

## **ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS**

# **The Development of Myanmar Naing-ngan-taw Warda(s): Political Socialization, the Structure of Civil-Military Relations, and the Role of the Tatmadaw since the Second World War**

**By**

**Ye Phone Kyaw**

**Ph.D. in International Relations**

**International University of Japan, 2020**

**Professor Maung Aung Myoe, Supervisor**

The dissertation examines the development of Myanmar Naing-ngan-taw Warda, its political socialization, the relations to the structure of civil-military, and the role of the Tatmadaw. Naing-ngan-taw Warda means an all-embracing political ideology, doctrine, or political belief system that is used to legitimize a state or a political system by encompassing the political, socioeconomic, and security environment to build a nation-state. The central argument is that Myanmar has had four dominant stages in the development of Naing-ngan-taw Warda, while the fifth is ongoing. The first stage, “Freedom at All Costs,” occurred during colonialism. After Independence, the second phase was characterized by the belief in a politico-economic system based on the principles of justice, liberty, and equality, the essence of which is captured in the term “Democratic Socialism.” Declared in 1962, “the Burmese Way to Socialism” was the third stage. The fourth, “Our Three National Causes,” developed during the State Law

and Order Restoration Council. These developmental stages of Naing-ngan-taw Warda(s) also shaped and constructed the structures of Myanmar civil-military relations. Following these developmental stages, Myanmar experienced only the subjective types of civilian control, and the Tatmadaw promulgated “collective democratic control” in the 2008 constitution, guaranteed the Tatmadaw’s leading role in national politics to establish a disciplined democracy. The fifth stage, “Federalism based on Our Three National Causes and Democratic Principles,” is an ongoing process of national reconciliation or peace led by State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi’s government, an effort that started in 2011 under President Thein Sein’s government. In this process, the fourth stage of Naing-ngan-taw Warda, “Our Three National Causes,” is still vital to upholding the principles for a future Democratic Federal Union and the structure of civil-military relations. In each of these developmental contexts, the Tatmadaw has been central in the formulation (in some stages), implementation, and socialization process of these ideologies and the structure of civil-military relations. The dissertation contributes a new concept, Naing-ngan-taw Warda, to Political Science, International Relations, and Sociology. It also provides a new model of civil-military relations that is suitable for a transitional or hybrid-regime to Military Sociology, by following the analysis on Myanmar’s case, and a new research, findings, and perceptive of Myanmar modern history and politics related to the scope of my study.