

## CURRICULUM VITAE of Maung Zarni

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Email: [fanon2005@gmail.com](mailto:fanon2005@gmail.com) ; Blog: [www.maungzarni.net](http://www.maungzarni.net)
- Present Position: Founding General Secretary, Forces of Renewal Southeast Asia ([www.forsea.co](http://www.forsea.co)), A network of engaged scholars promoting dialogue and supporting democratic struggles across Asia
- Previous Positions: **Visiting Lecturer in Racism & Violence (in collaboration with Professor Amartya Sen)**, *Harvard Medical School, USA (2014-15)*
- Visiting Senior Research Fellow**, Center for Democracy and Election, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (2013-15)
- Associate Professor of Asian Studies**, University Brunei Darussalam (2012) (*Resigned over censorship. See <https://www.mmtimes.com/national-news/3743-outspoken-professor-resigns-over-brunei-university-censorship.html> )*
- Research Fellow** (2009-2011) Civil Society and Human Security Research Unit, Department of International Development, London School of Economics, UK
- Visiting Research Fellow**, Department of International Development, University of Oxford (2006-09)
- Visiting Research Fellow, Institute of Education, University of London (2005)**
- Assistant Professor of Teacher Education (tenure track)**, National Louis-U., Chicago, 2000-01 (Left the academy to set up Burma Education and Community Development Initiative in Berkeley)

## RESEARCH INTERESTS

Racism & Violence; Human Rights, Democracy & Inclusion; Education & Activism

## EDUCATION

- 1998 **PhD, University of Wisconsin at Madison, USA**  
Thesis entitled "Knowledge, Control and Power: The Politics of Education in Burma under Military Rule, 1962-88"  
Advisors: Michael W. Apple, the late Robert L. Koehl & Thomas Popkewitz  
Major: Curriculum and Instruction, with Distributed Minor in Social Sciences, (*program consistently ranked #1 in USA*)

- 1991 **MA, University of California at Davis, USA**  
Thesis entitled "Content of Elementary Science Textbooks: A Comparative Study"
- 1984 **BSc, University of Mandalay, Burma**  
Major: Chemistry; Minor: Physics

## SPECIAL TRAINING

- 2004 Political Negotiations, United States Institute of Peace
- 2003 Georgetown Leadership Seminar, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University
- 2001 & 2002 The Rockefeller Next Generation Leadership Fellows Program
- 1996, 98, & 2005 Numerous training on Media and Communications (San Francisco, New York, Washington, & London)

## Activism

- 2020 Co-producer, **Auschwitz: Lessons Never Learned** (54-min documentary) <https://vimeo.com/469954700>
- 2020 Founding Host, Free Rohingya Coalition Genocide Podcast Series
- 2020 Founding Host, FORSEA Dialogue on Democratic Struggles Across Asia
- 2018 Co-founder, the Free Rohingya Coalition, an umbrella group of international supporters and Rohingya refugees
- 2018 Co-founder and General Secretary, Forces of Renewal Southeast Asia, a cross-border network of scholar activists promoting democratic struggles and dialogue
- 1995-2004 Co-founder and Coordinator, the Free Burma Coalition, a pioneering global campaign that instrumentalized the emerging Information Technology for social justice and human rights

## AWARDS, HONOURS AND LEADERSHIP FELLOWSHIPS

- Jan 2021 Named "Top Ten Impact Activists" of the decade (2010-2020) by the UK-based Impact Hallmarks Gazette  
<https://impachallmarks.org/>
- 2018 **Finalist**, Sweden's Right Livelihood Award
- 2015 **Winner**, "Cultivation of Harmony" bi-annual award, The Parliament of the World's Religions, the world's oldest Interfaith organization  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fQvrtXngea4>

