INDEX

A
Abdullah, Farooq, 180, 183, 184, 187
Abdullah, Sheikh, 178, 179, 185
Abdulqadir, Tengku, 221
Abdul Razak, Othman, 287
ABRI, 94–97, 99–103, 107n8
ABSU. See All Bodo Students
Union (ABSU)
Abu Sayyaf group, 285–86
Aceh, 64, 66, 71
armed separatist conflicts in, 10
autonomy, 19, 37–39
challenges of, 52–53
civil emergency, 47
conflicts in, 19, 27–28, 41, 46, 47
Daerah Istimewa, 38
decentralization, 38, 40, 42, 44, 52
democratization, 39, 42, 49
deteriorating security
environment, 42
Helsinki peace agreement in, 36,
37, 45, 47–53
independence movement, 43
Islamic law in, 42, 43
negotiated settlement to, 40–48
self-government in, 38, 45,
48–51, 297
separatist insurgency, 41
special autonomy to, 36, 38, 48
tsunami in, 27–28, 47, 52
Aceh model, 229
Aceh Monitoring mission, 26
Acehnese NGOs, 49
Acehnese ulama, 42, 43
Aceh-Sumatra National Liberation
Front (ASNLF). See Gerakan
Aceh Merdeka (GAM)
Act of Congress, 270
Act of Free Choice (AFC), 61, 62,
74n6
ADCs. See Autonomous District
Councils (ADCs)
Administrative Code for Mindanao
and Sulu, 279
Adulyadej, Bhumibol, 218
Advani, L.K., 187
Advisory Committee, India, 198
AFC. See Act of Free Choice (AFC)
AFP. See Armed Forces of the
Philippines (AFP)
AGAM. See Angkatan Gerakan Acheh Merdeka (AGAM)
Ahtisaari, Martti, 19, 46, 48
AIETD. See All Inclusive East Timorese Dialogue
Alatas, Ali, 79
Al Badr. See Hizb-ul Mujahideen (HM)
Al-Harakat al-Islamiyah group, 285
All Bodo Students Union (ABSU), 203–4
All Inclusive East Timorese Dialogue (AIETD), 79
All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC), 181, 183, 186, 188
All Parties National Alliance (APNA), 186, 191n21
All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF), 205, 211
Alua, Agus, 71
ameliorative policies, 2, 46
American colonial rule, 279
Ampatuan, Andal, 267
Anandasangaree, V., 172
Angami Naga tribe, 201
Angkatan Gerakan Acheh Merdeka (AGAM), 54n5
Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1909, 238, 243
Annan, Kofi, 82
anti-communist activities, 247
APHC. See All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC)
APNA. See All Parties National Alliance (APNA)
armed conflicts, 114
in J&K, 180
in Northeast India, 196–212
armed forces
Indonesia, 39, 41
of Sri Lankan state, 136, 149
Tatmadaw, 299
Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor, 95
Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), 282, 286, 290
armed insurgency in Thailand, 236–40
armed insurgent movements, 196
armed movements, 201, 203
armed rebellion in Sri Lanka, 137
armed separatism
specter of, 297, 300
in Sri Lanka, 137
armed separatist
guerilla-style military campaigns of, 300
perpetuation of, 4
armed separatist conflicts, 2, 7, 9, 11, 24, 29, 36, 256, 296, 298, 303, 304
in Aceh, 10
in Asia, 36
in India, 11
in Indonesia, 37–38
management of, 7
in Muslim-majority provinces, 301
negotiating peace in, 162
resolution of, 302
in South and Southeast Asia, 4, 9, 298
armed separatist minorities, 8
self-determination for, 2
armed separatist movements, 1, 2, 5, 77, 299, 301
resurgence of, 4
armed separatist rebellion in Indonesia, 297
ARMM. See Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM)
arms for peace ceasefire agreements, 130
ASDC. See Autonomous State Demand Committee (ASDC)
Asia
armed separatist conflicts in, 36
geopolitical and financial crisis in, 1998, 79
ASNLF. See Acheh-Sumatra National Liberation Front (ASNLF)
Assam, 198, 204, 209–11
Bodo insurgency in, 203, 205
hill areas, division of, 197
Karbi Anglong district in, 208
Karbis and the Kukis in, 207
ATTF. See All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF)
Aung San, 115, 120
Australian Parliamentary delegation in East Timor, 97
authoritarian forms of government, 4
authoritarian regimes, 4, 5
Autonomous District Councils (ADCs), 207–9
Autonomous Regional Councils, 207
Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), 267–68, 283–85, 287, 290
clan politics in, 271
creation of, 280–81
elections in, 2005, 292
Maguindanao in, 266
Organic Act for, 257–59
Regional Legislative Assembly of, 270–71
survey in, 2002, 269
Autonomous State Demand Committee (ASDC), 208
autonomy
Acehnese, 37–39
after civil war, 156–58
in civil war, 153–54
de facto, 240, 241, 247
defining, 6–8
desirability of, 8
establishment of, 25
for ethnic minority, 113, 118
forms of, 1, 5
idea of, 16–17, 19
inadequate, 139
initiatives, 8
institutional design of, 296
Kachin political struggle for, 127–28
purpose of, 299
reform regime capacity for, 140
regimes, 5
regional. See regional autonomy
special. See special autonomy
as state reform, Sri Lanka, 140–44
substantial, 139, 238, 248
as sub-state model, 19–20
autonomy debate
in J&K, 183–86
in Sri Lanka, 137, 144–45, 147, 151, 154
autonomy proposal, 80, 86–87, 89, 230
Indonesia, 60
Moroccan, 82
special, 67–68
autonomy settlements, 130
autonomy trap in Sri Lanka, 138–40
Azhar, Maulana Masood, 182, 191n19

