
Index

- 9/11
Aceh rebellion and 54–5
counter-terrorism after 39, 40
JI's descent into terrorism and 97, 99
mass casualty terrorism and 34, 36
MILF and 53
new terrorism and 3, 4, 7
publicity and 453
radical Muslim terrorism and 195
significance of 6, 16, 26–7, 42
suicide terrorism after 109
threat and response after 437
see also USA
- Abadan cinema attack 26
- ABB (Alex Boncayao Brigade) 12, 50, 420
see also CPP; NPA
- Abbas, Nasir 80, 90, 99, 111
- Abbas Bakir *see* Ibnu Abbas
- Abd-al Wahhab, Muhammad ibn 195
- Abdul Hakim Ali Hasmid Murad 207
- Abdullah Ahmad Badawi 185–6
- Abdullah ibn al-Abbas 174
- Abdurrahman, Sheikh Omar 72
- ABRI (Indonesian Armed Forces) 177
- ABSDF (All Burma Students Democratic Front) 46, 311, 314
- Abu Nidal 119
- Abu Sayyaf (later AHAI)
Abu Sofia links 216, 217
al-Qaeda links 206
counter-terrorism and 15
JI links 207, 208
new terrorism emergence and 33, 34
Philippines separatism and 230, 237, 238
'radical Muslim terrorism' and 194, 196, 202, 205–12, 217
RSM links 213, 214, 215–16
separatism and 34
separatist insurgency, Philippines and 232–5
suicide terrorism and 113
terrorism and insurgency complexities and 13
terrorism threat and response and 438, 441
see also Janjalani, Abdurajak; Janjalani, Khaddafy
- Abu Sofia 194, 196, 216–17
- Aceh
armed separatism and 20–21
conflict 248–9, 263–4
first phase 249–50
second phase 250–54
third phase 254–5
2004 tsunami, Helsinki peace process and 255–9
old terrorism and rebellion in 54–5
peace hopes 248–9, 263–4
civil society roles 259–62
see also Indonesia
- Aditjondro, George 146
- Afghanistan
counter-terrorism and 458–9
DI and 71
KMM and 170
Malay-Muslim insurgency in Thailand and 272
new terrorism emergence and 31–2
post 9/11 threat and response and 437, 438, 441, 448
- AFP (Armed Forces of the Philippines)
Abu Sayyaf and 234, 237
Jabidah massacre and 229
MILF and 232, 238, 239, 241
Philippines communist insurgency and 406, 415, 416, 418, 426, 430
Philippines separatism and 243
'radical Muslim terrorism' and 199, 201, 202, 203, 205, 212, 213
see also ISAFP
- AFPFL (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League) 299, 303, 328
- Agence France Press 364

- agreements
- Bates (USA/Sulu) 197, 227
 - Cessation of Hostilities (CoHA) 55, 252–3, 254, 262
 - Comprehensive, on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) 428, 429
 - Davao peace 52
 - Helsinki (GoI/GAM) 248, 256–7, 258, 262, 263, 264
 - Joint, on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) 428
 - Lingarjati Agreement (Indonesia/Netherlands) 249
 - Malino 132–3, 134
 - Malino II 154, 160
 - Military Bases (Philippines/USA) 406
 - Military Logistics Support (MLSA) (USA/Philippines) 237
 - New York (Netherlands/Indonesia) 281, 282, 286, 287, 288
 - Paris peace 48
 - Peace (Philippines) 201, 202
 - reconciliation (Maluku) 157–8
 - Round Table Conference (UN) 249
 - Tripartite Peace 23
 - Tripoli 201, 229
 - Visiting Forces (Philippines/USA) 427
 - see also* legislation; treaties
- Aguinaldo, Rodolfo 428
- AHAI (al-Harakatul al-Islamiya) (formerly Abu Sayyaf) 206
- Ahmad Sarkawi Sulong 169
- Ahmed, Muhammad GharibIbrahimi Sayed 108
- Ahtisaari, Maarti 256
- aid, economic *see* economic aid
- AID (All Inclusive Dialogue) 253, 262
- AIO (Arakan Independence Organization) 308
- al-Dawa 104, 114
- al-Ma'unah
- KMM and 167–8
 - answers, searching for 180–81
 - bands of brothers, buying into ideals and 181–2
 - connections and 179–80
 - cult receptivity, duped into believing and 182–3
 - follow the leader 176–9
 - future 186–7
 - Islam, not in name of 171–4
 - 'Islamic state' revolution 168–9
 - militant group, making of 175–6
 - mujahideen and martyrs, aspiring 169–71
 - wrongs, righting 183–6
- militant group, as 13, 20
- see also* Amin Mohamed Razali, Mohamed
- al-Qaeda
- Abu Sayyaf links 206
 - al-Ma'unah and KMM and 168
 - Arakan state terrorism and 325
 - counter-terrorism and 15, 16
 - GAM and 55
 - JI and 63–4, 82–3, 97, 99
 - KMM links 168, 179
 - Laskar Jihad and 63
 - Malay-Muslim insurgency in Thailand and 271, 272
 - MILF and 52–3, 203–4
 - Muslim separatism in Thailand and 55, 57, 58
 - new and old terrorisms and 4, 6–7, 37, 38, 39
 - new terrorism emergence and 29, 31–2, 33, 37, 38, 39
 - Philippines separatism and 226, 233, 235–41
 - post 9/11 threat and response and 437, 439
 - radical Muslim terrorism and 194, 195
 - RSM links 213
 - suicide terrorism and 105, 108–10, 114, 115, 438
 - suicide terrorism emergence and 19
 - Sulawesi conflict and 124, 136–7
 - terrorism and insurgency complexities and 12, 13
 - terrorism as 'war of the third kind' and 454, 455
 - terrorist threat and 437–9
 - see also* Osama bin Laden
- Alagappa, Muthiah 8
- Alatas, Ali 392

- Albania 33
- Albright, Madeleine 361
- Algeria 119
- Alonto, Abul Khayr 199
- ALP (Arakan Liberation Party) 341
- Alves, Domingos Sarmiento 388, 391–2
- Amaptuan, Zamzamin 215
- Amaral, Francisco Xavier do 388
- Amin Mohamed Razali, Mohamed
biographical details 169
cult conditioning and 182–3
end of 180, 181
hirabah and 174
Islamic state, plan for 167, 169–70
leader, as 176–9
making of militant group and 175–6
see also al-Ma'unah
- Amin Rais 152
- AMM (Aceh Monitoring Mission)
257, 258
- Amnesty International
Aceh conflict and 251
Arakan state terrorism and 330, 331,
332, 337, 338, 343
Hmong rebellion and 356
Sulawesi conflict and 139
- AMNM (Amar Makruf Nahi
Mungkar) 155
- Anand Panyarachun 271
- Andang, Galib 209
- Annan, Kofi 352
- Anom, Permenas Ferry 286
- Ansar Allah attack 119
- Anwar El Islam 199
- Anwar Ibrahim 187
- APEC (Asian Pacific Economic
Cooperation) 41
- Apodeti (Associação Popular
Democrática Timorense) 376, 380
- Aquino, Benigno 'Ninoy' 231, 412, 417
- Aquino, Corazon 50–51, 231, 405, 417,
418, 420, 426
- Aragon, Lorraine 123, 129, 132
- Arakan
state terrorism in 22, 325–6, 342–3
dynamics of 339–41
effects of 341–2
reasons for 326–9
tactics of, denial of citizenship to
Rohingyas 329–39
see also Myanmar; Rohingya; state
terrorism
- Arakan Communist Party 341
- Arakan People's Liberation Party 302
- ARIF (Arakan Rohingya Islamic
Front) 339–40
- Arifuddin 136
- ARMM (Autonomous Region of
Muslim Mindanao) 201, 231, 232
- Arnasan *see* Iqbal 1
- ARNO (Arakan Rohingya Nationalist
Organization) 313, 340, 438
- Arongear, Terianus 284, 286
- Arroyo, Gloria Macapagal-
Abu Sayyaf and 237
assassination plot against 214
Communist insurgency and 405,
426, 427, 428, 429
Fourteen Point Plan to combat
terrorism 54
MILF and 238, 239, 243
Misuari's end and 232
Presidency, assumption of 236
Presidency, renewal of 241
see also Philippines
- Arsyad, Ustaz 162
- Arulas, Jibin 229
- ASDT (Associação Social
Democrática Timorense) (later
Fretilin) 376, 377
- ASEAN (Association of South East
Asian Nations)
9/11 condemnation 40–41
East Timor and 393
Hmong rebellion and 49
major armed rebellions in states of
10
Maluku jihad and 162
Myanmar separatism and 312
Papua separatism and 284
post 9/11 threat and response and
443
- ASG *see* Abu Sayyaf
- ASNLF (Aceh Sumatra National
Liberation Front) 251
- ATTF (Anti-Terrorism Task Force)
210, 217
- Aum Supreme Truth 28, 34, 35, 37
- Aung San 45, 296, 297, 299, 328
- Aung San Suu Kyi 46, 311, 313, 314

