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1. Karen hta and proverb [no date]

Below is a hta, or traditional song, passed down through many generations of Karen people as an oral history. Because groups including the Karen, Kachin, and Chin did not have written languages until the 19th century, oral histories like these are one of the only ways we have to know what life was like for these people in ancient times. Ywa means spirit or ancestors, and this word is used by Karen Christians today to mean God. Htoo is another name for Ywa, literally meaning 'gold.'

The peak of Mount Thaw Thi is high
Ywa resided there since the beginning of time
The peak of Mount Thaw Thi is sacred
Ywa existed there once upon a time

The peak of Thaw Thi has never flooded
The peak of P'gaw has never flooded
It was a place for Htoo to sit
It was a place for Ywa to sit

Villages exist upon mount Thaw Thi and P'gaw
Before there was farming and cultivating
Thaw Thi and P'gaw give space for hamlets
Before there was farming and cultivation

On Mount Thaw Thi and Mount P'gaw
An old man was living
With his abundant children and grandchildren
Their cultivation never ends

The popular Mount Thaw Thi peak
Where great Ywa resides in the centre
Mount Thaw Thi has a pool of water
Where mother used to wash and bathe

Go up to Mounts Thaw Thi, P'gaw
Every family go and pray
Go up to the edge of Thaw Thi
All men and women go up to pray

[In Saw Aung Hla. (1939). Karen Yazawin. N.l: n.p.]

Below is an ancient Karen proverb reprinted in KNU history textbooks. The textbooks explain its meaning this way: "When the Karen arrived in this country [what is now Burma], they cleared places to make rice fields for their livelihood. But when the stumps of the trees decayed and the rice fields started to get better, other nations came in and oppressed them, so they had to leave their land and houses with nothing to survive. This saying is about oppression and looting."

As the stumps of the trees decayed, the Karen had to flee.

[Karen Education Department. (2003). Study of the Nations, Grade 10. Thailand: ZOA Refugee Care, p. 10]

2. Ten Duties of Kings [no date]

This set of moral guidelines was common to Buddhist kings in Southeast Asia for hundreds of years.

(1) To give alms, (2) To observe the precepts [do not kill; do not steal; do not indulge in excessive sexual or sensual pleasure; do not lie; do not take intoxicants], (3) To be generous, (4) To be honest, (5) To be kind-hearted, (6) To adopt a moderate style of life, (7) To avoid anger, (8) Not to persecute the people, (9) To be tolerant and (10) Not to be oppressive. These are what the king should observe.

[translation in Okudaira, R. & Huxley, A. (2001). A Burmese tract on kingship: political theory in the 1782 manuscript of Manugye. Bulletin of SOAS 64, 2, pp. 248–259.]

3. Rajakumar inscription [1113]

This inscription commissioned by Prince Rajakumar was made in Myanmar, Mon, Pyu, and Pali languages and was discovered at Myazedi Pagoda near Pagan.

Prosperity! Honour to the Buddha! One thousand six hundred and twenty-eight years of the Buddha's religion having elapsed, Sri Tribhuvanadityādhammarāj [Kyansittha] become king in this city of Arimaddanapur. A beloved wife of that king was named Trilokavatamsakādevī, and that beloved wife's son was named Rājakumār. That king gave the beloved wife three villages of slaves. That beloved wife having died, the king gave her ornaments and the three villages of slaves to her son named Rājakumār. At the time that that king having reigned twenty-eight years, became sick even unto death that son of the beloved wife, who was named Rājakumār, calling to mind the favours of the great king who had nurtured him, made an image of the Buddha all in gold. At the time he offered (it) he spoke thus: "I, your slave, made this golden Buddha for my lord; the three villages of slaves which my lord gave me, I gave to this golden Buddha." At that time the king, being delighted, said: "Good, Good!" and, in the presence of the great monk Mahather, the great monk Muggaliputtatissather, the great monk Sumedha the learned, the great monk Brahmapal, the great monk Brahmadiv, the great monk Son and the great monk Sanghasena the very learned, the king poured water. That being done, that son of the beloved wife who was named Rājakumār enshrined that golden Buddha, and made this cave-pagoda with a golden spire. Having finished (it), at the time he dedicated this cave-pagoda and Buddha, he brought up (the folk of) Sakmunalon, one village, Rapáy, one village, Henbuiw, one village, these three villages of slaves. That son of the beloved wife, who was named Rājakumār, poured water for this cave-pagoda and Buddha, and thus said: "Let this deed of mine be the cause of my obtaining Omniscience! After me, (whosoever) whether (he be) my son, or grandson, or relative, or any other person, if he oppresses the slaves I have offered to this Buddha, may he not behold the Buddha Arimittiyá!"

[The Rajakumar inscription. <http://www.myanmar.gov.mm/Perspective/persp2001/9-2001/raj.htm>.]

4. Jengtung Chronicle on Prince Maung Myo [no date]

This chronicle, written in Shan language, records the history of Jengtung [Kengtung] and the saohpas [sawbwas] who ruled it.

He [Prince Maung Myo] ruled for eight years without the ten kingly duties and would not listen to the advice of ministers and officials or that of senior members of the Sangha. [...] He feared no consequences of evil actions in the supramundane or mundane world, and acted any way that pleased him. [...] The prince was fond of hunting. [...] He would make his subjects cut firewood and keep any good bullock that he saw. [...] Moreover, he would make love to people's maiden daughters within the city. Any virgin wanting to be married could do so only after he had given permission. He would send pack bullocks to trade in betel nuts and salt. He would take any good and beautiful bullock from anyone without payment. He was so fond of ... propitiating evil spirits and brahmas that he became a hungry demon, eating the commoners and subjects of the state. [...]

Eventually the people were dissatisfied and displeased and together they went to reverence Prince Saenmong, granduncle of Prince Mongbi, and drove Prince Maung Myo from the state of the lord of the golden palace that year.

[Sao Saimong Mangrai. (1981). The Padaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle translated. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Center for Southeast Asian Studies, p. 253-254.]

5. U Kala's Mahayazawinygi [c. 1712]

This is a royal chronicle detailing the history of several Burmese dynasties.

The alliance with the Rakhine King

In 816 [1454 CE], the Rakhine king sent an embassy with gifts and weapons, saying he wanted the two kings to meet and become allies. He invited King Narapati and his ministers and advisors including Yazathinkyan to visit him.

At that time, Yazathinkyan addressed the king. "The Rakhine kingdom of Dyanyawadi [Mrauk-U] has many ministers and advisors full of vision and foresight. They also have many horses and elephants. I don't think they are trying to trick us. So we should march there with many horses and elephants. King Narapati said he would meet him in the vine forest any day." The Rakhine embassy marched back to Rakhine. Eight elephant regiments, thirteen cavalry regiments, 21 regiments in all, and 1500 war elephants, and 24,000 soldiers marched out from the capital in 816. King Narapati marched out into his realm. [...]

The Rakhine King Ali Khin [Ali Khan, also known as Man Khari or Min Khayi] arrived with his elephants and horses at daybreak. The two kings arrived and met each other, along with royalty including princes and princesses, queens, ministers and advisors, and companions. At that time, while the royalty including queens, princesses, princes, ministers and advisors, and companions, all wearing finery befitting their rank, celebrated the insignia of office, the two kings spoke pleasantly, and on the 6th day of the waxing moon of Tagu in the year 816, they wrote down this commemoration between their two countries:

To be recorded: Deciding that to the east of the Mokaung mountain ridge is Ratanapura [Ava], and the west of the Mogaung mountain ridge is Dhanyawadi, the two kings exchanged the insignias of office including the white umbrella and then returned to their capitals. Beginning on that day, the two kingdoms will keep up their diplomatic contact regardless of disasters.

About Tayashwehti [Tabinshwehti] cutting his hair like a Mon

About cutting the hair: In Hanthawadi, there was a rich Mon person. This rich person had five thousand cows. One cow was pregnant and gave birth to a girl possessing the great and small signs of perfection. While giving birth, this cow did not leave although the other cows left. The person taking care of the cow saw that it was a perfect cow and raised it. When the girl came of age, he called her Kheminaw. The rich person, having no children, took her as his daughter and adored her. When she was 17 years old, King Tayashwehti saw her while he was out and asked whose daughter she was and heard that she was the daughter of the Mon rich person who he didn't like. King Tayashwehti proposed marriage and set up a memorial to her. He took the rich person's daughter and raised her to the throne. He gave the girl rewards and never wanted to be separated from her. Because this girl was Mon and liked Mon customs, he acted like a Mon king. He said that he would no longer act like a Myanmar king, he would cut his hair and eat and drink in Mon style. In some writings, in Mon country Myanmar couldn't be the most important. He said wise people had told him to cut his hair in Mon style.

[U Kala. (1960). *Mahayazawingyi*, volume II. Saya Pwa, Ed. Yangon: Hanthawadi Pitika Press.]

6. Shin Sandalinka's Maniyadanabon [1782]

This is a manual of advice for kings written in the court of King Alaunghpaya.

On taking profit from towns

[...] if you pluck a fruit from a tree while it is still green you will have neither a pleasant taste nor a viable seed; in the same way if, like the tree, you take the profit of your towns and villages before their four classes of inhabitant [rulers; educated people; wealthy businesspeople; ordinary people] have produced it in sufficient abundance, you will have no abundant profit. The towns cannot produce enough. If, however, you pick your fruit when it is ripe and eat it then, you will enjoy profit in abundance and, at the same time, the country will be peaceful and stable. It is the function of kings who rule over the earth to look after the welfare of their subjects as do the spirits of the sky, so that the land should be at peace. (p. 52)

On boundary with Shan area

At this time King Zwasawke set up a representative of the Mohnyin Sawbwa's line as provincial governor, but this governor turned against him and remained in rebellion. The king said, "I have appointed this man of the Shans' ruling family as governor over the Shan country, and to me it has been, as they say, like a fruit from the forest being knocked down by a stick from the same forest, or like a flower being picked by using a stick from its own tree. Now that they have turned against me; Minyaza, go and set up boundary stones to demarcate the line between their land and ours." He was therefore sent off upon this mission.

Minyaza set out with the intention of following the king's instructions and setting up marks to separate the two countries, but when he reached a place near to the reference stone, he realized that the affairs of the country might be made two or three times worse and came back without placing the boundary stones.

King Zwasawke asked him, "Minyaza, why have you come back?" and to this Minyaza replied, "My lord King, Your Majesty has no desire for their country, and so has issued orders for this demarcation; your successors, however, your sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, will shine forth with glory and honor, and power like the sun and the moon, and they will find it cause to lay blame upon Your Majesty yourself and upon your servants, your ministers."

“Why should it be cause for blame?” asked the King.

“They will say that it is easy enough for this king or for that minister to order a boundary demarcation,” he answered, “and that if their ambitions are so small, they can remain in a small way. They will find it cause for blame, however, in that you have not considered the interests of your sons and grandsons or foreseen the future course of events. I can foresee what will happen and therefore I have come back.” (p. 34.)

[Bagshawe, L.E., trans. (1981). *The Maniyadanabon of Shin Sandalinka*. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program.]

7. Qualifications of Good Wives and Husbands [no date]

This is from a set of moral instructions called the “Attasankhepa Vannana Dhammathat.”

The twelve qualifications of a good wife are: skilfulness in cooking; skilfulness in preparing betel and tobacco; skilfulness in washing the clothing of her husband in time; skilfulness in house-keeping; skilfulness in weaving; getting up from bed before the husband; eating after the husband; communicating all matters to the husband; suavity and affability in speech; not visiting the houses of others without cause; and obedience to her husband’s commands.

The husband has no right to beat or abuse the wife who possesses these twelve qualifications; if he does so, he shall be liable to undergo a heavy punishment. But those who do not possess these twelve qualifications, may be corrected by beating or abusing them within the hearing of the public.

The five qualifications of a good husband are: striving to increase his wealth; providing a good house; tending and maintaining the wife with care and tenderness; looking after the cattle with care; and supporting the relations of both husband and wife without distinction.

The wife has no right to abuse the husband who possesses these five qualifications; if she does so, she shall be liable to undergo a heavy punishment. But the wife has the right to abuse the husband who does not possess these qualifications.

[Nisbet, J. (1901). *Burma Under British Rule and Before*. London: Butler and Tanner.]

8. Father Sangermano's *The Burmese Empire A Hundred Years Ago* [c. 1800]

This book describes Father Sangermano's time living in Rangoon.

But of all the ports of Pegu, that of Rangoon is the principal, in fact is the only one of importance; for this is one of the most populous cities of the kingdom, the residence of a governor and viceroy, and it has an easy and continual communication with the capital and other principal places of the Empire, by means of the river, along which all their various productions are brought to it, to be again disposed of to the merchants, both native and foreign, with whom the city is crowded. [...] It may therefore be said that the commerce is entirely concentrated in Rangoon, where it is exercised by the inhabitants, as well as by a number of Mohammedan Moors [Muslims], some Armenians, and a few English, French, and Portuguese, who have taken up their residence there. The ships that come from China and the Malay coast, which latter are for the most English, bring in cargoes of areca [betel nut] and other merchandise, as silks, nankeen, porcelain, tea, etc. The commodities, however, which have the best sale at Rangoon, and return the highest profit, are the sugar and muslins of Bengal, the linen of Madras, and particularly the white and coloured handkerchiefs, which are here universally used for covering the head. Sometimes also vessels arrive from the Isle of France, laden with merchandise that yields an exorbitant profit, such as pottery, muskets, looking-glasses [mirrors], and articles of iron and brass, with woolen cloths of various colours, which are eagerly sought after in this country, particularly when they are of two colours. For although they are not used for clothing, still they are in great request as coverlets at night, as also for wearing on the shoulders in the daytime like a mantle. The English ships also bring in quantities of these stuffs. Such are the principal commodities brought by sea, though there are some others of minor importance, consisting chiefly of various drugs and spices, raisins, almonds, and coffee, and other natural productions of Persia and Arabia, which are brought by the ships of the Burmese themselves.

[Sangermano, V. (1893). *The Burmese empire a hundred years ago. as described by Father Sangermano*. Westminster: A. Constable, p.217-218]

9. The Treaty of Yandabo [24 February 1826]

This treaty between the British Government in India and King Bagyidaw of Ava ended the First Anglo-Burmese War. One crore=10,000,000

ARTICLE 1. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honorable Company on the one part, and His Majesty the King of Ava on the other.

ARTICLE 2. His Majesty the King of Ava renounces all claims upon, and will abstain from all future interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and also with the contiguous petty States of Cachar and Jyntia. With regard to Munnipoor it is stipulated, that should Ghumbheer Sing desire to return to that country, he shall be recognized by the King of Ava as Rajah thereof.

ARTICLE 3. To prevent all future disputes respecting the boundary line between the two great Nations, the British Government will retain the conquered Provinces of Arracan, including the four divisions of Arracan, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandoway, and His Majesty the King of Ava cedes all right thereto. The Unnoupectoumien or Arakan Mountains (known in Arakan by the name of the Yeomatoung or Pokhingloun Range) will henceforth form the boundary between the two great Nations on that side. Any doubts regarding the said line of demarcation will be settled by Commissioners appointed by the respective governments for that purpose, such Commissioners from both powers to be of suitable and corresponding rank.

ARTICLE 4. His Majesty the King of Ava cedes to the British Government the conquered Provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, and Mergui and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto appertaining, taking the Salween River as the line of demarcation on that frontier; any doubts regarding their boundaries will be settled as specified in the concluding part of Article third.

ARTICLE 5. In proof of the sincere disposition of the Burmese Government to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the Nations, and as part indemnification to the British Government for the expenses of the War, His Majesty the King of Ava agrees to pay the sum of one crore of Rupees. [...]

ARTICLE 7. In order to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two governments, it is agreed that accredited ministers, retaining an escort or safeguard of fifty men, from each shall reside at the Durbar of the other, who shall be permitted to purchase, or to build a suitable place of residence, of permanent materials ; and a Commercial Treaty, upon principles of reciprocal advantage, will be entered into by the two high contracting powers. [...]

ARTICLE 9. The King of Ava will abolish all exactions upon British ships or vessels in Burman ports, that are not required from Burmah ships or vessels in British port nor shall ships or vessels, the property of British subjects, whether European or Indian, entering the Rangoon River or other Burman ports, be required to land their guns, or unship their rudders, or to do any other act not required of Burmese ships or vessels in British ports. [...]

[Allot, A. (1994). *The End of the first Anglo-Burmese War: The Burmese Chronicle account of how the 1826 Treaty of Yandabo was negotiated*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press].

10. Konbaungzet's version of Treaty of Yandabo [1826]

The chronicle of the Konbaung Dynasty recorded the details of the Treaty of Yandabo in this way.

In the years 1186 and 1187 [1825 and 1826], white strangers from the West fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took the palace and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the King, from motives of piety and regard for life, made no preparations whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money on their enterprises, so by the time they reached Yandabo their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They then petitioned the King, who in his clemency and generosity sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country.

[Allot, A. (1994). *The End of the first Anglo-Burmese War: The Burmese Chronicle account of how the 1826 Treaty of Yandabo was negotiated*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press].

11. Major Snodgrass's Narrative of the Burmese War [1827]

This book is a first-hand account of the First Anglo-Burmese War.

On the Treaty of Yandabo

[...] Here the war may be considered at an end: a war into which the government of India had been forced, and of a more serious and protracted nature than any in which our Eastern empire had been engaged for a long series of years; distinguished from all others, by the obdurate and determined perseverance of the enemy, and characterized by a series of difficulties, obstacles, and privations to which few armies have been for so long a period subjected.

[...] men and officers felt proud in having at last compelled our stubborn foe to sign a peace honourable and advantageous to India, as it was humiliating and inglorious to the court of Ava; proud that the utmost wishes of our government had been realized, and the service we were employed on, to the fullest extent, completed. [p. 283]

On female warriors

In addition to a numerous list of [sawbwas] and petty princes, these levies were accompanied by three young and handsome women of high rank, who were believed, by their superstitious countrymen, not only to be endowed with the gift of prophesy and foreknowledge, but to possess the miraculous power of turning aside the [bullets] of the English, rendering them wholly innocent and harmless. These Amazons, dressed in warlike costume, rode constantly among the troops, inspiring them with courage and ardent wishes for an early meeting with the foe, as yet only known to them by the deceitful accounts of their Burmese masters. [p. 231-232.]

[Snodgrass, J.J. (1827). *Narrative of the Burmese War*. London: John Murray.]

12. Letter from Lord Cranbourne to Sir John Lawrence [1867]

This letter addressed the British view of Burma's geopolitical significance.

It is of primary importance to allow no other European power to insert itself between British Burmah and China. Our influence in that country [Burma] ought to be paramount. The country itself is of no great importance. But an easy communication with the multitudes who inhabit Western China is an object of national importance.

[Thant Myint-U. (2001). *The Making of Modern Burma*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 135.]

13. Agreement regarding the Independence of Western Karenni [1875]

The British signed this agreement with the Konbaung kingdom.

In accordance with the request of His Excellency the Viceroy of India that Western Karenni should be allowed to remain separate and independent, His Majesty the King of Burma, taking into consideration the great friendship existing between the two countries and the desire that the friendship may be lasting and permanent, agrees that no sovereignty or governing authority of any description shall be exercised or claimed in Western Karenni and His Excellency the Kin-Woon Mingyi, Minister for foreign affairs, on the part of His Majesty the King of Burma, and the Honorable Sir Douglas Forsyth, CB, KCSI, envoy on the part of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India, execute the following agreement:-

It is hereby agreed between the British and the Burmese Government that the state of Western Karenni shall remain separate and independent, and that no sovereignty or governing body of any description shall be claimed or exercised over the state.

Whereunto we have on this day, the 21st day of June 1875 corresponding to the third day of the waning moon of Nayoung 1237 BE, affixed our seals and signatures.

Seal (signed) T D Forsyth

Seal. (signed) Kin-Woon Mingyi

[Sao Saimong Mangrai. (1965). *The Shan States and the British annexation*. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, p. xlviii.]

14. London Missionary Society at the Cape of Good Hope's explanation of missionaries [1880]

The Cape of Good Hope is in what is today South Africa, but this quotation describes missionaries throughout the British empire.

While our missionaries [...] are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization, social order, happiness, they are, by the most unexceptionable means, extending British interests, British influence, and the British empire. Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way.

Missionary stations are the most efficient agents which can be employed to promote the internal strength of our colonies, and the cheapest and best military posts that wise government can employ to defend its frontier against the predatory incursion of savage tribes.