B
BAC. See Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC)
Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan (BPK), 50
Baker, James, 82
Baker Peace Plan, the, 82–84
Balasingham, Anton, 171
Balibo Declaration, 85, 90n25
Bali Declaration, 90n25
balkanization
India, 181
Indonesia, 40
bamarization, 115
Bangkok, 220–23, 225, 227, 250, 301
bureaucratic elites, 251
internal colonialism, 217–18
Bangladesh, 205
ULFA leadership in, 210
Bangsa Moro Army (BMA), 282, 290
Bangsamoro, autonomy, 19
Bangsamoro Development Agency, 274, 286
Bangsamoro Juridical Entity (BJE), 258, 265, 271, 273, 274, 287, 293
Bangsa Moro Revolution, 291
Barua, Paresh, 210
benevolent assimilation, Philippines, 279
BGF. See Border Guard Forces (BGF)
Bhanomyong, Pridi, 248–49
BJE. See Bangsamoro Juridical Entity (BJE)
BLT. See Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT)
BMA. See Bangsa Moro Army (BMA)
bodo insurgency in Assam, 203–4, 205
Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC), 204
Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC), 204, 214n22
Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT), 204
Border Guard Forces (BGF), 116
Bordoloi, Gopinath, 198
Bordoloi Sub-Committee, 207
BPK. See Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan
British colonialism, 115, 166
BTC. See Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC)
Buddhism, 120, 128, 166. See also Islam
Buddhists, 184, 185
in Isaan, 245
tradition, 239
Bunker Agreement, 61
Bureaucratic inertia, 251
Burma, 299–300
and KIO/KIA, 120–21
C
Camp Abubakar, 285, 286
in Maguindanao, 264
campaign and violence in Timor-Leste, 86–88
Camp David Summit, 2000, 48
Carrascalão, Mario, 98, 103
ceasefire
definition of, 113
in East Timor, 97, 98, 101, 104
in Myanmar, 128–30
and political economy of Kachin State, 123–25
ceasefire agreement, 115–16
between Indian and Pakistani forces, 178
with LTTE, 150, 151–52
in Northeast India, 204–5, 208–9
Chakri dynasty, 218, 227
China and KIO territories, 122–23
Christian Filipinos, 279, 280, 290
Christian Kachin community, 120
civic nationalism, 22
civic shortfall of the state, 18
civil emergency in Aceh, 47
civilization, Sinhalese Buddhist, 166
civil war in Sri Lanka, 163
autonomy after, 156–58
autonomy in, 153–54
ethnic, 137, 153–54
ethno-political, 139
protracted, 136, 137, 149
secessionist, 139
violence in, 162, 163
CMI. See Crisis Management Initiative (CMI)
CNRM. See Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Maubere (CNRM)
CNRR. See National Council of Revolutionary Resistance
CNRT. See Concelho National da Resistencia Timorese (CNRT)
colonialism
British, 115, 166
Filipino, 291
internal. See internal colonialism
colonization in Thailand, 217
Communist Party of Thailand (CPT), 243, 245
Concelho National da Resistencia Timorese (CNRT). See National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT)
confederalists, 171
conflict mediation model, 29
conflict resolution, 18–19
in Myanmar, 128–30
conflicts
armed separatist, 2, 7, 9, 11, 24, 29, 36, 256, 298, 301, 303, 304
self-determination, 5
in Sri Lanka, 163
Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Maubere (CNRM). See National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM)
conservative nationalists, 40
consolidating control, state approaches for, 236
constitutional authority, 24
constitutionality, mediated, 17, 30, 302–3
constitution-drafting process in Myanmar, 114, 117, 128
contagion effect in Thailand, 225–26
Cordillera, 260, 274n2
Council for the Development of the Southern Border Provinces Area (CDSBPA), 225
counter insurgency
Jakarta’s growing reliance on, 44
in Northeast India, 203–6, 212n10
operations, 300
operations against GAM, 39, 42, 55n10
in Tripura, 214n27
CPT. See Communist Party of Thailand (CPT)
creeping separatism, 151
Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), 46
CRRN, 104

D
Daerah Istimewa, Aceh, 38
Daerah Operasi Militer (DOM), 39, 54n9
Daimary, Ranjan, 204–5
Darul Islam, 38, 42, 54n4, 54n6
Darul Islam Rebellion, 54n6
decentralization
   Aceh, 38, 40, 42, 44, 52
   and autonomy, 172
   in form of self-government, 297
   in Mindanao, 257
   reforms, 8
   in Thailand, 221–22, 235, 250, 251
decolonization process, 78, 83
   conducting, 81
de facto administration, 155–56
de facto autonomy, 11, 240–41, 247
de facto subordination, 220
Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste (RDTL), 94
democrative process
   Indonesia, 84
   Morocco, 84
democratization, 5
   Aceh, 39, 42, 49
   Indonesia, 301
   in Indonesia, 88
   in Myanmar, 117
Democrat Party in Thailand, 251
demographic factor for Mindanao, 290
devolution proposals
   LTTE’s rejection of, 148–49
   of PA, 148
DHD. See Dima Halim Daogah (DHD)
Dili, 79, 88, 98, 99, 104
   CNRT in, 87, 91n34
   invasion of, 95
Dima Halim Daogah (DHD), 208
disenfranchised minorities, 296
District Development Councils, Sri Lanka, 144
Di Tiro, Hasan Muhammad, 38
divide-and-rule, Myanmar, 115, 119
Djopari, John, 71
do Amaral, Francisco, 103
DOM. See Daerah Operasi Militer
Dom Boa Ventura, 78
Dutch, 61
   administration, 71
   colonialists, 59
dynamism, 21

