

Burma (Myanmar) since the 1988 uprising: *A select bibliography*

Andrew Selth

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Griffith Asia Institute

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Burma (Myanmar) since the 1988 uprising: *A select bibliography*, 2012

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Needless to say, any errors and omissions are my responsibility alone.

Brisbane
July 2012

Foreword

by

David I. Steinberg
Distinguished Professor of Asian Studies,
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The indefatigable Andrew Selth, fresh from his seemingly myriad major studies, chapters, research papers, blogs and op-eds, has demonstrated once again his catholic knowledge and his capacity for care and detail related to Burma/Myanmar. This new bibliography, which should become an essential reference for those even minimally concerned with Burma/Myanmar, is path-breaking, and is a critical guide to those both figuratively and literally Burma bound, as was his earlier work on the state of Burmese studies.¹

The publication of this bibliography is especially timely. As the state has entered a new incarnation in its 'civilianized' form in 2011, after 50 years of direct and indirect military control, as most foreign-imposed sanctions have been suspended or lifted, as the iconic Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi has entered public political life, as Myanmar prepares to host the Southeast Asian games in 2013 and chair ASEAN in 2014, as international businesses seek Burmese opportunities, and as tourism is expected to explode, there will no doubt be a spurt of new publications, both ephemeral and more lasting, about aspects of Burma/Myanmar. Yet it is essential for those seriously concerned, and even those touristically inclined, to understand what has gone before if they are to comprehend the present, which is never written *de novo*. This bibliography, then, offers a Virgilian guide to Myanmar's recent past, and is an essential reference component for both the interested traveller and the dedicated student or specialist.

Burma/Myanmar has been simplistically characterized as isolated and unknown. This may have been comparatively true for a quarter of a century following the coup of 1962, but has been inaccurate for the past generation. In spite of direct rule by junta from 1988 under a regime that was noted worldwide for its repression and human rights violations, the state, known since 2011 as the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, attracted more academic and political interest than might have been imagined from a country previously insulated from much of the West. From the essentially isolationist policies of the Burma Socialist Programme Party under General Ne Win (1962–1988), Myanmar (the name was changed in 1989) began to attract both international media attention and academic concern. In part, this was due to some changes in policy, such as the opening to foreign investment, but perhaps more importantly to the image of Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, who soon became the international icon of democracy, and whose example and appeal attracted many to enter the field of Burma studies and/or work on the Thai frontier among Burmese refugees. She personally seemed to exemplify the raised concerns over human rights issues in that country.

This bibliography, then, reflects that new era—now past but quintessentially relevant to the present. Scholarship on Burma after the coup of 1962 essentially dried up, as few scholars were admitted for field work, and then only in a few academic 'safe' fields. Responsible professors could not advocate dissertation research on a country in which field work was impossible. Tourism was discouraged and internal travel limited. With the quiet opening of Burma after the coup of 18 September 1988, and in spite of the bloody repression of the failed 'people's revolution' earlier that spring and summer, growth in interest in Burma/Myanmar became evident.

This was reflected in both the human rights/democracy advocacy literature, which proliferated especially along the Thai border with Myanmar, and the stirring of disciplinary academic research and quiet field work in-country. Scholars were allowed in, often with tourist visas. We now have a new generation of scholars and published scholarly works in all disciplines. Some reflect internal conditions; others compare, and draw lessons from, the Myanmar experience with other countries. Especially important have been the contributions of expatriate Burmese scholars who have markedly enhanced study of their country from perspectives that foreigners lack.

The importance of foreign scholarly research on Myanmar is especially salient if one understands the past stringent controls over research and publishing for those within the country. Until 1988, all internal research (even in science and medicine) by anyone employed by the state (which meant all academicians) was considered classified until presented at a state-sponsored research seminar and then formally approved for public

dissemination. Since 1988, any research publications have had to meet the mercurial conditions of the official censorship board. History was reinterpreted and rewritten to emphasize the roles of the Myanmar military, and even when classic works were republished, their titles had to change 'Burma' into 'Myanmar'. For example, *The Glass Palace Chronicles of the Kings of Burma* was published originally in 1923, but in 2008 republished as *The Glass Palace Chronicles of the Kings of Myanmar*. All publications had to list the military-sponsored state objectives.

Burmese expatriates writing abroad, often with family in-country, often had to be circumspect in their analyses, and ardent critics of the regime sometimes neglected balanced reporting. Most books on Burma/Myanmar published abroad were legally banned from Myanmar, but increased travel and new technology have enabled the surreptitious import and distribution of many. With a decline in the easy capacity to read the English of academic treatises, a need for the translation of important works into Burmese has become evident if present trends since 2011 in relaxation of censorship continue.

The result of internal controls has been the especial salience of foreign publications on Myanmar since 1988. They have proliferated and have provided welcome analyses of internal dynamics and external relations. Conditions within Myanmar, however, have resulted in the polarization of external opinions on whether to engage, and if so how, the regime in Yangon and then Naypyidaw. Advocacy literature on all sides of the issue expanded, often based on anecdotal evidence, since few trustworthy statistics emanated from the government. And, as Professor Donald Emmerson once noted, 'the plural of anecdote is not data'.

Dr. Selth, in his introduction, provides a fascinating and thorough account of the various previous attempts to engage in bibliographic work, and even specialists on Burma/Myanmar may not have been aware of some of these important contributions to the literature. This is also a service to the field. His professional background in the Foreign Service and security arena, as well as being an Australian, has demonstrated that personal history in this case is an asset, rather than a liability, in preparation of this bibliography. This has meant that Dr. Selth has filled a lacuna often left virtually empty in most bibliographies. As an Australian, his emphasis on works emanating from that country fill a void, because of all Western states, the Australian government and academic community has shown the most continuous and supportive roles in analyzing Burma/Myanmar, and the worldwide audience for serious study of that country needs to recognize this contribution.

There remain gaps needing analysis, and these are demonstrated by gaps in the bibliography, but as Burma/Myanmar continues to attract attention, they likely will be filled. There are no contemporary and serious studies of Myanmar-U.S. relations (although one is in process), of bilateral ties between Myanmar and Russia, or between Burma and each or both of the Koreas. A comprehensive study of Christianity in its socio-political setting is needed. Dr. Selth has wisely avoided including works in preparation on some of these issues, for the time disparities between research and publication may be extensive. Yet the increase in those enrolled in advanced programs on Burma/Myanmar, and those with experience in and on that country will no doubt begin to fill the void.

A corollary of the relative isolation of Burma/Myanmar, its notoriety in the narcotics literature, its strategic location, its long and porous border with Thailand, and its ostensible 'exoticism', have all given rise to a variety of both serious literature and the pulp fiction inhabiting airport book kiosks. The last item may be dismissed, but the fiction field should not be ignored either by the serious scholar or the ardent traveler.

Scholarship and analyses obviously need personal commitments, but they also need institutional bases. Although a variety of international academic institutions and some research organizations teach on and/or conduct research about Burma/Myanmar, their focus is usually Southeast Asia or Asia more broadly interpreted. There is a paucity of international educational institutions solely devoted to that country. There is one in the United States (Northern Illinois University), one in China (Yunnan National University), one in India (Manipur University), and one in Thailand (Naresuan University). The small number of such centres may limit future scholarship and inadequate analyses could adversely affect policy choices. Universities also now tend to focus on disciplinary studies, rather than on area research, which limits university employment opportunities for some Burmanically inclined. A decade and a half ago, a meeting on Burma/Myanmar attended by representatives of most ASEAN governments at that time needed to draw on Western specialists on that country because those in the ASEAN states had no analytical capacity. That situation has begun to be rectified, but clearly the ASEAN states and their neighbors need to expand their sights.

