

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

Second Edition

Andrew Selth



Griffith Asia Institute

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the 1988 uprising:
a select bibliography
2nd edition

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Burma (Myanmar) since the 1988 uprising: *A select bibliography*, 2nd Edition, 2015

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The Author

Andrew Selth

Dr Andrew Selth is an Adjunct Associate Professor at the Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia. He has been studying international security issues and Asian affairs for over 40 years, as a diplomat, strategic intelligence analyst and research scholar. During this time, he has been a Visiting Fellow at the Australian National University's Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, a Chevening Scholar at St Antony's College, Oxford University, an Australian Research Council Fellow at Griffith University and a Harold White Fellow at the National Library of Australia. He has published six books and more than 50 peer-reviewed works, most of them about Burma (Myanmar) and related subjects.

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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 in the 2008 constitution as the Republic of the Union of Myanmar) 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 work was released in July 2012, there has been an increased flow of new, revised and reprinted publications about Burma. A survey of publishers' catalogues and booksellers' websites suggests that this trend is set to continue for some time. This activity reflects a 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 important 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 and other 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 all 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 on line, through the digital collections of major libraries, notably (since 1994) the Library of Congress and (since 1995) the British Library. 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, Japan, the 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. Over the past few years greater attention has been given to the place of Islam, but there is still no comprehensive or detailed overview of the development of Christianity in Burma.

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 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 on line. 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 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*. 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*.

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 aimed 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 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 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 work. 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 on line. 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 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 sections. 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 some 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 described 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 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 Egreteau, Nicholas Farrelly, Marie Lall, Jacques Leider, Stephen

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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 Phyoo 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>
- 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-selths-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.

Acknowledgements

This bibliography — or, more properly, checklist — is in one sense a by-product of four decades collecting and reading books, reports and sundry other publications on Burma (Myanmar). During this period I have incurred debts to many friends, colleagues and fellow Burma-watchers, both amateur and professional. In compiling a work such as this, however, there are some people to whom special consideration is due.

I should first like to record my gratitude to *Sayagyi* David Steinberg of Georgetown University. Not only has he provided a foreword to this bibliography, but his advice, encouragement and support over the past 20 years has been invaluable. For their varied contributions to this project, I would also like to thank John Brandon of the Asia Foundation, Sean Turnell of Macquarie University, Nicholas Farrelly of the Australian National University, Sally and Barbara Burdon of the Asia Bookroom, Len Lambourne of The Asian Experts and Thant Thaw Kaung of the Myanmar Book Centre.

For their help in this and other Burma-related projects undertaken since I joined the Griffith Asia Institute in 2006, mention must also be made of Michael Wesley, Andrew O’Neil, Stephen McCarthy, Meegan Thorley, Kathy Bailey and Robyn White. At the National Library of Australia, where I was able to complete this project as a Harold White Fellow, thanks are due to Nick Cheesman and Amelia McKenzie.

As always, my greatest debt is to my wife, Pattie Collins. Over the past 30 years she has probably learned more about Burma — and its books — than she ever really cared to know.

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

Brisbane
July 2012

Foreword

by

David I. Steinberg

Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Asian Studies, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University,
and
Visiting Scholar, School of Advanced International Studies,
Johns Hopkins University

The indefatigable Andrew Selth, fresh from his seemingly myriad major studies, chapters, research papers, blogs and op-eds, has demonstrated once again his catholic knowledge and his capacity for care and detail related to Burma/Myanmar. This new bibliography, which should become an essential reference for those even minimally concerned with Burma/Myanmar, is path-breaking, and is a critical guide to those both figuratively and literally Burma bound, as was his earlier work on the state of Burmese studies.²⁰

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

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

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

This was reflected in both the human rights/democracy advocacy literature, which proliferated especially along the Thai border with Myanmar, and the stirring of disciplinary academic research and quiet field work in-country. Scholars were allowed in, often with tourist visas. We now have a new generation of scholars and published scholarly works in all disciplines. Some reflect internal conditions; others compare, and draw lessons from, the Myanmar experience with

other countries. Especially important have been the contributions of expatriate Burmese scholars who have markedly enhanced study of their country from perspectives that foreigners lack.

The importance of foreign scholarly research on Myanmar is especially salient if one understands the past stringent controls over research and publishing for those within the country. Until 1988, all internal research (even in science and medicine) by anyone employed by the state (which meant all academicians) was considered classified until presented at a state-sponsored research seminar and then formally approved for public dissemination. Since 1988, any research publications have had to meet the mercurial conditions of the official censorship board. History was reinterpreted and rewritten to emphasize the roles of the Myanmar military, and even when classic works were republished, their titles had to change “Burma” into “Myanmar”. For example, *The Glass Palace Chronicles of the Kings of Burma* was published originally in 1923, but in 2008 republished as *The Glass Palace Chronicles of the Kings of Myanmar*. All publications had to list the military-sponsored state objectives.

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

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

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

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

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

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 soon one in Australia (Australian National University). The small number of such centres may limit future scholarship and inadequate analyses could adversely affect policy choices. Universities also now tend to focus on disciplinary studies, rather than on area research, which limits university employment opportunities for some Burmanically inclined. A decade and a half ago, a meeting on Burma/Myanmar attended by representatives of most ASEAN governments at that time needed to draw on Western specialists on that country because those in the ASEAN states had no analytical capacity. That situation has begun to be rectified, but clearly the ASEAN states and their 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.²¹ Since then, especially in the last decade, the steady stream of papers on public policy issues has added significantly to our understanding of that country and its relations with the region.

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

Washington DC
January 2015

Notes

²⁰ Andrew Selth, 'Modern Burma Studies: A Survey of the Field', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.44, No.2, March 2010, pp.401-40.

²¹ '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 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'.²² Field work became very difficult and access to reliable data was almost impossible.

