and the Royal Residential Precinct of Rama 10 (Vajiralongkorn).

Some background here on the three palaces to assist understanding of the tables below: Amporn Satarn is a Residential Hall within Dusit Palace and it falls within the area outlined in red in *Figure 1*. It is regarded as Vajiralongkorn's main residence when he is in Bangkok. Thawee Wattana is another of Vajiralongkorn's main palaces. It is on the outskirts of Bangkok and not within the area outlined in red on *Figure 1*, but it is relatively nearby. Thawee Wattana Palace has notoriously been transformed into a training and punishment camp for soldiers under the direct control of Vajiralongkorn; an official but shadowy prison has existed there since 2012. Chakri Bongkot Palace is the palace of Princess Chulabhorn, one of the king's 3 sisters. It is also not within the area outlined in red on *Figure 1*. It is located in Pathum Thani, a province that neighbours Bangkok, making it also relatively nearby the central Royal Residential Precinct of Rama 10 (the area outlined in red in *Figure 1*).

Note: In all tables below figures are in millions of Baht, followed by millions of euros.

Table 2. Plan for some Special Royal Activities Support Project for design, construction and maintenance of the Royal Residential Precinct in 2011.

FISCAL YEAR 2011	Budget (million baht)
1.1 Goods & equipment, focused on vehicles equipped with royal bathroom and truck with forklift	72,52
91.2 Land & construction costs	
(1) Hiring consultants for renovating Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces and Special Activities Projects for the Royal Relatives	30,00
(2) Hiring consultants and project managers for interior design of Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces and various residential Palaces.	14,55
(3) Land & construction costs for bypassing roads to enter and exit the palace in Bang Kayang, Muang District, Pathum Thani Province (Phase 1)	92,05
(4) Construction cost of VIP GYM, Thawee Wattana Palace	50,00
(5) Construction cost of POOL HOUSE, Thawee Wattana Palace	100,00
(6) Hiring consultant[s] for detailed renovation and construction plan of Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces and any personal royal construction (added to Group 1) for the year 2010	30,00
(7) Hiring consultant[s] for supervision and maintaining systems at Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces and area (904) in royal control	40,00
Total in million Baht	429,12 THB
Total in million Euro	11,92 €

Figure 6: 8 vehicles with bathrooms appear in the budget report. (Photos from Internet).

รถ Mercedes Benz ห้องสรง สำนักพระราชวัง



รถ Mercedes Benz ห้องสรง สำนักพระราชวัง



You are here: [Home](#) > [ผลงาน](#) > [โครงการรถประเภทต่างๆ](#) > [โครงการรถห้องสรง สำนักพระราชวัง](#)

Table 3: Plan for the Special Royal Activities Support Project for design, construction and maintenance of the Royal Residential Precinct in 2012.

Fiscal Year 2012	Budget (million baht)
1.1.1 Cost for goods & equipment: 16 six-wheel trucks and etc.	45,55
1.1.2 Land & construction costs	964,54
(1.1) Servant kitchen renovation, Chakri Bongkot Palace, Pathum Thani Province	3,00
(1.2) Hiring design consultants for additional construction in the palace, Thawee Wattana area	4,99
(1.3) Hiring consultants to manage and supervise the construction and renovation of the Chakri Bongkot Palace, Pathum Thani Province	9,00
(1.4) Hiring consultants to manage and maintain external Architectural Structures at Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces.	6,00
(1.5) Hiring consultants to design the construction of the Government Centre of Newland AGG. Amporn Satarn (architectural plan)	5,00
(1.6) Cost for additional construction for s2x and s3x buildings.	5,40
(1.7) Cost for improving the systems of Thawee Wattana Palace, Government Centre building	4,40
(1.8) Cost for air-conditioning system maintenance in Thawee Wattana Palace, Government Centre	4,90
(2) Cost for Project Management to renovate Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces and other Special Activities Construction Projects for the Royal Relatives	30,00
(3) Hiring consultants for interior design of Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces and other royal residence areas	18,00
(4) Construction cost of government buildings, Newland AGG Amporn Satarn	416,54
(5) Construction cost of two-story car park for royal servants at Amporn Satarn	121,00

