Table of Contents

Foreword			vi
Tal	Table of Figures		xiii
	Abbreviations		
Gl	Glossary		
Ι	In	troduction	1
	1	Trials in and of Myanmar	1
	2	The scope of the study	2 5
	3	Contrasting images	
	4	Conceptualisation of a conflict set in a global context	7
		Contingency and constancy	15
	6	Design of the enquiry	16
II	Setting 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	4 5
Ш	Ci	vilian-Military Relations in Burma up to 1988	51
	1	, ,	51
	2	Professional armies, civilian leaders, military intervention	53
		The Tatmadaw in Burma	57
	4	Aung San	72
	5	Factors influencing the civilian-military relations up to 1988	77
IV	Ter	n Tense Months and First House Arrest: 18 September 1988	
	to 20 July 1989		
	1	•_	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			
	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	Bu	rma Goes Global, Myanmar Develops Its Own Agenda:		
	Jul	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		229	
	2	Chronology of events	232	
	3	Some remarks on Suu Kvi'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			
X	The Flexibility of a Steel Icon: Suu Kyi's – and her Opponents' –					
		onography	277			
	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	Interlude: Nineteen Months of Secret Diplomacy and					
		onciliatory Gestures	361			
	1	Introduction: Razali Ismail and a thaw	361			
	2	The context of secret diplomacy: a variety of crashes 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	Helpless Helpers – The Mediators' Role					
	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

XII Ir	ne Collapse of an Unwritten Agreement: 6 May 2002		
to	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	ung 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 Back to Square One – For the Last Time: June 2003 – March 201		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	
Epilog	gue: Moving beyond a Fairy Tale	505	
1	The magic of turning things around	505	
2	Recent works	507	
Biblio	Bibliography		
Index		525	