

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

Third Edition

Andrew Selth



Griffith Asia Institute

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A select bibliography

(Third Edition)

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AAS	Association of Asian Studies
ABSDF	All Burma Students' Democratic Front
AIIA	Australian Institute of International Affairs
ALTSEAN Burma	Alternative ASEAN Network on Burma
ANU	Australian National University
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASP	American Studies Program
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCP	Burma Communist Party
BIMSTEC	Bangladesh-India-Myanmar-Sri Lanka-Thailand Economic Cooperation
BRS	Burma Research Society
BSPP	Burma Socialist Programme Party
C4ADS	Centre for Advanced Defence Studies
CBI	China-Burma-India (Theatre)
CSIS	Centre for Strategic and International Studies
DAB	Democratic Alliance of Burma
ERIA	Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia
ExPP-ACT	Ex-Political Prisoners - Assistance, Counselling and Training
EU	European Union
GAI	Griffith Asia Institute
IAS	Institute of Asian Studies
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organisation
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICVA	International Council of Voluntary Agencies
IDE	Institute for Developing Economies
IIPS	Institute for International Policy Studies
IMDb	International Movie Database
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IRASEC	Research Institute on Contemporary Southeast Asia
ISEAS	Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
ISIS	Institute of Security and International Studies
ISJP	International Society for Japanese Philately
JBRs	Journal of the Burma Research Society
MTA	Mong Tai Army
NBR	National Bureau of Asian Research
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIAS	Nordic Institute of Asian Studies
NIU	Northern Illinois University
NLD	National League for Democracy
NUS	National University of Singapore
OB/ML	Online Burma/Myanmar Library
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
PACSEA	Publications on Ancient Civilization in South East Asia
POW	Prisoner of War
RAF	Royal Air Force
RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
RSC	Refugees Study Centre
SABREB	South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography

SEAC	South East Asia Command
SEAMEO	Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organisation
SIIA	Swedish Institute of International Affairs
SLORC	State Law and Order Restoration Council
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SPDC	State Peace and Development Council
SSSNY	School for Shan State Nationalities Youth
UG	Underground
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNLD	United Nationalities League for Democracy
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US	United States (of America)
USDA	Union Solidarity and Development Association
USIP	United States Institute of Peace
WHO	World Health Organization
WPF	World Peace Foundation
YMCA	Young Men’s Christian Association
YSPS	Yangon School of Political Science
YWAM	Youth With A Mission

Preface to the Third Edition

Since the first version of this bibliography was released in 2012, the outpouring of books, reports and other publications about Burma (Myanmar) that was noted in earlier editions has continued. Indeed, over the past few years it seems to have picked up in both pace and range, although not always in quality. As one observer bluntly put it a few years ago, 'There is a vast quantity of literature on Burma/Myanmar, some of it quite unreadable'.¹ While many of these works have been posted online, and are only available in soft copy, most have been released in hard copy, and in English. Even if the print run was quite small, this has entitled them to a mention in this third and expanded edition. The newest works fall into a number of categories, which can easily be identified by comparing the contents pages above with those of earlier editions. Broadly speaking, they cover academic works, official reports, travelogues and tourist guides, books for the general reader, and older works that have been reprinted to meet a popular demand.

For example, the chapter on Burma's politics and government continues to grow apace, a result at least in part of the close attention being paid to the country's transition from a military dictatorship to a quasi-democratic administration. The advent of President Thein Sein's reformist government in 2011 and the election of a National League for Democracy (NLD) government in 2015 prompted a surge of publications on the country's rapidly changing political, economic and social landscape. There have also been several new books about Burma's once revered opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, who is now the country's de facto head of state.² Given her government's failure to meet unrealistically high popular expectations, and her dramatic fall from grace in the eyes of the international community (due mainly to her disappointing response to the so-called 'Rohingya question'), it can be expected that more publications on the Nobel peace laureate and her turbulent time in office will appear over the next few years.³

Also, as Burma has opened up to foreign aid and investment, there has been an increase in the number of reports by governments, international organisations and consultants interested in Burma's political reforms, economic growth and social development.⁴ At the same time, a host of reports have been produced by human rights groups and bodies devoted to other causes, such as environmental protection. Most can be found online, but small numbers of hard copies have usually been produced for governments, donors and other interested parties. Many of these works provide useful summaries of past developments, current situations and future plans. They also enjoy the benefit of being published in a more timely fashion than many academic studies. That said, the increased access now available to Burma-watchers carries certain risks. Closer personal contacts with key players and a greater familiarity with local developments can result in deeper knowledge and more penetrating analyses of complex issues. However, they can also lead to narrower perspectives and a greater tendency towards personal bias.

There has been a marked increase in books written by, and for, foreign visitors to Burma, the number of which rose from some 310,000 in 2010 to nearly three million in 2017.⁵ Once again, these works are a mixed bag, reflecting what Penny Edwards has called the 'overnight expert syndrome', which has 'fed a rapid demand for books on contemporary Myanmar'.⁶ One noteworthy trend has been the flood of guides, travelogues and memoirs by tourists and temporary residents, on whom Burma has clearly made a strong impression. Many are rather shallow and descriptive, bringing to mind Rudyard Kipling's 'Globe-trotter', 'who "does" kingdoms in days and writes books upon them in weeks'.⁷ In keeping with most memoirs – and current travel brochures – about Burma, they often emphasise nostalgic and romantic themes.⁸ This trend is also seen in books of photographs, which tend to consist of clichéd shots of picturesque pagodas, smiling children and colourful ethnic minorities.⁹ That said, there are also some notable collections of high quality images which record Burma's traditional culture, natural environment and colonial-era architecture, all of which are under threat.¹⁰

The number of English language novels about Burma is increasing. Once again, the quality is highly variable.¹¹ While there are some notable exceptions, the plots tend to be banal and rather predictable, with Burma serving simply as an exotic *locus dramaticus*. Another interesting development has been the publication of several graphic novels about Burma, including a number that look closely at the contemporary political scene. Most are high quality productions, with excellent illustrations, but not all have been listed in the bibliography as their texts are not in English.¹² There has also been an increase in the number of books about Burma intended for juvenile

readers. They include introductions to Burma's geography and culture, and illustrated stories based on Burmese folk tales. There are also several short biographies of Aung San Suu Kyi that are aimed at children. Once again, this trend seems to reflect both the increased attention being paid to Burma in Western countries and the much larger number of people prompted to write about the place, for various reasons.

Also worthy of note is the increasing number of references to Burma, and even the inclusion of separate chapters about Burma, in broader studies of the region, and of particular subjects. There was a time when, books about insurgencies in Southeast Asia aside, such wide-ranging surveys usually ignored Burma or only referred to it in passing. For decades, there was neither the interest nor the expertise available to give it closer attention. Even standard textbooks about the region lacked significant Burma-related content.¹³ This is no longer the case. For example, Anthony Reid's stimulating new history of Southeast Asia expertly folds critical aspects of Burma into his wider narrative of developments in the region.¹⁴ There is a useful chapter about Burma in *Khaki Capital*, a recent study of the political economy of armed forces in Southeast Asia.¹⁵ *The Everyday Political Economy of Southeast Asia*, published by Cambridge University Press in 2016, includes a chapter on trade union politics in Burma.¹⁶

As noted in earlier editions of this bibliography, there is a growing number of works written in English, or translated into English, by Burmese authors. Most major bookshops in Yangon now have a few shelves of memoirs, travel books and other works by local writers, doubtless encouraged by the influx of tourists, the easing of restrictions on freedom of expression and, probably, the increased availability of modern printing equipment. These books tend to be produced by boutique publishing houses, and in small numbers, but together they offer new and interesting perspectives on aspects of Burma's history, politics and society.¹⁷ That said, the field is still quite narrow. One Western scholar visiting Burma wrote in 2015 that 'I was surprised at how difficult it was to find translated contemporary literature by Burmese writers'.¹⁸ This echoed an earlier comment by the author Wendy Law-Yone, who noted in 2010 that 'precious few [books in Burmese – novels especially] have been translated into English'.¹⁹ As the following checklist indicates, this situation is gradually improving, as local novelists, poets and artists gain wider recognition. One notable example of this trend is *Burma Storybook*, edited by Petr Lom and others.²⁰

All these developments must be counted as positive contributions to the broad field of Burma studies, but another trend is a cause for concern. It used to be common practice for the personal libraries of major figures in Burma studies to be purchased by institutions. The British Library, Cornell University, the University of Heidelberg and the National Library of Australia, among others, acquired excellent collections of books, manuscripts and ephemera from former officials, academics and others with close connections to Burma.²¹ Even before the country became fashionable in the West, there was a wish to preserve its scholarly and literary heritage. Albeit at a slower pace, this practice continued into the 1970s and 1980s. More recently, however, libraries, universities and research institutes seem to be increasingly reluctant to acquire hard copies of books, either to fill gaps in their collections, or to keep them up to date. The reasons given for this attitude vary between institutions, but usually start with a shortage of funds and shelf space. It would be a tragedy for Burma studies if existing collections were allowed to decline in value, or significant private libraries were broken up, simply because no institutions were willing or able to give them a home.²²

This edition of the bibliography, like those published in 2012 and 2015, only lists books, reports and monographs that have been published in English and in hard copy since 1988. For other works, including e-books, online publications, articles and short items, readers will need to look elsewhere. As stated in earlier prefaces, Michael Charney's *Living Bibliography of Burma Studies* was not substantially updated after its 2004 iteration and was formally closed down in 2012.²³ While in need of increased financial support, the *Online Burma/Myanmar Library* (OB/ML), begun by the Burma Peace Foundation in 2001, is still functioning, thanks to the efforts of the indefatigable David Arnott.²⁴ Its database is organised into more than 90 categories and 3000 sub-categories. They guide readers to about 35,000 links to individual documents and more than 10,000 websites or multiple documents. These in turn give access to potentially millions of other Burma-related documents.²⁵ Needless to say, the OB/ML includes a great many works not listed here, notably those only found online.

This edition of the bibliography follows much the same pattern as the earlier two. There are, however, a number of changes.

The original title of the bibliography has been retained and, in all new and revised chapters, 'Burma' rather than 'Myanmar' has been used for the country's name. This does not reflect its formal title, or current usage, even by die-hard critics of the 1989 name change, such as Aung San Suu Kyi.²⁶ However, 'Burma' has been retained for this edition, simply for consistency. All titles of books and reports have been cited as they were published, including the use of both 'Rangoon' and its 1989 replacement, 'Yangon'. Some minor amendments have been made to the introduction, and David Steinberg has updated his foreword. The original acknowledgements page has been substantially revised to take account of contributions made by various Burma-watchers since the first edition of the bibliography was published six years ago. Also, a few individual entries carried forward from earlier editions have been amended. This has mainly been to correct errors and account for changed circumstances, such as the publication of new editions.

This is still a 'select' bibliography, in that it does not try to include all hard copy publications on Burma, or in all languages, but an effort has been made to make it more comprehensive. It now lists quite a number of works that, for various reasons, were left out of earlier editions. This is partly to provide a more rounded picture of Burma, but also to fill out some sections that readers felt were too thin. I have also relaxed my initial firm stance against reprints, books printed on demand and self-published works. The emphasis is still on original works produced by established publishing houses, governments and international organisations. However, an increasing number of older works on Burma are now being reprinted by reputable firms. To exclude them all would deprive readers of some useful sources on key subjects. The same consideration applies to self-published books and works printed on demand, some of which deserve a mention. Pirated copies of foreign works, reprinted in Burma, have not been included.²⁷

There are now 2133 works listed, compared with 928 in the first edition and 1318 in the second edition. The larger number has necessitated some structural changes. Instead of the 29 chapters and 44 sections found in the 2015 edition, there are 35 chapters and 72 sections. There are now separate chapters on the Second World War, Aung San Suu Kyi and the 'Rohingya Question', to account for the greater number of titles now listed in those categories. The chapter on politics and government is still the longest and has been divided chronologically. New sections have been created to cover works published when Burma was under the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) and its nominal successor, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), after the paradigm shift from direct military rule to President Thein Sein's 'disciplined democracy' in 2011, and since the creation in 2016 of a semi-elected NLD administration under Aung San Suu Kyi. These categories are rather arbitrary, in that they ignore the issues covered within each time frame, but it is hoped that such a device will help readers find particular works more easily. Section headings have also been added to other chapters, to make it easier for readers to find what they are looking for.

When I began this project in 2010, it was my intention personally to inspect, or at least to sight, every work listed in the bibliography, drawing on my own resources and those of the main libraries in Canberra and elsewhere. Given the large number of works cited in this latest edition, however, and the difficulty of accessing hard copies of every one, I have had to modify that aim. However, an effort has still been made to verify each entry, usually by cross-checking the details in more than one source. In the first edition, I was also determined to exclude works that were listed in publishers' catalogues and on the websites of the major booksellers but had not yet been published. That resolution was slightly relaxed in the second edition, as I was keen to include a number of important works that I was reliably informed were close to commercial release. I have taken a similar approach here, although a number of books currently listed on the websites of major publishers and booksellers have not been included due to uncertainty over their publication dates.²⁸

There are now three appendices. The first is a revised and updated essay on publications which readers may find helpful if they wish to become more familiar with specific aspects of Burma, or if they are going there for the first time. Once again, it is a personal selection, and would profitably be read in conjunction with the recommendations of other Burma-watchers with particular areas of expertise.²⁹ The second appendix lists a range of maps and charts of Burma that are currently available, either through commercial outlets or from other suppliers. If the websites of major booksellers are any guide, the demand for maps has grown significantly in recent years as more people have visited Burma, either for business or pleasure.³⁰ The third appendix lists a selection of feature movies and documentary films made about the country and released in English. Some have had a greater impact than others, but in their own ways they have all added to the romance, mystery and allure of a country that, until 30 years ago, was relatively unknown.³¹ The extent to which they have added to a greater understanding of Burma's history, politics and culture, however, is debateable.

It is perhaps worth repeating that the main aim of this checklist is to provide academics, officials, students and members of the general public with an easily accessible list of works on Burma produced in hard copy, and in English, since the 1988 uprising. It includes a wide range of publications, covering many subjects, in an attempt to provide readers with the broadest choice possible. However, the inclusion of a particular work does not signify an endorsement of it, or agreement with any of the opinions expressed in it. Once again, the watchwords of this checklist have been comprehensiveness and balance. No attempt has been made to exclude a work because of its perceived failure to meet criteria such as quality or political correctness. As Paul Duguid once remarked, albeit in a different context, an eclectic collection like this resembles 'a church jumble-sale bookstall, where gems and duds are blessed alike by the vicar because all have been donated'.³² As always, it is for the reader to decide on the quality and value of each title.

Brisbane
May 2018

Notes

- ¹ Richard Cockett, *Blood, Dreams and Gold: The Changing Face of Burma* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p.259.
- ² Under the terms of the 2008 constitution, she is unable to become president of the country. See Andrew Selth, *Aung San Suu Kyi and the Politics of Personality*, Regional Outlook No.55 (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2017).
- ³ Already in the publishing pipeline are Hans-Bernd Zollner and Rodion Ebbighausen, *The Daughter: A Political Biography of Aung San Suu Kyi* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2018); and Poppy McPherson, *The Shadows of Myanmar: Aung San Suu Kyi and the Persecution of the Rohingya* (London: I.B. Taurus and Co., forthcoming).
- ⁴ See, for example, 'Myanmar Governance Discussion Paper Series', *The Asia Foundation*, at <https://asiafoundation.org/tag/myanmar-governance-discussion-paper-series>; and 'Myanmar: Publications and Documents', *Asian Development Bank*, at <https://www.adb.org/countries/myanmar/publications>
- ⁵ Htoo Thant, 'Tourist arrivals rise 22pc in 8 months', *Myanmar Times*, 10 October 2017, at <https://www.mmimes.com/news/tourist-arrivals-rise-22pc-8-months.html>
- ⁶ Penny Edwards, 'Truth to Power', *Mekong Review*, Vol.1, No.4, August-October 2016, p.9.
- ⁷ Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Sea and Other Sketches: Letters of Travel* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1909), p.3.
- ⁸ For an interesting discussion of this phenomenon in regard to Burma, see Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.204-7.
- ⁹ Steven Heller, 'Isolated From the World for Sixty Years', *The Atlantic*, 6 April 2015, at <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2015/04/a-rare-glimpse-into-burma/390567/>
- ¹⁰ See, for example, David Lazar, *Myanmar: Luminous Journey* (Bangkok: The Author, 2016); and P.J. Heijmans, *Relics of Rangoon* (Yangon: Inya Media, 2016).
- ¹¹ See Kyi May Kaung and John Feffer, 'Out of Burma', *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 11 July 2007, at http://fpif.org/out_of_burma/
- ¹² Most have been produced by French and Belgian publishers. For a brief discussion of this genre, see Andrew Selth, 'Graphic novels chart Myanmar's history', *Nikkei Asian Review*, 1 April 2018, at <https://asia.nikkei.com/Life-Arts/Arts/Graphic-novels-chart-Myanmar-s-history?page=1>
- ¹³ For example, the six-man writing team responsible for the first edition of the joint volume *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1971) did not include a Burma expert. This was rectified for the second (1987) edition, by the recruitment of Robert H. Taylor to the team.
- ¹⁴ Anthony Reid, *A History of Southeast Asia: Critical Crossroads* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015).
- ¹⁵ Marco Bunte, 'The Military-NLD Coalition in Myanmar: Military Guardianship and its Economic Foundations', in Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitookiat (eds), *Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of the Military in Southeast Asia* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2017).