- Australia
 East Timor and 374, 377–8, 382, 387, 389, 393, 394
 High Commission (Jakarta)
 bombing 38, 97, 111, 112
 Hmong rebellion and 371
 JI in 438
 Papua separatism and 280, 287
 post 9/11 threat and response and 438
 aviation security
 suicide terrorism and 118–19
 see also security
 Azahari bin Husin
 al-Ma'unah and LMM and 179–80, 181, 183, 186
 JI according to PUPJI and 77, 78
 suicide terrorism and 110–11, 112, 120
 see also JI
 Azar, Edward E. 8
 Azzam, Abdullah 72, 85
 Badawi, Abdullah Ahmad *see* Abdullah Ahmad Badawi
 BAKIN (Indonesian State Intelligence Agency) 383
 Bali bombings
 counter-terrorism after 41
 decision to stage 77
 described 104, 110, 111
 DI and 70
 females and 116
 globalization and 72
 individual bombers 112
 Indonesian terrorist trials after 74
 JI and 72, 97
 Muslim separatism in Thailand and 57
 new versus old terrorism and 38
 post 9/11 threat and response and 438, 439
 PUPJI and 81
 suicide terrorism cost-effectiveness and 106
 suicide terrorism emergence and 19
 Sulawesi conflict and 133
 see also suicide terrorism; Thailand
 Balweg, Conrado 422
 Bandura, Albert 170
 Bangladesh 307–8, 312, 327, 338, 339, 340, 341
 Bangsa Moro Army 52
 see also MNLF
 Banlaoi, Rommel 20
 Banna, Hasan al- 149
 Barayeva, Khava 114
 Basayev, Shamil 116–17
 Bashir, Abu Bakar
 al-Ma'unah and KMM and 180
 JI according to PUPJI and 77–8, 81
 JI and 71, 72
 militant group general
 characteristics and 65
 MMI and 73
 Muslim separatism in Thailand and 57
 Philippines separatism and 236
 ‘radical Muslim terrorism’ and 207
 Sulawesi conflict and 123, 136
 terrorism and insurgency
 complexities and 13
 transnational Islamic terrorist
 network emergence and 458, 459
 see also JI
 Bates, John C. 227
 Baylosis, Rafael 417
 BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) 364, 369
 Belo, Bishop 393
 Benedict XVI, Pope 138
 Bersatu (Barisan Kemerdekaan Pattani) 57, 273
 Beureueh, Daud 69
 BIA (Burma Independence Army) 296, 299
 BIAF (Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces) 203
 BIC (Benevolence International Corporation) 204
 BIMM (Badan Imarat Muslim Maluku) 155
 Binago, Alo 217
 Binago, Bebis 217
 biological terrorism *see* NBC (nuclear, biological or chemical) terrorism
 births
 registration of, Arakan state
 terrorism tactics and 337–8

- Bisalembah, Roy Runtu 125
 BMLO (Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization) 200
 BNPP (Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Pattani) 56, 273
 Bo Mya 47, 310
 Bodaw Phaya 327
 Bounchanh, General 367
 Brang Seng 314
 British East India Company 327
 BRN (Barisan Revolusi Nasional) 56, 273, 274
 Brown, David 298
 BSPP (Burma Socialist Programme Party) 304, 307, 308, 310, 311, 316
 Burma
 Communist insurgency in 23
 political opposition groups 12
 radical Islamist groups 13
 separatism in 11, 18, 21–2, 33, 293–9
 1948–62, parliamentary era 299–304
 1962–88, ‘Burmese Way to Socialism’, Ne Win and 304–10
 terrorism definition and 17
 see also Myanmar
 Burnham, Gracia 212
 Burnham, Martin 212
 Buscayno, Bernabe ‘Dante’ 409, 415, 417
 Bush, George W. 233, 237, 272
 Buzan, Barry 299
 Caetano, Marcelo 375
 Callahan, Mary 302–3
 Campbell, James 31
 Canada 47, 371
 Carey, Peter 5, 22
 Carter, Jimmy 387
 causes
 grievance alleviation as political weapon in counter-terrorism 24
 Hmong rebellion 354–5
 insurgency 14
 Malay-Muslim insurgency, Thailand 269–73
 new terrorism 29–34
 rebellion 5, 14, 18
 separatist insurgency, Papua 280–83
 separatist insurgency, Philippines 226–8
 state terrorism, Arakan 326–9
 suicide terrorism 105–8, 113–15
 Sulawesi conflict 19, 122–4
 terrorism 3–4, 14
 see also economics; legitimacy of state; politics; separatism
 Center for Public Policy Analysis 362
 Chao Fa resistance movement 357–8, 359, 360, 361, 363, 367, 369
 characteristics
 al-Ma’*unah* and KMM 169–71, 179–82
 militant groups 28, 31, 64–7
 new terrorism 6, 34–7
 rebellion 14
 suicide terrorism 115–18
 Chauvel, Richard 148
 Chavalit, Yongchaiyudh 312
 Chechnya 33, 105, 114, 116, 117
 chemical terrorism *see* NBC (nuclear, biological or chemical) terrorism
 Chile 107
 Chin National Vanguard Party 302
 China
 Burma separatism and 300–301, 303, 306
 Communist insurgency and 23
 complexities and 12
 Hmong rebellion and 49, 354, 357
 legitimacy and rebellion 9–11
 Myanmar separatism and 312
 support base for Hmong rebellion, as 363
 Christmas Eve bombings 81, 97, 122, 125, 127
 CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) 48, 316, 353, 354, 359, 361
 citizenship *see* Rohingyas, citizenship denied to
 Clandestine Radio Watch 118 362
 class *see* separatism
 Clinton, Bill 392–3
 CMI (Crisis Management Initiative) 256
 CNF (Chin National Front) 313, 314
 CNI (Commission on National Integration) 198

- 'CNN effect'
 - new terrorism emergence and 30
 - see also* publicity
- CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance) (later CNRT) 391
- Colombia 107
- Commander Robot *see* Andang, Galib
- Communism
 - armed insurgency and 22–3
 - insurgency and *see* Communist insurgency
 - legitimacy and rebellion and 9–11
 - Malaysia 7
 - separatism and 18
 - Thailand 7–8
 - see also* politics
- Communist insurgency
 - Malaysia 23
 - Philippines 3–4, 8, 22, 23, 405–7, 429–31
 - 1980s–1990s, debates and fallout in 420–26
 - PKP and National Democratic Revolution 407–9
 - PKP–NPA growth and decline 415–20
 - National Democratic Front 411–14
 - New People's Army 409–11
 - old terrorism and 49–51
 - political negotiations 426–9
 - Thailand 22
 - see also* insurgency; politics
- Communist Party of Thailand 7, 307
- Community Development Centre 268
- complexities
 - insurgency 5–6, 11–14
 - radical Islamist groups 12–13, 14
 - rebellion 18
 - separatism 11–12, 13
 - terrorism 11–14
- Conboy, Ken 97
- Conferences
 - Non-Aligned Movement Countries (1976) 387
 - Reorganization of the Country (East Timor) (1981) 390
- Conventions
 - Geneva 456
- ILO, Concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour 333
- International, on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 343
- International, on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 343
- Reduction of Statelessness 343
- Status of Stateless Persons 343
- against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment 343
- UN, on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 336
- UN, on the Rights of the Child 329, 335, 336
 - see also* legislation
- Cooley, F.L. 147
- Corregidor massacre *see* Jabidah massacre
- Coser, Lewis 162
- cost-effectiveness
 - suicide terrorism advantage 106
- counter-terrorism
 - grievance alleviation as political weapon in 24
 - implications 15–17
 - new terrorism and 39–42
 - old and new terrorism and 23–4
 - Singapore 36–7
 - twenty-first century 451, 459–63
 - terrorism as 'war of the third kind' 451–7
 - transnational terrorist networks 457–9
- USA 36
 - see also* security; terrorism
- CPA (Communist Party of Arakan) 305, 308
- CPB (Communist Party of Burma)
 - Arakan state terrorism and 328
 - Chinese backing for 306
 - contemporary landscape and 314, 315
 - KMT and 301, 302
 - Ne Win and 305, 306, 307, 308, 309
 - political power sought through armed revolution 23, 299

