

Index

Note: Page numbers followed by “n” refer to notes.

A

- Abhisit Vejjajiva, 3
 - financial aid to ex-communists, 135
 - Internal Security Act, 49, 51
 - Red Shirts repression, 60, 149
 - state of emergency, 52
- absolute monarchy, 7, 19
- Accelerated Rural Development, 35, 67
- American era, 22
- Anupong Paochinda, General, 76, 80, 86–87
- Apiko Company, 79
- Apirat Kongsomphong, General, 46
- Armed Forces Development Command
 - unit or *Nuai banchakan thahan phatthana*, 30, 65, 67, 82
- Arthit Kamlang-ek, General, 33, 99

B

- Ban Na Sai massacre, 107
- Bhumibol Adulyadej, King, 12
 - anti-communist operations, 37
 - benevolence, 4
 - development monarch, 15, 63–67
 - illicit drugs suppression, 82–84
 - Isan Khiao* project, 70–74
 - legacy, 89
 - Monkey Cheeks project, 81–82
 - moral authority, 139
 - poverty alleviation, 72
 - royal democracy, 13
 - royal development projects, 22, 36, 38, 62
 - royal hegemony, 12, 36–38, 53, 88, 120, 147–48

- sufficiency economy, 3, 84–88, 126, 146
- villagers, concern towards, 109
- Border Patrol Police (BPP), 22, 23, 64
 - anti-drug operations, 83
 - human rights violation, 107
 - indoctrination programmes, 92
 - ultra-rightist politics, 41
 - Village Scouts, 101, 109
- Bunchusi Plan, 83

C

- Central Security Command (CSC), 22, 24
- Centre for Digital for Security, 69
- Charoen Sirivadhanabhakdi, 76
- Charoenrit Chamrasromrun, 109
- Chatichai Choonhavan, General, 52, 73, 74, 81
- Chaturon Chaisaeng, 136
- Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, General, 42, 70–73, 109
- China Ming Ta Potash Corporation, 79
- Chit-a-sa*, *see* Volunteer Spirit
- Chuan Leekpai, 30, 45, 55, 81
- Chulalongkorn, King, 8, 9, 14
- Civil Defence Volunteers (*A-sa samak pongkan phai fai phonlaruen*), 100
- Communist Party of Thailand (CPT)
 - armed struggle against state, 24–27, 111
 - demise, 8, 29, 72, 117
 - Khao Kho district, 65
 - objective, 20
 - Phayom Chulanont, 135

- problems within, 112
- propaganda among peasants, 22
- waning threat, 60
- weakening support, 43
- Communist Suppression Operations
 - Command, x, 2, 10, 24–25, 44, 106, 108
- Community Development Department, 28, 35, 67
- constitutional monarchy, 23
- counterinsurgency operations
 - civilian agencies, 35
 - first phase, 10
 - government agencies, 97
 - Local Administration Department, 66
 - mass organizations, 91, 94–101
 - military role, 12, 23, 41, 72
 - monarchy and military cooperation, 37
 - monarchy's involvement, 22, 38
 - people participation, 116
 - political offensive approach, 24–27, 104–8, 117
 - reform period, 11
 - royalism propagation, 109
 - state agencies, 35
 - Surayud Chulanont, 135
 - university archives, 16
 - US support, 20
- Cyber Center, 30
- cyber surveillance, 3
- cyber warriors, 127
- Cybersecurity Act, 132

- D**
- Democratic Soldiers, 42, 70
- development for security (*yutthaphatthana*)
 - beginning of, 65–66
 - communist threat, 41
 - concept of, 27–29, 59
 - definition, 70
- Fifth Plan (1982–86), 45
- military involvement, x, xix, 2, 19, 63
- objective, 88
- post-counterinsurgency period, 67–69, 73
- development military, 15, , 62, 67, 81
- development monarch, 15, 37, 62–65, 87
- Diamonds in the Mud programme, 125
- Directorate of Civil Affairs (*kong kitchakan phonlaruean*), 18n11, 29, 67, 69, 90n3
- Ditthapon Sasasamit, Lieutenant General, 51

- E**
- Eastern Economic Corridor, 30
- Eastern Tiger faction, 75, 76
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 26

- F**
- Five Provinces Bordering Forest Preservation Foundation (*Mulnithi anurak pa roi to 5 changwat*), 70, 75–77
- Forest Master Plan, 77–80
- Future Forward Party, xiii, xiv, 130, 142

