

Index

- 1995 Mining Law, 191
 1996 Agreement (with MNLF), 21, 155–56, 157–59, 160, 162, 165–66
- Abu Sayaff, 14, 163, 170
 Accelerated development unit for Papua and West Papua provinces, 131
 Accommodation. *See* Concessions
 Aceh Peace Reintegration Agency, 99–100
 Aceh Referendum Information Centre, 82, 84
 Aceh-Nias Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency, 98
 Act of Free Choice, 113, 117, 119–20, 137
 Administrative Order Number 2 (Cordillera), 189–90. *See also* Ancestral domain
 Al Hamid, Thaha, 136
 Al Qaeda, 14, 165, 171, 247
 Alua, Agus, 132, 134–36
 Ancestral Domain, 166, 167–70, 182, 187, 190, 201
 Ancestral Land, 184–85, 189–94, 196
 Aquino, Benigno Jr., 143, 162, 169, 172, 197, 199
 Aquino, Butz, 183
 Aquino, Corazon. *See* Aquino, Cory
 Aquino, Cory, 17, 142–43, 148–51, 152, 180, 231
 Armed Forces, 16–17, 49–50, 59, 67, 233, 236
 Indonesia, 75–82, 83–84, 87–88, 95, 112, 114, 116–17, 121–22, 124–25
 Malaysia, 165
 Philippines, 146, 148, 151, 152, 157, 163–64, 165
 Thailand, 211–13, 216, 218
 ARMM. *See* Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao
 Artisaari, Martti, 87
 Asian Financial Crisis, 116, 120, 218
 Assimilation, 239
 Thailand, 205, 206–8, 213, 222, 223
 August 1999 referendum (East Timor), 80
- Authoritarianism, 4, 11–13, 47, 64, 230–31, 232, 239–40, 245
 Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao, 142, 150, 153, 157, 158–61, 167–68
 Autonomy, 4, 12, 25, 57, 240
 Aceh, 20, 72, 83, 95, 102–3, 107–9
 Cordillera, 21, 175, 182, 186, 197–98, 200
 federalism, 37
 fiscal resources, 37
 fiscal resources, Aceh, 74, 85, 89, 95, 98, 101, 103, 105
 fiscal resources, Cordillera, 199
 fiscal resources, Mindanao, 150, 156, 160
 fiscal resources, Papua, 111, 126, 128
 Indonesia, 88
 jurisdiction, 37
 jurisdiction, Aceh, 101
 jurisdiction, Cordillera, 186
 jurisdiction, Mindanao, 167, 169, 171
 jurisdiction, Papua, 126
 Malay-Muslims, 22, 203, 207, 219, 224
 Mindanao, 20, 146, 149, 151, 158, 166, 172
 Papua, 20, 122, 130
 territorial, 27
 See also Self-determination
 Azawad Popular Movement, Popular Liberation Front of Azawad (FPLA), 246
- Badan Reintegrasi Aceh. *See* Aceh Peace Reintegration Agency
 Balweg, Father Conrado, 181–82
 Bangsa Moro Republic, 146
 Bangsamoro Basic Law, 162, 169–71, 232, 238
 Bangsamoro Juridical Entity, 166, 168–70, 173
 Bangsamoro Law, 67, 171
 Bangsamoro Transition Committee, 170–71
 Barisan Bersatu Mujahideen Patani, 12, 208, Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Patani, 12, 208
 Barisan Revolusi Nasional, 12, 208, 213, 221, 227
 BBL. *See* Bangsamoro Basic Law

