Index

A
Abe, Foreign Minister Shintaro, visit to Burma 1983, 103
active conflict areas, defined, 233
Actors, Artists and Performers’ Association, 155
Adunyadej, King Bhumiphol, 15
agrarian communities in SEA, and state-society relations, 14
agriculture
crop substitution schemes, 179, 206
introduction of improved agriculture and substitute crops by Thai Government, 36–37
Ah Kha Self-Administrated Zone, 272
Alaungpaya, founder of Konbaung dynasty, 73
All Burma Peasants’ Organization (APBO), 150
All Burma Students’ Democratic Front (ABSDF), 161, 166
All Burma Students Union, 81
All Burma Women’s Organization, 151
All Burma Young Monk Association (Yahanpyo Aphwe), 147, 158
powers of leader, 152–53
All Kachin Student Youth Union (AKSYU), 241
All Kachin Youth Union (AKYU), 241
Amalgamated Society of Railways Servants of India and Burma, 146
Amnesty International, 107, 190
ancient history of Myanmar, 76
Angkor civilization, 43
Anglo-Burmese wars, 21, 72
1824–1826, 70, 138
1852, 71
1885, 71
impact on monarchy, 74
Anglo-Myanmar relations, pre-1988, 86
annexation to India, 71–72
Annual Karen Youth Exposure Trips, 231–232
Anti-Fascist Organization (AFO), 83
Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL), 83, 84, 85, 150, 153
AFPFL (Clean), 154, 275
AFPFL (Stable), 154, 263, 275
AFPFL Union Party, 263
agreed to grant autonomy to Shan and Kachin regions, 261
legitimacy, and, 116
Anti-Fascist War, 98, 102
anti-Innwa guerrilla forces, 70
anti-Japanese guerrilla forces, 77
Index

