Reproduced from Ethnic Conflicts in Southeast Asia, edited by Kusuma Snitwongse and W Scott Thompson (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005). 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 the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Individual articles are available at http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg >

aboriginal people, 45	Bajau, 45
Abu Sayyaf, 127, 131, 138	Balweg, Conrad, 119, 145
Aceh, vii, 2, 3. See also Indonesia	breaking ties with CPLA, 120
distribution of income, 17	Bamars, ix, 65, 68, 71
(GAM, Free Aceh Movement), 6, 34	dominating military, 80
human rights abuses, 23	tension with minorities, 72, 80
poorest province, 15	Bangsa Malaysia, 47
proclamation of independence, 6	Bangsamoro, x
regional autonomy, promise of, 31	Bangsa Moro Islamic Region, 140
rich in natural resources, 14	Barracudas, 144
secessionist conflict, ix	Barisan Nasional (BN), 49
vertical conflict, 6	Bidayuh, 44, 45
Achenese rebellion, 34	"Bintang Tiga" episode, 52
Al-Qaeda, 127	Blackshirts, 144
Ambon, viii, 3. See also Indonesia	Bosnia, vii
Christians, 3	Britain
marginalisation, 4	colonization of Burma, 71
model for harmonious relations, 4	colonial policies, 48
Amien Rais, 24, 25	Bugis
Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League	migrants, 3, 5
(AFPL), 72	bupati, 28, 31
anti-fascist resistance movements, 72	Bumiputra, 45. See also Malaysia
ASEAN, 67, 79, 138	enrichment, xi
assimilation	population increase, 50
policy, x	Burma. See Myanmar
Aung San, ix, 73, 80	Burma Independence Army (BIA), 72
Autonomous Region and Muslim	Burma Socialist Programme Party
Mindanao (ARMM), 129, 130,	(BSPP), 76, 81, 101
142	Buton
revenue collection, 134	migrants in Maluku, 3, 5

Cellophil Resources Corporation, 118,	Datu Utdug Matalam, 119
119	Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, 66, 77, 78,
Chaliand, Gerard 111	79, 97, 98, 102
Cheah Boon Kheng, 48, 61	Dayaks, 3
Chico River dam, 114	Land Dayaks, 44
Chinese	marginalisation, 11, 17
integration in Philippines, 109	reliance on forest resources, 14
traders from Yunnan province, 153	Sea Dayaks, 44
predominance in Singapore, 46	Dayak-Madurese conflict, 20, 33
Thailand, in, 154	Declaration of Philippine
Chin state, 68	Independence from Spain, 115
Chao	Declaration of the Second
definition, 165	Bangsamoro People's
Cold War	Consultative Assembly, 122, 146
end of, 8	Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB),
colonial legacies, viii	89
communal violence	democratic institutions
areas with abundant natural	lack of, 32
resources, 13	democratisation, xi
Communist Party of Thailand, 156	demographic patterns, viii
Communist Party of the Philippines,	development programs
(CPP), 143	multi-sectoral, 93
conflict analysis	responsibility for, 28, 30
theoretical framework, 35	disciplined democracy
Confrontation, 42	Myanmar's quest, 66
Cordillera, 109, 141. See also	di Tiro, Hasan 6
Philippines	
poor governance, 114	economic development
tribal council, 123	Indonesia's lack of, 27
Cordillera Administrative Region	environmental degradation, 14
(CAR), 131, 132	Elluay, Theys, 7
revenue collection, 134	ethnic guerrillas, 72
Cordillera Bodong Administration,	edilite gaerrinas) 72
124	federalism, 24–27
Cordillera People's Democratic Front	Federal Seminar, Myanmar 87
(CPDF), 122, 132, 133	Ferrer, Miriam Coronel, x, 109
Cordillera People's Liberation Army	Food and Agriculture Organisation
(CPLA), 120, 132, 133	(FAO), 19
Couch, Harold, 50	Free Aceh Movement (GAM), 6, 34
cross-border impact, viii	Free Papua Organisation (OPM), 7
cultural alienation, 18	Fukuyama, Francis, vii
carrain discinsion 10	Furnivall, J.S., 80
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,

