

# WATCHING MYANMAR

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS ON MYANMAR  
(BURMA) BY ANDREW SELTH, 1983-2025



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## ABOUT THIS PUBLICATION

This bibliography was produced by the Griffith Asia Institute (GAI) at Griffith University, Brisbane. It provides a comprehensive listing of works published between 1983 and 2025 by Andrew Selth that examine Myanmar (formerly Burma) and its place in the regional and global order.

The publication brings together more than four decades of scholarship, including books, peer-reviewed monographs, research papers, working papers, journal articles, commentaries and selected online contributions. It supersedes earlier listings and offers an updated, structured record of Selth's contributions to Myanmar studies.

This bibliography is intended as a reference resource for researchers, students, policymakers and practitioners seeking to better understand the political, strategic and historical dynamics of Myanmar.

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# FOREWORD

by

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founding Director of the ANU Myanmar Research Centre  
and co-founder of *New Mandala*

Very few great scholars demonstrate the persistence and curiosity to keep up the intense study of a place, mostly from a distance, over more than five decades. Andrew Selth is a rare example of such impressive analytical and scholarly commitment. It is a pleasure, in this context, to offer some words of warm endorsement for his latest bibliographic contribution, a summation of over 40 years of considered public analysis of Burma/Myanmar and its complex political and historical conditions.

Andrew's journey through Burma/Myanmar began with a diplomatic posting as a junior Australian official in the 1970s. Back then, Rangoon/Yangon was the capital of an obscure and isolated socialist regime, with an ideology defined in the idiosyncratic terms of General Ne Win and his lieutenants. While many diplomats maintain connections to their postings, and affection for early experiences is common, what distinguishes Andrew's scholarly work on Myanmar is his unbroken, passionate interest sustained over these long decades.

The incredible range and consistency of his publications emphasise both changes in the Southeast Asian country and shifts in global political and economic dynamics. Starting with his earliest work on historical topics, with a focus on upheavals in the 1940s and the 1970s, there is very little in Myanmar's political and security landscape that Andrew has not given his characteristically thorough attention. Indeed, there are many niche topics, including those of a cultural and literary flavour, where he is the only published authority. At the same time, it is inevitable that so many of the early figures of Andrew's focus have faded from view, and yet there are some, like retired junta supremo Than Shwe and purged spy-boss Khin Nyunt, that have proved a persistent, and usually ominous, presence for so many years.

The fact that at least some of this voluminous output occurred while Andrew held senior Australian government roles in foreign affairs, security, and intelligence functions is notable too. I remember my astonishment when Andrew first shared his experience of pseudonymous authorship while in government service. Yet the drive to share his deep insights, especially on topics that usually receive only superficial attention, was clearly an enormous motivation. The fact that he needed multiple alternative personas is, as much as anything else, a tribute to his productivity and zest to explain. Who else can be both *Bo Hmu Gyi* ("Colonel") and "William Ashton"? Now, we can only grin at his devotion and playfulness; as an analyst once out of sight in government compounds, as a scholar in the full glare of peer review and publication, and then as a set of blurry anonymous figures somewhere in between. Andrew points, when asked, to Burmese traditions of authorial ambiguity as a further cultural context explaining his occasional preference for the nom de plume.

Whichever name he chooses, what makes Andrew's analysis so special is that he always seeks the deeper truth of the matter. Such efforts are built, I observe, on the relentless and sometimes mindboggling collection of materials, of all sorts. When it comes to Burma/Myanmar, I expect there are no other individuals, and indeed very few institutions, with access to such an incredible volume and quality of material for analysis. He reads everything. And when conditions change, as they do often enough, it is apparent that Andrew is quickly sifting for new insights from his repositories. This is one reason that on

even the hardest analytical topics – military strategy, intelligence agencies, secretive weapons systems, what might be happening in Naypyitaw – he has no peer in Myanmar Studies, and very few in any other highly specialised geography. By definition, these topics are opaque, and usually deliberately obscured.

Andrew's work on Burma/Myanmar is, any of his readers come to know, famously measured, informed by careful attention to what we know, and shaped by his long appreciation of individual and institutional dynamics. He weighs every syllable against the facts, as best they are known, with heavy editorial intervention simply unnecessary. His ability to integrate knowledge of diverse fields means he can take understandable pleasure when his insights illuminate the darker corners. Taken together, it makes his contributions ever readable and in so many instances evergreen.

