

# INDEX

## A

“A Study of Myanmar-US Relations”, 294  
 abortion, 318, 319  
 accountability, 5, 76  
     financial management and, 167  
 administrative divisions of Myanmar, 170, 176 n.12  
 Africa, 261  
 African National Congress, 253 n.2  
 Agarwal, B., 308  
 “agency” of individuals, 307  
 Agricultural Census of Myanmar (1993), 307  
 Agricultural Ministers in States and Regions, 171  
 agriculture, 190ff  
     loans for, 84  
     organizational framework of, 192, 193  
 Ah-Yee-Taung, 309  
 aid, 295, 315  
     donors and, 127, 128  
     Kachin people and, 293, 295  
 Alagappa, Muthiah, 261, 263, 264  
 Albert Einstein Institution, 131 n.7  
 All Burma Federation of Student Unions, 115, 121–22, 130 n.4, 130 n.6, 148

    strike at Hi-Mo factory and, 146, 147  
 All Burma Students’ Democratic Front, 113, 125, 130 n.6  
 All India Radio, 94, 95, 96, 99  
 All Mon Regional Democracy Party, 104, 254 n.4  
 allowances for workers, 140–41, 321  
 American Centre, 118  
 American Jewish World Service, 131 n.7  
 Amyotha Hluttaw (upper house of parliament), 46, 243, 251  
 Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League, 23  
 Anwar, Mohammed, 343 n.1  
 ANZ Bank (Australia), 188  
 “Arab Spring”, 28, 29, 138  
 “arbitrator [regime]”, 277  
 Armed Forces Day 2012, 270  
 armed forces (of Myanmar), 22, 23, 262, 269, 277, 333, 334  
     battalions 437 and 348, 288  
     border areas and, 24  
     constitution and, 16, 20, 24, 63, 211, 265, 266  
     corruption and, 26, 139–40  
     disengagement from politics, 259  
     expenditure, 62, 161, 165, 166  
     “fifth estate”, 270

- “four cuts” strategy, 288, 293
- impunity and, 212, 290
- Kachin State and, 165, 288, 293
- legal immunity of, 265
- legislative power and, 274
- “master plan” for dealing with
  - opposition, 294
- media and, 334–35
- military members of parliament,
  - 46, 51, 276
- ministries and, 270
- national security and, 23, 24, 213
- police and, 211, 212–13, 214–15
- politics and, 15, 44, 259
- power and influence of, 211, 260, 261
- reforms and, 14, 26, 29–30, 219, 272, 334
- rule of law and, 212
- self-image, 22–23, 276
- sexual violence by, 290, 291
- “special funds” and, 166
- armed forces (in general), 262
  - patterns of intervention, 266ff
- armed resistance, 113
- ASEAN, 167, 289
- ASEAN Economic Community, 163
- Asia Foundation, 132 n.35
- Asia Green Development Bank, 189
- Asia Legal Resource Centre, 195
- Asian Development Bank, 190, 198, 295
- Asian Economic Crisis, 26
- Asian Human Rights Commission, 291
- Assistance Association for Political Prisoners, 114
- Auditor-General 52, 53, 161, 168, 268
- Aung Din, 131 n.20
- Aung Gyi, 276
- Aung Htoo, 131 n.20
- Aung Kyaw Hla, 301 n.5
- Aung Ko, 60
- Aung Min, 34, 123
- Aung Moe Zaw, 131 n.20
- Aung Nyein, 94, 103
- Aung San Suu Kyi, 14, 31, 32, 34, 35, 45, 61, 80, 115, 160, 274, 285, 294, 297
  - 88 Generation Students group and, 117
- blacklist and, 131 n.20
- Committee for Rule of Law and Peace and Stability and, 20, 60, 253 n.3
- Constitution and, 38 n.7, 265
- democracy as goal for Myanmar, 16
- election (2010) and, 47, 102
- election of, 20, 123, 233, 275
- electoral reform and, 249
- ethnic minorities and, 115, 234, 250, 297
- foreign investment and, 168
- Foreign Investment Law* and, 185
- Kachin conflict and, 297
- Khin Nyunt and, 27
- Letpadaung inquiry commission and, 37 n.6, 218, 337, 340
- military members of parliament and, 276
- Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise and, 168
- Myanmar Police Force and, 206
- national reconciliation and, 249
- NCGUB and, 127
- New York Times* interview, 37 n.3
- Nobel Peace Prize and, 115, 235
- non-violence and, 114–15
- presidency and, 32
- release of, 26, 120, 260
- sanctions and, 320

Shwe Mann and, 55, 65, 66, 75  
 strike at Hi-Mo factory, 146  
 Than Shwe and, 27  
 Thein Sein and, 28, 50, 65, 75  
 transparency and, 168–69  
 “triumvirate” with Thein Sein  
   and Shwe Mann, 75  
 Aung San, 93, 130 n.6, 298  
 Aung Thaw, 271  
 Aung Thein Lin, 146  
 Aung-Thwin, Maureen, 112  
 Aunty Ti Ti, 314  
 Australia, 116, 220, 295, 296  
 Automatic Teller Machines, 187  
 Aye Aye Win, 313  
 Ayeyarwady Bank, 189  
 Ayeyarwady Delta, 79, 81, 339, 341  
   civil society networks in, 76, 77,  
   79, 84, 87  
 Cyclone Nargis and, 78  
 freedom of association, and, 79  
 land rights in, 82, 83  
 Ayeyarwady Region, SEE funding  
   and, 172

## B

Ba Swe Lay, 99  
 Bangkok, 261  
 Bangladesh, 110  
 Bank of Japan, 200 n.7  
 Bank of Thailand, 200 n.7  
 banks, 186, 187  
 Bayley, David, 219  
 BBC World Service, 81  
 Beijing Platform for Action of the  
   Fourth World Conference on  
   Women, 323 n.4  
 Belton, S., 315  
 “Bengali” (as designation for  
   Rohingya), 335, 336

Bill Committee, 50, 57, 274  
 blacklists, 106, 121, 131 n.20  
 Blakeley, Ruth, 293, 296  
 Bo Kyi, 131 n.20  
 Border Affairs Ministers, 171  
 Border Affairs, Ministry of, 74  
 Border Area Immigration  
   Scrutinization and Supervision  
   Bureau, *see* Border Control Force  
 Border Control Force (*Na Sa Ka*), 214,  
   223 n.11  
 Brass, Paul, 335  
 British Council, Yangon, 118  
 British Council, New Delhi, 98  
 Buddha’s 38 Blessings, 207  
 Buddhist culture, 20–21  
 Buddhists, 21, 98  
   969 movement, 336, 343 n.7  
   969 Golden Myanmar, 336  
   communal violence and, 20–21,  
   335  
 budget, 161, 163  
   defence expenditure, 161, 166  
   parliament and, 44, 52, 56, 59,  
   161, 165, 166, 272  
   publication of, 165  
   reform of budgetary system, 161,  
   165  
 SEEs and, 169  
 States and Regions allocations,  
   170  
 Build–Operate–Transfer  
   arrangements, 169  
 Bureau of Special Operations-3, 271  
 Burma Campaign UK, 130 n.1  
 Burma Centre Netherland/  
   Transnational Institute, 132 n.35  
*Burma Citizenship Law* (1982), 336  
 Burma Communist Party, 24  
 Burma Donors Forum, 116  
 Burma Socialist Program Party, 22–23,  
   24, 48, 109

Burma, colonization of, 333  
 Burman opposition groups, 113  
 Burmese Embassy, New Delhi, 97  
*Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act*, 188  
 Burmese Language Unit, All India Radio, 94, 95  
 Burmese Medical Association, 318  
 Burmese Rohingya Community in Australia, 343 n.1  
 "Burmese way to socialism", 161, 306  
 "The Burmese Way to Socialism" (political tract), 201 n.19  
 business community, 5, 57  
 by-elections (2012)  
     NLD and, 28, 29, 46, 120, 123, 229, 233, 234, 249  
     results, 233

## C

cabinet reshuffle (2012), 174, 268  
 Cairo, 261  
 Callahan, Mary, 278 n.3, 332  
 Cambodia, 315  
 Canadian Friends of Burma, 131 n.7  
 Canadian International Development Agency, 116  
 Canadian Lutheran World Relief, 131 n.7  
 Canadian Parliamentary Centre, 132 n.35  
 Carr, Bob, 295  
 ceasefire agreements, 24, 160, 298–99  
     Kachin conflict and, 292, 300 n.1  
     Karen National Union and, 20  
 Central Bank of Myanmar, 188, 189, 190  
     Financial Institutions Regulation and Anti-Money Laundering Department, 190

