

# **“Developing” Intellectuals in Cold War Burma: The Production of *The Atlantic's* 1958 Country Supplement**

*by Su Lin Lewis*

*University of Bristol*

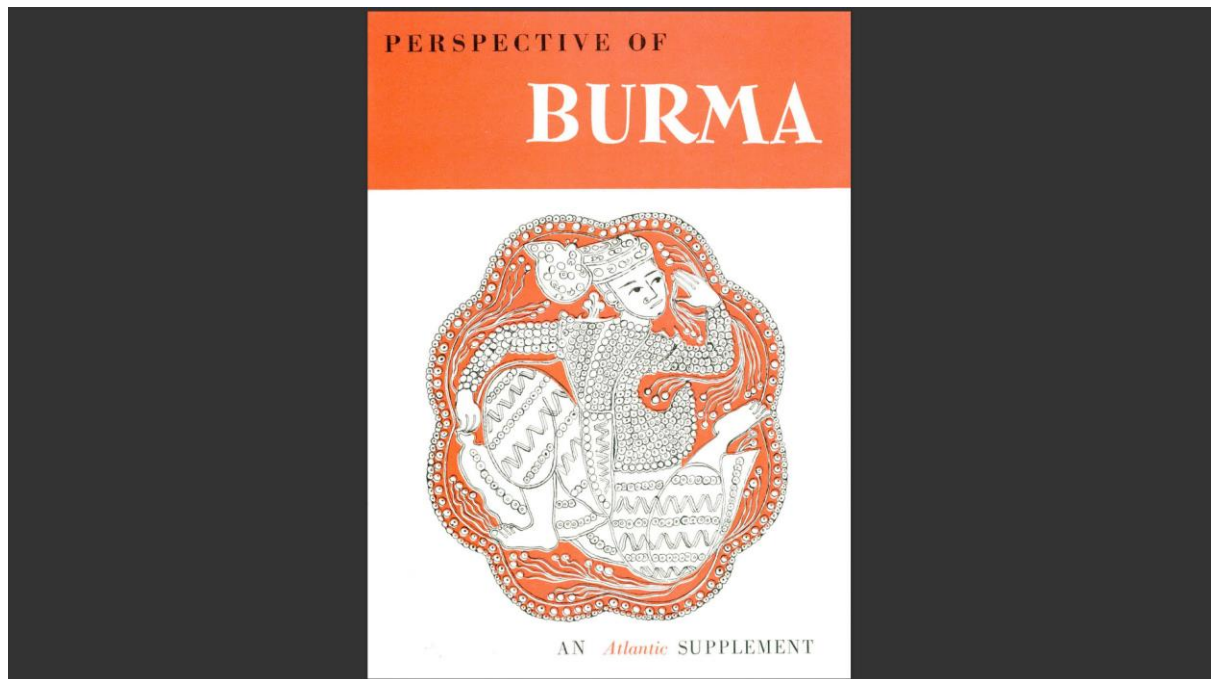


© 2023 by Su Lin Lewis

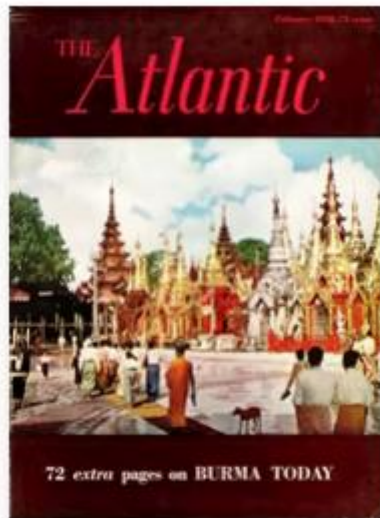


## Abstract

This report features part of an article I am working on about development, soft power, and Cold War competition in 1950s Burma and Indonesia, from the perspective of Burmese and Indonesian intellectuals and artists. It tells the backstory of the production of *The Atlantic's* 1958 supplement on Burma, one of several country supplements the Ford Foundation produced throughout the 1950s as part of its Intercultural Publications project. James Laughlin's reports in the Ford Foundation archives reveal the fascinating backstory of the issue and the agency of intellectuals within Cold War development programs, while pointing to the neglected role of "culture" in the history of development.



Cover of the “Perspective of Burma” country supplement published in the 1958 issue of *The Atlantic*.



