

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY¹

Cited Publications by the Author

Books, Reports and Working Papers

- Selth, Andrew, *A Myanmar Miscellany: Selected Articles 2007–2023* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2024).
- Selth, Andrew, *Burma and the Threat of Invasion: Regime Fantasy or Strategic Reality?* Regional Outlook No. 17 (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2008).
- Selth, Andrew, *Burma's Armed Forces: Power Without Glory* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2002).
- Selth, Andrew, *Burma's Arms Procurement Programme*, Working Paper No. 289 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1995).
- Selth, Andrew, *Burma's Coco Islands: Rumours and Realities in the Indian Ocean*, Working Paper No. 101 (Hong Kong: Southeast Asia Research Centre, City University of Hong Kong, November 2008).
- Selth, Andrew, *Burma's Intelligence Apparatus*, Working Paper No. 308 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1997).
- Selth, Andrew, *Burma's North Korean Gambit: A Challenge to Regional Security?*, Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No. 154 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 2004).
- Selth, Andrew, *Burma's Police Forces: Continuities and Contradictions*, Regional Outlook No. 32 (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2011).
- Selth, Andrew, *Burma's Secret Military Partners*, Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No. 136 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 2000).
- Selth, Andrew, *Coercion and Control in Colonial Burma: The Birth of an Intelligence State*, Research Paper (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2023).
- Selth, Andrew, *Death of a Hero: The U Thant Disturbances in Burma, December 1974*, 3rd edition, Research Paper (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2018).
- Selth, Andrew, *Intelligence and Intelligence Agencies in Myanmar since the 2021 Coup*, Research Paper (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2023).
- Selth, Andrew, *Interpreting Myanmar: A Decade of Analysis* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2020).

- Selth, Andrew, *Myanmar: An Enduring Intelligence State or a State Enduring Intelligence?*, Asia Policy Paper (Washington DC: Stimson Centre, 7 April 2021), at <https://www.stimson.org/2021/myanmar-an-enduring-intelligence-state/>.
- Selth, Andrew, *Myanmar-Watching: Problems and Perspectives*, Regional Outlook No. 58 (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2018).
- Selth, Andrew, *Myanmar (Burma) since the 1988 Uprising: A Select Bibliography* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2022).
- Selth, Andrew, *Myanmar's Armed Forces and the Rohingya Crisis*, Peaceworks No. 140 (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2018).
- Selth, Andrew, *Myanmar's Military Mindset: An Exploratory Survey*, Research Paper (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2021).
- Selth, Andrew, *Police Reform in Burma (Myanmar): Aims, Obstacles and Outcomes*, Regional Outlook No. 44 (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2013).
- Selth, Andrew, *Secrets and Power in Myanmar: Intelligence and the Fall of General Khin Nyunt* (Singapore: ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute, 2019).
- Selth, Andrew, *Transforming the Tatmadaw: The Burmese Armed Forces since 1988*, Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No. 113 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1996).

Book Chapters and Major Articles

- Selth, Andrew, "All Going According to Plan? The Armed Forces and Government in Myanmar", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 40, No. 1, April 2018, pp. 1–26.
- Selth, Andrew, "Australian Defence Contacts with Burma, 1945–1987", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3, July 1992, pp. 451–68.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma and North Korea: Smoke or fire?", Policy Analysis, *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 24 August 2009, at <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/burma-and-north-korea-smoke-or-fire>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma and the Strategic Competition Between China and India", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, June 1996, pp. 213–30.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma, China and the Myth of Military Bases", *Asian Security*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 2007, pp. 279–307.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma's Intelligence Apparatus", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 13, No. 4, Winter 1998, pp. 33–70.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma's Mythical Isles", *Australian Quarterly*, Vol. 80, No. 6, November–December 2008, pp. 24–8.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma's 'Saffron Revolution' and the Limits of International Influence", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 62, No. 3, September 2008, pp. 281–97.
- Selth, Andrew [as William Ashton], "Chinese Bases in Burma—Fact or Fiction?", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, February 1995, pp. 84–7.
- Selth, Andrew, "Even Paranoids Have Enemies: Cyclone Nargis and Myanmar's Fears of Invasion", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 30, No. 3, 2008, pp. 379–402.

- Selth, Andrew, "Investigating an Authoritarian Intelligence Apparatus: The Case of Myanmar", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 2025, pp. 187–95.
- Selth, Andrew, "Known Knowns and Known Unknowns: Measuring Myanmar's Military Capabilities", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 31, No. 2, August 2009, pp. 272–95.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar", in Bob de Graaff (ed.), *Intelligence Communities and Cultures in Asia and the Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2020), pp. 197–214.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar: The Development of an Intelligence State", in Ryan Shaffer and ASM Ali Ashraf (eds.), *Intelligence Services in South Asia: Colonial Past and Post-Colonial Realities* (New York: Routledge, 2025), pp. 116–32.
- Selth, Andrew [as William Ashton], "Myanmar boosts cyberwar capabilities", *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter*, October 2001, pp. 20–1.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar revamps its military intelligence apparatus", *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter*, Vol. 24, No. 4, June–July 1998, pp. 11–2.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar's Coercive Apparatus: The Long Road to Reform", in D.I. Steinberg (ed.), *Myanmar: The Dynamics of an Evolving Polity* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2015), pp. 13–36.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar's Intelligence Apparatus and the Fall of General Khin Nyunt", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 34, No. 5, May 2019, pp. 619–36.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar's Police Forces: Coercion, Continuity and Change", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 34, No. 1, April 2012, pp. 53–79.
- Selth, Andrew, "Police Reform and the 'Civilianisation' of Security in Myanmar", in Melissa Crouch and Tim Lindsey (eds.), *Law, Society and Transition in Myanmar* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2014), pp. 271–88.
- Selth, Andrew, "Race and Resistance in Burma, 1942–1945", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1986, pp. 483–507.
- Selth, Andrew, "SLORC's 'Intel-Net': Burma's Intelligence Apparatus", *Burma Debate*, Vol. 4, No. 4, October 1997, pp. 4–18.
- Selth, Andrew, "Spy Versus Spy: Myanmar's Multiple Counterintelligence Challenges", *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, advance copy posted online 25 April 2025, pp. 1–34, at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/08850607.2025.2453723?needAccess=true>.
- Selth, Andrew [as William Ashton], "The Burmese Air Force", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol. 6, No. 10, October 1994, pp. 463–6.

Online Sources

- Selth, Andrew, "A no-fly zone won't fly in Myanmar", *East Asia Forum*, 19 February 2022, at <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2022/02/19/a-no-fly-zone-wont-fly-in-myanmar/>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Are Western intelligence agencies 'fuelling an armed rebellion' in Myanmar?", *The Interpreter*, 10 August 2023, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/are-western-intelligence-agencies-fuelling-armed-rebellion-myanmar>.

- Selth, Andrew, "Beware sensational claims about Myanmar's security environment", *The Interpreter*, 13 October 2023, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/beware-sensational-claims-about-myanmar-s-security-environment>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma: A critical look at those chemical weapons claims", *The Interpreter*, 25 February 2014, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/burma-critical-look-those-chemical-weapons-claims>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma: Conspiracies and other theories", *The Interpreter*, 5 June 2013, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/burma-conspiracies-and-other-theories>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma: Police reforms expand women's roles", *The Interpreter*, 1 May 2015, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/burma-police-reforms-expand-women-s-roles>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma: The return of the 'vigilantes'", *The Interpreter*, 22 April 2015, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/burma-return-vigilantes>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma and the politics of names", *The Interpreter*, 12 July 2010, at <https://archive.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/burma-and-politics-names>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma Police: The long road to reform", *The Interpreter*, 13 December 2012, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/archive/burma-police-long-road-reform>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Burma's 'superstitious' leaders", *The Interpreter*, 22 October 2009, at <https://archive.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/burma-uperstitious-leaders>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Chinese spy bases on Myanmar's Great Coco Island?: Here we go again", *The Interpreter*, 1 May 2023, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/chinese-spy-bases-myanmar-s-great-coco-island-here-we-go-again>.
- Selth, Andrew, "How credible are the casualty figures coming out of Myanmar?", *The Interpreter*, 20 September 2023, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/how-credible-are-casualty-figures-coming-out-myanmar>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Is world opinion shifting on lethal aid to Myanmar's opposition movement?", *Asialink Insights*, 22 March 2022, at <https://asialink.unimelb.edu.au/insights/is-world-opinion-shifting-on-lethal-aid-to-myanmars-opposition-movement>.
- Selth, Andrew, "It is too early to write off Myanmar's junta", *East Asia Forum*, 16 December 2023, at <https://eastasiaforum.org/2023/12/16/it-is-too-early-to-write-off-myanmars-junta/>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Journeys Without Maps in Myanmar", *New Mandala*, 12 September 2016, at <https://www.newmandala.org/journeys-without-maps-myanmar/>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Military manpower has become a critical factor for Myanmar junta", *Asialink Insights*, 6 December 2023, at <https://asialink.unimelb.edu.au/insights/military-manpower-has-become-a-critical-factor-for-myanmars-junta>.
- Selth, Andrew, "More name games in Burma/Myanmar", *The Interpreter*, 10 August 2016, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/more-name-games-Burmamyanmar>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar: What the generals hear might not be what the world means", *The Interpreter*, 12 March 2024, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/myanmar-what-generals-hear-might-not-be-what-world-means>.

- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar and the second oldest profession", *New Mandala*, 1 March 2024, at <https://www.newmandala.org/myanmar-and-the-second-oldest-profession/>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar police force needs more foreign help to reform", *The Interpreter*, 3 December 2014, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/myanmar-police-force-needs-more-foreign-help-reform>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar, terrorism and the demands of international politics", *The Interpreter*, 15 June 2021, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/myanmar-terrorism-demands-international-politics>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar's civil war and the myth of military victory" *Asialink Insights*, 28 June 2022, at <https://asialink.unimelb.edu.au/insights/myanmars-civil-war-and-the-myth-of-military-victory>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar's intelligence apparatus since the fall of General Khin Nyunt in 2004", *Griffith Asia Insights*, 28 March 2019, at <https://blogs.griffith.edu.au/asiainsights/myanmars-intelligence-apparatus-since-the-fall-of-general-khin-nyunt-in-2004/>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar's intelligence apparatus under Aung San Suu Kyi", *The Interpreter*, 12 April 2019, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/myanmar-s-intelligence-apparatus-under-aung-san-suu-kyi>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar's Intelligence State", *Australian Outlook*, 20 September 2018, at <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/myanmars-intelligence-state/>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar's intelligence war: The battle of wits and wiles against the junta", *The Interpreter*, 30 May 2023, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/myanmar-s-intelligence-war-battle-wits-wiles-against-junta>.
- Andrew Selth, "Myanmar's MI and the Kempeitai: A Historical Footnote", *New Mandala*, 18 December 2024, at <https://www.newmandala.org/myanmars-mi-and-the-kempeitai-a-historical-footnote/>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Myanmar's war within a war: Informers and the trust deficit", *The Interpreter*, 11 June 2024, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/myanmar-s-war-within-war-informers-trust-deficit>.
- Selth, Andrew, "The coup in Myanmar: What do we know?", *The Interpreter*, 3 February 2021, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/coup-myanmar-what-do-we-know>.
- Selth, Andrew, "The Potential for Army-Police Rivalry in Myanmar", *The Interpreter*, 2 February 2016, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/potential-army-police-rivalry-myanmar>.
- Selth, Andrew, "The Rangoon Bombing: A Historical Footnote", *The Interpreter*, 16 May 2012, at <https://archive.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/Rangoon-bombing-historical-footnote>.
- Selth, Andrew, "Three years on from the coup, what could help Myanmar's opposition movement?", *The Interpreter*, 17 January 2024, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/three-years-coup-what-could-help-myanmar-s-opposition-movement>.
- Selth, Andrew, "With new coastguard, Myanmar looks to improve maritime security", *The Interpreter*, 9 September 2019, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/new-coastguard-myanmar-looks-improve-maritime-security>.

Selth, Andrew and Gallagher, Adam, "What's In a Name: Burma or Myanmar?", *The Olive Branch*, 21 June 2018, at <https://www.usip.org/blog/2018/06/whats-name-burma-or-myanmar>.

Official Documents and Publications

Burma and Myanmar

A Resident of Kayin State, *Whither KNU?* (Rangoon: News and Periodicals Enterprise, 1995).

"A Review of the Annual Report for the Year 2000 of the Reporters Sans Frontiers", *The Truth*, Vol. 7, 16 May 2000 (Yangon: Office of Strategic Studies, 2000).

Burma and the Insurrections (Rangoon: Government of the Union of Burma, 1949).

Burma Communist Party's Conspiracy to take over State Power (Rangoon: News and Periodicals Enterprise, 1989).

"Complete Explanation on the Developments in the Country given by General Thura Shwe Mann, member of the State Peace and Development Council and Lt. General Soe Win, Prime Minister, at Zeya Thiri Hall on October 24, 2004 and Explanation by Secretary-1, Lt. General Thein Sein, Chairman of the National Convention Convening Commission on October 22, 2004", supplement to the *Global New Light of Myanmar*, 7 November 2004.

Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar (2008) (Nay Pyi Taw: Ministry of Information, 2008).

Cruel and Vicious Repression of Myanmar Peoples by Imperialists and Fascists and the True Story About the Plunder of the Royal Jewels (Yangon: Ministry of Information, Government of the Union of Myanmar, 1991).

Daw Suu Kyi, the NLD Party and Our Ray of Hope and Selected Articles (Yangon: News and Periodicals Enterprise, 2003).

Hla Min, *Political Situation of Myanmar and Its Role In The Region* (Yangon: Office of Strategic Studies, Ministry of Defence, 1997).

"How Some Western Powers Have Been Aiding and Abetting Terrorism Committed By Certain Organisations Operating Under the Guise Of Democracy And Human Rights by Giving Them Assistance in Both Cash And Kind", Special news briefing by the Secretary-1 of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, Lt-Gen Khin Nyunt, in the Defence Services Assembly Hall, Rangoon, 27 June 1997.

