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CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

The Insurgency in Southern Thailand

Zachary Abuza

"The book brings to the fore several issues that have been ignored in the discussion on the southern Thai violence thus far, focusing on the possible links between some of the southern Thai Muslim militants and other militant Muslim groups in Southeast Asia and the Muslim and Arab world. It alerts us to the dangers of groups like the Jema'ah Islamiyah becoming strongly involved with the southern Thai militants in the event of greater repression by the Thai state. It provides useful material to Thai security and state forces planning solutions to the current violence in the south."

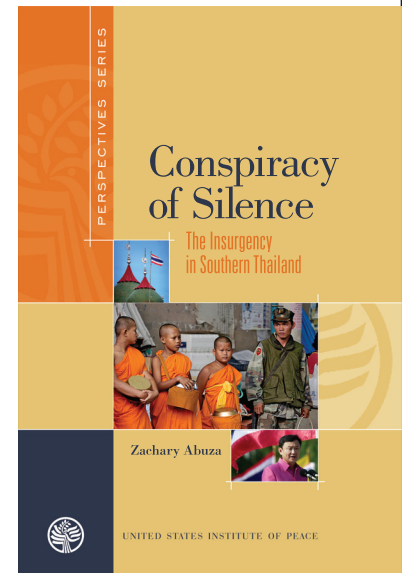
— Saroja Dorairajoo, National University of Singapore

A sectarian-based insurgency has raged in southern Thailand since January 2004, leaving three thousand dead and thousands more injured. Although southern Thailand has witnessed numerous periods of secessionist conflict, the present insurgency is different in two significant ways: it has radical jihadist overtones, and it has been marked by an unprecedented level of violence.

Drawing on original research and meticulous fieldwork, Zachary Abuza raises several issues that have been ignored thus far. In this eye-opening volume, he examines the roots of the current southern Thai conflict, gives a detailed overview of the present crisis, documents the flight of the south's Buddhist community, and argues that the Thai government has woefully misplayed its hand. Perhaps more sobering, Abuza warns that international jihadist groups may ultimately involve themselves in the conflict and escalate both the intensity and lethality of it, which would have profound implications on the global war on terror.

With his careful and persuasive arguments and practical policy recommendations, Abuza draws attention to a poorly understood conflict and alerts readers to the dangers that may lie ahead for Thailand and Southeast Asia.

ZACHARY ABUZA is a professor of political science at Simmons College. A leading specialist in Southeast Asian security issues and militant Islam, he is the author of *Uncivil Islam: Muslims, Politics and Violence in Indonesia and Militant Islam in Southeast Asia*.



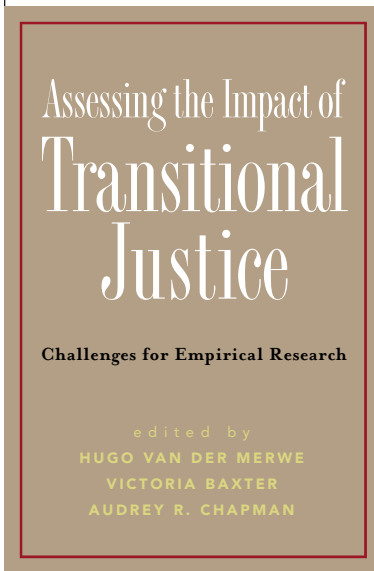
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Introduction • Historical Roots of the Conflict • Populism, Politics, and the War on Terror • Violence Erupts • Who Is Behind the Attacks? • Is Transnational Terrorism Involved? • The One Baht COIN • The Insurgency's Impact and International Implications • Conclusion



Assessing the Impact of Transitional Justice

Challenges for Empirical Research

edited by
HUGO VAN DER MERWE
VICTORIA BAXTER
AUDREY R. CHAPMAN

FEBRUARY 2009

376 pp. • 6 x 9

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Introduction, van der Merwe, Baxter, and Chapman • *Policy Implications of Empirical Research on Transitional Justice*, Neil Kritz • *Cross-National Comparative Analysis*, David Backer • *Truth Finding in the Transitional Justice Process*, Audrey Chapman • *Delivering Justice during Transition*, Hugo van der Merwe • *Approaches to Studying Reconciliation*, Audrey Chapman • *Taking Stock in South Africa: Assessing Citizen Attitudes through Surveys*, Jim Gibson • *Survivor Studies*, Jeffrey Sonis • *Confessional Performances*, Leigh Payne • *Truth and Transitional Justice in South Africa*, Janet Cherry • *Understandings of Reconciliation in Northern Ireland*, Brandon Hamber and Gráinne Kelly • *A Methodology for Understanding the Community Perspectives*, Matilde Gonzáles • *Practical Considerations in Comparative Research*, Victor Espinoza Cuevas and María Luisa Ortiz Rojas • *Critical Challenges*, Victoria Baxter

ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

Challenges for Empirical Research

Hugo van der Merwe, Victoria Baxter, and Audrey R. Chapman, editors

"For too long, the 'transitional justice' field has been dominated by lawyers, who may master the mechanics of courts and truth commissions but who don't always know whether these really work to heal divided societies. Finally, with this pathbreaking study, social science methodologies are being brought to bear upon such a vital topic, informing existing strategies and pointing the way to new ones."

— Professor William Schabas, Irish Centre for Human Rights, National University of Ireland, Galway

As new forms of government replace repressive regimes, the perennial question arises: How to deal with the wrongdoers of the old regime? In the effort to heal and rebuild societies torn by violence, new governments and the international community have tried mechanisms ranging from criminal trials and financial restitution to public denunciation to more symbolic measures such as truth commissions. The results have been mixed. But out of the often failed transitional justice processes of the past, a body of empirical research is emerging that can provide, if not prescriptive answers, at least better questions.

In *Assessing the Impact of Transitional Justice*, fourteen leading researchers study seventy countries that have suffered from autocratic rule, genocide, and protracted internal conflict. The authors gauge the effectiveness of various transitional justice mechanisms in wide-ranging sociocultural contexts. In a dramatic departure from the typically discursive, anecdotal literature, they use empirical research to make statistical comparisons among the bewildering array of factors that can affect the success or failure of transitional justice. Their findings will prove vitally important for policymakers, legal advocates, and anyone faced with the daunting task of implementing or monitoring restorative justice processes.

HUGO VAN DER MERWE, transitional justice programme manager at Cape Town's Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, is coeditor in chief of the *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. **VICTORIA BAXTER** is deputy director of communications and public affairs at the United Nations Foundation, and a former senior program associate at the Science and Human Rights Program of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. **AUDREY R. CHAPMAN**, Healey Professor of Medical Humanities and Ethics at the University of Connecticut Health Center, is the author of sixteen books, including *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Did the TRC Deliver?* (with Hugo van der Merwe).

COLOMBIA

Building Peace in a Time of War

Virginia M. Bouvier, editor

Bringing together the experiences and insights of more than thirty experienced and emerging authors, human rights activists, and peace practitioners from Colombia and abroad, *Colombia: Building Peace in a Time of War* documents and analyzes the vast array of peace initiatives that have emerged in Colombia in recent years. The volume explores how local and regional initiatives relate to national efforts, provides insights into the negotiating practices of the past two decades, and identifies possible synergies. Additionally, it examines the multiple roles of civil society and the international community in the country's complex search for peace.

VIRGINIA M. BOUVIER is a senior program officer at the United States Institute of Peace, where she heads the Colombia Conflict Team and the Colombia grants initiative. She is the editor of *The Globalization of U.S.-Latin American Relations: Democracy, Intervention, and Human Rights*.

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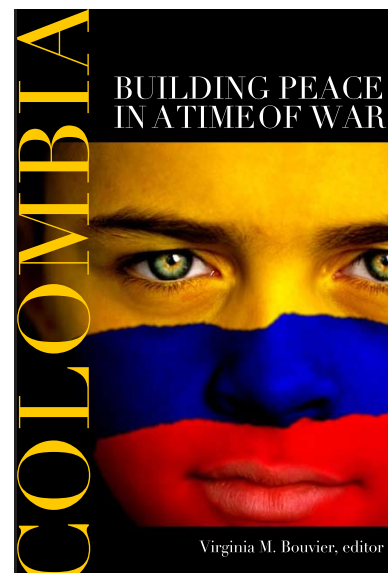
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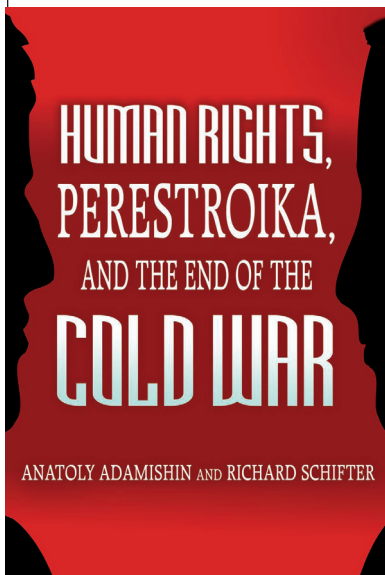
500 pp. • 6 x 9

