

# Appendix

## PRINCIPAL PERSONALITIES AND INSTITUTIONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

### 1. Personalities

**Anupong Paochinda:** Born on 10 October 1949 in Bangkok, Anupong was the son of Prachao Paochinda, an Army colonel. He received his primary and secondary educations at Panthasueksa and Amnuay Silpa Schools in the capital before enrolling in the Armed Forces Academies Preparatory School in 1967. He continued his military education at the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy, from which he graduated in 1972. He climbed the ladder in his military career while serving mostly in the 21st Infantry Regiment and the 2nd Infantry Division in Thailand's eastern region before moving to the capital and serving as commander of the 1st Division (King's Guard) starting in 2003 and of the 1st Army Region starting in 2005. Anupong played a crucial role in the September 2006 coup against Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra and was rewarded with the post of Army chief in 2007. He became interior minister in the government of General Prayut Chan-ocha following the military coup of May 2014.

**Apirat Kongsompong:** Apirat was born on 23 March 1960 in Bangkok to General Sunthorn Kongsompong and Colonel Orachorn Kongsompong. He appears to have decided to follow in his parents' footsteps and to become a soldier. He enrolled in the Armed Forces Academies Preparatory School after receiving his secondary education at Saint Gabriel's College in the capital and graduated from the Chulachomkloao Royal Military Academy in 1985. He also pursued a civilian education, earning a master's degree in business administration from Southeastern University in Washington, DC. Apirat began his military career as a pilot at the Army Aviation Centre, a unit of which his father had previously served as commander. He undertook several training courses for pilots in the United States, including those at Fort Eustis, Virginia, and Fort Rucker, Alabama. He also attended the United States Army's Infantry Officer Advanced Course at Fort Benning, Georgia. Apirat served as an assistant logistics officer in the office of Thailand's defence attaché to Washington in the 1990s. He advanced during his military career mostly through service in the 1st Division (King's Guard) in the capital. He also gained experience in counter-insurgency operations in the Deep South, when he served as deputy commander of the 11th Infantry Regiment before returning to the regiment as its commander. Apirat later moved up to the posts of commander of the 1st Division, commander of the 1st Army Region, assistant Army commander, and, in 2018, Army chief. He now serves both in a senior position in the palace and on the board of the Crown Property Bureau.

**Bhumibol Adulyadej:** Thailand's future sovereign was born on 5 December 1927, at Mount Auburn Hospital in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the youngest child of a father studying medicine and a mother studying nursing in the United States. King Bhumibol's father was Mahidol Adulyadej, the Prince of Songkhla and a son of King Chulalongkorn. His mother was a commoner, Sangwan Talapat. "Baby Sonkla", as Bhumibol's American birth certificate read, was qualified to be the president of the United States, but his family settled in Switzerland, where he was raised. King Bhumibol ascended the Thai throne on 9 June 1946, following the mysterious death by gunshot of his brother King Ananda Mahidol. His reign, the longest of the Chakri Dynasty, ended with his demise on 13 October 2016.

**Narongphan Jitkaewthae:** Born on 1 January 1963, Narongphan obtained his secondary education at Amnuay Silpa School before enrolling in the Armed Forces Academies Preparatory School in 1979. Upon graduation from the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy in 1986, he served as a second lieutenant at the 2nd Infantry Regiment in Prachinburi Province before joining the Rapid Deployment Force, under the 31st Infantry Regiment in Lopburi Province. Narongphan gained experience in peacekeeping in Timor-Leste in 1999–2000 and in counter-insurgency operations in the Deep South between 2004 and 2005. He became the commander of the 1st Division (King's Guard) in 2015, before being elevated to the posts of deputy commander of the 1st Army Region in 2017, commander of the 1st Army Region in 2018, assistant Army commander in 2019, and Army commander in 2020.

