

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

The history of Southeast Asia region has long been conflicting among the people who have difference ethnic groups and religions. Colonial powers occupied the territories in Southeast Asia. Especially there were several Western countries that came into golden peninsula in the colonialism era such as Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, the United States of America, they made an agreement in order to allocate the territories and borders. For example, in 1891, there was an agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands, the Anglo-Dutch Convention. In 1909, there was the Anglo-Siamese agreement which allocated the north of Malaysia to Siam. Those agreements were unsatisfactory to some people who lived in that area. Meanwhile the raising of internal and external conflicts in several states occurred.

Examples are the conflict between the Indonesian Government and GAM (Free Aceh Movement), the Thai Government and Insurgent Groups in the South of Thailand such as Barisan National Pembebasan Patani (BNPP, National front of Pattani Liberation), Barisan Islam Pembebasan Patani (BIPP, Islamic Liberation Front of pattani), Pertubuhan Perpaduan Pembebasan Pattani (PULO, Pattani United Liberation Organization, Berisal Revolusi National (BRN, National Revolutionary Front, Gerakan Mujahidin Pattani (GMP, Pattani Mujahidin Movement) and Philippine-Separatists groups (MILF, Moro Islamic Liberation Front and MNLF, Moro National liberation Front) in the South of the Philippines.¹ In This thesis, the

writer would like to mention the situation in Southern Thailand especially during the period 2001-2014. The Muslim people disagreed and were unsatisfied with the policies of the Thai Government in Southern Thailand Further investigation about the response of the insurgent groups to the central government will be conducted in this thesis.

The role of globalization is important in this study. There is the new challenge to the traditional culture that has long existed in certain areas and it is the new ideas which will be disturb the human life. The people who live with the traditional life must adapt and follow the world's social construct of globalization. Westernization is an example of the challenges of globalization which often clash with Islamic civilization. Furthermore, some Western peoples are always thinking that Islam is more conservative. Both sides are always fighting each other. Nowadays, Westernization is rapidly dominating the world causing the emergence the counter of Islamist radical movements which influence several countries, not only Muslim countries but also non-Muslim countries. In countries like Philippines and Thailand, there are Muslim minorities. Mostly, the Muslim people are settled in the South of the Philippines (Mindanao), and Southern Thailand (Pattani, Narathiwat and Yala province). The struggle with globalization is the main issue in order to maintain and keep their own culture and avoid the domination of others in the globalization process.

The resurgence in violence by Pattani guerilla group began 2001. The identity of the actors pushing for conflict remains mostly obscure. Many local and regional expert have implicated the region's traditional separatist group such as Barisan National Pembebasan Patani (BNPP, National front of Pattani Liberation), Barisan Islam Pembebasan Patani (BIPP, Islamic Liberation Front of pattani), Bertubuhan

Perpaduan Pembebasan Pattani (PULO, Pattani United Liberation Organization), Berisal Revolusi National (BRN, National Revolutionary Front), Gerakan Mujahidin Pattani (GMP, Pattani Mujahidin Movement), and particularly the BRN-Coordinate (a faction of BRN). Others suggested the violence is being driven by new, more overtly by religions network. Some military reports have suggested that the insurgence occurred under the influence of foreign Islamist groups such as al-Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah but since the Thai insurgent's modus operandi attacking army depots and schools is not similar to other the normal al-Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah approach of attacking Western targets, most view the connections as weak. Some reports suggest that a number of Pattani Muslims have receiving training at al-Qaeda center at Pakistan, though many experts believe, to the contrary, that the Pattani guerrilla movement have little or nothing to do with global Jihadism.

Other have claimed that the insurgent have forged link with groups such as the religion nationalist Moro Islamic Liberation front in the Philippines and the quasi secular Free Aceh Movement in Indonesia. At first, the government blamed the attack on bandits , and indeed many outside observers believe that local clan, commercial or criminal rivalries did play some part in the violence in the region. In July 2002, after some policemen died in separate attack over a span of seven months, Thaksin publicly denied the role of religion in the attack and was quoted as saying he did not "think religion was the cause of the problems down there, because several of policemen killed were Muslim." Interior Minister Purachai attributed the attack on the police to the issues of drug control, as the police are making serious efforts to make arrests over drug trafficking. In 2002, Thaksin stated, "There is no separatism, no ideological terrorist, just common bandits." By 2004 he had reversed his position, and regarded the insurgency as the local front in the global War on terrorism

Martial law was instituted in Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat in January of 2004. In 2005, senator Sophon accused the United States of being the mastermind behind bombings in Hatyai. His accusation were seconded by Perayot, a Democrat MP and Professor at Prince of Songkhla University, though they could provide no convincing evidence to back to back up accusation. In 2006, Thai Army Chief Sonthi, himself a Muslim, suggested that former communist insurgents might be playing a role in unrest. However, this is unlikely in that many former communist were incorporated into the Thai Rak Thai Party and hence would have provided other communists with voice. Governor of Southern Provinces showed some skepticism over his suggestion, but investigated the connection. A striking aspect of the Southern Thailand insurgency is the anonymity of the people behind it and the absence of concrete demands. Thailand had held relatively free election in February 2005, and no secessionist candidate the results in the south. However, requests of cultural and religious freedom and the right to use the Yawi language have been presented numerous time.