2016 – present	<b>Non-Resident Fellow</b> , (Genocide) Documentation Center – Cambodia
2018 – present	<b>Member</b> , Board of Advisers, the Genocide Watch, USA
2016-present	<b>Member</b> , Board of Advisers, European Centre for the Study of Extremism, Cambridge, UK
2016	<b>Guest Lecturer</b> , The Annual Owen M. Kupferschmid Memorial Lecture, Holocaust and Human Rights Project, Boston College School of Law, 13 Apr.  <a href="http://lawmagazine.bc.edu/2015/04/scholar-maung-zarni-defines-genocide-in-hhrp-lecture/">http://lawmagazine.bc.edu/2015/04/scholar-maung-zarni-defines-genocide-in-hhrp-lecture/</a>
2013	<b>Member</b> , Panel of Jury, the Permanent People's Tribunal on Sri Lanka, Bremen, Germany, Dec.
2011	<b>“Top 5” Blogger/Social Networker</b> , featured in Southeast Asia Globe magazine with circulation in Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Burma, February 2011 issue.
2004	<b>Member</b> , Georgetown Leadership Seminar, Georgetown University, USA (The leadership program is based on international nominations. Its past distinguished alumni include European Commission President José Manuel Barroso and former US Joints Chief of Staff General Peter Pace)
2001-03	<b>Fellow</b> , Next Generation Leadership, Rockefeller Foundation, USA
1997	<b>Nominee</b> (by the Progressive magazine) for the Mario Savio Memorial Award for Human Rights, Berkeley, California
1996	<b>USA Today’s</b> front-page profile as a pioneering cyber-organizer
1995	<b>Recipient</b> , Open Society Institute Supplementary Scholarship Grant
1989-91	<b>Non-resident Tuition Fellow</b> , Graduate Division, U. of California - Davis

## POSITIONS IN ACTIVISM, NON-PROFIT AND CONSULTING (VOLUNTARY AND PAID)

1989-present	<b>Speaker</b> on human rights, minority rights, genocides, activism
2006-present	<b>Commentator</b> (on democratization and minority persecution on virtually all major networks including BBC, Sky, Channel Four, CNN, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, France 24, ASEAN TV, Al Jazeera English and Arabic Programmes, Bloomberg, as well as regional networks in Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore.

- 2013-2013 **Founder-Educator**, The Open Society Foundations-funded Multiculturalist Education Program, a civil society initiative which brought quarterly batches of Buddhist monks, Muslim activists, Christian Clergymen and Ethnic Minority Youth from Burma to Thailand and Cambodia where they engaged in dialogue and receive sensitivity training on racism, religious violence, international law, and multiculturalist movement building.
- 2016-present **Member**, Advisory Board, European Center for the Study of Extremism, Cambridge, UK
- 2005-2009 **Country Advisor** (on civil society development in Burma)  
The Heinrich Boell Foundation, South East Asia and Thailand Office, Chiang Mai, Thailand
- 2001-2005 **Founding Executive-Director**, Inst. for Community and Institutional Development - Burma, a consortium of scholarship programs designed for Burmese dissidents & political refugees, Berkeley, California
- 1995-2003 **Founder & Director**, Free Burma Coalition, one of the then pioneering human rights campaigns on the Internet devoted to Burma's pro-democracy opposition movement nominated for the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Award for Human Rights by the then President of the Open Society Institute Aryeh Neier

## CONFERENCES CO-ORGANIZED AND/OR ORGANIZED

- 2019 **Co-organizer**, International Conference on Protection of Rohingya Survivors and Accountability for Genocide: Rape as a Weapon of Wars and Genocides, Past and Present in Asia, Sogang University, Seoul, S. Korea, 23-24 August 2019
- 2019 **Co-Organizer**, The International Conference on Protection and Accountability in Burma, Barnard College and Columbia University, 8 February 2018 (With Professor Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in the chair).
- 2018 **Co-Organizer**, The Conference on Myanmar Genocide, National Assembly of France, Paris, 1 June 2018 (keynote address by Shirin Ebadi, the Iranian Nobel Peace Laureate)
- 2018 **Co-Organizer**, Berlin Conference on Myanmar Genocide, The Jewish Museum of Berlin, 26 February 2018
- 2017 **Co-Organizer**, Permanent People's Tribunal on Myanmar's State Crimes against Rohingyas and Other Ethnic Minorities (Queen Mary University of London and Law Faculty, University of Malaya, KL)
- 2016 **Organizer & Chair**, Oxford Conference on Myanmar Democratic Transition and Rohingya Persecution, U. of Oxford, 27 May 2016

