

The Aung Sans of Myanmar

At half past ten on the morning of July 19, 1947, a jeep rattled through the gates of the Secretariat Building in Rangoon, now Yangon. It had been waived through by police constables as a matter of course because in that time of transition, it was difficult to know who was a genuine soldier and who was not. The jeep emptied its deadly cargo of mercenaries near the entrance and the driver allowed the engine to idle until they made their return. Within minutes the troop had filed through the Secretariat Building and made their way to the meeting room of the Executive Council where General Aung San and his cabinet had been convening. They immediately opened fire on their targets and withdrew within minutes. When aides entered the scene seconds later, they discovered the bullet-riddled bodies of Aung San and five other cabinet ministers. Burma¹ had lost its founding father and best hope at a viable transition to democratic self-rule.

General Aung San's daughter, Aung San Suu Kyi, was only two years old on that grim morning. Though she was the offspring of Burma's paramount leader, she went on to live abroad, sheltered from politics. Some years later, she was entreated to lend her voice to the pro-democracy movement which took place in August 1988. Her stirring speech and participation in the protests skyrocketed her to national (and international) stardom as a symbol of democracy and human rights. In time, Aung San Suu Kyi became the chairperson of the National League for Democracy (NLD), a pro-democracy opposition party to the ruling military junta. When general elections were held in 1990, her party won the vast majority of seats in Parliament, but she had already been arrested and put under house arrest by the junta in 1989. Of the 21 years from 1989 to 2010, she spent nearly fifteen years under house arrest. During that time she won accolades including the Nobel Peace Prize, though she was unable to accept it until 2012, and became a symbol of human rights and democracy worldwide. After her release in 2010, she was permitted to run for a seat in Parliament in the 2012 by-election. She won her seat and became the Leader of the Opposition in the Lower House. In 2015, national elections were to be held in Myanmar and it was suspected that the NLD would win a majority with Aung San Suu Kyi at its helm.

Several modern historians of Myanmar have referred to the story of modern Myanmar as the "tale of the two Aung Sans". General Aung San was the revolutionary leader who has been considered to be the founding father of Myanmar and whose untimely assassination doomed the new country to decades of uncertainty and military rule. Aung San Suu Kyi became the heir apparent of this legacy in 1988 and had to endure incredible hardship to promote human rights and democracy in her country. Scholars have pondered why one Aung San ended his career riddled with bullets while the other became an international heroine for the cause of the oppressed and has seemed likely to succeed in her crusade.

¹ Burma was renamed "Myanmar" in 1989 as it is the traditional Burmese name for the country.

This case has been written by Cody Steven Eckert under the guidance of Assistant Professor Jonathan Marshall, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (LKY School), National University of Singapore and has been funded by the LKY School. The case does not reflect the views of the sponsoring organization nor is it intended to suggest correct or incorrect handling of the situation depicted. The case is not intended to serve as a primary source of data and is meant solely for class discussion.

Aung San and the Road to Burmese Independence

Popular opposition to the 124 years of British rule of Burma grew in the late 19th Century and reached a fevered pitch in 1936, when Aung San entered the national stage. Organizations such as the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) and the Buddha Sasana Naggaha Athin (Mission Association) provided a platform for Burmese national character and political aspirations to develop.² In the 1920s, Gandhian techniques of non-violent non-cooperation, where British-made goods were boycotted, had become a mainstay of nationalist endeavors for independence.³ In the 1930s, student activism had become a major channel for political protest in Burma.