- 16 Nicholas Henry, 'Everyday Agents of Change: Trade Unions in Myanmar', in Juanita Elias and Lena Rethel (eds), *The Everyday Political Economy of Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
- 17 See, for example, Thant Thaw Kaung, 'Publication trends in Myanmar and reading promotion efforts', presentation given at the School of Culture, History and Language, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, Canberra, 28 February 2017.
- 18 Ellen Wiles, *Saffron Shadows and Salvaged Scripts: Literary Life in Myanmar Under Censorship and in Transition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), pp.2-3.
- 19 'The Best Books on Her Own Burma', recommended by Wendy Law-Yone, *Five Books*, 1 December 2010, at <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/wendy-law-yone-on-her-own-burma/>
- 20 Petr Lom, et al (eds), *Burma Storybook*, introduction by Emma Larkin, translations by Maung Tha Noe, Maung Day, Zeyar Lynn, Pandora, Kenneth Wong, Zaw Tun and Khun Cho, photographs by Dana Lixenberg (Amsterdam: ZINdoc, 2017). See also Melis Alemdar, 'Petr Lom's "Burma Storybook" captures poetry on film', *TRT World*, 15 May 2017, at <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/petr-lom-s-burma-storybook-captures-poetry-on-film-7035>
- 21 See, for example, Patricia Herbert, 'The Making of a Collection: Burmese Manuscripts in the British Library', *British Library Journal*, Vol.15, No.1, Spring 1989, pp.59-70, at <https://www.bl.uk/ebj/1989articles/pdf/article5.pdf>; and Andrew Gosling, 'Burma and Beyond', *National Library of Australia News*, October 1996, pp.3-5, at <http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/131760/20120120-0944/www.nla.gov.au/pub/nlanews/1996/oct96/story-1.pdf>
- 22 For a brief discussion of this problem, see Andrew Selth, 'The wisdom in the literature', *New Mandala*, 21 March 2017, at <http://www.newmandala.org/the-wisdom-in-the-literature/>
- 23 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
- 24 'Online Burma/Myanmar Library', at <http://www.burmalibrary.org/>. See also M.D. Alicia, 'Online Burma/Myanmar Library: A Gateway to Burma/Myanmar', *Asian Politics and Policy*, Vol.4, No.4, October 2012, pp.591-3.
- 25 The library is an invaluable resource but relies on donations to survive. Anyone wishing to assist can contact David Arnott by email at burmalibrary@gmail.com
- 26 Questioned about the official name of the country soon after her party took office in 2016, Aung San Suu Kyi stated her continuing preference for the colonial-era term, but said that both 'Burma' and 'Myanmar' were acceptable. See Andrew Selth, 'More name games in Burma/Myanmar', *The Interpreter*, 10 August 2016, at <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/more-name-games-burmamyanmar>
- 27 For an interesting discussion of this phenomenon, see Mandy Sagan, 'Knowledge, Piracy and Academic Development in Myanmar', *Tea Circle*, 30 November 2017 (part 1) and 1 December 2017 (part 2), at <https://teacircleoxford.com/2017/11/30/knowledge-piracy-and-academic-development-in-myanmar-part-i/> and <https://teacircleoxford.com/2017/12/01/knowledge-piracy-and-academic-development-in-myanmar-part-ii/>
- 28 These include, for example, Lynette J. Chua, *The Politics of Love in Myanmar: LGBT Mobilization and Human Rights as a Way of Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, forthcoming); Rohan Gunaratna, et al, *The Rohingya Crisis* (London: World Scientific Europe, forthcoming); Helen James, *Myanmar's Strategic Choices* (London: Routledge, forthcoming); D.C. Lammerts, *Buddhist Law in Burma: A History of Dhammasattha Texts and Jurisprudence, 1250-1850* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018); Ludovica Marchi (ed), *The European Union and Myanmar: Interactions via ASEAN* (London: Routledge, forthcoming); Irene Slegt and Simon Long, *Myanmar: A Burmese People's Story* (London: Zed Books, forthcoming); Ardeth Maung Thawngmung, *Everyday Economic Survival in Myanmar* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, forthcoming); and Sean Turnell, *Burma's Economic Renaissance* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, forthcoming). Also, the latest edited volume flowing from the Australian National University's Myanmar Update conference series is due out soon. See Justine Chambers, Gerard McCarthy, Nicholas Farrelly and Chit Win (eds), *Myanmar Transformed? People, Places and Politics* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2018).
- 29 See for example, 'The Best Books on Burma', recommended by Emma Larkin, *Five Books*, n.d., at <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/emma-larkin-on-burma/>; 'The Best Books on Understanding the Burmese Economy', recommended by Sean Turnell, *Five Books*, n.d., at <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/sean-turnell-burmese-economy/>; and 'The Best Books on Describing Burma', recommended by Sue Arnold, *Five Books*, n.d., at <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/sue-arnold-on-describing-burma/>
- 30 Andrew Selth, 'Journeys without maps in Myanmar', *New Mandala*, 12 September 2016, at <http://www.newmandala.org/journeys-without-maps-myanmar/>
- 31 Andrew Selth, 'Burma, Hollywood and the Politics of Entertainment', *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, Vol.23, No.3 (June 2009), pp.321-34; and Andrew Selth, 'Burma-watching on film', *The Interpreter*, Weblog of the Lowy Institute for International Policy, Sydney, 30 November 2010, found at <http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2010/11/30/Burma-watching-on-film.aspx>
- 32 Paul Duguid, 'PG Tips', *Times Literary Supplement*, 11 June 2004, quoted in Stuart Kells, *The Library: A Catalogue of Wonders* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2017), pp.270-1.

Preface to the Second Edition

A bibliography is never complete. No matter how conscientious the compiler there will always be gaps and scope for additions, particularly to select bibliographies. In this regard, Burma (renamed the Union of Myanmar in 1989, and given the formal title of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar in the 2008 constitution) is certainly no exception. Indeed, several developments over the past three years argue strongly for the preparation of an updated checklist of the English language literature on Burma.¹

Since the first edition of this book was released in 2012, there has been an increasing flow of new, revised and reprinted publications about Burma. This activity has reflected the continued high level of interest in the country, not only in official and academic circles, but also among the wider public. This interest is likely to be maintained in 2015, when Burma's hybrid civilian-military government is due to hold national elections and, in early 2016, to choose a new president. The outcome of these competitions will be critical to the future of President Thein Sein's ambitious reform program, launched in 2011, and to Burma's relations with the wider world.

As this edition of the bibliography helps to demonstrate, most of the public (and scholarly) interest in Burma over the past few years has been related to the country's politics and economy, accounting for the large number of new works in those categories. This has included several edited works, with chapters provided by a range of noted Burma-watchers, covering such issues as the continuing political role of the armed forces, unresolved tensions with the ethnic minorities, the obstacles to further economic development and the growth of civil society. Also, the increased number of postgraduates working on Burma in Western countries has led to specialised studies on areas and issues that, until now, had rarely been subject to close examination.

Another factor has been the dramatic surge in foreign visitors to Burma, up from an estimated 310,000 in 2010 to more than 3,000,000 in 2014.² Estimates for 2015 range as high as 5,000,000.³ This has prompted the production of a large number of works which seem designed to cater mainly to tourists, businessmen and armchair travellers. They have included guide books, phrase books, cookery books, collections of photographs and personal accounts of visits to the country. There is also a trickle of novels that are set in Burma or have Burma-related themes. The quality of these works has tended to be highly variable but, in different ways and at different levels, they have helped fill niches in a market that still seems to be expanding.

Also, it is worth noting that many older books and monographs with Burma-related themes have been revised or reissued. There have long been a few firms (like the Bangkok-based White Lotus Press, established in 1972) that have specialised in reproducing out-of-print books on Burma. However, several other well-known publishers are now producing good quality, hard copy reprints of classic works. It is possible to find soft copies of many more online, through the digital collections of major libraries, notably (since 1994) the Library of Congress and (since 1995) the British Library. Also helpful are large-scale collaborative repositories of digital content such as the Hathi Trust, which was formed in 2008. These developments have made many rare books and other research materials much more accessible, helping to revive interest in Burma's history and culture, on which there are now some excellent studies.

Since 2012, a number of major gaps in the academic literature have been plugged, in part at least. For example, much closer attention has been given to legal issues in Burma, both during the colonial period and since 1948.⁴ However, there are still some notable omissions, particularly in the area of Burma's foreign contacts. For example, there are still no definitive histories in English of Burma's relations with countries like the US, Russia, Japan, the two Koreas or Australia. There is also a shortage of serious studies looking at Burma's role in the strategic competition between China and India, its membership of ASEAN since 1997, and its place in the wider environment of the Asia-Pacific. Some good work has been done recently on the place of Islam in Burma, but there is still no comprehensive or detailed overview of the development of Christianity.

There has been a revival of interest in foreign books within Burma itself.⁵ Under the former military government a wide range of works were blacklisted (as were, of course, many publications in Burmese).⁶ Often, the reasons for these bans were not clear, one example being *Love and Sunshine in the East*, an obscure novel written in

1930 by Janet Aldis.⁷ The intent behind other bans was more obvious, as in the case of Aung San Suu Kyi's three books on (among other things) modern Burmese politics and Bertil Lintner's graphic account of the 1988 uprising.⁸ Under Thein Sein's more relaxed administration, however, English language versions of these and other banned books are being imported into Burma and are available from local bookshops and street vendors. For those Burmese with Internet access, others can be read online. Since 2013, an international literary festival has been held in Burma, one feature of which has been the many formerly banned books openly displayed for sale.⁹

At the same time, there has been a revival in the translation of foreign books into the Burmese language. This has included some blacklisted books, notably copies of works by Aung San Suu Kyi. In 2012, a translation of George Orwell's seminal novel *Burmese Days*, which was also banned by the former military regime, even won a national literary award.¹⁰ There are now Burmese versions of David Steinberg's popular primer *Burma/Myanmar: What Everyone Needs to Know* and Bertil Lintner's *Outrage: Burma's Struggle for Democracy*. Other foreign works which have been translated into Burmese and released in the country have included Robert Taylor's ground-breaking study *The State in Myanmar*, and Wendy Law Yone's *Golden Parasol: A Daughter's Memoir of Burma* (all listed in this bibliography). Also on sale in Rangoon is a collection of broadcasts by the BBC's Burmese language service, summarising my own 2002 study *Burma's Armed Forces: Power Without Glory*.

This is in addition, of course, to the bound photocopies and pirated versions of foreign language books that have long been a feature of Burma's literary scene.¹¹

In recent years, there has also been a proliferation of books in English by Burmese authors, and English language translations of Burmese works. The print runs may be small, but they too are having an impact on the local publishing scene. A representative sample has been included in this edition of the bibliography. While many of these publications seem to be aimed mainly at foreign visitors and foreign residents of Burma, they help represent a return to the lively literary and scholarly traditions that prevailed before General Ne Win's coup and the introduction of harsh censorship laws. Related to these developments has been the formation of several new literary associations in Burma, as various groups have taken advantage of the lifting of government restrictions in 2012.¹² The Myanmar Publishers and Booksellers Association, for example, holds Burma's largest annual book fair.

On the bibliographic front, there has also been some movement. The 'Bibliography of Burma (Myanmar) Research', last produced by London University's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in 2004, is no longer being compiled, but work has continued on some other projects mentioned in the introduction to the first edition of this book. For example, the Heidelberg University bibliography now boasts electronic listings of articles and multi-author documents up to September 2012.¹³ There have been several other checklists drawn up over the past three years, most of which have been posted online. They have tended to be subject-specific, to cater to the wider range of topics now being given attention by students and other researchers. For example, the University of California at Berkeley has compiled a list entitled 'Myanmar: Women's Studies Bibliography'.¹⁴ An Australian researcher has drawn up a list of works in English about Burmese marionettes.¹⁵ Most of the major studies of Burma published since 2012 have included extensive bibliographies.

In all these ways, the Burma literature scene is now a vibrant one, reflecting the dynamic state of modern Burma studies. There is every indication that, as the country continues to evolve and grow, so will the demand for fresh and original publications of all kinds.

Since the first edition of this bibliography appeared, Burma-watchers and others have alerted me to the existence of a number of works that they felt deserved inclusion. I have also been pointed in the direction of several major reports produced by think-tanks and international organisations. As this remains a select bibliography, and not an attempt to list every English-language publication about Burma released over the past 27 years, I have not included them all. However, many suggestions have been taken up, helping to plug some gaps in the first edition and to fill out a few sections that were rather thin. This edition has also given me an opportunity to record more publications produced by Burma-related activist groups. Such works are often considered to be ephemera and omitted from checklists of this kind. However, they represent a major effort on the part of these organisations over the years and often provide information and views that are not readily available elsewhere.

To the 928 titles listed in the first edition of this bibliography, another 390 have been added. Most of these new works have been released over the past three years. As before, I have restricted myself to publications produced in English (or, in three cases, English and Burmese), and in hard copy, since the 1988 pro-democracy uprising.¹⁶ Where there has been some doubt whether or not a particular work was produced in hard copy, for example by an international organisation with its own website, I have usually erred on the side of inclusion. This is because, in most cases, small numbers of hard copies were produced by these organisations for libraries and for presentation to select audiences, such as donors, journalists and government officials.

In order to make greater allowance for the latest publishing trends, I have slightly relaxed my earlier rule about books printed on demand. This has been to take account of the increasing number of academic theses and self-published works on Burma, some of which have made useful contributions to the field. Also, I have taken the risk of listing a small number of books that have not yet been formally released. They have been included because they are significant works that, as far as I have been able to determine from the authors and the publishers, are confidently expected to be released in 2015. Not to have included them would have detracted from the usefulness of this checklist over time, and left gaps in areas that are currently subject to close attention. Once again, briefings, academic articles, chapters and short commentaries have not been listed, although a few examples are mentioned in the appendix.

This edition of the bibliography follows much the same format as the first. However, to help readers navigate their way through the many subjects covered in the checklist, and to find particular works more easily, I have rearranged a few chapters. I have also added a number of additional headings and sub-headings. This has necessitated moving some titles from their original positions and giving them new reference numbers. As before, many of the books named could have been listed under more than one category. Inevitably, the placement of some titles will still strike a few readers as arbitrary but that seemed preferable to duplicating entries or trying to include cumbersome cross references. Individual works can also be found by consulting the consolidated list of authors, editors, translators and photographers provided at the end of this book.

Some other parts of the first edition have been changed. David Steinberg has made a few amendments to his foreword, to reflect developments since the original version appeared three years ago. A small number of editorial changes have been made to the Introduction and a few minor errors in the checklist have been corrected. The appendix has been substantially revised and updated, to reflect the wider range of books now available to a newcomer to Burma (and Burma studies). It has also been expanded in response to the flood of tourists and short-term foreign residents who may be looking for some guidance on reading matter. As with all such exercises, the suggestions made in that essay reflect personal choices, and are based mainly on my own reading. It has also benefited from helpful suggestions made by others in the field, but should not in any way be considered authoritative.

At the risk of repeating myself, let me also briefly address a couple of comments made about the first edition of the bibliography.¹⁷

It is quite true that both the first edition and this one fail to represent the full range of modern Burma scholarship, in that they do not include any works produced before 1988 (apart, that is, from modern reprints), in soft copy or written in languages other than English. Nor does it list any articles in academic journals or magazines. As explained in the introduction to the first edition, this reflects a deliberate decision to restrict the checklist to major works that are likely to be readily accessible to the majority of readers, in terms of both language and availability. It goes without saying that there is a large body of related works that do not fit into these categories. Despite their possible merits as sources on Burma, however, this checklist is not the place to look for them.

