

REFERENCES

- Abuza, Zachary. Heading South. The Wall Street Journal (19 June 2007): p.14.
- Aphornsuvan, T. "Rebellion in Southern Thailand: Contending Histories" Policy Studies 35 (Southeast Asia) Washington D.C: East-West Center Washington, 2007.
- Arghiros, Daniel. Democracy, Development and Decentralization in Provincial Thailand. Curzon Press, 2001.
- Arya, Gothom. Local Patriotism and the Need for Sound Language Education Policies in the Southern Border Provinces. Occasional Paper. Mahidol University Research Center on Peace Building. Bangkok, 2008.
- Askew, Marc. "Conspiracy, Politics, and a Disorderly Border: The Struggle to Comprehend Insurgency in Thailand's Deep South" Policy Studies 29 (Southeast Asia). Washington D.C: East-West Center Washington, 2007.
- Bartlett, Vernon. Report from Malaya. London: Criterion Books, 2005.
- Bertrand, Jacques. Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Boonchote, Wichayante and Pathan, Muhammad Ayub. SBPAC says its efforts are starting to pay off. Bangkok Post (25 July 2007): p.4 Main.

Cassidy, Robert M. "The Long Small War: Indigenous Forces for Counterinsurgency." *Parameters US Army War College Quarterly* XXXVI, 2 (Summer 2006), 47-62.

Charoenpo, Anucha. Samak cool to autonomy idea.
Bangkok Post (13 February 2008): p.1 Main.

Christie, Clive J. *A Modern History of Southeast Asia: Decolonization, Nationalism and Separatism*. London: Taurus Academic Studies, 1996.

Communist Suppression Operations Command. "Communist Movement in Thailand" 1972.

Cornish, Andrew. *Whose Place is This?* Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1985.

Cunningham, W.G., "Theoretical Framework for Conflict Resolution", internet essay found on CAIN Web Service, 1997.

Gilquin, Michael. *The Muslims of Thailand*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005.

Gunaratna, Rohan. *Conflict and Terrorism in Southern Thailand*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2005.

Islam, Syed Serajul. *The Politics of Islamic Identity in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Thomson Learning, 2005.

Fall, Bernard. *Counterinsurgency: the French Experience 18 January 1963*.
Available from: <<http://www.smallwarsjournal.com/documents/bfall.pdf>>
[10 Mar 2007].

Glahan, Surasak and Nanuam, Wassana. Critics rap arms free south plan.
Bangkok Post (6 Feb 2008): p.1 Main.

Hamid, Sandra and Ramage, Douglas. Autonomy for Aceh. Available from:
 <http://www.asiafoundation.org/locations/indonesia_wsjoped.html>
 [18 July 2006].

Harish, S.P. "Ethnic or Religious Cleavage? Investigating the Nature of the Conflict in
 Southern Thailand" Contemporary Southeast Asia, 1 Apr 2006.

Hengkietisak, Kamol. Thailand: Press Leads the Cheers for National Reconciliation
 Commission. Bangkok Post (3 April 2005): p.4 Perspective.

Hoffman, Frank G. "Neo-Classical Insurgency." Parameters US Army War College
 Quarterly XXXVII, 2 (Summer 2007), 71-87.

Human Rights Watch (HRW). "No One Is Safe: Insurgent Attacks on Civilians in
 Thailand's Southern Border Provinces" vol. 19, no. 12(C) New York, N.Y.,
 Aug. 2007.

International Crisis Group. "Southern Thailand: The Problem with Paramilitaries".
Asia Report No.140. 23 October 2007.

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). "Towards
 Liberating Democracy: Devolution of Power Matters" Report of the Regional
 Workshop. Bangkok, 16-17 January 2007.

Johnson, Wray R. Vietnam and American Doctrine for Small Wars. Bangkok: White Lotus, 2001.

Kate, Daniel Ten. No solution apparent as round of attacks signal insurgent pressure. Available from: <<http://www.asiasentinal.com>> [17 January 2008].

Kerdphol, Saiyud. The Struggle for Thailand: Counterinsurgency 1965-1985. Bangkok: S. Research Center, 1986.

Kilcullen, David. "Counterinsurgency Redux." *Survival*, 48 (Winter 2006-07).

Ladd, Thomas M. Political Violence in the Provinces of Southern Thailand. Occasional Paper 28. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. 1975.

Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 of the Year 2006 Regarding Governing of Aceh. Available from: <http://www.aceh.org/data_files/english_format/indonesia_government/indogovt_decrees/indogovt_decrees_2006_08_01_11.pdf> [10 September 2007].

Macan-Markar, Marwaan. Insurgent headache for new Thai government.

Available from: http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/JA17Ae01.html> [17 January 2008].

MacAndrews, Colin. Central Government and Local Development in Indonesia. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Mahakanjana, Chandra-naj. "Decentralization, Local Government, and Socio-political Conflict in Southern Thailand" Working Papers No 5. Washington D.C: East-West Center Washington, 2006.

Marks, Tom. Making Revolution: The Insurgency of the Communist Party of Thailand in Structural Perspective. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1994.

Marks, Tom, "Thailand: Anatomy of a Counterinsurgency Victory." *Military Review*, January-February 2007

Marukat, Sarutdet. Army chief speaks out.
Bangkok Post (10 December 2007): p.5 Main.

Mc Cargo, Duncan. What's Really Happening in Southern Thailand. Occasional Paper. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Regional Forum. Singapore, 2008.

Mc Cargo, Duncan. Rethinking Thailand's Southern Violence. Singapore: National University of Singapore, 2007.

McGibbon, Rodd. "Secessionist Challenges in Aceh and Papua: Is Special Autonomy the Solution?" Policy Studies 10 Aceh and Papua. Washington D.C: East-West Center Washington, 2004.

Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia And the Free Aceh Movement. Available from:
<http://old.thejakartapost.com/RI_GAM_MOU.pdf> [16 July 2007].

Nagl, John A. Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife. Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.

National Reconciliation Commission. Overcoming Violence through the Power of Reconciliation, Unofficial Translation, June 2006.

Available from: <http://thailand.ahrck.net/docs/nrc_report_en.pdf> [15 March 2008].

Nelson, Michael H. Central Authority and Local Democratization in Thailand. Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998.

Nelson, Michael H. Thailand's New Politics: King Prajadhipok's Institute Yearbook 2001. Bangkok: White Lotus, 2001.

Noiwong, Ornanong. "Political Integration Policies of the Thai Government Toward the Malay- Muslims of Southernmost Thailand (1973-2000)" diss., Northern Illinois University, 2001.

Niksch, Larry. Indonesian Separatist Movement in Aceh. Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, 2002.

Owen, Norman G. "Vietnam, 1885-1975: Colonialism, Communism, and Wars." The Emergence of Southeast Asia. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005.

Parameswaran, Prasanth. "The Southern Insurgency: Rethinking Thailand's Military Strategy" RSIS Commentaries. 8 August 2007. Available from: <<http://www.rsis.edu.org>>

Pathan, Muhammad Ayub and Charoenpo, Anucha. Southern villagers migrating Bangkok Post (30 October 2007): p.1 Main.

Pirozzi, Nicoletta and Helly, Damien. "Aceh Monitoring Mission: a new challenge for ESDP." European Security Review. No. 27. Oct 2005. Available from:
<<http://isis-europe.org/>>

Post Reporters and AFP. Another 20 years of trouble, says Sonthi.
Bangkok Post (15 September 2007): p.3 Main.

Post Reporters. Sonthi: Army winning the fight.
Bangkok Post (22 September 2007): p.3 Main.

Post Reporters. Senators-designate form group.
Bangkok Post (24 September 2007): p.3 Main.

Post Reporters. Bombers strike SBPAC office complex in Yala.
Bangkok Post (29 November 2007): p.6 Main.

Post Reporters. Party lines.
Bangkok Post (2 December 2007): p.5 Main.

Post Reporters. Six soldiers hurt in patrol ambush.
Bangkok Post (14 December 2007): p.5 Main.

Quaritch Wales, H.G. Ancient Siamese Government and Administration. New York:
Paragon Book Reprint, 1965.

Raekrun, Nucharee and Pathan, Muhammad Ayb. Reconciliation not working, general
says. Bangkok Post (7 July 2007): p.2 Main.

Record, Jeffrey. "External Assistance: Enabler of Insurgent Success." *Parameters US Army War College Quarterly* XXXVI, 3 (Autumn 2006), 36-49.