Gerakan Aceh Merdeka. See Free	horizontal conflicts, 3-5
Aceh Movement	Islamic form of politics, 12
globalization	Law No. 22/1999, 28
effects, viii	Law No. 25/1999, 29
interaction with traditional culture,	major conflicts, 2
ix	otonomi luas, 2
governance, 30, 54, 71	political mechanism for conflict
	resolution lacking, 8
Hague Declaration, 126	regional autonomy, 27–31, 32
hill tribes, Thailand	regional government, 28, 31, 38
citizenship issues, 161–64	transmigration, policy of, 10
cultural practices misunderstood,	vertical conflicts, 6, 7
158	Indonesian Democratic Party-
exclusion from forests, 159–61	Struggle (PDI-P), 25
northern Thailand, 151	Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals
	Association (ICMI), 12
registration, 161, 162	Indonesian Special Forces (Kopassus),
selective integration, 163 unstable livelihoods, 164	7
horizontal conflicts, 3–5	Industrial Coordination Act (ICA), 55
	internal colonialism, 141
human rights	Philippines, in, 110
abuses, 7, 97	International Crisis Group (ICG), 5,
Human Rights Watch, 17, 18, 34, 37	20, 23, 34, 35
human trafficking, 97	International Religious Freedom
TI 44	Report, 99
Iban, 44	Islamic fundamentalism, 59
Igorots, 123	Islamic resurgence, 43, 121
Indonesia, 1–33	Ismail, Razali
access to power, 8	UN Special Envoy, 79
authoritarianism, risk of return	erropedar Envoy, 19
of, 1	Jabidah Project, 43
central government having	Jabidah Massacre, 118
absolute control, 12	Jemaah Islamiyah, 127
centralisation, 10–13	Jemaan islamiyan, 127
conflicts, causes of, 8, 9	Kachin armed group, 93
conflict prevention, absence of,	Kadazan, 44, 45
21–24	
cross-border impact, viii	Kalimantan, ix, 3, 17
democracy, 32	transmigration, effect of, 11, 18
exploitation, politics of, 13–15	Kampung Rawa, 52
fall of New Order, vii	kaum pendatang, 48
health services, poor access to, 19	Karen, 152. See also Kayins
high inflation, 19	Karen National Defence Organisation (KNDO), 75

Karen National Liberation Army	independence, 49
(KNLA), 101	May 13, 1969 riots, xi, 50, 52, 57
Karen National Union (KNU), 75, 101	multiracial society par excellence,
Karenni National Progressive Party	44
(KNNP), 101	nationality and citizenship, 45, 46
Kayins, 66, 72, 73, 74, 103	New Economic Policy (NEP), xi
Kelabits, 45	political debate restricted, 59
Khao, 165	population distribution by ethnic
Khmer, 152	groups, 51
Khun Sa, 95	post-independence policies of
Kokang states, 94	ethnic preference, 48
Konfrontasi, see Confrontation, 42	power sharing, 60
kotamadya, 29	quasi-democracy, 58
land	racial divisions, x
indigenous people, 112	Malaysia-Singapore bilateral
usurpation legitimised by state, 115	relations, 46
	Maluku, ix, 2, 3, 38 See also Indonesia
Land Dayaks	marginalisation of indigenious
Bidayuh, 44	folk, 4, 17
Laskar Jihad, 23	immigrants from Sulawesi, 11
Law for the Development of Border	imposition of Pancasila, 4
Areas and Ethnic Groups, 93	Marcos, Ferdinand, 122
logging, 14	martial law, 113
Lua, 152	McVey, Ruth, 111
Loh Kok Wah, Francis, 53, 55, 56, 61	Melanau, 45
Luzon, 110	merdeka, 42
202019 110	military, 16, 21, 39
Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria 127	Mindanao, x, 109
Madurese, 3, 14	ARMM 129, 130, 142
Majlis Shura, 121	poor governance, 114
Mahathir Mohamad, 47, 54, 58, 60	resettlement programmes, 116
Mahmood, Norma 56	Mindanao Independence Movement,
Makassar	119
migrants from, 3, 5	Ministry for the Development of
Malay identity, 43	Border Areas and Ethnic groups
Malays	93
affirmative action for, 57	Ministry for Progress of Border
constituencies, 51	Areas and National Races
primacy in politics, 53	and Development Affairs
share in corporate equity, 55	(MPBANRDA), 93
Malaysia	Montanosa National Solidarity, 124
"cohabitation" of ethnic groups, 45	Moro
	autonomy, x, 128, 129, 140
cross-border impact, viii	autonomy, x, 128, 129, 140