Yet a less obvious contribution from Andrew, and one he has offered throughout his career, is to thoughtfully explain *that which we do not know*. His frustration with those who jump to premature or partial conclusions is always polite, and from time to time he has sought to clarify where he feels other analysts have been too bold or inclined to weigh only one type of evidence. At times, these public contributions intersect with the methods and crafts that shaped his government career, offering important perspectives, for those who read closely, on how world-class analysts get as close as possible to the full story, without exaggerating what that ever means.

The scope of Andrew's work is, through this bibliography, now apparent to anybody who even glances at a few pages. My encouragement, though, is to linger and enjoy the bibliography on its own daunting terms – it is in equal measure historical artefact and inspiration for the research yet to come. While Andrew started out last century in the traditional books, journals, specialist periodicals, hard-copy newspapers, and magazines that proliferated, this century, particularly since retirement from government service, he has built a hugely important digital presence, across half-a-dozen major outlets. Many of his online essays are now also captured in two book-length anthologies. As a distinguished analyst and author, he has energetically supported this group of innovative online platforms. By publishing so generously, Andrew helps build the globally connected scholarly and analytical communities that we all value so highly.

The conclusion, naturally enough, must be that he is a prolific, insightful and wonderfully versatile scholar. In a dual incarnation, Andrew is both an eternal romantic and the very model of the dogged realist. The systematic curation of knowledge, of which Andrew is a master at many levels, is also apparent in the shape of this bibliography. Andrew's work is comprehensive and consistent, diligent and devoted, and defined by its attention to structure. The bibliography captures these attributes with chronological discipline but also attention to the many different categories of work on which Andrew has toiled.

The fact that Andrew has offered no lengthy interviews during his career also means that to know Andrew, the man, his thinking, his skill and flair, is fundamentally to know him through his millions of written words. This bibliography is therefore a unique and special volume. It testifies to Andrew Selth's enormous contribution to the global understanding of Burma/Myanmar, which is still, too often, a sad and forgotten place. As we wish a better future for our friends in Myanmar, we can also point to the enduring commitment of this most remarkable analyst, drawn out of the shadows to tell us important truths, among many others, about how dictators have survived and, we hope, how their oppression eventually comes to an end.

Hobart, Tasmania, Australia  
February 2026

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Andrew Selth is an Adjunct Professor at the Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, in Brisbane, Australia. He has been studying international security issues and Asian affairs for 50 years, as a diplomat, strategic intelligence analyst and research scholar. In 1973, he joined the Department of Foreign Affairs. Between 1974 and 1985, he was assigned to the Australian embassies in Burma (as Myanmar was then known) and the Republic of Korea, and to the Australian High Commission in New Zealand. His last position in the department was as founding Director of the Counter-Terrorism Policy Section. He later held a range of analytical and executive appointments in the Joint Intelligence Organisation (renamed the Defence Intelligence Organisation in 1990) and Office of National Assessments. He retired from the Australian Public Service in 2006.

Dr Selth has been awarded a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) degree and a Master of Arts in international relations from the Australian National University (ANU). He also holds a Graduate Diploma in Strategic Studies from the Australian Defence Force's Joint Services Staff College, from which he graduated in 1989. In 2007, he was granted a PhD in Asian studies by Griffith University. His dissertation was on the development of Myanmar's armed forces since the 1988 uprising. He has been an Adjunct Associate Professor in the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs at the ANU, a Visiting Fellow at the ANU's Strategic and Defence Studies Centre (twice), a Chevening Scholar at St Antony's College, Oxford University, an Australian Research Council Fellow at Griffith University and a Harold White Fellow at the National Library of Australia.

Over the past 40 years, Dr Selth has published 13 books and more than 50 peer-reviewed monographs, research papers and articles, most of them on various aspects of Myanmar and its place in the Asia-Pacific region. He has also contributed to the public debate on Myanmar through some 450 articles, commentaries, op-eds and reviews, both under his own name and a variety of pseudonyms. About 170 of these shorter pieces have been collected and published in two anthologies, one released by ANU Press in Canberra in 2020 and the other by Singapore's ISEAS (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) Yusof Ishak Institute in 2024. He has acted as a referee for a wide range of academic journals and undertaken numerous public speaking engagements.

