THE THAI WAY OF COUNTERINSURGENCY

A BOOK OVERVIEW

JEFF M. MOORE, PHD

23 SEPTEMBER 2014

DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE UNIVERSITY
AGENDA

- About (Author, Muir Analytics)
- So what?
- The book
- Research model origin
- Research model “The COIN Pantheon”
- Sample findings
  - Communist COIN
  - 1st southern COIN
  - 2nd southern COIN
  - Conclusions
  - Unique Thai COIN issues
- Questions/contact
- Related topics
  - Thai Coup

Current Thai COIN
ABOUT

- Author: NC, defense & security SME since 1998, PENT/G-3
- SEA living experience, some EP
- *Spies for Nimitz, World Oil, Small Wars Journal, UPI’s Outside View…*
- PhD from Exeter, Institute of Arabic & Islamic Studies, Thai COIN
- CEO, Muir Analytics, specialize in LICs, developed standardized LIC analysis method
SO WHAT?

COIN isn’t dead, LICs abound, terrorism > 43% 2012-13, so lessons learned are VIP

Asia pivot – not just about Japan, China, & the S China Sea – SE Asia is critical

525 mil pop, GNP $700 bil, US 5th largest trade, VIP SLOC, impact of Vietnam War, major factor in WW II,* LICs abound, most pop Muslim nation, new “Cold War type arena,” US forces/assets >

*Kohima & Imphal (IN), Mar-Jul ’44

Thailand strategically centered in SE Asia

With so many religions, races, countries, languages, political angles, security issues, etc., SE Asia can seem daunting

*525 mil pop, GNP $700 bil, US 5th largest trade, VIP SLOC, impact of Vietnam War, major factor in WW II,* LICs abound, most pop Muslim nation, new “Cold War type arena,” US forces/assets >

*Treaty of Amity & Cooperation 1833, MR Seni Pramoj/Seri Thai, ’54 Manila Pact (SEATO), ’62 Thanat-Rusk Communiqué Dec ’03, Maj Non-NATO Ally

Copyright 2014 by Jeff M Moore, PhD
THE BOOK

How the Thai strategize & wage COIN

Fought 3 insurgencies (1965-present)

Lessons for waging COIN @ policy, strategic, operational, & tactical levels

Better understand regional security

Almost a “how to” COIN manual of case studies...

Helps inform approach to LIC, global & Thai FID, SE Asia & Thai policy makers, UCCs

1st of its kind on Thailand... better understand Thailand...sacks myths

Simple COIN model...do we really understand what COIN is??

Better understand regional security

38 interviews, over 1,000 footnotes, 2 tours of the current battlespace, never-before heard from sources...

Copyright 2014 by Jeff M Moore, PhD
RESEARCH MODEL ORIGIN

- Needed a COIN model
- “3 Pillars of COIN” concept by Dr. David Kilcullen
- Brilliant but not government/soldier-friendly
- Needed a “KISS” model for a complex subject
- Took Kilcullen model & altered it (w/permission)
Coordination
Security
Intelligence
Military
Police
Local forces
Etc.
Politics
National
Regional
Local
Oth projects
Etc.
Economic
$ Reduce
poverty
Agriculture
Enterprise
Infrastructure
Etc.
At-risk population
Insurgent capabilities & intentions
Coordination
Strategy
Copyright 2014 by Jeff M Moore, PhD
SAMPLE FINDINGS, COMMUNIST COIN

- **ECON**: CA, agriculture (irrigation), road building, etc. = massive & widespread

- **POL**: Politics leads, “Thai democracy,” diplomacy w/China, Village Scouts, amnesty

- **SEC**: Thahan Phran, VSTs, RTA, Special Forces, clandestine & TTP intelligence, PP = weak link, BPP & SB much better, however

- **COORD**: Decisive & streamlined coordination (Prem & Harn & their group, ISOC, MIL & LE followed)

- **STRAT**: Decisive strategy (66/2523, defeat the CPT, reduce poverty, protect the population from the CPT, unify the nation)

From 1968-76, Thailand did the opposite of all this, except poverty reduction
SAMPLE FINDINGS, 1ST SOUTHERN COIN

- **ECON**: good CA, increase in corporate investment
- **POL**: Integration (Wahdah/New Aspiration, Thai lang, EDU = ctzn training, Muslim advisors), amnesty (when applied correctly), removal of corrupt civ servants, diplomacy w/Malaysia
- **SEC**: excellent RTA intel on TTPs & HUMINT, Thahan Phran, PP = weak link, BPP & SB much better, however
- **COORD**: effective (SB-PAC under the PM = decisive), CPM-43 mission focused
- **STRAT**: decisive strategy (Tai Rom Yen; began w/Harn, architect of 66/2523), changed w/times (economics leads by 1994, Pitak Tai by 1998)

From 1994-97, coordination efforts ceased, & the insurgents surged, catching the gov unaware
SAMPLE FINDINGS, 2^D SOUTHERN COIN

- **ECON**: CA and econ programs look good so far…

- **POL**: diplomacy blocks OIC, OIC stabs Thailand in back, deradicalization, Muslim advisors, amnesty – maybe…peace talks – show or real???