Before 1962, there was a small but vibrant academic scene inside Burma, which saw the publication of a number of major works by local figures. Some were published in English or by foreign publishing houses. Under the military regime, however, even local scholars found it difficult to gain access to sources, particularly government records, and their research was subject to official censorship.²³

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.²⁴ Occasionally, travel books featured a chapter or two on Burma, but they tended to deal only fleetingly with the state of the country and its people. From time to time, the international news media published stories about particular developments in Burma, but these items tended to be short and lacking nuance. Also, they were not always very accurate or balanced. At the same time, support for geographically-defined 'area studies' declined. Starved of funding and unable to conduct original research during the 26 years that General Ne Win ruled the country, many academics turned elsewhere for subjects to explore. Burma studies languished. As David Steinberg observed in 1981, for many years 'contemporary Burma has been considered terra incognita by many scholars, journalists and development specialists'.²⁵

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'.²⁶ Also, over the past 24 years the struggle against military rule by both opposition political groups and the country's ethnic minorities has been the subject of numerous books, research monographs and reports. Much closer attention has been paid to Burma's defence policies and foreign relations. New publications have been devoted to aspects of Burmese culture and society. There have also been some important contributions to Burma studies in broader works, covering subjects such as the involvement of armed forces in politics, the development problems of 'failed' states and the role of ethnic minorities in Southeast Asia.

This increased level of academic and official interest has been matched by a much greater awareness of Burma among the populations of Western and regional countries, prompting the publication of numerous books designed largely for the mass market. These include travel guides, collections of photographs, novels and cookery books. After a long hiatus, the Second World War's China-Burma-India (CBI) theatre has attracted renewed interest.²⁷ In 1998 alone, there were 44 books published on this subject.²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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*).³⁰ 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 1972-73.³¹

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.³² Burma also featured in more specialised publications that focused on specific subject areas such as Southeast Asian ethnic groups and languages.³³ One massive bibliography, compiled by Khin Thet Htar for the World Health Organization in 1981, covered all literature (books, articles, pamphlets, reports and academic theses) written in English relating to medicine, and allied subjects such as zoology and botany, in Burma from 1866 to 1980.³⁴ 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.³⁵ Also, in 1979 Michael Aung Thwin produced a short annotated guide to research tools on Burma, for the University of Hawaii.³⁶ In 1986, the Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars in Washington DC published two bibliographical guides to coincide with an international conference on Burma studies being held in the US capital that year. In collaboration with the Library of Congress, one looked at scholarly resources, while the other listed international doctoral dissertations.³⁷ 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.³⁸

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.³⁹ This work was prepared in part to update the Burma section of Henri Cordier's monumental *Bibliotheca Indosinica*.⁴⁰ 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 1950.⁴¹ 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.⁴²

Nor were British bibliographers idle. In 1979, Andrew Griffith of the India Office Library and Records produced a brief guide to sources for the study of Burma.⁴³ In 1982, the British Library Board approved a proposal to compile a South Asia and Burma 'retrospective' bibliography. It was designed to be a comprehensive database that would eventually cover the entire subcontinent (including Afghanistan) and Burma from the introduction of printing technology in the 16th century up to 1900. Not only was it planned to draw on the British Library's own extensive holdings but also on works held by institutions like the India Office Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), the National

Army Museum and the Royal Asiatic Society. Support was also to be sought from libraries and archives in relevant countries, including Burma.⁴⁴ 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 1556–1800.⁴⁵

In 1991, Patricia Herbert, then Head of the Southeast Asia section in the British Library's Oriental and India Office Collections and a Burma scholar in her own right, published what was described as 'the first and most fully annotated multi-disciplinary guide to English-language publications about Burma to appear in twenty years'.⁴⁶ Altogether, it contained over 1,500 references in 850 numbered entries, under 30 subject headings. There were brief biographical notes on the authors of each work. Because of its comprehensiveness, extensive annotations and helpful layout, it soon established itself as a standard reference work for scholars, librarians and booksellers interested in publications on Burma.

Ironically, while this bibliography was being compiled, the 1988 pro-democracy uprising occurred in Burma, triggering a major new phase in the country's national development. Over the next 24 years, the country experienced a series of events that has arguably changed its entire political, economic and social landscape. They have also had a significant impact on its foreign relations and wider strategic environment. This transformation in Burma's internal and external circumstances was capped by the adoption of a new national constitution in 2008 and the managed 'election' in 2010 of a hybrid civilian-military parliament, now ensconced in the new capital of Naypyidaw. In March 2011, to the surprise of almost everyone, President Thein Sein and his government introduced what appeared to be a wide-ranging reform program.⁴⁷

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

Burma Bibliographies Since 1988

The outpouring of publications — of almost every kind, and on almost every conceivable facet of Burma — since 1988 has prompted the compilation of several new bibliographies and checklists designed to bring the record up to date and to help fill gaps in the literature.⁴⁸ Some of these works warrant mention here.

From August 1992, the Burma Studies Group of the AAS, based at Northern Illinois University, began printing lists of relevant publications in its bi-annual *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group*. Initiated by the *Bulletin's* then editor, May Kyi Win, the project was described as 'an attempt to bring together all current articles and books on Burma in English and other European languages'.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰ By 2002, these printed lists had been overtaken by more efficient and widely available electronic databases, but the *Bulletin* still occasionally has items about new publications.

Since 2001, Michael Charney at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies has periodically produced a detailed list of sources entitled 'Bibliography of Burma (Myanmar) Research: The Secondary Literature'. The full document was last updated in 2004, when it appeared on line as a supplement to the twice-yearly *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*.⁵¹ A new version is currently in preparation and will most likely be posted on the Internet in late 2012.⁵² The SOAS compilation makes no claims to completeness. Indeed, it is described as a 'living' bibliography. It invites contributions from Burma watchers and other scholars, and periodically publishes the details of new works on line. The list of works is already quite extensive, however, running to 264 pages. Importantly, it includes references to journal articles and individual book chapters, categories of publication that were largely omitted from the Herbert volume.

In addition, the library of the South Asia Institute at the University of Heidelberg has long been working on an ambitious bibliographic project, initially prompted by the acquisition of Frank Trager's extensive Burma collection in 1974. Additional titles have been found by investigating the holdings of major libraries and other institutions around the world. Since 2005, four 'pre-print' volumes have been produced, which list alphabetically and cite the locations of a large number of works on Burma, many published since 1988.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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*.⁵⁵ In 1998, Eugene Rasor produced a study of sources on the wartime CBI theatre, covering the period 1931–1945.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸

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'.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ 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'.⁶¹ 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.⁶²

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.⁶³ 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*.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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'.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

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.