This cover was originally published by *The Atlantic* and is republished here with *The Atlantic's* permission."

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2008/09/burma-a-special-supplement/306820/>

### 3 RAC RESEARCH REPORTS

In the early 1950s, the Ford Foundation engaged in a Cold War literary initiative to “promote global understanding” and show that ordinary Americans cared about the wider world. With James Laughlin, the independent publisher who brought Nabokov, Neruda, and Borges to American audiences, it established Intercultural Publications to engage European leftist intellectuals on common ground.<sup>1</sup> It also funded the publication of a number of country supplements for the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine on Japan, Germany, Italy, Greece, Brazil, Holland, India, Indonesia, the Arab World, and Burma. The supplements featured writings by prominent intellectuals of each country or area, with essays introducing aspects of their political, social, and cultural life to the wider world.

Enthusiasts of Burmese history will likely have come across the colourful 1958 Burma supplement in online marketplaces or in private libraries. The Burma supplement (republished online by *The Atlantic* in 2008) featured not only writers and poets but its most prominent (and literary-minded) politicians, including Prime Minister U Nu and U Thant, then Burma’s representative to the United Nations and later the UN’s third secretary-general. James Barrington, Burma’s former ambassador to the US, wrote on Burma’s commitment to neutrality in the Cold War. Two of Burma’s most prominent female intellectuals, Daw Mi Mi Khaing and Daw Mya Sein, commented on Burmese cultural life and the comparative independence of Burmese women. Colour images of Burmese art, sculpture, and architecture – from the temples of 12th c. Pagan to the modernist paintings of U Aung Soe - are nestled within its pages.

Burma in the 1950s was a hotbed of cultural experimentation as well as development competition. The Burmese government, as well as the Burmese public, were wary of American or Soviet interference in their affairs, so accepted aid from both sides and practiced a policy of active neutralism and non-alignment throughout the 1950s. Along with Indonesia, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), it was one of the key organisers of the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung, an inaugural moment in Third World internationalism and non-aligned politics. Concerned about US involvement in

border conflicts between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party, Burma rejected American government aid in 1952. With the rejection of official US aid dollars, American philanthropic foundations stepped in to fill the void.

In 1952, Edwin Arnold and Dyke Brown undertook a scoping mission to Indonesia and Burma for the Ford Foundation. They concluded that both countries showed a willingness to work with the Foundation to achieve aims of peace and democracy.<sup>2</sup> By 1957, Ford worked with various government institutions and organisations to establish several projects in Burma: an agricultural education program, rural youth exchanges, nutrition research, community development, management training, technical education, and Buddhist studies – all activities designed to “enhance Burma’s own capabilities for further developing her human and material resources” (or “capacity-building” in today’s development jargon).<sup>3</sup>

Histories of development often focus on issues around the kinds of activities described above: technical assistance, nutrition, and community development.<sup>4</sup> Though “culture” has been examined as a tool of soft power and diplomacy, “culture” as a development project has received less attention.<sup>5</sup> But the Ford Foundation archives show that culture – and in particular, the “development” of urban intellectuals as representatives of their culture - was very much part of a wider development program in Burma. Post-colonial intellectuals were seen as a driver of change and a taming force against ideological extremism, as evident in modernization theory of the time, particularly the work of Edward Shils and Daniel Bell.<sup>6</sup> By 1958, Edwin Arnold, who had become Ford’s representative in Burma, proposed that the “Perspective of Burma” project be tied into the Foundations’ general program through a series of organised activities among Burmese writers, artists, and intellectuals. The objectives of “this little ‘developmental program’” were defined in the grant letter as follows: “1) stimulating a conscious self-analysis of Burmese culture; 2) bringing about a thoughtful selection of the aspects of it to be presented to Western readers; 3) developing additional stimulus to creativity by Burmese writers, poets, publishers, etc.; and 4) discovering new Burmese creative talent not yet recognized and established.”<sup>7</sup> The aim was to establish a close working

relationship with Burmese writers, and make it significant for them as representatives of their own culture.

