



DIMINISHING CONFLICTS IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Why some subside and others don't

Edited by Edward Aspinall, Robin Jeffrey and Anthony J. Regan

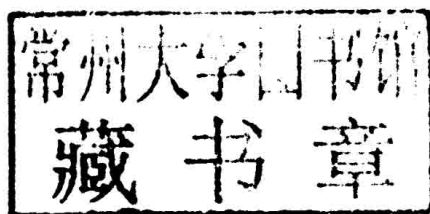


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Diminishing Conflicts in Asia and the Pacific

Since the publication of the *Human Security Report 2005*, scholars and policy-makers have debated the causes, interpretation and implications of what the report described as a global decline in armed conflict since the end of the Cold War. Focusing on the Asia-Pacific region, this book analyses the causes and patterns of this decline.

In few regions has the apparent decline in conflict been as dramatic as in the Asia-Pacific, with annual recorded battle deaths falling in the range of 50 to 75 per cent between 1994 and 2004. Drawing on a wide range of case studies, this book looks at internal conflicts based on the mobilization of ethnic and nationalist grievances, which have been the most costly in human lives over the last decade.

The book identifies structures, norms, practices and techniques that have either fuelled or moderated conflicts. As such, it is an essential read for students and scholars of international relations, peace and conflict studies and Asian studies.

Edward Aspinall is a Professor in the Department of Political and Social Change, Australian National University. His research focuses on comparative politics of democratization, ethnic politics and nationalism, and he has published widely in these areas.

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Acknowledgements

The idea for this book began when a student asked a question at a class in a course on ethnic conflict at the Australian National University (ANU). Why, she asked, had the secessionist conflict in the Punjab declined, while so many others that we had been studying in the course had remained intractable? Each of us, teaching in that course, thought the question worth exploring more. The question led to a lecture series, two workshops and, eventually, this book.

In pulling together this collective effort we drew mostly upon lecturers and authors who were our colleagues at the ANU. The College of the Asia and the Pacific at the ANU contains an extraordinary range and concentration of experts on all major zones and countries of the region, and we feel very privileged to work, or to have worked, in such a stimulating environment. The College is not only a laboratory where great individual scholars produce great works of scholarship on particular countries, but also a melting pot of disciplines and regional expertise, allowing insightful comparative work and the identification of broad trends. We hope this book is, in a small way, a testament to the environment of Asia-Pacific expertise and inquiry fostered in the College.

Our immense thanks go to Allison Ley, of the Department of Political and Social Change in the College of Asia and the Pacific, ANU, who shepherded this book through to completion, coordinating our efforts and copy-editing the entire manuscript. The book would not have been completed without her, and we are extremely grateful for her skill, calmness, and professionalism. Thuy Pham of the same department provided crucial research assistance and prepared the charts. Staff at the Cartography Unit in the College, particularly Karina Pelling, produced the striking maps contained in the volume. Greg Fry was particularly encouraging of our efforts to bring this book together, and we may not have done so without his encouragement. Two anonymous reviewers for Routledge provided very helpful comments. At Routledge, we are thankful for Dorothea Schaefer for her guidance and support.

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were many unexpected obstacles and delays along the way. We thank our authors for their patience, but above all for their insights and analysis.

We are very grateful to William Nessen for allowing us to use as our cover illustration his photograph of Acehnese children playing at war, in the midst of an actual armed conflict there in the early 2000s.

Finally, we thank on our own behalf, and on behalf of our authors, the countless people whose lives have been touched by the conflicts studied in this book and who have shared their experiences of war and peace with us. Behind every chapter lie years of painstaking research and other forms of engagement in the countries and conflicts that are the topic of this book. As researchers, we have all learned a great deal from the insights, the experiences, the wisdom and the hopes and fears of people who have lived through these conflicts and who have sometimes suffered extraordinary hardships as a result. We dedicate this book to their hopes for peace.