anti-Ne Win movement, 103
Arakan-Bangladesh frontier, 138
arms embargo, 278
Asian Development Bank (ADB)
deforestation in Myanmar, 189
and health care in Myanmar, 181
“Asian values”, used as excuse for repression, 117
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Myanmar engagement policy, 3, 25, 62
associational life
British colonialism, under, 145
categories of civil society organizations, 145
curtailment by government, 143–44
open parliamentary system encouraged formation of civil society organizations, 150
origins of social movement organizations, 144
pre-British colonialism, 145
see also civil society organizations
associational groups in SEA, 7
see also mass organizations in SEA
associations of foreign business people, 152
Aung Gyi, Brigadier, visit to Japan 1963, 102
Aung San Oo, 93, 102
Aung San Suu Kyi, 1, 70, 88, 108, 124, 135
awarded Nobel Peace Prize, 1991, 202
foreign investment, on, 128
house arrest, 2, 23, 279
sanctions, on, 286
tourism, on 128
Austranesian-speaking Jarai 44
Ayeyarwady River delta
migration of Indian labour to 73
migration of population to 73
British-Indian control, under, 73
B
Bagan state, 284
Baluchaung hydroelectric power plant, 99
Bamar ethnic identity, 5
Bamar, The, 22, 76, 78, 173, 219
military potential seen as threat to British control, 75
Bangali Muslim ethnic minority, 73
Belgium, as example of multi-ethnic state, 60
black marketeering, 23
Bombay-Burmah Trading Company, 71
border-areas development (BAD) schemes, 191, 195, 213
infrastructure developments, 200
Britain-Burma Defence Agreement 1947, 85
termination of, 86
British colonialism, 5, 21
“divide and rule” policy, 259, 270
establishment of Federated Shan States, 259–260
establishment of international borders, 73
impact on ethnic relations, 53
impact on regional development, 55–56
impact on state-building, 53
impediment of nationalism, 78
indirect rule of northern areas, 75
movement against British rule, 81, 274, 275
models of administration, 73
parsimony under, 73
relations with upland groups, 54
Shan states under, 258–62
British Commonwealth, Myanmar’s rejection of membership, 85
British East India Company, 70, 73
British foreign policy on Myanmar 1988 to mid-1995, 87–88
bases for, 70
Conservative (Thatcher) government, under, 86, 87
post-1995, 88–89
post-independence to 1988, 84–86
British foreign policy on SEA, post-WWI, 84
British Services Mission, 86
Brokers’ and Traders’ Association, 152
Buddhism
displacement under British colonialism, 79
education programmes for Karen community, 231
means to legitimacy, as, 123–124
outreach activities for the Karen, 221
role in independence movement, 275
state religion, as, 152, 263, 265, 275
versus Christianity, 125
versus military as state religion, 138
Buddhist organizations, 152
distinguished between political and non-political, 147
buffer state, Myanmar as, 72
Burma Campaign UK, 87, 88, 89, 93
Burma Communist Party, 21, 81, 82, 153
clashes with military in Shan states, 257
extension of influence in ethnic minority regions, 266, 267
support from Chinese Communist Party, 204
support to Shan State Army, 267
underground movement, 84
Burma Communist Party War Zone, 101, 193
Burma Frontier Service, 260
Burma Independence Army (BIA), 77, 82, 97, 98, 101, 102
Burma National Army (BNA), 101, 102
Burma Office Japan (BOJ), 106
“Burma problem”, 72
Burma Proper, 5, 53, 75, 129, 260
“Burma question”, 89
Burma Rohingya Association in Japan (BRAJ), 106
Burma Socialist Party Programme (BSPP), 1, 122, 143, 239
anti-capitalist campaigns, 155, 158
associational life under, 7, 155–60
collapse of, 2, 26
denied tourist trade, 125
establishment of, 155
self-imposed isolationism, 1, 22, 123
Burma Women’s Union (BWU), 106
Burma Youth Volunteer Association (BYVA), 106
Burmese Association in Japan (BAIJ), 106
Burmese Thakin Party, supported Japanese forces during WWII, 97
Burmese Way to Socialism, 155
strict regulation of foreign capital inflow, 100–101
Bush, President George W, 134
business associations/organizations, 149
conversion into properly institutionalized organizations, 162
foreign business people driven out by BSPP government, 155
indigenous business and market organizations, 149, 152
manipulation by government, 161
Byamaso Foundation
harassment from Maternal and Childcare Association, 163
inspection of accounts, 164
C
cadastral surveys, 61
Cambodia
bias in favour of upland groups, 45
Chinese and Vietnamese excluded from nation-building, 44–45
ethnic minorities required to adopt national cultural practices, 45–46
Pol Pot government, 45
Cambodian colonialism, 43
caretaker government, 22, 117, 119, 263
ceasefire areas, defined, 233
ceasefires, 139
agreements between government and ethnic insurgent groups, 2, 18, 22, 24, 59, 193, 236, 271
between government and Kachin Independence Organization (KIO), 254–55
between government and the Karen, 222, 234
internal struggle among ceasefire groups, 193
“peace dividend”, 193
U Mya Han, Archbishop Andrew, 222
variations in agreements, 193–94
centralized power, reasons for, 118
child soldiers, 190
Chin Hills Regulations 1895, 259
Chin, The, reasons for exclusion from dyarchy system of government, 259
China
donation of Muslim relic, 123
economic relations with United States, 280
investments in Myanmar, 4
involvement in conflict in Shan states, 1, 22
support of State Peace and Development Council, 26
Chinese Communist Party, 268
support for Burma Communist Party, 204
Christian Solidarity Worldwide, 89
Christianity, 91
alleged attacks on 191
among the Kachins 240
Chin State, in, 124–25
education programmes for Karen community 231
means to legitimate and de-legitimize ethnic minorities and political groups, as, 124
missionary activities, 56, 64, 75, 79, 91, 147
outreach activities for the Karen, 221
social activists, 226
Christian organization, participation of organizations in HIV/AIDS and poverty alleviation programmes, 165
Church of England, 91
civic education, 233–34
civil-military relations in SEA, 11, 17–19, 26
civilian organizations, 121
civil society, 133, 144, 155, 160
civil society organizations, 144
  access point to government officials, as, 161, 162
  affiliations with political parties/societies, 150–51, 156
  assistance from government, 156–67
  established by SLORC/SPDC, 161 independence, 152
  independence curtailed by 1962 coup, 154
Karen community, in, 220, 234, 235
  non-political organizations allowed to continue, 162
  remained intact despite government pressure, 158–60
  scholarships to poor children, 164
  SLORC/SPDC control measures, 160–67
  spin-off organizations, 148
Cold War, 11, 85, 279, 285
Commodities, retail prices of, 178
Commodity loans from Japan, 100, 103
“Common Position on Myanmar” (by EU), 283
Communicable diseases, 181
  avian flu, 188
  Global Fund aid, 188
  Hepatitis B and C, 188
  HIV/AIDS, 184, 186
  malaria, 186, 187
  tuberculosis, 186, 187
Communists, 84
  Communist Party of Burma, joined by New Democratic Army-Kachin, 242
Community security, defined, 190
  compromise, concept of, 131
  Conference of the Commanding Officers (CO) 1964, 275
Conflict Transformation Programme, 249
Conservative government (UK), 85
Constitution
  1947, 261, 275
  question of Myanmar as a federation, 264
  Wa State, on, 273
  drafting of new constitution 1993, 271–72
  possible foreign reactions to new constitution, 133
  post-independence 1948, 78
  Third Amendment, 275
Constitutional Conventions, 2
Consumer price index (CPI)
  (average), 178
  controlled press, 122
  Cook, Robin, 89
Corruption, 120–21
Council of Burma Industries, 152, 154
Council on Foreign Relations, debated on Myanmar 2003, 139
Coup
  1962, 22, 119, 122, 154, 155, 264, 266
  1988, 119, 126, 279

against New Democratic Army-Kachin 2005, 193
history of, 129
crop substitution schemes, 179
poppy for buckwheat, 206
cultural identity, 236
cultural pluralism, 120
cultural protection, 125
cultural rights, United State voted against UN resolution to protect rights, 136
“cultural villages” in SEA, 63

D

dams
Ayeyarwady (Irrawaddy) river, 189
Thanlwin (Salween) river, 189
Danu Self-Administered Division, 272
“death railway”, 98
deforestation, 189, 209
Democratic Burmese Students Organization (DBSO), 106
Democratic Party of Burma (DPB), 267
Democratic Student Organization, 153
demographics, 64
development and humanitarian assistance, for the Karen, 225–27
disunity among population, 58
Dobama
Asiayone, 81, 148
drug addiction, among Kachin youth, 240
drug trafficking, into Thailand, 194
dual economy, 15
dyarchy system of government, 259
replaced by cabinet, 260