276 Index

- BBMP. *See* Barisan Bersatu Mujahideen Patani
 BJE. *See* Bangsamoro Juridical Entity
 BNPP. *See* Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Patani
 BRA. *See* Aceh Peace Reintegration Agency
 BRN. *See* Barisan Revolusi Nasional
 BTC. *See* Bangsamoro Transition Committee
 Buddhism, 22, 205–6, 207, 212, 219, 221, 223
 Bureaucracy
 Aceh, 91
 Business opportunities
 Aceh, 98
- Camp Abubakar, 162–64
 CAR. *See* Cordillera Autonomous Region
 Cariño, Jose M., 178
 Catalans, 2, 241, 245, 247
 Catalonia, 239, 241
 CBAd. *See* Cordillera Bodong Administration
 Central Islamic Committee, 206
 Cessation of Hostilities 2002, Aceh, 91
 Chamber of Regions, 88
 Chart Thai Party, 217
 Chico dam, 180–82
 Choonavan, Chatichai, 211, 212
 Churches
 Papua, 138
 Philippines, 148
 Civil War, 26–27, 32–36, 40–45, 53–54, 233–36, 240
 Aceh, 67, 73, 84, 108
 datasets, xi
 onset, 2, 7, 31
 Onset, 2, 7, 31
 See also Insurgency
 CNI. *See* Commission on National Integration
 Cold War, 245
 Commission on National Integration, 179
 Comprehensive Agreement on
 Bangsamoro, 141
 Concessions, 5, 6–8, 15, 18, 50, 54, 57, 63–64, 68, 231, 234, 235, 244
 Aceh, 73–74, 83, 85–87, 89, 108
 Cordillera, 175, 177, 185
 definition, 51, 63
 impact, 63
 impact of external support, 242
 Mindanao, 143, 148–49, 150–51, 154, 155, 157, 167, 172, 173
 Papua, 122, 132, 140
 relationship to violence, 68–71, 236
 risk in granting, 62
 Thailand, 203–4, 210, 212–13, 216–17, 218
 to secessionists, 66
 why states extend, 56, 62–63, 236–37
 Con-Com. *See* Constitutional Commission
 Congressional Act RA, 9054. *See* Organic Act for the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao
 Constitutional Commission, 149, 182–83, 187
 Constitutions, 7, 47–48, 50, 55
 in democracies, 52, 57–58, 59, 60–61, 231, 237
 Indonesia, 20, 75, 79, 81, 87, 88–89, 108, 121–22, 132
 Philippines, 21–22, 142, 145, 149–53, 157, 162, 166, 168–73, 176, 183, 184–85, 186, 188–89, 192, 197
 Thailand, 22, 212, 217–18, 223
 Cordillera Administrative Region, 183, 185
 Cordillera Autonomous Region, 190, 197, 200
 Cordillera Bodong Administration, 175, 183–84, 185–86
 Cordillera Bodong Association, 182
 Cordillera People's Alliance, 182–86, 191, 196, 197, 200
 Cordillera People's Liberation Army, 16, 22, 68–69, 175–76, 183–84, 186, 197–98
 Cordillera Regional Consultative Commission, 183
 Corruption
 Aceh, 90, 100
 Papua, 123, 127, 129
 Philippines, 158, 160, 180
 Thailand, 211
 CPA. *See* Cordillera People's Alliance
 CPLA. *See* Cordillera People's Liberation Army
 CPM-14 (Thailand), 220
 CRCC. *See* Cordillera Regional Consultative Commission
 Credibility. *See* Credible commitment
 Credible commitment, 7, 15, 18, 52–54, 56, 58, 63, 68–69, 233, 237
 Aceh, 20, 74, 86, 96, 109
 Cordillera, 21, 70, 175
 Mindanao, 21, 141, 143, 154, 173
 Papua, 20, 112, 122, 125
 Thailand, 204
 Critical Juncture, 47
- Daerah Operasi Militer. *See* Military Operations Zone
 Dana Otsus. *See* Special Autonomy Funds
 DAO, 2. *See* Administrative Order Number 2 (Cordillera)
 DAP. *See* Dewan Adat Papua
 Darul Islam, 75–76
 Datus, 144