(6) Cost of architectural structure maintenance and staff facilities in Amporn Satarn (addition)	50,11
(7) Cost for air-conditioning system maintenance of the royal properties store room, Chakri Bongkot, Pathum Thani Province	15,00
(8) Hiring consultants for detailed design plan for construction and renovation project of Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana palaces and other royal constructions (group 1 addition)	40,00
(9) Cost for acquiring consultants for architectural maintenance and interior decorations of Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces	12,00
(10) Costs for putting up fences, gates, and rails along walkways at Newland AGG. Amporn Satarn	77,80
(11) Employing consultants to manage working system at Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces and the Royal Area 904	40,00
(12) Repair & maintenance cost of flat 1, royal area 904	25,00
(13) Cost of a building for Staff 2, Thana City, (system work section)	10,90
(14) Improvement cost of Thawee Wattana Palace fence/wall	16,00
(15) Cost of improving electrical system around Thawee Wattana Palace fence/wall	13,00
(16) Cost of renovating gym in Thawee Wattana Palace, Government Centre	10,00
(17) Renovating cost of Flat 2, Royal Area 904	26,50
Total in million Baht	891,85 THB
Total in Million Euro	24,77 €



Figure 7.

The Chakri Bongkot Palace. From Google Earth, 12 June 2020

Table 4: Plan for the Special Royal Activities Support Project for design, construction and maintenance of the Royal Residential Precinct in 2013.

Fiscal Year 2013	Budget (million baht)
1.1 Goods & equipment cost: 2 vehicles equipped with royal bathrooms,	8,80
1.1.2 Land and construction costs	876,20
(1.1) Construction of a VIP building in TM land	5,00
(1.2) Construction of fence gates in Area TM land, 2 locations	1,50
(2) Construction cost for 2-story parking garage for royal servants at Amporn Satarn	52,00
(3) Increase the height of fences and gates at Amporn Satarn (addition)	15,00
(4) Construction of shed for an antique train at Thawee Wattana Palace	70,00
(5) Renovation of servant flat (1additional flat), 1 area that is controlled in His Majesty . . . [word is abbreviated at “His Majesty”]	30,00
(6) Construction of guest house in Thawee Wattana Palace	25,00
(7) Hiring consultants for detailed design of construction and renovation in Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces and other constructions in His Majesty [word is abbreviated at “His Majesty”] (additional group 1) continued from 2012	40,00
(8) Hiring consultants for administration, supervision of the construction and renovation of Amporn Satarn, Thawee Wattana Palaces and the special activities project of members of The Royal Family	30,00
(9) Hiring consultants to supervise and administer interior decoration of Amporn Satarn, Thawee Wattana Palaces and other royal residences	18,00
(10) Hiring consultants to administer and supervise construction, renovation of Chakri Bongkot Palace, Pathum Thani Province(continued from 2012)	12,00
(11) Hiring consultants to maintain Architectural Structures and interior decoration at Amporn Satarn, Thawee Wattana Palaces (continued from 2012)	12,00
(12) Hiring consultants for administration and maintenance exterior Architectural constructions at Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces	18,00
(13) Hiring consultants for the administration and maintenance of System Work at Amporn Satarn and Thawee Wattana Palaces and areas in that are controlled in His Majesty . . . [word is abbreviated at “His Majesty”] (continued from 2012)	40,00
(14) Hiring consultants for detailed design of buildings at Thawee Wattana Palace(continued from 2012)	12,00
(15) Construction of power plant building at Chakri Bongkot Palace	10,00
(16) Land procurement and construction of a bypass road to enter and exit Chakri Bongkot Palace, Bang Kayang, Muang District, Pathum Thani Province (Phase 2) 1 location	40,00
(17) Construction cost of buildings in Infantry Regiment 2 Area TM. Land	160,00
(18) Construction of a visitor building in Area TM. Land	20,00
Construction of a fence, Area TM. Land (East)	12,50
(20) Improved construction of a fence in Area TM. Land (North & West)	15,00
(21) Additional improvement of System Work of Government Centre Building in His Majesty’s . . . [word is abbreviated at “His Majesty”]	30,00

(22) Improve the kitchen odor filtration system in Amporn Satarn Palace, 1 location	39,00
(23) Additional improvement of architectural work, goods & equipment at Government Centre in His Majesty . . . [word is abbreviated at “His Majesty”] v. 904.	20,00
(24) Improve Additional Working Systems (Electrical, Sanitary, Fire Warning Systems and Miscellaneous) at Amporn Satarn, Adurapak, Rajarit Palaces	29,00
(25) Renovation of buildings at M1, M. Land,	40,00
(26) Renovation of buildings in Army Training centre	40,00
(27) Renovation of Service Building Amporn Satarn Palace	16,00
(28) Renovating building S2X and S3X at Amporn Satarn Palace	14,20
(29) Reinforce the fence/walls around Amporn Satarn Palace	10,00
Total in Baht	507,70 THB
Total in Euro	14,10€

One of the palaces mentioned in *Table 4*, the Chakri Bongkot Palace (See *Figure 7*), is the residence of Princess Chulabhron, the youngest sister of King Rama 10, a very big spender who uses hundreds of million Baht from the Royal Residence Precinct Budget on her extravagant and large palace, and the boundaries of this palace are unclear.