[In Sakhong, L. (2002) In search of Chin identity: A study of religion, politics, and ethnic identity in Burma. Copenhagen: NIAS Press, p. 118.]

15. King Thibaw's proclamation to his subjects [7 November 1885]

King Thibaw made this proclamation to people living in Upper Burma during the Third Anglo-Burmese war, after the British had issued an ultimatum to him regarding a trade dispute.

To the headmen of all towns and villages, heads of cavalry, chief umpires and referees, shield-bearers, heads of jails, heads of gold and silver revenues, mine workers, arbitrators, forest officials, and all the subjects and inhabitants of the royal territories:

Those heretics, the English Kala, having most harshly made demands likely to impair and destroy our religion, violate our national customs, and degrade our race, are making a display and preparation as if about to wage war against our state. Reply has been sent to them in conformity with the usages of great nations, and in words which are just and regular. But if these heretic Kala should come and attempt to molest or disturb the State in any way, His Majesty the King, watchful that the interests of religion and the State shall not suffer, will himself march forth with his generals, captains, and lieutenants, with large forces of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and elephants, and with the might of his army will by land and water efface these heretic Kala, and conquer and annex their territories. All the inhabitants of the royal kingdom of Ava are enjoined not to be alarmed or disturbed on account of the hostility of these heretic Kala, and they are not to avoid them by leaving the country. They are to continue to carry on their occupations as usual in a peaceful manner. The local officials are, each in his own town or village, to watch and see that there are no thefts, dacoities, or other state crimes. The royal troops now being sent forth will not be collected, as formerly, by forcibly pressing into service all who can be found: but the royal troops now banded into regiments in Mandalay will be sent forth to attack, destroy, and annex. The local officials are not to impress forcibly into service anyone who may not wish to serve; but to uphold the religion, the national honour, and the country's interests, will bring threefold religious merit—good of religion, good of the King, and good of the nation—and will result in leading along the path of the celestial regions to Nirvana. Whoever joins and serves zealously will receive money and royal rewards, and will serve in the capacity for which he may be found fit. Loyal officials are to search for volunteers and others who may wish to serve, and are to send lists of them to the provincial governments.

[Translated in Nesbit, J. (1901). Burma under British rule—and before, Vol 1. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd.]

16. Lord Dufferin's "Measures adopted for the pacification of the territories recently acquired in Burma " [May 1886]

Lord Dufferin sent this letter to another British official shortly after the British annexed Upper Burma.

[...] As soon as we have obtained by these [military and civil methods] a sufficiently firm hold on the territory formerly under the direct rule of King Thibaw, we must direct attention to the tributary Shan States, as well as to the Kachens [Kachins] and other wild tribes in the northern districts, who owed allegiance to the Sovereign of Mandalay. Amongst them the work to be done is very different from that in which we are at present engaged. The Shans, Kachens, and other mountain tribes live under the rule of hereditary Chiefs, whose authority is generally sufficient to preserve order amongst them. Here, then, we have to deal not with disintegrated masses as in Burma Proper, but with large organized units, each under the moral and administrative control of an individual ruler. If we secure the allegiance of these rulers, we obtain as far as can be now foreseen most of what we require, and all the premonitory symptoms give us reason to hope that this will not be a difficult task. The Chiefs, or Sawbwas, as they are called, appear willing to accept our supremacy, and preserve order amongst their people in accordance with our wishes, provided we recognise their rights and dignity of Chieftanship, and abstain from quartering troops upon them, and we on our part, are very glad to accept these conditions, for we have no desire to extend unnecessarily the sphere of our administrative responsibilities. What we mainly want from the Chiefs is that they should prevent their people from raiding in the territory under our administration, that they should abstain from fighting among themselves, that they should not enter into relations with any foreign Power, and that they should gradually proximate to our standard of civic discipline. These we hope to secure by the amicable intervention of a few expert political officers, if possible, without recourse to military operations. As soon as it is clearly understood that we desire to maintain the native rulers in the enjoyment of their legitimate possessions and privileges, that there is not intention of interference so long as the administration on lines prescribed by us does not become conspicuously oppressive, and that we shall always be reluctant to interfere otherwise than in the form of moral pressure exerted alike in the interest of the people and the rulers themselves, the Shan Chiefs and other Sawbwas will, we trust, like the Native Princes of India, be found willing to recognise British supremacy, and to regard it as the best guardian of their dynastic interests and of their administrative autonomy. [...]

[Sao Saimong Mangrai. (1965). The Shan States and the British annexation. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, p. 90-91.]

17. Lower Burma Village Act [1889]

This law instituted many new regulations, including the appointment of a headman in each village. The "Myo-ok" was a district-level office invented by the British.

6.1 The headman of a village shall be bound— [...]

- g. on the written order of the Deputy Commissioner, or other Magistrate not below the rank of Myo-ok, to collect and furnish on payment supplies of food or carriage for troops or police posted in or near, or marching through, the village;
- h. on the requisition of any Magistrate not below the rank of Myo-ok, to furnish labourers for the making or repair of roads, embankments, or other public works;
- i. to collect or aid in collecting revenue or other money due to the Government from residents of the village or persons holding land therein; [...]

9.1 Every person residing in a village shall, on the requisition of the headman or of a rural policeman, be bound to assist him in the execution of his public duties. [...]

11.1 If any person comes into a village of which he is not a resident, he or the person, if any, in whose house he is living, shall, within twelve hours of his coming to the village, report to the headman his arrival, his name and occupation, and the name of the place where he last resided. [...]

[Cranenburg, D. D. (1894). *Unrepealed acts of the Governor-General in Council from 1883-1893*, Vol 3. Boston: Harvard University.]

18. Letter from the Myosa of Mongsing to British officer Stirling [15 March 1894]

This letter is part of the correspondence between British officials and local officials appointed by the Konbaung court to set boundaries between Siam and Burma. A myosa was an official appointed by the Konbaung court to supervise an area. This myosa was in charge of Kengcheng and its capital Mongsing.

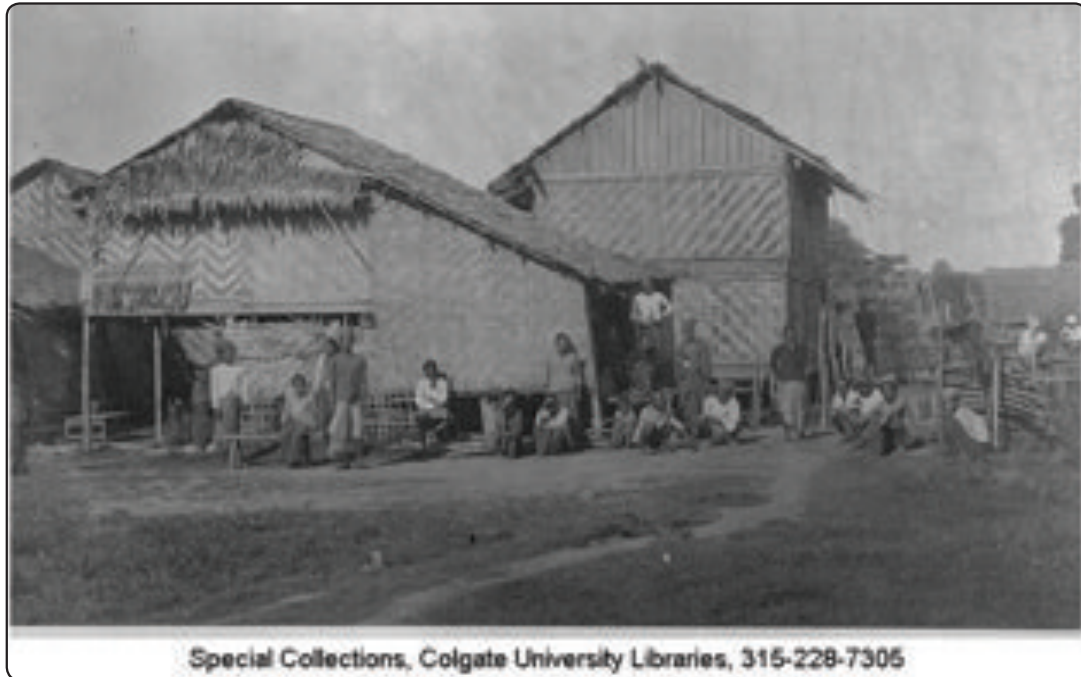
1. Kengcheng had been tributary to Burma and therefore became tributary to the British after November 1885.
2. Fully admitting this, the Myosa was willing and anxious to submit to British suzerainty in 1891, but his offer was refused and nothing had happened for two years.
3. In 1893 the British declared Kengcheng to be a vassal State to Siam and accordingly the Myosa drank the water of allegiance to Siam and sent tributes to King Chulalongkorn.
4. Now he was told that the transfer was cancelled and he was still in British territory.
5. He refused to accept this story as no one had informed him officially of the re-transfer and Siam had accepted his tributary presents, Siamese officials having left Mongsing only a month before.
6. Should there be a mistake again, acceptance of Stirling's demands would be a treasonable act against the King of Siam.

No. He could not bring himself to accommodate Mr. Stirling without orders from Bangkok releasing him from his oath of allegiance to the King there.

[Sao Saimong Mangrai. (1965). *The Shan States and the British annexation*. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, p. 248.]

19. Photo of rural Burma [late 19th century]

This photo shows life in the countryside.



[P. Klier. "A jungle village."]

20. Photo of Rangoon [late 19th century]

This photo shows life in the capital city of British Burma.



Post and telegraph offices, Rangoon, late 19th century P. Klier

21. Mrs. Laura Carson's story of how the British protected a Chin convert to Christianity [1906]

This is an excerpt from Mrs. Carson's diary.

An unusually promising young married man living more than fifty miles from Haka became an enthusiastic convert. I shall never forget the day he was baptized. With a glowing face he came to me to say good-bye. "When I tell my people about Christ and how happy I am, I believe the whole village will become Christian," he said, and he started joyfully back with that hope in his heart. But the news that he had become a Christian got home ahead of him and he was promptly called before the chief to give an account of himself.

"They tell me you are worshiping the foreign God. You cannot do that and live in this village," said the chief.

"Oh, but let me tell you what a wonderful God he is—a God who loves us and helps us and saves us from our sin," begged Thang Tsin.

"You need not tell me anything about this God, and you cannot worship Him and live in this village. You know that if you do, our own gods will be angry, our crops will fail, our cattle will not reproduce, our children will die and all kinds of trouble will come upon us. You have either got to renounce this foreign religion or be driven from the village," reiterated the chief.

In vain Thang Tsin pleaded with him. When he saw that it was hopeless, he went to the highest British officer in the Hills and asked him if because he had accepted the Christian faith the chief, under British law, could expel him from the village. [...]

After talking to him a while the Superintendent said, "Well, Thang Tsin, go back to your village and as long as you live in accordance with the teaching of the missionaries, doing nothing wrong to anger the people, the British Government will stand behind you. The chief cannot drive you out of your village simply because you worship the Christian God," and an order to this effect was sent to the chief. [...]

[In Johnson, R. G. (1988). History of the American Baptist Chin Mission, Vol. 1. Valley Forge, PA: Robert G. Johnson, p. 142-143.]

22. W.W. Cochrane's message to Shans [1910]

This quotation was from a history book on life in Shan state.

...natives desirous of freedom from British rule should seriously study the past history of their States; they would then realize the uncertainty, the unstable and perilous conditions of life under the old regime. If British control should be withdrawn from the Shan States, there is not the slightest doubt that they would be immediately plunged into war, brother fighting against brother, with complication of Kachin raiding; the old story of internecine wars, which prevailed for so many centuries, would at once begin again. The Shans are at present content to be ruled by Great Britain, though here and there a Chief may long for more despotic power. The people know that their lives are safe...

[W.W. Cochrane, quoted in Milne, L. (1910). Shans at Home. London: John Murray. p.187.]

23. U Ba Gale's cartoon in Thuriya about shoe question [1911]

This cartoon became famous because it illustrated Burmese nationalist reaction to British rule.



24. Ko Ba U's "Speech of the Chairman of the Strike Committee" [20 December 1920]

Ko Ba U gave this speech at the Shwedagon Pagoda.

Mr Chairman, Brother Boycotters and sisters, --- The last day of the respite given to us by the Senate is drawing nigh. The 23rd of December will show to the world what stuff we, the students of Burma, are made of. That fateful day will decide whether we shall be the boast of Burma or her curse. Our action has aroused the spirit of nationalism that has been lying asleep in the breast of the people of Burma. This undesirable Rangoon University which has been thrust upon us against our will has hurt our feelings and awakened our soul to a sense of national injustice – nay, it is a crime, indeed, to retard the education progress of the country. It is an injustice which no human being with a spark of patriotism would allow to pass unfought. Our elders have tried their level bets to thwart this; but they have failed. Then we, the College students of Burma, took up the thread of the fight with one strong determination of winning. Have we not felt the injustice too? (Cries of "Yes"). We do and the outcome of that feeling is this boycott movement. Not only we but also our younger brothers, the school-boys, also felt this injustice. They know that the nation is calling upon all her sons and daughters, young and old, to stand together and fight against this great injustice ("Shame"). They promptly responded to the nation's call. [...]

Now the nation itself has taken up our cause. They, at yesterday's meeting on the pagoda platform, have resolved to establish a National University of Burma. [...]

Now the question is- -Will the authorities grant us what we want? Has the bureaucracy ever granted what the people of Burma want? No, they have not, and they never will. They take us for a pack of hot-headed fools, they take us for lifeless logs without any feeling whatever. Show them what we are - that we are after all human beings with as noble sentiments as any other nation. Without paying any heed whatever to our wants they went so far as to threaten us with dismissal from college if we don't go back by the 23rd the latest. Ha! Ha! Ha! [...]

As self-respecting students of the colleges, we have resorted to this boycott movement which is the only powerful weapon to awaken the authorities to realise the justice of our demands.[...]

No, we cannot possibly draw back. Either the authorities yield or we die fighting. I see by your faces that every one is determined to fight to the last. Are we determined? (Cries of "Yes".) Then stand by one another and win together. Down with the University Act!

[in Zoellner, H. (Ed.) (2006). *Students and Politics in Myanmar/Burma—documents and essays*, Working Paper 10.4-1. Passau: Myanmar Literature Project, pp. 9-11.]

25. Major Enriquez's A Burmese Arcady [1923]

This book described different ethnic groups living in the Frontier Areas and how they could be useful to the British empire.

[...] The Kachins are very quick to learn. [...] They will do anything, eat anything, and go anywhere, and have no religious prejudice. All these are valuable qualities in an Oriental soldier. They are more clever at technical work than could reasonably be expected of a simple hill people who have no literature of their own, and for whom few text-books have been translated. [...] (p. 51)

At one time recruiting was regarded with some suspicion. It was prophesied that rebellion would result. But there is no reason to fear resentment, even amongst the wildest races, if recruiting is slow, deliberate and sympathetic. On the contrary, military service is a guarantee for loyalty. The more simple people are, the more miraculous is the hold of discipline upon their imagination, and the more personal the devotion which grows up between officer and man. [...] (p. 79)

We cannot afford to neglect such material any longer, for we have in the Kachins, Chins, Lisu, Lashi, Atsi, Muhso, Wa, Kaw, Karen and Taungthu races of the same Mongol or Tartar stock which has proved so valuable in the Gurkha. [...] And besides this, there are the blessings and benefits of education to which these people of darkened understanding must be brought. A task so apparently disheartening is truly worthy of our courage, hope and patient labor. (p. 82-83)

Enriquez, Major C. M. (1923). A Burmese arcady: An account of a long & intimate sojourn amongst the mountain dwellers of the Burmese hinterland & of their engaging characteristics and customs, & c. & c. Philadelphia: Lippincott Company.

26. U Ottama's speech at the GCBA Meeting [15-16 July 1922]

Here, U Ottama describes his objections to the Montagu-Chelmsford diarchy system.

In a bureaucratic system, the government does not consult with the people; they don't consider the people's desires; they do as they like. In a diarchy system, government officials manipulate the people as if they were lifeless puppets, as a tactic to appear as if they are giving the people's a chance to achieve their desires. [...]

Diarchy is like a stillborn child. The Montagu-Chelmsford diarchy system given by the English parliament can't bring a stillborn child back to life. It is a lifeless corpse. [...]

No matter how cruel those who govern are, their plots will not be able to withstand for long the entire people's resolution to achieve their unified dream of independence. [...]

You don't get independence by bowing down and begging for it. You won't get it with an obsequious request.

[Mya Htun Aung. (1979). *U Ottama and Diarchy Rule*. n.l.: All Arakan Students and Youth Congress. p. 4-6.]

27. "On being a foreigner" cartoon, in Deedok [19 October 1925]

This cartoon refers to Burmese women who had European husbands or lovers. This practice led to a significant "Anglo-Burmese" population.



28. Dobama song and slogan [1930]

Tagaung was an ancient city that Burmans claimed their ancestors founded; some Shan people claim the same thing. The Zamayis were a family descended from the Buddha. References to victories over Thais and Indians were later removed from the song.

Because we Burmans faithfully remember
our royal grandfathers from Tagaung
whose power and glory that does not fade
We Burmans who successfully attacked
those including Yodaya and Kala

War, like a real and shining diamond
despite being a big event
we must take our eminent turn
without deviating from custom
giving dhamma to the world
Do we have to go back to being inferior?
although in the past Burma was a real country
our country

Old sayings, there is nothing to fulfill
because of the opportunity [?] set faithfully in history in a world becoming warm [?]
Will we be inferior to the era of the famous Burmans?
We Burmans
Aren't we Burmans?
We are Burmans. This is our Burma. All are equal men, descendants of Burman fathers,
Prosper! Get in the habit of being masters! We Burmans are masters.
We Burmans, in the land under the sky with high spirits and the blood of the Zamayis.

Chorus: The entire world, Burma a part
Our country, our land, our country, We Burmans
Because Burma is the country of all the indigenous groups together
Burma is our responsibility
Slogan

Burma is our country.
Burmese is our written language.
Burmese is our spoken language.
Love our country.
Revere our written language.
Respect our spoken language.

bama pyethe do pye
bama sa the do sa
bama saka the do saka
do pye ko chit ba
do sa ko myetno ba
do saka ko layza ba

[Khin Yi. (1988). *The Dobama Movement in Burma, 1930-1938*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program., p. 9]

29. Daw Mya Sein on political reform [1931]

Daw Mya Sein made this statement at the Burma Roundtable Conference in 1931 as part of her argument for why Burma was ready for self-government. Purdah is a Hindu practice in which women keep away from men outside their families and cover their bodies and faces with clothing for modesty.

The women of Burma occupy a position of freedom and independence not attained in other provinces. Socially there is practical equality between the sexes. Purdha is unknown; women take their full share with men in the economic life of their country and the percentage of literates among women is far higher than elsewhere.

[In Mi Mi Khaing. (1984). The world of Burmese women. London: Zed Books, p. 156.]

30. U Thant's "Thoughts on Democracy" [1936]

U Thant was the headmaster of a National School when he wrote this essay, which was reprinted in the Guardian newspaper in 1956.

Democracy means rule by the masses of people...a system of Government in which the governing initiative is vested in the people as a whole, and exercised by counting of heads, one head being equal to any other. Democracy means that the opinions of a majority, no matter how arrived at, must of necessity be just and wise; that if enough people believe a thing to be true it must be true. Democracy claims that every man should have an equal voice in the control of affairs, on the ground that no man can be trusted to act fairly toward his fellow men. Indeed, democracy means nothing else than despair of finding any fit to govern. Democracy professes to believe that all men are equal in their mental capacities. This absurd dogma of human equality results in the suppression of the superior, reducing all to a common level of dull mediocrity. The consequence is that humanity finds itself without leadership, floundering in confusion.

[U Thant. (1956). "Thoughts on Democracy." The Guardian, p. 29.]

31. Interim Report of the Riot Inquiry Committee [1938]

This Committee made up of British and Burmese politicians and lawyers investigated the causes of the riots that occurred in rural areas in the late 1930s. Land reform was intended to redistribute land away from the landlords and back to the peasants who were farming it.