E
earned sovereignty model, 17, 24, 25, 29
East Timor, 25, 27, 43, 297
   Australian Parliamentary delegation in, 97
   broad autonomy for, 100, 101
   campaign and violence in, 86–88
   case study of, 77–80, 81
   ceasefire, 97, 98, 101, 104
   cyclical occupation, 94–101
   independence, 106n1
   Indonesian invasion of, 93
   Indonesian policy in, 94–101
   Indonesian troop strength in, 98, 99
integration in, 20, 85
international law, role of, 84–86
liberation of, 95
military officers in, 97
military operations command in, 99
national identity dispute in, 38
parallels and paradox of, 83–84
peace plan, 104–5
twenty-four year conflict in, 94
violence in, 86–88
East Timorese Popular
Representative Assembly, 95
East Timorese rebels, 297
East Timorese resistance, 101–6, 107n2
East Timor Sub-Regional Military
Commander, 97
Economic and Social Research
Council, 230n1
economic dimension of Papua, 62
education, 42, 115, 116, 127, 131n6, 238, 288
Sri Lanka, 141
in Thailand, 239–40
Eelam People’s Revolutionary Front
(EPRLF), 143
Eelam, Tamil, 168, 169
Eelam war, 172
election
in Aceh, 43–44, 49–53
in East Timor, 101
in Indonesia, 96, 102–4
in J&K, 178, 180, 183, 188, 189
in Myanmar, 114, 117, 118, 128, 130
in Philippines, 266–68, 270–71
in Sri Lanka, 142, 147
in Thai, 251
electoral cycle, Indonesian, 94, 102–4
Electoral reform, 273
endemic violence in Manipur, 210
EPRLF. See Eelam People’s
Revolutionary Front (EPRLF)
Estrada, Joseph, 264, 286
ethnic ceasefire groups, 119
ethnic civil war in Sri Lanka, 137, 153–54
ethnic Malay identity, resilience of, 248
ethnic minorities in Thailand, 237
ethnic minority armed insurgency
in Srilanka, 136
ethnic nationalism, 166
ethnic peace accord in Sri Lanka, 162
ethnic Thai Buddhist population, 251
ethnic violence, 164
ethno-symbolic unities, 21
European Union’s Election
Observation Mission in Aceh
(EUEOM), 50–51
Executive Council, 283
external sovereignty, 131n4
F
factionalism, 302
factionalization in Mindanao, 290–92
Falintil forces, 95–96
Falintil leader, 103
Farooq, Mirwaiz Umar, 186, 193n40
FCC. See Fretilin Central
Committee
federalism, 288
in Indonesia, 40
Index

in Northeast India, 211
in Sri Lanka, 162–74
federalists, 163, 170–72
liberal, 171
Filipino colonialism, 291
Filipino Muslims, 262
Filipinos, 272
Final Peace Agreement (FPA), 265
implementation of, 264
with MNLF, 257, 258, 272
financial crisis in Asia, 1998, 79
Finland's conversion of autonomy, 20
forced assimilation efforts, 237
policies of, 1
four cardinal principles, 154
FPA. See Final Peace Agreement
Free Aceh Movement, 19, 27, 36, 297
Fretilin, 81, 103
forces, 95–96
leaders, 95, 102, 103
Fretilin Central Committee (FCC), 102
Fretilin dominated Constituent Assembly, 106n1

G
GAM. See Gerakan Acheh Merdeka
Gandhi, Indira, 141
Gandhi, Rajiv, 141
Garo Hills, 197
Geelani, Syed Ali Shah, 189
General Cessation of Hostilities in 1997, 285, 286
Gen Ohn Myint, 128
geopolitical crisis in Asia, 1998, 79
Gerakan Acheh Merdeka (GAM), 28, 36, 38, 39, 41–43, 49–53, 53n1, 54n5, 56n20
administrative officials, 53n3
and Indonesian security forces, 44, 45
military capabilities, 45
peace talks with, 47–48
regeneration, cause of, 37
Gilgit-Baltistan National Alliance (GBNA), 186
government, authoritarian forms of, 4
Government of India Act, 1935, 197
group identity, formalization of, 22
guerilla-style military campaigns of armed separatists, 300
Gusmão, Xanana, 78, 89n4, 97, 99–105

H
Habibie, B. J., 38, 46, 79, 80, 93, 99, 100, 105
Handley, Paul, 228
Hari Singh, Maharaja, 178
Harkat-ul Ansar (HuA), 182
Harkat ul-Jihad al-Islami (HuJI), 182
Harkat-ul Mujahideen (HuM), 182
Helsinki peace agreement in Aceh, 36, 37, 45, 47–53
Hikoyabi, Hana, 71
Hindus in J&K, 184, 185
Hizb-ul Mujahideen (HM), 181, 189
Holy Man Revolt of 1902, 254n21
holy war (jihad), 181, 182
Horta, José Ramos, 78
House Appropriations Committee, 283
Howard, John, 89n10, 100
HuA. See Harkat-ul Ansar (HuA)
HuJI. See Harkat ul-Jihad al-Islami (HuJI)
Hukawng Valley, 124–25
HuM. See Harkat-ul Mujahideen (HuM)

I
Iberian countries, 83
ICG. See International Crisis Group (ICG)
ICJ. See International Court of Justice
IFES. See International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)
IMF. See International Monetary Fund
India
armed separatist conflicts, 11
Northeast. See Northeast India
peace enforcement, 142
in Sri Lankan conflict, 141
Indian Ocean tsunami, 37, 45, 46
Indian Tamils, 163
India-Sri Lanka Accord of 1987, 19, 141, 142, 145, 154, 168
Indigenous Peoples Rights Act, 1997, 260
Indonesia
armed forces, 39
armed separatist conflicts, 37–38
autonomy, 79
balkanization of, 40
culture, 61
cyclical occupation in East Timor, 94–101
democratization in, 49, 84, 88
electoral cycle, 94, 102, 103
federalism in, 40
invasion of East Timor, 93
nationalists, 38

political leadership, 40, 41, 47
security forces, 37, 44, 45, 50
state authority, 41
state power and authority, 39
violence in, 10
Indonesian Marines, 96
Indonesian military, 38, 60, 69, 80, 87, 95–97, 103, 107n3
to civilian control, 37
internal factionalism, 46
pre-eminent role of, 63
regime, 78
violent manner in, 61
Indonesia’s special autonomy package in Papua, 63–65, 67–68
Inner Line Regulation permit system, India, 197, 212n2
insurgencies counter. See counter insurgency criminalization of, 211
in Mizoram, 203
in Northeast India, 198–200, 209–11
in Tripura, 205–6
inter-communal tensions, 289
Interim Self-Governing Authority (ISGA), LTTE’s proposals for, 151–52, 155
internal colonialism, 114
in Bangkok, 217–18
internal conflicts, 4, 5, 46
in Thailand, 235
internal sovereignty, 131n4
International Court of Justice (ICJ), 81
International Crisis Group (ICG), 51
International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), 51
International law, hope and myth of, 84–86
international legal elements, 77, 89
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 40
International Monitoring Team, 265
in Mindanao, 286, 287
Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), 181, 182, 210
Irian Barat, 59
Isaan, 5, 236, 243, 252, 301
displacement of local elites, 247–48
identity, 250
political leaders, 250
state penetration, 243, 245, 249
ISGA. See Interim Self-Governing Authority (ISGA)
ISI. See Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)
Islam, 38, 146, 249. See also Darul Islam
in Aceh, 43
Islamic law, 248
in Aceh, 42, 43
Islamic religious elite in Southern Thailand, 219
Islamization, 181

