



Language

, [The Big Story: Myanmar](#) [1], New Internationalist, 2021, pp. 15-36

This very informative supplement on the aftermath of the coup on 1 February 2021 carries several articles on the resistance, the repression by the generals, and assessment of future possibilities inside Myanmar. It also includes discussion of the scope for international action, a summary of key statistics, a list of relevant organizations and initiatives, and a bibliography.

Aguilar, Macarena ; Quadrini, Maggi, ["We're Unstoppable": Meet the Women leading Myanmar's Protests](#) [2], OpenDemocracy, 2021

Provides profiles of some of the women who have taken to the streets to protest against the military coup and demand a return to democracy.

Andrieux, Aurelié ; Sarosi, Diana ; Moser-Puangsuwan, Yeshua, [Speaking Truth to Power: The Methods of Nonviolent Struggle in Burma](#) [3], Bangkok, Nonviolence International Southeast Asia, 2005, pp. 76

Beer, Michael A., [Violent and Nonviolent Struggle in Burma: Is a Unified Strategy Workable?](#) [4], In Zunes; Kurtz; Asher, [Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective](#) [5] (A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements [6]), Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 174-184

Boudreau, Vincent, [Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia](#) [7], Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 290

Compares democracy movements in Indonesia, Burma and the Philippines from a social movement perspective. Charts post-colonial evolution. On Indonesia, examines the Sukarno years, the 1965 coup and anti-communist massacres, initial student protests in the 1970s under Suharto, and the complexities of party politics in the 1980s and 1990s. Ch. 10 'Indonesia's Democracy Protests' (pp. 215-37) covers the build-up of resistance to Suharto, the role of the student demonstrations and the end of the Suharto regime.

Callaghan, Mary, [Riddle of the Tatmadaw](#) [8], New Left Review, no. 60 (Nov/Dec), 2009, pp. 27-64

Stresses economic basis of original 2007 protests.

Chenoweth, Erica ; Stephan, Maria J., [Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict](#) [9], International Security, Vol. 33, no. 1 (summer), 2008, pp. 7-44

Chenoweth, Erica ; Stephan, Maria J., [Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict](#) [10], New York, Columbia University Press, 2011, pp. 296

Combines statistical analysis with case studies of unarmed resistance to argue that since 1900 nonviolent resistance campaigns have been strategically more effective than violent campaigns. Also analyses factors that promote success or failure of nonviolent campaigns. An earlier version of their overall argument was published as , [Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict](#) [9] International Security, 2008, pp. 7-44 , including useful case studies of East Timor, the Philippines and Burma 1988-1990.



Cherney, Michael, [Myanmar's Coup: How the Military has Held onto Power for 60 years](#) [11], The Conversation, 2021

Provides background to the 2021 military coup in Myanmar.

Combs, Daniel, [Until the World Shatters](#) [12], New York and London, Melville Press, 2021, pp. 400

Combs, a US researcher, travelled throughout Myanmar after 2011 when people were becoming more willing to talk, and interviewed a wide range of people from a punk rocker to a monk. He also observed the role of Buddhism in society and politics, including the fear and hostility towards Muslim minorities.

Dr, Sasa ; Aung, U ; Thuzar, Ma, [Workers Are Still Launching Nationwide Strikes against Myanmar's Military Rulers](#) [13], Jacobin, 2021

The interviews with Dr Sasa, minister for international cooperation in the National Unity Government (NUG) representing the resistance, and with two railway workers involved in the Civil Disobedience Movement, are prefaced by a brief summary of the policy of the NUG. The article stresses the ethnic diversity of the NUG and its call for the abolition of the 2008 constitution and the 1982 citizenship law used to exclude the Rohingya.

Fink, Christina, [The Moment of the Monks: Burma, 2007](#) [14], In Roberts; Garton Ash, [Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present](#) [15] (A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements [6]), Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 354-370

Fink, Christina, [Living Silence: Burma Under Military Rule](#) [16], [2001], 2nd edition, London, Zed Books, 2009, pp. 320

Comprehensive survey of regime in its internal and international context, covering protests against General Ne Win in the 1970s, the national nonviolent resistance 1988-90, subsequent opposition to military rule and campaigns by transnational bodies. Updated to include the 2007 protests.

See also:

Fink, Christina , [The Moment of the Monks: Burma, 2007](#) [14] In Roberts; Garton Ash, [Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present](#) [15] (A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements [6])Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 354-370 .

Franceschet, Susan ; Krook, Mona Lena ; Tan, Netina, [The Palgrave Handbook of Women's Political Rights](#) [17], ed. [Ennaji, Moha](#) [18], [Sadiqi, Fatima](#) [19], [Vintges, Karen](#) [20], London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp. 784

Covers women's political rights across all major regions of the world, focusing both on women's right to vote and women's right to run for political office. The countries explored are Afghanistan, Armenia, Australia, Bolivia, Canada, Cameroon, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Israel, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, New Zealand, Myanmar, Niger, Nigeria, Poland, Russia, Rwanda, Slovenia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, South Korea, Slovenia, Switzerland, Taiwan, Tunisia, Turkey, the United States, Uganda, Uruguay, and Zimbabwe.