- Demobilization
 - Aceh, 100
 - Cordillera, 175–76
 - MNLF, 147, 161
 - Thailand, 213
- Democracy, 24
 - effect on nationalist conflict, 4–8, 23, 37–56, 230, 244
 - effect on violence, 3, 229, 232–33
 - Thailand, 212
- Democrat Party, 215
- Democratic institutions.
 - effect on violence, 39
 - See also* Constitutions
 - See also* Electoral coalitions
 - See also* Parliamentary independence
- Democratic stability, 8, 17, 18–22, 57–58, 233, 235–36
 - Aceh, 69–71, 108, 109
 - Cordillera, 176, 186–90
 - definition of, 58–59
 - effect on violence, 69–71
 - institutional constraints, 62
 - Mindanao, 142, 162
 - Papua, 122–25, 140
 - Thailand, 204, 217–25
 - varying accommodations under, 62–66
- Democratic transitions
 - across cases, 17
 - instability, 43, 44, 47–57
 - length of, 60–62
 - on ethnic violence, 39
 - on violence, 6, 7–8, 15, 232–33, 234–35
 - variance in outcomes, 235–38
- Democratization
 - definition, 38
- Den Tohmena, 215–16
- DENR. *See* Department of Environment and Natural Resources
- Department of Environment and Natural Resources, 189, 191, 194, 197
- Dewan Adat Papua, 127, 133, 137–38
- DOM. *See* Military Operations Zone
- Duterte, Rodrigo, 21, 69, 71, 162, 170–72, 173
- East Timor, 68, 73, 79, 81, 112, 121, 242, 243
- Education, 5, 28, 75
 - Aceh, 76, 83, 90, 107
 - Cordillera, 178
 - Mindanao, 147, 154
 - Papua, 114, 129, 131, 137
 - Thailand, 206–8, 210, 214, 215, 216, 219, 222–23
- Electoral alliances, 56
- Electoral coalitions, 7, 63–64, 68–69, 236–37
- Indonesia, 73
- Philippines, 142–43
- Thailand, 203
- Electoral payoffs, 18, 56
- Eluay, Theys, 118, 120, 123–24
- Estrada, Joseph, 21, 143, 158, 162–64, 233
- Ethnic conflict, ix–xi, 33, 240
 - study of, 26, 39
- Ethnic groups
 - civil war, 33, 41
 - conflict, 30
 - violence, 55
- External support, 242–43
 - Aceh, 92
 - for Helsinki Accord, 93
 - for insurgency, 35, 36, 67
 - for nationalist groups, 49
 - Indonesia, 79
- Flavier, Juan, 188
- FORERI. *See* The Forum for the Reconciliation of Irian Jaya Society
- Forkorus, 137–38
- Forum Rekonsiliasi Rakyat Irian Jaya. *See* The Forum for the Reconciliation of Irian Jaya Society
- FPIC. *See* Free Prior and Informed Consent
- Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro, 169, 171
- Framing, 21, 34, 67, 177, 190, 237
- Free Aceh Movement, 73–74, 75, 77–78, 82–87, 89–93, 96–101, 105–7
- Free Papua Movement, 110, 112, 114, 115, 116, 119
- Free Prior and Informed Consent, 191, 194–96, 197, 201
- Freeport-McMoran, 115
- GAM. *See* Free Aceh Movement
- General Allocation Funds, 101
- Gerakan Aceh Merdeka. *See* Free Aceh Movement
- Grievances, 4, 36
 - Aceh, 78, 86, 103
 - authoritarianism, 13
 - civil war, 33
 - Cordillera, 175, 182
 - effect on mobilization, 48, 235
 - effect on violence, 31
 - in democracies, 39, 62, 240
 - in democratic transitions, 22
 - Malay-Muslims, 223
 - Mindanao, 146

278 Index

- Grievances (cont.)
 nationalist groups, 25, 27–29
 Papua, 112–13, 115
 reframing, 65
 riots, 32
 Thailand, 206
 Guided Democracy, 11
- Habibie, Bacharuddin Jusuf, 72–73, 78–81,
 82–83, 87, 117–18, 120–21
 Haji Sulong. *See* Haji Sulong Rebellion
 Haji Sulong Rebellion, 207, 208
 Harn Linanond, 213
 Helsinki Accord, 93, 94, 96–100, 102, 106
 Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding, 95,
 102–3
 Helsinki process, 93
 Hijab Movement, 214–15
 Hikoyabi, Hana, 136
 Human rights organizations, 125
- Indigeneity, 65, 111, 177, 188, 189, 192, 245
 Indigenous Peoples. *See* indigeneity
 Indigenous Peoples of Africa Coordinating
 Committee, 246
 Indigenous Peoples' Movement, 111
 Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 22, 67, 70,
 177, 186, 188, 189–97, 202
 Individual Rights, 153
 Indonesian Army, 74, 80, 82–83, 84–85, 86, 89,
 91, 94, 124
 Indonesian Human Rights Commission, 124
 Institutions
 Indonesia, 75
 Philippines, 141, 144, 155
 Insurgency, 32, 45–46, 65
 Aceh, 77, 90–91
 Cordillera, 176
 Mindanao, 146–48
 Thailand, 207, 208–9
 See also Civil War
 Internal Security Operations Command, 226
 Intra-group competition, 49
 IPRA. *See* Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act
 Irwandi Yusuf, 97–98, 105–7
 ISIS, 171
 Islamic Law
 Aceh, 72, 77, 83, 86, 95
 Mindanao, 147
 Philippines, 146
 Thailand, 225
- Jaringan Damai Papua. *See* Papuan Peace
 Network
 JDP. *See* Papuan Peace Network
- Jeddah Accord, 149
 Jemaah Islamiyah, 14, 165
 jihad, 21, 246
 Jokowi, 104, 131
- Kachin Independence Army, 243
 Kalla, Jusuf, 20, 86–87, 91–92, 106, 108,
 136–37
 Karen National Union, 243
 Kongress Papua. *See* Papuan People's
 Congress
 Kopassus, 123, 124
 Krueng Geukeueh Incident, 82, 83
 Kru-ze Incident, 220, 221, 224
 Kurdistan People's Party, 240
- Lakas-NUCD, 152
 Lanao del Sur, 163
 Land Rights
 Philippines, 145, 189
 Language, 52
 Aceh, 85
 Indonesia, 74, 114
 Papua, 4
 Thailand, 204, 206, 207, 214
 Law no. 45, 1999 (Papua), 132
 Law on Aceh, 66, 74, 83, 86, 95, 102
 Law on Governing Aceh, 102–5
 Leekpai, Chuan, 211
 Legitimacy, 41, 50, 61, 62, 64
 ARMM, 157, 161
 CPA, 183
 MNLF, 153
 MRP, 127, 135
 PDP, 122, 136
 Liberalization
 definition, 38
 Libya, 146, 148, 154, 242
 Local Government Code, 186, 193
 Local Government Units, 156, 186, 193, 199
 LoGA. *See* Law on Governing Aceh
- Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria, 21, 143, 159,
 164–65, 194, 199
 Maguindanao, 4, 11, 146, 148
 Mahmud, Syamsuddin, 83, 85, 89
 Majelis Rakyat Papua. *See* Papuan People's
 Assembly
 Majelis Syura Patani, 227
 MARA Patani. *See* Majelis Syura Patani
 Maranao, 4, 11, 146
 Marcos, Ferdinand, 4, 12, 17, 148, 162,
 179–80, 231
 Martial Law, 68
 Indonesia, 91