- G**
- Green Northeast project, *see Isan Khiao* project

- H**
- Han Phongsitanon, Colonel, 94, 108

- I**
- Internal Security Act, 20, 49, 54–59
- Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC)
 - army's political arm, 30–35
 - budget, 56
 - civilian agencies, control of, 10
 - command structure, 34, 47, 48, 50

cyber surveillance, 3
 dismantling, 149
 drug problem, 49
 human rights violations, 106
Isan Khiao project, 71, 73
 legal status, 55–59
 main duty, 2
 mass operations, 102–4
 mass organizations, 4, 26
 members, 128
 natural resources, protection of, 75, 77
Nawaphon, 103–4
 objectives, 1, 40
 political offensive, 24, 105, 148
 poverty eradication, 73–74
 preventive regulations, issue of, 51
 provincial ISOC director, 33, 58, 98
 psychological operations, 5, 93
 regional ISOC director, 58
 Saiyud Kerdphol, 25, 97
 semi-democracy period, 43–44
 staff, 36
Isan Khiao project, 65, 70–73
 Issaraphong Nunphakdi, General, 74

J

Jatuphon Phromphan, 3
 Johnson, Lyndon, 22

K

Kaemling project, *see* Monkey Cheeks project
 Kat Katsongkhram, Colonel, 20
 Kennedy, John F., 22, 28
 Khanit Saphithak, General, 76
Kho.cho.ko. project, 70, 73–74, 78
 Kittiphong Ketkowitz, General, 76
Kong kitchakan phonlaruean, *see* Directorate of Civil Affairs
krathing daeng (Red Guards), 41, 93, 102
 Kriangsak Chamanan, General, 10, 42, 43, 91, 98, 112, 113, 114, 117

L

lése majesté, 40, 53
 Local Administration Department, 35, 66, 100
 Loetrit Wetsawan, General, 76

M

mass organizations
 Civil Defence Volunteers (*A-sa samak pongkan phai fai phonlaruen*), 100
 Diamonds in the Mud programme, 125
 effectiveness, 140–42
 incentives, 37, 119, 132–34
 new groups, 124–27
 objectives, 94–101, 120
 old groups, 122–24
 People's Liberation Army of Thailand, 134
 professional and community groups, 124
 Reservists for National Security, 18n9, 99, 116, 123
 Thai Big Bikes Love the Nation ISOC Club, 18n9, 125, 133, 134
 Thai National Defence Volunteers (*Thai a-sa pongkan chat* or *Tho.so.po.cho.*), 4, 18n9, 98, 114, 120, 121, 123
 Thai Offroaders Love the Nation, 125
 Volunteer Defence Corps (*A-sa raksa dindaen* or *O.So.*), 43, 94–96, 122–23, 128, 132–33, 141
 Volunteers for Development and Self-Defence (*A-sa phatthana lae pongkan ton-eng* or *O.pho.po.*), 94, 96
 Village for Development and Self-Defence Volunteers programme (*Muban a-sa phatthana lae pongkan ton-eng*), 67, 92, 96, 123

- Village Health Volunteers (*Asasamak satharanasuk pracham muban* or *O.so.mo*), 100, 121, 124
- Village Security Unit (*Chutraksa khwamplodphai muban* or *Cho.ro.bo*), 67, 96, 122
- Village Scouts, 41, 83, 93, 101, 102, 109, 113–14, 122, 124
- mass surveillance
- Cyber Center, 30
 - Cybersecurity Act, 132
 - expansion of ISOC's mass network, 2, 103, 126, 127
 - Network of People's News and Surveillance, 127
 - People's Participation Programme, 125, 127
 - Pineapple Eyes project, 127
 - Territorial Defence Student Cybers (*Ro.Do* Cyber), 126
- military's civil works, 88
- Ministry of Defence, 31–32, 127
- Ministry of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), 3
- Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MONRE), 1, 77
- Ministry of Education, 36, 126
- Ministry of Interior, 33, 66, 86, 122
- Mobile Development Units, 28
- monarchy
- lése majesté* cases, 40, 53
 - political power, 13, 37, 84
 - protection of, 40, 53, 89, 120, 137, 145
 - relationship with military, ix, 9, 10, 12–13, 23–24, 37, 46, 60, 62, 65, 68, 81, 88, 147
 - relationship with the United States, 20, 22, 38,
 - resacralization, xii
 - role of, 15
 - sufficiency economy, 84
 - symbol of Thainess, 13, 22, 38
- Mongkhon Amphonphisit, General, 82
- Monkey Cheeks Project, 81–82
- Mulnithi anurak pa roi to 5 changwat* (Five Provinces Bordering Forest Preservation Foundation), 70, 75–77
- N**
- Naphon Bunthap, General, 120, 143n2
- Noppadon Inthapanya, General, 76
- Nat Intharachoen, General, 76
- National Anti-Corruption Commission, 54, 76,
- National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO)
- absolute power, 3
 - eviction of farmers, 93, 131
 - financial rewards to ex-communists, 137
 - forest land, conservation of, 77–80
 - military regime, 17, 53–54
 - ties with big corporations, 75, 89
 - 2014 coup, xviii, 1, 136
- National Liberation Front (Viet Cong), 22
- National Peace Keeping Council (NPKC), 74, 75, 81
- National Reform Committee, 40, 41, 42
- Nawaphon*, 93, 102–4
- network monarchy, 6, 12, 13
- Noppadon Inthapanya, General, 76
- North Vietnam, 22
- O**
- Office of Intelligence, 69
- Office of Mass Affair and General Information, 120, 133
- Office of Policy and Security Strategy, 69, 121
- Office of the Royal Initiatives Projects and Security Co-ordination, 68
- Oraphim Raksaphon (Best), 4–5, 126