*Central Bank of Myanmar Law*, 186, 190  
 Central Committee for Drug Abuse Control, 213  
 Central Farmland Management Body, 194  
 Central Intelligence Agency, 288  
 Chang Ying, 288  
 Chatrium Hotel, 147  
 checks and balances, 16, 44, 71 n.14  
 Cheesman, Nick, 215  
 Chief of Police, 211  
     International Bar Association and, 221  
 child labourers, 306  
 child mortality, 163, 173  
 Chin Hills, 298  
 Chin National Front, 130 n.5  
 Chin National Party, 104, 254 n.4  
 Chin State, 170, 176 n.15  
 China, 26, 29, 174, 320  
     loans to Myanmar, 197  
     training for police, 220  
     UN discussion of Myanmar and, 117  
 Chit Khine, 200 n.10  
 City Development Committees, 170, 176 n.14  
 civil service, 35, 210  
 civil society groups, 5, 20, 44, 79  
 civil society networks, 13, 84, 85, 87  
     democratization and, 76, 77, 86, 88  
     *Farmland Law* and, 86  
     land rights and, 81ff  
     Paung Ku and, 78  
     "Saffron Revolution" and, 119  
 civilians  
     appointment to ministries, 174  
     targeting of in time of war, 287  
 civil-military relations, 210–11  
 Cold War, 113–14

- collective bargaining, 137
- collective personal violence, *see*
  - violence, personal
- Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services
  - appointment of military members of parliament, 46, 273
  - emergency powers, 266
  - nomination of ministers, 211, 270–71
- commerce, women and, 309
- Committee for Reform of the People's Police Force Management System, 207, 208–09, 222
- Committee for Rule of Law and Peace and Stability, 20, 60, 253 n.3
- Commonwealth Local Government Forum, 132 n.35
- communal violence, 13, 20–21, 123, 331, 333, 334, 335
  - 969 movement and, 336
  - communications technology and, 336
  - Indonesia and, 333–34
  - police and, 215, 337
  - Rakhine State and, 105, 215, 331, 335, 337
  - Rakhine State inquiry commission, 336–37, 340, 344 n.12
  - see also* violence
- Community Driven Development programme (World Bank), 5
- community policing, 216, 218
  - Myanmar Police Force and, 207, 208, 221
- Congress-I (Indian political party), 98
- Constitution (1974) (Article 54), 278 n.7
- Constitution (2008), 23, 24, 29, 33, 46, 273
  - amendment of, 56, 63, 232
  - armed forces and, 16, 20, 24, 63, 211, 265, 266
  - Article 6(f), 265
  - Article 20(e), 265
  - Article 40(c), 266
  - Article 201, 271
  - Article 232(b), 270
  - Article 232(j), 271
  - Article 234(b), 270
  - Article 262(a), 271
  - Article 293, 266
  - Article 319, 266
  - Article 343, 266
  - Aung San Suu Kyi and, 38 n.7, 265
  - Chapter 4, 266
  - electoral reform and, 232, 243, 251
  - ethnic minorities and, 64
  - freedom of association and, 79
  - land rights and, 82
  - parliament and, 43, 45, 46, 250
  - referendum on, 46, 120
  - tax collection powers of States and Regions, 171
- Constitutional Tribunal, 235, 268
  - Democratic and Ethnic Alliance and, 235
  - impeachment of members, 54, 63
  - parliament and, 52, 53–54
  - resignation of members, 52, 235
- Constitutional Tribunal Law, 52–53, 54
- corruption, 14, 20, 80
  - armed forces and, 26, 139–40
  - labour officials and, 140, 142
  - parliament and, 44, 53
  - police and, 208, 209, 210, 217, 218

cost of living, 312, 313, 314  
     reforms and, 314, 318  
 counter-terrorist unit, 214  
*coup d'état* (1962), 23, 109, 137, 261, 286  
 courts, reforms and, 14  
 credit cards, use of, 187  
 credit for farmers, 83  
 "cronies", 199, 338, 339  
     "crony capitalism", 140  
     crony corporations, 200 n.10  
     police and, 215  
 crowd control, 217, 221  
 Cyber Crime Division, Myanmar  
     Police Force, 208  
 Cyclone Giri, 79  
 Cyclone Nargis, 77, 78, 79, 83, 88, 98, 120, 339  
     civil society organizations and, 87, 119  
     mobile phones and, 85  
 Cynthia Maung, Dr, 131 n.20

## D

Danish Burma Committee, 131 n.7  
 Danish Church Aid, 131 n.7  
 Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy, 132 n.35  
 Danish International Development Agency, 116  
 Daw Daw Than, 313  
 Daw Myint, 309  
 Daw Thi, 309  
 Dawei special economic zone, 79  
 debit cards, 187  
 debt  
     farmers and, 84  
     Paris Club and, 161  
     World Bank and, 198, 295

Decent Work Country Programme, 151–52  
 defence expenditure, *see* armed forces, expenditure  
 Defence Services Academy, 275  
 deficit in 2012–2013 budget, 165  
 Delhi University, 98  
 Democracy and Peace Party, *see* Party for Democracy and Peace  
 democracy, 5, 80, 84, 89, 124  
     concepts of, 76, 89  
     *dimokarazi*, 79ff, 89  
     pro-democracy movement and, 114  
 Democratic Alliance of Burma, 124  
 Democratic and Ethnic Alliance, 243, 254 n.4  
     electoral reform and, 235, 250  
     *see also* Ten Fraternal Parties  
 Democratic Party (Myanmar), 16, 99, 102, 103, 254 n.5, 275  
     Democratic and Ethnic Alliance and, 254 n.4  
     election (2010) and, 47, 100ff  
     formation of, 100, 101  
     Ten Fraternal Parties and, 104ff  
 Democratic Party for a New Society, 113, 125, 130 n.6  
*Democratic Voice of Burma*, 123  
 democratization, 12, 16, 76, 81, 84, 331  
     armed forces and, 15  
     "bottom-up" process, 76–77, 84  
     civil society networks and, 13, 76  
     democratic processes and, 5, 11  
     lack of experience of democratic freedoms, 124  
     land-grabbing and, 340  
     "top-down" process, 75, 76, 77  
     violence and, 342  
 Department Against Transnational Crime, Myanmar Police Force, 208

Department of Labour, 150  
 Department of State Censorship, 107  
 development, 4, 5, 6, 12, 192  
 Diamond, Larry, 237, 338, 339  
 diaspora (Burmese), 110  
*dimokarazi*, 79ff, 89  
 Director General for the Settlement  
   and Land Records Department,  
   194  
 Directorate of Military Affairs  
   Security, 213  
 “discipline-flourishing democracy”,  
   43, 211, 260  
 displaced persons, 113, 127, 286, 288,  
   293, 295  
   food needs of, 295  
   *see also* internally displaced  
     persons, internationally  
     displaced persons  
*Dobama Asiayone*, 130 n.6  
 doctors, lack of, 315  
 donors to pro-democracy movement,  
   116, 126, 127, 129, 131 n.7  
 Duell, Kerstin, 15, 336  
 “Dutch disease”, 197

## E

Earth Institute of Columbia  
   University, 196  
 Eastern Europe, 30  
 economic reform, 20, 161, 199, 220  
   armed forces and, 25, 26  
 Eden Group, 200 n.10  
 education, 35, 163, 173  
   expenditure on, 161, 166, 310  
 Egreteau, Renaud, 14, 95, 334  
 elections (1990), 27  
 elections (2010), 19–20, 47, 48, 100,  
   101, 120  
   election laws and, 46, 100, 101  
   NLD and, 46, 102, 120  
   results of, 43  
   vote rigging, 47  
 elections (2015), 14, 31, 32, 45, 81, 174,  
   234, 249–50  
   competition between NLD and  
     USDP, 230  
   electoral system reform and, 231,  
     249–50  
   ethnic groups and, 32, 66  
   NLD and, 28, 32, 33, 45, 229, 230  
   parliament and, 55  
   possible outcome, 33, 229–30  
   USDP and, 229, 230  
 Election Commission, *see* Union  
   Election Commission  
 electoral system, *Pyithu Hluttaw*, 232  
 electoral system reform, 15, 56, 230,  
   231, 249–50, 334  
   armed forces and, 232–33  
   Aung San Suu Kyi and, 249  
   comparison of different systems,  
     237ff  
   compromise systems, 231–32  
   Constitution and, 243, 251  
   costs and benefits for  
     stakeholders, 232–33  
 Democratic and Ethnic Alliance  
   and, 250  
 ethnic minorities and, 232, 234,  
   250  
 geographic representation and,  
   236  
 international community and,  
   252  
 legislative changes and, 251  
 NLD and, 32, 66, 230, 232, 234,  
   243, 250, 251, 253 n.1  
 parliament and, 230, 232, 235, 250  
 “parallel system”, 232