Table 5: Example of plan for the special Royal Activities Support Project for design, construction and maintenance of the Royal Residential Precinct in 2014.

Fiscal Year 2014	Budget (million baht)
1.1.1 Goods & equipment cost: 3 twelve seater vehicles, 2 inspection vehicles and 15 items of field equipment	16,52
1.1.2 Land & construction cost	900,00
(1) Cost of car port construction for royal car fleet, accommodations for staff at Sukhothai Palace	160,00
(2) Construction of building for servants' parking and office of the Royal Garden in the area of Sukhothai Palace	140,00
(3) Renovation of servants' accommodation (flat4)	30,00
(4) Renovation of servants' accommodations (Flat5) in area controlled by his Majesty	30,00
(5) Renovation of servants' accommodations (Flat 6) in area controlled by His Majesty	3 000,00
(6) Increase the system work and interior decoration for buildings in King's Guard, precinct 1, “M.” land	100,00
(7) Renovating Sukhothai Alpha Garrison buildings	70,00
(8) Renovating 4 service buildings for the main building of Amporn Satarn Palace	30,00
(9) Increase the height of the fence around Sukhothai Palace	30,00
(10) Make a bypass road to enter and exit the Chakri Bongkot Palace, Bang Kayang, Muang District, Patum Thani (second period)	55,00
(11) Accommodation building for female soldiers at M. land	25,00

(12) Construct a command quarters for King's Guard Unit, "M." land	40,00
(13) Consultants fees for detailed design for a project to construct, renovate Sukhothai Palace, area in His Majesty's control 904 and other various constructions (continued from 2013)	18,00
(14) Consultants' fees to administer, supervise, maintain System work in Amporn Satarn, Thawee Wattana Palaces and area in His Majesty's control 904 (continued from 2013)	50,00
(15) Consultants fees to administer, supervise, and maintain the residential palace AG.00	10,00
(16) Consultants fees to administer, supervise and maintain the residential palace AG.02	10,00
(17) Consultants' fees to design detailed plan of Thawee Wattana Palace construction project (continued from year 2013)	12,00
(18) Consultants' fees to administer, supervise and maintain exterior architectural structures at Amporn Satarn Palace (continued from 2013)	15,00
(19) Consultants' fees to administer, supervise and maintain architectural structures and interior decoration at Amporn Satarn Palace (continued from 2013)	15,00
(20) Consultants' fees to administer and supervise construction and maintenance projects of Sukhothai Palace	15,00
(21) Consulting fees to administer and supervise Construction and Renovation Projects in "M." land	15,00
Total in million Baht	4786,52 THB
Total in million Euro	132,96 €

Less-detailed breakdown of the budget since 2015

Since 2015 (*Note*: the dictatorship of General Prayuth Chan-ocha began in 2014) there has been no detailed specification of the budget for the Royal Special Activities Support Project. Instead the budgeted money is categorized into two major groups. Group 1: Goods & equipment support for special projects. Group 2: Land and construction costs, divided into only two categories: 2(1) Cost of construction materials supporting the Special Royal Projects and 2(2) Consultant's fees supporting the Special Royal Projects. (See *Table 6* below). The cost of hiring consultants has been a large sum throughout the entire 2015-2020 project: 1,525 million Baht in total [50.3 million USD / 41.1 million Euro].

Table 6: Plan for the Special Royal Activities Support Project for design, construction and maintenance of the Royal Residential Precinct, 2015-2020

Project year	Budget detail	expenditure (million baht)	Sub total
2015	1) Goods & equipment costs to support the Special Royal Projects	21,50	
	2 (1) Cost for construction materials to support the Special Royal Projects	631,80	
	2 (2) Consultants fees supporting the Special Royal Projects	212,00	865,30
	1) Goods & equipment costs supporting the Special Royal Projects	32,22	