- SLORC/SPDC and 310, 311
Tatmadaw and 303
- CPLA (Cordillera People's Liberation Army) 422
- CPM (Communist Party of Malaya) 11, 23, 57
- CPM-43 (Civilian-Police-Military Task Force 43) 269
- CPP (Communist Party of the Philippines) (formerly PKP)
Communist rebellion in Philippines and 49, 50, 51, 405
growth and decline 415–20
National Democratic Revolution and 407–9
political power sought through armed revolution by 23
radical Muslim terrorism and 199, 204
separatist insurgency in Philippines and 238
terrorism and insurgency complexities and 12
see also ABB; NPA; Sison, Jose Maria
- Cruz, Avelino 242–3
- CTM (Communist Terrorist Movement) 204, 205
- cults
militant groups compared 182–3
- DAB (Democratic Alliance of Burma) 46, 311
- Daitula, David Alex 379
- Dale, Sephen Frederic 108
- Damanik, Rinaldy 133–6
- Daof, Saeed A. 241, 243
- Dawood, Dayan 261
- De Castro, Renato Cruz 24
- deaths
registration of, Arakan state terrorism tactics and 337–8
- definitions
hirabah 172–3
insurgency 4
Islamist 64
jihad 171–2
ma'unah 171
militant 64
premanism 146
radical Muslim terrorism 20, 194–6
state terrorism 325–6
suicide terror attack 104
terrorism 4–6, 17–18, 27
- Degauque, Muriel 117
- degradation
socio-economic, state terrorism effect, Arakan 342
- Deklarasi Menahan Diri* (Restrain Oneself Declaration) 158
- Delfin, Roberto 237
- Dellosa, Redento Cain 215
- Democratic Chao Fa Party of Laos (formerly Ethnic Liberation Organization of Laos) 358, 363
- Democratic Karen Buddhist Army 313
- Democratic Nationalities United Front 302
- Demotekay, Aser 284
- DI (Darul Islam)
Aceh conflict and 249–50
Java-based militant group, as 67–71
JI establishment and 4, 76, 79, 98
militant Java-based Islamist movements and 63, 64
MMI links 73
new terrorism emergence and 39
new versus old terrorism and 39
Sulawesi conflict and 122, 125, 126, 127, 136
transnational terrorist network emergence and 458, 459
- Dolnik, Adam 19
- DOM (Daerah Operasi Militer) 251, 252, 255, 289
- Dommen, A. 370
- Duim, Feiji 290
- Dujana, Abu 71, 77, 78
- Dureza, Jesus 53
- Dwikarna, Agus 136, 137
- Dzulqarnain, Ustaz 155
- East, Roger 382
- East Timor
historical background 374–5
Indonesian occupation 394–5
1975 invasion and its aftermath 381–5

- 1976–77, military stalemate and Fretilin's resistance strategy 385–6
- 1977–79, Operation Annihilation Circle 386–8
- 1979–88, famine, resettlement and rebirth of Timorese resistance 388–91
- 1989–99, Timorese 'perestroika' and international community 391–4
- new nation 374
- political awakening and civil war (1974–75) 375–81
- state terrorism in 22
- see also* Indonesia
- economic aid
 - government response to Hmong rebellion 367–8
- economics
 - causes of terrorism and 14
 - counter-terrorism and 15, 16, 17, 461
 - legitimacy and rebellion and 9
 - Papua separatism and 283
 - state terrorism effects and, Arakan 342
 - see also* causes
- education
 - counter-terrorism and 462
- Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood 85, 86
- Eluay, Ondolofa Dorthays Hiyo 289
- environment
 - causes of terrorism and 14
 - terrorism response and 446–7
- Ermita, Eduardo 240
- Estrada, Joseph 51, 53, 236, 405, 423, 428, 429
- see also* Philippines
- Ethnic Liberation Organization of Laos (later Democratic Chao Fa Party of Laos) 49, 357
- Ethnic Nationalities Council 315
- ethnicity *see* separatism
- EU (European Union) 405, 429
- Evans, Grant 370
- extortion
 - Arakan state terrorism tactics and 336–7
 - Falintil (Forças Armadas de Libertação de Timor-Leste) (later F-FDTL) 379, 385, 388, 389, 390, 391
 - Faraj, Abdelsalam 72
 - FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia) 107
 - Farouq, Omar al- 109, 137, 439
 - Faydang Lobliayao 48
 - Fealy, Greg 19
 - Federal Movement 304
 - females *see* women
 - Fernandez, Joe 168
 - Ferrer, Miriam Coronel 23
 - FFCL (Fact Finding Commission on Laos)
 - government responses to Hmong rebellion and 367
 - Hmong resistance groups and 357, 370
 - members arrested 352
 - videos 356, 358, 363
 - Vietnam as Hmong support base and 364
 - Fianza, Florencio D. 216
 - FIDH (International Federation of Human Rights League) 339
 - Firduas, Salik M. 112
 - FKAWJ (Forum Komunikasi Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah) 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155
 - FKM (Front Kedaulatan Maluku) 153, 156
 - Ford, Gerald 381, 416
 - FPI (Front Pembela Islam) 64
 - FPIM (Front Pembela Islam Maluku) 155
 - France 48, 49, 119, 354, 358, 371, 369–70
 - Freire, Paulo 377
 - Fretilin (Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independent) (formerly ASDT)
 - end of 391
 - Indonesian invasion and its aftermath and 382, 383
 - legitimacy and rebellions and 8
 - Operation Annihilation Circle and 386, 387, 388, 389

- political awakening and civil war
and 377, 378, 379, 380, 381
resistance strategy 385–6, 390
- Gaddafi, Mu'ammer al- 31, 229
- GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka)
al-Qaeda and 55
civil society roles peacemaking roles
and 260, 261, 262
counter-terrorism and 15
founding of 54, 250–51
Helsinki peace process and 256, 257
MoU between GoI and 21, 248, 263
new terrorism emergence and 34
peace failure and 254, 255
resurrection of, second phase of
conflict and 252
separatism and 34
terrorist threat and response and 439
see also Hasan di Tiro
- Garcia, Rodolfo 240–41
- General Education Centre 268
- Ghozi, Fathur Rohman al- 32, 109,
207–8, 236, 239, 458, 459
- GIA (Armed Islamic Group) 119
- GKST (Crisis Centre of the Protestant
Church of Central Sulawesi) 130,
133, 134, 135
- globalization
counter-terrorism and 40, 463
JI and 71–2
Malay-Muslim insurgency in
Thailand and 271–3
new terrorism and 28, 29–30
suicide terrorism and 117
terrorism as 'war of the third kind'
and 453–4, 455–6
transnational terrorist networks and
4, 457–9
see also international community
- GMIP (Gerakan Mujahideen Islam
Pattani) 13, 57, 273, 274
- God's Army 47
- GoI (Government of Indonesia) 248,
260, 262, 263, 288–91
see also Indonesia
- Gon Jerng 307
- GPNG (Gerakan Persatuan Nieuw
Guinea) 280
- Great Britain *see* UK
- GRP (Government of the Republic of
the Philippines) 201
see also Philippines
- GST (Gerakan Permuda Sulawesi
Tengah) 127
- Gumilang, Panji 69
- Gunaratna, Rohan 23–4, 39
- Gusmão, José Alexandre 379
- Gusmão, Xanana 388, 390–91
- Habibie, Bachruddin Jusuf 150, 151,
252
- Haji Sulong 268
- Hamas 105, 115, 117
- Hambali
al-Ma'unah and KMM and 168, 180
JI according to PUPJI and 77, 78,
97
Malay-Muslim insurgency in
Thailand and 272
Muslim separatism in Thailand and
57
Philippines separatism and 236
'radical Muslim terrorism' and 207,
208
suicide terrorism and 110–11
terrorist threat and response and
438, 439
transnational terrorist network
emergence and 458, 459
see also JI
- Hapilon, Isnilon 217
- Hasan di Tiro 54, 250
see also GAM
- Hashim Selamat
Moro rebellion and 52, 53
Philippines separatism and 230, 231,
232, 235, 236, 239, 241
'radical Muslim terrorism' and 200,
202–3, 204
see also MILF
- Hatta, Mohammad 125, 126
- Havel, Vaclav 316
- HDC (Henri Dunant Center for
Humanitarian Dialogue) 252, 253,
254, 262
- Hendari 140
- Hezbollah 104–5, 114
- Hidayat, Aip 112
- Hidayat, Mismo 112

