Reproduced from *Praetorians, Profiteers or Professionals? Studies on the Militaries of Myanmar and Thailand*, edited by Michael J. Montesano, Terence Chong and Prajak Kongkirati, with an epilogue by Robert H. Taylor (Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, 2020). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of ISEAS Publishing. Individual chapters are available at http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg.

Praetorians, Profiteers or Professionals?

The ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute (formerly Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) is an autonomous organization established in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security, and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute's research programmes are grouped under Regional Economic Studies (RES), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS). The Institute is also home to the ASEAN Studies Centre (ASC), the Singapore APEC Study Centre, and the Temasek History Research Centre (THRC).

ISEAS Publishing, an established academic press, has issued more than 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.

Praetorians, Profiteers or Professionals?

Studies on the Militaries of Myanmar and Thailand

EDITED BY

MICHAEL J. MONTESANO TERENCE CHONG PRAJAK KONGKIRATI

WITH AN EPILOGUE BY ROBERT H. TAYLOR



First published in Singapore in 2020 by ISEAS Publishing 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace Singapore 119614

E-mail: publish@iseas.edu.sg *Website*: website</u>: http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

© 2020 ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore

The responsibility for facts and opinions in this publication rests exclusively with the authors and their interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views or the policy of the publisher or its supporters.

ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Name(s): Montesano, Michael J., editor. | Chong, Terence, editor. | Prajak Kongkirati, editor.

Title: Praetorians, profiteers or professionals? Studies on the militaries of Myanmar and Thailand / edited by Michael J. Montesano, Terence Chong and Prajak Kongkirati.

Description: Singapore : ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: ISBN 978-981-4881-75-3 (soft cover) | 978-981-4881-76-0 (PDF) Subjects: LCSH: Myanmar—Armed Forces. | Thailand—Armed Forces.

Classification: LCC UA853 B9P88

Typeset by International Typesetters Pte Ltd Printed in Singapore by Markono Print Media Pte Ltd

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements About the Contributors		vi	
		vii	
1.	Introduction: Two Mainland Southeast Asian Militaries in Comparative Perspective Michael J. Montesano, Terence Chong and Prajak Kongkirati	1	
2.	A New Tatmadaw with Old Characteristics Nay Yan Oo	30	
3.	Thailand's Military: Ideology and Sense of Mission Paul Chambers	70	
4.	The Defence Expenditures and Commercial Interests of the Tatmadaw Maung Aung Myoe	97	
5.	The Economic Role of the Thai Military: A Commercial Logic to Coups? Kanda Naknoi	132	
6.	Epilogue: Controlling or Playing Politics? Robert H. Taylor	150	
Index		168	

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank Professor Suchit Bunbongkarn, a long-time friend of ISEAS and supporter of its work, for first proposing preparation of a comparative volume on the militaries of Myanmar and Thailand and former ISEAS Director Tan Chin Tiong for encouraging us to take this idea up. Without the trade-mark commitment, understanding, and professionalism of Ng Kok Kiong, Sheryl Sin Bing Peng and their colleagues at ISEAS Publishing, this book would have been impossible. Aung Aung Hlaing offered guidance on the transliteration of Myanmar-language terms, and Nursyazwani Jamaludin took charge of submitting the manuscript to ISEAS Publishing.

In addition to kindly contributing an epilogue, Professor Robert H. Taylor has been a mentor and guide to us in our work on the book. In the course of that work, both he and his fellow contributors have exemplified collegiality, scholarly dedication, and above all extreme patience. To collaborate with each of them has been a privilege for which we are grateful.

Michael J. Montesano Terence Chong Prajak Kongkirati

Tokyo, Singapore and Bangkok March 2020

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Maung Aung Myoe is Dean and Professor of International Relations, International University of Japan, Minami Uonuma, Niigata, Japan; email: maungmyoe@gmail.com.

Paul Chambers serves as Lecturer and Special Assistant on International Affairs, Center of ASEAN Community Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Naresuan University, Phitsanulok, Thailand; email: pwchambers@gmail.com.

Terence Chong is Deputy Director of the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore, and Head of ISEAS's Temasek History Research Centre; email: Terence_Chong@iseas.edu.sg.

Kanda Naknoi is Associate Professor in the Department of Economics, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut, USA; email: kanda.naknoi@uconn.edu.

Michael J. Montesano is Coordinator of the Thailand and Myanmar Studies Programmes, ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore; email: Michael_Montesano@iseas.edu.sg.

Nay Yan Oo, formerly a resident fellow at Pacific Forum in Honolulu, Hawaii, is political analyst in Yangon; email: nayyanoo.mm@gmail.com.

viii About the Contributors

Prajak Kongkirati is Director of the Direk Jayanama Research Center and Deputy Dean for Research and Academic Service, Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand; email: prajakk@yahoo.com.

Robert H. Taylor has served numerous terms as Visiting Senior Fellow at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore. He is the author of *The State in Myanmar* (2009) and *General Ne Win: A Political Biography* (2015); email: dr.tinhla@googlemail.com.