- 2015 **Organizer & Co-Chair**, Oslo Conference to End Myanmar's Persecution of the Rohingya, The Norwegian Nobel Institute, 26 June 2015
- 2014 **Co-Organizer** (with Professor Amartya Sen in the Chair), The Plight of the Rohingya, Harvard Global Equality Initiative Conference, Harvard University, 3 November 2014
- 2013 **Organizer and Chair**, London Conference on Myanmar's Destruction of the Rohingya, LSE, 28 April 2013
- 2012 **Co-Organizer and Panellist**, LSE Rule of Law Roundtable with Aung San Suu Kyi, Sir Geoffrey Nice, Professors Christine Chinkin, Mary Kaldor and Nicola Lacey, (with Professor Mary Kaldor in the chair) 19 June 2012  
<http://www.securityintransition.org/events/the-rule-of-law-panel-discussion-with-aung-san-suu-kyi/>
- 2010 **Organizer and Panellist**, Aljazeera-LSE Joint Televised Dialogue LIVE with Aung San Suu Kyi, Amarty Sen, Mary Kaldor and Timothy Gatten Ash, LSE, London, 14 December 2010  
<http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/general/2010/12/2010122115315511156.html>
- 2004-07 **Initiator-Facilitator**, a pioneering Track II negotiation between the Burmese junta & international organizations, including ILO
- 2000 **Co-organizer**, The Free Burma Coalition International Conference, George Washington University, Washington DC
- 1997 **Co-organizer**, the Free Burma Coalition International Conference, UCLA, Los Angeles
- 1996 **Co-organizer**, The Free Burma Coalition Annual Conference, American University, Washington, DC

## SELECT PUBLICATIONS

### Books

\_\_\_\_\_. 2019 *Myanmar's "Enemy of the State" Speaks: Irreverent Essays & Interviews*, Strategic Information and Research Development Center, Kuala Lumpur (Southeast Asia's most progressive publisher).

\_\_\_\_\_. 2019 (with Natalie Brinham) *Essays on Myanmar's Genocide of Rohingyas (2012-2018)*, Refugees and Migratory Movement Research Unit, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

\_\_\_\_\_. (ed.) (2006) *Active Citizens Under Political Wraps: Experiences from Myanmar/Burma and Vietnam*. Berlin: Heinrich Boell Foundation

\_\_\_\_\_(1997) *The Free Burma Coalition Manual: How You Can Help Burma's Struggle for Freedom*. Madison, Wisconsin: The Free Burma Coalition. (with support from the Open Society Institute, Soros Foundation)

\_\_\_\_\_(2010) *A Critical History of Burma*, Yale University Press, London and New Haven (Commissioned Book Project – **NOT completed**)

### **Commissioned/Peer-reviewed Journal Articles**

"Reworking the Colonial Era Peril: Myanmar's State-Directed Persecution of Rohingyas and Other Muslims" (with Natalie Brinham), *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Fall/Winter 2017, V. 24, Issue 1, pp.53-76

<http://bjwa.brown.edu/24-1/reworking-the-colonial-era-indian-peril-myanmars-state-directed-persecution-of-rohingyas-and-other-muslims1/>

"The Slow Burning Genocide of Myanmar's Rohingya," *Pacific Rim Law and Policy Journal*, V. 23, No. 3, Spring 2014, pp. 683-754.

(This is the first-ever academic study of the persecution of Rohingyas using the genocide framework based on 3-years research and co-authored with colleague and wife Natalie Brinham).

<http://digital.law.washington.edu/dspace-law/handle/1773.1/1377>

"Reforms in Burma: An International Political Economy Perspective", *Kyoto Review*, Spring, 2013

"Reforms in Myanmar: Hype and Realities", Commentary, *Asian Journal of Public Affairs*, Vol. 5 No. 2, February 2013.

[http://issuu.com/nuskyschool/docs/ajpa\\_issue\\_10\\_final\\_/1](http://issuu.com/nuskyschool/docs/ajpa_issue_10_final_/1)

### **Op-Eds (select)**

"The Myanmar military is destroying its public image.", *The Washington Post*, 26 March 2021

"Why Myanmar's genocide denial will come back to haunt it", *The Washington Post*, 20 15 January 2020

"Why Aung San Suu Kyi's 'Mandela moment' is a victory for Myanmar's generals", *The Guardian*, 9 November 2015

"Myanmar Peace for Ethnic Rights," *International New York Times*, 25 September 2015

"Myanmar's Drive for Peace," *International New York Times*, 3 November 2013

"Loving Kindness Will Beat the Generals." *The Times*, 29 September 2007

### **Book Reviews**

\_\_\_\_\_ (September 2007) Review of *Perfect Hostage: A Life of Aung San Suu Kyi* by Justin Wintle, Hutchinson, 2007, *International Affairs*, Chatham House, pp.1003-4.

\_\_\_\_\_ (June 10, 2005) "Savvy Salt of the Earth, Not Cowed" (Review of *Karaoke Fascism: Burma and the Politics of Fear* by Monique Skidmore, U Penn Press, 2004 and *Behind the Teak Curtain: Authoritarianism, Agricultural Policies and Political Legitimacy in Rural Burma/Myanmar* by Ardeth Maung Thawngmung, Kegan Paul, 2004), *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, p. 29.

