INDEX

Note: Page numbers followed by “n” denote endnotes.

A
absolute monarchy, 90
affirmative action policies, 115
agreement of equitable economic rights, 49
Ahkah National Development Party, 134
Alaungpaya, 31
Alethangyaw Constitution of Arakani Muslims, 214
All-Burma Rwangya Refugee Organisation, 229
*amyotha ye*, 182n3
Anawrahta, 31
anti-Chinese violence, 31, 38, 153
anti-colonial organization, 198
Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL), 34, 91, 201
anti-Indian violence, 31, 153
anti-Muslim violence, 198, 280, 281, 283, 294
anti-Rohingya violence, 213, 216
*see also* Rakhine
Arakan, 193, 217, 265
*see also* Rakhine State
Arakanese/Rakhine identity formation, 216–17
BIA troops, 198
British Rajput troops, 218n4
communal clashes of 1942, 194
crime conflict and mass violence in,
20–21, 193
ethnic cleansing, 194, 196–203, 215–7, 217n3
figuring victim numbers, 208–10
frontier administration, 218n11
Japanese invasion, 207–8
Lewa, Chris, 219n14
Maungdaw Central Peace Committee, 201
Mujahid Revolt, 196–97
political coming of age of Muslims, 203–7
Rakhine conundrum, 195
Rakhine local leaders, 199
Rohingya Patriotic Front (RPF), 211
V Force, 202, 204
Arakan Army (AA), 46
Arakan crisis, 36, 38
Arakan frontier, 35, 224
Arakan-Mohamedans, 225
Arakan Rohingya National Organization, 17, 212, 264
Arakan State in parliament, 205
Arakanese Buddhists, 196, 202, 225, 229
associate citizenship, 63, 234–37, 268
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 43
Aung San, 32, 33, 91, 188, 264
Aung San Suu Kyi, 1, 34, 99, 108, 148, 173, 181, 266
charitable works, 183n11
election victory of, 2
release from house arrest, 280
Rohingya issue, 261n72, 267
authoritarian period, 179, 181
authoritarian rule, 167–68
Index

B
Bamar–Karen violence, 33
Bamar Muslims, 289, 296n10
Bangladesh
see also East Pakistan
creation of, 232
marginalization at border, 194
refugees in, 7, 21, 44, 222, 223, 233, 272
Rohingya community, 206, 209, 211, 213, 239–40, 267
security operation, 53
Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs, 265
“Bangladeshi”, 236
Bashu (Malay Muslims), 270
Baxter report of 1940, 274
Bayinnaung, 31, 151
Bengal-Arakan frontier, 224
“Bengalis”, 50, 213, 217n1, 230, 241, 296n11
Bhutto, Zulfiqar Ali, 231
black-market trading, 37
blood donation, 168
Border Areas Development Programme, 1989, 43
Border Guard Force (BGF), 64
British
annexation, 31, 39, 117
in Burma, 31–32, 55
colonial dominions, 14
colonial rule, 31, 62
colonialists, 90, 241
British Foreign Office report of 1949, 209
British military invasion in 1823, 227
British military administration, 204, 218
British Rajput troops, 218n4
British war memories, 196
Buddhist
community, 171
ethnic groups, 20, 152
moral decline, 171
moral universe, 168, 171–74
population, 9, 158, 196, 204
rejuvenation, 171
social action, 170
virtues, 170
welfare groups, 20, 167–68, 180–81, 183–84
Buddhist “moral universe”, 171–72
Buddhist–Muslim conflict, 2, 33, 18, 27, 38, 50
Buddhist–Muslim relations, 3, 17, 295
Buddhist Rakhine community, 9
Buddhist revival, 172, 178
Burma Broadcasting Service (BBS), 275
Burma Communist Party (BCP), 88
Burma Independence Army (BIA), 31, 198
Burma Proper, 32, 90–91, 188, 195
Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), 172
structures of government, 36
Burman elite, 4, 5, 113
Burman-dominant Myanmar, 164
Burmanization, 4, 35, 61, 63, 74, 78, 291
Burmese heritage, 63, 257
Burmese language, 28, 54, 89, 241
concepts of “lu myo”, 28
Burmese Muslim, 209, 227–28, 230, 235
Burmese nationalist movement, 31
Burmese residents, 271
Burmese Way to Socialism, 4, 35, 36, 38, 40
C
cedana, 168, 175, 177, 179
Census of India, 31
Census
1829, 226
1832, 226
Index