It is also acknowledged that the first edition listed at least one work that could be seen as racist in content.¹⁸ Indeed, a few books cited below could be so described. Also, both editions of the bibliography include works that represent the propaganda of a repressive military government, as well as publications produced by a highly politicised activist community. No-one could claim that all these works were accurate or balanced. A couple of other books named could be accused of being in poor taste, at least. As stated in the original introduction, however, I have listed titles that cover the full spectrum of opinion about Burma, not just those which express points of view I agree with, or which are deemed by others to be politically acceptable. This reflects my firm

conviction that only by being aware of all attitudes and opinions — both inside and outside Burma — can the ‘fiendishly complex’ challenges facing modern Burma be fully understood.¹⁹

I am indebted to many people for helping me prepare a new version of this bibliography. As always, David Steinberg has been a great support. Contributions have also been made by several other Burma-watchers, among them John Brandon, Nick Cheesman, Melissa Crouch, Reneaud Egretreau, Nicholas Farrelly, Marie Lall, Jacques Leider, Stephen McCarthy, Lex Rieffel, Matthew Smith, Ashley South, Lindsay Stubbs, Robert Taylor, Sean Turnell and Trevor Wilson. I am grateful to them all for taking the time and trouble to help me with this project. The members and staff of the Griffith Asia Institute (GAI) have once again worked wonders to bring this work to its final stages. To those members of the GAI named in the original acknowledgements, I should like to add Russell Trood, Leong Liew, Natasha Vary, Belle Hammond and Vanessa Lau. The National Library of Australia and its staff constitute valuable resources for anyone interested in conducting research about Burma.

My wife Pattie has provided constant encouragement and support for this project, as she has done for so many others conducted over the past 35 years. I owe her much more than can be recorded here.

Brisbane
April 2015

Notes

- ¹ Andrew Selth, ‘Burma/Myanmar: Bibliographic Trends’, *New Mandala*, 16 February 2015, at <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/newmandala/2015/02/16/burmamyanmar-bibliographic-trends/>
- ² San Yamin Aung, ‘Tourist Numbers Hit 3m in 2014: President’, *The Irrawaddy*, 2 January 2015, at <http://www.irrawaddy.org/business/tourist-numbers-hit-3m-2014-president.html>
- ³ Interview with Tourist Police, Myanmar Police Force, Rangoon, March 2015.
- ⁴ See, for example, Melissa Crouch and Tim Lindsey (eds), *Law, Society and Transition in Myanmar* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2014); Nick Cheesman, *Opposing the Rule of Law: How Myanmar’s Courts Make Law and Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); and Andrew Harding and Khin Khin Oo (eds), *Constitutionalism and Legal Change in Myanmar* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2015).
- ⁵ Alisha Haridasani, ‘Myanmar comes in from cold with bookish revival’, *CNN*, 10 November 2014, at <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/11/10/world/asia/myanmar-book-revival/>
- ⁶ See, for example, A.J. Allott, *Inked Over, Ripped Out: Burmese Storytellers and the Censors* (New York: PEN American Centre, 1993).
- ⁷ Janet Aldis, *Love and Sunshine in the East* (London: Herbert Joseph, 1930).
- ⁸ Aung San Suu Kyi, *Freedom from Fear and other writings*, edited with an introduction by Michael Aris (London: Penguin, 1995); Aung San Suu Kyi, *Letters from Burma*, introduction by Fergal Keane (London: Penguin, 1997); and Aung San Suu Kyi, *The Voice of Hope: Conversations with Alan Clements, with contributions by U Kyi Maung and U Tin U* (New York: Seven Stories, 2008). See also Bertil Lintner, *Outrage: Burma’s Struggle for Democracy* (London: White Lotus, 1990).
- ⁹ Sian Powell, ‘Festival reflects Myanmar’s novel freedoms’, *The Australian*, 18 January 2013, at <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/arts/books/festival-reflects-myanmars-novel-freedoms/story-e6frg8nf-1226556087224>
- ¹⁰ Kyaw Phyto Tha, ‘Orwell’s “Burmese Days” Wins Govt Literary Award’, *The Irrawaddy*, 19 November 2013, at <http://www.irrawaddy.org/culture/orwells-burmese-days-wins-govt-literary-award.html>. See also George Orwell, *Burmese Days* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934).

- ¹¹ Burma has not signed the 1886 Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, but it is a signatory to the World Trade Organisation's 1994 Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights. Burma is also a member of the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO). Despite the Copyright Act of 1911, promulgated in 1914, no formal copyright procedure has ever been instituted in Burma. In 2004, new copyright legislation began to be drafted based on a WIPO model, but it has still not entered into force.
- ¹² Lucas Stewart, 'Myanmar Literature Associations', *My Yangon*, No.5, January 2015, pp.24-5.
- ¹³ S.M. Schwertner, 'Burma/Myanmar Bibliographic Project', at <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/savifadok/2579/>
- ¹⁴ University of California Berkeley Library, 'Myanmar: Women's Studies Bibliography', at <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/SSEAL/SoutheastAsia/seaburm.html>
- ¹⁵ John Macallister, *Myanmar Marionettes (Burmese Puppets): A list of references in the English language* (Glenbrook: The Author, 1996).
- ¹⁶ The three multi-lingual books in question are *Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar (2008)* (Naypyidaw: Ministry of Information, 2008); Daw Khin Hnin Oo, et al (eds), *Felicitations for U Thaw Kaung's 75th Birthday* (Yangon: Myanmar Book Centre, 2012); and Nick Cheesman and Htoo Kyaw Win (eds), *Communal Violence in Myanmar* (Yangon: Myanmar Knowledge Society, 2015).
- ¹⁷ See, for example, David Gilbert, 'Andrew Selth, "Burma (Myanmar) since the 1988 Uprising: A Select Bibliography"', *Asian Studies Review*, Vol.38, No.1, March 2014, pp.157-8. Also relevant is Nicholas Farrelly, 'Andrew Selth's Burma Bibliography', *New Mandala*, 10 October 2012, at <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/newmandala/2012/10/10/andrew-selth-burma-bibliography/>
- ¹⁸ One reviewer singled out Maung Tha Hla, *Rohingya Hoax* (New York: Buddhist Rakhaing Cultural Association, 2009).
- ¹⁹ This description of Burma's problems was coined by Timothy Garton Ash in 'Beauty and the Beast in Burma', *New York Review of Books*, 25 May 2000, at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2000/05/25/beauty-and-the-beast-in-burma/>

Acknowledgements

This bibliography — or, more properly, checklist — is in one sense a by-product of four and a half decades collecting, reading and writing books, reports and sundry other publications about Burma (officially known since 1989 as Myanmar). During this period, I have incurred debts to many friends, colleagues and fellow Burma-watchers, both amateur and professional. A few key booksellers have kept me informed about new and forthcoming works and helped me search for those that were out of print. Also, from time to time my personal library has directly benefited from gifts made by generous fellow travellers along the Burma Road. I owe them all my thanks. In compiling a work such as this, however, there are some people to whom special consideration is due.

Once again, I should like to record my sincere gratitude to *Sayagyi* David Steinberg of Georgetown and Johns Hopkins Universities. Not only has he provided an updated foreword to this edition of the bibliography, but his advice, encouragement and practical support over the past quarter century has been invaluable. For their contributions to this project, as it has grown and developed, I would also like to thank Nicholas Farrelly and Nick Cheesman of the Australian National University, Sean Turnell of Macquarie University, John Brandon of the Asia Foundation, Sally Burdon of the Asia Bookroom and Thant Thaw Kaung of the Myanmar Book Centre. Others who have contributed in various ways to this and past editions include David Arnott, Michael Charney, Chit Win, Melissa Crouch, Gavin Douglas, Nic Dunlop, Renaud Egreteau, Zunetta Herbert, Richard Horsey, Larry Jagan, Nathalie Johnston, Marie Lall, Len Lambourne, Emma Larkin, David Lazar, Jacques Leider, Joan Merenra, Lex Rieffel, Matthew Smith, Ashley South, Lindsay Stubbs, Robert Taylor, Ma Thanegi, Rhys Thompson, Derek Tonkin, Win Vervest, Richard Warren, Evan Williams, Trevor Wilson and Garry Woodard. I am in their debt.

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As always, my greatest debt is to my wife, Pattie Collins. Over the past 37 years she has probably learned more about Burma — and its books — than she ever really cared to know. I owe her much more than can be recorded here.

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

Brisbane
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Foreword

by

David I. Steinberg

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The indefatigable Andrew Selth, fresh from his seemingly myriad major studies, chapters, research papers, intellectual excursions (see his Kipling and Western music piece),¹ blogs and op-eds, has demonstrated once again his catholic knowledge and his capacity for care and detail related to Burma/Myanmar. This new edition of his 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 editions and his work on the state of Burmese studies.²

The publication of this third edition of the bibliography is especially timely. The state has entered a new incarnation following the elections of 2015 after 50 years of direct and indirect military control in its “civilianized” form in 2011. Foreign-imposed sanctions have been suspended or lifted, the iconic Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi has entered public political life, Myanmar has hosted the Southeast Asian games in 2013 and chaired ASEAN in 2014, international businesses seek Burmese opportunities, tourism has exploded, and violence continues in ethnic areas. These and other processes will no doubt spur 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 formerly 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 (BSPP) 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 has personally seemed to exemplify the raised international concerns over human rights issues in that country. Her further leadership role in the elections of 2015 and the positive expectations of the following government are juxtaposed by continuing violence and abuses in the country’s northern reaches and in the militarization of communal conflict in the Rakhine State on the Bangladesh border.

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”, a name that was pursued with intense vigour. For example, *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* was published originally in 1923, but in 2008 was republished as *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Myanmar*.³ All publications had to list the military-sponsored state objectives.⁴

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 enabled the surreptitious import and distribution of many. Now, works of all calibre and persuasion are available in the country’s bookstores. 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 as present trends since 2011 in relaxation of censorship continue. A number of seminal foreign studies have been translated—some under international copyright rules and others pirated.

Internal events have been the especial salience of foreign publications on Myanmar since 1988. These works 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 with, 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”.⁵ Political liberalization has eased this gap, although Myanmar continues to invite strong opinions that often colour scholarship.

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. His 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. 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 is only one contemporary and serious study of Myanmar–U.S. relations (although another is in process); bilateral ties between Myanmar and Russia need exploration, as those 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 traveller.

Dr. Selth has added a section in the bibliography on the Rohingya (the Muslim community on the Bangladesh border), as their safety has prompted worldwide concerns. Their plight has also damaged the international reputations of the state and Aung San Suu Kyi, and resulted in an increased flow of publications.

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), one in Thailand (Naresuan University) and two in Australia (Australian National University and Melbourne 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. Two decades 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 such analytical capacity. That situation has begun to be rectified, but clearly the ASEAN states and their neighbours need to expand their sights.

Griffith University is to be congratulated for its interest in opening vistas on Burma/Myanmar. More than two decades ago, it sponsored a major international conference on Myanmar, attended in part by the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade.⁶ 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, and in so many ways, in Dr. Andrew Selth's debt.

Washington DC
May 2018

Notes

- ¹ Andrew Selth, *Burma, Kipling and Western Music: The Riff from Mandalay* (New York: Routledge, 2017).
- ² Andrew Selth, 'Modern Burma Studies: A Survey of the Field', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.44, No.2, March 2010, pp.401-40.
- ³ *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Myanmar*, translated by Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce (Yangon: Unity Publishing House, 2008).
- ⁴ There were four political objectives, four economic objectives and four social objectives. In addition, there were 'Three Main National Causes', which were: 'Non-disintegration of the Union, Non-disintegration of National Solidarity and Perpetuation of Sovereignty'.
- ⁵ This comment was made at a workshop on Burma arranged by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and held in Washington DC in October 2009.
- ⁶ See '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 literature.
(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 economic 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. Also, the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (JBRS), which began publication in 1911, was the outlet for over 1300 peer-reviewed articles and commentaries, in both English and (mainly after Burma regained its independence in 1948) in Burmese.² There were always some topics that were considered out of bounds by the authorities, but after the 1962 coup the journal was monitored even more closely by the government. Both the Burma Research Society and the JBRS were closed down by General Ne Win in 1980. Under the military regime, which lasted until 2011, local scholars found it difficult to gain access to contemporary sources, particularly government records, and their research was always subject to official censorship.³

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.⁴ 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, institutional 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'.⁵

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'.⁶ 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. 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 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.⁷

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.⁸ In 1998 alone, there were 44 books published on this subject.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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*).¹¹ 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 1972-73.¹²

In addition, Burma was covered in broad works that surveyed published and unpublished sources for the study of these regions, but rarely in any depth.¹³ Burma also featured in more specialised publications that focused on specific subject areas such as Southeast Asian ethnic groups and languages.¹⁴ One massive bibliography, compiled by Khin Thet Htar for the World Health Organization (WHO) 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 1980.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ In 1975, William Tuchrello compiled his first list of source materials on Burma.¹⁷ The following year, the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies in Tokyo compiled a list of its microfilms about Burma.¹⁸ In 1979, Michael Aung Thwin produced a short annotated guide to research tools on Burma, for the University of Hawaii.¹⁹ In 1985, a comprehensive guide to Burmese Studies in Japan was released in Tokyo.²⁰ Also, 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 in 1986. In collaboration with the Library of Congress, one looked at scholarly resources, while the other listed international doctoral dissertations.²¹ 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.²²

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.²³ This work was prepared in part to update the Burma section of Henri Cordier's monumental *Bibliotheca Indosinica*.²⁴ 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 1950.²⁵ 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.²⁶

Nor were British bibliographers idle. In 1969, Kenneth Whitbread published a catalogue of Burmese printed books in the India Office library.²⁷ It included books translated from Burmese into a European language (almost invariably English). Ten years later, Andrew Griffith of the India Office Library and Records produced a brief guide to sources for the study of Burma.²⁸ In 1982, the British Library Board approved a proposal to compile a South Asia and Burma 'retrospective' bibliography (dubbed the SABREB). 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.²⁹ 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 1556–1800.³⁰

Burma Bibliographies Since 1988

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.³¹

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. The outpouring of publications — of almost every kind, and on almost every conceivable facet of Burma — since 1988 has prompted the compilation of numerous bibliographies and checklists designed to bring the record up to date and to help fill gaps in the literature.³² Some of these works warrant mention here.

In 1990, 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, compiled a list of publications produced during the 1988 pro-democracy uprising in Burma, and held by the British Library.³³ In 1991, she followed this up by publishing what was described as 'the first and most fully annotated multi-disciplinary guide to English-language publications about Burma to appear in twenty years'.³⁴ 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.

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'.³⁵ 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.³⁶ Inevitably, there were gaps in these lists, as the effort to maintain them outstripped the resources of the Burma Studies Group. By 2002, the 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 online as a supplement to the twice-yearly *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*.³⁷ A new version is currently in preparation and will most likely be

posted on the Internet in late 2012.³⁸ 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 online. 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 1988.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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*.⁴¹ In 1998, Eugene Rasor produced a study of sources on the wartime CBI theatre, covering the period 1931–1945.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴

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'.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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'.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹ 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*.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹ 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.⁵² 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'.⁵³ 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 main title or subtitle. 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.⁵⁴

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, including Burmese, which reflect 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. Since 1988, French, German and Japanese Burma-watchers, for example, have made notable contributions to the field. There is also a growing number of works about modern Burma by Chinese scholars and observers, most in the Chinese language.

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 (ANU). Both have extensive holdings on Burma (in both English and Burmese). Bibliographical 'ghosts' and books listed by authors or publishers as 'forthcoming' have not been included. These include works described in catalogues and advertised on retail websites, but not yet released for sale. Nor has any attempt been made to list all books described in catalogues and online 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, usually only the title of the original version has been listed.⁵⁵ If a work does not include a specific 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.⁵⁶ 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 this is 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.⁵⁷ The same principle has been applied to names like 'Tekkatho' (University) Sein Ti, 'Theippan' (Science) Maung Wa and Pagan U Khin Maung Gyi. 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 National Library of Australia in Canberra and the ANU's Menzies Library. 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, given the highly politicized nature of the Burma-watching community over the past two and a half 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.

Indeed, a few works may be considered to have only slight links to Burma. I include in this category three books on Burmese and Birman cats, whose actual ties to Burma are rather tenuous. Following Patricia Herbert's lead, however, they have been listed for completeness.⁵⁸ Given its prominence in some countries as a pet (or a pest), I have also included a book on Burmese pythons. 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.⁵⁹ 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.

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.⁶⁰ 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.

Brisbane
July 2012

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/Nov04_h2.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 For a study of the early years of the JBRS, see C.A. Boshier, *Mapping Cultural Nationalism: The Scholars of the Burma Research Society, 1910-1935* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2018).
- ³ See, for example, R.E. Calder, *Guide to Library Resources in Rangoon* (Rangoon: Rangoon-Hopkins Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Rangoon University, 1958).
- ⁴ 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 online 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/searc/Data/FileUpload/289/WP96_07_ASelth.pdf
- ⁵ D.I. Steinberg, *Burma's Road Toward Development: Growth and Ideology Under Military Rule* (Boulder: Westview, 1981), p.1.
- ⁶ 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.

