

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and e-books

- Atcharaphon Kamutphitsamai. 1997. *Kabot ro so 130: kabot phuea prachathippatai naeokhit thahan mai* [The 1912 rebellion: a rebellion for democracy, new military thinking]. Bangkok: Amarin Printing.
- Hoadley, J. Stephen. 2012. *Soldiers and Politics in Southeast Asia: Civil-Military Relations in Comparative Perspective, 1933–1975*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.
- Khamnoon Sitthisamarn. 2006. *Prakottakan Sondhi chak suea lueang thueng pha phan kho si fa* [The Sondhi phenomenon: From yellow shirt to blue scarf]. Bangkok: Ban Phra Athit Publishing.
- Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, 1995. *Thailand's Durable Premier: Phibun through Three Decades 1932–1957*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Machiavelli, Niccolo. 2005. *The Prince*. Trans. George Ball. New York: Penguin Books.
- McCargo, Duncan, and Ukrist Pathmanand. 2005. *The Thaksinization of Thailand*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Marshall, Andrew Macgregor. 2015. *A Kingdom in Crisis: Thailand's Struggle for Democracy in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Zed Books.
- Prayut Sitthipan, *Chao fa* [Prince]. n.d. Bangkok: Ruamkanphim.
- Puangthong R. Pawakapan. 2013. *State and Uncivil Society in Thailand at the Temple of Preah Vihear*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Royal Thai Army. 1987. *Nueng roi pi rongrian nai roi phrachulachomkiao* [100 Years of Chulachomkiao Royal Military Academy]. Three volumes. Bangkok: Royal Thai Army.
- Sataporn Books. 2018. *Somdetphrachaoyuhua Maha Vajiralongkorn Bodindrade-bayavarangkun phraphu pen saengsawang klang chai thai* [King Vajiralongkorn: A light in the Thai mind]. Bangkok: Sataporn Books.

- Sutthachai Yimprasert. 1991. *Phaen ching chat thai* [The plan to usurp Thailand]. Bangkok: Samaphan.
- Thak Chaloeintarana. 2007. *Thailand: The Politics of Despotic Paternalism*. 2nd ed. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications.
- Thep Boontanont. 2016. *Kanmueang nai kanthahan thai samai ratchakan thi hok* [Politics in the Thai military during the reign of Rama VI]. Bangkok: Matichon Books.
- Wassana Nanuam. 2006. *Senthang lek phon ek Surayud Chulanont* [The iron path of General Surayud Chulanont]. 4th ed. Bangkok: Matichon Books.
- . 2010. *Lap luang phrang phak sam kongthap tang si suek sai lueat cho po ro* [Secrets, deceit, camouflage part 3: Armies of different colours and conflict among Chulachomklao royal military academy lineages]. 10th ed. Bangkok: Matichon Books.
- . 2014. *Awasan Yingluck* [The end of Yingluck]. Bangkok: Matichon Books.
- . 2014. *Senthang phayak Prayut Chan-ocha chak thahan suea su lang suea* [The path of Eastern Tiger Prayut Chan-ocha from tiger soldier to tiger's back]. Bangkok: Matichon Books.
- Worakanbancha, Colonel. 1953. *Tamnan thahan mahatlek* [Chronicle of aides-de-camp]. Cremation volume for General Phraworawongthoe Krommamuen Adison Udomsak. Bangkok. 15 June 1953.

Theses and Academic Papers

- Disathorn Vajarodaya. n.d. "Lak nititham nai nayobai kankamkapdulae ongkon thi di" [Rules of law for palace administration]. Constitutional College of the Constitutional Court, Thailand. http://www.constitutionalcourt.or.th/occ_web/ewt_dl_link.php?nid=8773 (accessed 13 February 2020).
- Jackson, Peter A. 2017. "A Grateful Son, a Military King: Thai Media Accounts of the Accession of Rama X to the Throne". *ISEAS Perspective* 2017/26, 26 April 2017. https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/ISEAS_Perspective_2017_26.pdf (accessed 13 July 2019).
- Nikhom Charumane. 1976. "Kabot Boworadet pho so 2476" [The Boworadet Rebellion, 1933]. Master's thesis, Chulalongkorn University.

Journal Articles

- Chambers, Paul, and Napisa Waitoolkiat. 2016. "The Resilience of Monarchised Military in Thailand". *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46, no. 3: 425–44.
- McCargo, Duncan. 2005. "Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand". *Pacific Review* 4: 499–519.

Chapters in Books

- Chambers, Paul. 2013. "A Short History of Military Influence in Thailand". In *Knights of the Realm: Thailand's Military and Politics, Then and Now*, edited by Paul Chambers, pp. 109–446. Bangkok: White Lotus.
- Ferrara, Federico. 2014. "Unfinished Business: The Contagion of Conflict over a Century of Thai Political Development". In *Good Coup Gone Bad: Thailand's Political Development since Thaksin's Downfall*, edited by Pavin Chachavalpongpun, pp. 17–46. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Montesano, Michael J. 2010. "Four Thai Pathologies, Late 2009". In *Legitimacy Crisis in Thailand*, edited by Marc Askew, pp. 273–302. [King Prajadhipok's Institute Year Book No. 5 (2008/09)]. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Nattapoll Chaiching. 2010. "The Monarchy and the Royalist Movement in Modern Thai Politics, 1932–1957". In *Saying the Unsayable: Monarchy and Democracy in Thailand*, edited by Søren Ivarsson and Lotte Isager, pp. 147–78. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Sulak Sivaraksa. 2007. "Sathaban kasat kap ratthathammanun" [The royal institution and constitutions]. In *Ratthaprahan 19 kanyayon* [The 19 September coup], edited by Thanapol Eawsakul, pp. 20–29. Bangkok: Fadiaokan.
- Thanapol Eawsakul. 2007. "Kae roi phanthamit prachachon phuea prachathippatai phu ok batchoen hai khanarathaprahan" [Tracing the People's Alliance for Democracy, the folks who extended an invitation to the coup makers]. In *Ratthaprahan 19 kanyayon* [The 19 September coup], edited by Thanapol Eawsakul, pp. 288–322. Bangkok: Fadiaokan.
- Thongchai Winichakul. 2019. "Thailand's Royal Democracy in Crisis". In *After the Coup: The National Council for Peace and Order Era and the Future of Thailand*, edited by Michael J. Montesano, Terence Chong and Mark Heng, pp. 282–307. Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

Media Reports

- Amarin TV. 2020. "'Tamruat rajawallop 904' buk thalai 'sep-hao umbun' phop 7 sao rapchang tangkan" ["Rajawallop 904 police" break into "safe house", find seven pregnant-for-hire women]. 13 February 2020. <https://www.amarintv.com/news/detail/21803> (accessed 9 June 2020).
- Anna Lawattanaktrakul. 2019. "Song pi song duean kanhaipai khong mut khana ratsadon" [Two years and two months since the People's Party plaque went missing]. *Prachatai*, 23 June 2019. <https://prachatai.com/journal/2019/06/83100> (accessed 6 December 2019).
- Associated Press. 2019. "Thailand's King Puts Key Army Units under Palace Authority". 1 October 2019. <https://apnews.com/96144d07efe149ba8a8f7c7d3491962b> (accessed 5 November 2019).