2016	2 (1) Construction materials cost supporting the Special Royal Projects	627,00	
	2 (2) Consultants' fees supporting the Special Royal Projects	242,00	901,22
2017	1) Goods & equipment costs supporting the special royal projects	32,76	
	2 (1) Construction materials cost supporting the Special Royal Projects	995,00	
	2 (2) Consultants' fees supporting the Special Royal Projects	242,00	1 269,76
2018	1) Goods & equipment costs supporting the Special Royal Projects	12,67	
	2 (1) Construction materials cost supporting the Special Royal Projects	1745,00	
	2 (2) Consultants' fees supporting the Special Royal Projects	242,00	1 999,67
2019	1) Goods & equipment costs supporting the Special Royal Projects	12,03	
	2 (1) Construction materials cost supporting the Special Royal Projects	1.997,9	
	2 (2) Consultants' fees supporting the Special Royal Projects	266,90	278,93
2020	1) Goods & equipment costs supporting the Special Royal Projects	22,16	
	2 (1) Construction materials cost supporting the Special Royal Projects	2,034,3	
	2 (2) Consultants' fees supporting the Special Royal Projects	321,60	343,76
	Total in million Baht		5 658,64 THB
	Total in million Euro		157,18 €

The king has not resided in Thailand since 2007.

As the special royal construction is progressing Thai people have to face endless suffering, multiple crises - such as the poor economy, Covid-19 pandemic and the ruthless dictatorship of the king's authoritarian junta. Anyone who criticises the king has criminal charges slapped on them.

King Vajiralongkorn spends nearly all his time amusing himself in Germany with a large entourage of young women and 200-300 royal servants living close to slavery. The king has his own two Boeing 737-800 (HS-MVS and HS-HMK) standing-by on German tarmac to fly him around for fun between cities in Germany, Switzerland, Spain and Italy, both acquired with money from the Royal Thai Air Force budget.

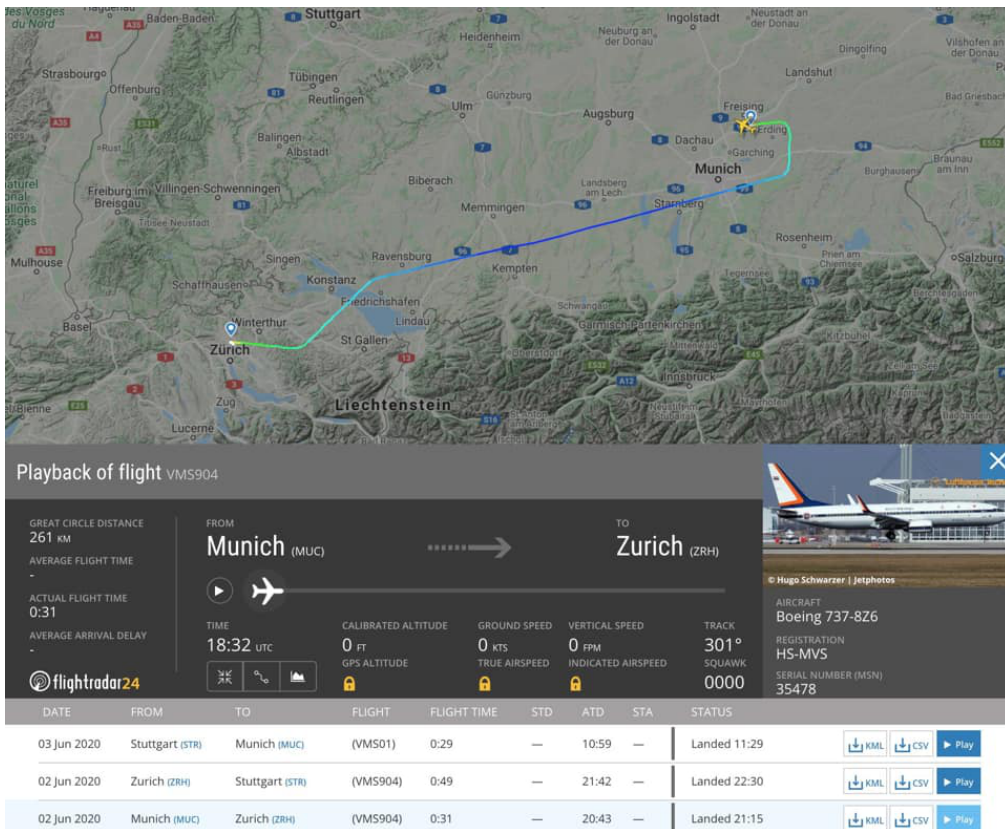


Figure 8: Image showing flight of Boeing 737-826 named HS-MVS, one of Vajiralongkorn's own aircraft in Munich, Germany. This flight took place on June 2-3, 2020.