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"This admirably comprehensive volume illuminates crucial dimensions of peace making and peace-building in Colombia that are rarely captured in media headlines. Virginia Bouvier has assembled a first-rate group of authors who reflect diverse backgrounds and perspectives and who skillfully document rich experiences, often at the local and regional levels, of negotiations with armed actors. In a country as complex and multilayered as Colombia's, such an exercise is absolutely indispensable. The result is an eloquent and passionate appeal to bring the decades-long conflict to an end. The volume offers a detailed map that Colombian government authorities, civil society leaders, and the international community can follow to help construct an enduring peace. Other societies undergoing similar conflicts will benefit enormously from this singular contribution."

— Michael Shifter, Vice President for Policy, Inter-American Dialogue and Adjunct Professor, Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University



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HUMAN RIGHTS, PERESTROIKA, AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR

Anatoly Adamishin and Richard Schifter

"A unique effort to combine Russian and American perspectives on the role of human rights in the U.S.-Soviet relationship at the end of the Soviet Union."

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A diplomatic memoir unlike any other, this volume takes the reader behind the scenes on both sides of the Cold War as two men form an unlikely partnership to help transform Soviet-American relations.

When U.S. assistant secretary of state Richard Schifter first met Soviet deputy foreign minister Anatoly Adamishin to discuss human rights, the Reagan administration was still skeptical of Gorbachev's reformist credentials. But skepticism soon gave way not just to belief but to active support. Like their immediate superiors George Shultz and Eduard Shevardnadze, Schifter and Adamishin became partners in the process of rapprochement. Together, they helped free political prisoners, spur Jewish emigration, support perestroika against its domestic enemies, and contribute to the mutual trust that allowed the Cold War to end swiftly and peacefully.

Each chapter consists of two parts, one by each author, that offer complementary perspectives on the same events. The result is a volume that reveals much about the policymaking process during a historic era and exemplifies the power of diplomatic negotiation. It also argues provocatively that once the Cold War had ended, U.S. assistance to the Soviet Union could have helped prevent Gorbachev's fall from power, which ultimately damaged the democratic cause in Russia.

ANATOLY ADAMISHIN has had a distinguished career in the foreign ministry of both the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation, serving as a deputy foreign minister and as ambassador to Italy and the United Kingdom. **RICHARD SCHIFTER** practiced law before entering government service, where his appointments included assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, counselor in the National Security Council, and special adviser to the U.S. secretary of state.

NEGOTIATING ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE

American Leadership in the Middle East

Daniel C. Kurtzer and Scott B. Lasensky

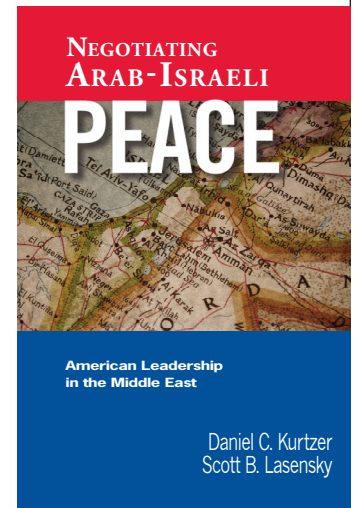
"A well-reasoned, realistic study setting out what works and what does not in this distinctive diplomatic arena. Today's leadership (and tomorrow's) could usefully build on the lessons presented here."

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Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace sets forth a compelling, interests-based framework for American engagement in the peace process; provides a critical assessment of U.S. diplomacy since the end of the Cold War; and offers a set of ten core "lessons" to guide the efforts of future American negotiators.