We share with the Land and Agriculture Committee, with great respect the view that agrarian reform is long overdue in Burma. What, perhaps, is more our concern, however, than theirs is that we take the view that the lack of it has produced a profound uneasiness—perhaps even discontent—among the great mass of the agricultural Burman population especially in Lower Burma, and that this discontent has afforded part both of the political oxygen without which the fires of extended disorder could not have spread, and of the fuel which the ministers of disorder have found ready to their hands to kindle them. [...] in 1937 [...] only half of the occupied agricultural land of Lower Burma was occupied by peasant proprietors while the other half was in the hands of non-agricultural proprietors the great bulk of whom are landlords. And the almost constant decline in the occupation of land by agriculturalists will be observed in contrast to the equally constant increase in occupation by non-agriculturalists. In the thirteen principal rice-growing districts of Lower Burma the Indian Chettyars in 1930 occupied six percent of the total occupied area, while in 1937 they were in occupation of twenty-five percent. That, of course, leaves out of account the further area of which they are mortgages but not in occupation. Moreover, when parts of the Insein District were settled by Mr. H.C. Baker, I.C.S. in 1933 to 1935, it was found that Burmans and other indigenous races held fifty-six per cent of the occupied area, Chettyars thirty-one percent and other races (including Chinese and Indians, other than Chettyars) thirteen percent.

[Interim Report of the Riot Inquiry Committee. (1939). Rangoon: Supdt., Govt. Printing and Stationery, p. 12.]

32. **“The modern girl” cartoon in Thuriya** [March 1938]

This cartoon shows reactions to young women’s fashions.



33. “Crowded by other guests, such is the lot of the Burmese” cartoon, in Thuriya [1938]

This cartoon refers to the presence of British, Indian and Chinese people in Burma.



34. “Burmese Women who Took Indians,” in Seq-Than Journal [27 November 1938]

This article addressed marriage between Indian or Muslim men and Burmese women.

You Burmese women who fail to safeguard your own race, after you have married an Indian[,] your daughter whom you have begotten by such a tie takes an Indian as her husband. As for your son, he becomes a half-caste and tries to get a pure Burmese woman. Not only you but your future generation also is those who are responsible for the ruination of the race.

[Translated in Ikeya, Chie. The ‘traditional’ high status of women in Burma. Journal of Burma Studies 10, p. 73.]

35. Slogans from the oilfield workers' strike [1938]

These slogans were chanted during the strike, which was organized with the aid of Dobama Asiayone. Section 144 was a law that authorized police to open fire on any group of more than five people who refused to give up their weapons. The strikers perceived Dr. Ba Maw, then Prime Minister of Burma, as collaborating too closely with the British.

We want no (restricting) laws!
Withdraw Section 144!
Down with capitalism!

Victory to the revolution!
Burn, firebrand, burn!
Arise, rebels, arise!
Death to Dr. Ba Maw!
Down with capitalism!

Live dangerously!
We want the reckless ones!
Be brave!
Unity for prosperity throughout the land!
Down with imperialism!

[Daw Khin Yi. (1988). The Dobama Movement in Burma (1930-1938). Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, p. 107-108.]

36. U Ba Khine's Political History of Myanmar [1938]

This book was published by the Nagani (Red Dragon) book club, a Burmese nationalist publishing house.

On wun thar nu organisations

Because of the unrest that followed the annexation power became concentrated in the hands of civil administrative officers. But the foreign civil officers were either former soldiers or employees of the East India Company. The native officers [such as headmen] wanted to use all powers at their discretion; they did not pay attention to the need to follow the old traditions such as ten commandments [duties] of kings, six attributes of leaders, four principles of social conduct (Brahmavihar) etc. The people felt oppressed to the extent that they did not like to hear the word 'government'.

The government knew well that, although the people were kept in awe and fear, they would one day rise up for liberty. People used to rise against even native governments; how could a foreign government feel assured that revolts would not occur? America and Ireland had fought the British for liberty. Italy had gained liberty under Mazzini and Garibaldi; Austria had gained independence from Hungary. These are lessons for those who [are] slightly enlightened. [...] Thus, in order to prolong its rule over Burma, the British began to relax its rigid rule. (p. 27-28) [...]

In those days all shops displayed Wun thar nu trademark; and customers were also proud, perhaps haughty, to show their Wun thar nu identity cards. Those who carried Wun thar nu cards were treated with respect everywhere. It's the instantaneous effect of patriotism. At a time when the government was autocratic, wielding unlimited powers, people considered all officers, from the Deputy Commissioner down to the village head-man and sai ein gaung (head of ten households), as poison-less snakes. No one feared them. The people were determined not to tolerate unfairness and unlawful actions. The government officers became more restrained in their use of power. The tradition of giving the officers free services, and goods like eggs, meat, water etc. and even women by villagers when they visit their place subsided.

[...] People felt more encouraged. When a villager was unfairly treated, villagers came on his side; they severely criticized the officials, and objected the government action, saying it was against the norms of civilized government; and they would take the unfairness up for correction. That was unity at its best paying great dividends. (pp. 40-41).

On Amyothami Kounmari Athin

The women were very patriotic. They displayed their anti-British sentiments by refusing to use anything made in England; for example, they collected all 'leik khun bees' (combs made of tortoise shells) and publicly crushed them during the Paungde conference, because leik is pronounced the same way as Ingaleik, the word for English. When a meeting was held in Queen's park in support of U Ottama, the commissioner of police ordered the meeting to break up, and the people to leave the grounds. But the women defied the order; they were violently attacked by mounted police. Many women were injured. Among the Koummaris, Daw May of Theingyi Zay (central Rangoon market) stood out for her bravery. Her strong will and heroism were almost legendary. The government failed to demolish the women's love of freedom, their enthusiasm, unity, and above all their noble spirits. (pp. 51-52.)

On the shoe question

The Thuria started publication in 1911, producing three issues per week. U Ba Pe was its editor and U Hla Pe, the manager and publisher. At that time, the campaign against the foreigners' wearing shoes on Shwedagon pagoda platform was going on. U Ba Pe and U Hla Pe used the Thuria and took part in the fight. They published cartoons to illustrate the issue. One cartoon shows pagoda trustees carrying a European and his wife on their shoulders, and the lady saying thanks to them for helping her to get to the pagoda platform without taking off her shoes. The cartoon caused a row.

The cartoon was a result of the grievance against the pagoda trustees who continued allowing Europeans to get on the platform with shoes on, as well as against the offending behavior of the Europeans. The pagoda trustees were angry; the Europeans furious. Mr. Shuttleworth, police Commissioner of Rangoon summoned U Ba Pe and U Hla Pe to his office and gave them a lecture; he told them to avoid printing such provocative material. But the young men retorted him. It was a display of real courage for them.

The youth faction, unhappy with the police commissioner's action, called a mass meeting to discuss the shoe question. U Po Thar, U Ba Tu, U Thin and other older men objected the meeting, but the young men didn't listen. The two groups became clearly divided. U Khin, U May Aung, and J.A.Maung Gyi joined the elders. U Thein Maung, U Maung Gyi, U Ba Dun, U Paw Tun, Dr Thein Maung, U Ba Pe and other young men went ahead with the planned meeting. The meeting met with U Thein Maung in the chair. Calling the young men Taung sar ka lay myar (potential young prisoners), the elders began to shun them. And the police started following them. Now, the young men then have become older, and the present young generation is dissatisfied with their leadership. They are now accused as 'soft fellows' who are opportunist. It seems they are getting what they had given. I can now foresee that the young men at present going to similarly criticized when they grow up. (p. 38)

[Myanmar Literature Project. (2006). *Material on Ba Khine's Political History of Myanmar. Working Paper 10:5. Passau: University of Passau.*]

37. Maurice Collis, Trials in Burma, on Burmese-Indian riots [1942]

This text comes from Collis's memoirs, in which he describes working as a district magistrate in Rangoon in 1929-30.

[...] Gandhi's march to the sea began on the 6th of April [1930]...The non-violent campaign which followed convulsed India, but it had no apparent reaction in Burma. Politicians, indeed, realized that its success would facilitate their task later on in London [when they asked for self-government for Burma]; the Indians were acting as shock troops and making a path which others could follow. Far-seeing Burmans understood this very well and knew that they were much beholden to Gandhi. But the national spirit in Burma, which was the counterpart of what was driving the Indians to offer themselves for imprisonment, paradoxically set the Burmese against the Indians, who were foreigners like the English and the Chinese. Many Indians in Burma were prosperous and influential, and not all the sufferings of their compatriots in India for the general cause of freedom could make the word 'Indian' sound sweeter in Burmese ears. [...] (p. 138)

It seemed that the fight at the docks, which had started the conflagration, had followed an action on the part of a British firm of stevedores, which ordinarily employed hundreds of Indian labourers to stow and unload cargo in the port. There had been an Indian strike and the firm had taken on Burmese labour to break it. (As a rule Burmans were not employed by stevedores, as they were disinclined for that kind of work). The strike had been settled the previous evening and that morning, when the Burmans arrived to work, they were told that their services were no longer required. A number of Burmese women were there with their husbands' breakfasts in baskets. All of them had walked in a long distance. The sudden news that they were not wanted was an irritation. They felt that they had been made a convenience of by the stevedores. Having broken the strike, they could now clear out.

At this touchy juncture the Indians committed the grave indiscretion of laughing at the Burmese in front of their women. As the Burmese regarded the Indians as little better than rats, which had swarmed the country to the detriment of the working classes of the native population, they were disinclined to tolerate any hilarity at a moment when they found themselves in a humiliating position. A preliminary blow or two was struck, which the Indians were foolish enough to return, with the result that within half an hour at least two hundred Indians were cut down or flung into the river. The news was through the city in a flash. Some Indian reprisals were probably taken at this point, and the story of the mutilation of a Burmese woman was carried into the suburbs. Hundreds of Burmans then hurried to the town. There developed a civil commotion on a grand scale, which threatened to spread to the villages, and lead to the death of the numerous Indians scattered over the country. [...] p. 146

[...] I knew well enough that the upper-class Burmese had nothing to do with the massacre, that in many cases they had hidden Indian fugitives with true Buddhist charity and at risk to themselves; I knew that they strongly disapproved of what the mob had done; but I felt that their honour and reputation demanded more than mere disapproval.

In this indignant frame of mind I met U Set, a Burman, who was the official representative of the Government on the corporation executive. 'You Burmans,' I shouted at him in a rage, 'want to impress the House of Commons and get home rule! How are you going to explain this massacre?'

U Set was not offended by my tone. He was distressed.

'You're just a pack of murderers,' I went on, getting more heated. 'You slice up the Indians to-day; to-morrow it will be the Chinese or the English. How are you going to get your own government?' I was fond of U Set.

'The thing has happened under an English government,' he complained.

That was a point, I had to admit. The massacre was, of course, an aspect of insurgent nationalism. The sub-servience of the Burmese in their own country had been, perhaps, the chief cause of it. The Government's ill-concealed opinion that they were not as fit as Indians to govern themselves and should get an inferior constitution had added vehemence to their onslaught. (p. 156-157) [...]

[Collis, M. (1942). *Trials in Burma*. London: Faber & Faber.]

38. Thakin Thein Pe's "Toward Better Mutual Understanding and Greater Cooperation" [September 1944]

Thakin Thein Pe wrote this pamphlet for Lord Mountbatten after fleeing to India during WWII. It became the basis for cooperation between the AFPFL and the British; because of it, the British began providing arms to the BLA to overthrow the Japanese.

[...] Our Final Political Objectives

First of all, what is our political objective, what is our national aspiration? Our national aspiration is the complete independence of Burma. In other words, the right of self-determination to be experienced by our people through the constituent assembly elected on true democratic principles.

Methods to Achieve our Political Objectives

There are customarily two methods of achieving national independence. One is revolutionary and the other constitutional. By revolutionary methods we mean a violent and bloody conflict with rulers. By constitutional method we mean that way of struggle which avoids violence, bloodshed, and armed uprising. By the time world fascism shall have been smashed, by the time Burma shall have been able to devote all her energies to demanding her right to determine her destiny, the international situation will have developed as to have eliminated the use of violence, bloodshed, and armed uprising in a people's fight for freedom. The method which we call constitutional today will become the only correct and therefore "the most revolutionary" method by which we will win our goal. What is the guarantee for that? The guarantee is the rise of democratic and progressive forces in the wake of dying fascism.

[In Taylor, R. (1983). *The Burmese Communist movement*. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 14:1, pp. 95-108.]

39. Manifesto of the People's Front Against Fascism [AFO] [October 1944]

The AFO released this manifesto to announce the beginning of its resistance against the Japanese. The East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was an idea that Japanese had to unite Asian nations under their leadership. Bushido was a Japanese code of conduct, and Shinto was a Japanese religion.

The Constitution and Programme of the People's Front Against Fascism in Burma

1. To drive out the Japanese militarists and their capitalists, big and small. To punish the henchmen of the Japanese.
2. To draw up a Constitution for a free Burma, including the following rights and privileges:
 - a. Personal liberties, as opposed to arrests and persecutions without warrant by the Japanese military police.
 - b. Freedom of thought and religion. Now under the Japanese we are forced to think according to the Japanese wishes and it is not unusual of the Japanese because in Japan there is thought control.
 - c. Freedom of speech, freedom of writing, freedom of publication. Under the present form of 'freedom' all the newspapers, all publications, press and radio are controlled by the Japanese and have become instruments of spreading Japanese propaganda such as East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, Bushido, Shinto, etc. We don't want these kinds of freedoms.
 - d. Freedom of organization, meeting and demonstration. Under the Japanese we cannot form any association without Japanese consent. Where are our mass organizations of workers, of peasants and of students now? At present our freedom is only on paper.
 - e. Freedom of religion, or freedom to be without any religion. According to advanced theories the state has to be neutral regarding religion. This has been practiced in other parts of the world but not in Japanese Burma. Here the Japanese are pillaging the pagodas, monasteries and other shrines. Some of our religious buildings are being used by the Japanese as barracks, kitchens, stables and wash houses. Our phongyis are knocked on the heads, are told to climb the trees, to kill rats, etc. We have nothing but contempt and hatred for these Japanese missionaries. We want freedom of religion.
 - f. We want to be free from all interferences in our residences, our monasteries, churches and mosques.
 - g. Freedom from summary arrests. We are opposed to such injustices as the arrests by the military police without warrant, detention of persons without trial, beating persons to death, blinding others, etc.
 - h. Freedom from economic and social exploitation, e.g., freedom from exorbitant rents and taxes.
 - i. Freedom from inequalities on account of races, creed, sex or wealth. Every person in Burma is to have equal opportunities, etc. [...]
11. To establish a democratic and impartial administration.
12. To carry out judicial reforms and prison reforms so as to eliminate all forms of injustice and inequalities.

So long as the Japanese barbarians are ruling over Burma we cannot achieve the above freedoms and rights. So long as they remain in Burma, there will be agonies of war, forced war contributions, commandeering of our properties, etc. Therefore we must drive out the Japanese. How to drive out the Japanese? By organizing the masses of the people to carry out the following programme:

- i. We must sabotage the Japanese war efforts, their lines of communications, bridges, etc.
- ii. We must deny labour to the Japanese. Those who are working with the Japanese must strike. We must fight back with all available weapons.
- iii. We must hide our bullocks, horses, carts, boats, etc. so as not to fall into the Japanese hands.
- iv. Kill the traitors who are collaborating with the Japanese.
- v. The soldiers of the BDA [Burma Defense Army] must revolt. They must carry on guerilla warfare against Japanese Fascists.
- vi. Give correct information about Fascist enemy to us and give false information to the Fascist enemy.
- vii. Organize branches of the Anti-Fascist Front, Anti-Fascists' fighting units, Anti-Fascist Peasants Union and Anti-Fascist Workers Union.
- viii. To unite whole people of Burma irrespective of rank, race, religion, etc. [...]

COMRADES, do you love freedom? Do you cherish peace? Do you want to lead a prosperous life? If you do so, drive out the Japanese, establish a free Burma and win our freedom, peace and a better life. Destroy all the Fascists. Cooperate with the democratic Allies.

[in Tinker, H., Ed. (1984). *Burma: The struggle for independence 1944-1948*, Vol. 1. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, pp. 110-112].

40. "The Humble Memorial of the Karens of Burma to His Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Burma" [26 September 1945]

Dr. San C. Po delivered this document on behalf of the KCO to the British in London in 1945.

May it please Your Honour that your Memorialists, the Karens of Burma, at this momentous time, have great cause to be very much concerned about the future of the Karens in this transitional stage of the much promised Constitutional Progress pledged to the Burmese people to full Self-Government as soon as may prove possible. Our National Identity, jealously preserved as the Karens of Burma, and our National Virtue and National Morals, anxiously mustered during the long trying centuries, appear at last to be recognized, though formerly we felt that only the baby who cried the most got the most attention. The Karens have faithfully and loyally followed the flag they vowed to fight for, to distant lands, and not merely as evacuees. We realise that many of our interests have in the past been overlooked, because we failed to make adequate representation of our needs; but now, if the Majority could possibly merit Constitutional Progress to full Self-Government, we the Karens of Burma do deserve "a double claim to British consideration". [...]

Geographically and socially, there should be no reason why the Karens and the Burmese living on the same soil for so many centuries could not live harmoniously, and be united and treated as one race. Naturally, the by-stander cannot realise or appreciate the situation as those who have to suffer, and live under circumstances of great strain both mental and physical. Over a hundred years ago, before the British ever set foot in Burma, the Burmese Kings and the Burmese people literally made slaves of the Karens, and persecuted them generally. Ko Tha Byu, who later earned the epithet of "The Apostle of Burma" was a Karen slave redeemed both body and soul by Dr A. Judson just a century ago. The Karens the Hill tribes, therefore, had to flee or evade the Burmese whenever possible. Under such circumstances, the Karens underwent both mental and physical torture. Then came the British, not only as a Liberator, but also as a Guardian Angel, maintaining Law and Order, and preserving Peace and giving Protection. Under such a benign Government, the Karens began to thrive, but still with great difficulty. There was no more physical torture; but the mental tortures still had to be endured. The Burmese still treated the Karens with contempt socially. They still imposed on the Karens in business. They crowded out the minority races in official posts. In every sphere of life the Burmese took the best. Such was the situation. But in 1942, no sooner was the back of the British turned, no sooner was the liberator and guardian Angel taken away, than reoccurred both the mental and the physical torture in a manner unequalled in the whole history of Burma. This unfortunate, uncalled-for and unprovoked series of bloodshed and persecution has turned the clock back a century in our relationships. The Karens, therefore, have come to feel very strongly that they must strike out on a course of their own to preserve their National Ideals and develop into a progressive and useful State of Burma in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Karens have unreservedly rendered military aid to the British Crown and the Empire in all the crises ever since the British annexation of Lower Burma. [...]

Taking all these facts into serious consideration and having in view our future security, and facility to develop freely and quickly in our own way, under the guiding hands of the British Government, the following well considered and well balanced Resolution was unanimously passed.

"That this Mass Meeting of the Liberated Karens of Burma considered and unanimously resolved to ask the British Government and the Conference of the United Nations of the world to

(a) Extend the Excluded Area in Schedule II of the 1935 Act in Tenasserim Division mentioned in the last paragraph of the White Paper, to include the remainder of the Tenasserim Division and Nyaunglebin Sub-Division of Pegu District in Pegu Division, and to add to it later adjacent Karen Areas in Salween and designate the whole as the United Frontier Karen States to be administered by The Karens directly under a Governor." [...]

We believe the British Government realise the necessity of developing the Hill tribes and the soil they live in: but under the present conditions, the Scheduled Areas are wholly comprised of Mountainous fringes with no out-let in the sea and the world outside. It would, therefore, be a great disadvantage, amounting to an impossibility, to develop a cramped-in little state without any modern means of inter-communication with the outside world. We, therefore, plead that the Excluded Karen Areas be extended so as to include the remaining Tenasserim Division and Nyaunglebin Sub-Division in Pegu Division with a good prospect of having a considerable import and export by sea.

The Mass Meeting referred to above unanimously resolved to send a deputation to England headed by Saw Ba U Gyi, Bar-at-Law and two others (under the Supervision of their Guardian Angel Sir San Crombie Po, Kt, CBE, MD) to support this humble Memorial in all fair and possible means, with implicit trust in "British consideration" to which we are given to understand we have "a double claim." Wherefore your Memorialists pray with all confidence, faith and hope that we cherish within us that His Majesty's Government may be pleased to grant the above mentioned Resolution, after due deliberation, patient and sympathetic consideration, and facilitate the meeting of our elected delegates with His Majesty's Secretary of State for Burma.

(Signed) Saw Tha Din, President of the Karen National Association, Mahn Ba Kin, General Secretary of the Karen National Association, Saw Mya Thein, Ex-Member of the House of Representatives, Saw Johnson Kan Gyi, Lecturer, Judson College, Saw Ba U Gyi, Vice President, Karen Social and Service Club (The Executive Members of the Karen Central Organisation) Copy to : HE the Governor; Major General H.E. Rance, Chief Civil Affairs Officer

[In Tinker, H., Ed. (1984). *Burma: The struggle for independence 1944-1948*, Vol. 1. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office p. 492-496.]