Griffith University is to be congratulated for its interest in opening vistas on Burma/Myanmar. Two decades ago, it sponsored a major international conference on Myanmar, attended in part by the Australian Minister for

Foreign Affairs and Trade.² Since then, especially in the last decade, the steady stream of papers on public policy issues has added significantly to our understanding of that country and its relations with the region.

The serious student, the professional journalist, the potential investor, the policy advocate, and even the prospective traveller to Myanmar will welcome this publication. It is an important contribution to the burgeoning interest in Myanmar, and we are all once again in Dr. Andrew Selth's debt.

Notes

¹ Andrew Selth, 'Modern Burma Studies: A Survey of the Field', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.44, No.2, March 2010, pp.401-40.

² 'The Situation in Burma and Australia's Response', Opening Address by Senator the Hon. Gareth Evans QC, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, to the International Seminar on Burma, Griffith University, Brisbane, 3 December 1992, at http://www.gevans.org/speeches/old/1992/031292_fm_Burma.pdf

Introduction

Wisdom is in the books.
(old Burmese proverb)

Before the rise of a new democratic movement under Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi, Burma (or Myanmar, as the country has been officially known since 1989) was largely neglected by the scholarly community. The difficulty of gaining access to primary sources, and of reading them in the Burmese language, tended to deter all but the most dedicated researchers. Also, from the time the armed forces seized power in 1962, until they took back direct political control of the country in 1988, Burma retreated into isolation and strict neutrality in international affairs. Foreign residents were kept to a minimum and tourists were actively discouraged. Outsiders wishing to study the country tended to be viewed with suspicion, either as potential challengers to the official version of Burmese history or as purveyors of 'alien cultural influences'.¹ Field work became very difficult and access to reliable data was almost impossible.

Before 1962, there was a small but vibrant academic scene inside Burma, which saw the publication of a number of major works by local figures. Some were published in English or by foreign publishing houses. Under the military regime, however, even local scholars found it difficult to gain access to sources, particularly government records, and their research was subject to official censorship.²

There were a number of notable exceptions, but following the coup relatively few serious works were published in the major Western languages about Burma's history, politics, economy or contemporary society.³ Occasionally, travel books featured a chapter or two on Burma, but they tended to deal only fleetingly with the state of the country and its people. From time to time, the international news media published stories about particular developments in Burma, but these items tended to be short and lacking nuance. Also, they were not always very accurate or balanced. At the same time, support for geographically-defined 'area studies' declined. Starved of funding and unable to conduct original research during the 26 years that General Ne Win ruled the country, many academics turned elsewhere for subjects to explore. Burma studies languished. As David Steinberg observed in 1981, for many years 'contemporary Burma has been considered terra incognita by many scholars, journalists and development specialists'.⁴

However, since the dramatic events of 1988, when nation-wide pro-democracy demonstrations were crushed by the armed forces, there has been a remarkable resurgence of interest in Burma among scholars and officials. A wide range of important studies has appeared, offering 'a variety of perspectives that reveal particular and sometimes contested perceptions of the Burmese past, present and future'.⁵ Also, over the past 24 years the struggle against military rule by both opposition political groups and the country's ethnic minorities has been the subject of numerous books, research monographs and reports. Much closer attention has been paid to Burma's defence policies and foreign relations. New publications have been devoted to aspects of Burmese culture and society. There have also been some important contributions to Burma studies in broader works, covering subjects such as the involvement of armed forces in politics, the development problems of 'failed' states and the role of ethnic minorities in Southeast Asia.

This increased level of academic and official interest has been matched by a much greater awareness of Burma among the populations of Western and regional countries, prompting the publication of numerous books designed largely for the mass market. These include travel guides, collections of photographs, novels and cookery books. After a long hiatus, the Second World War's China-Burma-India (CBI) theatre has attracted renewed interest.⁶ In 1998 alone, there were 44 books published on this subject.⁷ There has been a flood of political tracts, usually produced by Burmese exiles and activist groups of various kinds. Also, since 1988 think tanks like the International Crisis Group and non-government organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have commissioned detailed analyses on Burma-related issues, albeit from quite different perspectives. While most of these publications have been posted on the Internet, many have also been released in hard copy as reports and booklets.

In these circumstances, the need for a bibliography or check-list of Burma-related publications produced over the past 24 years has become more pressing.

Burma bibliographies before 1988

Before 1988, Burma was mentioned to a greater or lesser extent in most bibliographies of South and Southeast Asia. These included works produced both by commercial publishing houses and official bodies.⁸ The most comprehensive list, however, was associated with an academic journal.

From 1941 to 1991, the United States (US)-based Association of Asian Studies (AAS) published an annual bibliography of Asian studies as a supplement to its journal, the *Journal of Asian Studies* (and, before 1956, its predecessor the *Far Eastern Quarterly*).⁹ It was wide in scope, but tended to favour the humanities and social sciences. These bibliographies typically included a list of monographs, journal articles and book chapters on Burma written in the main Western languages, sub-divided into broad categories such as history, biography, economics and politics. From 1991, the journal's bibliographies were made available to subscribers in electronic form, with on-line entries dating back to 1971. Cumulative printed volumes covering the period 1941-1970 were produced in two separate multi-volume sets, one in 1969-70 and the other in 1972-73.¹⁰

In addition, Burma was covered in broad works that surveyed published and unpublished sources for the study of South and Southeast Asia, but rarely in any depth.¹¹ Burma also featured in more specialised publications that focused on specific subject areas such as Southeast Asian ethnic groups and languages.¹² One massive bibliography, compiled by Khin Thet Htar for the World Health Organization in 1981, covered all literature (books, articles, pamphlets, reports and academic theses) written in English relating to medicine, and allied subjects such as zoology and botany, in Burma from 1866 to 1980.¹³ Such was the general lack of interest in Burma by scholars and officials, however, that prior to the 1988 uprising there were relatively few bibliographies that looked at the country itself, in all its diversity.

Notable exceptions to this rule included works by the American scholar Frank Trager, who between 1956 and 1973 compiled four bibliographies as part of the Human Relations Area Files' Burma Research Project at New York University.¹⁴ Also, in 1979 Michael Aung Thwin produced a short annotated guide to research tools on Burma, for the University of Hawaii.¹⁵ In 1986, the Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars in Washington DC published two bibliographical guides to coincide with an international conference on Burma studies being held in the US capital that year. In collaboration with the Library of Congress, one looked at scholarly resources, while the other listed international doctoral dissertations.¹⁶ The Wilson Centre followed these works a year later with *Burma: A Study Guide*, edited by Ronald Morse. It not only had nine country reports but, harking back to these two earlier works, also included selective guides to scholarly resources and the periodical literature.¹⁷

Another work that deserves mention in this regard is Denise Bernot's multi-lingual and multi-volume *Bibliographie Birmane*. The first instalment, published in 1968, was compiled from Burma-related items found in Paris libraries. While nominally covering the period 1950-1960, it included numerous references outside that period.¹⁸ This work was prepared in part to update the Burma section of Henri Cordier's monumental *Bibliotheca Indosinica*.¹⁹ It was also designed to supplement the section on 'Burma and the Burmese' in the *Bibliography of the Peoples and Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia*, compiled by John Embree and Lilian Dotson, and published by Yale University Press in 1950.²⁰ During the 1980s, Bernot and her colleagues at the National Centre for Scientific Research in Paris planned to produce two more volumes covering the period 1960-1970. Four fascicules were to cover subjects and another four would alphabetically list works by author. It appears, however, that the project was never completed. Only four fascicules were ever published, two organized by subject and two organized by author.²¹

Nor were British bibliographers idle. In 1979, Andrew Griffith of the India Office Library and Records produced a brief guide to sources for the study of Burma.²² In 1982, the British Library Board approved a proposal to compile a South Asia and Burma 'retrospective' bibliography. It was designed to be a comprehensive database that would eventually cover the entire subcontinent (including Afghanistan) and Burma from the introduction of printing technology in the 16th century up to 1900. Not only was it planned to draw on the British Library's own extensive holdings but also on works held by institutions like the India Office Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), the National Army Museum and the Royal Asiatic Society. Support was also to be sought from libraries and archives in relevant countries, including Burma.²³ The project was divided into three stages, but it appears that only a volume on stage one was produced in hard copy. It covered the period 1556-1800.²⁴

In 1991, Patricia Herbert, then Head of the Southeast Asia section in the British Library's Oriental and India Office Collections and a Burma scholar in her own right, published what was described as 'the first and most fully annotated multi-disciplinary guide to English-language publications about Burma to appear in twenty years'.²⁵ Altogether, it contained over 1,500 references in 850 numbered entries, under 30 subject headings. There were

brief biographical notes on the authors of each work. Because of its comprehensiveness, extensive annotations and helpful layout, it soon established itself as a standard reference work for scholars, librarians and booksellers interested in publications on Burma.