1842, 226
1852, 226
1872, 226
1921, 225, 257n10
1931, 21, 22n5, 195, 218, 225, 226, 256, 257n10, 258n24, 289
1973, 8, 22n6, 227, 235, 236
1983, 7, 8, 236, 260n54
1993, 119
2014, 6, 22n11, 50, 82n17, 126–27, 136n9, 223, 256n7, 270, 291
Certificate of Associate Citizenship, 244, 246–47, 249–50, 253
see also associate citizenship
Certificate of Naturalized Citizenship, 244, 246, 249, 251, 253–54
see also naturalized citizenship
China-backed dam, 48
China borderlands, 43
Chinese in Myanmar, 18, 23, 38, 44, 50, 63, 95, 155, 206, 27
Chittagong, 193, 197, 199, 201, 208, 227, 228, 242, 258, 265
citizen warriors, 158
citizenship, 11, 60, 95, 145, 267, 301
associate citizenship, 268
categories of, 63
categories of, 63
declarations around concepts and practices of citizenship, 2–3
declarations of concepts and practices of citizenship, 2–3
full citizenship, 268
group-differentiated, 60
inter- and intra-community issues, 2–3
issues of identity and conflict, 2–3
legal citizenship in Myanmar, 145–46
legal status, 60
moral citizenship, 145
naturalized citizenship, 268
practice of, 95–96
social contract, 12, 16, 145–49, 157
Citizenship Law
of 1982, 145–46, 244, 266, 268, 275
of 1948, 275
Citizenship Scrutiny Cards (CSCs), 290
see also Burma Citizenship Law
colour-coded, 269
citizenship volunteerism, 150
civil society, 172–74
civil society organizations, 42, 49, 61, 77, 95, 105, 147, 172
civilian communities, 5
class-based mobilization, 178
colonial government, 26
colonial government, 31–34
British Burma, 31
diarchic system of government, 32
inconsistencies in political system, 33
socio-political stirring, 31–32
Twenty-first Century Panglong, 34
reification, 62
rule, 27, 32, 34, 38, 61
system, 32
Committee for Emergence of Federal Union (CEFU), 93
Committee Representing the People’s Parliament, 42
communal violence, 180, 193, 199, 204, 213, 223
Communist Party of Burma, 1960 (CPB), 29
community activism, 49
community-based organizations (CBOs), 74, 173
community cohesion, 157
community displacement, 38, 48, 50–51
community-level tensions, 50
conflict analysis, 30
conflict zones, 38, 43–44
Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, 136, 289
Constitution of the Union of Burma, 14, 228, 274
constitutional referendum, 45, 46
Convention of the Rights of the Child, 238
Council of Ministers, 254–55
Council of State, 7, 236, 244–45, 248, 252, 255, 260, 269
courts, ethnic-based, 70
Crisis Group, The, 22n7
cultural interchange, 31
Cultural University, 89
customary courts, 70
cycles of conflict, 29, 34
Cyclone Nargis, 45, 173, 174

D
Dawei Development project, 49
de facto citizenship, 18, 60–62
decentralization of power, 81n3
Deeku festival, 141–42
deliberative democracy, 97, 100, 102, 109
Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR), 60
democratic innovations, 104
Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA), 80n2
Dhamma schools, 170, 182n5
disciplined democracy, 40, 116
discursive strategies, 291
drug abuse, 69, 76, 79

E
EAO justice systems, 68, 70, 78
EAO-controlled areas, 73–74, 81
EAO-linked community-based organizations, 74
East Asia Youth League (EAYL), 150
East Pakistan, 38, 39, 194, 206, 213, 224, 229, 231, 232, 239
see also Bangladesh
economic integration, 18, 75–76
economic power-sharing, 66
education
  bilingual, 115
  non-formal, 147
  role of, 149–54
election controversy, 165
equal distribution of resources and land rights, 66
eradication of illicit drugs, 79
ethical citizenship, 177
ethnic armed conflict and territorial administration overlap, 44
ethnic armed organizations (EAOs), 1, 34, 53, 59, 143, 280, 303
ethnic-based movements, 38
ethnic-based courts, 70
ethnic breakdown, 7, 146
ethnic cleansing of 1942, 196, 216
Ethnic Forums or Public Forums or People’s Forums, 144
ethnic literature and language, 155
ethnic organizations, 61–62, 64, 93, 99
ethnic political leaders, 3, 16
ethnic representatives, 72, 74, 80, 99, 152
ethno-cultural gap, 210
ethno-religious ideology, 206
Exchange of Arms for Democracy, 91
Exchange of Arms for Peace, 92