## PREFACE

This bibliography lists all the works written and published by Andrew Selth since 1983 that discuss, or touch upon, Myanmar (known before 1989 as Burma) and its place in the world. Publications by him on other subjects (including two books on international terrorism, plus several monographs and articles on the two Koreas) are not included. The bibliography supersedes a similar listing posted by the Online Burma/Myanmar Library in 2010.<sup>i</sup>

In compiling this list, certain conventions have been followed:

1. All titles have been listed chronologically and by category (usually the broad style of publication). Sub-sections (usually publication titles) have been used to help identify specific outlets, groups or classes of publications.
2. A number of decisions have been made to assist in this process. For example, anything longer than 50,000 words has been deemed a book and listed as such. Working papers and research papers, while at times indistinguishable, are described separately. Also, a distinction has been made between news magazines, most of which were only produced in hard copy, and online news outlets, which later became the norm.
3. The Griffith Asia Institute (GAI) Regional Outlook series, launched in 2004, was originally intended for working papers. At the time, there was no GAI vehicle for the publication of longer, more considered works. In those circumstances, some studies more properly considered research papers were published as Regional Outlook papers. In 2018, the GAI Research Paper series was created specifically to cater to such works.
4. As a general rule, the bibliography does not list those articles that were reproduced by other outlets after the original version appeared. However, some exceptions to this rule have been made, mainly to highlight the re-publication of the original piece (often under a new title and with minor edits) in different forums, such as *Channel News Asia*, and to maintain consistency with other bibliographies.
5. Also, a few double entries have been included to show republication of certain articles in Myanmar-based publications, notably the state-run newspaper *The Global New Light of Myanmar* and the Thailand-based dissident journal *The Irrawaddy*.
6. Before he retired from the Australian Public Service in 2006, more than 60 of Andrew Selth's articles were published under pseudonyms (most in the *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter*). This was intended to put a notional distance between his professional status as an intelligence officer and his private, academic interests. (Needless to say, this distinction was never recognised by the Myanmar authorities). These pseudonyms, including "William Ashton", "Kay Merrill", "Frank Downs", "Nyan Htut" and "Bo Hmu Gyi", are cited in the bibliography, where relevant.
7. The URLs (or web addresses) of more recent publications have been provided where possible, to permit immediate electronic access for those reading this bibliography online. However, many of the older publications are only available in hard copy. Also, while the original URLs of many early works have been provided for the historical record, most are no longer active.
8. URLs have not been provided for those publications which are protected by paywalls and other restrictive barriers, including peer-reviewed academic articles, certain news magazines (such as those published by Nikkei Inc. and Jane's Information Systems) and newspapers.

Two entries in the bibliography are for works (a book and an article in an academic journal) due to be formally published in 2026. They are marked where appropriate in the footnotes. Both were written and accepted for publication in 2025 but, for various reasons, they were still in press when this bibliography was finalised.

For other publications about Myanmar, it is recommended that this bibliography be read in conjunction with the more comprehensive listings, divided into subject categories, found in Andrew Selth, *Myanmar (Burma) since the 1988 Uprising: A Select Bibliography*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2022).

Brisbane, Queensland, Australia  
February 2026

# 1. BOOKS

1. *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)
2. *Burma's Armed Forces: Power Without Glory* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2002)
3. *Burma (Myanmar) Since the 1988 Uprising: A Select Bibliography* (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2012)
4. *Burma (Myanmar) Since the 1988 Uprising: A Select Bibliography*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2015)
5. *Burma, Kipling and Western Music: The Riff from Mandalay* (New York: Routledge, 2016)
6. *Burma's Armed Forces: Power Without Glory*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Manchester: Eastbridge, 2017)  
2
7. *Burma (Myanmar) Since the 1988 Uprising: A Select Bibliography*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2018)
8. *Secrets and Power in Myanmar: Intelligence and the Fall of General Khin Nyunt* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2019)
9. *Interpreting Myanmar: A Decade of Analysis* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2020)
10. *Myanmar (Burma) Since the 1988 Uprising: A Select Bibliography*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2022)
11. *A Myanmar Miscellany: Selected Articles, 2007-2023* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2024)
12. *Myanmar: The Making of an Intelligence State* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2026)<sup>3</sup>