Human Resource Development and Nation Building in Myanmar: Papers Presented at the International Business Centre, from 18th to 20th November 1997 (Yangon: Office of Strategic Studies, Ministry of Defence, 1998).

Is Trust Vindicated? A chronicle of the various accomplishments of the Government headed by General Ne Win during the period of tenure from November, 1958 to February 6, 1960 (Rangoon: Director of Information, Government of the Union of Burma, 1960).

Karen Insurrection (Rangoon: Government of the Union of Burma, 1949).

Kuomintang Aggression Against Burma (Rangoon: Ministry of Information, 1953).

Military Terms (Yangon: Directorate of Training, Ministry of Defence, 2007) (in Burmese).

- National Intelligence Bureau Law (Pyitthu Hluttaw Law No. 10 of 1983).*
- Scheming and Activities of the Burma Communist Party Politburo to Seize State Power* (Yangon: State Law and Order Restoration Council, 1990).
- Skyful of Lies: BBC, VOA: Their Broadcasts and Rebuttals to Disinformation* (Rangoon: News and Periodicals Enterprise, Ministry of Information, August 1988).
- Staff Duty* (Yangon: Directorate of Training, Ministry of Defence, 1989) (in Burmese).
- State Law and Order Restoration Council Chairman Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services General Saw Maung's Addresses* (Yangon: State Law and Order Restoration Council, 1990).
- Symposium on Socio-Economic Factors Contributing to National Consolidation: Papers and Discussions Presented at the Symposium Held at the International Business Centre, 6 1/2 Miles, Yangon, from 9th to 11th October 1996* (Yangon: Office of Strategic Studies, Ministry of Defence, 1996).
- The Bomb Attack at the Martyrs' Mausoleum in Rangoon: Report on the findings of the Enquiry Committee and the measures taken by the Burmese Government* (Rangoon: Government of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, 1983) (mimeograph copy in the author's possession).
- The Conspiracy of Treasonous Minions Within the Myanmar Naing-Ngan and Traitorous Cohorts Abroad* (Rangoon: Ministry of Information, October 1989).
- The Constitution of the Union of Burma* (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1948).
- The Infantry Battalion* (Yangon: Directorate of Training, Ministry of Defence, 2000) (in Burmese).
- The Protection Given by State Law and Order Restoration Council (Tatmadaw) for the People's Lives and Property and the Activities of Destructive Elements* (Yangon: State Law and Order Restoration Council, 1990).
- U Nu, *From Peace to Stability: Selected Speeches* (Rangoon: Government of Burma, 1951).
- Web of Conspiracy: Complicated Stories of Treacherous Machinations and Intrigues of BCP UG, DAB, and Some NLD Leaders to Seize State Power* (Rangoon: State Law and Order Restoration Council, 1990).

United Kingdom²

- Burma During the Japanese Occupation*, 2 vols. (Simla: Burma Intelligence Bureau, 1943 and 1944).
- Burma Handbook* (Simla: Government of Burma, 1943).
- Burma Police Manual, Vol. 1: Administration, Crime and Instructions for Executive Duties* (Rangoon: Ye Kye Mon Press, 1985).
- Burma Police Manual, Vol. 2, Containing Orders and Rules made for the Burma Police with the Sanction of Government* (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1940).
- Burma Police Manual, Vol. 3, Containing Orders and Rules made for the Railway Police with the Sanction of Government* (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1940).

- Callwell, C.A., *Hints on Reconnaissance in Little Known Countries* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1890).
- Callwell, C.A., *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*, 3rd edition (London: War Office, 1906).
- Coldstream, W.M., *Records of the Survey of India, Vol. 12, Notes on Survey of India Maps* (Calcutta: Surveyor General of India, 1919).
- Collen, E.E.H., *Report on the Intelligence Branch, Quarter-master General's Department, Horse Guards* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1878).
- Cooke-Hurle, E.F., *Report on the Kaukkwe Police Column Operations during the Cold Season of 1892–93: Together with appendix, including routes, sketches, etc.* (Rangoon: Government Press, 1893).
- Couchman, G.H.H., *Report of the Intelligence Officer on Tour with the Superintendent, Northern Shan States, 1895–96* (Rangoon: Superintendent of Government Printing, Burma, 1896).
- Country of Origin Information Report: Burma (Union of Myanmar)* (London: UK Border Agency, Home Office, 23 July 2010).
- Country of Origin Information (COI) Report: Burma (Myanmar)* (London: UK Border Agency, Home Office, 2 February 2012).
- Criminal Investigation Department Manual, Part I: Crime, Crime Classification, Finger Prints and Detective Training School* (Rangoon: Central Press, 1925).
- Criminal Investigation Department Manual, Part 3* (Rangoon: Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1922?).
- Davies, H.R., *Report on the Part of Yunnan between the Bhamo Frontier and the Salween* (Rangoon: Superintendent of Government Printing, Burma, 1894).
- Fenton, A.B., *Routes in Upper Burma, including the Chin Hills and Shan Hills, to which are added a number of routes leading from Lower Burma and Siam into those districts* (Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1894).
- Final Report of the Riot Inquiry Committee* (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1939).
- Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India, compiled in the Intelligence Branch, Division of the Chief of Staff, Army Headquarters, India, Vol. 1, Tribes North of the Kabul River* (Simla: Government Monotype Press, 1907).
- Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India, compiled in the Intelligence Branch, Division of the Chief of Staff, Army Headquarters, India, Vol. V, Burma* (Simla: Government Monotype Press, 1907).
- History of the Third Burmese War (1888–89) Period 4: The Winter Campaign of 1888–89 and Subsequent Operations up to December 3rd 1889, Compiled under the orders of the Quarter Master General in India, in the Intelligence Branch by Major N. Newnham Davis* (Simla: Government Central Printing Office, 1893).
- Lang, G.G., *Report of the Intelligence Officer, Kamaing Column, on the country around Indawgyi Lake* (Rangoon: Government Press, 1894).
- Military Report on Yunnan, Parts I and II, Compiled in the Intelligence Branch, Quarter-Master General's Department, Simla, by Captain L.D. Fraser* (Simla: Government Central Printing Office, 1902).

- Murray, J. Wolfe, *Handbook of the Russian Troops in Asia* (London: War Office, 1890).
- Official Narrative of and Papers Connected with the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo, under the Guidance of Major E.B. Sladen* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1870).
- Report of the Burma Police Inquiry Committee 1924* (Rangoon: Government Printing, 1924).
- Report of the Indian Police Commission and Resolution of the Government of India* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1905).
- Report on a Reconnaissance in the Southern Shan States, 1894–95* (Rangoon: Superintendent of Government Printing, Burma, 1897).
- Scott, J.G., *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (Rangoon: Superintendent of Government Printing, Burma, 1900–1901).
- Smart, R.B., *Burma Gazetteer, Akyab District*, Vol. A (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1917).
- The Abridged Law Manual for Sub-Inspectors of Police, Burma* (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Union of Burma, 1956).
- The British Burma Gazetteer* (Rangoon: Government Press, 1879–80).
- The Burma District Cesses and Rural Police Act, 1880 (Act II of 1880)*, 24 January 1880.
- The Burma Political Tree*, Special Confidential Supplement to the Burma Police Abstract of Intelligence, Vol. 36, No. 37, Rangoon, 17 September 1932.
- The Engineer Officers Hand Book on Burma, 1943* (Simla: Government of India Press, 1944).
- The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 14 vols. (London: Trubner and Co., 1885).
- The India Police Act, 1861 (Act V of 1861)*, 22 March 1861.
- The Rangoon Police Act, 1899 (Act IV of 1899)*, 15 June 1899.
- The Security Service 1908–1945: The Official History* (London: Public Record Office, 1999).
- Tinker, Hugh (ed.), *Burma: The Struggle for Independence 1944–48*, 2 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1984).
- Trans-Frontier Routes: India-Burma* (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1944).
- Wolseley, Garnet, *The Soldier's Pocket Book for Field Service*, 5th edition (London: War Office, 1886).

United States of America³

- Analysis of Internal Security Situation in Burma and Recommended Action* (Washington DC: Operations Coordinating Board, 16 November 1955).
- Annual Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community* (Washington DC: Office of the Director of National Intelligence, 6 February 2023).
- Assistant Legislative Council, "Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Item 81" (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, 14 April 1972).
- Background Information on the Soviet Union in International Relations*, Printed for the Committee on Foreign Affairs (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1961).

- Burma: 1993 Human Rights Practices* (Washington DC: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Department of State, 31 January 1994).
- Burma: 2004 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* (Washington DC: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Department of State, 28 February 2005).
- Burma: 2012 Human Rights Report* (Washington DC: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Department of State, 2013).
- Burma: 2013 International Religious Freedom Report* (Washington DC: Department of State, 2013).
- Burma: 2015 Human Rights Report* (Washington DC: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Department of State, 2016).
- Burma: 2016 Human Rights Report* (Washington DC: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour Department of State, 2017).
- Burma: 2017 Human Rights Report* (Washington DC: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Department of State, 2018).
- Burma: 2019 Human Rights Report* (Washington DC: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Department of State, 2019).
- Burma: 2020 Human Rights Report* (Washington DC: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Department of State, 2020).
- Burma: 2021 Human Rights Report* (Washington DC: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, US Department of State, 2021).
- Burma: 2022 Human Rights Report* (Washington DC: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Department of State, 2023).
- Burma: 2023 Human Rights Report* (Washington DC: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, US Department of State, 2024).
- Burma After Ne Win's First Four Years*, Special Report, Office of Current Intelligence (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, 1 April 1966).
- Burma: Political Transition: An Intelligence Assessment*, (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, June 1984).
- Burma Unified Through Rigorous Military Accountability Act of 2022*, (*BURMA Act: HR 5497*), 6 April 2022.
- Burma (Myanmar) Country Handbook* (Quantico: Marine Corps Intelligence Activity, 1997).
- Burma's Rice Problem*, Intelligence Memorandum ER IM 68–79 (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, July 1968).
- Chinese Communist Capabilities for Attacking India Through Burmese Territory*, USIB Memorandum (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, 28 May 1963).
- Chinese Communist Military Logistics and Capabilities: Tab B—Chinese Communist Capabilities to Attack India Thru Burma* (Washington DC: Defence Intelligence Agency, 4 November 1964).
- CIF Involvement in Narcotics Trafficking*, Central Intelligence Agency, 1985(?), at <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP86T01017R000808060002-7.pdf>.
- “Conference on Cultural Freedom in Asia” (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 16 June 1955).
- Contingencies and Background Paper, 1 August 1965—30 July 1966* (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, 1966).

- Current Situation in Burma* (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 17 March 1949).
- "Directorate of Defence Services Intelligence (DDSI) Influence in Burma", US Army Intelligence and Security Command (INSCOM), 12 January 1973.
- East Germany: Soviet Partner in the LDCs: An Intelligence Assessment* (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, September 1983).
- Fundamentals of Traffic Analysis (Radio-Telegraph)*, TM 32-250 AFM 100-80, Departments of the Army and Air Force (Washington DC: United States Printing Office, 1948).
- Government of Burma Security Measures Concerning Communists in Burma*, Information Report (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 27 May 1953).
- Human Intelligence Collector Operations: FM 2-22.3 (FM 34-5)* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 6 September 2006).
- Intelligence Report: Peking and the Burmese Communists: The Perils and Profits of Insurgency* (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, July 1971).
- "Memorandum Prepared in the Central Intelligence Agency", 16 March 1962, *Office of the Historian*, Department of State, at <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v23/d51>.
- Political Upheaval in Burma*, Directorate of Intelligence (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, 20 September 1983).
- Probable Developments in Burma*, National Intelligence Estimate No. 61-56 (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 10 April 1956).
- Probable Developments in Burma Through 1953*, National Intelligence Estimate NIE-74 (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 20 February 1953).
- Prospects for Survival of a Non-Communist Regime in Burma*, National Intelligence Estimate NIE-36/1, 28 November 1951 (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1951).
- "Rakhine State", Information Report, *Defence Intelligence Agency*, May 1991, at <https://www.dia.mil/FOIA/FOIA-Electronic-Reading-Room/FileId/162139/>.
- Relations Between Communist China and Burma*, Intelligence Memorandum (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, 29 January 1968).
- Report on Activities to Support Democracy Activists in Burma as Required by the Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act of 2003*, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, US Department of State, 30 October 2003.
- Report on the Civil Police Forces of the Union of Burma* (Washington DC: International Cooperation Administration, December 1957).
- Resistance of Thailand, Burma and Malaya to Communist Pressures in the Event of a Communist Victory in Indochina in 1951*, National Intelligence Estimate NIE-20 (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 20 March 1951).
- "Review of Communist Activity in Burma", Information Report (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, July-September 1951).
- Soviet Intelligence in Asia: Hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-Sixth Congress, Testimony of Aleksandr Yurievich Kasnakheyev, 14 December 1959* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1959).

- “Soviet Use of Assassination and Kidnapping”, prepared for the Warren Commission by the Central Intelligence Agency, Langley, 1964.
- The Asian Solidarity Committee (ASC)* (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.).
- The Joint Chiefs of Staff, US Department of Defence, *Dictionary of Military Terms* (New York: Arco Publishing, 1988).
- The Outlook for Burma*, National Intelligence Estimate No. 61–60 (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 12 April 1960).
- The World Peace Council: A Soviet—Sponsored International Communist Front* (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, December 1971).
- Tom Lantos Block Burmese JADE (Junta’s Anti-Democratic Efforts) Act of 2008*, 29 July 2008.
- “Update of Burma Handbook” (Langley: Central Intelligence Agency, November 1970).