Ironically, while this bibliography was being compiled, the 1988 pro-democracy uprising occurred in Burma, triggering a major new phase in the country's national development. Over the next 24 years, the country experienced a series of events that has arguably changed its entire political, economic and social landscape. They have also had a significant impact on its foreign relations and wider strategic environment. This transformation in Burma's internal and external circumstances was capped by the adoption of a new national constitution in 2008 and the managed 'election' in 2010 of a hybrid civilian-military parliament, now ensconced in the new capital of Naypyidaw. In March 2011, to the surprise of almost everyone, President Thein Sein and his government introduced what appeared to be a wide-ranging reform program.²⁶

As a result of all these developments, Burma has attracted a higher level of international interest than probably for any other period in its modern post-colonial history. This level of attention is likely to continue for the foreseeable future.

Burma bibliographies since 1988

The outpouring of publications — of almost every kind, and on almost every conceivable facet of Burma — since 1988 has prompted the compilation of several new bibliographies and checklists designed to bring the record up to date and to help fill gaps in the literature.²⁷ Some of these works warrant mention here.

From August 1992, the Burma Studies Group of the AAS, based at Northern Illinois University, began printing lists of relevant publications in its bi-annual *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group*. Initiated by the *Bulletin's* then editor, May Kyi Win, the project was described as 'an attempt to bring together all current articles and books on Burma in English and other European languages'.²⁸ The items listed were drawn from popular books and magazines as well as from publications designed for a more academic readership. Entries also covered ephemera such as conference papers, newsletters and even statements about Burma by government officials. One issue included a bibliography of maps of Burma.²⁹ By 2002, these printed lists had been overtaken by more efficient and widely available electronic databases, but the *Bulletin* still occasionally has items about new publications.

Since 2001, Michael Charney at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies has periodically produced a detailed list of sources entitled 'Bibliography of Burma (Myanmar) Research: The Secondary Literature'. The full document was last updated in 2004, when it appeared on line as a supplement to the twice-yearly *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*.³⁰ A new version is currently in preparation and will most likely be posted on the Internet in late 2012.³¹ The SOAS compilation makes no claims to completeness. Indeed, it is described as a 'living' bibliography. It invites contributions from Burma watchers and other scholars, and periodically publishes the details of new works on line. The list of works is already quite extensive, however, running to 264 pages. Importantly, it includes references to journal articles and individual book chapters, categories of publication that were largely omitted from the Herbert volume.

In addition, the library of the South Asia Institute at the University of Heidelberg has long been working on an ambitious bibliographic project, initially prompted by the acquisition of Frank Trager's extensive Burma collection in 1974. Additional titles have been found by investigating the holdings of major libraries and other institutions around the world. Since 2005, four 'pre-print' volumes have been produced, which list alphabetically and cite the locations of a large number of works on Burma, many published since 1988.³² It seems to be envisaged that, when completed, this bibliography will consist of two major parts. The first will comprise eight volumes, covering monographs, periodicals and official publications on Burma in West European languages. The second part will cover articles in periodicals and 'multi-author publications'. A final date for the release of these works does not yet seem to have been set.

Since 1988, there has also been a number of specialized works in this vein. In 1993, for example, Alan Meech published an annotated bibliography of Burma philately which named 536 monographs and journal articles.³³ In 1997, Sun Laichen compiled a detailed list of Chinese historical sources on Burma, which was released as a special edition of *The Journal of Burma Studies*.³⁴ In 1998, Eugene Rasor produced a study of sources on the wartime CBI theatre, covering the period 1931-1945.³⁵ This was followed in 1999 by a bibliography and 'descriptive catalogue' of works relating to the 1942-1945 Burma campaign, the longest and arguably the most varied of any fought during the Second World War.³⁶ Also, in 2008 Mandy Sadan published a guide to colonial sources on Burma held in the India Office Records of the British Library. This guide was designed to provide a

general introduction to sources for 'the study of minority histories of Burma' during the period 1824-1948, but it also touched on works outside this frame of reference.³⁷

Other lists can be found on the Internet. The *Online Burma/Myanmar Library*, launched in October 2001 under the guidance of David Arnott, carries 'classified and annotated links to more than 30,000 full text documents on Burma/Myanmar'.³⁸ It also has a section listing a number of bibliographies, library catalogues and checklists of works relating to Burma, and a separate page listing the publications of a number of individual Burma scholars.³⁹ A search of the world-wide web reveals other works of this nature. In 2008, for example, Gandhimathy Durairaj from the library of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore compiled a 'select list' of 723 sources on Burma's 'Road to Democracy'.⁴⁰ It covered books, journal articles and even audio-visual materials. The same year, annotated bibliographies of Burma's geology and hydrology were compiled by the US Army Corps of Engineers, probably in anticipation of US involvement in relief efforts after Cyclone Nargis devastated southern Burma.⁴¹

Most secondary works on Burma published since 1988 have included lists of sources or suggestions for further reading, but in some cases these have been quite comprehensive. For example, Robert Taylor's revised study of *The State in Myanmar* has an extensive bibliography of English and Burmese language sources, usefully divided into pre-1988 and post-1988 sections.⁴² Other good examples are Monique Skidmore's edited collection *Burma at the Turn of the 21st Century*, Donald Seekins' *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)*, Chie Ikeya's *Refiguring Women, Colonialism, and Modernity in Burma* and Michael Leigh's *Conflict, Politics and Proselytism*.⁴³ There are other works that fall into this category. One unusual example is Jean-Marc Rastorfer's 1998 study of books reprinted — or photocopied for resale — in Burma itself.⁴⁴ Many of the works listed in his paper were originally published in English.

Content and methodology

Inspired by all these projects, this bibliography aims to provide a readily accessible selection of books, monographs and reports devoted to Burma that have been published, or in some cases republished, since the 1988 uprising.⁴⁵ It is not intended to be exhaustive, either in its listings or in its coverage. As Heidelberg University's Siegfried Schwertner has written, 'the collection of publications for a bibliography is a story that never ends, and a complete coverage cannot be achieved'.⁴⁶ A conscious attempt has been made, however, to include a wide range of publications representing all the main subject areas and political viewpoints. Broader works touching on Burma, or which include specific chapters on Burma, have not been listed, unless Burma has been specifically mentioned in the title. Also, with a small number of exceptions, entries have been restricted to works that have been produced in hard copy and released for sale or distribution.⁴⁷

The items listed have been produced in whole or in part in the English language. This is because both Burma studies and the wider public discourse on Burma since 1988 have been dominated by English speakers and English language publications, including on international websites. It is important to note, however, that there is also a rapidly growing body of work published in other languages, reflecting the high level of interest now being shown in Burma by scholars, activists, journalists and others in a wide range of countries around the world.