In 1933, Aung San enrolled in Rangoon University and quickly became a prominent student leader.⁴ Aung San was expelled from the university in 1936 for publishing anti-British articles in a student newspaper called *Owei* (Peacock's Cry).⁵ This led to a massive student protest which lasted three months where students camped out at Rangoon's historic/spiritual center: the Shwedagon Pagoda. The students' demand for more self-governance was won, but Aung San remained expelled.⁶ In 1938, Aung San was elected president of both the Rangoon University Students' Union as well as the All Burma Student's Union and joined Dohbama Asiayone (We Burmese Association) where he took the title 'Thakin' to show that the Burmese were indeed masters of their own sovereign land as Thakin is a Burmese word which means "master".⁷ That year, eleven months of protests and strikes, known as the '1300 Revolution', raged throughout the country.⁸ In his capacity as General Secretary of Dohbama Asiayone, Aung San toured the country with other compatriots to give speeches and raise funds for their cause.⁹ Increasingly, the Burmese nationalist leaders turned to Imperial Japan as an ally in their struggle against the British. It was believed that the Japanese could help eradicate the British from Burma and would permit a great deal of self-governance as they were thought of as 'Asian brothers'. Under mysterious circumstances, Aung San escaped from Burma to Amoy (Xiamen) in China in 1940.¹⁰ Some believed that he had been attempting to make contact with members of the Japanese military while others contended that he had been trying to contact members of the Chinese Communist Party.¹¹ Many historians have pointed to this as an instance of Aung San's pragmatism as throughout his career he often switched alliances at leisure to benefit his own personal/national agendas. Nonetheless, Aung San was discovered in Amoy by Japanese secret police and had willingly flown to Japan and met with high-ranking Imperial Japanese officers.¹²

² Rajshekhar, *Myanmar's Nationalist Movement (1906-1948) and India* (New Delhi: South Asian Publishers Pvt Ltd, 2006), P 35.

³ Ibid. P 44.

⁴ Maung Maung, *Aung San of Burma* (The Hague: Yale University, 1962), P 22.

⁵ Smith, Martin, *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1999), P 54.

⁶ www.aungsan.com, "Timeline," accessed March 8, 2012, http://www.aungsan.com/Time_Line.html

⁷ Smith, Martin, *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1999), P 54.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. P 58

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. P 59.

¹² Ibid.

While in Japan, Aung San's collaboration with the Japanese had solidified. At a Japanese colonel's suggestion, Aung San drew up the *Blueprint for a Free Burma* where he outlined his vision for an independent Republic of Burma.¹³ Aung San detailed how Japanese assistance in the formation of an independent Burma would result in an alliance to be known as the 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.'¹⁴ The Japanese were keen to elicit Burmese support for two reasons: their desire to close the Burma Road which supplied Chinese opponents and their desire to incite a nationalist uprising to force the British out of the region.¹⁵ In the first half of 1941, Aung San recruited thirty volunteers, known as the *Thirty Comrades*, and began smuggling them out of Burma via Thailand for armed training under the Japanese in Hainan Island.¹⁶ By the end of the year, these *Thirty Comrades* had become well-trained military officers and returned to the Burmese-Thai border region where they recruited over 3,500 individuals to form the Burma Independence Army (BIA). The BIA formally entered Burma just three days after the Japanese Army had invaded and they were welcomed as liberators from the oppressive British regime by the majority of Burmese.¹⁷ Few were aware of the fact that the Japanese occupation would take a much higher toll on the country than that of the British colonial order.

In March 1942, Rangoon fell to Japanese forces and British colonial administration came to an end soon after.¹⁸ By the end of March 1942, Japanese administrators had organized a temporary government headed by a Thakin to maintain law and order in the provinces, but its power was limited and the BIA was disbanded in June.¹⁹ In July, the BIA was reorganized into the Burma Defence Army and Aung San was named Major-General though real administrative control was reserved for the Japanese.²⁰ As the war dragged on, popular support for the Japanese had waned due to several key reasons: Buddhist monks had been mistreated, there was a shortage of consumable goods, taxes and inflation rates were high and the Burmese had not been allowed to sell their rice surpluses for export.²¹ Popular resistance to Japanese rule had been so strong that administrators realized they had to make some concessions. So, in January 1943, the Japanese promised the Burmese full independence within a year and on 1 August 1943, Burma was formally declared independent with Dr. Ba Maw as leader with Aung San as the Minister of Defence.²²

In effect, this "independence" had been just a farce and no real control was executed by the Burmese leaders, but instead by the Japanese military authorities. Aung San and other leaders were so disenchanted with Japanese rule that they began considering switching sides in the war by aiding Britain in the overthrow of the Japanese. In 1943, the exiled British Governor of Burma learned of this dissatisfaction and also promised independence for Burma if the Burmese revolted against the Japanese.²³ From within the puppet Burmese government, Aung San had

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Drake, M.B., *Burma: Nationalist Movements and Independence* (Kuala Lumpur: Longman Malaysia SDN. Berhad, 1979), P 41.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid. P 43.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid. P 44.