Diplomatic Correspondence⁴

- “1986 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report (INCSR)—Burma, Part 1”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 9 December 1985, at <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP87B00858R000600930006-2.pdf>.
- “An Overview of Northern Thailand-Based Burmese Media Organisations”, Cable from the US Consulate General, Chiang Mai, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 14 February 2007, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07CHIANGMAI33_a.html.
- “Arakan Rohingya National Organisation Contacts With Al Qaeda And With Burmese Insurgent Groups On The Thai Border”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 10 October 2002, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/02RANGOON1310_a.html.
- “Australia Sees Grim Burma Getting Grimmer”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 14 September 2005, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/05RANGOON1054_a.html.
- “Bombing Incident in Rangoon”, Cable from the Secretary of State, Washington DC, to the US Embassy in Seoul, 9 October 1983, declassified on 23 June 2005 (copy in author’s possession).
- “Burma: 2004 Annual Terrorism Report”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 23 December 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON1627_a.html.
- “Burma: Grassroots Opposition to Chinese-Backed Dam in Northern Burma”, Cable from US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 14 January 2020, at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/sep/30/us-embassy-cables-myitsone-dam-document>.
- “Burma: Khin Nyunt’s Cronies Feeling the Squeeze”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 30 November 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON1518_a.html.

- “Burma: Khin Nyunt’s Gone, But Big Brother’s Still Watching”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 1 December 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON1522_a.html.
- “Burma: New Secret Police Special Units”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 8 November 2001, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/03RANGOON1326_a.html.
- “Burma: Tatmadaw Takes Away M.I.’s Keys”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 24 November 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON1503_a.html.
- “Burma: US Bilateral Initiatives Victim of Post-Khin Nyunt Purge”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 14 January 2005, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/05RANGOON104_a.html.
- “Burma: Views From Military Intelligence”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 30 April 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON545_a.html.
- “Burma: Who’s Who in the Regime”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 7 December 2007, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07RANGOON1170_a.html.
- “Burma’s Generals Promote Themselves”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 30 March 1993, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/93RANGOON1836_a.html.
- “Burma’s Grunts vs MI: Round One?”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 14 October 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON1345_a.html.
- “Burma’s Least Wanted: The Rohingyas”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 22 February 2007, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07RANGOON181_a.html.
- “Burma’s Relations with Communist Countries”, Cable from the US Embassy Rangoon to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 6 November 1978, at <https://aad.archives.gov/aad/createpdf?rid=275391&dt=2694&dl=2009>.
- “Burmese Allegations that Americans Trained Karen Dissidents”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 25 April 1974, *Public Library of US Diplomacy* at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1974RANGOO01078_b.html.
- “Burmese Arrest Taiwan Intelligence Agents”, Cable from US Embassy Rangoon to the State Department, Washington DC, 9 June 1978, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1978RANGOO02098_d.html.
- “Burmese General Khin Nyunt As Prime Minister: Promotion or Demotion?”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 26 August 2003, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/03RANGOON1029_a.html.

- “Burmese Regime Begins Release of 4,000 Prisoners”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 19 November 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON1488_a.html.
- “Burmese Regime Recalls Foreign Envoys for ‘Reorientation’”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 1 December 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON1524_a.html.
- “Business As Usual: The SPDC Shows Little Concern About Up-Coming ILO Review, Release of ASSK, Or Return Of UN Special Envoy”, Cable from the US Embassy in Rangoon to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 26 October 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON1402_a.html.
- “EAP DAS Daley Meets With SPDC Secretary One General Khin Nyunt—Discussion on Counter-Terrorism, Political Dialogue and Prisoner Releases Show Some Result”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 7 May 2003, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/03RANGOON554_a.html.
- “Economic Tensions in the Burmese Military”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 30 July 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON967_a.html.
- “Is the Burmese Regime Coming Unglued?”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 28 January 2005, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/05RANGOON121_a.html.
- “Khin Nyunt’s Ouster: One Week Later”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 26 October 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON1401_a.html.
- “KNU Secretary General Assassinated”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 15 February 2008, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08CHIANGMA127_a.html.
- “Lee Kuan Yew on Burma’s ‘Stupid’ Generals and the ‘Gambler’ Chen Shui-Bian”, Cable from the US Embassy, Singapore, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 19 October 2007, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07SINGAPORE1932_a.html.
- “Military Intelligence-Affiliated Media Shut Down”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 20 October 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON1366_a.html.
- “NLD In Central Burma: Treading Water”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 6 July 2006, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06RANGOON946_a.html.
- “No Big Power Struggle Behind Customs Arrests”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 16 January 2007, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07RANGOON52_a.html.

“Parting Thoughts on Burma”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 4 August 2005, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/05RANGOON901_a.html.

“Rangoon Incidents/Anomalies”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 25 November 2013, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/03RANGOON1519_a.html.

“Scenesetter For Codel Webb To Burma”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 5 August 2009, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/09RANGOON494_a.html.

“Telegram from the Consulate General in Geneva to the Department of State”, 18 July 1962, *Office of the Historian*, Department of State, at <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v23/d53>.

“Telegram from the Embassy in Burma to the Department of State”, 31 March 1961, *Office of the Historian*, Department of State, at <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v23/d47>.

“Telegram from the Embassy in Burma to the Department of State”, 31 July 1964, *Office of the Historian*, Department of State, at <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v27/d99>.

“Teng Hsiao-ping Visit to Burma—A Wrap-up Report and Assessment”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 3 February 1978, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1978RANGOO00424_d.html.

“Thai-Burmese Cooperation”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 1 September 1977, *US Library of Public Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1977RANGOO02699_c.html.

“The Burmese Regime Airs its Dirty Laundry: Former PM ‘Corrupt and Insubordinate’”, Cable from the US Embassy, Rangoon, to the Secretary of State, Washington DC, 12 November 2004, *Public Library of US Diplomacy*, at https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04RANGOON1462_a.html.

Other Countries and International Organizations

A Lingering Nightmare: The Rangoon Bombing (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1984).

Australian Federal Police Annual Report 2000–2001 (Canberra: Australian Federal Police, 2001).

Detailed Findings of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar (Geneva: UN Human Rights Council, 16 September 2019).

DFAT Country Information Report: Myanmar (Canberra: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 11 November 2022).

Enabling Atrocities: Arms Transfers by States Members of the United Nations to the Myanmar Military, UN Human Rights Council, 22 February 2022.

Hill, Cameron, *Defence cooperation with Myanmar—Australia and other countries: A quick guide*, Research Paper Series, 2017–18 (Canberra: Parliamentary Library, Parliament of Australia, 13 October 2017).

- Massacre in Rangoon: North Korean Terrorism* (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1983).
- “Myanmar (Burma): Whether the military intelligence force in Myanmar has been fully or partially disbanded and who is carrying out their duties (2004–February 2008)” (Ottawa: Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 25 February 2008).
- “North Korea’s Bombing of the Aung San Cemetery” (Seoul: National Intelligence Service, 6 April 2001) (typescript in the author’s possession).
- Rangoon Justice: North Korean Terrorists on Trial* (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1984).
- Report of the independent international fact-finding mission on Myanmar*, United Nations Human Rights Council, A/HRC/39/64, Geneva, 12 September 2018.
- Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar*, Yanghee Lee, United Nations General Assembly, Human Rights Council, A/HRC/28/72, Geneva, 23 March 2015.
- “Research Response No. MMR33916, Burma”, Research and Information Services Section, Refugee Review Tribunal, Australia, 14 November 2008.
- “Resolution 2669 (2020)”, *United Nations Security Council*, 21 December 2022, at <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n22/767/33/pdf/n2276733.pdf>.
- The Billion Dollar Death Trade: The International Arms Networks that Enable Human Rights Violations in Myanmar*, UN Human Rights Council, 17 May 2023.
- “UN Documents for Myanmar”, *Security Council Report*, at <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-documents/myanmar/>.

Books, Reports and Research Monographs

- 66(d): *No Real Change: An analysis of complaints made before and after the 2017 amendment* (Yangon?: Free Expression Myanmar, December 2017).
- A Choice for China: Ending the destruction of Burma’s northern frontier forests*, A Briefing Document by Global Witness, Bangkok, October 2005.
- Ad Hoc and As Usual: Thai Government’s Responses to the Myanmar Crisis Since the 2021 Coup* (Brisbane: Asia-Pacific Centre—Responsibility to Protect, University of Queensland, April 2022).
- Adams, James, *Sellout: Aldrich Ames and the Corruption of the CIA* (New York: Viking, 1995).
- Adas, Michael, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- Adas, Michael, *The Burma Delta: Economic Development and Social Change on an Asian Rice Frontier, 1852–1941* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).
- Aldrich, Richard J., *The Hidden Hand: Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence* (Woodstock: Overlook Press, 2001).
- Aldrich, Richard J., Cormac, Rory and Goodman, M.S., *Spying on the World: The Declassified Documents of the Joint Intelligence Committee, 1936–2013* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

- Aldrich, Richard J., Rawnsley, G.D. and Rawnsley, Ming-Yeh, *The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945–65: Western Intelligence, Propaganda and Special Operations* (London: Frank Cass and Co., 2000).
- Allason, Rupert, *The Branch: A History of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch 1883–1983* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1983).
- An Avoidable War: Politics and Armed Conflict in Myanmar's Rakhine State*, Asia Report No. 307 (Brussels: International Crisis Group, 9 June 2020).
- Andrew, Christopher, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community* (London: Heinemann, 1995).
- Andrew, Christopher, *The Secret World: A History of Intelligence* (London: Allen Lane, 2018).
- Andrew, Christopher and Gordievsky, Oleg, *KGB: The Inside Story* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990).
- Andrew, Christopher and Mitrokhin, Visili, *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World* (New York: Basic Books, 2005).
- Anti-money laundering and counter-terrorist financing measures: Myanmar: Mutual Evaluation Report* (Bangkok: Asia/Pacific Group on Money Laundering, September 2018).
- Aung San Suu Kyi, *Letters from Burma* (London: Penguin, 1996).
- Aung-Thwin, Matrii, *The Return of the Galon King: History, Law, and Rebellion in Colonial Burma* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011).
- Aung Tun, *The Political Economy of Education in Myanmar: Recorrecting the Past, Redirecting the Present and Reengaging the Future*, Economics Working Paper 2022–5 (Singapore: ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute, September 2022).
- Ba Maw, *Breakthrough in Burma: Memoirs of a Revolution, 1939–1946* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).
- Baden-Powell, Robert, *Indian Memories: Recollections of Soldiering, Sports, etc.* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1915).
- Bader, Julia, *China's Foreign Relations and the Survival of Autocracies* (London: Routledge, 2015).
- Bagshawe, L.E. (ed.), *The Kinwun Min-Gyi's London Diary: The First Mission of a Burmese Minister to Britain, 1872* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2006).
- Bailey, F.M., *Mission to Tashkent* (London: Folio Society, 2003).
- Ball, Desmond, *Burma's Military Secrets: Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) from 1941 to Cyber Warfare* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998).
- Ball, Desmond, *How the Tatmadaw Talks: The Burmese Army's Radio Systems*, Working Paper No. 388 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 2004).
- Ball, Desmond, *Security Developments in the Thailand-Burma Borderlands*, Working Paper No. 9 (Sydney: Australian Mekong Resource Centre, University of Sydney, October 2003).
- Ball, Desmond, *Signals Intelligence in the Post-Cold War Era: Developments in the Asia-Pacific Region* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993).

- Ball, Desmond, *Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) in South Asia: India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka (Ceylon)*, Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No. 117 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1996).
- Ball, Desmond, *Soviet Signals Intelligence (SIGINT)*, Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No. 47 (Canberra, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1989).
- Ball, Desmond, *The Boys in Black: The Thahan Phran (Rangers), Thailand's Para-Military Border Guards* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2004).
- Barron, John, *KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents* (London: Corgi Books, 1974).
- Bayly, C.A., *Empire and Information: Intelligence gathering and social communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Bayo, Alberto, *150 Questions for a Guerrilla* (Denver: Cypress Printing, 1963).
- Beaver, William, *Under Every Leaf: How Britain Played the Greater Game from Afghanistan to Africa* (London: Biteback, 2012).
- Blackburn, Terence R., *The Defeat of Mandalay: The Third Anglo-Burmese War* (Delhi: APH Publishing, 2010).
- Blacker, L.V.S., *On Secret Patrol in High Asia* (London: John Murray, 1922).
- Bloch, Jonathan and Fitzgerald, Patrick, *British Intelligence and Covert Action* (London: Junction, 1983).
- Bo Kyi and Hannah Scott, *Torture, Political Prisoners and the Un-rule of Law: Challenges to Peace, Security and Human Rights in Myanmar* (Mae Sot: Assistance Association for Political Prisoners, 2011).
- Bo Tun Kyi (Monywa), *My Experiences Over Fifty Years* (Yangon: Moe Ywae, 2010) (in Burmese).
- Boucaud, Andre and Boucaud, Louis, *Burma's Golden Triangle: On the Trail of the Opium Warlords* (Hong Kong: Asia 2000, 1992).
- Boudreau, Vincent, *Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Bradshaw, John, *Sir Thomas Munro and the British Settlement of the Madras Presidency* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894).
- Breaking Gender and Age Barriers amid Myanmar's Spring Revolution*, Asia Briefing No. 174 (Melbourne/Yangon/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 16 February 2023).
- Briefing Paper: Effective Control in Myanmar*, Special Advisory Council—Myanmar, 5 September 2022.
- Broman, Barry Michael, *Risk Taker, Spy Maker: Tales of a CIA Case Officer* (Philadelphia: Casemate, 2020).
- Browne, E.C., *The Coming of the Great Queen: A Narrative of the Acquisition of Burma* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1888).
- Buchanan, John, *Militias in Myanmar* (Yangon: Asia Foundation, July 2016).
- Bullets in the Alms Bowl: An Analysis of the Brutal SPDC Suppression of the September 2007 Saffron Revolution* (Washington DC?: NCGUB, March 2008).
- Bunge, Frederica M., *Burma: A Country Study* (Washington DC: The American University, 1983).