An effort has been made to sight and verify every entry. With only a few exceptions, those works not found in my own collection have been personally inspected, usually at the National Library of Australia or the Menzies Library of the Australian National University. Both have extensive holdings on Burma (in both English and Burmese). Bibliographical 'ghosts' and books listed 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 on line as 'printed on demand'. Not only would this

make the bibliography unwieldy but, certain E-books aside, such works tend either to be reproductions of books published prior to 1988 or uncritical compilations of materials drawn from websites like Wikipedia.

The categories into which the publications in this work have been divided broadly mirror those found in Patricia Herbert's 1991 bibliography, which in turn follow established international library practice. Additional sub-headings have been included in some places to help readers more easily find books and reports on subjects of particular interest. Where a publication could fit into more than one category — as is often the case — it has been listed once only, according to its dominant themes. If books have been given more than one title, as has sometimes occurred when a book published in Britain has been republished in the United States, or vice versa, usually only the title of the original version has been listed.⁶⁹ If a work does not include a place of publication, the country of publication is named, where that is known.

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

Authors and editors are listed under the names given on their books. Unless provided, no attempt has been made to identify pseudonyms, although these have long been common in the field of Burma studies.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ The same principle has been applied to names like 'Tekkatho' (University) Sein Tin and 'Theippan' (Science) Maung Wa. Where first names are clearly given, however, as in Margaret Aung Thwin, Frankie Tun Tin or Ardeth Maung Thawngmung, they have been recognized and listed as such.

It is happily acknowledged that this bibliography displays a distinct geographical bias, in that it cites a large number of works on Burma that have either been written by Australians or published in Australia. In large part, this reflects my own research base at the Griffith Asia Institute in Brisbane, and the holdings of the National Library of Australia in Canberra and the Australian National University'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.⁷² 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.⁷³ 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.⁷⁴ 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

- ²² See, for example, Khin Nyunt, 'Address to the 11th Myanmar Traditional Cultural Performing Arts Competitions', *New Light of Myanmar*, 4 November 2003, at <<http://www.myanmar.gov.mm/NLM-2003/enlm/Nov04h2.html>> See also Gustaaf Houtman, *Mental Culture in Burmese Crisis Politics: Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy*, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Monograph No.33 (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1999), pp.126-8.
- ²³ See, for example, R.E. Calder, *Guide to Library Resources in Rangoon* (Rangoon: Rangoon-Hopkins Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Rangoon University, 1958).
- ²⁴ Andrew Selth, 'Modern Burma Studies: A Survey of the Field', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.44, No.2, March 2010, pp.401-40. An earlier version of this article was posted on line by the City University of Hong Kong's Southeast Asia Research Centre. See Andrew Selth, *Modern Burma Studies: A View From the Edge*, Southeast Asia Research Centre, Working Paper No.96 (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong, 2007), at <http://www6.cityu.edu.hk/searc/Data/FileUpload/289/WP96_07_ASelth.pdf>
- ²⁵ D.I. Steinberg, *Burma's Road Toward Development: Growth and Ideology Under Military Rule* (Boulder: Westview, 1981), p.1.
- ²⁶ 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.
- ²⁷ 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.
- ²⁸ 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/>>
- ²⁹ 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.
- ³⁰ 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.
- ³¹ 'Burma', in Association for Asian Studies, *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1941-1965: Subject Bibliography*, 4 volumes, (G.K. Hall, Boston, 1970), Vol.1, pp.118-155; and 'Burma', in Association for Asian Studies, *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1966-1970: Subject Bibliography*, 3 volumes, (G.K. Hall, Boston, 1972), Vol.1, pp.108-131. See also Association for Asian Studies, *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1941-1965: Author Bibliography*, 4 volumes (G.K. Hall, Boston, 1969).
- ³² See, for example, B.E. Moon, *Periodicals for South-East Asia Studies: A Union Catalogue of Holdings in British and Selected European Libraries* (London: Mansell, 1979), pp.58-66; and T.F. Willer, *Southeast Asian References in the British Parliamentary Papers, 1801-1972/73: An Index*, Papers in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, No.48 (Athens: Ohio University Centre for International Studies, 1978), pp.16-41.

- ³³ See, for example, F.E. Huffman, *Bibliography and Index of Mainland Southeast Asian Languages and Linguistics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); and Christian Bauer, *A Guide to Mon Studies* Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Working Paper No.32 (Clayton: Monash University, 1984), pp.41–75.
- ³⁴ Khin Thet Htar, *Annotated Bibliography of Medical Literature on Burma (1866–1976), With Supplement up to 1980* (New Delhi: World Health Organisation, South-East Asia Regional Office, 1981).
- ³⁵ F.N. Trager, *Burma: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1973); F.N. Trager, *Furnivall of Burma: An Annotated Bibliography of the Works of John S. Furnivall* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1963); F.N. Trager et al, *Japanese and Chinese Language Sources on Burma: An Annotated Bibliography* (New Haven: Burma Research Project, New York University, 1957); and F.N. Trager, J.N. Musgrave and Janet Welsh, *Annotated Bibliography of Burma* (New Haven: Burma Research Project, New York University, 1956).
- ³⁶ Michael Aung Thwin, *Southeast Asian Research Tools: Burma*, Southeast Asia Paper No.16, Part III (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1979).
- ³⁷ Anita Hibler and W.P. Tuchrello, *Burma: A Selective Guide to Scholarly Resources* (Washington DC: Asia Program, The Wilson Centre, and Asian Division, The Library of Congress, 1986); and F.J. Shulman, *Burma: An Annotated Bibliographical Guide to International Doctoral Dissertation Research, 1898–1985* (Lanham: Asia Program, The Wilson Centre and University Press of America, 1986).
- ³⁸ R.A. Morse (ed), *Burma: A Study Guide* (Washington DC: The Wilson Centre, 1987).
- ³⁹ Denise Bernot, *Bibliographie Birmane, Annees 1950–1960* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968).
- ⁴⁰ Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Indosinica: Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Ouvrages Relatifs a la Peninsule Indochinoise*, 4 volumes (Paris: L'Ecole Francais d'Extreme Orient/Leroux, 1912–15), volume 1, columns 1–516.
- ⁴¹ 'Burma and the Burmese', in J.F. Embree and L.O. Dotson, *Bibliography of the Peoples and Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1950), pp.159–317.
- ⁴² Denise Bernot et al, *Bibliographie Birmane, Annees 1960–1970*, 4 volumes (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982–4). The latter two fascicules, both dated 1984, covered authors from A–F and G–L.
- ⁴³ Andrew Griffith, *A Brief Guide to Sources for the Study of Burma in the India Office Records* (London: India Office Library and Records, 1979).
- ⁴⁴ B.C. Bloomfield, 'The South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series)*, Vol.115, No.1, January 1983, pp.83–4.
- ⁴⁵ Graham Shaw, *The South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography (SABREB), Stage 1: 1556–1800* (London: The British Library Publishing Division, 1987). As the British conquest of Burma did not begin until 1824, there are few references to Burma in this volume. It was anticipated, however, that Burma would receive greater attention in the volumes covering stage 2 (1801–1862) and stage 3 (1868–1900).
- ⁴⁶ P.M. Herbert, *Burma* (Oxford: Clio Press, 1991), p.xv.
- ⁴⁷ See, for example, *Reform in Myanmar: One Year On*, Asia Briefing No.136 (Jakarta/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 11 April 2012). See also Andrew Selth, 'Assessing Burma's reform program', *The Interpreter*, 24 January 2012, at <<http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2012/01/24/Assessing-Burmas-reform-program.aspx>>
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- ⁶⁶ In one case, the book was published in France but contains several chapters written in English.
- ⁶⁷ Schwertner, *Burma/Myanmar Bibliographic Project*, Vol.1, p.vii.
- ⁶⁸ These exceptions include a number of reports by the Brussels-based International Crisis Group, which initially produced hard copies but later seems only to have posted soft copies on the Internet. That said, many of the reports, academic papers and publications produced by advocacy groups and listed here can also be found on the Internet.
- ⁶⁹ For example, Emma Larkin's 2010 book *Everything Is Broken* was released in the US under the title *No Bad News for the King: The True Story of Cyclone Nargis and Its Aftermath in Burma* (New York: Penguin, 2011). When *Little Daughter* (2009) by Zoya Phan and Damien Lewis was released in the US the following year it was called *Undaunted: My Struggle for Freedom and Survival in Burma* (New York: Free Press, 2010).
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Appendix