**Nattawut Saikua:** Born on 4 June 1975 to the family of farmers Samnao and Priya Saikua, in the southern province of Nakhon Si Thammarat, Nattawut has been familiar with politics since he was young. Both his grandfathers served as village heads who dealt with local politicians and bureaucrats for purposes of village administration. Nattawut first gained experience in public speaking as a teenager, when he helped his uncle campaign in a local election campaign. He began his education at Wat Mahathat and Benjamarachuthit Schools in Nakhon Si Thammarat before graduating with a bachelor's degree in communication arts from Dhurakij Pundit University and a master's degree in public administration from the National Institute of Development Administration, both in Bangkok. He formally entered politics for the first time when he joined the Chat Pattana Party in contesting the 2001 parliamentary elections, and then moved to the Thai Rak Thai Party to contest the 2005 polls. He failed in both attempts to win a seat in parliament representing a constituency in his native province. As a skilful orator, Nattawut hosted political talk shows on cable television, first to earn a living and later to counter yellow-clad protesters against Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. Nattawut became a leader of the Red Shirt movement after the September 2006 coup against Thaksin and served as government spokesperson under Prime Ministers Samak Sundaravej and Somchai Wongsawat and as deputy commerce minister in Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra's government. In 2020, he was sentenced to two years and eight months

in prison for leading protesters who surrounded the residence of the king's chief adviser, Prem Tinsulanonda, in 2010.

**Panusaya Sithijirawattanakul:** Born on 15 September 1998 in Nonthaburi Province to a middle-class family, Panusaya—better known as “Rung” (rainbow)—is a student activist who set a precedent by publicly challenging the power of the royal institution. She has been interested in politics since her time as a student at Suan Kularb School Nonthaburi (an affiliation of all-boy secondary Suan Kularb School), when she undertook a study to understand the May 2014 military coup. With a plan to become a policy researcher, Panusaya continued her education at Thammasat University's Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology in 2018 and joined many activist groups including radical Dome Revolution Party. The BBC listed her as one of 100 inspiring and influential women in the world in 2020 for her bravery in taking the stage at Thammasat University's Rangsit campus on 10 August 2020 to shock the nation with ten demands for reform of the Thai monarchy, a move that later caused her legal trouble in the form of a *lèse majesté* charge.

**Prawit Wongsuwan:** Born on 11 August 1945 in Bangkok to a well-to-do family, Prawit is the son of the senior military officer Major General Prasert Wongsuwan. He obtained his education at the elite Saint Gabriel's College before enrolling in the Armed Forces Academies Preparatory School in 1965 and graduating from the Chulachomkloa Royal Military Academy in 1974. Like many others in his generation, Prawit gained combat experience in fighting with communist insurgents in Thailand and Vietnam during the 1970s. He began his military career, and mostly climbed through the ranks, in the 2nd Infantry Division, of which he became the commander in 1996. The post meant that Prawit was regarded as the big brother of the Eastern Tigers faction in the Army. In 1997 he was promoted to the post of deputy commander of the 1st Army Region, which oversees military units in Bangkok and Thailand's central region. He became Army chief in 2004, when Thaksin Shinawatra was prime minister. Prawit was appointed a member of the National Legislative Assembly after the September 2006 coup. He served as defence minister in the 2008–11 government of Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva and again in the 2014–19 junta-backed government of Prime Minister General Prayut Chan-ocha. He

was appointed to this post in recognition of his abilities in political management and manipulation during difficult times.

**Prayut Chan-ocha:** Born on 21 March 1954 in a military camp in Nakhon Ratchasima Province to soldier father Colonel Praphat Chan-ocha and teacher mother Khamphon Chan-ocha, Prayut obtained his primary education in Lopburi Province. He attended secondary school at Wat Nuanradit School in the capital, as his family moved when his father was transferred from post to post. Prayut enrolled in the Armed Forces Academies Preparatory School in 1969 before continuing his military education at the Chulachomkhalao Royal Military Academy, from which he graduated in 1976. He began his military career in and mostly climbed through the ranks in the 21st Infantry Regiment (Queen's Guard). Prayut became that unit's commander in 1998, and moved on to become the commander of the 2nd Infantry Division in 2003, the commander of the 1st Army Region in 2006, the deputy Army commander in 2009, and the Army chief in 2010. He held that last position for four years before leading a putsch in September 2014 to topple an elected civilian government. This act propelled him to the premiership, where he has remained following the elections of March 2019.