- Ban mueang*. 1976. "Pho ko ko buk nak ying helikoptoe ruang rongphukamkap sahat" [Insurgents shoot helicopter down, gravely injure deputy superintendent]. 30 October 1976.
- Bangkok Post*. 1976. "Battle Rages as Reds Attack Loei Outpost". 31 October 1976.
- . 2015. "Pongpat Sent to Prison for 6 Years in First Case". 30 January 2015. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/462642/pongpat-gets-reduced-6-years-in-first-case> (accessed 6 November 2019).
- . 2016. "Long Live the King: Military Education". 1 December 2016. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/life/social-and-lifestyle/1148940/military-education> (accessed 3 February 2020).
- . 2016. "Prem Becomes Regent Pro Tempore". 14 October 2016. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1110645/prem-becomes-regent-pro-tempore> (accessed 26 November 2019).
- . 2017. "Six Changes in Constitution". 6 April 2017. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1228183/six-sections-changed-in-constitution> (accessed 4 February 2020).
- . 2019. "Army Chief Lashes Communists". 12 October 2019. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1770189/army-chief-lashes-communists> (accessed 3 February 2020).
- . 2019. "Head of State with Heart of Gold: His Majesty the King Has an Illustrious Military Background". 28 July 2019. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1720331/head-of-state-with-heart-of-gold> (accessed 30 October 2019).
- . 2019. "Navy to Buy B6.1bn Chinese Landing Ship". 12 September 2019. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1747774/navy-to-buy-b6-5bn-chinese-landing-ship> (accessed 2 December 2019).
- . 2019. "Queen Exudes Military Prowess". 3 June 2019. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1688500/queen-exudes-military-prowess> (accessed 29 October 2019).
- . 2019. "Senate Backs Army Transfer Decree". 21 October 2019. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1776454/senate-backs-army-transfer-decree> (accessed 5 November 2019).
- BBC. 2020. "BBC 100 Women 2020: Who Is on the List This Year 2020". 23 November 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-55042935> (accessed 7 January 2021).
- BBC Thai*. 2017. "Jumpol Manmai khue khrai?" [Who is Jumpol Manmai?]. 1 March 2017. <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-39119559> (accessed 6 November 2019).
- . 2018. "Chamkhuk nueng duean Pongpat Chayaphan khadi thi paet yuen banchi sapsin thet" [Pongpat Chayaphan sentenced to one month in jail in eighth case of false asset declaration]. 27 February 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-43207247> (accessed 6 November 2019).

- . 2019. “Khadi min: Pai Dao Din nam tim ko mo to sak adit mue chaengkhwam kho so cho khadi khwammankhong” [Lèse Majesté: Pai Dao Din leads a team in the House committee to grill military prosecutor in security case]. 27 November 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-50573578> (accessed 10 December 2019).
- . 2019. “Khana ratsadon: lukchai Phraya Phahon rabu cha mi kananchoen anusawari ro 9 ma pradit sathanthi sun kanthahan puen yai” [People’s Party: Rama X monument to be erected at Artillery Centre, son of Phraya Phahon says]. 29 December 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-50939914> (accessed 12 February 2020).
- . 2019. “Khana ratsadon: sun kanthahan puen yai Lopburi triam buangsuang anusawari chomphon Po-Phraya Phahon kon ruethon” [People’s Party: Artillery centre in Lopburi prepares ritual ceremony before removal of Field Marshal Phibun and Phaya Phahon monuments]. 27 December 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-50923944> (accessed 11 February 2020).
- . 2019. “Prachum sapha: phuea thai-wip faikhan mai titchai pho ro ko on nuai thahan triam wot rap pen pho ro bo” [Phuea Thai, opposition whip have no problem with the decree, ready to vote to allow royal to transfer military units to become law]. 16 October 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-50071002> (accessed 5 November 2019).
- . 2019. “Prachum sapha: sapha mi mati 374 siang anumat pho ro ko pen pho ro bo on krom thahan rap 1- rap 11 pai pen nuai thawai khwamplotphai raksa phra-ong” [Parliament meets, 374 votes to pass the royal decree into law to transfer army units to Royal Security Command]. 17 October 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-50078306> (accessed 10 June 2020).
- . 2020. “Narongphan Jitkaewthae: ‘thahan kho daeng’ phuchongrakphakdi phangat nang kao-i pho bo tho bo khon thi 42” [Loyal “red-striped t-shirt soldier” Narongphan Jitkaewthae rises to take the helm as forty-second Army chief]. 18 September 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-54077187> (accessed 6 January 2021).
- . 2021. “Phon akat ek Sathiphong Sukwimon nai wai 72 pi sitkao diden suankulap - mo Chiangmai lae kharatchaboriphan phurapchai bueang yukhonlabat yangklaichit” [ACM Sathiphong Sukwimon, outstanding alumnus of Suankularb School and Chiangmai University who has served the king closely]. 2 January 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-55505134> (accessed 7 January 2021).
- Bild*. 2019. “Thai-Geliebteim Horrorknast” [Thai Sweetheart in Prison of Horror]. 30 October 2019. <https://www.bild.de/unterhaltung/royals/royals/koenig-rama-x-zeigt-sich-gnadenlos-thai-geliebte-im-horrorknast-65708342.bild.html> (accessed 1 November 2019).
- Chalathip Thirasoontharakul. 2008. “Thai Queen Attends Funeral of Anti-Govt Protester”. *Reuters*. 13 October 2008. <https://uk.reuters.com/article/>

- thailand-protest/upadte-1-thai-queen-attends-funeral-of-anti-govt-protester-idUKBKK40018720081013 (accessed 13 January 2020).
- Crispin, Shawn W. 2017. "New Reign Takes Hold in Thailand". *Asia Times*, 25 January 2017. <https://www.asiatimes.com/2017/01/article/new-reign-takes-hold-thailand> (accessed 28 November 2019).
- Defence Industry Daily*. 2007. "Rough Road for Thailand's BRT-3 APC Purchase". 17 October 2007. <https://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/rough-road-for-thailands-btr-3-apc-purchase-04028> (accessed 21 February 2020).
- Deli niu*. 2020. "Song to ro mahatlek 904 ruam la chon amanut kha khon ching thong" [Dispatch of royal guard police 904 to joint manhunt for inhumane and murderous gold thieves]. 11 January 2020. <https://www.dailynews.co.th/crime/751316> (accessed 14 February 2020).
- Khao sot*. 2019. "'Srinual' poet chai pom wot suan mati phak yan mai chai ngu hao si som lan tha rap ngoen ching cha la-ok" ["Srinual" gives her account on the vote against party's line, she is not an orange cobra, if really accepted money will resign]. 1 November 2019. https://www.khaosod.co.th/politics/news_3022576 (accessed 5 November 2019).
- Khom chat luek*. 2017. "Maethap khong thoranong 'Apirat Kongsompong' chok chata fa likhit" ["Apirat Kongsompong" designated commander from the sky]. 15 August 2017. <https://www.komchadluek.net/news/people/291961> (accessed 28 November 2019).
- . 2019. "Tha kaekhoen su yok ok laksut phraratchathan fuek thahanken" [Posture in raising the chest: royally granted curriculum for training military conscripts]. 3 November 2019. <https://www.komchadluek.net/news/scoop/396759> (accessed 5 November 2019).
- Krungthep thurakit*. 2014. "'Prayut mop naeothang patirup prathett hai'" ["Prayut" lays out reform guidelines for Thailand]. 9 August 2014. <https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/598041> (accessed 23 January 2020).
- . 2020. "Mop chu sam nio han lang rawang khabuansadet phan" [Protestors flash three-finger salute and turn their backs to passing royal motorcade]. 14 November 2020. <https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/907842> (accessed 7 January 2021).
- . 2021. "3 nakbin 'ep-16' suekching kao-i 'pho bo tho o'" [Three "F-16" pilots compete for post as Air Force chief] 28 June 2021. <https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/politics/945762> (accessed 24 September 2021).
- Macan-Markar, Marwaan. 2019. "All the King's Men: Thai Military Power Shifts Away from Prayut". *Nikkei Asian Review*, 2 July 2019. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Asia-Insight/All-the-king-s-men-Thai-military-power-shifts-away-from-Prayuth> (accessed 5 December 2019).
- MacKinnon, Ian. 2008. "Thailand: State of Emergency Declared in Bangkok". *The Guardian*, 3 September 2008. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/sep/03/thailand> (accessed 13 January 2020).