42. U Razak's "The Burman Muslim Organization" [1946]

This documents the first Congress of the Burman Muslim Organization. A Maulvi is a Muslim teacher.

[...] In this aspiration for self-expression and self determination, Burman Muslims were one with the Burmans, Burman Muslims had their fair share in the underground movement, in the Burmese National Army and in guerilla units. The country was in travail; the young blood of the Burman Muslims manhood did not bargain for seats in the council or proportional representation on this basis or that principle; they wanted no statutory safeguards; they only knew that Burma was in the throes of a new birth and that they were Burmans and that they owe their entire allegiance to the Nation.

[...] Many important and far reaching resolutions were passed. Of these two outstanding are: (1) that all Burman Muslim political associations should become one and (2) that the Burman Muslim Congress now formed should fraternize with the All Burma Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League.

The second resolution has come to represent the will of all because the Burman Muslim masses have already merged themselves with the Burman Buddhists in Peasants, Cultivators and Labour Unions.

After three days of busy yet happy and successful meeting, the conference terminated. All the delegates were invited to a tea-party by the Pyinmana Anti-Fascist League. Scarlet fez caps and dark velvet caps seated side by side with gaung-baungs; bearded faces smiling into clean shaven faces over the same plates of delicacies, maulvi delegates making speeches in fluent Burmese quoting the Quran and the Persian poets, these are potent signs of the times. As one of the delegates remarked in his speech – "By looking at this gathering would I be wrong if I were to declare that the freedom of the country is already an accomplished fact." Because we were not politically wary in the past we were victims of the divide at empera [divide and rule] policy; after two generations of subjugation with occasional communal ill feelings and riots we ought to have learnt to shun this subtle weapon.

The foundation of unity and freedom has been well and truly laid at Pyinmana and it now remains for all of us to raise up a superstructure as befits our past glory and future greatness.

[In Multiple authors. (2007). *U Razak of Burma: A teacher, a leader, a martyr*. Bangkok: OS Printing House, Co Ltd., pp. 17-19.]

43. Telegrams from British officials about Burmese independence [1946-1947]

This secret telegram from Governor-General Sir Henry Knight to Commissioner Lord Pethick-Lawrence, on August 11, 1946, proposes changes to the White Paper policy.

[...]2. I venture to suggest, however, Frontier problem is governed by certain conditions, viz.:

- a. Frontier peoples are not Burman, are as yet less advanced, and have not in past had proper efforts made by Government for their material and moral advancement. This is recognized by White Paper proposal for a special regime.
- b. Frontier people were loyal and did valuable service during war which led to a revival of traditional maltreatment and massacre by Burmans of Karens, Kachins, etc., and to a considerable extent vice versa. The relations between Frontier people and Burma are worse than formerly. HMG [His Majesty's Government—the British Government] has a responsibility for their reward and future protection. [...]
- e. In my view it would be impossible for a [British] Governor successfully to develop the Frontier Areas under a special regime, in face of a hostile or disgruntled Burma Ministry. An immense inaccessible horseshoe of forests and poverty with no access to the sea is a chimera as a separate entity. [...]
- g. Amicable settlement between Frontier Areas and Burma is desirable and I think it is possible that, if we have an enlarged Executive Council which would appreciate the administrative, defence and economic necessity of a contented Frontier Area, agreement might be reached on basis of a Frontier Federation...to be associated with Burma proper in a way to be worked out by both parties till complete federation by agreement is possible. [...]
- j If we want to get out of our obligations to the Frontier Areas with the least trouble to us, we can...allow Burma to incorporate at once the Frontier Areas, and leave Burma to hold any baby of complications which may result from such hasty union.

This secret telegram from Governor-General Sir Hubert Rance to Commissioner Lord Pethick-Lawrence, on January 2, 1947, explains the British plan for the Frontier Areas given the AFPFL's plan to get independence for Burma within a year.

I believe that we have to make an entirely fresh approach to this problem.

We should start with the premise that there is only one Burma and that the part known as Ministerial Burma [Burma Proper] and that known as the Frontier Areas [Excluded/Scheduled Areas] are merely parts of the whole. They have been one in the past and they must remain one in the future so that our ultimate aim is always a united Burma in the shortest possible time.

In the past the future of the Frontier Areas has been envisaged from the standpoint of a special regime lasting many years. The expected rapid advance of Ministerial Burma to full self-government and possibly independence must alter this view as no Burmese Government could contemplate for long a British controlled ring fence round all her land frontiers. Further I do not consider that a special regime can exist for a limited period like three to five years without the closest association with the other half of Burma. I mention five years as a maximum period as (a) I do not think that HMG will be prepared to help in meeting deficits for any longer period. (b) There would be continuing and unceasing friction between this special administration and that of Ministerial Burma. [...]

[in Tinker, H., Ed. (1984). *Burma: The struggle for independence 1944-1948*, Vol. 2. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, p. 945-946 and p. 219]

44. Panglong Agreement [12 February 1947]

The Agreement contained 9 points establishing representation for people living in the Frontier Areas on the Executive Council, which was the interim government of Burma led by the AFPFL.

A conference having been held at Panglong, attended by certain Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma, all Saohpas and representatives of the Shan States, the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hills, the members of the conference, believing that freedom will be more speedily achieved by the Shans, the Kachins and the Chins by their immediate co-operation with the Interim Burmese Government, have accordingly, and without dissentients, agreed as follows:

[...] (V) Though the Governor's Executive Council will be augmented as agreed above, it will not operate in respect of the Frontier Areas in any manner which would deprive any portion of these Areas of the autonomy which it now enjoys in internal administration. Full autonomy in internal administration for the Frontier Areas is accepted in principle.

[...] (VII) Citizens of the Frontier Areas shall enjoy rights and privileges which are regarded as fundamental in democratic countries.

SIGNATORIES

For the Shan Committee: Sawbwas [from]: Tawnpeng [Hkun Pan Sing], Yawngnhei [Shwe Thaik], North Hsenwi [Hom Hpa], Laika [Num], Mong Pawn [Sam Htun], Hsamonghkam [Htun E] and representative of Pawnglawng [Hkun Pawng]; Shan people: Tin E, Kya Bu, Sao Yapa Hpa, Htun Myint, Hkun Saw, Hkun Htee

For the Kachin Committee: Myitkyina: Sinwa Nawng, Zau Rip, Dinra Tang; Bhamo: Zau La, Zau Lawn, Labang Grong

For the Chin Committee: U Hlur Hmung, U Thawng Za Khup, U Kio Mang

For the Burmese Government: Aung San

[Tinker, H. (1984). *Burma: The Struggle for Independence 1944-1948* (Vol. II) London, HMSO, pp. 404-405]

45. General Aung San's address to the AFPFL Convention [23 May 1947]

This speech was made at Jubilee Hall in Rangoon. Stalin and Lenin were both Russian Communist leaders.

[...] At this point I want to go into the question of nation or nationality, race, tribe, etc. Until we have a really good Burmese dictionary we cannot translate exactly into Burmese the term nation or nationality. The British nation for instance is composed of the English, Scotch, Welsh, and Northern Irish. The American nation is made up of European races who have become Americans. Let us therefore find out what are the characteristics of a nation or nationality. The world-famed leader of the Soviet Union, M. Stalin has defined it thus: "A nation is a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." A nation is not a racial or tribal community of people, but a community of races and tribes. Community of language alone does not constitute a nation. American and Britain speak the same language, yet they are two separate nations. In the absence of unifying factors a community with the same language may belong to a different nationality. When they are unifying factors, geographical, racial, linguistic, economic, common interest, common culture, common traditions—all of them, only then can a nation be evolved. M. Stalin also draws a distinction between political community and national community.

Whereas common language is an essential factor in a national community, it is not so in a political community. Now, how many nationalities are we going to have in Burma? Strictly speaking there can be only one. Of course, there can be distinct races and tribes within the nation. They are called national minorities. Perhaps by stretching a point we may regard the Shan States as a national community. But there is no other national community within Burma. For instance, the Jinghpaws. They have no common language, taking recourse to Burmese or to Hindustani where it was introduced by the British. Turn to the Karenni whose population, including Moby, totals only about 80,000. They have to use Burmese as a common language. Then, the Karens. There are about 12 different kinds of Karens and two different principal languages. Burmese again is their lingua franca. The majority of the Shans also know Burmese, and their culture is similar in many respects to Burmese culture. Referring to the relationship between one nation and another, "Nations are sovereign and all nations are equal," said Stalin. "The right of self-determination means that a nation can arrange its life according to its own will. It has the right to arrange its life on the basis of autonomy. It has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations. It has the right to complete secession."

This, of course, does not mean that social democrats will support every demand of a nation. A nation has the right even to return to the old order of things; but this does not mean that social democrats will subscribe to such a decision if taken by any institution of the said nation. Next, he said, "In fighting for the right of nations to self-determination, the aim of the social democrats is to put an end to the policy of national oppression, to render it impossible, and thereby to remove the grounds of hostility and reduce it to a minimum."

Also, a commentary on Marxism states, "It would be wrong to say that Marxists must support every national movement and that they have to apply the principle of national self-determination as a dogma in every single case."

Also, the right of self-determination of this or that national group has to be definitely denied if under the given conditions it would serve reactionary purposes and do a disservice to the general cause of democracy.

According to Lenin, “The various demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not absolute, but a small part of the general democratic (not general socialist) world movement. Possibly in individual concrete cases, the part may contradict the whole; if so it must be rejected. The question of the right of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the question whether it would be expedient for any given nation to secede at any given moment.

The conclusion to be drawn from these various views is that in a community of nations there must be the right of self-determination. But this right must not be overindulged in regardless of the time and circumstances. These are points we should know concerning the term nation and nationality.

Of course, not one of the regions constitutes a compact homogenous nation, for each is interspersed with national minorities. Such are the Jews in Poland, and Latvians in Lithuania, the Russians in the Caucasus, the Poles in the Ukraine, and so on. It may be feared therefore that the minorities will be oppressed by the national majorities. But there will be grounds for this fear only if the old order continues to prevail in the country. Give the country complete democracy and all grounds of this fear will vanish.

What is it that particularly agitates a national minority? A minority is discontented...because it does not enjoy the right to use its native language. Permit it to use its native language and the discontent will pass of itself. A minority is discontented...because it does not possess its own schools. Give it its own schools and all grounds of discontent will disappear. A minority is discontented...because it does not enjoy liberty of conscience, liberty of movement, etc. Give it these liberties and it will cease to be discontented. Thus national equality in all forms (language, schools, etc.) is an essential element in the solution of the national problem. A state law based on complete democracy in the country is required, prohibiting all national privileges without exception and all kinds of disabilities and restrictions on the rights on national minorities.

[translated in Silverstein, J. (1972). The political legacy of Aung San. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program.]

46. 1947 Constitution

This document was written in the year prior to independence. Below are several controversial sections related to religion, Karen State, secession, and the federal system.

Preamble

WE, THE PEOPLE OF BURMA including the Frontier Areas and the Karenni States, Determined to establish in strength and unity a SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT STATE, To maintain social order on the basis of the eternal principles of JUSTICE, LIBERTY AND EQUALITY and To guarantee and secure to all citizens JUSTICE social, economic and political; LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action; EQUALITY of status, of opportunity and before the law, IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this Tenth day of Thadingyut waxing, 1309 B.E. (Twenty-fourth day of September, 1947 A.D.), DO HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.

CHAPTER I

Form of State

1. Burma is a Sovereign Independent Republic to be known as “the Union of Burma.”
2. The Union of Burma shall comprise the whole of Burma, including (i) all the territories that were heretofore governed by His Britannic Majesty through the Governor of Burma, and (ii) the Karenni States.

3. The sovereignty of the Union resides in the people.
4. All powers, legislative, executive and judicial, are derived from the people and are exercisable on their behalf by, or on the authority of, the organs of the Union or of its constituent units established by this Constitution.
5. The territories that were heretofore known as the Federated Shan States and the Wa States shall form a constituent unit of the Union of Burma and be hereafter known as "the Shan State."
6. The territories that were heretofore known as the Myitkyina and Bhamo Districts shall form a constituent unit of the Union of Burma and be hereafter known as "the Kachin State."
7. The territories that were heretofore known as the Karenni States, viz., Kantarawaddy, Bawlake and Kyebogyi shall form a constituent unit of the Union of Burma and hereafter known as "the Karenni State."
8. 8. All powers, legislative, executive and judicial, in relation to the remaining territories of the Union of Burma shall, subject to the provisions of section 180, be exercisable only by, or on the authority of, the organs of the Union.

Rights of Freedom [...]

Rights Relating to Religion

21. (1) The State recognizes the special position of Buddhism as the faith professed by the great majority of the citizens of the Union.

(2) The State also recognizes Islam, Christianity, Hinduism and Animism as some of the religions existing in the Union at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution.

(3) The State shall not impose any disabilities or make any discrimination on the ground of religious faith or belief.

(4) The abuse of religion for political purposes is forbidden; and any act which is intended or is likely to promote feelings of hatred, enmity or discord between racial or religious communities or sects is contrary to this Constitution and may be made punishable by law. [...]

The Karen State

180. (1) The following areas, viz., (a) the Karenni State, (b) the Salween District and (c) such adjacent areas occupied by the Karens as may be determined by a Special Commission to be appointed by the President shall, if the majority of the people of these three areas and of the Karens living in Burma outside these areas so desire, form a constituent unit of the Union of Burma to be known as the Karen State, which shall thereupon have the same status as the Shan State. [...]

Right of Secession

201. Save as otherwise expressly provided in this Constitution or in any Act of Parliament made under section 199, every State shall have the right to secede from the Union in accordance with the conditions hereinafter prescribed.

202. The right of secession shall not be exercised within ten years from the date on which this Constitution comes into operation.

[Burma Lawyer's Council. (2003). Legal Resources. Retrieved November 13, 2010. http://www.blc-burma.org/legal_resource.html].

47. Telegram, R.W.D. Fowler to Sir Gilbert Laithwaite [19 July 1947]

This secret telegram was controversial because some felt it suggested the involvement of the British, of U Nu, who was absent from the meeting, or of Ne Win, who commanded the 4th Burma Rifles. U Saw was convicted of the crime and hanged. U Ba Choe and Sao Sam Tun both died of the wounds they received.

[...] At about 10.30 this morning when the Executive Council was in session a jeep with 12th Army markings drew up to the main entrance. One man stayed in the jeep. Five men armed with Sten guns and two rifles went upstairs to the Council Chamber. An armed PVO on guard outside the door tried to stop them and was shot. He has identified the armed men as members of the 4th Burma Rifles. He was badly wounded and could not give any details. The three men armed with Sten guns entered the Council Chamber and sprayed the occupants with bullets. They then made good their escape in the jeep.

2 The following casualties are now confirmed. Dead-Aung San, Ba Win, Abdul

Razak, Mahn Ba Khaing, Thakin Mya and Ohn Maung, Deputy Secretary, Transport and Communications Department who was present at the Council Meeting. Wounded-Deedok Ba Choe (condition serious) and Sawbwa Ko Htwe [Sam Tun] of Mong Pawn (condition good) and Personal Assistant to Abdul Razak.

3 Pyawbwe U Mya, U Ba Gyan, U Aung Zan Wai and Shwe Baw, Secretary to the Executive Council, are unhurt. Saw San Po Thin was on tour and Thakin Nu was of course not present at the meeting.

4 Casualties were sent to the general hospital without delay and the police seem to have dealt with the situation efficiently.

5 There are no indications at the moment to show whether this incident is part of a general insurrection or not. There are indications that the Red Flag Communists knew of the plan for this attack and there is also reason to believe that the other opposition parties feared that strong action was contemplated against them by the present Government. This suggests that all the Opposition parties may have been privy to the attack but there is of course no evidence of this.

6 His Excellency [HE] had discussions with General Briggs General Thomas, the Inspector-General of Police, and others concerned with internal security this morning and Burma Command are taking precautions in case of further trouble.

7 HE is at the moment in conference with Thakin Nu, U Aung Zan Wai, Pyawbwe U Mya and a further telegram will follow as soon as this Conference is completed with information about proposals for the formation of a new Council.

[Tinker, H. (1984). Burma: The Struggle for Independence, Vol. 2. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, p. 673.]

48. Tatmadaw's Four Oaths [1947]

All members of the armed forces must take these oaths. They were first used when?

1. We shall be loyal to the state and citizens.
2. We shall be loyal to fallen Tatmadaw members.
3. We shall carry out the orders and duties assigned from above.
4. We pledge ourselves to sacrifice our life for our state, citizens, and tatmadaw.

["Tatmadaw will systematically hand over state power..." New Light of Myanmar June 30, 2005.]

49. U Nu's Independence Day Speech [4 January 1948]

U Nu made this speech after was chosen to become the first Prime Minister of Burma following General Aung San was assassinated.

Protected by the sea and by mighty mountain ranges, we in Burma had pursued our own way of life till the all-pervading West intruded on our history, but on this auspicious day, on which we regain our independence, we need harbor no resentment. [...] [W]e have gained in knowledge of the world and have had time and opportunity to align our civilization and our way of life to what the world demands though we have been careful not to lose in that process our national individuality and the principles that we hold dear.

Perhaps the main disadvantage of our loss of independence was that the natural process by which the several races of Burma were integrating into a nation was retarded and, until recently, we were divided administratively from our brethren of the Frontier Areas. [...]

There is no room for disunity or discord—racial, communal, political or personal—and I now call upon all citizens of the Burma Union to unite and to labor without regard to self and in the interest of the country to which we all belong. [...]

[In Tinker, H., Ed. (1984). Burma: The struggle for independence 1944-1948, Vol. 2. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office p. 838.]

50. Mujahid Party's demands [9 June 1948]

The Mujahid Party made these demands after rebelling in 1947.

1. The area between the west bank of Kaladan River and the east bank of Naaf River must be recognized as the National Home of the Muslims in Burma.
2. The Muslims in Arakan must be accepted as the nationalities of Burma.
3. The Mujahid Party must be granted a legal status as a political organization.
4. The Urdu Language must be acknowledged as the national language of the Muslims in Arakan and be taught in the schools in the Muslim areas.
5. The refugees from the Kyauktaw and Myohaung (Mrauk-U) Townships must be resettled in their villages at the expense of the state.
6. The Muslims under detention by the Emergency Security Act must be unconditionally released.
7. A general amnesty must be granted for the members of the Mujahid Party.

[In Aye Chan. (2005). The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar). SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research, 3 (2), p. 411.]

51. Union Citizenship Act [1948]

This law decreed who could be a citizen of the newly independent Union of Burma.

4(2) Any person descended from ancestors who for two generations at least have all made any of the territories included within the Union their permanent home and whose parents and himself were born in any of such territories shall be deemed to be a citizen of the Union.

[“The Law Relating to Foreigners and Citizenship in Burma”, S. L. Verma, 2nd Ed. Mandalay, 1961.]

52. Thakin Ba Tin's "On the present political situation in Burma and our tasks" [March 1948]

Thakin Ba Tin refers to the Nu-Attlee Agreement and the British-Burma Defence Agreement (aka Let Ya-Freeman Agreement) collectively as the Anglo-Burmese Treaty.

The year 1948 will be the most decisive year for the Burmese revolution. The conferment of bogus "independence" on Burma on January 4, 1948 is an imperialist maneuver to launch another assault on the Burmese people who are fighting for real independence and people's democracy. [...] (84)

...The imperialist bureaucracy and the state machine cannot be taken over and run in the interest of the people; on the contrary, it has to be smashed. (85)

V. Programme and Main Slogan [...]

- Annulment of the Anglo-Burmese treaty of October, 1947. Assert Burmese people's sovereignty and independence. Take over all British and Foreign concerns, industries and banks and nationalize them. Take control of profits in industries in private hands.
- Repudiate all imperialist debt of Burma.
- Establish state export and import monopoly. Agreements with democratic countries for economic cooperation, including democratic China, Vietnam, and Indonesia.
- Abolition of all forms of landlordism. Take over all land of landlords over 50 acres, distribute it to the actual tillers. [...] No sale of land, all transfer of land through peasant committees. Take over implements, cattle, etc. of big landlords and make them available to the peasants. Abolition of every system of usury.
- 40 hour work-week, living wage, social security, decent housing, right of organization and strike to workers and agricultural laborers.
- Self-determination of national minorities, full autonomy to principal nationalities: Karens, Shans, Kachins etc. Autonomy of Arakanese province. Regional autonomy within provinces and national units to tribes. Complete democracy in the States ruled by chieftains, abolition of feudal order.
- A constitution guaranteeing full freedom and democracy to the common man, ensuring full economic power to the people. [...] (109)

[In Fleischmann, K. (1989). Documents on Communism in Burma, 1945-1979. Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde.]