E
8-8-88 Association, 106
8-8-88 Democratic Movement, 143, 144
crackdown by government, 160
8-8-88 demonstrations, 92
Eco-dev, 164
Economic and Technical Cooperation Treaty 1963, 99
economic change, defined, 248
economic joint research project with Japan, 104
economic sanctions, 4, 9, 25
negative effects, 280
economic security definition, 178
threats to, 178–79
economic transactionalism, 15
education and communications
Community Management course, 232
initiations for the Karen, 229–34
rise in cost of university education, 166
ystem secular in nature under British colonialism, 79
elections
1990, 1, 130, 131, 138, 278
results backed by the United States, 131
leads to democratic legitimacy, 134
Eleven Districts of Ledwin, 286
employment, job opportunities, 178
environmental security, defined, 188–89
Enlightening thinking, 31
“ethical tourism” campaign (UK), 93
ethnic armed conflicts and resistance, 219, 220, 247, 265
means of protecting cultural identity, as, 236
post-World War II, 78
response by Vietnamese government, 51
source of divisions among ethnic groups, 236, 247, 248

ethnic minorities
call for unity by General Ohn Myint, 238
claims of discrimination and marginalization, 220
classification, 197
concerns post-British colonialism, 84, 85
denial of ethnic identity by government, 124
divisions among, 246–49
formation of insurgents and rebels, 22
Hmong, 41
indirect rule of northern areas by British, 75
Laos, in, 39–43
legal status in Thailand, 37
“montagnard identity” in Vietnam, 46

montagnards, 43
national security versus human security, 195
peace and reconstruction of borderlands, 191–95, 212
protection of autonomy post-British colonialism, 83
question of legitimacy, 110, 115
racial composition, 198
reason to confer legitimacy on government, 128
recruitment into British Indian army, 75, 77
religion as source of division, 125–26
seeking separate or autonomous states, 220
Thailand, in, 34–38
threats to community security, 191, 192

used Christianity to legitimize their causes, 124
waning popularity of insurgents and rebels, 24
see also Kachin, The
see also Karen, The
see also Shan states
see also Wa state

ethnic minorities in SEA, exclusion from nation-building, 30
ethnic nationalism, 110, 123
Ethnic Nationalities Mediators’ Fellowship (ENMF) groups, 253
Ethnic National Peace Groups, 244
ethnic organizations, 148
“ethnocratic state”, 125
European Union, 2
doubts over British foreign policy on Myanmar, 89
economic embargo on Myanmar, 25
foreign policy on Myanmar, 89
sanctions against Myanmar, 282
exchange rate
free market, 178
official, 178

Excluded Areas, 54
external legitimacy, 133, 136

F
fascist war, 83
federalism, 119, 136
contentious issues for ethnic groups and government, 263–66
United States compared, 264

Federated Shan States
criticism of creation of, 260
envisaged in Constitution 1947, as, 258, 273
features of, 260

Federation of Trades Organizations (Burma) (FTOB), 150, 151
“flag marches”, 75
food security
definition, 180
threats to, 180
foreign aid
France, 92

  Germany, 86, 92
  impact of sanctions on, 282–83
  Japan, 86, 92
  termination or cutback of, 278
  United Kingdom, 92
  United States, 92
  West Germany, 92

see also Official Development Assistance (ODA) from Japan
foreign capital, strict regulation under “Burmese Way to Socialism”, 100–101
foreign exchange holdings, 130
foreign investment, 4, 85, 88
boycott by British (Blair) government, 88–89
reasons for lack of, 120
foreign passports, 137
foreign race-based organizations, 154
“four major industrialization projects”, 99, 100
four-cell peace-building matrix
key-people approach, 253–54
more-people approach, 252–53
Fourth Burma Rifles, 84
free market economy, emergence of Karen civil society organizations, 221
French colonialism
campaign to instill “national spirit” in Laos, 40
development of education and infrastructure, 40
introduction of territoriality concept between Laos and Thailand, 40

Laos, in, 38, 40
Vietnam, in, 48
Front (Tat-Oo), 153
Frontier Areas, 75, 78, 261
impact of WWII on, 78
“Frontier Burma”, 54
  divided into states by the British, 55

G

gas, 88
General Council of Burmese Associations (GCBA), 81, 147
“generalized poverty”, concept of, 202
Geneva Conference 1954, 86
Global Fund aid, 188
  withdrawal of, 283
Global Witness, 210
gold, average spot price, 178–79
Golden Triangle, 173
Goldwyn, Rachel (British activist), 89
government, concept of, 129
Government of India Act 1919, 259, 260
government organized non-governmental organizations (GONGOs), 168, 195
  access point to government officials, as, 161
Great Depression, 80
Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS), 181
cross-border trade, 42
gross domestic product (GDP), 178