- ⁷ See, for example, M.P. Callahan, 'Burma: Soldiers as State Builders', in Muthiah Alagappa (ed), *Coercion and Governance: The Declining Political Role of the Military in Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp.413-32.
- ⁸ 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.
- ⁹ 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/>.
- ¹⁰ 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.
- ¹¹ 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.
- ¹² '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).
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2061. Ehrlich, Daniel, *Backstage Mandalay: The netherworld of the Burmese performing arts* (Bangkok: River Books, Bangkok)
2062. Ma Ma Naing, *The Wives of the Dancing Strings*, translated by Naing Ye Kyaw (Yangon: Panmyo Tayar Book House, 2013)
2063. Ma Thanegi, *The Illusion of Life* (Bangkok: White Orchid Press, 1994)
2064. MacLachlan, Heather, *Burma's Pop Music Industry: Creators, Distributors, Censors* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2011)
2065. Singer, N.F., *Burmese Dance and Theatre* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995)
2066. Singer, N.F., *Burmese Puppets* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1992)
2067. Williamson, M.C., *The Burmese Harp: Its Classical Music, Tunings and Modes* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 2000)
2068. Ye Dway, *Myanmar Dance and Drama* (Yangon: Today Publishing House, 2014)
2069. Ye Dway, *Stories from the Myanmar Classical Theatre* (Myanmar: The Author, 2015)

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Sport

- 2070. Allan, David; Skaggs, Jeremy and Tran, Jason (eds), *Southeast Asian Martial Arts: Cambodia, Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam* (US: Via Media Publishing Company, 2017)
- 2071. Bradley, John, *A Narrative of Travel and Sport in Burmah, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula*, reprint of 1876 edition (Norderstedt: Hansebooks, 2016)
- 2072. Macdonald, A. St.J., *Circumventing the Mahseer and Other Sporting Fish in India and Burma*, reprint of 1948 edition (Dehra Dun: Natraj Publishers, 1992)
- 2073. Pekin Pyan Win Ko, *Facts about Myanmar Traditional Chinlone Game and Correct Methods of Chinlone Playing*, translated by Naing Thit and San Lin Tun (Yangon: U Win Cho, 2013)
- 2074. Pollok, F.T., *Sport in British Burmah, Assam, and the Cassyah and Jyntiah Hills*, reprint of 1879 edition (US: Palala Press, 2015)
- 2075. Rebac, Zoran, *Traditional Burmese Boxing: Ancient and Modern Methods from Burma's Training Camps* (Boulder: Paladin, 2003)
- 2076. Thorn, Philip and Bailey, Philip (compilers), *European Cricketers in India, Ceylon and Burma* (Nottingham: Association of Cricket Statisticians and Historians, 1998)

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- 2077. Davis, Gerald and Meech, Alan, *A Catalogue of Telegraph and Revenue Stamps for Burma and Myanmar* (Edmonton: Burma Philatelic Study Circle, 1998)
- 2078. Herman, H.S., *The Japanese Military Burma-Thailand Railroad, 1942-1945*, ISJP Monograph No.13 (Schaumburg: International Society for Japanese Philately, August 2000)
- 2079. Kyaw Myint Maung, *A Short History of Myanmar Stamps (1937-1947)* (Yangon: Stamp Knowledge Series, 2007)
- 2080. Malcolm, Donald, *Detective Story - or how the mail got from Burma to Athens in October 1932* (Paisley: The Author, January 1990)
- 2081. Maung Maung Lin, *Stamps of Myanmar* (Yangon: Yone Kyi Chat Publishing House, 2002)
- 2082. Min Sun Min, *Stamps of Burma: A Historical Record Through 1988* (Chiang Mai: Mekong Press, 2007)
- 2083. *Myanma Postage Stamps* (Yangon: Myanma Posts and Telecommunications, 2006)
- 2084. *Myanma Postage Stamps, 1965-1985* (Yangon: Myanma Posts and Telecommunications, n.d.)
- 2085. Proud, E.B., *The Postal History of Burma* (Heathfield: Proud-Bailey Co. Ltd., 2002)
- 2086. Singer, Peter (ed), *Japanese Occupation Issues: The British Colonies, 1942-1945* (Clovis: Moon Tree Publishing Co., 1997)

2087. Stanley Gibbons *Commonwealth Stamp Catalogue: Bangladesh, Burma, Pakistan and Sri Lanka*, 3rd edition (London: Stanley Gibbons, 2015)
2088. Stanley Gibbons *Stamp Catalogue: Part 21: South East Asia (including Bhutan, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, Nepal, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam)*, 5th edition (London: Stanley Gibbons, 2012)
2089. Tett, David, *A Postal History of the Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees in East Asia During the Second World War, Volume 3, Burma, Thailand and Indochina, 1942-1946: The Railway, The River and The Bridge* (Wheathampstead: BFA Publishing Ltd, 2005)
2090. Warren, Richard, *The Postal Stationery of Burma and Myanmar, 1948-97* (Bilston: White Elephant Press, 1998)

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2091. Mahlo, Dietrich, *The Early Coins of Myanmar (Burma): Messengers From the Past, First Millenium AD* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2012)
2092. Than Htun (Dedaye), *Auspicious Symbols and Ancient Coins of Myanmar* (Selangor: Ava House, 2007)
2093. Valentine, W.H., *The Copper Coins of India, Including Bangladesh, Burma, Nepal and Pakistan* (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2002)

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2094. Belcher, J.J., *Bagan Myanmar: Colouring Book for Adults Relaxation* (US: Createspace Independent Publishing, 2017)
2095. Maung Maung Lwin [Sit-Tu-Yin], *How to Play Myanmar Traditional Chess* (Yangon: Ma Khin Mya Publishing House, 2011)
2096. Young, M.G., *The Best Ever Book of Burmese Jokes* (New York: Dolyttle and Seamore, 2012)

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2097. Aung Aung Taik, *Under the Golden Pagoda: The Best of Burmese Cooking* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1993)
2098. Bingham, Page, *A Taste of Shan: A culinary and photographic expedition through the Shan Province of northern Myanmar* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2009)
2099. Carmack, Robert and Polkinghorne, Morrison, *The Burma Cookbook: Recipes from the Land of a Million Pagodas, From Rangoon Burma to Yangon Myanmar* (Bangkok: River Books, 2014)
2100. Chan, Susan, *Flavours of Burma / Myanmar* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 2003)
2101. Duguid, Naomi, *Burma: Rivers of Flavour* (New York: Workman Publishing, 2012)
2102. Gallardo, Juan, *Delicious Myanmar: Discover Myanmar through its People and Food* (Spain?: The Author/JETLAUNCH, 2014)
2103. Gill, Mohana, *Myanmar: Cuisine, Culture and Customs* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International (Asia) Pte. Ltd., 2014)
2104. Howes, E.B., *The Modern Salad: Innovative New American and International Recipes Inspired by Burma's Iconic Tea Leaf Salad* (Berkeley: Ulysses Press, 2016)
2105. Koh, Bryan, *0451 Mornings Are For Mont Hin Gar: Burmese Food Stories* (Singapore: Xochpilli Press, 2015)
2106. Ma Thanegi, *An Introduction to Myanmar Cuisine* (Yangon: Yone Kyi Chet Sarpay, 2004)
2107. Ma Thanegi, *Ginger Salad and Water Wafers: Recipes from Myanmar*, photographs by Tiffany Wan (San Francisco: ThingsAsian Press, 2013)
2108. Marks, Copeland and Aung Thein, *The Burmese Kitchen*, reprint of 1987 edition (New York: Evans and Co., 1994)
2109. Myint Myint Soe, *My Burmese Cookbook*, 3 volumes (US: Authorhouse, 2014 [parts 1 and 2] and 2016 [part 3])
2110. Nan San San Aye, *Cooking With Love Myanmar Style*, translated by Ma Thanegi (Myanmar: Seikku Cho Cho Publishing House, 2016)
2111. Robert, Claudia Saw Lwin, et al, *The Food of Myanmar: Authentic Recipes from the Land of the Golden Pagodas*, 2nd edition (Boston: Tuttle, 2014)
2112. Shirr, Ohnmar, *Bamar Snacks*, 2 volumes (Yangon: Domestic Group Publishing House, 2011)
2113. Solomon, Charmaine, *The Complete Asian Cookbook: Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Burma* (Melbourne: Hardie Grant Books, 2014)
2114. Tan, Desmond and Leahy, Kate, *Burma Superstar: Addictive Recipes from the Crossroads of Southeast Asia* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2017)
2115. Tin Cho Chaw, *Hsa*ba: Burmese Cookbook* (London: Grassblades, 2008)

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- 2116. Barnett, L.D., *A Catalogue of the Burmese Books in the British Museum*, reprint of 1913 edition (US: Forgotten Books, 2016)
- 2117. Corfield, Justin, *The Burma Campaign, 1942-1945: A Bibliography* (Lara: Gentext Publications, 2015)
- 2118. Graham, Gordon and Cole, Frank (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)
- 2119. *Guide to Universities' Central Library* (Rangoon: Union of Myanmar, Ministry of Education, Department of Higher Education, Universities Central Library, 1999)
- 2120. Hadden, R.L., *The Geology of Burma (Myanmar): An Annotated Bibliography of Burma's Geology, Geography and Earth Science* (Alexandria: US Army Corps of Engineers, 2008)
- 2121. Herbert, P.M., *Burma*, World Bibliographical Series, Volume 132 (Oxford: Clio Press, 1991)
- 2122. Khin Mar Mar, *Guide to the Archival Sources of the British Administration Period, 1826-1948: Myanmar* (Yangon: National Archives Department, Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development, 2003)
- 2123. Kratz, E.U. (ed), *Southeast Asian Languages and Literatures: A Bibliographic Guide to Burmese, Cambodian, Indonesian, Javanese, Malay, Minangkabau, Thai, and Vietnamese* (London: I.B. Taurus, 1996)
- 2124. Macallister, John, *Myanmar Marionettes (Burmese Puppets): A list of references in the English language* (Glenbrook: The Author, 1996)
- 2125. Meech, Alan, *An Annotated Bibliography of Burma Philately* (London: British Philatelic Trust, 1993)
- 2126. Moe Myint, *List of Books from the Library of U Moe Myint, 2008, With Pictures and Descriptions* (Yangon, The Author, 2008)
- 2127. Oldham, R.D., *A Bibliography of Indian Geology: Being a List of Books and Papers, Relating to the Geology of British India and Adjoining Countries, Published Previous to the End of A.D. 1887*, reprint of 1888 edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- 2128. Rasor, E.L., *The China-Burma-India Campaign, 1931-1945: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998)
- 2129. Rastorfer, Jean-Marc, *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)
- 2130. Sadan, Mandy, *A Guide to Colonial Sources on Burma: Ethnic and Minority Histories of Burma in the India Office Records, British Library* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2008)
- 2131. Schwertner, S.M., *Burma/Myanmar Bibliographic Project: A collection of publications in West European languages for preparation a Burma/Myanmar bibliography*, 4 volumes (Heidelberg: South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, 2005-8)

2132. Tin Naing Win, *Myanmar Historical Cartography: Parabaik Maps and Other Map Sources: A post-doctoral research work done by the support of the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies, Seoul, Korea* (Saarbrücken: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2018)
2133. Win Tint, *Selected Bibliographical Guide to Scholastic Works of Archaeologists in Myanmar* (Meiktila: Meiktila University, 2001)

Appendix 1:

Publications to Read Before Visiting Burma

In 2006, the Asia Bookroom in Canberra posted a list of books, monographs and other works about Burma, written in English, on its website. This was partly to advertise its wares but also in the hope that such a list would help guide those intending to visit Burma for the first time, or who wished to familiarise themselves with particular aspects of the country before pursuing more in-depth studies. Over the next few years, this list was gradually expanded, not only to reflect the much larger number of books and other works being published on Burma, but also to cater to the widening range of Burma-related subjects in which the bookshop's customers had expressed an interest. Earlier versions of the list were published as appendices in the first and second editions of this bibliography. The most recent iteration of the list follows.

Once again, it is not meant to be either authoritative or exhaustive, although an attempt has been made to cover all the main subject areas, in one way or another. Some shorter and more specialised studies have been included, but the essay focuses mainly on books and monographs 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 who wants to pursue a particular interest is encouraged to consult the more detailed and scholarly works listed in the bibliography above, or the burgeoning literature on Burma found in academic and professional journals. There are also a number of specialist websites which list additional sources.¹ The latter are often the best source of information on rapidly evolving issues but, like all online sites, they need to be approached with caution. The Internet has been used to spread a lot of inaccurate and tendentious material on contemporary Burma.

It is possible to find other lists of recommended books. A few have been compiled by experienced Burma-watchers, and are useful in highlighting some key sources. However, most tend to focus on more recent works and popular titles that are likely to appeal to tourists and armchair travellers. Needless to say, all such lists reflect the tastes, reading habits, personal experiences, professional expertise and, in a few cases, the commercial interests, of those compiling them.²

A large number of 'coffee table' books about Burma have been published over the past 30 years or so, as foreigners have enjoyed greater access to the country and the market for such works has grown. Many of them contain technically proficient but rather clichéd photographs of the country's colourful scenery and mixed population. One work notable for its distinguished contributors, however, is *Myanmar: Land of the Spirit*.³ Also worth looking through is John Falconer, et al, *7 Days in Myanmar: A Portrait of Burma by 30 Great Photographers*.⁴ David Lazar's *Myanmar: A Luminous Journey* provides a sensitive portrayal of the people and the country by a young Australian photographer.⁵ A more specialised – but lavishly illustrated – volume that describes sites in Burma that are not well known is Ma Thanegi and Barry Broman, *Myanmar Architecture: Cities of Gold*.⁶ For some stunning black and white photographs, accompanied by an insightful commentary, see Nic Dunlop's *Brave New Burma*.⁷ For an unusual but fascinating glimpse of contemporary Rangoon, *Still Lives from a Vanishing City* by Elizabeth Rush is highly recommended.⁸ A more comprehensive tour of the city, with photos of many places off the beaten tourist track, is given in P.J. Heijmans, *Relics of Rangoon*.⁹

After being ignored – or shunned – by the tourist industry for decades, foreign interest in Burma exploded after 2011, and there is now a wide range of travel guides available. Caroline Courtauld's *Myanmar: Burma in Style: An Illustrated History and Guide* provides an easy introduction.¹⁰ The most informative and practical work in English is probably still Simon Richmond, et al, *Myanmar (Burma)*, in the ubiquitous Lonely Planet series.¹¹ However, the *Myanmar (Burma) Insight Guide* is easier to read and has more colour illustrations.¹² Other travellers swear by Gavin Thomas, Stuart Butler and Tom Deas, *The Rough Guide to Myanmar (Burma)*.¹³ A different approach is taken in Morgan Edwardson, *To Myanmar With Love: A Travel Guide for the Connoisseur*.¹⁴ This work is organised by theme rather than by destination. Although now rather outdated, a useful reference book for those wishing to look up some basic facts and figures is Jan Becka, *Historical*

Dictionary of Myanmar.¹⁵ More helpful in this regard is D.M. Seekins' updated and revised version of his *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)*.¹⁶

Win Pe's *Dos and Don'ts in Myanmar* provides a simple guide to Burmese customs and practices for the foreign visitor.¹⁷ A more recent publication in this genre is Saw Myat Yin, *Culture Shock! Myanmar: A Survival Guide to Customs and Etiquette*.¹⁸ Although now rather dated, 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*.¹⁹ More up to date is Michael O'Kane, *Doing Business in Myanmar*, but it needs to be remembered that the commercial scene is constantly changing.²⁰ Having four tones and a unique script, Burmese is a notoriously difficult language to learn, but the Lonely Planet's *Burmese Phrasebook and Dictionary* can help those wishing to acquire some basic words and phrases.²¹ For anyone wanting to pursue this subject, Mary Callahan has an interesting chapter on 'Language Policy in Modern Burma', in M.E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly (eds), *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*.²² It is worth comparing this work with Kyaw Yin Hlaing, 'The Politics of Language Policy in Myanmar: Imagining Togetherness, Practising Difference', in Lee Hock Guan and Leo Suryadinata (eds), *Language, Nation and Development in Southeast Asia*.²³

About two thirds of Burma's population still live in rural towns and villages, but the country is facing the challenges of rapid and unplanned urbanisation. A first-time visitor to the country would benefit from reading E.C. Cangi, *Faded Splendour, Golden Past: Urban Images of Burma*.²⁴ It gives short histories of the former capitals of Rangoon, Mandalay and Pagan. Old Rangoon is well described by Sarah Rooney in *30 Heritage Buildings of Yangon: Inside the City that Captured Time*.²⁵ Its photographs are a guide to anyone wishing to explore Rangoon's wonderful but sadly neglected colonial architecture, a subject also covered by Virginia Henderson and Tim Webster in *Yangon Echoes: Inside Heritage Homes*.²⁶ Bob Percival's *Walking the Streets of Yangon: The people, stories & hidden treasures of downtown cosmopolitan Yangon (Rangoon)* helps those wishing to see city life close up.²⁷ A good introduction to Mandalay is Dhida Saraya, *Mandalay: The Capital City, The Centre of the Universe*.²⁸ For Pagan, D.M. Stadtner, *Ancient Pagan: Buddhist Plain of Merit*, is highly recommended.²⁹ Also of interest is Uta Gartner, 'Nay Pyi Taw – The Reality and Myths of Capitals in Myanmar', in Volker Grabowsky (ed), *Southeast Asian Historiography: Unravelling the Myths*.³⁰