Edward Aspinall
Robin Jeffrey
Anthony J. Regan

Abbreviations and glossary

ABG	Autonomous Bougainville Government
ABSDF	All-Burma Student Democratic Front
<i>adat</i>	Customs and traditions (Indonesia)
AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
AMM	Aceh Monitoring Mission
ANU	Australian National University
APHC	All Parties Hurriyat (Freedom) Conference (Kashmir)
ARMM	Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (Philippines)
ASPI	Australian Strategic Policy Institute
ATC	Australian Tamil Congress
<i>Azadi</i>	Independence (Kashmir)
BCL	Bougainville Copper Limited
BIFF	Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (Philippines)
BJE	Bangsamoro Juridical Entity (Philippines)
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party (Punjab)
BMA	Bangsa Moro Army (Philippines)
BNPP	Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Pattani (National Front for the Liberation of Pattani) (Thailand)
BRA	Bougainville Revolutionary Army
BRF	Bougainville Resistance Forces
BRN	Barisan Revolusi Nasional (National Revolutionary Front) (Malaysia)
BTF	British Tamil Forum
CAFGU	Citizens Armed Forces Geographical Units (Philippines)
CAMV	Conservative Alliance– <i>Matanitu Vanua</i> (Fiji)
CAT	United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
CAVR	Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (Timor)
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CFA	Ceasefire Agreement
CHTDF	Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Facility
CoHA	Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (Aceh)
CPC	Criminal Procedure Code (Thailand)

CPM	Communist Party of Malaya
CPT	Communist Party of Thailand
CRC	Constitutional Review Commission (Fiji)
CTC	Canadian Tamil Congress
CTF	Commission for Truth and Friendship (Indonesia–Timor-Leste)
CWC	Ceylon Workers Congress
<i>Darul Islam</i>	Abode of Islam
DDR	Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (Sri Lanka)
DFTA	Danish Federation of Tamil Associations
DKBA	Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (Burma)
DOM	Daerah Operasi Militer (Military Operations Zone) (Aceh)
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Pakistan)
<i>Fatwa</i>	Religious opinion given by an Islamic scholar
FLP	Fiji Labour Party
FOKUPERS	Forum Komunikasi Untuk Perempuan Loro Sae (East Timorese Women's Communication Forum)
FRETILIN	Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor)
GAM	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLF	Guadalcanal Liberation Front (Solomon Islands)
GoSL	Government of Sri Lanka
<i>gotong royong</i>	mutual self-help (Indonesia)
GTF	Global Tamil Forum
HDC	Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, formerly the Henry Dunant Centre
HIV/AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HRP	Hongsawadi Restoration Party (Burma)
HSZ	High-security Zone (Sri Lanka)
HTA	Hela Transitional Authority (Southern Highlands, PNG)
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICIET	International Commission of Inquiry on East Timor
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Geneva
IDP	Internally displaced person
IFM	Isatabu Freedom Movement (Solomon Islands)
INTERFET	International Force East Timor
<i>Intifada</i>	Uprising, resistance, rebellion
IPKF	Indian Peacekeeping Forces
IPMT	International Peace Monitoring Team
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force (Pakistan)
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence (Pakistan)
ISOC	Internal Security Operations Command (Thailand)
ISPA	India–Sri Lanka Peace Agreement
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir or 'Kashmir'

<i>Jirga</i>	Decision-making councils of tribal elders (Pakistan)
JKLF	Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front
JPSC	Joint Parliamentary Select Committee (Fiji)
Jummas	Indigenous peoples who engage in shifting cultivation (CHT)
JVP	Jathika Vimukthi Peramuna (Sri Lanka)
KA	Karenni Army (Burma)
<i>Kawthoolei</i>	Karen term for 'homeland' (Eastern Burma)
Khassadors	Khyber tribesmen (irregular forces) (Pakistan)
KIA	Kachin Independence Army (Burma)
KKR	Komisi Kebenaran dan Rekonsiliasi (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) (Timor-Leste)
KNLA	Karen National Liberation Army (Burma)
KNU	Karen National Union (Burma)
Komnas HAM	Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (National Human Rights Commission) (Indonesia)
KPP HAM	Komisi Penyelidik Pelanggaran HAM di Timor Timur (National Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights Violations in East Timor)
Laskar Jihad	Holy War fighters
LLRC	Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (Sri Lanka)
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
LOC	Line of Control (line that divides Jammu and Kashmir)
LoGA	Law for the Governing of Aceh
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka)
<i>Lumad</i>	Tribal leaders (Philippines)
MAC	Muslim Attorney Center (Thailand)
Madrassa	School for religious education
MDF	Me'ekamui Defence Force (Bougainville)
MEF	Malaitan Eagle Force (Solomon Islands)
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front (Philippines)
MIM	Mindanao Independence Movement (Philippines)
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front (Philippines)
MOA-AD	Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (Philippines)
MP	Member of Parliament (Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands)
MTA	Mong Tai Army (Burma)
MUF	Muslim United Front (Kashmir)
MUI	Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Council of Ulama)
Mujahideen	Holy warrior; someone who engages in <i>jihad</i>
NCBBF	National Council for Building a Better Fiji
NCET	Norwegian Council of Eelam Tamils
NDA - K	New Democratic Army - Kachin (Burma)
NFP	National Federation Party (Fiji)
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NMSP	New Mon State Party (Burma)
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province (Pakistan)