DANIEL C. KURTZER is a former U.S. ambassador to Israel and Egypt and currently holds the S. Daniel Abraham Chair in Middle East Policy Studies at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. **SCOTT B. LASENSKY** is a senior researcher and Middle East expert at the United States Institute of Peace.

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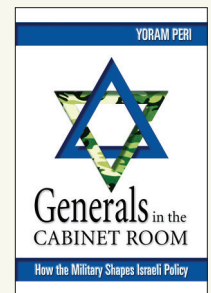
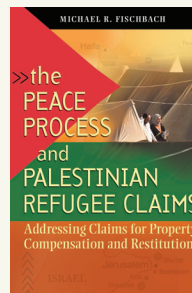
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"This slender book deserves a robust reading. By honing in on the ideas and assumptions that the parties bring to the table, the authors have transcended the blame game. All the contributors illuminate how a nation's history, imagined history, self-image, and image of the Other create a distinctive approach to negotiations."

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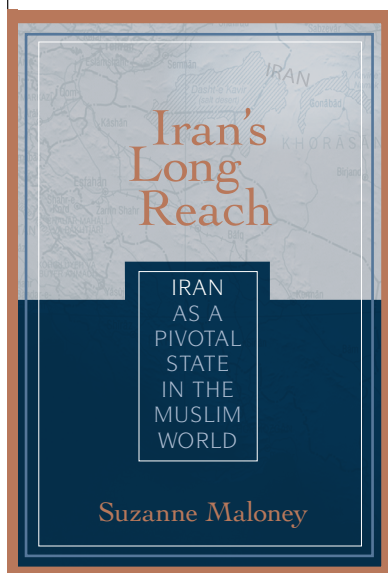
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IRAN'S LONG REACH

Iran as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World

Suzanne Maloney

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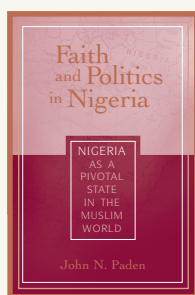
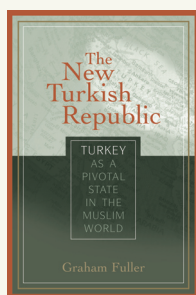
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SUZANNE MALONEY is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution's Saban Center for Middle East Policy and formerly served on the policy planning staff of the State Department.

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Francis M. Deng

With the collaboration of Daniel J. Deng, David K. Deng, and Vanessa Jimenez

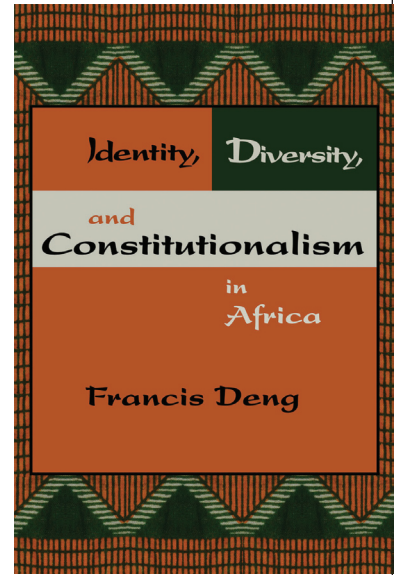
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FRANCIS M. DENG is the UN secretary-general's special adviser on the prevention of genocide. In 2002–2003, he was a senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace. He served as Sudan's minister of state foreign affairs, authored or edited more than thirty books, and holds a doctorate from Yale Law School.

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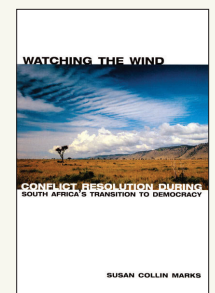
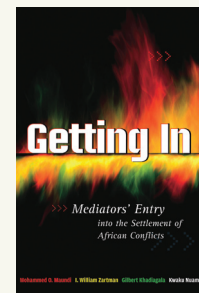
Susan Collin Marks