Publications to read before visiting Burma

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

A large number of 'coffee table' books about Burma have been published over the past 25 years, as foreigners have enjoyed greater access 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* (Bangkok: Asia Books, 1996). Also worth looking through is John Falconer et al, *7 Days in Myanmar: A Portrait of Burma by 30 Great Photographers* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2014). A more specialised — but lavishly illustrated — volume that describes sites in Burma that are not as well known is Ma Thanegi and Barry Broman, *Myanmar Architecture: Cities of Gold* (Singapore: Times Editions, 2005). For some stunning black and white photographs, see Nic Dunlop's *Brave New Burma* (Stockport: Dewi Lewis, 2013).

After being ignored — or shunned — by the tourist industry for decades, foreign interest in Burma has exploded since 2011, and as a consequence there is now a wide range of travel guides available. The most informative and practical work in English is probably Simon Richmond, et al, *Myanmar (Burma)* (Melbourne: Lonely Planet Publications, 2014). However, *Myanmar (Burma)* (London: Insight Guides, 2013) is easier to read and has more photographs. Another well-illustrated guide, with helpful maps, is David Abram's *Myanmar (Burma)* (London: Dorling Kindersley, 2014). A different approach is taken in Morgan Edwardson, *To Myanmar With Love: A Travel Guide for the Connoisseur* (San Francisco: ThingsAsian, 2009). This work is organised by theme rather than by destination. A useful reference book for those wishing to look up basic facts and figures is Jan Becka, *Historical Dictionary of Myanmar* (London: Scarecrow Press, 1995). If that book cannot be found, a fallback is D.M. Seekins, *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), but some entries need to be treated with caution.

Win Pe's *Dos and Don'ts in Myanmar* (Bangkok: Book Promotion and Service Ltd, 1996) provides a simple guide to Burmese customs and practices for the foreign visitor. A more recent publication in this genre is Saw Myat Yin, *Culture Shock! Myanmar: A Survival Guide to Customs and Etiquette* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2013). One expatriate businessman's view is given in H.C.M. Sim, *Myanmar on My Mind: A Guide to Living and Doing Business in Myanmar* (Singapore: Times Books International, 2001). Burmese is a notoriously difficult language to learn, but *Burmese Phrasebook and Dictionary* (Hawthorn: Lonely Planet, 2014) can help those wishing to acquire some basic words and phrases. 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* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003). It is worth comparing this 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* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008).

About two thirds of Burma's population still live in rural towns and villages, but the country is increasingly 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* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997). 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* (Chicago: Association of Myanmar

Architects and Serindia Publications, 2012). Its photographs are a helpful guide to anyone wishing to explore Rangoon's wonderful but sadly neglected colonial architecture. 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* (Bangkok: River Books, 2011). A good introduction to Mandalay is Dhida Saraya, *Mandalay: The Capital City, The Centre of the Universe* (Bangkok: Muang Boran, 1995). For Pagan, D.M. Stadtner, *Ancient Pagan: Buddhist Plain of Merit* (Bangkok: River Books, 2005) is highly recommended.

Michael Charney offers a concise and accessible introduction to Burma's recent past in *A History of Modern Burma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Quite a different approach has been taken by Michael Aung Thwin and Matrii Aung Thwin, *A History of Myanmar Since Ancient Times: Traditions and Transformations* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013). In a bold and at times provocative study, they emphasize local sources and fresh interpretations of historical trends and events. The modern period is also well covered in Thant Myint U, *The Making of Modern Burma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For the earlier historical period, 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* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Also worth reading is Michael Aung Thwin, *Pagan: The Origins of Modern Burma* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985).

While a little hard to find, a local account of Burma's resistance to conquest and colonial occupation can be found in Nyi Nyi Myint, *Burma's Struggle Against British Imperialism (1885-1895)* (Rangoon: The Universities Press, 1983). The same broad theme is picked up in Maung Maung's more detailed treatment of the subject, *Burmese Nationalist Movements, 1940-1948* (Edinburgh: Kiscadale, 1989). 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* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2009).

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

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. Even so, there is a large body of literature and popular music which trades on his imagined knowledge of the country. Those wishing to learn more about Kipling's tentative links with Burma might start by consulting the articles found in *The Kipling Journal*, No.219, September 1981 (available on line). Also relevant is Andrew Lycett (ed), *Kipling Abroad: Traffics and Discoveries: From Burma to Brazil* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010). On the ballad itself, its numerous musical settings and its continuing relevance to Burma in literature, art and films, see Andrew Selth, *Kipling, "Mandalay" and Burma in the Popular Imagination*, Working Paper No.161 (Southeast Asia Research Centre, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong SAR, 2015).