- Manager On-line*. 2008. "Khunying Pornthip fan thong san RDX prakop raboet kha nong Bo" [Khunying Pornthip confirms RDX substance killed Nong Bo]. 13 October 2008. <https://mgronline.com/crime/detail/9510000121393> (accessed 29 January 2020).
- . 2008. "Rachini sadet ngansop nong Bo songchom dek di rak sathaban kasat" [Queen attends Nong Bo's funeral, praising her as a good girl who loved the monarchy]. 13 October 2008. <https://mgronline.com/daily/detail/9510000121836?fbclid=IwAR3mIIwvduav5C60e-oiXM3uNohPS-Nw1MWs3VMouV5FwHu6Lw-HwOUS4H0> (accessed 13 January 2020).
- . 2009. "Ha wan lopsanghan 'Sondhi' mue puen loi nuan-phon ek chua rap ngan kha" [Five days after Sondhi assassination attempt, gunmen have made clean getaway - dirty general took the job of murder]. 22 April 2009. <https://mgronline.com/crime/detail/9520000044877> (accessed 29 January 2020).
- . 2009. "Khuk song pi! Kaennam kharawan khon chon-liulo maeo thuean pitlom nechan [Two years in prison! for leaders of caravan of the poor-Thaksin lackeys for blockading *The Nation*]. 30 November 2009. <https://mgronline.com/crime/detail/9520000145332> (accessed 24 February 2020).
- . 2012. "'Khangkhok Tu' phon khadi min sathaban thamchai 'Bik Tu' yom dai rue mai" ["Toad Tu" *lèse majesté* case dismissed, is this acceptable to "Big Tu"?]. 11 May 2012. <https://mgronline.com/politics/detail/9550000058387> (accessed 20 January 2020).
- Matichon*. 2017. "Phanraya phon to o Jumpol Manmai khao rap 5 khoha ruk pa thaplan phoei si na khrengkhriat to ro hai prakan wongngoen 2 saen" [Wife of Pol General Jumpol Manmai acknowledges five charges of forest encroachment, released on 200,000 baht bail]. 3 March 2017. https://www.matichon.co.th/local/crime/news_483466 (accessed 6 November 2019).
- . 2019. "Phraratchadamrat ratchakan thi sip 'dai pa ma pen prathan ko unchai laeo' phon ek Prem tham nathi thawai ngan khrang sutthai" [Speech of Rama X, "Having Pa as president is reassuring", Prem performs his final duty]. 26 May 2019. https://www.matichon.co.th/heading-news/news_1510670 (accessed 26 November 2019).
- . 2019. "'Thanathorn' yoei khae rupkhu 'Joshua Wong' phapdiao chappong mop hongkong sang khwamkliatchang laeo rue?" ["Thanathorn" derisive, can just a photograph taken with "Joshua Wong" link him with Hong Kong protests and cause hatred towards him?]. 11 October 2019. https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/news_1708540 (accessed 21 September 2021).
- Matichon sutsapda*. 2016. "Banthuek wai pen prawattisat nai luang ratchakan thi kao naeothang kae wikrit kanmueang chat" [The historical record of Rama IX's resolution of national crises]. 16 October 2016.
- . 2016. "'Bik Jiab': kha ma khondiao klang dong burapha phayak mong kham chot thot rahat yai 'Bik Tu-Bik Pom' chai thueng" ["Big Jiab": I come

- alone in the middle of Eastern Tigers, why “Big Tu” and “Big Pom” are so undaunted]. 16–22 September 2016. https://www.matichonweekly.com/in-depth/article_7718 (accessed 29 November 2019).
- . 2017. “Patikiriya sangkhom to mut khanarat chak pi 2503-2560” [Social reactions to People’s Party’s plaque from 1960 to 2017]. 21–27 April 2017. https://www.matichonweekly.com/column/article_32563 (accessed 6 December 2019).
- . 2018. “Wikhro ‘Bik Tu-Bik Pom’ khayao pho thahan: chabap fa dan phiset chapta sut lap ‘Bik Daeng’ klang sathannakan muak daeng” [Analysis: Big Tu, Big Pom in military shake-up, closely watch Big Daeng’s secret solution in the middle of red beret situation]. 27 July–2 August 2018. https://www.matichonweekly.com/column/article_121055 (accessed 29 November 2019).
- . 2018. “‘Wikhro pho thahan’ songthai kho so cho ‘Bik Pom-Bik Tu’ yuet riap! ‘Bik Daeng’ khon phiset triam nang pho bo tho bo ‘Bik Nat-Bik Kob-Bik Tai’ khuen phaeng ‘Bik Lue-Bik Tui’ biat ching dam maethap ruela” [Analysing military reshuffle; “Big Tu and Big Pom” in full control, special man “Big Daeng” preparing to sit as Army chief, “Big Nat”, “Big Kob”, “Big Tai” in line, “Big Lue” and “Big Tui” competing to be Navy chief]. 20–26 August 2018. https://www.matichonweekly.com/column/article_119148 (accessed 29 November 2019).
- . 2019. “Changwa kao khong ‘Bik Daeng’ tangrap ronthoi nai khwamngiapgnan kap botbat ‘Bik Lue’ nai suek maothai lae konlayout chat thapruea muea ‘Bik Cho’ yu nai wonglom to tho 20” [“Big Daeng’s” footsteps, retreating in silence, and the role of “Big Lue” in the Mao Tai battle as “Big Cho” is surrounded by members of AFAPS Class 20]. 27 September – 3 October 2019.
- . 2019. “Lalai wongthewan-thahan suea-burapha phayak kongthap yuk ‘Bik Daeng’” [Dissolution of *Wongthewan*-Eastern Tigers, the Army in Apirat era]. 13–19 September 2019.
- . 2019. “Poet thap 14 khunphon kho daeng ‘Bik Daeng-Bik Bi-Bik Kao-Bik Nui’ kap pharakit sut khopfa” [14 red-striped t-shirt commanders unveiled: “Big Daeng”, “Big Bi”, “Big Kao”, “Big Nui” and their duties at the end of the horizon]. 11–17 October 2019.
- . 2019. “Raingan phiset poet thap 14 khun phon kho daeng Bik Daeng Bik Bi Bik Kao Bik Nui kap pharakit sut khopfa cho suek nok suek nai thapruea chak khluen tai nam su suenami” [Special report: Revealing the 14 red collar warlords, Big Daeng, Big Bi, Big Kao, Big Nui and their mission at the horizon, look into inside and outside naval threats from undercurrent to tsunami]. 11–17 October 2019.
- Matichon TV*. 2019. “‘Bik Daeng’ sat ‘ngao pritsana’ dotphop ‘Joshua Wong’—to phuak khit kae matra 1 wang lom sathaban” [“Big Daeng” charges that “mysterious shadow” secretly met “Joshua Wong”—argues that those seeking

- to amend Article 1 hope to overthrow the institution]. 11 October 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FlgLa4fmz3o> (accessed 6 October 2021).
- Miller, Jonathan, Kocha Olarn, and Helen Regan. 2020. "Thai King Addresses Protesters in Rare Public Comments, Saying He 'Loves Them All the Same'". *CNN*, 1 November 2020. <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/11/01/asia/thailand-king-vajiralongkorn-protests-intl-hnk/index.html> (accessed 7 January 2021).
- Nation, The* (Thailand). 2016. "Crown Prince Urges Regent and PM to Prevent Confusion". 16 October 2016. <https://www.nationthailand.com/politics/30297810> (accessed 26 November 2019).
- . 2016. "Privy Council President Prem Regent Pro Tempore: Wissanu". 16 October 2016. <https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30297739> (accessed 26 November 2019).
- . 2018. "Mental Asylum Best Place for 'Cracked' Anti-Monarchists, Says New Army Chief". 17 October 2018. <https://www.nationthailand.com/politics/30356661> (accessed 4 December 2019).
- . 2019. "Pai Dao Din Released Early on Royal Pardon". 10 May 2019. <https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30369158> (accessed 10 December 2019).
- New Straits Times*. 2019. "Cabin Crew, Body Guard, Thai Queen: Suthida's Meteoric Rise". 4 May 2019. <https://www.nst.com.my/world/2019/05/485564/cabin-crew-bodyguard-thai-queen-suthidas-meteoric-rise> (accessed 29 October 2019).
- Nipat Thonglek. 2019. "Phap kao lao tamnan: nuai thahan raksa phra-ong" [Old pictures tell story of royal guards]. *Matichon*, 12 February https://www.matichon.co.th/news-monitor/news_1360525 (accessed 1 November 2019).
- Patpicha Tanakasempipat. 2019. "Thai Army Chief Decries Opposition, Hints at Threat to Monarchy". *Reuters*, 11 October 2019. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-military/thai-army-chief-decries-opposition-hints-at-threat-to-monarchy-idUSKBN1WQ0WN> (accessed 5 December 2019).
- Pavin Chachavalpongpun. 2017. "Dhaveevatthana Prison: Hell on Earth in Thailand". *Japan Times*, 2 June 2017. <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2017/06/02/commentary/world-commentary/dhaveevatthana-prison-hell-earth-thailand/#.Xb-4n5ozaUk> (accessed 4 November 2019).
- Peck, Grant. "Former Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda dies at 98". *Associated Press*, 27 May 2019. <https://apnews.com/article/4e5193aa780e4b32ae34966f647f2fc5> (accessed 15 September 2021).
- Phatrawadee Phataranawik. 2019. "Disappearing Democracy". *The Nation*, 4 January 2019. <https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30361637> (accessed 4 December 2019).

