## **Table of Contents**

Foreword		vii		
Table of Figures			xiii	
	Abbreviations			
Gl	Glossary			
I	Introduction		1	
1	1	Trials in and of Myanmar	1	
	2	The scope of the study	2	
	3	Contrasting images	1 2 5	
	4	Conceptualisation of a conflict set in a global context	7	
	5	Contingency and constancy	15	
	6	Design of the enquiry	16	
	O	Design of the enquiry	10	
II	Se	tting the Stage – March to 18 September 1988	19	
	1	Introduction	19	
	2	"1988" in various perspectives	20	
	3	A note on the sources	23	
	4	Rough chronology of the events in 1988 leading to		
		the seizure of power by the SLORC	25	
	5	On the logic of the events	31	
	6	Outlook – The genesis of an antagonism between the		
		military and Suu Kyi	45	
Ш	Ci	vilian-Military Relations in Burma up to 1988	51	
	1	Introduction	51	
	2	Professional armies, civilian leaders, military intervention	53	
	3	The Tatmadaw in Burma	57	
	4	Aung San	72	
	5	Factors influencing the civilian-military relations up to 1988	77	
<b>TX</b> 7	Tor	Torse Months and Einst House Amost 19 Contonshor 1000		
IV		n Tense Months and First House Arrest: 18 September 1988 20 July 1989	83	
	1	Introduction	83	
	2	A multiplex chronology of events	83	
	3	Conflicting rhetoric communicated indirectly	98	
	4	On the logic of events	116	

## The Beast and the Beauty

V	The Law's Many Faces			
	1	Introduction	121	
	2	Law in society	125	
	3	The history of the legal system in Burma	126	
	4	Martial law	131	
	5	International law	137	
	6	Bringing crimes committed in Burma to court outside the country	139	
	7	The tradition of Burmese-Buddhist law	141	
	8	The Buddhist law and the conception of human rights	143	
	9	Law, order, justice, the time factor and a vicious circle	145	
	10	Concluding remarks	151	
VI		rma Goes Global, Myanmar Develops Its Own Agenda:		
		y 1989 to July 1995	153	
	1	Introduction	153	
	2	Chronology	154	
	3	The elections of May 1990 and their aftermath	158	
	4	International developments	172	
	5	On the logic of events	190	
VII Noisy Silence and the Codifying of Fixed Standpoints				
	1	Introduction	195	
	2	Suu Kyi and her direct communication partners	195	
	3	Emphatic proclamation of a no-compromise attitude	197	
	4	The role of the mass media	200	
	5	Rigid perceptions of democracy and the consequence: a double bind communication	208	
	6	The other side: Paternalistic attitudes and a conspiracy theory	212	
	7	Sender–recipient relations	218	
	8	Effects of the meetings between SLORC representatives and Suu Kyi	225	
	9	Conclusion	226	
VI	II C	ontrolled Confrontation: July 1995 to September 2000	229	
	1	Introduction	229	
	2	Chronology of events	232	
	2	Some remarks on Sun Kui's "release"	240	

## Table of Contents

	4	Emergence of a symbolic alternative power centre	242	
	5	The 1998 stand-offs – a case study	253	
	6	An anti-climax and some final stand-offs	272	
	7	On the logic of events	274	
IX	Th	e Flexibility of a Steel Icon: Suu Kyi's – and her Opponents' –		
	Ico	Iconography		
	1	Introduction	277	
	2	Theoretical background: a note on iconography	280	
	3	The background: iconography and conflict communication in Burma before 18 September 1988	284	
	4	Burma's image in the international media before 1988	299	
	5	Constancy and variations in the portrayal of Suu Kyi		
		vis-à-vis the military	301	
	6	Advertising freedom for Burma	333	
	7	Summary	341	
	8	Suu Kyi portrayed in novels and a film	350	
	9	Outlook	359	
X		terlude: Nineteen Months of Secret Diplomacy and		
		onciliatory Gestures	361	
		Introduction: Razali Ismail and a thaw	361	
	2	The context of secret diplomacy: a variety of crashes	262	
	2	and clashes	363	
	3	Restrictions imposed on Suu Kyi	364	
	4	Gestures on the side of the SPDC	367	
	5	The NLD stance	369	
	6	Commentaries of Burmese exiles and solidarity groups	371	
	7	Reactions of other nations	372	
	8	On the logic of events	373	
ΧI	He	elpless Helpers – The Mediators' Role	377	
	1	Introduction	377	
	2	Intervention prior to late 2000	377	
	3	Trust and mistrust in conflict transformation	392	
	4	Razali Ismail's mission	398	
	5	Further initiatives	409	
	6	Summary	418	

## The Beast and the Beauty

	ne Collapse of an Unwritten Agreement: 6 May 2002 30 May 2003	421
1	Introduction	421
2	General events	423
3	Suu Kyi's travels	425
4	Evaluating the Depayin incident and antecedent events	440
5	Conclusions on the nature of the "unwritten agreement"	444
6	Speculations about motives	446
7	Summary	447
XIII A	aung San's Long and Ambivalent Shadow	449
1	Introduction	449
2	Aung San as the mythical founder of a Burmese 'nation-to-be'	450
3	A note on the elections of 1947 and 1990	453
4	Reflections on the political concepts of father and daughter	454
5	Re-consecrating a country	456
6	Conclusions	458
XIV B	ack to Square One – For the Last Time: June 2003 – March 2011	461
1	Introduction	461
2	The policy of the SPDC	463
3	Suu Kyi and the NLD	473
4	Conclusions	479
XV Ev	valuating a Period of Transition	483
1	Introduction	483
2	Contextualising Myanmar's transition to some type of democracy	484
3	Stages of transition	491
4	Looking beyond the transfer of power	496
Epilos	gue: Moving beyond a Fairy Tale	505
1	The magic of turning things around	505
2	Recent works	507
Biblio	graphy	511
Indov		525