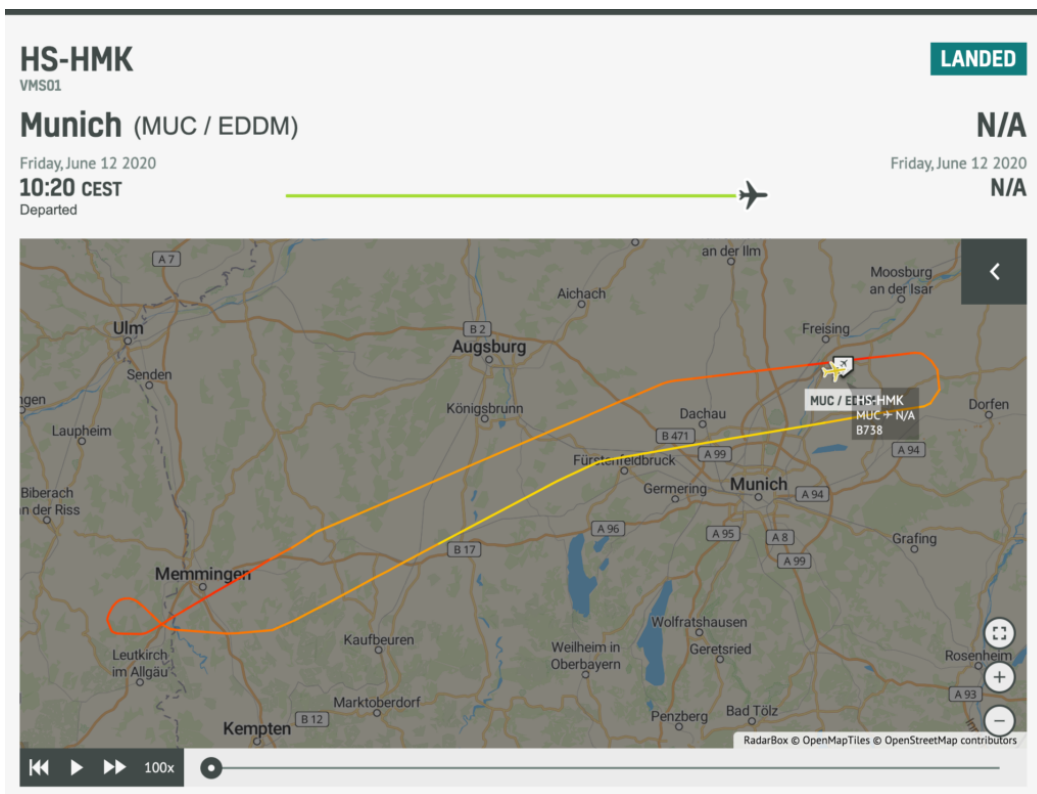


Figure 9: Image showing the king's Boeing 737-800 named HS-HMK circling Munich on June 12, 2020.

2020

Progress of the Special Royal Construction

Many agencies and important landmarks have had to be re-located as the Crown Property Bureau appropriated land to expand the Royal Residential Precinct. Though much about this huge project remains hidden, below is a summary of news concerning the special royal construction and improvements that commenced in 2010:

December 2017: News comes from the Royal Court saying that King Vajiralongkorn gave 26.8 acres / 10.8 hectares of land at Pathumwan, Sampeng District, Bangkok, to Vajiravudh College (likely in exchange for land belonging to Vajiravudh College).

August 2018: The famous Dusit Zoo was closed down and relocated to Khlong 6, Pathum Thani to make way for the expansion.

February 2018: The National Parliament building was closed down even before a replacement was finished. The T.O.T. Building had to be rented for parliamentary meetings. The new National Parliament House was given a Pali name 'Suppaya Sapat Satarn' which means Peaceful and Comfortable Place. It was first used in August 2019 before it's construction was complete.

March 2019: Nang Loeng Racecourse was demolished so it could become a public park with a monument to Rama 9 (King Bhumibol).

August 2019: A sensational video leaked purporting to show connecting underground tunnels beneath the Amporn Satarn Palace and surrounding buildings in The Royal Residential Precinct.

May 2020: News of a Boeing 737-400 parked in the Royal Residential Precinct while construction was still ongoing, caused a sensation since it was viewed as evidence of the king's love for Queen Suthida, who he had met when she was a stewardess on a similar type plane.



Figure 10: Boeing 737-400 parked near Amporn Satarn Palace

Photo showing the residential palace's wall extended into the public footpath.



Figure 11: The Palace wall, modified and extended into the public footpath with increased height and strength, presents a formidable image and hides the royal area. (Photo from the Facebook of Andrew MacGregor Marshall.)