- Philippines, 146, 180, 231
- Thailand, 220
- Mastura, Datu Michael, 149
- Megawati Sukarnoputri, 74, 81, 87–89, 92, 94, 108, 124, 132
- Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain, 167–68, 169, 173
- Migration
 - Mindanao, 145
 - Papua, 114
- MILF. *See* Moro Islamic Liberation Front
- Military Coup, 47, 59
- Philippines, 11, 151, 152
- Thailand, 17, 67, 204, 205, 211, 216, 225, 227
- Military Operations Area, 78, 82, 117
- Military Technology
 - availability, 34, 48, 49
- Mining
 - Cordillera, 178
 - Papua, 114–15, 126, 130
 - Philippines, 156, 178–79, 191–92, 194–97
- Mining Rights, 112
- Miskitos, 245
- Misuari, Nur, 146, 147, 149, 154, 157, 158–59, 160
- MNLF. *See* Moro National Liberation Front
- MoA-AD. *See* Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain
- Mobile Brigade (Brimob), 123, 124
- Mobilizational capacity, 6, 16, 18–20, 32, 56–57, 61, 67, 71, 235–36
- Cordillerans, 176
- GAM, 77, 107
- Malay Muslims, 203, 204
- Moros, 173
- OPM, 120
- PDP, 123
- Monarchy
 - Thailand, 22, 203, 205, 209, 212
- Morning Star Flag, 114, 117, 118, 119, 121–22
- Moro Islamic Liberation Front, 141–43, 147–48, 149, 151, 153–54, 157, 161–74
- Moro National Liberation Front, 21, 142, 146–51, 153–57, 158–63, 167–68
- Moro wars, 144
- MOU. *See* Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding
- Mountain Province Development Authority, 179
- MRP. *See* Papuan People's Assembly
- MUBES. *See* Musyarahwah Besar
- Musyarawah Besar, 119
- Myanmar, 61, 239, 243
- Nahdlatul Ulama, 81
- National Commission on Indigenous Peoples', 190, 191–97
- National Economic Development Authority (NEDA), 183
- National Mining Policy, 195
- National Reconciliation Commission, 224
- National Union of Christian Democrats. *See* Lakas-NUCD
- Nationalist conflict, 24
 - as distinct phenomena, 240
 - in democracies, 2–3, 4–8, 37–58, 229
 - in Southeast Asia, 3–4, 9–14
 - resolution, 244
 - timing of violence, 37, 232–33
- Nationalist groups, 5
 - as threats, 31
 - definition, 25–26, 238
 - in civil wars, 33
 - self-determination, 27
 - why study, 27
- Nationalist leaders, 27, 29, 34, 39, 48
- Nationalist Organizations, 14, 64
- Nationalist violence
 - bell-curve, 7–8, 45, 50, 51, 65, 68, 70–71, 233
 - inverted U-curve, 39–41, 42–43, 232–33
- Malay-Muslims, 226
- Papua, 121–22
- Thailand, 219–21
- Natural resources.
 - Aceh, 75, 95
 - control over, 28–29, 64, 86
 - Papua, 114
 - Philippines, 147, 150, 156, 160, 178, 195
 - See also* Mining
- Nazar, Mohammad, 91
- NCIP. *See* National Commission on Indigenous Peoples
- Negara Republik Federal Papua Barat, 138
- New Aspiration Party, 216, 217
- New Hope campaign, 209
- New Order regime, 12, 73, 76, 78, 80, 87, 113, 115, 120
- New People's Army, 12, 16, 146, 155, 177, 180, 183
- New York Agreement, 113
- NPA. *See* New People's Army
- Office of the Presidential Adviser for the Peace Process, 154, 159, 162
- OIC. *See* Organization of Islam Countries
- OPAPP. *See* Office of the Presidential Adviser for the Peace Process