- Burma: Repeal Section 66(d) of the 2013 Telecommunications Law* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 29 June 2017).
- Burma/Myanmar: How Strong is the Military Regime?*, Asia Report No. 11 (Bangkok/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 21 December 2000).
- Burma's Prisons and Labour Camps: Silent Killing Fields* (Mae Sot: Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma), 2009?).
- Butler, James, *Gazetteer of the Mergui District, Tenasserim Division, British Burma* (Rangoon: Government Press, 1884).
- Butler, John, *With the Madras European Regiment in Burma: The Experiences of an Officer of the Honourable East India Company's Army during the First Anglo-Burmese War, 1824–1826* (York: Leonaaur, 2007).
- Butwell, Richard, *U Nu of Burma* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963).
- Byron, John and Pack, Robert, *The Claws of the Dragon: Kang Sheng—The Evil Genius Behind Mao—and his Legacy of Terror in People's China* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992).
- Cady, John F., *A History of Modern Burma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958).
- Callahan, M.P., *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).
- Chakravarti, N.R., *The Indian Minority in Burma: The Rise and Decline of an Immigrant Community* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).
- Chambers, Justine, and Dunford, Michael R. (eds.), *Myanmar in Crisis: Living with the Pandemic and the Coup* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2023).
- Chang, Wen-Chin and Tagliacozzo, Eric (eds.), *Burmese Lives: Ordinary Life Stories Under the Burmese Regime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Chapman, Alison, *The Burmese Spy Adventure Book* (London: Austin Macauley Publishers, 2018).
- Charney, M.W., *A History of Modern Burma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Charney, M.W., *Powerful Learning: Buddhist Literati and the Throne in Burma's Last Dynasty, 1752–1885* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan 2006).
- Chee Soon Juan, *To Be Free: Stories from Asia's Struggle Against Oppression* (Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 1999).
- Cheesman, Nicholas, *Myanmar: A Political Lexicon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).
- Cheesman, Nicholas, *Opposing the Rule of Law: How Myanmar's Courts Make Law and Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- China's Role in Myanmar's Internal Conflicts*, USIP Senior Study Group Report No.1 (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, September 2018).
- Christian, J.L., *Modern Burma: A Survey of Political and Economic Development* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942).
- Civil and Military Administrative Echelon of State Peace and Development Council in Burma* (Mae Sot: Documentation and Research Department, Network for Democracy and Development, 2007).
- Clausewitz, Carl von, *On War* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).

- Clayton, Anthony, *Forearmed: A History of the Intelligence Corps* (London: Brassey's, 1993).
- Clinton, H.R., *Hard Choices* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2014).
- Coleman, Peter, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe* (New York: Free Press, 1989).
- Conboy, Kenneth J., *Spies on the Mekong: CIA Clandestine Operations in Laos* (Havertown: Casemate, 2021).
- Clymer, Kenton, *A Delicate Relationship: The United States and Burma/Myanmar Since 1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).
- Cockett, Richard, *Blood, Dreams and Gold: The Changing Face of Burma* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).
- Collis, Maurice, *Trials in Burma* (London: Faber and Faber, 1953).
- Coming to Terms with Myanmar's Russia Embrace*, Asia Briefing No. 173 (Bangkok/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 4 August 2011).
- Corera, Gordon, *The Art of Betrayal: Life and Death in the British Secret Service* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2011).
- Cox, Hiram, *Journal of a Residence in the Burmhan Empire and more particularly at the court of Amarapoorah* (London: John Warren and G. and W.B. Whittaker, 1821).
- Crackdown: Repression of the 2007 Protests in Burma* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 22 September 2009).
- Crawfurd, John, *Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava in the Year 1827* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829).
- Crimes in Burma: A Report by the International Human Rights Clinic at the Harvard Law School* (Cambridge: Harvard Law School, 2009).
- Crosthwaite, Charles, *The Pacification of Burma* (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1968).
- Crowdfunding a War: The Money Behind Myanmar's Resistance*, Asia Report No. 328 (Brussels: International Crisis Group, 20 December 2022).
- Current Realities and Future Possibilities in Burma/Myanmar: Options for U.S. Policy*, Asia Society Task Force Report (New York: Asia Society, March 2010).
- Curry, J.C., *The Indian Police* (London: Faber and Faber, 1932).
- Dashed Hopes: The Criminalization of Free Expression in Myanmar* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 31 January 2019).
- Deacon, Richard, *A History of the Chinese Secret Service* (London: Frederick Muller, 1974).
- Decobert, Anne, *The Politics of Aid to Burma: A humanitarian struggle on the Thai-Burmese border* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016).
- Delang, C.O. (ed.), *Suffering in Silence: The Human Rights Nightmare of the Karen People of Burma* (Parkland: Universal Publishers and Karen Human Rights Group, 2000).
- Desai, W.S., *History of the British Residency in Burma, 1826–1840* (Rangoon: University of Rangoon, 1939).
- Dillon, Eva, *Spies in the Family: An American Spymaster, his Russian Crown Jewel, and the Friendship That Helped End the Cold War* (New York: Harper, 2017).
- Dover, Robert, Goodman, Michael and Hillebrand, Claudia (eds.), *Routledge Companion to Intelligence Studies* (London: Routledge, 2014).

- Doveton, Frederick B., *Reminiscences of the Burmese War in 1824-5-6* (n.p.: Elibron Classics, 2005).
- Duckett, Richard, *The Special Operations Executive in Burma: Jungle Warfare and Intelligence Gathering in World War II* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2018).
- Dudley, S.H., *Materialising Exile: Material Culture and Embodied Experience Among Karenni Refugees in Thailand* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010).
- Dun, Smith, *Memoirs of the Four Foot Colonel* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1980).
- Edney, Matthew H., *Mapping the Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
- Eftimiades, Nicholas, *Chinese Intelligence Operations* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1994).
- Egreteau, Renaud, *Wooing the Generals: India's New Burma Policy* (Delhi: Centre de Sciences Humaines, 2003).
- Egreteau, Renaud and Jagan, Larry, *Soldiers and Diplomacy in Burma: Understanding the Foreign Relations of the Praetorian State* (Singapore: NUS Press/IRASEC, 2013).
- Englehart, N.A., *Sovereignty, State Failure and Human Rights: Petty Despots and Exemplary Villains* (London: Routledge, 2017).
- Everett, David, *Shadow Warrior* (Melbourne: Michael Joseph, 2008).
- Falco, Mathea, *Burma: Time for a Change: Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2003).
- Faligot, Roger, *Chinese Spies: From Chairman Mao to Xi Jinping* (London: Hurst and Co., 2019).
- Falla, Jonathan, *True Love and Bartholomew: Rebels on the Burmese Border* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Fatal Business: Supplying the Myanmar Military's Weapon Production*, Special Advisory Council on Myanmar, 16 January 2023.
- Fenton, Damien, *To Cage the Red Dragon: SEATO and the Defence of Southeast Asia 1955–1965* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2012).
- Fergusson, T.G., *British Military Intelligence, 1870–1914: The Development of a Modern Intelligence Organization* (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1984).
- Fink, Christina, *Living Silence: Burma Under Military Rule* (London: Zed Books, 2001).
- Fink, Christina, *Living Silence in Burma: Surviving under military rule*, 2nd edition (London: Zed Books, 2009).
- Fisher, John, *Gentleman Spies: Intelligence Agents in the British Empire and Beyond* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2002).
- Fleischmann, Klaus, *Documents on Communism in Burma 1945–1977* (Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde, 1989).
- Foley, Matthew, *The Cold War and National Assertion in Southeast Asia: Britain, the United States and Burma, 1948–1962* (London: Routledge, 2010).
- Fortescue, J.W., *A History of the British Army*, 14 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1923).
- Foucar, E.C.V., *They Reigned in Mandalay* (London: Dennis Dobson Ltd., 1946).

- Fox, Amaryllis, *Life Undercover: Coming of Age in the CIA* (London: Ebury Press, 2019).
- Fujiwara, Iwaichi, *F. Kikan: Japanese Army Intelligence Operations in Southeast Asia during World War II* (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1983).
- Garver, John W., *Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).
- Garver, John W., *The Sino-American Alliance: Nationalist China and American Cold War Strategy in Asia* (London: Routledge, 2015).
- Ghosh, Amitav, *The Glass Palace* (London: HarperCollins, 2001).
- Ghosh, Parimal, *Brave Men of the Hills: Resistance and Rebellion in Burma, 1825–1932* (London: Hurst and Company, 2000).
- Gibson, R.M. with Chen, Wenhua, *The Secret Army: Chiang Kai-shek and the Drug Warlords of the Golden Triangle* (Singapore: John Wiley and Sons, 2011).
- Godwin, Henry, *Burmah: Letters and Papers Written in 1852–53 by Major General Henry Godwin, late Commanding in Burmah, Arracan and Tennasserim* (Uckfield: Naval and Military Press, 2004).
- Gouger, Henry, *Personal Narrative of Two Years Imprisonment in Burma* (London: John Murray, 1860).
- Gravers, Mikael, *Nationalism as Political Paranoia in Burma: An Essay on the Historical Practice of Power*, NIAS Report No. 11 (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 1993).
- Gregg, Donald P., *Pot Shards: Fragments of a Life Lived in CIA, the White House, and the two Koreas* (Washington DC: New Academia, 2014).
- Griffith, Samuel B., *Mao Tse-Tung on Guerrilla Warfare* (New York: Anchor Press, 1978).
- Griffiths, Percival, *To Guard My People: The History of the Indian Police* (London: Ernest Benn, 1971).
- Gudgin, Peter, *Military Intelligence: The British Story* (London: Arms and Armour, 1989).
- Haksar, Nandita, *Rogue Agent: How India's Military Intelligence Betrayed the Burmese Resistance* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2009).
- Hall, D.G.E., *Europe and Burma: A Study of European Relations with Burma to the Annexation of Thibaw's Kingdom, 1886* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945).
- Hall, D.G.E., *Henry Burmese: A Political Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974).
- Hammond, Clare, *On the Shadow Tracks: A Journey Through Occupied Myanmar* (London: Allen Lane, 2024).
- Hanwong, Lalita Hingkanonta, *Policing in Colonial Burma* (Chiang Mai: Centre for ASEAN Studies, Chiang Mai University, 2015).
- Harn Lay, *Defiant Humour: The Best of Harn Lay's Cartoons from 'The Irrawaddy'* (Chiang Mai: Irrawaddy Publishing Group, 2006).
- Harper, Tim, *Underground Asia: Global Revolutionaries and the Assault on Empire* (London: Allen Lane, 2020).
- Haseman, John, *Burma's Myriad National Security Challenges: The Historical Background and Contemporary Events*, Working Paper No. 50 (Canberra: Australian Defence Studies Centre, University of New South Wales College, Australian Defence Force Academy, 1977).

- Hastedt, Glenn P. (ed.), *Spies, Wiretaps and Secret Operations*: (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 2011).
- Heath, Ian, *Armies of the Nineteenth Century: Asia, Vol. 4. Burma and Indo-China* (Nottingham: Foundry Books, 2003).
- Henderson, John W., et al, *Area Handbook for Burma* (Washington DC: The American University, 1971).
- Hernon, Ian, *The Savage Empire: Forgotten Wars of the 19th Century* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 2000).
- Hevia, James, *The Imperial Security State: British Colonial Knowledge and Empire-Building in Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- Hla Min, *The Way I See It: Myanmar and Its Global Role, 1988–2012* (Book 1) and *1988–2014* (Book 2) (Yangon: MCM Books, 2013).
- Hollingsworth, Mark, *Agents of Influence: How the KGB Subverted Western Democracies* (London: Oneworld, 2023).
- Hopkirk, Peter, *On Secret Service East of Constantinople: The Plot to Bring Down the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- Horsey, Richard, *Ending Forced Labour in Myanmar: Engaging a Pariah Regime* (London: Routledge, 2011).
- Horton, Guy, *Dying Alive: A Legal Assessment of Human Rights Violations in Burma* (Chiang Mai: Images Asia and the Netherlands Ministry for Development Cooperation, April 2005).
- Houtman, Gustaaf, *Mental Culture in Burmese Crisis Politics: Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy*, Monograph Series No. 33 (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1999).
- Htet Myet Min Tun, Moe Thuzar and Michael Montesano, *Min Aung Hlaing and his Generals: Data on the Military Members of Myanmar's State Administration Council Junta*, Perspective No. 2021/97 (Singapore: ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute, 23 July 2021).
- Human Rights Yearbook 1996: Burma* (Washington DC: Human Rights Documentation Unit, National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma, 1997).
- Human Rights Yearbook 1999–2000: Burma* (Washington DC: Human Rights Documentation Unit, National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma, 2001).
- Human Rights Yearbook 2004: Burma* (Washington DC: Human Rights Documentation Unit, National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma, 2005).
- Human Rights Yearbook 2005: Burma* (Mae Sot: Human Rights Documentation Unit, National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma, 2006).
- Human Rights Yearbook 2008: Burma* (Washington DC: Human Rights Documentation Unit, National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma, 2009).
- Innes-Robbins, Simon, *Dirty Wars: A Century of Counterinsurgency* (Stroud: The History Press, 2016).
- Ireland, Alleyne, *The Province of Burma: A Report Prepared on Behalf of the University of Chicago*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1907).
- Izumiya, Tatsuro, *The Minami Organ* (Rangoon: Arts and Science University, 1985).

