Notes

Many of these notes include web-links, all of which were checked prior to publication. To help readers access these external resources, an online version of these notes is included among the Future Forward resources on the Leeds Thai politics site.

# Forward

**p.1 - Future Forward stormed** For background on the elections, see Jacob I. Ricks, ‘Thailand’s 2019 vote: the general’s election’, *Pacific Affairs*, 92, 3, 2019.

* 1. **- a classic study of British politics** See Jean Blondel, *Voters, Parties and Leaders: the Social Fabric of British Politics*, London: Pelican, 1963.
	2. **- Modern politics in Thailand** For an overview of recent Thai political history, see Federico Ferrara, *The Political Development of Modern Thailand,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
	3. **- Authoritarianism was the dominant mode** For an overview of Thai ideological formation in the late twentieth century, see Michael K. Connors, *Democracy and National Identity in Thailand*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2007.
	4. **- an elaborate network of intermediaries** See Duncan McCargo, ‘Network monarchy and legitimacy crises in Thailand’, *Pacific Review*, 18, 4, 2005: 499–519.

**p.3 - 1997 ‘people’s constitution’** On Thailand’s 1997 political reform process see Duncan McCargo (ed.), *Reforming Thai Politics*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2002.

* 1. **- led by Thaksin Shinawatra** For a succinct overview of the Thaksin phenomenon, see Duncan McCargo, ‘Toxic Thaksin? Thailand’s troublesome ex- premier’, *Representation*, 47, 3, 2011: 295–306.
	2. **- only the red shirts were violently suppressed** Some yellow-shirt protestors were killed in grenade attacks in 2008 and 2014.
	3. **- the great majority were shot dead** For English versions of reports on the incidents, see People’s Information Committee, *Truth for Justice: a Fact-Finding Report on the April–May 2010 Crackdowns in Thailand* [English], Bangkok: PIC, 2012, <http://www.pic2010.org/en-report/>; and Truth for Reconciliation Commission of Thailand, *Final Report of the Truth for Reconciliation Commission of Thailand (TRCT), July 2010*–*July 2012* [English], Bangkok: TRCT, 2012, [http://library.nhrc. or.th/ulib/document/Fulltext/F07939.pdf](http://library.nhrc.or.th/ulib/document/Fulltext/F07939.pdf).
	4. **- appointed himself prime minister** See Duncan McCargo, ‘Tearing up the script’, *New York Times*, 29 May 2014, [https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/30/ opinion/thailands-army-tears-up-the-script.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/30/opinion/thailands-army-tears-up-the-script.html).

**p.5 - the post-2017 election rules** See Duncan McCargo, ‘Thailand’s changing

party landscape’, *ISEAS Perspective,* 2018/63, 12 October 2018, [https://www.iseas.](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2018_63%4050.pdf)

[edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS\_Perspective\_2018\_63 @50.pdf](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2018_63%4050.pdf).

**p.7 - He launched a second party** Thai Raksa Chart ran in 176 districts altogether.

**p.7 - one of the strangest days** See Prajak Kongkirati, ‘Overview: political earthquakes’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 2, 2019: 163–69.

**p.9 - August 2018 interview Thanathorn gave** เปิ ดอก “ธนาธร” อนาคตใหม่ ในเงาเพื่อไทย [Revealing Thanathorn Future Forward in the shadow of Pheu Thai], *Khom Chad Luek,* 15 August [2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OLRDXvNVKN4](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DOLRDXvNVKN4&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7C6abdf4893fdf4101638c08d7f82865da%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637250724713455683&sdata=3EVQAvwbxNonjsSFzDGUDpEzMIX5%2BsYpRFfeP%2F%2FRi%2F8%3D&reserved=0).

**p.9 - lit the fires for change** “ธนาธร” กับสนามการเมืองครง้ แรกของคนรนใหม่่ [Thanathorn

and the first political match of the new generation], Thai PBS, 27 April [2018, https://](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m4KeE3DamIg) [www.youtube.com/watch?v=m4KeE3DamIg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m4KeE3DamIg).

**p.9 - Thanathorn’s big breakthrough** ไทยรฐเวทีดีเบตเลือกตงั 62 เวทีแรก [First

Thai Rath election 2019 debate], 11 February 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VJqcgPmjG4A) [watch?v=VJqcgPmjG4A](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VJqcgPmjG4A).

**p.10 - challenged army commander Apirat** “ธนาธร” บอกปัจจัยอะไรคือข้ออ้างที่จะทําให้เกิด

รฐประหารบ้าง [Thanathorn asks what the pretext would be for another coup] *Workpoint News*, 17 March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IsKtIhMm1zA>.

**p.10 - We are grown-up now** See Duncan McCargo, ‘We are grown-up now and can choose for ourselves’, *New York Times*, 29 March 2019, [https://www.nytimes. com/2019/03/29/opinion/thailand-election-thanathorn-future-forward-youth-vote. html](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/29/opinion/thailand-election-thanathorn-future-forward-youth-vote.html).

# Chapter 1: Leaders

**p.12 - The hyperleader is an excessive leader** Paolo Gerbaudo, *The Digital Party: Political Organisation and Online Democracy,* London: Pluto 2019, pp. 148–49.

**p.12 - whose Twitter feed carried the by-line** After the party was dissolved,

the first part of his by-line changed to ‘Former Future Forward Party Leader. An adventurer’, <https://twitter.com/thanathorn_fwp?lang=en>.

**p.12 - Thanathorn himself baulked** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.

**p.12 - The Futurista’s Guide** ‘The Futurista’s Guide’*,* Bangkok: Future Forward Party, n.d. English language pamphlet given to Duncan by Piyabutr Saengkanokkul, 30 October 2018.

* 1. **- an extremely genuine figure** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, ธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ

: ความเป็ นนักการเมือง VS ความเป็ นพ่อ [Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit: being a politician vs being a father], *The Momentum*, 15 March 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bs9wY7211dQ) [watch?v=bs9wY7211dQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bs9wY7211dQ).

* 1. **- he has to ask his wife** A casual conversation with Thanathorn and Ravipan Juangroongruangkit, คุยสบายๆ กับ ‘ธนาธร-รวพรรณ จึงรงเรองกิจ’, 27 September 2019, *Voice Online,* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xB3IC2pPc40>.

**p.13 - he always wore the same** “ธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ” ชีวตแบบผู้ชายออแกนิค [Revealing Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit – life of an organic man], 8 March 2018, *Chae live,* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i9L9Y9SHFHU>.

* 1. **- Chamlong Srimuang** See Duncan McCargo, *Chamlong Srimuang and the New Thai Politics,* London: Hurst 1997, for example pp. 198–201, 212.
	2. **- sufficiency economy** For a critical review of sufficiency economy, see

Wolfram Schaffar, ‘Alternative development concepts and their political embedding: the case of sufficiency economy in Thailand’, *Forum for Development Studies*, 45, 3, 2018: 387–413.

**p.14 - Do not be a wolf** Chachawanan Santidet, เลือกอยู่ข้างเวลา [Choose to be on the side of time], Bangkok: SE-Education, 2018, p. 31.

**p.14 - Thaksin Shinawatra** Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker, *Thaksin,* Chiang Mai: Silkworm 2009, p. 25.

* 1. **- Thanathorn’s personal narrative** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, ประวต

ครอบครว ที่เล่าจากปากคุณธนาธรเอง คุณธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ [Family history explained straight

from Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit], [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-hEFHJhLn8w) [hEFHJhLn8w](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-hEFHJhLn8w).

* 1. **- Thanathorn went to Saint Dominic’s** Born 1978.

**p.15 - three different master’s degrees** Thanathorn gained an MA in political economy from Chulalongkorn University, another in global finance from NYU’s Stern School, and a third in international business law from St Gallen University in Switzerland. The latter two degrees were distance-learning programmes, involving short, intensive stints of study abroad.

**p.15 - Assembly of the Poor** For a discussion of this important popular movement, see Bruce D. Missingham, *The Assembly of the Poor in Thailand: from Local Struggles to National Protest Movement*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2003.

**p.15 - his activist credentials** See Kriangsak Teerakowitkajorn, ‘Thailand’s new left-wing political parties: rivals or allies?’ *New Mandala*, 19 November 2018, [https://www.newmandala.org/thailands-new-left-wing-political-parties-rivals-or- allies/](https://www.newmandala.org/thailands-new-left-wing-political-parties-rivals-or-allies/).

**p.15 - 1997 Asian financial crisis** On the 1997 financial crisis, see Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker, *Thailand’s Crisis*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2000; and Peter Warr (ed.) *Thailand Beyond the Crisis*, London: Routledge, 2004.

**p.15 - formative year** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, เจาะหนังสือ 5 เล่มของไพรหมื่น

ล้าน ธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ [Five books of the ten-billion-baht serf], 9 November 2018, *The People,* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nx0oE-w5Z5k>.

**p.15 - Among the books** The other non-fiction books he cited as important influences were Pasuk Phongpaichit’s two edited volumes การต่อสู้ของทุนไทย [The struggles of Thai capital; Bangkok: Matichon, 2006), on the 1997 Asian financial

crisis; and on the 2008 global financial crisis, Andrew Ross Sorkin’s *Too Big to Fail*

(New York: Viking, 2009).

**p.15 - when he was studying at Thammasat** โอ๊ค-เอก. See แฉ - เปิ ดตวตนความเป็ น “อ. ป๊อก” ปิ ยบุตร เลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Chae – Get to know Professor Pok Piyabutr, Future Forward’s general-secretary], GMM25Thailand, 28 August 2019, [https://www. youtube.com/watch?v=T6VE3dtxhd8](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DT6VE3dtxhd8&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7C54e0d868caaa4c298def08d80f929fc1%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637276469708217694&sdata=wo8w%2FkQ0imqPnoDZ69Kz1TqlInq68HJc6Ik%2BH02yvi4%3D&reserved=0).

* 1. **- Oak-Ake** Panthongtae’s nickname is Oak, and Thanathorn’s Ake.
	2. **- Thanathorn had to set aside his passion** See ‘Isaan’s future: Thanathorn

on moving the region forward’, *Isaan Record,* 6 August 2018, [https://isaanrecord.](https://isaanrecord.com/2018/06/08/isaans-future-thanathorn-on-moving-the-region-forward/) [com/2018/06/08/isaans-future-thanathorn-on-moving-the-region-forward/](https://isaanrecord.com/2018/06/08/isaans-future-thanathorn-on-moving-the-region-forward/).

**p.16 - Praphakorn Wongratanawin was critical** Praphakorn Wongratanawin, ‘Future Forward Party – whose future?’ *Bangkok Post*, 1 November 2018, [https:// www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/1568350/future-forward-party-whose- future](https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/1568350/future-forward-party-whose-future-).

* 1. **- condemned by the International Metalworkers’ Federation** IndustriAll Global Union, *IMF condemns labour rights violations at Thai Summit Group subsidiary*, 28 August 2007, [http://www.industriall-union.org/archive/imf/imf- condemns-labour-rights-violations-at-thai-summit-group-subsidiary](http://www.industriall-union.org/archive/imf/imf-condemns-labour-rights-violations-at-thai-summit-group-subsidiary).
	2. **- Some 230 union members** International Trade Union Confederation, *2007 Annual Survey of violations of trade union rights Thailand*, 9 June 2007, [http:// www.refworld.org/docid/4c52ca09c.html](http://www.refworld.org/docid/4c52ca09c.html).

**p.17 - Another round of union-busting** International Trade Union Confederation, *2010 Annual Survey of violations of trade union rights- Thailand*, 9 June 2010, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4c4fec5428.html>.

**p.17 - Questioned about these events** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, Thanathorn ธนาธร พรรคอนาคตใหม่ ตอบสดๆ ทุกข้อสงสัย, *The Standard Daily,* 19 March 2018, [https:// www.youtube.com/watch?v=KL1TA2Xn5dM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KL1TA2Xn5dM).

* 1. **- he admitted in a January 2007 interview** Wanchai Tantiwittayapithak and Wirapa Angkoontasaneeyarat, สัมภาษณ์: ธนาธร จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ รองประธานกรรมการบริหาร กลุ่ม บริษัทไทยซัมมิท «ผมถูกบังคับให้เป็ นนายทุน» [Interview: Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, deputy executive chairman, Thai Summit], *Sarakadee Magazine*, 11 January 2007, <https://www.sarakadee.com/2007/01/14/thanatorn/>.

**p.17 - Thanathorn’s uncle Suriya** สุรยะ พูดถึงธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ ผมเองยังถูกต่อวา เขาเป็ น

คนแบบนี้มาตง้ แต่เรยน [Suriya on Thanathorn: Even I was scolded by him; he has been like this since he was a student], *Matichon Online,* 8 August 2018, [https://www.](https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/news_1077860) [matichon.co.th/politics/news\_1077860](https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/news_1077860).

* 1. **- a cause célèbre for Thai activists** For a detailed discussion, see *The Struggle of Villagers in Chana District, Southern Thailand in Defence of Community, Land and Religion against the Trans Thai-Malaysia Pipeline and Industrial Project (TTM), 2002–2008,* Sturminster Newton: Corner House, 2008, [http://www. thecornerhouse.org.uk/sites/thecornerhouse.org.uk/files/TTM2002-2007.pdf](http://www.thecornerhouse.org.uk/sites/thecornerhouse.org.uk/files/TTM2002-2007.pdf).

**p.18 - a partnership known as the ‘Three Allies’** See Punchada Sirivunnabood, ‘The rules change but the players don’t: factional politics and Thailand’s March 2019 elections’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 3, 2019: 395–96.

## p.18 - Thanathorn accused him of supporting dictatorship Suriya Juang-

roongruangkit, เปิ ดเผยครง้ แรก สรุ ยะ จงรง่ เรองกจ กลบมาชวยเผดจการหรอื ? [Exclusive: Is Suriya

Juangroongruangkit returning to help dictatorship?], *Springnews*, 7 August 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1EODg9WqFqQ> Suriya looked incredibly uncomfortable during this television interview when asked to justify his support for Prayuth.

**p.18 - Despite their differences** Suriya Juangroongruangkit, เมื่อ “สุรยะ จึงรงเรองกิจ”

พูดถึงหลาน “ธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ” [When Suriya Juangroongruangkit talks about nephew Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit], 7 August 2018, *Springnews*, [https://www.youtube.](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LAKAUNOmu9A) [com/watch?v=LAKAUNOmu9A](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LAKAUNOmu9A).

* 1. **- he and Suriya only met** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, เปิดใจ “ธนาธร

” ความสัมพันธ์ตระกูล “จืงรงเรองกิจ” [Thanathorn opening up about the relationship of the Juangroongruangkit family], 10 October 2018, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XblzE4Kvo2M) [watch?v=XblzE4Kvo2M](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XblzE4Kvo2M).

**p.18 - it saddened him** จาก ธนาธร ถึง สุรยะ จึงรงเรองกิจ “เสียดายที่คุณอาไม่ได้ยืนอยู่ฝ่ งประชาธิปไตย ” [From Thanathorn to Suriya: I am disappointed that my uncle does not side with democracy], *Khaosod Online*, 13 December 2018, [https://www.khaosod.co.th/](https://www.khaosod.co.th/politics/news_1949984) [politics/news\_1949984](https://www.khaosod.co.th/politics/news_1949984).

* 1. **- When I got home, we had a big fight** Jenwit Chueasawathee, ปักธงอนาคต [The future is ours], 2nd edn, Bangkok: Matichon, 2018, p. 54.

**p.19 - When Thanathorn told his father** Jenwit, ปักธงอนาคต [The future is ours], pp. 68–69.

**p.19 - UDD** Known in Thai as the แนวรวมประชาธิปไตยต่อต้านเผด็จการแห่งชาติ, abbreviated to นปช.

**p.19 - Abhisit Vejjajiva government** The Abhisit administration lacked electoral legitimacy, since the Democrats had lost the 2007 election, before gaining power a year later through backroom machinations and political defections.

**p.19 - many of them migrant workers** On the composition of the demonstrations, see Naruemon Thabchumpon and Duncan McCargo, ‘Urbanized villagers in the 2010 Thai redshirt protests: not just poor farmers?*’*, *Asian Survey,* 51, 6, 2011: 993– 1018.

**p.19 - one of the darkest episodes** For more on the 2010 red-shirt protests, see Michael J. Montesano, [Pavin Chachavalpongpun](https://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg/publication-search) and [Aekapol Chongvilaivan](https://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg/publication-search) (eds), *Bangkok, May 2010: Perspectives on a Divided Thailand,* Singapore: ISEAS, 2012.

**p.19 - billionaire serf** *phrai muen lan*, literally the ‘commoner worth 10 billion’.

* 1. **- a tagline he enthusiastically embraced** Jenwit, ปักธงอนาคต [The future is ours], p. 197.
	2. **- Thanathorn was so distraught** Jenwit, ปักธงอนาคต [The future is ours], p. 197.

**p.20 - PIC** Worapoj Phanphong, *Portrait* ธนาธร, Bangkok: Banglumpoo, 2018,

p. 46. On the PIC, see Duncan McCargo and Naruemon Thabchumpon, ‘Wreck/ Conciliation: the politics of truth commissions in Thailand’, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 14, 3, 2014: 385–90.

**p.20 - the Thai Pao Boon Jin** Pao Boon Jin is a Chinese god of justice who featured in a popular TV series. Clearly, Somporn had a very favourable view of Xi Jinping.

“สมพร-รวพรรณ” ชู “ธนาธร” สีจินผิง เมืองไทย ห่วง “กระทบผู้ ใหญ่ เราก็ตาย” [Somporn-Rawipan

acclaimed Thanathorn as Thailand’s Xi Jinping. Worried clashing with those in power, we will die], *Prachachat*, 2 June 2018, [https://www.prachachat.net/politics/](https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-168175) [news-168175](https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-168175).

* 1. **- Somporn became one of his most ardent supporters** Jenwit, ปักธงอนาคต [The future is ours], p. 208.
	2. **- Thanathorn appeared in numerous YouTube shows** See, for example, this show in which he is interviewed by popular entertainers: Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, The Driver EP. 62- คุณเอก ธนาธร [The Driver EP. 62 – Ask Thanathorn], *The Driver*, 22 August 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=Uue6xPwwFzs](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uue6xPwwFzs).

**p.21 - Sista Café** Thanathorn Juangroongruankit, ธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ, Sista Hot Guy 20 คําถามกับ ธนาธรจึงรงเรองกิจ แบบที่ไม่เคยมีใครถาม ไม่มี ใครรมาก่อน [20 questions with Thanathorn Juangroongruankit like never asked, never known before], 15 March 2019, *Sista Café,* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GnGXK28uwrU>.

**p.21 - addressed to ‘Daddy’ from ‘Fah’** This related to the hashtag ‘Fah loves Daddy’, which went viral during the 2019 election campaign. For the interview, see แฉ – “ธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ” ชีวตแบบผู้ชายออแกนิค [Revealing Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit

– life of an organic man], 8 March 2019, GMM25Thailand, [https://www.youtube. com/watch?v=i9L9Y9SHFHU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i9L9Y9SHFHU).

**p.21 - he answers questions posed by teenagers** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, ธนาธร x รวี วเชียงใหม่ ep. 2 ถามได้ ตอบได้ [Thanathorn x Review Chiangmai ep.2 ask and answer], *Review Chiang Mai*, 22 March 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=waM3jg0Xu1M](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=waM3jg0Xu1M).

**p.21 - his life as a teenager** ARE YOU UP EP.10 ชีวตวยรนของ ธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ

[Teenage lifestyle of Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit], 4 August 2019, *The Standard,* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TBeHiJxp_cY>.

* 1. **- Thaksin marketed his party** Duncan McCargo and Ukrist Pathmanand, *The Thaksinization of Thailand*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2005, pp. 168–72.
	2. **- Fa Diao Kan publishes** For example, the January 2020 issue was provocatively entitled รฐสมบูรณาญาสิทธิราชย์ [The absolute monarchy state], ฟ้ าเดียวกัน 18/1. Originally published quarterly, *Fa Diao Kan* now appears twice a year.

**p.22 - a thorn in the side** *Fa Diao Kan* was in legal trouble in 2006 when it issued a video CD criticising the incumbent Thaksin government over its mishandling of

the Southern conflicts, notably the Tak Bai massacre. See เจาะใจ “บก. ฟ้ าเดียวกัน” เบือง หน้าและเบืองหลัง “หนังสือต้องห้าม 5 รฐบาล” [Deep talk: *Fa Diao Kan*’s editor reponsible for banned volumes during five governments], *Matichon*, 7 October 2010, [https://www.](https://www.happyreading.in.th/article/detail.php?id=771) [happyreading.in.th/article/detail.php?id=771](https://www.happyreading.in.th/article/detail.php?id=771).

**p.22 - The journal’s original website was closed down** ‘*Fah Diew Kan* website shut down’, *Prachatai*, 5 January 2008, <https://prachatai.com/english/node/464>. After the closure of [www.sameskybooks.org](http://www.sameskybooks.org/), *Fa Diao Kan* set up a new website, [www.sameskybooks.net](http://www.sameskybooks.net/) and a Facebook page as an online bookstore.

* 1. **- named in an organogram** For a detailed discussion of the *lom jao* diagram, see Duncan McCargo, *Fighting for Virtue: Justice and Politics in Thailand*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2019, pp. 108–13.
	2. **- Panthongtae Shinawatra asked** Their high school connection was also

shown on the anti-monarchy organogram. หรอจะย้ายพรรค?! ‘โอ๊ค’ โผล่อ้อน ‘ธนาธร ขอใบสมัคร พรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Switching party? Oak messages Thanathorn asking for an application form for Future Forward], *Khaosod Online*, 4 May 2018, [https://www.khaosod.co.th/](https://www.khaosod.co.th/special-stories/news_1044867) [special-stories/news\_1044867](https://www.khaosod.co.th/special-stories/news_1044867).

**p.23 - a supposed phone call** For the relevant YouTube clips and commentary,

see Asaree Thaitrakulpanich, ‘Nation TV airs obviously faked “secret” Thaksin- Thanathorn recording’, *Khaosod English*, 20 March 2019, [http://www.](http://www.khaosodenglish.com/culture/net/2019/03/20/nation-tv-airs-obviously-faked-secret-thaksin-thanathorn-recording/) [khaosodenglish.com/culture/net/2019/03/20/nation-tv-airs-obviously-faked-secret-](http://www.khaosodenglish.com/culture/net/2019/03/20/nation-tv-airs-obviously-faked-secret-thaksin-thanathorn-recording/) [thaksin-thanathorn-recording/](http://www.khaosodenglish.com/culture/net/2019/03/20/nation-tv-airs-obviously-faked-secret-thaksin-thanathorn-recording/).