- Pongpiphat Banchanont. 2018. "Luk Jod sami doktoe O senthang chiwit Bik Daeng pho bo tho bo khon mai sai wongthewan" [Jod's son, Dr O's husband: The life path to being new Army chief of Big Daeng from *Wongthewan* clique]. *The Matter*, 4 September 2018. <https://thematter.co/social/general-apirat-kongsompong/58960?fbclid=IwAR30MHHEhOni-Kp2GYkdlQELeNm tKy3nYItuVcLnVC5I0Brq-2VleiF5RkQ> (accessed 5 December 2019).
- Prachatai*. 2009. "Prem pat bueanglang patiwat-mai dai nam 'pho o Sonthi' khaofao" [Prem brushes off being behind the 2019 coup, never led General Sonthi to see the king]. 30 March 2009. <https://prachatai.com/journal/2009/03/20540> (accessed 15 September 2021).
- . 2011. "Khosok so o cho yomrap taeng phang lom chao phuea topto kansairai than phuying Jarungjit" [CREs spokesman admits fabrication of anti-monarchist chart to respond to allegations against Lady Jarungjit]. 26 May 2011. <https://prachatai.com/journal/2011/05/34974> (accessed 20 January 2020).
- . 2019. "Anusawari prap kabot hai kueap pi khana thi chue 'Boworadet-Sri Sitthisongkham' plo pen tuek-hong nai tho bo" [As the Defence of Democracy Monument disappears for nearly a year, while the names of Boworadet and Sri Sitthisongkram emerge at Army headquarters]. 9 October 2019. <https://prachatai.com/journal/2019/10/84685> (accessed 4 December 2019).
- . 2019. "Kham to kham: chat thai lae phai khwammankhong nai khwamnuekkhit khong phon ek Apirat Kongsompong" [Word by word: The Thai nation and security threats in the thinking of General Apirat Kongsompong]. 12 October 2019. <https://prachatai.com/journal/2019/10/84718> (accessed 5 June 2020).
- . 2020. "Poet ngoppraman kiaokap sathaban phramahakaksat pi 2564" [Budget for royal institution in 2021]. 31 August 2020. <https://prachatai.com/journal/2020/08/89306> (accessed 6 January 2021).
- . 2021. "4 so so 'kiao klai' ahiprai 'ngop suanratchakan nai phra-ong" [4 "Move Forward" MPs speak on "royal budget"]. 23 August 2021. <https://prachatai.com/journal/2021/08/94603> (accessed 22 September 2021).
- Prachatai English*. 2019. "King Vajiralongkorn Gains Two Infantry Regiments by Emergency Degree". 3 October 2019. <https://prachatai.com/english/node/8230> (accessed 7 February 2020).
- . 2020. "2019 Survey of Thai Political Landscape in Transition". 17 February 2020. <https://prachatai.com/english/node/8365> (accessed 21 February 2020).
- . 2020. "Two Revolutionary Leader Statues Gone Missing". 29 January 2020. <https://prachatai.com/english/node/8350> (accessed 11 February 2020).

- . 2020. “[Full Statement] The demonstration at Thammasat proposes monarchy reform”. 11 August 2020. <https://prachatai.com/english/node/8709> (accessed 7 January 2021).
- Reuters. 2019. “Thailand’s King Rama X — From Pilot Prince to Powerful Monarch”. 2 May 2019. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-king-vajiralongkorn-profile/thailands-king-rama-x-from-pilot-prince-to-powerful-monarch-idUSKCN1S8114> (accessed 29 October 2019).
- . 2021. “Thai Monarchy Budget Survives Rare Calls for Cuts in Parliament”. 22 August 2021. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/thai-monarchy-budget-survives-rare-calls-cuts-parliament-2021-08-22> (accessed 22 September 2021).
- Romfa. 1976. “Sangkhom phak klang” [Central Thai society]. *Thai rat*. 6 November 1976.
- Sanook. 2020. “‘Penkwin’ prakat chaichana nam mop thueng rap 11-an thalaengkan thai-on kamlang thahan khuen sangkat” [Penguin announced victory, leads the protestors to 11th Infantry Regiment—reads statement demanding the return of the unit to Army]. 29 November 2020. <https://www.sanook.com/news/8306070/> (accessed 7 January 2021).
- Southgate, Laura. 2017. “The Enduring Influence of Prem Tinsulanonda”. *Global Risk Insights*, 1 February 2017. <https://globalriskinsights.com/2017/02/asian-power-broker-series-the-enduring-influence-of-prem-tinsulanonda> (accessed 15 September 2021).
- Taifun. 1976. “Bukkhon nai khao” [People in the news]. *Thai rat*. 9 November 1976.
- Tappanai Boonpradit. 2020. “Dark Horse: Rise of New Air Force Chief Raises Eyebrows”. *Khaosod English*, 6 October 2020. <https://www.khaosodenglish.com/politics/2020/10/06/dark-horse-rise-of-new-air-force-chief-raises-eyebrows/> (accessed 6 January 2021).
- Teeranai Charuvastra. 2019. “Royalist Coup Leaders Honoured at Army Hall of Fame”. *Khaosod English*, 9 October 2019. <http://www.khaosodenglish.com/politics/2019/10/09/royalist-coup-leaders-honored-at-army-hall-of-fame> (accessed 4 December 2019).
- Thai News Agency*. 2020. “Chop pharakit! wisaman khon rai kratying khorat” [End of mission! extra-judicial killing of mass shooter in Khorat]. 9 February 2020. <https://www.mcot.net/viewtna/5e3f779ae3f8e40af441b5ad> (accessed 14 February 2020).
- Thai News Bureau*. 1992. “Kongthap bok triam nam phon thahan tonbaep tam neaothang phraratchadamri nuai thahan mahatlek rajawallop raksa phra-ong fuek thahan mai thua phrathet” [Army to send royal prototype soldiers of the Rajawallop Royal Guard to train newly recruited soldiers across the country]. 17 August 1992. http://thainews.prd.go.th/th/news/print_news/TCATG190817193711396 (accessed 7 November 2019).