H

Hanson, Dr Ola, developed Jinghpaw language, 239
headman, role of, 139
health care
  access to affordable essential drugs, 182
demographics, 180
difficulty in purchasing imported medical supplies due to low value of Kyat, 181
increase in availability of private services, 182
increase in cost of certain services, 182, 207
increase in cost of, 162–63
medical centres deemed private, 207
open economy results in private services, 182
stagnation in expenditure, 181–82
stagnation in number of government hospital patients, 182, 183
self-medication, 182
Thailand expenditure compared, 207
health security
definition, 180
threats to, 180–88
HIV/AIDS, 184, 186
agreement between Health Ministry, UNDP and Global Fund to deliver financial assistance, 209
demographics, 184, 208
possible sources of heterosexual transmissions, 208
United Nations Joint Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), 186
Hmong
forced resettlement by Thai government, 36
granted near-autonomous status by French, 41
Laos, in, 16
Red Hmong Rebellion in Thailand, 36, 61
United States promise to increase autonomy in Laos, 63
household expenditure, 178
Hpon Kya Shin, 268
Hsaya San Rebellion 1930–1932, 65
Hsaya San peasants revolt, 80
htinggaw groups
categories, 245
social network, 245–46
Human Rights Watch, 190
human security
broad/holistic conceptual approach, 174–75
Canadian school approach, 174
common characteristics of various concepts, 176
concept of, 173–74
freedom-from-fear approach, 174
Japanese school approach, 203
not yet part of national security agenda, 196
target areas for improvement, 201
threats to, 175, 178–95
Human Security Centre, report 1994, 175
human trafficking, 190, 211
Hungary, uprising 1956, 140
hydroelectric power, 4, 189
Baluchaung plant, 99
I
illegal immigrants, 4, 206
“imagined communities”, 110
independence
post-WWII, 84–86
see also post-British colonialism
independence movement, 82–84
from British, 82, 83
from Japanese, 102
India
investments in Myanmar, 4
Myanmar seen as extension of, 79–80
support of State Peace and Development Council, 26
Indian Education Service, 80
indigenous minority organizations, 154
Indonesia
dissension within military ranks, 20
political legitimacy of military regime, 17, 18
policy of accommodation, 20
inflation, 178, 179
informal organizations, 160
conversion into formal social movement organizations, 168
donations to rural areas, 164
members absorbed into political or civil society organizations, 170
infrastructure, construction as justification for legitimacy, 127
Inntha Self-Administered Zone, 272
insurgencies
Aceh, East Timor and West Papua influenced Indonesian military regime legitimacy, in, 17
alliance between activists, students and ethnic insurgent groups, 23
ceasefire agreements 2, 18, 22, 24, 59, 193, 236, 271
ethnic minorities, by 1, 4, 17, 22, 76, 78, 177, 219, 247, 265
justification for political legitimacy, as, 17, 18
montegnard in Vietnam, by, 51
Shan states, in, 262–63
“internal colonialism” in Thailand, 33
internal military legitimacy, 139
internally displaced persons (IDPs), 190, 211, 233
borderlands, in, 192
International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), 204
report 2001, 176
International Labour Organization (ILO), 190
International Red Cross (IRC), 190
international relations theory, 173
Iraq, impact of international sanctions on populace, 280
isolationism, 1, 22
impact on economy, 3

J
Japan
agriculture sector post-WWII, 98–99
aid for crop substitution, 206
bilateral ties with Myanmar, 6
political asylum for Myanmar people, 106
popular choice for migrant labour, as, 206
recognition of Myanmar refugee status, 106
war reparations to Myanmar, 99
Japanese foreign policy on Myanmar, 96, 108
“economic development first” theory, 104
soft approach, 104
Japanese invasion, 97
Japanese occupation, 56, 63, 70, 78, 97
cooperation with nationalists, 82
development of Anti-Fascist War, 98
peasantry underground movement against, 83
Japan Trade Union Confederation (Rengo), 107
Japan-Myanmar relations post-1988, 103–105
joint ventures, with Japanese
companies, 99

Journalists’ Association, 150, 156

Jinghpaw tribe, language adopted,
239

Kachin, The

ceasefire groups, 241–242
conflict resolution, 246
development of written language
of smaller linguistic tribes a
cause of divisions, 239–240
drug addiction among youth, 240
efforts to unite various tribes, 243–
245
htinggaw groups, 245
linguistic groups, 238–240
patrilineal descent, 245
reasons for exclusion from
dyarchy system of
government, 259
religious affiliations, 240
social network, 245–46
tribes, 239
youth programmes, 240–41
Kachin Consultative Assembly
(KCA), 165, 244–45
Kachin Defence Army (KDA), 242,
273
Kachin

dowas, cooperation with British, 75
Kachin ethnic groups, 8
Kachin Hill Tribes Manual, 246
Kachin Hill Tribes Regulations 1895,
246, 259
Kachin Independence Army (KIA),
193, 266
change name to Kachin Defence
Army (KDA), 273
Kachin Independence Army (KIA)
Ran Pru, 242
Kachin Independence Organization
(KIO), 193, 241
Fourth Brigade – Shan State, 242
Kachin National Congress 1947, 244
Kachin National Peace Groups, 244
Kachin Nyein (Shalom) Foundation, 8
Kachin State Day, 243
Kachins, concept of, 239
Kakweye (People’s Defence Forces),
267, 275
Karen, The

ceasefires with government, 222,
234
Christian minority, 77
civic education, 233–234
deprived of civil society
organizations, 220
development and humanitarian
assistance, 225–27
discrimination against, 221
ethnic groups, 8
Karen Development Committee
(KDC), 165, 226
youth wing, 226
Karen Development Network
(KDN), 229
Karen Education Foundation (KEF),
228
Karen Forum on Development, 227
Karen (Kayin) National Union
(KNU), 2, 8, 77, 194
blames government for breakdown
of peace talks, 224
confidence-building meetings with
government 1994, 222–23,
225, 235
demand for independent
“Karenistan”, 83
education and communication initiatives, 229–34
involvement of Christian and Buddhist youth in personal development, 231–32
leadership development, 231
mediation and conflict resolution within community, 227–28
peace initiatives, 220, 222, 234
religious affiliations, 221
response to armed conflicts, 221
roundtable forum of leaders, 224
social reconstruction, 233
underground movement, 84
Karenni, 76
Karen National Congress for Democracy (KNCD), 225
Karen National Liberation Army, 191
Karen Peace Mediator Group, 223, 224
promotion of Karen interests, 226
Karen State Peace Committee, 228
Karen Women’s Action Group (KWAG), 227
karma, used to ease discontent and state’s obligation to provide goods and services, 130
Kayah (Karenni/Red Karen), 76
Kayah National Progressive Party, 191
Kayin (Karen), 74
kha, 62
Khin Nyunt, General, 24, 137, 139
arrested for corruption 2004, 121, 132
recognition of six Kachin tribes, 239 removal of, 234
“Khmer” identity, 44, 63
“Khmer Islam”, 44
“Khmer Loeu”, 44, 63
Kim Jong Il, 138
kingship, concept of, 136
Klo Htoo Travels and Tours Company Limited, 226
Kokang state
armed group factions, 267
armed resistance against government, 266–68
demand for autonomy, 273
levy force, 266, 267
opium economy, 266
opium trafficking, 267
Konbaung dynasty 1752–1885, 52, 258
Alaungpaya (founder), 73
bad publicity against monarchy, 71
control of anti-Innwa guerrilla forces, 70
monarchical political influence over ethnic minorities, 52
Korean Workers Party, 138
Korea, uprising 1919, 140
Kuomintang
presence of troops in Shan states, 1, 22, 257
presence of troops in Wa state, 270
Kweh Ka Baw Company Limited, 226
Kyat, low purchasing power impacts health care spending, 181
Kyaw Kyein, 154
Kyawswa (king), 284
L
labour
exploitation in host country, 189–90
forced labour, 190
protest 1976, 157
shortage, 80
Labour (Attlee) government, 85
labour migration
Japan as popular choice of destination, 206
Malaysia, into, 179
pull and push factors, 205
Thailand, into, 179
labour unions, 145–46
anti-colonial demonstration, 146
communism, and, 146
nationalist movement, and, 146
strike by American oil drillers in
Myanmar, 146
laissez faire liberalism, 78, 79
languages, 64
Lanzin Youth Organization, 155, 156