* 1. **- Kanok Ratwongsakul took to the airwaves** See “กนก” สวน “ธนาธร” ไม่ได้ เอ่ยช่ือใคร แต่ “ธนาธร” ต่อว่า “เนช่ัน” เสียหายอย่างมาก [Kanok: concerning Thanathorn, we did not name anyone but Thanathorn berated Nation for damaging

him], NationTV22, 20 March 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\_](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=lLflm4aj5hI&feature=emb_title) [continue=1&v=lLflm4aj5hI&feature=emb\_title](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=lLflm4aj5hI&feature=emb_title).

* 1. **- he had only met Thaksin once** Shawn Crispin, ‘Thanathorn speaks inconvenient truths in Thailand’, *Asia Times,* 15 November 2019, [https://asiatimes. com/2019/11/thanathorn-speaks-inconvenient-truths-in-thailand/](https://asiatimes.com/2019/11/thanathorn-speaks-inconvenient-truths-in-thailand/).

**p.24 - Thanathorn could not afford to alienate Thaksin** Worapot, *Portrait* ธนาธร, pp. 217–19.

**p.24 - I am afraid that they will be affected** Worapot, *Portrait* ธนาธร, pp. 186–87.

* 1. **- I don’t have any strong people** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.
	2. **- Piyabutr is there** Mutita Chuachang, ‘The challenger’, *Mekong Review*, November 2019: 9–10.

**p.25 - a prominent member of Nitirat** For a discussion, see Duncan McCargo and Peeradej Tanruangporn, ‘Branding dissent: Nitirat, Thailand’s enlightened jurists’, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 34, 3, 2015: 419–42.

**p.25 - Piyabutr came from** Born 1979.

**p.25 - His parents sent all four** เก่งมาจากไหน สปอตไลตส่อง “ปิ ยบุตร แสงกนกกุล” บ้านไม่รวย ได

ทุนจบนอก [Where is the clever one from? Spotlight on Piyabutr Sangkanokkul. Not rich family. Scholarship graduate from abroad], *Thai Rath*, 29 March 2019, [https://](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1532613) [www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1532613](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1532613).

* 1. **- Piyabutr was hardly a radical** Kwanchai Dumrongkwan, ฉากชีวตขนาดยาว

กับความฝนนอกหมวกนักวชาการ ของ ปิ ยบุตร แสงกนกกุล [Piyabutr Saengkanokkul’s lasting

dreams beyond academia], *The Matter*, 8 May 2019, [https://thematter.co/social/long-](https://thematter.co/social/long-interview-with-piyabutr/76766) [interview-with-piyabutr/76766](https://thematter.co/social/long-interview-with-piyabutr/76766).

* 1. **- Right after graduating** See Piyabutr Saengkanokkul CV, [https://independent. academia.edu/PiyabutrSaengkanokkul](https://independent.academia.edu/PiyabutrSaengkanokkul).

**p.26 - Piyabutr published four books** Piyabutr’s books were: พระราชอํานาจ องคมนตรี และผู้มีบารมีนอกรฐธรรมนูญ [Royal powers, the Privy Council, and extraconstitutional charismatic persons]*,* Bangkok: Openbooks, 2007; ในพระปรมาภิไธย ประชาธิปไตย และตุลาการ [In the name of the King: democracy and the judiciary], Bangkok:

Openbooks, 2009; ราชมัลลงทัณฑ์ บัลลังก์ปฏิรป บทอภิปรายวาด้วยรฐธรรมนูญ สถาบันกษัตรย์ ตุลาการ

และกองทัพ [Royal punisher, palace reform: analysis of the constitution, monarchy, judiciary, and army], Bangkok: Shine Publishing House, 2014; and ศาลรฐประหาร [Coup Court], Bangkok: Fa Diao Kan, 2017.

**p.26 - Piyabutr was more of an activist** ปิ ยบุตรในโลก 2 ใบ ส.ส และชีวตคู่ ‘I have two

loves’ [Piyabutr in two worlds, as MP and in his married life; ‘I have two loves’],

*Prachachat Thurakit*, 18 May 2019, [https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-](https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-328414)

[328414](https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-328414).

**p.26 - his private Facebook page** <https://www.facebook.com/piyabutr2475>.

**p.26 - his academia.edu page** [https://independent.academia.edu/ PiyabutrSaengkanokkul](https://independent.academia.edu/PiyabutrSaengkanokkul).

**p.26 - Piyabutr rose to public prominence** See McCargo and Peeradej, ‘Branding dissent’, pp. 426–30.

* 1. **- Pridi Banomyong** See Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit (trans and

eds), *Pridi on Pridi: Selected Writing on Life, Politics and Economy,* Chiang Mai: Silkworm 2000.

* 1. **- This idea of public work** Interview with Phuttipong Ponganekgul, Nitirat associate member and secretary, 23 June 2013; Piyabutr interview, 14 December 2012.
	2. **- Many conservative royalists agreed** McCargo and Peeradej, ‘Branding dissent’*,* pp. 428, 437.
	3. **- expressing critical views** See, for example, Piyabutr Saengkanokkul and Eugénie Mérieau, ‘Thailand’s deeper state of crisis?’, SOAS Rule of Law in Thailand Seminar Series, 10 June 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V_3nC1d75sE>; Piyabutr

Saengkanokkul and Eugénie Mérieau, สนทนาวชาการ: “ระบอบประชาธิปไตยอันมีพระมหากษัตรย

เป็ นประมุข” กับ Constitutional Monarchy, 18 November 2016, [https://www.youtube.](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XYE1g6wlPk0)

[com/watch?v=XYE1g6wlPk0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XYE1g6wlPk0); สด! จาก ปารส

ปวน

ปิ ยบุตร สมศักด,

19 September 2016,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZT-kWXvk0X4>.

**p.28 - Piyabutr’s outspoken profile** Piyabutr Saengkanokkul, ปิ ยบุตร แสงกนกกุล

เปิ ดแนวคิดพรรคทางเลือกใหม่ [Piyabutr Saengkanokkul showcases the outline of the new political party], 6 March 2018, BBC News ไทย[, https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l4UGPZTlNwE) [watch?v=l4UGPZTlNw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l4UGPZTlNwE)E .

* 1. **- obliged to distance himself** ลอกคราบ “ปิ ยบุตร” ขุดเรือง “ปี กซ้าย” [Unmasking Piyabutr, digging up the left wing], *Kom Chad Luek*, 12 April 2019, [https://www. komchadluek.net/news/scoop/36863](https://www.komchadluek.net/news/scoop/368638)8
	2. **- a 2017 Facebook post** Piyabutr Saengkanokkul Facebook post, 5 August 2017 (since deleted, capture saved by authors).

**p.29 - became a political issue** Piyabutr Saengkanokkul, ตอน ถอดถอน “ปิ ยบุตร” วบาก กรรม อนาคตใหม่ [Demoting Piyabutr: misfortune of Future Forward]*,* 3 April 2019, ต่าง คนต่างความคิด*,* [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jYFxYEfo71Q&t=823](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jYFxYEfo71Q&t=823s)s .

**p.29 - Piyabutr opens up** Piyabutr Saengkanokkul, เปิ ดใจ ‘ปิ ยบุตร’ พูดเรอ่ งรกชาติ ภรรยา และลิเวอรพูล [Piyabutr opens up about loving the country, his wife and Liverpool], *Workpoint News,* 22 May 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TKiNFmrAcmk>.

**p.29 - more interested in his appearance** แฉ - เปิ ดตวตนความเป็ น “อ. ป๊ อก ปิ ยบตร” เลขาธิการ พรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Chae – Get to know Professor Pok Piyabutr Future Forward’s secretary-general], GMM25Thailand, 28 August 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DT6VE3dtxhd8&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7C54e0d868caaa4c298def08d80f929fc1%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637276469708217694&sdata=wo8w%2FkQ0imqPnoDZ69Kz1TqlInq68HJc6Ik%2BH02yvi4%3D&reserved=0) [watch?v=T6VE3dtxhd8](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DT6VE3dtxhd8&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7C54e0d868caaa4c298def08d80f929fc1%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637276469708217694&sdata=wo8w%2FkQ0imqPnoDZ69Kz1TqlInq68HJc6Ik%2BH02yvi4%3D&reserved=0).

* 1. **- a romantic figure** Piyabutr Saengkanokkul, เปิ ดใจ ‘ปิ ยบุตร’ พูดเรอ่ งรกชาติ ภรรยา

และลิเวอรพูล [Piyabutr opens up about loving the country, his wife and Liverpool],

*Workpoint News,* 22 May 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TKiNFmrAcmk>.

* 1. **- État de Droit** For a sample entry, see Piyabutr Saengkanokkul, *État de Droit*, 14 February 2009, <http://etatdedroit.blogspot.com/2009/02/blog-post_14.html>.

**p.30 - An interviewer … called him ‘oppa’** Piyabutr Saengkanokkul, แต่งงานกับปิ ย บุตร (ไหม)? [Marriage with Piyabutr?], *Divas Café*, 27 February 2013, [https://www. youtube.com/watch?v=nvOZnWI3Q-8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvOZnWI3Q-8).

* 1. **- Piyabutr’s story had something for everyone** Duncan interview with Piyabutr, 14 December 2012.
	2. **- something Piyabutr denied** Duncan interview with Piyabutr, 14 December 2012.
	3. **- Please tell that to Professor Piyabutr** Duncan interview with Thanathorn and Pannika, 23 August 2019.
	4. **- Piyabutr was left with a substantial bill** แฉ – เปิ ดตวตนความเป็ น “อ. ป๊ อก ปิ ยบุตร” เลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Chae – Get to know Professor Pok Piyabutr Future Forward’s general secretary], GMM25Thailand, 28 August 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=T6VE3dtxhd8](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DT6VE3dtxhd8&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7C54e0d868caaa4c298def08d80f929fc1%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637276469708217694&sdata=wo8w%2FkQ0imqPnoDZ69Kz1TqlInq68HJc6Ik%2BH02yvi4%3D&reserved=0).

**p.32 - This is for life** Duncan conversation with Piyabutr, 30 October 2018.

**p.32 - Pannika Wanich … background** Born 1988.

* 1. **- Before joining Future Forward** Pannika Wanich: Spokeperson, [https:// en.futureforwardparty.org/person/pannika-wanich](https://en.futureforwardparty.org/person/pannika-wanich).
	2. **- Piyabutr invited Pannika to join them** แฉ - สถานีต่อไป “ถ้าพรรค อนาคตใหม่ ถูกยุบ!!” [Chae – Next station: in case the Future Forward Party is

dissolved!!], GMM25Thailand, 28 January 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9rER6whk7ec) [watch?v=9rER6whk7ec](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9rER6whk7ec).

**p.33 - According to Pannika** ปูมหลัง “พรรณิการ” ลูกสาวผู้บรหาร ปากจัด ส่องหนุ่มข้างกาย ผู้ชาย

ที่ช่อเลือก [Background Pannika: the outspoken daughter of an executive. Sneak peek of the man that Cho chooses], *Thairath Online*, 11 June 2019, [https://www.thairath.](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1589296) [co.th/news/politic/1589296](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1589296).

**p.33 - she had no plans to resume her journalist career** แฉ – สถานีต่อไป “ถ้า พรรคอนาคตใหม่ ถูกยุบ!!” [Chae – Next station: in case the Future Forward Party is dissolved!!], GMM25Thailand, 28 January 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=9rER6whk7ec](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9rER6whk7ec).

* 1. **- she prioritised televised debates** Tonight Thailand – “พรรณิการ์ วานิช” เล่าเรอื ง พรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Pannika Wanich – talking about the Future Forward Party], Voice TV, 14 April 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cuzMeU8uZ4Y&t=1228s>.
	2. **- Thais … sceptical of women** ‘Women poorly represented as lawmakers’, *Bangkok Post*, 7 November 2018, [https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/ politics/1571138/women-poorly-represented-as-lawmakers](https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1571138/women-poorly-represented-as-lawmakers) ; see event description, https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/news-and-events/events/2018/11/women-in- politics#view.

**p.34 - Thai women … reluctant to enter politics** เพราะไม่เป็ นประชาธิปไตย หญิงไทยจึงถูก

ปิ ดกันทางการเมือง [Through lack of democracy, Thai women are blocked from politics],

Voice TV, 7 November 2018, <http://www.voicetv.co.th/read/r1bFSweTm>.

**p.34 - post-election cabinet** See new cabinet list at Royal Gazette, 10 July 2019, <http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/E/176/T_0001.PDF> The only women in the 35- member line-up were two deputy ministers of education.

**p.34 - When she first entered politics** “ช่อ-พรรณิการ”เช่ือรฐบาลชุดใหม่เจองานหิน [Cho-

Pannika believes the new government faces tough jobs], VOA Thai, 18 July 2019, <https://www.voathai.com/a/pannika-interview-07172019/5004722.html>.

**p.34 - Vicious Thai hashtags** The hashtags were #ช่อคางทูม (mumps/swelling chin),

and #คอสัน้ (short neck).

* 1. **- her physical appearance** จัดเต็ม! รวมมิตรกระแสดกตบ “ช่อ” [In full! Compilation of trends in going to slap Cho], Nation TV, 8 July 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=Ced4zzVksZ0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ced4zzVksZ0).

**p.34 - Chaitawat Tulathon** คนตามข่าว : ชัยธวช ตุลาธน ขยับน่ังแถวหน้า-เลขาฯก้าวไกล [Person

in the news: Chaitawat Tulathon moved to the front row – secretary-general Kao Klai], *Matichon*, 12 March 2020, [https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/เรียงคน-ภาพข่าว](https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/%C3%A0%C2%B9%E2%82%AC%C3%A0%C2%B8%C2%A3%C3%A0%C2%B8%C2%B5%C3%A0%C2%B8%C2%A2%C3%A0%C2%B8%E2%80%A1%C3%A0%C2%B8) [สังคม/news\_2043931](https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/%C3%A0%C2%B9%E2%82%AC%C3%A0%C2%B8%C2%A3%C3%A0%C2%B8%C2%B5%C3%A0%C2%B8%C2%A2%C3%A0%C2%B8%E2%80%A1%C3%A0%C2%B8).

**p.35 - They both founded** เปิดตวั ! 3 ชนชันสูง ต๋อม-เอก-ตง ผู้รวมก่อตง้ พรรคอนาคตใหม่

[Introducing! 3 elites Tom-Ake-Ting co-founders of the Future Forward Party],

กรงเทพธุรกิจ, *Bangkokbiz News,* 29 October 2019, [https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/](https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/852546) [news/detail/852546](https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/852546).

**p.35 - low media profiles** เจาะเบืองหลังปฏิบัติการสราง “อนาคตใหม่” กับ ชัยธวช ตุลาธน รอง

เลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่่ [Behind the operation building up Future Forward with Chaitawat Tulathon, Future Forward’s deputy secretary-general], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, [https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-interview/](https://www.the101.world/chaithawat-tulathon-interview/).

* 1. **- she sometimes dressed in ethnic attire** “ช่อ พรรณิการ”นําแต่งธีม “กาสะลอง

” ประชุมสภา [Cho Pannika leads the dress code theme ‘Gasalong’ in to the House of Representatives meeting], *TNN* ข่าวคา่ำ , 4 July 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DUfODNvZNCI) [watch?v=DUfODNvZNCI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DUfODNvZNCI).

* 1. **- Pannika’s role became increasingly prominent** เจาะเบืองหลังปฏิบัติการสราง “

อนาคตใหม่” กับ ชัยธวช ตุลาธน รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind the operation building

up Future Forward with Chaitawat Tulathon, Future Forward’s deputy secretary- general], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, [https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-](https://www.the101.world/chaithawat-tulathon-interview/) [tulathon-interview/](https://www.the101.world/chaithawat-tulathon-interview/).

**p.36 - She made the headlines at least once a week** Based on a search for Pannika’s name on the online news site: พรรณิการ์ วานิช [Pannika Wanich], *The Standard*, 16 March 2020, https://thestandard.co/tag/พรรณิการ์-วานิช/.

**p.36 - She criticised the Election Commission** แฉ [1/4] 26 มีนาคม 2562 ดรามาเลือก

ตง 62 กระแสรอนทั่วไทม์ ไลน์ [#กกต](https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=%23%E0%B8%81%E0%B8%81%E0%B8%95).โป๊ ะแตก [Chae [1/4], 26 March 2019 Drama of election

2019, Hot trends across timeline #ECT exposed], GMM25Thailand, 27 March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cKHV2Ccw2yM>.

* 1. **- constitution needed to be rewritten** ‘Future Forward spokeswoman’s remarks about charter draw flak’, Thai PBS World, 16 September 2019, [https://](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/future-forward-spokeswomans-remarks-about-charter-draw-flak/)

[www.thaipbsworld.com/future-forward-spokeswomans-remarks-about-charter-draw-](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/future-forward-spokeswomans-remarks-about-charter-draw-flak/) [flak/](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/future-forward-spokeswomans-remarks-about-charter-draw-flak/). The Thai word Pannika used in that context was เฮงซวย, a vulgar word that

could be translated as ‘bastard’.

**p.37 - an improper mourning outfit** See “ช่อ-หมอพรทิพย์”เปิ ดววาทะชุดไวทุกข์วนอภิปราย โหวตนายกฯ ลามไปถึงหัวม่วงวนเปิ ดรฐสภา [Cho-Dr Pornthip – issue of mourning dress during vote for prime minister, spreads to the purple-headed one on the day parliament opened], *Matichon,* 5 June 2019, [https://www.matichonweekly.com/hot-news/](https://www.matichonweekly.com/hot-news/article_199663) [article\_199663](https://www.matichonweekly.com/hot-news/article_199663).

**p.37 - Pannika’s Facebook posts … went viral** บล็อกไปแต่ยังเห็น! รวมโพสต์ ช่อรกา ทัศนคติ การเมืองที่ก้าวราวหมิ่นเหม่กระทบสถาบัน [Blocked but still seen! Compilation of Chorika and her aggressive political views against the monarchy], *Thai Post*, 11 June 2019, <https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/38239>.

* 1. **- This picture should not have a description** ภาพนี้ไม่ควรมีคําบรรยาย.

**p.37 - Birthday … So What?** วนเกิด…แล้วไง???

**p.37 - inappropriate politicisation of the monarchy** “ช่อ อนาคตใหม่” อ้างรปถ่ายกับ พระบรมฉายาลักษณ์ประชดล่าแม่มด ขออย่านําสถาบันทําลายกัน [Cho Future Forward claims the photo with the King’s portrait meant ironically concerning the witch-hunt and calls for a halt to using the institution to destroy one another], *Phujatkan Online*, 9 June 2019, <https://mgronline.com/politics/detail/9620000054783>.

**p.37 - Pareena Kraikupt** Pareena was born in 1976. See ทวี ไกรคุปต์ กับการอยู่เป็ นในส่ี ทศวรรษทางการเมืองไทย [Tawee Kraikupt and his survival in the four decades in Thai politics], *The Matter*, 4 December 2019, [https://thematter.co/thinkers/thawee- kraikupt/92880](https://thematter.co/thinkers/thawee-kraikupt/92880).

**p.37 - Pareena was crowned Miss Congeniality** “ปารณา ไกรคุปต์” จากนางงามสู่เวทีการเมือง [Pareena Kraikupt from a beauty pageant to a political stage], Nation TV, 29 May 2019, <https://www.nationtv.tv/main/content/378714467/>.

* 1. **- she live-streamed on her personal Facebook account** เดือด “ปารณา” vs “พร

รณิการ”

โต้ ไลฟ์ สดด่า ลั่นสภามีอีช่อหลายคน “กรรชัย” ถามแถมัย

[Heated Pareena vs Pannika

argument live-streamed. Insisting there are many ‘E-Cho’ in parliament Kanchai is evasive], *Matichon*, 29 May 2019, [https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/](https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/news_1515573) [news\_1515573](https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/news_1515573).

**p.38 - E-Cho** อีช่อ.

* 1. **- Trap Slap E-Cho** In Thai, #ดกตบอีช่อ. See Pareena Kraikupt, ปารณา แจงปมไลฟ์ ด่า “อีช่อ” [Pareena explains insulting ‘E-Cho’], *Thai Rath Online*, 29 May 2019, [https:// www.youtube.com/watch?v=NJthn-0QFDo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NJthn-0QFDo).

**p.38 - Pannika took control of the agenda** Pannika Wanich, เปิดใจ “ช่อ พรรณิการ” หญิง

แกรงในรฐสภา การเดินทางความคิดทางการเมือง [Pannika Wanich, strong woman in parliament, the journey of political ideas], Matichon TV, 5 July 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a6hCv64vrk8) [watch?v=a6hCv64vrk8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a6hCv64vrk8).

**p.38 - Pannika refused to engage in** Pannika Wanich, แฉ – ช่อโลกสวย! รับ “อีช่อ”

เป็ นภาษาถิ่นราชบุรี [Chae – Cho turns blind eye! Claims ‘E Cho’ is colloquial slang for Ratchaburi], GMM25Thailand, 31 May 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x8E8046EgTg) [watch?v=x8E8046EgTg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x8E8046EgTg).

**p.38 - solo non-parliamentary, no-confidence debate** ‘Future Forward to hold no- confidence debate against govt on Sunday’, *The Nation Thailand*, 22 February 2020,

<https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30382628>.

* 1. **- beautiful woman** In Thai, คนสวย, literally ‘beautiful person’. It is very common for older Thai men to address women in this seemingly flattering but

patronising language. See เรอื งวนๆ ของ «คนสวย» ระหวาง ช่อ พรรณิการ-์ บิ๊กต-ู่ ปารณา [Messy

story of ‘beautiful person’ between “Cho Pannika-Big Tu-Pareena”], Matichon TV, 25 July 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HyMQ77P33iA>.

* 1. **- she was plain-spoken and career-driven** It’s ME: คุณช่อ พรรณิการ์ วานิช โฆษกพรรคอนาคตใหม่ อดีตส่ือมวลชนที่มีความมั่นใจเต็มเป่ี ยม [It’s ME: khun Cho Pannika Wanich the Future Forward Party’s spokesperson former journalist who had full self-confidence], Maeban TV, 23 March 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=3cNq\_KK\_plM&t=641s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3cNq_KK_plM&t=641s).

**p.39 - Her ideal man** ปูมหลัง “พรรณิการ” ลูกสาวผู้บรหาร ปากจัด ส่องหนุ่มข้างกาย ผู้ชายที่ช่อเลือก

[Background Pannika: the outspoken daughter of an executive. Sneak peek of the man that Cho chooses], *Thai Rath Online*, 11 June 2019, [https://www.thairath.co.th/](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1589296) [news/politic/1589296](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1589296).

* 1. **- Pannika declared … in assets** See Pannika’s handwritten assets report at ‘

ช่อ พรรณิการ์ ‘ เอาเงินมาจากไหน บรจาคให้พรรค 1 ล้าน [Cho Pannika gets money from where to donate to the party 1 million], Isranews Agency, 25 October 2019, [https://www.](https://www.isranews.org/isranews-scoop/81864-scoop-81864.html) [isranews.org/isranews-scoop/81864-scoop-81864.html](https://www.isranews.org/isranews-scoop/81864-scoop-81864.html).