An effort has been made to sight and verify every entry. With only a few exceptions, those works not found in my own collection have been personally inspected, usually at the National Library of Australia or the Menzies Library of the Australian National University. Both have extensive holdings on Burma (in both English and Burmese). Bibliographical 'ghosts' and books listed as 'forthcoming' have not been included. These include works described in publishers' catalogues and advertised on retail websites, but not yet released for sale. Nor has any attempt been made to list books described in catalogues and on line as 'printed on demand'. Not only would this make the bibliography unwieldy but, certain E-books aside, such works tend either to be reproductions of books published prior to 1988 or uncritical compilations of materials drawn from websites like Wikipedia.

The categories into which the publications in this work have been divided broadly mirror those found in Patricia Herbert's 1991 bibliography, which in turn follow established international library practice. Additional sub-headings have been included in some places to help readers more easily find books and reports on subjects of particular interest. Where a publication could fit into more than one category — as is often the case — it has been listed once only, according to its dominant themes. If books have been given more than one title, as has sometimes occurred when a book published in Britain has been republished in the United States, or vice versa, only the title of the original version has been listed.⁴⁸ If a work does not include a place of publication, the country of publication is named, where that is known.

Each publication has been cited exactly as it has appeared in print. Hence, the country is referred to both as Burma and Myanmar. Similarly, the former national capital has been shown as both Rangoon and Yangon (the new form adopted in 1989), depending on the choice of the authors and the publishers.

Authors and editors are listed under the names given on their books. Unless provided, no attempt has been made to identify pseudonyms, although these have long been common in the field of Burma studies.⁴⁹ Similarly, Burmese names are cited as they are given on the publications in question, although in some cases hyphens have been removed, for consistency. While strictly speaking not correct usage, it is hoped that this will help avoid any confusion arising from the fact that Burmese do not usually have first names and surnames, and many use honorifics or other identifiers as an integral part of their name. Thus, for example, Daw Than Han, Maung Aung Myoe and Ma Thanegi are cited as if the titles 'Daw', 'Maung' and 'Ma' are part of their actual name.⁵⁰ The same principle has been applied to names like 'Tekkatho' (University) Sein Tin and 'Theippan' (Science) Maung Wa. Where first names are clearly given, however, as in Margaret Aung Thwin, Frankie Tun Tin or Ardeth Maung Thawngmung, they have been recognized and listed as such.

It is happily acknowledged that this bibliography displays a distinct geographical bias, in that it cites a large number of works on Burma that have either been written by Australians or published in Australia. In large part, this reflects my own research base at the Griffith Asia Institute in Brisbane, and the holdings of the Australian National Library and Menzies Library in Canberra. No attempt has been made to correct this bias, as it does not distort the overall thrust of the checklist. Indeed, by including a number of works not cited in other bibliographies it helps to round out the list and demonstrates the increased attention that Burma has received over the past 24 years from Australians and Australian research centres.

No claims are made regarding the academic or literary merit of any of the works listed. As can be seen from even a cursory glance through the titles, they cover a very broad spectrum in terms of style, length, content and purpose.

Indeed, a few works may be considered to have only slight links to Burma. I include in this category two books on Burmese cats, whose actual ties to Burma are rather tenuous. Following Patricia Herbert's lead, however, they have been listed for completeness.⁵¹ Similar thinking underpins the inclusion of Norval Morris's book *The Brothel Boy and Other Parables of the Law*, which uses George Orwell and Burma as a literary device to discuss broader points of British, Indian and Burmese customary law.⁵² Also, the bibliography lists a number of novels which have appeared since 1988 and which are either set in Burma or in some way refer to developments there. Some of these books barely qualify for the term 'literature', but a selection has been included, both for completeness and to give an idea of publishing trends as they relate to modern Burma.

Given the highly politicized nature of the Burma-watching community over the past two decades, it is perhaps also worth recording that the various personal and political viewpoints represented by the publications in this checklist are noted without comment or wider implication. The bibliography is intended simply to draw attention to the wide range of books and reports on Burma which has appeared over the past 24 years. It is hoped that a work of this kind will help officials, scholars, students and others who might be looking for a readily available directory of contemporary sources, produced by a wide range of authors and institutions.

The appendix provides a comprehensive reading list for those intending to visit Burma for the first time, or who might wish to familiarize themselves with the country before undertaking more detailed studies. It was initially prepared for the Asia Bookroom in Canberra in 2006, but has been updated to take account of various publications which have appeared since then. Like all such exercises, it represents a highly personal view.⁵³ However, it is included in the hope that it may help provide an introduction of sorts to a fascinating country of enormous complexity that is still little known and poorly understood. Also, the list refers to a number of works that are not mentioned in this bibliography, either because they were published before 1988 or because they are journal articles or chapters in books.

Notes

- ¹ See, for example, Khin Nyunt, 'Address to the 11th Myanmar Traditional Cultural Performing Arts Competitions', *New Light of Myanmar*, 4 November 2003, at <<http://www.myanmar.gov.mm/NLM-2003/enlm/Nov04h2.html>> See also Gustaaf Houtman, *Mental Culture in Burmese Crisis Politics: Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy*, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Monograph No.33 (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1999), pp.126-8.
- ² See, for example, R.E. Calder, *Guide to Library Resources in Rangoon* (Rangoon: Rangoon-Hopkins Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Rangoon University, 1958).
- ³ Andrew Selth, 'Modern Burma Studies: A Survey of the Field', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.44, No.2, March 2010, pp.401-40. An earlier version of this article was posted on line by the City University of Hong Kong's Southeast Asia Research Centre. See Andrew Selth, *Modern Burma Studies: A View From the Edge*, Southeast Asia Research Centre, Working Paper No.96 (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong, 2007), at <http://www6.cityu.edu.hk/search/Data/FileUpload/289/WP96_07_ASelth.pdf>
- ⁴ D.I. Steinberg, *Burma's Road Toward Development: Growth and Ideology Under Military Rule* (Boulder: Westview, 1981), p.1.
- ⁵ Matrii Aung Thwin, 'Introduction: Communities of interpretation and the construction of modern Myanmar', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol.39, No.2, June 2008, p.187.
- ⁶ All US forces in China, Burma and India were united in one Command, referred to as the 'CBI Theatre'. This term has since gained popular currency. However, it was not one of the recognised theatres of the war, since it extended geographically across the boundaries of India Command, and of the South-East Asia and China theatres. See Mountbatten of Burma, *Report to the Combined Chiefs of Staff by the Supreme Allied Commander, South-East Asia, 1943-1945* (New Delhi: The English Book Store, 1960), p.7.
- ⁷ See, for example, Gordon Graham and Frank Cole (eds), *Burma Campaign Memorial Library: A collection of books and papers about the war in Burma, 1942-1945* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1999). Also of relevance is Gordon Graham and Jotika Khur-Yearn, 'Browsing Through a Treasure House: The Literature of the Burma Campaign', *SOAS Research Online*, 6 April 2011, at <<http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/11668/>>
- ⁸ See, for example, Patricia Herbert, 'Burma', in J.D. Pearson (ed), *South Asian Bibliography: A Handbook and Guide* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1979), pp.328-51; and 'Burma' in *Peninsula Southeast Asia: A bibliographic survey of literature* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 1972), pp.67-89.
- ⁹ The print version of the *Bibliography of Asian Studies* was available as a stand-alone title from 1969-1991, but before then was included as part of these journals.
- ¹⁰ 'Burma', in Association for Asian Studies, *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1941-1965: Subject Bibliography*, 4 volumes, (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1970), Vol.1, pp.118-155; and 'Burma', in Association for Asian Studies, *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1966-1970: Subject Bibliography*, 3 volumes, (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1972), Vol.1, pp.108-131. See also Association for Asian Studies, *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1941-1965: Author Bibliography*, 4 volumes (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1969).
- ¹¹ See, for example, B.E. Moon, *Periodicals for South-East Asia Studies: A Union Catalogue of Holdings in British and Selected European Libraries* (London: Mansell, 1979), pp.58-66; and T.F. Willer, *Southeast Asian References in the British Parliamentary Papers, 1801-1972/73: An Index*, Papers in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, No.48 (Athens: Ohio University Centre for International Studies, 1978), pp.16-41.
- ¹² See, for example, F.E. Huffman, *Bibliography and Index of Mainland Southeast Asian Languages and Linguistics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); and Christian Bauer, *A Guide to Mon Studies*, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Working Paper No.32 (Clayton: Monash University, 1984), pp.41-75.
- ¹³ Khin Thet Htar, *Annotated Bibliography of Medical Literature on Burma (1866-1976), With Supplement up to 1980* (New Delhi: World Health Organisation, South-East Asia Regional Office, 1981).
- ¹⁴ F.N. Trager, *Burma: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1973); F.N. Trager, *Furnivall of Burma: An Annotated Bibliography of the Works of John S. Furnivall* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1963); F.N. Trager et al, *Japanese and Chinese Language Sources on Burma: An Annotated Bibliography* (New Haven: Burma Research Project, New York University, 1957); and F.N. Trager, J.N. Musgrave and Janet Welsh, *Annotated Bibliography of Burma* (New Haven: Burma Research Project, New York University, 1956).
- ¹⁵ Michael Aung Thwin, *Southeast Asian Research Tools: Burma*, Southeast Asia Paper No.16, Part III (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1979).
- ¹⁶ Anita Hibler and W.P. Tuchrello, *Burma: A Selective Guide to Scholarly Resources* (Washington DC: Asia Program, The Wilson Centre, and Asian Division, The Library of Congress, 1986); and F.J. Shulman, *Burma: An Annotated Bibliographical Guide to International Doctoral Dissertation Research, 1898-1985* (Lanham: Asia Program, The Wilson Centre and University Press of America, 1986).