Helvey, Robert L., [On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking about Fundamentals](#) [21], Cambridge MA, Albert Einstein Institution, 2004, pp. 178

Retired US Army colonel, now colleague of Gene Sharp, examines the basis of political power and the methods and strategy of nonviolent struggle. His guidelines for preparing a Strategic Estimate are also included in Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*.



Kijpgen, Nehginpao, [The 2020 Myanmar Election and the 2021 Coup: Deepening Democracy or Widening Division?](#) [22], Asian Affairs, Vol. 51, no. 1, 2021, pp. 1-17

Examines the background to the major protests that erupted after the military coup.

Kinsman, Jeremy ; Bassuener, Kurt, [A Diplomat's Handbook for Democracy Development Support](#) [23], 3rd edition, Washington, DC, Council for a Community of Democracies, 2009, pp. 450

Tips for diplomats on how they can more effectively support local pro-democracy groups facing repressive regimes. Case studies from South Africa, Ukraine, Chile, Belarus, Burma/Myanmar, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

Kyaw, Lynn, [Reflections on Military Coups in Myanmar: and why Political Actors in Arakan Chose a Different Path](#) [24], Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Transnational Institute, 2021

The article starts with an analysis of the personal as well as the institutional factors leading to the 2021 coup. It then assesses the special situation in Rakhine State (previously the kingdom of Arakan), home to Muslim minorities including the Rohingya, and to Arakan Buddhists, who are hostile to both Muslims and to the Burmese (Buddhist) government.

Lintner, Bertil, [Outrage: Burma's Struggle for Democracy](#) [25], [1989], London and Bangkok, White Lotus, 1990, pp. 208

Covers the 1988 mass unarmed resistance and its suppression.

Moser-Puangsuwan, Yeshua, [Burma – Dialogue with the Generals: The Sound of One Hand Clapping](#) [26], In Clark, [People Power: Unarmed Resistance and Global Solidarity](#) [27] ([A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements](#) [6]), London, Pluto Press, pp. 39-49

Includes comparison with resistance to Tibet.

Myint-U, Thant, [The Hidden History of Burma: Race, Capitalism and the Crisis of Democracy](#) [28], New York, W. W. Norton , 2019, pp. 320 pb

This well-received book by a Burmese historian (and grandson of UN Secretary General U Thant) explores the complexities of the ethnic and religious composition of Burma/Myanmar, which has never fully cohered as a country since it acquired independence from the British Empire after the Second World War. The book focuses particularly on the period since the cyclone of 2008, which killed almost 400,000 people and exposed the ineffectiveness of the military regime when constructive action was needed.

Myint-U, Thant, [Myanmar's Coming Revolution: What Will Emerge from Collapse?](#) [29], Foreign Affairs, 2021

An analysis of likely future developments by the respected Burmese historian and expert on Myanmar's recent past.

Oishi, Mikio, [Nonviolent Struggle of the Burmese People for Democracy](#) [30], Durban, South Africa, 1998

a paper submitted to the 1998 International Peace Research Association Conference

Oishi, Mikio, [Creating a "Ripe moment" in the Burmese conflict through nonviolent action](#) [31], Social Alternatives, Vol. 21, no. 2, 2002, pp. 52-60



see also Oishi, Mikio , [Nonviolent Struggle of the Burmese People for Democracy](#) [30] Durban, South Africa, , 1998 , a paper submitted to the 1998 International Peace Research Association Conference.

Popham, Peter, [The Lady and the Peacock: The Life of Aung San Suu Kyi](#) [32], London, Rider, 2011, pp. 438

Biography by British journalist. Covers the major protests of 2007 as well as 1988.

Popham, Peter, [The Lady and the Generals: Aung San Suu Kyi and Burma's Struggle for Freedom](#) [33], London, Rider, 2017, pp. 480

This follows-up to his eralier book *The Lady and the Peacock* and covers thew 2015 lanslide election and the expressions of intolerance against minorities, especially the Muslim Rohingya.

Popovic, Srdja ; Miller, Matthew, [Blueprint for Revolution: How to Use Rice Pudding, Lego Men, and Other Nonviolent Techniques to Galvanise Communities, Overthrow Dictators, or Simply Change the World](#) [34], Melbourne and London, Scribe, 2015, pp. 282

Popovic, an activist against the Milosevic regime in Serbia in the 1990s, went on to find CANVAS, which has offered advice and nonviolent training to activists in former Soviet states and other parts of the world, including Egypt before Tahrir Square and Syria. The book emphasizes the role of CANVAS (but does not address criticism of its role) and foregrounds the author's own experiences and interpretation of nonviolent action. It covers many varied campaigns with examples of how to mobilize successfully and use humour and imaginative forms of protest. It also addresses how to make oppression 'backfire' and the need to persevere in one's effort after apparent success. Written for activists rather than for scholars of nonviolence.

