

AUNG SAN SUU KYI

Conversations from a Myanmar Prison

A Work of Fiction by Alan Clements

"Freedom and Democracy Are Dreams You Never Give Up."
—AUNG SAN SUU KYI, Myanmar's Imprisoned Nobel Peace Laureate

WORLD DHARMA PUBLICATIONS

An Endorsement for the book, UNSILENCED: Aung San Suu Kyi – Conversations from a Myanmar Prison by Alan Clements

"For over four decades, Alan Clements has lived and breathed Burma's long struggle for freedom — documenting, interviewing, and bearing witness to hundreds of its elected leaders, dissidents, activists, and political prisoners. His collaboration with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, drawn from six months of clandestine meetings at her home following her first release from house arrest in 1995, became the internationally acclaimed *The Voice of Hope* — a book she herself named, carrying to the world her vision of the *Revolution of the Spirit*.

"In *Unsilenced*, Clements returns to that sacred conversation, resurrecting Aung San Suu Kyi's voice with poetic precision and moral fire. Though composed as a series of fictional dialogues from her prison cell, they could very well be true — so deeply are they rooted in her conscience, her people's suffering, and the timeless courage of resistance.

"Through her voice, he illuminates not only Burma's soul but the universal struggle between fear and freedom — exposing the fascist and authoritarian psychologies that live not just in regimes, but within us all.

"At nearly seven hundred pages, each chapter unfolds as a meditation on moral intelligence — a fearless dialogue with conscience at the edge of despair and faith. At this perilous moment, when Aung San Suu Kyi endures her fifth year of solitary confinement and her twenty-first year of total detention, Clements gives her voice back to the world — as prayer, as poetry, and as a reminder that the Revolution of the Spirit is never over there. It is here, now, in all of us."

 Krystal Dyan, Poet, Artist, Literary Critic, and Co-Producer (with Alan Clements) of the forthcoming book *Authoritarianism*, *Patriarchy*, and the Role of the Divine Feminine: Conversations with Visionary Women (World Dharma Publications, Spring 2026)

UNSILENCED: Aung San Suu Kyi — Conversations from a Myanmar Prison

A Q&A with Author, Alan Clements

On Aung San Suu Kyi, dictatorship, and the moral credibility of the free world

Introduction

Alan Clements has spent more than four decades inside Myanmar's enduring night of dictatorship — first as one of the earliest Westerners ordained in a Yangon monastery; later as a journalist expelled for documenting abuses; and as a long-time interlocutor and collaborator with Aung San Suu Kyi, whose six months of secret recorded conversations

became the internationally acclaimed book *The Voice of Hope*. He has walked monasteries at dawn and war-scorched villages at dusk, listened to dissidents whisper beneath curfews, and journeyed beside revolutionaries who risked everything for freedom.

His new book, *UNSILENCED:* Aung San Suu Kyi – Conversations from a Myanmar Prison, is born from the solitude of confinement — an act of witness, a flare of conscience that refuses extinction. Within its pages, Aung San Suu Kyi's moral philosophy, her fierce tenderness, and her call to courage are rendered as living *Dhamma* — rooted in conscience and radiant with uncompromised grace. May these words find not only the halls of power but the inner sanctum of conscience, for within these imagined dialogues — sculpted with poetic precision and moral fire — her silenced voice rises again with the clarity of truth. Though fictional, their truth surpasses fact: each exchange shimmers with the unmistakable authenticity of awakening. In her fifth year of solitary confinement, her presence is reborn here — radiant, lucid, indomitable.

UNSILENCED is the companion to Conversation with a Dictator: A Challenge to the Authoritarian Assault, Clements's 492-page illustrated literary confrontation with General Min Aung Hlaing — "a literary shockwave," as it's been called, that lays bare the mind of absolute power. Together, the two works form a diptych: the anatomy of tyranny and the resurrection of conscience.