Up until recently in histories of development, Asian and African actors were often seen as recipients and beneficiaries of aid, rather than development actors in their own right.<sup>8</sup> Increasingly, scholars are examining the ways in which political leaders and intellectuals engaged with concepts of development on their own terms.<sup>9</sup> In Erez Manela and Stephen Macekura's recent book, the various chapters explore the way in which aid flowed not simply from North to South, but "emerged and travelled in complex, multidirectional pathways that, while surely inflected and directed by state power in significant ways, also flowed through civil society activists organizations, expert networks, and domestic interest groups."<sup>10</sup> Political leaders and intellectuals, as well as activists and artists, were not only the key targets of social development programs put forth by Cold War powers; they were key interlocutors and thus active agents who seized and shaped the opportunities such programs provided. Their bilingualism, knowledge, and networks enabled them not only to represent the populations that such programs sought to target, but to direct and channel aid to particular programs and issues.

*The Atlantic* issue gave Burmese intellectuals and writers a voice to lay out their visions of development to an international audience; some did not always align with American intentions. U Kyaw Nyein commented on the core problem of Burma's socialist vision of development: finding sufficient capital to both develop the economy and promote social welfare on a vast scale.<sup>11</sup> U Nu argued that the dire state of Burma's social and economic status was not in keeping with the "wonderful physical exploits of our forefathers," and that much could be found in the traditions of the past: modern changes in food technology had led Burmese to turn to eating refined white rice, devoid of its nutritional value while foreign firms pushed expensive vitamins on the Burmese population.<sup>12</sup> James Barrington defended Burma's policy of neutralism on development grounds: while the country was faced with the challenge of "telescoping economic and social development," other countries had entered the atomic age, threatening to "widen the gap" which already exists between them and

underdeveloped countries.<sup>13</sup> Daw Mi Mi Khaing and Daw Mya Sein employed the familiar trope of the comparative high status of Burmese women, pointing to freedom in marriage, divorce, and inheritance, which explained why they had not had to fight for equality with other, which provided them more gender equality than other Asian and Western countries.<sup>14</sup> There were conflicting views on American aid: economist U Tun Thin's gratitude for much-needed American technical assistance contrasted with journalist U Law Yone's critique of socialist government policies, including American-, Japanese-, and Italian-funded spinning and weaving factory "running at a loss."<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, U Thant, then Prime Minister U Nu's personal secretary, highlighted government efforts to build a nation to repair war damage and work towards self-development. These included efforts in education, health, and agriculture education policy; some of which had been funded in part by Ford programming, including the distribution of school textbooks, investing in technical and agricultural schools, providing scholarships to study abroad, teacher training programs, and mass education programs for adults. This programming had been formulated in collaboration with Burma's post-war government, providing Ford with the necessary direction for investing its resources.

### ***Producing Perspective on Burma***

Like its overall development program, the Ford Foundation's cultural programming relied on Burmese input; the supplement provided a platform for Burmese leaders, intellectuals, and artists, and they, in turn, used it to put forth a new image of post-colonial Burma to the world. Despite the patronising aims of the project's US backers, it was Burmese intellectuals such as U Thant, and U Myat Kyaw, a former editor and journalist "on loan" from the US Information Agency, who guided the project through. These interlocutors deftly navigated the demands of American publishing hands with the portraits presented by a diverse group of Burmese of their native country and had the gravitas to do so.

In a study of a play commissioned by U Nu as part a government propaganda effort, Michael Charney has argued that “What made Burma’s experiences during the early years of the Cold War unique was the prominent place held by writers in Burmese society.”<sup>16</sup>

While the project aimed to “discover new creative talent” in Burma, half of the contributors were well-known, cosmopolitan intellectuals and writers who had been educated in English and had already had various interactions with foreigners in Burma, as well as abroad. As Laughlin noted, some had already been introduced to American audiences via Edward R. Murrow’s 1957 Burma episode of *See It Now*, which included an interview with the *Nation* editor, Edward Law Yone. Daw Mya Sein interviewed Marian Anderson in Burma for a Murrow telecast of the opera singer’s 1957 Asian tour. Others, such as Mi Mi Khaing, were well-known social commentators on Burma who wrote in English.

These Burmese writers and intellectuals fed into the execution of the project, critiquing Laughlin’s initial hope to hold a conference or workshop, abandoned due to the problem of “Burmese notions of seniority.” The editor thus concentrated on individual and small-group discussions: “Ideas were picked up from one source, then tried out on others – a rather involved process – but it appeared to be stimulating experience for most of the Burmese, and in certain cases one sensed an increase in an individuals’ awareness of his responsibilities and possibilities as an intellectual.” Laughlin’s report needed to show results: that the project resulted in an *improvement* in intellectual awareness relied on debasing, subverting, and marginalising the intellectual accomplishments of the project’s target beneficiaries.