J
Jabidah massacre Muslims, 256
Jaffna peninsula, 149
Jaintia Hills, 197
Jaish-e-Mohammad Mujahideen E-Tanzeem (JeM), 182
Jakarta, 80, 93–95, 97–100, 105
act of integration of, 93
Papuan challenges to, 62
policy towards territory, 60, 64
political leaders in, 38
regulations, 70
special autonomy to Aceh, 42
Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), 180–81, 186, 191n17
Jammu & Kashmir (J&K)
armed conflict in, 180
autonomy, 183–86, 186–87
ceasefire agreement, 178
conflicts in, 302
Legislative assembly, 178, 184, 188, 193n38
militancy and autonomy, 180–82
separatism in, 177–90
sovereign status for, 185–86
special status of, 177–80
Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), 142, 147, 152, 159n3
Janjalani, Abdurajak, 286
Japan International Cooperation Agency, 286
Javanese-led Muslim leadership, 62
Jayewardene, Junius, 141, 159n1
JeM. See Jaish-e-Mohammad Mujahideen E-Tanzeem (JeM)
jihad (holy war), 181, 182
Jinghpaw Wungpawng, 120
J&K. See Jammu & Kashmir (J&K)
JKLF. See Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)
junta, 120–25
divide-and-rule policy of, 119

K
KAAC. See Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council (KAAC)
Kachin Development Networking Group (KDNG), 116, 124, 125, 129, 132n16
Kachin Independence Organization and Army (KIO/KIA), 116, 119, 127–28
ban of poppy cultivation by, 121
border checkpoints of, 122–23
guerilla resistance, 121
Kachin National Consultative Assembly (KNCA), 128
Kachin nationalist movement, 120, 121
Kachin nationalist project, 131n10
Kachin State
armed struggle in, 120–21
deforestation in, 124
geographies of militarization, 121–23
HIV/AIDS infection in, 127
political economy of, 123–25
political struggle, 127–28
security threats, 126–27
tribes in, 120
Kachin State Progressive Party (KSPP), 128
Kadir, Pattani Abdul, 246
Kamtapur Liberation Organisation (KLO), 204
Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council (KAAC), 208
Karbi Longri North Cachar Hills Liberation Front (KLNLF), 207, 208
Karbis and the Kukis in Assam, 207
Kashmir Study Group (KSG), 185–86
KDNG. See Kachin Development Networking Group (KDNG)
kembali ke Ibu Pertiwi, 59
Keyes, Charles, 247, 249
Khaplang S.S., 201
Khasi Hills, 197
Kilinochchi, 152
kindergarten theory, 40
KIO/KIA. See Kachin
Independence Organization and Army (KIO/KIA)
Kissinger, Henry, 95
KLNLF. See Karbi Longri North Cachar Hills Liberation Front (KLNLF)
KLO. See Kamtapur Liberation Organisation (KLO)
Komando Pelaksana Operasi Jaring Merah, 39
Koskeniemmi, Marti, 86
KSG. See Kashmir Study Group (KSG)
Kumaratunga, Chandrika, 148, 149

L
Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), 182, 189, 194n49. See also Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
Latin American countries, 4
Law No. 31/2002, 48
Law No. 44/1999, 42, 43
Law on Governing Aceh (LoGA), 36, 48–53
LeT. See Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT)
liberal federalists, 171
liberalization in Thailand, 227
liberal nationalists, 172
liberation of East Timor, 95
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 3, 20, 27, 136, 140, 142, 145–46, 159n3, 163, 168–74, 297
autonomy after civil war, 156–58
ceasefire agreement with, 150, 151–52
devolution proposals, rejection of, 148–49
federalism and, 151, 154, 156
negotiating regional autonomy with, 154–56
proposals for ISGA, 151–52, 155
Provincial Council system, rejection of, 142–43
reform-weariness, 150–53
unilateral reform initiatives, limits of, 147–50
war for peace, 49
Line of Control (LoC) in Jammu, 186, 192n36
Liquica district, 88
Lobregat, Maria Clara, 283
LoGA. See Law on Governing Aceh (LoGA)
Lone, Abdul Gani, 188
Longputeh, Sukree, 247
LTTE. See Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
lumad, 280, 293n1
Lushai Hills. See Mizoram
Luzon, 279