**p.40 - Pannika’s donation** เปิ ดทรพย์สิน “ช่อ” แห่ง “อนาคตใหม่” ปปง.ควรสืบเงิน 1 ล้านได้มา ด้วยวธีการใด [Revealing assets of Cho from Future Forward: Anti-Money Laundering Office should investigate where the 1 million baht came from], Nation TV, 29 October 2019, <https://www.nationtv.tv/main/content/378748619/>.

**p.40 - the donation was her own personal money** ช่อ พรรณิการ์ ยอมรบบรจาคเงินส่วน

ตวให้พรรคอนาคตใหม่ 1 ล้านบาท [Cho Pannika admitted donating 1 million baht of her personal money to the Future Forward Party], *Workpoint News*, 25 October 2019, <https://workpointnews.com/2019/10/25/punnika/>.

**p.40 - failed attempts to slander Pannika** ใคร จงใจเปิ ดโปง “ช่อ – ธนาธร” แอบคบชู้ สรางเรอื ง โจมตีการเมือง [Who intends to expose Cho – Thanathorn as having an affair, making story for political attack], *Thai Rath Online*, 9 July 2019, [https://www.thairath.co.th/](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1611071) [news/politic/1611071](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1611071).

* 1. **- she could rise above many of the accusations** แฉ – สถานีต่อไป “ถ้าพรรค อนาคตใหม่ ถูกยุบ!!” [Chae – Next station: in case the Future Forward Party is dissolved!!], GMM25Thailand, 28 January 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=9rER6whk7ec](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9rER6whk7ec).
	2. **- Pita Limjaroenrat was appointed** ‘Pita takes the reins of Move Forward Party, the second chapter of Future Forward’, *The Nation Thailand*, 14 March 2020, <https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30384102>.

**p.41 - Sirikanya Tansakun** Sirikanya Tansakul, เบืองหลังนโยบายอนาคตใหม่: ศิริ

กัญญา ตนสกุล Future Forward [Behind the policies of Future Forward: Sirikanya Tansakul], *Future Forward,* 15 February 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wCzFhlrzs8E) [watch?v=wCzFhlrzs8E](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wCzFhlrzs8E).

**p.41 - preferring to work behind the scenes** Khasod Online, ผู้แทนเกรดเอ! ส.ส

. ไหม ศิรกัญญา ประเด็นชัด ข้อมูลแน่น [Grade A representative: MP Mai Sirikanya, clear

points, robust data], *Khaosod*, 6 June 2019, [https://www.khaosod.co.th/beauty/](https://www.khaosod.co.th/beauty/news_3041170) [news\_3041170](https://www.khaosod.co.th/beauty/news_3041170).

**p.41 - Her style of debating and presentation** Sirikanya Tansakul, เปิ ดมุมมุ้งมิง ส.ส.ไหม

ศิรกัญญา แม่ทัพเศรษฐกิจอนาคตใหม่:Khaosod TV [Cute aspects of MP Mai Sirikanya, economic commander of Future Forward], *Khaosod,* 30 October 2019, [https://www.](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lbsLw2USdxY) [youtube.com/watch?v=lbsLw2USdxY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lbsLw2USdxY).

* 1. **- her ability to make complex issues easier to understand** Sirkanya Tansakul,

ถาม-ตอบ “ศิรกัญญา” เบืองหลัง “อนาคตใหม่” เปิ ดศึกงบประมาณจน “บิ๊กต” น่ัง ไม่ติด? [Ask and answer

with Sikiranya behind Future Forward’s war on government budget], Matichon TV, 29 October 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kVbGwsIu2eM>.

* 1. **- Pita Limjaroenrat’s life story** Pita was born in 1980.

**p.42 - Pita’s uncle** “พิธา ลิมเจรญรตน์” หลาน “คนผมขาว” คนใกล้ชิด ทักษิณ วาที่ รมต.เกษตรฯ ใน ฝนของพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Pita Limjaroenrat, nephew of ‘the white-haired man’ a close aide to Thaksin, prospective minister of agriculture and cooperatives in the Future Forward Party’s dreams], *Manager Online*, 9 January 2019, [https://mgronline.com/](https://mgronline.com/onlinesection/detail/9620000002970) [onlinesection/detail/9620000002970](https://mgronline.com/onlinesection/detail/9620000002970).

**p.42 - Pita developed an interest in commercial agriculture** ทม พธิ า รอแคว่ นเกมเปลย่ น

[Tim Pita just waits for the day the game changes], *KomChadLuek*, 3 August 2019, [https://www.komchadluek.net/news/people/38191](https://www.komchadluek.net/news/people/381913)3

**p.42 - Pita graduated** He gained an MA in Public Policy from Harvard’s Kennedy School, and an MBA from MIT. Information from Pita Limjaroenrat’s official Facebook page in the ‘About Pita Limjaroenrat’ section, [https://www.facebook.com/ pg/timpitaofficial/about/](https://www.facebook.com/pg/timpitaofficial/about/).

**p.42 - He worked for Boston Consulting Group** Anyarat interview with Pita Limjaroenrat, 13 June 2020.

* 1. **- Somkid Jatusripitak** Somkid held these two posts from 2005 to 2006. ทิม พิธา: กระดุม 5 เม็ดของอนาคตใหม่ กับปณิธานใหม่ขอเป็ น “พรรคที่เล่นการเมืองน้อยที่สุด” [Tim Pita: the 5 buttons of the Future Forward Party and the new resolution to be the party

that plays politics the least], BBC Thai, 2 January 2020, [https://www.bbc.com/thai/](https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-50970799) [thailand-50970799](https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-50970799).

**p.43 - Pita was ‘not naïve’ about politics** ทิม พิธา: กระดุม 5 เม็ดของอนาคตใหม่ กับปณิธาน ใหม่ขอเป็ น “พรรคที่เล่นการเมืองน้อยที่สุด” [Tim Pita: the 5 buttons of the Future Forward Party and the new resolution to be the party that plays political games the least], BBC Thai, 2 January 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-50970799>.

**p.43 - Pita was released** “พิธา ลิมเจรญรตน์” หลาน “คนผมขาว” คนใกล้ชิด ทักษิณ วาที่ รมต. เกษตรฯ ในฝนของพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Pita Limjaroenrat, a nephew of ‘the white-haired man’ a close aide to Thaksin, the proposed minister of agriculture and cooperatives in the

Future Forward Party’s dream], *Manager Online*. 9 January 2019, [https://mgronline.](https://mgronline.com/onlinesection/detail/9620000002970) [com/onlinesection/detail/9620000002970](https://mgronline.com/onlinesection/detail/9620000002970).

* 1. **- CEO Agrifood as a joint venture** The company had a 73:27 Thai: Japanese shareholding structure.
	2. **- crude rice-bran oil** ‘CEO Agrifood chief fulfils father’s rice bran oil vision’,

*The Nation*, 19 December 2011, <https://www.nationthailand.com/business/30172211>.

* 1. **- working for Grab** Issaree Chulakasem, ‘Grab Thailand announces Pita Limjaroenrat as its new country head public affairs’, 14 September 2017, *TechSauce,* [https://techsauce.co/news/grab-announces-pita-limjaroenrat-new-country-head- public-affairs](https://techsauce.co/news/grab-announces-pita-limjaroenrat-new-country-head-public-affairs).

**p.44 - he was interested in entering politics** พิธา ลิมเจรญรตน์ “ผมไม่ได้เตรยมตวมา เป็ นนักธุรกิจอย่างเดียว” [Pita Limjaroenrat: I did not prepare myself to be solely a

businessman], *The Momentum,* 18 March 2019, [https://themomentum.co/pitha-](https://themomentum.co/pitha-limchareonrat-interview/) [limchareonrat-interview/](https://themomentum.co/pitha-limchareonrat-interview/).

**p.44 - Pita decided to join** *Thai Rath Online*, ปูมหลัง “พิธา” คีย์แมนคนใหม่ ฮารวารดผสม

สําเพ็ง วยรนพันล้าน สุดยอดแก้หน้ี [Pita’s background, new keyman with a combination

of Harvard and Sampeng – teen billionaire with top skills in clearing debts ], 21 February 2019*,* <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1777188>.

**p.44 - Pita … was warmly received** Exclusive Online: คุยแน่น! นอกรอบ เปิ ดใจ “พิธา ลิม้ เจรญรตน์” [Exclusive Online: intense talk! Extra heart to heart ‘Pita Limjaroenrat’], *TNAMCOT*, 29 July 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vFfxyXrPyhk>.

**p.44 - his own family business had pioneered** Pita Limjaroenrat, เกษตรกรก้าวหน้า

[Pita Limjaroenrat: modern agriculture], Future Forward Party video, 22 December 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RMIEZ_nz8wE>.

**p.44 - He received praise from some unlikely quarters** ‘P-Move lauds Pita Limjaroenrat’s policy statement debate on Thai agricultural issues’, Thai PBS World, 27 July 2019, [https://www.thaipbsworld.com/p-move-lauds-pita-limjaroenrats- policy-statement-on-thai-agricultural-issues/](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/p-move-lauds-pita-limjaroenrats-policy-statement-on-thai-agricultural-issues/).

* 1. **- Pita’s upper class background** [https://twitter.com/tahsaikaimaew/ status/1155156985261596672](https://twitter.com/tahsaikaimaew/status/1155156985261596672).
	2. **- Younger Bangkokians … familiar with Pita** ‘Pita Limjaroenrat, successful life journal’, AP Thai, 4 July 2017, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=eC3irpSL5c4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eC3irpSL5c4).

**p.45 - his own love songs** ‘Pita Limjaroenrat, สายลม – ทิมพิธา’ [Wind – Tim Pita),

*MUNDAYMUSIC*, 16 Aug 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xfKehiOQf7U>.

**p.45 - Pita had a whirlwind romance** *Thai Rath Online*, ปูมหลัง พิธา คีย์แมนคนใหม่

ฮารวารดผสมสําเพ็ง วยรนพันล้าน สุดยอดแก้หน้ี [Pita’s background, new key man with a

combination of Harvard and Sampeng — teen billionaire with top skills in clearing debts], 21 February 2019*,* <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1777188>.

**p.45 - the court dismissed Chutima’s legal proceedings** *Thai Rath Online*, ตาย ชตมา

ยอมรบคาํ ตดสินหลงศาลยกฟ้ อง ทม พธิ า ทารายรางกาย [Tai Chutima accepts judgement after

court dismissed physical abuse charges against Tim Pita], 23 May 2019, [https://](https://www.thairath.co.th/entertain/news/1574295) [www.thairath.co.th/entertain/news/1574295](https://www.thairath.co.th/entertain/news/1574295).

**p.45 - Pita was not qualified to lead a progressive political party** See [James Wilson and Cod Satrusayang,](https://www.thaienquirer.com/author/cod-and-james/) ‘Thai progressives say that Pita Limjaroenrat must answer questions about his alleged history of domestic abuse’, *Thai Enquirer*, 27 April 2020, [https://www.thaienquirer.com/12305/thai-progressives-say-that-pita- limajaroenrat-must-answer-questions-about-his-history-of-domestic-abuse/](https://www.thaienquirer.com/12305/thai-progressives-say-that-pita-limajaroenrat-must-answer-questions-about-his-history-of-domestic-abuse/). For an example of critical social media coverage, see [https://twitter.com/\_LeaveM3alone/ status/1234423246063169543](https://twitter.com/_LeaveM3alone/status/1234423246063169543).

**p.47 - calling out Voldemort** [https://twitter.com/leg\_little/ status/1094954583288246272](https://twitter.com/leg_little/status/1094954583288246272).

**p.47 - Piyabutr more closely resembles Hermione** [https://twitter.com/ happyaliceee/status/1198953051975045121](https://twitter.com/happyaliceee/status/1198953051975045121).

**p.47 - Nobody can do it alone** Panis Phosriwungchai, “ใครๆ ก็เป็ น ส.ส. เหมือนผมได้»: คราฟตการเมืองกับ เท่าพิภพ ลิมจิตรกร [Anyone can be an MP like me: craft politics with Taopiphop Limjittrakorn], *The 101*, 7 November 2019, [https://www.the101.world/ taopiphop-limjittrakorn-interview/](https://www.the101.world/taopiphop-limjittrakorn-interview/).

# Chapter 2: Voters

**p.49 - Fah Rak Pho ka!** The use of the Thai particle *ka* by the male student suggests he is gay, another twist in the story.

**p.49 - The student tweets the eight-second clip immediately** [https://twitter. com/9sectothemoon/status/1094160817480642560](https://twitter.com/9sectothemoon/status/1094160817480642560).

**p.49 - Thanathorn … baffled** [https://twitter.com/Thanathorn\_FWP/ status/109420487364449075](https://twitter.com/Thanathorn_FWP/status/1094204873644490752)2 .

* 1. **- what ‘Fah Rak Pho’ meant** [https://twitter.com/suchabigfan/ status/1094206417492267011](https://twitter.com/suchabigfan/status/1094206417492267011). That said, ‘Pho’ here does not exactly mean ‘father’, but feels more like ‘sugar daddy’.
	2. **- Golden Orange Blossoms** *Golden Orange Blossoms*, first published in 1999, is a novel by Taitao Sujaritkul, which was turned into a sensationally popular soap opera screened on TV Channel 3 in 2011. Wittaya Wasukraipaisan, the actor who played Pho, is tall and good-looking, rather like Thanathorn.

**p.50 - her sugar daddy patron** See Penchan Phoborisut, ‘Striating the communication space: the junta’s legacy’, Thailand Update Conference 2019, Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 26 March 2019.

**p.50 - The hashtag #Fah Rak Pho started off** Contrary to popular belief, the hashtag #ฟ้ ารกพ่อ was already in use on Twitter in early December 2018, though not

specifically with reference to Thanathorn. For a discussion, see เปิ ดที่มา ปรากฏการณ์รอน

กับ #ฟ้ ารกพ่อ และ #พ่อก็รกฟ้ า กระแสแรงจากงานบอล [Revealing the hot issue: #Fah Rak Pho and #Pho Rak Fah, strong wave of interest from the football match], *Khaosod,* 10 February 2019, <https://www.khaosod.co.th/special-stories/news_2194134>.

**p.50 - the associations of the hashtag** Anyarat interview with five young Twitter micro-influencers, 1 May 2020.

**p.50 - he looked distinctly uncomfortable** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.

**p.50 - Bencha Saengchantra** Anyarat interview with Bencha Saengchantra, 26 May 2019.

**p.50 - t-shirts saying #Fah Rak Pho** Duncan conversation with Future Forward staff selling #ฟ้ ารกพ่อ t-shirts, Thammasat University, 17 March 2019.

**p.50 - Voter Profile 1** Anyarat interviews with ‘Maleewan’ in group online discussion with 5 Twitter users, 1 May 2020, one-on-one interview 1 June 2020.

**p.52 - Future Forward picked up 31 constituency seats** Future Forward only held 31 constituencies for a short time. They won 30 seats on 24 March 2019, gained another in a Chiang Mai by-election shortly afterwards, then promptly lost another in a second by-election in Nakhon Pathom.

**p.52 - Thaksin’s B-list** Joel Selway and Allen Hicken, ‘The fate of Pheu Thai in the 2019 elections’, *Thai Data Points,* 28 November 2019, [https://www.thaidatapoints. com/post/the-fate-of-pheu-thai-in-the-2019-elections](https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/the-fate-of-pheu-thai-in-the-2019-elections).

**p.52 - Thai Raksa Chart defined itself** Tonight Thailand - ณัฐวฒิ ใสยเกือ เปิ ดภารกิจ ไทย

รกษาชาติ [Tonight Thailand – Nattawut Saikua, Open the mission Thai Raksa Chart], Voice TV, 18 January 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RSW7CHj27Cc>.

**p.52 - Speakers at Thai Raksa Chart rallies** See, for example, speech

by Dr Arunee Kasayanond at Thai Raksa Chart rally, Bangkok, 3 March

2019, [https://www.facebook.com/TSNParty/videos/](https://www.facebook.com/TSNParty/videos/%E0%B8%81%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%A3%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%B7%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%87%E0%B8%81%E0%B8%B1%E0%B8%9A%E0%B8%84%E0%B8%99%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%B8%E0%B9%88%E0%B8%99%E0%B9%83%E0%B8%AB%E0%B8%A1%E0%B9%88/1007634719429777/?__so__=permalink&__rv__=related_videos) การเมืองกับคนรน

/1007634719429777/?so=permalink&rv=relatedvideos.

ใหม่

* 1. **- voters … drawn to Thai Raksa Chart** For the image and branding of Thai Raksa Chart, see the party’s Facebook’s page, <https://www.facebook.com/TSNParty/> which was created on 7 November 2018 and last posted content on 6 March 2019, one day before the Constitutional Court dissolved the party. The party’s website [www.tsn.or.th](http://www.tsn.or.th/) was later taken down.
	2. **- Seven of Future Forward’s seats** Future Forward won in the following constituencies: 22, 23, 24, 25, 27 and 28 (Thonburi), 3 (Yannawa), and 20 and 21 (Bang Na, Prawet).

**p.55 - Palang Pracharat secured** Palang Pracharat won one Thonburi seat (30), two in the East (15, 17), and ten more central districts (1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 19).

**p.55 - Pheu Thai mopped up** Pheu Thai won districts 5, 10, 11, 14, 16, 18, 26 and 29, five of which were on the outer edges of the Bangkok metropolis.

**p.57 - Future Forward was very much a national party** For a very useful discussion, see Allen Hicken and Joel Selway, ‘An in-depth analysis of Future Forward’s electoral success’, *Thai Data Points,* 11 April 2019, [https://www. thaidatapoints.com/post/an-in-depth-analysis-of-future-forward-s-electoral-success](https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/an-in-depth-analysis-of-future-forward-s-electoral-success).

**p.57 - Future Forward topped** For a comparative discussion of regional voting, see

เทียบผลเลือกตงั 54–62 แต่ละภาค คะแนนโหวตเปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างไร [Comparing election results

in each region, 2011–2019, how did they change?], *WorkPoint News*, 31 May 2019, available online at: <https://workpointnews.com/2019/05/31/news190531/>.

* 1. **- old leftists and new progressives** See Saowanee T. Alexander, ‘Isan: Double trouble’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 2, 2019, 187–88.
	2. **- opened to great fanfare** For details, see [https://www.facebook.com/ events/738745683200682/](https://www.facebook.com/events/738745683200682/).

**p.60 - established … by local party activists and MPs** See เปิ ดศูนย์ประสานงานพรรค อนาคตใหม่ฝ่ งธนฯ: ธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ [Opening the Future Forward Party centre on the Thonburi side: Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit] PITVFANPAGE, 10 November 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IbIgGpbh0X8>.

**p.60 - Petra Desatova** Petra Desatova, [‘Bangkok: two cities’,](https://thaipolitics.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/87/2020/01/Desatova_Bangkok-Two-Cities.pdf) *Contemporary*

*Southeast Asia* 41, 2, 2019: 176–82.

* 1. **- Future Forward … people who share the same dream** ชวนคนไทยทลายโครงสราง อยุติธรรมจาก ธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ อนาคตใหม่ [An invitation to Thai people to destroy structural injustice from Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, Future Forward], *The Standard*, 10 March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8rSHDQfRUgg&feature=youtu.be>.

**p.61 - a large print #Futurista at the front** ชวนคนไทยทลายโครงสรางอยุติธรรมจาก ธนาธร

จึงรงเรองกิจ อนาคตใหม่ [An invitation to Thai people to destroy structural injustice from Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit Future Forward], *The Standard*, 10 March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8rSHDQfRUgg&feature=youtu.be>.

* 1. **- Rangsiman Rome** Duncan interview with Rangsiman Rome, 28 May 2020.

## p.61 - the story of people and their journey อนาคตใหมค

อผค

นและการเดน

ทางไกล: ธนาธร

จงรง่ เรองกจ [Future Forward is the people and their long journey: Thanathorn Juang-

roongruangkit], Future Forward, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gjMg0048Gog>.

**p.61 - He also handwrote** [https://www.facebook.com/vanvaree.talomsin/photos/](http://www.facebook.com/vanvaree.talomsin/photos/)

อนาคตใหม่คือผู้คนและการเดินทาง-ข้อความนี้คุณธนาธรเขียนไว้ที่ห้องวอร์รูมของพรรคอนาคตใหม่

/1490490837767989/.

* 1. **- Thanathorn believed … a large number of MPs** สมภาษณ์ ธนาธร จงรง่ เรองกจ “พอใจ

ไหมกบพรรคอนาคตใหม?” [Interview Thanathorn Jungroongruangkit ‘Are you satisfied with Future Forward Party?’], *Workpoint News*, 5 September 2019, [https://www.youtube.](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=69&v=1p8_dWM4AIQ&feature=emb_logo) [com/watch?time\_continue=69&v=1p8\_dWM4AIQ&feature=emb\_logo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=69&v=1p8_dWM4AIQ&feature=emb_logo).

* 1. **- An informal party advisor told us** Anyarat phone interview with a senior Thai political analyst who was an unofficial advisor to Future Forward leaders, 18 May 2020.
	2. **- much more strongly in the advance vote** See Duncan McCargo and Saowanee

T. Alexander, ‘Thailand’s 2019 elections: a state of democratic dictatorship’, *Asia Policy,* 14, 4, 2019: 101–104. Future Forward ‘won’ the advance voting in Ubon’s Constituency 1 with over 40 per cent of votes cast; and gained between 23 and 28 per cent of the advance vote in four other constituencies, despite ultimately polling in single figures there overall.

* 1. **- the party decisively ‘won’ the advance vote** As with the Ubon data, this information was gleaned from on the ground research, and not from published results.
	2. **- emotions loomed large for many Bangkok voters** See Pitch Pongsawat, ‘ การศึกษาความเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมือง และพฤติกรรมการเลือกตง้ สมาชิก สภาผู้แทนราษฎร 24 มีนาคม พ.ศ. 2562: พืนที่กรงเทพมหานคร [Political activity and electoral behaviour in Bangkok during Thailand’s 24 March 2019 general election], Research submitted to Research and Development Office, King Prajadhipok’s Institute, 2019, pp. 9–12.

**p.64 - Anek Laothamatas famously claimed** For an English summary of

his argument, see Anek Laothamatas, ‘A tale of two democracies: conflicting perceptions of elections and democracy in Thailand’, in Robert H. Taylor (ed.) *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, pp. 201–23.