- Thai PBS News*. 2019. "Roem laksut thahan tonbaep tam naeothang phraratchathan phruetsachikayon ni" [Royal curriculum for model privates starts this November]. 7 October 2019. <https://news.thaipbs.or.th/content/284951> (accessed 4 December 2019).
- Thai Post*. 2019. "Senthang dao charatsaeng 'cho ko kho daeng' ma ruchak 'khun phon raksa phra-ong' sutpe!" [Career path of rising star "red collar" King's Guard task force]. 4 September 2019. <https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/44994> (accessed 7 November 2019).
- Thai rat*. 1976. "Sadet naeona" [Royal visit to the front lines]. 8 November 1976.
- . 1976. "Sala chip phuea chat" [They sacrificed their lives for the nation]. 6 November 1976.
- . 1976. "Supsip" [Gossip]. 7 November 1976.
- . 2013. "Yingluck khlia Thaksin, lueak Nipat nang palat kalahom" [Yingluck clears with Thaksin, chooses Nipat as defence ministry permanent secretary]. 30 August 2013. <https://www.thairath.co.th/content/366852> (accessed 22 January 2020).
- . 2017. "San chamkhuk Jumpol Manmai hok pi saraphap lot luea sam thot yot chak phon tamruat ek pen nai" [Court sentences Jimpol Manmaito six years, reduced to three after confession, reduced in rank from general to private]. 10 March 2017. <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/880615> (accessed 6 November 2019).
- . 2019. "'Ro 10' sadet liap phranakhon ngotngam yingyai somphrakiat saesong songphracharoen kuekkong" [Rama X circles Phranakhon to emphatic cries of "Long live the king!"]. 6 May 2019. <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/royal/1561088> (accessed 29 October 2019).
- . 2020. "'Ro 10-rachini' sadet phithi suansanam thawai satpatiyai nai wan kongthap thai" [Rama X and queen preside over parade on Thai Military Day]. 19 January 2020. <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/royal/1750720> (accessed 12 February 2020).
- . 2021. "Khai rahat lap 'Bik Oui' fa khluenlom dan 'Bik Tong' phangat 'pho bo tho ro'" [Decoding secret deal of "Big Oui" to elevate "Big Tong" to Navy chief]. 26 August 2021. <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/2177030> (accessed 24 September 2021).
- Voice Online*. 2019. "Apirat yok khamphut no so tho khrai mai rak sathaban mai somkhuai yu nai prathet thai" [Apirat says to military students, those who don't love the institution should not live in Thailand]. 21 June 2019. https://voicetv.co.th/read/dIzZTs_kO (accessed 4 December 2019).
- . 2021. "'Thoni' chae ro bo ho pi 49 sue ang wali 'wang mai ao'-phoei phaen su Sonthi-rap phlat nirathot thukchong yuet amnat samsong" ["Tony" discloses 2006 coup details, media told "palace doesn't want him", unveils a plan to fight back against Sonthi, admits mistake on the amnesty bill, used for second coup]. 14 September 2021. <https://www.voicetv>.

- co.th/read/qd0c-b0wz?fbclid=IwAR2hhtkUWpTnOxI06_MiOdwNal6thQ-X8KpW6GTRyuq7ZBfB5gKq0lhLv4 (accessed 15 September 2021).
- . 2020. "'Narongphan' ning! fa naeokhit 'satharanarat' pat fun '5 dai 7 mai dai' pongpram 'thahan taengmo'" ["Narongphan" remains silent amid growing "republican", dusting off "five yes, seven no", deterring "watermelon soldiers"]. 24 December 2020. <https://voicetv.co.th/read/hPx1yGpUU> (accessed 8 January 2021).
- Washington Post*. 2019. "Photos of the Thai Consort Shooting a Rifle and Flying a Jet May Have Crashed a Royal Website". 27 August 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/08/27/photos-thai-consort-shooting-rifle-flying-jet-may-have-crashed-royal-website> (accessed 30 October 2019).
- Wassana Nanuam. 2017. "Apirat Tipped as New Army Commander". *Bangkok Post*, 12 August 2017. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1304603/apirat-tipped-as-new-army-commander> (accessed 3 December 2019).
- . 2020. "Sudden Change to Nomination for New Air Force Chief". *Bangkok Post*, 31 August 2020. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1977491/sudden-change-to-nomination-for-new-air-force-chief> (accessed 6 January 2021).
- , and Wassayos Ngamkham. 2019. "Narongpan Tipped to Replace Apirat as Army Chief". *Bangkok Post*, 9 September 2019. <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/general/1745729/narongpan-tipped-to-replace-apirat-as-army-chief> (accessed 3 December 2019).

Official Documents

- 27th Military Circle, Royal Thai Army. 2019. "Khong sutthai kanfuek 'nong khon lek khong kongthap bok' hai pen thahan tonbaep" [Last chapter in training of 'youngest Army brothers' to be model soldiers]. Website of 27th Military Circle. 3 July 2019. <http://mtb27.army2.mi.th/archives/7985> (accessed 4 December 2019).
- King's Guard School, Thailand. n.d. *Khumue kanfuek waduai baepfuek bukkhon tha mue plao* [Handbook of physical training without weapons]. <http://www.policebon.go.th/download/23.pdf> (accessed 12 June 2020).
- Ministry of Education, Thailand. n.d. "Royal Biography of Her Majesty Queen Suthida Bajrasudhabimalalakshana". <http://www.en.moe.go.th/enMoe2017/index.php/articles/387-royal-biography-of-her-majesty-queen-suthida-bajrasudhabimalalakshana> (accessed 29 October 2019).
- Public Relations Department, Thailand. n.d. "Royal Biography of H.M. Queen Suthida Bajrasudhabimalalakshana". https://thailand.prd.go.th/ewt_news.php?nid=8035&filename=index (accessed 29 October 2019).

- Royal Development Projects Bureau, Thailand. 2020. "Banthuek khrongkan annueangmachak phraratchadamri" [Notes on royally initiated projects]. Bangkok: Royal Development Projects Bureau.
- Royal Gazette*, Thailand. 1957. "Prakat phraborommaratcha-ongkan tang phu raksa phranakhon fai tahan" [Announcement on the appointment of a military commander to protect the capital]. Volume 74, Section 76, Special Edition. 16 September 1957. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2500/A/076/1.PDF> (accessed 1 February 2020).
- . 1986. "Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang taengtang phubangkhapkan phiset" [Announcement of the Prime Minister's Office on appointment of special commander]. Volume 103, Section 64, (special issue). 21 April 1986. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2529/D/064/1.PDF> (accessed 10 October 2019).
- . 1989. "Phraratchabanyat nirathotsakam kae phu krathamkan an pen khwamphit to khwammankhong khong rat phainai ratchananachak tam pramuan kotmai aya lae khwamphit tam kotmai waduai kanpongan kankratham an pen khommionit pho so 2532" [The 1989 amnesty law on national security offenders in accordance with the Penal Code and Anti-Communist Law]. Volume 106, Section 142, Special Edition. 30 August 1989. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2532/A/142/4.PDF> (accessed 22 June 2020).
- . 1991. "Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang taengtang nai tahan phiset" [Announcement of the Prime Minister's Office on appointment of special military officer]. Volume 108, Section 104. 13 June 1991. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2534/D/104/5555.PDF> (accessed 10 October 2019).
- . 1992. "Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan phraborommarachanuyat sathapana nuai tahan pen nuai tahan raksa phra-ong" [Announcement of prime minister's office on appointment of military unit as royal guard unit]. Volume 109, Section 158. 15 December 1992. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2535/D/158/14087.PDF> (accessed 5 February 2020).
- . 1999. "Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri hai naithahan rap ratchakan" [Announcement of Prime Minister's Office on the appointment of military officer to government service]. Volume 116, Section 92 *ngo*. 18 November 1999. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2542/D/092/51.PDF> (accessed 7 January 2021).
- . 2001. "Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri hai naithahan rap ratchakan" [Announcement of Prime Minister's Office on appointment of military officer to government service]. Volume 117, Section 76 *ngo*. 20 September