For most of the writers and intellectuals involved in the group, this was not the first time they participated in projects intended to raise intellectual consciousness in service of the nation. Many of those involved in *The Atlantic* project had been part of similar educational projects in the late colonial era, proof that it was not only colonial officials who made the journey, as Eva-Maria Muschik has argued, from the world of colonial to international development.<sup>17</sup>



Some of the Burmese contributors had been part of a circle of interlocutors, colleagues, and students, either through education or intellectual circles, of the colonial scholar turned development advisor J.S. Furnivall. U May Oung, Daw Mya Sein's father, had founded in 1912 the Burma Research Society with Furnivall. When interactions between whites and Asians were discouraged, the Burma Research Society acted as a joint venture between sympathetic Europeans (many of whom, including Furnivall, had married Burmese women) and a group of educated Burmese, some schooled abroad, to promote Burmese literature and culture.<sup>18</sup> Furnivall was also a mentor to U Nu, U Thant, U Kyaw Nyein, and Aung San in their student days at Rangoon University, connecting these students to the British Left Book Club and other leftist literature.<sup>19</sup> He, in turn, was one of the only British colonial officers called back to Burma in 1948 to advise U Nu's government on its development programming.

By the 1950s, the group of Burmese intellectuals who were leaders and participants of anti-colonial student movements at Rangoon University had become part of a powerful Burmese development set, acting not only in positions of political power in which they could advise funders and channel aid, but also operate in wider international circles. U Kyaw Nyein, who wrote the issue's introduction and worked closely with its writers, was not only the country's deputy prime minister, but a key interlocutor of international development organisations. Daw Mya Sein, apart from becoming a prominent historian in her own right, had been a delegate to the London Round Table Conference and the Paris UNESCO Conference of 1946, and was, in the 1950s, president of the National Council of Women, and leading social welfare initiatives. They were recognisable figures to the generation of intellectuals who participated in previous cosmopolitan intellectual ventures like the BRS. Upon publication of the volume, Maurice Collis, a writer who had resided in colonial Burma and had published frequently in the Burma Research Society's journal, and was by the 1950s residing in the Berkshires, wrote to the Ford Foundation in 1958 to say "What I feel makes it so good is that all contributors are persons of eminence in some walk of life or other; the fact that they write so clearly and well is proof of the intellectual level now prevailing in Burma."

By contrast to the enthusiasm of readers such as Collis, who knew Burma well, Laughlin's notes read like those of a mid-colonial administrator with Orientalist, racially inflected views of progress, lamenting "poorly developed" critical faculties and a lack of comparative sensibilities. He prefaced his comments that his generalisations were "rash" considering his position as an observer "that cannot even read the language." Comparing Burma to Japan and India, Laughlin did not see "much indication of a 'nationalistic' attitude towards the Burmese heritage" and thought that most of the writers "appeared to look on classical Burmese literature more as part of their religious (Buddhist tradition) than as an expression of the nation's spirit."<sup>20</sup> Classical Burmese literary traditions, however, had been virtually erased with British colonial rule, which began in 1888 with the expulsion of King Thibaw and the storming of the royal palace at Mandalay. Burma's royal elite and its literary traditions were destroyed, with schoolchildren instead immersed in British literary canons and culture.<sup>21</sup> Associations such as the Burma Research Society emerged to counter the erosion of Burmese national identity; the translation of Burmese epics, including the *Glass Palace Chronicles*, were founded as a source of cultural nationalism for the Burmese, while the society also explored cultural connections and comparisons across the region. While Burmese intellectuals lamented being brought up on an educational diet of British popular culture, some 1930s leftist student book clubs emerged to counteract this, translating the anti-colonial texts of Sun Yat-Sen, Jose Rizal, and Mahatma Gandhi.<sup>22</sup> These circles included U Nu, U Kyaw Nyein, and others involved in the volume.