- Hindom, Saul 288
- Hmong International Human Rights Watch 362–3, 364–5, 367
- Hmong Lao Radio 362, 369
- Hmong rebellion
 background 352–3
 current situation 370–71
 government responses 366–70
 Hmong people described 353–4
 old terrorism and 48–9
 principal players 356–9
 reasons for 354–5
 support bases 359–66
 suppression of, human rights abuses or 355–6
- Hoffman, Bruce 23, 28, 30
- Horta, José Ramos 384–5, 393
- Hough, Peter 462
- Howard, John 393, 394
- Hso Ten 313, 316
- Huber, Konrad 254
- Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon (People's Army Against the Japanese) 406, 407
- human rights
 Child, of the, UN Declaration of 335
 Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for, and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) 428, 429
 UN Commission on 336, 393, 364, 367
 Universal Declaration of 332, 333, 335, 338
 violations
 Arakan state terrorism and 339
 Hmong rebellion suppression and 355–6
 Indonesian invasion of East Timor and 383
see also Rohingyas
- I Nyoman Somanada 135
- Ibnu Abbas 177
- Ibrahim Libya 169, 182
- ICG (International Crisis Group) 204, 266
- ideals
 al-Ma'unah and KMM and 181–2
 identity crisis
 state terrorism effect, Arakan 341–2
 ideology
 terrorist threat and 438–9
 Idris, Safwan 261
 IIC (International Information Center) 214
 IIRO (International Islamic Relief Organization) 203, 204, 439
 Ikle, Fred Charles 171
 ILO (International Labour Organization) 333
 India 37, 107, 307, 312
 Indochina 108
 Indonesia
 counter-terrorism and 40
 jihad movement in, rise of 148–53
 legitimacy and rebellion and 8, 9, 11
 new terrorism and radical Islam and 18
 new versus old terrorism and 39
 radical Islamist groups 13, 15
 separatism in 11, 12, 34
 suicide terrorism and 19, 116, 117, 120
 terrorism definition and 17
see also Aceh; East Timor; GoI; Java; Maluku; Megawati Sukarnoputri; Papua; Suharto, President; Sukarno, President; Sulawesi; Sulu; Sumatra; Wahid, Abdurrahman
 Indonesian Council of Churches 283, 289
 insurgency
 armed 20–22
 book themes and structure 17–24
 Communist *see* Communist insurgency
 defined 4
 separatist *see* separatist insurgency
see also causes; complexities; Malay-Muslim insurgency, Thailand; rebellion; separatism
 InterFET (International Force in East Timor) 374, 393
see also UNSC
 international community
 East Timor and 383–5, 391–4

- Papua separatism and 286–8
see also globalization
- international crime
 consequence of terrorism, as 4
- International Criminal Court 272
- internationalization *see* globalization
- Internet
 new terrorism and 29–30
see also IT
- IPD (Immigration and Population Department) 331, 332
- Iqbal I (Arnasan) 110
- IRA (Irish Republican Army) 27, 33, 107
- Iraq 105
- Ireland 288
- IRIC (International Relations and Information Center) 204
- ISAFP (Intelligence Service of the Armed Forces of the Philippines) 205
see also AFP
- Islam
 al-Ma'unah and KMM and 171–4
see also radical Islam
- Islamic state
 revolution, al-Ma'unah and KMM and 168–9
- Ismail, Razali 314
- Israel 16, 33, 37, 105, 119
- IT (information technology)
 new terrorism and 29
see also Internet
- IWW (Islamic Wisdom Worldwide) 204
- Jaafar, Khalim 180
- Jabidah massacre 51, 198–9, 225, 228–9
- Jackson, Sherman 172
- Jafar Kamal 328
- Jakarta Post* 134, 139
- Jalandoni, Luis 413
- jama'ah (group)
 JI as, according to PUPJI 83–4
- Jamaluddin Darus 181, 183
- Jamalul Kiram II, Sultan of Sulu 227
- Jane's Intelligence Review* 31
- Janjalani, Abdurajak 205–6, 209, 230, 232, 233
see also Abu Sayyaf
- Janjalani, Khaddafy
 Philippines separatism and 233, 234, 241
 'radical Muslim terrorism' and 209, 210, 213, 215, 216, 217
see also Abu Sayyaf
- Japan 37, 118, 197, 206, 303
- Java 63–4, 67–74
see also Indonesia
- Jayash al Madhi 441–2
- Jemari 183
- Ji (Jemaah Islamiah)
 Abu Sayyaf links 207, 208, 211
 al-Ma'unah and KMM and 168
 counter-terrorism and 15, 40
 globalization and 71–2
 Java-based militant group, as 71–3
 KMM links 168, 179, 180
 Malay-Muslim insurgency in Thailand and 271, 272, 273
 militant group characteristics and 66
 MILF and 53, 203, 204
 MMI links 73
 Muslim separatism in Thailand and 57
 new and old terrorisms and 6, 37
 new terrorism emergence and 32–3, 38, 39, 40
 Philippines separatism and 230, 234, 235–41, 243
 post 9/11 threat and response and 438, 440, 441, 442, 444
 PUPJI, according to 76–8, 82–3, 96–9
 operational dimensions 88–96
 organizational patterns 83–8
 RSM links 213
 Salafism and 63–4
 suicide terrorism and 109, 112, 118, 120
 Sulawesi conflict and 122, 123, 124, 136
 terrorism and insurgency complexities and 13
see also Azahari bin Husin; Bashir, Abu Bakir; Hambali; Noordin Mohammed Top
- Jibril, Abu 180
- jihad movement

- Indonesia, in, rise of 148–53
see also Maluku
- John Paul II, Pope 206, 207, 392
- Jouwe, Nicolas 285
- JQAF 185
- JS (Jemaah Salafiah) 438
- JSC (Joint Security Committee) 253, 254, 255
- Kabalu, Eid 204
- Kahar, Muzakkar 125, 126
- Kaimudin, Sugianto 137
- Kaisiepo, Markus 285
- Kalbuadi, Dading 382
- Kalla, Jusuf 133, 154, 159–60, 255
- Kamarulzaman Askandar 20–21
- Karen rebellion
 old terrorism and 45–8
see also Myanmar
- Kartosoewirjo, S.M. 68, 71, 126–7, 250
- Kashmir *see* India
- Kastari, Ma Salam-at 109, 438
- Keen, David 299, 313
- Kessler, Richard 50
- Khalid Sheikh Mohammed 109, 119, 439
- Khalifa, Mohammad Jamal 52, 203, 204, 232–3, 236, 439
- Khallad bin Attash 109
- Khin Nyunt 48, 311, 314
- Khun Sa 307, 309, 311–12
- Khun Tun Oo 316
- Kintanar, Romulo 426
- KIO (Kachin Independence Organization) 304, 305, 309, 311, 314, 315
- KISDI (Komite Solidaritas Islam) 13
- Kissinger, Henry 381
- KKY (Ka Kwe Ye) 308–9, 311
- KM (Kabataang Makabayan) 199
- KMM (Kampulan Mujahideen Malaysia) 4, 13, 20, 57, 438
see also al-Ma'unah, KMM and
- KMT (Kuomintang) 300, 301, 302, 307, 309
- KNL (Karen National League) 47
- KNPP (Karen National Progressive Party)
 contemporary landscape and 314, 316
- Ne Win and 305, 307, 309
 parliamentary era and 301, 302
 SLORC/SPDC and 312
- KNU (Karen National Union)
 contemporary landscape and 314, 316
 Karen rebellion and 46, 47
 Ne Win and 305, 307, 309
 parliamentary era and 300, 301, 302, 303
 pre-independence 297–8
 SLORC/SPDC and 311, 312, 313
 terrorism and insurgency
 complexities and 12
- KNUP (Karen National United Party) 301, 302, 305
- Koalisi NGO HAM (NGO Coalition for Human Rights) 261
- Kopassus/Kopassandha (Army Special Forces) 286, 383
- Kostrad (Strategic Army Reserve) 381
- KPPSI (Komite Persipan Pelaksanaan Syari at Islam) (later KPSI) 122, 127, 137
see also Laskar Jundullah
- KTA (Khalid Trinidad Army) 213
- Kurdistan 38
- Laard, Tim 364
- labour
 forced unpaid, Arakan state
 terrorism tactics and 333–4
- Lagman, Filemon 426
- land
 confiscation and eviction from,
 Arakan state terrorism tactics
 and 335–6
see also model villages
- Lao Democracy Institute 362
- Lao Human Rights Council 362
- Laos
 separatism in 11, 33
 state terrorism in 22
 terrorism definition and 17
see also Hmong rebellion; RLG
- Laqueur, Walter 27, 453
- Laskar Khalid bin Walid 137
- Laskar Kristus 156
- Laskar Jihad
 9/11, after, future challenges and 161
 Aceh rebellion and 55