## 2. MONOGRAPHS AND RESEARCH PAPERS

1. *The Anti-Fascist Resistance in Burma, 1942-1945: The Racial Dimension*, Occasional Paper No.14 (Townsville: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1985)
2. *Death of a Hero: The U Thant Disturbances in Burma, December 1974*, Australia-Asia Paper No.49 (Brisbane: Centre for the Study of Australian-Asian Relations, Griffith University, 1989)
3. *Death of a Hero: The U Thant Disturbances in Burma, December 1974*, Australia-Asia Paper No.49, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Brisbane: Centre for the Study of Australian-Asian Relations, Griffith University, 1993)
4. *Burma's Secret Military Partners*, Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No.136 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 2000), at [file:///C:/Users/Andrew/Downloads/136\\_Burma%E2%80%99s\\_secret\\_military\\_partners\\_\(Canberra\\_papers\\_on\\_strategy\\_and\\_defence\)\\_Andrew\\_Selth\\_86p\\_0731527755.pdf](file:///C:/Users/Andrew/Downloads/136_Burma%E2%80%99s_secret_military_partners_(Canberra_papers_on_strategy_and_defence)_Andrew_Selth_86p_0731527755.pdf)
5. *Burma's Muslims: Terrorists or Terrorised?* Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No.150 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 2003), at [file:///C:/Users/Andrew/Downloads/150\\_Burma%E2%80%99s\\_Muslims\\_\\_Terrorists\\_or\\_Terrorised\\_\(Canberra\\_Papers\\_on\\_Strategy\\_and\\_Defence,\\_150\)\\_\\_p\\_073155437X\\_0%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/Andrew/Downloads/150_Burma%E2%80%99s_Muslims__Terrorists_or_Terrorised_(Canberra_Papers_on_Strategy_and_Defence,_150)__p_073155437X_0%20(1).pdf)
6. *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), at [file:///C:/Users/Andrew/Downloads/154\\_Burma\\_s\\_north\\_korean\\_gambit\\_\\_A\\_challenge\\_to\\_regional\\_security\\_by\\_Andrew\\_Selth,\\_76p\\_0.pdf](file:///C:/Users/Andrew/Downloads/154_Burma_s_north_korean_gambit__A_challenge_to_regional_security_by_Andrew_Selth,_76p_0.pdf)
7. *Death of a Hero: The U Thant Disturbances in Burma, December 1974*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Research Paper (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2018), at [https://www.griffith.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0032/483827/AS-death-of-a-hero-U-Thant-disturbance-web-final.pdf](https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0032/483827/AS-death-of-a-hero-U-Thant-disturbance-web-final.pdf)
8. *Myanmar's Armed Forces and the Rohingya Crisis*, Peaceworks No.140 (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, August 2018), at <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2018-08/pw140-myanmars-armed-forces-and-the-rohingya-crisis.pdf>
9. *Making Myanmar: Colonial Burma and Popular Western Culture*, Research Paper (revised edition) (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2020), at [https://www.griffith.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0027/1075338/Making-Myanmar-Colonial-Burma-and-popular-Western-culture.pdf](https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0027/1075338/Making-Myanmar-Colonial-Burma-and-popular-Western-culture.pdf)
10. *Myanmar (Burma): A Reading Guide*, Research Paper (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2021), at [https://www.griffith.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0030/1285644/Selth-Myanmar-Reading-Guide-web.pdf](https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0030/1285644/Selth-Myanmar-Reading-Guide-web.pdf)
11. *Myanmar: An Enduring Intelligence State or a State Enduring Intelligence?* Asia Policy Paper (Washington DC: Stimson Centre, April 2021), at <https://www.stimson.org/2021/myanmar-an-enduring-intelligence-state/#:~:text=Even%20before%20the%20February%20,described%20as%20an%20intelligence%20state.>

12. *Myanmar's Military Mindset: An Exploratory Survey*, Research Paper (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2021), at [https://www.griffith.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0023/1418333/Military-mindset-web.pdf](https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0023/1418333/Military-mindset-web.pdf) <sup>4</sup>

13. *Coercion and Control in Colonial Burma: The Birth of an Intelligence State*, Research Paper (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2023), at [https://www.griffith.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0024/1752018/Selth-Colonial-intelligence-web.pdf](https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0024/1752018/Selth-Colonial-intelligence-web.pdf)