F
Faquira Bazaar Committee, 201
Farm Land Law of 2012, 121
Federal Constitution, 91
Index

federal union, 5, 16–17, 29, 37, 98, 143–44
Foreigner’s Registration Certificate, 235, 250–52
Four Cuts Strategy, 92
Four-8 Mass Movement, 92
freedom of religion, 65, 115, 152, 155
Frontier Areas Administration, 32, 218n11
full citizenship, 268
fundamental ethical cleavage, 179

G
genocide, 213
Global Witness (GW), 49
globalization process, 149
government-controlled Central Body, 269
group-differentiated citizenship, 60
guarantee of membership, 237

H
Hague Convention on the Conflict of Nationality Laws, 267
health indicators, 51
hierarchical administrative structures, 125
high-level political settlements, 74
history of transmigration, 31
horizontal multicultural citizenship, 65
Human Development Report, 51
“human mine sweepers”, 92
human rights, 177
denial of, 54, 162
protection, 267
Rohingya issue, 214, 223
training of judges, 69
violations, 92, 274
humanitarian aid, 51, 77
hydroelectric power, 87
I
ideal institutional structures, 106
ideal nation-state citizen, 60
illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, 267, 271
illicit drugs, eradication of, 79
independent nationality, 88
India
immigrants from, 31
Kaladan Multi-modal Transit Transport Project, 49
Indians in Myanmar, 23n13, 27, 32, 38, 50, 63, 195, 207, 208, 218n12, 225, 227, 235
indigenous peoples, 63
informal institutions, 182, 184
Inquiry Commission on Sectarian Violence in Rakhine State, 285
inter-communal conflicts, 6, 115, 215, 226
inter-communal relations, 50, 206
inter-community dialogue, 32
Interim Arrangements, 79
Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), 44, 51, 77
international community, 207, 222, 237, 240, 280–81, 283, 287, 294
International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, 238
international isolation, 52
international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), 120
international trade and commerce, 87
inter-religious relations, 181, 182, 184
Islamic State (IS), 178
Islamophobia, 271, 281, 294