- Christian response to 156
 jihad movement emergence in
 Indonesia and 150, 151–2
 jihad movement emergence in
 Maluku and 19–20
 local Muslim response to 154,
 155
 militant group characteristics and
 65, 66
 national security forces response to
 153
 premanism and 146–7
 Salafism and 63
 Sulawesi conflict and 122, 130, 131,
 137
 terrorism and insurgency
 complexities and 13
 Laskar Jundullah 13, 122, 127, 130,
 136, 137, 438
 see also KPPSI
 Laskar Mujahideen 73–4, 161–2
 see also MMI
 Laskar Mujahidin Kompak 136
 Lateka, Advent L. 130, 136
 Latuconsina, Saleh 159
 Lava, Jesus 406
 Lava, Jose 406
 Lavilla, Sheik Omar 212
 Le Kha Phieu 364
 Le Van Dzung 365
 leadership
 al-Ma'unah and KMM and
 176–9
 Lebanon 104–5, 114
 Lee, Gary Yia 22
 Lee Kuan Yew 287
 legislation
 Burma Citizenship Law 329, 330,
 331, 339
 Citizenship Act 1948 (Burma)
 329
 Constitutional Law 7/75 (Indonesia)
 378
 Hague Regulations 456
 Inpres (Presidential Instruction) No.
 1 (Papua) 290
 Internal Security Act (ISA)
 (Malaysia) 181
 International Covenant on Civil and
 Political Rights 343
 Otsus (Special Autonomy bill)
 (Papua) 289–90, 292
 Penal Code (Malaysia) 173, 180
 PEPERA ('Act of Free Choice')
 (Papua) 282, 284, 285, 286, 287,
 291
 Strategic Goods (Control) Bill
 (Singapore) 36
 UDHR (Universal Declaration of
 Human Rights) 332, 333, 335,
 338
 see also agreements; treaties
 legitimacy of state
 cause of rebellion, as 5
 cause of terrorism, as 3, 14
 radical Islamist groups and 18
 rebellion and 7–11
 separatism and 18
 see also state
 Lengsavad, Somsavat 368
 Lestaluhi, Maryam R.L. 147
 Li Wen-huan 307
 Libya 54, 55
 Lindsey, Tim 146
 LMHR (Lao Movement for Human
 Rights) 370–71
 Lo Lu Yang 367–8
 Lo Hsing-han 309
 Lobato, Nicolau 379, 388
 Lopes, Martinho da Costa 386
 LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil
 Eelam) 38, 105, 113–14, 115
 Mabilangan, Leopoldo 426
 Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria *see* Arroyo,
 Gloria Macapagal-
 MacArthur, Douglas 197
 Mahathir Mohamed 169, 170, 238
 Maki, Ragab al- 108
 Malay-Muslim insurgency
 Thailand 266
 domestic sources of unrest
 269–71
 history, burden of 267–9
 regional and international
 dimensions 271–3
 research avenues and constraints
 275–6
 violence, prospects of 273–5
 see also insurgency

- Malaya
 legitimacy and rebellion and 11
- Malaysia
 Aceh rebellion and 54–5
 al-Ma'unah and KMM in *see* al-Ma'unah, KMM and
 Communism in 7
 Communist insurgency in 23
 counter-terrorism and 40, 41
 legitimacy and rebellion and 7
 new terrorism and radical Islam and 18
 radical Islam and 20
 radical Islamist groups 13, 15
 separatism and 34
- Malik, Adam 380
- Maluku
 future challenges and 161–2
 Islamic forces after new order 146–7
 Muslim–Christian conflict, early beginnings of 147–8
 central government response 159–61
 Christian response 156–7
 local Muslim response 154–6
 national security forces response 153–4
 NGOs and local government response 157–9
 radical Islam and 19–20
see also Indonesia
- Manuputty, Alex 156
- Mao Zedong 300, 407, 408
- Marcos, Ferdinand E.
 communist insurgency and 405, 407, 413, 416, 417
 CPP and 49–50
 legitimacy and rebellion and 8, 9
 martial law declared by 228, 229
see also Philippines
- marriage
 restriction on, Arakan state
 terrorism tactics and 338–9
- Marriott Hotel bombing (Jakarta)
 described 110–11
 globalization and 72
 individual bombers 112
 JI's descent into terrorism and 97
 Muslim separatism in Thailand and 57
 new versus old terrorism and 38
 post 9/11 threat and response and 438
 PUPJI and 81
 martyrs
 aspiring mujahideen and, al-Ma'unah and KMM and 169–71
see also suicide terrorism
- Masduki, Ajengan 98
- Masour, Jabarah Mohammed 32
- mass casualty terrorism
 9/11 significance and 26
 characteristic of new terrorism, as 34–7
 new terrorism and 29, 30
 post 9/11 threat and response and 438, 439
see also terrorism; WMDs
- Matalam, Udtog 199, 229
- Matin, Dul 442
- Matthew, Trooper 170, 182
- Maududi, Abu al-Ala 149
- MBG (Misuari Breakaway Group)
 196, 201–2, 217
see also Misuari, Nur
- MCFE (Mujahideen Commando Freedom Fighters) 206
- Megawati Sukarnoputri
 Aceh conflict and 252, 253–4, 255, 257
 assassination plot against 78
 central government response to Maluku jihad and 159
 martial law declared by 55
 NGO and local government response to Maluku jihad and 158
 Papua separatism and 287, 289, 290
 unacceptability as Presidential candidate 150, 152
see also Indonesia
- Memali incident 168–9
- Mendoza, Rodolfo 212–13, 215
- Mercy International 204
- migrant reliance
 new terrorism and 30
- MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front)
 Abu Sayyaf links 210, 211

- Abu Sofia links 216, 217
 al-Qaeda links 203
 Communist rebellion and 51
 counter-terrorism and 15
 founding 225–6
 JI links 204
 Moro rebellion and 52–3
 new and old terrorisms and 6
 new terrorism emergence and 33, 34
 Philippines separatism and 229–32,
 235–41, 243
 ‘radical Muslim terrorism’ and 194,
 196, 202–5, 217–18
 separatism and 34
 suicide terrorism and 112
 terrorism and insurgency
 complexities and 13
 terrorism threat and response and
 438, 439, 441
see also Hashim Selamat
- militant groups
 complexities and 12–13, 14
 counter-terrorism and 15
 cults compared 182–3
 general characteristics of 64–7
 Java-based 19, 63–74
 legitimacy of state and 18
 making of, al-Ma’unah and KMM
 and 175–6
 Messianic freedom fighters as,
 Hmong rebellion principal
 players and 357–8
 new terrorism and 28, 31
 prospects for 74
 PUPJI 19
 suicide terrorism and 19
 Sulawesi, al-Qaeda factor and 136–7
see also individually-named groups;
 radical Islam
- military suppression *see* suppression,
 military
- Miller, Captain 114
- MIM (Mindanao Independence
 Movement) 51–2, 199
- Mimbantas, Alim Abdulaziz 240
- Mindanao 108
see also Philippines
- MIPT (National Memorial Institute
 for the Prevention of Terrorism)
 201
- Misuari, Nur
 counter-terrorism and 40
 Moro rebellion and 52
 MNLF armed struggle defined by
 200
 MNLF founding and 199, 229
 Philippines separatism and 230, 231,
 232
 ‘radical Muslim terrorism’ and 201,
 202, 210
 see also MBG; MNLF
- MMI (Majelis Mujahideen Indonesia)
 13, 64, 73–4, 77
- MNLF (Moro National Liberation
 Front)
 founding 225
 Moro rebellion and 52
 new terrorism emergence and 34
 Philippines communist insurgency
 and 415
 Philippines separatism and
 229–32
 radical Muslim terrorism and 194,
 196, 199–202, 210, 217–18
 separatism and 34
 see also Bangsa Moro Army;
 Misuari, Nur
- Mo, Timothy 395
- mobility
 restriction on, Arakan state
 terrorism tactics and 332
- model villages
 non-Rohingyas, for, Arakan state
 terrorism tactics and 334–5
see also land
- Moertopo, Ali 378
- Mohamed Amin Mohamed Razali *see*
 Amin Mohamed Razali,
 Mohamed
- Mohammad Atef 55
- Mohammad Iqbal Abdurrahman *see*
 Jibril, Abu
- Mohammed Sadiq Odeh 207
- Molina, Mailed 422
- Mon People’s Front 302
- Moon, Chung-in 8
- Morales, Horacio Jr. 412
- Moro rebellion
 old terrorism and 51–4
see also Philippines

- Moscow bombing campaign *see* Russia
- Moua Toua Ter 358
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick 171, 384
- MRP (Majelis Rakyat Papua) 290, 291
- MTA (Mong Tai Army) 309, 312
- mujahideen
 aspiring martyrs and, al-Ma'unah
 and KMM and 169–71
- Mukhlas 66–7
- Munir Ibrahim 207
- Murad Ebrahim, Al Haj 53, 204, 239–40, 242
- Murtopo, Ali 68
- Muslim converts
 suicide terrorism and 117
- Mustopa in Semarang 80, 91
- Myanmar
 legitimacy and rebellion and 8, 9
 radical Islamist groups 13
 separatism in 11, 293–9
 contemporary landscape 313–17
 post-1988, SLORC/SPDC 310–13
 see also Arakan; Burma; Karen
 rebellion
- Nai Shwe Kyin 313
- Namibia 288
- Narameikhla (Solaiman Shah) 327
- NaSaKa
 births and deaths registration tactics
 337
 citizenship denial tactics 331
 extortion and arbitrary taxation
 tactics 336, 340
 forced unpaid labour tactics 333,
 334
 land confiscation and eviction tactics
 335
 marriage restriction tactics 338
 mobility restriction tactics 332
- NaTaLa (Ministry for Development of
 Border Areas and National Races)
 334
- National Democratic Revolution
 407–9
- National Intelligence Coordinating
 Agency 239
- Nationalities Liberation Alliance 302
- Naw Seng 306
- NBC (nuclear, biological or chemical)
 terrorism
 counter-terrorism and 41–2
 mass casualty terrorism and 34–5
 suicide terrorism and 119–20
 see also terrorism
- NCGUB (National Coalition
 Government Union of Burma)
 311, 314, 316
- NCUB (National Council Union of
 Burma) 311, 314
- Ndawu, Bernard 139
- NDF (National Democratic Front)
 (Burma) 309, 310, 311, 312, 315,
 411–14
- NDFP (National Democratic Front of
 the Philippines) 405
- NDPHR (National Democratic Party
 for Human Rights) 331
- NDUF (National Democratic United
 Front) 302, 305
- Ne Win
 Arakan state terrorism and 328
 Burma separatism and 299, 304, 308,
 309, 310
 Myanmar separatism and 315
 Tatmadaw under 302, 303
 see also Tatmadaw
- negotiations
 peace, limiting terrorism and
 241–3
 political, Communist insurrection in
 Philippines and 426–9
- Netherlands
 Aceh and 249
 Maluku and 148
 Papua separatism and 280–81,
 282–3, 287
 Philippine communist insurgency
 and 413–14, 429
 Sulawesi and 125, 126
 West Timor and 374, 375
- new terrorism
 causes 14, 29–34
 characteristics 6
 counter-terrorism implications 15
 countering 39–42
 described 4, 27–9
 emergence of 26–7
 legitimacy of state and 18