**Prem Tinsulanonda:** Born in the southern province of Songkhla on 26 August 1925, Prem was a career military officer who assumed the premiership for eight years, starting in 1980, and serving subsequently as chief adviser to King Bhumibol and King Vajiralongkorn. He held that latter position at the time of his death on 26 May 2019. Prem served in the Army for forty years, starting as second lieutenant in a combat vehicle unit (calvary) in 1941 and retiring as Army chief in 1981. He began his political life when, as the commander of the 2nd Army Region, he was tapped in 1977 by Admiral Sangad Chaloryu to join the putsch to topple the ultra-rightist government of Prime Minister Thanin Kraivixian. He was appointed deputy interior minister in the subsequent junta-backed government of Prime Minister General Kriangsak Chamanand in November 1977, when he was an assistant army commander. Kriangsak, who returned to the premiership after elections in April 1979, picked then Army chief Prem to be his defence minister. Prem in turn replaced Kriangsak as prime minister in February 1980, when pressure both from politicians and from a group of young

military officers known as the “Young Turks” forced the latter to step down. Prem retained the premiership until August 1988, when Chat Thai Party leader General Chatichai Choonhavan, serving as an elected member of parliament, replaced him as prime minister. Stating that he was done with politics, Prem agreed to step down after internal negotiations led to a deal giving him a seat on the king’s advisory body, the Privy Council. He also received the rarely bestowed highest royal decoration, the Ancient and Auspicious Order of the Nine Gems; it had previously been granted to only a few commoners—including Field Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkhram, Regent Pridi Banomyong and Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat. Prem was also officially bestowed the title of “Statesman” that same year.

**Sirikit Kitiyakara:** Born on 12 August 1932 into a branch of the royal family, Sirikit bore the honorific *mom ratchawong* in recognition of her descent from King Chulalongkorn. Her father, Prince Nakkhatra Mangala Kitiyakara, was the son of Prince Kitiyakara Voralaksana, the Prince of Chanthaburi and the twelfth of Chulalongkorn’s sons. Sirikit’s mother was *Mom luang* Bua Snidvongs, a minor member of the extended royal family who served in the Siamese court as a lady-in-waiting to Queen Rambhai Barni, the consort of King Prajadhipok. That queen chose Sirikit’s name. Sirikit became engaged to Prince Bhumibol Adulyadej on her birthday in 1949 at the Thai Embassy to London, where her father was serving as ambassador. The couple married on 28 April 1950, a week before the king’s coronation on 5 May. Queen Sirikit was granted the title Queen Regent in 1956, becoming only the second consort to have that status under the Chakri Dynasty, for her role in tending to the responsibilities of the throne when the monarch ordained as a Buddhist monk. It is required by tradition and by many Thai constitutions that the king appoint a regent when he cannot perform his duties or must be absent from the kingdom.

**Sondhi Limthongkul:** Born in Sukhothai Province on 7 November 1947 to ethnic Chinese parents Wichian and Chaiyong Sae-lim, Sondhi could be regarded as one among the persons who kick-started change in the Thai political landscape in the first decade of the twenty-first century. He completed secondary school at Assumption College in Siracha District, Chonburi Province, before being sent for further studies in Chinese and in engineering at the National Taiwan University. He

eventually earned degrees in history from the University of California, Los Angeles, and from Utah State University in 1970s. While Sondhi has experience in many fields of businesses, his involvement in the media business has proved most controversial. He was dubbed a media mogul when his Manager Media Group poured huge investments into print, broadcasting and new media across the region—including in Thailand, Hong Kong and Vietnam—before its bankruptcy in the 1997–98 Asian Financial Crisis. Sondhi was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment in 2016 for misconduct in business affairs committed by him and his associates between 1996 and 1998. He served only three years and one month before benefiting from a royal amnesty granted on the occasion of the coronation of King Vajiralongkorn in September 2019. Sondhi is widely known in Thailand and internationally for his roles in leading yellow-clad protesters against Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra and his government in 2005–8; these protests helped precipitate the coup of September 2006.