2001. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2544/D/076/2.PDF> (accessed 7 January 2021).
- . 2001. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamonthi rueang phraratchathan phraborommarachanyat sathapana nuai thahan pen nuai thahan raksa phra-ong” [Announcement of Prime Minister’s Office on the appointment of military unit as royal guard unit]. Volume 118, Section 2 *ngo*. 4 January 2001. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2544/D/002/7.PDF> (accessed 27 November 2019).
- . 2001. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamonthi rueang phraratchathan phraborommarachanyat sathapana nuai thahan pen nuai thahan raksa phra-ong” [Announcement of Prime Minister’s Office on the appointment of military unit as royal guard unit]. Volume 118, Section 14 *ngo*. 14 February 2001. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2544/D/014/1.PDF> (accessed 27 November 2019).
- . 2002. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan phraborommarachanyat sathapana nuai thahan pen nuai thahan raksa phra-ong” [Announcement of Prime Minister’s Office on the appointment of military unit as royal guard unit]. Volume 119, Section 5 *ngo*. 15 January 2002. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2545/D/005/7.PDF> (accessed 27 November 2019).
- . 2005. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan phraborommarachanyat sathapana nuait thahan pen nuai thahan raksa phra-ong” [Announcement of Prime Minister’s Office on appointment of military unit as royal guard unit]. Volume 122, Section 75 *ngo*. 20 September 2005. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2548/00171178.PDF> (accessed 27 November 2019).
- . 2006. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri hai taengtang kharatchakan phonlaruean nai phra-ong” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on appointment of civil servant in royal service]. Volume 123, Section 9 *ngo*. 31 January 2006. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2549/00181020.PDF> (accessed 12 November 2019).
- . 2007. “Prakat samnak nayok ratthamontri rueang phraratchathan phraborommarachanyat sathapana nuai thahan pen nuai thahan raksa phra-ong” [Announcement of Prime Minister’s Office on appointment of military unit as royal guard unit]. Volume 124, Section 44 *ngo*. 24 May 2007. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2550/D/044/20.PDF> (accessed 27 November 2019).
- . 2008. “Phraratchabanyat chat rabiap krasuang kalahom pho so 2551” [Defence Ministry Administration Act 2008]. Volume 125, Section 26 *ko*. 1 February 2008. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2551/A/026/35.PDF> (accessed 13 January 2020).

- . 2009. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri hai taengtang kharatchakan phonlaruean nai phra-ong” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on appointment of civil servant to royal service]. Volume 126, Special Section 22 *ngo*. 11 February 2009. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2552/E/022/12.PDF> (accessed 12 November 2019).
- . 2009. “Prapprung kankamnot tamnaeng lae taengtang kharatchakan nai phra-ong” [Adjustment of position and appointment of official to royal service]. Volume 126, Special Section 172 *ngo*. 26 November 2009. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2552/E/172/22.PDF> (accessed 12 November 2019).
- . 2010. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri hai nai thahan rap ratchakan” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on appointment of military officer to government service]. Volume 127, Section 44 *ngo*. 7 April 2010. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2553/E/044/27.PDF> (accessed 7 November 2019).
- . 2011. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri hai banchu lae taengtang kharatchakan phonlaruean nai phra-ong” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on appointment of official in royal service]. Volume 128, Special Section 72 *ngo*. 28 June 2011. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2554/E/072/10.PDF> (accessed 6 November 2019).
- . 2012. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan yot thahan tam kwa chan nai phon” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on royal bestowal of military rank below general]. Volume 129, Section 15 *kho*. 27 April 2012. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2555/B/015/1.PDF> (accessed 29 October 2019).
- . 2012. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang taengtang nai thahan phiset” [Announcement of Prime Minister’s Office on appointment of special military officer]. Volume 129 Special Section 17 *ngo*. 17 January 2012. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2555/E/017/8.PDF> (accessed 29 November 2019).
- . 2013. “Pharatchabanyat chat rabiap ratchakan krasuang kalahom chabap thi song pho so 2556” [Ministry of Defence Organisation Act of 2013]. Volume 130, Section 109 *kho*. 20 November 2013. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2556/A/109/1.PDF> (accessed 5 February 2020).
- . 2013. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan khruengrat itsiriyaphon pen korani phiset” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on special bestowal of royal decoration]. Volume 130, Section 28 *kho*. 13 November 2013. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2556/B/028/1.PDF> (accessed 4 February 2020).
- . 2013. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan yot thahan chan nai phon” [Announcement of prime minister’s office

- on royal bestowal of military rank of general]. Volume 130, Section 27 *kho*. 11 November 2013. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2556/B/027/1.PDF> (accessed 29 October 2019).
- . 2013. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan yot thahan tam kwa chan nai phon” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on royal bestowal of military rank below general]. Volume 130, Section 3 *kho*. 25 January 2013. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2556/B/003/1.PDF> (accessed 29 October 2019).
- . 2013. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan yot thahan tam kwa chan nai phon” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on royal bestowal of military rank below general]. Volume 130, Section 14 *kho*. 17 June 2013. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2556/B/014/1.PDF> (accessed 29 October 2019).
- . 2014. “Phraratchakritsadika baeng suanratchakan lae kamnot nathi khong suanratchakan nuaibanchakan raksakhwamplotphai raksa phra-ong krasuang kalahom pho so 2557” [Royal decree on Royal Security Command of 2014]. Volume 131, Section 38 *kho*. 5 April 2014. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2557/A/038/1.PDF> (accessed 5 February 2020).
- . 2014. “Prakat rueang la-ok chak thanandonsak” [Announcement on stepping down from royal status]. Volume 131, Section 29 *kho*. 12 December 2014. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2557/B/029/1.PDF> (accessed 6 November 2019).
- . 2014. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri hai nai thahan rap ratchakan” [Announcement of prime minister’s office announcement on military reshuffle]. Volume 131, Special Section 176 *ngo*. 8 September 2014. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2557/E/176/1.PDF> (accessed 28 January 2020).
- . 2014. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang hai nai thahan rap ratchakan” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on appointment of military officer into government service]. Volume 131, Special Section 132 *ngo*. 16 July 2014. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2557/E/132/3.PDF> (accessed 8 November 2019).
- . 2014. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan khruengrat itsiriyaphon pen koraniphiset” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on special bestowal of royal decoration]. Volume 131, Section 10 *kho*. 6 May 2014. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2557/B/010/3.PDF> (accessed 4 February 2020).
- . 2014. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan phraborommarachanuyat sathapana nuai thahan pen nuai thahan raksa phra-ong” [Announcement of Prime Minister’s Office on appointment of military unit as royal guard unit]. Volume 131, Special Section 200 *ngo*. 6 October

2014. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2557/E/200/4.PDF> (accessed 27 November 2019).
- . 2014. “Prakat samnaknayokratthamontri rueang taengtang kharatchakan phonlaruean nai phra-ong” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on appointment of civilian official in royal service]. Volume 131, Special Section 59 *ngo*. 4 April 2014. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2557/E/059/1.PDF> (accessed 4 February 2020).
- . 2016. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan phraborommarachanuyat hai thot yot thahan” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on royal permission to strip military rank]. Volume 133, Section 3 *kho*. 2 February 2016. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2559/B/003/8.PDF> (accessed 4 February 2020).
- . 2016. “Phraratchabanyat ngoppaman raichai prachampingoppaman pho so 2560” [2017 Budget Bill]. Volume 133, Section 84 *ko*. 23 September 2016. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2559/A/084/1.PDF> (accessed 22 September 2021).
- . 2016. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan yot thahan chan nai phon” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on royal bestowal of military rank of general]. Volume 133, Section 44 *kho*. 10 December 2016. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2559/B/044/1.PDF> (accessed 29 October 2019).
- . 2016. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang taengtang ratcha-ongkharak” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on appointment of royal guards]. Volume 133, Special Section 250 *ngo*. 2 November 2016. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2559/E/250/2.PDF> (accessed 4 November 2019).
- . 2016. “Prakat taengtang ongkhamontri” [Announcement on appointment of member of Privy Council]. Volume 133, Special Section 280 *ngo*. 2 December 2016. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2559/E/280/1.PDF> (accessed 26 November 2019).
- . 2016. “Prakat taengtang ongkhamontri” [Announcement on appointment of member of Privy Council]. Volume 133, Special Section 281 *ngo*. 6 December 2016. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2559/E/281/1.PDF> (accessed 10 February 2020).
- . 2016. “Prakat taengtang ongkhamontri” [Announcement on appointment of member of Privy Council]. Volume 133, Special Section 305 *ngo*. 24 December 2016. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2559/E/305/2.PDF> (accessed 10 February 2020).
- . 2017. “Hai nai thahan sanyabat ok chak yot thahan” [Stripping commissioned officer of military rank]. Volume 134, Section 61 *kho*. 24 November 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/B/061/1.PDF> (accessed 30 October 2019).