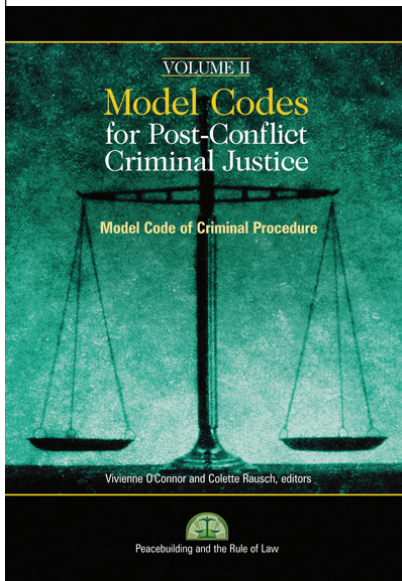
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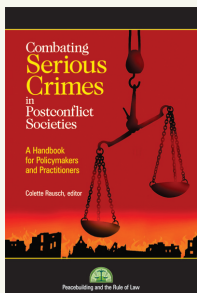
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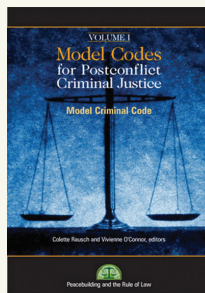


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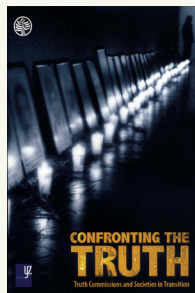