J
Japanese invasion, 193, 195, 197, 198, 202, 207–8, 216, 226–27
Jamiatul Ulama, 203, 227
Joint Bill Committee of the Union Parliament, 242
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>K</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kachin community, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO), 35–37, 42, 44, 46, 48, 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaladan Multi-modal Transit Transport Project, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaman, 279, 294–95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengalization of Muslims, 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>citizenship and political participation, 292–94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discrimination and persecution, 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethno-history, 287–89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identity, 287–89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inquiry commission on sectarian violence, 285, 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim siege mentality, 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-Rohingya Muslims, 295n3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>race and protection bills, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakhine State Action Plan, 296n7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>size of community, 289–92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>use of Rohingya, 295n3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaman National Development Party (KNDP), 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen Culture and Language Committee, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen ethnolinguistic subgroups, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen National Police Force (KNPF), 68–69, 82n14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen National Union (KNU), 33–37, 41–42, 46, 48, 53, 55, 64–65, 68–70, 72–73, 76, 79–80, 122, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen People's Party (KPP), 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen Revolutionary Council (KRC), 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen State Democracy and Development Party, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen Unity and Peace Committee (KUPC), 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen Women's Organization (KWO), 69, 82n13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen youth activists, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen National Progressive Party (KNPP), 17, 35–37, 42, 46, 48, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayan People's Party, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayin People's Party, 126, 129, 134–35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khin Nyunt, 41, 92, 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNU townships and districts, 82n14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNU-controlled territory, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuomintang (KMT) military activities, 29, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyaw Thu, 183n12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>L</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labour migration, 76, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahpai Seng Raw, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahu National Development Party, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land-grabbing, 27, 49, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law for the Protection of the Rights of Ethnic Nationalities, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leach, Edmund, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least Developed Countries (LDC), 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee, Yanghee, 261, 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legal citizenship status, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legal-constitutional study, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberal integrationist approach, 115, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberators of Burma, 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisu National Development Party, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“long march” of the Indians, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“lost generation”, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma Ba Tha movement, 50, 157, 181, 183n6, 281–83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“market-oriented” reform, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maungdaw Central Peace Committee, 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayu Frontier Administration (MFA), 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metta Development Foundation 30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
militarized political culture, 71
military-backed regime, 266
military-backed ruling party, 119
“Military Caretaker” administration, 34, 36
military dictatorship, 92, 146, 149, 272
military-linked elite, 178
militia programmes, 43
Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation (MOAI), 121
Ministry of Immigration and Population with the Ministry of Home Affairs, 242
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 275
Mon Democratic Party (MDP), 72–73
Mon National Party (MNP), 72, 129
Mong Woon Bamar, 270
moral citizenship, 145, 148, 167–68, 178, 180
moral obligation, 20, 168, 174, 177, 180
moral rejuvenation, 170–71
moral universe, 168, 171–74
Mrak-U, 198, 208, 265, 286
Mujahid movement, 38
Mujahid Revolt, 194, 197, 205, 209, 258
multicultural citizenship, 65, 130
multicultural group-based citizenship, 80
multi-party political system, 26, 147
Muslim hegemonies, 213
Muslim minority of Myanmar, 279, 294–95
see also Rohingya
anti-Muslim campaign, 280–84
Bengalization of Muslims, 286
discrimination and persecution, 279
inquiry commission on sectarian violence, 285, 287
Kaman citizenship and political participation, 292–94
Kaman identity and ethno-history, 287–89
Kaman Muslims, 284–87
Muslim siege mentality, 282
non-Rohingya Muslims, 295n1, 295n3
Pathi (or Bamar Muslims), 296n10
race and protection bills, 283
Rakhine State Action Plan, 296n7
size of Kaman community, 289–92
use of Rohingya, 295n3
Myanmar Army, 1, 5, 18
role of, 13
Myanmar Citizenship Law (1982), 288
Myanmar ID cards, 8
see also Citizenship Scrutiny Cards
Myanmar Constitutional Tribunal, 119
contemporary politics, 95
demographics, 7
education system, 147
legal and constitutional discourse, 3, 12
military regime, 116, 149
multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society, 155
multi-ethnic heritage, 158n13
modern history, 26
Muslim minority, 279
nationals of ethnic minority extraction, 155
political future, 19, 96
polity, 14
population, 19, 103, 157
state expansion, 79
Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA), 41
Myitsone dam, 43, 49
Myo Saung Upade, 283
Myoe Pwin, 156
Index

N
1982 Citizenship Law
see Citizenship Law
Naaf River, 39, 266
Naing Win, 124, 134
nation building, 29, 61, 150, 166, 172
National Coalition Government
Union of Burma, 41
National Constitutional Convention, 41
National Council Union of Burma (NCUB), 41
National Democratic Front (NDF), 37, 143
NDF-controlled territories, 41
Third Plenary Central Presidium, 37
National Democratic Party for Development (NPDP), 286
National League for Democracy (NLD), 1, 26, 61, 99, 114, 144, 147, 174, 242, 267, 280
national political dialogue, 96–97, 100, 104, 108
see also 21st Century Panglong Conference
criticisms, 110
reconfiguration, 109
National Race Affairs Ministers (NRAMs), 114, 118, 132–35
influence, 124
performance, 124–26
rights and privileges, 119–21
roles and responsibilities, 121–23
National Reconciliation and Peace Process, 129
National Registration Cards (NRCs), 233, 268
National Registration Certificates, 21
National Theatre House, 89
national unity, 4, 27–28, 30, 33, 42
national values, 168
nationalist movement, 49
see also Ma Ba Tha
nationality movements, 34, 38
national-level political parties, 2
Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA), 5, 45, 65, 98
non-signatories, 18
signatories, 98
Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team (NCCT), 93
natural resource exploitation, 49
naturalized citizenship, 63, 237, 268
Ne Win, General, 4, 6, 146, 149
1982 Citizenship Law, 15, 266, 268, 272
associate citizens, concept of, 234–37
“Burmese Way to Socialism”, 35
civic patriotism, 11
ethnic groups, 270
hardliner, 33
“Military Caretaker” administration, 36
military dictatorship, 91–92
relations with East Pakistan, 231–32
resignation, 40
Rohingya, view towards, 272
surrender of EAOs, 62
New Mon State Party, 1958 (NMSP), 68, 81
non-armed ethnic representatives, 80
non-Bamar peoples, 2, 8, 29, 32–33, 35, 44, 50, 102
non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 42
non-indigenous Muslim ethnicities, 236
non-Kaman Muslims, 285, 291, 293
non-state welfare provision, 168, 180, 184
North Arakan Muslims, 203, 209, 211
see also Rohingya
Northern Alliance, 53
notable external assistance, 88
notion of citizenship, 3, 10, 177
Nu-Attlee Agreement 1974, 274
Index