- mass casualty terrorism threat, as characteristic of 34–7
- old terrorism compared 6–7, 23–4, 37–9
- radical Islam and 18
- separatism and 6, 7
- suicide terrorism and 18
- see also* terrorism
- New Zealand 288
- Ngayaan, Daniel 426
- Nhia Long Moua 358, 363
- Nicaragua 421
- Nik Adli Nik Abdul Aziz 167, 170–71, 179, 180, 181
- Nik Aziz Nik Mat 168, 170
- NLD (National League for Democracy) 46, 310, 312, 313, 314, 316
- NMSP (New Mon State Party) 301, 302, 305, 307, 311, 314, 315
- Noom Suik Harn (Young Warriors) 303, 305
- Noor, Elina 20
- Noordin Mohammed Top
- al-Ma'unah and KMM and 180, 183, 186
- JI according to PUPJI and 77, 78
- Militant Java-based Islamist movements and 73, 74
- suicide terrorism and 111, 112
- see also* JI
- Norian Mai 170
- Norway 429
- NPA (New People's Army)
- Communist insurrection in Philippines and 49, 50, 51, 405, 409–11
- complexities and 12
- growth and decline 415–20
- 'radical Muslim terrorism' and 204, 205
- see also* ABB; CPP
- NRC (National Reconciliation Council) 271
- nuclear terrorism *see* NBC (nuclear, biological or chemical) terrorism
- NULF (National United Liberated Front) 307
- NUPA (National Unity Party of Arakan) 313, 340
- OIC (Organization of the Islamic Conference) 201, 229, 231
- Oklahoma City bombing 26, 28, 37
- old terrorism
- causes and 14
- counter-terrorism implications 16
- described 4
- legitimacy of state and 18
- new terrorism compared 6–7, 23–4, 37–9
- separatism and 6–7, 18
- survey of 45, 58–9
- Aceh rebellion in Indonesia 54–5
- Communist rebellion in Philippines 49–51
- Hmong rebellion in Laos 48–9
- Karen rebellion in Myanmar (Burma) 45–8
- Moro rebellion in Philippines 51–4
- Muslim separatism in Thailand 55–8
- see also* terrorism
- OMA (Office of Muslim Affairs) 214, 215
- Omar, Abu 203, 207
- OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) 387
- OPM (Organisasi Papua Merdeka) 284, 285–6, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291
- OPMRC (Independent Papuan Organization Revolutionary Council) 284, 285, 288
- Osama bin Laden
- Abu Sayyaf links 206
- counter-terrorism and 15
- JI according to PUPJI and 97
- MILF and 52
- new terrorism emergence and 29–30, 31
- new versus old terrorism and 37–8
- radical Muslim terrorism and 195, 203, 204
- Solid Base and 85
- terrorist threat and response and 438, 440
- transnational terrorist network emergence and 459

- WMDs and 31
see also al-Qaeda
 Othman Mohamed 179
- Pa Kao Her 357, 358, 361, 363
 Palestine 106, 114–15
 PAMDAE, Inc. (Philippine Association of Muslimah Darul Eeman, Inc.) 214
 PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional) 152
 Panama 119
 Pao National (Liberation) Organization 302
 Papua (West Papua) 18, 21
see also Indonesia; separatist insurgency, Papua
 Papua New Guinea 280, 287–8, 289
 Papua Youth Group 290–91
 Paribatra, Sukhumbhand 9
 Pariela, Tony 160
 Parimo, Herman 127
 parliament *see* politics
 PAS (Parti Islam Se-Malaysia) 167, 169, 182, 186
 Patek, Omar 213, 442
 Pathet Lao
 background to Hmong rebellion and 48, 352, 353
 human rights abuses and Hmong rebellion suppression and 355
 principal players in Hmong rebellion and 356, 357
 USA as support base for Hmong rebellion and 361
 Vietnam as support base for Hmong rebellion and 363, 364
 Pavlova, Elena 19
 PCN (Protestant Church in the Netherlands) 290
 PDI-P (Parti Demokratik Indonesia-Perjuangan) 78, 257
 PDP (Papuan Presidium Council) 289, 290
 PDP (Parliamentary Democracy Party) 307, 314
 peace
 limiting terrorism through negotiations 241–3
 Perrin, Andrew 357
 Peru 38–9
 PGMA *see* Arroyo, Gloria
 Macapagal-Phibunsongkram, P. 267, 268, 270
 Philippines
 Communist insurgency in *see* Communist insurgency, Philippines
 counter-terrorism and 15, 16, 40
 legitimacy and rebellion and 8, 9
 political opposition groups 12
 post 9/11 threat and response and 441–2
 radical Islam and 18, 20
 radical Islamist groups 13, 15
 radical Muslim terrorism in *see* radical Muslim terrorism, Philippines
 separatism in 12, 16, 18, 20, 34
 separatist insurgency in *see* separatist insurgency, Philippines
 suicide terrorism and 19, 115, 120
 see also Arroyo, Gloria Macapagal; Estrada, Joseph; GRP; Marcos, Ferdinand E.; Moro rebellion
 Pinheiro, Paolo 316
 Pires, Mário Lemos 380, 384
 PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia) 126, 377
 PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) 38, 115
 PKP (Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas) (later CPP) 49, 406–7
 PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) 27, 33
 PNP (Philippine National Police) 206, 214, 217, 237, 239
 PNP-IG (Philippine National Police Intelligence Group) 208
 Pobzeb, Vang 362
 Pode, Prama'artha 139
 Poe, Fernando Jr. 241, 429
 politicians
 exiled, Hmong rebellion principal players and 358–9
 politics
 causes of rebellion and 5
 causes of terrorism and 3, 14
 counter-terrorism and 15, 16, 17, 461
 East Timor civil war and 380–81

- grievance alleviation as weapon in counter-terrorism 24
- negotiations, Communist insurrection in Philippines and 426–9
- opposition groups 12
- Papua separatism and 282, 283
- parliamentary (1948–62), Burma 299–304
- see also* causes; Communism; legitimacy of state; radical Islam
- Pongsudhirak, Thitinan 21
- Ponulele, Aminuddin 134
- Portugal
- East Timor and 374, 375–6, 378, 379, 383, 386, 391
- Maluku and 147
- Poso Muslim Forum 137
- postmodern terrorism *see* new terrorism
- poverty *see* economics
- Prados, J. 354
- Prem Tinsulanond 268
- premanism
- Maluku conflict and 146–7
- problem denial
- government response to Hmong rebellion 368–70
- PRS (Pusat Rujuk Social) 157
- publicity
- ‘CNN effect’ 30
- suicide terrorism and 106–7
- terrorism as ‘war of the third kind’ and 452–3
- PULO (Pattani United Liberation Organization) 56, 57, 273
- PUPJI (Pedoman Umum Perjuangan Al-Jama’ah Al-Islamiyah) 19, 32, 76–7, 78–82
- see also* JI
- PVO (People’s Volunteer Organization) 299
- Qiy’adah Rosyidah (Core Group of Those who Follow the Righteous Path)
- JI as, according to PUPJI 84
- Qoi’dah Aminah (Secure Base)
- JI as, according to PUPJI 86–8
- Qoi’dah Sholabah (Solid Base)
- JI as, according to PUPJI 84–5
- Rabitat-ul-Mujahideen (Legion of the Fighters of God) 438–9
- Rabiyya, Hamza al- 443
- radical Islam
- groups *see* militant groups
- new terrorism and 18, 31–3
- see also* Islam
- radical Muslim terrorism
- Philippines 194, 217–18
- Abu Sayyaf 205–12
- Abu Sofia 216–17
- defined 194–6
- historical background 196–9
- MILF 202–5
- MNLF 199–202
- RSM 212–16
- see also* terrorism
- Radio Free Asia 362, 369
- Radio Pathet Lao 370
- Rahman, Tunku Abdul 229
- Rajagukguk, Adolf Sahala 383
- Rama I, King of Siam 267
- Ramos, Fidel 50, 51, 231, 236, 405, 426, 428
- RAND 16
- Rashid, Ahmed 31
- Razak, Mohamad Najib Tun Abdul 238
- RCC (Revolutionary Command Council) 328
- reasons *see* causes
- rebellion
- al-Ma’unah and KMM and 173–4
- causes of 5, 18
- characteristics of 14
- complexities 18
- legitimacy of state and 7–11
- see also* Hmong rebellion; insurgency; terrorism
- religion *see* radical Islam; separatism
- Renetil (Resistência Nacional dos Estudantes de Timor-Leste) 391
- resettlement
- government response to Hmong rebellion 367–8
- Reyes, Angelo 429
- Rice, Condoleezza 314–15

