

DISSERTATIONS

Civil-Military Relations in Ne Win's Burma, 1962-1988

(*Ne Win Taisei-Ki Biruma ni Okeru Sei-Gun Kankei (1962-1988)*)

ネー・ウィン体制期ビルマにおける政軍関係 (1962－1988)

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This dissertation aims to describe the transformation of civil-military relations from 1962 to 1988 in Burma, focusing on Gen. Ne Win's leadership and the bureaucratic development of the military (*tatmadaw*). The author argues that wide-ranging distribution of state posts to the relatively small-sized officer corps is the most important factor for the military regime durability in Burma. It enabled Ne Win to maintain his power for 26 years and *tatmadaw* to exercise powerful influence on other political actors. In order to demonstrate this point, the author examines how the formal and informal networks of the officer corps expanded to other state organizations under Ne Win's project of party-state building. The author's argument is largely based on primary sources of the archives in Burma and interviews with former military and party officers.

The study consists of four main parts. The first part deals with the state ideology formation. Previous studies have analyzed the state ideology of Ne Win regime from the perspective of Burma nationalism. The author reexamines the conventional views by focusing on the interaction between the personal history of U Chit Hlaing, the drafter of the ideology, and the military politics in the 1950s. It demonstrates that some anti-communistic and pro-constitutional propaganda articles became the state ideology after the coup d'état on March 2nd 1962, which denied the 1947 Constitution and legitimated the political intervention by *tatmadaw*. The second part is an analysis of the relationship between the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) and *tatmadaw*. Based on detailed empirical investigations into personnel

management of BSPP, the author traces the process that Ne Win attempted to build a party-state since 1962 and finally failed in 1977. It concludes that Ne Win's state reformation resulted in a party-state *manqué* (=failed). The third part looks into the impact of party-state building on the civil bureaucracy. It shows that the administrative reformation in the middle of the 1970s created the basic patterns of the transfer of the military officers to the central and local administrative organizations. The author explains the weakness of bureaucrats or technocrats in Ne Win's Burma compared with the contemporary military regimes in Thailand and Indonesia. The fourth part provides an explanation to Ne Win's leadership and *tatmadaw* transformation. It challenges the monolithic image of Ne Win–*tatmadaw* relations, and shows the detailed process of development of *tatmadaw*. The author argues that the control of *tatmadaw* was essential to Ne Win's power maintenance and the limitation of his control over *tatmadaw* led to the coup d'état on September 18th 1988.

The thesis concludes that Ne Win's leadership was characterized by the dilemmas between his strong intention for the political "revolution" (*tobhlanyei*) and his weak power base in other organizations except *tatmadaw*. His strong intention enabled him to embark on building a party-state. However, his project was not completed as a result of his weak power base. This attempt and failure of party-state building hindered civilian institutions from developing on one hand, and on the other hand it institutionalized *tatmadaw* intervention into every field of the government. Consequently, *tatmadaw* became the powerful political actor in Burma and created the basic mechanism for the interest coordination in accordance with the military hierarchy.

Burmese Buddhist Imagery of the Early Bagan Period (1044-1113)

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Buddhism is an integral part of Burmese culture. While Buddhism has been practiced in Burma for around 1500 years and evidence of the

religion is found throughout the country, nothing surpasses the concentration of Buddhist monuments found at Bagan. Bagan represents not only the beginnings of a unified Burmese country, but also symbolises Burmese 'ownership' of Theravada Buddhism. While there is an abundance of artistic material throughout Burma, the study of Burmese Buddhist art by western scholars remains in its infancy due to historical events. In recent years, opportunities for further research have increased, and Bagan, as the region of Buddhism's principal flowering in Burma, is the starting point for the study of Burmese Buddhist art. To date, there has been no systematic review of the stylistic or iconographic characteristics of the Buddhist images of this period. This thesis proposes, for the first time, a chronological framework for sculptural depictions of the Buddha, and identifies the characteristics of Buddha images for each identified phase. The framework and features identified should provide a valuable resource for the dating of future discoveries of Buddhist sculpture at Bagan. As epigraphic material from this period is very scant, the reconstruction of Bagan's history has relied heavily to this point in time on non-contemporaneous accounts from Burma, and foreign chronicles. The usefulness of Bagan's visual material in broadening our understanding of the early Bagan period has been largely overlooked. This is addressed by relating the identified stylistic trends with purported historical events and it is demonstrated that, in the absence of other contemporaneous material, visual imagery is a valid and valuable resource for both supporting and refuting historical events. ¶ Buddhist imagery of Bagan widely regarded to represent the beginnings of 'pure' Theravada practice that King Anawrahta, the first Burman ruler, actively encouraged. This simplistic view has limited the potential of the imagery to provide a greater understanding of Buddhist practice at Bagan, and subsequently, the cross-cultural interactions that may have been occurring. In this light the narrative sculptural imagery of the period is interrogated against the principal Mahayana and Theravada texts relating to the life of Gotama Buddha. This review, along with the discussion regarding potential agencies for stylistic change, reveals that during the early Bagan period, Buddhism was an eclectic mix of both Theravada and Mahayana, which integrated with pre-existing spiritual traditions. Towards the end of the early Bagan period, trends were emerging which would lead to a distinctly Burmese form of Buddhist practice and visual expression.

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