resistance, 109 State Peace and Development right of self-determination, 121 Council (SPDC), 70. Moro Islamic Liberation Front Union Civil Service Board, 85 (MILF), 120, 121, 127 Union President, 85 Moro National Liberation Front Union Spirit, 103 (MNLF), 119 1996 Peace Agreement, 126 Nagel, Joane 111 multicultural integration, viii National Assembly, Myanmar 90 Muslims, 11, 140 National Autonomous Regions Muslim ulama councils, 137 (NAR), 90 Myanmar, 65-103 National Awakening Party (PKB), 25 1974 Constitution, 81 National Coalition Government of the assimilation of major ethnic Union of Burma (NCGUB), 89 groups, 69 National Convention (NC), 81, 82, 86 Bamar majority, see Bamars National Convention Convening border-areas development (BAD), Work Committee (NCCWC), 82, 101 Chamber of Nationalities, 80, 87 National Council of the Union of constitutional formula to satisfy Burma (NCUB), 89 ethnic groups, 66 National Development Programme Constitution of the Union of (NDP), 54, 55 Burma, 80 National Economic Action Council cross-border impact, viii (NEAC), 56 democracy, illiberal, 96 National Hill Tribe Commission, 161 ethnic conflict, difusing of, 92-96 National League for Democracy General Administration (NLD), 77, 88, 97, 98 Department (GAD), 70 National Mandate Party (PAN), 24, 25 federal alternatives, 86 National Operations Council (NOC), Federal President, 91, 92 42, 52 National Park Act, 159 independence from Britain, 65 major insurgent groups, 66 New Economic Policy (NEP), xi, 54, military-sponsored proposed 55 constitution, 81 New Order, ix, 33 multi-ethnicity, 67 exploitation of natural resources, multiple indigenous nations, 65 multi-religious, 68 nature and consequences, 9–13 nation building, 70, 71 unravelling, vii national reconsolidation, 96 New People's Army, 119, 143 population, 67 Nur Misuari, 119, 126, 127, 145 racial composition, 68 state formation, constitutional basis opium cultivation, x, 94, 159 of, 80-91 orang asli, 45. See also aboriginal people

Order of Buddhist monks, 99	state, nature of, 112-17
Organisation of Islamic Conference	state response to insurgencies,
(OIC)	124–27
effect on Moro insurgency, 125, 137	Pitsuwan, Surin, ix
otonomi luas, 2	plantation economy, 112, 116
	"plural society", 60, 140
Palangkaraya, 4	Poso, 2, 3, 5, 13, 21. See also Indonesia
Pamona, 5	ethnic dimensions, 33
Panglong Agreement, 73	power devolution, 27
Papua, 2, 3. See also Indonesia	Presidential Electoral College, 84, 85
competition for land, 11	putra daerah, 29
distribution of income unfair, 17	Pyidaungsu Hluttaw, 84
human rights abuses, 23	,
marginalisation, 17	Rakhine state, 68
natural resources, rich in, 15	Rama VI, King, 154
OPM, 7	Ramos, Fidel, 126
regional autonomy, promise of, 31	RAND Corporation Report, 59, 64
secessionist conflict, ix, 7	Reagan, Ronald
transmigration, effect of, 11	prediction of "New World Order",
pela gandong system, 4	vii
People's Action Party (PAP), 61	regional influences, viii
People's Assembly, 90	religious zealotry, 53
Philippines, 109–48.	Republik Maluku Selatan (RMS), 23
See also Cordillera	resettlement programmes
bureaucracy, weakness in, 112	Mindanao, 116
civil society groups, 135	resistance ideologies, 120
conflict dynamics, 117	Revolutionary Council
counter-elites, rise of, 118–20	Burma, 76, 100
economic disparities, 110	Royal Forestry Department (RFD),
ethnic mobilization, reasons for,	152, 153, 159, 169
110, 111, 114	rural constituencies, 51
external environment, role of, 137,	Rwanda, vii
138	,
key events in ethnic conflicts, 117,	Salamat Hashim, 120, 145
118	Sambas, 3
"internal colonialism", 110	Sampit, 3, 4
legislature, 112	Sangau Ledo, 3
Local Government Code, 141	Scott, James C., 164
Organic Act, 129, 130, 131, 133	Sea Dayaks
President, 113	Ibans, 44
reforming the State, 138–40	Second World War, 47, 71
search for viable autonomy, 128	"security dilemma" approach, 61