Reid, Anthony. An Indonesian Frontier: Acehese and Other Histories of Sumatra. Singapore: National University of Singapore Publishing, 2005.

Reis, Bruno Cardoso. "Theoretical Explanations of British, French and Portuguese Counterinsurgency Doctrine" diss., King's College London 2007.

Sepp, Kalev. "Best Practices in Counterinsurgency." *Military Review*, May-June 2005.

Shervington, M.W. "Small Wars and Counterinsurgency Warfare: Lessons from Iraq." diss., Cranfield University, 2005.

Siamwalla, Ammar. The Evolving Roles of the State, Private, and Local Actors in Rural Asia. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Sklenka, Stephen D. Malaya and Algeria: Lessons in Counterinsurgency.

Available from: <<http://pcrproject.com/blog/2007/03/09/officers-club-malaya-algeria-lessons-in-counterinsurgency>> [9 March 2007].

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. "Conflict in Southern Thailand: Islamism, Violence and the State in the Patani Insurgency". Policy Paper No. 20. September 2007.

Syukri, Ibrahim. History of the Malay Kingdom of Patani. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985.

Tambon Council and Tambon Administrative Authority Act B.E. 2537.

Available from: <<http://www.ipd.ph/logolinksea/resources/Tambon.pdf>>

[30 January 2008].

Tinsulanonda, Prem. Address, "Thai Experience in Combating Insurgency", Manila. 4 March 1995.

Tomes, Robert R. "Relearning Counterinsurgency Warfare." Parameters US Army War College Quarterly XXXIV, 1 (Spring 2004) pp. 16-28.

Tunyasiri, Yuwadee and Pakkawan, Assawin. PM: Crackdown on rebels has been a success. Bangkok Post (21 September 2007): p.3 Main.

United States Departments of the Army and Navy. Field Manual 3-24/Marine Corps Warfighting Publication 3-33.5 Counterinsurgency. Washington, 2006.

United States Department of State, United States Government Interagency Counterinsurgency Initiative, Counterinsurgency for U.S. Government Policy Makers: A Work in Progress, Oct 2007.

Unknown Author. Southern solution: Prem not happy with NRC's idea.

Available from: <<http://www.nationmultimedia.com>> [26 June 2006].

Unknown Author. Malaysia to assist in education in deep south.

Available from: <<http://www.nationmultimedia.com>> [29 June 2007].

Unknown Author. Special administrative zone unlikely for the south. Available from:

<<http://www.bangkokpost.com>> [8 July 2007].

Unknown Author. SBPAC chief admits that it could take 20 years more to solve southern insurgency. Available from: <<http://www.nationmultimedia.com>> [15 July 2007].

Unknown Author. Insurgency in deep south could evolve into civil war.
Bangkok Post (15 July 2007): p.1 Main.

Unknown Author. Security forces keep up raids in the south.
Available from: <<http://www.nationmultimedia.com>> [1 August 2007].

Unknown Author. Sereepisuts sees decrease in southern violence.
Bangkok Post (6 August 2007): p.2 Main.

Unknown Author. Three militants die in gun battle.
Available from: <<http://www.nationmultimedia.com>> [27 August 2007].

Unknown Author. Lessons on south from Okinawa.
Available from: <<http://www.nationmultimedia.com>> [4 September 2007].

Unknown Author. How GAM Won in Aceh. Update Briefing. International Crisis Group No.61. Available from: <<http://www.crisisgroup.org>> [22 March 2007].

Unknown Author. Chalerm: Some form of autonomy possible.
Bangkok Post. (12 February 2008): p.2 Main.

Wilson, David A. Politics in Thailand. New York: Cornell University Press, 1962.

Wongtrangan, Kanok. Change and Persistence in Thai Counterinsurgency Policy. ISIS Occasional Paper 1. Chulalongkorn University, 1983.

Wyatt, David K. Thailand: A Short History. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2003.

Wyatt, David K. Studies in Thai History. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005.

BIOGRAPHY

Terry Butcher was born in Tucson, Arizona in 1970. He holds a BA (Magna cum Laude) in East Asian Studies from the University of Arizona. He is a Major in the United States Army Special Forces. In 2006, he was awarded a scholarship from the Olmsted Foundation and enrolled in the Master program in Southeast Asian Studies at Chulalongkorn University, Thailand.