- reconciliation and, 247–48
  - South Africa as model for, 253
    - n.2
  - Thein Sein and, 249
  - timing of, 249, 252
  - Union Election Commission and,
    - 66, 235–36
  - USDP and, 66, 234
  - voter education, 252
  - electoral systems, *see* voting systems
  - electricity shortages, 164, 316, 317
  - “*eminent domain*” principle, 195
  - employers, labour regulations and,
    - 140, 142, 149
  - employment, 14, 320
  - Engvall, Anders, 12, 338
  - ethnic minorities, 13, 33, 34, 170, 247
    - armed resistance and, 113
    - Aung San Suu Kyi and, 115, 234, 250, 297
    - ceasefires and, 20, 24, 160, 292, 298–99, 300 n.1
    - election (2010) and, 47
    - election (2015) and, 32, 66
    - electoral reform and, 232, 234, 250
    - exiles and, 112, 113, 123
    - federalism and, 64, 250
    - parliament and, 64, 230
    - political parties, 32, 248–49
    - self-determination and, 298
  - Ethnic Nationalities Council, 114, 120, 130 n.4
  - Euro-Burma Office, 114
  - European Commission, 296
  - European Parliament, 115
  - European Union, 3, 295
    - Myanmar Peace Support Initiative and, 296
  - Ten Fraternal Parties open letter to, 104, 105
  - sanctions and, 106
  - police training, 221
  - exchange rates, 182, 183, 199
    - unification of, 161, 163, 182
  - exiles, 15, 110, 113, 125–26, 129
    - donors to pro-democracy movement, 116, 126, 127, 131 n.7
  - ethnic minority groups and, 113, 123, 124
  - Generation Wave and, 112
  - invitation to return to Myanmar, 121, 122
  - pro-democracy movement and, 111, 112
  - relations with in-country
    - activists, 122, 126
    - returnees, 123, 124, 125
    - “*Saffron Revolution*”, 118
  - exile organizations, 124
  - expectations for welfare
    - improvements, 4, 160, 173
  - exploitation of women workers, 320, 321
  - extractive industries, regulation of, 164
  - Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), 167, 195–96, 201 n.16
  - Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative Leading Authority, 195
- F**
- Facebook, 336
  - Factories and General Labour Laws Inspection Department, 144, 146
  - farming subsidies, 105
  - Farmland Bill, 193, 195
    - “*eminent domain*” principle and, 195



*Farmland Law*, 57, 58, 82, 86, 193, 200  
     n.13; 201 n.14  
 Farmland Management Bodies, 194  
 federalism, 64, 250  
 Federated Union Party, 250  
 Federation of Trade Unions-Burma,  
     115, 125, 130 n.4, 148, 151, 321  
 Feit, Edward, 261  
 feminization of labour, 320  
 feminization of poverty, 309, 312, 323  
     n.4  
 “fifth estate”, armed forces as, 270  
 Financial Commission, 161, 175 n.2  
*Financial Institutions of Myanmar Law*,  
     186, 187  
 Financial Institutions Regulation  
     and Anti-Money Laundering  
     Department (Central Bank of  
     Myanmar), 190  
 financial system, 163–64, 167–68, 186  
 Finer, Samuel E., 261, 263, 264  
 First Myanmar Development  
     Cooperation Forum, 164  
 first-past-the-post voting system, 230,  
     243  
     Constitution and, 232  
     ethnic minority representation  
     and, 247  
     NLD and, 234, 242–43  
     USDP and, 248  
 fiscal reform, 162, 189  
 fiscal transparency, 161, 163  
 fisheries law, 86  
 food, 311  
     costs of, 313–14  
     expenditure on, 312  
     security, 308  
     shortages, 307, 312  
 forced labour, 139, 291  
 foreign banks, 188  
 foreign exchange licences, 187

foreign governments, Myanmar  
     government and, 127, 277  
 foreign investment, *see* investment  
*Foreign Investment Law*, 5, 131 n. 21,  
     162, 182, 183–84, 199  
 Aung San Suu Kyi and, 185  
     parliament and, 57, 184, 185  
 former military personnel  
     executive positions and, 261,  
     270ff  
     parliament and, 261, 272ff  
     state institutions and, 267ff  
 “four cuts” (Myanmar army  
     strategy), 288, 293  
 “fourth estate”, 270  
 Framework for Economic and Social  
     Reforms, 5, 8 n.2, 198, 199  
 France, 197  
 Free Burma Coalition, 112, 130 n.1  
 freedom, 5, 13, 307  
 freedom of association, 13, 77, 79, 80,  
     87, 88  
     civil society networks and, 78, 79  
 freedom of expression, 13, 77, 80, 81,  
     87, 88, 160  
 freedom of the press, 20  
 Friederich Ebert Foundation, 132 n.35  
 Friedrich Naumann Foundation, 132  
     n.35  
 Friends of Democracy Parties, 254 n.4

## G

Galtung, Johan, 332  
 Gandhi, Rajiv, 95, 96, 97  
 garment industry, women and, 320  
 gas, *see* natural gas  
 gender issues, awareness of, 87, 306,  
     308, 320  
 General Administration Department,  
     Ministry of Home Affairs, 171

General Assembly Resolution on  
 Human Rights, 292–93, 300 n.4  
 “Generation Wave”, 112, 119, 130 n.3  
 Geneva Convention (IV) relative to  
 the Protection of Civilian Persons  
 in Time of War, 292, 300 n.4  
 German Society for International  
 Cooperation, 7  
 Germany, 197, 295  
 governance, 20, 27, 79, 164  
     Myanmar Investment  
     Commission and, 186  
 Government’s Guarantees, Pledges  
 and Undertakings Vetting  
 Committee, 50  
 Group of Friends of Democracy  
 Parties, 254 n.4  
 “guardian [regime]”, 277  
 Gupta, Akhil, 338  
 Gyi Gyi Kywe, 317

## H

Hajji Daw Pu, 309  
 ul Haq, Mahbub, 322 n.2  
 Harn Yawngghwe, 121  
 health care, 35, 163, 315  
     expenditure on, 161, 166, 315  
     women and, 317, 318  
 “Heavily Indebted Poor Countries”,  
 197  
 hijacking of plane, 96  
 Hi-Mo and Hi-Art wig  
     manufacturing factory, 145ff, 147  
 Hkasan village, 290  
 Hkun Htun Oo, 344 n.12  
 Hla Galay Sein, 309  
 Hla Maung Shwe, 147  
 Hla Min, 271, 272  
 Hla Myint, 192

Hla Tun, 56  
 Hlaing Tharyar Labour Directorate  
     office, 145  
 Hluttaw Rights Committee, 50  
 Holliday, Ian, 75, 77  
 Hong Kong, 320  
 Horsey, Richard, 49  
 House of Nationalities, *see Amyotha  
 Hluttaw*  
 House of Representatives, *see Pyithu  
 Hluttaw*  
 Htay Kywe, 117  
 Htay Oo, 231, 248  
 Htin Kyaw, 96  
 Htoo Moq (Tin Tin Aye), 309  
 Hudson-Rodd, N., 308  
 Human Development Index Baseline  
     Survey (1997), 308  
*Human Development Report*, 323 n.2  
 Human Rights Watch, 20, 344 n.14  
 human rights, 114, 123–24, 314  
     abuses, 294, 333  
     Kachin State, 20, 289  
     Shwe Mann and, 291  
     police and, 217, 218  
     police and, 215, 221  
     UN Special Rapporteur, 289, 344  
     n.14  
 Huntington, Samuel P., 261, 263

## I

“imagined communities”, 110  
 impunity of armed forces, 212, 290  
 In Pursuit of Peace Award, 296  
 “incongruous bicameral” (electoral  
     system), 232, 237, 243, 251  
 India, 94, 95  
     Burmese refugees and, 96, 110  
     pro-democracy movement and,  
     112, 124, 130 n.1