* 1. **- Thanathorn identified an important category of Thais** See Progressive Movement launch event, 21 March 2020, [https://progressivemovement.in.th/](https://progressivemovement.in.th/statement/)

[statement/](https://progressivemovement.in.th/statement/)

* 1. **- Urbanised villagers are a crucial voting group** See Duncan McCargo, ‘Thailand’s urbanized villagers and political polarization’, *Critical Asian Studies*, 49, 3, 2017.

**p.65 - a key support group** Naruemon and McCargo, ‘Urbanized villagers’, pp. 993–1018.

* 1. **- City voters today** See Anyarat Chattharakul, ‘Thai electoral campaigning: vote-canvassing networks and hybrid voting’, *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 29: 4, 2010: 82.
	2. **- what actually exist are multiple blurrings** McCargo, ‘Thailand’s urbanized villagers and political polarization’, p. 367.

**p.66 - more informal networks** For a discussion of these *sai*, or informal canvasser networks, see Anyarat Chattharakul, ‘Networks of vote-canvassers in Thai elections: informal power and money politics’, PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2007, pp. 149–56.

* 1. **- social media minimalists** See Aim Sinpeng, ‘FFP: The social media

minimalists’, *Thai Data Points,* 6 March 2020, [https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/](https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/ffp-the-social-media-minimalists) [ffp-the-social-media-minimalists](https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/ffp-the-social-media-minimalists)

* 1. **- Bangkok Constituency 22** Panis Phosriwungchai, “ใครๆ ก็เป็ น ส.ส. เหมือนผมได้

”: คราฟตการเมืองกับ เท่าพิภพ ลิมจิตรกร [Anybody can be an MP like me: craft politics with Taopiphop Limjittrakorn], *101 World*, 7 November 2019, [https://www.the101.world/](https://www.the101.world/taopiphop-limjittrakorn-interview/) [taopiphop-limjittrakorn-interview/](https://www.the101.world/taopiphop-limjittrakorn-interview/)

**p.67 - The constituency … a Democrat stronghold** การเลอกตง้ สมาชกสภาผแู้ ทนราษฎร

เป็ นการทวั ไป วนท่ี 3 ก.ค. 2554 [The general election of the members of parliament, 3 July

2011], Election Commission of Thailand, undated, [https://www.ect.go.th/ewt/ewt/ect\_](https://www.ect.go.th/ewt/ewt/ect_th/more_news.php?cid=13) [th/more\_news.php?cid=13](https://www.ect.go.th/ewt/ewt/ect_th/more_news.php?cid=13)

* 1. **- Various issues [made me win]** Panis Phosriwungchai, “ใครๆ ก็เป็ น ส.ส. เหมือน ผมได้”: คราฟตการเมืองกับ เท่าพิภพ ลิมจิตรกร [Anybody can be an MP like me: craft politics with Taopiphop Limjittrakorn, *101 World*, 7 November 2019, [https://www.the101. world/taopiphop-limjittrakorn-interview/](https://www.the101.world/taopiphop-limjittrakorn-interview/)
	2. **- A … noodle shop owner** Anyarat phone interview with noodle bar owner in Bangkok Constituency 22, 14 May 2020.
	3. **- Voter Profile 2** Saowanee Alexander interview with ‘Rachada’, 31 May 2020.
	4. **- Bencha Saengchantra … explained** Anyarat interview with Bencha Saeng- chantra, 26 May 2020.
	5. **- brokered by the Board of Investment** For a summary of the EEC project, see ‘Thailand: taking off to new heights’, Thailand Board of Investment, 2018, <http://advertisementfeature.cnn.com/2018/boi/thailand-eec/>.

**p.70 - Future Forward’s stance really hit home** ดีเบตเลือกตงั 62 | พืนท่ี EEC เสี่ยงท่อ

แก๊สระเบิด กระทบพืนที่เกษตร นำ้าท่วมซำ้าซาก [Election debate 2019, On location from EEC: risk of gas explosions, effects on agriculture, regular flooding], *Workpoint News*, 28 February 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b6_xNfDD2TA>.

**p.70 - Future Forward unexpectedly won** These nine unlikely constituency

victories were in Chonburi, Chantaburi, Chachoengsao and Trat. See ‘Following Future Forward’ with Aim Sinpeng, *Nordic Asia Podcast,* 14 May 2020, [https://](https://www.buzzsprout.com/1037416/3750923-following-future-forward-with-aim-sinpeng) [www.buzzsprout.com/1037416/3750923-following-future-forward-with-aim-](https://www.buzzsprout.com/1037416/3750923-following-future-forward-with-aim-sinpeng) [sinpeng](https://www.buzzsprout.com/1037416/3750923-following-future-forward-with-aim-sinpeng).

**p.70 - campaign realities on the ground** The Chantaburi seats were secured by quite small margins, helped by the absence of Pheu Thai. This was also evident in

Chachoengsao. Future Forward had a clear run in Districts 1 and 4, defeating Palang Pracharat quite comfortably – but in Districts 2 and 3 where Pheu Thai stood, Future Forward was pushed into third place. Chonburi followed a similar pattern; while

in Trat, Future Forward triumphed largely because much of the Democrat vote decamped to Palang Pracharat.

**p.70 - Future Forward’s internal data** Future Forward’s internal spreadsheet data on the ‘Thai Raksa Chart effect’, emailed to Duncan by Thanathorn’s assistant, 6 December 2019.

**p.72 - deploying these canvassers** See McCargo and Saowanee, ‘Thailand’s 2019 elections’, p. 100.

**p.72 - health volunteers were recruited as vote canvassers** Thanyaporn Buathong,

เลือกตงั 2562: ซือเสียง ไม่ ใช่เพียงใช้เงินฟาดก็ชนะ [Election 2019: vote-buying not just

spending money to win], BBC Thai, 11 March 2019, [https://www.bbc.com/thai/](https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-47520169) [thailand-47520169](https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-47520169).

**p.72 - Future Forward denounced vote-canvassing** 1 ปี อนาคตใหม่ เดินไปด้วยกัน

: การเมืองแห่งความหวงและความเป็ นไปได้: ปิ ยบุตร แสงกนกกุล [1 year Future Forward walk together: politics of hope and possibility, Piyabutr Saengkanokkul], YouTube, 21 June [2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\_continue=3&v=4auk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=3&v=4auk__gGz7Y&feature=emb_logo) [gGz7Y&feature=emb\_logo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=3&v=4auk__gGz7Y&feature=emb_logo).

**p.72 - Thanathorn was insistent** ‘Future Forward: Thanathorn on local elections, welfare and party longevity’, *New Mandala and Prachatai,* 24 May 2019, [https:// www.newmandala.org/future-forward-thanathorn-on-local-elections-welfare-and- party-longevity-thailand-unsettled-7/](https://www.newmandala.org/future-forward-thanathorn-on-local-elections-welfare-and-party-longevity-thailand-unsettled-7/).

**p.72 - Vote canvassers typically took the lead** Anyarat, ‘Thai electoral campaigning’, p. 82.

**p.72 - We had 77 provincial teams** *New Mandala and Prachatai,* ‘Future Forward: Thanathorn on local elections’.

**p.72 - provincial coordination centre administrators** Research assistant phone interviews with 28 former Future Forward provincial administrators, 23 to 25 April 2020.

* 1. **- campaign volunteers** Interviews with provincial administrators, 23 to 25 April 2020.
	2. **- Future Forward’s campaign posters** *New Mandala* and *Prachatai,* ‘Future Forward: Thanathorn on local elections’.

**p.73 - leaders dubbed these volunteers ‘Futuristas’** [https://www.facebook.com/ ThanathornOfficial/posts/584695018600843](https://www.facebook.com/ThanathornOfficial/posts/584695018600843).

**p.73 - organic vote canvassers** จับเข่า ‘อาํ นาจ สถาวรฤทธ’ิ กนซอ พรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Heart-to-

heart talk Amnaj Sathaworarith. an advisor of Future Forward Party], *Matichon*, 6 January 2020, <https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/special-interview/news_1867016>.

**p.73 - Klaikong Vaidhyakarn** Research assistant interview with Klaikong Vaidhya- karn, 28 November 2019.

* 1. **- Thanathorn saw social media** Hannah Ellis-Petersen, ‘A real source of “hope”: social media opens Thailand’s junta to criticism’, *Guardian*, 7 March 2019, [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/07/a-real-source-of-hope-social- media-opens-thailands-junta-to-criticism](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/07/a-real-source-of-hope-social-media-opens-thailands-junta-to-criticism).

**p.73 - In addition to the social media team** รลึก! “ทีมโซเชียล”’ อนาคตใหม่ การเมืองในโลก

เสมือนจรง

รทัน “มือไซเบอร”

[Deep Knowledge! ‘Team Social’ Future Forward. Politics in

the virtual world. Keeping up with ‘cyber hands’], *Matichon*, 10 July 2019, [https://](https://www.matichonweekly.com/column/article_208133) [www.matichonweekly.com/column/article\_208133](https://www.matichonweekly.com/column/article_208133).

* 1. **- Thanathorn on tour** Future Forward, ธนาธรออนทวร์ ep. 1 ( 1 ก.พ 2562) [Thana- thorn on tour ep.1 (1 Feb 2019)], *Future Forward,* 2 February 2019, available on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OjeYQmflqTs>.

**p.74 - Future Forward was adept** See Aim Sinpeng, ‘Pheu Thai won the Facebook election in Thailand’, *New Mandala*, 29 March 2019, [https://www.newmandala.org/ pheu-thai-won-the-facebook-election-in-thailand/](https://www.newmandala.org/pheu-thai-won-the-facebook-election-in-thailand/).

* 1. **- well-maintained website** [https://futureforwardparty.org](https://futureforwardparty.org/).
	2. **- The quality … a much higher standard** Chawarong Limpattamapanee, พรรคอนาคตใหม่กับการสรางคะแนนนิยมผ่าน Social Media [The Future Forward Party and vote mobilisation through social media], *Thai Rath*, 31 October 2019, [https://www. thairath.co.th/news/tech/1693908](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/tech/1693908).

**p.75 - According to Chaitawat** เจาะเบืองหลังปฏิบัติการสราง ‘อนาคตใหม่’ กับ ชัยธวช ตุลาธน รอง

เลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind operation building Future Forward with Chaitawat Tulathon, deputy secretary-general of the Future Forward Party], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, [https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-interview/](https://www.the101.world/chaithawat-tulathon-interview/).

**p.75 - Future Forward … interacting with voters** See Pitch Pongsawat, ‘การศกษา

ความเคลอื นไหวทางการเมอง และพฤตกรรมการเลอกตง้ สมาชก

สภาผแู้ ทนราษฎร 24 มน

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กรงเทพมหานคร’ [Political activity and electoral behaviour in Bangkok during Thailand’s 24 March 2019 general election], Research submitted to Research and Development Office, King Prajadhipok’s Institute, 2019, pp. 411–12.

**p.75 - 28.6 million Twitter accounts** Simon Kemp, ‘Digital 2020: Thailand’, *Data Reportal*, 18 February 2020, [https://www.slideshare.net/DataReportal/digital-2020- thailand-january-2020-v01](https://www.slideshare.net/DataReportal/digital-2020-thailand-january-2020-v01).

**p.75 - Thailand was number 14** Simon Kemp, ‘Digital 2020: global

snapshot’, *Data Reportal,* 23 April 2020*,* [https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-](https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2020-april-global-statshot) [2020-april-global-statshot](https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2020-april-global-statshot).

**p.75 - 66 per cent of Thai Twitter users** 40 per cent of Twitter users in Thailand were 15–24 years old, 26 per cent 25–34 years old, 19 per cent 35–44 years old, and just 15 per cent were over 45. ‘Twitter ไทย โตเร็วที่สุดในอาเซียน! รกหนักจีบหนักพันธมิตร ส่ือเปิ ดช่องลงโฆษณา’ [Thai Twitter is the fastest growing in ASEAN! Opportunity for advertising], *Forbes Thailand,* 29 January 2019, [https://forbesthailand.com/news/it/ twitter](http://thailand.com/news/it/twitter)-ไทย-การเติบโต.html.

**p.75 - Thanathorn’s Twitter interactions** [https://twitter.com/alotof\_stars/ status/1247899178346266624](https://twitter.com/alotof_stars/status/1247899178346266624).

**p.75 - tweeted their own pencil drawings** [https://twitter.com/Pen\_Inw/ status/1231325214354501632](https://twitter.com/Pen_Inw/status/1231325214354501632).

* 1. **- fan-fiction, fantasising** [https://www.joylada.com/ story/5cf0f8c38c2dda00015793bd](https://www.joylada.com/story/5cf0f8c38c2dda00015793bd).
	2. **- K-pop fan culture** See Lola Vos, ‘The K-Pop fandom on Twitter’, *diggit magazine,* 31 May 2019, [https://www.diggitmagazine.com/articles/k-pop-fandom- twitter](https://www.diggitmagazine.com/articles/k-pop-fandom-twitter).

**p.76 - crossover between the two fan bases** <https://twitter.com/for_fwp>.

* 1. **- resembled a K-pop boy band** See ‘K-Pop 101: 21 words every fan

should know’, *SBS Pop Asia,* 13 March 2018, [https://www.sbs.com.au/popasia/](https://www.sbs.com.au/popasia/blog/2018/03/13/k-pop-101-21-words-every-fan-should-know) [blog/2018/03/13/k-pop-101-21-words-every-fan-should-know](https://www.sbs.com.au/popasia/blog/2018/03/13/k-pop-101-21-words-every-fan-should-know).

* 1. **- One Twitter user posted images** See [https://twitter.com/BoiBuaNTP/ status/1093781871140323328](https://twitter.com/BoiBuaNTP/status/1093781871140323328).

**p.77 - The fan behind one Twitter account** <https://twitter.com/LPyoomaipen>. This account was accessed in November 2019, but has since been closed.

**p.77 - Twitter influencers told us** Anyarat interview with 5 influencers, 5 May 2020.

**p.77 - Future Forward’s fiercely critical stance** [https://twitter.com/AliceIsWitch/ status/1136172313177538560](https://twitter.com/AliceIsWitch/status/1136172313177538560).

**p.77 - pro-Prayuth users and *salim* joined** Literally the name of a Thai dessert, *salim* is a disparaging term for those who claim to be in neither yellow nor red camps, but are in fact yellow, or at least sympathetic towards the yellow camp.

**p.77 - emergence of a collective pro-Thanathorn** Anyarat’s Snapchat interview with Twitter influencer, 30 April 2020.

* 1. **- A young diplomat who criticised** [https://twitter.com/realjeillx/ status/1094435344273989632](https://twitter.com/realjeillx/status/1094435344273989632).
	2. **- Rangsiman Rome believed that micro-influencers** Duncan interview with Rangsiman Rome, 28 May 2020.

**p.78 - Returning Friday to the people** Klaikong interview. คืนวนศุกร์ ให้ประชาชน was

a parody of Prayuth’s TV show ‘Returning happiness to the people’, which was broadcast during prime time every Friday to growing public irritation.

**p.78 - boosting the reach of its Facebook posts** See Aim Sinpeng, ‘Mobilizing the ‘orange’ online support: part ii of the Futurista campaigning’, *Thai Data Points,* 26 November 2019, [https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/mobilizing-the-orange-online- support-part-ii-of-the-futurista-campaigning](https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/mobilizing-the-orange-online-support-part-ii-of-the-futurista-campaigning).

**p.78 - Future Forward’s social media team had a daily meeting** See, for example,

Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, “พาเธอกลบบาน!!” EP.12 คณธนาธร จงรง่ เรองกจ [Take her

home, ep. 12 Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit], *ShaAeng*, 1 March 2019, [https://](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jpTsCWid8_4) [www.youtube.com/watch?v=jpTsCWid8\_4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jpTsCWid8_4).

**p.78 - We want to fill up social media feeds** Anyarat interview with former Future

Forward staffer, 17 May 2020.

**p.78 - Twitter was the premier social media platform** Tracy Beattie, ‘Thailand’s hashtag activism targets political change’, *Strategist,* 20 April 2020, [https://www. aspistrategist.org.au/thailands-hashtag-activism-targets-political-change/](https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/thailands-hashtag-activism-targets-political-change/).

**p.78 - A golden rule** รลึก! “ทีมโซเชียล” อนาคตใหม่ การเมืองในโลกเสมือนจรง รทัน “มือ

ไซเบอร” [Deep Knowledge! ‘Team Social’ Future Forward. Politics in the virtual

world. Keeping up with ‘cyber hands’, *Matichon*, 10 July 2019, [https://www.](https://www.matichonweekly.com/column/article_208133) [matichonweekly.com/column/article\_208133](https://www.matichonweekly.com/column/article_208133).

* 1. **- organic, unregulated mode of communication** Anyarat interview with former Future Forward staffer, 17 May 2020.
	2. **- Thanathorn’s … charismatic appeal** Anyarat interview, via LINE, with university lecturer, 9 May 2020.

**p.79 - Thanathorn’s looks** <https://pantip.com/topic/38606995>.

**p.79 - Young people ‘fell in love’** Anyarat group discussion via Zoom with five Twitter users, aged between 15 and 21, 1 May 2020.

* 1. **- Those who met them in person** Anyarat group discussion via Zoom with five Twitter users, 1 May 2020.
	2. **- When we asked Thanathorn** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.

**p.80 - Open FWP Project** See <https://futureforwardparty.org/open-fwp>. Only 204 complaints were listed when accessed on 24 May 2020, a number that was unchanged since November 2019.

**p.80 - a virtually inactive web-board** See [https://www.futurecommunity.co/hc/th/ community/topics/](https://www.futurecommunity.co/hc/th/community/topics/).

* 1. **- Total traffic to the main … website** In November 2019, the Statscrop tracker site ranked Future Forward’s official website at #5,027 in Thailand, the location of most of the site’s 500 to 1,500 daily visitors: [https://futureforwardparty.org.statscrop. com/m/](https://futureforwardparty.org.statscrop.com/m/).
	2. **- despite contrary claims in party publications** See ‘The Futurista’s Guide’, pp. 18–19.

**p.81 - celebrity Meet & Greets** [https://www.facebook.com/PiyabutrOfficial/ posts/2603319093285291/](https://www.facebook.com/PiyabutrOfficial/posts/2603319093285291/).

**p.81 - a two-day festival** <https://www.facebook.com/events/2765127397047768/>.

**p.81 - celebrated … indy music** ปรากฏการณ์ Future Fest รปเงา พัฒนา แห่ง Fat Radio [Future Fest phenomenon, improved shadow of Fat Radio], *Matichon Weekly,* 26 January 2020, <https://www.matichonweekly.com/e-daung/article_268822>.

* 1. **- Stage decorations aptly featured the Twitter symbol** [https://twitter.com/ FWPthailand/status/1220989550865989632/photo/1](https://twitter.com/FWPthailand/status/1220989550865989632/photo/1).
	2. **- parties were not officially allowed** See [http://www.ratchakitcha.soc. go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/A/006/T\_0006.PDF](http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/A/006/T_0006.PDF) for the Regulations of the Election Commission of Thailand concerning the 2019 election campaign.

**p.82 - Nana argued that despite all the earnest talk** Authors’ interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang, 21 May 2020.

**p.82 - systematic policy manifestos** For a discussion, see Duncan McCargo and Ramaimas Bowra, *Policy Advocacy and the Media in Thailand,* Bangkok: Institute of Public Policy Studies, 1997, pp 33–37.

* 1. **- Rangsiman Rome was also sceptical** Duncan interview with Rangsiman Rome, 28 May 2020.
	2. **- only a fifth of Future Forward voters really understood** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.
	3. **- Voter Profile 3** Anyarat interviews with ‘Somchai’: 11 May 2019, 29 May 2020, 31 May 2020.
	4. **- Mass rallies were important** For a discussion of Democrat and Thai Rak Thai rallies in the South, see Marc Askew, *Performing Political Identity: the Democrat Party in Southern Thailand,* Chiang Mai: Silkworm 2008, pp. 140–49.
	5. **- The large 9 March Chiang Mai rally** USIP (United States Institute of Peace) team fieldnotes, Chiang Mai, 8 March 2019.
	6. **- Well-organised volunteers gave out** ปราศรยใหญ่ “อนาคตใหม่” [Big rally, Future Forward], ยันหวาง แชนแนล, 8 March 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=2Wfj9F9CaIY&feature=youtu.be](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Wfj9F9CaIY&feature=youtu.be).
	7. **- Other … rallies had the same more organic character** Fieldnotes, USIP team, Future Forward Nonthaburi rally, 10 March 2019.
	8. **- a rally in Ubon Ratchathani** Fieldnotes, USIP team, Future Forward Ubon Ratchathani rally, 12 March 2019.
	9. **- his speech appearing on Facebook Live** For Thanathorn’s speech see ธนาธร

จึงรงเรองกิจ - ปราศรยใหญ่ อนาคตใหม่ อุบลราชธานี คนดูเยอะที่สุดในการปราศรยภาค “อีสาน”, YouTube, 12 March 2019, [https://youtu.be/zJRobyS0rRo](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fyoutu.be%2FzJRobyS0rRo&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7C10dab339e13b4dae8d4308d7dfe12482%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637224030388000465&sdata=Donc5nyIdYHsBPKajvrJ7N0Z8z7tlejNZR3OqKp2aM0%3D&reserved=0).

**p.87 - *Isan uey!*** ‘Hey Isan! Hey Ubon Ratchathani! Hey, you people who love democracy!’

* 1. **- Who is better off now** Ubon Pheu Thai candidates later used almost exactly the same line in their local rallies (Duncan’s fieldnotes, 23 March 2019).

**p.87 - A Pheu Thai rally in Ubon** หญิงหน่อย โอ๊ค และชัชชาติ ยกขบวนหาเสียง ขอคะแนนให้เพื่อ ไทยที่อุบลฯ [Ying Noi, Oak and Chadchart held Pheu Thai campaign rally in Ubon], *Thai Rath,* 18 February 2019, <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1499226>.

**p.88 - Speakers were not placed** See เจาะเบืองหลังปฏิบัติการสราง ‘อนาคตใหม่’ กับ ชัยธวช ตุลาธน

รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind operation building Future Forward with Chaitawat Tulathon, deputy secretary-general of the Future Forward Party], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, [https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-interview/](https://www.the101.world/chaithawat-tulathon-interview/) หญิงหน่อย โอ๊ค และชัชชาติ ยกขบวนหาเสียง ขอคะแนนให้เพื่อไทยที่อุบลฯ.

* 1. **- the event began with a brief video** For the full event see พรรคอนาคต

ใหม่ ปราศรยใหญ่เวทีสุดท้าย ก่อนเข้าคูหา [Future Forward Party final big rally before entering the voting booth], 22 March 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S4FPBmHWbHI&t=15354s) [watch?v=S4FPBmHWbHI&t=15354s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S4FPBmHWbHI&t=15354s).