Michael Charney offers a concise and accessible introduction to Burma's recent past in *A History of Modern Burma*.³¹ Despite a few surprising lapses, the British journalist Richard Cockett provides an easy overview of Burma's modern history in *Blood, Dreams and Gold: The Changing Face of Burma*.³² A radically different approach has been taken by Michael Aung Thwin and Matrii Aung Thwin in *A History of Myanmar Since Ancient Times: Traditions and Transformations*.³³ In a bold and at times rather provocative study, they emphasize local sources and give fresh interpretations of historical trends and events. A highly readable, if more conventional, history of the modern period is Thant Myint U, *The Making of Modern Burma*.³⁴ For the earlier historical period, one of the best introductions is the chapter about the formation of Burma in Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c.800-1830, Volume 1: Integration on the Mainland*.³⁵ Also worth reading on Burma's early days is Michael Aung Thwin, *Pagan: The Origins of Modern Burma*.³⁶

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)*.³⁷ The same broad theme is picked up in Maung Maung's more detailed treatment of the subject, *Burmese Nationalist Movements, 1940-1948*.³⁸ Another local perspective on the nationalist struggle and its aftermath can be found in Tekkatho Sein Tin, *Thakin Ba Sein and Burma's Struggle for Independence*.³⁹ A more recent, and unapologetically sympathetic, look at this subject is Paul Webb, *The Peacock's Children: The Struggle for Freedom in Burma, 1885 – Present*.⁴⁰ For developments during the 1930s, when Burma's nationalist movement really began to take shape and become organised, the standard text is Khin Yi, *The Dobama Movement in Burma (1930-1938)*.⁴¹ It should be read in conjunction with Aye Kyaw, *The Voice of Young Burma*, also published by Cornell University's Southeast Asia Program.⁴²

A book which looks at Burmese history from quite a different viewpoint is Gerry Abbott (ed), *Inroads Into Burma: A Travellers' Anthology*.⁴³ It contains extracts from the writings of more than 40 observers of Burma from the 15th to the 20th centuries. Also relevant in this regard is Helen Trager, *Burma Through Alien Eyes: Missionary Views of the Burmese in the Nineteenth Century*.⁴⁴ One notable Western visitor to Burma during the 1890s was V.C.S. (Scott) O'Connor, who vividly recorded his impressions in *The Silken East: A Record of Life and Travel in Burma*.⁴⁵ Another British visitor with an interesting worldview was George Bird, who wrote his

comprehensive book *Wanderings in Burma* 'for those who have occasion to visit the country'.⁴⁶ For a lighter survey of Burma during much the same period, see Mrs Ernest Hart, *Picturesque Burma: Past and Present*.⁴⁷ Another intrepid female traveller was Geraldine Mitton, who wrote an entertaining account of *A Bachelor Girl in Burma*.⁴⁸ Also worth reading on colonial Burma is the chapter on Maymyo (now known as Pyin Oo Lwin) in Barbara Cossette, *The Great Hill Stations of Asia*.⁴⁹

Rudyard Kipling spent only three days in Burma, in 1889. He never visited Mandalay, the city with which he is most often associated, through his 'Barrack Room Ballad' of that name.⁵⁰ Even so, there is a large body of literature and music which trades on his imagined knowledge of the country. Those wishing to learn more about Kipling's links to Burma might start by reading his own account of the 1889 visit, in *From Sea to Sea and Other Sketches: Letters of Travel*, or by consulting Andrew Lycett (ed), *Kipling Abroad: Traffics and Discoveries: From Burma to Brazil*.⁵¹ Another useful source is *The Kipling Journal*, which is available online.⁵² On the ballad itself, its many musical settings and continuing connections to Burma in literature, art and movies, see Andrew Selth, *Kipling, "Mandalay" and Burma in the Popular Imagination*, published online by the City University of Hong Kong's Southeast Asia Research Centre.⁵³ The role of Kipling's ballad and Western music in forming popular perceptions of colonial Burma is examined in Andrew Selth, *Burma, Kipling and Western Music: The Riff From Mandalay*.⁵⁴

There are many memoirs of the colonial period (1824–1948), written by civil servants, soldiers, missionaries and travellers. A good example is H.T. White, *A Civil Servant in Burma*.⁵⁵ Among the best known are the works of Maurice Collis, who was in Burma from 1912 to 1934. His oeuvre includes *Trials in Burma*, *Lords of the Sunset* and *Into Hidden Burma*.⁵⁶ One of the most entertaining and elegantly written memoirs is Leslie Glass, *The Changing of Kings: Memories of Burma, 1934–1949*.⁵⁷ A rare Thai perspective is offered in Damrong Rajanubhab, *Journey Through Burma in 1936*.⁵⁸ An unusual but enlightening look at this period is Carol Boshier's *Mapping Cultural Nationalism: The Scholars of the Burma Research Society, 1910–1935*.⁵⁹ Two other books in this category that offer interesting views of Burma in the early 20th century are David Donnison, *Last of the Guardians: A story of Burma, Britain and a family* and C.H. Campagnac, *The Autobiography of a Wanderer in England and Burma*.⁶⁰ For an engaging biography of the British forester J.H. Williams, author of *Elephant Bill* and several other well-known works, see V.C. Croke, *Elephant Company*.⁶¹

One aspect of the European experience in colonial Burma that was paid considerable attention by British and American publishers during the 19th and early 20th centuries, but has been largely neglected since, is the role of Christian missionaries. Burma history buffs are still awaiting a comprehensive overview of their activities, but anyone interested in this subject could start with two early works, *Christian Missions in Burma* by W.C.B. Purser and *An Outline of the History of the Catholic Burmese Mission* by Paul Bigandet.⁶² More modern, albeit specialised studies include M.D. Leigh's *Conflict, Politics and Proselytism: Methodist Missionaries in colonial and postcolonial Upper Burma, 1887–1966* and J.G. Duesing (ed), *Adoniram Judson: A Bicentennial Appreciation of the Pioneer American Missionary*.⁶³ The dramatic impact of Christian teachings on the Karen ethnic minority is discussed in J.R. Case, *An Unpredictable Gospel: American Evangelicals and World Christianity, 1812–1920*.⁶⁴ It is not easy to find a copy, but Wim Vervest gives a detailed account of the American Baptist Chin mission and a pioneering missionary family in *The Lost Dictionary*.⁶⁵

After a period of neglect, several comprehensive and readable studies of Burma during the Second World War have appeared in recent years, including Jon Latimer, *Burma: The Forgotten War* and Frank McLynn, *The Burma Campaign: Disaster Into Triumph, 1942–45*.⁶⁶ The standard reference work for general readers, however, remains Louis Allen, *Burma: The Longest War, 1941–45*.⁶⁷ For a first-hand account of the Burma campaign by its most celebrated participant, a reader cannot go past William Slim's epic *Defeat Into Victory*.⁶⁸ Another outstanding memoir, this time from a footsoldier's viewpoint, is George MacDonald Fraser's *Quartered Safe Out Here: A Recollection of the War in Burma*.⁶⁹ Two relatively new books which look at specific aspects of the war and are well worth reading are Philip Davies, *Lost Warriors* and Richard Duckett, *The Special Operations Executive in Burma*.⁷⁰ An overview of the air war can be found in Michael Pearson, *The Burma Air Campaign*.⁷¹ This is complemented well by Jeff Ethell and Don Downie's well illustrated overview *Flying the Hump: In Original World War II Colour* (Osceola: Motorbooks International, 1995).⁷² Andrew Boyd provides a good introduction to naval operations in the period leading up to Japan's conquest of Burma in *The Royal Navy in Eastern Waters*.⁷³

The Japanese experience in Burma during the war is captured by John Nunneley and Kazuo Tamayama in *Tales by Japanese Soldiers of the Burma Campaign, 1942-1945*.⁷⁴ For a compelling fictional look at the war, and the basis of an award-winning 1956 film, see Michio Takeyama, *Harp of Burma*.⁷⁵

Burma's own perspectives on the war have been described in a number of interesting and readable books. For example, the country's president during the conflict gives his view of events in Ba Maw, *Breakthrough in Burma: Memoirs of a Revolution, 1939-1946*.⁷⁶ His account complements two classics in this category, namely Khin Myo Chit, *Three Years Under the Japs* and U Nu, *Burma Under the Japanese*.⁷⁷ Another account of this period is found in Robert Taylor's translation of Thein Pe Myint's book *Wartime Traveller*, which was published under the title *Marxism and Resistance in Burma, 1942-1945*.⁷⁸ Also worth tracking down and reading, if possible, are English translations of two other Burmese books about the war. One is Theippan Maung Wa (U Sein Tin), *Wartime in Burma: A Diary, January to June 1942*.⁷⁹ The other is Kyaw Ma Ma Lay, *A Man Like Him: Portrait of the Burmese Journalist, Journal Kyaw U Chit Maung*.⁸⁰ Both works help correct the rather distorted picture that can be gained from conventional histories, which tend to focus on major military campaigns and ignore the local inhabitants.

There is a large number of books about the infamous Thai-Burma (or Siam-Burma) railway. The majority of memoirs, however, have been written by former Allied prisoners of war (POW) about operations in Thailand, and do not refer specifically to conditions working on the line in Burma. Two notable exceptions, giving perspectives from both sides, are Rowley Richards, *A Doctor's War* and Kazuo Tamayama, *Railwaymen in the War: Tales by Japanese Railway Soldiers in Burma and Thailand 1941-47*.⁸¹ An insight into the lives of the Allied prisoners is also given in S.A. Eldredge, *Captive Audiences / Captive Performers: Music and Theatre as Strategies for Survival on the Thailand-Burma Railway, 1942-1945*.⁸² The plight of the thousands of Asian (including Burmese) labourers recruited by the Japanese to work on the railway is spelt out in volume four of a monumental six-volume study by Paul Kratoska entitled *The Thailand-Burma Railway, 1942-1946: Documents and Selected Writings*.⁸³ This subject is also covered in an edited study of Asian labourers under the Japanese.⁸⁴ For a description of life as an Allied POW in Rangoon's Central Gaol, a good start is Lionel Hudson, *The Rats of Rangoon*.⁸⁵

Post-war developments in Burma, and events after the country regained its independence from Britain in 1948, are covered by the rather idiosyncratic memoirs of U Nu, the country's first democratically elected prime minister, in *U Nu - Saturday's Son*.⁸⁶ Also well worth reading is Wendy Law-Yone, *Golden Parasol: A Daughter's Memoir of Burma*, which provides a window on Burmese political and social life during the 1950s and 1960s.⁸⁷ Another source for this turbulent period is Angelene Naw, *Aung San and the Struggle for Burmese Independence*.⁸⁸ Kin Oung offers a personal perspective on the vexed question *Who Killed Aung San?*⁸⁹ For a more scholarly account of the circumstances surrounding the assassination of Burma's independence hero in 1947, see Robert Taylor's article 'Politics in Late Colonial Burma: The Case of U Saw', in the journal *Modern Asian Studies*.⁹⁰ Also worth a look in this regard is Louis Allen's short article 'The Escape of Captain Vivian'.⁹¹ 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*.⁹² This period is given an interesting personal perspective by Thant Myint U in *The River of Lost Footsteps: Histories of Burma*.⁹³

The period from General Ne Win's military coup d'état in 1962 to the 1988 pro-democracy uprising has been examined in numerous books, of widely varying quality. One essential text is Robert Taylor's *General Ne Win: A Political Biography*.⁹⁴ Also helpful in this regard is Taylor's ground-breaking study of *The State in Myanmar*.⁹⁵ A rare look inside the Ne Win government is provided by Kyi Win Sein in *Me and the Generals of the Revolutionary Council*.⁹⁶ A very useful source of information, statistics and insights on the socialist period is Yoshihiro Nakanishi, *Strong Soldiers, Failed Revolution: The State and Military in Burma, 1962-88*.⁹⁷ Two important studies of Burma during the Ne Win era, describing the armed forces' seizure of power in 1962 and the dire consequences for the country, are Martin Smith, *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity* and Bertil Lintner, *Burma In Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948*.⁹⁸ Harriet O'Brien, whose father was the British ambassador to Burma from 1974-78, provides a charming but well considered view of the country around that time in *Forgotten Land: A Rediscovery of Burma*.⁹⁹

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 largely on interviews with eye-witnesses, is Bertil Lintner, *Outrage: Burma's Struggle for Democracy*.¹⁰⁰ As might be expected, a quite

different version of events is given by one of the country's presidents at the time, in Maung Maung, *The 1988 Uprising in Burma*, published by Yale University in 1999.¹⁰¹ These two accounts and one other are usefully compared by the German scholar Hans-Bernd Zollner in 'Behind the Smoke of "Myth" and "Counter-Myth": Contours of What Happened in Burma in 1988', found in Volker Grabowsky (ed), *Southeast Asian Historiography: Unravelling the Myths*.¹⁰² Also relevant in this regard are two moving prison memoirs, Ma Thanegi's *Nor Iron Bars A Cage*, and Ma Thida's *Prisoner of Conscience: My Steps Through Insein*.¹⁰³

On the contemporary period, a first time visitor to Burma could profitably begin by browsing through David Steinberg's essential primer, *Burma/Myanmar: What Everyone Needs to Know*.¹⁰⁴ Another possible starting point is Donald Seekins, *The Disorder in Order: The Army-State in Burma since 1962*, which describes in straightforward terms the development of the military regime up to the turn of the century.¹⁰⁵ The story is picked up by Hans-Bernd Zollner in *The Beast and the Beauty: The History of the Conflict between the Military and Aung San Suu Kyi in Myanmar, 1988-2011, Set in a Global Context*.¹⁰⁶ At a different level, Ian Holliday's *Burma Redux: Global Justice and the Quest for Political Reform in Myanmar* provides a thoughtful description of Burma's problems to 2011, and canvasses a range of possible solutions.¹⁰⁷ The military government's point of view – at least, until the advent of a new hybrid civilian-military administration in 2011 – is given in Hla Min, *Political Situation of Myanmar and Its Role in the Region*.¹⁰⁸ For many years (and through many revised editions) this work summarised the regime's responses to its many critics.

The advent of President Thein Sein's 'reformist' quasi-civilian government in 2011 prompted a flood of publications by scholars, journalists and activists, who approached such questions as governance, economic growth, internal security, civil society and human rights from their own particular points of view. Not all the works which emerged from this surge in activity are very reliable. However, a newcomer to the field can get a balanced overview of the country's daunting challenges by dipping into edited collections of papers written by acknowledged experts, such as D.I. Steinberg (ed), *Myanmar: The Dynamics of an Evolving Polity*.¹⁰⁹ The Australian National University's biennial Myanmar Update Conference is usually followed by major publications which canvass a wide range of current issues. See, for example, Nick Cheesman and Nicholas Farrelly (eds), *Conflict in Myanmar: War, Politics, Religion*.¹¹⁰ A selection of papers from the 2014 conference was published in a special issue of the SOAS journal *South East Asia Research*, under the broad title 'Myanmar's Democratisation'.¹¹¹

Burma's de facto leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, has written three books, *Freedom From Fear*, *Letters from Burma*, and *The Voice of Hope*.¹¹² Some of her speeches and informal comments to her followers have been gathered by Hans-Bernd Zollner and published as *Talks Over the Gate: Aung San Suu Kyi's Dialogues with the People, 1995 and 1996*.¹¹³ The world is still waiting for a rigorous and objective analytical study of Aung San Suu Kyi's political thinking and place in modern Burmese politics. One is due out in late 2018 and others are likely to follow.¹¹⁴ In the meantime, she has been the subject of several biographies, most of which describe her political beliefs and achievements in broad terms. These works include Justin Wintle, *Perfect Hostage: A Life of Aung San Suu Kyi*, Peter Popham, *The Lady and the Peacock: The Life of Aung San Suu Kyi* and Rena Pederson, *The Burma Spring: Aung San Suu Kyi and the New Struggle for the Soul of a Nation*.¹¹⁵ Until her international reputation collapsed in 2016, the most critical work about her was Bertil Lintner, *Aung San Suu Kyi and Burma's Struggle for Democracy*.¹¹⁶ Her dramatic fall from grace was examined in Andrew Selth, *Aung San Suu Kyi and the Politics of Personality*.¹¹⁷

Burma is connected to other notable individuals who have been the subject of biographies and autobiographies. Several of these works have already been mentioned, but others worth reading include Ronald Lewin's biography of William Slim, which is still considered one of the best works about that remarkable soldier.¹¹⁸ Trevor Royle's biography of the eccentric general Orde Wingate, founder of the Chindits, is also worth a look.¹¹⁹ Another book set in the Second World War is Stephen Brookes' account of his trek from Burma to India in 1942, *Through the Jungle of Death: A Boy's Escape from Wartime Burma*.¹²⁰ Bilal Raschid's book, *The Invisible Patriot*, is noteworthy not only for the account of his own life but also for the observations about his father, the Muslim nationalist and politician U Raschid.¹²¹ As Benedict Rogers admits, his biography *Than Shwe* draws heavily on 'rumour and reported anecdote', but it is the only detailed study of Burma's military leader from 1992 to 2011.¹²² There are also some fascinating memoirs by women caught up in Burma's wartime and post-Independence struggles, including Sao Khemawadee Mangrai, *Burma My Mother – And Why I Had to Leave*.¹²³

For insights into daily life in Burma under the generals, particularly after 1988, one of the best sources is Christina Fink, *Living Silence: Burma Under Military Rule*.¹²⁴ If a copy can be found, it is also worth dipping into Maggie Lemere and Zoe West (eds), *Nowhere to Be Home: Narratives from Survivors of Burma's Military Regime*.¹²⁵ Similar themes are pursued in *Burmese Lives: Ordinary Life Stories under the Burmese Regime*, edited by Wen-Chin Chang and Eric Tagliacozzo.¹²⁶ Everyday life in modern Burma is also the subject of Matthew Mullen's interesting and insightful book *Pathways That Changed Myanmar*.¹²⁷ For a unique local perspective, see Zoya Phan and Damien Lewis, *Little Daughter: A Memoir of Survival in Burma and the West*.¹²⁸ A delightful description of modern Burma by a well-informed foreign observer is Emma Larkin, *Secret Histories: Finding George Orwell in a Burmese Teashop*.¹²⁹ Equally informative and readable is Emma Larkin's later book *Everything is Broken: The Untold Story of Disaster Under Burma's Military Rule*.¹³⁰ Both are recommended reading.