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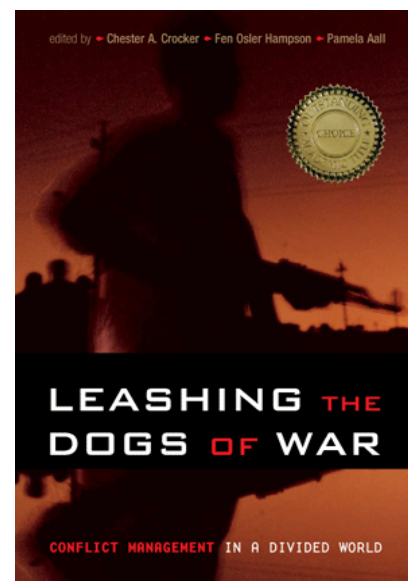
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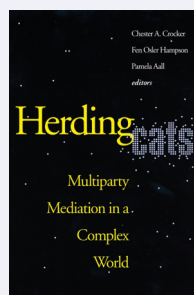
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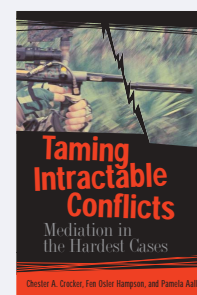
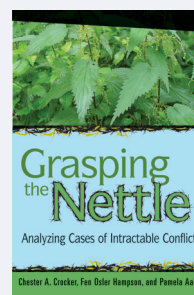
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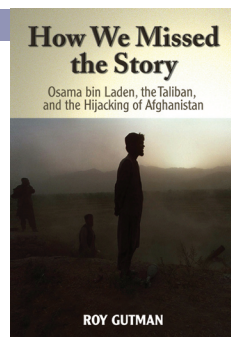
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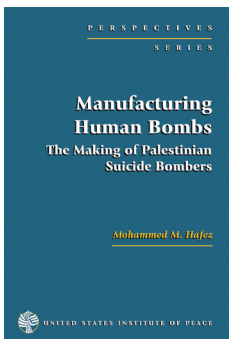
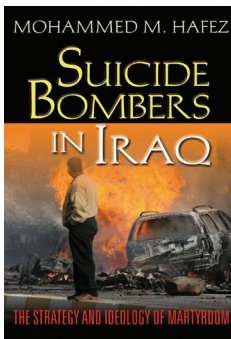
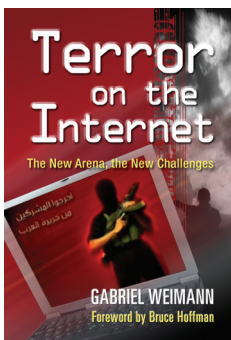
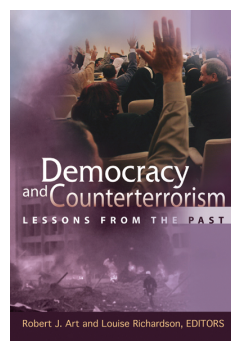
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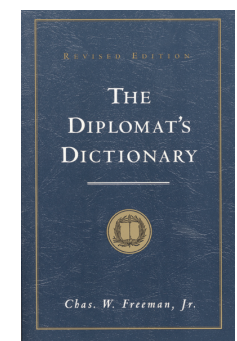
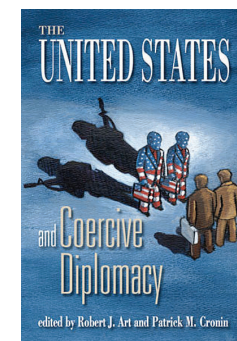
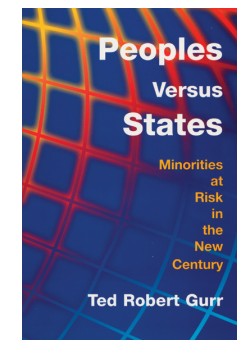
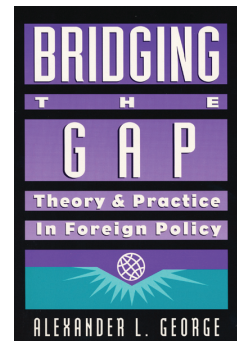
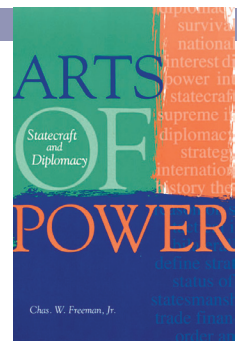
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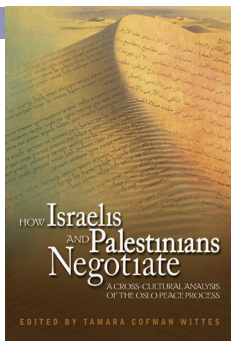
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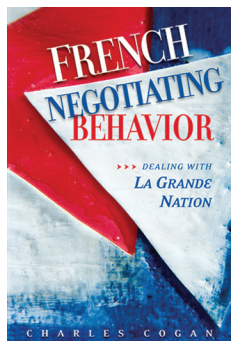
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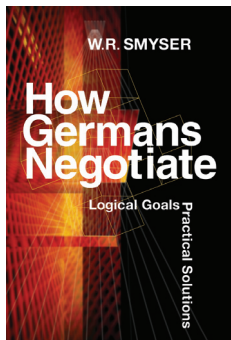
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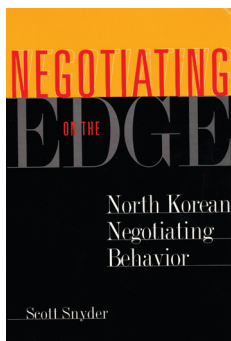
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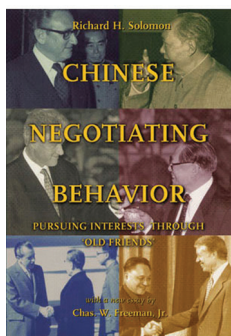
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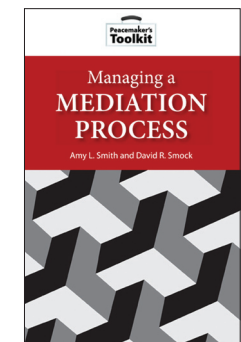
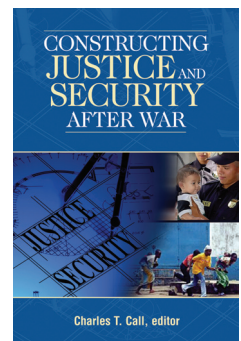
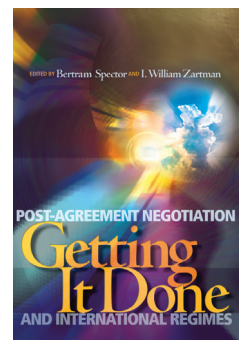
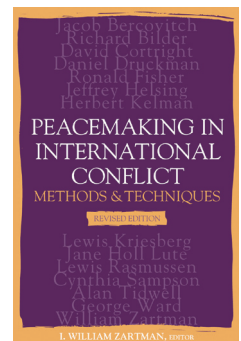
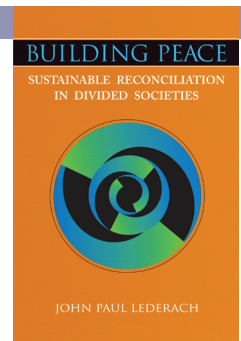
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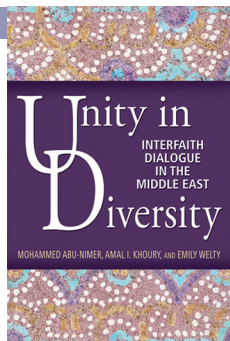
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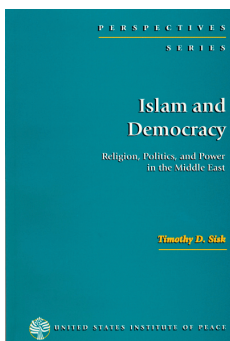
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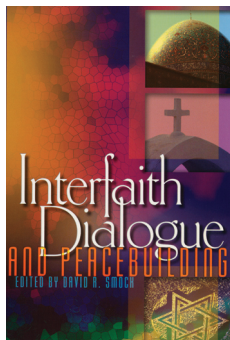