* 1. **- a short *mo lam* performance** *Mo lam* is a Lao form of traditional folk singing popular in the Northeast.
	2. **- As *Prachatai* noted** Pokpong Junvith, ‘One year of Future Forward: from Gramsci-Laclau-Mouffe to the “inferno” challenges of Piyabutr Saengkanokkul’, *Prachatai English*, 18 August 2019, <https://prachatai.com/english/node/8178>.
	3. **- the rally lasted more than five hours** The final rally programme, as emailed by a Future Forward staffer to Duncan, 19 March 2019, was mainly a list of ‘representatives’, not named individuals:

Event Host : Wayo Assawarungruang, deputy spokesperson and candidate for MP, FFP

17.00 hours : Door opens

18.00 hours : Welcoming Address

18.10-18.20 hours : Representative of LGBTQ+ MP candidate 18.20-18.30 hours : Representative of disabled MP candidate

18.30-18.40 hours : Representative of ethnic minority MP candidate 18.40-18.50 hours : Representative of labour wing and MP candidate 19.00-19.10 hours : Representative of Northern region MP candidate 19.10-19.20 hours : Representative of Central region MP candidate 19.20-19.30 hours : Representative of Southern region MP candidate

19.30-19.40 hours : Representative of three Southern border provinces’ MP candidate 19.40-19.50 hours : Representative of Northeastern region MP candidate

20.00-20.30 hours : Piyabutr Saengkanokkul, secretary-general of Future Forward Party 20.30-21.00 hours : Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, leader of Future Forward Party

* 1. **- A student we interviewed leaving the stadium** USIP election project team fieldnotes, 22 March 2019.
	2. **- The average number of Future Forward votes** Calculated by authors from Election Commission of Thailand official results.

**p.92 - Thanathorn observed … large numbers of over-65s** Duncan interview with Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, 7 August 2018.

**p.92 - Internal party data showed strong early engagement** Duncan interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang and Film Prempapat Plitpholkarnpim, Future Forward co-founders, 21 July 2018.

**p.92 - Future Forward won almost half a million votes** Michael J. Montesano, ‘Toppling poles’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41: 2, 2019: 204.

**p.92 - readily accessible from the party website** See [https://futureforwardparty.org/ member/member-statistic](https://futureforwardparty.org/member/member-statistic) While the party published data on members’ occupations, most were unhelpfully classified as ‘other’.

* 1. **- Thai Rak Thai and the Democrats … members** *The Nation,* 24 November 2003. In practice, a significant proportion of these ‘members’ were affiliated with more than one party. See McCargo and Ukrist, *Thaksinization,* pp. 86–89.
	2. **- as of June 2020 … million Facebook ‘likes’** Research assistant interview with Klaikong, 28 November 2019.
	3. **- 1.3 million participated in the event vicariously** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.
	4. **- characterisation of Future Forward as a digital party** Since events were

attended by the same core constituency of regulars, Thanathorn’s suggested figure of two million in-person participants may well be an overestimate.

* 1. **- a quest for ‘local wisdom’** Worapot Phanphong, *Portrait* ธนาธร, pp. 119 –28.

**p.95 - a means of generating content** เดินหน้าอนาคตใหม่ EP.4: คุยกับ ผอ.พรรคฯ ศรายุทธ ใจหลัก [Move forward Future Forward: talking with party director Sarayoot Jailak], *Future Forward*, 23 August 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=taQg\_](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=taQg_z7ARrM) [z7ARrM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=taQg_z7ARrM).

* 1. **- stepped on the dead bodies** Piyabutr is referring to the deaths of red-shirt protestors in April and May 2010.

**p.96 - People often criticise orange** Pokpong Junvith, หนึ่งปี อนาคตใหม่: จากกรมชี-ลาคลาว- มูฟ ถึงปฏิบัติการท้า ‘นรก’ ของ ปิ ยบุตร แสงกนกกุล [One year of Future Forward: from Gramsci- Lacla-Mouffe to the ‘inferno’ challenges of Piyabutr Saengkanokkul], *The 101 World*, 7 June 2019, <https://www.the101.world/piyabutr-saengkanokkul-interview/>.

* 1. **- fighting with ‘the 99 per cent’ for change** Pokpong, หนึ่งปี อนาคตใหม่: จากกรมชี

-ลาคลาว-มูฟ ถึงปฏิบัติการท้า ‘นรก’ ของ ปิ ยบุตร แสงกนกกุล [One year of Future Forward: from Gramsci-Laclau-Mouffe to the ‘inferno’ challenges of Piyabutr Saengkanokkul], *The 101 World*, 7 June 2019, [https://www.the101.world/piyabutr-saengkanokkul-](https://www.the101.world/piyabutr-saengkanokkul-interview/) [interview/](https://www.the101.world/piyabutr-saengkanokkul-interview/).

**p.97 - Vote … because they are poor like you!** ธนาธรปราศรยเปิ ดตว 30 ผู้สมัคร ส.ส. กทม

. [Thanathorn gives a speech introducing Bangkok MP candidates], Future Forward, 28 January 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Zx8ObCEOQ0>.

* 1. **- Some red-shirts became ‘disgusted’** Anyarat interview with long-term Pheu Thai vote canvasser in suburban Bangkok, 20 May 2020.
	2. **- One Pheu Thai MP** This is a pseudonym.
	3. **- Thanin … wanted … to explain electoral realities** Anyarat interview with Thanin Kwanburi, 20 May 2020.

**p.98 - First-time voters we talked to** See also Nordic Asia Podcast, *Following Future Forward* with Aim Sinpeng, 14 May 2020, [https://www.buzzsprout. com/1037416/3750923-following-future-forward-with-aim-sinpeng](https://www.buzzsprout.com/1037416/3750923-following-future-forward-with-aim-sinpeng).

* 1. **- This could be seen in … narrow victories** See [Peeraphat Tanthawanit](https://themomentum.co/author/peerapat/), บท

วเิ คราะห์ผลการเลือกตง้ กรงเทพมหานครและปรมณฑล ตอนที่ 1: มุมมองผ่านโครงสรางประชากร [Analysis of Greater Bangkok elections, part 1: perspectives from population structure],

*The Momentum*, 29 March 2019, [https://themomentum.co/election62-data-and-](https://themomentum.co/election62-data-and-demographic/) [demographic/](https://themomentum.co/election62-data-and-demographic/).

**p.99 - Future Forward targeted first-time voters** เจาะเบืองหลังปฏิบัติการสราง ‘อนาคตใหม่

’ กับ ชัยธวช ตุลาธน รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind operations building Future Forward

with Chaitawat Tulathon, deputy secretary-general of the Future Forward Party], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, [https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-](https://www.the101.world/chaithawat-tulathon-interview/) [interview/](https://www.the101.world/chaithawat-tulathon-interview/).

* 1. **- Future Forward asked Futuristas** Tonight Thailand – “พรรณิการ์ วานิช” เลาเรอ่ ง พรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Tonight Thailand – Pannika Wanich telling story of Future Forward], Voice TV, 14 April 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cuzMeU8uZ4Y>.

**p.99 - A survey conducted by Super Poll** โพลชี้ เด็กรนใหม่ชอบอนาคตใหม่ ผู้สูงอายุนิยมพลัง

ประชารฐ [Poll shows younger demographic prefer Future Forward, older generation

prefer Palang Pracharat], *Thai Rath Online,* 25 August 2019, [https://www.thairath.](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1645511) [co.th/news/politic/1645511](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1645511).

* 1. **- Joel Selway found** See Joel Sawat Selway, ‘Who prefers Future Forward?’, *Thai Data Points,* 6 March 2020, [https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/who-prefers- future-forward](https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/who-prefers-future-forward).
	2. **- Voter Profile 4** Anyarat interview with ‘Pongthep’, 4 June 2020.
	3. **- because of the one-ballot system** Recent Thai elections had used two ballot papers, one for the local candidates and another for the party list.
	4. **- Rangsiman felt that most young people** Duncan interview with Rangsiman Rome, 28 May 2020.

**p.102 - New Gen Network** [https://www.facebook.com/ngnnewgennetwork/ videos/253753711966096/?fref=mentions& tn =K-R](https://www.facebook.com/ngnnewgennetwork/videos/253753711966096/?fref=mentions&__tn__=K-R).

**p.102 - NGN was very active** [https://www.facebook.com/ ngnnewgennetwork/?fref=mentions& tn =K-R](https://www.facebook.com/ngnnewgennetwork/?fref=mentions&__tn__=K-R).

* 1. **- Nana believed that Future Forward understood** Authors’ interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang, 21 May 2020.
	2. **- Nana also argued that Future Forward’s success** Duncan interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang and Film Prempapat Plitpholkarnpim, Future Forward co-founders, 25 August 2019.

**p.103 - Nana’s view was supported by a national survey** See โพลรฐศาสตร์ มธ. คนรนุ่

ใหม่ความรการเมืองตา เลือก อนค [Poll of Thammasat University Political Science, low

political knowledge, new generation voted for Future Forward], *T News*, 19 June 2019, [https://www.tnews.co.th/politic/511206/](https://www.tnews.co.th/politic/511206/%E0%B9%82%E0%B8%9E%E0%B8%A5%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%B1%E0%B8%90%E0%B8%A8%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%AA%E0%B8%95%E0%B8%A3%E0%B9%8C%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%98-%E0%B8%84%E0%B8%99%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%B8%E0%B9%88%E0%B8%99%E0%B9%83%E0%B8%AB%E0%B8%A1%E0%B9%88%E0%B8%84%E0%B8%A7%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%B9%E0%B9%89%E0%B8%81%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%A3%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%B7%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%87%E0%B8%95%E0%B9%88%E0%B8%B3-%E0%B9%80%E0%B8%A5%E0%B8%B7%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%81%E0%B8%AD%E0%B8%99%E0%B8%84)โพลรัฐศาสตร์มธ-คนรุ่นใหม่ความรู้การเมืองต่ํา- เลือกอนค.

**p.103 - A poll of 1,266 Chulalongkorn University undergraduate students** See โพลนิสิตจุฬาฯ 1,266 ตวอย่าง “อนาคตใหม่” ครองใจ อยากได้ “ธนาธร-ชัชชาติ” เป็ นนายกฯ [Poll of 1,266 Chula students, Future Forward wins, want Thanathorn-Chadchart as prime minister], *Prachachat Turakit*, 15 March 2019, [https://www.prachachat.net/politics/ news-302289](https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-302289).

* 1. **- Chula students favoured Thanathorn** โพลนิสตจฬาฯ 1,266 ตวอยาง “อนาคตใหม่

” ครองใจนิสตจฬาฯ ธนาธร- ชชชาติ นายกฯ [Poll of Chula University students 1,266 samples show Future Forward’s landslide win, Thanathorn and Chadchart for PM] , *Matichon Online,* 15 March 2019, <https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/news_1406479>.

* 1. **- Kanok Ratwongsakul expressed dismay** See กนก กลุ้มหนัก นิสิตจุฬาฯ เลือก ธนาธร พรรคล้างประเพณี ศิลปิ นแห่งชาติตอกกลับ ก็อนาคตของเขา [Kanok is really worried; Chula students voted for Thanathorn, the party that erased traditions, a national artist argues, it is their future], *Sentang Sedtee,* 17 March 2019, [https://www. sentangsedtee.com/today-news/article\_107810](https://www.sentangsedtee.com/today-news/article_107810).

**p.104 - Attachak Sattayanuruk observed** Roongrith Petchratana, Weerapong Soon-

thornchatrawat and Anuchit Nimtalung, อรรถจักร์ สัตยานุรกษ์: เสียงบนบัตรเลือกตงั ใครเลือก

อนาคตใหม่ ใครเลือกพลังประชารฐ [Attachak Satayanuruk – Votes on the ballot: who voted

Future Forward, who voted Palang Pracharat?], *Way Magazine*, 4 April 2019, [https://](https://waymagazine.org/interview-attachak-election/)

[waymagazine.org/interview-attachak-election/](https://waymagazine.org/interview-attachak-election/).

**p.104 - in an intriguing role reversal** Anyarat Chattharakul, ‘Social media: hashtag #Futurista’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41: 2, 2019: 171–72.

**p.104 - Rangsiman Rome believed that new technologies** Duncan interview with Rangsiman Rome, 28 May 2020.

**p.104 - Future Forward also targeted messages at high school students** See ‘Following Future Forward’ with Aim Sinpeng, *Nordic Asia Podcast,* 14 May 2020, [https://www.buzzsprout.com/1037416/3750923-following-future-forward-with-aim- sinpeng](https://www.buzzsprout.com/1037416/3750923-following-future-forward-with-aim-sinpeng).

# Chapter 3: Party

* 1. **- The Future Forward Party has ended** “ธนาธร” ประกาศตงั

“คณะอนาคตใหม่” ยัน ก้าว

เดินต่อไป ด้วยความมั่นคง [Thanathorn announced the founding of ‘Khana Anakot Mai’, insisting on moving forward with stability], *Thai Rath*, 21 February 2020, [https://](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uks3VRnVMJU) [www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uks3VRnVMJU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uks3VRnVMJU).

* 1. **- The first transformational politician** See Duncan McCargo, *Chamlong Srimuang and the New Thai Politics,* London: Hurst, 1997.
	2. **- virtually none were related to prominent political figures** The exception here was Thanathorn, whose uncle Suriya was a leading figure on the pro-military side.

**p.109 - The contrast with other new parties** See Punchada, ‘The rules change but the players don’t’, p. 394.

* 1. **- Angelo Panebianco had argued** See Angelo Panebianco, *Political Parties: Organisation and Power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 262– 74; and on the mass party, Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties: their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*, London: Methuen, 1964.
	2. **- Thai elections were mainly fought locally** See [Anyarat Chattharakul,](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/186810341002900404) ‘Thai electoral campaigning’, pp. 67–95.
	3. **- Paolo Gerbaudo argues** Gerbaudo, *The Digital Party*.

**p.111 - a set of European examples** Gerbaudo, *The Digital Party,* pp. 3–4.

**p.111 - Momentum, the pro-Jeremy Corbyn movement** Momentum did not run election candidates and was not a party, and as such, it cannot be compared with Gerbaudo’s other examples, and does not really support his arguments.

**p.111 - Leading figures in Future Forward were certainly aware** ‘Nitirat academic, tycoon to form political party’, *Bangkok Post*, 2 March 2018, [https://](https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1421243/nitirat-academic-tycoon-to-form-political-party)

[www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1421243/nitirat-academic-tycoon-to-form-](https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1421243/nitirat-academic-tycoon-to-form-political-party) [political-party](https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1421243/nitirat-academic-tycoon-to-form-political-party).

* 1. **- among the inspirations for founding Future Forward** See [Kwanchai Dum-](https://thematter.co/author/kwanchai)

[rongkwan](https://thematter.co/author/kwanchai) ฉากชวี ตขนาดยาวกบความฝนนอกหมวกนักวชาการ ของ ‘ปิ ยบตร แสงกนกกลุ ’ [Lasting

dreams beyond academia: Piyabutr Saengkanokkun], *The Momentum*, 8 May 2019, <https://thematter.co/social/long-interview-with-piyabutr/76766>.

**p.111 - He praised Podemos** See Pokpong Junvith, หนึ่งปี อนาคตใหม่: จากกรมชี-ลาคลาว-มูฟ

ถึงปฏิบัติการท้า ‘นรก’ ของ ปิ ยบุตร แสงกนกกุล [One year of Future Forward: from Gramsci- Laclau-Mouffe to the ‘inferno’ challenges of Piyabutr Saengkanokkul], *The 101 World*, 7 June 2019, <https://www.the101.world/piyabutr-saengkanokkul-interview/>.

* 1. **- the names of the party** The Thai name of the party is พรรคอนาคตใหม่.

**p.112 - The … main colour was orange** Kornkritch Somjittranukit and Thaweeporn Kummetha, ‘Future Forward Party criticised as inexperienced, republican, a personality cult’, *Prachatai English*, 15 March 2018, [https://prachatai.com/english/ node/7671](https://prachatai.com/english/node/7671).

**p.112 - The party’s logo** Duncan interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang, 21 July 2018.

* 1. **- The 26 founding members** See ‘“Progressive” new party takes a

step forward’, *The Nation*, 15 March 2018, [https://www.nationthailand.com/](https://www.nationthailand.com/politics/30341009) [politics/30341009](https://www.nationthailand.com/politics/30341009).

* 1. **- concept of ‘digital nativity’** Duncan interview with Nana Wipaphan Wong- sawang, 21 July 2018. For Wipaphan, digital natives were those born since the final years of the twentieth century – not those born since 1980, as others had previously argued.
	2. **- interviews revealing a refreshing idealism** ‘Future Forward Party’s new faces reveal their dreams for Thailand’, *Prachatai English,* 23 March 2018, [https:// prachatai.com/english/node/7683](https://prachatai.com/english/node/7683).
	3. **- We, the new generation** *Prachatai English,* ‘Future Forward Party’s new faces’.

**p.114 - Not everyone agreed with Nana** Kornkritch and Thaweeporn, ‘Future Forward Party criticised’.

* 1. **- Did the leadership … desire to topple social hierarchies** ธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ และผองเพื่อนผู้ก่อการ ในวนที่การเมืองยังไม่ถูกปลดล็อค [Thanthorn Juangroongkit and friends and supporters: to date, politics have not been unlocked], *The Momentum,* 19 March 2018, <https://themomentum.co/future-forward-thanathorn-juangroongruangkit/>.
	2. **- Thanathorn himself was hardly deferential** Duncan interview with Thana- thorn, 23 August 2019.

**p.115 - he rejected the idea** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.

* 1. **- he sounded almost exasperated** Mutita Chuachang, ‘The challenger’, *Mekong Review,* November 2019, p. 11.
	2. **- six of the top 20 on the party list were female** Two other party-list MPs were LGBTQ, and chose to wear ‘female’ parliamentary uniforms.

**p.116 - Nana: Digital Native** Nana’s profile draws on our interviews with her on 21 July 2018, 25 August 2019 and 21 May 2020.

**p.116 - Nana epitomised the visionary optimism** *Prachatai English,* ‘Future Forward Party’s new faces’.

* 1. **- Nana launched … ‘Coconut Empire’** Asaree Thaitrakulpanich, ‘Be the dictator in “Coconut Empire”’, *Khaosod English,* 23 May 2018, [https://www. khaosodenglish.com/life/geek/2018/05/23/be-the-dictator-in-coconut-empire/](https://www.khaosodenglish.com/life/geek/2018/05/23/be-the-dictator-in-coconut-empire/).

**p.117 - Nana … left the party** ทนไม่ไหว! นานา ผู้รวมก่อตง้ พรรคอนาคตใหม่ ประกาศลาออก แล้ว [Can’t stand It! Nana, co-founder of Future Forward Party, announces her resignation], *Thai Post*, 29 November 2018, [https://www.thaipost.net/main/](https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/23058) [detail/23058](https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/23058).

* 1. **- a central pillar of party policy** The Futurista’s Guide, p. 27.

**p.117 - Nana gave a television interview** “นานา” เจ้าของพรรคเก่า เปิ ดหน้าชน “อนาคตใหม่

” ลากไส้!! “ปิ ยบุตร”, ทุบประเด็น [Nana former party founder comes out to reveal face of Future Forward, Piyabutr, breaking open issues], Bright TV, 27 June 2019, [https://](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e3_1u-GbKSk&t=1699s) [www.youtube.com/watch?v=e3\_1u-GbKSk&t=1699s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e3_1u-GbKSk&t=1699s).

**p.117 - Future Forward later issued new party rules** ข้อ 14 คณะกรรมการต้องดําเนินการ [Point 14: The Committee must operate in accordance with the party’s ideology, policy, regulations, executive committee’s decision, and order from the leader, secretary-general and network director]. See [futureforwardparty.org/wp-content/ uploads/2019/1](http://futureforwardparty.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11)1/ระเบียบคณะกรรมการเครือข่ายเยาวชน-คนรุ่นใหม่ไฟนอล.pdf.

* 1. **- working together in the Student Federation** Chaitawat was the secretary- general of the Student Federation in 1998 – a post that Sarayoot assumed in 2000,

when Thanathorn was his deputy. ชัยธวช ตุลาธน เลขาพรรคก้าวไกล [Chaitawat Tulathon,

secretary-general Move Forward Party], *Khaosod*, 10 March 2020, [https://www.](https://www.khaosod.co.th/people/news_3715738) [khaosod.co.th/people/news\_3715738](https://www.khaosod.co.th/people/news_3715738).

**p.117 - The friendship between Tom … and Ake** เปิดตวั ! 3 ชนชันสูง ต๋อม-เอก-ติ่ง ผู้รวม ก่อตง้ พรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Introduction! 3 elites Tom-Ake-Ting co-founders of the Future Forward Party], *Bangkokbiz News*, 29 October 2019, [https://www.bangkokbiznews.](https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/852546) [com/news/detail/852546](https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/852546).

* 1. **- Chaitawat explained how a single sentence** เจาะเบืองหลังปฏิบัติการสราง ‘อนาคต

ใหม่’ กับ ชัยธวช ตุลาธน รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind operation building ‘Future

Forward’ with Chaitawat Tulathon, deputy secretary-general of the Future Forward Party], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, [https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-](https://www.the101.world/chaithawat-tulathon-interview/) [tulathon-interview/](https://www.the101.world/chaithawat-tulathon-interview/).

**p.118 - reach out to people in person** เจาะเบืองหลังปฏิบัติการสราง ‘อนาคตใหม่’ กับ ชัยธวช ตุลาธน

รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่่ [Behind operation building ‘Future Forward’ with Chaitawat Tulathon, deputy secretary-general of the Future Forward Party], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, [https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-interview/](https://www.the101.world/chaithawat-tulathon-interview/).

* 1. **- His goal was for Future Forward** 101 One-on-One, เจาะเบืองหลังปฏิบัติการสราง

‘อนาคตใหม่’ กับ ชัยธวช ตุลาธน รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind the creation of Future

Forward with Chaitawat Tulathon, Deputy Secretary of Future Forward], 11 April 2019, [https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-interview/](https://www.the101.world/chaithawat-tulathon-interview/).

* 1. **- effectively suspended primary voting** ‘New method for primary votes

can overcome ban problem: Wissanu’, *The Nation*, 29 August 2018, [https://www.](https://www.nationthailand.com/politics/30353278) [nationthailand.com/politics/30353278](https://www.nationthailand.com/politics/30353278).

**p.119 - Future Forward decided to press ahead** ‘Future Forward x primary vote’, Future Forward Facebook page, 18 October 2018, [https://www.facebook.com/ FWPthailand/posts/1916095678466017/](https://www.facebook.com/FWPthailand/posts/1916095678466017/).