- James, Helen, *Governance and Civil Society in Myanmar: Education, Health and the Environment* (London: Routledge, 2005).
- James, Helen, *Security and Sustainable Development in Myanmar* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- Jane's Radar and Electronic Warfare Systems, 1995–96 (Coulsdon: Jane's Information Group, 1996).
- Jeffrey, Keith, *MI6: The History of the Secret Intelligence Service, 1909–1949* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).
- Johnson, Robert, *Spying for Empire: The Great Game in Central and South Asia, 1757–1947* (London: Greenhill Books, 2006).
- Karen and Burmese Terms (Mae Sot?: Karen Human Rights Group?, n.d.)
- Kautilya, *The Arthashastra* (Haryana: Penguin, 1992).
- Kaznacheev, Aleksandr, *Inside a Soviet Embassy: Experiences of a Russian Diplomat in Burma* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1962).
- Keay, John, *The Great Arc: The Dramatic Tale of How India was Mapped and Everest was Named* (London: HarperCollins, 2000).
- Keegan, John, *Intelligence in War: Knowledge of the Enemy from Napoleon to Al-Qaeda* (London: Hutchinson, 2003).
- Keeton, C.L., *King Thebaw and the Ecological Rape of Burma* (Delhi: Manohar, 1974).
- Kiessling, Hein G., *Faith, Unity, Discipline: The Inter-Service-Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan* (London: Hurst and Co., 2016).
- Khazeni, Arash, *The City and the Wilderness: Indo-Persian Encounters in Southeast Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020).
- Khin Nyunt, *I, the Military Intelligence, SLORC and SPDC* (Yangon: Daw Maw Maw, 2017) (in Burmese).
- Khin Nyunt, *Secretary One* (Yangon: Daw Maw Maw, 2018) (in Burmese).
- Khin Nyunt, *The Experiences of My Life*, 2 vols. (Yangon: Daw Maw Maw, 2015 and 2016) (in Burmese).
- Kin Oung, *Eliminate the Elite: Assassination of Burma's General Aung San and his Six Cabinet Colleagues* (Sydney: PrintPost, 2011).
- Kin Oung, *Who Killed Aung San?* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1996).
- Kipgen, Nehgingpao, *Democratisation of Myanmar* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2016).
- Kipling, Rudyard, *Kim* (London: Penguin, 1989).
- Khoo Thwe, Pascal, *From the Land of Green Ghosts: A Burmese Odyssey* (London: HarperCollins, 2002).
- Kolsky, Elizabeth, *Colonial Justice in British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Kuzmarov, Jeremy, *Modernizing Repression: Police Training and Nation-Building in the American Century* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012).
- Kyed, Helene Maria, et al., *Police under the Military Coup in Myanmar: Between Violence, Fear and Desertions* (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies and Nyan Corridor, 2021).

- Kyed, Helene Maria and Ah Lynn, *Soldier Defections in Myanmar: Motivations and Obstacles Following the 2021 Coup* (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2021).
- Kyi Pyar Chit Saw and Arnold, Matthew, *Administering the State in Myanmar: An Overview of the General Administration Department*, Discussion Paper No. 6 (Yangon: Asia Foundation, October 2014).
- Kyi Win Sein, *Me and the Generals of the Revolutionary Council: Memoirs of Turbulent Times in Myanmar* (Whitley Bay: Consilience Media, 2015).
- Kyi Win Sein, *Revolutionary Council to Military Dictatorship* (UK: The Author, 2018).
- Larkin, Emma, *Everything Is Broken: A Tale of Catastrophe in Burma* (New York: Penguin, 2010).
- Larkin, Emma, *Secret Histories: Finding George Orwell in a Burmese Teashop* (London: John Murray, 2004).
- Lashmar, Paul and Oliver, James, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War, 1948–1977* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998).
- Lasky, Victor, *The Ugly Russian* (New York: Trident Press, 1965).
- Laurie, W.F.B., *Our Burmese Wars and Relations with Burma: Being an Abstract of Military and Political Operations, 1824–25–26, and 1852–53* (Uckfield: Naval and Military Press, 2005).
- Law-Yone, Wendy, *Golden Parasol: A Daughter's Memoir of Burma* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2013).
- Lee Khoo Choy, *Golden Dragon and Purple Phoenix: The Chinese and Their Multi-Ethnic Descendants in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2013).
- Lee, Terence, *Defect or Defend: Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).
- Len, Christopher and Alvin, Johan, *Burma/Myanmar's Ailments: Searching for the Right Remedy*, Silk Road Paper (Washington DC: Central Asia—Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Studies Program, March 2007).
- Li, Yi, *Chinese in Colonial Burma: A Migrant Community in a Multi-Ethnic State* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
- Lieberman, Victor, *Burmese Administrative Cycles: Anarchy and Conquest, c.1580–1760* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- Lintner, Bertil, *Burma in Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999).
- Lintner, Bertil, *Great Game East: India, China and the struggle for Asia's most volatile frontier* (New Delhi: HarperCollins, 2012).
- Lintner, Bertil, *Land of Jade: A Journey Through Insurgent Burma* (Edinburgh: Kiscadale, 1990).
- Lintner, Bertil, *Outrage: Burma's Struggle for Democracy* (London: White Lotus, 1990).
- Lintner, Bertil, *The Resistance of the Monks: Buddhism and Activism in Burma* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 22 September 2009).
- Lintner, Bertil, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB)* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1990).

- Lintner, Bertil, and Black, Michael, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009).
- Lloyd, M.B.S., *Gazetteer of the District of Rangoon, Pegu Province, British Burma: Together with an Historical Account of that Portion of the Province which was Formerly Known as Han-Tha-Wa-Dee* (Rangoon: J. Bartholomew at the Central Gaol Press, 1868).
- Lowe, Peter, *Contending with Nationalism and Communism: British Policy towards Southeast Asia, 1945–65* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Lowenthal, M.M., *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2020).
- Ma Thanegi, *Nor Iron Bars A Cage* (San Francisco: ThingsAsian Press, 2013).
- Ma Thida, *Prisoner of Conscience: My Steps Through Insein* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2017).
- Mains, Anthony, *Field Security: Very Ordinary Intelligence* (Chippenham: Picton Publishing, 1992).
- Mains, Anthony, *The Retreat from Burma: An Intelligence Officer's Personal Story* (London: W. Foulsham and Co., 1973).
- Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (London: Cassell, 1965).
- Marchetti, Victor and Marks, John D., *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York: Dell, 1974).
- Markham, Clements R., *A Memoir on the Indian Surveys* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Marks, J.E., *Forty Years in Burma* (London: Hutchinson, 1917).
- Marshall, Andrew, *The Trouser People: A Story of Burma—In the Shadow of Empire* (Washington DC: Counterpoint, 2002).
- Mason, Philip, *A Matter of Honour: An Account of the Indian Army, Its Officers and Men* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1974).
- Mattis, Peter and Brazil, Matthew, *Chinese Communist Espionage: An Intelligence Primer* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2019).
- Maung Aung Myoe, *Building the Tatmadaw: Myanmar Armed Forces Since 1948* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009).
- Maung Aung Myoe, *In the Name of Pauk-Phaw: Myanmar's China Policy Since 1948* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2011).
- Maung Aung Myoe, *Officer Education and Leadership Training in the Tatmadaw: A Survey*, Working Paper No. 346 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 2000).
- Maung Aung Myoe, *The Road to Naypyitaw: Making Sense of the Myanmar Government's Decision to Move its Capital*, Working Paper Series No. 79 (Singapore: Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, November 2006).
- Maung Htin Aung, *A History of Burma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).
- Maung Htin Aung, *The Stricken Peacock: Anglo-Burmese Relations, 1752–1948* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1965).
- Maung Maung, *The 1988 Uprising in Burma*, Monograph No.49 (New Haven: Yale Southeast Asia Studies, 1999).

- Maung Maung (ed.), *Aung San of Burma* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962).
- Maclean, Rory, *Under the Dragon: Travels in a Betrayed Land* (London: HarperCollins, 1998).
- McCargo, Duncan and Pathmanand, Ukrist, *The Thaksinization of Thailand* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2005).
- McCartan, Brian and Jolliffe, Kim, *Ethnic Armed Actors and Justice Provision in Myanmar*, Policy Dialogue Brief Series No. 17 (Yangon: Asia Foundation, October 2016).
- McClelland, Mac, *For Us Surrender Is Out Of The Question: A story from Burma's never-ending war* (Berkeley: Soft Skull Press, 2010).
- McCoy, Alfred W., *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003).
- McEnery, John H., *Epilogue in Burma 1945–48: The Military Dimension of British Withdrawal* (Tunbridge Wells: Spellmount, 1990).
- McGarr, Paul M., *Spying in South Asia: Britain, the United States, and India's Secret Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024).
- Mercado, Stephen C., *The Shadow Warriors of Nakano: A History of the Imperial Japanese Army's Elite Intelligence School* (Washington DC: Brassey's 2002).
- Midnight Intrusions: Ending Guest Registration and Household Inspections in Myanmar* (Bangkok: Fortify Rights, March 2015).
- Mirante, Edith, *Burmese Looking Glass: A Human Rights Adventure and A Jungle Revolution* (New York: Grove Press, 1993).
- Moe Thuzar and Htet Myet Min Tun, *Myanmar's National Unity Government: A Radical Arrangement to Counteract the Coup*, Perspective No.2022/8 (Singapore: ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute, 28 January 2022).
- Moe Zay Nyein, *What's Swann Ar Shin and Other Articles* (Yangon: Ma Hla Hla Win, 2014) (in Burmese).
- Mudditt, Jessica, *Our Home in Myanmar: Four Years in Yangon* (Sydney: The Author, 2021).
- Mukhopadhyay, A.K. (ed.), *"Terrorism": A Colonial Construct: Select British Home Department Intelligence Reports on Indian Revolutionary Activities* (Kolkata: Sahitya Samsad, 2009).
- Murphy, Erin, *Burmese Daze: US Policy and Myanmar's Opening—And Closing* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 2022).
- Mya, Ba Khet, Bo Min Din, Saw Hla and Bo Tin Shein, *The Last Days of Thakin Than Tun*, 2 vols. (Rangoon: Myayarbin Sarpay, 1968) (in Burmese).
- Mya Maung, *Totalitarianism in Burma: Prospects for Economic Development* (New York: Paragon House, 1992).
- Mya Maung, *The Burma Road to Poverty* (New York: Praeger, 1991).
- Myanmar: 15 Days Felt Like 15 Years: Torture in Detention Since the Myanmar Coup*, AI Index ASA 16/5884/2022 (London: Amnesty International, August 2022).
- Myanmar: "All the Civilians Suffer": Conflict, Displacement and Abuse in Northern Myanmar*, AI Index ASA 16/6429/2017 (London: Amnesty International, 14 June 2017).
- Myanmar: "In the National Interest": Prisoners of conscience, torture, summary trials under martial law*, AI Index ASA 16/101/1990 (London: Amnesty International, 1990).

- Myanmar: Justice on Trial*, AI Index ASA 16/019/2003 (London: Amnesty International, 2003).
- Myanmar: "My World is Finished: Rohingya Targeted in Crimes Against Humanity in Myanmar"*, AI Index ASA 16/7288/2017 (London: Amnesty International, 18 October 2017).
- Myanmar: New Threats to Humanitarian Aid*, Asia Briefing No. 58 (Yangon/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 8 December 2006).
- Myanmar: "No Law At All": Human rights violations under military rule*, AI Index ASA 16/011/1992 (London: Amnesty International, 30 September 1992).
- Myanmar: Renewed Repression*, AI Index ASA 16/030/1996 (London: Amnesty International, 9 July 1996).
- Myanmar: The Administration of Justice—Grave and Abiding Concerns*, AI Index ASA 16/001/2004 (London: Amnesty International, 31 March 2004).
- Myanmar: The Military Regime's View of the World*, Asia Report No. 28 (Yangon/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 7 December 2001).
- Myanmar Tips into New Crisis after Rakhine State Attacks* (Yangon/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 27 August 2017).
- Myanmar (Burma): Continuing killings and ill-treatment of minority peoples*, AI Index: ASA 16/05/91 (London: Amnesty International, August 1991).
- Myanmar's Military Struggles to Control the Virtual Battlefield*, Asia Report No. 314 (Brussels: International Crisis Group, 18 May 2021).
- Myanmar's "Nasaka": Disbanding an Abusive Agency* (Yangon/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 16 July 2013).
- Myo Ma Lwin, *The Navy I Love* (Singapore: Partridge, 2016).
- Myo Myint, *War and Tactics in Traditional Myanmar: A Study of Two Eighteenth Century Texts* (Yangon: Tun Foundation, 2012).
- Nanda, Prakash, *Rediscovering Asia: Evolution of India's Look-East Policy* (New Delhi: Lancer Publications, 2003).
- Nang Zing La, *Life in Burma Military Prisons: Memoir of Pro-Democracy Advocate Nang Zing La* (Pittsburgh: RoseDog Books, 2005).
- Nisbet, John, *Burma Under British Rule—And Before*, 2 vols. (London: Archibald Constable, 1901).
- Noor, Farish A., *Data-Collecting in 19th Century Colonial Southeast Asia: Framing the Other* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020).
- Nu, *Burma Under the Japanese* (London: Macmillan, 1954).
- O'Brien, Harriet, *Forgotten Land: A Rediscovery of Burma* (London: Michael Joseph, 1991).
- Olcott, Anthony, *Open Source Intelligence in a Networked World* (London: Continuum, 2012).
- Omand, David, *How Spies Think: 10 Lessons in Intelligence* (London: Penguin, 2021).
- Paget, Julian, *Counter-Insurgency Campaigning* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967).
- Palluch, Gabrielle, *The Opium Queen: The Untold Story of the Rebel Who Ruled the Golden Triangle* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2023).