### **Book Chapters**

\_\_\_\_\_ (2020) "State and Hate in Myanmar: One Lone Educator's Resistance through Public Pedagogy", in Rita Verma and Michael W. Apple (eds.), *Disrupting Hate in Education*, Routledge, New York.

\_\_\_\_\_ (2015) "Burma's Struggle for Democracy: A Critical Appraisal", in Alex de Waal (ed.) *Advocacy in Conflict: Critical Perspectives on Transnational Activism*, Zed Books. London.

\_\_\_\_\_ (2013) "Violence in the Name of Buddhism: How the marriage of Burma's Popular Islamophobia and the neo-Fascist State led to the Rohingya Genocide", in Darwis Kudori (ed.), *RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY IN A GLOBAL SOCIETY: Discourses and Realities in Africa and Asia. With a Comparative View from Europe. 55 Years after the Bandung Asian-African Conference 1955*, Bandung Spirit Book Series, 5 Co-publishers in Asia, Africa and Europe.

\_\_\_\_\_ (2011) "Orientalization and Manufacturing of 'Civil Society' in Contemporary Burma," in Zawawi Ibrahim (Ed.) *Social science and knowledge in a globalising world*. pp.287-310. Kajang: Malaysian Social Science Association and Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.

\_\_\_\_\_ (2011) "The Bottom-up Pursuit of Justice: The Case of Two Burmas," in Martin Albrow and Hakan Seckinelgin (Eds.) *Global Civil Society 2011: Globality and the Absence of Justice*. pp. 206-220. Basingstoke, Oxfordshire: Palgrave-Macmillan.

\_\_\_\_\_ (2010) "An Inside View of Reconciliation: Burma/Myanmar," in Lex Rieffel (ed.), *Burma/Myanmar: Outside Interests and Inside Challenges*. pp. 52-76. Washington, DC.: The Brookings Institution.

\_\_\_\_\_ (2007) "Confronting Burma/Myanmar's Security Dilemma: An Integrated Approach to National and Human Security Issues," in Helen James (ed.) *Civil Society, Religion and Global Governance*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

\_\_\_\_\_ (2000) "Resistance and Cyber-communities: The Internet and Free Burma Movement," in Ann DeVaney et al. (Ed.) *Technology and Resistance: Digital Communications and New Coalitions around the World*. pp. 71-88. New York: Peter Lang.

Ni, Zar and Apple, Michael W. (2000) "Conquering Goliath: The Free Burma Coalition Takes Down PepsiCo," in Geoff White and Flannery C. Hauck (eds.) *CAMPUS, INC.: Corporate Power in the Ivory Tower*. pp.280-290. New York: Prometheus Books.

\_\_\_\_\_ (1995) "Burmese Culture," in Nicholas Greenwood (Ed.) *Burma: Then and Now*. , pp. 59-67. London: Bradt.

\_\_\_\_\_ (1993) "Inequality and Education in Burma: An Interdisciplinary Perspective," in Bruce Matthews (ed.) *Political Economy, Culture and Religion in Burma*. Research Monograph 3. Vancouver, BC: The University of British Columbia Institute of Asian Research.

### **Commissioned and/or Invited Editorials and Essays and Reports**

"What drives Burma's 'sectarian violence' between Buddhists and Muslims: A Grounded Assessment", *Panorama: Insights into Asian and European Affairs*, a bi-annual journal of Konrad Adenaur Stiftung Singapore, 2013

"Burma/Myanmar: Its Conflicts, Western Advocacy, and Country Impact", *Reinventing Peace*, World Peace Foundation, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, March 2013.

"Buddhist Nationalism in Burma", (Featured essay), *Tricycle*, Spring 2013.  
<https://tricycle.org/magazine/buddhist-nationalism-burma/>

"What has gone wrong with the Norwegian Peace Initiative in Myanmar and How It May be Fixed", Commissioned Policy Brief, NOREF, Norwegian Foreign Ministry Think Tank, Oslo, Jan 2013

"Growing up a Proud Racist in Burma", *E-International Relations*, 12 Sept 2012  
<http://www.e-ir.info/2012/09/12/growing-up-a-proud-racist-in-burma/>

"Review of the Country of Origin Information Report", Commissioned Report, *Independent Advisory Group on Country of Origin*, British Home Office, London, UK, June 2011

"The Academic Perspective: Resolving tensions between detached and engaged research", *LSE Research Magazine*, Spring 2011 at

[http://www2.lse.ac.uk/researchAndExpertise/LSEResearchMagazine/RM\\_3.aspx](http://www2.lse.ac.uk/researchAndExpertise/LSEResearchMagazine/RM_3.aspx)

"Elections in Burma," Commentary, *The World Today*, Chatham House, Jul 2009

<http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/publications/twt/current/>

### **NGO Reports**

\_\_\_\_\_ (principal author)(October 2004) "Common Problems, Shared Responsibilities: Citizens' Quest for Reconciliation in Burma/Myanmar," A Free Burma Coalition Report.