- Riduan Isamuddin *see* Hambali
- Ridwan, Amad 125
- RLG (Royal Lao Government) 354, 358, 359, 361, 367, 368
see also Laos
- RNA (Rohingya National Alliance) 340
- Robson, Alan 50–51
- Rodell, Paul 20
- Rohingyas
 citizenship denied to, Arakan state terrorism tactics and 329–32
 births and deaths, registration of 337–8
 extortion and arbitrary taxation 336–7
 human rights, other violations of 339
 labour, forced unpaid 333–4
 land confiscation and eviction 335–6
 marriage, restriction on 338–9
 mobility, restriction on 332
 non-Rohingyas, model villages for 334–5
 elimination of, state terrorism effect, Arakan 342
 see also human rights
- Rohmat *see* Zaki
- Roihan, Achmad 77, 80
- Roosevelt, Theodore 227
- RPF (Rohingya Patriotic Front) 308, 313
- RSM (Rajah Solaiman Movement) 117, 194, 196, 212–16, 217, 234, 235
see also RSRM
- RSO (Rohingya Solidarity Organization) 13, 313, 339, 340, 438
- RSRM (Rajah Solaiman Revolutionary Movement) 441
see also RSM
- Rusdan, Abu 77, 78
- Russia 30–31, 33, 119
- Sabaya, Abu 233, 234
- Sagadevan, Detective Corporal 170, 182
- Said, Zaini Mohd 180
- Salafism
 JI and 63–4
 Maluku conflict and 148–9
 militant group characteristics and 67
 radical Muslim terrorism and 195
 Thalib and 149–50
- Salamat, Hashim *see* Hashim Salamat
- Salas, Rodolfo 417
- Salazar, António 375
- Salem Ali 207
- Salim Shah II 327
- Samudavanija, Chai-Anan 9
- Samudra, Imam 66, 80, 98, 438
- Sanchez, Romeo 426
- Sandinistas (Nicaragua) 421
- Sangaji, Arianto Santo 139
- Santana, Nino Konis 379
- Santos, Ahmad 212, 214, 216
- Santos, Daud 216
- Santos, Jallaludin 199
- Santos, Pedro Abad 406
- Sao Hkam Hpa 316
- Sao Shwe Thaike 304, 316
- Sarit Thanarat 268, 270
- Sarmiento, Rene 243
- Saw Ba Thin 47
- Saw Ba U Gyi 302
- Saw Hunter Tha Hmwe 305
- SBPAC (Southern Border Provinces Administration Centre) 268, 271
- SEC (Securities Exchange Commission) 203
- Second Great Rectification Movement 419–20
- security
 aviation, suicide terrorism and 118–19
 counter-terrorism implications 17
 non-traditional issues 3–4
 terrorism challenges 456–7
 see also counter-terrorism
- Sein Win 311
- Senegal 288
- Senga, Generoso 240
- Senghor, President 288
- Senglathone, Khenekham 366
- separatism
 Aceh rebellion 54–5
 cause of terrorism, as 3–4

- complexities of 11–12, 13
 counter-terrorism implications
 16–17
 Hmong rebellion 48–9
 Karen rebellion 45–8
 legitimacy and rebellion and 8, 11
 legitimacy of state and 18
 Moro rebellion 51–4
 Muslim, in Thailand, old terrorism
 and 55–8
 new terrorism and 6, 7, 33–4
 old terrorism and 6–7, 18
see also Burma; Myanmar
 separatist insurgency
 Papua 279–80, 291
 grievances, fundamental 282–3
 historical roots of 280–82
 independence struggle 283–6
 Indonesian government
 response 288–91
 international communities’
 response 286–8
 Philippines 225–6
 Abu Sayyaf Group, odyssey of
 232–5
 historical roots 226–8
 Jabidah Massacre 228–9
 MILF and al-Qaeda + Jemaah
 Islamiah, coupling and
 decoupling 235–41
 peace negotiating, limiting
 terrorism and 241–3
 separatism to Islamic
 consciousness, MNLF to
 MILF 229–32
 see also insurgency
 Shamsul Bahari Hussein 181
 Shan State Communist Party 302
 Shan State Independence Army 298
 Shanti Bahini movement 308
 Sheik Mohammad *see* Salem Ali
 Shim, Steve L.K. 173, 174
 Shining Path 38–9
 Sholeh, Badrus 19
 Shukri Mustafa 184
 Silverstein, Josef 311
 Singapore 32, 36–7, 42, 109, 119, 168
 Singer, Margaret 182
 Sison, Jose Maria
 biographical details 407
 capture 50
 CPP chair and 417
 declared terrorist by USA and EU
 405, 429
 exile 50, 413–14
 Plaza Miranda bombing and 411
 publications 408–9, 410
 see also CPP
 Siti Norma 174
 Sivongsa, Myka 367
 SLORC (State Law and Order
 Restoration Council) (later
 SPDC) 310
 Sluka, Jeffrey A. 325–6
 Smith, Martin 21–2
 Smith Dun 303
 SNLD (Shan Nationalities League for
 Democracy) 314, 315
 Soares, Mário 376, 391
 Sonthi Boonyaratkalin 276
 Soulivong Savang, Prince 49
 Souphanouvong, Prince 48
 South Africa 288
 Souvannavong, Outhong 358
 Spain 51, 196, 225, 226–7, 405
 SPCPD (Southern Philippines Council
 for Peace and Development) 201,
 232
 SPDC (State Peace and Development
 Council) (formerly SLORC)
 Arakan state terrorism and 328, 330,
 333
 Burma separatism and 293, 299, 302,
 308
 Myanmar separatism and 310–13,
 315, 316, 317
 Sri Lanka 38, 105, 113–14
 SSA (Shan State Army) 307, 309, 312,
 314, 315, 316
 SSNA (Shan State National Army)
 312, 316
 SSNLO (Shan State National
 Liberation Organization)
 309
 state
 Islamic, revolution, al-Ma’ unah and
 KMM and 168–9
 legitimacy of *see* legitimacy of state
 state terrorism
 new terrorism and 28–9

- see also* Arakan, state terrorism in; terrorism
- SUA (Shan United Army) 307
- Suharto, President
 - Aceh conflict and 252
 - East Timor and 377, 381, 393, 394
 - JI according to PUPJI and 77
 - legitimacy and rebellion and 9
 - Papua separatism and 288–9
 - terrorism and insurgency complexities and 13
 - see also* Indonesia
- suicide terrorism
 - 9/11 significance and 27
 - air-based 118–19
 - al-Qaeda and 438
 - new terrorism and 18
 - radical Islamist groups and 19
 - Southeast Asia 104–5, 108–13, 120
 - emerging trends 115–17
 - future outlook 118–20
 - reasons for 105–8
 - tactical trends 117–18
 - triggers of adoption of 113–15
 - see also* Bali bombing; terrorism
- Sukarno, President 125, 126, 281, 282
 - see also* Indonesia
- Sulaiman, Abu 215, 216, 234
- Sulawesi
 - armed struggles and local history 125–7
 - crisis 125, 133–6
 - Fabianus Tibo, curious case of 138–9
 - militia groups, al-Qaeda factor and 136–7
 - phase 1 (December 1998) 127–8
 - phase 2 (April–May 2000) 128–9
 - phase 3 (May–August 2000) 129–30
 - phase 4 (July–December 2001) 130–33
 - phase 5 (2002) 133
 - radical Islam and 19
 - reasons for conflict 122–5
 - recent events 139–40
 - see also* Indonesia
- Sulu
 - suicide terrorism and 108
 - see also* Indonesia
- Sumatra
 - suicide terrorism and 108
 - see also* Indonesia
- Sungkar, Abdullah 71, 72, 83, 98, 236
- suppression
 - Hmong rebellion, human rights abuses and 355–6
 - military, government response to Hmong rebellion 366–7
- SURA (Shan United Revolutionary Army) (Burma) 307, 309
- Syafiah, Abdullah 55
- Syaikh Abdulaziz bin Baz 148–9
- Syed Serajul Islam 5, 22
- synchronization
 - suicide terrorism and 117–18
- tactics
 - state terrorism, Arakan 329–39
 - suicide terrorism 106, 117–18
 - terrorist threat and 438–9
- Tahir Alonto 239
- Tandzim Sirri (Secret Organization)
 - JI as, according to PUPJI 85–6
- Tanggahma, Ben 288
- Tarbara, Arturo 426
- Tatmadaw
 - Burma separatism and 302, 303, 305, 309
 - Myanmar separatism and 312, 313, 315
 - see also* Ne Win
- Taufik Rifki 120, 239, 240
- Taylor, John 382
- taxation
 - arbitrary, Arakan state terrorism tactics and 336–7
- terrorism
 - book themes and structure 17–24
 - consequences of 4
 - defined 4–6, 17–18, 27
 - future 447–8
 - limiting, peace negotiating and 241–3
 - maritime, Abu Sayyaf and 211–12
 - ‘radical Muslim’, defined 20, 194–6
 - response 437, 448–9
 - crafting 442–7
 - threat 437, 448–9