**Sonthi Boonyaratglin:** Born on 2 October 1946 in the countryside of Pathum Thani Province and into a mixed Muslim-Buddhist family, Sonthi never imagined that he would become one of the most powerful men in the Thai political arena. Sonthi's father, Colonel Sanan Boonyaratglin, was a Korean War veteran and a Muslim whose roots could be traced to a Persian merchant who served the Siamese court in the Ayutthaya Period. His mother Mani Boonyaratglin was a Buddhist of Mon ethnicity from a farm background. As his father served primarily in Bangkok, and later in Korea, Sonthi was raised mostly by his mother in a Mon community in Pathum Thani. Like many boys during his time, he dreamt of becoming a soldier, in part because he was impressed by the glamorous uniforms of pre-cadet students. Sonthi enrolled in the Armed Forces Academies Preparatory School after completing secondary school at Wat Phra Si Mahathat School in 1963; he graduated from the Chulachomkiao Royal Military Academy in 1969. He began his military career as a second lieutenant in an infantry battalion in Prachuap Kirikhan Province. He served as a Thai "volunteer" fighting in support of American forces in Vietnam in 1970–71. He served in the 2nd Infantry Division in Prachinburi Province between 1979 and 1983, before climbing the ranks as a Special Forces officer in Lopburi Province in the period until 2002. Sonthi was later picked to serve as an assistant Army chief in 2004 and as Army

chief in 2005, a year before staging the coup that toppled the elected civilian government of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra.

**Surayud Chulanont:** Born on 28 August 1943, Surayud grew up in a broken family, as his father Colonel Payom Chulanont divorced his mother Amphot Tharap in 1947, after thirteen years of marriage. As a boy Surayud knew very little about his father, who was active in politics—participating in a coup, in elections and in the communist insurgent movement. Nevertheless, Surayud wanted to become a soldier like his father. He enrolled in the Armed Forces Academies Preparatory School after completing secondary school at the prestigious Suan Kularb School in 1958, and he continued his military education at the Chulachomklat Royal Military Academy in 1961. Surayud began his military career in 1965 in an infantry unit in Lopburi Province, the home of the Special Forces. Ironically, the missions that he undertook as a young officer mostly involved countering the communist insurgency, sometimes in areas in which his father was active. Surayud's performance at Thailand's Command and Staff College led to his selection to attend the United States Army's own Command and Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1974. Upon returning from the United States, Surayud had the chance to work closely with General Prem Tinsulanonda, whom he had known since he was young, as Prem was a classmate of one of his relatives. He was a close aide to Prem before being commissioned as commander of the Special Forces and, notably, of the 2nd Army Region, Prem's former stronghold. Surayud was promoted to the post of Army chief in 1998, when Chuan Leekpai was prime minister, before being kicked upstairs to become commander of the Thai Armed Forces in 2002, when Thaksin Shinawatra was prime minister. Upon his retirement in 2003, Surayud joined Prem as a member of the Privy Council, before being granted the premiership by King Bhumibol following the September 2006 coup. Having returned to the Privy Council, Surayud replaced Prem as its president in 2020.

**Suthep Thaugsuban:** Born on 7 July 1949 in the southern province of Suratthani, Suthep was educated and trained to be a professional politician. With a major in political science, he graduated from the Faculty of Liberal Arts of Chiangmai University, before completing a master's degree in the same field at Middle Tennessee State University