Laos
classification of ethnic groups, 39, 62
French colonialism, under, 38, 40
nationalist movement in WWII, 41–42
relationship between monarchy
and ethnic minorities, 40
state-building, 39, 41
tributary relations, 40
upland peoples excluded from
nation-building, 42–43
leadership
poor leadership a factor for
Myanmar’s troubles, 283
legal system, adoption of Indian legal
codes under British colonialism, 80
Legislative Assembly, 149
legitimacy
concept of, 109, 112, 128
corruption, and, 121
cultural systems, and, 118
dependence on hope, 133
different views on which social,
political, economic aspects
should be in place first, 134
difficult to establish due to lack of
commonality among people,
difficulty in establishing a
definition, 111
elections as indication of, 115–17,
121, 134
etymology, 111–12
Indonesian military regime, of, 17
international influence on
indigenous people’s view of,
military, and, 126
national unity as justification of,
principles of, 112, 128–31
tatmadaw, and, 126–27
Thai government, of, 18
see also political legitimacy
Let Ya-Freeman accord 1947, 85, 86
Levin, Ambassador Bert, 87
life expectancy, 180
Bangladesh, Indonesia and
‘Thailand compared, 207
Literary Workers’ Organization, 155
government watchdog, as, 156
Lo Hsing Han, 267, 275