²³ Ibid. P 45.

built a broad coalition of support for anti-Japanese activities and on 1 August 1944, one year to the day false independence was granted, Aung San called for total resistance against the Japanese in a speech.²⁴ For months after Aung San's speech, the Burmese conducted clandestine actions against the Japanese, but on 17 March 1945, Aung San led the newly formed Burmese National Army, consisting of 10,000 men, underground and began attacking Japanese forces in Rangoon which allowed the British to retake the city.²⁵

Once the war was over, Burmese leaders immediately petitioned the Churchill government for independence, but progress was slow.²⁶ To put pressure on the British, Aung San raised a private army called the People's Volunteer Organization.²⁷ By this time, Aung San had become exceedingly famous within Burma and was thought of as the paramount freedom fighter. He used his popular support to pressure other compatriots to forfeit more power and authority to him.²⁸ In January 1947, Aung San led a delegation of six men to London for talks with the British government. The British were willing to provide dominion status to Burma, but Aung San demanded full independence, much to the chagrin of the British. Eventually it was agreed that elections would be held in April and all parties signed the London Agreement which guaranteed independence within a year.²⁹ In the ensuing election, Aung San's political party, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), won an overwhelming majority and Aung San and his cabinet were tasked with drafting a constitution and fixing a date for independence.³⁰

On 19 July 1947, Aung San, aged 32, and five other cabinet members were assassinated by followers of a long-time Burmese political opponent of Aung San, U Saw, who had hoped that he would be able to take control of the new government.³¹ Conspiracy theorists have contended that it was actually a British conspiracy to silence Aung San as he had humiliated them by refusing to accept Dominion status, but these accusations have not been supported by credible evidence. What was certain was that Aung San's assassination left the country without a credible leader and this instability portended decades of further violence.

Aung San Suu Kyi and Myanmar's Road to Democracy

Aung San Suu Kyi was only two years old when her father, Aung San, was gunned down in the Secretariat Building in Rangoon.³² In 1960, when she was 15, her mother was posted as Burma's ambassador to India and Nepal. Aung San Suu Kyi moved with her to New Delhi.³³ It was during her adolescence in India that she gained a deep admiration for the philosophy and principles of nonviolence pioneered by Mahatma Gandhi.³⁴ She completed her undergraduate degree in politics at the prestigious Lady Shri Ram College in New Delhi in 1964.³⁵ In the same

²⁴ Ibid. P 47.

²⁵ Ibid. P 48.

²⁶ Ibid. P 49.

²⁷ Ibid. P 50.

²⁸ Ibid. P 53.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Oung, Kin, *Who Killed Aung San?* (Bangkok: White Lotus Co., 1996), P 12.

³¹ Geok, Ang Chin, *Aung San Suu Kyi: Towards a New Freedom* (Australia: Prentice Hall, 1998), P 1.

³² Lintner, Bertil, *Aung San Suu Kyi: Burma's Struggle for Democracy* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2011), P 35.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid. P 38.

³⁵ Ibid. P 39.

year, she moved to Britain to pursue a BA in philosophy, politics and economics at St. Hugh's College in Oxford and finished the degree in 1969.³⁶ After graduating, she left Britain for a position at the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions at the UN Secretariat in New York City under Burmese UN Secretary-General U Thant.³⁷ She married an Englishman, Michael Aris, in 1972 and had two sons while living with Michael in Bhutan as he continued his study of Bhutanese history and culture.³⁸ The family had lived in Oxford again for more than a decade when Aung San Suu Kyi decided to return to studies by becoming a visiting scholar at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Kyoto University. Eventually she started a PhD thesis at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.³⁹ Aung San Suu Kyi had been building her life and career in England and had no political aspirations in Myanmar, but this changed when she received a call from Rangoon at her Oxford home one evening in 1988.⁴⁰

The phone call Aung San Suu Kyi received in April 1988 had been made on behalf of her mother who had suffered a stroke.⁴¹ She immediately left Britain for Rangoon, but the Myanmar she discovered was very different from the one she had left. After independence had been granted in 1948, the Burmese government consisted of a British-style parliament with parties which tenuously held the country together.⁴² This lasted until 1962 when instability within the government allowed General Ne Win to stage a coup d'état due to the "greatly deteriorating conditions in the Union."⁴³ After 1962, Ne Win and his military cohorts nearly obliterated the Burmese economy due to their lack of expertise on economic issues.⁴⁴ The junta stumbled from one failed economic policy to another without any substantial success.⁴⁵ Whenever citizens voiced their disapproval, they were met with coups of Burmese institutions, purges of public servants and bloody massacres of unarmed civilians and students.⁴⁶