This interview ranges widely — from Aung San Suu Kyi's reported heart disease and the junta's "murder by neglect," to the sham election planned for December 2025; from Buddhist ethics as insurgent clarity to the moral exhaustion of the West. It ends with what Clements calls *the only honest ultimatum*: "If she is well, prove it. If not, stop lying."

Q: Alan, why this book now? Why *UNSILENCED* at this hour?

Alan Clements: Because time is hemorrhaging — and silence itself has become a weapon. Aung San Suu Kyi is in her fifth year of solitary. Her son, Kim Aris, has said he cannot confirm that his mother is even alive. When a son speaks that sentence, the world should fall silent. It did for me. I realized: *if she cannot speak in life, we must carry her voice in literature. UNSILENCED* is my refusal to let erasure become normalcy.

Dictatorships operate like a long, slow eclipse. First, they confiscate speech, then the body, then memory. This book is the counter-eclipse — the act of returning light to a voice the generals fear most: *truth spoken without permission*.

Q: You've argued the junta is weaponizing her health — "murder by neglect." What do you mean?

Clements: It's the strategy of *slow assassination through bureaucracy*. Deny care, delay intervention, restrict independent doctors, and then shrug: "She was old; it was heart disease." That's not misfortune — that's choreography.

It's the cold calculus of tyrants: let illness do what handcuffs cannot.

And the propaganda is grotesque. The spokesman insists she's "in good health" while she's kept in a vermin-infested, windowless cell, denied family, doctors, and sunlight. Orwell called this *the politics of unreality* — lies so brazen they need your cooperation to stand upright.

My challenge is simple: open the gates. Bring in independent cardiologists. Permit a live call with her son. Publish verifiable medical scans. *If she's well, prove it. If not, stop lying.* And better yet—free her. Free them all. The more than 22,000 political hostages still caged across the country.

Q: How does *UNSILENCED* relate to *Conversation with a Dictator*? Why hold both mirrors at once — one to the tyrant, one to the dissident?

Clements: Because truth has two faces — terror and transcendence. One face is the pathology of power: fear disguised as command, delusion bureaucratized into policy. That's Conversation with a Dictator — a five-act portrait of authoritarian psychology, staged in literature, theatre, and dream.

The other face is moral clarity — the luminous defiance of a conscience that refuses to die. That's *UNSILENCED*: the voice of a woman denied a microphone, resurrected through dialogue.

Read together, they form a voltage differential — the current between despair and defiance. The first dismantles the *trance of domination*; the second rebuilds the *architecture of hope*.

Q: You've called the junta's December 2025 polls a "travesty." What's at stake in this sham election?

Clements: It's theatre without actors, democracy without demos. A pantomime staged by the men who imprisoned the audience and silenced the script.

The point of a sham election isn't legitimacy — it's confusion. It muddies foreign policy, gives corporations a fig leaf to resume business, and sedates the conscience of the world.

Meanwhile, the people who actually won in 2020 — by a landslide the size of faith itself — are in cells or graves.

To accept this charade is to normalize the kidnapping of a nation. It teaches every aspiring autocrat the same algorithm: steal the vote, imprison the victors, and wait for the headlines to fade.

If that precedent stands, we're not talking about Myanmar alone — we're describing the future architecture of the 21st-century coup: algorithmic, slow-motion, and politely ignored.

Q: You've described Myanmar as a "hostage nation." That's stronger than "authoritarian state." Why that language?

Clements: Because precision is a moral act. Twenty-two thousand political prisoners are not detainees; they are hostages of a regime built on impunity. The public is not governed; it's held for ransom — ransom paid in fear, silence, and the slow collapse of hope.

"Hostage nation" restores moral clarity to a vocabulary dulled by diplomacy. When a corporation or a tourist is taken hostage, presidents pick up phones. When an entire country is taken, the world drafts statements.

That dissonance is the true scandal.