Criticism on social media

From now on, with an annual budget of 2500 million Baht, people on social media will be vigorously sharing and commenting this enormously expanded Royal Residential Precinct. Social media content providers on the dictatorship's 'DO NOT FOLLOW' list, such as Somsak Jeamtheerasakul, Pavin Chachavalpongun, and Andrew MacGregor Marshall have millions of followers in Thailand. They are expressing suspicions, frustration and outrage about this huge construction project undertaken without asking or even informing the general public. Noting the secret tunnels and great empty fields of dirt, some question whether the plans are even sane. Areas absorbed into this Royal Precinct center were once home to important buildings, entertainment centers and landmarks. The spending is enormous, and the space commandeered is enormous, and this is happening on prime real estate in the center of one of the most densely populated cities in the world.



Figure 12: The cover of the German newspaper Bild, May 20, 2020.

With over a million copies in sales, Bild ran a full cover story on the King and Queen Suthida and the transport of the plane to Amporn Satarn Palace to commemorate their first encounter.

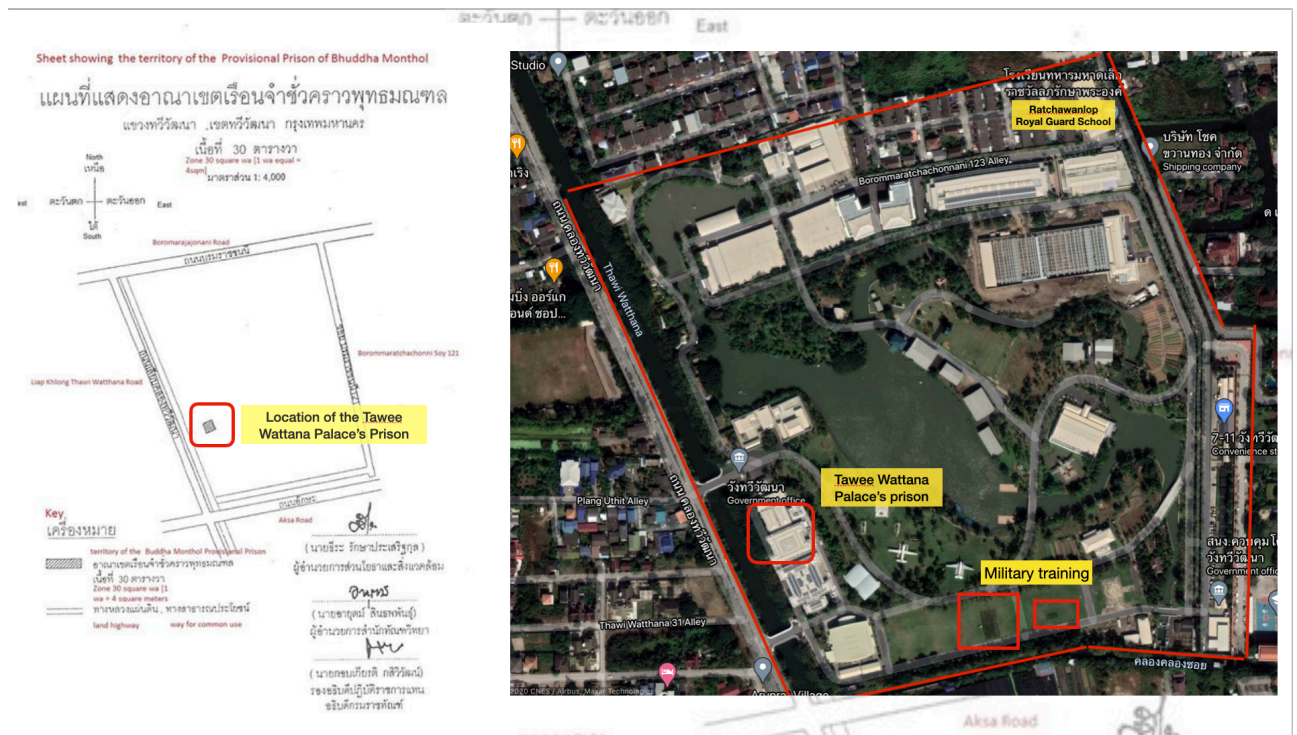


Figure 15: Thawee Wattana Palace Area on June 15, 2020

In the Thawee Wattana Palace grounds, we located the Tawee Wattana Prison with a plan approved by the Ministry of Justice in 2012. We see also three war planes parked as decorations and a grey rectangle on a field that is actually rows of soldiers.



Figure 16: Ant-like lines of soldiers can be seen by zooming in with Google Earth.

The Thawee Wattana Palace is the location of “Mahadlek [Royal Guard] Military Academy of Rajawallop and these ant-like lines of soldiers are probably in training.