53. Saw Ba U Gyi's speeches on getting a Karen state [1948 and 1950]

Saw Ba U Gyi made this speech in March 1948.

It is not our intention to disintegrate Burma as some people have reason to fear because we quite realize that anything which is detrimental to the Burmese will have the same effect on the Karens.

In fact, it is our intention to strengthen both the Karens and the Burmese by asking for a state. We asked for it once from the British, and once when Bogyoke Aung San was still alive, and once more now. This time the areas asked for are more than before. We consider that the areas now asked for are a fair request, because historically they belong to us, whoever may say otherwise; it is our conviction that they belong to the Karens, hence our claim. What the K.N.U. asked for the K.Y.O. do not agree and they say that they are quite contented with Salween district or Papun area. They claim to be the Karen representatives but what Karens are they, if they do not try to meet the desire of the majority of Karens? It is now up to you all to find out what is the aspiration of the majority of the Karens and give your support to which you think best. [...]

The Government erred in that, and instead of negotiating with the K.N.U. on this matter, they invited various people from the districts and dealt with them. Are these people Karen representatives? Not by any means. They have no followers whatsoever. It is now already one month and we received no reply. That means the Burmese Government is not going to give us a State.

Saw Ba U Gyi made this speech at the KNU congress 19 July 1950.

A national state for the Karens can be gained in three ways

1. As a voluntary gift given, in good will, by the enemy. We can always be sure that the enemy will never give us a country, a state, so this possibility must be ruled out.
2. By right of military conquest. The Karen revolution, being a just revolution, shall eventually be victorious. However, the struggle will be long, difficult, arduous painful and distressing. Many lives will be lost.
3. By force of circumstances. After a long war, the enemy could get into a quagmire of unending crisis. However hard the enemy tried he would get deeper into the quagmire. That is the time when the force of circumstances will be most favourable to us. At that time, we must not fail to grasp the opportunities presented themselves and, by military and political means, force our will upon the enemy.

The strength of the revolution comes from the people. Therefore, to get the people's support, we must win the people's love, confidence and respect. In order to win the people's love, we must first give our love, show our love, to them. In order to win the confidence of the people, we must build up and consolidate our force. In order to win the respect of the people, we must be well disciplined and organized. We are bound to make mistakes in the performance of work, in review of our revolution which is more than a year old now, I find that there have been the weaknesses and mistakes of self-conceitedness, putting self-interest in the forefront, indiscipline, anti-mass attitude, loose unity. We have not always been willing to correct our weaknesses and errors boldly.

In history, we find that in spite of various difficulties and hardship, all the just revolutions when led with perseverance and courage eventually triumph without exception. I firmly believe that the just revolution of the Karen people shall be victorious, eventually, in spite of all the hardships and difficulties. [...]

1. For us surrender is out of the question.
2. The recognition of Karen State must be complete.
3. We shall retain our arms.
4. We shall decide our own political destiny.

[In Smith Dun. (1980). Memoirs of the four-foot colonel. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, p. 86; Keenan, P. (2008). Saw Ba U Gyi. Karen History and Culture Preservation Society, pp. 16-17.]

54. Occupation table, 1953-54 census

This table shows the percentage of participation of the population of workers.

Occupation	All Burma Male	All Burma Female	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban Male	Urban Female
Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting, and Fishing	65%	58%	75%	67%	13%	10%
Manufacturing	7%	11%	5%	8%	17%	23%
Commerce and Finance	7%	18%	4%	12%	26%	51%
Transport, Storage, and Communication	4%	> 1%	2%	> 1%	11%	1%
Services	5%	3%	3%	2%	19%	8%
Other	12%	10%	11%	11%	14%	7%
Total population	1,485,921	703,122	712,081	400,788	773,840	302,334

[Mi Mi Khaing. (1984). *The World of Burmese Women*. London: Zed Books, p. 148.]

55. China's Five principles of peaceful co-existence [1954]

Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai first listed these principles in his meeting with Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in 1953. In 1954, China, India, and Burma all endorsed these principles.

1. mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity
2. mutual non-aggression
3. non-interference in each other's internal affairs
4. equality and mutual benefit
5. peaceful coexistence

[Wikipedia. "Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence." Accessed December 25, 2010.]

56. Jawaharlal Nehru's speech to the Bandung Conference's Political Committee [1955]

Indian Prime Minister Nehru made this speech at the "Asian-African Conference" in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955. Burma was one of 29 countries to participate in this conference, which began the "non-aligned movement" of countries who did not want to take sides in the Cold War between capitalist countries led by the US, and communist countries led by the Soviet Union.

So far as I am concerned, it does not matter what war takes place; we will not take part in it unless we have to defend ourselves. If I join any of these big groups I lose my identity. . . . If all the world were to be divided up between these two big blocs what would be the result? The inevitable result would be war. Therefore every step that takes place in reducing that area in the world which may be called the unaligned area is a dangerous step and leads to war. It reduces that objective, that balance, that outlook which other countries without military might can perhaps exercise.

Honorable Members laid great stress on moral force. It is with military force that we are dealing now, but I submit that moral force counts and the moral force of Asia and Africa must, in spite of the atomic and hydrogen bombs of Russia, the U.S.A. or another country, count. [...] Many members present here do not obviously accept the communist ideology, while some of them do. For my part I do not. I am a positive person, not an 'anti' person. I want positive good for my country and the world. Therefore, are we, the countries of Asia and Africa, devoid of any positive position except being pro-communist or anti-communist? Has it come to this, that the leaders of thought who have given religions and all kinds of things to the world have to tag on to this kind of group or that and be hangers-on of this party or the other carrying out their wishes and occasionally giving an idea? It is most degrading and humiliating to any self-respecting people or nation. It is an intolerable thought to me that the great countries of Asia and Africa should come out of bondage into freedom only to degrade themselves or humiliate themselves in this way. [...]

[In Kahin, G.M. (1956). The Asian-African Conference Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 64-72.]

57. Thakin Kodaw Hmaing's speech at the People's Meeting to Demonstrate for Peace in the Country [1957]

Thakin Kodaw Hmaing made this speech at Shwedagon Pagoda in Yangon.

[...] The great suffering with which I am obsessed is the problem of the civil strife. I feel this when I sleep, when I eat, wherever I go. I cannot rest until there is peace in the country. My conviction that I must do everything I can to struggle for peace in the country has emerged slowly. Audience and pupils:

I have no other reason for wanting internal peace. I feel I know and love the entire nation and people including the sangha. I also am attached to this cause. What I especially want to say is that my pupils who have taken on the responsibility of serving the country have many differences of opinion. Those in the jungle, including Thakin Soe, Thakin Than Htun, Bo Po Kun, Bo Zeya and their people were colleagues and my close pupils. Thakin Nu, Thakin Tin, Maung Ba Swe, Maung Kyaw Nyein and their people who have formed the government were also my close pupils when they were students. These pupils and groups disagree with each other. The unity that the country needs so much is broken. I can't help bitterly remembering General Aung San, Thakin Mya, and Deedok U Ba Cho who have passed away. I never wanted any harm to come to these colleagues, and I don't want that now, I don't want that in the future. I would be happy if all of these pupils together struggled to obtain complete democratic freedom after there is internal peace. That's what I want and that's what I'm struggling for. [...]

When we look at the Finance Minister's speech about 1956-1957, I see that... "As of 1955, 22,077 residents and 5,693 civil servants have died because of the rebellion. It is estimated to have cost over 50,000 kyat of the people's money and no industry has been spared. So since the war started, we were able to produce only 89% of what we could before the war. Because of the destruction, everyone is hurting. Because financial and human power used by the businesses to make the commodities and buildings that were destroyed has been wasted. They'll have to use new financial and human resources to rebuild what was destroyed. Actually, the repair of the destruction can only happen if each new business were to use the power of the things already destroyed." Isn't it clear from this kind of speech that the country is not in a good situation? [...]

I don't believe these [political] differences of opinion should prevent us from getting peace. So let's take the advice of the abbots and find a win-win solution to get peace. We believe the way of the dhamma and acting rightly is best. I'm struggling for peace using this method of finding a win-win solution to stop the civil war as quickly as possible. I ask from the bottom of my heart, please, all people, sangha and audience members, follow the advice of the abbots and demonstrate your support for using the win-win method to end the civil war as quickly as possible, so I can see it before I die.

[Kyaungtain Abbot's group. (n.d.) *People's Demonstration for Civil Peace led by Thakin Kodaw Hmaing*. Rangoon: Tin Yone Newspaper.]

58. Government of the Union of Burma's "Is trust vindicated?" [1960]

This book was written by the Caretaker Government under U Ne Win, to explain what the government had accomplished during their two years in power.

The National Ideology and the Role of the Defence Services; Part I, To Restore Peace and the Rule of Law:

[...] 13. In surveying the present situation in Burma, it can be noted that the remnants of the Red Flag Communist Party are so small as to be hardly worth speaking about. Only a few leaders and isolated bands of White Flag Communists remain. With the exception of a nominal few, all of the PCP's have surrendered. Of the KNDO's there are scattered remnants in the Papun area of the East Yomas and some few in the delta. What remains of the MNDO is scarcely worth mentioning. This improvement in the security situation is highly satisfactory. It will undoubtedly improve. But are we justified in assuming that Peace and the Rule of Law are here to stay?

14. To answer this question one must go to the root of the matter. Lopping off the branches of a tree will not kill it. New shoots will appear with the next rains. The whole of the tree must be uprooted. In the same way insurgency must be uprooted or it will reappear with the next opportunity. This is what the insurgents are waiting for—the next opportunity. Barring the possibility of a Third World War, they still hope for limited wars in near-by areas. They pray for tension and discord between the Union and her neighbors.

For a country to enjoy internal peace, her political parties must adopt constructive programmes to benefit the people and must struggle for power only through democratic means. Armed violence—whether for racial, religious, or personal reasons—has no place in democratic government. We must not be deluded by temporary peace fronts which only give transient peace. Since 1942 Burma has been ravaged by war or so plagued by insurrection that nobody, not even the few who were misguided before, could not but abhor the idea of insurrection. Henceforth, armed insurrection of any kind will be the anathema of the people.

15. Henceforth, the Defence Services must keep in step with the will of the people if they are to deserve the name of the people's armed forces. Criminals, oppressors, exploiters and racketeers shall all be punished. We shall crush any attempt to wrest power by force of arms (like that of the Communists) and we shall suppress violence and lawlessness. This is the will of the people. This the Defence Services have firmly resolved to accomplish.

[Director of Information. (1960). *Is trust vindicated?* Rangoon: Government of the Union of Burma. p. 537-583.]

59. Shan Federal Proposal [25 February 1961]

This document was ratified by the convention attended by delegates from across Shan State. U Nu announced his intention to consider this proposal, but before he could do so, U Ne Win took power in a coup.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE (SHAN STATE) STEERING COMMITTEE FOR THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF BURMA

The provisions for equal and opportunities between the various states and nationalities are not adequately prescribed in the present Constitution of the Union of Burma. The Steering Committee has therefore unanimously decided that to ensure equal rights and opportunities for all, the Constitution should be revised in accordance with the principles of a truly federal constitution. The Steering Committee hereby resolves that in redrafting the Constitution, in accordance with genuine federal principles, the following basic requirements for ensuring equality shall be included:

1. Establishment of a Burmese State;
2. Assignment of equal powers to both Chambers of the Union Parliament;
3. Each State to be represented by an equal number of representatives in the Chamber of Nationalities;
4. The following Departments shall be vested in the Central Union, while all other powers, rights and entitlements shall be transferred to the States.

(a) Foreign Affairs; (b) Union Defence; (c) Union Finance; (d) Coinage and Currency; (e) Posts and Telegraphs; (f) Railways, Airways and Waterways; (g) Union Judiciary; (h) Sea Customs. Duty.

5. Union revenue to be distributed equitably

[...]

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRULY FEDERAL UNION

To summarise the matters presented above:

1. Historically, the Shan Peoples have established and maintained independent States.
2. Because of its natural resources, the Shan State can be economically viable. It has its own distinct language and culture.
3. The experiences of the Second World War has awakened the political consciousness of the Shan peoples.
4. Although the Shan State had the qualifications to become a separate independent nation, it decided to co-operate with Burma proper to gain independence together, sooner. It signed the Panglong Agreement and laid the foundation for a Union of Equality.
5. At the Constituent Assembly, the present Constitution was unquestioningly and too easily accepted, by the Shan State because its Representatives were: impatient to gain independence; politically immature; and too trusting towards the Political Leaders of Burma.

But the present Constitution, during 13 years in existence, has exhibited many defects and deficiencies, as detailed above [...]. It is now quite clear that the rights enjoyed by the States are not equal to those enjoyed by Burma proper. A complete examination of the present Constitution shows that there are serious defects in its

1. Structure; in the
2. Distribution of Powers; in the

3. Establishment of the Parliament; and the manner of
4. Distribution of Revenues; and these defects have cost the States dearly, in the way of loss of their rightful entitlements. [...]

In revising the Constitution, it will be worse than useless to try to conduct a mere patch-up job by tinkering with the defective sections mentioned above. What is needed here is to discard altogether the old Constitution as well as the principle on which it is based, and to replace it with a completely different Constitution, based on genuine federal principles.

[Shan State Steering Committee for the Revision of the Constitution of the Union of Burma. The Shan Federal Proposal. Translated by Sao Singha. <http://tw.myblog.yahoo.com/freedom-homeland/article?mid=962&prev=-1&next=961>.]

60. Newsweek article on anti-US riots over aid to KMT [March 1961]

This article was published in the US magazine Newsweek. US military aid to the KMT, or Kuomintang army, was based on its Cold War position of supporting groups who fought against Communist China. Uncle Sam is a symbol of the US.

Burma, Case of the Clasped Hands

In torpid, neutralist Burma last week, students of the University of Rangoon applied to police for permission to burn Uncle Sam in effigy in front of the U.S. embassy. Police consented, ordered protective barricades placed around the embassy building, and assigned a detail of cops to march along with the students. It was all meant to be orderly, but then a zealot kicked over a barricade. With that, the biggest anti-U.S. riot in Burmese history was on. Countless embassy windows were shattered, and the embassy walls besmeared with paint. Burmese police and troops fired into the crowd. When the smoke cleared, two demonstrators were dead, 53 injured.

Burmese indignation was only indirectly with the U.S. and mainly with the Nationalist Chinese. For eleven years, the presence of Chiang Kai-shek forces marooned in north Burma after the Communist take-over of the Chinese mainland has angered the Burmese. Last month troops were sent up to clean out these Kuomintang irregulars. Overrunning a Kuomintang headquarters, the Burmese found U.S.-made ammunition and boxes branded with the International Cooperation Administration symbol of two clasped hands. The Burmese press ran pictures of the boxes, and the public took reproachful note.

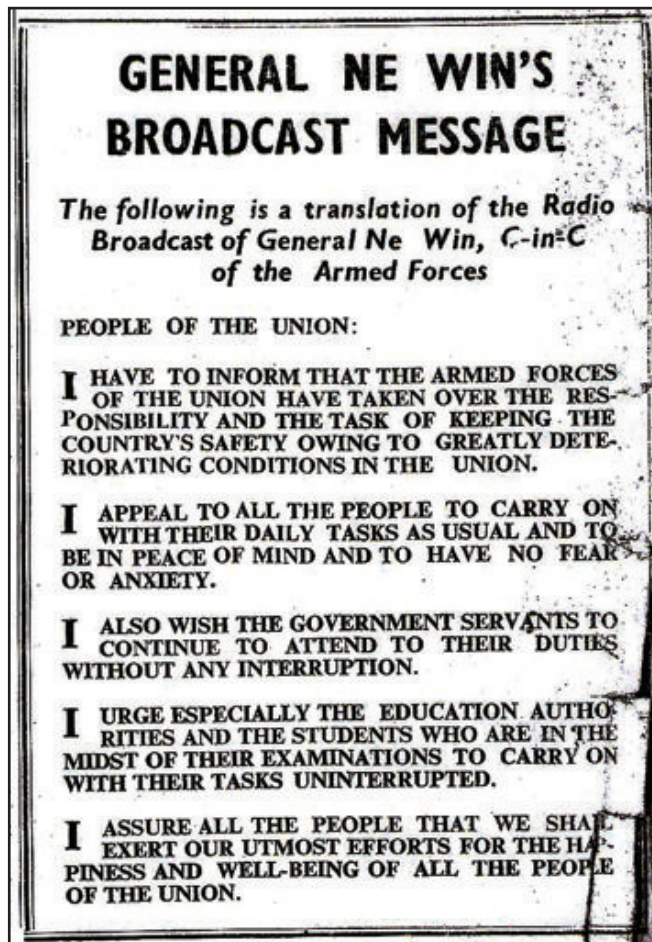
Reproach turned to anger when a U.S.-built Chinese Nationalist patrol bomber overflowed Burma, apparently trying to drop supplies to the fleeing Kuomintang forces. Burmese fighters attacked it, and it crashed over the border in Thailand. But in the course of the battle, one Burmese fighter was shot down, another damaged. The Burmese government brought the body of the dead pilot back to Rangoon for ceremonial burial. Burma sent off a protest to the U.N.

Investigating, U.S. military attaches found the boxes labeled, as claimed, with the clasped-hands symbol but reported that the weapons were mostly non-U.S. At a press conference in Rangoon, Burmese Premier U Nu would not relent. "Where do the arms come from? From Formosa [Taiwan]," he declared. "Where does Formosa get her arms? From the U.S. Only one word from America will stop Formosa from supplying arms to the Kuomintang."

[Newsweek. (March 3, 1961) "Case of the Clasped Hands."]

61. General Ne Win's speeches [1962]

These are translations of extracts from speeches given by General Ne Win after seizing power in a military coup on March 2 and shortly afterwards following protests at Rangoon University in which over 100 students were killed by troops.



...Federalism is impossible; it will destroy the Union.

[The Times, (March 3, 1962) London]

...If these disturbances were made to challenge us, I have to declare that we will fight sword with sword and spear with spear.

["General Ne Win States Give Us Time to Work: Obstructionists are Warned: Will Fight Sword with Sword." The Nation, July 9, 1962.]

[The Guardian (March 3, 1962) Yangon]

62. Revolutionary Council's "Burmese Way to Socialism" [1962]

After the Revolutionary Council took power in a coup in 1962, they produced this document, explaining their ideology.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL OF THE UNION OF BURMA does not believe that man will be set free from social evils as long as pernicious economic systems exist in which man exploits man and lives on the fat of such appropriation. The Council believes it to be possible only when exploitation of man by man is brought to an end and a socialist economy based on justice is established; only then can all people, irrespective of race or religion, be emancipated from all social evils and set free from anxieties over food, clothing and shelter, and from inability to resist evil, for an empty stomach is not conducive to wholesome morality, as the Burmese saying goes; only then can an affluent stage of social development be reached and all people be happy and healthy in mind and body. [...]

The Socialist Economy

6. The fundamental concept of socialist economy is the participation of all for the general well-being in works of common ownership, and planning towards sufficiency and contentment of all, sharing the benefits derived therefrom. Socialist economy aims at the establishment of a new society for all, economically secure and morally better, to live in peace and prosperity. [...]
10. In order to carry out socialist plans such vital means of production as agricultural and industrial production, distribution, transportation, communications, All external trade, etc., will have to be nationalized. [...]
14. Parliamentary democracy called "The People's Rule" came into existence in history with the British, American and French Revolutions against feudalism. It happens to be the best in comparison with all its preceding systems. [...]

But in some countries the parliament has been so abused as to have become only the means by which the opportunists and propertied people deceive the simple masses.

In the Union of Burma also, parliamentary democracy has been tried and tested in furtherance of the aims of socialist development. But Burma's "parliamentary democracy" has not only failed to serve our socialist development but also, due to its very inconsistencies, defects, weaknesses and loopholes, its abuses and the absence of a mature public opinion, lost sight of and deviated from the socialist aims, until at last indications of its heading imperceptibly towards just the reverse have become apparent.

The nation's socialist aims cannot be achieved with any assurance by means of the form of parliamentary democracy that we have so far experienced.