Laughlin's reflections on the state of Burmese art and music were similarly essentialist. He argued that Burmese favoured Western popular music and jazz, but took no interest in their own folk or classical traditions. By contrast, Mi Mi Khaing, another contributor to the volume, had made a different observation of Burmese popular culture in one of her social commentaries about the 1930s in Rangoon;<sup>23</sup> she argued that while Western film overwhelmed the young generation completely, jazz was a different story: Burmese musicians often combined an array of techniques and instruments from around the world with Burmese folk songs. Laughlin's view that "the best artists were working at a level hardly above that of magazine illustration"<sup>24</sup> was probably a reference to Bagyi

U Aung Soe, featured in the supplement. He worked within the political economy of art in an age of post-war reconstruction, where artists earned their living through pulp literature. The artist drew on the explosion of Burmese graphic novels and political cartoons of the 1950s, using black lines and bold colours to depict Burmese life and culture.

Laughlin recommended more interventions by the Ford Foundation “to achieve the kind of sophistication which we associate with a European’s attitude to his culture.”<sup>25</sup> These included dispensing more fellowships and sending over more American and European professors to “explore and define their traditional cultural values.”<sup>26</sup> Other suggestions were more constructive, and it is probable that Burmese writers and editors involved in the project may have helped here: he advocated more financial aid to English-language magazines such as Burma’s *Guardian* and a prize contest in both the English and Burmese press to discover new talent. Despite the lack of appreciation for the rich history of its intellectuals evident in his development report, Laughlin nonetheless, through the course of the process of establishing a close working relationship with the writers, wrote that he “got to know Burma better than any of the other countries I have worked on, and really fell in love with the place and its fascinating cultural history, and there are so many things that I would like to cover in depth and detail.”<sup>27</sup> He found the task of cutting down the articles “extremely painful.”

But the finished product was no doubt a success. Burmese writers and editors were able to get their own projects funded and exposure to a wider audience, including a publication of an anthology of Burmese literature, a Burmese issue of the international literary journal *The Literary Review*, an American edition of Mi Mi Khaing’s *Burmese Family*, four other books by Burmese authors sent to American publishers, a handbook on Burma published by the Asia Library Series, and the preparation of a guidebook to Pagan. The Ford Foundation’s report of its “return on investment” reveal a fascinating picture of a Burmese, American, and global readership of the issue in an era when US foundations and other development organisations built intercultural networks with universities and publishers around the world. *The Atlantic* published almost 300,000

copies of the issue, to be sold on newsstands, sent to subscribers, and distributed to schools and colleges for classroom discussion. Intercultural Publications printed 27,000 reprints for the Burmese government to use in Burmese embassies and for commercial sales within Burma, Europe, and Asia. An edited Burmese-language edition was published by the Burma Translation Society, with 18,000 copies bound into the society's monthly magazine. The Asia Foundation used the supplement in "teaching packets" for teachers of Asian history. Some were sold to the National 4-H Club Foundation (whose international farm youth exchange programs, including to Burma, were also funded by the Ford Foundation). The University of Puerto Rico reprinted Khaing's article on the Burmese character for a freshman English course; Osaka University published a Japanese-language edition in its Burmese department; and the Indian Southern Languages Book Trust cooperated with UNESCO to publish a Tamil-language edition.

In examining reports such as Laughlin's, we must be conscious of the legacies of American and European supremacy, and the ways in which development reports in themselves – whether they are of intellectuals or village development – subvert rich histories and vibrant communities to point to beneficiaries in need of improvement. We can read against the grain of such reports, identifying their essentialising tropes, but contextualising the rich intellectual history of the regions in which they work and the actors behind such initiatives go some way to recovering the agency of intellectuals, once seen as targets of Cold War development projects. As Collis observed, the strength and reach of the volume was derived not from an American development project's stimulus of intellectual creativity, but from the internationalist Burmese intellectuals and writers who harnessed the opportunity to make Burmese society and culture known to the wider world.