- Indian Embassy, Rangoon, 94, 95  
 Indonesia, 3, 222, 267, 270, 276  
     civil-military transition, 273  
     communal violence, 333–34, 335  
     community policing, 216  
     reservation of seats for military, 274  
     separation of police from armed forces, 211  
 industrial zones, 320  
 inflation, 190, 312, 314, 315  
 infrastructure, 6, 163, 316  
     women and, 306, 317, 318  
 Integrated Household Living Conditions Assessment (UNDP), 175 n.1  
 Inter Pares (Canada), 131 n.7  
 Internal Revenue Department,  
     Ministry of Finance, 162, 176 n.6  
     estimate of tax-to-GDP ratio, 164  
 internally displaced persons, 286, 288, 293, 295  
     food needs of, 295  
 International Bar Association, 221  
 International Crisis Group, 247  
     In Pursuit of Peace Award, 296  
 International Foundation for Electoral Systems, 132 n.35  
 International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (Sweden), 67, 131 n.7, 132 n.35  
 International Labour Organization, 139, 168  
     Decent Work Country Programme, 151–52  
 International Law Enforcement Academy (Bangkok), 220  
 International Monetary Fund, 167, 190, 196, 294  
     “Article IV” advisory mission, 189  
 international non-governmental organizations, *see* non-governmental organizations  
 International Parliamentary Union, 115  
 International Republican Institute, 116, 127, 131 n.7  
 International Trade Union Confederation, 115  
 internationally displaced persons, 113, 127  
 Internet, 62, 334  
 Inter-Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, 115–16  
 Inter-Parliamentary Union, 53, 58–59, 67, 132 n.35  
 Interpol, 223 n.2  
 investment, 6, 14, 84, 128, 162, 163  
     Aung San Suu Kyi request to foreign investors, 168  
     foreign investment, 162, 183–84, 295  
     *see also Foreign Investment Law*  
 Iron Curtain, 115  
 Irrawaddy Dam Project, 105  
*Irrawaddy*, 123, 250
- J**  
 J Yaw Wu, 59, 60, 64  
 Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement and Cooperation, 220  
 Janowitz, Morris, 210, 261  
 Japan Bank for International Cooperation, 198  
 Japan External Trade Organization, 7  
 Japan, 190, 197  
 Johns Hopkins University, 318  
 journalists, 45, 49

Judge Advocate General's office, 268  
 Judicial and Legal Affairs Committee  
 (*Pyithu Hluttaw*), 60  
 judicial independence, 44, 52

## K

Kachin Hills, 298  
 Kachin Independence Army, 213, 288,  
 289, 332, 333  
 Kachin Independence Organization,  
 34, 47, 285, 288, 299, 300 n.1  
 Kachin people, 287–88, 298, 300  
   meeting with Shwe Mann, 291  
   self-determination and, 286, 298  
   use of violence against, 287, 332,  
   333  
 Kachin State, 66, 269, 291, 298, 300  
   aid for, 293, 295  
   conflict in, 12–13, 20, 28, 34, 105,  
   292, 297  
   armed forces and, 31, 165, 288,  
   293  
   displaced persons, 286, 288,  
   293, 295  
   parliament and, 64, 292  
   terror campaign in, 287, 297  
   elections (2010), 47  
   forced labour and, 291  
   separatist groups, 223 n.6  
 Kachin State Progress Party, 70 n.6  
*kala*, 335  
 Kamaing-Mogaung road, 290  
 Karachi, 261  
 Karen National Union, 20, 24, 124,  
 296  
 Kayah State, 172  
 Kayin (Karen) State, 268, 273  
 Kean, Thomas, 16  
*kekaryaan* system (Indonesia), 273

Khaing Khaing, 317  
 Khin Aung Myint, 51  
 Khin Mar Mar Kyi, 14, 16, 338  
 Khin Maung Swe, 344 n.12  
 Khin Maung Yi, 54, 61  
 Khin Nyunt, 323 n.3  
   Aung San Suu Kyi and, 27  
   police force reform and, 207  
 Khin Ohmar, 131 n.20  
 Khin Saw Oo, 190  
 Khun Htun Oo, 72 n.34  
 Khun Maing block-making factory,  
 142  
 Ko Ko Gyi, 117, 125, 141, 147  
   Rakhine State inquiry  
   commission and, 344 n.12  
 Ko Ko, 271  
 Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 132  
 n.35  
 Korea, 320  
 Korean Embassy, Yangon, 146  
 Kyar Min garment factory, 150  
 Kyaw Hsan, 268  
 Kyaw Kyaw, 148  
 Kyaw Kyaw Tun, 271  
 Kyaw Nyein, 99  
 Kyaw Nyunt, 271  
 Kyaw Soe Lwin, 13, 339  
 Kyaw Thu Aung, 13, 339, 341  
 Kyaw Thu, 268  
 Kyaw Yin Hlaing, 344 n.12  
 Kyaw Zan Myint, 271

## L

La Nan (KIO spokesperson), 299  
 labour  
   activists, 138, 152  
   collective bargaining, 137  
   conditions for workers, 139, 320,  
   321–22

- corruption of officials, 140, 142
- laws, 139, 142, 321
- regulations, employers and, 140, 142, 149
- rights, 139, 141, 142, 321–22
- wages and allowances, 140–41, 321
- workers' lack of organization, 151
- labour associations, 150, 151
  - Tai Yi Shoe Workers' Association, 145
- labour conference (June 2012), 147, 150
- labour protests, 138–39, 142–43, 144, 152
  - 88 Generation Students group and, 143, 146ff
  - government responses, 148
  - riot police and, 145
  - sacking of workers, 151
  - structural violence and, 339
  - Tai Yi workers' appeal against court ruling, 144–45
  - Union Election Commission and, 149
- Labour Organization Law (2011)*, 142, 321
- Lagos, 261
- Laiza, 289
- land, 83
  - as collateral, 163, 193
  - land confiscation, 60, 83
  - "land grabbing", 82, 83, 201 n.14, 340
  - disputes and structural violence, 339, 341
  - law, 76, 84, 85, 88, 161
  - security of tenure and, 340
  - Farmland Law*, 82, 86, 193, 200 n.13; 201 n.14
  - ownership, 82, 83, 84, 86, 193, 308
  - reform, 193ff
  - rights, 82, 84, 193
    - gender and, 308
    - Land Nationalization Act (1953)* and, 193–94
    - Letpadaung copper mine dispute and, 340
    - Ma-ubin conflict and, 85, 341
    - Saya San rebellion and, 82
    - Vacant, Fallow and Virgin Lands Management Law* and, 82
- Land Investigation Committee, 200–01 n.14
- Land Nationalization Act (1953)*, 193
- Laos, 315
- Large Taxpayers Unit, 167, 176 n.6
- Latin America, 261
- law and order, 214, 215, 219
- Law Defining the Fundamental Rights and Responsibilities of the People's Workers* (1964), 143
- Law relating to Forming of Organizations* (1988), 122
- Lemargie, Kyle, 15
- Letpadaung copper mine dispute 79, 123, 215, 218, 340
  - apology by government, 214
  - police and, 214, 215, 218, 222
- Letpadaung copper mine dispute
  - commission of enquiry, 55, 218, 340, 344 n.12
  - alternative report by 88
    - Generation Students group, 337
  - Aung San Suu Kyi and, 337
  - criticism of, 67, 341
  - police impunity and, 341
  - recommendations, 222 n.15
  - voting by military members of parliament, 63

Light Infantry Battalion 13, 290  
 Lintner, Bertil, 131 n.20, 294  
 Lisu people, 59  
 Local Resource Centre, 128  
*Lon Htein* (riot police), 145, 214,  
 217–18  
 London School of Economics, 297  
 Lun Maung, 278 n.5

## M

Ma Khin Mar Mar Kyi, *see* Khin Mar  
 Mar Kyi  
 Ma Lay, 319  
 Ma Ma San, 312–13  
 Ma Ma, 316  
 Ma Myint, 313, 314  
 Ma Thet Thet Aung, 148  
 Magwe Region, deficit of, 172  
 Mahbub ul Haq, 322 n.2  
 Mahn Sha, 130 n.5  
 Malaysia, 110, 318, 343 n.5  
 “managed float” of exchange rate,  
 182  
 Mandalay, civil society groups in, 79  
 Mandela, Nelson, 253 n.2  
 Manerplaw, 124  
 marginalization, 247, 315  
 Maritime Police, 208, 223 n.3  
 market-oriented economic reforms,  
 26, 140, 199  
 maternal health care, 318, 319  
 Ma-ubin conflict, 85, 341  
 Maung Aye, 29, 276  
 Maung, Dr Cynthia, 131 n.20  
 Maung Maung (Federation of Trade  
 Unions-Burma), 131 n.20, 151  
 Maung Maung (President of  
 Myanmar in 1988), 27  
 Maung Wuntha, 344 n.12