There are numerous memoirs of the colonial period (1824-1948) by civil servants, missionaries and soldiers. A good example is H.T. White, *A Civil Servant in Burma* (London: Edward Arnold, 1913). One of the most entertaining and elegantly written is Leslie Glass, *The Changing of Kings: Memories of Burma, 1934-1949* (London: Peter Owen, 1985), followed closely by the works of Maurice Collis. Among other books, he wrote *Trials in Burma* (London: Faber, 1938), *Lords of the Sunset: A Tour in the Shan States* (London: Faber, 1938) and *Into Hidden Burma: An Autobiography* (London: Faber, 1953). A Thai perspective is offered in Damrong Rajanubhab, *Journey Through Burma in 1936* (Bangkok: River Books, 1991). Two other books in this broad 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* (Newtown: Superscript, 2005) and C.H. Campagnac, *The Autobiography of a Wanderer in England and Burma* (Raleigh: Sandra Campagnac-Carney and Lulu Enterprises, 2011). For an engaging biography of the British forester 'Elephant Bill' Williams, see V.C. Croke, *Elephant Company* (New York: Random House 2014).

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* (London: John Murray, 2004) and Frank

McLynn, *The Burma Campaign: Disaster Into Triumph, 1942-45* (London: The Bodley Head, 2010). The standard reference work, however, remains Louis Allen, *Burma: The Longest War, 1941-45* (London: Dent, 1984). For a first-hand account of the Burma campaign by a key participant, a reader cannot go past William Slim, *Defeat Into Victory* (London: Cassell and Co., 1956). Another excellent memoir, this time from a footsoldier's viewpoint, is George MacDonald Fraser's *Quartered Safe Out Here: A Recollection of the War in Burma* (London: Harper Collins, 2000). The Japanese experience is captured well by John Nunneley and Kazuo Tamayama, *Tales by Japanese Soldiers of the Burma Campaign, 1942-1945* (London: Cassell, 2000). For a compelling fictional look at the war, see Michio Takeyama, *Harp of Burma* (Boston: Tuttle, 1997).

Burma's own perspective on the war has been captured in a number of interesting and readable books. For example, the country's president at the time gives his account of events in Ba Maw, *Breakthrough in Burma: Memoirs of a Revolution, 1939-1946* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968). His account complements two classics in this category, namely Khin Myo Chit, *Three Years Under the Japs* (Sanchaung: The Author, 1945) and Nu, *Burma Under the Japanese* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1954). Also worth tracking down and reading, if possible, are English translations of two other Burmese books about this period. One is Theippan Maung Wa (U Sein Tin), *Wartime in Burma: A Diary, January to June 1942* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009). The other is Kyaw Ma Ma Lay, *A Man Like Him: Portrait of the Burmese Journalist, Journal Kyaw U Chit Maung* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2008).

There are a large number of books about the infamous Burma-Thai railway. The majority of memoirs, however, have been written by former Allied prisoners of war about operations in Thailand, and do not refer specifically to conditions working on the railway in Burma. Two notable exceptions, giving perspectives from both sides, are Rowley Richards, *A Doctor's War* (Sydney: Harper Collins, 2005), and Kazuo Tamayama, *Railwaymen in the War: Tales by Japanese Railway Soldiers in Burma and Thailand 1941-47* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). The dreadful plight of the thousands of Asian (including Burmese) labourers recruited by the Japanese to work on the railway is spelt out in volume three of the monumental six volume study edited by Paul Kratoska, *The Thailand-Burma Railway, 1942-1946: Documents and Selected Writings* (London: Routledge, 2006).

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* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975). Also worth reading is Wendy Law-Yone, *Golden Parasol: A Daughter's Memoir of Burma* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2013), which provides a window on Burmese political and social life during the 1950s and 1960s. Another source for this turbulent period is Angelene Naw, *Aung San and the Struggle for Burmese Independence* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2001). Kin Oung offers a personal perspective on the vexed question *Who Killed Aung San?* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1996). For a more scholarly account, see Robert H. Taylor, 'Politics in Late Colonial Burma: The Case of U Saw', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.10, No.2, 1976. The best study of the Burmese armed forces' early development and critical political role is Mary Callahan, *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003). This period is also covered well in Thant Myint U, *The River of Lost Footsteps: Histories of Burma* (New York: Farrer, Straus and Giroux, 2006).

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* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015). Also helpful in this regard is Taylor's ground-breaking study of *The State in Myanmar* (London: Hurst and Co., 2009). Another useful source of information and insights on the socialist period is Yoshihiro Nakanishi, *Strong Soldiers, Failed Revolution: The State and Military in Burma, 1962-88* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013). Two other important studies of modern Burma, describing the armed forces' seizure of power and the consequences for the country, are Martin Smith, *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity* (London: Zed Books, 1999) and Bertil Lintner, *Burma In Revolt: Opium and Insurgency Since 1948* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999). Harriet O'Brien provides a personal view of Burma during the 1970s in *Forgotten Land: A Rediscovery of Burma* (London: Michael Joseph, 1991).

There is no definitive history of the nation-wide pro-democracy uprising which wracked Burma in 1988. The best known account, written shortly after the events described and based largely on interviews with eye-witnesses, is Bertil Lintner, *Outrage: Burma's Struggle for Democracy* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1990). A different version of events is given by one of the country's presidents at the time, in Maung Maung, *The 1988 Uprising in Burma*, Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Monograph No.49 (New Haven: Yale University, 1999). These two accounts and one other are usefully

compared in Hans-Bernd Zollner, 'Behind the Smoke of "Myth" and "Counter-Myth": Contours of What Happened in Burma in 1988', in Volker Grabowsky (ed), *Southeast Asian Historiography: Unravelling the Myths* (Bangkok: River Books, 2011). Also relevant in this regard is the moving prison memoir by Ma Thanegi, *Nor Iron Bars A Cage* (San Francisco: ThingsAsian Press, 2013).