One notable aspect of the struggle for democracy and human rights in Burma since 1988 is the extent to which activists from both Burma and foreign countries have used modern communications technology and information-sharing techniques to promote their causes. This has included the publication of a large number of English-language reports, booklets, briefings and pamphlets. Most have been posted online, through readily identifiable websites. However, many have also been published in hard copy, albeit often in small print runs meant for select audiences. Anyone wishing to become familiar with the scope and content of such publications could start by looking at the reports released by organisations like Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and Fortify Rights. Although they are a little harder to find, a range of other works have been issued by ethnic minority organisations such as the Karen Human Rights Group, and specific interest groups, including the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma). A selection of reports by these organisations has been listed in this bibliography.

Access to the Internet in Burma has long been the subject of close interest by human rights campaigners. A useful introduction to the subject, with a section on the specific implications for Burma, is Shanthi Kalathil and T.C. Boas, *Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule*.¹³¹ A more focused study is *Internet Filtering in Burma in 2006-2007: A Country Study*, initially published by the Open Net Initiative in 2007 and updated in 2012.¹³² In 2014, the group Reporters Without Borders issued a report entitled *Enemies of the Internet*, which included a section critical of the situation in Burma.¹³³ Also relevant is 'The State of Internet Censorship in Myanmar' by the Open Observatory of Network Interference.¹³⁴ On the news media and communications in Burma more generally, a good start is the works of Lisa Brooten, such as "Media as our Mirror": Indigenous Media in Burma (Myanmar)', in Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart (eds), *Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics and Politics*.¹³⁵ Censorship is also a major theme of Carolyn Wakeman and San San Tin, in *No Time for Dreams*.¹³⁶

For an excellent overview of legal issues in Burma, and the way that they have been approached by Western (and other) scholars over the years, see Melissa Crouch, 'Rediscovering "Law" in Myanmar: A Review of Scholarship on the Legal System in Myanmar', published in the *Pacific Rim Law and Policy Review*.¹³⁷ Andrew Huxley offers a different kind of introduction to these issues in 'Precolonial Burmese Law: Conical Hat and Shoulder Bag', in the International Institute of Asian Studies *Newsletter*, available online.¹³⁸ For a collection of papers relating to more contemporary legal questions, it is hard to go past Melissa Crouch and Tim Lindsey (eds), *Law, Society and Transition in Myanmar*.¹³⁹ Although it is aimed more at specialists, also recommended is Nick Cheesman, *Opposing the Rule of Law: How Myanmar's Courts Make Law and Order*.¹⁴⁰ The evolution of Burma's constitution is covered in Andrew Harding (ed), *Constitutionalism and Legal Change in Myanmar*.¹⁴¹ An essential reference is the 2008 *Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar*.¹⁴² For an amusing and educational treatment of various Burmese legal issues, see Norval Morris, *The Brothel Boy and Other Parables of the Law*.¹⁴³

Perhaps reflecting the breadth and complexity of Burma's economic problems, there are few books or reports that offer a good introduction to these issues for non-specialists. However, one publication that was written with the general reader in mind is the Open Society's *Opportunities and Pitfalls: Preparing for Burma's Economic Transition*.¹⁴⁴ 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*.¹⁴⁵ More comprehensive and up to date is Ian Brown, *Burma's Economy in the Twentieth Century*.¹⁴⁶ See also Lex Rieffel's USIP report on Burma's economy on the eve of the 2010 elections.¹⁴⁷ Both are fast being left behind by developments taking place under the NLD government. 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*.¹⁴⁸ Lee Jones made an important contribution to the sanctions debate in *Societies Under Siege: Exploring How International Economic Sanctions (Do Not) Work*.¹⁴⁹ On the history of Burma's financial system, the best source is Sean Turnell, *Fiery Dragons: Banks, Moneylenders and Microfinance in Burma*.¹⁵⁰

While brief, an excellent introduction to Burma's ethnic minorities and their troubled relationships with the central government is Martin Smith, *State of Strife: The Dynamics of Ethnic Conflict in Burma*.¹⁵¹ Martin Smith is also a contributor to a sumptuous photographic survey by R.K. Diran, *The Vanishing Tribes of Burma*.¹⁵² Another worthwhile study is Ashley South, *Ethnic Politics in Burma: States of Conflict*.¹⁵³ A more personal perspective on ethnic issues can be gained from Pascal Khoo Thwe, *From the Land of Green Ghosts: A Burmese Odyssey*.¹⁵⁴ Although it was written 20 years ago, Jonathan Falla's *True Love and Bartholomew: Rebels on the Burmese Border* is still worth reading for its eloquent description of the plight of the Karens along the Burma–Thai border.¹⁵⁵ An important counter-weight to this book is provided by Ardeth Maung Thawngmung, *The "Other" Karen in Myanmar: Ethnic Minorities and the Struggle without Arms*.¹⁵⁶ While a rather weighty tome, in all senses, Mandy Sadan's *Being and Becoming Kachin* is a comprehensive and scholarly study of the Kachin peoples.¹⁵⁷ On a more idiosyncratic note, Hillel Halkin's *Across the Sabbath River* describes his investigation of the claim that one of Israel's ten 'lost tribes' can be found on the Burma–India border.¹⁵⁸

Thanks largely to the 2016–17 pogroms in Rakhine State, there is now a large number of works which claim to examine the complex issues relating to the Muslim 'Rohingyas'. Some are simply not worth reading, while others need to be treated with caution. For the background to current tensions, see the Burma section of Moshe Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession: The Muslim Communities of the Southern Philippines, Southern Thailand, and Western Burma*.¹⁵⁹ Another good introduction is Jacques Leider, 'Competing Identities and the Hybridized History of Rohingyas', in Renaud Egretteau and François Robinne (eds), *Myanmar in Transition: Studies in Political and Social Metamorphoses*.¹⁶⁰ Leider has also published a thoughtful article on Rohingya identity in the *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*.¹⁶¹ Another work worth reading is Derek Tonkin's well-researched chapter in Ashley South and Marie Lall (eds), *Citizenship in Myanmar: Ways of Being in and from Burma*.¹⁶² The role of the armed forces in the 2016–17 Rohingya crisis was examined by Andrew Selth in a USIP Peaceworks report.¹⁶³ On this vexed subject, as on other issues to do with modern Burma, it is always worth reading the reports issued by the International Crisis Group.¹⁶⁴

There are few works that specifically examine Burma's security environment. However, a personal and insightful survey of Burma's immediate geostrategic significance is Thant Myint U, *Where China Meets India: Burma and the New Crossroads of Asia*.¹⁶⁵ The subject is also introduced by Andrew Selth in *Burma: A Strategic Perspective*.¹⁶⁶ The same author provided a detailed analysis of the Burmese armed forces since 1988 in *Burma's Armed Forces: Power Without Glory*.¹⁶⁷ For a similar, but later Burmese treatment of this topic, see Maung Aung Myoe, *Building the Tatmadaw: Myanmar Armed Forces Since 1948*.¹⁶⁸ The difficulty of obtaining reliable data and drawing firm conclusions about the military sector is discussed in Andrew Selth, *Burma's Armed Forces: Looking Down the Barrel*.¹⁶⁹ Very little has been written about Burma's national police force and intelligence agencies, but for the colonial period a useful start is Lalita Hingkanonta Hanwong, *Policing in Colonial Burma*.¹⁷⁰ The status of the country's security forces under President Thein Sein is discussed in broad terms in Andrew Selth, *Burma's Security Forces: Performing, Reforming or Transforming?*¹⁷¹ This work, and several other studies of Burma's armed forces and national police, can be found on the Griffith Asia Institute's website.

There are surprisingly few major studies of Burma's international relations. A good summary of the situation up to 2006 is Jurgen Haacke, *Myanmar's Foreign Policy: Domestic influences and international implications*.¹⁷² A more recent overview is provided by Renaud Egretteau and Larry Jagan, *Soldiers and Diplomacy in Burma: Understanding the Foreign Relations of the Burmese Praetorian State*.¹⁷³ On regional connections, a good start is Stephen McCarthy's chapter on Burma and ASEAN in Lowell Dittmer (ed), *Burma or Myanmar? The Struggle for National Identity*.¹⁷⁴ On bilateral relationships, see for example D.I. Steinberg and Hongwei Fan, *Modern China–Myanmar Relations: Dilemmas of Mutual Dependence*, Renaud Egretteau's *Wooing the Generals: India's New Burma Policy* and D.M. Seekins, *Burma and Japan Since 1940: From 'Co-Prosperity' to 'Quiet Dialogue'*.¹⁷⁵ Burma's relationship with the United States is examined by Kenton Clymer in *A Delicate Relationship: The United States and Burma/Myanmar Since 1945*.¹⁷⁶ There is no detailed, objective study of Burma's controversial relationship with North Korea, but Andray Abrahamian compares and contrasts the two countries in *North Korea and Myanmar: Divergent Paths*.¹⁷⁷

The face of insurgency in Burma is changing so quickly that anything recommended here would soon be out of date. That said, a useful introduction is Paul Keenan, *By Force of Arms: Armed Ethnic Groups in Burma*.¹⁷⁸ Also dated, but more nuanced, is Martin Smith, 'Ethnic Conflicts in Burma: From separatism to federalism', in A.T.H. Tan (ed), *A Handbook on Terrorism and Insurgency in Southeast Asia*.¹⁷⁹ See also the Asia Foundation's helpful survey *The Contested Areas of Myanmar: Subnational Conflict, Aid, and Development*.¹⁸⁰ The reconciliation process and related peace negotiations too are constantly shifting. It is now a little out of date, but Zaw Oo and Win Min, *Assessing Burma's Ceasefire Accords* is worth a quick look.¹⁸¹ More up-to-date is Kyaw Yin Hlaing (ed), *Prisms on the Golden Pagoda: Perspectives on National Reconciliation in Myanmar*.¹⁸² A short overview by a close observer is Min Zaw Oo, *Understanding Myanmar's Peace Process: Ceasefire Agreements*.¹⁸³ There are a number of good book chapters on this subject, among them Ashley South's 'Update on the Peace Process', in Mikael Gravers and Flemming Ytzen (eds), *Burma/Myanmar – Where Now?*¹⁸⁴ For more recent developments, see *Perspectives on the Myanmar Peace Process, 2011–2015* and *Deciphering Myanmar's Peace Process: A Reference Guide, 2016*.¹⁸⁵

Burma is the world's second largest producer of opium, after Afghanistan. It is also a major exporter of methamphetamines. The origins of the drug trade in the Golden Triangle (of northern Burma, Thailand and Laos) are described in A.W. McCoy's monumental study, *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade*.¹⁸⁶ This account is complemented well by R.M. Gibson and Wenhua Chen, *The Secret Army: Chiang Kai-shek and the Drug Warlords of the Golden Triangle*.¹⁸⁷ The issue is also examined, albeit from quite different viewpoints, in *A Failing Grade: Burma's Drug Eradication Efforts* and Martin Jelsma, et al, *Trouble in the Triangle: Opium and Conflict in Burma*.¹⁸⁸ The methamphetamine problem is explored in Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle*.¹⁸⁹ For recent discussions of these and related issues, see Tom Kramer, *The Current State of Counternarcotics Policy and Drug Reform Debates in Myanmar* and Vanda Felbab-Brown, *Myanmar Maneuvers: How to Break Political-Criminal Alliances in Contexts of Transition*.¹⁹⁰ The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) produces a range of useful publications on issues relating to Burma.

Books describing travels in Burma are proliferating as more foreigners visit the country and feel prompted to record their experiences. One early visitor was Somerset Maugham, who gave his impressions of Burma in 1923 in *The Gentleman in the Parlour*.¹⁹¹ A later but equally celebrated effort was by Norman Lewis, who described his 1951 visit there in *Golden Earth: Travels in Burma*.¹⁹² Another major work in this genre is Bertil Lintner's *Land of Jade*, about his remarkable journey across northern Burma from India to Thailand in 1987.¹⁹³ In a similar vein is Shelby Tucker, *Among Insurgents: Walking Through Burma*.¹⁹⁴ Not quite as adventurous, but no less entertaining, is Andrew Marshall, *The Trouser People: Burma in the Shadow of the Empire*.¹⁹⁵ For a Western-style travel book by a contemporary Burmese writer, see Ma Thanegi, *The Native Tourist: A Holiday Pilgrimage in Myanmar*.¹⁹⁶ Rory MacLean described a visit in *Under the Dragon: Travels in a Betrayed Land* and there is an insightful account of Ne Win's Burma by Pico Iyer in his book *Video Night in Kathmandu*.¹⁹⁷ Also, it is interesting to compare Paul Theroux's impressions of Burma, as recorded in *The Great Railway Bazaar* in 1975, with those found in his *Ghost Train to the Eastern Star*, written more than 30 years later.¹⁹⁸

The best known description in English of classical Burmese culture and customs is J.G. Scott, *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, published under the pseudonym 'Shway Yoe' in 1882.¹⁹⁹ Another standard work, still useful for its description of traditional Burmese life, is Mi Mi Khaing, *Burmese Family*.²⁰⁰ A more recent book that appeals on several levels is Dawn Rooney, *The Thiri Rama: Finding Ramayana in Myanmar*.²⁰¹ There have been a number of scholarly works written recently about the place of women in Burmese society, but the best introduction probably remains Mi Mi Khaing, *The World of Burmese Women*.²⁰² Broader and more modern treatments of gender issues include Jessica Harriken, *The Authority of Influence: Women and Power in Burmese History* and Tharapi Than, *Women in Modern Burma*.²⁰³ An unusual but interesting study of social mores is Georg Noack, *Local Traditions, Global Modernities: Dress, Identity and the Creation of Public Self-Images in Contemporary Urban Myanmar*.²⁰⁴ Burmese society is rapidly changing, however, particularly in the cities, as David Steinberg warned in his 2014 article for *Yale Global Online*, 'Tread With Caution in Highly Sensitive Burma'.²⁰⁵

There are few major studies of Burma's performing arts in the English language. The subject is briefly introduced in Noel Singer, *Burmese Dance and Theatre*.²⁰⁶ A more recent production worth consulting is Daniel Ehrlich's photographic tribute to the world of traditional theatre and folk festivals, *Backstage Mandalay: The Netherworld of Burmese Performing Arts*.²⁰⁷ Gavin Douglas provides an erudite introduction to traditional Burmese music in

his chapter 'Myanmar (Burma)', in John Shepherd, et al (eds), *Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*.²⁰⁸ Modern Western-style music in Burma is examined in Heather Maclachlan, *Burma's Pop Music Industry: Creators, Distributors, Censors*.²⁰⁹ Burma's puppet theatre has attracted considerable interest over the years. There are more recent books on the subject, but Ma Thanegi, *The Illusion of Life* provides an eminently readable introduction.²¹⁰ In 2016, David Eimer wrote a useful overview of the Burmese film industry in the *South China Morning Post's* magazine.²¹¹ The depiction of Burma in Western films was examined by Andrew Selth in 'Burma, Hollywood and the Politics of Entertainment'.²¹²