Max Myanmar Group, 200 n.10  
 Mayangone Labour Directorate office,  
 145  
 media, 13, 20, 81, 87, 270  
   freedom of the press, 20, 21  
   Kachin conflict and, 299  
   parliament and, 44, 58  
   police and armed forces and,  
   334–35  
   transparency and, 161  
   violence and, 336  
 Members of Parliament Union, 115  
 members of parliament, 45, 53, 61,  
 62, 67  
   military members of parliament,  
   46, 51, 63, 274, 275, 276  
 Mendes, Errol, 218  
*Metta Sutta*, 311  
 Mi Mi Khaing, 309  
 militarization, 260, 306, 307, 338  
 military courts, 266  
 Military Intelligence, 101, 102  
 military regimes, 263, 264  
 military rule (in Myanmar), 22, 24,  
 259  
 military-civil transition, 260  
 Millennium Development Goals, 163  
 Min Aung Hlaing, 21, 63, 270, 275  
   2013 Armed Forces Day speech,  
   64  
   National Defence and Security  
   Council and, 271  
 Min Ko Naing, 131 n.10, 146, 149  
   Letpadaung inquiry and, 344  
   n.12  
 Min Zeya, 117  
 Minister of Agriculture and  
 Irrigation, 194  
 Minister of Border Affairs, 271  
 Minister of Defence, 271, 272  
 Minister of Home Affairs, 211, 271

- Minister of Information, 268
- Minister of Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement, 268
- Ministers of Electric Power and Industry in States and Regions, authority of, 171
- Ministers of National Races Affairs, 170
- Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, 166
- Ministry of Border Affairs, 166, 171, 270
- Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, 169
- Ministry of Construction, 166, 171
- Ministry of Defence, 166, 174, 270
- Letpadaung mine project and, 55
- “special funds” and, 166
- Ministry of Education, 166
- Ministry of Energy, 166
- Ministry of External Affairs (India), 96
- Ministry of Finance and Revenue, 162, 166, 167
- Central Bank of Myanmar and, 190
- Internal Revenue Department, 162, 176 n.6
- Ministry of Health, 166
- Ministry of Home Affairs, 171, 270
- code of conduct for police, 207
- Ministry of Human Resource Development (India), 98
- Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (India), 95
- Ministry of Labour, 148, 149
- Ministry of Myanmar Industrial Development, 166
- Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development, 174, 176 n.8, 198
- Ministry of Religious Affairs (Burma), 99
- Ministry of Transport, 169
- “mixed systems” (electoral system), 237, 250
- mixed-member proportional electoral system, 237, 240, 250
- Mizzima News*, 97, 123
- mobile phones, 5, 7 n.1, 85, 89 n.1
- modernization, 25, 262
- Moe Thee Zun, 131 n.20
- Mon State, SEE funding and, 172
- monetary policy framework, 189
- “Multiple Religious Prayer Campaign”, 118
- Muslims, 20–21, 331, 336, 343 n.5
- Mya Mya, 316
- Myanma Agricultural Development Bank, 83
- Myanma Economic Bank, 169, 176 n.11, 189
- Myanma Investment and Commercial Bank, 189
- Myanmar, administrative divisions, 170
- Myanmar Agri-business Public Corporation Limited, 200 n.10
- Myanmar Air Force, 223 n.3
- Myanmar Development Resource Institute, 8 n.2, 123
- Framework for Economic and Social Reforms and, 198
- Myanmar Economic Corporation, 169
- Myanmar Egress, 123, 147
- Myanmar government, 3, 44, 83, 219
- ASEAN chairmanship, 167
- Cyclone Nargis and, 119–20
- development and, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 192
- foreign governments and, 26, 28, 127
- Kachin State and, 293, 299, 300

- Letpadaung copper mine dispute and, 214
- Paris Club and, 161
- people-centred development, 4, 172
- Rakhine State violence and, 337
- reform process, 4, 11
- Myanmar Investment Commission, 162, 185–86
- Myanmar National Human Rights Commission, 71 n.26
- Myanmar National Mobilization Committee, 336
- Myanmar Navy, 223 n.3
- Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise, 168, 176 n.10, 183
- Aung San Suu Kyi and, 168
- Myanmar Peace Centre, 123, 296
- Myanmar Peace Support Initiative, 296
- Myanmar Police Force, *see* police
- Myanmar Police Force Maintenance of Discipline Law, 207
- Myanmar Special Economic Zone Law*, 5
- Myanmar Times*, 45, 83, 231, 248
- Myanmar Youth Union, 126
- Myanmar/Burma Update Conference 2013, 11, 17 n.1, 343 n.1
- Myat Myat Ohn Khin, 268
- Myat Thein, 86
- Myint Hlaing, 51–52
- Myitsone Dam, 172, 173
- M-Zine, 97
- N**
- Na Sa Ka*, *see* Border Control Force
- Naga Daw Oo, 309
- Naing Aung, Dr, 131 n.20
- Nan Thaung Yin, Daw, 145, 146
- narcotics trafficking, 213, 220
- “national causes”, 23, 209–10
- National Coalition Government for the Union of Burma, 16, 115, 120, 124, 127, 130 n.4
- National Committee for International Cooperation and Sustainable Development (Netherlands), 116
- National Comprehensive Development Plan, 5
- National Convention, 46, 266, 275, 309, 323 n.3
- National Defence and Security Council, 25, 211, 271
- National Democratic Force, 47, 104, 120, 149
- Democratic and Ethnic Alliance and, 254 n.4
- proportional representation and, 235, 248
- National Democratic Front, 344 n.12
- National Democratic Institute, 67, 131 n.7, 132 n.35
- National Economic and Social Advisory Council, 147
- National Endowment for Democracy, 116, 127
- National League for Democracy, 13, 24, 27, 36–37, 44, 160, 274
- by-elections (2012) and, 229, 233
- elections (1990) and, 27
- elections (2010) and, 46, 102, 120
- elections (2015) and, 28, 32, 33, 45, 229, 230
- electoral reform and, 32, 66, 230, 232, 234, 243, 250, 251, 253 n.1
- ethnic parties and, 32, 66
- first-past-the-post voting system and, 234, 242–43
- Foreign Investment Law* and, 185
- government and, 26, 28, 35
- Letpadaung inquiry commission and, 337



- parliament and, 46, 54, 59, 60, 64
  - proportional representation and, 32, 235, 242–4, 250
  - reforms and, 22, 35
  - USDP and, 32
  - workers and, 148, 149
  - re-registration as political party, 28, 105
  - National Parliament, *see* *Pyidaungsu Hluttaw*
  - National Party (South Africa), 253 n.2
  - National Peace Convention, 105
  - National Registration Cards, 59
  - National Unity Party, 48, 61, 235
  - national workshop on Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation, 191
  - natural gas, 29, 174, 183
  - Naw Lay Dee, 131 n.20
  - Naypyitaw Council, 166–67, 176 n.5
  - Ne Win, 22, 93, 94, 159, 259, 272, 276, 306
  - Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal, 98
  - Netherlands, 197
  - Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, 132 n.35
  - New Light of Burma*, 82
  - New Way shoe manufacturing factory, 140
  - Nezat detha luwinhmu Sitseye Kutkehmu tanachok* (Border Area Immigration Scrutinization and Supervision Bureau), *see* Border Control Force
  - “No Foreign Investment Law”, 185
  - Nobel Peace Prize
    - Aung San Suu Kyi and, 115, 235
    - Thein Sein and, 296
  - non-government organizations, 76, 122, 315, 337
  - international NGOs, 6, 127
  - non-violence, 113
  - Nordlinger, 261, 262, 263, 264, 277
  - North Africa, 30
  - Northern Shan State Progress Party, 70 n.6
  - Norway, 197, 296
  - Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, 116
  - Norwegian Burma Committee, 131 n.7
  - Norwegian Church Aid, 131 n.7
  - Norwegian Peoples Aid, 131 n.7
  - Nu Nu, 317
  - Nyan Tun, 278 n.4
  - Nyan Win, 250
  - Nyo Nyo, 316
- O**
- Obama administration, 29
  - Obama, Barak, 60
  - Office of Foreign Assets Control (U.S.), 200 n.6
  - Oil Revenue Law (2004) (Sao Tome and Principe), 196
  - Olaf Palme International Centre, 131 n.7
  - Oo Hla Saw, 343 n.1
  - “Open Heart Campaign”, 118
  - Open Society Institute, 116
    - Burma Project, 112
  - opposition political parties, 32, 44, 55
  - Orde Baru* (Indonesia), 273
  - Oxfam-Novib, 131 n.7
- P**
- Pakistan, 265
  - Panglong Agreement, 249, 298
  - “parallel system” (electoral system), 232, 237, 240, 243, 250, 251