* 1. **- Thanathorn and Piyabutr held a short Facebook Live** อนาคตใหม่ แจง ปมไพรมารี ขออภัยคนไม่ผ่าน ชีอุดมการณ์ของสมาชิกต้องมาก่อน [Future Forward explains

primary voting issue. Apologises to those that failed the selection and points out that member’s ideology must come first], *Prachatai*, 15 December 2018, [https://](https://prachatai.com/journal/2018/12/80095) [prachatai.com/journal/2018/12/80095](https://prachatai.com/journal/2018/12/80095).

* 1. **- provoking heavy criticism from would-be candidates** มันคือฝนรายใช่ไหม!คน

รนใหม่ “อนาคตใหม่» โวยพรรคเลิกไพรมารีโหวต-เคาะกันเองภายใน [It is a bad dream, isn’t it! New

generation Future Forward protested to the party regarding cancellation of primary voting – internally selected], *Thai Post*, 14 December 2018, [https://www.thaipost.](https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/24226) [net/main/detail/24226](https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/24226).

**p.120 - An unsuccessful … candidate explained** Anyarat interview with former Future Forward candidate, 26 April 2020.

* 1. **- The former candidate claimed** Anyarat interview with former Future Forward candidate, 26 April 2020.
	2. **- some members felt ‘ignored and discarded’** Anyarat interview with former Future Forward candidate, 26 April 2020.

**p.121 - and the *khun khun* at the headquarters** Anyarat interview with former Future Forward candidate, 26 April 2020. The phrase *khun khun* rather defies translation, but implies that the party leadership and inner circle saw themselves as superior to ordinary members, perhaps, especially those from the provinces.

* 1. **- advisors and assistants to the elected MPs** An elected MP may appoint eight personal advisors or assistants, all of whom receive salaries from parliament. One senior advisor receives 24,000 baht per month, while the other seven advisors and assistants receive 15,000 baht per month. See Parliament Regulations: [https://www. parliament.go.th/ewtadmin/ewt/parliament\_parcy/download/appoint\_person/01\_ parliament\_regulation.pdf](https://www.parliament.go.th/ewtadmin/ewt/parliament_parcy/download/appoint_person/01_parliament_regulation.pdf).

**p.121 - Nipon said they were disappointed** อ่านบทสรป ที่มาที่ ไป ดราม่าพรรคอนาคตใหม่

120 สมาชิกลาออก [Read a background summary of Future Forward Party’s drama: 120 members resigned], *Workpoint News*, 28 October 2019, [https://workpointnews. com/2019/10/28/ffp-120/](https://workpointnews.com/2019/10/28/ffp-120/).

**p.122 - Piyabutr said the leadership was fine** เปิดใจ “ปิ ยบุตร” มีชนชันวรรณะในพรรคอนาคต

ใหม่จรงหรอไม่ [Open up Piyabutr, there are social classes in the Future Forward Party, true or not?], PPTV Online, 25 October 2019, [https://www.pptvhd36.com/news/](https://www.pptvhd36.com/news/%C3%A0%C2%B8%E2%80%BA%C3%A0%C2%B8%C2%A3%C3%A0%C2%B8%C2%B0%C3%A0%C2%B9%E2%82%AC%C3%A0%C2%B8) [ประเด็นร้อน/112854](https://www.pptvhd36.com/news/%C3%A0%C2%B8%E2%80%BA%C3%A0%C2%B8%C2%A3%C3%A0%C2%B8%C2%B0%C3%A0%C2%B9%E2%82%AC%C3%A0%C2%B8).

* 1. **- Thanathorn’s response was … ‘good riddance’** ‘Thanathorn shrugs off resignation of 120 party members’, Thai PBS World, 28 October 2019, [https://www. thaipbsworld.com/thanathorn-shrugs-off-resignation-of-120-party-members/](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/thanathorn-shrugs-off-resignation-of-120-party-members/).
	2. **- Pornthip Rungyen** Pornthip is a pseudonym. Saowanee Alexander and Anyarat interviews with Pornthip, 22 and 26 April 2020.
	3. **- One of the most colourful characters** For a long English interview with Taopiphop, see the *Bangkok Podcast,* Season 4, Episode 2, 30 October 2019, [https://www.bangkokpodcast.com/future-forward-mp-taopiphop-limjittrakorn-beer- business-and-politics-in-thailand-season-4-episode-2/](https://www.bangkokpodcast.com/future-forward-mp-taopiphop-limjittrakorn-beer-business-and-politics-in-thailand-season-4-episode-2/), and Episode 3, 6 November 2019, [https://www.bangkokpodcast.com/future-forward-mp-taopiphop-limjittrakorn- beer-business-and-politics-in-thailand-season-4-episode-3/](https://www.bangkokpodcast.com/future-forward-mp-taopiphop-limjittrakorn-beer-business-and-politics-in-thailand-season-4-episode-3/).

**p.123 - Taopiphop joined … out of a heady mixture** *Prachatai English,* ‘Future

Forward Party’s new faces’.

**p.123 - Taopiphop’s rhetoric illustrated** Michael Montesano, ‘Commentary: Thailand has a cunning plan to kickstart the economy. It involves billionaires’, Channel News Asia, 24 April 2020, [https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/commentary/thailand- prayut-rich-billionaires-covid-19-coronavirus-economy-12669442](https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/commentary/thailand-prayut-rich-billionaires-covid-19-coronavirus-economy-12669442) Montesano has argued, ‘the party’s criticism of monopoly power in the Thai economy represented another serious challenge to that order’.

* 1. **- Taopiphop … had to take care of his constituents** Panis Phosriwungchai, ‘ ใครๆ ก็เป็ น ส.ส. เหมือนผมได้’: คราฟตการเมืองกับ เท่าพิภพ ลิมจิตรกร [Anyone can be an MP like me: craft politics with Taopiphop Limjittrakorn], *The 101*, 7 November 2019, [https:// www.the101.world/taopiphop-limjittrakorn-interview/](https://www.the101.world/taopiphop-limjittrakorn-interview/).
	2. **- a political party was just a body** *Bangkok Podcast,* Season 4, Episode 3, 6 November 2019, [https://www.bangkokpodcast.com/future-forward-mp-taopiphop- limjittrakorn-beer-business-and-politics-in-thailand-season-4-episode-3/](https://www.bangkokpodcast.com/future-forward-mp-taopiphop-limjittrakorn-beer-business-and-politics-in-thailand-season-4-episode-3/).

**p.124 - Thanathorn and the rest of the leadership were highly sensitive** Kornkritch and Thaweeporn, ‘Future Forward Party criticised’.

**p.124 - The crowd funding idea did not catch on** ‘FFP dissolved, executives banned for 10 years’, *Bangkok Post,* 21 February 2020, [https://www.bangkokpost.com/ thailand/politics/1862769/ffp-dissolved-executives-banned-for-10-years](https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1862769/ffp-dissolved-executives-banned-for-10-years).

* 1. **- Future Forward Party had 62,362 members** สถตสมาชกพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Future

Forward Party’s membership statistics] [https://futureforwardparty.org/member/](https://futureforwardparty.org/member/member-statistic) [member-statistic](https://futureforwardparty.org/member/member-statistic).

* 1. **- Future Forward borrowed … from Thanathorn** The first loan had an interest rate of 7.5 per cent per annum, and was to be repaid in three instalments: 80 million baht in the first year, 40 million baht in the second year, and 41.2 million baht in the third year. The second loan contract was signed on 11 April 2019 for 30 million baht, to be repaid in one year at 2 per cent interest. This low rate of interest was cited in the Constitutional Court verdict when Future Forward was dissolved on 21 February 2020.

**p.125 - provided the pretext for the banning of the party** ย้อนดูสัญญาเงินกู้ 2 ฉบับ

191.2 ล. เอือ ปย. อนาคตใหม่ ชนวนปิ ดฉาก ธนาธร-พวก [Looking back at the two loan

contracts for 191.2 million to Future Forward causing the end of Thanthorn and associates], Isaranews Agency, 21 February 2020, [https://www.isranews.org/](https://www.isranews.org/investigative/investigate-asset/85829-report00-85829.html) [investigative/investigate-asset/85829-report00-85829.html](https://www.isranews.org/investigative/investigate-asset/85829-report00-85829.html).

* 1. **- Thanathorn … the wealthiest MP** ‘Thanathorn is richest MP with 5.6 billion baht assets’, Thai News Agency, 20 September 2019, [https://tna.mcot.net/ view/5d848f47e3f8e40b273985b3](https://tna.mcot.net/view/5d848f47e3f8e40b273985b3).
	2. **- Pannika declared … while Piyabutr’s declaration** เปิ ดทรพย์สินของ 6 นักการ เมืองสุดฮอต! ในโลกโซเชียล [Revealing assets of 6 hottest politicians! in the social world], *Matichon Weekly*, 22 September 2019, [https://www.matichonweekly.com/scoop/ article\_231328](https://www.matichonweekly.com/scoop/article_231328).

**p.126 - The Election Commission published** เปิ ดยอดรายรบ-จ่าย 74 พรรคการเมือง

[Announcing income – spending 74 political parties], *Bangkokbiz News*, 27 November 2019, <https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/856218>.

**p.126 - the other major parties filed similar reports** The Democrats spent the most, with a total expenditure of 32.6 million baht and total income of 32 million baht. Pheu Thai, which won the most constituency MP seats, reported a total income of 21 million baht and expenditure of 29.24 million. Palang Pracharat had a total income of 30 million baht and expenditure of 30.21 million baht.

**p.126 - the party had spent … 90 million baht** อนาคตใหม่ อ้าง “ธนาธร” ให้กู้ไม่อยู่ใน

เกณฑครอบงาํ พรรค เลงขนึ คาสมาชกจายหน้ี [Future Forward claims Thanathorn loan is not

dominating the party. Thinking of increasing membership fee to pay debts], *Manager Online*, 20 May 2019, <https://mgronline.com/politics/detail/9620000048034>.

**p.126 - setting up … in all 77 provinces** The party’s main income for the financial year 2018 came from donations (58.7 million baht), membership fees (8.6 million baht), and souvenir sales (2 million baht). The largest expenses were administrative costs (61 million baht), followed by public relations and advertising (8 million baht). See เปิ ดไทม์ ไลน์ คําวนิจฉัย พรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Announcing timeline: Future Forward Party verdict], Nation TV, 21 February 2020, [https://www.nationtv.tv/main/ content/378762901/](https://www.nationtv.tv/main/content/378762901/).

**p.126 - Most political parties … campaign funds** อนาคตใหม่ ขอ กกต.ขยายเวลาส่งเอกสาร เงินกู้ 191 ล้านบาท [Future Forward asks ECT for more time to submit documents on 191 million baht loan], Thai PBS, 2 December 2019, [https://news.thaipbs.or.th/ content/286635](https://news.thaipbs.or.th/content/286635).

**p.126 - Based on official expense reports** Pitch Pongsawat, การศึกษาความเคลื่อนไหว

ทางการเมือง และพฤติกรรมการเลือกตงั ราษฎร 24 มีนาคม พ.ศ. 2562: พืนที่กรงเทพมหานคร [Political

activity and electoral behaviour in Bangkok during Thailand’s 24 March 2019 general election], Research submitted to Research and Development Office, King Prajadhipok’s Institute, 2019, pp. 208–11.

* 1. **- Thanathorn … wanted issue-based MPs** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.
	2. **- appeal to working class voters** Asaree Thaitrakulpanich, ‘Former factory worker named Future Forward candidate’, *Khaosod English*, 30 January 2019, [https://www.khaosodenglish.com/politics/2019/01/30/former-factory-worker- nominated-future-forward-candidate/](https://www.khaosodenglish.com/politics/2019/01/30/former-factory-worker-nominated-future-forward-candidate/).

**p.127 - 31 constituency MPs were female** Two MPs identified as LGBTQ and adopted female dress in parliament, while two other LGBTQ MPs adopted male attire.

**p.127 - Future Forward’s performance on MPs’ gender parity** See International Parliamentary Union and UN Women, *Women in Politics 2020* map, [https://www. unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/ women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827](https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827).

**p.127 - a slick video clip** <https://www.facebook.com/events/738745683200682/>.

**p.127 - Nana called Future Forward a ‘patriarchy’** Authors’ interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang, 21 May 2020.

* 1. **- six MPs either born or resident in the region** Party-list MPs with Isan credentials were: Surachai Srisarakam (12), Apichat Sirisoontone (14), Karom Polpornklang (25), Kampong Thepakam (28) Surawat Thongbu (43) and

Samlee Raksuthi (45). Only Karom and Kampong could seriously be viewed as representing the Northeast.

* 1. **- more than half of the party-list MPs were falling short** Duncan interview with Pannika, 23 August 2019.
	2. **- Thanathorn was rueful about the hasty candidate selection** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.
	3. **- garnering half a million votes in the South** See Montesano, ‘Upper South’, pp. 203–04.
	4. **- Thanathorn was barred from taking his seat** See ธนาธร เดินออกจากสภา [Thanathorn walks out of parliament], *Workpoint News,* 24 May 2019, [https://www. youtube.com/watch?v=gRggZfs8VQM](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DgRggZfs8VQM&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7Cebd3aebaa61c4c7644b508d80fa12ca8%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637276532195515071&sdata=yRxVV635SK0UeePKsqx5sPrF61PLT5pa1KMNY1NqcRY%3D&reserved=0).

**p.130 - Thanathorn exited to a standing ovation** ‘Thailand’s parliament votes in pro-army house speaker’, AP News, 26 May 2019, [https://apnews. com/82abbfd97ac34ce59afe0a5af62858d3](https://apnews.com/82abbfd97ac34ce59afe0a5af62858d3).

**p.130 - Under interim provisions** On the 2016 referendum’s troublesome ‘Question 2’, see Duncan McCargo, Saowanee Alexander and Petra Desatova, ‘Ordering peace: Thailand’s 2016 constitutional referendum’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 39, 1, 2017: 75, 81–84.

* 1. **- the anger of the people is tangible** Charlotte Chelsom-Pill, ‘Thai opposition leader Thanathorn defiant after losing out in PM vote’, *Deutsche Welle,* 11 June 2019, [https://www.dw.com/en/thai-opposition-leader-thanathorn-defiant-after-losing- out-in-pm-vote/a-49140593](https://www.dw.com/en/thai-opposition-leader-thanathorn-defiant-after-losing-out-in-pm-vote/a-49140593).
	2. **- I do have more to prove** Hannah Ellis-Petersen, ‘”I am not here to entertain”: meet Thailand’s first transgender MP’, *Guardian*, 8 April 2019, [https://www. theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/06/i-am-not-here-to-entertain-meet-thailands-first- transgender-mp](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/06/i-am-not-here-to-entertain-meet-thailands-first-transgender-mp).

**p.131 - a large and rapidly growing LGBTQ population** Rattiya Angkulanon, เข้าใจ

อินไซตช

าวสีรง

เจาะกําลังซือ

LGBT ไม่ ใช่ Niche Market อีกต่อไป [Understand ‘inside’ rainbow

people. Examining LGBT’s purchasing power shows no longer a niche market], *The Bangkok Insight,* 6 September 2018, <https://www.thebangkokinsight.com/41361/>.

**p.131 - international image as an LGBTQ-friendly society** See the official Thai Authority of Thailand website <https://www.gothaibefree.com/>, explicitly targeted at LGBTQ foreign tourists.

**p.131 - By proposing the committee** อนค.ไม่ถอยหลังแพ้ โหวต กมธ.หลากหลายทางเพศฯ เตรียม ทลายกรงขังทางกฎหมาย [FFP won’t back down after losing vote for separate standing committee for LGBTQ: prepare to unlock legal cage], *Prachatai,* 22 August 2019, <https://prachatai.com/journal/2019/08/83986>.

**p.131 - Thanathorn and Pannika offered different explanations** Duncan interview with Thanathorn and Pannika, 23 August 2019.

* 1. **- Future Forward was again in hot water** ส.ส. อนาคตใหม่ขอโทษปล่อยชายจูบกัน กลางสภาฯ-สิระ จีประธานสภาฯ ลงโทษ [Future Forward MP apologises to the public for letting two men kiss one another in parliament. Sira urges House Speaker to punish MP], *The Standard*, 18 December 2019, [https://thestandard.co/future-forward-](https://thestandard.co/future-forward-party-181219/)

[party-181219/](https://thestandard.co/future-forward-party-181219/).

* 1. **- When General Prayuth led the assembled** For images of the different

swearing ceremonies led by Prayuth, see “เสรพิศุทธ์” จับผิด “บิ๊กต” ปมถวายสัตย์ฯ – ฝ่ ายค้าน

จีนายกรบผิดชอบ [Seripisut catches out Big Tu regarding the oath swearing issue –

opposition asked PM to take responsibility], Channel 3 TV News, 11 August 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAwagrA-dT4>.

* 1. **- Piyabutr questioned … had been properly sworn in** ย้อนดูคลิป ‘นายกฯ ถวาย สัตย์ฯ’ กล่าวไม่ครบตามที่ ‘ปิ ยบุตร’ อ้าง จรงหรอไม่? [Re-watching the clip ‘Prime Minister sworn in’, did he really not read the oath properly?], Bright TV, 24 July 2019, [https://www. youtube.com/watch?v=h4aiV2hFvZY&feature=youtu.be](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h4aiV2hFvZY&feature=youtu.be).
	2. **- a gold-framed message signed by the King** ‘Prayut, cabinet members

receive King’s message’, *Bangkok Post*, 27 August 2019, [https://www.bangkokpost.](https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1737667/prayut-cabinet-members-receive-kings-message) [com/thailand/politics/1737667/prayut-cabinet-members-receive-kings-message](https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1737667/prayut-cabinet-members-receive-kings-message).

**p.133 - Prayuth asked people to stop talking** ที่มา “ปมถวายสัตย์ฯ” [Source of

oath swearing issue], Thai PBS*,* 18 September 2019, [https://news.thaipbs.or.th/](https://news.thaipbs.or.th/content/284334) [content/284334](https://news.thaipbs.or.th/content/284334).

**p.133 - Wissanu then bizarrely claimed** “วษณุ” ไขปมถวายสัตย์ “ทรงไววางพระราชหฤทัย

คณะรฐมนตร” [Wissanu clarifies oath swearing issue, claiming the King trusts the

government], *Prachachat Thurakit*, 19 September 2019, [https://www.prachachat.net/](https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-372775) [politics/news-372775](https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-372775).

**p.133 - widely pilloried on social media** It could be argued that based on the second paragraph of Article 161, the cabinet had been ‘pre-approved’ to start working, and the exact wording of the oath was therefore a technicality.

**p.133 - Wissanu was satirically dubbed** สภาเดือด! ประท้วงยับ ห้าม “เสรพิศุทธ์” พูดปมถวาย สัตย์ ์ [House on fire: amid protests, Seripisuth forbidden from discussing oath- swearing issue], *Thai Rath*, 26 February 2020, [https://www.facebook.com/thairath/](https://www.facebook.com/thairath/videos/333178190954475/) [videos/333178190954475/](https://www.facebook.com/thairath/videos/333178190954475/).

**p.133 - Piyabutr was hailed … as parliament’s ‘shining star’** [ฉายารฐสภา “ดงงูเห่า” ตี ตราวฒิ สภาทหารเกณฑ์](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1736608) [Parliament nicknamed Cobra Den, Senate labelled Assembly of Military Conscripts], *Thai Rath*, 29 December 2019, [https://www.thairath.co.th/ news/politic/1736608](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1736608).

**p.133 - Seripisut … threatened with expulsion** สภาเดือด! ประท้วงยับ ห้าม “เสรพิศุทธ์” พูด ปมถวายสัตย์ [House on fire: amid protests, Seripisuth forbidden from discussing oath- swearing issue], *Thai Rath*, 26 February 2020, [https://www.facebook.com/thairath/](https://www.facebook.com/thairath/videos/333178190954475/) [videos/333178190954475/](https://www.facebook.com/thairath/videos/333178190954475/).

**p.133 - Another symbolic issue** The vote was to approve a royal decree transferring the First and Eleventh Infantry Regiments to the King’s Royal Guard Command. See Teeranai Charuvastra, ‘Abandoned by allies, Future Forward votes against royal transfer decree’, *Khaosod English*, 17 October 2019, [https://www.khaosodenglish. com/politics/2019/10/17/abandoned-by-allies-future-forward-votes-against-royal- transfer-decree/](https://www.khaosodenglish.com/politics/2019/10/17/abandoned-by-allies-future-forward-votes-against-royal-transfer-decree/).

* 1. **- Future Forward voted against the move** มติสภา 376 ต่อ 70 เห็นชอบ พรก.โอนย้าย กําลังพล [Parliament votes 376 to 70 confirming decree to transfer troops], *Post Today,* 17 October 2019, <https://www.posttoday.com/politic/news/603809>.

**p.134 - Wissanu declared ominously** ‘วษณุ’ ชี้ ใครอภิปรายปม พ.ร.ก.โอนย้ายฯ รบผิดชอบกันเอง [Wissanu asserts those discussing issue about the decree of military transfer have to take responsibility on their own], *Daily News*, 17 October 2019, [https://www.](https://www.dailynews.co.th/politics/737081) [dailynews.co.th/politics/737081](https://www.dailynews.co.th/politics/737081).

* 1. **- I did not vote for you** [https://twitter.com/ARMdhiravath/ status/1185783242789552129](https://twitter.com/ARMdhiravath/status/1185783242789552129).

**p.134 - Messages of support for the MPs** #ประชุมสภา [Parliamentary meeting], Future Forward Facebook page, 17 October 2019, [https://www.facebook.com/FWPthailand/ posts/2515061408569438](https://www.facebook.com/FWPthailand/posts/2515061408569438).

**p.134 - Thanathorn declined to elaborate** Shawn W. Crispin, ‘Thanathorn speaks inconvenient truths in Thailand’, *Asia Times,* 15 November 2019, [https://asiatimes. com/2019/11/thanathorn-speaks-inconvenient-truths-in-thailand/](https://asiatimes.com/2019/11/thanathorn-speaks-inconvenient-truths-in-thailand/).

* 1. **- in the face of formidable pressures and obstacles** ‘วษณุ’ ชี้ ใครอภปรายปม พ.ร.ก.โอน ยายฯ รบผดชอบกนเอง [Wissanu asserts those discussing issue about the decree of military transfer have to take responsibility on their own], *Daily News*, 17 October 2019, <https://www.dailynews.co.th/politics/737081>.
	2. **- Thanathorn made his own mark** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 18 August 2019.

**p.135 - Defence spending has increased dramatically** See Napisa Waitoolkiat and Paul Chambers, ‘Arch-royalist rent: the political economy of the military in Thai- land’, in Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat (eds), *Khaki Capital: the Political Economy of the Military in Southeast Asia*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2017, pp. 56– 60.

**p.135 - Prayuth’s garbled, tongue-tied speech** นายกฯ อภิปรายงบปี 63 [Prime Minister discusses 2020 budget bill], *Thai Rath*, 17 October 2019, [https://www.facebook. com/thairath/videos/394735421206662/](https://www.facebook.com/thairath/videos/394735421206662/).