Rogers, Benedict, [Burma: A Nation at the Crossroads](#) [35], London, Rider, 2012, pp. 320

Schock, Kurt, [Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies](#) [36], Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2005, pp. 228

Seeks to address the lack of explicitly comparative analysis of how nonviolent methods promote political transformation. Examines success of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa (1983-90), and pro-democracy movements in the Philippines (1983-86), Nepal (1990) and Thailand (1991-92), and explores failure of such as movements in China (1989) and Burma (1988). Lists major actions in each movement. Includes analysis and criticism of 'consent' theory of power.

Translations: [Spanish](#) [37]

Sharp, Gene, [Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential](#) [38], Boston, Porter Sargent, 2005, pp. 598

An abbreviated and slightly modified version of Sharp's general argument in *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Includes 23 brief case studies of campaigns from the Russian Revolution of 1905 to the Serbian people power of 2000 (some written by Sharp's collaborators: Joshua Paulson, Christopher A. Miller and Hardy Merriman).

Suu Kyi, Aung San, [The Voice of Hope: Conversations with Alan Clements](#) [39], London, Penguin, 1997, pp. 301

Suu Kyi, Aung SanAris, Michael, [Freedom from Fear and Other Writings](#) [40], ed. [Aris, Michael](#) [41], London, Vintage Books, 1991, pp. 338



See especially Suu Kyi's writings on the democracy struggle in 'Part II', pp. 167-237, and essays by Josef Silverstein. 'Aung San Suu Kyi: Is she Burma's woman of destiny?', pp. 267-83 and Philip Kreager, 'Aung San Suu Kyi and the peaceful struggle for human rights in Burma', pp. 284-325.

See also: Aung San Suu Kyi, [The Voice of Hope: Conversations with Alan Clements](#) [39] London, Penguin, , 1997, pp. 301 , with contributions by U Kyi Maung and U Tin Oo, London, Penguin, 1997, pp. 301.

Than, Tharaphi, [Resistance to Military Regime in Myanmar Mounts as Nurses, Bankers Join Protests - Despite Bloody Crackdown](#) [42], The Conversation, 2021

A report on the resistance movement six weeks after the coup. This is one of a number of relevant articles carried by *The Conversation* (an independent international source of news and analysis run by academics) on the coup and resistance to it and on the wider context in Myanmar.

Weiss, Meredith Leigh ; Aspinall, Edward, [Student Activism in Asia: Between Protest and Powerlessness](#) [43], ed. [Solomon, Clare](#) [44], [Palmieri, Tania](#) [45], Minneapolis MN, University of Minnesota Press, 2012, pp. 318

Comparative examination of student-led protest challenging governments in Asia since the Second World War, with a focus on Burma, China, Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines

Wilton, Jen, [Touch the Earth](#) [46], New Internationalist, no. March, 2014, pp. 24-25

Provides snapshots of struggles by local people against chromite, bauxite, copper, silver and gold mining in Canada, Guinea, Burma, Mexico, Papua New Guinea and Mozambique, and notes movement in northern Peru, beginning 2008 and erupting into mass blockades in 2009, against logging and oil drilling.

Wintle, Justin, [Perfect Hostage: A Life of Aung San Suu Kyi](#) [47], London, Hutchinson, 2007, pp. 480

Part Three 'Sixteen Months' pp. 225-326 covers March 1988 to July 1989, the evolution of the protests and the regime clamp down; Part Four, pp. 329-429 covers Suu Kyi's house arrest, the 1990 elections, subsequent attempts to mobilize international pressure, and her defiance when released from arrest in 1998 and 2003.

Zunes, Stephen, [Civil Resistance against Coups: A Comparative and Historical Perspective](#) [48], ICNC Monograph Series, Washington D.C., ICNC, 2017, pp. 104 pb

Zunes provides detailed case studies of civil resistance to military coups in recent decades. His aim is to advance an analysis of the role of civil society and nonviolent movements in resisting such takeovers, and the role of international pressure and solidarity by both governments and activists. Eight coup attempts defeated by popular resistance are analyzed, including Bolivia, 1978, the USSR 1991, Thailand 1992 and Burkina Faso 2015, as well as four in which resistance did not succeed. Available in PDF

at: <https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/ICNC-Mono...> [49]

See also Vol.1. E.II.1.c. Burma: Resisting the 2021 Coup, which covers the mass popular mobilization against the February 2021 coup by the Burmese military junta.

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