## **SELECT LECTURES, TALKS & CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

Concluding Panel Speaker, "If this is a man – exclusions in the modern world", Auschwitz Bi-Annual International Educational Conference "If this is a man – exclusions in the modern world", Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, Poland, 7-8 July 2021

"Assessment of ASEAN's Approach to Myanmar's Persecution of Rohingya", Indonesian National Defence University Seminar entitled "Constructive Indonesia's Conflict Resolution in Accordance with Myanmar's Cases: Human Rights and Political Approach", Bogor, Indonesia, 23 June 2021.

"Coups and Protests in Myanmar", Global China Centre, Hong Kong Science and Technology University, and Society for Hong Kong Studies, Hong Kong, 24 May 2021

"Human Rights and Peace for Myanmar", Yonsei University, Seoul, S. Korea (keynoted by Ban Ki-Moon), 10 May 2021

"Myanmar Coup and Rohingya Genocide", 3rd International Conference on Islamophobia, Centre for Islam and Global Affairs, Istanbul Zaim University, Turkey, 29 March 2021

<https://www.izu.edu.tr/en/ciga/ciga-conference>

"Myanmar Genocide, Military Coup and the Civil Disobedience Movement", Virtual MA in International Relations Seminar on Political Power Beyond State Boundaries: Migration, Development and Human Rights, the University of Bologna, Bologna, Italy, 24 March 2021

"Why is Myanmar Committing the Slow Genocide Against Rohingya People?", Genocide Memorial Event, Islamic Human Rights Commission, UK, 17 January 2021

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VupNV-N3vGI>

"Persecution and Dehumanization of Rohingyas," The Law, Development and Conflict Research Group, The University of Westminster Law Faculty and SOAS South Asia Institute, London, 20 February 2020.

"Why is Japan Silent on Rohingyas?", The Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan, Tokyo, 25 October 2018

<https://www.fccj.or.jp/event/press-conference-why-japan-silent-rohingya-maung-zarni>

"Myanmar Genocide and International Law", International Relations Program, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan, 24 October 2018

"Myanmar Genocide Explained", International Politics Program, Gakushuin University (Imperial College), Tokyo, 25 October 2018

"Critique of Japan's Economic Development-focused Myanmar Policy", National Press Club of Japan, Tokyo, 24 October 2018

<https://www.transcend.org/tms/2018/11/why-do-myanmar-public-hate-rohingya-so-much/>

"Myanmar's Genocide of Rohingyas: Why do Buddhists kill?", Conference on Myanmar Genocide, The Diet (National Parliament) Tokyo, Japan, 24 October 2018

"From "Myanmar Spring" to Myanmar's "Buddhist" genocide: The Persecution of Rohingya as an ethnic Minority", Council of World Mission Conference on "Resisting Empire And Militarization: Reasserting The Sacredness Of Seas, Lands And Lives", Seoul, Republic of Korea, 20 - 22 October 2018

"Islamophobia and Genocide: The Tragic Case of Myanmar's Rohingyas", The International Conference on Islamophobia, Center for Islam and Global Affairs, İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim Üniversitesi, 6-8 April 2018

"Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia : what role can international mobilization play ?", The French Institute of Strategic and International Affairs, Paris, France, 19 March 2018

"Genocide: What we let it happen", Genocide Panel, The Oxford Union, Oxford, UK, 29 January 2018

<https://www.oxford-union.org/node/1630> &  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nNkeF0zJQB4>

Speaker, International Conference on Ending The Solow Burning of Rohingyas By Myanmar, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, 29-30 November 2017

Crisis in Myanmar, Rohingya in Peril, Toronto City Council, Canada, 23 November 2017

<https://www.kristynwongtam.ca/rohingya-in-peril-conversation-with-dr-maung-zarni>

'Ethnic cleansing' against Rohingya in Myanmar should be classified genocide", Montreal Institute of Genocide Studies (MIGS), Montreal Canada, 22 November 2017

<https://globalnews.ca/news/3872674/ethnic-cleansing-against-rohingya-in-myanmar-should-be-classified-genocide-scholar/>

"Justice for Rohingyas: A Conversation between Professor Gayatri Spivak and Maung Zarni," Columbia University, New York, USA, 17 November 2017

"Myanmar's Unfolding Genocide under Aung San Suu Kyi's Watch: The Rohingya and Human Rights", Glasgow Human Rights Network, the University of Glasgow, 5 December 2016.