O
one-stop service for issuing citizenship, 156
one-party regime, 207
open dialogue culture, 105
opium, 51
“order without meaning”, 31, 33

P
Padonma Theatre House, 89
Palaung State Liberation Organization (PSLO), 93
pan-Burmese civic patriotism, 11
pan-Burmese national identity, 4
Panglong Agreement 1947, 33, 91, 99, 143, 203, 227
see also 21st Century Panglong Conference
Panthay (Chinese Muslims), 270
Panzai Bazaar Committee, 201
parahita seit, 169, 171, 172, 179
parliamentary democracy (1948–62), 28
Parliamentary Democracy Party/Burma Patriotic Army, 88
Pathi (Bamar Muslims), 289, 296n10
participatory system, 146, 148, 157
peace committees, 201–203
“peace parley”, 36, 41
People’s Volunteer Organization, 150
perpetuation of sovereignty, 65
Ploung-Sgaw Democratic Party (PSDP), 71
plurality of modes of association, 102
political participation, 11, 13, 96, 104, 105, 107, 109, 116, 146–49
political restructuring, 108
politicization of ethnicity, 28, 62
politics of conflict, 163
polyethnic minorities, 116
post-colonial state, 17, 38
post-conflict subnational governance reform, 74
post-military government of Myanmar, 19
post-NCA political dialogue, 72
practice of citizenship, 95–96
preferential treatment, 115–16
principles of federalism, 65
privileges of political membership, 11
pro-democracy activism, 41
protest, 40, 42, 64
pro-federal reform campaign, 42
pro-government militias, 44
pro-Rohingya activists, 214
protection of “national religion”, 171
Protection of National Races law, 120

Q
quasi-civilian government, 28, 45, 119, 280
quasi-democracy, 127
quasi-political Muslim Council, 227

R
Race and Religion Protection Laws, 50, 81, 157
Rakhine Muslim communities, 9, 241
Rakhine nationalist, 9, 213, 215–16
Rakhine population, 38–39
Rakhine State Action Plan, 296n9
Rakhine State, 39
see also Arakan
armed struggle, 55n15
Kaman, 55n8
Ramanya Peace Foundation (RPF), 77
Rawlsian philosophy, 12
Red Flag Communist Party (RFCP), 92
regional parliaments, 8, 148
religious diversity, 157
religious nationalism, 153, 171
Index