- ¹⁷ R.A. Morse (ed), *Burma: A Study Guide* (Washington DC: The Wilson Centre, 1987).
- ¹⁸ Denise Bernot, *Bibliographie Birmane, Annees 1950-1960* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968).
- ¹⁹ Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Indosinica: Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Ouvrages Relatifs a la Peninsule Indochinoise*, 4 volumes (Paris: L'Ecole Francais d'Extreme Orient/Leroux, 1912-15), volume 1, columns 1-516.
- ²⁰ 'Burma and the Burmese', in J.F. Embree and L.O. Dotson, *Bibliography of the Peoples and Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1950), pp.159-317.
- ²¹ Denise Bernot et al, *Bibliographie Birmane, Annees 1960-1970*, 4 volumes (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982-4). The latter two fascicules, both dated 1984, covered authors from A-F and G-L.
- ²² Andrew Griffith, *A Brief Guide to Sources for the Study of Burma in the India Office Records* (London: India Office Library and Records, 1979).
- ²³ B.C. Bloomfield, 'The South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series)*, Vol.115, No.1, January 1983, pp.83-4.
- ²⁴ Graham Shaw, *The South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography (SABREB), Stage 1: 1556-1800* (London: The British Library Publishing Division, 1987). As the British conquest of Burma did not begin until 1824, there are few references to Burma in this volume. It was anticipated, however, that Burma would receive greater attention in the volumes covering stage 2 (1801-1862) and stage 3 (1868-1900).
- ²⁵ P.M. Herbert, *Burma* (Oxford: Clio Press, 1991), p.xv.
- ²⁶ See, for example, *Reform in Myanmar: One Year On*, Asia Briefing No.136 (Jakarta/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 11 April 2012). See also Andrew Selth, 'Assessing Burma's reform program', *The Interpreter*, 24 January 2012, at <<http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2012/01/24/Assessing-Burmas-reform-program.aspx>>
- ²⁷ A useful resource in this regard is H.C. Kemp, *Bibliographies on Southeast Asia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998), pp.982-5. For a survey of bibliographies compiled in Burma itself, see Thaw Kaung, 'Bibliographies Compiled in Myanmar', in Pierre Pichard and Francois Robinne (eds), *Etudes Birmanes: en homage a Denise Bernot* (Paris: Ecole Francais d'Extreme Orient, 1998), pp.405-14.
- ²⁸ May Kyi Win, 'Bibliography: Books and Articles on Burma', *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group*, No.59, March 1997, p.9.
- ²⁹ 'Bibliography of Maps of Burma', *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group*, No.71, March 2003, pp.17-29.
- ³⁰ M.W. Charney, 'The Bibliography of Burma (Myanmar) Research: The Secondary Literature, 2004 Revision', *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, Bibliographic Supplement, Winter 2004, at <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/6241/1/Bibliography_of_secondary_literature--2004.pdf>
- ³¹ Personal communications with Michael Charney, 21 December 2011 and 25 April 2012.
- ³² S.M. Schwertner, *Burma/Myanmar Bibliographic Project: A collection of publications in West European languages for preparation a Burma/Myanmar bibliography* (sic), 4 volumes (Heidelberg: South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, 2005-8).
- ³³ Alan Meech, *An Annotated Bibliography of Burma Philately* (London: British Philatelic Trust, 1993).
- ³⁴ Sun Laichen, 'Chinese Historical Sources on Burma: A Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Works', *The Journal of Burma Studies*, Vol.2, 1997, pp.1-116.
- ³⁵ E.L. Rasor, *The China-Burma-India Campaign, 1931-1945: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998).
- ³⁶ Gordon Graham and Frank Cole, *Burma Campaign Memorial Library: A collection of books and papers about the war in Burma, 1942-1945* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1999). See also 'Burma Campaign Memorial Library Books (additions since the second edition of the catalogue was published)', 5 January 2011, at <<http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/11596/1/BCML-suppliment-updated5jan11PDF.pdf>> The first Japanese attacks against British Burma were launched in December 1941.
- ³⁷ Mandy Sadan, *A Guide to Colonial Sources on Burma: Ethnic & Minority Histories of Burma in the India Office Records*, *British Library* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2008), p.1.
- ³⁸ 'On-line Burma/Myanmar Library', at <<http://www.ibiblio.org/obl/>>
- ³⁹ 'On-line Burma/Myanmar Library: Abstracts, bibliographies, scholarly journals, libraries, institutes, universities, other research tools', at <<http://www.burmalibrary.org/show.php?cat=794&lo=d&sl=0>> and 'On-line Burma/Myanmar Library: Bibliographies and online documents of individual Burma/Myanmar scholars', at <<http://www.burmalibrary.org/show.php?cat=1327&lo=d&sl=0>>
- ⁴⁰ *Myanmar: The Road to Democracy, a select list*, ISEAS Library Bibliography Series, No.26 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, May 2008), at <<http://www.thebestfriend.org/wp-content/uploads/MyanmarTheRoadtoDemocracy.pdf>>
- ⁴¹ R.L. Hadden, *The Geology of Burma (Myanmar): An Annotated Bibliography of Burma's Geology, Geography and Earth Science* (Alexandria: Topographic Engineering Centre, September 2008), at