M
majority, defined, 59
majority-minority relations, 30
Malaysia
deportation of Myanmar illegal
immigrants to Thailand, 206
investments in Myanmar, 4
Malaysian Federation, Singapore’s
break from, 13
Manau Harvest Festival, 8
Mandalay, 74
Mandalay Traders, Brokers and
Industries Association, 150, 158,
Manglun sawbwa, 269, 275
Manila Pact, 19
Mannerplaw Agreement 1992, 136
Maoist Burma Communist Party, 193
Marcos, Ferdinand, abdication with U.S. assistance, 20
market-oriented economy, adoption of, 104
mass organizations in SEA, and military regimes in SEA, 18–19
mass political organizations, 133
Maternal and Childcare Association, 163
Maung Maung, Dr, state employees to resign from Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), 279
Mawdsley, James (British activist), 89
media, 234
coverage of Myanmar by foreign press, 87, 105
mediation and conflict resolution, government and the Karen, between, 227–28
Metta Development Foundation, personal development programmes for Karen youth, 232
migration of population, 51–52
military capitalism, 221
military regime, access to coffers by personnel and their families, 139
birth of, 82–84
coups, 1962, 22, 119, 122, 154, 155, 264, 266
1988, 119, 126, 279
establishment of Buddhist symbols in Christian areas, 125
political legitimacy, 18, 114, 116, 121
presence in Shan states, 1952–1954, 257
purge, 119
reasons for maintaining power, 21–24, 26
recognized by Japan 1989, 103
rejection of international mediation in dealing with Karen groups, 222–223
versus Buddhism as state religion, 138
see also tatmadaw
military regimes in SEA, collapse of, 20–21, 26
political legitimacy, 17–18
study of, 10–12
support from United State to curb spread of communism, 19
withdrawal of U.S. support, 20
Millennium Development Goals (MDG), 181
Minami Kikan, 101, 102
mining, 85
Ministerial Burma, 5, 53, 110, 256, 260, 261
minorities, defined, 59
minority nationalism, 110
minority separatism, 119
Mintha, Shwebo (alleged Crown Prince/King of Burma), 92
mobility of populace, 133
Mon, 52
monarchies in SEA, as condensation symbols, 15
monarchy, abolition of, 74, 79
Mongol Empire, invasion of Myanmar 1285, 284
siege of Myinsaing 1301, 285
withdrawal from Myanmar 1303, 283
montagnards
Cambodia, in, 43
economic and social rights curtailed in Vietnam, 50
insurgencies in Vietnam, 51
inter-ethnic coalition in Vietnam (FURLO), 49
Vietnam, in, 16, 47, 48
Vietnamese communism, under, 50
Morland, Ambassador Martin, 87
mortality rate, 184, 185
Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status, 280
Mountbatten, Lord, visits to Yangon, 86
muang (Thailand), defined, 33
Muslim Cham, 44
Muslim organizations, missionary activities, 147
Muslims
refugees in Bangladesh, 191
stateless persons in Western Rakhine state, 190
violence from Buddhist majority, 190
Myanmar Athin Chokkyi see General Council of Burmese Associations
Myanmar-China boundary agreement 1960, 263
Myanmar Ethnic Nationalities Mediators’ Fellowship (MENMF), 228
Myanmar Federation of Fisheries (MFF), 162
“Myanmar”, name change from “Burma”, 135
Myanmar Nationalities Democracy Alliance, 268
Myanmar people in Japan, 105
demographics, 107
relations between Japanese and Burmese political groups in Japan, 106–107
Myanmar Solidarity Party, 270
Myelat division, 259
Myinsaing de facto capital, 284
“mythification” Burman and military nationalism, of, 6
Culture, of, 125
N
narcotics eradication policy, 244
Narenni National Progressive Party (KNPP), 2
National Convention 59, 120, 132, 133
1993 (drafting of new constitution) 271–74
2004 (political dialogue between government and ethnic armed groups) 254
nationalism, 32, 81, 129
after Japanese occupation, 78
definition, 60
role in establishing and eradicating legitimacy, 110, 122
nationalist associations (winthamu athin), links with political parties, 147–48
nationalist organizations, civil society organizations compared, 168
nationalist-social organizations, 147–48
National League for Democracy (NLD) 1, 23, 104, 110
calls for civilian control of military 127–28
denouncement of Shan states’ demand for independence, 136
legitimacy, and, 127
Liberated Area — Japanese branch 106
students as members 166
system of orthodoxy 131
used Buddhism to legitimize party, 124
“national race”, 91
national security, 174
concept of, 177
impact on personal security, 189
versus human security of ethnic minorities, 195
National Security Act 1964, 143, 160
outlaw of political organizations, 155
national security policy, state-centric approach, 177
national sovereignty, 126, 177
National United Front, 151, 153, 154
national unity, 126, 177, 192
political legitimacy, and, 114, 115, 116, 121
nation-building see state-building
nation-state concept of, 30–32, 173
European style, 34
national state compared, 60
native-place organizations, 159
neighbourhood organizations, 162
networking, essential for reconciliation and peace within Karen community, 230–31
neutrality, policy of, 1, 86
Ne Win, General, 17, 100, 107
federalism, on, 265
New Democratic Army-Kachin, 242
coup 2005, 193, 242
New Front (Tat-Oo-Thit), 153
non-government organizations (NGOs) (international)
cooperation with local civil society organizations, 164–65
environmental protection, 164
humanitarian aid, 195
personal security, 190
poverty alleviation, 164
non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (local)
deforestation, on, 189
humanitarian aid, 195
Northern Shan states, 259, 266
part of Federated Shan States, 260
Nung tribe, 239
Official Development Assistance (ODA) from Japan 96, 100
decrease in, 108
reasons for, 100–103
resumption of, 103, 105
suspension of, 105
Ohn Myint, General, call for unity, 238
oil, 85
Oilfield Labour Union, 146
one-party socialist constitution, referendum on, 86
open borders, impact on smuggling trade by ethnic groups, 132
open societies, 25
opium
cultivation and eradication in Thailand, 36, 37, 61
eradication in Shan states, 179
growth of market in Kokang, 266
orthodoxy, 118–19, 131
National League for Democracy (NLD), and, 119
“outpost of tyranny”, 134
overseas pro-democracy organizations, 161
Panglong Conference 1947, 78
Pa-O, presence in Shan states, 256–57, 262
Pa-O, presence in Shan states, 256–57, 262
Index

Pa-O Self Administered Division, 272
paramilitary training, 137
parliamentary democracy, start of
ethnic armed resistance, 219
Party Central Executive Committee, 157
Pathet Lao, 41
peace
changes required to achieve peace, 247–48, 255
concept of, 237
peace and minority cultural
organizations, establishment and
role of, 165
peace and reconstruction of
borderlands, 191–95, 212
determined by state security
interests, 192
peace talks not extended to Shan
State Army South, 194
problems underlying, 193
reactions from Myanmar’s
neighbours, 194
peace initiatives
breakdown of talks between
government and the Karen, 222–23
four-cell peace-building matrix, 251–54
Karen National Union (KNU), by, 220, 222, 234
peace-building pyramid, 249–51
resumption of political dialogue
between government and
Karen leaders 2003, 224–25
Shalom Foundation, by, 228, 237–38, 249–55
“Peace in Karen State” seminar 1998, 227
Peace Mission, 275
peace treaty with Japan, 1955, 98
Peasants’ Organizing Committee
(Peasant Asiayone), 155
effectiveness of, 157
Pensioners’ Association, 150
People’s Alliance for Democracy
(PDA), 15
People’s Forum on Burma (PFB), 107
People’s Republic of North Korea, 138
People’s [Socialist] Party, 81, 83
per capita income, 129
personal security
definition, 189
labour exploitation in host country, 189–90
threats to, 189–90
petrol, 84
Philippines
Catholic church’s role in coup, 1986, 19
dissension within military ranks, 20
political legitimacy of military
regime, 17
political change, defined, 248
political legitimacy, 112, 117
attitudes of people as indication of, 115
concept of, 6
of military regimes in SEA, 17–18
National League for Democracy
(NLD), 114
State Peace and Development
Council (SPDC), 114
political organizations, outlawed by
National Security Act 1964, 155
political protest 1988, 23
political security, 204
politicization of ethnicity, 72–78
politics and statecraft
  adoption of Indian political model, 81
  role of race and ethnicity in, 76, 78, 81
  sanctions, and, 280
post-British colonialism
  concerns of ethnic minorities, 84
  defence of Myanmar during Cold War, 85
  ethnicity issues, 57–58, 65
  see also independence
poultry, price of, 179
poverty, 130
pre-British colonialism, 64
Premier Oil, 88, 89
Presiding Monk Association, 153
Press Scrutiny Board, 233
print capitalism, 145
pro-democratic movements, 160
professional organizations, 150
pwes (music and dance), 285
Pyinmana, 138