"Saddling South Asia and South East Asia: Burma/Myanmar & Her Concentric Fictions", Conference entitled "WHAT IS SOUTH ASIA? LOCATING THE REGION IN SOCIAL SCIENCES", South Asia Research Cluster, Wolfson College, Oxford, 24 May 2016

"Assessing Myanmar's Democratic Change against Rohingya Persecution", Workshop on *The Role of External Actors in South Asian Political Change; Dilemmas of Interests Versus Values*, hosted by the Rising Democracies Network of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and India's Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, 15 February 2016.

"Myanmar's Genocide of the Rohingya", Special Session, Bandung +60 Asia-Africa Academic Conference, Bandung, Indonesia, 30 October 2015

"The Role of Religious Leaders in Preventing Genocides and Atrocity Crimes," A Plenary, The Bi-Annual Conference of the Parliament of the World's Religions, Salt Lake City, Utah, United States of America, 17 Oct 2015

"Should We Give Up Ending Wars? A Blueprint for Ending Wars." A Plenary, The Bi-Annual Conference of the Parliament of the World's Religions, Salt Lake City, Utah, United States of America, 16 Oct 2015.

"What happened to the peace and democratization process in Burma?" Special Event, The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden, 10 February 2015

"Anti-Muslim Violence in the Name of Buddhism", 55<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Bandung Spirit Book Launch, Ateneo de Davao University, Davao City, Davao del Sur, Mindanao, 19 June 2013

(Participant), *Buddhist-Muslim Dialogue*, International Network of Engaged Buddhists, Bangkok, 17 June 2013

"Mass Violence against Burma's Rohingya: A genocide that the West doesn't want you to call a genocide", Plenary Speaker, *A Burma Genocide Awareness Convention*, Los Angeles, California, 9 June 2013

"Ethnocide and Genocide of the Rohingya in Burma", Faculty of Social Sciences Public Lecture, History Department, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 17 May 2013

"Violence in the Name of Buddhism in Burma", the inaugural webcast public panel discussions, Foreign Correspondents Club of Thailand, Bangkok, with Ajan Sulak Sivaraksa and Myo Win, 9 May 2013

"Understanding democratic transition: A Critical View", Invited Lecture, Forum for Asian Studies, Department of Political Science, the University of Stockholm, Sweden, 3 May 2013

"Burma: A Case Study", Seminar on Western Advocacy in Conflict: Methods, Impacts and Ethics, World Peace Foundation, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 28 February – 1 March 2013

"Burma's Reforms: Hype and Realities", General Conference of the World League for Democracy, Taipei, Republic of China (Taiwan), 22-23 January 2013

"The Plight of the Rohingya: Half Century of Human *In*-Securities," the 10<sup>th</sup> Inter-ASEAN Universities Conference, National University of Singapore and University of Brunei, Brunei, 10-12 December 2012

"The Plight of the Rohingya", International Conference on the Plight of the Rohingya, Perdana Global Peace Foundation, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 17 September 2012

"Burma's Democratic Transition and Minorities", Institute of Human Rights, Columbia University, New York, USA, 14 September 2012 (Keynote by Professor Amartya Sen)

"A Critical Perspective on Policy and Public Communication," the II Communications Policy World Summit, Quito, Ecuador, 13-15 April 2011

"Burma's Military-led 'Democratic' Transition to a Twilight Zone," Conference on Democratization in Burma (Myanmar) and Implications for the World Today, Zakir Husain College, University of Delhi, India, 3-4 March 2011

"At the Crossroads", LSE-Al Jazeera English Live Dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK, 14 Dec 2010 (for the edited 24-minutes program broadcast on Al Jazeera English click on

<http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/general/2010/12/2010122115315511156.html> ).