On the contemporary period, a first time visitor to Burma should begin by browsing through David Steinberg, *Burma/Myanmar: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Another possible starting point is Donald M. Seekins, *The Disorder in Order: The Army-State in Burma since 1962* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2002) which describes in simple and straightforward terms the development of the military regime up to the turn of the century. 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* (Berlin: Regiospectra Verlag, 2012). At a different level, Ian Holliday's *Burma Redux: Global Justice and the Quest for Political Reform in Myanmar* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 2011) provides a thoughtful description of Burma's problems to that date, and canvasses a range of possible solutions. The military regime's point of view — at least, until the advent of a new hybrid civilian-military government in 2011 — is described in Hla Min, *Political Situation of Myanmar and Its Role in the Region* (Yangon: Office of Strategic Studies, Ministry of Defence, 2000).

The advent of President Thein Sein's reformist government in 2011 has encouraged a flood of new publications. Many approach such questions as governance, economic growth, internal security, civil society and human rights from particular points of view. Not all 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* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2014). The Australian National University's 2013 Myanmar Update Conference was followed by two publications which canvassed a wide range of current issues. One was Nick Cheesman, Nicholas Farrelly and Trevor Wilson (eds), *Debating Democratization in Myanmar* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014). Other papers from the conference were published in a special issue of the journal *South East Asia Research*, entitled 'Myanmar's Democratisation', Vol. 22, No. 2, June 2014.

Burma's main opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, has written three books, *Freedom From Fear* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995), *Letters from Burma* (London: Penguin, 1997), and *The Voice of Hope: Conversations with Alan Clements, with contributions by U Kyi Maung and U Tin U* (New York: Seven Stories, 2008). Some of her speeches and informal comments 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* (Hamburg: AberaVerlag, 2014). The world is still waiting for a rigorous and objective analytical study of Aung San Suu Kyi's political thinking and role in modern Burmese politics. However, she has already 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* (London: Hutchinson, 2007), Peter Popham, *The Lady and the Peacock: The Life of Aung San Suu Kyi* (London: Rider Books, 2011) and Rena Pederson, *The Burma Spring: Aung San Suu Kyi and the New Struggle for the Soul of a Nation* (New York: Pegasus, 2015). The most critical is Bertil Lintner, *Aung San Suu Kyi and Burma's Struggle for Democracy* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2011).

For insights into daily life in Burma under the generals, particularly since 1988, see Christina Fink, *Living Silence: Burma Under Military Rule* (London: Zed Books, 2009). Also relevant is Zoya Phan and Damien Lewis, *Little Daughter: A Memoir of Survival in Burma and the West* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2009). If a copy can be found, it is worth dipping into Maggie Lemere and Zoe West (eds), *Nowhere to Be Home: Narratives from Survivors of Burma's Military Regime* (San Francisco: McSweeney, 2011). A more recent collection is Wen-Ching Chang and Eric Tagliacozzo (eds), *Burmese Lives: Ordinary Life Stories Under the Burmese Regime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). A delightful description of modern Burma by a well-informed foreign observer is Emma Larkin, *Secret Histories: Finding George Orwell in a Burmese Teashop* (London: John Murray, 2004). Equally readable is Emma Larkin's *Everything is Broken: The Untold Story of Disaster Under Burma's Military Rule* (London: Granta, 2010).

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 on line, 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 and Human Rights Watch. Although they are often 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 All Burma Students Democratic Front and the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma). A selection has been listed in this bibliography.

Access to the Internet in Burma has long been the subject of close interest by human rights campaigners, among others. A useful introduction to the subject, with a specific section on the implications for Burma, is Shanthi Kalathil and T.C. Boas, *Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003). A more focused study is *Internet Filtering in Burma in 2005: A Country Study*, published on line by the Open Net initiative in 2005. In 2009, the Paris-based group Reporters Without Borders issued a report entitled *Internet Enemies*, which included a section that was highly critical of the situation in Burma. On the news media and telecommunications 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* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

For an excellent overview of legal issues, and the way they have been approached by Western (and other) scholars, see Melissa Crouch, 'Rediscovering "Law" in Myanmar: A Review of Scholarship on the Legal System in Myanmar', *Pacific Rim Law and Policy Review*, Vol.23, No.3, June 2014. Andrew Huxley offers a different kind of introduction to these issues in 'Precolonial Burmese Law: Conical Hat and Shoulder Bag', *International Institute of Asian Studies Newsletter*, No.25, 2001, available on line. 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* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2014). Although it is aimed more at the specialist, also recommended is Nick Cheesman, *Opposing the Rule of Law: How Myanmar's Courts Make Law and Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

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 has been written with the general reader in mind is *Opportunities and Pitfalls: Preparing for Burma's Economic Transition* (New York: Open Society Institute, 2006). 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* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009). More comprehensive and up to date is Ian Brown, *Burma's Economy in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Should anyone wish to explore this subject more deeply, a good start would be P.J. Perry, *Myanmar (Burma) since 1962: the Failure of Development* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). On Burma's financial system, the best source is Sean Turnell, *Fierce Dragons: Banks, Moneylenders and Microfinance in Burma* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2009).

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* (Washington: East-West Centre, 2007). Martin Smith is also a contributor to a sumptuous photographic survey by R.K. Diran, *The Vanishing Tribes of Burma* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997). Another worthwhile study is Ashley South, *Ethnic Politics in Burma: States of Conflict* (London: Routledge, 2008). A more personal perspective on ethnic issues can be gained from Pascal Khoo Thwe, *From the Land of Green Ghosts: A Burmese Odyssey* (London: Harper Collins, 2002). Although it was written 20 years ago, Jonathan Falla's *True Love and Bartholomew: Rebels on the Burmese Border* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) is still worth reading for its eloquent description of the plight of the Karens along the Burma-Thai border. 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* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012).

On the many complex and controversial issues relating to the 'Rohingya' in Burma, an excellent introduction is Jacques Leider, 'Competing Identities and the Hybridized History of Rohingyas', in Renaud Egreteau and François Robinne (eds), *Myanmar in Transition: Studies in Political and Social Metamorphoses* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2015). If a copy can be found, also worth reading is Jacques Leider, 'Rohingya: The name, the movement, the quest for identity', in *Nation Building in Myanmar* (Yangon: Myanmar Egress and the Myanmar Peace Centre, 2013). Also relevant is the Burma section of Moshe Yegar, *Between Integration and Secession: The Muslim Communities of the Southern Philippines, Southern Thailand, and Western Burma* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2002). These works are well complemented by Greg Constantine's photographic study of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, *Exiled to Nowhere: Burma's Rohingya*, with a foreword by the author and Burma watcher Emma Larkin (Thailand: The Author, 2012).