- Paris Club, debt cancellation and, 161, 197, 295
- parliament, 31, 44, 45, 46, 48ff, 58, 59, 60–62, 64, 65, 66–67, 274
- “15-minute parliament”, 49
- Bill Committee, 50, 57, 274
- budget and, 161, 166, 272
- check-and-balance mechanism, 16, 44, 71 n.14
- Committee for Rule of Law and Peace and Stability, 20, 60, 253 n.3
- committees, 50, 58
- constitution and, 4, 483, 250
- Constitutional Tribunal and, 52, 53–54
- corruption and, 44, 53
- electoral system, 230, 232, 235, 250
- engagement with community, 57
- ethnic minorities and, 64, 230
- former military personnel and, 272ff
- Government’s Guarantees, Pledges and Undertakings Vetting Committee, 50
- Hluttaw* Rights Committee, 50
- Judicial and Legal Affairs Committee, 60
- Kachin conflict and, 64, 292
- lack of facilities and capacity, 62–63
- Land Investigation Committee, 200–01 n.14
- media and, 45, 49, 58
- military members and, 46, 51, 63, 274, 275, 276
- military seats, number of, 273
- NLD and, 46, 54, 59, 60, 64
- opposition members and, 44, 49
- Planning and Finance Committee, 165
- Public Accounts Committee, 50, 165, 274
- Shwe Mann and, 51, 53, 55, 274
- States and Regions, 46, 170
- Party for Democracy and Peace, 104, 254 n.4
- Party for Unity and Peace, 104, 254 n.4
- patriarchy, 315, 338
- Paung Ku, 76, 80, 81, 87, 88, 89 n.1, 128
- civil society networks and, 78, 85
- Paw Oo Htun (alias Min Ko Naing), 117
- see also* Min Ko Naing
- Pedersen, Morten, 12
- People’s Assembly, *see Pyithu Hluttaw*
- People’s Police Force, 207
- People’s Tribunal on Food Scarcity and Militarization, 307
- People’s Workers’ Council, 137
- people-centred development, 4, 172
- Perlmutter, Amos, 261, 262, 277
- personal violence, 332ff, 337
- in Kachin State, 332, 333
- structural violence and, 337, 339, 341, 342
- see also* violence
- Phaloun Sawaw Democratic Party of the Karen, 104, 254 n.4
- Philippines, 267, 270, 272
- Phoe Phyu, 138, 149
- Phyu Phyu Thin, 61
- Pilger, John, 131 n.20
- Planning and Finance Committee, 165
- Planning Commission, 175
- planning, 161, 199
- police, 208, 209–10, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 220, 334
- armed forces and, 209, 211, 212, 214–15, 334
- Aung San Suu Kyi and, 206,

- Central Committee for Drug Abuse Control and, 213
- Civil Aviation department, 208, 223 n.3
- communal violence and, 215, 337
- community policing and, 207, 208, 209, 218
- corruption and, 208, 209, 210, 217, 218
- counter-terrorist unit, 214
- Cyber Crime Division, 208
- Department Against Transnational Crime, 208
- funding of, 210, 220
- Letpadaung copper mine dispute and, 214, 215, 218, 222, 341
- manpower numbers, 207
- Maritime department, 208
- media and, 334–35
- Ministry of Home Affairs and, 211
- Myanmar Police Force
  - Maintenance of Discipline Law, 207
- paramilitary police, 207, 208, 208–09, 214, 217–18, *see also* riot police
- Rakhine State violence and, 215, 337
- reforms and, 14, 206, 207, 209, 218, 219
- relations with public, 214, 216, 217
- riot police (*Lon Htein*), 145, 214, 217–18
- rule of law and, 206, 215, 218
- sharing of security responsibilities, 212–13
- Special Branch, 213
- Thein Sein and, 206
- Tourist Police unit, 208
- training and, 220
- United Nations Children's Fund and, 220
- women in, 208
- policing, seven basic principles, 221
- political exiles, *see* exiles
- political parties, 44, 100–01, 235
- political prisoners, 28, 60, 62, 138, 160, 275
  - Ten Fraternal Parties and, 104, 105
- Pone Cho, 117
- poverty, 35, 173, 312, 313, 315
  - alleviation of, 5, 20, 171, 176 n.15
  - feminization of, 309, 312, 323 n.4
  - gender and, 308
  - militarization and, 306
  - structural violence and, 341–42
- Praetorian Guard, 262
- praetorianism, 14, 259, 261, 262, 277, 334
- praetorian “regime” types
  - “arbitrator”, 262
  - “guardian”, 263, 264
  - “moderator”, 263
  - “participant-ruler”, 263, 264
  - “praetorian ruler”, 263
  - “referee”, 263
  - “ruler”, 263, 277
- praetorian state, 259, 260, 262
- “praetorian transition”, 260
- President's Office, 174, 293
- Presidential Order 28/2011 (on release of political prisoners), 105
- press, freedom of the, 20
- privatization, 168, 169
- Privatization Commission, 168, 176 n.8
- pro-democracy movement, 95, 112, 113–14, 115, 116, 117
  - donors and, 116, 126, 127, 131 n.7
  - elections (2010) and, 120

ethnic-nationality members of,  
     112–13  
 India and, 112  
 relations between exiles and in-  
     country activists, 113, 125–26  
 Thailand and, 112  
 propaganda, use against KIO, KIA,  
     293–94  
 proportional representation, 71 n.22,  
     230, 235, 243, 248  
     Democratic and Ethnic Alliance  
         and, 235  
 ethnic-minority parties and,  
     248–49  
 geographic representation and,  
     237  
 International Crisis Group  
     recommendation, 247  
 National Unity Party and, 235  
 NLD and, 32, 235, 242–43, 250  
 USDP and, 230–31, 243, 248  
 Prospect Burma (UK), 131 n.7  
*Protection of Peasants' Rights Law*  
     (1963), 82  
 proverb, “*uma-saung-hma thila-saung-*  
     *naing*”, 311  
 Public Accounts Committee, 50, 165,  
     274  
 Public Expenditure and Financial  
     Accountability assessment, 167,  
     175 n.3  
 Public Expenditure Review, 168  
 Public Financial Management reform  
     strategy, 168  
 public protests, law, 138  
 Public Works Department, Ministry  
     of Construction, 171  
*Pyidaungsu Hluttaw*, 44, 46  
*Pyithu Hluttaw*, 45, 46, 232, 243, 251,  
     272

## R

racial intolerance, 13  
 Radio Free Asia, 81  
 Rakhine Nationalities Development  
     Party, 70 n.7, 104, 343 n.1  
     Democratic and Ethnic Alliance  
         and, 254 n.4  
 Rakhine State, 29, 172, 343 n.1  
     communal violence in, 64, 105,  
         165, 215, 331, 335, 337  
     Cyclone Giri, 79  
     USDP candidates in, 47  
 Rakhine State inquiry commission,  
     336, 340, 344 n.12  
     88 Generation Students group  
         and, 336–37, 344 n.12  
 Rangoon, 261  
 reconciliation, 247–48, 249–50  
 “Reengagement and Reform Support  
     Credit to Myanmar” (World  
     Bank), 198  
 referendum on 2008 Constitution, 120  
 reforms, 4, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 29,  
     30, 35, 199, 219, 220  
     armed forces and, 14, 26, 29–30,  
         219, 272, 334  
     cost of living and, 314, 318  
     police and, 14, 206, 207, 209, 218,  
         219  
     process of, 7, 11, 19  
     NLD and, 22, 35  
     Western governments and, 22, 28  
     second stage of, 175  
     structural violence and, 338  
     “top down” approach, 75, 215  
     transfer of leadership and, 22  
     “transition pact” and, 334  
     violence and, 333  
 refugees, 109, 306  
     India and, 96, 97  
     Thailand and, 96