14. *Intelligence and Intelligence Agencies in Myanmar Since the 2021 Coup*, Research Paper (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2023), at [https://www.griffith.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0028/1774531/Selth-Post-coup-intelligence-in-Myanmar.pdf](https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0028/1774531/Selth-Post-coup-intelligence-in-Myanmar.pdf)

### 3. WORKING PAPERS

#### ANU Strategic and Defence Studies Centre <sup>5</sup>

1. *"Assisting the Defence of Australia": Australian Defence Contacts with Burma, 1945–1987*, Working Paper No.218 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1990)
2. *Burma's Arms Procurement Programme*, Working Paper No.289 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1995)
3. *Burma's Intelligence Apparatus*, Working Paper No.308 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1997)
4. *Burma's Defence Expenditure and Arms Industries*, Working Paper No.309 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1997)
5. *The Burma Navy*, Working Paper No.313 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1997)
6. *The Burma Air Force*, Working Paper No.315 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1997)
7. *Burma and Weapons of Mass Destruction*, Working Paper No.334 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1999)
8. *The Burmese Armed Forces Next Century: Continuity or Change?* Working Paper No.338 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1999)
9. *Burma's Order of Battle: An Interim Assessment*, Working Paper No.351 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 2000)
10. *Landmines in Burma: The Military Dimension*, Working Paper No.352 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 2000)
11. *Burma's China Connection and the Indian Ocean Region*, Working Paper No.377 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 2003)

#### Griffith Asia Institute <sup>6</sup>

12. *Chinese Military Bases in Burma: The Explosion of a Myth*, Regional Outlook No.10 (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2007), at [https://www.griffith.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0029/485471/Regional-Outlook-Paper-10-Selth-web.pdf](https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0029/485471/Regional-Outlook-Paper-10-Selth-web.pdf)
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19. *Burma and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Not If, But Why, How and What*, Regional Outlook No.34 (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, Brisbane, 2011), at [https://www.griffith.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0029/436871/Selth-Regional-Outlook-Paper-34-web.pdf](https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0029/436871/Selth-Regional-Outlook-Paper-34-web.pdf)
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## NOTES

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- i Andrew Selth, "Publications on Burma (January 1985 – November 2010)", *Online Burma/Myanmar Library*, 2010, at <https://www.burmalibrary.org/en/andrew-selth-publications-on-burma-january-1985-november-2010>
- 2 The entire EastBridge catalogue was acquired by Camphor Press in 2016. A new edition of *Burma's Armed Forces* was released under the "Eastbridge" imprint the following year.
- 3 The manuscript of this book was completed in 2024 and sent to the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute in Singapore for publication in early 2025. However, editing and typesetting of the book was delayed due to circumstances beyond the publisher's (and author's) control. It is expected to be released in early 2026.
- 4 An earlier version of this research paper was produced in 2020. It was written as part of a consultancy for a foreign government, however, and never publicly released.
- 5 The Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, established in 1966, is a part of the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra, Australia.
- 6 The Griffith Asia Institute was created in 2004, replacing the Centre for the Study of Australian-Asian Relations, at Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia. As noted in the Introduction, some Regional Outlooks were more research papers than working papers.
- 7 The Southeast Asia Research Centre is a part of the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences at the City University of Hong Kong (CUHK), in Hong Kong.
- 8 This article was accepted for publication by the *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* in early 2025. An advance copy was posted online on 25 April that year (and at last count had received more than 3,000 views). It will be included in a special issue of the journal looking at South Asia's intelligence communities. However, the article had not been assigned volume and issue numbers before this bibliography went to press.
- 9 At its inception in 1974, the magazine was called the *Pacific Defence Reporter*, but in June 1990 its name was changed to the *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter*. Most of the articles written for the magazine, and listed below, were published under pseudonyms, details of which are given in brackets at the end of the relevant citations.
- 10 Several articles written for *Jane's Intelligence Review* were written under pseudonyms, details of which are given in brackets where relevant.
- 11 Established in 1929, the AQ has been called by several different names over the years. Since 1932 it has been published by the Australian Institute of Policy and Science.
- 12 *The Irrawaddy* news magazine was founded in 1993 by a group of Burmese journalists in exile. It was initially produced in hard copy but after 2000 was only published online.
- 13 The *Mekong Review* (also known as *Mekong Review Asian Literature*) describes itself as a quarterly English-language magazine that provides a literary outlet for "writers with a distinctly Asian perspective".
- 14 Launched in 2007, *The Interpreter* is the on-line blog of the Sydney-based Lowy Institute (originally the Lowy Institute for International Policy). The electronic links cited to the 97 *Interpreter* articles posted between 2008 and 2019 are those given at the time of publication. Many are no longer active, but all these articles were collected and published as Andrew Selth, *Interpreting Myanmar: A Decade of Analysis* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2020). The entire book can be downloaded free of charge at <https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/interpreting-myanmar>. Another 15 *Interpreter* pieces, covering the period 2020 to 2023, were included in a second anthology, titled *A Myanmar Miscellany: Selected Articles, 2007-2023* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2024). These articles, and more recent *Interpreter* posts, are still available online, as listed at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/contributors/articles/andrew-selth>