Yet the composition of figures involved in the issue also pose questions as to who were excluded from such projects of American Cold War patronage and cultural nation-building. They point to the limits of the Ford Foundation archive in understanding the cultural landscape of countries like Burma. Missing from the volume were Mandalay-based leftist intellectuals such as

Ludu Daw Amar and Ludu U Hla, who were accused of communist sympathies, jailed by U Nu's government, and ran in leftist international circles that brought them to Beijing, Budapest, Moscow, and Prague. Both have long been regarded as pillars of Burmese literature and publishing. Ludu U Hla's attempt to collect as many of Burma's folktales as possible was funded entirely on his own, with no academic institution, government organisation, or private foundation, and has long earned him the reputation of a writer of the people (*Ludu*), also the name of the magazine and newspaper he published from the 1930s through to the early 1960s.<sup>28</sup> Ludu Daw Amar, his partner, published countless books on Burmese history and culture, and particularly of Mandalay; her first, in 1938, was a Burmese translation of Collis' *Trials in Burma*, a damning account of the British colonial administration.<sup>29</sup>

The expulsion of the Burmese Communist Party from Burma's post-war coalition, and the wars waged between the communists and Burma's new post-colonial government, also split Burma's intellectual class. The cosmopolitan development set of the Ford Foundation's internationalist interlocutors were all connected, supported, or implicated in the ruling government's anti-communist stance. U Kyaw Nyein's essay in *The Atlantic* issue tracked a trajectory from the once united front of communists and socialists that had made up Burma's first governing coalition and its subsequent dissolution by an armed communist uprising, and defended the government suppression of the insurgencies that followed. Ludu U Hla's alleged sympathies with the communist movement had resulted in a near assassination attempt of his entire family as well as imprisonment. But in 1958, the same year that *The Atlantic* issue was published, Ludu U Hla's *Hlaungyaing dwin hma hnget nge mya* (Young Birds in a Cage), won the UNESCO award for literature. The various networks of UNESCO administrators, Burmese interlocutors, and Burma literary scholars responsible for bringing this work of literature to the broader global public warrants a fascinating study to compliment *The Atlantic* issue, exploring the political motivations behind multiple directions of patronage and the networks of local actors who harnessed them.

It is significant that both these moments of international recognition for Burmese literature and intellectual life happened in 1958, the year in which Burmese state began to collapse as a result of political factionalism. Three years later, the Ford Foundation, the Asia Foundation, and the British Council were expelled from the country by Ne Win's military caretaker government. Ne Win's xenophobia was the culmination of widespread suspicion of the motivations of foreign agencies in the 1950s to interfere in the country's development. Many of the Burmese partners who were most receptive to working with US cultural organisations - politicians, judges, lawyers, and writers, including some of those who wrote for Burma's *Atlantic* issue - were arrested, some remaining in prison for many years; others – including Edward Law-Yone and Mi Mi Khaing - left the country in self-imposed exile. It is a great irony that the diverse openings of the 1950s in Burma, providing a range of political models and dynamic debate for different sectors of civil society, was followed by the enforced isolation of civil society in Burma - censored, suppressed, and cut off from foreign engagement for the better part of the next fifty years.

---

<sup>1</sup> Kathleen D. McCarthy, "From Cold War to Cultural Development: The International Cultural Activities of the Ford Foundation, 1950-1980," *Daedalus* 116:1 (1987)

<sup>2</sup> "Indonesia and Burma: Report of Edwin G. Arnold and Dyke Brown (1952) Report 000149", Catalogued Reports Virtual Vault, Ford Foundation records (hereafter FFR), Rockefeller Archive Center (hereafter RAC).

<sup>3</sup> *The Burma Program of the Ford Foundation 1953-1958* (New York: Ford Foundation, 1959)

<sup>4</sup> See for instance David Webster, "Development Advisors in a Time of Cold War and Decolonization: The United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, 1950-59," *Journal of Global History* 6:2 (2011) 249-272; Nicole Sackley, "The Village as Cold War Site: Experts, Development, and the History of Rural Reconstruction," *Journal of Global History* 6:3 (2011), 481-504; Nick Cullather, *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); Daniel Immerwahr, *Thinking Small: The United States and the Lure of Community Development* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> Some excellent studies of culture, soft power, and the agency of intellectuals in the Global South include Tony Day and Maya H. Liem, *Cultures at War: The Cold War and Cultural Expression in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010) and Patrick Iber, *Neither Peace nor Freedom: The Cultural Cold War in Latin America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015). While "development" is touched on tangentially in these works as part of US foreign policy, it does not often do so in conversation with the historiography of development.

---

<sup>6</sup> Edward Shils, "The Intellectuals and the Powers: Some Perspectives for Comparative Analysis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1:1 (1958) 5-22; Shils, *The Intellectual between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation* (The Hague: Mouton, 1961); Gilman, Nils. *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 56.