Part II — The World and the Word

Q: Why does Myanmar matter beyond Myanmar? Make the case to a reader in New York, Nairobi, Delhi, Warsaw, Vancouver.

Clements: Three reasons.

First, precedent. If a military can nullify an election, cage the winners, and launder the crime with a sham vote — and the world accepts it — every fragile democracy takes note. Precedent metastasizes.

Second, geopolitics. Myanmar is a hinge-state between India and China, between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific — the fault-line where democracy meets autocracy. Whoever shapes its future will tilt regional security, refugee flows, resource corridors, and the moral geometry of Asia itself. This isn't a moral footnote; it's a strategic fulcrum.

Third, moral inheritance. Myanmar safeguarded $Vipassan\bar{a}$ — the heart of Buddhist insight — for centuries; it birthed a non-violent revolution that redefined courage. When Aung San Suu Kyi said, "Use your freedom to support ours," she wasn't crafting a slogan; she was issuing a civilizational teaching. To abandon Myanmar is to abandon part of what keeps us human.

Q: Russia and China: enablers or guarantors? You've spoken directly to both.

Clements: They are the regime's oxygen — arms, cash, spyware, and diplomatic camouflage. They speak of "stability," but dictatorship is chaos in uniform. If Moscow and Beijing want lasting influence, they should invest in a federal democracy that includes all ethnic nationalities. Anything else is a bonfire that will one day leap their borders.

I've said it openly: it's not in your long-term interest — financially, strategically, or morally — to back a failing junta. Short-term leverage breeds long-term blowback. Real stability is negotiated legitimacy, not prolonged repression.

Q: And the West? You've tied the fentanyl crisis to Myanmar's dictatorship — why link them?

Clements: Because the supply chain of death runs through tyranny. Under the junta, Myanmar has become one of the planet's largest meth and fentanyl factories. The same officers who bomb schools launder drug profits through banks in Bangkok, Dubai, and Singapore.

If Western leaders mourn overdoses at home while ignoring the regime that profits from poison, that's not policy — that's hypocrisy as strategy.

You can't fight the fentanyl flood and ignore its factory. Sanctions must hit the cartel-state nexus — the generals' conglomerates, their brokers, their bankers, their ships. The drug war and the democracy war are the same front.

Q: Let's pivot to literature. What can a book do that a briefing can't?

Clements: A briefing informs; a book transforms. A briefing speaks to the mind; a book trespasses into conscience.

Dictatorships thrive by reducing human beings to statistics. Literature restores pulse and breath. That's why tyrants fear poets more than tanks — because poems slip through walls and re-humanize the numb.

UNSILENCED isn't a press release; it's an incantation. It invites the reader into a cell and whispers: listen. Listen to dignity without embellishment. If that listening happens at scale, politics will have to change its tone.

Q: Your spiritual lineage — Mahāsi Sayadaw, Sayadaw U Pandita — threads this work. How do Buddhist ethics meet political urgency without becoming pious anesthesia?

Clements: By refusing sentimentality. Mindfulness is not self-soothing; done right, it's a weapon of discernment. To be present is to strip propaganda of its costume.

The Pāli word sacca — truth — isn't a noun but a vow. To say "true" is to do "true."

Non-violence, as I learned from my teachers, isn't passivity; it's disciplined ferocity. It refuses to become what it resists. Its aim is transformation, not annihilation.

That's why *UNSILENCED* speaks of compassion without surrendering a single inch to corruption or impunity.

Q: Inside Myanmar there is armed resistance and unarmed defiance. How do you speak to that tension without prescribing from afar?

Clements: With humility, and with precision. I won't romanticize choices made under bombardment. The junta created this war; the people are surviving it.

My task is to insist that even in resistance, the compass matters — protect civilians, guard conscience, resist hatred's hypnosis.

The moral horizon must be larger than victory; it must be measured in liberation.

Part III — The Mirror and the Mandate

Q: You've been harsh on media that "flattened" Aung San Suu Kyi's legacy. Why go there?