- . 2017. “Phraratchabanyat rabiap borihan ratchakan nai phra-ong” [Royal Service Administration Act of 2017]. Volume 134, Section 88 *ko*. 1 May 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/A/048/1.PDF> (accessed 31 October 2019).
- . 2017. “Phraratchakritsadika chat rabiap ratchakan lae borihan ngan bukkhon khong ratchakan nai phra-ong pho so 2560” [Royal Decree on Administration and Personnel in Royal Service of 2017]. Volume 134, Section 51 *ko*. 10 May 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/A/051/1.PDF> (accessed 31 October 2019).
- . 2017. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri hai thot yot tamruat” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on stripping of police rank]. Volume 134, Section 10 *kho*. 10 March 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/B/010/1.PDF> (accessed 6 November 2019).
- . 2017. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan yot thahan tam kwa chan naiphon” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on royal bestowal of military rank below general]. Volume 134, Section 16 *kho*. 22 March 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/B/014/1.PDF> (accessed 30 October 2019).
- . 2017. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan yot thahan chan nai phon” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on royal bestowal military rank of general]. Volume 134, Section 21 *kho*. 24 April 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/B/021/5.PDF> (accessed 12 November 2019).
- . 2017. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan yot thahan tam kwa chan nai phon” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on royal bestowal of military rank below general]. Volume 134, Section 29 *kho*. 23 June 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/B/029/1.PDF> (accessed 30 October 2019).
- . 2017. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan yot thahan tam kwa chan nai phon” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on royal bestowal of military rank below general]. Volume 134, Section 29 *kho*. 23 June 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/B/029/2.PDF> (accessed 30 October 2019).
- . 2017. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan yot thahan tam kwa chan nai phon” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on royal bestowal of military rank below general]. Volume 134, Section 29 *kho*. 23 June 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/B/029/3.PDF> (accessed 30 October 2019).
- . 2017. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang taengtang ratcha-ongkharak” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on appointment of royal guard]. Volume 134, Special Section 76 *ngo*. 12 March 2017. <http://>

- www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/E/076/21.PDF (accessed 5 February 2020).
- . 2017. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang taengtang ratcha-ongkharak” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on appointment of royal guards]. Volume 134, Special Section 137 *ngo*. 22 May 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/E/137/1.PDF> (accessed 5 February 2020).
- . 2017. “Prakat taengtang khanakammakan sapsin suanphramahakasat” [Announcement on the appointment of board of Crown Property Bureau]. Volume 134, Special Section 183 *ngo*. 17 July 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/E/183/3.PDF> (accessed 7 January 2021).
- . 2017. “Prakat taengtang ongkhamontri” [Announcement on appointment of member of Privy Council]. Volume 134, Special Section 154 *ngo*. 8 June 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/E/154/1.PDF> (accessed 26 February 2020).
- . 2017. “Prakat taengtang ratcha-ongkharakwen lae nai tamruat ratchasamnakwen” [Announcement of appointment of duty royal guards and duty royal guard police]. Volume 134, Special Section 195 *ngo*. 31 July 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/E/195/1.PDF> (accessed 4 November 2019).
- . 2017. “Phraratchabanyat ngoppraman raichai prachampingoppraman pho so 2561” [2018 Budget Bill]. Volume 134, Section 101 *ko*. 2 October 2017. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2560/A/101/1.PDF> (accessed 21 September 2021).
- . 2018. “Prakat phraratchathan yot tahan” [Announcement of royal bestowal of military rank]. Volume 135, Section 25 *kho*. 24 July 2018. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2561/B/025/T1.PDF> (accessed 8 November 2019).
- . 2018. “Prakat rueang hai ongkhamontri phon chak tamnaeng” [Announcement on resignation of member of Privy Council]. Volume 135, Special Section 143 *ngo*. 21 June 2018. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2561/E/143/1.PDF> (accessed 10 February 2020).
- . 2018. “Prakat rueang phraratchathan khruengrat itsiriyaphon chulachomkhlae” [Announcement of bestowal of Chulachomkhae royal decoration]. Volume 135, Section 1 *kho*. 4 January 2018. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2561/B/001/1.PDF> (accessed 29 October 2019).
- . 2018. “Prakat rueang phraratchathan yot tahan” [Announcement of royal bestowal of military rank]. Volume 138, Section 8 *ko*. 5 March 2018. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2561/B/008/1.PDF> (accessed 8 November 2019).

- . 2018. “Prakat samnak nayok ratthamontri rueang phraratchathan yot thahan tam kwa chan nai phon” [Announcement of prime minister’s office on royal bestowal of military rank below general]. Volume 135, Section 21 *kho*. 25 June 2018. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2561/B/021/1.PDF> (accessed 30 October 2019).
- . 2018. “Prakat taengtang kharatchakan nai phra-ong” [Announcement of appointment of official in royal service]. Volume 135, Special Section 141 *ngo*. 19 June 2018. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2561/E/141/1.PDF> (accessed 8 November 2019).
- . 2018. “Prakat taengtang lekhatikan phraratchawang lae phu-amnuaykan samnangkan sapsin suanphramahakasat” [Announcement of appointment of secretary general of the palace and director of Crown Property Bureau]. Volume 135, Special Section 55 *ngo*. 16 March 2018. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2561/E/055/2.PDF> (accessed 7 January 2021).
- . 2018. “Prakat taengtang nai thahan phiset” [Announcement on appointment of special military officer]. Volume 135, Special Section 171 *ngo*. 17 July 2018. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2561/E/171/T1.PDF> (accessed 26 February 2020).
- . 2018. “Prakat taengtang ongkhamontri” [Announcement on appointment of member of Privy Council]. Volume 135, Special Section 244 *ngo*. 2 October 2018. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2561/E/244/T_0001.PDF (accessed 29 November 2019).
- . 2018. “Prakat taengtang thahan ratcha-ongkharak phiset” [Announcement of appointment of special royal guard]. Volume 135, Section 48 *ngo*. 5 March 2018. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2561/E/048/1.PDF> (accessed 8 November 2019).
- . 2018. “Phraratchabanyat ngoppraman raichai prachampingoppraman pho so 2562” [2019 Budget Bill]. Volume 135, Section 71 *ko*. 17 September 2018. <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2561/A/071/T1.PDF> (accessed 21 September 2021).
- . 2019. “Kot krasuang baeng suanratchakan pen kong bangkhapkan rue suan ratchakan yang uen nai samnangkan tamrua thaengchat (chabap thi 11) pho so 2562” [Ministerial regulation on division of command on other functions in the National Police Office, 2019]. Volume 136, Section 12 *ko*. 27 January 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/A/012/T_0006.PDF (accessed 14 February 2020).
- . 2019. “Phraratchakamnot on attra kamlangphon lae ngoppraman bang suan khong kongthap bok kongthap thai krasuang kalahom pai pen khong nuai banchakan thawai khwamplotphai raksa phra-ong sueng pen nuai ratchakan nai phra-ong” [Royal decree on transfer of some part of the personnel and budget of Army, Armed Forces Headquarters and Ministry