280 Index

- OPM. *See* Free Papua Movement
 Organic Act for the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao, 158–59, 161, 172–74
 Organic Act for the Cordillera Autonomous Region, 184
 Organization
 for insurgency, 32–33
 Organization of Islamic Countries, 146, 148, 154–55, 161, 164, 242
 Oxiana Gold, 196
- Panyarachun, Anand, 224
 Papuan Peace Network, 138
 Papuan People's Assembly, 127–28, 131–33, 134–36
 Papuan People's Congress, 119
 Parliamentary Independence, 18, 56, 63, 142–43, 236–37
 Partai Aceh, 100, 103, 106–7
 Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, 179
 Partition
 Papua, 132, 133
 Party structure
 Indonesia, 94
 Patani Central Mosque, 208
 Patani Consultative Council. *See* Majelis Syura Patani
 Patani United Liberation Organization, 12, 208–10, 216, 221
 Patronage of Islam Act, 206–7
 Peace agreement, 9, 20, 63, 64, 69, 231
 Aceh, 86, 93, 94, 108
 Mindanao, 21, 141, 142, 154, 157, 159, 160, 162, 173
 See also 1996 Agreement (with MNLF)
 Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat. *See* Act of Free Choice
 People Power, 69, 148–49, 175, 181, 182
 PEPERA. *See* Act of Free Choice
 Pheu Thai Party, 226
 PKK. *See* Kurdistan People's Party
 PKP. *See* Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas
 Police
 Aceh, 95
 Indonesia, 120
 Papua, 122, 123, 131
 Philippines, 157, 197
 Thailand, 219, 220–21, 223
 Political Opportunity Structure, 42–43
 Political parties, 30, 49, 64
 Aceh, 95
 Indonesia, 81
 Philippines, 142, 152
 Thailand, 211
- Polity Index, 40
 Pondok. *See* Education
 Power Sharing, 2, 37, 57, 61, 241
 Presidential Task Force on Regional Autonomy, 149
 Presidium of the Papuan Congress, 110, 119–20, 122, 123, 124, 136–37, 138
 Provincial Islamic Committees, 206
 Public Opinion, 62
 Aceh, 108
 PULO. *See* Patani United Liberation Organization
 Puncak Jaya, 124, 134, 135
- RA 8438. *See* Second Organic Act for the Cordillera
 Ramadan Peace Initiative, 227
 Ramos, Fidel, 21–22, 151–52, 154, 156, 157, 160, 163, 164, 176, 187–89, 197
 RDC. *See* Regional Development Council of the CAR
 Recognition, 5, 7
 Bangsamoro, 166–67
 Cordillera, 176, 192
 Malay-Muslims, Thailand, 207, 212
 symbolic, 52, 55
 symbolic, Aceh, 85
 symbolic, Papua, 118
 Referendum
 Aceh, 84
 Cordillera, 198
 Mindanao, 150
 Papua, 139
 Reformasi, 17, 79, 120
 Regional Development Council of the CAR, 198–99
 Regional Law of, 1974, 113
 Regional trends, 13
 Reintegration and Peacebuilding fund, Aceh, 98
 Repression, 4, 12, 31, 35–36, 246
 Aceh, 77–78, 84, 89, 96
 cultural, 28
 in authoritarian states, 232, 239–40, 245
 in democracies, 5, 14–15, 44, 50, 60, 233–34, 235, 236
 Mindanao, 163–64
 Papua, 111, 114, 117, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125
 Thailand, 203, 204, 206, 210, 221, 225, 228
 Repressive Capacity, 32, 35–36, 44, 60, 67, 80, 226
 Republican Act 6766. *See* Organic Act for the Cordillera Autonomous Region