The Rajawallop 'Mahadlek Military Academy' of the Rajawallop Royal Guard is the work of King Vajiralongkorn, begun while he was Crown Prince, who personally designs the training syllabus and method of training himself. Military and police officers and royal servants are sent here for training, either under the normal method or under ‘SOM’ - a very dehumanizing method of training or punishment, usually reserved for soldiers who have crossed Vajiralongkorn. Vajiralongkorn's Personal Training Manuals are seen in Figure 17.

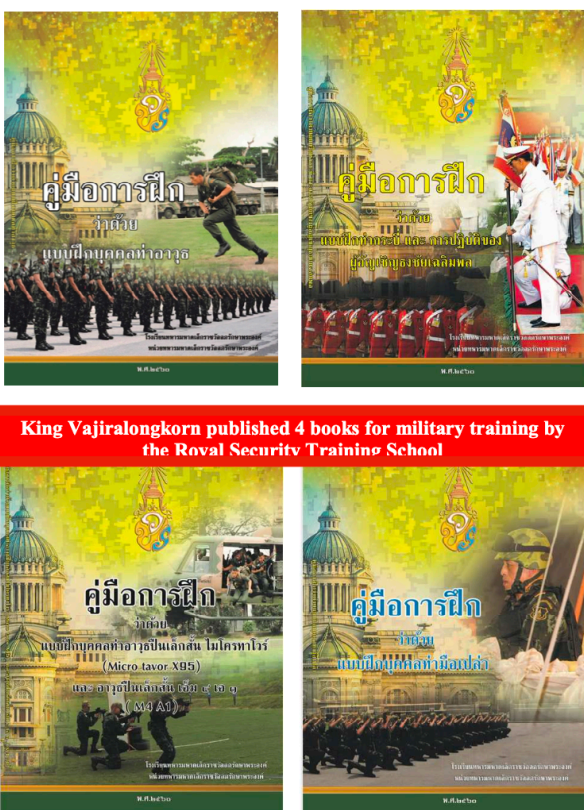


Figure 17:

Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn pictured on the front cover of 4 training manuals designed by the Crown Prince. The manuals are published by the Mahadlek Military School, Rajawallop Royal Guard Regiment, which is based at the Tawee Wattana Palace. In the texts the Crown Prince is referred to as 'The Great Teacher'.

In surveying King Vajiralongkorn's special attention to the army: the formation of Rajawallop Royal Guard Unit, his placement of Infantry Regiments 1 and 11 (some 7,000 men) under his direct personal command and the 80,000 men that, from the different corners of the Armed Forces, form the Royal Guard, it is clear that this king can himself quickly muster an army of 100,000 men.

In conclusion

In all of this we see not the way to democracy but the way of a power-grabbing gangster. Recognition of this impacts directly on the peace and well-being of the nation and citizenry, and this is only one aspect of the Chakri monarchy under King Vajiralongkorn that no elected Thai politician dare criticise.

The budget for the designing, constructing and maintaining of 'Royal Special Activities' on the Royal Grounds between 2015-2023 has increased year by year, from 1,710 million Baht in 2010 to 21,238.78 million Baht in 2020 - from 56 million US dollars / 46 million euros in 2010 to 700 million US dollars / 573 million euros in 2020, and the total budget could see an increase of a further 30 billion Baht before completion.

By studying the budget alongside satellite images we see that a 'complete city' is envisioned. Centered in Bangkok, the vast area of the expanded royal precinct will include the residences of the king, princes, princesses and royal servants, as well as the security units and command center.

Thawee Watthana Palace is looking especially ominous with a huge assembly of forces, a training center, the Mahadlek Military Training School and the Rajawallop Royal Guard Unit, all reflecting the centralist, militarist, dictatorial mentality of the King.

The size and nature of the construction makes clear that Vajiralongkorn aims at an era of military dictatorship directed by him. This is a king oblivious to events in the real world, permanently on vacation in any country he likes other than Thailand. (At least that was so until October 2020 when he returned to Thailand for an event and then remained.)

Everyone - courtiers, soldiers, police officers, civil servants and the public - must strictly comply with the military regulations he dreams up. Personnel from different departments must be trained under his methods and then go back to teach their subordinates. This is not different to the cultivation of Nazism under Hitler in the 1920ies.

Evidence of the Thai king's predilection for using the military and violence against Thai citizens with differing views is deeply unsettling and Thais are worried about their future in the global village under the rule of this power-crazed king.