The Revolutionary Council therefore firmly believes that it must develop, in conformity with existing conditions and environment and ever changing circumstances, only such a form of democracy as will promote and safeguard the socialist development.

[Revolutionary Council. (1962). "Burmese Way to Socialism."].

63. Maung Htin Aung's History of Burma on bias [1967]

This quotation is from the preface Maung Htin Aung's book.

There is a Burmese folktale that tells of a magic mirror in which a person sees only what he wishes to see. History is such a mirror; and a historian, however much he attempts to be objective and detached, often finds that he cannot overcome his human frailties of prejudice and preference. The reader may therefore find that this history of Burma gives too flattering a picture of Burmese people.

[Maung Htin Aung. (1967). A history of Burma. New York: Columbia University Press, p. vii.]

64. Ba Maw's Breakthrough in Burma on Myaungmya incident [1968]

Ba Maw described violence that occurred between BLA [Burma Independence Army] soldiers, Japanese soldiers, and local Karen and Burmese residents in Myaungmya district in 1942.

For nearly two week the destruction raged, and so did the mass arrests and torture and killings around Myaungmya, especially of hostages held by both sides. "The Karens operating in gangs terrorised large areas" an old Thakin leader who witnessed most of it told me. "There was also every sign that they were hiding the arms left them by the British to be used one day against us and the Japanese. But I must say in fairness that many of the young local Thakins who were then on the way to power started the terrorism. Most of the first incidents were provoked by their atrocities." He mentioned many names and incidents to support his statement.

"For instance," the Thakin leader continued, recalling one incident in particular, "on the very day I arrived in Myaungmya, I saw a row of Karens kept standing on shaky logs with their raised arms tied to a beam high above their heads. It was a slow and excruciating form of torture the B.I.A. had learnt from the Japanese. Those men had been kept like that for hours without food, drink, or respite of any kind. No one seemed to know how long the torture would continue. After a long, tactful talk with the B.I.A. officer in charge, I succeeded in bringing it to an end. I know that some of the things done elsewhere were even more appalling."

"And what about the things the Karens did?" I asked him, to keep the picture balanced.

"I saw a lot of that too," he replied just as readily. "I saw a number of Burmese villages robbed and gutted. At one place I saw a pile of corpses of Burmese men, women, and children with their skulls cracked and their bodies hacked all over. The Karens did not spare even the dead. Once, while travelling on a steamer up the river, Karen terrorists opened fire on us and we narrowly escaped. A small launch that followed a little later did not have the same luck; it was held up, completely looted, and many in it taken away as hostages. They were never seen again. ...There was not much to choose between the two sides. Both were acting like demons."

[in Ba Maw. (1968). Breakthrough in Burma: Memoirs of a revolution, 1939-1946. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 191]

65. CIA document about anti-Chinese riot [1971]

This classified report was written by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The Anti-Chinese riots in Rangoon, June 1967

It is a fundamental conclusion of this paper that the rupture in Sino-Burmese relations, which occurred as a direct result of the anti-Chinese riots in Rangoon in June 1967, was essentially a by-product of the Cultural Revolution in China. In hindsight, one can trace the events leading up to the riots to the return of the Chinese embassy officials to Burma in the spring of 1967. In January 1967, members of the embassy staff in Rangoon had been among the first of the Chinese foreign ministry officials to be called home for indoctrination in the Cultural Revolution. After several months of special training, they returned to Burma to spread Mao's word to the Overseas Chinese in Burma. In the atmosphere of increasing Sino-Burmese tensions described above, their zealousness in preaching the gospel according to Mao was almost certain to provoke a confrontation of some kind.

The immediate cause of the riots was the distribution of Mao buttons by the Chinese embassy officials to Overseas Chinese students in Rangoon. Private representations by the Burmese government to the Chinese embassy to cease these missionary activities had no effect.

Finally, on 19 June, the government issued an order forbidding the wearing of Mao badges. When Chinese students persisted in wearing the badges, the government reacted by expelling several hundred students from school and by closing the schools in question. In protest

against this, the Chinese embassy organized a mass demonstration of Chinese students on 26 June. This was the spark that set off the riots.

For three days, Burmese mobs rioted in the streets of Rangoon, giving vent in the process to their pent-up feelings against Rangoon's Overseas Chinese by burning Chinese stores, houses, and cars. Although apparently no looting was involved, unruly crowds marched through the Chinese section of the city, destroying everything in sight. At the end of three days, at least 50-80 local Chinese had been killed (as well as a CPR aid technician), in addition to many injuries and thousands of dollars worth of property damage.

The first conclusion to be drawn from the evidence about the riots is that they started spontaneously, without priming; contrary to subsequent Chinese charges, we know that they were not planned by the Burmese government. They began as the natural response of Burmese citizens, already resentful of local Chinese student behavior, to the mass demonstration of Chinese students on 26 June, which they saw as a final affront to Burmese authority. In this sense, the riots were the culmination of a series of events that were never firmly under the control of either the Burmese or Chinese governments.

The suddenness and the completeness of China's about-face with respect to Burma are well known. Literally overnight, China abandoned the posture of a friendly benefactor and adopted that of a violent, name-calling enemy. Within twenty-four hours of learning of the "violent death of over 200" Overseas Chinese in Rangoon the Chinese discarded a policy which they had followed towards Burma for over 15 years: Burma fell from the category of states with which Peking had the "closest friendly relations" to the lowest category of foreign governments (as ranked by Peking), namely, that category of governments against which the Chinese publicly supported a Communist-led armed insurrection. On 29 June, the Chinese foreign ministry accused the Burmese of "deliberately" sabotaging Sino-Burmese friendship in "instigating the outrages of the previous four days"; NCNA [New China News Agency] denounced the GUB [Government of Burma] as "reactionary"; and hundreds of thousands of Chinese protested against the "fascist Ne Win government" in front of the Burmese embassy in Peking. In what was perhaps the most significant development of all, Peking for the first time publicly referred to the "armed struggle being waged by the National Democratic United Front formed by the Burmese Communist Party and other revolutionary organizations" in Burma. In a commentary on the "steady development" of the armed struggle in Burma, NCNA concluded that the GUB would "end in destruction."

The new lines of Chinese policy towards Burma had been set in that one day. What remained was for Peking to begin to support its words with deeds: i.e. to begin to play an active role in supporting the armed struggle against the Burmese government. This did not take long. [...] (p. 45-54)

By late 1967, Shan and Kachin insurgents were crossing the border into China for military training. (p. 62)

[Central Intelligence Agency. (1971). *Intelligence Report. Peking and the Burmese communists: The perils and profits of insurgency*. RSS No. 0052/71.]

66. U Nu's 'Saturday's Son' on making Buddhism the state religion [1975]

U Nu wrote this autobiography in the third person while in exile. This section describes his decision to ask the Parliament to amend the constitution to make Buddhism the state religion in 1961.

Out of his abundant religious zeal, U Nu had for a long time been desirous of making Buddhism the state religion. He knew that if he did so Burma would not be the only country in the world where the religion professed by the majority was made the state religion.* Moreover, he sincerely believed that equitable adjustments could be made in order to ensure that the state religion did not become an instrument for imposing a tyranny of the majority. As a result during the campaign for the 1960 general elections, U Nu made a commitment that if his party won he would make Buddhism the state religion. His party won more than a two-thirds majority in that election, and U Nu was aware that even among the Opposition there were many who would support his State Religion Bill, so there was no question about its passage. Nonetheless, because of this respect for the rights of minorities, U Nu first appointed an Enquiry Commission to sound out public opinion. In the Kachin State capital of Myitkyina, the commission was given a rough reception by the Kachin Christians, but elsewhere conditions were peaceful. In Rangoon, the prime minister met with leaders of the Moslem, Christian, and Hindu faiths. They objected to Buddhism being made the state religion, but there was no one among them who claimed that the bill in any way infringed on their constitutional rights.

*About 85 percent of the population in Burma is Buddhist. Among the major national minorities, such as the Karen, the Shan, and Arakanese, and the Mon, a majority profess Buddhism.

[U Nu. (1975). *Saturday's Son*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 204-206.]

67. Mahn Ba Zahn's Opening Speech at the Conference of Forming the Federal National Democratic Front [27 May 1975]

Mahn Ba Zahn made this speech when he took office as Chairman of the NDF.

[...] Another point was that we [the KNU] have committed ourselves to a narrow nationality attitude. Meaning that we consider "any Burman must be hated to death, and no Burman was good." Such narrow nationality policy had been adhered to.

However, in the revolution, instead of helping it, the narrow nationality policy causes the destruction of the revolution. Thus, when it came to which ideology should be taken, the one where all the different nationalities were faithfully united or consolidated was accepted. Consolidation of nationalities means that as we love our own nationality, we must not lose affection of another nationality. Another point was to be committed to the freedom and equality of every nationality.

So, our opposing and fighting the Burman was wrong. Who should we fight against? We were fighting the AFPFL government. These were, of course, Burmans. However, what the AFPFL government was doing also involved their fighting against Burman laborers and farmers. The Burmans in these categories were also going through the same condition as us. Thus, came the knowledge and understanding of the policy of consolidation of all nationalities, meaning close relationship and union with the Burman laborers and farmers, and the need to enter our struggle together.

[Mahn Robert Ba Zan. (2008). Mahn Ba Zan and the Karen Revolution. Ba Saw Khin, Trans. n.l.: n.p, p. 77].

68. Burma Citizenship Law [1982]

This law replaced the 1948 citizenship law.

Chapter II - Citizenship

[...] 3. Nationals such as the Kachin, Kayah, Karen, Chin, Burman, Mon, Rakhine or Shan and ethnic groups as have settled in any of the territories included within the State as their permanent home from a period anterior to 1185 B.E., 1823 A.D. are Burma citizens.

4. The Council of State may decide whether any ethnic group is national or not.

5. Every national and every person born of parents, both of whom are nationals are citizens by birth.

6. A person who is already a citizen on the date this Law comes into force is a citizen. Action, however shall be taken under section 18 for infringement of the provision of that section.

[Burma Citizenship Law [Myanmar], 15 October 1982, Retrieved March 12, 2010 <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b4f71b.html>.]

69. Brigadier-General Aung Gyi's letter to Ne Win, "Please Do Not Cover Up" [22 June 1988]

This is from a series of open letters Brig.-Gen. Aung Gyi wrote to his former friend U Ne Win criticizing the government's handling of the 1988 demonstrations. Lon-hteins were special riot police.

[...]Another ugly incident was one in which school children in green uniforms were run over by trucks and killed. These were pupils from the former St Philomena's and the high school near Kyandaw cemetery, all around the ages of 10 or 11. There were two girls in the forefront, one of whom died. Both the dead and wounded were trucked away. I do not have the number of the truck. It was a lon-htain truck. The school children saw one of the standard-bearer girls being dragged into the police station near the traffic lights and tried to recover her. The authorities lied about this, saying the students burned the police station. When the watching crowd could stand it no longer, they started to beat up the lon-htains. In that neighbourhood about ten lon-htains were killed. Out in the forefront were school children, 11 or 12 years old, unarmed. There were sounds of gunfire. The stones and brickbats came from a house being built near (the Singapore embassy) [...]

Please do not cover up for anybody. The children that died were all 10 to 11 years old.

[in Zoellner, H. (Ed.) (2006). Students and Politics in Myanmar/Burma—documents and essays (Working Paper 10.4-1). Passau, Germany: Southeast Asian Studies Passau, pp. 46-47.]

70. Ne Win's resignation speech at the Extraordinary Session of the BSPP Party Congress [23 July 1988]

This speech was broadcast on national radio and television stations during the political demonstrations of 1988.

In short, (a) I submit to this Congress to seek the decision through a nationwide vote which the majority of the people choose from the two, a one-party system or a multi-party system (b) if the majority supports a multi-party system, then, as I have said before, arrangements will have to be made in accord with the terms concerning a multi-party system, (c) if the majority of the people support a one-party system, those of us who want to retire, must be allowed to do so in deference to our wishes while other remaining Party members continue to shoulder responsibilities of State, (d) please accede to the wishes of those who want to leave with me, (e) multi-party system or one-party system, whichever of the two the people support, may I conclude, declaring that I shall leave the political arena and turn away from politics.

That is what I have to say in connection with the Congress and I have said it. However, from what is currently happening--from what happened in Taunggyi, what is happening in Prome--I cannot say if there is something imitative, thinking that they could do as they like against discipline. We made arrangements to exercise restraint so that the events of June in Rangoon would not lead to further bloodshed. Despite this, what occurred was not of our creation--for example, it was in March, was it? What happened was between some locals and students. The locals and students had it out in a teashop. As a matter of duty, the Government could not but intervene. So, what ensued? What happened between the students and the locals faded away and the Government and students met head-on. Therefore, we tried all means to avoid recurrence of such things in future.

What occurred in Prome started on the 16th, and we knew it only on the 17th. When we heard it on the 17th we thought it could be controlled by the police and the council, we hoped. As I said earlier, in what concerned preventing bloodshed, I asked that the Tatmadaw be not used in trifling matters and that it be used only when really necessary. I told them not to use the Tatmadaw without my knowledge. The Prome affair however did not subside but became bolder. So, I allowed the Tatmadaw to go in yesterday.

There is what I said earlier that I would retire from politics. Although I said I would retire from politics, we will have to maintain control to prevent the country from falling apart, from disarray, till the future organizations can take full control. In continuing to maintain control, I want the entire nation, the people, to know that if in future there are mob disturbances, if the army shoots, it hits --there is no firing into the air to scare. So, if in future there are such disturbances and if the army is used, let it be known that those creating disturbances will not get off lightly.

[Working People's Daily, 7/24/1988]

71. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's speech at Shwedagon Pagoda[26 August 1988]

As many as half a million people gathered to listen to this speech, one of Daw Suu's first addresses to the public.

On the army

[...] What I wish to say is that at this time there is a certain amount of dissension between the people and the army. This rift can lead to future dangers. The present armed forces of Burma were created and nurtured by my father. It is not simply a matter of words to say that my father built up the armed forces. It is a fact. There are papers written in my father's own hand where he lays out in detail how the army should be organized and built up. So what objectives did my father have for the armed forces? Let me read to you one of them:

The armed forces are meant for this nation and this people, and it should be such a force having the honour and respect of the people. If instead the armed forces should come to be hated by the people, then the aims with which this army has been built up would have been in vain.

Let me speak frankly. I feel strong attachment for the armed forces. Not only were they built up by my father, as a child I was cared for by his soldiers. At the same time I am also aware of the great love and affection which the people have for my father. I am grateful for this love and affection. I would therefore not wish to see any splits and struggles between the army which my father built up and the people who love my father so much. May I also from this platform ask the personnel of the armed forces to reciprocate this kind of understanding and sympathy? May I appeal to the armed forces to become a force in which the people can place their trust and reliance. May the armed forces become one which will uphold the honour and dignity of our country.

For their part the people should try to forget what has already taken place, and I would like to appeal to them not to lose their affection for the army. We shall reach our goal of a strong and lasting Union only if we are all able to go forward in unity. We have not yet achieved this goal. Let us not be disunited. Therefore let us resolve to march forward in unity towards our cherished goal. In doing so please use peaceful means. If a people or a nation can reach their objectives by disciplined and peaceful means, it would be a most honourable and admirable achievement. [...]

On students

[...] I have a few things to say about the students who have been at the forefront of this nationwide movement. The students are most able. They have already demonstrated their physical courage. I believe that they will now go on to demonstrate their moral and mental ability. May I appeal to the students to continue to march forward with the same kind of unity and resolve? At this moment there are a number of student groups. I would like these groups to come together as a unified body. I understand that they are soon going to call a conference for this purpose. Should this occasion arise may I pray that it will result in an entire cohesion and unity of the students.

Some students have asked me which politicians are standing behind me. They are apprehensive that such politicians might manipulate me and then take over the students.

I am happy that the students have been so open and honest with me. Young people are frank and free from deviousness. I answered them truthfully. There are no politicians behind me. What I am trying to do is to help achieve the democratic system of government which the people want. For the achievement of this system, there are some veteran politicians who wish to help me in various ways. I have told such politicians that if their object is to obtain positions of political power for themselves, I would not support them in any way. Should these politicians try to obtain positions of political power I promise in front of this assembly of people that I myself will not hesitate to denounce them.

There is a sort of gulf between the older and younger generations. This gulf will have to be bridged. There is the feeling that the older and younger generations are quite apart from each other. This is something that should not happen. Whether young or old the entire people should be united.

[Aung San Suu Kyi. (1991). "Speech to a Mass Rally at the Shwedagon Pagoda." *Freedom from Fear and Other Writings*. Edited by Michael Aris. London: Viking.]

72. Gen. Saw Maung's explanation of SLORC's tasks [27 March 1989]

Gen. Saw Maung made this speech explaining SLORC's purposes at the 44th Armed Forces Day ceremonies.

[...] I would like to emphatically tell you, Comrades, the role and duties of our Tatmadaw. Comrades, of the three main duties ... the first is that of defending ... the State. [...]

Our State has been in existence ...for thousands of years. It is a State that had stood tall with its own kings all through the eras of Tagaung, Srikeshtia, Pagan, Myinsaing, Sagaing, Pinya, Ava and Konbaung. If we take a look back at... history ... Burma ...commanded respect from others. However, towards the end of the 19th century, Burma, having been attacked again and again by pernicious and aggressive capitalists and imperialists who took advantage of the internal instability of the country, lost its sovereignty...on 1st January 1886.

Explains formation of Tatmadaw in World War II

Traitors, such as the BCP [and] KNU...are doing all they can to cause the disintegration of the independence... of the State....The most important requirement ...is for all the national racial groups...to be united without harbouring suspicions against one another....

The second important duty...is that of restoring law and order and holding multi-party democracy general elections. Unscrupulous elements...caused disturbances in the State during July, August and September 1988.... Anarchism reigned supreme.... Therefore, our Tatmadaw, compelled by circumstances, had to timely arrest the deteriorated situation in the State.... But because we did not dance to their tune, some foreign countries and destructive elements...became vindictive and...they try to...foster distrust and disunity between the people and the Tatmadaw....

Under these circumstances the Tatmadaw formed the State Law and Order Restoration Council and then declared...the four tasks:... (1) to ensure maintenance of law and order.... (2) to provide secure and smooth transportation. (3) to strive for the better [economic] conditions.... (4) to hold multi-party democracy general election. [explains implementation of the four tasks.]...

Free and fair general elections will be held throughout the country with the exception of some areas in which there is no peace...owing to ...insurgents. A new legally elected government...will come into being.... We...are to go back to our barracks.... Our Tatmadaw must not take sides with or get involved in any political parties....

The third main duty is...to raise ...military capability....

[*Working People's Daily*, March 28, 1989.]

73. Interview with Min Ko Naing [28 October 1989]

This was one of the only interviews Min Ko Naing gave to the Western press.

What is your strategy now?

We have given up armed struggle. We would like to avoid armed confrontation- that is our desire. We want to pressure the army into forming an interim government . . . We thought about it (armed struggle), but that would be the last resort. Many lives have been lost already. We want that to stop.

What have you been doing since August?

We tried to keep demonstrations within the law. To the people, we were already half the government. We maintained law and order successfully. With the help of the monks, we assumed civil administrative responsibilities at the ward and township levels. We also managed to supply food, especially rice. The people began to depend on us, and that really frightened the government. [...]

How do you view dissident leaders Aung Gyi, Tin U and Aung San Suu Kyi?

I support all three leaders. It's not an easy thing to say because as individuals they all came out (in protest against the regime). I have no special preference for any one of them. We would like them all to confront the government. We don't place much hope in U Nu; he's on his own but we have not neglected him. We want to join forces; only then can we have a party. Since the government announced a multi-party system (on Sept.10), some 20 parties have popped up. Every leader has different ideas. This we regret very much.

What will your strategy be for the proposed multi-party elections?

We think the elections will not take place or will be very dirty. We have little faith in them.

The government broke the weeks-long general strike on Oct.3. What has been your involvement in it?

We have maintained secret links with the workers. Yes, they have gone back to work, but only to collect their salaries to buy food with, so they can come back stronger and continue the fight. They're not really working but using all their ingenuity to give the government a hard time. Passive resistance is one of the methods we're using in our struggle. We can't yet say exactly when the government will feel the crunch.

What do you see as the main obstacle to democracy?

The military and the man who commands it. That person is U Ne Win. If I met Ne Win and I was in a patient mood, I would just ask him to leave the country. If I was in a bad mood, I might do something to him. I'll always be with the people. I'll never die. Physically I might be dead, but many more Min Ko Naing would appear to take my place. As you know, Min Ko Naing can only conquer a bad king. If the ruler is good, we carry him on our shoulders.