OfERR	Organization for Eelam Refugee Rehabilitation
OIC	Organization of Islamic Conference
PAD	People's Alliance for Democracy (Thailand)
Panchayats	Village governments (Kashmir)
PCJSS (or popularly JSS)	Parbattya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity (Chittagong Hill Tracts United Peoples Party)
PFF	Police Field Force (Solomon Islands)
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PJV	Porgera Joint Venture (Papua New Guinea)
PMG	Peace Monitoring Group
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PNGDF	Papua New Guinea Defence Force
PNP	Philippines National Police
PNTL	National Police of Timor-Leste
PPF	People's Progressive Front (Burma)
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PULO	Pattani United Liberation Organization (Thailand)
RAMSI	Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing (India's intelligence agency)
RFMF	Republic of Fiji Military Forces
RPNGC	Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary
RSIP	Royal Solomon Islands Police
SBY	Susilo Bambang Yudhyono (Indonesian President)
SDL	Soqosoqo Duavata ni Lewenivanua (Fiji)
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (Punjab)
Shanti Bahini	Peace force of JSS (Chittagong Hill Tracts)
Shanty Chukti	Peace Accord (shortened form of Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord)
SHP	Southern Highlands Province (Papua New Guinea)
SIAC	Solomon Islands Alliance for Change
SICA	Solomon Islands Christian Association
SLFP	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
SOE	State of emergency (SHP, Papua New Guinea)
SPCPD	Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development
SPO	Special Police Operations (SHP, Papua New Guinea)
SPSC	Special Panel for Serious Crimes (Timor-Leste)
SSA	Shan State Army (Burma)
STF	Swedish Tamil Forum
SVT	Soqosoqo Vakavulewa ni Taukei (Fiji)
SZOPAD	Special Zone of Peace and Development
Tatmadaw	Myanmar military
<i>Taukei</i>	Indigenous (Fiji)
TELO	Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (Sri Lanka)
TMG	Truce Monitoring Group

TMVP	Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Puligal (Sri Lanka)
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Military)
TNT	Tamil New Tigers (Sri Lanka)
TPA	Townsville Peace Agreement (Solomon Islands)
TRF	Tamil Relief Fund (Malaysia)
TRO	Tamil Rehabilitation Organization (Sri Lanka)
TSM	Tamil Students Movement (Sri Lanka)
TUF	Tamil United Front (Sri Lanka)
TULF	Tamil United Liberation Front (Sri Lanka)
UDD	United Democratic Front against Dictatorship (Thailand)
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence (Bougainville)
Ulama	Islamic scholars
UN	United Nations
UNAMET	United Nations Mission in East Timor
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	UN Refugee Agency
UNMISSET	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNOMB	United Nations Observer Mission Bougainville
UNOTIL	United Nations Office in Timor-Leste
UNP	United National Party (Sri Lanka)
UNPol	United Nations Police
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UPDF	United People's Democratic Front (Chittagong Hill Tracts)
UPFA	United People's Freedom Alliance (Sri Lanka)
UWSA	United Wa State Army (Burma)
VDP	Village Defence Parties (Bangladesh)
WNA	Wa National Army (Burma)
WNO	Wa National Organization (Burma)