

Contents

List of Acronyms	ix
Executive Summary	xi
Introduction	1
Muslims in Southern Thailand	6
Sociodemographic Background	6
Contested History	8
Islam in Southern Thailand	11
Peaceful Decades	15
Return of Violence	18
“Traditional” Southern Problems	18
The Disorderly Border	19

Thaksin's Impact on Traditional Southern Problems	23
Post-Coup Policies	29
Religion and the Insurgency	30
Islamic Education and Reformation	30
International Islam, 9/11, and the U.S.-led War on Terror	33
Millenarian/Sufist Uprising?	37
Separatists, Terrorists, and Militants	38
Which Organizations Are the Most Important?	39
How Are They Organized?	41
When Did the Insurgency Become Active?	41
What Are Insurgent Objectives?	42
How Much Support Do Insurgents Have?	43
Conclusion	44
Endnotes	47
Bibliography	55
Appendix: Major Incidents in Southern Thailand since December 24, 2001	59
Project Information: Internal Conflicts and State-Building Challenges in Asia	65
• Project Purpose and Outline	67

• Project Participants List	71
• Background of the Conflict in Southern Thailand	77
• Map of Southern Thailand	81