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- ⁴² R.H. Taylor, *The State in Myanmar* (London: Hurst and Company, 2009), pp.507-42. The first edition of Taylor's book was entitled *The State in Burma* (London: Hurst and Company, 1987).
- ⁴³ Monique Skidmore (ed), *Burma at the Turn of the 21st Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), pp.271-85; D.M. Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), pp.487-529; Chie Ikeya, *Refiguring Women, Colonialism, and Modernity in Burma* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011), pp.205-28; and M.D. Leigh, *Conflict, Politics and Proselytism: Methodist missionaries in colonial and postcolonial Upper Burma, 1887-1966* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp.208-22. Seekins' book was later republished as *The A to Z of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010).
- ⁴⁴ Jean-Marc Rastorfer, *Reprints or Simple Photocopies?: Current trends in the republishing industry in Myanmar: with a survey of all books reprinted by photocopy available in July and August 1997 and some locally reprinted books for sale on Internet in September 1998, Paper presented at the Burma Studies Conference held on October 2-4, 1998, Northern Illinois University De Kalb, USA* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University, 1998).
- ⁴⁵ In one case, the book was published in France but contains several chapters written in English.
- ⁴⁶ Schwertner, *Burma/Myanmar Bibliographic Project*, vol.1, p.vii.
- ⁴⁷ These exceptions include a number of reports by the Brussels-based International Crisis Group, which initially produced hard copies but later seems only to have posted soft copies on the Internet. That said, many of the reports, academic papers and publications produced by advocacy groups and listed here can also be found on the Internet.
- ⁴⁸ For example, Emma Larkin's 2010 book *Everything Is Broken* was released in the US under the title *No Bad News for the King: The True Story of Cyclone Nargis and Its Aftermath in Burma* (New York: Penguin, 2011). When *Little Daughter* (2009) by Zoya Phan and Damien Lewis was released in the US the following year it was entitled *Undaunted: My Struggle for Freedom and Survival in Burma* (New York: Free Press, 2010).
- ⁴⁹ See, for example, Andrew Selth, 'Burma and the politics of names', *The Interpreter*, 12 July 2010, at <<http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2010/07/12/Burma-and-the-politics-of-names.aspx>>
- ⁵⁰ Other titles include Ko, Saw, Sai, Sao and Sayadaw. 'Ko', 'Maung' and 'Ma', however, can also be integral parts of Burmese names, as in 'Ko Ko Gyi', 'Maung Maung' and 'Ma Ma Lay'.
- ⁵¹ Herbert, *Burma*, p.39.
- ⁵² Norval Morris, *The Brothel Boy and Other Parables of the Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- ⁵³ See, for example, the 'FiveBooks Interviews' conducted by *The Browser* with several authors of works about Burma, at <<http://thebrowser.com/search?keys=burma&types=interview>>

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Appendix

Books to read before visiting Burma

The following is a selection of monographs in English that are likely to be of interest to those intending to visit Burma for the first time, or wishing to familiarise themselves with aspects of the country before pursuing more in-depth studies. The list is not meant to be either authoritative or exhaustive, although an attempt has been made to cover the main subject areas. It focuses on works that help provide a broad introduction to the country and its people, and are likely to be readily available from good bookshops and libraries. Most can also be found on the websites of major on-line suppliers. Anyone wishing to delve more deeply into any of the subjects touched upon below or to pursue special interests is invited to consult the more detailed and scholarly works listed in the foregoing bibliography, or the burgeoning literature on Burma found in academic and professional journals.

Numerous 'coffee table' books about Burma have been published over the past 20 years, but one notable for its distinguished contributors is *Myanmar: Land of the Spirit* (Bangkok: Asia Books, 1996). Also worth looking through is Gillian Cribbs (ed), *Back to Mandalay: Burmese Life, Past and Present* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1996). A more specialised — but lavishly illustrated — volume that describes sites in Burma that are not as well known is Ma Thanegi and Barry Broman, *Myanmar Architecture: Cities of Gold* (Singapore: Times Editions – Marshall Cavendish, 2005).

After being ignored — or shunned — by the tourist industry for decades, interest in Burma is fast picking up, and there is now a wide range of travel guides available. The most informative and practical is probably *Myanmar (Burma)* (Melbourne: Lonely Planet Publications, 2011). However, *Burma/Myanmar* (London: Insight Guides, 2003) is easier to read and has more illustrations. A different approach is taken in Morgan Edwardson, *To Myanmar With Love: A Travel Guide for the Connoisseur* (San Francisco: ThingsAsian, 2009). This work is organised by theme rather than by destination. A handy reference book for those wishing to look up particular facts and figures is D.M. Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006).

Win Pe's *Dos and Don'ts in Myanmar* (Bangkok: Book Promotion and Service Ltd, 1996) provides a simple but useful guide to common Burmese customs and practices for the foreign visitor. A more recent publication in this genre is Saw Myat Yin, *Culture Shock! Myanmar: A Survival Guide to Customs and Etiquette* (Tarrytown NY: Marshall Cavendish, 2007). One expatriate businessman's view is given in H.C.M. Sim, *Myanmar on My Mind: A Guide to Living and Doing Business in Myanmar* (Singapore: Times Books International, 2001). Burmese is a notoriously difficult language, but *Burmese Phrasebook* (Melbourne: Lonely Planet, 2008) can help those wishing to learn some basic words and phrases. For those wishing to know more about this subject, Mary Callahan has a chapter on 'Language Policy in Modern Burma', in M.E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly (eds), *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003).

Most Burmese live in rural towns and villages, but a first-time visitor to the country would benefit from reading E.C. Cangi, *Faded Splendour, Golden Past: Urban Images of Burma* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997). It gives short histories of the former capitals of Rangoon, Mandalay and Pagan. Also of interest in this regard is Uta Gartner, 'Nay Pyi Taw — The Reality and Myths of Capitals in Myanmar', in Volker Grabowsky (ed), *Southeast Asian Historiography: Unravelling the Myths* (Bangkok: River Books, 2011). For the historical and religious significance of the Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon, see Elizabeth Moore, Hansjorg Mayer and U Win Pe, *Shwedagon: Golden Pagoda of Myanmar* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999). A good introduction to Mandalay is Dhida Saraya, *Mandalay: The Capital City, The Centre of the Universe* (Bangkok: Muang Boran, 1995). For Pagan, D.M. Stadtner, *Ancient Pagan: Buddhist Plain of Merit* (Bangkok: River Books, 2005) is strongly recommended. Stadtner also wrote the invaluable survey *Sacred Sites of Burma: Myth and Folklore in an Evolving Spiritual Realm* (Bangkok: River Books, 2011).

Michael Charney offers a concise and readable introduction to Burma's recent past in *A History of Modern Burma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). A quite different approach has been taken by Michael Aung Thwin and Matrii Aung Thwin, in *A History of Myanmar Since Ancient Times: Traditions and Transformations* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012). The modern period is also well covered in Thant Myint U, *The Making of Modern Burma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For the earlier historical period, a lively

introduction is Michael Aung Thwin, *Pagan: The Origins of Modern Burma* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985). While a little hard to find, a local account of Burma's resistance to conquest and colonial occupation can be found in Nyi Nyi Myint, *Burma's Struggle Against British Imperialism (1885-1895)* (Rangoon: The Universities Press, 1983). The same broad theme is picked up in Maung Maung, *Burmese Nationalist Movements, 1940-1948* (Edinburgh: Kiscadale, 1989).

Another book covering the modern period, albeit from a different perspective, is Gerry Abbott (ed), *Inroads Into Burma: A Travellers' Anthology* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997). It includes extracts from the writings of more than 40 observers of Burma between the 15th Century and current times. Also relevant in this regard is H.G. Trager, *Burma Through Alien Eyes: Missionary Views of the Burmese in the Nineteenth Century* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1966). One notable Western visitor to Burma during the 1890s was V.C. Scott O'Connor, who vividly recorded his impressions in *The Silken East: A Record of Life and Travel in Burma* (London: Hutchinson, 1928). Also worth reading is the chapter on Maymyo in Barbara Cossette, *The Great Hill Stations of Asia* (Boulder: Westview, 1998). All these books are complemented well by Noel Singer, *Burmah: A Photographic Journey, 1855-1925* (Gartmore: Kiscadale, 1993).