By July 1988, unrest and demonstrations had reached such a fevered pitch that General Ne Win decided his position was untenable and announced that he would resign.⁴⁷ The general population assumed that Ne Win's resignation portended the end of one-party rule in Burma so a nation-wide strike was called for on 8 August 1988, 8-8-88, an especially auspicious day, to demonstrate the people's desire for democracy.⁴⁸ Streets surged nationwide with pro-democracy demonstrators, but euphoria quickly turned to horror when troops opened fire on the crowds.⁴⁹ By this time, Aung San Suu Kyi was tending to her ailing mother in Rangoon and soon realized the gravity with which her father's memory still held in the hearts and minds of the public. Several of her father's comrades-in-arms beseeched her to make some statement in support of the

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid. PP 40-44.

³⁸ Ibid. P 45.

³⁹ Geok, Ang Chin, *Aung San Suu Kyi: Towards a New Freedom* (Australia: Prentice Hall, 1998), P 53.

⁴⁰ Lintner, Bertil, *Aung San Suu Kyi: Burma's Struggle for Democracy* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2011), P 46.

⁴¹ Maung, Dr. Maung, *The 1988 Uprising in Burma* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1999), P 9.

⁴² Ibid. P 28.

⁴³ Geok, Ang Chin, *Aung San Suu Kyi: Towards a New Freedom* (Australia: Prentice Hall, 1998), P 60.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Victor, Barbara, *The Lady* (New York: Faber and Faber, 1998), P 83.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid. P 84.

⁴⁹ Ibid. P 85.

protesters and she began with an open letter to the interim leader Dr. Maung Maung.⁵⁰ Within days, she was catapulted into the limelight and became a beacon for human rights, democracy and free-market economics.⁵¹ On 26 August, she made an impassioned speech at Burma's most revered Buddhist temple, Shwedagon Pagoda, with a simple message pleading for democracy, respect for human rights and non-violence.⁵²

Soon afterwards, General Saw Maung led a coup d'état and established the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) which instituted martial law, dissolved all state institutions and renamed Burma as Myanmar.⁵³ Hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets and clamored in protest, and Saw Maung perceived the danger of such unrest and announced that elections would be held in May 1990.⁵⁴ Though Saw Maung declared elections, all public political gatherings were banned. This did not deter Aung San Suu Kyi from co-founding the National League for Democracy party (NLD).⁵⁵ Aung San Suu Kyi began campaigning throughout the country and was so bold as to directly challenge the policies of Ne Win, Saw Maung and SLORC.⁵⁶ SLORC continued to try and restrict Aung San Suu Kyi's actions, but to no avail as every restriction only emboldened her to campaign more vigorously. Her popularity soared.⁵⁷ With few options left to solidify their control over the country, the junta placed Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest on 20 July 1989 and she would remain intermittently under house arrest until November 2010.⁵⁸ Though she was not allowed to stand for election in 1990, due to her captivity, the NLD won a majority, but SLORC never permitted the party to form a government.⁵⁹ While under house arrest, she was offered permission from the junta to leave the country, but she feared she would not be allowed to return. Even when her husband was dying in 1999, she refused to leave the country to see him because she feared she would not be able to re-enter the country.

Since first being placed under house arrest in 1989, Aung San Suu Kyi pushed a strategy of bringing democracy and human rights to Myanmar. Her strategy, influenced strongly by Buddhist values and Gandhian principles, valued the power of truth and adopted nonviolence to achieve its ends. Her goal was not to outright overthrow SLORC and the junta regime, but to exert so much pressure, internally and externally, that the junta's grasp on power became untenable and they simply gave up power of their own accord. Firstly, she sought to disarm the junta by convincing members of the international community to withdraw their support for the regime.⁶⁰ Through letters and intermediaries between herself and world governments and NGOs she attempted to remove the financial base of SLORC by asking entities not to invest in Myanmar while the junta was in control.⁶¹ This resulted in wide-scale boycotts of Myanmar's

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid. P 86.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid. P 87.