rice bowl of Asia, 87
right of secession, 33
Rohingya
  anti-Rohingya violence, 213
  Bangladeshi position, 242
  “Bengalis”, 50, 213, 217n1, 230, 241, 296n11
  citizenship issue, 222, 237, 242, 267–68, 271
  community, 5, 9, 17, 206, 222, 243, 262, 292
designation, 224, 229–33, 241, 257n20
during Ne Win regime, 206, 266, 272
history, 264–65
identity, 39
illiteracy, 273
intercommunal violence, 194
international attention, 54
legal status, 274–77
new births registration, 238
1942 events, 212, 215
1973 Census, 236
North Arakan Muslims, 203
persecution, 266, 294
political triumph, 205
pro-Rohingya activists, 214
refugees, 44, 53, 209, 211, 223, 240
scholar-activist, 10, 20
self-identification, 9, 39, 50, 23n11, 256n1, 291
self-proclaimed, 207
statelessness, 279
“systematic racism”, 274
Thein Sein’s statement, 241
United Nations, 239
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 238, 272, 273
White Cards, 238, 287
Rohingya Patriotic Front (RPF), 38, 211
S
  Saffron Revolution, 42
  Saw Tun Aung Myint, 124, 125
  Saya San rebellion, 31
  security sector reform, 18, 60, 66, 67
  self-autonomous zones (SAZs), 114
  semi-democracy, 165
  Shalom (Nyein) Foundation, 42
  Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD), 42
Shan State
  autonomous zones, 114
  conflict in, 48, 53
  land-grabbing, 121
  minority groups in, 117, 118
  National Race Affairs Ministers (NRAMs), 118, 129
  oil and gas pipelines, 43
  right of secession, 33
Shan State Army (SSA), 37
Shan State Independence Army (SSIA), 29
Shan State National Army (SSNA), 93
Shan State Nationalities Liberation Organization (SSNLO), 93
social consciousness (parabita seit), 171, 172, 179
social contract, 12, 16, 145–49, 157
Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, 244
social welfare ethic, 171, 177
Special Crimes Tribunal, 292
Special Mayu Frontier District, 274
State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), 40–45, 64, 92, 280
State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), 28, 40–45, 92, 150, 270
State Press Censorship Board, 288
State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee, 282
sub-national governance, 74, 78, 80
supra-Myanmar corporate national identity, 60
“systematic racism”, 274

T
Ta’ang National Liberation Army (TNLA), 46
Tatmadaw
administration, 37
“divide-and-rule”, 48
dictatorship, 28
dominance, 26, 45, 47
Four Cuts Strategy, 92
human rights elimination, 93
in Kachin and Shan States, 53
rise to power, 35
rule, 36, 40–47
seats in legislatures, 13
security clampdown, 44
Taung Bazaar, 198, 201
Taungoo, 20
social consciousness, 168–71,
174–76
Temporary Registration Cards (TRCs),
238, 269
Thein Sein era,
inter-communal relations, 50–51
Ma Ba Tha movement, 49–50
national race affairs ministers, 114,
118, 124, 128
nationwide ceasefire agreement, 45,
65, 93, 98
natural resource exploitation, 49
race and protection bills, 283
reforms, 48, 65
statement on Rohingya, 241
stood down, 48
transition period, 1, 46–47
Thet Win, 124, 125, 133
Tibeto-Burmese languages, 31
trans-local welfare groups, 174
transformative citizenship, 19, 97,
103–8
transmigration, history of, 31
Transnational Institute, 28, 47
tri-border region, 39, 265
21st Century Panglong Conference,
34, 53, 96, 97, 99, 104, 106

U
UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEADAW),
273
UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 273
UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 273
UN Conventions on Statelessness, 237
UN Human Rights Council, 54,
261n61
UN Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Myanmar, 261, 282
Union Citizenship Act 1948, 63, 227,
235, 268
Union Citizenship (Election) Act 1948, 14–15, 227, 268
Union Constitution, 91
Union Military Police (UMP), 142
Union Peace Conference, 53, 98, 101,
105, 107
see also 21st Century Panglong and Panglong Agreement
Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), 41
Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), 41, 65, 119, 125,
148, 181
United Karenni State Independence Army (UKSIA), 142
United Karenni State Independent Council (UKSIC), 142
United Nationalities Alliance (UNA),
42
Index

United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC), 29, 46, 93, 143
United Nations (UN),
  humanitarian principles, 272
  Rohingya issue, 239
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 156,
  223, 241, 262n74, 269
United Nations Population Fund (UNPF), 126
United Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), 181
United Wa State Army (UWSA), 41
“unity in diversity” policy, 33, 264
Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), 238, 273

V
value of life, 20,
  blood donation, 169
cedana, 168, 175, 177, 179
civil society, 172–74
  moral regeneration, 170–71
Muslim threat, narratives of, 178–80
  parabita seit, 171, 172–74, 179
  social consciousness, 168–70
  welfare groups, 174–76
V Force, 202
Voice of America (Burmese), 291

W
welfare groups
  Buddhist vs. Muslim, 178–79, 184
  Cyclone Nargis, 174
  crises of 1990s and 2000s, 173
  proliferation of, 168
  welfare indicators, 51
White Cards, 238, 287
work for others or parabita, 172–73

Y
Yangon Regional Parliament, 125

Z
Zaw Aye Maung, 125, 126, 135