M
Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria, 257, 264, 266, 286, 288
Madaris, 283
Madrid Accord, 81
Maguindanao
in ARMM, 266
Camp Abubakar in, 264
Maguindanaoan politicians, 269
Mahayiddin, Tengku Mahmud, 221
Mahmud, Syamsuddin, 42
majoritarian state-formation project, 140
Makota, Kasturi, 227
Malay identity, ethnic, 248
Malay Muslims, 63, 218, 220–23, 246, 252n1
communities, 248, 249
NRC members, 224
politicians, 219
population, 237, 248, 250, 252, 253n2
resistance leaders, 240
Malay sultanate, 219
Mangala Moonesinghe
Parliamentary Select Committee, 145, 159n4
Manila autonomy, 259–60
coalitions on autonomy, 261
developmentalist policies, 261–65
elites, 260, 266
1987 Constitution, 257, 258, 260, 263
pacification policies in, 261–63, 265
peace and conflict in, 260–65
selection elections, 266–68
victory policies in, 261, 262, 264, 265
Manipur, 197, 198, 209, 211
endemic violence in, 210
Naga-Kuki ethnic groups in, 207
Manmohan Singh, 194
Maoist Communist Party of the Philippines, 262
Marcos, Ferdinand, 257, 262, 263, 280–82
Marker, Jamsheed, 100
Martial Law, 45, 257, 262, 280
Marxism-Leninism, 103
Maubere people, 101
Mauritania, 81
Mautam, 203
mediated constitutionality, 17, 30, 302–3
Meghalaya, 197, 211
  Khasi and Garo ethnic groups in, 207
Melanesians, 63
Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MOA-AD), 259, 265, 273
Memorandum of Settlement (MoS), 214n22
Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), 152
  for P-TOMs, 152
Mercado, Fr Eliseo, 292
Mikir Hills, 197
MILF. See Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)
militarization
  Kachin, geographies of, 121–23
  in Myanmar, 117
military
  approach, deemphasizing, 2
  in East Timor, 99
  of Fretelin, 95
  Indonesian. See Indonesian military
  in J&K, 181–82
  in Myanmar, 116–18
militias, 80, 91n38, 119, 120, 128
  attack of, 87
  Oecussi, 87
  pro-autonomy, 31n7
  violence by, 87
MIM. See Muslim Independence Movement (MIM)
Mindanao, 266, 279. See also
  Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM)
  conflict, obstacles to resolution of, 288–90
  decentralization in, 257
  demographic factor, 290
  factionalization in, 290–92
  federalism in, 288
  International Monitoring Team in, 286, 287
  MILF attacks on non-Muslim communities, 286
  pacification in, 279
  people power revolution of 1986, 281
Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO), 81, 82, 84
  establishment of, 86
Misuari, Nur, 258, 272, 280–82, 284, 285, 290, 291
Mizo Hills, 197
Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF), 203
Mizo National Front (MNF), 203
Mizoram, 209
  insurgency in, 203
MLF. See Partido Marxista-Leninista Fretlin
MNF. See Mizo National Front (MNF)
MNFF. See Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF)
MNLF. See Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF)
MNLF-RG. See Moro National Liberation Front-Reformist Group (MNLF-RG)
MOA-AD. See Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MOA-AD)
  modernist, 21
Mohamad, Mahathir, 227
Moonesinghe Committee, 146
Moroccan autonomy proposal, 82
Morocco, 81–83
  democrative process in, 84
Moro identity, origins of, 279–80
Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), 258, 264, 267, 281, 284
  breakdown of 1996 Agreement and rise of, 285–88
Moro Juridical Entity, 290
Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), 20, 263, 282, 284, 285, 292
  “All-Out War”, 264
  emergence of, 280–81
  formation of, 290
  FPA with, 257, 258, 272
  leadership, 291
  post-Peace Agreement, 268
  Tripoli Agreement, 262
  victory/pacification strategy, 269–70
Moro National Liberation Front-Reformist Group (MNLF-RG), 281
Moro Province, 279
Moro self-determination, 287
Moro separatism
  ARMM, creation of, 280–81
  Moro identity, origins of, 279–80
Morrocan regime, 88, 89
MoS. See Memorandum of Settlement (MoS)
MRP, 67
  establishment of, 69, 70
Mussharraf, Parvez, 186–87, 188
Muslim Independence Movement (MIM), 256
Muslim insurgent group, 285
Muslim-majority provinces, armed separatist conflicts in, 301
Muslim Mindanao
  autonomous Region in. See Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM)
  autonomy in, 256, 268–70
  election violence in, 270
  1987 Constitution, 268
  peace and development in, 266
  political clans, dominance of, 270–71
  rido in, 270
Muslim minoritarian state-formation project, 140
Muslim province, demand for creation of, 164
Muslims
  elites, 246, 273
  Filipino, 262
  Jabidah massacre, 256
  Malay. See Malay Muslims
  Mindanao, 302
  in Satun, 249
  in Sri Lanka, 140–41, 146, 149, 164
  Sunni and Shias, 184
  violence against, 147
Myanmar, 299–300
  autonomous spaces in, 118–20
  ceasefire and conflict resolution, 128–30
  consolidation of, 115
  constitution-drafting process in, 114, 117, 128
  democratization in, 117
  divide-and-rule policy, 115
  ethnic states and Bamar divisions, 117
military state building, 116–18
National Convention in 2004, 118
opium cultivation in, 125
political autonomy in, 113, 117
political struggle, 127–28
state consolidation in, 115
Myanmar gates, 122

N
NAD law. See Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) law
Naga Hills. See Nagaland
Naga-Kuki ethnic groups in Manipur, 207
Nagaland movement, sovereignty/autonomy, 201–2
Nagalim, 201–2, 213n14
Naga National Council (NNC), 201
Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) law, 43–45, 49, 50
National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), 104, 105
Peace Plan in 1992, 78–79
National Council of Revolutionary Resistance (CNRR), 103
National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT), 78, 80, 105
campaigners, training, 87
in Dili, 87, 91n34
National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), 205
National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), 204, 213n20
National identity, 21
and citizenship, 22
National Islamic Command Council, 291
nationalists
liberal, 172
unitarian, 173
National League for Democracy (NLD), 114
National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT), 205, 211
National political elites, 5, 8
National Reconciliation Commission (NRC) in Thailand, 222, 223–26
National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), 201, 211
National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah (NSCN-IM), 201, 202, 213n14
National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang (NSCN-K), 201
National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Unification (NSCN-U), 202
national state penetration policies, 241
nation-building, 21, 38, 237
NCHADC. See North Cachar Hills Autonomous District Council (NCHADC)
NCRB. See National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB)
NDA-K. See New Democratic Army-Kachin (NDA-K)
NDFB. See National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB)
Negara Kesatuan Republic Indonesia (NKRI), 59
negotiated settlement, Aceh, 40–48
Nehru, B. K., 179
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 178, 179
New Delhi, 196, 211
political rulers in, 183
New Democratic Army-Kachin (NDA-K), 115, 128
New Mon State Party (NMSP), 116, 119
New Order’s national development project, 38, 54n8
New People’s Army (NPA), 262, 263
NGOs, 48–50
nineteen-point proposal, 118
NKRI. See Negara Kesatuan
Republic Indonesia
NLFT. See National Liberation
Front of Tripura (NLFT)
NMSP. See New Mon State Party
(NMSP)
NNC. See Naga National Council
(NNC)
non-military coercion, 240
non-Muslim communities, MILF
attacks on, 286
non-partisan army of national
liberation, 104
non-Thai local identity, suppression
of, 248–50
North Cachar Hills, 197
North Cachar Hills Autonomous
District Council (NCHADC), 208
North Cachar Hills district, 208
Northeast India
armed conflicts in, 196
armed insurgent movements in,
196
armed movements in, 201, 203
autonomy demands in, 207
ceasefire agreement, 204–5,
208–9
conflicts in, protracted, 210
counter insurgency in, 203–6,
212n10
degeneration of insurgencies,
209–11
eexisting autonomy arrangements
in, 207–9
federalism in, 211
insurgencies in, multiple, 198–200
inter-tribal rivalry and
competition, 207
official approach to, 197–98
NPA. See New People’s Army
(NPA)
NRC. See National Reconciliation
Commission (NRC)
NSCN-K. See National Socialist
Council of Nagaland-
Khaplang (NSCN-K)
NSCN-U. See National Socialist
Council of Nagaland-
Unification (NSCN-U)
O
Ockey, Jim, 221
Oecussi militias, 87
OIC. See Organization of Islamic
Conference (OIC)
Oquist, Paul, 260–65
Organic Law (Republic Act 6734),
263, 265, 283
for ARMM, 257–59
Organization of Islamic Conference
(OIC), 262, 263, 265, 280–83,
291, 292
Oslo Communiqué, 151
P
PA. See People’s Alliance (PA)
pacification in Mindanao, 279
Pakistan
logistic and military support, 181
militant formations in, 182
Palestinian external intelligence
agency, 210
Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK), 180, 186, 191n21, 193n38