[Faulder, Dominic. "Fighting 'a bad king.'" Asiaweek Magazine, October 28, 1989.]

74. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's "Freedom from Fear" speech [1990]

Daw Suu gave this speech while under house arrest.

[...] The effort necessary to remain uncorrupted in an environment where fear is an integral part of everyday existence is not immediately apparent to those fortunate enough to live in states governed by the rule of law. Just laws do not merely prevent corruption by meting out impartial punishment to offenders. They also help to create a society in which people can fulfill the basic requirements necessary for the preservation of human dignity without recourse to corrupt practices. Where there are no such laws, the burden of upholding the principles of justice and common decency falls on the ordinary people. It is the cumulative effect on their sustained effort and steady endurance which will change a nation where reason and conscience are warped by fear into one where legal rules exist to promote man's desire for harmony and justice while restraining the less desirable destructive traits in his nature.

[...] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations proclaims that 'every individual and every organ of society' should strive to promote the basic rights and freedoms to which all human beings regardless of race, nationality or religion are entitled. But as long as there are governments whose authority is founded on coercion rather than on the mandate of the people, and interest groups which place short-term profits above long-term peace and prosperity, concerted international action to protect and promote human rights will remain at best a partially realized struggle. There will continue to be arenas of struggle where victims of oppression have to draw on their own inner resources to defend their inalienable rights as members of the human family. [...]

Saints, it has been said, are the sinners who go on trying. So free men are the oppressed who go on trying and who in the process make themselves fit to bear the responsibilities and to uphold the disciplines which will maintain a free society. Among the basic freedoms to which men aspire that their lives might be full and uncramped, freedom from fear stands out as both a means and an end. A people who would build a nation in which strong, democratic institutions are firmly established as a guarantee against state-induced power must first learn to liberate their own minds from apathy and fear. [...]

[Aung San Suu Kyi. (1996). Freedom from fear and other writings. New York: Penguin, p. 180].

75. Manerplaw Agreement to Establish a Federal Union of Burma [31 July 1992]

This agreement was signed at the KNU base at Manerplaw by Dr. Sein Win (NCGUB), U Tin Aung, Secretary (NLD-LA), Saw Bo Mya (DAB), and Nai Shwe Kyin (NDF).

Burma is a country where indigenous nationalities have lived together in adjacent territories for the last several millenia. It belongs to all indigenous nationalities.

Only when a true Federal structure is established based on the desires and aspirations of all the indigenous nationalities will Burma stand united and stable. With this intention, General Aung San and indigenous leaders signed the Pang Long Agreement on February 12, 1949. But that agreement was never enacted in practice.

Currently because of the chauvinistic behavior of the fascist military dictatorship of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) and the State Law and Restoration Council (SLORC), the indigenous nationalities are deprived of their ethnic rights. Democracy and basic Human Rights of the people are also abused. National unity has been destroyed and civil war is going on unabated.

Thus, indigenous nationalities and all the peoples must topple the military dictatorship and set up a true Federal Union where equality, right of self-determination, democracy and basic Human Rights are guaranteed.

To attain equality, freedom, unity, security, fraternity, trust and development in the Federal Union, the main tasks which are necessary are to topple the SLORC military dictatorship and to establish democracy, peace and true Federal Union. To achieve these aims, the:

1. National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB)
2. National League for Democracy, Liberated Area (NLD-LA)
3. Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), and
4. National Democratic Front (NDF)

have resolutely agreed to the following at Manerplaw on July 31, 1992.

1. We will struggle together to end Chauvinism and the fascist military dictatorship of the SLORC.
2. After ending the SLORC military dictatorship and when freedom and peace are attained, a true national convention involving all indigenous nationalities and all political parties will be convened.
3. We will draw up a true Federal Union constitution in accordance with the desires of indigenous nationalities and all peoples.
4. We will follow the principles that no nationality shall have special privileges and no restrictions will be imposed on the basic rights of any nationality or minority in the Union.
5. 5. We will build a Federal Union where all indigenous nationalities enjoy equality, rights of self-determination, democracy and basic Human Rights to the fullest extent. In doing so:
 - a. The Kachin, Karen, Chin, Mon, Burman, Arakan, Shan peoples, etc. will have National States incorporated in a Federal Union of States.
 - b. The National States will assign certain power to the Federal Union and the remaining powers will be exercised by the National States including legislative, administrative and judicial powers.
 - c. The Federal Union will consist of two houses of Parliament: The National Assembly (Upper House) and The People's Assembly (Lower House).
 - d. In accordance with the principle of civilian supremacy over the military the Federal Union and State armies will be put under the direct supervision of the Elected Governments.
 - e. The legislative, administrative and judicial branches of the Federal Union Government will be checked and balanced in power, and the judiciary will be independent.
 - f. f. The Constitution will be designed to prevent any re-emergence of Chauvinism and fascist dictatorship in the future.

[translated in New Era Journal. http://www.khitpyaing.org/burma_gazette/manerplaw_eng.php . Burmese version in New Era Journal at http://www.khitpyaing.org/burma_gazette/manerplaw_bur.php]

76. KIO's ceasefire announcement [24 February 1994]

The KIO released this statement to explain why it had made a ceasefire with the SLORC.

At present, a new mood is sweeping the different nationalities of Burma...since 1988 the situation has been changing fast. Burma has entered its third major period of political transition since independence; more and more parties and ethnic groups are coming together to try to settle these urgent questions through dialogue and negotiation...After the bitter experience of bloodshed and conflict of the past four decades, the KIO strongly believes one ethnic group cannot be separated from another in the pursuit of justice and equality. The KIO, therefore, pledges to continue to cooperate fully with other groups and organizations committed to peace and democracy in Myanmar.

[?]

77. Bo Mya's instructions on religion [December 1994]

It was reported that Bo Mya wrote these instructions soon after the DKBA broke away from the KNU. They were re-printed in "Whither KNU?", an anonymous, supposedly first-hand account of the split published in a government newspaper inside Burma.

1. I believe the enemy at this point does not use its own force but is resorting to various means to bring about the disintegration of the Kayin army through religious instigation.
2. We must work toward seeing to it that the Sangha are fully satisfied by seeking ways to ask for forgiveness by reconvening the meeting of the Sangha.
3. Currently, the Na Wa Ta organizations have infiltrated into the midst of our people and have organized the Buddhists. It is said they now have a force of about 3,000 at Thumwehta. This is not an honest act. The Na Wa Ta hardcore are instigating a split.
4. Therefore, please organize in the townships so that there will be no hard feelings concerning religion, that there will be mutual regards by religions and individual mutual respect.
5. Ways must be found for the perpetuation of the Kawthoolei organization. There must be love and happiness. Please win in the face of the enemy's plans through your unity.

[In A resident of Karen State. "Whither KNU?" New Light of Myanmar, January 30, 1995.]

78. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on non-violence [1995]

This is from an interview with American journalist Alan Clements.

Non-violence means positive action. You have to work for whatever you want. You don't just sit there doing nothing and hope to get what you want. It just means that the methods you use are not violent ones. Some people think that non-violence is passiveness. It's not so. [...]

I know that it is often the slower way and I understand why our young people feel that non-violence will not work. Especially when the authorities in Burma are prepared to talk to insurgent groups, but not to an organization like the NLD which carries no arms. That makes a lot of people feel that the only way you can get anywhere is by bearing arms. But I cannot encourage that kind of attitude. Because if we do, we will be perpetuating a cycle of violence that will never come to an end.

[...] We have always said that we will never disown those students and others who have taken up violence. We know that their aim is the same as ours. They want democracy and they think the best way to go about it is through armed struggle. And we do not say that we have the monopoly on the right methods of achieving what we want. Also, we cannot guarantee their security. We can't say, "Follow us in the way of non-violence and you'll be protected," or that we'll get there without any casualties. That's a promise we can't make.

[...] We have chosen the way of non-violence simply because we think it's politically better for the country in the long run to establish that you can bring about change without the use of arms. This has been a clear NLD policy from the beginning. Here, we're not thinking about spiritual matters at all. Perhaps in that sense, we're not the same as Mahatma Gandhi, who would have probably condemned all movements that were not non-violent. I'm not sure. But he did say at one time that if he had to choose between violence and cowardice, he would choose violence. So even Gandhi, who was supposed to be the great exponent of non-violence, was not somebody who did not make any exceptions...

[Alan Clements. Conversations with Aung San Suu Kyi. Shambala Sun. September 1997.]

79. Quotation from Lanzin Youth member [1998]

In this interview, a former member describes his experience in Lanzin Youth.

I was part of the Lanzin Youth and attended leadership training programs. They often lasted 2-3 weeks. We were taught the goals of the BSPP party. We learned the organizational structure of the State. At the end of a program we were tested on the subjects taught and given certificates of completion. The training was very much like a military boot camp. There were military drills also. The same commands and organizational structure were used within the Lanzin Youth Organization as in the military. One thing they tried real hard to drive home was compliance with the orders from above. [...]

I felt strong and arrogant. The attitude (toward the non-member peers) I had then was "holier-than-thou," of course. It was like being in a gang. They made you feel better and holier than those of your peers who were non-Lanzin Youth members.

[Zar Ni. (1998). Knowledge, control, and power: The politics of education under Burma's military dictatorship (1962-88). Unpublished Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, p. 279.]

80. General Khin Nyunt on ancient history [1998]

Khin Nyunt was First Secretary of the SPDC when he made these remarks at a seminar at the National Museum of Ethnology in June 1998.

He [Khin Nyunt] noted that just as an individual's worth depended on his heritage and his achievements, so also a nation's prestige could be measured in terms of its lineage and historical and cultural background. A nation that can provide historical evidence of its ancient roots and the emergence and growth of its culture, traditions, and national traits is a nation in which national fervour and patriotism thrives. It is also a nation whose people will try to perpetuate its identity, sovereignty, and independence. He said this was especially true of a country such as ours that had once been enslaved under an imperial power and had had our history distorted and misrepresented. To right this wrong, the Government of the Union of Myanmar had laid down social objectives which includes the uncovering of true historical records and the resolve to correct the warped and biased versions of Myanmar history written by some foreign historians. He however acknowledged the fact that Myanmar historians, scientists and researchers had throughout the ages carried out research and study in their own capacity and had been custodians of authentic historical facts. Now however with full government support and sponsorship the results of isolated or individual research could be collated for a correct interpretation and presentation of a coherent authentic history of Myanmar.

[Houtman, G. (1999). Remaking Myanmar and human origins. Anthropology Today, 15: 4, pp. 13-19.]

83. Interview with New Democratic Army-Kachin Chairmain Zahkung Ting Ying [21 June 2002]

In this quote, the chairman addresses accusations that the NDA-Kachin contributes to environmental destruction by selling timber rights in their area to foreign companies.

We cut logs to get money, so that we can develop things to build houses, schools etc. The Myanmar government is poor. Actually they should support the people, but they seem to have problems. So we have to sell our natural resources to develop our people. We have to balance. In Kachin State there is nothing but trees. We cut down the trees to get development. This is our own right, not other's people's right. Are the people who are blaming us for this going to help us if we do not cut?

[Transnational Institute (2009). Neither War nor Peace: The future of ceasefire agreements in Burma. Amsterdam: TNI.]

84. Interview with Dr. Khin Mar Gyi on prison life [5 November 2002]

Dr. Khin Mar Gyi gave this interview to DVB after being released from prison.

[...]They arrested me in June 1996. They said that they needed to search for something. What they found were mainly Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's book 'Freedom from Fear' and another book 'From Dictatorship to Democracy'. So they told me that they needed to question me about those two books and they needed to ask me other questions and they took me away. [...]

Initially, I was choked with mortification and anger at myself. There was no bed in the cell. I had to sleep on a worn bamboo mat on the concrete floor. The room faced north and in the cold season, it was very cold. My bones were aching and I could not sleep. As I couldn't sleep, I just did light physical exercises. I couldn't sleep during the whole cold season of 96. I tried my best to keep my spirits high. If and when released, I have many things to do, so I did my best to maintain my health. [...]

[...] At the beginning, my two daughters and my mother- they all came to see me in the same week. My younger daughter, as soon as she saw me she wailed helplessly. She was still sharing bed with me. Of course, she would cry. As soon as I saw my daughter I felt very bad. But as a mother, I didn't want to shed tears in front of them and I told her that I didn't go to prison because I did bad things. Don't be sad. Be proud of me. I didn't do anything bad and don't cry. The most important thing is when I am not there; you have to study hard and the like. We could only see one another for 15 minutes. 5 minutes to give things to me. 10 minutes to talk. 15 minutes in all. I had to coax her like that and send her away. In front of the children, I held back my emotion so as not to make them feel bad. After the meeting, when I had to go back into the cell, I put my things down and I had to suffer a lot. All mothers will understand what I felt. How much I suffered that's what I can't express. I feel it all in my heart. I have to say that, I don't want to talk about it.

[AAPP and BWU. (2004). "Women Political Prisoners in Burma. Interview with Dr. Khin Mar Gyi. http://www.aappb.org/j_a_khin_mar_kyi.html.]

85. Myanmar Women's Affairs Federation, "Declaration of View on the Conclusion of the 295th Session of ILO Governing Body" [2005]

MWAF responds to the ILO's 2005 report that the government used forced labor.

14. The Myanmar Women's Affairs Federation firmly believe that the security of the women can be achieved only when the country is in peace and stability. While Myanmar women have achieved the momentum of advancement and safeguard of lives under the peace and tranquility of the state, prevalence of law and order, improvement of communication and development of economy, some of the powers those who want to empower their influential figure are pointing out the various reasons and pressing Myanmar, by imposing sanctions, supporting the dissident groups who aim the nation to be instable and insecure by sabotage activities and by shadowing the articles issued by the overseas dissidents of Myanmar. Therefore Myanmar women's Affairs Federation is deeply concerned for the safety of the whole Myanmar community including Myanmar women.

[MWAF. (2005). *An analytical review on the recommendation to the United Nations Security Council to take action on Myanmar*. Retrieved November 14, 2010 <http://www.mwaf.org.mm/News/News/Details.asp?id=428>]

86. Henry Soe Win's "Peace Eludes U Thant" [2006]

This first-hand account of the demonstrations surrounding U Thant's burial was published about thirty years after they occurred. This excerpt begins when the students had gathered at Kyaikkasan Grounds where the BSPP had sent U Thant's body. The excerpt ends before the crackdown on the students and the destruction of the mausoleum they were building for U Thant.

[...] This gathering has significance for the students. It was the first time that the students had assembled in thousands since the Ne Win regime dynamited the Students' Union building on the campus on July 7, 1962, killing scores of students who were in the building. Many more were mowed down by machine guns when the students vehemently protested the dynamiting. With the Dodge Jeeps and loud speakers leading the procession, the students lined up three abreast and began march towards the Kyaikkasan Grounds. Through the loudspeakers, the students announced to the huge crowd of people who lined the route; "Dear respected elders, we, the students, are on our way to pay our tribute and accompany our beloved U Thant' the Architect of Peace, on his last journey." [...]

The burning heat and the dust-swept shelter-less atmosphere had, however, served only to intensify the gnawing dissatisfaction and resentment against the shabby and perfunctory treatment meted out to U Thant's remains by the "regime". "Why, why," they thought, "could the authorities not accord U Thant's state funeral?" Whispered consultation was taking place among the student leaders and the public sensed there was tension in the air.

The staid and mournful atmosphere suddenly shattered when the students shouted: "A mausoleum for the Father of Peace, that's our goal." The students had decided to take matters into their own hands to give their beloved U Thant a funeral befitting a world statesman and an illustrious son of Burma. [...]

The huge crowd gave repeated and thunderous ovations as speaker after speaker stepped onto the makeshift podium, announced their names and the institutes of learning they belong to, and proceeded to roundly denounce the Government. The people had finally found a voice which echoed their feelings they had never dared to express. [...]

The extent of public sympathy was most touchingly demonstrated when an old lady, her face wrinkled with age and her body frail and bent, nevertheless insisted that she be allowed to carry a brick to the site as a token of merit. Public support did not end there either. Thousands of food parcels were donated by all and sundry, even from those who could hardly afford two square meals a day for themselves. There was one food parcel which contained all that the poor donor could afford; a bundle of cooked rice and a single banana. The students were deeply moved, but, nevertheless, ate the meal heartily. [...]

Henry Soe Win. (2006). "Peace Eludes U Thant." *Burma Digest*. Accessed 12/16/2010. <http://burmadigest.wordpress.com/2006/01/25/peace-eludes-u-thant/>

87. SPDC's description of external destructive elements [2007]

This news article about popular rallies appeared in SPDC-controlled media, MRTV, after foreign media questioned the legitimacy of the Constitutional Convention and the Seven-Step Road Map to Democracy.

[...] At the rallies, all the people voiced that they will continue to implement the seven-step Road Map and they support the National Convention and the constitution.

Moreover, they also said that internal and external destructive elements have aired fabricated news in collusion with BBC, VOA, RFA and DVB and have provoked the people. Foreign media have found antigovernment persons and created fabricated news to drive a wedge between the government and the people. The foreign media broadcast only the desire of the minority of the people, but, they, having negative attitudes towards situations in the country, turned a blind eye to the desire of the majority of the people in states and divisions. All the people have seen the cunning habits of BBC, VOA, RFA and DVB.

Therefore, all participants in the rallies unanimously denounced acts of BBC, VOA, RFA and DVB which air skyful of lies and those countries that have manipulated them.

Similarly, local people will continue to hold mass rallies in remaining states and divisions in support of the National Convention and the constitution and to denounce those who try to jeopardize peace and stability.

[MRTV. 2007. "Thousands of people turn out to support National Convention." <http://www.mrtv3.net.mm/open3/091007ral.html>.]

88. Major Trading Partners [2000/1 and 2005/6]

This table lists the percentage of imports and exports going to each of its major trading partners.

	2000/1 exports	2000/1 imports	2005/6 exports	2005/6 imports
Asia (excluding Japan)	57.7	80.9	86.5	85.0
China	8.9	12.3	10.3	15.0
India	13.4	3.6	13.7	4.0
South Korea	1.1	12.4	1.1	4.0
Malaysia	3.7	5.3	2.6	7.0
Singapore	5.8	24.2	7.4	28.0
Thailand	14.4	13.1	38.3	12.0
Industrialized countries	25.7	16.4	10.5	13.0
United States	12.5	1.0	0.0	4.0
European Union	7.1	16.4	10.5	13.0
Japan	4.3	8.7	3.8	5.0
Rest of the world	16.6	2.7	3.0	2.0

[International Monetary Fund, Myanmar: Staff Consultation Report for the 2006 Article IV Consultation. 20 September 2006. p. 37.]

89. Announcement of All Burma Monks Alliance [10 September 2007]

The ABMA made this statement during the anti-government demonstrations.

The local authorities under SPDC military regime brutally cracked down, arrested and tortured the monks and people demonstrators who were protesting over the current fuel price hike in Burma. They did such a brutal crackdown in Pakkoku where the peaceful monk demonstrators protested over the fuel price hike by reciting Metta Sutra, by lassoing them and tied them at the lamp post, and slap them, kicked them and beat them up in public by the SPDC thugs of USDA and Swan Ah Shin.

One of the monks died of these brutal treatments. Thus it becomes the cause of Theravada Buddhism and the whole monks residing in Burma.

We, 'All Burma Young Monks Union,' 'Federation of All Burma Monks Union,' 'Young Monks Union (Rangoon),' 'Monk Duta' and all Monks Unions in different States and Divisions joined hands together and establishing this Monks Alliance Group representing all monks living in Burma, today make and announce the following demands to the SPDC.

1. The SPDC must apologise to the monks until they satisfy and can forgive and pardon them.
2. Reduce all commodity prices, fuel prices, rice and cooking oil prices immediately.
3. Release all political prisoners including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and all detainees arrested in ongoing demonstrations over fuel price hike.
4. Enter dialogue with democratic forces for national reconciliation immediately to resolve the crises and difficulties facing and suffering by the people.

Unless SPDC give in and comply with our demand on or before the deadline of 17th September 2007 (the 6th waxing day of Tawthalin), we hereby announce that this Monks Alliance Group will boycott SPDC until our demands are met.

[In Zoellner, H. B. (Ed.) (2009). *Neither saffron nor revolution: A commentated and documented chronology of the monks' demonstrations in Myanmar in 2007 and their background. Part II: Documents. Working Paper No. 37.* Passau: Southeast Asian Studies, p. 31.]