- al-Qaeda and 437–9
 - emerging 439–42
 - ‘war of the third kind’, as, counter-terrorist and 451–7
 - see also* causes; complexities; consequences; counter-terrorist; mass casualty terrorism; NBC (nuclear, biological or chemical) terrorism; radical Muslim terrorism; new terrorism; old terrorism; state terrorism; suicide terrorism
- terrorist networks
 - transnational 4, 457–9
- Thai–Lao Border Commission 360
- Thailand
 - Burma separatism and 300, 306–7
 - Communism in 7–8
 - Communist insurgency in 22
 - Hmong rebellion and 48, 49, 355, 358, 359, 366, 369
 - legitimacy and rebellion and 7
 - Malay-Muslim insurgency in *see* Malay-Muslim insurgency, Thailand
 - Muslim separatism in, old terrorism and 55–8
 - Myanmar separatism and 312
 - new versus old terrorism and 39
 - political opposition groups 12
 - radical Islamist groups 13
 - separatism in 11–12, 18, 21, 33–4
 - suicide terrorism and 19, 114, 115, 120
 - support base for Hmong rebellion, as 359–60
 - see also* Bali bombing
- Thaksin Shinawatra
 - Malay-Muslim insurgency in Thailand and 21, 268–9, 270, 271, 272, 274–5, 276
 - Myanmar separatism and 312
- Thalib, Ja’far Umar 65, 137, 148–50, 151, 155
- Than Shwe 313, 314, 315, 316
- Thompson, W. Scott 50
- Tiamzon, Benito 417
- Tibo, Cornelius Fabianus 129, 130, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138–9
- Tilao, Aldam *see* Sabaya, Abu
- Time Asia Magazine* 369
- TNI (Indonesian Armed Forces) 252, 283, 289, 291
- Tokyo subway attack 28, 34, 37
- Tomagola, Tamrin Amal 146, 160
- Tong, Ricardo 211
- Tong Yer Thao 368
- Torquiddin 71
- torture
 - Indonesian invasion of East Timor and 383
 - see also* human rights
- Touby Lyfoung 354
- TPN (Tentara Pembebasan Nasional)
 - see* OPM
- treaties
 - Anglo-Siamese 55, 267
 - London (Anglo-Dutch) 249
 - Friendship and Cooperation 1977 (Laos/Vietnam) 364
 - Treaty of Paris (1898) 405
 - see also* agreements; legislation
- trends *see* characteristics
- Trinidad, Khalid 213
- Tuan Shi-wen 307, 308
- Tutu, Desmond 288, 316
- U Bee Tu Re 300
- U Nu 299, 302, 303, 304, 307, 314, 328
- U Seinda 297, 302
- UDHR (Universal Declaration of Human Rights) 332, 333, 335, 338
- UDT (União Democrática Timorese) 376, 378, 379, 380
- UIFO (Union of Islamic Forces and Organization) 199
- UK (United Kingdom)
 - Aceh and 249
 - Arakan state terrorism and 327
 - Burma separatism and 293, 296, 297, 303
 - Karen rebellion and 45, 46
 - Malay-Muslim insurgency in Thailand and 267
 - Muslim separatism in Thailand and 55
 - RAND study and 16
- Ullah, Ruland 202, 211

- ULNLF (United Lao National Liberation Front) 358–9, 361
- UN (United Nations)
- Aceh conflict and 249
 - Arakan state terrorism and 329, 330, 342
 - Burma separatism and 301, 310
 - Commission on Human Rights 336, 364, 367, 393
 - Declaration of the Rights of the Child 335
 - East Timor and 374, 380, 392, 393
 - Hmong rebellion and 352, 363, 366
 - International Forum on Indigenous People 363
 - Malay-Muslim insurgency in Thailand and 267–8, 272
 - Maluku jihad and 153
 - Myanmar separatism and 310, 314, 316, 317
 - Papua separatism and 281, 282, 286, 290, 291
 - see also* Conventions; UNSC; UNTEA
- UN-HABITAT 335
- UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) 274, 313, 331, 339, 340, 341, 360
- UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) 407
- Union Solidarity and Development Association 316
- United Lao Movement for Democracy 362, 370
- United Liberation Front of Assam 307
- UNSC (United Nations Security Council) 40, 316, 383–4, 385
- see also* InterFET
- UNTEA (United Nations Temporary Executive Authority) 283
- US Department of Defense 27
- USA (United States of America)
- Burma separatism and 300, 310
 - counter-terrorism and 36, 41, 42
 - East Timor and 384, 387, 392–3
 - 'global war on terrorism' and 3, 4, 5, 6, 15, 17
 - Hmong rebellion and 352, 354, 358, 359, 363, 366, 371
 - Malay-Muslim insurgency in Thailand and 271, 272
 - Moro rebellion and 51, 53
 - Myanmar separatism and 316
 - new terrorism and 27, 30
 - new versus old terrorism 37
 - Osama bin Laden and 37–8
 - Papua separatism and 281, 282
 - Philippines Communist insurgency and 405, 407, 417, 420, 426, 427, 428–9
 - Philippines separatism and 225, 227–8
 - Philippines takeover from Spain by 406
 - post 9/11 threat and response and 438, 439, 448
 - PUPJI and 81
 - radical Muslim terrorism and 196–7, 212
 - suicide terrorism and 109, 118–19
 - support base for Hmong rebellion, as 360–63
 - terrorism definition 27
 - see also* 9/11
- Uto, Datu 227
- UWSA (United Wa State Army) 311, 315, 316
- Uzbekistan 114
- Valentine's Day bombings 208, 442
- Van Dijk, Cees 98
- Vang Pao
- China as support base for Hmong rebellion and 363
 - exiled politician, as 359
 - Lao government responses to Hmong rebellion and 366
 - Messianic freedom fighter, as 358
 - Pathet Lao takeover and 355
 - RLG army and 354
 - Thailand as support base for Hmong rebellion and 360
 - United Lao Movement for Democracy and 370
 - USA as support base for Hmong rebellion and 361, 362
- Veitch, Jim 19
- Vermonte, Philips 21
- Vietnam

- Hmong rebellion and 48, 49, 357, 367, 369, 370
 legitimacy and rebellion and 9
 separatism and 33
 suicide terrorism and 108
 support base for Hmong rebellion, as 363–6
- Vietnam News Agency 365
 VPDC (Village Peace and Development Council) 337
 Vue Mai 369
- Wahabism
 radical Muslim terrorism and 195
- Wahid, Abdurrahman
 Aceh conflict and 252, 253
 Maluku jihad and 150–51, 152–3, 153–4, 158, 159
 Papua separatism and 287, 289
 Sulawesi conflict and 138
see also Indonesia
- Waldheim, Kurt 384, 385
 Wali Khan Amin Shah 206–7
 Wan Min Wan Mat 181, 183, 184
 Wattimena, Agus 156
 Werror, Moses 284
 West Papua *see* Papua
 West Papuan Independent Committee 285
 West Papuan National Front 285
 Westerling, Captain 125
 Whitlam, Gough 377, 394
 WMDs (weapons of mass destruction)
 9/11 significance and 26–7
 counter-terrorism and 41, 42
 mass casualty terrorism and 34, 35–6
 new terrorism and 28, 30–31
see also mass casualty terrorism
- women
 Indonesian invasion of East Timor and 382–3
 suicide terrorism and 115–17
 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against (CEDAW) 336
 World Development Report 407
 wrongs
 righting, al-Ma'unah and KMM and 183–6
- Xai Shua Yang 357
- Yabo, Jameela 203
 Yang, Siatou 368
 Yangyongyia, Sivongya 366
 Yano, Alexander 240
 Yazid Sufat 179
 Yong Chanthalansy 356, 370
 Yong Yua Her 357, 358
 Yosfiah, Yunus 381
 Yousef, Ramzi Ahmed 206, 233, 439
 Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang 132, 133, 253, 255, 290, 291
 Yugoslavia 33
 Yunos, Muklis 441
 Yunos, Saifullah 112–13, 236
- Zabidi Mohamed 170
 Zahid 183
 Zahit Muslim 169, 178, 181, 183
 Zaki 208
 Zau Mai 313
 Zubayadah, Abu 236
 Zulkifli bin Hir 237–8
 Zwahiri, Ayman al- 55, 97, 85, 440