- of Defense to Royal Security Command which is a government unit in royal service]. Volume 136, Section 103 *ko*. 30 September 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/A/103/T_0001.PDF (accessed 5 November 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat hai kharatchaboriphan phon wara ratcha-ongkharak nai phra-ong” [Announcement of the end of royal official’s term in royal service]. Volume, 136 Special Section 11 *ngo*. 23 April 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/E/101/T_0001.PDF (accessed 7 November 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat hai kharatchaboriphan taengtang pen ratcha-ongkharak nai phra-ong” [Announcement of appointment royal official as royal bodyguard]. Volume 136, Special Section 111 *ngo*. 3 May 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/E/111/T_0001.PDF (accessed 7 November 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat hai kharatchakan nai phra-ong fai thahan phon chak tamnaeng thot thanandonsak lae yot thahan talot chon riakkhuen khruengrat itsiriyaphon thuk chantra” [Announcement of removal of military officer in royal service from position, stripping royal status and military rank and status, and revocation of all royal decorations]. Volume 136, Section 55 *kho*. 21 October 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/B/055/T_0001.PDF (accessed 22 October 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat hai lai kharatchakan phonlaruean nai phra-ongokchak ratchankan lae thot yot thahan phrom riakkhuen khruengrat itsiriyaphon” [Announcement on removal from service of civilian officials in royal service, on stripping of military ranks and on revocation of royal decorations]. Volume 136, Section 57 *kho*. 29 October 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/B/057/T_0001.PDF (accessed 30 October 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat hai plot nai thahan chan sanyabat ok chak ratchakan lae thot yot thahan phrom riakkhuen khruengrat itsiriyaphon” [Announcement on removal of military officers from service, on stripping of rank and on revocation of royal decorations]. Volume 136, Section 57 *kho*. 29 October 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/B/057/T_0002.PDF (accessed 30 October 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat hai plot ok lae lai ok thot yot nai thahan chan sanyabat phrom riakkhuen khruengrat itsiriyaphon” [Announcement of removal, dismissal, stripping of military rank and revocation of royal decoration]. Volume 136, Section 56 *kho*. 23 October 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/B/056/T_0001.PDF (accessed 7 November 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat rabiap suanratchakan nai phra-ong waduai thong chaichaloemphon nuai banchakan thawai khwamplotphai raksaphra-ong pho so 2562” [Announcement on regulations concerning *chaichaloemphon*

- flag of Royal Security Command of 2019]. Volume 136, Special Section 303 *ngo*. 12 December 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/E/303/T_0001.PDF (accessed 13 December 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat rueang sathapana somdetphranangchao Sutthida Bajrasudhabimalalakshana” [Announcement of installation of Queen Sutthida]. Volume 136, Section 14 *kho*. 4 May 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/B/014/T_0002.PDF (accessed 29 October 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang kananumat phraratchakamnot kanon attra kamlangphon bang suan khong kongthap bok kongthap thai krasuang kalahom pai pen khong nuai banchakan thawai khwamplotphai raksa phra-ong” [Announcement of prime minister’s office approving transfer of some part of personnel and budget of Army, armed forces headquarters and defence ministry to Royal Security Command]. Volume 136, Section 111 *ko*. 21 October 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/A/111/T_0001.PDF (accessed 5 November 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan phraborommarachanuyat plianplaeng nuai thahan raksa phra-ong lae nuai thahan naiphra-ong” [Announcement of Prime Minister’s Office on change of royal guard units]. Volume 136, Special Section 100 *ngo*. 23 April 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/E/100/T_0027.PDF (accessed 27 November 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat songphrakarunaplotklaoplotkramom hai klap khao rapratchakan phraratchathan yot nai thahan chan sanyabat phraratchathan khuen khruengrat itsiriyaphon thuk chantra hai kharatchakan nai phra-ong” [Announcement on reinstatement, on royal bestowal of military rank and on restoration of all royal decorations to an official in royal service]. Volume 136, Section 59 *kho*. 11 November 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/B/059/T_0001.PDF (accessed 12 November 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat songphrakarunaplotklaoplotkramomphraratchathan phraborommarachanuyat plian nam nuai thahan raksa phra-ong” [Announcement on change of name of royal guard units]. Volume 136, Special Section 303 *ngo*. 12 December 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/E/303/T_0004.PDF (accessed 13 December 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat taengtang khanakammakan sapsin suanphramahakasat lae thiphruaksa samnakngan sapsin suanphramahakasat” [Announcement appointment of crown property board and advisor to Crown Property Bureau]. Volume 136, Special Section 4 *ngo*, 6 January 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/E/004/T_0001.PDF (accessed 4 December 2019).
- . 2019. “Prakat taengtang kharatchakan nai phra-ong” [Announcement of appointment of royal officials]. Volume 136, Section 239 *ngo*. 25 September

2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/E/239/T_0001.PDF (accessed 5 January 2021).
- . 2019. “Prakat taengtang phuraksakan prathan ongkhamontri” [Announcement on appointment of acting Privy Council chairman]. Volume 136, Special Section 137 *ngo*. 28 May 2019. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/E/137/T_0001.PDF (accessed 26 November 2019).
- . 2020. “Prakat luean kharatchakan nai phra-ong hai sungkhuen lae prap-on kharatchakanthahan lae phonlaruean pen kharatachakan nai phra-ong” [Announcement on the promotion and transfer of military officers and civil servants to be royal officials]. Volume 137, Special Section 229 *ngo*. 30 September 2020. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2563/E/229/T_0001.PDF (accessed 8 January 2021).
- . 2020. “Prakat rueang taengtang hai damrong thanandonsak lae phraratchathan khruengrat itsiriyaphon thuk chantra” [Announcement on appointment to royal status and award of decorations of all classes]. Volume 137, Section 23 *kho*. 29 August 2020. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2563/B/023/T_0020.PDF (accessed 5 January 2021).
- . 2020. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang hai naithahan rapratchakan” [Prime Minister’s Office announcement on the appointment of military officers]. Volume 137, Special Section 218 *ngo*. 18 September 2020. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2563/E/218/T_0001.PDF?fbclid=IwAR1dAaRyj7_FynxfRUjqXgDsF7eyxDgec36AZZt1rmZIGqXwVF95-ZHu3FE (accessed 6 January 2021).
- . 2020. “Prakat samnak nayokratthamontri rueang phraratchathan plianplaeng nam khai thahan” [Announcement of Prime Minister’s Office on renaming of military camps]. Volume 137, Special Section 68 *ngo*. 24 March 2020. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2563/E/068/T_0002.PDF (accessed 5 June 2020).
- . 2020. “Prakat taengtang kharatchakan nai phra-ong hai damrong tamnaeng” [Announcement on appointment of royal official to take up position]. Volume 137, Section 81 *ngo*. 8 April 2020. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2563/E/081/T_0001.PDF (accessed 5 January 2021).
- . 2020. “Prakat taengtang ongkhamontri” [Announcement on appointment of member of Privy Council]. Volume 137, Special Section 3 *ngo*. 4 January 2020. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2563/E/003/T_0001.PDF (accessed 6 January 2020).
- . 2020. “Phraratchabanyat ngoppaman raichai prachampingoppraman pho so 2563” [2020 Budget Bill]. Volume 137, Section 15 *ko*. 26 February 2020. http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2563/A/015/T_0001.PDF (accessed 21 September 2021).

- . 2020. “Phraratchabanyat ngoppraman raichai prachampingoppraman pho so 2564” [2021 Budget Bill]. Volume 137, Section 82 *ko.* 7 October 2020 http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2563/A/082/T_0001.PDF (accessed 21 September 2021).
- Royal Thai Government. n.d. “Sarup khao kanprachum khanaratthamontri 14 karakadakhom 2563” [News summary of cabinet meeting of 14 July 2020]. <https://www.thaigov.go.th/news/contents/details/33356> (accessed 22 July 2020).

Unofficial Documents

- Puangthong R. Pawakapan. 2017. “Voice of the Victims: Truth for Justice”. In *Truth for Justice: A Fact-Finding Report on the April–May 2010 Crackdowns in Thailand*, edited by Kwanravee Wangudom, pp. 5–6. 17 May 2017. <http://www.pic2010.org/en-report/> (accessed 4 January 2021).
- Thai Lawyers for Human Rights. 2021. “Sathiti phu thukdamnoen khadi matra 112 minpramat kasat pi 2563-2564” [Statistics on those charged with *lèse majesté* under section 112 for defamation of monarchy]. 6 January 2021. <https://tlhr2014.com/archives/23983> (accessed 7 January 2021).

Interviews

- Nattawut Saikua, 17 December 2019, Bangkok.
- Lieutenant General Pongsakorn Rodchompoo, 20 December 2019, Bangkok.
- Retired Thai Army general, 18 December 2019, Bangkok.
- General Sonthi Boonyaratglin, 18 December 2019, Bangkok.