(with Robert E. Kelley, former IAEA WMD Inspector), "Burma's Nuclear Ambition and its Implications in the ASEAN Context", 6th International Senior Diplomatic Training Course, KEMLU (Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Jakarta, 27 October 2010

(with Robert E. Kelley, Former IAEA WMD Inspector), "Burma's March towards Nuclear Power: How Far from Reality?" Foreign Correspondents Club of Thailand, Bangkok, 26 October 2010

"Democratic Transition in Myanmar/Burma: Prospects and Problems," Law Faculty, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 20 October 2010

"Burma and the General's Election: Will it Improve Human Rights and Economic Development?", Burma Refugee Organization, Amnesty International Malaysia, Strategic Information and Research Development Centre (SIRD), and Malaysiakini, Kuala Lumpur, 19 October 2010

"Burma's Transition to Twilight Zone," Forum on Transitions in South East Asia, Institute of Security and International Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 5 October 2010

"Human Insecurity: Inter-state Migrants and Refugees from Burma," Symposium on South East Asian Security (SSEAS):Non-Traditional Security Issues (NTS), US State Department and Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 12-14 September 2010

"Rural-Urban Tensions, Violence & Conflict Transformation: Thailand in Global Comparative Perspective." Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 26-27 August 2010

"Burma/Myanmar's Nuclear Question and Election Dynamics: Implications for ASEAN and Beyond", Burma Update Series, Institute of Security and International Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 28 July 2010

"Regressive Globalization: The Case of Burma," LSE Summer Course on Civil Society and Globalization, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, 7 July 2010

"Shifting Grounds in Burma/Myanmar? Dilemmas & Opportunities for the International Community," Clingendael Asia Studies, the Clingendael Institute of International Affairs, The Hague, The Netherlands, 17 June 2010

"The post-'election' Future of Burma," The George Orwell Prize Burma Forum, The Sunday Times Oxford Literary Festival, Oxford, UK, 26 March 2010

"Burma's 2010 Elections: Domestic and International Implications," Chatham House and All-Chatham House and the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Human Rights Group (PHRG), UK House of Commons, London, 23 March 2010

"Myanmar/Burma -Domestic Developments and International Responses," Institute of Security and International Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 22 March 2010

"*Framing the Burma Problem*," MSc International Relations Course, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, 2 March 2010

"2010 Elections and Prospects for Democratic Change in Burma," Burma Forum, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 24 February 2010

"Delivering Justice: Bottom-Up Approaches," International Workshop on Global Civil Society and Justice, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand, 7-9 January 2010

"Myanmar/Burma: Outside Interests, Inside Challenges," Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC, 30 October 2009

"A New Engagement Approach to Burma: Scrutinizing the US Policy Shift and its Implications to the EU," A Seminar, Swedish Riksdagen (Parliament), Stockholm, Sweden, 26 October 2009

(discussant) "BURMA: The Long Shadow of the Military Junta, Tan Sri Razali Ismail," LSE IDEAS Southeast Asia International Programme lecture, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK, 6 October 2009

"Burmese in Europe: Promoting Partnership for Transition in Burma," Burma Center Prague, Prague, Czech Republic, 15-16 September 2009

(with Professor Anthony Giddens in the chair), "Opening Up Illiberal Regimes: Do Media and Communications Matter?," Center for the Study of Global Governance, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), London, UK, 19 May 2009

"Scholarship, Leadership and Activism: A Burmese Experience," Oxford University PPE Society, The Oxford Union, Oxford, UK, 26 January 2009

Seminar on Natural Resources in Conflict and the Role of the United Nations, Heinrich Boell Foundation and Global Witness, New York, USA, 18-20 February 2008

"Company Responsibilities in Countries with Human Rights Challenges," European Council on Corporate Responsibility and Sustainability in collaboration with Business Humanitarian Forum, Geneva, Switzerland, 7-8 February 2008

"BBC World Service and BBC World Parliamentary Briefing on Burma, House of Commons," London, UK, 15 January 2008

"Framing Burma/Myanmar", Asia Colloquium, University of California -Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism, Berkeley, California, USA, 14 November 2007

"The Legal and International Implications of the Situation in Myanmar", 1.30 hrs Webcast, Global Forum on Peace and Security, New York University-National University of Singapore Law Program, 6 November 2007

"Feeling Morally, Thinking Strategically," Foreign Policy Studies Colloquium, Stanford University, 9 November 2007

"Repression and Protest in Myanmar: What is To Be Done?," A panel discussion cosponsored by UC-Berkeley South East Asian Studies, Stanford University South East Asia Forum and Asia Society, Stanford, California, 18 October 2007

"DFID Assistance to Burmese Internally Displaced People and Refugees on the ThaiBurma Border," House of Commons International Development Committee, London, UK, 12 June 2007

Respondent (with Sir Adam Roberts in the chair), "Can Good Methods Overcome Difficult Circumstances? Generalizing the Conditions for Successful Civil Resistance", paper by Dr Peter Ackerman, President of the Freedom House, Conference on 'Civil Resistance and Power Politics, St Antony's College, Oxford University, Oxford, UK, 15-18 March 2007