Pandits. See Hindus

Panglong Agreement, 120

Panyarachun, Anand, 222–24, 227

Papua, 301–2

implementation special autonomy issues in, 68–71

Indonesia’s special autonomy package in, 63–65

integration of, 63, 67

powers of, 66

reintegration of, 59, 63

separatism in, 59–73

tribal diversity, 62

Papua Human Rights Commission, 66–68

Papuan Independence Organisation, 63

Papuan People’s Representative Council, 67

Papuans

community, 62

culture, 61, 66

economic dimension of, 62

elites, 60, 61

grievances of, 60–63

MRP, establishment of, 69, 70

national identity, 60

nationalists, 59–60

pro-independence, 65

protection of, 66

self-determination, 61–62

special autonomy, attitudes to, 65–68

Parcasio, Randolph, 288

Partido Marxista-Leninista Fretilin (MLF), establishment of, 103

Patani United Liberation Organization (PULO), 227

Pattani, 223–24

militant movement in, 219–20

Pattani Malay, 218, 252n1

Pattani Metropolitan Authority, 224

Pattaya, 225

Paul, Pope John, II’s, 104

Peace Plan, 89n6

CNRM’s 1992, 78–79

stages of, 81

pendatang, 61

People’s Alliance (PA), 160n6

devolution proposals of, 148

in Sri Lanka, 148, 149

Phanomyong, Pridi, 218, 220, 221

Phatharathananunth, Somchai, 243, 245

Philippine National Police (PNP), 282, 283

Philippines, 301, 302

Southern. See Southern Philippines

violence in, 271

Philippines Commonwealth, 279

Phizo, Angami Zapu, 201

Pitsuwan, Surin, 246

PNP. See Philippine National Police (PNP)

PoK. See Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK)

Polisario Front, 81–83, 86

political autonomy in Myanmar, 113, 117

political economy of Kachin State

military, 123–25

political formations in Sri Lanka, 166

political geography, 2

political struggle in Myanmar, 127–28
Index

political violence, 218
Poocharoen, Ora-orn, 223
Portugal, 100
  autonomy, 79–80
  revolution in, 78
Portuguese Timor, 94
Post-colonial states, 21, 23
  formation of, 16
  people of, 18
Post-Tsunami Operational and Management Structure (P-TOMS), 152, 153
Prabhakaran, V., 171
Premadasa, R., 143
Primary Education Act of 1921, 240
primordialist, 21
pro-autonomy militias, 31
protracted civil war, 136, 137, 149
Protracted insurgent conflict, 242
Provincial Council system in Sri Lanka, 144, 148, 154
  consequences of, 142
  LTTE rejection of, 142–43
  and 13th Amendment, 140, 141
P-TOMS. See Post-Tsunami Operational and Management Structure (P-TOMS)
Puaksom, Davisakd, 220
PULO. See Patani United Liberation Organization (PULO)
Purwanto, Colonel, 97, 103

Q
Qadaffi, Mohamar, 262
quasi-federalists, 172

R
RAC. See Regional Autonomy Committee
Rachanuphap, Damrong, 219
Railaco sub-district, 88
Rajapakse, Mahinda, 172
Rajkhowa, Arabinda, 210
Ramos, Fidel, 263, 272, 281–83, 285, 286, 290
rationalism, economic, 7
RCC. See Regional Consultative Commission (RCC)
RDTL. See Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste
rebellion conflict in Thailand, 218
Rebellion Resistance Force, 128
reconciling minority, 2
Red Net Operation Implementation Command, establishment of, 39
Reformasi, 64
reform-weariness in Sri Lanka, 150–53
Regional Autonomous Government education system, 283
Regional Autonomy Committee (RAC), 184
regional autonomy in Sri Lanka, 136–37
  negotiating with LTTE, 154–56
  state power sharing, 138–40
  state reform, 140–47
Regional Committee in Sri Lanka, 152
Regional Consultative Commission (RCC), 257, 263
  creation of, 281
Regional Councils in Sri Lanka, 148
Regional Legislative Assembly, 275n8
  of ARMM, 270–71
representative bureaucracy, 222
Republic Act 9054, 258, 259, 265, 271–72
Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI), 59
Resolution 1813, 82–83
Revolutionary Front for liberation of Timor-Leste, 78
revolution in Portugal, 78
rido in Muslim Mindanao, 270
right to self-determination, 90n26, 93, 98, 100, 169
Ruak, Taur Matan, 102
Rudy, Frank, 82
RUSI. See Republic of the United States of Indonesia