Q
quasi-reparations by Japan, 99, 100

R
Rakhine, 52, 73
Rangoon University College, 146
Rangoon University Student Union,
  destruction of union building by military 1962, 126
Rawang tribe, 239
Red Karen, 76
Red Shan, 193
Reflecting on the Peace Practice
  Project 2004, 251–254
reforestation, 189
refugees, in Thailand, 4, 211
reified ethnicity, 76
religion
  major faiths, 199
  religious composition of ethnic minorities, 199
  source of division of ethnic minorities, as, 125–26
  tool to legitimize political parties, as, 123
“religious neutrality”, 79
religious organizations, 147, 152
  non-political organizations left alone by government, 159
  political activities, 152–53
  relocation sites, defined, 233
  Revolutionary Council, 58, 85, 265
  disenchantment over administration of, 58
rice, 84
  cultivation since 8th century BC, 286
  exports to India, 74
  exports to Japan, 99
  price of, 179
Rice, U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza, 134
Rising Sun Group (RSG), 226
“Rohingya”, 190
rule of law, 120

S
Sachs, Jeffrey, on U.S. sanctions
  against Myanmar, 282
sanctions
  against Iraq 1990, 280
  concept of, 279
  consequences of, 281–85
  European Union, by, 283
  events leading to, 278–79
  impact on democratization of Myanmar, 281
  impact on garment industry, 281
Index

San Francisco Treaty 1955, 98
sangha, 123
current control of local governments, 153
demand Buddhism as state
religion, 275
indiscipline of, 74
source of moral and literary
education, 79
sangha organizations, 165
government attempts to win
support of, 167
protests and arrests of members,
166
sasana, 147
Saturday Literary Discussion Group,
156
sawbwas, 8
cooperation with British, 55, 75
see also Shan sawbwas
sawbwaship, 259
Saw Maung, General, offers of
rapprochement to National
League for Democracy (NLD),
279
Scheduled Areas, 260
scholarships, 164
schools, increase in number of, 64
sectarianism, 74
security, concept of, 173
seven-point road map, 195
Shah of Iran, 20
Shalom/Peace Foundation, 239
as intermediary between
government and Kachin
Independence Organization
(KIO), 254
peace initiatives, 228, 237–38,
249–255
personal development programmes
for Karen youth, 232
Shan sawbwas, 5, 75, 256, 257, 259
agreed to join Burma Proper on
condition of gaining
independence, 261
claims for autonomy, 77
surrender of hereditary rights,
262–63, 265, 275
Shan State Army South (SSA), 2,
122, 191, 265, 266
reception of training and arms
support from Burma
Communist Party, 267
Shan states, 1, 8, 75
administration in Wa state, 257–
58
Ah Kha Self-Administered Zone,
272
British colonialism, under, 258–62
Danu Self-Administered Division,
272
definition of various states as
decreed by law, 259
demand amendment of
constitution, 257, 263, 264,
265, 275
demand independence and right of
succession, 136, 261
demand Self-Administered Areas
status, 272
envisaged in Constitution 1947, as,
273
eradication of poppy cultivation,
179
federation, as a, 260
insurgencies, 262–63
Pa-O Self Administered Division,
272
presence of Kuomintang troops in,
1, 22, 257, 262
presence of military to counter
foreign infiltration, 1952–
1954, 257
reasons for exclusion from dyarchy system of government, 259
reasons for joining Myanmar Union, 256
separate administration from central government, 260
Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA), 191, 194
Shinawatra, Thaksin, 15
Sihanouk, King Norodom, 15, 44
Singapore, investments in Myanmar, 4
Sinyatha Party, 148
social capital, 11
social change, defined, 247
socialism, as means to elicit legitimacy, 126
Socialist Party, 83
social movement organizations, 144
social-political consciousness in SEA, emergence of, 20
social reconstruction, 233
social revolution (khit-pyone-taw-hlan-ye), 155
social security, of the Kachin social network, 245
social welfare organizations, 148–49 responsibilities, 163
Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), 131
Southeast Asia, British foreign policy post-WWII, 84
Southeast Asia Trade Advisory Group (SEATAG), 88
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 19
Myanmar’s rejection of membership, 86
Southern Shan states, 259 part of Federated Shan States, 260
Sovereign International State status, 261
special drawing rights (SDR) (IMF), 178
state-building, 51–59
British colonialism, under, 53
Laos, in, 39, 41
Thailand, in, 33–38
“state in society” approach, 5
state of emergency 1948–1960, 21
State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), 23, 103, 160
state legitimacy, founded on concept of nation-state, 31
stateless persons, Muslims in Western Rakhine state, 190
State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), 23, 103, 110, 160, 283
associational life under, 160–67 boycott by the sangha, 166
national security, and, 177
proposed new constitution, 24, 132
state policy, concept of, 120
state sovereignty, and political legitimacy, 114
state unity see national unity
state-sponsored organizations, 156
state-society relations in SEA, 10, 25–26
capitalism and socialism, under, 15–16
dissension within military ranks, 19–20
ethnicity, and, 16
impact on agrarian communities, 14
impact made by colonialism in SEA, 12–13
religion, and, 16
role of monarchies, 14–15
"state within a state", 127
Strategy Planning Method, 231
Students Organization for Liberation of Burma (SOLB), 106
students, political affiliations, 166
student study/reading groups, 160, 170
decline during SLORC/SPDC rule, 165–66, 170
student unions, 145–56
affiliations with political parties, 153
destruction of Yangon University student union building, 155, 159
establishment of overseas organizations by students, 161
protest against colonial government, 146
subsistence villages, 129–30
Suez Canal, 74
Switzerland, as example of multi-ethnic, state 60