in the United States in 1975. Upon returning to Thailand at the age of 26, Suthep won a local election to become the *kamnan* or sub-district head of his native Tha Sathon Sub-district in Suratthani, replacing his father Charat Thaugsuban. From that position, Suthep entered national politics in 1979, when he won election to parliament representing Suratthani on the ticket of the Democrat Party. He held a ministerial post for the first time as deputy agriculture minister in Prem Tinsulanonda's government in 1986, before serving as a minister in every successive cabinet in which the Democrats were represented during the next twenty-five years. Suthep's political career has never been free of controversy and scandal. A notable case involved the "so po ko 4-01" land reform scheme during the premiership of Chuan Leekpai in 1995, when plots of land were awarded to rich associates of the Democrat Party rather than to poor farmers as planned. As a deputy prime minister in Abhisit Vejjajiva's 2008–11 government, Suthep played a crucial role in crackdowns on Red Shirt protesters. He left the Democrat Party to lead street the protests against the Yingluck Shinawatra government in 2013–14 that culminated in the military coup of May of the latter year.

**Thaksin Shinawatra:** Born on 26 July 1949 in Chiangmai to an ethnic Chinese business family, Thaksin is the son of Lert and Yindee Shinawatra. Thaksin has proved a die-hard politician in recent Thai history, managing to combine entrepreneurship and bureaucratic and political skills to shape future of Thailand. He enrolled in the Armed Forces Academies Preparatory School in 1967, after completing secondary school at Montfort College in his native province. Unlike many other future Thai prime ministers, Thaksin then chose the Royal Thai Police Cadet Academy rather than the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy for his higher education. He joined the police as a second lieutenant upon graduation from the academy in 1973, but he did not begin service until 1978, after the completion of a master's degree and a doctorate in criminal justice from Eastern Kentucky University and Sam Houston State University, in Huntsville, Texas, respectively. As a police officer, Thaksin served as a policy and planning official, teaching at the police cadet academy and attached to a government minister. He also devoted time to helping his wife Potjaman develop various lines of business, including trading silk, operating a cinema, and investing in real estate. Thaksin's business endeavours initially

failed, leaving him 50 million baht in debt before he managed to exploit bureaucratic connections to supply computers and equipment to state agencies starting in the early 1980s. Thaksin resigned from the police to do business full time in 1987. In the 1990s, he started a high-flying business in telecommunications and satellites and began to involve himself in politics. His political career officially began in 1994, when he was appointed foreign minister on the quota of the Phalang Tham Party of Major General Chamlong Srimuang, the former secretary to Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda and Bangkok governor. Thaksin formed the Thai Rak Thai Party and led it to victory in two elections, serving as prime minister from 2001 until his ouster in the coup of September 2006.

**Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit:** Born on 25 November 1978 to a billionaire business family in Bangkok, Thanathorn is an activist whose dream to be a politician has proved hard to realize. He attended lower secondary school at Saint Dominic School and upper secondary school at Triam Udomsueksa School, both in Bangkok, before graduating with a joint honours bachelor's degree in engineering from Thammasat University and the University of Nottingham. During his time at Thammasat in the late 1990s, he was a student activist who held the positions of president of the Thammasat University Students Union and, later, of deputy secretary general of the Students Federation of Thailand. He joined street protests by the Assembly of the Poor and other groups supporting workers and the poor. Thanathorn received a master's degree in political economy from Chulalongkorn University, where he built his knowledge on leftist theories and developed an ideological commitment to social democracy. He also received two further master's degrees in business-related subjects from foreign institutions. Initially, Thanathorn wanted to pursue a career in international development, as he was offered a position with a United Nations agency in Algeria. But he was forced to abandon that plan after the death of his father Pattana Juangroongruangkit in 2002. Thanathorn assumed an executive position at the Thai Summit Group, his family's automobile parts manufacturer, at the age of 23. He co-founded the Future Forward Party in 2018 and led it in capturing 81 seats in the March 2019 election, the third highest total of any party. Thanathorn had the chance only to be sworn in as a member of parliament but never to perform the associated duties.

He was disqualified for holding a stake in a media company and for lending funds to his party; the latter charge eventually resulted in the dissolution of the Future Forward Party and to Thanathorn's being barred from politics for a period of ten years starting in February 2020. He now leads the non-party Progressive Movement, which focuses on local electoral politics and sub-national governance.