It is not possible to visit Burma without being struck by the role Buddhism plays in daily life. A good start is still Htin Aung, *Folk Elements in Burmese Buddhism*.²¹³ A more scholarly work is Juliane Schober, *Modern Buddhist Conjunctures in Myanmar: Cultural Narratives, Colonial Legacies, and Civil Society*.²¹⁴ Also worth consulting, mainly for its insights into the clash of cultures and religious traditions, is Alicia Turner, *Saving Buddhism: The Impermanence of Religion in Colonial Burma*.²¹⁵ Its findings are also relevant to modern Burma, as the country embraces the worlds of international capitalism and global mass culture. For Buddhism's role in modern Burmese politics, see Matthew Walton and Susan Hayward, *Contesting Buddhist Narratives: Democratization, Nationalism, and Communal Violence in Myanmar*.²¹⁶ Matthew Walton followed this work with a scholarly study of *Buddhism, Politics and Political Thought in Myanmar*.²¹⁷ See also D.M. Stadtner's invaluable survey *Sacred Sites of Burma: Myth and Folklore in an Evolving Spiritual Realm*.²¹⁸ For the historical and religious significance of the Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon, a good start is Elizabeth Moore, Hansjorg Mayer and U Win Pe, *Shwedagon: Golden Pagoda of Myanmar*.²¹⁹

For those wishing to learn about other religions represented in Burma, Islam's position was summarised by Curtis Lambrecht's chapter in Greg Fealy and Virginia Hooker (eds), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook*.²²⁰ However, that now needs to be read in conjunction with more modern works that examine Burma's Muslim communities and the 'Rohingya question'. Ruth Cernea's *Almost Englishmen: Baghdadi Jews in British Burma* covers the decline of the local Jewish community from its heyday under the British colonial administration.²²¹ In addition to those works about Christianity already cited, a description of missionary life in Upper Burma before the Second World War can be found in Anne Carter, *Bewitched by Burma: A Unique Insight Into Burma's Complex Past*.²²² A fascinating account of the adventures of a missionary family in northern Burma following the country's independence is Eugene Morse, *Exodus to a Hidden Valley*.²²³ No survey of religious beliefs in Burma would be complete without mention of the nats, as described for example in *Nats: Spirits of Fortune and Fear*, by Ma Thanegi and Barry Broman.²²⁴

Despite being written over 50 years ago, Rear Admiral E.H. Shattock's *An Experiment in Mindfulness* is still of interest as an autobiographical account by a Westerner studying Buddhist meditation in a Burmese monastery.²²⁵ In the same vein, and equally enjoyable to read, is Marie Byles' book *Journey Into Burmese Silence*.²²⁶ The *satipatthana vipassana* method practised by Shattock and Byles is explained by one of Burma's most eminent practitioners in Mahasi Sayadaw, *The Fundamentals of Insight: Discourse on Meditation Practice*.²²⁷ The historical roots of this school, and its place in modern Burmese history, are examined in Erik Braun, *The Birth of Insight: Meditation, Modern Buddhism, and the Burmese Monk Ledi Sayadaw*.²²⁸ The role of meditation in secular, as well as religious, life in the country is discussed by Ingrid Jordt in her fascinating book *Burma's Mass Lay Meditation Movement: Buddhism and the Cultural Construction of Power*.²²⁹ *Living Burmese Masters* by Jack Kornfield includes chapters on several distinguished Burmese meditation teachers (although few if any are still alive).²³⁰

It is now a little outdated but, for a concise guide to Burma as portrayed in popular literature, a good beginning is the chapter by Anna Allott in Alastair Dingwall (ed), *Traveller's Literary Companion to Southeast Asia*.²³¹ This survey covers some books which have already been mentioned, but it prompts a closer look at a few classic novels about the country. These include George Orwell's *Burmese Days*, H.E. Bates' *The Purple Plain* and Ma Ma Lay's, *Not Out of Hate*.²³² Patricia Milne's translations of Thein Pe Myint's *Selected Short Stories* are a delight to read.²³³ More recent offerings are Ludu U Hla, *The Caged Ones*, Wendy Law-Yone, *The Road to Wanting* and Nu Nu Yi, *Smile as They Bow*.²³⁴ Other well-reviewed English-language novels about Burma include Karel Van Loon's *The Invisible Ones*, Karen Connelly's *The Lizard Cage*, Daniel Mason's *The Piano Tuner* and Amitav Ghosh's *The Glass Palace*.²³⁵ The best collection of Burmese folk tales is Gerry Abbott and Khin Thant Han, *The Folk-tales of Burma: An Introduction*.²³⁶ Burma's modern literary scene is described in Ellen Wiles, *Saffron Shadows and Salvaged Scripts: Literary Life in Myanmar Under Censorship and in Transition*.²³⁷

There are not many children's books in English with a specific Burmese theme, but the number is growing. It is possible to see how the genre has developed over the past 150 years by dipping into it at different stages. A typical early work is G.A. Henty's historical adventure novel *On The Irrawaddy: A Story of the First Burmese War*.²³⁸ A later contribution (also set in the colonial period) was W.O. Stevens, *Drummer Boy of Burma*.²³⁹ Between 1934 and 1964, several stories about the fictional British flying ace 'Biggles' were set in Burma.²⁴⁰ In 1967, the Asia Society in the US helped to publish a more culturally sensitive story by P.W. Garland and Maryjane Dunstan entitled *Orange-Robed Boy*.²⁴¹ It was illustrated by the noted Burmese artist Paw Oo Thet. One children's book that can usually be found in Western bookshops now is Jean Merrill's retelling of a Burmese folk tale in *Shan's Lucky Knife*.²⁴² A more recent multilingual effort is Dedie King and Judith Inglese, *I See the Sun in Myanmar (Burma)*.²⁴³ There have also been several books for children about Aung San Suu Kyi, including a graphic novel entitled *The Caged Bird*, referring to a song about the Nobel laureate by Irish rock band U2.²⁴⁴

The most comprehensive English language survey of Burmese arts and crafts is Sylvia Fraser-Lu, *Burmese Crafts, Past and Present*.²⁴⁵ By the same author is *Splendour in Wood: The Buddhist Monasteries of Burma*.²⁴⁶ Sylvia Fraser-Lu also collaborated with Donald Stadtner to edit the excellent *Buddhist Art of Myanmar*.²⁴⁷ For more specialised studies, see Andrew Ranard, *Burmese Painting: A Linear and Lateral History*, Elizabeth Dell and Sandra Dudley (eds), *Textiles from Burma*, and Than Htun (Dedaye), *Lacquerware Journeys: The Untold Story of Burmese Lacquer*.²⁴⁸ There is a chapter on Burma in Mick Shippen, *The Traditional Ceramics of South East Asia* (London: A&C Black, 2005), and the country is covered in Anne Richter, *The Jewelry of Southeast Asia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000).²⁴⁹ Burma also features in M.A. Stanislaw, *Kalagas: The Wall Hangings of Southeast Asia*.²⁵⁰ Often, however, the best sources of learned and well-illustrated articles on Burma's arts and crafts are magazines like the bi-monthly *Arts of Asia*, produced in Hong Kong. See, for example, 'Collecting Burmese Textiles' by Thweep Rittinaphakorn in the March–April 2017 edition.²⁵¹

For those with an interest in Burma's unique but increasingly threatened flora and fauna, a very readable introduction (to the former, at least), is Charles Lyte, *Frank Kingdon-Ward: The Last of the Great Plant Hunters*.²⁵² Also well worth a look is E.C. Nelson's delightful illustrated book *Shadow Among Splendours: Lady Charlotte Wheeler-Cuffe's adventures among the flowers of Burma, 1897-1921*.²⁵³ Another beautifully presented book on this subject is Dudley Clayton, *Charles Parish – Plant Hunter and Botanical Artist in Burma*.²⁵⁴ A much-loved book about Burmese elephants, written by a real 'jungle wallah', is J.H. Williams, *Bandoola*.²⁵⁵ For ornithologists, nothing can beat B.E. Smythies's monumental work *The Birds of Burma*, but a more convenient book for travellers is Kyaw Nyunt Lwin and Khin Ma Ma Thwin, *Birds of Myanmar*.²⁵⁶ 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* and W.J. Kress, *The Weeping Goldsmith: Discoveries in the Secret Land of Myanmar*.²⁵⁷ A more scholarly treatment of Burma's environmental problems can be found in Adam Simpson, *Energy, Governance and Security in Thailand and Myanmar (Burma): A Critical Approach to Environmental Politics in the South*.²⁵⁸

There is a growing number of books about Burmese cuisine available, but a good introduction is Bryan Koh's weighty tome, *0451 Mornings Are For Mont Hin Gar: Burmese Food Stories*.²⁵⁹ If that is not available, an alternative is Mohana Gill, *Myanmar: Cuisine, Culture and Customs*.²⁶⁰ There is also a basic chapter on Burma in Charmaine Solomon's classic work, *The Complete Asian Cookbook*.²⁶¹ For the non-specialist collector, a simple introduction to Burmese philately is Min Sun Min, *Stamps of Burma: A Historical Record Through 1988*.²⁶² A much better guide is Gerald Davis and Denys Martin, *Burma Postal History*.²⁶³ If copies can be found, a marvellous source of information for philatelists is *The Burma Fantail*, the newsletter and journal of the Burma (Myanmar) Philatelic Study Circle, based in the UK. In 2005, it replaced *The Burma Peacock*, which ran from 1979 to 2000. Although now over 30 years old, the best and most detailed guide to Burmese numismatics is M. Robinson and L.A. Shaw, *The Coins and Banknotes of Burma*.²⁶⁴ A more recent but specialised work in this field is Than Htun (Dedaye), *Auspicious Symbols and Ancient Coins of Myanmar*.²⁶⁵

Burma's place in Western popular culture has long been neglected, but it has been the subject of a number of recent articles, all of which can be found online. For a discussion of Burma in Western pulp magazines, for example, see Andrew Selth, 'Colonial-era pulp fiction portrays "technicolor" Myanmar'.²⁶⁶ For an examination of Burma's depiction in Western comic books, see the same author's 'Burma and the Comics', a two-part article on the Australian National University's *New Mandala* blog.²⁶⁷ Most graphic novels about Burma are in European languages, but there are some in English, such as the lavish *Mandalay* by Philippe Thirault and others.²⁶⁸ A better-known example of the genre is Guy Delisle's delightfully droll *Burma Chronicles*.²⁶⁹ The field was

surveyed by Andrew Selth in the *Nikkei Asian Review* in April 2018.²⁷⁰ The subject of Burma and matchbox labels was briefly examined by Andrew Selth in 'Colonial Burma, history and phillumeny', also found on *New Mandala*.²⁷¹ Similarly, a look at Burma's place in the world of cigarette and trade card collecting can be found in Andrew Selth, 'Colonial Burma, as seen through collectible cards', published in the *Nikkei Asian Review* in May 2016.²⁷² For a look at Burma through old postcards, a good start is Noel Singer, *Burmah: A Photographic Journey, 1855-1925*.²⁷³

For those interested in looking at Burma through the eyes of its cartoonists, two works are recommended. The first is Harn Lay's collection, *Defiant Humour: The Best of Harn Lay's Political Cartoons from The Irrawaddy*.²⁷⁴ The second is Lisa Brooten's chapter on Burmese political cartoons in John Lent, *Southeast Asian Cartoon Art*.²⁷⁵

Finally, to take a step backwards and look at the field more broadly, Burma studies have expanded dramatically since the 1988 pro-democracy uprising thrust the country into the world's headlines and sparked a surge in publications. As noted in the introduction and prefaces to this bibliography, the flow of new and reprinted works since then has gathered momentum. For a survey of these trends, a reader is referred to Andrew Selth's article, 'Modern Burma Studies: A Survey of the Field'.²⁷⁶ The same author followed up this work with two occasional papers on aspects of Burma-watching, both published by the Griffith Asia Institute.²⁷⁷ They should be read in conjunction with the excellent collection of articles edited by Matrii Aung Thwin in a special 2008 issue of the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* on the theme 'Communities of Interpretation and the Construction of Modern Myanmar'.²⁷⁸ There are also a number of articles and blogs written by academics and journalists that give a flavour of what it has been like to observe and write about Burma over the past 40 years.²⁷⁹ Also of interest in this regard is Reshmi Banerjee's interview with Li Yi about the latter's book on the Chinese migrant community in colonial Burma.²⁸⁰ At a more personal level, such works help round out the picture for newcomers to the field.

Notes

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Appendix 2:

Maps and Charts of Burma

Maps of Burma and the surrounding region have a long history, and in European terms alone can be traced back to the early 16th century.¹ Anyone interested in such matters is referred to Kay Shelton's interesting article on the maps of Burma made by European cartographers and currently held in the special collections of Northern Illinois University (NIU). It was published in the *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group* in 2003.² She also compiled a bibliography of maps for the same issue.³ After the British began their three-stage conquest of Burma, first the Honourable East India Company and then the British government made a major effort to map the country, the better to bring it under their control, administer it and, it must be said, to exploit its resources. As the years passed, these works were updated and expanded by data and drawings brought back by assorted officials, soldiers, explorers, missionaries and adventurers. They were complemented by detailed gazeteers and route guides.

During the Second World War, the Allies produced a range of high quality maps of Burma, in English and at different scales. Many of these maps, such as the 1:63,360 (one inch to the mile) topographic series produced by the Survey of India, continued to be used well after the war's end, including by the new Burmese government (with over-printed Burmese language annotations). From 1945 to the 1990s, however, Burma was poorly served in cartographic terms. The best maps were those produced by the major powers for strategic planning purposes, including three-dimensional topographical maps, but they were very difficult to obtain. Also, the military government in Burma restricted the availability of local maps for security reasons. As late as 2006, an American academic visiting Naypyidaw was told by a senior Burmese official that there were no maps of the city as ethnic armed groups could use them to plan an attack.⁴ It was a couple more years before maps of the new national capital became readily available.

Ironically, given the regime's nervousness about external threats, good maps of Burma's peripheral regions could be obtained through its neighbours. In Thailand and India, for example, 1:50,000 (1 cm = 0.5 km) scale survey maps of their border provinces, which also showed parts of Burma, could be obtained relatively easily. Also useful were the navigation charts periodically produced by the British Admiralty and the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO). However, they were specialised maps produced for seamen and airline pilots, not for people travelling around Burma on land. Thanks to the explosion of foreign interest in Burma following President Thein Sein's election in 2011, and the easing of both official and unofficial travel restrictions, this situation has changed dramatically.

There is now a plethora of maps for sale, both in Burma and overseas. For example, several European and Asian firms offer colourful and informative maps of the country, ranging in scale from 1:2,150,000 to 1:1,000,000. There are also a number of larger scale maps which focus on specific areas of interest, such as Caroline Courtauld's *Bagan and Upper Myanmar* and her map of *Myanmar Featuring Myeik*. Burma's three largest cities, Rangoon, Mandalay and Naypyidaw, are now covered by good quality maps. There is also an expanding market for specialist maps. For example, the Myanmar Heritage Trust has published a map entitled *Historical Walks in Yangon*. A map entitled *The British Raj in India* also covers colonial Burma (which did not become a separate colony until 1937). In 2003, Rod Beattie of the Thailand-Burma Railway Centre in Thailand produced the first comprehensive *Map of the Thai-Burma Rail Link*. A wide range of official publications, including some high grade military maps, is now available online.⁵

A selection of the more up-to-date and easily acquired folding (hard copy) maps is given below. They are listed alphabetically, by subject. Other maps can be found on the Internet, including some useful US and Soviet maps of Burma left over from the Cold War. Not included in this list is the series of 'City Maps' produced by James McFee in 2017, which are so rudimentary, and of such a scale, as to be useless as guides to the streets or even major landmarks of the population centres covered. Only the most popular British Admiralty charts covering Burma have been listed. A full catalogue of such charts can be found online at the UK Hydrographic Office website. These charts should be read in conjunction with the essential *Admiralty Sailing Directions: Bay of Bengal Pilot*.⁶

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24. Courtauld, Caroline, *Nay Pyi Taw and Yangon* (Hong Kong: Odyssey Publications, 2013)
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48. *Yangon River (Rangoon River) and Approaches*, British Admiralty Chart 833 (Taunton: United Kingdom Hydrographic Office, 2017)

Notes

- ¹ In this regard, a wonderful resource is the monumental *Comprehensive Atlas of the Dutch East India Company* (*Grote atlas van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) edited by G. Schilder, et al, 7 volumes (Voorborg: Asia Maior, i.s.m. KNAG, Nationaal Archief en Explokart/Fac. Geowetenschappen, 2006-10). The final volume includes several early maps of the Burmese coastline and ports like Syriam and Pegu.
- ² Kay Shelton, 'Maps of Burma by European Cartographers in NIU Special Collections', *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group*, No.71, March 2003, pp.11-16. See also Tin Naing Win, *Myanmar Historical Cartography: Parabaik Maps and Other Map Sources: A post-doctoral research work done by the support of the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies, Seoul, Korea* (Saarbrücken: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2018).
- ³ Kay Shelton, 'Bibliography of Maps of Burma', *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group*, No.71, March 2003, pp.17-29.
- ⁴ The academic told the Burmese official that he had used Google Earth to find his way around the city and assumed that insurgents could do the same. Personal communication, September 2016.
- ⁵ For more information on this subject, see Andrew Selth, 'Journeys without maps in Myanmar', *New Mandala*, 12 September 2016, at <http://www.newmandala.org/journeys-without-maps-myanmar/>. Also useful is the list of historical and other maps, and satellite imagery, of Myanmar found on the website of the Online Burma Library, at <http://www.burmalibrary.org/show.php?cat=757>
- ⁶ *Admiralty Sailing Directions: Bay of Bengal Pilot*, NP21, 12th edition (Taunton: United Kingdom Hydrographic Office, 2013).