"Outlook for Myanmar in 2007", Regional Outlook Forum, Institute of South East Asian Studies, Singapore, 3-4 January 2007

"Active Citizens under Political Wraps: Experiences from Myanmar/Burma and Vietnam", the Institute of South East Asian Studies, Singapore, ISEAS, Singapore, 5 January 2007

"Burma/Myanmar: The Elephant and Six Blind Men", Myanmar Society, School of Oriental and African Studies University of London, London, UK, September 2006

Guest Speaker, "Orientalism and Burma/Media", Friends of Le Monde Club, London, UK, November 2006

"Thinking Politics Sociologically: Engaging with the State and Society in Vietnam and Myanmar/Burma", at the roundtable entitled Societal and Political Change in Vietnam – An Instructive Example for Myanmar?, Heinrich Boll Foundation and the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin, Germany, 31 March -1 April 2006

"Confronting Burma's Security Dilemma: An Integrated Approach to National and Human Security Issues," International Conference on Civil Society, Religion and Global Governance, The National Institute of Social Sciences and Law, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, 1-2 September 2005

"Researching Educational Change in 'Under-Developed' Societies Affected by Ethnic Conflicts: Lessons from Burma Studies," Open Seminar Series 2004-05, University of London Institute of Education, London, UK, 19 May 2005

"Nationalism, Education and State Building in Burma," Southeast Asian Studies Program, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London, UK, 5 May 2005  
"The Role of International Community in Burma's Democratization," Asia-Europe Center, Sciences Po, Paris, France, November 2004

"Advancing the Cause or Fueling the Conflict: International Community and Burma's Political Deadlock," A Seminar on Burma sponsored by the Olaf Palme International Centre and the College of Malmo, Malmo, Sweden, 26 November 2004

"Prospects for Democratic Change in Burma," Bi-Annual Meeting of the Association of Burma Studies, Northern Illinois University, USA, 23-24 October 2004

"Reflections on the Burmese Democracy Movement," Burmese Refugee Scholarship Program Annual Retreat, Office of International Studies, Indiana University at Bloomington, USA, 1 August 2004

"Political Progress in Burma," University of Connecticut School of Law, Hartford, CT, USA, 29 March 2004

"Leveling the Playing Field in Burma: A Critical Reflection," The Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance/IDEA, Stockholm, Sweden, 20 September 2003

"Prospects for Social Change in Burma," Center for South East Asian Studies, University of Munster, Munster, Germany, 18 September 2003

"Education and New Generation Leadership in Burma," University of London Institute of Education, London, UK, 27 November 2002

"The State of Education in Burma and Prospects for Change," International Conference on Burma Studies, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden, 22-24 September 2002

"Burma's Need for Human Resource Renewal," Center for Poverty Studies, the University of Philippines-Dilimann, Quezon City, Philippines, August 2001

"Human Rights and Democracy in Burma," Yale Law School, New Haven, CT, USA, 3 December 2000

"The Plight of Burmese Scholars under Present Military Rule," Scholars-at-Risk, University of Chicago Human Rights Program and McArthur Foundation, Chicago, IL, USA, 5-7 June 2000

"Higher Education and Pro-Democracy Movement in Burma," Higher Education for Peace, University of Tromso and Norwegian Council on UNESCO, Tromso, Norway, 4-6 May 2000

"The United States Policy toward Burma: The Sanctions Debate," ARCO Forum of Public Affairs, Institute of Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA, 12 April 2000

"The Role of Students in Burmese Politics," The Hague Appeal for Peace, Civil Society Conference, The Hague, The Netherlands, 11-15 May 1999

(with Prof. Charles Ogletree in the chair), "The Internet at the Millennium and the Politics of Inclusion," The Second International Harvard Conference on Internet and Society, Cambridge, MA, USA, 26-29 May 1998

"The Internet and Free Burma Movement: Resistance and Cyber-communities." Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL, USA, March, 1997

"The Nationalization of Education in Burma: A Radical Response to the Capitalist Development?" Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA, USA, 18-22 April 1995

"Burma's 1988 Uprising and the Bloody Crackdown", Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA, Fall 1993

"Schooling and Resistance in Burma," Annual Meeting of the Association of Asian Studies, Boston, MA, USA, March 1994.

"Inequality in Burmese Education: An Inter-disciplinary Perspective," Northwest Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies, University of British Columbia, Canada, June 1993