In July, the chairman of the Narathiwat Islamic Committee was quoted as saying "The attacks look like they are well organized , but we do not know what group of people behind them". Since the 2006 coup that replaced Thaksin, the Thai Government has taken a more conciliatory approach to the insurgency, avoiding excessive use of force and beginning negotiations with known separatist groups. However, violence has escalated. This likely backs the assertion that there are several

groups involved in the violence. Source: [http://www.asiantribune.com](#)

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

Given the situation in Southern Thailand which the conflict between insurgent movement that as the groups fight against with the central government, in short of the assumption that based on the background which has explained the research question is:

“How did the insurgent groups in Southern Thailand responds to the central government during 2002-2014 ?”

C. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Insurgents are the group of the people who have the similar goals and attempt to fight against with their government through the use of subversion or armed conflict. Insurgents have the own ideology to overthrow the government which will operate into several ways such as moderate insurgent group and radical insurgent group.

In order to analyze the conflict in Southern Thailand, the theory that absolutely concerned to the insurgent movement is separatism theory. This theory could be explained the situation that has been happening since the previous until this present in Southern Provinces. Separatism has relating with cultural, religious, race, ethnic and political accession from the majority group especially they are trying to be state autonomy and create the own government.

Moreover, the idea of separatist group refers the historical background of that state. They would like to independence which eliminate control by other people who have difference ideology. There are several factors of the separatist group

1. Religion factor is the way of separatist group to claim that they are oppressing by majority people who have different religion.
2. Ethnic factor is relating to the language and the culture especially the people who are living in the state as minority.
3. Political factor is the group who has a few opportunity to take a role on political arena.²

Types of separatism group

Separatist groups practices a form of identity of politic “political activity and theorizing to share experience of injustices of the member of certain social group.” Several groups believe efforts at integration with dominant groups compromise their identity and ability to pursue greater self-determination. However, economic and politics factor usually are critical in creating strong separatist from less active identity movements.

C. 1. Moderate insurgent

This group is related to the political aspect that it will be the way of insurgent to undermine the state authority and overthrow the weak government. Moreover they have planning to set up the shadow of the government administration structure. Meanwhile insurgent group looks for better reaction without fire attack with their enemy into the negotiation process for the peace way. They are trying to avoid the armed and military force to fighting each other. Indicators of insurgent political movement included:

1. Insurgent group will interpolated into the government agencies especially in local at the regional level.

2. The government officials are ignoring to the insurgent groups.

3. The shadow of government is establishing by insurgent group which proving administration and social service into the society such as school education, court, health care and so on.

4. Neighbor government is absolutely recognizing to insurgent administration, perhaps they are dealing with foreign business.

C. 2. Radical insurgent

This radical insurgent group is using the military front to fight against, conduct the violence, and employ the terrorism instruction and guerrilla warfare tactics. Moreover, the radical movement is mostly attacking to the police, military, government structure and they are more using the violence than peace dialogue. Radical movement believes that the only way to deal with the government is to use the military forces which the best methods in order to overcome their enemy.

The indicators that insurgent is growing the strong military which following:

1. The insurgent group needs to change the military's troops size in order to increase capability to deploy attack their target. Part time attack of the insurgent: they have planning to conduct the violence which only in the village and district level of local military forces. Meanwhile, full time attack, this insurgent group is more mobilizing their military troops from area to area, they are also set up the military force more bigger than part time attack.

2. The insurgent group has to increase the quality and quantity of insurgent arm forces and prepare the weapon to use as well. The weapon must be modern firearm such as heavy machinegun in order to create more stronger than use small weapon.
3. They are increasing the quantities of communications which use more sophisticated methods and equipment of communication.
4. The insurgent has the abilities to penetrate of any intelligence services, military and polices.
5. External support is the way of insurgent to dealing with foreign actor in order to be an alliances especially they can do business to expand influence to abroad. Perhaps, they can ask for help by them such as financial, arm, sanctuary and so on.³

D. HYPOTHESIS

There are two mains of the insurgent movement in Southern Thailand to operate the ideology and conduct the situations within the Sothern Provinces which could be explained in form of the radical insurgent and the moderate insurgent that followed:

Radical insurgent group, PULO and BRN have the main role and conduct the violence throughout they were advertised when they were taking action. Eventually this organization had credibility to foreign supporter.

Moderate insurgent group, the *Bersatu* movement is mostly conducting the political movement which sometimes they are not taking action into military

movement but the military movement is relating to other groups such as BRN and PULO.

In 1963, the student activities had directly role to political movement in Southern Thailand which has established the *SUARA SISWA* as the “student union” to be the main spread the ideology of the student in that time and publication administration.

E. SCOPE OF DISCUSSION

This thesis, the author emphasize on discussion of the background which cause of the conflict between the insurgent movement in Southern Thailand and the central government by generally and will be more focus during 2001-2014. The history of the Southern Thailand, description of the insurgent movement responds to Thai-government.

F. RESEARCH METHODS

The research method of this thesis which the writer gets the information and the data from an extensive of relevant published materials, such as reports, books, newsletters, journals, official website and the other resources that related to this research paper.

G. SYSTEMATIC WRITING

The outline of this thesis which the author is writing as followed:

Chapter I This chapter has contained about background of the research, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, scope of discussion, research methodology and systematic of writing

Chapter II This chapter has contained of the brief history about the insurgent movement in Southern Thailand since the previous until this present what did the insurgent movement develop to be a strong movement to fight against with central of Thai-government.

Chapter III This chapter will contained about the policy of the Thai-government to manage the Southern Thailand conflict especially in 2001-2014, on how the Thai-government conduct the policy in order to overcome any unrest situations.

Chapter IV This chapter will contained about, how is the insurgent movement responding to central government in Southern Thailand.

Chapter V This chapter will be conclusion