T
Taft-Katsura Agreement 1905, 140
Taninthari, 73
tatmadaw, 82–83, 275
attempts at increasing widespread support, 131
control over anti-Ne Win movement 1988, 103
legitimacy, and, 126–27
new constitution, 132
Tax-payers Association (a-khun-htan-a-thin), 148
technical assistance from Japan, 99
Tenasserim Range, 34
territorial integrity, 173, 177

Thailand
territorial sovereign, 173
Thailand
agriculture intervention, 36
border dispute with Myanmar 2001, 1
communist insurgencies post-WWII, and, 35
dissension within military ranks, 19
drug trafficking from Myanmar, 4, 194
ethnic rebel groups as buffer against Myanmar, 204
exclusion of certain ethnic minorities from national identity, 34–37
extent of monarch’s power, 60
government treatment of hill tribes, 36–38, 61
government uncomfortable with Myanmar military border presence, 194
improvement in economic and social infrastructures, 35
“internal colonialism”, 33
King Vijaravudh’s national identity vision, 34
land as an indication of monarch’s power, 33
military engagement in tribal areas, 36, 37, 61
monarch’s territorial negotiations with colonialists, 33–34
oil and gas purchases from Myanmar, 4
opium cultivation and eradication, 36, 37, 61
policy of accommodation, 20
political legitimacy of military regime, 18
state-building, 33–38
student protests against military
1973, 19
Thai-Myanmar border tensions, 38
“Thai-zation”, 35
Thakin Aung San, 81, 82
Thakin movement, 81
Thakin Shu Maung, 82
Thakin Than Tun, 81, 83
Thanarat, Sarit, 19
Than Shwe, General, 138
Thibaw, King, 74
removal of, 71
Thirteen Hundred (Htaung-ton-yarpyi) Revolution, 146
Thirty Comrades, 6, 82, 97, 98, 101, 103
link between Japan and Myanmar, as, 107
timber, 85
reserves, 55
smuggling, 189, 210
tourism, prohibited for sake of cultural protection, 125
Trade Union Congress (Burma) (TUCB), 150, 151
trade unions see labour unions
Traditional Harvest Festival, 239
Traditional Manau Festival, 243
Transparency International, 120
tributary system, 52, 54, 258, 264
Tun Foundation, 164

U
U Aung Shwe, 131
U Ba Swe, 83
U Kyaw Nyein, 83
U Mya Han, Archbishop Andrew, 222
U Nu, 123, 150, 154
underground economy, 130
Union of Burma, 114, 118, 261
concept of “union” — federal or unitary system, 263
Union of Burma Chamber of Commerce and Industry, disguised as religious association in order to exist, 158
Union Party, 154
Union Solidarity Development Association (USDA), 105, 161, 162
United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), 190
United Nations Millennium Summit 2000, 203, 204
United States, 2
economic embargo on Myanmar, 25
foreign policy on Myanmar determined by treatment of Aung San Suu Kyi, 135
impact of trade sanctions on Myanmar garment industry, 283
involvement in conflict in Shan states, 1, 22
post-Cold War, 88–89
sanctions against Myanmar, 281–82
support of SEA military regimes, 19, 20
United Wa State Army, 122
Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, 113, 117
universities, establishment of, 166
Upper Burma, annexation by British, 258, 274
Upper Burma Laws Act 1886, 259, 274

V
Vietnam
ethnic groups, 47
Index

FURLO, 49
Geneva Accords 1954, 12
highland-lowland relations, 49
historical formation of ethnic identity, 46
montegnard-French relations, 47–48
“montegnard identity”, 46
montegnard insurgencies, 51
montegnards’ economic and social rights curtailed, 50
population movement, 46
religion regarded as “false consciousness”, 16
Vijaravudh, King, 34

W
wages 178
mid-level managers, of, 179
private sector, 179
university lecturers, of, 179
Wa state
armed conflicts with British, 64
British colonialism, under, 269, 273
demand Wa Self-Administered Division status, 273
envisioned in Constitution 1947, as, 273
presence of Kuomintang troops in, 270
social and economic structure, 269
war zone between Burma Communist Party and government, as, 270
war reparations from Japan, 99
War Veteran Organizations, 155
Washington Consensus, concept of, 116
weariness of Western influence, 3, 23–24
White Paper System, 260
Willan, Ambassador E G, 87
Wilson, President Woodrow,
Fourteen Points, 140
Women’s Rights Day, 128
Workers’ Organizing Committee (Workers’ Asayone), 155
ineffective in promoting workers’ interests, 157
World Food Programme, 180
World Health Organization (WHO), 181, 207
World Trade Organization (WTO), 280
World War II
expansion of political organizations, 82
impact on Frontier Areas, 78
Writers’ Association, 156

Y
Yadana oil fields, 4
Yang, Jimmy (Yang Kyin Sein), 267
Yapala, opposition to Shan sawbwa’s rule, 257, 274
Yetagun project, 88
Young Men’s Buddhist Association (YMBA), 81, 147, 275
Young Monk Association (Yahanpyo Aphwe), 153
youth
drug addiction in Kachin community, 241
personal development in Karen community, 231–232
programmes for Kachin community, 240–41
Youth League, 151