- Parritt, B.A.H., *The Intelligencers: The History of British Military Intelligence up to 1914* (Ashford: Intelligence Corps Association, 1983).
- Paseman, F.L., *A Spy's Journey* (St. Paul: Zenith Press, 2004).
- Pasuk Phongpaichit, Sungsidh Piriyarangsang and Nualnoi Treerat, *Guns, Girls, Gambling, Ganja: Thailand's Illegal Economy and Public Policy* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1998).
- Pedersen, M.B., *Promoting Human Rights in Burma: A Critique of Western Sanctions Policy* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008).
- Popham, Peter, *Perfect Hostage: A Life of Aung San Suu Kyi* (London: Hutchinson, 2007).
- Popham, Peter, *The Lady and the Peacock: The Life of Aung San Suu Kyi* (London: Rider, 2011).
- Popplewell, R.J., *Intelligence and Imperial Defence: British Intelligence and the Defence of the Indian Empire, 1904–1924* (London: Frank Cass, 1995).
- Prados, John, *President's Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations since World War II* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1986).
- Preliminary Report of the Ad hoc Commission on Depayin Massacre (Burma), July 4, 2003* (Bangkok: National Council of the Union of Burma and the Burma Lawyers' Council, 2004).
- Price, David H., *Cold War Deceptions: The Asia Foundation and the CIA* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2024).
- Private Security Companies in Myanmar: A Baseline Study, Human Rights Risk Assessment and Recommendations* (Yangon: Myanmar Centre for Responsible Business, 4 June 2022).
- Pye, L.W., *The Spirit of Burmese Politics: A Preliminary Survey of A Politics of Fear and Charisma* (Cambridge: Centre for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1959).
- Ra Jong-yil, *The Rangoon Bombing Terrorist Kang Min-chol* (Washington DC: Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2022).
- Raman, Bahukutumbi, *The Kaoboy's of R&AW: Down Memory Lane* (New Delhi: Lancer Publications, 2007).
- Rand, Nelson, *Conflict: Journeys Through War and Terror in Southeast Asia* (Dunboyne: Maverick House, 2009).
- Rebuilding An Architecture of Oppression* (Bergen: Protect Consortium, 2021).
- Reforming Telecommunications in Burma: Human Rights and Responsible Investment in Mobile and the Internet* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2013).
- Resisting the Resistance: Myanmar's Pro-Military Pyusawhti Militias*, Asia Briefing No. 171 (Yangon/Bangkok/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 6 April 2022).
- Richelson, Jeffrey T. and Ball, Desmond, *The Ties that Bind: Intelligence Cooperation between the UKUSA Countries—the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985).
- Risen, James, *State of War: The Secret History of the CIA and the Bush Administration* (New York: Free Press, 2006).
- Roberts of Kandahar, *Forty-One Years in India: From Subaltern to Commander-in-Chief*, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1897).

- Roberts, Jayde Lin, *Mapping Chinese Rangoon: Place and Nation among the Sino-Burmese* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).
- Roberts, T.D., et al., *Area Handbook for Burma* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, June 1968).
- Robertson, William, *From Private to Field Marshal* (London: Constable and Co., 1921).
- Rogers, Benedict, *Burma: A Nation at the Crossroads* (London: Ebury Publishing, 2015).
- Rogers, Benedict, *Than Shwe: Unmasking Burma's Tyrant* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2010).
- Rose, Michael E., *The Burma Effect* (Toronto: Macarthur and Co., 2009).
- Russia's Policy in Myanmar and in Southeast Asia*, Research Paper (Prangins: Peace Nexus Foundation, March 2022).
- Saha, Jonathan, *Law, Disorder and the Colonial State: Corruption in Burma, c.1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- San Pwint, *Intelligence in the Era of Burmese Kings* (Yangon: n.p., 2004) (in Burmese).
- Saw Ralph and Naw Sheera, *Fifty Years in the Karen Revolution in Burma: The Soldier and the Teacher* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University Press, 2019).
- Sawer, Marian, Abjorensen, Norman and Larkin, Philip, *Australia: The State of Democracy* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2009).
- Sawyer, Ralph D., *The Tao of Spycraft: Intelligence Theory and Practice in Traditional China* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998).
- Scam Centres and Ceasefires: China-Myanmar Ties Since the Coup*, Asia Briefing No. 179 (Bangkok/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 27 March 2024).
- Scholberg, Henry, *The District Gazetteers of British India: A Bibliography* (Ag Zug: Inter Documentation Company, 1970).
- Schrank, Delphine, *The Rebel of Rangoon: A Tale of Defiance and Deliverance in Burma* (New York: Nation Books, 2015).
- Scott, Ben, *Adapting Australian Intelligence to the Information Age*, Occasional Paper (Canberra: National Security College, Australian National University, December 2023).
- Scott, James C. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in South-East Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).
- Security Integration in Myanmar: Past experience and future visions* (London: Saferworld, May 2017).
- Seekins, D.M., *Burma and Japan since 1940: From "Co-Prosperity" to "Quiet Dialogue"* (Singapore: NIAS Press, 2007).
- Seekins, D.M., *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006).
- Sengoopta, Chandak, *Imprint of the Raj: How fingerprinting was born in colonial India* (London: Macmillan, 2003).
- Shah, Sudha, *The King in Exile: The Fall of the Royal Family of Burma* (New Delhi: HarperCollins, 2012).
- Shimray, A.S., *Let Freedom Ring: Story of Naga Nationalism* (New Delhi: Promilla and Co., 2005).

- Silverstein, Josef, *Burmese Politics: The Dilemma of National Unity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980).
- Skidmore, Monique, *Karaoke Fascism: Burma and the Politics of Fear* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
- Slim, William, *Defeat Into Victory* (London: Cassell and Co., 1956).
- Smith, C.B., *The Burmese Communist Party in the 1980s* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1984).
- Smith, D.E., *Religion and Politics in Burma* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).
- Smith, Martin, *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity* (London: Zed Books, 1999).
- Smith, Martin, *State of Fear: Censorship in Burma (Myanmar)*, An Article 19 Country Report (London: Article 19, December 1991).
- Snodgrass, J., *Narrative of the Burmese War, detailing the operations of Major-General Archibald Campbell's army from its landing at Rangoon in May 1824 to the conclusion of peace at Yandabo in February 1826* (London: John Murray, 1827).
- Soley, Lawrence C., and Nichols, John S., *Clandestine Radio Broadcasting: A Study of Revolutionary and Counter-revolutionary Electronic Communication* (New York: Praeger, 1987).
- Staar, R.F. (ed.), *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, annual 1966–1991).
- Steinberg, D.I., *Burma: The State of Myanmar* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2001).
- Steinberg, D.I., *Burma/Myanmar: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Steinberg, D.I., *Turmoil in Burma: Contested Legitimacies in Myanmar* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2006).
- Steinberg, D.I. and Fan Hongwei, *Modern China-Myanmar Relations: Dilemmas of Mutual Dependence* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2012).
- Stewart, A.T.Q., *The Pagoda War: Lord Dufferin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Ava, 1885–6* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972).
- Suddaby, Steve and Suddaby, Beth, *I Was a Narco-Tourist for the CIA—Myanmar 2002 and 2003* (Annandale: The Author, 2022).
- Summary Injustice: Military Tribunals in Burma (Myanmar)* (New York: Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 1991).
- Sun Tzu, *The Art of War* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981).
- Suvorov, Victor, *Soviet Military Intelligence* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1984).
- Symes, Michael, *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, sent by the Governor of India in the year 1795* (London: Bulmer and Co., 1800).
- Symes, Michael, *Journal of his Second Embassy to the Court of Ava in 1802*, edited by D.G.E. Hall (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1955).
- Taylor, Robert H., *Foreign and Domestic Consequences of the KMT Intervention in Burma*, Data Paper No. 93 (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, July 1973).
- Taylor, Robert H., *General Ne Win: A Political Biography* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015).

- Taylor, Robert H., *The State in Burma* (London: Hurst and Co., 1987).
- Than Tun (ed.), *The Royal Orders of Burma AD 1598–1885*, 10 vols. (Kyoto: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1998).
- Thant Myint U, *The Hidden History of Burma: Race, Capitalism, and the Crisis of Democracy in the 21st Century* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2020).
- Thant Myint U, *The Making of Modern Burma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- The Dark Side of Transition: Violence Against Muslims in Myanmar*, Asia Report No. 251 (Yangon/Jakarta/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 1 October 2013).
- The Darkness We See: Torture in Burma's Interrogation Centres and Prisons* (Mae Sot: Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma), 2005).
- The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921).
- The Myanmar Elections: Results and Implications*, Asia Briefing No. 147 (Yangon/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 9 December 2015).
- The Pentagon Papers* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971).
- The Rig Veda* (London: Penguin, 2005).
- The Right to Privacy in Myanmar: Stakeholder Report, Universal Periodic Review, 23rd Session—Myanmar* (London: Privacy International, March 2015).
- The White Shirts: How the USDA Will Become the New Face of Burma's Dictatorship* (Mae Sot: Network for Democracy and Development, May 2006).
- Theroux, Paul, *Burma Sahib* (London: Penguin, 2023).
- "*They Can Arrest You at Any Time*": *The Criminalisation of Peaceful Expression in Burma* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 29 June 2016).
- Thornton, Phil, *Restless Souls: Rebels, Refugees, Medics and Misfits On the Thai-Burma Border* (Bangkok: Asia Books, 2006).
- Threat to the Peace: A Call for the UN Security Council to Act in Burma* (Washington: DLA Piper Rudnick Gray, Cary, 20 September 2005).
- Tin (ed.), *The Royal Administration of Burma*, translated by Euan Bagshawe (Bangkok: Ava House, 2001).
- Tin Naing Win, *Myanmar Historical Cartography: Parabeik Maps and Other Map Sources* (Beau Bassin: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2018).
- Tinker, Hugh, *The Union of Burma: A Study of the First Years of Independence* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).
- Tinsa Maw-Naing and Y.M.V. Han, *A Burmese Heart* (US: Y.M.V. Han, 2015).
- Todd, Paul and Bloch, Jonathan, *Global Intelligence: The World's Secret Services Today* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2003).
- Toohey, Brian and Pinwill, William, *Oyster: The Story of the Australian Secret Intelligence Service* (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1989).
- Tortured Voices: Personal Accounts of Burma's Interrogation Centres* (Bangkok: All Burma Students' Democratic Front, 1998).
- Trager, Frank N., *Burma: From Kingdom to Independence: A Historical and Political Analysis* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1966).
- Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique, 1629–1643*, 2 vols. (Nendeln: Hakluyt Society, 1967).

- Tucker, Shelby, *Among Insurgents: Walking Through Burma* (London: Radcliffe Press, 2000).
- Turnell, Sean, *An Unlikely Prisoner* (Sydney: Viking, 2023).
- Turnell, Sean, *Best Laid Plans: The Inside Story of Reform in Aung San Suu Kyi's Myanmar* (Sydney: Penguin, 2024).
- Valentine, Douglas, *The Phoenix Program* (New York: Morrow, 1990).
- Victor, Barbara, *The Lady: Aung San Suu Kyi, Nobel Laureate and Burma's Prisoner* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1998).
- Vote to Nowhere: The May 2008 Constitutional Referendum in Burma* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 30 April 2008).
- Wade, Stephen, *Spies in the Empire: Victorian Military Intelligence* (London: Anthem Press, 2007).
- Wallechinsky, David, *Tyrants: The World's 20 Worst Living Dictators* (New York: Regan, 2006).
- Walton, Calder, *Empire of Secrets: British Intelligence, the Cold War and the Twilight of Empire* (London: Harper Press, 2013).
- Walton, Calder, *Spies: The Epic Intelligence War Between East and West* (London: Abacus Books, 2023).
- Weiner, Tim, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (London: Allen Lane, 2007).
- Wells, Anthony R., *Between Five Eyes: 50 Years of Intelligence Sharing* (Oxford: Casemate, 2020).
- West, Nigel, *Historical Dictionary of International Intelligence* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).
- White, A.J.S., *The Burma of "AJ"* (Putney: BACSA, 1991).
- Whittingham, Daniel, *Charles E. Callwell and the British Way in Warfare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).
- Who Buys and Controls the CCTV: Myanmar's slippery slope to mass surveillance?* (London: Article 19, 2022).
- Wilson, Constance M. and Hanks, Lucien M., *The Burma-Thailand Frontier Over Sixteen Decades: Three Descriptive Documents*, Southeast Asia Series No. 70 (Athens: Centre for International Studies, Ohio University, 1985).
- Wilson, Trevor, *Eyewitness to Early Reform in Myanmar* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2016).
- Winn, Patrick, *Narcotopia: In Search of the Asian Drug Cartel that Outwitted the CIA* (London: ICON, 2024).
- Wintle, Justin, *Perfect Hostage: Aung San Suu Kyi, Burma and the Generals* (London: Arrow Books, 2007).
- Wise, David and Ross, T.B., *The Invisible Government* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1964).
- Women Political Prisoners in Burma*, Burmese Women's Union and Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma), September 2004.
- Woodman, Dorothy, *The Making of Burma* (London: The Cresset Press, 1962).
- Wynne, Martin (ed.), *On Honourable Terms: The Memoirs of Some Indian Police Officers, 1915–1948* (Putney: BACSA, 1985).

- Yawnghwe, Chao Tzang, *The Shan of Burma: Memoirs of a Shan Exile* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2010).
- Ye Htut, "A Background to the Security Crisis in Northern Rakhine", *Perspective*, No.79/2017 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Affairs and Yusof Ishak Institute, 23 October 2017).
- Ye Htut, *Myanmar's Political Transition and Lost Opportunities (2010–2016)* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2019).
- Ye Myo Hein, *One Year On: The Momentum of Myanmar's Armed Rebellion* (Washington DC: Wilson Centre, May 2022).
- Yi Li, *Chinese in Colonial Burma: A Migrant Community in a Multiethnic State* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
- Zollner, Hans-Bernd (ed.), *Talks Over the Gate: Aung San Suu Kyi's Dialogues with the People, 1995 and 1996* (Hamburg: Abera, 2014).
- Zollner, Hans-Bernd and Ebbighausen, Rodion, *The Daughter: A Political Biography of Aung San Suu Kyi* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2018).

Book Chapters and Major Articles

- Aldrich, Richard J., "American Intelligence and the British Raj: The OSS, the SSU and India", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1998, pp. 132–64.
- Aldrich, Richard J., "Britain's Secret Intelligence Service in Asia during the Second World War", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, February 1998, pp. 179–217.
- Aldrich, Richard J., "Legacies of Secret Service: Renegade SOE and the Karen Struggle in Burma, 1948–50", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 1999, pp. 130–48.
- Allen, Louis, "Japanese Intelligence Systems", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 22, No. 4, October 1987, pp. 547–62.
- Allen, Louis, "'The Escape of Captain Vivian': A footnote to Burmese independence", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1991, pp. 65–9.
- Ashton, S.R., "A Rebellion in Burma: The Sagaing Uprising of 1910", *The British Library Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Spring 1989, pp. 71–89.
- Aung, Myo Maung [Maung Aung Myoe], "Administrative Reform in the Myanmar Police Force: Decision-Making and Community-Based Policing", *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol. 39, No. 3, 2020, pp. 428–43.
- Aung-Thwin, Matrii, "Genealogy of a Rebellion Narrative: Law, Ethnology and Culture in Colonial Burma", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3, October 2003, pp. 393–419.
- Aung-Thwin, Maureen, "Burma: Plus ça Change", in W.M. Carpenter and D.G. Wiencek (eds.), *Asian Security Handbook: Terrorism and the New Security Environment* (London: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), pp. 70–81.
- Badgley, John, "The Union of Burma: Age Twenty-Two", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 11, No. 2, February 1971, pp. 149–58.