Clements: Because narrative warfare is part of the coup. Discredit the moral center, and you destabilize the movement that orbits it.

Some outlets collapsed complexity into caricature, stripping context and handing the generals cover. It didn't expose truth; it exported confusion.

That doesn't absolve anyone of error — it indicts our appetite for simple stories in complex tragedies. *UNSILENCED* refuses caricature. It restores a human voice to a human being and demands the reader undertake the same labor of conscience.

Q: Information warfare is now ambient — memes, bots, deepfakes. What do you see coming?

Clements: Industrialized unreality. The regime — and its backers — will automate confusion at planetary scale. If you think the "she's fine" line is grotesque now, wait until synthetic media can mimic her heartbeat.

Our counter must be an ecosystem of trust: verified civil-society networks, diaspora media, encrypted archives, forensic labs, and literature that builds immunity to lies. We need moral infrastructure as robust as fiber optics.

Q: Let's talk action. What does meaningful pressure look like — beyond rhetoric?

Clements: Four tracks.

Economic constriction: Sanction military conglomerates and their shells; apply secondary sanctions on the banks that wash their profits; cut insurance and re-insurance to junta logistics; freeze assets; block aviation-fuel pipelines.

Arms and surveillance embargo: Impose a binding ban on weapons, dual-use tech, spyware, and components — and actually penalize the violators.

Legitimacy denial: No seats, no photo-ops, no flags for the junta at regional or global fora. Recognize the elected and inclusive interim authorities.

Humanitarian corridors and medical access: Cross-border aid that bypasses the regime; independent doctors for Aung San Suu Kyi and every political prisoner; prison monitors; emergency medevacs.

Do those with teeth — then keep biting.

And, of course, free Aung San Suu Kyi — immediately, unconditionally, irrevocably — along with the tens of thousands still imprisoned for conscience. And for Min Aung Hlaing, let him take his family and fortune to Moscow while there's still a runway left to flee — to drink whisky with Assad and toast the ruins of their empires.

Q: ASEAN is divided, India and Japan hedge. Any realistic path?

Clements: Yes — coalitions of the willing. Within ASEAN, align states ready to evolve from "non-interference" to "non-indifference." Pair them with India, Japan, the EU, and North American partners in a sanctions-aid-recognition pact that rewards inclusive governance and starves the junta's patronage web.

Quiet diplomacy where it helps; loud diplomacy where it deters. Make movement, not meetings, the metric.

Q: Your campaign *UseYourFreedom.org*, co-created with your longtime colleague Fergus Harlow, gifts books and letters to leaders. Skeptics will say: books don't stop drones.

Clements: Tanks move when people move. People move when conscience moves.

We send *Conversation with a Dictator* and *UNSILENCED* not as commodities but as catalysts — each with a letter naming an action: grant medical access, co-sponsor sanctions, fund cross-border aid, invite witnesses to parliaments.

The book is the messenger; the message is motion. Mandela's letters bent history; Liu Xiaobo's silence bent it further. Literature is slow lightning — when it hits the right tree, the forest changes.

Q: Imagine the day after Aung San Suu Kyi's release. What does success look like beyond a headline?

Clements: She walks into daylight; her son takes her hand; doctors stand by with stethoscopes; the world exhales.

Then comes the real work — a transition rooted in federal democracy, amnesty for prisoners, credible disarmament, international guarantees, and a truth-and-reconciliation process both Burmese in spirit and universal in scope.

Success is not a photograph but the slow architecture of trust — constitutional, cultural, economic.

Q: What do you say directly to the people inside Myanmar - the ones reading this through VPNs in dim cafés?

Clements: I see you. The world sees you more than you think. Your courage is the compass. I can't dictate tactics, but I can promise this: we won't let your story be told by your jailers.