S
SAC. See State Autonomy Committee (SAC)
Sadiq, Muhammad, 189
SADR. See Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR)
Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), 81
Salamat, Hashim, 280, 281, 284
Santa Cruz massacre, 98, 99, 105
SARET. See Special Autonomous Region of East Timor (SARET)
Satun, 5, 220, 222, 243, 246, 247, 301
Muslims in, 249
violence in, 243
Satun province, 236
lack of separatism in, 243
state penetration, 243
transition in, 246
SBPSAC. See Southern Border Provinces Peace Strategy Administration Center (SBPSAC)
secessionist conflict in Sri Lanka, 163
Security Council, 82, 83, 86
self-determination, 23, 38, 79, 85, 86, 89, 90n26, 93, 94, 98, 100, 143, 169
act of, 100, 106
for armed separatist minorities, 2
claim of, 23–24
conflicts, 5
internal, 171
under international law, 85
mediated solutions for, 24–30
national, 297
in Papua, 61–62
Tamil nationalist agitation for, 144
of Timor-Leste, 84, 88
in UN Charter, 1945, 90n26
United Nations-monitored referendum on, 43
of Western Sahara, 81
self-government, 19
in Aceh, 38, 45, 48–51, 297
challenges of, 52–53
decentralization in form of, 297
self-identifying bonded political group, 20
self-identifying groups, 18
semi-federalist, 144–45
Sentral Informasi Referendum Aceh (SIRA), 48, 49, 51
separatism
in Jammu & Kashmir (J&K), 177–90
mediated constitutionality as solution to, 16–30
in Moro, 279–88
in Papua, 59–73
in Satun, 243
in Sri Lanka, 162–74
separatist armed insurgency in Sri Lanka, 138
separatist claimants, 30
separatist claims, 17, 18, 20, 27, 28
to nationhood, 21
separatist conflict resolution, 28
separatist disputes, conflict resolution of, 17
separatist insurgency, 38
Aceh, 41
separatist insurgents, 1
separatist minorities, 1, 8
separatist movements, 18, 28–29
commitment of, 20
separatists, 163, 167–70
Shillong Accord, 213n12
Shinawatra, Thaksin, 223
administrations (2001–06), failures of, 218–19
Shinawatra, Yingluck, 251
Siamese authority, 247
Sinhalese, 164–66
Sinhalese Buddhist civilization, 166
nationalism, 163
Sinhalese ethnonationalist project, 298
Sinhalese majority, 27, 164
national goal of, 165
Sinhalese nationalism, 166, 167
Sinhalese nationalist, 143, 151, 173
forces, 140
Sinhalese state formation project, 140
Sino-Myanmar border, 122, 130
SIRA. See Sentral Informasi Referendum Aceh (SIRA)
SLFP. See Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP)
SLMC. See Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC)
socio-cultural differences in Papua and Indonesia, 64
Soeharto president, 37–39, 60, 63, 64, 93–95, 98–102
Solossa, Jaap, 67
Solossa, Jacob, 65
Songkram, Phibun, 247, 248
South Asia/Southeast Asia, 297
armed separatist conflicts in, 4, 298
Governments in, 1–2, 3–4
nation-states in, 300
states in, 1
South Asia Terrorism Portal, 198
Southern Border Provinces Peace Strategy Administration Center (SBPSAC), 224
Southern Philippines. See also Mindanao
ARMM, creation of, 280–81
benevolent assimilation, 279
features of, 278
Moro identity, origins of, 279–80
Moro separatism, 279–88
Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD), 264, 282–84, 291
Southern Philippines Development Authority, 282
Southern Thailand
autonomy, 227–29
colonization in, 217
conflict in, 218–19
contagion effect in, 225–26
decentralization, 221–22

17 AASindex.indd   324
7/5/12   6:41:30 PM
displacement of local elites, 245–48
education in, 239–40
ethnic minorities in, 237
historical autonomy perspective of, 219–22
liberalization in, 227
non-Thai local identity, 248–50
NRC and, 223–26
resurgence of violence in, 235
state authority, 235, 237, 250, 251
state penetration in. See state penetration, Thailand
violence in, 218, 235, 252
sovereignty. See also earned sovereignty
conditional devolution of, 24
for J&K, 185–86
Naga movement, 201–2
in Westphalian, 22
Spanish-American War, 279
Spanish colonizers, 279
Spanish Sahara, 81
SPCPD. See Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD)
Special Autonomous Region of East Timor (SARET), 80, 87, 100
special autonomy
to Aceh, 38, 42, 48
in Papua, 63–65, 67–68, 68–71, 302
Papuan Attitudes to, 65–67
Special Autonomy Law, 69, 70–71
Special Regional Security Forces (SRSF), 283
special status of J&K, 177–80
Special Zone of Peace and Development (SZOPAD), 264, 282–84, 290
Sri Lanka, 27, 297, 298
armed rebellion in, 137
armed separatism in, 137
autonomy, 19, 137, 138–40, 153–54, 156–58
civil war in. See civil war in Sri Lanka
civil war in. See civil war in Sri Lanka
conflict in, 163
ethnic minority armed insurgency in, 136
federalism in, 162–74
federalists, 163, 170–72
Indian peace enforcement, 142
People’s Alliance (PA) government in, 148
policy shift, feature of, 141
political formations in, 166
polity and society, 164–65
Provincial Council system in. See Provincial Council system in Sri Lanka
reform-weariness in, 150–53
regional autonomy in. See regional autonomy in Sri Lanka
secessionist conflict, 163
separatist armed insurgency in, 138
separatists, 163, 167–70
state reform in, 140–47
unilateral reform initiatives, limits of, 147–50
unitarianism, 172–74
unitarianists, 163, 165–66
UNP government in, 142, 149
violence in, 174
Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), 142, 163, 165
Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission, 25
Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC), 146, 147
Sri Lankan Tamil ethnonationalist forces, 165
Sri Lankan Tamil nationalism, 167
Sri Lankan Tamil nationalists, 173
Sri Lankan Tamil society, 168
Sri Lankan Tamil minorities, 298
SRSF. See Special Regional Security Forces (SRSF)
State Auditing Agency, 50
state authority
devolution of, 17
Indonesian, 41
state authority, Thailand
decentralization of, 235, 250, 251
rapid centralization of, 237
State Autonomy Committee (SAC), 184, 185
State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), 114
State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), 117
state penetration
Isaan, 243, 245, 249
Satun province, 243
state penetration, Thailand, 236–40, 250–52
accelerated, 242
defined, 237
in different peripheral regions, 240–42
non-Thai local identity, suppression of, 248–50
and patterns of resistance, 243–45
policies of, 237, 241
protracted insurgency, 242
state reform in Sri Lanka, 140–47
state-secessionist dichotomy, 25
statist violence, 4, 39, 299
substantive autonomy arrangements, 6
sub-state model, autonomy as, 19–20
Suebu, Barnabas, 70
Sukarnoputri, Megawati, 44, 45, 68–69
Sulong, Haji, 220–22, 248, 249
Sulu, 279, 289
Sumule, Agus, 65
Sundaravej, Samak, 229
Sunni Muslims, 184
Suwarya, Endang, 45
SZOPAD. See Special Zone of Peace and Development (SZOPAD)