- **SEC**: Anupong’s Army Area deployment, Thahan Phran, Pineapple Eyes, Pattana Santi, PP upgrade

- **COORD**: began in 06 nicely w/ ISOC, 4^th^ Army, SB-PAC & CPM; Southern Border Provinces Police Operation Centre = looks good so far

- **STRAT**: good for 2006-08, but…

2006 strategy now seems stale, Thailand needs to master PR & psyops, defeating insurgents does not seem a priority, & the population is
SAMPLE CONCLUSIONS*
* 70-30 concept

Begin w/minorities, eth & pol disenfranchised from central Thai, high poverty, some measure of gov tyranny or neglect

SIM: unconventional warfare & terrorism, political warfare
DIF: Islamist jihad, extreme terrorism (Kwam pen Thai gets in the way)

Ways/means nearly identical:
RTA+mil, RTP, Local Forces,* INT, RTP weak (BPP & SB = good)
Pop control, PHYS SEC, DA, VIL SEC

VARIES, but commonalities:
RTA, MoFA, PM, Mol
Politics leads mil, psyops/PR, diplomacy, amnesty, good governance

VARIES, but commonalities:
RTA, Mol &BPP, Royals, multi-agency
Nation build to a degree, Vil level, CA/poverty reduction, job creation, agriculture

COORD is doctrine (but also weak link), ARMY main C2 force (despite alphabet soup agencies that the RTA usually dominates)

Change strategy mid-war, follow “66/2523 Plan” principles, harness population

Copyright 2014 by Jeff M Moore, PhD
Amnesty: Pardoning thousands of a movement with a pen stroke is rare in COIN.

Village Scouts: mimic guerrillas politically with paramilitary organization.

Diplomacy: as a primary COIN tool: PRC, M’sia, Saudi, Egypt, GCC, Indo, OIC.

Thahan Phran: a massive antiguerrilla force, not a small COIN/CT force (low millions).

Economics: “economics leads, public relations follows, peace and order supports.” (did it once)
QUESTIONS?

Dr. Jeff M. Moore, PhD
CEO, Muir Analytics (muiranalytics.com)
Author, Spies for Nimitz (milintelligence.com)
Author, The Thai Way of Counterinsurgency
Asia government affairs & security editor, World Oil magazine
VA Dept of Criminal Justice cert. Pers Protection Specialist
Arlington, VA
USA
jmoore@muiranalytics.com
1-410-353-6403

Ongoing projects:

Comprehensive analysis of terror attacks on hotels
Standardized LIC analytical method

Copyright 2014 by Jeff M Moore, PhD
RELATED TOPICS: THAI COUP

The RTA’s view:

- Democracy “uber molested” by Thaksin & clique
  (Shin Corp sale = no tax, Section 112 of the Criminal Code & Thaksin’s 2-year jail sentence, etc.)

- Threats & violence followed*

- Nov 2013 - Feb 2014, 23 KIA, 768 WIA

- “People’s Democratic Republic of Lanna” secession

- De facto “people’s army”

- Ex-CPT heavy influence

* “I want there to be lots of violence to put an end to all this. I’m bored by speeches. It’s time to clean the country, to get rid of the elite, all of them.”

Thailand intensely divided (middle way violated/ripped apart)

Thai kill each other over politics

Thai don’t share power very well – crisis demands single leader

Analytical issues missed in this regard

Copyright 2014 by Jeff M Moore, PhD
**RELATED TOPICS: REVAMPING THE SOUTHERN COIN**

**End goals, ways & means (concepts @ this point)**
- SEC END: Safe & peaceful society
- SEC/POL END: Justice for southern peoples
- ECON END: Improve quality of life

**TOTAL COIN WAY:** Necessary for communities to manage their own problems (“supervised”)
- POL (PR) WAY: Promote better understanding of insurgency & COIN solutions
- POL WAY: Local residents’ participation VIP
- SEC WAY: Improvement of the human & vehicle registration system

**Work in progress**
- “How to” COIN: Brainstorming various COIN models, lessons learned from abroad
- Peace talks: Past practices before peace talks begin (Mindanao, Aceh, Northern Ireland…)
- Gen Akanit Muansawat likely leading peace talks

**C2**
- Major General Prakan Cholayuth new 4th Army Commander

**Insurgents**
- Insurgents initiative to unify fighters for a “Patani Malay Community”
- BRN attacked by its own members for having “no brain & no skeleton”
- Patani Liberation Army (PLA), possibly a New Pulo splinter

Copyright 2014 by Jeff M Moore, PhD