- Baker, Chris and Pasuk Phongpaichit, "Intelligence, Subterfuge and History: A Note on the Vickery-Ubonsri Fragment", *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 109, No. 2, 2021, pp. 159–68.
- Ball, Desmond, "Signals Intelligence in China", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol.7, No. 8, August 1995, pp. 365–70.
- Barany, Zoltan, "Burma: Suu Kyi's Missteps", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 29, No. 1, January 2018, pp. 5–19.
- Battacharya, Dahlia, "Bengali Diaspora in Burma: Dynamics of Political Interactions (1885–1948)", *Karatoya: University of North Bengal Journal of History*, Vol. 4, March 2011, pp. 67–82.
- Bert, Wayne, "Burma, China and the USA", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 2, Summer 2004, pp. 263–82.
- Best, Antony, "Intelligence, diplomacy and the Japanese threat to British interests, 1914–41", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2002, pp. 85–100.
- Betts, R.K., "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable", *World Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 1, October 1978, pp. 61–89.
- Black, Alistair, "Information management in the Intelligence Branch of Britain's War Office, 1873–1914: 'All information flows towards it, or returns to it, in a form worked up into shape'", *Open Information Science*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2020, pp. 91–105.
- Brooten, Lisa, "Media as Our Mirror: Indigenous Media of Burma (Myanmar)", in Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart (eds.), *Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics and Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008) pp. 111–27.
- Brown, Ian, "Bringing Murderers to Justice in Late Colonial Burma", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 50, No. 6, 2022, pp. 1070–92.
- Border, Jake, "Battle at Three Pagodas Pass: Burmese Attack Mon Army", *Soldier of Fortune*, Vol. 12, No. 8, August 1987, pp. 38–45 and pp. 77–8.
- Burke, Roland, "'Real Problems to Discuss': The Congress for Cultural Freedom's Asian and African Expeditions, 1951–1959", *Journal of World History*, Vol. 27, No. 1, March 2016, pp. 53–85.
- Butwell, Richard, "Burma: The Obscure Domino", *Current History*, Vol. 59, No. 352, December 1970, pp. 339–44.
- Callahan, M.P., "Junta Dreams or Nightmares? Observations of Burma's Military Since 1988", *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 1999, pp. 52–8.
- Callahan, M.P., "Myanmar's Perpetual Junta: Solving the Riddle of the Tatmadaw's Long Reign", *New Left Review*, No. 60, November–December 2009, pp. 27–63.
- Callahan, M.P., "State Formation in the Shadow of the Raj: Violence, Warfare and Politics in Colonial Burma", *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 4, March 2002, pp. 513–36.
- Callwell, Charles E., "Lessons to be Learnt from the Campaigns in which British Forces Have Been Employed Since the Year 1865", *The Journal of the Royal United Services Institute*, Vol. 31, No. 139, 1877, pp. 108–21.
- Calvet-Martinez, Elisenda, "The Use of Geospatial Imagery in Myanmar for Mass Atrocity Prevention", *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 10 February 2024, pp. 96–111.

- Campion, D.A., "Authority, accountability and representation: The United Provinces police and the dilemmas of the colonial policeman in British India, 1902–39", *Historical Research*, Vol. 76, No. 192, May 2003, pp. 217–37.
- "Chapter 4.4, Surveillance: Lawful Interception & Other Surveillance Methods", *ICT Sector-Wide Impact Assessment* (Yangon: Myanmar Centre for Responsible Business, 24 September 2015), pp. 166–79.
- "Checked", *The Burma Stamps*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 2022, p. 13.
- Clapp, Priscilla A., "Burma: Poster Child for Entrenched Repression", in R.I. Rotberg (ed.), *Worst of the Worst: Dealing With Repressive and Rogue Nations* (Cambridge and Washington DC: World Peace Foundation and Brookings Institution, 2007), pp. 135–65.
- Clipson, Edmund, "For Purposes of Political Camouflage': Intelligence Gathering in Colonial Burma, 1933–35", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 2012, pp. 643–67.
- Danitz, Tiffany and Strobel, Warren P., "The Internet's Impact on Activism: The Case of Burma", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1999, pp. 257–69.
- Dean, Karin, "Myanmar: Surveillance and the Turn from Authoritarianism?", *Surveillance and Society*, Vol. 15, No. 3/4, 2017, pp. 496–505.
- Dogari, "Security in Colonial Policing", *The Police Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 3, July–September 1949, pp. 231–8.
- Dukalskis, Alexander and Raymond, C.D., "Failure of authoritarian learning: Explaining Burma/Myanmar's electoral system", *Democratization*, Vol. 25, No. 3, November 2017, pp. 545–63.
- Edwards, Penny, "Watching the Detectives: The Elusive Exile of Prince Myingoon of Burma", in Ronit Ricci (ed.), *Exile in Colonial Asia: Kings, Convicts, Commemoration* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), pp. 248–78.
- Englehart, N.A., "Two Cheers for Burma's Rigged Election", *Political Science Faculty Publications*, No. 1, 2012, pp. 666–86.
- Everest-Phillips, Max, "The Pre-War Fear of Japanese Espionage: Its Impact and Legacy", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 42, No. 2, April 2007, pp. 243–65.
- Farrelly, Nicholas, "Transnational Flows of Military Talent: The Contrasting Experiences of Burma and Thailand since the 1940s", in Nir Arielli and Bruce Collins (eds.), *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 145–59.
- Gentry, John A., "Purges of Intelligence Services: Motives, methods, and consequences", *Journal of Intelligence History*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 2023, pp. 77–97.
- Ghosal, R.M., "Science and Detection in Burma", *The Burma Police Journal*, Vol. 2, 1929, pp. 619–35.
- Ghosh, Amitav, "A Reporter at Large: Burma", *The New Yorker*, 12 August 1996, pp. 38–54.
- Groffman, Nicholas, "Indian and Chinese Espionage", *Defence and Security Analysis*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2016, pp. 144–62.
- Guyot, J.T., Review of *Burma Communist Party's Conspiracy to take over State Power*, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1991, pp. 164–6.
- Guyot, J.T. and Badgley, John, "Myanmar in 1989: Tatmadaw V", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 30, No. 2, February 1990, pp. 187–95.

- Hall, D.G.E., "English Relations with Burma, 1587–1886", *History*, Vol. 28, No. 108, September 1943, pp. 182–200.
- Hariharan, R. "Burma (Myanmar): Why the Prime Minister was sacked?", Paper No. 1150, *South Asia Analysis Group*, 25 October 2004.
- Hartline, Martin C. and Kaulbach, M.M., "Michael Collins and Bloody Sunday", *Studies in Intelligence*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Winter 1969, pp. 69–78.
- Haseman, J.B., "Myanmar leaders reorganise military, intelligence structures", *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Vol. 14, No. 3, March 2002, pp. 40–1.
- Hauner, Milan, "The Last Great Game", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Winter 1984, pp. 72–84.
- Heaney, G.F., "Rennell and the Surveyors of India", *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 134, No. 3, September 1968, pp. 318–25.
- Hla Baw, "Science and Crime Detection", *The Burma Police Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 4, January 1939, pp. 441–48.
- Horse, Richard, "A New Escalation of Armed Conflict in Myanmar", *International Crisis Group*, 17 November 2023, at <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/myanmar/new-escalation-armed-conflict-myanmar>.
- Houtman, Gustaaf, "Remaking Myanmar and Human Origins", *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 15, No. 4, August 1999, pp. 13–9.
- Hudson-Rodd, Nancy and Myo Hunt, "The Military Occupation of Burma", *Geopolitics*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 2005, pp. 500–21.
- Jagan, Larry, "Myanmar Looks to ASEAN First for Its Future", in Li Chenyang, Chaw Chaw Sein and Zhu Xianghui (eds.), *Myanmar: Reintegrating into the International Community* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2016), pp. 41–62.
- James, Helen, "Adoniram Judson and the Creation of a Missionary Discourse in Pre-Colonial Burma", *The Journal of Burma Studies*, Vol. 7, 2002, pp. 1–28.
- James, Helen, "Myanmar in 2005: In a Holding Pattern", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 46, No. 1, January/February 2006, pp. 162–7.
- Jarvis, Andrew, "'The Myriad-Pencil of the Photographer': Seeing, Mapping and Situating Burma in 1855", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 4, 2011, pp. 791–823.
- Jeffery, Keith, "Intelligence and Counter-Insurgency Operations: Some Reflections on the British Experience", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1987, pp. 117–49.
- Karniol, Robert, "Chinese puzzle over Burma's SIGINT base", *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 29 January 1994, p. 14.
- Kaufman, Victor S., "Trouble in the Golden Triangle: The United States, Taiwan and the 93rd Nationalist Division", *The China Quarterly*, No. 166, June 2001, pp. 440–56.
- Kean, Leslie and Bernstein, Dennis, "The Burma-Singapore Axis: Globalizing the Heroin Trade", *Covert Action Quarterly*, Spring 1998, No. 64, pp. 45–53.
- Khin Moe Moe Aye, Hnin Ngwe and Lai Lai Win, "Health Activities Under King Mindon (1853–1878)", *Meiktila University Research Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2020, pp. 126–30.

- Killingray, David, "The Maintenance of Law and Order in British Colonial Africa", *African Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 340, July 1986, pp. 411–37.
- Kinley, David and Wilson, Trevor, "Engaging a Pariah: Human Rights Training in Burma/Myanmar", *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2, May 2007, pp. 368–402.
- Kislenko, Arne, "A Not So Silent Partner: Thailand's Role in Covert Operations, Counter-Insurgency, and the Wars in Indochina", *Journal of Conflict Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Summer 2004, pp. 65–96.
- Kyaw Yin Hlaing, "Challenging the Authoritarian State: Buddhist Monks and Peaceful Protests in Burma", *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Winter 2008, pp. 125–44.
- Kyaw Yin Hlaing, "Myanmar in 2004: Why Military Rule Continues", in Daljit Singh and Liak Teng Kiat (eds.), *Southeast Asian Affairs 2005* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005), pp. 231–56.
- Kyaw Yin Hlaing, "The State of the Pro-Democracy Movement in Authoritarian Myanmar/Burma", in Xiaolin Guo (ed.), *Myanmar/Burma: Challenges and Perspectives* (Stockholm: Institute for Security and Development Policy, 2008), pp. 67–105.
- Lebra, Joyce C., "The Significance of the Japanese Military Model for Southeast Asia", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 48, No. 2, Summer 1975, pp. 215–29.
- Leehey, Jennifer, "Writing in a Crazy Way: Literary Life in Contemporary Urban Burma", in Monique Skidmore (ed.), *Burma at the Turn of the 21st Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), pp. 175–205.
- Li Chenyang, "The Policies of China and India toward Myanmar", in Lex Rieffel (ed.), *Myanmar/Burma: Inside Challenges, Outside Interests* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2010), pp. 113–33.
- Lim, Samson, "The Development of the Police Detective Unit in Siam during the King Chulalongkorn's Reign to the End of 1932", *Scripatum Review Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2010, pp. 75–86.
- Lintner, Bertil, "Access to information: The case of Burma", in Sheila S. Coronel (ed.), *The Right to Know: Access to Information in Southeast Asia* (Quezon City: Philippine Centre for Investigative Journalism, 2001).
- Lintner, Bertil, "Myanmar payback time", *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 16, 20 April 2005, p. 23.
- Lintner, Bertil, "Reporting Isn't Easy: The Foreign Correspondent in Rangoon", *Nieman Reports*, Vol. 50, Winter 1996, pp. 69–70.
- Lintner, Bertil, "The CIA's First Secret War", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 16 September 1993, pp. 56–8.
- Mahadevan, Prem, "Myanmar: Security through Surveillance", in Ryan Shaffer (ed.), *The Handbook of Asian Intelligence Cultures* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2022), pp. 213–26.
- Mains, A.A., "Intelligence in India, 1930–47", *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. 79, No. 317, Spring 2001, pp. 63–82.

- Malik, Mohan, "Myanmar's Role in Regional Security: Pawn or Pivot?", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 19, No.1, June 1997, pp. 52–73.
- Manning, Stephen, "Learning the Trade: Use and Misuse of Intelligence during the British Colonial Campaigns of the 1870s", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 22, No. 5, October 2007, pp. 644–60.
- Mathieson, David S., "The Burma Road to Nowhere: The Failure of the Developmental State in Myanmar", *Policy, Organisation and Society*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1999, pp. 105–28.
- Matthews, Bruce, "Burma/Myanmar: Government A *La Mode*—From SLORC to SPDC: A Change of Public Dress-Up and Manner?", *The Round Table*, No. 349, January 1999, pp. 77–96.
- Matthews, Bruce, "The Present Fortune of Tradition-Bound Authoritarianism in Myanmar", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 1, Spring 1998, pp. 7–24.
- Maung Aung Myoe, "The Soldier and the State: The Tatmadaw and Political Liberalisation in Myanmar Since 2011", *South East Asia Research*, Vol. 22, No. 2, June 2014, pp. 233–49.
- Maung Kaung, "The Beginnings of Christian Missionary Education in Burma, 1600–1824", *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1930, pp. 59–75.
- McCarthy, Stephen, "Burma and ASEAN: Estranged Bedfellows", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 48, No. 6, November/December 2008, pp. 911–35.
- McGarr, Paul M., "India's Cold War Spy Chiefs: Decolonizing Intelligence in South Asia", in Paul Maddress, Christopher Moran, Ioanna Iordanou and Mark Stout (eds), *Spy Chiefs, Vol. 2: Intelligence Leaders in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2018), pp. 183–204.
- McKnight, David, "Western Intelligence and SEATO's War on Subversion, 1956–63", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 2005, pp. 288–303.
- Min Zin, "Anti-Muslim Violence in Burma—Why Now?", *Social Research*, Vol. 82, No. 2, Summer 2015, pp. 375–97.
- Mitchell, Peter, "Karens Fight to Survive", *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter*, Vol. 17, No. 4, October 1990, p. 15.
- Mukherji, Susmita, "The Bengal Revolutionaries in Burma, 1923–1933", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 61, No. 2, 2000, pp. 1104–17.
- Myo Oo, "Printed Materials in Mandalay Society: With Special Reference to Wekmasuk Wuntauk U Latt's Diary (1886–1898)", *Myanmar Historical Research Journal*, No. 35, 2018, pp. 59–71.
- Nairn, Ronald C., "SEATO: A Critique", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 41, No. 1, Spring 1968, pp. 5–18.
- Ostwald, Kai, "Book Review: Secrets and Power in Myanmar by Andrew Selth", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 93, No. 3, September 2020, pp. 682–3.
- Paliwal, Avinash, "A Cat's Paw of Indian Reactionaries? Strategic Rivalry and Domestic Politics at the India-China-Myanmar Tri-Junction", *Asian Security*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2020, pp. 73–89.
- Philips, C.H., "The Secret Committee of the East India Company", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1940, pp. 299–315.