P

- parallel state, 6
- paramilitary forces, 4, 16, 23, 26–27, 41, 77, 93–94, 105–7, 141
- Pathet Lao, 22
- Patthawat Suksiwong, 76
- People Development and Peace Keeping Unit, 98
- People's Liberation Army of Thailand, 134
- People's Participation Programme, 125
- Prachatipatai thai niyom* project, 70, 87, 122
- Phalang Prachachon Party, 54
- Phalang Pracharat Party, 89, 132
- Phanlop Pinmanee, General, 49
- Phao Siyanon, Police General, 20, 21, 23
- Phatthana Phutthananon, General, 76
- Phayom Chulanon, Lieutenant Colonel, 135, 136
- Phibunsongkhram (or Phibun), Field Marshal, 6, 20, 21, 38, 94
- Phin Choonhavan, General, 20
- Phuea Thai Party, 2, 3, 54, 132, 136, 141
- Pineapple Eyes project, 127
- political offensive approach
(*kanmueang nam kanthahan*), 148
assessment, 59, 104–9
civilian-police-military joint operations (CPM), 22, 24–27, 63, 92, 145
during counterinsurgency period, 10–11, 117
post-counterinsurgency period, 29–30
semi-democratic period, 42–43
66/2523, 24, 42–43, 55, 92, 111–13, 114
65/2525, 24, 42–43, 55, 111–13, 114
Pracharat project, 54, 70, 85–86, 122, 132
- Prakan Pathawanit, General, 127
- Praphas Charusathian, 23, 25–26, 32–33, 44, 55, 108
- Prasert Sapsunthorn, 42
- Prawit Wongsuwan, General, 75–76, 127
- Prayut Chan-ocha, General
“cyber martial law”, 132
cyber surveillance, 130
forest resources, destruction of, 1, 77–80
ISOC's role, 59
military regime, legitimization, 85–86
new security threats, 46
personnel mobilization, 36
populist economic policy, 89, 138, 141–42
prime minister, 57
security policies, 120–21
websites, shut down, 3
- Prem Tinsulanonda, General
anti-drug campaign, 84
Isan Khiao project, 71
ISOC Command Structure, 34
mass organizations, 113, 115–17
political offensive approach, 24, 29, 42
premiership, end of, 52
Reservists for National Security, 99
resettlement scheme, 135
- Pridiyatorn Devakul na Ayutthaya, 76
- Prime Ministerial Order No. 47/2529, 43
- Prime Ministerial Order No. 65/2525, 43, 111–15
- Prime Ministerial Order No. 66/2523, 24, 43, 58, 92, 111–15
- Prime Ministerial Order No. 83/2526, 43
- Prime Ministerial Order No. 158/2545, 46, 48–50, 55, 57, 58
- Prime Ministerial Order No. 187/2542, 55

Prime Ministerial Order No. 288/2534, 99
 psychological operations, 16, 22, 27, 37, 38, 93
 Public Welfare Department, 35, 67
 Pye, Oliver, 2, 72, 74

R

Red Bull Public Company, 80
 Red Drums massacre, 106
 Red Guars (*krathing daeng*), 41, 93, 102
 Red Shirts, 3–4, 11, 51–54, 85, 120, 124, 129, 137, 140–41, 149
 Reservists for National Security, 18n9, 99, 116, 123
 royal democracy, 6, 13, 143, 147
 royal development projects, 22, 36, 38, 62
 royal hegemony, 12, 36–38, 53, 88, 120, 147–48
 Royal Forestry Department, 72, 75, 143n3
 Royal Thai Air Force, 36,
 Royal Thai Armed Forces, 35, 67
 Royal Thai Navy, 36