security forces	Tanah Melayu, 48
lack of discipline, 22, 23	Tentera National Indonesia (TNI), 7
selective integration	Thailand, vii, x. See also hill tribes
hill tribes in Thailand, 163	conflicts, root cause of, 156–59
Shan 68, 100	cross-border impact, viii
initiative genuine Union, 86	emphasis on language, 155
Shan State Army South, 101	forest resource depletion, 164
Shan United Revolutionary Army	hill tribes, assimilation of, 151–64
(SURA), 101	household registration system, 152
Singapore	modernisation and nation building
separation from Malaysia, 46	153–56
Socialist Republic of the Union of	Muslims in South, ix, 65
Burma, 76	Royal Forestry Department (RFD),
Soekarnoputri, Megawati, 25, 31	152, 153
Southeast Asia	Tin Maung Maung Than, ix, 65
ethnic diversity, vii	transmigration, 10
State Peace and Development Council	Treaty of Paris, 142
(SPDC), 70, 78	trilogi pembangunan, 9
Spain, 114	Tunku Abdul Rahman, 58
Special Administrative Region of	
Hong Kong and China, 140	Union Solidarity and Development
Special National Territories (SNT), 90	Association (USDA), 95
"Sputnik Effect", 43	"unitarists", 25
Sri Lanka, vii	United Malays National Organization
Suharto	(UMNO), 49
fall of New Order, vii, 9	United States, 115
refining elements of	U Nu, 74, 75
authoritarianism, 9	, ,
Sukarno	Vajiravudh, King, 154
Guided Democracy, 9	vertical conflicts, 6, 7
Sukma, Rizal, ix, 1	, ,
Sulawesi, ix, 3	Wamena, 7
Sulu Seas, 115	Wa states, 94
State Law and Order Restoration	West Papuan National Congress, 7
Council (SLORC), 77, 78, 81, 82,	1 0 /
92, 93, 94, 99	Zone of Peace and Development, 140
Supreme Islamic Revolutionary	1 - 7
Tribunal, 121	

Reproduced from Ethnic Conflicts in Southeast Asia, edited by Kusuma Snitwongse and W Scott Thompson (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005). 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 the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Individual articles are available at http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg >

About the Contributors

- Suzaina Kadir is Assistant Professor in the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore.
- Miriam Coronel Ferrer is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines and Convener of the UP Program on Peace, Democratization and Human Rights.
- Zakaria Haji Ahmad is Executive Director, HELP University College, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and Adjunct Professor of Southeast Asian Studies, Ohio University, USA.
- Kusuma Snitwongse is Chairperson, Advisory Board of the Institute of Security and International Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand.
- Rizal Sukma is Director of Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Jakarta.
- W. Scott Thompson is Adjunct Professor, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, United States of America.
- Tin Muang Muang Than is Senior Fellow, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.
- Chayan Vaddhanaphutti is Director, Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development, Chiangmai University, Thailand.