<sup>7</sup> Report on "Perspective of Burma" project, p.8, folder 123, box 5, "American Literary Manuscripts", FFR, RAC.

<sup>8</sup> For a historiography of this literature, see Joseph Hodge, "Writing the History of Development (Part 1: The First Wave)" in *Humanity* 6:3 (2015) and Hodge, "Writing the History of Development (Part 2: Longer, Deeper, Wider)" in *Humanity* 7:1 (2016).

<sup>9</sup> See for example: Benjamin Zachariah, *Development India: An Intellectual and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) and David Engerman, *The Price of Aid: The Economic Cold War in India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), Christy Thornton, *Revolution in Development: Mexico and the Governance of the Global Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021).

<sup>10</sup> Erez Manela and Stephen Macekura, "Introduction," *The Development Century*. See also chapters by Shayegh, Citino, Young, Miller, Lal, and Thornton on the engagement of developmental concepts and policies by elites in the Middle East, Sudan, Vietnam, Tanzania, and Mexico.

<sup>11</sup> U Kyaw Nyein, "Burma: An Introduction," *The Atlantic* (New York: Intercultural Publications, 1958), 4.

<sup>12</sup> U Nu, "The Public Weal: Excerpts from Speeches by the Honorable U Nu, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma" *The Atlantic*, 6.

<sup>13</sup> James Barrington, "The Concept of Neutralism," *The Atlantic*, 28.

<sup>14</sup> Daw Mi Mi Khaing, "Peoples of Burma," *The Atlantic*, 9; Daw Mya Sein, "The Women of Burma: A Tradition of Hard Work and Independence," *The Atlantic*, 24. This discourse has a long history: see Chie Ikeya, "Refiguring Women, Colonialism, and Modernity in Burma." In *Refiguring Women, Colonialism, and Modernity in Burma* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011); Lucy Delap, "Uneven Orientalisms: Burmese Women and the Feminist Imagination," *Gender & History* 24, no. 2 (2012): 389-410; Than, Tharaphi. *Women in Modern Burma* (London: Routledge, 2013).

<sup>15</sup> U Tun Thin, "Burma's Economy," *The Atlantic*, 64; U Law Yone, "Burma's Socialist Democracy," *The Atlantic*, 61.

<sup>16</sup> Michael W. Charney, "Ludu Aung Than: Nu's Burma during the Cold War" in Christopher E. Goscha and Christian F. Ostermann, *Connecting Histories: Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia, 1945-1962* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 350.

<sup>17</sup> Eva-Maria Muschik. "The Art of Chameleon Politics: From Colonial Servant to International Development Expert," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 9, no. 2 (2018): 219-244.

<sup>18</sup> Su Lin Lewis, "Between Orientalism and Nationalism: The Learned Society and the Making of 'Southeast Asia,'" *Modern Intellectual History* 10, no. 2 (2013): 353-374.; Carol Ann Boshier, *Mapping Cultural Nationalism: The Scholars of the Burma Research Society, 1910-1935* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2018).

<sup>19</sup> See Julie Bingham, *U Thant of Burma* (London: Gollanz Press, 1966); Julie Pham, "Ghost Hunting in Colonial Burma: Nostalgia, Paternalism and the Thoughts of JS Furnivall." *South East Asia Research* 12, no. 2 (2004): 237-268.

- 
- <sup>20</sup> Report on “Perspective of Burma” project, 9, FFR, RAC.
- <sup>21</sup> Thant Myint-U, *The Making of Modern Burma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- <sup>22</sup> Hans-Bernd Zöllner, “The Myanmar Literature Project-Starting with an Investigation into the Nagani Book Club,” *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008): 91-94.
- <sup>23</sup> Mi Mi Khaing, *Burmese Family* (London: Longmans, 1946), 119.
- <sup>24</sup> Report on “Perspective of Burma” project, 10, FFR, RAC.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> Laughlin to Carl Burness, 22 October 1957, FFR, RAC.
- <sup>28</sup> Anna Allott, “Half a Century of Publishing in Mandalay: The Ludu Kyi-bwa-yay Press,” *Journal of Burma Studies*, 1:1 (1997), 85.
- <sup>29</sup> Allott, 87-88.