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* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2006). 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* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013). On regional connections, a good start is Stephen McCarthy, 'Burma and ASEAN: A Marriage of Inconvenience', in Lowell Dittmer (ed), *Burma or Myanmar? The Struggle for National Identity* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2010). On bilateral relationships, see for example D.I. Steinberg and Hongwei Fan, *Modern China-Myanmar Relations: Dilemmas of Mutual Dependence* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2012) and Renaud Egretteau, *Wooing the Generals: India's New Burma Policy* (Delhi: Authors Press, 2003). There is at present no full-length study of Burma's relationship with the United States. However, the subject is addressed in Lynn Kuok, *Promoting Peace in Myanmar: U.S. Interests and Role* (Washington: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 2014) and Jurgen Haacke's chapter in D.I. Steinberg (ed), *Myanmar: The Dynamics of an Evolving Polity* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2014).

There are no major works that specifically examine Burma's security, but 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* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011). The subject is also introduced by Andrew Selth in *Burma: A Strategic Perspective* (San Francisco: Asia Foundation, 2001). The same author provided a detailed analysis of the Burmese armed forces since 1988 in *Burma's Armed Forces: Power Without Glory* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2002). For a similar, but later Burmese treatment of this topic, see Maung Aung Myoe, *Building the Tatmadaw: Myanmar Armed Forces Since 1948* (Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2009). Very little has been written about Burma's police force and intelligence agencies, but their status under President Thein Sein is discussed in broad terms in Andrew Selth, *Burma's Security Forces: Performing, Reforming or Transforming?* Regional Outlook No.45 (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2013), also available on line.

The face of insurgency in Burma is changing so quickly that anything recommended here would soon be out of date. That said, a helpful introduction to the subject is Paul Keenan, *By Force of Arms: Armed Ethnic Groups in Burma* (New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt. Ltd., 2013). A more nuanced overview is provided in 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* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2007). The reconciliation process and related peace negotiations are also constantly shifting. It is now a little out of date, but Zaw Oo and Win Min, *Assessing Burma's Ceasefire Accords*, Policy Studies 39 (Washington: East-West Centre, 2007) is worth a look. More comprehensive and up-to-date is Kyaw Yin Hlaing (ed), *Prisms on the Golden Pagoda: Perspectives on National Reconciliation in Myanmar* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2014). A short overview by a close observer is Min Zaw Oo, *Understanding Myanmar's Peace Process: Ceasefire Agreements* (Bern: Swisspeace, 2014). There are also a number of useful 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?* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2014).

Burma was once the world's largest producer of opium. It is now the second largest, after Afghanistan. It is also a major exporter of methamphetamines. The origins of the drug trade in the Golden Triangle (of northern Burma, Thailand and Laos) are covered by A.W. McCoy's monumental study, *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 2003). 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* (Singapore: John Wiley and Sons, 2011). The issue is also examined, albeit from quite different viewpoints, in *A Failing Grade: Burma's Drug Eradication Efforts* (Bangkok: ALTSEAN Burma, 2004) and Martin Jelsma et al, *Trouble in the Triangle: Opium and Conflict in Burma* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005). The methamphetamine problem is explored in Bertil Lintner and Michael Black, *Merchants of Madness: The Methamphetamine Explosion in the Golden Triangle* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2009).

Books describing travels in Burma are proliferating as more foreigners visit the country and record their experiences. One early visitor was the novelist Somerset Maugham, who left his impressions of Burma in 1923 in *The Gentleman in the Parlour* (New York: Marlowe and Company, 1989). A later and equally celebrated effort was Norman Lewis, *Golden Earth: Travels in Burma* (London: Eland Books, 1984), describing his visit there in 1951. Another major work in this genre is Bertil Lintner's *Land of Jade* (Bangkok: White Orchid, 1996) about his journey across northern Burma from India to Thailand in 1987. In a similar vein is Shelby Tucker, *Among Insurgents: Walking Through Burma* (London: Radcliffe Press, 2000). Not quite as adventurous but no less entertaining is Andrew Marshall, *The Trouser People: Burma in the Shadow of the Empire* (Bangkok: River Books, 2012). A Western-style travel book by a contemporary

Burmese writer is Ma Thanegi, *The Native Tourist: A Holiday Pilgrimage in Myanmar* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004). Also, it is interesting to compare Paul Theroux's description of Burma in *The Great Railway Bazaar* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975) with the one he gave in *Ghost Train to the Eastern Star* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2008).

The best known description in English of classical Burmese culture and customs is J.G. Scott, *The Burman: His Life and Notions* (Whiting Bay: Kiscadale, 1989), first written under the pseudonym 'Shway Yoe' in 1882. Another standard work, still useful for its description of traditional Burmese life, is Mi Mi Khaing, *Burmese Family* (Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1946). In recent years, there have been a number of scholarly works written about Burmese women and their place in society, but the best introduction probably remains Mi Mi Khaing, *The World of Burmese Women* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1984). Broader and more up-to-date treatments of gender issues include Jessica Harriden, *The Authority of Influence: Women and Power in Burmese History* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2012), and Tharapi Than, *Women in Modern Burma* (London: Routledge, 2014). 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* (Berlin: RegioSpectra Verlag, 2011)

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* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995). 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* (Bangkok: River Books, 2012). Gavin Douglas provides a helpful introduction to traditional Burmese music with his chapter on 'Myanmar (Burma)', in John Shepherd et al (eds), *Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World, Vol.4* (London: Continuum Publishing Group, 2005). Modern Western-style music in Burma is examined in Heather Maclachlan, *Burma's Pop Music Industry: Creators, Distributors, Censors* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2011). Although there are more recent books on the subject, Ma Thanegi, *The Illusion of Life* (Bangkok: White Orchid, 1994) provides an eminently readable introduction to Burma's puppet theatre.