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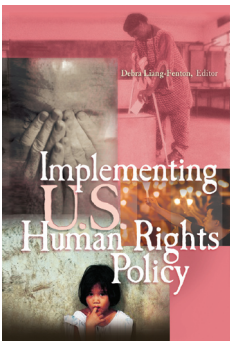
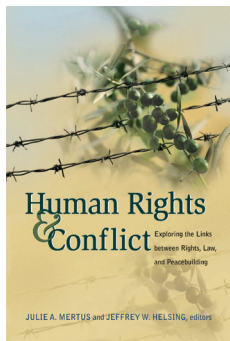
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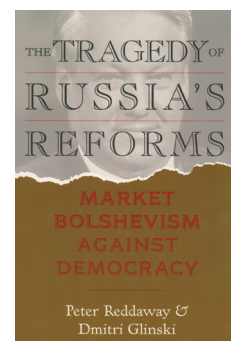
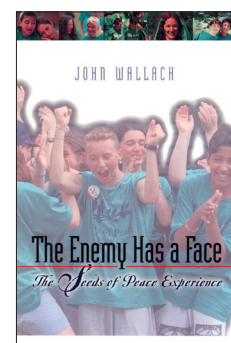
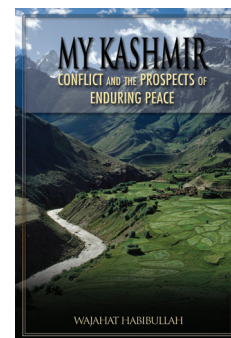
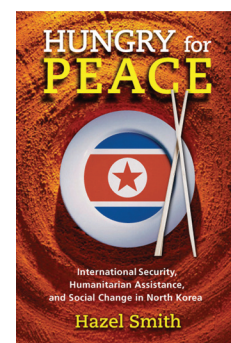
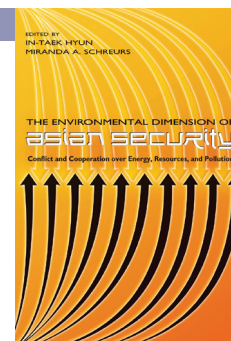
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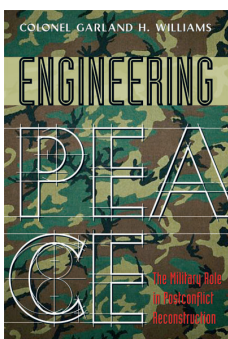
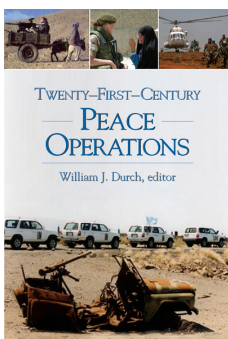
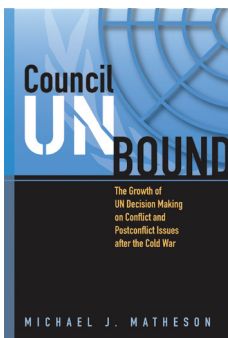
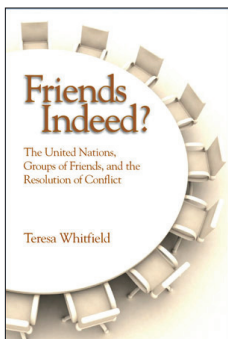
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