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15 This article was briefly posted under the title "Myanmar's 'failed junta' turns five".  
 16 *New Mandala* was launched as a blog in 2006. It is hosted by the Coral Bell School of  
 Asia-Pacific Affairs at the Australian National University, in Canberra, Australia.  
 17 *Asialink Insights* is produced by Asialink, a non-academic department of the  
 University of Melbourne, in Melbourne, Australia.  
 18 The *Nikkei Asian Review* was founded by the Japanese media corporation Nikkei in  
 2013 as an English language business journal and website. It closed in 2020.  
 19 *East Asia Forum* is an international policy forum launched in 2006 and managed by  
 the Crawford School of Public Policy at the Australian National University, in  
 Canberra.  
 20 *Australian Outlook* is the web-based news outlet of the Australian Institute of  
 International Affairs.  
 21 *The Strategist* is the commentary and analysis site of the Australian Strategic Policy  
 Institute, an independent, non-partisan think-tank based in Canberra.  
 22 The *Griffith Review* is a quarterly literary journal established in 2003 as an initiative of  
 Griffith University, in Brisbane.  
 23 *Tea Circle* was established in 2015 as a forum for new and emerging perspectives on  
 Myanmar. After initially being hosted by St Antony's College, at the University of  
 Oxford, it is currently hosted by the Asian Institute at the University of Toronto.  
 24 *Channel News Asia* (or CNA) is a Singapore-based multinational news channel owned  
 by Mediacorp, the country's state-owned media conglomerate. These five articles  
 have all been reproduced, with slight editorial changes, from other outlets.  
 25 *The Burma Fantail* is the newsletter and journal of the Burma (Myanmar) Philatelic  
 Study Circle, based in the United Kingdom. It replaced *The Burma Peacock*, the last  
 issue of which was produced in 2000.  
 26 It is suggested on the LSE (London School of Economics and Political Science)  
 website that this article was written by Christopher Finnigan, the editor of the LSE  
 South Asia blog at the time. However, as also stated on the website, the text  
 published was in fact an excerpt from a research seminar paper delivered by Andrew  
 Selth at Griffith University on 7 March 2019.  
 27 Future Directions International was an independent, not-for-profit research institute  
 established in Nedlands, Western Australia, in 2000. It was closed in 2021. The  
 electronic links given below are those which applied at the time that each work was  
 published but, like the think-tank itself, they are no longer active.  
 28 The *Griffith Asia Insights* blog began in January 2013. This section includes a number  
 of short, stand-alone notes written by Andrew Selth. Most entries, however, are  
 extracts from, or short summaries of, articles and papers published by Andrew Selth,  
 and prepared for the blog by its editor. The full Andrew Selth *Griffith Asia Insights*  
 archive can be viewed at <https://blogs.griffith.edu.au/asiainsights/tag/andrew-selth/>  
 29 This checklist was updated at six-monthly intervals, until the publication of the first  
 edition of Andrew Selth, *Burma (Myanmar) since the 1988 Uprising: A select*  
*bibliography* (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2012).  
 30 Revised and updated versions of this note were incorporated into the four editions of  
 the select bibliography produced by the GAI and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies  
 between 2012 and 2022. A later version was published separately as Andrew Selth,  
*Myanmar (Burma): A Reading Guide*, Research Paper (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute,  
 Griffith University, 2021), at  
[https://www.griffith.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0030/1285644/Selth-Myanmar-  
 Reading-Guide-web.pdf](https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0030/1285644/Selth-Myanmar-Reading-Guide-web.pdf)



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