Key references:

Information on the Budget was from Thailand's Budget Bureau, <http://bb.go.th/>

Google Maps of the Tawee Wattana https://www.google.com/maps/place/วังทวีนาวัง/@13.7805363,100.3372268,772m/data=!3m2!1e3!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x30e29404835810dd:0_x89d53e219ecd448d!8m2!3d13.7805363!4d100.3394209

Four handbooks on military training by Rama 10 downloaded from, <https://www.edupol.org/eduOrganize/publicDoc/guide/>

In surveying King Vajiralongkorn's special attention to the army: the formation of Rajawallop Royal Guard Unit, his placement of Infantry Regiments 1 and 11 (some 7,000 men) under his direct personal command and the 80,000 men that, from the different corners of the Armed Forces, form the Royal Guard, it is clear that this king can himself quickly muster an army of 100,000 men.

In conclusion

In all of this we see not the way to democracy but the way of a power-grabbing gangster. Recognition of this impacts directly on the peace and well-being of the nation and citizenry, and this is only one aspect of the Chakri monarchy under King Vajiralongkorn that no elected Thai politician dare criticise.

The budget for the designing, constructing and maintaining of 'Royal Special Activities' on the Royal Grounds between 2015-2023 has increased year by year, from 1,710 million Baht in 2010 to 21,238.78 million Baht in 2020 - from 56 million US dollars / 46 million euros in 2010 to 700 million US dollars / 573 million euros in 2020, and the total budget could see an increase of a further 30 billion Baht before completion.

By studying the budget alongside satellite images we see that a 'complete city' is envisioned. Centered in Bangkok, the vast area of the expanded royal precinct will include the residences of the king, princes, princesses and royal servants, as well as the security units and command center.

Thawee Watthana Palace is looking especially ominous with a huge assembly of forces, a training center, the Mahadlek Military Training School and the Rajawallop Royal Guard Unit, all reflecting the centralist, militarist, dictatorial mentality of the King.

The size and nature of the construction makes clear that Vajiralongkorn aims at an era of military dictatorship directed by him. This is a king oblivious to events in the real world, permanently on vacation in any country he likes other than Thailand. (At least that was so until October 2020 when he returned to Thailand for an event and then remained.)

Everyone - courtiers, soldiers, police officers, civil servants and the public - must strictly comply with the military regulations he dreams up. Personnel from different departments must be trained under his methods and then go back to teach their subordinates. This is not different to the cultivation of Nazism under Hitler in the 1920ies.

Evidence of the Thai king's predilection for using the military and violence against Thai citizens with differing views is deeply unsettling and Thais are worried about their future in the global village under the rule of this power-crazed king.

Key references:

Information on the Budget was from Thailand's Budget Bureau, <http://bb.go.th/>

Google Maps of the Tawee Wattana https://www.google.com/maps/place/ทิวทัศน์นา/@13.7805363,100.3372268,772m/data=!3m2!1e3!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x30e29404835810dd:0_x89d53e219ecd448d!8m2!3d13.7805363!4d100.3394209

Four handbooks on military training by Rama 10 downloaded from, <https://www.edupol.org/eduOrganize/publicDoc/guide/>

Appendix

The protection, preservation, promotion and worship of the Chakri Monarchy.

Strategy Project	2019 (million Baht)	2020 (million Baht)
For the utmost convenience and safety of all the Royal Family members.	9 081,28	7 488,03
Expenses related to royal travel and hospitality	1 000,00	1 000,00
Ministry of the Royal Households	7 685,30	8 980,90
Strategic to strengthen the stability of the main institution (Monarchy) of the nation	5 351,91	4 729,83
Royal Volunteer Project, 904	NA	2 978,97
Praboromarajchanok Institute	NA	1 006,06
Queen mother Sirikit	2 350,64	1 235,61
Rama 9's Royal Project	2 500,00	2 500,00
Office of the Special Committee to coordinate the Royal Project	846,76	965,81
Monkey Cheek Project (Royal Initiative), Ministry of Agriculture	2 575,65	5 729,11
Philosophy on Self-sufficiency Economy	31 695,91	23 461,55
Philosophy of the King	2 259,29	2 122,94
King's new theory of agriculture	433,45	415,70
Princess Ubol Ratana (Rama 10's elder sister)	59,27	201,89
Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn (Rama 10's younger sister)	912,71	793,97
Princess Prince Chulabhorn Walailak Archarajkumari (Rama 10's youngest sister)	5 232,32	9 517,00
Princess Galyani Vadhana (Rama 9's sister)	248,47	271,39
Princess Bajrakitiyabha Narendira Debyavati (Rama 10's eldest daughter) (no data)	-	-
Princess Siriwannavari Nareeratana Ratchakanya (Rama 10's youngest daughter)	11,83	21,74
Prince Dipangkorn Rasmijoti (Rama 10's youngest son)	42,14	58,11
Total	72 286,92 THB	73 478,63 THB
Total in Million Euro	2 007,97 €	2 041,07 €