Appendix 3:

English Language Films About Burma

The following is a selection of English-language films made about Burma, or set in Burma (in whole or in part) that give a flavour of the country, help illustrate how it has been portrayed by film-makers over the years, or comment on contemporary developments. Within two sections, covering full-length feature films and shorter documentaries, these works are listed chronologically by the formal date of production, or first release. Several of the more recent feature films were joint ventures, but in those cases only the first listed production credit is cited. For more details on specific films (where available), it is suggested that the online International Movie Database (IMDb) be consulted.¹ Also of possible interest is Andrew Selth's article, 'Burma, Hollywood and the Politics of Entertainment', published in the journal *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*.² For a brief discussion of documentary films about Burma, see Andrew Selth, 'Burma-watching on film', on *The Interpreter*, the blog of the Sydney-based Lowy Institute for International Policy.³

Although there are a few exceptions, this list does not include feature movies which make only passing references to Burma, or have scenes set in Burma that are not central to the plot, such as *The Wind Cannot Read*, directed by Ralph Thomas (Rank Organisation, 1958), or the American action movie *Stealth*, directed by Rob Cohen (Columbia Tristar, 2005). Nor does it include movies made in languages other than English. In addition to those made in Burmese, this category includes a few well-known movies such as *Crossing Salween*, a Karen language film directed by Brian O'Malley (Irish Film Board, 2010), *Rangoon Rowdy*, a Telugu language movie directed by Narayana Rao Dasari (Vijaya Madhavi, 1979), and the Hindi language feature *Rangoon* (Viacom 18, 2017) directed by Vishal Bhardwaj.⁴ Also omitted from the list are several Thai-language films with Burma-related themes such as *Bang Rajan* (BEC-TERO Entertainment, 2000) and *Suriyothai* (American Zoetrope, 2001).⁵

Nor, as a general rule, does the list below include short films made primarily for television, and which are not usually treated as stand-alone documentaries, for example by being released separately on DVD. Notable examples in this category include Adrian Cowell's ground-breaking reports on the guerrilla conflicts and opium trade in northern Burma, starting with *The Unknown War* in 1966 and ending with *The Heroin Wars* (in three parts) in 1996.⁶ Martin Smith's *Burma - Dying for Democracy*, screened by the UK's Channel Four television station on 15 March 1989 as a program in the 'Dispatches' series, has been described by some observers as the best documentary made about the 1988 pro-democracy uprising.⁷ Another notable practitioner in this field is the Australian Evan Williams, who has been reporting on Burma for more than 10 years. His latest production is *Myanmar's Killing Fields*, about the Rohingya refugee exodus in 2016-17.⁸

¹ International Movie Database (IMDb), at <https://www.imdb.com/>

² Andrew Selth, 'Burma, Hollywood and the Politics of Entertainment', *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, Vol.23, No.3 (June 2009), pp.321-334. See also Edith Mirante, 'Escapist Entertainment: Hollywood Movies of Burma', *The Irrawaddy*, Vol.12, No.3, March 2004, at http://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=932

³ Andrew Selth, 'Burma-watching on film', *The Interpreter*, Weblog of the Lowy Institute for International Policy, Sydney, 30 November 2010, found at <http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2010/11/30/Burma-watching-on-film.aspx>

⁴ The latter is not to be confused with the lesser-known Tamil language film *Rangoon*, directed by Rajkumar Periasamy (Murugadoss Productions, 2017).

⁵ For more on these Thai films, and their portrayal of Burma, see Glen Lewis, 'The Thai Movie Revival and Thai National Identity', *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, Vol.17, No.1 (March 2003), pp.69-78.

⁶ See, for example, 'The Heroin Wars', *Adrian Cowell Films*, at <http://www.adriancowellfilms.com/#/the-heroin-wars/4574347436>

⁷ *Burma - Dying for Democracy*, directed by Christopher Mould, written and narrated by Martin Smith, Channel Four, 'Dispatches', Season 3, Episode 11, 15 March 1989.

⁸ *Myanmar's Killing Fields*, reported by Evan Williams, directed by Patrick Wells, produced by Evan Williams, Eve Lucas and Patrick Wells. It was first aired on the US Public Broadcasting System's *Frontline* program on 8 May 2018.

Feature Films

1. *A Maid of Mandalay*, directed by Maurice Costello (Vitagraph Company of America, 1913)
2. *The Road to Mandalay*, directed by Tod Browning (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1926)
3. *The Road to Mandalay*, directed by E.M. Newman (Vitaphone Corporation, 1931)
4. *Mandalay*, directed by Michael Curtiz (Warner Brothers, 1934)
5. *The Girl From Mandalay*, directed by Howard Bretherton (Republic Pictures, 1936)
6. *Moon Over Burma*, directed by Louis King (Paramount Pictures, 1940)
7. *Burma Convoy*, directed by Noel M. Smith (Universal Pictures, 1941)
8. *A Yank on the Burma Road*, directed by George B. Seitz (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1942)
9. *Bombs Over Burma*, directed by Joseph H. Lewis (Alexander-Stern Productions, 1942)
10. *China Girl*, directed by Henry Hathaway (20th Century Fox, 1942)
11. *Rookies in Burma*, directed by Leslie Goodwins (RKO Radio Pictures, 1943)
12. *Objective Burma*, directed by Raoul Walsh (Warner Brothers, 1945)
13. *The Hasty Heart*, directed by Vincent Sherman (Associated British Picture Corporation, 1949)
14. *The Purple Plain*, directed by Robert Parrish (Two Cities Films, 1954)
15. *Escape to Burma*, directed by Allan Dwan (Benedict Bogeaus Production, 1955)
16. *Never So Few*, directed by John Sturges (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1959)
17. *Yesterday's Enemy*, directed by Val Guest (Hammer Films, 1959)
18. *Operation Bottleneck*, directed by Edward L. Cahn (Robert E. Kent Productions, 1961)
19. *The Long and the Short and the Tall*, directed by Leslie Norman (Associated British Picture Corporation, 1961)
20. *Merrill's Marauders*, directed by Samuel Fuller (Warner Brothers, 1962)
21. *Beyond Rangoon*, directed by John Boorman (Castle Rock Entertainment, 1995)
22. *To End All Wars*, directed by David L. Cunningham (Argyll Film Partners, 2001)
23. *Rambo*, directed by Sylvester Stallone (Lionsgate, 2008)
24. *Largo Winch II: The Burma Conspiracy*, directed by Jerome Salle (Pan Europeenne, 2011)
25. *The Lady*, directed by Luc Besson (Europa Corporation, 2011)
26. *Ninja: Shadow of a Tear*, directed by Isaac Florentine (Millennium Films, 2013)
27. *Twilight Over Burma*, directed by Sabine Derflinger (Dor Film Produktionsgesellschaft, 2015)

28. *Golden Kingdom*, directed by Brian Perkins (Bank and Shoal, 2015)
29. *Shooting an Elephant*, directed by Juan Pablo Rothie (TUSK Pictures, 2016)
30. *The Road to Mandalay*, directed by Midi Z (Bombay Berlin Film Productions and CMC Entertainment, 2016)
31. *All Saints*, directed by Steve Gomer (Affirm Films and Provident Films, 2017)
32. *Mudras Calling*, directed by Christina Kyi (Business Alliance Hub Entertainment, 2018)

Short Films and Documentaries

33. *Burma Victory*, directed by Roy Boulting (British Army Film Unit, 1945)
34. *The Stilwell Road* (US Office of War Information, 1945)
35. *Lines of Fire*, directed by Brian Beker (First Run Features, 1990)
36. *Barefoot Student Army*, directed by Catherine Marciniak (Open Channel in association with Lyndal and Sophie Barry, 1992)
37. *Royal Air Force Burma* (Imperial War Museum, 1995)
38. *Inside Burma: Land of Fear*, directed by David Munro (Central Independent Television, 1996)
39. *Portrait of Courage: Aung San Suu Kyi in conversation with John Pilger*, directed by David Munro (Carlton UK Productions, 1996)
40. *Our Burmese Days*, directed by Lindsey Merrison (Westdeutscher Rundfunk, 1996)
41. *Sir Peter Ustinov in Burma: The Road to Mandalay*, directed by John McGreevy (Primetime, 1996)
42. *Lost Over Burma: Search for Closure*, directed by Garth Pritchard (National Film Board of Canada, 1997)
43. *Burma Diary*, directed by Jeanne Hallacy (Documentary Educational Resources, 1997)
44. *Best of the Best Jokes of Zar Ga Na* (Maung Sein Tun, 1997?)
45. *Birth: Voices from the 1988 Uprising in Burma*, directed by Shwe Htee? (Non-Violence Empowerment Organisation, 1998)
46. *History Undercover: Jungle Battle Burma*, directed by Patrick King (Flashback Television, 1998)
47. *Fei Hu: The Story of the Flying Tigers*, directed by Frank Christopher (1999)
48. *Sacrifice: The Story of Child Prostitutes from Burma*, directed by Ellen Bruno (1999)
49. *Anonymously Yours*, directed by Gayle Ferraro (Aerial Productions, 2002)
50. *Burma Railway of Death* (Delta Entertainment, 2002)
51. *Burma Bridge Busters*, directed by James Moll (National D-Day Museum, 2003)
52. *Burma: Anatomy of Terror*, directed by Isabel Hegner (Burma Jade Films, 2003)

53. *British Campaigns Burma, 1941-1945* (Simply Media, 2004)
54. *Don't Fence Me In*, directed by Ruth Gurnit (Documentary Educational Resources, 2005)
55. *On the Road to Bagan*, directed by Francesco Uboldi (2005)
56. *Burma's Secret War*, directed by Sarah MacDonald (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2006)
57. *Burmese Nights*, directed by Sarah Sandring (2006)
58. *Total Denial*, directed by Malena Kineva (MK Productions, 2006)
59. *Mystic Ball*, directed by Greg Hamilton (Black Rice Productions, 2006)
60. *Ancient Burma, Clashing with Modern Myanmar*, directed by Cynthia Bassett (Am Tech Video Inc., 2006)
61. *Prayer of Peace: Relief and Resistance in Burma's War Zones*, directed by Matt Blauer (Front Films, 2007)
62. *Burma* (Siren Visual Entertainment, 2007)
63. *Tortured in Myanmar*, directed by Grace Baek (2007)
64. *Burma's Open Road: An Insight Into Myanmar*, directed by David Adams (Pegasus Entertainment, 2007)
65. *Burma's Saffron Revolution*, directed by Ashin Yevata (2008)
66. *Burma VJ*, directed by Anders Ostergaard (Kamoli Films, 2008)
67. *Freedom House*, directed by Benjamin Schultz (Sons of Thunder Productions, 2008)
68. *Burma All Inclusive: 16 Days of Truth*, directed by Roland Wehap (Rowe Productions, 2008)
69. *Burma: A Forgotten War*, directed by Lea Rekow (Lea Rekow, 2008)
70. *Myanmar Beneath the Surface* (Wilderness Productions, 2009)
71. *Karma Trekkers: Myanmar* (Resource Media Inc., 2009)
72. *Shoot on Sight: The Ongoing SPDC Offensive on Civilians in Eastern Burma*, directed by Burma Issues (Witness, 2009)
73. *Burma's Medics*, directed by Grace Baek (2009)
74. *Breaking the Silence: Inside Burma's Resistance*, directed by Helene Magny and Pierre Mignault (InformAction Films Inc., 2009)
75. *Myanmar: In My Father's Footsteps*, directed by Pauline Hayton (Pauline Hayton, 2009)
76. *Burma: An Indictment*, directed by Jeremy Taylor (2009)
77. *Burma Soldier*, directed by Nic Dunlop, Ricki Stern and Anne Sundberg (LeBrocq Fraser Productions, 2010)

78. *Freedom From Fear*, directed by Eric Torres (The Freedom Campaign, 2010)
79. *Burmese Dreaming*, directed by Timothy Syrota (Ostrow and Company, 2010)
80. *Aung San Suu Kyi: Lady of No Fear*, directed by Anne Gyrthe Bonne (Kamoli Films, 2010)
81. *Burma Displaced*, directed by Roland Wehap (Syndicado, 2010)
82. *The Genocidal Generals: Their Corporate Cronies, The Lady and Our Three Sons of Burma*, directed by Michael John Chahine (The Sun Maker Movies and Documentaries, 2010)
83. *Under the Radar: Burma*, directed by Neil Hollander (Adventure Film Productions, 2010)
84. *For Your Tomorrow*, directed by Don Clark (For Your Tomorrow, 2011)
85. *Burmese Butterfly*, directed by Lindsey Merrison (2011)
86. *Burma: A Human Tragedy*, directed by Neil Hollander (Adventure Film Productions, 2011)
87. *Breaking Open Burma*, directed by Patricia W. Elliott and Susan Risk (Live Wire Video Productions, 2012)
88. *They Call it Myanmar: Lifting the Curtain*, directed by Robert H. Lieberman (PhotoSynthesis Productions, 2012)
89. *Burmese Refugee*, directed by Michael Tacca (Speedafix Productions, 2012)
90. *How Can a Boy*, directed by Ed Kucerak (Kublacom Pictures, 2012)
91. *Return to Burma*, directed by Midi Z (Terracotta Media, 2012)
92. *Into the Current: Burma's Political Prisoners*, directed by Jeanne Hallacy (Democratic Voice of Burma and Assistance Association for Political prisoners (Burma), 2012)
93. *Miss Nikki and the Tiger Girls*, directed by Julie Lamont (Titan View, 2012)
94. *Father Clemente Vismara: One Life is Not Enough*, directed by Paolo Pellegrini (Vision Video, 2013)
95. *Myanmar Emerges: Promise and Peril*, directed by Jonah Kessel (Global Post, 2013)
96. *Myanmar Goes Democrazy*, directed by Daniel Grendel and Silvana Santamaria (2014)
97. *Top Gear: The Burma Special*, directed by Kit Lynch-Robinson (BBC, 2014)
98. *Expedition Burma (Wild Burma: Nature's Lost Kingdom)*, produced by Susanna Handslip (BBC Earth, 2014)
99. *Myanmar: Bridges to Change*, directed by Eric Daft and Mark Fisher (Fisher Creative, 2014)
100. *Siam Burma Death Railway*, directed by Kurinji Vendan (Nadodigal Productions, 2014)
101. *Building Burma's Death Railway: Moving Half the Mountain*, directed by Helen Langridge (HLA+/BBC, 2014)
102. *Buried in Burma*, directed by Mark Mannucci (Room 608, 2014)
103. *Born Warriors*, directed by Vincent Giordano (Cinejutsu Entertainment, 2014)

104. *Myanmar Year Zero*, directed by Michael Henry Wilson (2015)
105. *Born Warriors Redux*, directed by Vincent Giordano (Cinejutsu Entertainment, 2015)
106. *Golden Kingdom*, directed by Brian Perkins (Bank and Shoal, 2015)
107. *Sailing a Sinking Sea*, directed by Olivia Wyatt (Daniel 13 Productions, 2015)
108. *The Black Zone*, directed by Grace Baek (Madrone Films, 2015)
109. *The Last King of Burma*, directed by Aditya Thai (Magic Hour Films, 2015)
110. *13 Burmese Days*, directed by Garlen Lo (2016)
111. *The Burma Campaign*, directed by David Tennyson Thompson (2016)
112. *Get Lost in Myanmar*, directed by Melanie de Klerk (2016)
113. *Born Warriors Redux: Bound Fists*, directed by Vincent Giordano (Cinejutsu Entertainment, 2016)
114. *Messages Home: Lost Films of the British Army*, directed by Paul Berczeller (Oxford Scientific Films, 2016)
115. *We Were Kings: Burma's Lost Royal Family*, directed by Alex Bescoby (Grammar Productions, 2017)
116. *Burma Storybook*, directed by Petr Lom (ZINDoc and JabFilm, 2017)
117. *The Venerable W*, directed by Barbet Schroeder (Les Films de Losange, 2017)
118. *Adoniram and Anne Judson: Spent for God*, directed by Robert Fernandez (Vision Video, 2018)

Index of Names

The numbers given below are those used to refer to the specific works listed. Names appear as they have been given in the bibliography, although a few entries have been consolidated in cases where both first names and initials have been used. Burmese contributors with the same name have also been listed together. Joint authors, editors, translators, photographers and illustrators have been listed separately, as have those individuals who have provided introductions, forewords and afterwords. Other people named in the prefaces, foreword, introduction and appendices of this bibliography have not been listed.

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