We will use our freedom to support yours — not as saviors but as friends. Hold each other tight. Rest when you can. Refuse to let hatred colonize the heart. You are authoring a future no general can imagine.

Q: And to the diaspora — the students, medics, coders, monks, artists from Mae Sot to Melbourne to Montreal?

Clements: You are the relay. Memory, logistics, lifeline, light. Build networks. Protect sources. Train in digital security. Fund cross-border clinics, translate and verify, publish and persist.

Mentor the children in camps. Turn grief into infrastructure. Every poem, every byte, every dollar is a blow against oblivion.

Q: What should readers do in the next 48 hours that isn't symbolic?

Clements: Three steps:

- Pressure your representatives to co-sponsor targeted sanctions and a real arms-and-spyware embargo; demand a public statement for independent medical access to Suu Kyi.
- Support cross-border aid through verified groups that bypass the junta; small recurring donations scale.
- Amplify verified Burmese voices journalists, medics, activists so the junta's unreality has competition. Don't share rumor; share testimony.

Then do it again next week. Persistence is policy.

And beyond that — support our campaign. Gift copies of these books to your chosen circle: leaders, influencers, journalists, artists, friends, even the skeptics and naysayers. Everyone can play their part. All proceeds go directly to the non-profit *Use Your Freedom global campaign* — to encourage and inspire people of power to use their liberty to speak up, to act, and to know that in doing so they are helping create a better world for all — for the future of freedom itself. Then do it again next week. Persistence is policy; participation is power.

Q: Why endure? Personal cost aside — why keep going?

Clements: Because endurance is a form of love — the quietest, fiercest kind. When you love a people, you stay. When you believe freedom is sacred, you don't outsource its defense.

I keep going because I owe debts — to the *Sangha*, to my teachers and mentors, to friends in cells and those in graves, to a woman in a cell, and to the revolutionaries still fighting for freedom.

Q: What would you say if you had five minutes, live, with Min Aung Hlaing?

Clements: I'd say: "General, you are not the monster your worst decisions suggest. You are a man running from a mirror. Stop running."

"Release the prisoners. Announce a real transition. Choose the dignity of an elder over the vanity of a ruler."

History will judge you anyway — help it remember your final act as humanity. Redemption isn't naïveté; it's an exit ramp. Dictators rarely take it — but it must always be offered.

Q: Last: what do you say to world leaders who've stayed silent?

Clements: Silence is a decision. When those with power say nothing while a Nobel laureate grows old in a concrete box, they are choosing complicity. There's no polite synonym for that.

If you care about legacy, act. If you care about law, act. Not with press releases, but with pressure that bites — sanctions that hit, embargoes that hold, aviation fuel that stops flowing.

Demand that independent doctors see Aung San Suu Kyi now, and make their findings public. Free her — not eventually, not conditionally, but now — along with the tens of thousands still imprisoned for conscience.

Do everything in your power. Imagine these courageous men and women as your own — your family, your brothers, your daughters, your uncles, your friends. Would you hesitate if it were them? Then do not hesitate now.

Bring their stories into the halls of power. Invite them, listen to them, amplify their lessons learned. Let them teach us how freedom survives under fire — how conscience endures when the world looks away. Encourage them to speak, and encourage others to hear.

Make the cost of her continued detention — or her death — unbearable. The generals are counting on your inertia. Break their math.

Action is the only eloquence that matters now. Use your freedom to defend theirs — and in doing so, defend the future of freedom itself.

History won't remember the cleverness of your speeches; it will remember whether you used your freedom to save a life.



CONVERSATION WITH A DICTATOR

A Challenge to the Authoritarian Assault

A Fictional Dialogue with Myanmar's Senior General

AN ILLUSTRATED NOVEL ART AS ACTIVISM

A CALL TO FREE AUNG SAN SUU KYI

"The world will not be destroyed by those who do evil, but by those who watch them without doing anything to stop them."

-ALBERT EINSTEIN

Alan Clements

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