Regional Assembly, Mandalay, 103  
 Regional Assembly, Yangon, 103  
 religious intolerance, 13  
     *see also* communal violence  
 research on Myanmar, 15, 16–17  
 Resource Governance Index, 167  
 responsiveness of government, 80, 88  
 returnees, *see* exiles  
 Reuters, 49  
 revenue mobilization, 162  
 Revenue Watch Institute, 167  
 rice, 84, 314  
 Rights and Democracy (Canada), 131  
     n.7  
 riot police (*Lon Htein*), 145, 207,  
     208–09, 214, 217–18  
 “Road Map” (for development  
     towards democracy), 260, 265,  
     323 n.3  
 Robinson, Gwen, 37 n.1  
 Rockefeller Foundation, 131 n.7  
 Rohingya, 70 n.7, 343 n.5, 344 n.10,  
     344 n.11  
     designation as “Bengalis”, 335,  
     336  
 Rome Statute of the International  
     Criminal Court, 292, 300 n.4  
 “rooted cosmopolitans”, 110–11, 112  
 rule of law, 5, 212, 220  
     police and, 206, 215, 218  
     Thein Sein and, 205, 219  
 Rule of Law, Peace and Stability  
     Committee, *see* Committee for  
     Rule of Law and Peace and  
     Stability  
 rules of war, 287  
 Rural Development and Poverty  
     Alleviation workshop (May  
     2011), 191  
 rural development, 5, 6, 163  
 Russia, 117

## S

“Saffron Revolution” (2007), 24, 109,  
     118, 119, 214  
     police and, 207  
 Sai Mauk Kham, Dr, selection as vice-  
     president-2, 48  
 sanctions, 26, 28, 29, 106, 115, 320  
     banks and, 189  
     “Specially Designated Nationals”  
     and, 189  
     suspension of, 4, 126–27, 162, 188  
     Ten Fraternal Parties and, 104  
 Sang Gang village, 288  
*Sangha* (Buddhist monastic order), 21  
 Sao Seng Suk, 130 n.5  
 Sao Tome and Principe  
     Extractive Industry Transparency  
     Initiative and, 196  
     Oil Revenue Law (2004), 196, 197  
 Save the Children, 89 n.1  
 Saw Kyaw Min, 148  
 Saya San rebellion, 82  
 Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, 342  
 School of Foreign Languages (India),  
     99  
 Schumpeter, Joseph, 76  
 security sector reform, 220, 222  
 security, 23, 212, 213  
 Sein Win, Dr, 16, 131 n.20  
 Sein, Zipporah, 131 n.20  
 self-determination, 286, 298  
 Selth, Andrew, 14, 334  
 Sen, Amartya, 322 n.2  
 Seng Maw Lahpai, 13, 332, 333  
 separation of powers, 51  
 “sequencing” of development, 192  
*Settlement of Labour Disputes Law*  
     (2012), 142, 321  
 sex education, 318, 319  
 sexual violence, armed forces and,  
     290

- Shan Federated States, 298
- Shan Nationalities Democratic Party, 47, 54, 61, 66, 104, 233, 254 n.4, 254 n.8
- Shan Nationalities League for Democracy, 66, 72 n.34, 344 n.12
- Shan State, 47, 286, 332
- Shwe gas field, 29, 174
- Shwe Mann, 21, 31, 45, 57, 267, 269
- Aung San Suu Kyi and, 55, 65, 66, 75
- checks and balances and, 71 n.14
- Democratic and Ethnic Alliance and, 235
- Kachin conflict and, 291
- National Defence and Security Council and, 271
- parliament and, 51, 53, 55, 274
- pay rise for civil servants and, 56
- presidency and, 32
- relations with armed forces head, 269–70
- Thein Sein and, 55, 65, 75, 274
- “triumvirate” with Aung San Suu Kyi and Thein Sein, 75
- “Signature Campaign”, 118
- Singapore, 110, 318, 320
- Small and Medium Enterprises Law, 5, 7
- small and medium-sized enterprises, 164
- social movement organizations, 112
- Social Security Act* (1954), 142
- socialism, 22, 25
- Soe Myint, 96, 97
- Soe Nandar Linn, 12, 338
- Soe Thane, 196
- Soros Foundation, 116, 127
- Soros, George, 127
- South Africa, 253 n.2
- South, Ashley, 76
- Southeast Asian Games, 167
- Soviet Union, 30
- “special agricultural development companies”, 191, 200 n.10
- Special Branch, intelligence collection, 213
- special economic zones, 6, 79
- “special funds”, 166
- “Specially Designated Nationals”, 189
- Sri Lanka, 335
- Standard Chartered Bank, 188
- State Law and Order Restoration Council, 24, 137, 138, 139, 306, 309
- State Peace and Development Council, 24, 43, 46, 77, 300 n.1, 306, 320
- dissolution of, 45, 49, 260, 264
- labour movement and, 137, 138, 139
- sanctions and, 188
- “transit regime” and, 265
- women and, 309
- state terrorism, 286, 287, 332
- state-owned economic enterprises, 168, 169, 182
- Myanmar Economic Corporation, 169
- State and Region governments and, 169, 172
- Union of Myanmar Economic Holdings, 169
- States and Regions, 46, 170, 171, 176 n.12
- armed forces and, 174–75, 268
- lack of resources, 164, 170
- state-owned economic enterprises and, 169, 172
- tax collection powers, 171
- state-society relations, 35, 287
- statistical data, collection of, 165

Stepan, Alfred, 261  
 stress, as health issue for women, 315  
 strikes (in 2012), 138, 142–43, 143ff,  
     145, 149  
 structural inequity, 306  
 structural violence, 332, 338, 339, 342  
     personal violence and, 337, 339,  
     341, 342  
     juridical instruments and, 341  
     *see also* violence  
 students  
     “2007 Generation”, 118  
     88 Generation Students group,  
     117, 121, 125, 126, 130 n.2, 141  
     labour protests and, 143, 146ff  
     civil society organizations and,  
     118  
     Rakhine State crisis inquiry  
     commission and, 336–37, 344  
     n.12  
 Su Su Nway, 138  
 Suharto, 273, 333  
*Sun*, 82  
 “Sunday White Campaign”, 118  
 Supreme Court, 266  
 Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, 267  
 Swedish Burma Committee, 131 n.7  
 Swedish International Development  
     Cooperation Agency, 116

## T

Ta Pein Chinese hydropower project,  
     288  
 Tai Yi shoe factory, 141–42, 143ff  
 Tai Yi Shoe Workers’ Association, 145  
 “talking peace and waging war”, 292  
 Tamils, attacks on, 335  
 Tanintharyi Region, SEE funding and,  
     172

Tate Naing, 131 n.20  
*Tatmadaw*, *see* armed forces  
 taxes, 184  
     reform of tax system, 161, 162,  
     167  
     tax revenue and GDP, 164, 167,  
     339  
 Tay Za, 189  
 Ten Fraternal Parties, 104, 105, 106  
     *see also* Democratic and Ethnic  
     Alliance  
 terror, 292  
     campaigns in Kachin State, 286,  
     287  
 terrorism, 286, 287, 332  
     *see also* state terrorism  
 textile industry, 320  
 Thailand, 190, 270  
     Burmese refugees and, 96, 110,  
     124  
     parallel voting system and, 237  
     pro-democracy movement and,  
     112, 130 n.1  
 Than Shwe, 25, 26, 29, 47, 80, 118,  
     264, 276  
     appointment of military  
     members of parliament, 273  
     Aung San Suu Kyi and, 27  
     SPDC dissolution and, 22, 49  
 Than Than Nu, 15, 111, 344 n.12  
 Thant Myint-U, 44  
 That Naing Oo, 150  
*thayenaye* funeral groups, 78  
 “The Burmese Way to Socialism”  
     (political tract), 201 n.19  
 “The Role of the Burmese Clergy in  
     Political Activism”, 98  
 “The System of Correlation of Man  
     and his Environment”, 201 n.19  
*The World of Burmese Women*, 309  
 Thein Htay, 271