**p.135 - As Thanathorn pointed out** ‘ธนาธร’ ถามความโปรงใส ‘งบกลาโหม’ [Thanathorn questions transparency of defence budget], *Bangkokbiz News,* 29 November 2019, <https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/856527>.

**p.135 - Thanathorn still sat on the … budget scrutiny committee** ‘ธนาธร’ เข้ารวม ด้วย! เผยชื่อ 64 ทีมคณะกรรมาธิการวสามัญพิจารณา พ.ร.บ. งบฯ ปี 63 [Thanathorn is joining in: revealing the 64-member team of the 2020 budget scrutiny committee], Isranews Agency, 20 October 2019, [https://www.isranews.org/isranews-news/81667- thanatornn01.html](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.isranews.org%2Fisranews-news%2F81667-thanatornn01.html&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7C7681ded934a143451f4608d7f299bdff%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637244614445627105&sdata=0jh9GD7E6g20erJjVX7fd%2BBD64A3W1LCugFMbsfNrWg%3D&reserved=0) ; For a discussion of the budgetary allocation process and the centrality of the budget scrutiny committee, see Yoshinori Nishizaki, *Political Authority and Provincial Identity in Thailand: the Making of Banharn-buri*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program 2011, pp. 86–88.

* 1. **- Thanathorn took the lead in questioning** ดูธนาธรถาม ผบ.เหล่าทัพ งบกลาโหมไม่ โปรงใส นายพลรวยผิดปกติ กองทัพมีธุรกิจ [See Thanathorn meets army, defence budget not

transparent, generals unusually rich, the military is involved in business], *Prachatai,*

28 November 2019, <https://prachatai.com/journal/2019/11/85344>.

* 1. **- out of all proportion to their official salaries** For a relevant discussion see Ukrist Pathmanand and Michael K. Connors, ‘Thailand’s public secret: military wealth and the state’, *Journal of Contemporary Asia,* 2019, DOI

[10.1080/00472336.2019.1635632](https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2019.1635632).

**p.136 - Thanathorn abruptly resigned** ’Thanathorn quits house budget scrutiny panel’, Thai PBS World, 29 November 2019, [https://www.thaipbsworld.com/ thanathorn-quits-house-budget-scrutiny-panel/](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/thanathorn-quits-house-budget-scrutiny-panel/).

**p.136 - His statement … was distinctly cryptic** ‘ธนาธร’ ลาออกจากตําแหน่งในสภา พรอมปลุกใจ สู้กับคนๆ นั้น [Thanathorn resigns from parliamentary position, ready to start fighting those people], TV Channel 7 News, 29 November 2019, [https://news.ch7.com/](https://news.ch7.com/detail/378507) [detail/378507](https://news.ch7.com/detail/378507). On Facebook later, Thanathorn elaborated that he meant: กลุ่มอภิสิทธิ์ชน ที่มีอํานาจอยู่ ไม่อยากเห็นผมทํางานในสภาฯ ผมจึงลาออก [The privileged group who are in power do not want to see me working in the parliament. Therefore, I resigned.], See ‘ธนาธร

’ วจารณ์ ‘กองทัพ’ ถาม รายได้นอกงบประมาณ 1.9 หมื่นล้านบาท ใช้จ่ายอย่างไร [Thanathorn criticises

military, asks about how off-balance-sheet income of 1.9 billion baht is used], BBC Thai, 29 November 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-50603356>.

* 1. **- Thanathorn gave a 90-minute Powerpoint lecture** นายธนาธร จึงรงเรองกิจ หัวหน้า พรรคอนาคตใหม่ บรรยายพิเศษชําแหละงบประมาณ «กระทรวงกลาโหม» โดย - ตง้ ข้อสังเกตต่อ ร่าง พ.ร.บ.งบ ประมาณรายจ่ายประจําปี งบประมาณ 2563 - รายได้ต่างๆ ของกองทัพที่ไม่เคยถูกตง้ คําถาม และเมื่อถูกถาม แต่ไม่มีคําตอบ [Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, Future Forward Party leader, gives a special lecture on the budget for the Defence Ministry – raising questions against

the draft budget bill for financial year 2020 – the Army’s income has never been questioned and when it is questioned, it has no answers], 1 December 2019, [https://](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hc0nycD9K54) [www.youtube.com/watch?v=hc0nycD9K54](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hc0nycD9K54).

* 1. **- Future Forward … abstained** The vote passed with 253 MPs in favour and 196 abstentions. See อภิปรายงบ 63: สภาผ่านราง พ.ร.บ. งบประมาณฯ 2563 [Budget debate 2020: Parliament confirms the 2020 budget bill], BBC Thai, 11 January 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-51076368>.

**p.137 - Thanathorn insisted … fiscally irresponsible to vote against** Authors’ interview with Thanathorn, 10 June 2020.

**p.137 - Thanathorn related to us a disturbing episode** Normally MPs and other political appointees submit two assets declarations, one when they assume office and one when they leave. Authors’ interview with Thanathorn, 10 June 2020.

* 1. **- Wissanu … avoided expressing a clear view** “วษณุ” ชี้ “ส.ส.” เสียบบัตรแทนกัน ไม่

เสียหาย [Wissanu asserts MPs using others’ cards to vote is not a problem] *Thai Rath*, 22 January 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6F5ChX3tavc>.

* 1. **- a catchy Twitter hashtag was coined** The new hashtag was #เสียบบัตรแทนกัน [Using someone else’s card]. For a sample critical comment, see [https://twitter.com/ tanawatofficial/status/1225700424377749505](https://twitter.com/tanawatofficial/status/1225700424377749505).
	2. **- General Prayuth’s alleged involvement** For a short, subtitled summary of the allegations, see ‘(ENG) #1MDB: The dark alliance between Prayut and Najib’]*,* Future Forward, 23 February, 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=kekNEmhbqdE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kekNEmhbqdE).

**p.139 - This solo ‘extra-parliamentary no-confidence debate’** ‘Future Forward to hold no-confidence debate against govt on Sunday’, *The Nation Thailand*, 22 February 2020, <https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30382628>.

**p.139 - Malaysian 1MDB scandal** 1MDB refers to 1 Malaysia Development

BhD. This complex scandal, which contributed to the collapse of the Malaysian government in 2018, involved money laundering of Malaysian state funds, creating public debt on an epic scale. For a summary, see [Callum Burroughs](https://www.businessinsider.com/author/callum-burroughs) and [Yusuf Khan](https://www.businessinsider.com/author/yusuf-khan), ‘The bizarre story of 1MDB, the Goldman Sachs-backed Malaysian fund that turned into one of the biggest scandals in financial history’, *Business Insider,* 19 August 2019, [https://www.businessinsider.com/1mdb-timeline-the-goldman-sachs-backed-](https://www.businessinsider.com/1mdb-timeline-the-goldman-sachs-backed-malaysian-wealth-fund-2018-12?r=US&IR=T) [malaysian-wealth-fund-2018-12?r=US&IR=T](https://www.businessinsider.com/1mdb-timeline-the-goldman-sachs-backed-malaysian-wealth-fund-2018-12?r=US&IR=T).

**p.139 - She spoke for about an hour** Live: อภิปรายไม่ไววางใจนอกสภา [Extra-parlia- mentary no-confidence debate], อนาคตใหม่ – Future Forward, 23 February 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZmHz9xviUGg>.

**p.139 - Pannika claimed that the junta had worked** ‘Thai junta helped Malaysia cover up 1MDB scandal, newly banned opposition party claims’, *South China Morning Post,* 23 February 2020, [https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/southeast-asia/ article/3051984/thai-junta-helped-malaysia-cover-1mdb-scandal-newly-banned](https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/southeast-asia/article/3051984/thai-junta-helped-malaysia-cover-1mdb-scandal-newly-banned).

**p.139 - the government threatened to sue her** 1MDB: นายกฯสั่งหน่วยงานที่ถูกกล่าวหา

วาเกี่ยวข้องกับคดีทุจรตฉาว “ถ้าไม่จรงก็ฟ้ องไป” [1MDB: PM orders the accused authorities involving the scandal ‘Let’s sue if is not true’], BBC News Thai, 24 February 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-51609545>.

* 1. **- Pannika’s supporters praised her** Pannika Wanich, “ช่อ พรรณิการ”

แฉปมกองทน

ฉาว

1MDB [Cho reveals the controversial 1MDB deal], GMM25Thailand, 27 February 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZUPK-uPmqPo>.

* 1. **- Wiroj Lakkhanaadisorn shot to fame** Sunanta Buabmee, วิโรจน์ ลักขณาอดิศร วศวกร ‘ผู้ตกกระได พลอยโจน’สู่สภาผู้แทนราษฎร [Wiroj Lukkanaadisorn: an engineer’s

unexpected turn to House of Representatives], *Matichon Online,* 2 February 2020, <https://www.matichon.co.th/prachachuen/interview/news_1939543>.

**p.140 - Wiroj’s star rose** ปูมหลัง “วิโรจน์” ดาวจรสแสง ลูกชาวบ้านธรรมดา ดีกรนัก โต้วาที สู่ ส.ส มือ แฉ [Background of Wiroj, shining star: from an ordinary family, a renowned debater turned explosive party-list MP], *Thai Rath Online*, 26 February 2020, [https://www.](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1781070) [thairath.co.th/news/politic/1781070](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1781070).

**p.140 - This digital party trick** Wiroj Lukkanaadisorn, ความจรงมีเพียงหนึ่งเดียว วิโรจน์ แฉกระบวนการ IO กลางสภา [There is only one truth: Wiroj exposes IO workings

in parliament], *The Standard,* 26 February 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KeTlkKtPP3g) [watch?v=KeTlkKtPP3g](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KeTlkKtPP3g).

* 1. **- Young firebrand Rangsiman Rome** Rangsiman Rome, ตามติดชีวต ความฝน «รังสิ

มันต์ โรม» [Follow the life and dreams of Rangsiman Rome], *Thai Rath*, 12 July 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y1v3qURktaA>.

**p.140 - He had a reputation** ตอบตรง รังสิมันต์ โรม เผยตง้ ใจกรอกประสบการณ์ โดนคดีลงเว็บ ไซตสภาฯ [Rangsiman Rome admits deliberately putting his past court cases on

parliament’s website], *Thai Rath Online,* 14 June 2019, [https://www.thairath.co.th/](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/society/1591863) [news/society/1591863](https://www.thairath.co.th/news/society/1591863).

* 1. **- Rangsiman nicknamed himself a ‘tank’** Rangsiman Rome, คุย กับ รังสิมันต์ โรม – ส.ส. สายแทงค์ [Talking to Rangsiman Rome – the tank MP], *Krungthep Turakij*, [https://www.facebook.com/bangkokbiznews/ videos/376544733055307/?v=376544733055307](https://www.facebook.com/bangkokbiznews/videos/376544733055307/?v=376544733055307).
	2. **- He … worked on their Prawit take-down** Duncan interview with Rangsiman Rome, 28 May 2020.

**p.141 - Pheu Thai … proceeded to filibuster** แฉเบืองลึกเพื่อไทยหักหลัง-ล้มมวยซักฟอก

ปิ ดไมคอนาคตใหม่ ละเวน “พี่ ใหญ่” [Exposing Pheu Thai’s hidden agenda as betraying

Future Forward in grilling the ministers and trying to save Big Brother], Prachachat Thurakit, 28 February 2020, <https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-426105>.

**p.141 - Rangsiman was lauded for his bravery** ‘ โรม’ รบทราบข้อกล่าวหาซักฟอกประวตรนอก สภาฯ้ [Rome acknowledges charges from Prawit, reiterating that people are allowed freedom], *The Standard*, 3 April 2020, [https://thestandard.co/rome-acknowledged-](https://thestandard.co/rome-acknowledged-the-allegations/) [the-allegations/](https://thestandard.co/rome-acknowledged-the-allegations/).

* 1. **- heated social media exchanges between key players** See, for example เซเลบฝ่ าย ประชาธิปไตยซดกันนัว ‘คํา ผกา’ ฉะส้มหวาน นิสัยแบบนี้ไงเลยมีงูเห่าในพรรครวๆ ‘ปิ ยบุตร’ สวน อัด เพื่อไทย

เพราะเหลืออดจรง ๆ [Pro-democracy celebrities clashed bitterly; Kham Phaka slammed

‘Sweet Orange’, accusing it of having cobras because of this behaviour; Piyabutr rebutted that he was attacking Pheu Thai because he could not take it anymore], *Thai Post*, 28 February 2020, *Thai Post*, 28 February 2020, https://today.line.me/th/pc/ article/เซเลบฝ่ายประชาธิปไตยซดกันนัว+คํา+ผกา+ฉะส้มหวานนิสัยแบบนี้ไงเลยมีงูเห่าในพรรครัวๆ+ปิยบุตร

+สวนอัดเพื่อไทยเพราะเหลืออดจริงๆ-77erxQ.

**p.142 - In a long Facebook post** #อภิปรายไม่ไววางใจ: การทํางานกับพรรครวมฝ่ ายค้านที่ไม่แน่นอน

ชัดเจนตง้ แต่วนแรกจนวน

นี้ ทําให้เสียโอกาสการอภิปราย ประวตร อนุพงษ์ วษ

ณุ ในสภาผู้แทนราษฎร

[#No confidence debate: Unclear cooperation between opposition parties since the beginning causes us to miss the opportunity to grill Prawit, Anupong, and Wissanu in parliament], Piyabutr Saengkanokkul, Facebook*,* 27 February 2020, [https://www.](https://www.facebook.com/PiyabutrOfficial/posts/2637449609872239) [facebook.com/PiyabutrOfficial/posts/2637449609872239](https://www.facebook.com/PiyabutrOfficial/posts/2637449609872239).

**p.142 - Suthin Klungsaeng apologised to the public** “สุทิน คลังแสง” เพื่อไทย ขอโทษ ประชาชน ขอโทษอนาคตใหม่ [Suthin Klangsaeng, Phue Thai, apologises to the people and Future Forward], *Matichon*, 28 February 2020, YouT[ube, https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=QzpS0xGMG8k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QzpS0xGMG8k).

* 1. **- Thanathorn hosted a conciliatory dinner** See *The Reporters*, Facebook, 4 March [2020, https://www.facebook.com/TheReportersTH/ posts/2572060539710997%20%E0%B8%A0](https://www.facebook.com/TheReportersTH/posts/2572060539710997%20%E0%B8%A0).
	2. **- Thanathorn declared … parliamentarian system was ‘meaningless’** Authors’ interview with Thanathorn, 10 June 2020.
	3. **- Thanathorn tried to put a brave face** Authors’ interview with Thanathorn, 10 June 2020.
	4. **- Thitinan - Cobra?** Cobra is a classic Thai political term, alluding to a folk

tale about a farmer who was killed by his own pet cobra. It refers to an opportunistic defector who betrays a party for personal gain.

**p.144 - Thitinan’s story did quite not add up** เปิดใจ นันนี่ ฐิตินันท์ เบืองหลังศึกล้มช้างที่ ขอนแก่น กลยุทธ์เจาะ New Voter [Revealing Nunnie Thitinan, behind toppling of an elephant in Khon Kaen, penetration strategy], Matichon TV, 10 August 2019, [https://](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DQWKHz0P4d0c&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7Cc8af2d6b49a649b6c84f08d7fb5b5081%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637254241920685144&sdata=SHE2X3Jz0OYmhJrGGCeojcHgDvWWc8C4XstgLZ7vHC4%3D&reserved=0) [www.youtube.com/watch?v=QWKHz0P4d0c](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DQWKHz0P4d0c&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7Cc8af2d6b49a649b6c84f08d7fb5b5081%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637254241920685144&sdata=SHE2X3Jz0OYmhJrGGCeojcHgDvWWc8C4XstgLZ7vHC4%3D&reserved=0).

**p.144 - Thitinan recounted how he had been approached** ส.ส.อนาคตใหม่ เปิ ดโปง

ขบวนการค้างูเห่า ทุ่มซือตวสูงปรด 120 ล้าน [Future Forward MPs uncover the cobra buying

process, invest in buying the house at 120 million], *Thai Rath Online*, 4 June 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WehchaaHGnI](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.youtube.com%2Fwatch%3Fv%3DWehchaaHGnI&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7Cbd8352a7361948ffffd808d7fb66cc99%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637254291252440842&sdata=iDqe2EcDfnLkdQGsbsciYX06T6CCBECRhJbgW3aUBMQ%3D&reserved=0) ; Oddly, this important press conference was not featured on the Future Forward website’s news pages.

* 1. **- never showed his face at … Khon Kaen branch office** ‘Defection of former Future Forward MP angers Khon Kaen youth’*, Isaan Record*, 25 February 2020, [https://isaanrecord.com/2020/02/25/defection-of-former-future-forward-mp-angers- khon-kaen-youth/](https://isaanrecord.com/2020/02/25/defection-of-former-future-forward-mp-angers-khon-kaen-youth/).

‘**p.145 - all Future Forward MPs received these offers** Future Forward MPs speak out on “cobra” offers’, *Prachatai English*, 5 June 2019, [https://prachatai.com/](https://prachatai.com/english/node/8078) [english/node/8078](https://prachatai.com/english/node/8078);‘MPs expose cash offers for Prime Minister vote’, *The Phuket News*, 7 June 2019, [https://www.thephuketnews.com/mps-expose-cash-offers-for-](https://www.thephuketnews.com/mps-expose-cash-offers-for-prime-minister-vote-71717.php) [prime-minister-vote-71717.php](https://www.thephuketnews.com/mps-expose-cash-offers-for-prime-minister-vote-71717.php).

* 1. **- Pannika and 13 other MPs held a press conference** อนาคตใหม่ไรงูเห่า! ช่อ พรรณิ การ์ ลาก ส.ส. แฉประสบการณ์ซือตวแลกโหวต [Future Forward without cobras: Cho Pannika and MPs share experiences about buying people and trading votes] *Sanook News*, 4 June 2019, <https://www.sanook.com/news/7792022/>.
	2. **- Sixteen party executive members were banned** ‘Constitutional Court rules to dissolve Future Forward Party’, *Pratchatai English*, 21 February 2020, [https:// prachatai.com/english/node/8375](https://prachatai.com/english/node/8375).
	3. **- only 18 made it over to Move Forward** One constituency MP, Jumpita Chandarakachorn, resigned on health grounds in September 2019. The party lost her Nakhon Pathom seat in a by-election the following month.
	4. **- approached by Bhumjai Thai leader Anuthin** ‘Bhumjaithai ranks second largest in coalition government following defection of Future Forward MPs’, Thai PBS World, 25 February 2020, [https://www.thaipbsworld.com/bhumjaithai-ranks- second-largest-in-coalition-government-following-defection-of-future-forward-mps/](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/bhumjaithai-ranks-second-largest-in-coalition-government-following-defection-of-future-forward-mps/).

**p.147 - The Phrae defections led to small-scale protests** ‘Protests in Phrae over Future Forward MPs joining government-allied party’, *The Nation,* 2 March 2020, <https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30383144>.

**p.147 - The defections … elevated the standing of Bhumjai Thai** Nattaya Chet- chotiros, ‘9 defect to Bhumjaithai’, *Bangkok Post,* 26 February 2020, [https://www. bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1865549/9-defect-to-bhumjaithai](https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1865549/9-defect-to-bhumjaithai).

**p.147 - Piyabutr lambasted those MPs** [Ken Lohatepanont,](https://www.thaienquirer.com/author/ken-lohatepanont/) ‘Of cannabis and creeds: the rise of the Bhumjaithai Party’, *Thai Enquirer*, 26 February 2020, [https://www. thaienquirer.com/8440/of-cannabis-and-creeds-the-rise-of-the-bhumjaithai-party/](https://www.thaienquirer.com/8440/of-cannabis-and-creeds-the-rise-of-the-bhumjaithai-party/).

* 1. **- Banharn Silpa-archa famously lamented** See King Prajadhipok’s Institute, *Thai Political Encyclopedia*, อดอยากปากแห้ง [Famished], [http://wiki.kpi.ac.th/index. php?title=อดอยากปากแห้ง](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Foutlook.office.com%2Fowa%2Fredir.aspx%3FREF%3DkPWFN3X1wrq1hkzxXtqjISg3n6uvbhHL_COjICwgM56ImoizuPTXCAFodHRwOi8vd2lraS5rcGkuYWMudGgvaW5kZXgucGhwP3RpdGxlPeC4reC4lOC4reC4ouC4suC4geC4m-C4suC4geC5geC4q-C5ieC4hw..&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7C14d1832c678e498b6c4008d7f4cf85be%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637247044450199204&sdata=jt71EVbWSnz6Bjozh4fjzpMDzNWXerwDz5i7lnKKtbk%3D&reserved=0).
	2. **- persistent rumours of sizeable cash inducements** *Isaan Record*, ‘Defection of former Future Forward MP’.

**p.148 - Aim Sinpeng has argued** Aim Sinpeng, ‘Defections to expulsions: Future Forward Party’s internal turmoil’, *New Mandala,* 20 December 2019, [https://www. newmandala.org/defections-to-expulsions-future-forward-partys-internal-turmoil/](https://www.newmandala.org/defections-to-expulsions-future-forward-partys-internal-turmoil/).

* 1. **- Kawinnart’s departure was hardly surprising** Kawinnart subsequently joined

the Thai Local Power Party (พรรคพลงทองถนไท), a pragmatic micro-party with three

MPs, led by Bangkok ‘godfather’ Chat Taopoon (real name Chatchawal Kong-udom). Charuek Sri-on, a Chantaburi MP and ex-Pheu Thai member who also switched to Thai Local Power, was open about the fact that his desire to become an MP trumped any specific party allegiance. See Aim Sinpeng, ‘Defections to expulsion’; and ‘Future Forward party bans rogue MP from party activities’, Thai PBS World, 21 October 2019, [https://www.thaipbsworld.com/future-forward-party-bans-rogue-mp-from-party-](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/future-forward-party-bans-rogue-mp-from-party-activities/) [activities/](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/future-forward-party-bans-rogue-mp-from-party-activities/).

* 1. **- Srinuan was then in turn accused** ‘Future Forward ex-MP exposes attempt

to woo him to govt side’, *The Nation*, 27 February 2020, [https://www.nationthailand.](https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30382936) [com/news/30382936](https://www.nationthailand.com/news/30382936); ‘Former Future Forward MP tells police she has been threatened’, Thai PBS World, 27 February 2020, [https://www.thaipbsworld.com/](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/former-future-forward-mp-tells-police-she-has-been-threatened/) [former-future-forward-mp-tells-police-she-has-been-threatened/](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/former-future-forward-mp-tells-police-she-has-been-threatened/).