There are numerous memoirs of the colonial period by British civil servants and soldiers. The best is probably Leslie Glass, *The Changing of Kings: Memories of Burma, 1934-1949* (London: Peter Owen, 1985), followed closely by the works of Maurice Collis. Among other books, he wrote *Trials in Burma* (London: Faber, 1938), *Lords of the Sunset: A Tour in the Shan States* (London: Faber, 1938), *Into Hidden Burma: An Autobiography* (London: Faber, 1953) and *Last and First in Burma (1941-1948)* (London: Faber, 1956). The novelist Somerset Maugham travelled through Burma in 1923 and left his impressions in *The Gentleman in the Parlour* (New York: Marlowe and Company, 1989). Another book in this broad category that offers an interesting view of Burma in the early 20th century is David Donnison, *Last of the Guardians: A story of Burma, Britain and a family* (Newtown: Superscript, 2005).

After a period of neglect, several good studies of Burma during the Second World War have appeared in recent years, including Jon Latimer, *Burma: The Forgotten War* (John Murray, London, 2004). The standard reference work, however, remains Louis Allen, *Burma: The Longest War, 1941-45* (London: Dent, 1984). For a first-hand account of the Burma campaign a reader cannot go past William Slim, *Defeat Into Victory* (London: Cassell and Co., 1956). Another excellent memoir is George MacDonald Fraser's *Quartered Safe Out Here: A Recollection of the War in Burma* (London: HarperCollins, 2000). A different perspective is given by Burma's wartime president in Ba Maw, *Breakthrough in Burma: Memoirs of a Revolution, 1939-1946* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968). The Japanese experience is captured well by John Nunneley and Kazuo Tamayama, *Tales by Japanese Soldiers of the Burma Campaign, 1942-1945* (London: Cassell, 2000).

Post-war developments in Burma are covered by the rather idiosyncratic memoirs of U Nu, the country's first democratically elected prime minister, in *Saturday's Son* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975). Another useful source for this turbulent period is Angelene Naw, *Aung San and the Struggle for Burmese Independence* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2001). Of related interest is Kin Oung, *Who Killed Aung San?* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1996). The best study of the Burmese armed forces' early development and critical political role is Mary Callahan, *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003). This period is also covered well in Thant Myint U, *The River of Lost Footsteps: Histories of Burma* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006).

The period from General Ne Win's 1962 military coup d'état to the 1988 pro-democracy uprising has been examined in numerous books, of widely varying quality. Two important studies of modern Burma, describing how the armed forces came to power and the consequences for the country, are Martin Smith, *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity* (London: Zed Books, 1999) and Bertil Lintner, *Burma In Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999). Harriet O'Brien provides a personal view of Burma during the 1970s in *Forgotten Land: A Rediscovery of Burma* (London: Michael Joseph, 1991).

There is no definitive history of the nation-wide pro-democracy uprising which wracked Burma in 1988. The best known account, written shortly after the events described and based on interviews with eye-witnesses, is Bertil Lintner, *Outrage: Burma's Struggle for Democracy* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1990). The regime's version of events is given by one of the country's presidents at the time in Maung Maung, *The 1988 Uprising in Burma*, Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Monograph No.49, (New Haven: Yale University, 1999). These two accounts and one other are usefully compared in Hans-Bernd Zollner, 'Behind the Smoke of "Myth" and "Counter-Myth": Contours of what Happened in Burma in 1988', in Volker Grabowsky (ed), *Southeast Asian Historiography: Unravelling the Myths* (Bangkok: River Books, 2011).

On the contemporary period, a first time visitor to Burma should begin by browsing through David Steinberg, *Burma/Myanmar: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Another useful starting point is Donald M. Seekins, *The Disorder in Order: The Army-State in Burma since 1962* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2002) which describes in straightforward terms the development of the military regime up to the turn of the century. At a different level, Ian Holliday, *Burma Redux: Global Justice and the Quest for Political Reform in Myanmar* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 2011) provides a thoughtful description of Burma's current problems and canvasses a range of possible solutions. The military regime's point of view — at least, until the advent of a new hybrid civilian-military government in 2011 — is described in Hla Min, *Political Situation of Myanmar and Its Role in the Region* (Yangon: Office of Strategic Studies, Ministry of Defence, 2000).

Burma's main opposition leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Aung San Suu Kyi, has written a number of books, including *Freedom From Fear* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995) and *The Voice of Hope: Conversations with Alan Clements with contributions by U Kyi Maung and U Tin U* (New York: Seven Stories, 2008). The world is still waiting for a full length analytical study of Aung San Suu Kyi's political thinking and role in modern Burmese politics. Already, however, she has been the subject of several biographies, most of which describe her broad political beliefs. The more recent of these works include Justin Wintle, *Perfect Hostage: A Life of Aung San Suu Kyi* (London: Hutchinson, 2007) and Peter Popham, *The Lady and the Peacock: The Life of Aung San Suu Kyi* (London: Rider Books, 2011). A broader perspective is taken in Bertil Lintner, *Aung San Suu Kyi and Burma's Struggle for Democracy* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2011).

For insights into life in Burma under the generals, particularly since 1988, see Christina Fink, *Living Silence: Burma Under Military Rule* (London: Zed Books, 2009). Also relevant is Zoya Phan and Damien Lewis, *Little Daughter: A Memoir of Survival in Burma and the West* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2009). If a copy can be found, it is worth dipping into Maggie Lemere and Zoe West (eds), *Nowhere to Be Home: Narratives from Survivors of Burma's Military Regime* (San Francisco: McSweeney, 2011). Descriptions of modern Burma by a perceptive and well-informed foreign observer can be found in Emma Larkin, *Secret Histories: Finding George Orwell in a Burmese Teashop* (London: John Murray, 2004). Equally incisive and readable is Emma Larkin's *Everything is Broken: The Untold Story of Disaster Under Burma's Military Rule* (London: Granta, 2010).

Perhaps reflecting the breadth and complexity of Burma's current economic problems, there are very few books or reports that offer a good introduction to these issues for non-specialists. One publication that has been written with the general reader in mind is *Opportunities and Pitfalls: Preparing for Burma's Economic Transition* (New York: Open Society Institute, 2006). Should anyone wish to explore this subject more deeply, a good start would be P.J. Perry, *Myanmar (Burma) since 1962: the Failure of Development* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). There is also a useful overview of developments since 1988 in Koichi Fujita, Fumihara Mieno and Ikuko Okamoto (eds), *The Economic Transition in Myanmar After 1988: Market Economy versus State Control* (NUS Press, Singapore 2009). On Burma's finance system, the best source is Sean Turnell, *Fierce Dragons: Banks, Moneylenders and Microfinance in Burma* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2009).

While brief, one of the best introductions to Burma's many ethnic minorities and their troubled relationships with the central government is Martin Smith, *State of Strife: The Dynamics of Ethnic Conflict in Burma* (Washington DC: East-West Centre, 2007). Martin Smith is also a contributor to a sumptuous photographic survey by R.K. Diran, *The Vanishing Tribes of Burma* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997). A more personal perspective on ethnic issues can be gained from Pascal Khoo Thwe, *From the Land of Green Ghosts: A Burmese Odyssey* (London: Harper Collins, 2002). While written 20 years ago, Jonathan Falla's *True Love and Bartholomew: Rebels on the Burmese Border* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) is still worth reading for his eloquent description of the plight of the Karens along the Burma-Thai border.