- Thein Nyunt, 55, 60
- Thein Sein, 20, 26, 29, 30, 32, 37 n.1, 48, 49, 52, 84, 210, 249, 267, 270, 285, 295, 334
- Aung San Suu Kyi and, 28, 50, 65, 75
- budget reforms and, 165
- by-elections (2012), 233
- cabinet reshuffle (2012), 174, 268
- Constitutional Tribunal Law and, 53
- Democratic and Ethnic Alliance and, 235
- ethnic groups and, 34
- exiles and, 121
- Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative Leading Authority and, 195
- Foreign Investment Law* and, 183–84, 185
- governance and, 172–73
- In Pursuit of Peace Award and, 296
- Kachin conflict and, 289, 292
- Nobel Peace Prize and, 296, 297
- police and, 206, 207
- political prisoners and, 105
- reform and, 21, 120, 138, 159, 175, 205, 206, 219
- rule of law and, 205, 219
- Shwe Mann and, 55, 65, 274
- succession, 66
- Ten Fraternal Parties and, 106
- Than Shwe and, 22
- “transit regime” and, 264, 266
- “triumvirate” with Shwe Mann and Aung San Suu Kyi, 75
- USDP and, 47, 56
- Thein Sein government, 45, 120, 160, 268
- agriculture reform and, 191
- armed forces and, 264
- cost of living and, 314, 318
- exchange rate reform, 182
- labour protests and, 148
- land law reform and, 82
- peace-building strategy, 247
- Ten Fraternal Parties and, 105
- Thein Soe, 268
- Thet Thet, 320
- Thet Yee, 309
- Thi Thi, 317
- Thilawa special economic zone, 79
- Thu Wai, 99, 103, 106, 254 n.5
- Thurain Aung, 148
- Tilly, Charles, 332
- Time* magazine, 343 n.7
- Tin Aung Aye, 235
- Tin Aung Myint Oo, 48, 267, 271, 278 n.4
- Tin Aye, 235, 249, 268
- Tin Maung Than, 123
- Tin Tin Aye (Htoo Moq), 309
- Tom Lantos (JADE) Act*, 188
- “top down” approach to reform, 75, 215
- Tourist Police unit, 208
- township dispute committee (Hlaing Tharyar), 144
- trade, 6, 161, 163
- Trade Disputes Act* (1929), 142
- Trade Union Act* (1926), 142
- trade unions, 13, 20, 138
- trafficked persons, 306
- transaction costs, 164
- “transit regime”, 264, 277, 334
- transition to democracy, 6, 15, 219, 259, 272
- as “top-down” transition, 75, 76
- leadership of Thein Sein, 22
- “transition pact”, reform and, 334
- transnational advocacy networks, 114, 115



transnational crime, 220  
 transnational pro-democracy  
   movement, 112, 128  
 transparency, 5, 161, 167  
   armed forces expenditure and,  
     165  
   Aung San Suu Kyi and, 168–69  
   EITI and, 196  
   MOGE and, 168  
 Transportation Ministers in States  
   and Regions, 171  
 Trocaire, 131 n.7  
 trust, 6, 222  
 Tun Tun Oo, 268  
 Turnell, Sean, 14, 338, 339

## U

U Aggasara, (Burmese monk), 98  
 U Htay, 142, 148, 149, 150  
 U Kyaw Lwin, 343 n.7  
 U Myint, 123  
 U Nu, 15, 93, 94, 95, 107  
 U Thant funeral crisis, 109  
 U Wirathu, 343 n.7  
*“uma-saung-hma thila-saung-naing”*  
   (proverb), 311  
 Union and Peace Party, *see* Party for  
   Unity and Peace  
 Union Budget Law 2011–12, 166  
 Union Budget Law 2012–13, 166  
 Union Civil Services Board, 268  
 Union Democracy Party, 104, 254 n.4  
 Union Election Commission, 70 n.7,  
   100, 101, 105, 235, 243, 252, 268  
   campaign regulations, 101–02  
   disregard of election rules, 103  
   electoral reform and, 66, 235–36,  
   management of elections, 249  
   refusal to register certain ethnic  
   groups, 47

  warning on assistance to striking  
   workers, 149  
 Union of Myanmar Economic  
   Holdings, 38 n.6, 71 n.20, 169,  
   268  
 Union of Myanmar Federation of  
   Chambers of Commerce and  
   Industry, 148  
 Union of Myanmar Federation of  
   National Politics, 149  
 Union Peacemaking Working  
   Committee, 299  
 Union Solidarity and Development  
   Association, 47, 309  
 Union Solidarity and Development  
   Party, 13, 20, 32, 43, 47, 51, 55, 56,  
   57, 61–62, 65–66, 86, 149, 248  
   by-elections (2012), results, 233  
   chairmanship of, 71 n.19  
   constitutional amendment and,  
     299  
   criticism of military  
     representation, 274  
   disregard of election rules, 103  
   election (2010) results, 48, 70 n.2  
   elections (2015) and, 30, 33, 45,  
     56, 57, 229–30  
   electoral reform and, 66, 234  
   ethnic minority members of  
     parliament and, 64  
   former military personnel and,  
     211, 268–69  
   proportional representation and,  
     230–31, 243, 248  
   strike at Hi-Mo factory and, 146  
 United Kingdom, 116, 197, 220, 296  
 United Nationalities Federal Council,  
   66, 72 n.35 293, 299  
 United Nations, Myanmar Peace  
   Support Initiative and, 296  
 United Nations Children’s Fund,  
   police and, 220

United Nations Development Programme, 67, 175 n.1, 191

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 7

United Nations General Assembly, 205, 295

United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 97

United Nations Human Rights Council, 344 n.11

United Nations Industrial Development Organization, 7

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 220, 221

United Nations Population Fund, 319, 322 n.1

United Nations Security Council, 117

United Nations Special Rapporteur on human rights in Myanmar, 289, 344 n.14

United States, 3, 167, 220

Office of Foreign Assets Control, 200 n.6

sanctions and, 106, 188, 189, 320

Ten Fraternal Parties open letter to, 104

United States Agency for International Development, 116

United States Campaign for Burma, 130 n.1

United States Institute of Peace, 221

United Wa State Party, 47

Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State, 70 n.6

*Unlawful Association Act 1908*, 291

uprising (1988), 22, 24, 27, 94, 109, 111

## V

Vacant, Fallow and Virgin Lands Bill, 195

*Vacant, Fallow and Virgin Lands Management Law*, 57, 82

Vahu Development Institute, 121, 123

van Klinken, Gerry, 333, 334

Vigorous Burmese Student Warriors, armed resistance and, 113

violence, 287, 331ff, 335–36

969 movement, 336, 343 n.7

Buddhists and, 20–21, 335

media and, 336

militarization and, 307, 342

nexus between personal and structural violence, 339, 341, 342

Rakhine State and communal violence, 64, 105, 165, 215, 331, 335, 337

Rakhine State inquiry

commission, 336, 336–37, 340, 344 n.12

*see also* structural violence, personal violence, communal violence

Voice of America Burmese Service, 81, 344 n.14

“voice” of citizens, 84

voter education, 252

voting systems, 241

first-past-the-post, 230, 232, 234, 242–43, 243, 247, 248

mixed-member proportional system, 237, 240, 250

parallel system, 232, 237, 240, 243, 250, 251

proportional representation, 32, 71 n.22, 230, 235, 237, 242–43, 247, 248–49, 250

**W**

Wa armed separatist groups, 223 n.6  
 wages, 140, 321, 322  
 Wai Lwin, 271  
 Walton, Matthew J., 297  
 Wanbao company, 38 n.6, 71 n.20  
*Ward and Village-Tract Administration Law*, 54, 63  
 weakness (as issue for women), 315, 338  
*Weekly Eleven*, 83  
 Wells, Tamas, 13, 339, 341  
 Western governments, 22, 28  
 Western Union, 187  
 “White Expression Campaign”, 118  
 Wilkinson, Paul, 287  
 Win Shein, 146  
 Wings (NGO), 99  
 Winston Set Aung, 12, 123  
 women, 14, 305, 308, 309, 310, 315, 320  
     civil society networks and, 87  
     commerce and, 309  
     feminization of labour, 320  
     health issues, 313, 314–15, 318, 319, 338  
     infrastructure and, 316  
     labour rights and, 142  
     maternal health care, 319  
     Myanmar Police Force and, 208  
     poverty and, 312, 315  
     stress and, 313, 314, 338  
     structural violence and, 338  
     working conditions of, 320, 321–22  
 Women’s League of Burma, 114  
 Workers’ Association, 137  
 workers, 140, 144, 151  
 workers’ rights, *see* labour rights  
 World Bank, 167, 175 n.3, 294, 296  
     *Central Bank of Myanmar Law*  
     and, 190

## Community Driven

Development programme, 5  
 debt and, 198, 295  
 Oil Revenue Law (2004) (Sao Tome and Principe) and, 196  
 “Reengagement and Reform Support Credit to Myanmar”, 198

World Economic Forum (2013), 12  
 World Food Programme, 312  
 World Health Organization, 315

**X**

*Xinhua*, 253 n.3

**Y**

Yangon International Airport, 106  
 Yangon Port, 168  
 Yangon Region, 172  
 Ye Aung, 269  
 Ye Myint, 269  
 Ye Tun, 61, 62  
 Yin Yin Nwei, 344 n.14  
 YouTube, 344 n.7

**Z**

Zarganar, 344 n.12  
 Zarni, Dr, 112  
 Zaw Min, 268  
 Zaw Oo, 123  
 Zaw Win, 271  
 Zaw Zaw, 189, 200 n.10  
 Zaykabar company, 83  
 Zipporah Sein, 131 n.20  
 Zizek, Slavoj, 291, 292