## p.149 - She excited much media attention by playing a phone recording See อดีต

ส.ส. อนค. งัดคลิปแฉถูกล่อซือตว เสนอ 23 ล้าน แลกย้ายพรรค ‘ปิ ยบุตร’ เตือนอดีตลูกพรรคคิดย้ายขัว

[Former Future Forward MP plays clip offering her 23 million baht to sell out and change party. Piyabutr’s warns party members against moving], TV Channel 3, 25 February 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eeBqrI3Mj5w>.

* 1. **- Bencha put her name forward** Anyarat Chattharakul interview with Bencha Saengchantra, 26 May 2020.
	2. **- termed ‘lawfare’** See Khemthong Tonsakulrungruang, ‘Anakot Mai: “lawfare” and Future Forward Party’s legacy’, *New Mandala,* 28 February 2020, [https://www.newmandala.org/anakot-mai-lawfare-and-future-forward-partys- legacy/](https://www.newmandala.org/anakot-mai-lawfare-and-future-forward-partys-legacy/).

**p.150 - court cases … brought on behalf of the junta** See Alan Dawson, ‘The strong arm of the law’, *Bangkok Post,* 5 August 2018, [https://www.bangkokpost.com/ opinion/opinion/1515894/the-strong-arm-of-the-law](https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/1515894/the-strong-arm-of-the-law).

**p.150 - Thailand is an extremely litigious society** For a detailed discussion, see McCargo, *Fighting for Virtue*.

* 1. **- nine major political parties have been dissolved** Aim Sinpeng, ‘Party banning and its impacts on party institutionalization’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 36, 4, 2014: 442–66. She discussed seven party bannings, and there have since been two more.

**p.150 - Many of the legal accusations** เลือกตงั 2562 : อัยการนัดสงคด่ั ี “ธนาธรกับพวก” 26 มี.ค.

[Election 2018: prosecutors to decide on the indictment on 26 March], BBC Thai, 27 February 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-47381620>.

## - an alleged minor inaccuracy in Thanathorn’s online biography ‘อ.เจษฎ์

’ มอง ’ประวต

ธนาธร’ ถาพมพผ

ดทาไมปลอยไวถ้ ง

5 เดอน เปิ ด กม.เลอกตง้ โทษถงขน

ยบพรรค [Prof. Jade

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**p.151 - Thanathorn was accused of committing a crime** สหรฐฯ-อียู โต้ กต. การเข้า สังเกตการณ์ เป็ นไปตามมาตรฐานของทางการทูต [US-EU debut Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the observation is the standard diplomatic practice], 12 April 2019, YouTube, [https://](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8TpU8OAsMig)

[www.youtube.com/watch?v=8TpU8OAsMig](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8TpU8OAsMig).

**p.151 - Thanathorn was charged on three sedition-related counts** ธนาธร ไต่เส้นอาญา

ม.116 งัดรฐธรรมนูญ ล้มคําสั่ง คสช. ขึนศาลพลเรอน [Thanathorn risking prosecution under

Article 116 for violating constitution and NCPO directives are to be sent to civilian court], *Prachachat Thurakit*, 10 April 2019, [https://www.prachachat.net/politics/](http://www.prachachat.net/politics/) news-313582.

**p.151 - accusing Piyabutr of giving an anti-monarchist lecture** ปชช. กวา 30 คน บุกพบ

‘บิ๊กโจ๊ก’ รองสอบ ‘ปิ ยบุตร’ คดีหมิ่นเบืองสูง [Over 30 people meet Big Joke at the police station to file a petition against Piyabutr as being anti-monarchy], *Krungthep Thurakit,* 4 April 2019, <https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/831633>.

**p.151 - sparked a backlash** See [https://www.facebook.com/PoliticsKalaland/ posts/1010893045782555?comment\_id=1010907212447805&reply\_comment\_ id=1010924962446030&comment\_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R%22%7D](https://www.facebook.com/PoliticsKalaland/posts/1010893045782555?comment_id=1010907212447805&reply_comment_id=1010924962446030&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R%22%7D).

**p.151 - Piyabutr … a threat to national security** “อุ๊-หฤทัย” ลั่น “ปิ ยบุตร” เป็ นภัยต่อความ มั่นคง [Au-Haruthai claims Piyabutr is a threat to national security], *Kom Chad Luek*, 4 April 2019, <https://www.komchadluek.net/news/crime/367977>.

**p.151 - Similar allegations … made against Future Forward as a whole** กลุ่มการเมือง ภาค ปชช.ยื่น กกต. ยุบ ’อนาคตใหม่’ เหตุเข้าข่ายล้มล้างสถาบันฯ [Political group of National Anti- Corruption Commission file complaint to Election Commission to dissolve Future Forward as being likely to bring down monarchy], *Thai Post,* 1 April 2019, [https:// www.thaipost.net/main/detail/32710](https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/32710).

* 1. **- The first legal challenge to assume serious significance** พ่อ ‘จอห์น วญญู’ คลั่ง

ธนาธร!จวก ’กกต.’ ออกเอกสาร 6 บรรทัดชงศาล รธน.วนิจฉัยปมถือหุ้นสื่อ [John Winyu’s father –

Thanathorn’s big friend– criticises Election Commission showing the document 6 lines long and letting the Constitution Court examine the charge related to media share], *Thai Post*, 16 May 2019, <https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/36045>.

* 1. **- Politicians have long been barred** ‘Abuse of media share law a growing concern’, *Bangkok Post,* 27 April 2019, [https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/ politics/1668132/media-share-minefield](https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1668132/media-share-minefield).

**p.152 - Despite involving no substantive conflict of interest** เปิ ดโปงคดีหุ้นส่ือ บ.วี-ลัค มีเดีย ‘ธนาธร’ ข่าวแห่งปี 2562 สํานักข่าวอิศรา [Exposing petition, V-Luck Media Company case, filed against Thanathorn], Isaranews Agency, 31 December 2019, [https://www. isranews.org/main-investigative/84022-inves01\_84022.html](https://www.isranews.org/main-investigative/84022-inves01_84022.html).

**p.152 - A bizarre claim that the logo and ideology** สุรวชช์ วรวรรณ (Sorawich Verawan) คดีอิลลูมินาติกับอนาคตใหม่ [Illuminati accusations and Future Forward], *MGR Online*, 26 December 2019, <https://mgronline.com/daily/detail/9620000123125>.

**p.152 - referred to the Constitutional Court** ปมรอน “อิลลูมินาติ” ชนวน “ยุบ” พรรค อนาคตใหม่ …? [Hot issue: ‘illuminati’ – cause of dissolution of Future Forward?], 26 December 2019, Thai PBS News, YouTube, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=LgU87CPWrlE&t=504s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LgU87CPWrlE&t=504s).

**p.152 - no evidence to support allegations** For a detailed rebuttal of the Illuminati

allegations, see ‘ปิ ยบตร แสงกนกกล

กอ่ นวน

ชช้ ะตาพรรคอนาคตใหม’

[Piyabutr Saengkanokkul

before the day that will dictate Future Forward’s destiny], *The Standard*, 20 January 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4N6EVb2u5Xw>.

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**p.152 - The Constitutional Court ruled** เงินกู้ การครอบงําพรรคการเมือง และคําฟ้ องของ กกต [Loans, interference in political parties, and the complaints of the Election Commission], *The Momentum*, 9 January 2020, [https://themomentum.co/future-](https://themomentum.co/future-forward-party-loans-lead-to-its-dissolution/) [forward-party-loans-lead-to-its-dissolution/](https://themomentum.co/future-forward-party-loans-lead-to-its-dissolution/).

* 1. **- party leaders had not shared details of the loans** Authors’ interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang, 20 May 2020.

**p.153 - the interest rate … was too low** เปิ ดข้อกฎหมายคดียุบพรรคอนาคตใหม่: เงินกู้ ไม่ ใช่ราย ได้และกฎหมายไม่ได้ห้าม [Exposing laws causing dissolution of Future Forward: a loan is not income, and not prohibited by law], 18 February 2020, *iLaw,* [https://www.ilaw.](https://www.ilaw.or.th/node/5556) [or.th/node/5556](https://www.ilaw.or.th/node/5556).

**p.153 - The dissolution … generated a strong backlash** มองประเด็นการยุบพรรคอนาคต

ใหม่ ด้วยแนวคิดความยุติธรรมต่างรน

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[On the dissolution of Future Forward,

different perspectives on justice between attorneys in different generations], *The Momentum*, 3 March 2020, <https://themomentum.co/intergenerational-justice/>.

**p.153 - 36 academics from Thammasat** ‘Law professors oppose Constitutional Court’s dissolution of Future Forward’, Thai PBS World*,* 24 February 2020, [https:// www.thaipbsworld.com/law-professors-oppose-constitutional-courts-dissolution-of- future-forward/](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/law-professors-oppose-constitutional-courts-dissolution-of-future-forward/).

* 1. **- As … Khemthong Tonsakulrungruang wrote** Khemthong, ‘Anakot Mai’.
	2. **- One important case pending … an illegal ‘flash mob’** ธนาธร และพวก โดนอีก

ขอหา “จดมอบใกลว้ ง” หลงรบทราบขอกลาวหาคดี “แฟลชมอบ” [Thanathorn and his team face new holding a demo near a palace charge after acknowledging the flash mob charge], BBC Thai, 10 January 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-51059239>.

# Future

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	2. **- flash mob, convened at the Skywalk** Voice Online, รอยเตอรสระบุ แฟลชม็อบสกา ยวอล์ค เป็ นการชุมนุมครง้ ใหญ่สุดในรอบหลายปี [Reuters stated flash mob Skywalk was one of the biggest protests in many years], 14 December 2019, [https://voicetv.co.th/read/ KA7YkBmfT](https://voicetv.co.th/read/KA7YkBmfT).
	3. **- the leadership … facing more legal charges** ธนาธร และพวก โดนอีกข้อหา “จัด ม็อบใกล้วง” หลังรบทราบข้อกล่าวหาคดี “แฟลชม็อบ” [Thanathorn and his team face a new charge of organising a protest near a palace after acknowledging flashmob charges], BBC Thai, January, 10, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-51059239>. The Skywalk is close to Princess Sirindhorn’s Srapathum Palace.

**p.156 - Piyabutr claimed in an interview** เอ็กซ์คลูซีฟ “ปิ ยบุตร” เปิ ดดีลลับจากคนในรฐบาลก่อน ยุบอนาคตใหม่-สู้ต่อหรอหนี ไปอยู่ต่างประเทศ? [Exclusive: Piyabutr reveals secret deal from person in government before dissolution of Future Forward – Keep fighting or flee abroad?], *Thai Post,* 29 February 2020, [https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/58504](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.thaipost.net%2Fmain%2Fdetail%2F58504&data=02%7C01%7Cduncan%40nias.ku.dk%7C13daff55e61542d2ef1508d80feb5ae8%7Ca3927f91cda14696af898c9f1ceffa91%7C0%7C0%7C637276850799659451&sdata=Ep7JSvCMoeVfQsGRIhHecoc33%2FnC8KhBuBAOFsbSWwk%3D&reserved=0).

**p.156 - Shortly before Future Forward’s dissolution** ย้อนไทม์ ไลน์และวาทะ ก่อน ธนาธร- ปิ ยบุตร-อภิรชต์ เจรจา ว.5 จับกระแส สะเทือนเก้าอี้ บิ๊กแดง’จับตาพลัง นายพลสายบุ๋น แทรก ทหารคอแดง

? [Timeline summary of Apirat-Thanthorn-Piyabutr saga including the secret talks],

*Matichon Weekly*, <https://www.matichonweekly.com/column/article_282649>.

**p.156 - he and Piyabutr were willing to talk to Apirat** Authors’ interview with Thanathorn, 10 June 2020.

* 1. **- As politicians, our duty is to find a deal** Authors’ interview with Thanathorn, 10 June 2020.
	2. **- Piyabutr publicly informed the person** See [https://progressivemovement. in.th/statement/](https://progressivemovement.in.th/statement/).

**p.157 - Piyabutr called upon supporters to gather** “ปิ ยบุตร” ประกาศปรากฎการณ์ ไฟลามทุ่ง ลั่นไม่ ใช่จุดจบ เป็ นจุดเรมต้น [Piyabutr announced the catching fire phenomenon, stating that this is not the end but the beginning], Matichon TV, 21 February 2020, [https:// www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1-qP6MnVXQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1-qP6MnVXQ).

**p.157 - spontaneous flash mobs** แฟลชม็อบนักเรยน-นักศึกษา ประกายไฟในกระทะ หรือ เพลิง ลามทุ่ง [The students’ flash mobs: a flash in the pan or catching fire?], BBC Thai, 28 February 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-51640629>.

**p.157 - replicated at 50 different … campuses** Janjira Sombatpoonsiri, ‘Student protests and a new dawn of civil resistance in Thailand’, *International Center of Nonviolent Conflict*, 10 April 2020, [https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/blog\_post/ student-protests-and-a-new-dawn-of-civil-resistance-in-thailand/](https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/blog_post/student-protests-and-a-new-dawn-of-civil-resistance-in-thailand/).

* 1. **- We have to read books** [Panis Phosriwungchai,](https://www.the101.world/author/panis/) #หนังสือก็ต้องอ่าน รฐบาลก็ต้องด่า:

นักศึกษาพูดอะไรบ้างบนเวทีปราศรย [#We have to read books, we have to chase out dictators:

what did the students say on the rally stage], *101 World*, 6 March 2020, [https://www.](https://www.the101.world/flash-mob-speech/) [the101.world/flash-mob-speech/](https://www.the101.world/flash-mob-speech/).

* 1. **- Future Forward held a final press conference** คณะกรรมการพรรคอนาคตใหม่แถลง

หลังศาลรฐธรรมนูญวนิจฉัยยุบพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Future Forward Party’s executive committee’s

press conference after the Constitutional Court dissolved Future Forward Party], Thai PBS, 21 February 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5s5FAXBmmas>

(minute 42).

**p.158 - nor did they have nearly as many followers on Twitter** As of 9 March 2020, Pita had 241.9K Twitter followers, Wiroj had 141.2K, and Rangsiman had 139.9K. By comparison, Thanathorn had 1 million followers, Pannika had 805.2K, and Piyabutr 537.5K.

**p.158 - ‘Tom’ … was one of Thanathorn’s closest friends** See เปิดตวั ! 3 ชนชันสูง ‘

ต๋อม-เอก-ติ่ง’ ผู้รวมก่อตง้ พรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Introduction! 3 elites Tom-Ake-Ting co-founders of the Future Forward Party], *Bangkokbiz News*, 29 October 2019, [https://www.](https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/852546) [bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/852546](https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/852546).

* 1. **- Pita was criticised after he gave an interview** พรรคใหม่ “ทิม พิธา” ลดโทนก้าวราว ต่อสู้เหมือนเดิม [New Party, Tim Pita, reducing aggressiveness but still fighting just the same], Matichon TV, 4 March 2020, YouTube, [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=U\_c-38JyMYw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U_c-38JyMYw).
	2. **- Move Forward’s mission** ‘Moving Forward: 55 disbanded MPs join

new party’, *Khaosod English*, 9 March 2020, [https://www.khaosodenglish.com/](https://www.khaosodenglish.com/politics/2020/03/09/moving-forward-55-disbanded-mps-join-new-party/)

[politics/2020/03/09/moving-forward-55-disbanded-mps-join-new-party/](https://www.khaosodenglish.com/politics/2020/03/09/moving-forward-55-disbanded-mps-join-new-party/).

## p.159 - The name of the new political party ก้าวไกล.

**p.159 - For party-list MP Bencha Saengchantra** Anyarat interview with Bencha Saengchantra, 26 May 2019.

**p.159 - Rangsiman Rome was far more circumspect** Duncan interview with Rang- siman Rome, 28 May 2020.

* 1. **- Pita adopted a relatively low profile** James Wilson, ‘The Big Interview: Pita Limjaroenrat joins us to talk Future Forward, Covid-19 and coalition govern- ments’, *Thai Enquirer,* 27 April 2020, [https://www.thaienquirer.com/12302/the- big-interview-pita-limjaroenrat-joins-us-to-move-forward-covid-19-and-coalition- governments/](https://www.thaienquirer.com/12302/the-big-interview-pita-limjaroenrat-joins-us-to-move-forward-covid-19-and-coalition-governments/).
	2. **- the unexplained disappearance of a young anti-regime activist** ‘“I can’t breathe”: uproar after yet another Thai activist in exile disappears’, Thai PBS World*,* 10 June 2020, [https://www.thaipbsworld.com/i-cant-breathe-uproar-after-yet- another-thai-activist-in-exile-disappears/](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/i-cant-breathe-uproar-after-yet-another-thai-activist-in-exile-disappears/).

**p.160 - Rangsiman bravely asked** For background see ‘Ex-intelligence chief accuses anti-royalists of implicating revered institution in activist’s disappearance’, Thai PBS World*,* 10 June 2020, [https://www.thaipbsworld.com/ex-intelligence-chief- accuses-anti-royalists-of-implicating-revered-institution-in-activists-disappearance/](https://www.thaipbsworld.com/ex-intelligence-chief-accuses-anti-royalists-of-implicating-revered-institution-in-activists-disappearance/).

**p.160 - Asked about joining a coalition government** Wilson, ‘The Big Interview: Pita Limjaroenrat’.

**p.160 - But when we interviewed Pita** Anyarat interview with Pita Limjaroenrat, 13 June 2020.

* 1. **- the prospects for a fundamental political realignment grew** See https:// [www.facebook.com/MoveForwardPartyThailand/videos/962166937546589/](http://www.facebook.com/MoveForwardPartyThailand/videos/96216693754658) UzpfSTE3MDk5NzQxODkxMDkyMTg6MjY3NDMzOTMwOTMzOTM2Mw/.
	2. **- This left the newly minted Move Forward** พิธา ป่ วยหนักเจ็บต้นคอพลาดศึกใหญ่ ถล่ม พ.ร.ก. [Pita is severely ill due to neck pain, he missed a major battle to topple the bill], *Nation Weekend,* 26 May 2020, [https://www.nationweekend.com/content/ politics/11441](https://www.nationweekend.com/content/politics/11441).
	3. **- Thanathorn had confidence in Pita’s leadership** Authors’ interview with Thanathorn, 10 June 2020.
	4. **- In Thai, the movement is called a *khana*** The full Thai name is [คณะก้าวหน้า](https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=%23%E0%B8%84%E0%B8%93%E0%B8%B0%E0%B8%81%E0%B9%89%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%A7%E0%B8%AB%E0%B8%99%E0%B9%89%E0%B8%B2).

## p.162 - the former leadership trio … launched the Progressive Movement การแถลง

เปิดตว [#คณะก้าวหน้า](https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=%23%E0%B8%84%E0%B8%93%E0%B8%B0%E0%B8%81%E0%B9%89%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%A7%E0%B8%AB%E0%B8%99%E0%B9%89%E0%B8%B2) [Launch Event: #Progressive Movement], 21 March 2020, [https://](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hncKRCQZy8s&feature=youtu.be)

[www.youtube.com/watch?v=hncKRCQZy8s&feature=youtu.be](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hncKRCQZy8s&feature=youtu.be).

**p.162 - Piyabutr explained that they could not call themselves** The original idea had been to call the movement *Khana Anakhot Mai*, คณะอนาคตใหม่.

**p.162 - he used the two terms interchangeably** [https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=hncKRCQZy8s&feature=youtu.be](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hncKRCQZy8s&feature=youtu.be), minute 17.

**p.162 - This was Piyabutr’s chance** Duncan interview with Piyabutr, 14 December 2012.

**p.162 - the school of resistance** รร. ผู้ ไม่ยอมจํานน, see [https://progressivemovement. in.th/statement/](https://progressivemovement.in.th/statement/).

* 1. **- an executive board of 12 members** For the list of Progressive Movement executives, all but two of whom were former party-

list MPs, see [https://progressivemovement.in.th/?fbclid=IwAR1O1l\_](https://progressivemovement.in.th/?fbclid=IwAR1O1l_r0RewS4H7UCtquuGV_5712Sn_6mgPJAOK1hTIB1msocWZmYy30k4) [r0RewS4H7UCtquuGV\_5712Sn\_6mgPJAOK1hTIB1msocWZmYy30k4](https://progressivemovement.in.th/?fbclid=IwAR1O1l_r0RewS4H7UCtquuGV_5712Sn_6mgPJAOK1hTIB1msocWZmYy30k4).

* 1. **- Piyabutr put his energies into a very successful podcast series** For the series, see ‘Interregnum’, YouTube, [https://www.youtube.com/results?search\_ query=%23Interregnum&sp=Qg0SC0ludGVycmVnbnVt](https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=%23Interregnum&sp=Qg0SC0ludGVycmVnbnVt).
	2. **- Thanathorn had to apologise publicly** [https://www.facebook.com/ ThanathornOfficial/posts/845892945814381? tn =K-R](https://www.facebook.com/ThanathornOfficial/posts/845892945814381?__tn__=K-R).

## p.164 - the spectacular commemoration of the May 2010 protests ธนาธร จึง

รงเรองกิจ [#ตามหาความจริง](https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=%23%E0%B8%95%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%AB%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%84%E0%B8%A7%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%88%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%B4%E0%B8%87) ในอดีตของเหตุการณ์พฤษภา 53 เพื่อเดินทางสู่อนาคต [Thanthorn Juangroongruangkit ‘#in pursuit of truth about the May incident 2010 to travel to the future], *The Momentum*, 16 May 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\_](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=174&v=mQbpxdFvy6I&feature=emb_logo) [continue=174&v=mQbpxdFvy6I&feature=emb\_logo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=174&v=mQbpxdFvy6I&feature=emb_logo).

**p.164 - Pannika gave an excellent explanation** ใช่หรอไม่ ได้รกัน | [#ตามหาความจริง](https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=%23%E0%B8%95%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%AB%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%84%E0%B8%A7%E0%B8%B2%E0%B8%A1%E0%B8%88%E0%B8%A3%E0%B8%B4%E0%B8%87) หวัง ผลการเมืองสรางความแตกแยก [Yes or No, we will know: #in pursuit of truth, hoping for political benefits to create conflict], Nation TV22, 16 May 2020, [https://www.](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tjmtdcBss-s&feature=emb_logo) [youtube.com/watch?v=tjmtdcBss-s&feature=emb\_logo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tjmtdcBss-s&feature=emb_logo).

**p.165 - Piyabutr quoted a classic Thai novel** “ปิ ยบุตร” ประกาศปรากฎการณ์ ไฟลามทุ่ง ลั่นไม่ ใช่ จุดจบ เป็ นจุดเรมต้น [Piyabutr announces the catching fire phenomenon: this is not the end, but the beginning], Matichon TV, 21 February 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1-qP6MnVXQ) [watch?v=D1-qP6MnVXQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1-qP6MnVXQ).