- RESPEK. *See* Village Development Strategic Plan
- Restoration Council for Shan State, 243
- Riot Entrepreneurs, 31–34
- Riots, 31–32, 34, 36
 Indonesia, 80
 Papua, 123
- Salamat, Hashim, 147, 162
- SBPAC. *See* Southern Border Provincial Administration Center
- SBY. *See* Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang
- Schools. *See* Education
- Secession, 25, 236
 accusations of, 12, 31, 60
 accusations of, Mindanao, 162
 accusations of, Papua, 125
 as nationalist goal, 41
 in civil war, 44
 Malay-Muslims, 210
 movements in Southeast Asia, 233
 Papua, 122
 shift away from, 65
 Southeast Asia, 10
- Second Bangsamoro National Congress, 149
- Second Organic Act for the Cordillera, 198
- Self-determination, 5, 27–28, 230, 245
 Cordillera, 183, 201
 Papua, 111, 119, 140
 See also Autonomy
- Self-identification, 192
- September 30th Movement, 76
- Siamese state, 205
- Sinawatra, Thaksin, 204, 218, 219–22, 224, 225, 226, 237
- Sinawatra, Yingluck, 226
- SIRA. *See* Aceh Referendum Information Centre
- Social Reform Agenda, 154, 188
- Soekarno, 11, 76, 88, 112–13
- Sons of the Mother Earth, 246
- South Papua, 133
- Southern Border Provincial Administration Center, 209, 213–15, 219, 220–22, 226–27
- Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development, 156
- Special Autonomy Funds, 104–5, 126, 127, 130, 133
- Special Autonomy Law
 Aceh, 90, 128
 Papua, 20, 111, 122, 129, 135, 140
- Special Autonomy Law no. 18, 2001 (Aceh), 74, 85–86, 89
- Special Subsidies for Development, 199
- SRA. *See* Social Reform Agenda
- Suebu, Barnabas, 130, 133
- Suharto, 72, 76, 113, 120
- Supreme Court
 Philippines, 154, 168, 192
- Sutrisno, Try, 94
- TAADC. *See* Third Autonomy Act Drafting Committee
- Tai Rom Yen, 213
- Tak Bai Incident, 221
- Tambon Administrative Organizations, 218
- TAO. *See* Tambon Administrative Organizations
- Tausug, 4, 11, 146, 147, 148
- Territorial concentration, 4, 28, 41, 55
- Thai Rak Thai, 22, 203, 218–19, 223–24, 237
- Thaification. *See* Assimilation
- Thanarat, Sarit, 207
- The Forum for the Reconciliation of Irian Jaya Society, 117
- Third Autonomy Act Drafting Committee, 199
- Tinsulanonda, Prem, 204, 210, 214
- TNI. *See* Indonesian Army
- Tripoli Agreement, 12, 147–48, 149–50, 151, 154–56, 162–63, 174
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission
 Aceh, 94, 97, 103
 Papua, 126, 131
- Tsunami (Aceh), 87, 92–93, 98, 100
- Tuareg, 245–47
- Turkey, 240
- Ulama
 Aceh, 76, 82, 84
 Mindanao, 149
 Thailand, 206–7, 213
- UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 187
- UN Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, 182, 187
- Uncertainty, 17, 45, 234
 reduction of, 60
 See also Democratic transitions
- United Mujahideen Front of Pattani. *See* Barisan Bersatu Mujahideen Patani
- United Nations, 27, 112–13, 138
 High Commissioner for Human Rights, 187
- Uyghurs, 229, 230, 247
- Village Development Strategic Plan, 130
- Wadah Group, 215–17, 219
- Wahid, Abdurahman, 20, 73, 80–81, 87–88, 108, 111, 118–19, 121–22, 124

282 Index

- Wan Nor, 216, 219, 223
War on Terror, 14
West New Guinea, 112
WGIP. *See* UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations
Widodo, Joko. *See* Jokowi
Wiranto, 82, 117
- Yala Teacher Training College Incident, 214
YATAMA. *See* Sons of the Mother Earth
Yongchaiyudh, Chaovalit, 216, 217
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 74, 90, 92, 108, 124, 130, 139

Zaini, Abdullah, 106–7