S

Saiyud Kerdphol, General, 25, 26, 34, 44, 55, 67, 94, 97, 102, 103, 105, 106
 Samphao Chusi, General, 82–83
 Samran Phaetthayakun, General, 103
 Sangad Chaloryu, Admiral, 41, 42
 Sarit Thanarat, Field Marshal, xiv, 13, 21–23, 27, 28, 135
 semi-democracy, 15, 43, 44, 119
 Seni Pramoj, 41, 55, 97, 102, 103, 106
 Siam Cement Group, 80
 Sino-Vietnam conflict, 111–12, 117
 Sirikit, Queen, 23, 75, 76, 113, 120, 129, 143n3
 6 October 1976 massacre,
see Thammasat massacre
 Somchai Rakwichit, 108

Somkuan Harikul, 109
 Sonthi Boonyaratglin, 54
 South Vietnam, 21–22, 39
 Suan Kittti Co. Ltd, 73, 90n4
 Suchinda Kraprayoon, General, 6, 74, 81
 sufficiency economy, 3, 5, 38, 56, 68, 84–89, 121, 126, 146,
 Sumet Tantiwetchakun, 45, 66, 97
 Sunthorn Kongsompong, General, 74
 Supreme Command, 10, 16, 19, 22, 29, 67, 82
 Surayud Chulanont, 54, 85, 132, 135–36
 Suthep Thaugsuban, 135

T

Thahan prachathipatai, or Democratic soldiers, 42, 70
 Thai armed forces
 civil affairs activities, 30, 44, 89
 civilian control, 8–9, 46
 crackdowns on protesters, 40
 creation of, 8
 duties, 39
 ideological training programme, 140
 illicit drugs, suppression of, 82–84
 internal security operations, 19–23, 60, 69, 145
 major task, 11–12
 “monarchized military”, 13
 royal legitimacy, 65, 88
 US aid, 28
 Thai Big Bikes Love the Nation ISOC Club, 18n9, 125, 133, 134
 Thai National Defence Volunteers (TNDV), 4, 18n9, 98, 114, 120, 121, 123
Thai niyom, 70, 86–88, 122
 Thai Offroaders Love the Nation, 125
 Thaksin Shinawatra
 aid to the poor, 135
 limited reform of the military, 46–52, 60
 military coup, 4, 52

- Phalang Prachachon, 54
 Phuea Thai, 54, 141
 Prime Ministerial Order No. 158/2545, 55, 57
 popularity, 11, 38, 53, 85, 89, 119, 137
 Red Shirts movement, 3
 southern Muslim-dominated provinces, 149
 universal health coverage, 101
 war on drugs, 83–84
 Thammasat massacre (6 October 1976 massacre), 15, 41–43, 91, 101, 103, 104, 107, 110–12, 114, 117, 138
 Thanathip Sawangsaeng, Colonel, 3
 Thanin Kraivichien, 41–42, 103, 105, 113
 Thanom Kittikhachon, Field Marshal, 23, 25, 26, 39, 44, 108, 118n5
 Thirachai Nakwanit, General, 76
 Thongchai Winichakul, 6, 13, 14, 103–4
- U**
 United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD), 3, 17n2, 51
 United States of America, 20, 23, 27, 28, 39, 59, 95
 United States Operations Mission (USOM), 95
- V**
 Vajiralongkorn, King, ix, 30, 110, 129, 139, 143n2
 Viet Cong (National Liberation Front), 22
 Vietnam War, 20, 21, 23, 27, 59, 95, 102
 Village for Development and Self-Defence Volunteers programme (VDSV), 67, 92, 96–97, 103, 115–16, 123
 Village Head Assistant for Peace Keeping Programme, 97
 Village Health Volunteers (*Asasamak satharanasuk pracham muban* or *O.so.mo*), 100, 121, 124
 Village Protection Unit (VPU), 95, 105
 Village Scouts, 41, 83, 93, 101, 102, 109–10, 113–14, 122, 124, 128
 Village Security Team (VST), 26
 Village Security Unit (VSU), 96, 128
 Volunteer Defence Corps (VDC) or *Kong asa raksa dindaen*, 43, 94–96, 122–23, 128, 132–33, 141
 Volunteer Spirit (*Chit-a-sa*), 30, 104, 138–40
- U**
 Udomdet Sitabutr, General, 76
- W**
 war on drugs, 60, 83
 Walit Rotchanaphakdi, General, 76
 Watthana Khiewowimon, 103–4
 Wirot Lakkhana-adison, 130,
 Wit Thephasadin na Ayutthaya, General, 76
- Y**
 Yellow Shirts, 11, 85, 129, 138, 140
 Yingluck Shinawatra, 52, 55, 76, 129, 131, 136, 141
Yutthaphatthana, 19, 27
see also development for security
- Z**
 007 *sai khao khwammankhong* (007 Intelligence), 16