It is not possible to visit Burma without being struck by the role Buddhism plays in daily life. This subject is examined in Juliane Schober, *Modern Buddhist Conjunctures in Myanmar: Cultural Narratives, Colonial Legacies, and Civil Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011). Another book 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* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014). Its findings are also relevant to modern Burma, as the country tentatively embraces the world 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* (Honolulu: East-West Centre, 2014). See also D.M. Stadtner's invaluable survey *Sacred Sites of Burma: Myth and Folklore in an Evolving Spiritual Realm* (Bangkok: River Books, 2011). For the historical and religious significance of the revered Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon, a good start is Elizabeth Moore, Hansjorg Mayer and U Win Pe, *Shwedagon: Golden Pagoda of Myanmar* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999).

For those wishing to learn something about other religions in Burma, Islam's position is summarised by Curtis Lambrecht's 'Burma (Myanmar)', in Greg Fealy and Virginia Hooker (eds), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006). Ruth Cernea's *Almost Englishmen: Baghdadi Jews in British Burma* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007) usefully covers the decline of the local Jewish community from its heyday under the British colonial administration. Curiously, there is no comprehensive overview of Christianity's place in Burma, but an idea of its changing fortunes can be gained from M.D. Leigh, *Conflict, Politics and Proselytism: Methodist missionaries in colonial and postcolonial Upper Burma, 1887-1966* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011). A personal account 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* (Kibworth Beauchamp: Matador, 2012). On the impact of the Baptists, see J.G. Duesing (ed), *Adoniram Judson: A Bicentennial Appreciation of the Pioneer American Missionary* (Nashville: B&H Publishing, 2012).

Despite being written over 50 years ago, E.H. Shattock, *An Experiment in Mindfulness* (London: Rider and Company, 1958) is still of interest as an autobiographical account by a Westerner studying Buddhist meditation in a Burmese monastery. In the same vein, and equally enjoyable to read, is Marie Byles' book *Journey Into Burmese Silence* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962). 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* (Bangkok: Buddhadhamma Foundation, 2001). 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* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013). The story is taken up by Ingrid Jordt, *Burma's Mass Lay Meditation Movement: Buddhism and the Cultural Construction of Power* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007).

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* (Brighton: In Print Publishing, 1994). This survey prompts a closer look at a few novels about the country, such as George Orwell, *Burmese Days* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969) and Ma Ma Lay, *Not Out of Hate* (Athens: Ohio University, 1991). A more recent offering is Wendy Law-Yone, *The Road to Wanting* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2010). Other recent and well-reviewed novels about Burma include Karel Van Loon, *The Invisible Ones* (London: Maia Press, 2006), Karen Connelly, *The Lizard Cage* (London: Harvill Secker, 2007) and Daniel Mason, *The Piano Tuner* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002). The best collection of Burmese folk tales is Gerry Abbott and Khin Thant Han, *The Folk-tales of Burma: An Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 2000). Burma's modern literary scene is described in Ellen Wiles, *Saffron Shadows and Salvaged Scripts: Literary Life in Myanmar Under Censorship and in Transition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

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* (London: Blackie, 1897). A later contribution (also set in the colonial period) was W.O. Stevens, *Drummer Boy of Burma* (London: Collins, 1946). Some thirty years later, the Asia Society in the US helped to publish a more culturally sensitive story by P.W. Garlan and Maryjane Dunstan entitled *Orange-Robed Boy* (New York: The Viking Press, 1967). 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* (New York: W.R. Scott, 1960). A more recent multilingual effort is Dedie King and Judith Inglese, *I See the Sun in Myanmar (Burma)* (Hardwick: Satya House, 2013).

The most comprehensive English language survey of Burmese arts and crafts is Sylvia Fraser-Lu, *Burmese Crafts, Past and Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). By the same author is *Splendour in Wood: The Buddhist Monasteries of Burma* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2001). Sylvia Fraser-Lu also collaborated with Donald Stadtner to edit the excellent *Buddhist Art of Myanmar* (New Haven: Asia Society Museum and Yale University Press, 2015). For more specialised studies, see Andrew Ranard, *Burmese Painting: A Linear and Lateral History* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009), Elizabeth Dell and Sandra Dudley (eds), *Textiles from Burma* (London: Philip Wilson, 2003), and Than Htun (Dedaye), *Lacquerware Journeys: The Untold Story of Burmese Lacquer* (Bangkok: River Books, 2013). 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 also covered in Anne Richter, *The Jewelry of Southeast Asia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000). Burma also features in M.A. Stanislaw, *Kalagas: The Wall Hangings of Southeast Asia* (Singapore, Ainslie's, 1987).

For those with an interest in Burma's unique and abundant 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* (London: John Murray, 1989). A much-loved book about Burmese elephants, written by a real 'jungle wallah', is J.H. Williams, *Bandoola* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1953). For ornithologists, nothing can beat B.E. Smythies's monumental *The Birds of Burma* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1940), but a more convenient book for travellers is Kyaw Nyunt Lwin and Khin Ma Ma Thwin, *Birds of Myanmar* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2003). Two recent books which are both informative and entertaining are Alan Rabinowitz, *Beyond the Last Village: A Journey of Discovery in Asia's Forbidden Wilderness* (Washington DC: Shearwater Books, 2001) and W.J. Kress, *The Weeping Goldsmith: Discoveries in the Secret Land of Myanmar* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2009). 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* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

There is a growing number of books about Burmese cuisine but a good introduction is Mohana Gill, *Myanmar: Cuisine, Culture and Customs* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International (Asia) Pte. Ltd., 2014). If that is not available, an alternative is Tin Cho Chaw, *hsa*ba: Burmese Cookbook* (London: Grassblades, 2008). There is also a chapter on Burma in Charmaine Solomon, *The Complete Asian Cookbook* (Sydney: Paul Hamlyn, 1976). For the non-specialist, a simple introduction to Burmese philately is Min Sun Min, *Stamps of Burma: A Historical Record Through 1988* (Chiang Mai: Mekong Press, 2007). A better guide is Gerald Davis and Denys Martin, *Burma Postal History* (London:

Robson Lowe, 1971). For a broader view, see Andrew Selth, 'Burma puts its stamp on the world: philately and foreign policy', *The Interpreter*, 7 January 2014, available on line. Although now over 30 years old, the best overall guide to Burmese numismatics is M. Robinson and L.A. Shaw, *The Coins and Banknotes of Burma* (Manchester: The Authors, 1980). A recent but more specialised work in this field is Than Htun (Dedaye), *Auspicious Symbols and Ancient Coins of Myanmar* (Selangor: Ava House, 2007).

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

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