⁵⁷ Ibid. P 94.

⁵⁸ Ibid. P 112.

⁵⁹ Oishi, Mikio, *Aung San Suu Kyi's Struggle: Its Principles and Strategy* (Penang: Just World Trust, 1997), P 34.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid. PP 34-35.

products, sanctions by world governments and reduced tourism to the country.⁶² Only countries with few qualms about the junta's rule, such as China and Russia, continued doing business in Myanmar which forced SLORC to resort to illicit industries such as drug trafficking.⁶³ Aung San Suu Kyi also required that all of her followers practice non-violence to show their dissatisfaction with the junta and by doing so created a space where junta officials could work with her and her followers without being threatened. She sought to engage the junta on their terms while remaining a stalwart for her cause.⁶⁴ She characterized her approach as, "focusing our efforts on attacking the 'system' rather than attacking those who serve that system" in order to foster reconciliation between SLORC and Myanmar's general population.⁶⁵

Aung San Suu Kyi was awarded numerous accolades and in 2013, it was clear that the junta regime was now on the path of reform. In 1991, she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her non-violent struggle for human rights and democracy. Since her last release from house arrest in 2010, startling changes occurred in the country, which were once thought impossible. She remained exceedingly popular in Myanmar as the people of the country linked her own personal struggles and suffering to that of their own. Also, she made all citizens of Myanmar and members of the international community stakeholders in building the future of Myanmar by effectively communicating the concept that the struggle against the junta was one in which everyone suffered.

Legislative elections were held in 2010, and though skeptics thought it would be a mere façade of a genuine election, only 25 percent of the contested seats in parliament were retained by the junta; the government which emerged came to reflect the concerns of many of Myanmar's citizens.⁶⁶ Authorities responded to calls for economic and political opening by releasing political prisoners, proceeding with peace arrangements with ethnic-minority insurgent groups and releasing Aung San Suu Kyi herself, who competed for and won a seat in parliament in the by-elections held in April 2012.⁶⁷ In 2015, national elections would be held in Myanmar and some analysts suggested that the NLD would win a majority with Aung San Suu Kyi as its leader.⁶⁸ The government's budgets were already more transparent, healthcare and education expenditures had doubled, licensing restrictions had been loosened and the government was working on simplifying its exchange-rate system.⁶⁹ World governments were responding by engaging more with Myanmar than they had in the past fifty years. Nearly all international sanctions against Myanmar had been lifted. Top foreign ministers such as American Secretary of State Hillary Clinton met with Myanmar's leaders in December 2011 and were determined to

⁶² Ibid. P 35.

⁶³ Ibid. P 38

⁶⁴ Ibid. P 42.

⁶⁵ Stiglitz, Joseph, "Myanmar's Quiet Transition," Aljazeera, 13 March 2012, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/2012388726777301.html> (accessed 24 March 2012).

⁶⁶ Green, David, "Aung San Suu Kyi Wins Myanmar Parliament Seat," National Public Radio, 2 April 2012, <http://www.npr.org/2012/04/02/149829287/aung-san-suu-kyi-wins-myanmar-parliament-seat> (accessed 15 January 2013).

⁶⁷ Stiglitz, Joseph, "Myanmar's Quiet Transition," Aljazeera, 13 March 2012, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/2012388726777301.html> (accessed 24 March 2012).

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

foster growth within the country.⁷⁰ Though it may have been too soon to judge, it appeared that Myanmar was now moving on a trajectory which would see further democratic reform and respect for human rights.

Since her release and election to Parliament, Aung San Suu Kyi faced new criticisms on various issues. In November 2012, villagers who were protesting against the construction of a Chinese-operated copper mine in Myanmar were forcibly and violently removed from the site which resulted in several injuries to Buddhist monks. Supporters of Aung San Suu Kyi were dismayed when she had not come out in full support of the protesters. Instead she stated that while the rights and privileges of the villagers had to be protected, Myanmar must also honor its commitments with foreign countries.⁷¹ Similarly, some international observers were perplexed by the fact that she vocally opposed government crackdowns against protests and decried all violence in Myanmar's northernmost state, Kachin, while remaining silent on the genocidal actions which were carried out against Myanmar's ethnically Muslim population of Rohingyans.⁷² Aung San Suu Kyi's apparent change of stance on these issues could be explained by the fact that she had effectively entered a new phase in her political career. Maung Zarni, a Myanmar expert and visiting fellow at the London School of Economics, concluded that, "She is no longer a political dissident trying to stick to her principles. She's a politician and her eyes are fixed on the prize, which is the 2015 majority Buddhist vote."⁷² Whether or not Aung San Suu Kyi would win that vote was left to be seen. What also remained to be seen was whether or not the actions taken by the junta in the last couple years were part of a genuine path of reform or if they were mere window-dressing to regain some status in the international arena. For both Aung San Suu Kyi and Myanmar, only time would tell what destiny held.