- Pollak, Oliver, "Crisis of Kingship: Dynasticism and Revolt in Burma, 1837–1852", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, September 1976, pp. 187–96.
- Priamarizki, Adhi, "Book Review: Andrew Selth, *Secrets and Power in Myanmar*", *Asia-Pacific Journal of Elections and Democracy*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2021, pp. 64–5.
- Rashid, Waseem, "The Institutions of Intelligence and Information under the Mughals (1526–1707)", *Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 10, No. 6, 2022, pp. 57–69.
- Renard, Ronald D., "The Role of the Karens in Thai Society during the Early Bangkok Period, 1782–1873", in Constance M. Wilson, C.S. Smith and G.V. Smith (eds.), *Contributions to Asian Studies*, Vol. 15 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, January 1980), pp. 15–28.
- Robertson, W.W., "A Burmese Police Museum", *The Burma Police Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 1, January–March 1937, pp. 125–6.
- Sandeman, J.E., "The River Irrawadi and its Sources", *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. 4, No. 5, May 1882, pp. 257–73.
- Sarkar, Oyndrila, "War Cartography in the Survey of India, 1920–1946", in A.J. Kent, et al. (eds.), *Mapping Empires: Colonial Cartographies of Land and Sea* (Cham: Springer International, 2019), pp. 121–39.
- Sarkissian, Margaret, "Armenians in South-East Asia", *Crossroads*, Vol. 3, No. 2/3, 1987, pp. 1–33.
- Saxena, Krishna, "Causes Leading to the Deputation of a Burmese Political Mission to the Court of Cochin-China (1822–1824) and Its Results", *Bulletin d'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, Vol. 45, No. 2, 1952, pp. 573–79.
- Schwartzberg, Joseph E., "A Nineteenth Century Burmese Map Relating to French Colonial Expansion in Southeast Asia", *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 46, No. 1, 1994, pp. 117–27.
- Sciutto, Jim, "The Police State Playbook: An Introduction", *World Affairs*, Vol. 174, No. 2, July/August 2011, pp. 45–9.
- Seekins, Donald M., "Burma in 1998: Little to Celebrate", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 39, No. 1, January–February 1999, pp. 12–9.
- Seekins, Donald M., "Japan's 'Burma Lovers' and the Military Regime", *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 2000, pp. 315–34.
- Sen, B.K., "Burma's Junta Combating Corruption", *Legal Issues on Burma Journal*, No. 20, April 2005, pp. 32–59.
- Shaw, A.N., "MI5 and the Cold War in South-East Asia: Examining the Performance of Security Intelligence Far East (SIFE), 1946–1963", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 32, No. 6, 2017, pp. 797–816.
- Silverstein, Josef and Wohl, Julian, "University Students and Politics in Burma", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 37, No. 1, Spring 1964, pp. 50–65.
- Silvestri, Michael, "'The Sinn Fein of India': Irish Nationalism and the Policing of Revolutionary Terrorism in Bengal", *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 4, October 2000, pp. 454–86.
- Silvestri, Michael, "'The Thrill of Dressing Up': The Indian Police, Disguise and Intelligence Work in Colonial India", *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Fall 2001, at <https://doi.org/10.1353/cch.2001.0024>.

- Sinclair, Georgina and Williams, C.A., "‘Home and Away’: The Cross-Fertilisation between ‘Colonial’ and ‘British’ Policing, 1921–85", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 35, No. 2, June 2007, pp. 221–38.
- Singha, Radhika, "Punished by surveillance: Policing ‘dangerousness’ in colonial India, 1872–1918", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 2, March 2015, pp. 241–69.
- Skidmore, Monique, "Darker than Midnight: Fear, vulnerability and terror making in urban Burma (Myanmar)", *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 30, No. 1, February 2003, pp. 5–21.
- Skidmore, Monique, "Scholarship, Advocacy and the Politics of Engagement in Burma", in Victoria Sandford and Asale Angel-Ajani (eds.), *Engaged Observer: Anthropology, Advocacy and Activism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006), pp. 42–59.
- Smith, Martin, "Army Politics as a Historical Legacy: The Experience of Burma", in Kees Koonings and Dirk Kruijt, *Political Armies: The Military and National Building in the Age of Democracy* (London: Zed, 2002), pp. 270–96.
- Solomon, R.L., "Saya San and the Burmese Rebellion", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1969, pp. 209–23.
- Stamp, L. Dudley, "The Aerial Survey of the Irrawaddy Delta Forests (Burma)", *Journal of Ecology*, Vol. 13, No. 2, September 1925, pp. 262–76.
- Steinberg, D.I., "Legitimacy in Burma/Myanmar: Concepts and Implications", in N. Ganesan and Kyaw Yin Hlaing (eds.), *Myanmar: State, Society and Ethnicity* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007), pp. 109–42.
- Taylor, Robert H., "Introduction", in *Marxism and Resistance in Burma, 1942–1945: Thein Pe Myint’s ‘Wartime Traveller’* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1984), pp. 1–94.
- Taylor, Robert H., "Myanmar: Roadmap to Where?", in Daljit Singh and Chin Kin Wah (eds.), *Southeast Asian Affairs 2004*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004), pp. 171–86.
- Taylor, Robert H., "‘One Day, One Fathom, Bagan Won’t Move’: On the Myanmar Road to a Constitution", in Trevor Wilson (ed.), *Myanmar’s Long Road to National Reconciliation* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006), pp. 3–28.
- Taylor, Robert H., "Pathways to the Present", in Kyaw Yin Hlaing, Taylor, R.H. and Tin Maung Maung Than (eds.), *Myanmar: Beyond Politics to Societal Imperatives* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005), pp. 1–29.
- Taylor, Robert H., "The Burmese Communist Movement and Its Indian Connection: Formation and Factionalism", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1 March 1983, pp. 95–108.
- Taylor, Robert H., "The Military in Myanmar (Burma): What Scope for a New Role?", in Viberto Selochan (ed.), *The Military, the State, and Development in Asia and the Pacific* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 139–52.
- Thawngnhmung, Ardeth Maung, "Burma: A Gentler Authoritarianism?", *Foreign Policy*, No.139, November–December 2003, pp. 39–40.
- Thomas, Martin, "Colonial States as Intelligence States: Security Policing and the Limits of Colonial Rule in France’s Muslim Territories, 1920–40", *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 6, December 2005, pp. 1033–60.

- Thomas, Martin, "Intelligence Providers and the Fabric of the Late Colonial State", in Jost Dulffer and Marc Frey, *Elites and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 11–35.
- Thompson, Rhys, "Securing the Colony: The Burma Police Special Branch (1896–1942)", *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2020, pp. 35–53.
- Thompson, Rhys, "Underground Banking' and Myanmar's changing hundi system", *Journal of Money Laundering Control*, Vol. 22, No. 2, May 2019, pp. 339–49.
- Thornton, Phil, "Big Brain' on the Border", in Brendan Taylor, Nicholas Farrelly and Sheryn Lee (eds.), *Insurgent Intellectual: Essays in Honour of Professor Desmond Ball* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012), pp. 147–64.
- Tin Maung Maung Than, "Burma in 1983: From Recovery to Growth?", in Pushpa Thambipillai (ed.), *Southeast Asian Affairs 1984* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1984), pp. 89–124.
- Tin Maung Maung Than, "Myanmar: Myanmar-ness and Realism in Historical Perspective", in Ken Booth and Russell Trood (eds.), *Strategic Cultures in the Asia-Pacific Region* (London: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 165–81.
- Tin Maung Maung Than, "Myanmar Security Outlook: Tatmadaw Under Stress?", in *Security Outlook of the Asia Pacific Countries and Its Implications for the Defence Sector*, NIDS Joint Research Series No. 13 (Tokyo: The National Institute for Defence Studies, 2015), pp. 33–48.
- Tin Maung Maung Than, "Tatmadaw and Myanmar's Security Challenges", in *Asia Pacific Countries' Security Outlook and its Implications for the Defence Sector* (Tokyo: National Institute for Defence Studies, 2010), pp. 123–40.
- Tonkin, Derek, "The 1990 Elections in Myanmar: Broken Promises or a Failure of Communication?", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 29, No. 1, April 2007, pp. 33–54.
- Turnell, Sean, "Banking and Financial Regulation and Reform in Myanmar", *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies*, Vol. 31, No. 2, August 2014, pp. 225–40.
- Walinsky, L.J., "The Rise and Fall of U Nu", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 3/4, Autumn 1965–Winter 1965–1966), pp. 269–81.
- Walker, J.T., "Expeditions Among the Kachin Tribes on the North-east Frontier of Upper Burma", *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. 14, No. 3, March 1892, pp. 161–72.
- Wark, W.K., "Introduction", in A. Stuart Farson, David Stafford and Wesley K. Wark (eds.), *Security and Intelligence in a Changing World: New Perspectives for the 1990s* (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1991), pp. 1–6.
- Warner, Michael, "Wanted: A Definition of 'Intelligence'", *Studies in Intelligence*, Vol. 46, No. 3, 2002, at <https://www.cia.gov/static/72b2d4c0d01e4e05c60ff7d37fdd68b1/Wanted-Definition-of-Intel.pdf>.
- Warren, James, "The Rangoon Jail Riot of 1930 and the Prison Administration of British Burma", *Southeast Asia Research*, Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2002, pp. 5–29.
- Webster, Anthony, "Business and Empire: A Reassessment of the British Conquest of Burma in 1885", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 4, December 2000, pp. 1003–25.

- Win Min, "Internal dynamics of the Burmese military: before, during and after the 2007 Demonstrations", in Monique Skidmore and Trevor Wilson (eds.), *Dictatorship, Disorder and Decline in Myanmar* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2008), pp. 29–47.
- Win Min, "Looking Inside the Burmese Military", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 48, No. 6, November/December 2008, pp. 1018–37.
- Woodrow, Thomas, "The PLA and Cross-Border Contingencies in North Korea and Burma", in Andrew Scobell, et al (eds.), *The People's Liberation Army and Contingency Planning in China* (Washington DC: National Defence University Press, 2015), pp. 205–24.
- Ye Myo Hein, "Understanding the People's Defence Forces in Myanmar", *United States Institute of Peace*, 3 November 2022, at <https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/11/understanding-peoples-defense-forces-myanmar>.
- Yule, Henry, "On the Geography of Burma and its Tributary States, in Illustration of a New Map of Those Regions", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 27, 1857, pp. 54–108.
- Yun Sun, "Operation 1027: Changing the tides of the Myanmar civil war?", *Brookings Institution*, 16 January 2024, at <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/operation-1027-changing-the-tides-of-the-myanmar-civil-war/>.

Unpublished Sources

- Aung Myo, *Police Administration in Myanmar (1885–1945)*, Dissertation submitted to the University of Mandalay in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, Mandalay, June 2007.
- Callahan, M.P., *The Origins of Military Rule in Burma*, Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Ithaca, May 1996.
- Clipson, Edmund, *Constructing an Intelligence State: The Development of the Colonial Security Services in Burma 1930–1942*, Thesis submitted to the University of Exeter for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, January 2010.
- Ebara, Miki, *The Fall of Military Intelligence Under Khin Nyunt: An Analysis of Power Dynamics in Myanmar*, Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in Southeast Asian Studies (Inter-Department), Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 2005.
- Ei Ei Zaw, *A Study on the Changing Role of Myanmar Police Force*, Thesis submitted to Yangon University for the degree of M.Res, in History, History Department, Yangon, 31 May 2002.
- Heaney, Dennis H., *Burma: Assessing the Options for Engagement*, Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Defence Analysis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, June 2009.
- Hingkanonta, Lalita, *The Police in Colonial Burma*, Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in History, Department of History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2013.

McAndrew, James, *From Combat to Karaoke: Burmese Military Intelligence, 1948–2006*, Thesis submitted to the faculty of the National Defence College in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science of Strategic Intelligence, Washington DC, March 2007.

Shaw, Alexander N., *The British Intelligence Community in Singapore, 1946–1959: Local security, regional coordination and the Cold War in the Far East*, Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of PhD, The University of Leeds, School of History, January 2019.

Notes

1. This bibliography does not list most online sources, details of which can be found in the endnotes. Electronic links that have been cited were valid at the time of writing (July 2024) but some may no longer be live.
2. This section includes official publications first produced by the British colonial administration, even though a number were reprinted and remained in use after Burma's independence in 1948.
3. All CIA and DIA documents cited have been formally declassified for public release. Most may be found online.
4. Most of these cables were released without official authorization by the Wikileaks organization and, as such, cannot be independently verified as either genuine or accurate. Also, Wikileaks has been accused of acting as either the witting or unwitting mouthpiece of foreign intelligence services. That said, these documents have not been formally disowned by the US government and are generally taken to be true to the originals.