**Vajiralongkorn:** Born in Thailand on 28 July 1952 to King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit, Vajiralongkorn was groomed from childhood to be the king of Thailand. He enrolled in the elementary programme at the King's Mead School in Sussex and in secondary school at the Millfield School in Somerset, both in the United Kingdom, and he attended the Royal Military College, Duntroon, in Australia. Vajiralongkorn became the heir apparent to the Thai throne when he was bestowed the title of the Crown Prince, the third member of the Chakri Dynasty to hold that title, on 28 December 1972. Vajiralongkorn subsequently pursued a military career and earned certification as a professional pilot, before his accession to the throne on 1 December 2016.

**Yingluck Shinawatra:** Born on 21 June 1967 in Chiangmai Province to ethnic Chinese merchants Lert and Yindee Shinawatra, Yingluck was the first woman to serve as prime minister of Thailand. She studied at Regina Coeli College and Yuppharat Witthayalai School in Chiangmai before earning a bachelor's degree in public administration from Chiang Mai University in 1988 and a master's degree in the same field, with specialization in management information systems, from Kentucky State University in 1991. Yingluck began her business career in 1993 as a sales and marketing intern at Shinawatra Directory, a telephone directory company in which her brother Thaksin Shinawatra was a major stakeholder, before assuming executive positions in the business empire of her family. She officially entered politics when the Phuea Thai Party, the successor to the dissolved Thai Rak Thai Party and People's Power Party, put her at the top of its slate of party-list candidates for Thailand's July 2011 parliamentary elections. Phuea Thai won those elections, and Yingluck served as prime minister until weeks before the May 2014 military coup.

## 2. Institutions

**Administrative Court:** The court specializes in administrative law and in contentious cases concerning the exercise of public authority. Its history can be traced to the period in which the country began the modernization of its government in the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868–1910), who established a Council of State based on European models to give him advice concerning administration. The council has served as governments' legal advisor since the 1932 Revolution. The Administrative Court, in its current form and with its current scope of duties, was established under the 1997 Constitution but officially inaugurated only in March 2001. It is meant to protect the rights of people aggrieved by actions of state agencies or officials. Officials who believe that their rights have been infringed upon by superiors or politicians may also appeal to the Administrative Court to claim fair treatment and justice.

**Armed Forces Academies Preparatory School:** The school was established on 27 January 1958 in Bangkok to recruit males not older than 18 years old who had completed secondary school to receive military education and training in preparation for higher education at the Army's Chulachomkiao Royal Military Academy, the Navaminda Kasatriyadhiraj Royal Thai Air Force Academy, the Royal Thai Naval Academy, or the Royal Thai Police Cadet Academy. The school moved to Nakhon Nayok Province in 2000, as its location near Lumpini Park in the capital was now surrounded by high-density residences and business outlets. The Armed Forces Academies Preparatory School is politically important because of the solidarity and networks among classmates, often spanning service branches, that endure through decades of military and police service. Thaksin Shinawatra, for example, gave priority to promoting his friends in academy's tenth class to key positions when he was prime minister.

**Bureau of the Royal Household:** The administration of the Siamese and then Thai court has been subject to change over time, following broader patterns of political development. During the reign of King Bhumibol, the court was under jurisdiction of the government. The 2017 Royal Service Administrative Act, promulgated at the beginning

of the reign of King Vajiralongkorn, transferred the Bureau of Royal Household from the Prime Minister's Office to the jurisdiction of the Royal Office, thus subjecting it directly to the authority of the monarch. According to the law, there are seven divisions in the Bureau of the Royal Household. These include the Office of the King's Private Secretary and the Office of Royal Family Affairs.

**Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy:** Established on 5 August 1887 by King Chulalongkorn, the academy aimed to recruit and train young men for a period of five years as professional military leaders and masters of warfighting skills for the modern Thai Army. Its curriculum is now four years, and it has had different names over time: the Cadet School, Saranrom Military School, and the Army School. Its current name, honouring its founder King Chulalongkorn, was granted by King Bhumibol in 1950. Most members of the Thai military elite, and notably prime ministers with military backgrounds, are graduates of the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy. If education is useful in enabling Thai people to climb the social hierarchy, a military academy like this one is a perfect choice to make one's dream come true. Academy classmates retain strong ties for networking and for the formation of factions and cliques in the Thai military. Rivalries between alumni of different classes caused rifts in the Army in the 1980s and 1990s and led to bloodshed in 1992, when Major General Chamlong Srimuang of Class 7 led street protests against Prime Minister General Suchinda Kraprayoon of Class 5.

**Constitutional Court:** This court is deemed a constitutional organ, rather than part of Thailand's judicial branch. It performs the duty of legal interpretation, considering whether a law contradicts or is inconsistent with the charter and thus upholding the supremacy of the constitution. The Constitutional Court was established for the first time under the 1997 Constitution. It is empowered to rule on political cases. While Thai constitutions were scrapped after the coups of September 2006 and May 2014, the Constitutional Court survived, as the establishment elite used it as a political tool against the opponents of that elite; since the time of the 2006 coup, the court has ordered the dissolution of numerous political parties.

**Privy Council:** Established in 1874 by King Chulalongkorn as an advisory body for the monarch, the Privy Council was disbanded after the 1932 Revolution that transformed the country from absolute to constitutional monarchy. It was reactivated in 1947 and initially known in Thai as the *Khana aphiwatthamontri* or, in English, the Supreme Council of State. Its original Thai name of *Khana ongkhamontri*, or Privy Council in English, was restored in 1949, and every Thai constitution since that time has authorized the monarch to select its members. Under the 2017 Constitution and the 2017 Royal Service Administrative Act, the king has the authority to appoint no more than nineteen persons to the Privy Council to give advice to the monarch on matters on which he consults it. However, the charter does not give the king complete freedom to choose councilors, as members of parliament, holders of political positions, justices of the Constitutional Court, state or state enterprise officials, and member of political parties may not serve as members of the Privy Council. Members must also, in principle, be politically non-partisan.

**Suan Kularb School:** Set up in 1882, Suan Kularb—whose name literally means rose garden—is Thailand’s oldest all-boys secondary school. Its origins lie in King Chulalongkorn’s decision to grant permission to his brother Prince Damrong Rajanubhab to set up a school to educate royal offspring and noble children. Initially, the school also taught military affairs, in order to prepare its students for palace service as aides-de-camp. In 1884, the palace realized that it did not have enough aide-de-camp positions for the school’s graduates and that a general education would be more useful for the boys enrolled. The school then became an institution offering basic education for civilian life. Suan Kularb has been involved in politics many times in its history. The People’s Party seized the school on 24 June 1932, as it had been founded by Prince Damrong, whom the party had placed under arrest. Boy Scouts from Suan Kularb school were also recruited by the military to help defeat the royalist Boworadet Rebellion in 1933. The prestigious school is still a favourite choice among members of the Thai elite for the education of their sons. Many Thai prime ministers—including Phraya Manopakorn Nititada, Thawi Bunyaket, Pridi Banomyong, Seni Pramoj, Kukrit Pramoj, Thanin Kraivixian and Prem Tinsulanonda—have been Suan Kularb alumni.

**Thammasat University:** The university was founded on 27 June 1934 by Senior Statesman Pridi Banomyong as an open university at which Thai people could study law and politics. It was intended to lay a foundation for Thai democracy after the 1932 Revolution. Thammasat, known initially as the University of Moral and Political Science, has been a public sphere for political activity for many decades since that time. The successful student uprising of October 1973 against military dictatorship began at Thammasat. It became a killing field when rightist groups and security officials massacred student activists on 6 October 1976, ostensibly for the sake of national security and protection of the monarchy. The university fell under the spotlight again after progressive members of its student body shocked the nation with ten demands for reform of the royal institution in 2020. In publicizing their demands, the students referred to the concept of egalitarianism advanced by the university's founder Pridi—a leading member of People's Party, which transformed the country from absolute to constitutional monarchy.