There are no works that specifically examine Burma's security, but the subject is introduced by Andrew Selth in *Burma: A Strategic Perspective* (San Francisco: Asia Foundation, 2001). The same author provided a detailed analysis of the Burmese armed forces since 1988 in *Burma's Armed Forces: Power Without Glory* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2002). For a similar, but later Burmese treatment of this topic, see Maung Aung Myoe, *Building the Tatmadaw: Myanmar Armed Forces Since 1948* (Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2009). For those interested in Burma's international relations, the most recent overview is Jurgen Haacke, *Myanmar's Foreign Policy: Domestic influences and international implications* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2006). A personal but insightful survey of Burma's geostrategic significance is Thant Myint U, *Where China Meets India: Burma and the New Crossroads of Asia* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011).

Burma was once the world's largest producer of opium. It is now the second largest, after Afghanistan. It is also a major exporter of meth-amphetamines. The origins of the drug trade in the Golden Triangle (of northern Burma, Thailand and Laos) are covered by A.W. McCoy's monumental study, *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the*

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Global Drug Trade (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 2003). This is complemented well by R.M. Gibson and Wenhua Chen, *The Secret Army: Chiang Kai-shek and the Drug Warlords of the Golden Triangle* (Singapore: John Wiley and Sons, 2011). The issue is also examined, albeit from quite different viewpoints, in *A Failing Grade: Burma's Drug Eradication Efforts* (Bangkok: ALTSEAN Burma, 2004) and Martin Jelsma *et al*, *Trouble in the Triangle: Opium and Conflict in Burma* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005).

Books about travel in Burma are proliferating as more foreigners visit the country and explore its highways and by-ways. A good starting point is still Norman Lewis, *Golden Earth: Travels in Burma* (London: Eland Books, 1984), describing his visit there in 1951. Another major work in this genre is Bertil Lintner's *Land of Jade* (Bangkok: White Orchid, 1996) about his journey across northern Burma from India to Thailand in 1987. In a similar vein is Shelby Tucker, *Among Insurgents: Walking Through Burma* (London: Radcliffe Press, 2000). Not quite as adventurous but no less entertaining is Andrew Marshall, *The Trousers People: The quest for the Victorian footballer who made Burma play the Empire's game* (London: Viking, 2002). A Western-style travel book by a contemporary Burmese writer is Ma Thanegi, *The Native Tourist: A Holiday Pilgrimage in Myanmar* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004).

The best known description of classic Burmese culture and customs is J.G. Scott, *The Burman: His Life and Notions* (Whiting Bay: Kiscadale, 1989), first written under the pseudonym 'Shway Yoe' in 1882. Another classic work, still useful for its description of traditional Burmese life, is Mi Mi Khaing, *Burmese Family* (Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1946). In recent years, there have been a number of scholarly works written about Burmese women and their place in society, but the best introduction remains Mi Mi Khaing, *The World of Burmese Women* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1984). A broader and more up-to-date treatment of gender issues is Jessica Harriden, *The Authority of Influence: Women and Power in Burmese History* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2012).

It is not possible to visit Burma without being struck by the role Buddhism plays in daily life. This subject is examined in Juliane Schober, *Modern Buddhist Conjunctures in Myanmar: Cultural Narratives, Colonial Legacies, and Civil Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011). For those wishing to look at other religions, Islam's position in Burma is summarised by Curtis Lambrecht, 'Burma (Myanmar)', in Greg Fealy and Virginia Hooker (eds), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006). Ruth Cernea's *Almost Englishmen: Baghdadi Jews in British Burma* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007) covers the rise and fall of the local Jewish community. There is no succinct account of Christianity's place in Burma, but an idea of its changing fortunes can be gained from M.D. Leigh, *Conflict, Politics and Proselytism: Methodist missionaries in colonial and postcolonial Upper Burma, 1887-1966* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

While written over 50 years ago, E.H. Shattock, *An Experiment in Mindfulness* (London: Rider and Company, 1958) is still of interest as an autobiographical account by a Westerner studying Buddhist meditation in a Burmese monastery. The Satipatthana method followed by Shattock is explained by an eminent practitioner in Mahasi Sayadaw, *The Fundamentals of Insight: Discourse on Meditation Practice*, translated by Maung Tha Noe (Bangkok: Buddhadhamma Foundation, 2001). Also helpful in this regard is Nyanaponika Thera, *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation* (Colombo: The Word of the Buddha Publishing Committee, 1956).

For a concise guide to Burma, as portrayed in popular literature, nothing can beat the chapter by Anna Allott in Alastair Dingwall (ed), *Traveller's Literary Companion to Southeast Asia* (Brighton: In Print Publishing, 1994). This survey prompts a closer look at a few novels about the country, such as George Orwell, *Burmese Days* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969) and Ma Ma Lay, *Not Out of Hate*, translated by Margaret Aung Thwin (Athens: Ohio University, 1991). A more recent offering is Wendy Law-Yone, *The Road to Wanting* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2010). Other well-reviewed novels about Burma include Karel Van Loon, *The Invisible Ones*, translated by David Colmer (London: Maia Press, 2006) and Karen Connelly, *The Lizard Cage* (London: Harvill Secker, 2007). While more difficult to obtain, the best collection of Burmese folk tales is Gerry Abbott and Khin Thant Han, *The Folk-tales of Burma: An Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

The most comprehensive survey of Burmese arts and crafts is Sylvia Fraser-Lu, *Burmese Crafts, Past and Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). By the same author is *Splendour in Wood: The Buddhist Monasteries of Burma* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2001). Another book worth reading in this connection is Alexandra Green and T.R. Burton (eds), *Burma: Art and Archaeology* (London: British Museum Press, 2002). For more specialised studies, see Elizabeth Dell and Sandra Dudley (eds), *Textiles from Burma* (London: Philip Wilson, 2003), and Ralph Isaacs and T.R. Burton, *Visions from the Golden Land: Burma and the art of lacquer* (London: British Museum Press, 2000). There is a chapter on Burma in Mick Shippen, *The Traditional Ceramics of South East Asia* (London: A&C

Black, 2005), and a chapter on the country is included in Anne Richter, *The Jewelry of Southeast Asia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000).

For those with an interest in Burma's unique fauna and flora, two recent books which are both informative and entertaining are Alan Rabinowitz, *Beyond the Last Village: A Journey of Discovery in Asia's Forbidden Wilderness* (Washington DC: Shearwater Books, 2001) and W.J. Kress, *The Weeping Goldsmith: Discoveries in the Secret Land of Myanmar* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2009). For ornithologists, nothing can beat B.E. Smythies's monumental *The Birds of Burma* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1940), but a more convenient book for travellers is Kyaw Nyunt Lwin and Khin Ma Ma Thwin, *Birds of Myanmar* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2003).

There are a number of modern books about Burmese cuisine but a good basic guide (with recipes and cooking instructions) is Ma Thanegi, *An Introduction to Myanmar Cuisine* (Yangon: Yone Chi Chet Sarpay, 2004). If that is not available, an alternative is Tin Cho Chaw, *hsa*ba: Burmese Cookbook* (London: Grassblades, 2008). There is also a good chapter on Burma in Charmaine Solomon, *The Complete Asian Cookbook* (Sydney: Paul Hamlyn, 1976). For the non-specialist, a broad introduction to Burmese philately is Min Sun Min, *Stamps of Burma: A Historical Record Through 1988* (Chiang Mai: Mekong Press, 2007). Although now over 30 years old, the best overall guide to Burmese numismatics is M. Robinson and L.A. Shaw, *The Coins and Banknotes of Burma* (Manchester: The Authors, 1980).

Index of names

The numbers given are those used to refer to the specific works listed. Names appear as they have been given in the bibliography, although entries have been consolidated in cases where both first names and initials have been used. Joint authors, editors and translators have been listed individually. Other people named in the introduction and appendix have not been listed.

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