⁷⁰ Schearf, Daniel, "Copper Mine Controversy Tests Burma's Leaders", Voice of America, 1 February 2013, <http://www.voanews.com/content/copper-mine-confusion-tests-burma-democracy-leader/1595342.html> (accessed 2 February 2013).

⁷¹ Land Destroyer. "Aung San Suu Kyi Silent Over Rohingya Violence, but Decries Crackdown on Anti-Chinese Protest", Land Destroyer, 1 December 2012. <http://landdestroyer.blogspot.sg/2012/11/aung-san-suu-kyi-silent-over-rohingya.html> (accessed 2 February 2013).

⁷² Gecker, Jocelyn. "Burma's Aung San Suu Kyi faces rare criticism over Rohingya Muslims", The Star, 16 August 2012. http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2012/08/16/burmas_aung_san_suu_kyi_faces_rare_criticism_over_rohingya_muslims.html (accessed 2 February 2013).

Exhibit A
Photo of General Aung San



Source: <http://photoblog.nbcnews.com>

Exhibit B
Photo of Aung San Suu Kyi



Source: www.guardian.co.uk

Bibliography

- www.aungsan.com, "Timeline," accessed March 8, 2012, http://www.aungsan.com/Time_Line.html
- Drake, M.B., *Burma: Nationalist Movements and Independence* (Kuala Lumpur: Longman Malaysia SDN. Berhad, 1979).
- Gecker, Jocelyn. "Burma's Aung San Suu Kyi faces rare criticism over Rohingya Muslims", The Star, 16 August 2012. http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2012/08/16/burmas_aung_san_suu_kyi_faces_rare_criticism_over_rohingya_muslims.html (accessed 2 February 2013). Geok, Ang Chin, *Aung San Suu Kyi: Towards a New Freedom* (Australia: Prentice Hall, 1998).
- Green, David, "Aung San Suu Kyi Wins Myanmar Parliament Seat," National Public Radio, 2 April 2012, <http://www.npr.org/2012/04/02/149829287/aung-san-suu-kyi-wins-myanmar-parliament-seat> (accessed 15 January 2013).
- Land Destroyer. "Aung San Suu Kyi Silent Over Rohingya Violence, but Decries Crackdown on Anti-Chinese Protest", Land Destroyer, 1 December 2012. <http://landdestroyer.blogspot.sg/2012/11/aung-san-suu-kyi-silent-over-rohingya.html> (accessed 2 February 2013).
- Lintner, Bertil, *Aung San Suu Kyi: Burma's Struggle for Democracy* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2011).
- Maung Maung, *Aung San of Burma* (The Hague: Yale University, 1962).
- Maung, Dr. Maung, *The 1988 Uprising in Burma* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1999).
- Oishi, Mikio, *Aung San Suu Kyi's Struggle: Its Principles and Strategy* (Penang: Just World Trust, 1997).
- Oung, Kin, *Who Killed Aung San?* (Bangkok: White Lotus Co., 1996).
- Rajshekhar, *Myanmar's Nationalist Movement (1906-1948) and India* (New Delhi: South Asian Publishers Pvt Ltd, 2006).
- Schearf, Daniel, "Copper Mine Controversy Tests Burma's Leaders", Voice of America, 1 February 2013, <http://www.voanews.com/content/copper-mine-confusion-tests-burma-democracy-leader/1595342.html> (accessed 2 February 2013).
- Stiglitz, Joseph, "Myanmar's Quiet Transition," Aljazeera, 13 March 2012, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/2012388726777301.html> (accessed 24 March 2012).
- Smith, Martin, *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1999).
- Victor, Barbara, *The Lady* (New York: Faber and Faber, 1998).