T
Talibanization, 182
Tambon Administrative Organization (TAO), creation of, 225
Tamil Eelam, 168
establishment of, 169
Tamil ethnic insurgency, 153
Tamil guerilla groups, 142
Tamil minority, 27, 138, 145, 163
Tamil National Alliance (TNA), 173
Tamil nationalism
ideology of, 141
Sri Lankan, 167
Tamil nationalist, 156
groups, 138, 141–44, 153
project, 145
Tamil rebels, 137, 146, 147, 157, 298
Tamilins in Sri Lanka, 164, 165, 168, 169–70, 174
Tamil-speaking people, 140–41
Tamil state-formationists, 140
Index

Tamil state-formation project, 140
Tamil Tigers. See Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), 142, 149, 168, 172
Tanda peuturi droe, 53n3
Tangkhul Nagas, 201, 202
tanzeems, 182
Tatmadaw, 116, 126, 127
armed forces, 299
atrocities, 128–29
border checkpoints of, 122
free-fire zones of, 119
Tavleen Singh, 192n23
Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI), 37, 42, 53n2, 96, 107n8
terrorist
in J&K, 189–90
in Pakistan, 189
terrorist attacks in India, 189
Thai Buddhist nationalists, 301
Thai Buddhist population, 251
Thai electoral politics, 251
Thai-Islam, 252n1
Thailand, 300–1
formal colonization, 2–3
minority populations, 235
national identity, 217
Satun and Isaan in, 5
Southern. See Southern Thailand
Thailand’s security forces, 235
Thai Muslim, 247, 249, 252n1
Thai nation-building process, 300
Thaksin administrations (2001–06), failures of, 218–19
Thimpu Principles, 153–54
third wave of nationalism, 16
13th Amendment, 140–43, 146, 148, 173
Timorese people, 80
expression of, 85
sporadic revolts by, 77–78
Timor-Leste. See East Timor
Tinsulanond, Prem, 219
TNA. See Tamil National Alliance (TNA)
TNI. See Tentara Nasional Indonesia
tribal diversity in Papua, 62
TRIKORA Regional Command, 60
Tripoli Agreement, 1976, 257, 258, 281, 286, 290, 292, 293
implementation of, 274n4, 280, 282
in Philippine government and MNLF, 262
Tripura
insurgencies in, 205–6, 211
violence in, 205
Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 49
tsunami
in Aceh, 27–28, 47, 52
India Ocean, 37, 45, 46
U
UJC. See United Jihad Council (UJC)
ulama Council, 227
ULFA. See United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)
ultra-nationalist regimes, 248
Umar, Najmuddin, 226
UNAMET. See United Nations Mission on East Timor (UNAMET)
UN Decolonization Committee, 80, 81, 84
UNF. See United National Front (UNF)
UN General Assembly Resolution 3485, 85
UN General Assembly Resolution 37/30, and 23, 85
unitarianism, strength of, 172–74
unitarianists, 163, 165–66
unitarian nationalists, 173
unitary state system, 163, 166, 167
United Jihad Council (UJC), 189
United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), 204, 209, 210
United National Front (UNF) government, 150, 151, 155, 156
United National Party (UNP), 142, 149, 159n2, 165
United Nations Mission on East Timor (UNAMET), 80, 82, 84
United People's Democratic Solidarity (UPDS), 208
United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA), 152
United Wa State Army (UWSA), 120, 131n9
UNP. See United National Party (UNP)
UN Resolution, 86
UN Secretary General, 85
auspices of, 78, 79
report of, 82
UN Security Council, 86
UNTAET, 84
UPDS. See United People's Democratic Solidarity (UPDS)
UWSA. See United Wa State Army (UWSA)

V
Vajpayee, Atal Behari, 188
violence
in East Timor, 86–88
election, 270
endemic, 210
ethnic, 164, 170
in Indonesia, 10
Jammu & Kashmir (J&K), 180, 189
in J&K, 180
LTTE and, 144, 146
in Manipur, 210
by militias, 87
against Muslims, 147
and negotiation in East Timor, 94–101
in Philippines, 270–71, 271
in police and civilian population, 189
political, 218
protracted cycle of, 242
resurgence of, 235
in Satun, 243
scale of, 63
in Southern provinces, 252
in Southern Thailand, 218, 235, 252
in Sri Lanka, 162, 163, 174
statist, 4, 39, 299
terrorist, 189
in Timor-Leste, 86–88
in Tripura, 205
Viqueque, 97
vis-à-vis autonomy proposals, 89
Visayas, 279, 289

W
Wahid, Abdurrahman, 41, 44, 47, 64
Wasi, Prawase, Dr., 227–28
WCS. See World Conservation Society (WCS)
Western Sahara, 77
   case study of, 80–83
   establishment of MINURSO in, 86
   international law, role of, 86
   parallels and paradox of, 83–84
   self-determination of, 81
West Papua, 27, 89
   autonomy, 19
   peace agreements in, 28
Westphalian states, 16

sovereignty, 22
Wickremasinghe, Ranil, 172
Wilsonian-Leninist reorganization, 23
World Conservation Society (WCS), 12, 13, 132n17
Wospakrik, Frans, 65–67, 71

Y
Yogyakarta, 64, 66
Yom Kippur war, 262
Yubamrung, Chalerm, 228–29, 230
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 47, 69