90. 2008 Constitution

This excerpt from the 2008 Constitution outlines the government's main responsibilities and the citizens' rights and duties. This is only a small part of the Constitution, which is almost 200 pages.

Chapter I, Basic Principles of the Union, The Republic of the Union of Myanmar

[...] Basic Principles

6. The Union's consistent objectives are :
 - a. non-disintegration of the Union;
 - b. non-disintegration of National solidarity;
 - c. perpetuation of sovereignty;
 - d. flourishing of a genuine, disciplined multi-party democratic system;
 - e. enhancing the eternal principles of Justice, Liberty and Equality in the Union and;
 - f. enabling the Defence Services to be able to participate in the National political leadership role of the State.
7. The Union practises genuine, disciplined multi-party democratic system.
8. The Union is constituted by the Union system.
9. (a) The existing seven Divisions are designated as seven Regions and the existing seven States are designated as seven States. Those seven Regions and seven States are of equal status. [...]
10. No part of the territory constituted in the Union such as Regions, States, Union Territories and Self-Administered Areas shall ever secede from the Union. [...]

[...] 40. [...] (c) If there arises a state of emergency that could cause disintegration of the Union, disintegration of national solidarity and loss of sovereign power or attempts therefore by wrongful forcible means such as insurgency or violence, the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services has the right to take over and exercise State sovereign power in accord with the provisions of this Constitution.

Chapter III, The President and Vice-Presidents

59. Qualifications of the President and Vice-Presidents are as follows:

[...] (f) shall he himself, one of the parents, the spouse, one of the legitimate children

or their spouses not owe allegiance to a foreign power, not be subject of a foreign power or citizen of a foreign country. They shall not be persons entitled to enjoy the rights and privileges of a subject of a foreign government or citizen of a foreign country;

Chapter IV, Legislature

Pyithu Hluttaw , Formation of the Pyithu Hluttaw

109. The Pyithu Hluttaw shall be formed with a maximum of 440 Hluttaw representatives as follows:

- a. not more than 330 Pyithu Hluttaw representatives elected prescribing electorate in accord with law on the basis of township as well as population or combining with an appropriate township which is contiguous to the newly-formed township if it is more than 330 townships;
- b. not more than 110 Pyithu Hluttaw representatives who are the Defence Services personnel nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services in accord with the law. [...]

Amyotha Hluttaw , Formation of the Amyotha Hluttaw

141. The Amyotha Hluttaw shall be formed with a maximum of 224 Hluttaw representatives as follows :

- a. 168 Amyotha Hluttaw representatives elected in an equal number of 12 representatives from each Region or State inclusive of relevant Union territories and including one representative from each Self-Administered Division or Self-Administered Zone;
- b. 56 Amyotha Hluttaw representatives who are the Defence Services personnel nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Services in accord with the law, four representatives from each Region or State inclusive of relevant Union territories;

Chapter VIII, Citizen, Fundamental Rights and Duties of the Citizen

[...] 354. Every citizen shall be at liberty in the exercise of the following rights, if not contrary to the laws, enacted for Union security, prevalence of law and order, community peace and tranquility or public order and morality:

- a. to express and publish freely their convictions and opinions;
- b. to assemble peacefully without arms and holding procession;
- c. to form associations and organizations;
- d. to develop their language, literature, culture they cherish, religion they profess, and customs without prejudice to the relations between one national race and another or among national races and to other faiths.

[...] 381. Except in the following situations and time, no citizen shall be denied redress by due process of law for grievances entitled under law :

- a. in time of foreign invasion;
- b. in time of insurrection;
- c. in time of emergency.

382. In order to carry out their duties fully and to maintain the discipline by the Defence Forces personnel or members of the armed forces responsible to carry out peace and security, the rights given in this Chapter shall be restricted or revoked through enactment to law.

[Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. (2008). Publishing and printing enterprise, Ministry of Information. Retrieved November 10, 2010 from <http://www.scribd.com/doc/7694880/Myanmar-Constitution-2008-English-version>]

91. Kurt Campbell's testimony on US's "pragmatic engagement" policy with Burma [2009]

Campbell made this statement after US President Obama's administration decided to change the US's policy toward Burma.

...Thank you for inviting me here today to testify about U.S. policy toward Burma and a possible new direction for U.S.-Burma relations.

Let me take this opportunity to brief you on the overarching assessments that helped shape our review. The Administration launched a review of our Burma policy seven months ago, recognizing that political and humanitarian conditions in Burma were deplorable. Neither sanctions nor engagement, implemented alone, have succeeded in improving those conditions and moving Burma forward on a path to democratic reform.

Moreover, it was clear to us that the problems Burma presents, not only to its people, but to its neighbors, the wider region and the world at large, demand that we review and reconsider our approach. In addition to taking a hard look at the current situation inside Burma, we also focused on emerging questions and concerns regarding Burma's relationship with North Korea, particularly in light of the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 1874, which prohibits member states from engaging in trade with North Korea in virtually all conventional weapons as well as in sensitive technologies, including those related to ballistic missiles and nuclear and other WMD [Weapons of Mass Destruction] programs.

Our policy review also was informed by the fact that, for the first time in recent memory, the Burmese leadership has shown an active interest in engaging with the United States. But, let me be clear: we have decided to engage with Burma because we believe it is in our interest to do so. We have consulted widely throughout the review process with Congress, other governments, and key stakeholders such as non-governmental organizations, business leaders, academics, and representatives of international organizations. We also have consulted with the National League for Democracy and other democratic activists inside Burma.

The conclusions of our policy review, just announced this week, reaffirmed our fundamental interests in Burma: we support a unified, peaceful, prosperous, and democratic Burma. While our goals in Burma remain the same as before, the policy review confirmed that we need additional tools to augment those that we have been using in pursuit of our objectives. A policy of pragmatic engagement with the Burmese authorities holds the best hope for advancing our goals. A central element of this approach is a direct, senior-level dialogue with representatives of the Burmese leadership. As the Secretary previewed in her remarks to the Friends of Burma last week, we hope a dialogue with the Burmese regime will lay out a path forward towards change in Burma and a better, more productive bilateral relationship.

[Campbell, K. (2009). Remarks by State Department Official at Senate Hearing on Burma. Accessed December 5, 2010, <http://www.america.gov>]

92. Naw Zipporah Sein, *A Dream of Life Without War* [2009]

Naw Zipporah Sein wrote this in a collection of essays organized by the Women's League of Burma.

I believe that unless we can increase the participation of our women in the current political movement at the decision making level, we will not be able to contribute our best capabilities toward our peace building process. Because during all these long years of civil war, we have been vulnerable, we have suffered, and we have never been the cause of war. We women have the skills to work with men for peace and to make plans to bring it about.

[Naw Zipporah Sein, (2009). *A dream of life without war, Overcoming Shadows II, Chiang Mai: Women's League of Burma*, p. 111.]

93. Quotations from NGO workers about Cyclone Nargis [2008]

These quotations are from four different Burmese NGO workers about their activities providing humanitarian assistance after Nargis.

- A. "We visited the Department and Ministry of Social Affairs to provide assistance. They would not allow international assistance. They said to give them the materials and non-food items directly and they will provide it. They said we don't need foreign funds or resources. Again, we visited the Ministry to apply for permission to build hospitals and schools as per governmental requirements. The Ministry wanted to know how we got our money, from where, whether it had been approved by government etc. They told us to complete an amount of paperwork and legal documents. When we submitted the proposal they just said give us the money and we will do it. We did not pursue our proposal. It will take years for the schools and hospitals to be rebuilt." (p. 172)
- B. "The UN described our government's response to Cyclone Nargis as slow. The UN should be on the people's side. The response was not slow, it was silent. I don't understand why the UN didn't say this." (p. 152)
- C. "We would like to advise external organisations not to selectively report back in the international media only the negative things that they see. We urge them to try to make objective reports that will more truly reflect the positive developments as well as the challenges that the local organisations and the government are facing. People should understand that there are constraints but, at the same time, there are spaces to work as well. The purpose is to lessen the constraints and increase the space to work. The tendency to report only negative things, although with good intention, only increases the constraints and reduces the space to work." (p. 65)
- D. "The empowerment of civil society is a big change since Nargis. The political landscape is changing. The cyclone has really helped connect civil society and community-based organisations." (p. 72)

[Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. (2008). *Listening to voices from inside: Myanmar Civil Society's Response to Cyclone Nargis*. Phnom Penh: Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.]

94. UWSA's response to SPDC's demand that they become a Border Guard Force [12 January 2010]

This statement by Bao You Xiang of the UWSA's Special Region No. 2, explains the UWSA's counter-demands.

9(i) Presentations on areas that need to be guaranteed by the State

1. The State shall fully guarantee the life and wealth of any organization or any individual formerly a member or part of any organization in the Wa Region, and the State shall grant them immunity from prosecution unless they commit any violation of law after the transformation and reorganization of the Wa armed forces has been completed.

2. We demand and ask that the State honor all treaties signed and agreements reached between the Wa Region Government and Chinese Companies and entrepreneurs on opium substitution plantation work, guaranteeing the security of their investments, wealth and lives.
3. Myanmar is a country in which different ethnic races co-exist peacefully. Whenever conflicts and differences take place among ethnic races or among the minority and majority races, these conflicts and differences should be resolved through equality, unity and democratic negotiation. These conflicts and differences shall not be resolved by using force and forceful suppression.
4. Administrative staff for the future Wa Self-Administered Division should primarily be recruited from the local ethnic Wa population. We would like to present our view that, only in this way can the essence of self-administration for ethnic people be fulfilled and reflect the objectives of self-administration.
5. Within the framework of the State Constitution, the Wa Self-Administered Division should have the right to enjoy local legislative power and the extraction and use of earth and marine resources, minerals and metals. Similarly, we would like to present our view that we should have the right to levy local taxes, administer border checkpoints and be exempt from paying taxes to the State.
6. In conclusion, we would like to respectfully express our view that we hope the State shall make more budget allocations and investment for our Self-Administered Division in order to change the livelihood of the poor and backward local people and for the peaceful construction of infrastructure in the Wa mountainous region.

[Mizzima News. UWSA's proposal on transformation of itself into a Border Guard Force. January 12, 2010.]

95. “NLD Divided on Party Registration” [March 2010]

In the run-up to the 2010 elections, the NLD faced a decision about whether to register as a party or not, which U Win Tin and U Khin Maung Swe debate below. In the end, the NLD did not register, but a group of former NLD members including Khin Maung Swe formed the NDF.

Question: Could you give us three specific reasons why you are for or against party registration?

Win Tin: If we register the party, we have to expel Daw Suu and other detained party leaders. The details of the party registration laws are not clear about whether Daw Suu could rejoin the party after her release and it would be up to the election commission. The second reason is that if we register the party we have to vow to protect the junta's Constitution, which we have repeatedly said is unacceptable. The third factor is that after registration, we will have to police the “illegal” activities of party members and warn them they will be expelled if they continue those activities. This will guarantee that no one in the party will dare express his ideas at the risk of imprisonment.

Khin Maung Swe: First, I wish to make it clear that we have no intention of marginalizing Aung San Suu Kyi, who is an icon in Burmese politics. But the reason we wish to register the party is because we want Daw Suu to be able to continue to play in the political environment when she is released five or six months later. That's why we need a political party. Secondly, we believe that only by struggling in the legal fold will it be possible for us to fulfill our pledge to democracy, to work for changes in the constitution and national reconciliation. Thirdly, in that process, we don't wish to divide our party members into different groups in contradiction to the party policy of maintaining unity. As there is no viable exit option [if NLD does not register], we don't support not registering the party because we don't want to be the historical culprits blamed for letting the party die.

[Ba Kaung. “NLD Divided on party registration.” The Irrawaddy. March 26 2010. http://www.irrawaddy.org/election/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=198:nld-divided-on-party-registration&catid=44:interview&Itemid=122]

96. Interview with NMSP General Secretary Nai Hong Sa [12 March 2010]

In this interview Nai Hong Sa reflects on the effects of the NMSP's ceasefire with the SPDC.

The ceasefire agreement in our country is very strange and different from other countries. In reality the government and ceasefire groups should have discussed and solved political problems soon after the agreement was made. It did not work out, because the ceasefire groups turned to fighting again. But we the ethnic ceasefire groups in Burma are very patient and have already been waiting for 12 years although we know it is not good for our people to wait too long.

However we do not want to lose opportunities to solve the problem politically and do not want to resort to use of arms again. The situation in the country has not improved and barely has the agreement been maintained.

Nobody benefits from the political crisis in the country but we are trying to maintain the ceasefire. It does not mean we have cancelled our political goals and objectives. We also want to tell our people that we are focused on our goals and objectives.

[Independent Mon News Agency. Ceasefire in a stalemate—NMSP. March 12, 2010.]

97. Message from the headquarters of the KNPP on the occasion of the 135th Anniversary of the Karenni National Day [21 June 2010]

In 2010, there were about 20,000 Karenni refugees living in camps in Thailand, and 7,000 had already resettled in third countries such as the United States.

We wish all our beloved Karenni brothers and sisters dwelling within and outside the state, good health and hearts filled with glory on this special day. As a result of the atrocities perpetuated by successive Burman dictators who not only invaded our Karenni homeland, but also oppress and murder our people, and frequently loot and burn down villages, many Karenni civilians are constantly on the move, hiding in temporary shelters. Many civilians have also had to flee to neighboring countries and others are now resettled in third countries, since they lost all hope as a return to our homeland is nowhere in sight. The blame for this despair and the scattering of our people rests solely with the chauvinistic Burman invaders.

We Karenni are a nation of people who value our identity, culture and language, so it is no wonder that despite all that we have suffered we continue to celebrate our traditional ceremonies and preserve our national culture, beliefs and heritage wherever we are. [...]

In conclusion, we would like to encourage the Karenni people, both those living in the State and in other countries, to work hand-in-hand to fulfill our unfinished historic duty to the best of our ability to bring about the prosperity and betterment of all the Karenni people.

[Retrieved November 12, 2010 from <http://www.karennihomeland.com/ArticleArticle.php?ContentID=239>]

98. Stories from resettled refugees [2010]

In these quotations, Karen people describe their lives inside Burma, as refugees, and in Ireland where they have resettled.

[...] We spent three months hiding in the forest and slowly making our way to the Thai border. [...] After that we spent 10 years in the camp. The Thai authorities would not let us leave the camp, so for 10 years we were totally dependent on the assistance given by agencies and NGOs such as the Thailand-Burma Border Consortium. [...] I applied for resettlement in 2005, but I joined a long waiting list. [...] When we arrived in Ireland we spent two months in Ballyhaunis (site of the National Refugee Orientation Center), where we learned about the country's culture, history, law and practical things about everyday life.

–Nay Tun

Life is different here compared to Burma, so different. In Burma, there are farms, in Ireland there are farms. But here everything is done by machine, at home we use the buffalo to pull a plow. [...] Here nearly everybody has a car, there is always electricity, people have basic household equipment such as washing machines. This is not so common in our part of Burma. [...] In Burma, the army and the government takes from us. In Ireland, the government helps to look after us. [...] The weather is the toughest thing to get used to. [I want to go home but] many things would have to change before I would return. There has to be real democracy and real peace. –Phaw Kweh

[Roughneen, S. “Karen refugees have a white Christmas in Ireland.” January 4, 2010.]

99. Ko Yeni’s “Marching on a diet of marrows” [2010]

After the 1988 protests, many young protesters fled to the Thai-Burma border to join groups such as the ABSDF or DPNS which had joined ethnic armed struggle groups in fighting the military regime. One student who later became a journalist for the Thailand-based media organization Irrawaddy explains his experience.

Like thousands of other young activists arriving at the border, I had a dream that we would set up an army to replace the ruling armed forces with one responsible for protecting Burma's own people, not to kill and oppress. The dream remains far from reality after 22 years, although the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) was born in the border region controlled by the Karen National Union (KNU).

First priorities for the students arriving at the border were shelter and food. My “regiment” was based in the Three Pagodas Pass area controlled by Mon rebels. It included civil engineering students from the well respected Rangoon Institute of Technology, who set to work drawing up elaborate plans for barracks to house 30 comrades.

The plans were systematic and detailed, prescribing exactly how much bamboo was needed and how much thatch. After one week of hard work, the barracks were completed and we settled in happily.

But after a few days, the structures collapsed—and so did the reputations of our dear civil engineers! We asked some young men from the area to help us rebuild the barracks, and finally we were able to sleep soundly. Many of us who had been living in relative comfort with our parents had difficulty adjusting—I didn't even know how to fry an egg. We tried our best, but the results were often disastrous—rice that was either half-cooked or burnt and soup that changed its flavor with every cook. [...] The Burmese army and disease were our two greatest enemies. Malaria, dengue fever and a variety of respiratory illnesses were endemic, and we fell victim to them time and again. This was when our medical students and qualified doctors showed their mettle—true heroes who, with very limited medical supplies, treated not only us but also local villagers, who had never before had such professional attention.

[Yeni. “Marching on a diet of marrows.” Irrawaddy Magazine, August 6, 2010.]

101. SPDC's description of Gen. Than Shwe's religious patronage [2010]

This article appeared in the state newspaper, New Light of Myanmar.

NAY PYI TAW, 16 Dec-Chairman of the State Peace and Development Council Commander-in-Chief of Defence Services Senior General Than Shwe and wife Daw Kyaing Kyaing visited Sinmyashin Pagoda in Bagan, and Maha Bodhitahtaung Laygyunsekkya Standing Buddha Image and Mohnyin Thanbuddhe Pagoda in Monywa Township yesterday morning.

On a pilgrimage to Sinmyashin Pagoda in Bagan, Senior General Than Shwe and wife Daw Kyaing Kyaing offered alms food, fruit, flowers and water and paid homage to the Buddha image, and made cash donations to it. The Senior General and wife and entourage had a stroll in reverence of the pagoda. [...]

[New Light of Myanmar. "Senior General Than Shwe, wife Daw Kyaing Kyaing go on pilgrimage to Bagan, Monywa" December 16, 2010.]

102. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech [June 16, 2012]

After Daw Suu was released from house arrest in 2010, she was invited to Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize that she had been awarded in 1991.

...How often during my years under house arrest have I drawn strength from my favourite passages in the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

"[...] it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law . . .".

If I am asked why I am fighting for human rights in Burma the above passages will provide the answer. If I am asked why I am fighting for democracy in Burma, it is because I believe that democratic institutions and practices are necessary for the guarantee of human rights.

Over the past year there have been signs that the endeavours of those who believe in democracy and human rights are beginning to bear fruit in Burma. There have been changes in a positive direction; steps towards democratization have been taken. If I advocate cautious optimism it is not because I do not have faith in the future but because I do not want to encourage blind faith. Without faith in the future, without the conviction that democratic values and fundamental human rights are not only necessary but possible for our society, our movement could not have been sustained throughout the destroying years. Some of our warriors fell at their post, some deserted us, but a dedicated core remained strong and committed. At times when I think of the years that have passed, I am amazed that so many remained staunch under the most trying circumstances. Their faith in our cause is not blind; it is based on a clear-eyed assessment of their own powers of endurance and a profound respect for the aspirations of our people.

[The Nobel Foundation. 2012. The Nobel Peace Prize 1991: Aung San Suu Kyi. Retrieved from http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1991/kyi-lecture_en.html]

103. The Kachin National Organization's Press Release on the Ceasefire Announcement at Laja Yang by the Burmese Government

[January 19, 2013]

In January 2011, the ceasefire between the Burmese military and the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) broke down. In January 2013, the Burmese government announced that a new ceasefire agreement had been reached. However, the Kachin National Organization claimed it was not valid.

1. The Burmese Army continues unjust military offensives in Laja Yang and other parts of Kachinland despite the Burmese government announcing a one-sided deceptive ceasefire applied only to Laja Yang area.
2. The government's intention is purely to diminish international pressure calling for review of the suspended sanctions.
3. Consistent with Burmese military tactics, Burmese government forces reinforce troops, supply more military hardware, and build more military bases in captured posts from the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) during calls for a ceasefire.
4. We urge the international community to dispatch an official investigation team to report and take action on warcrimes in Kachinland.
5. We demand the Burmese government to stop the reinforcement of troops in Kachinland, ask for the immediate removal of its troops from conflict zones and resume genuine political dialogue.

[Democracyfor Burma. (n.d.). Kachin War. Retrieved from <http://democracyforburma.wordpress.com/2013/01/20/kachin-war-kia-20-january-2013-video-statements/>]

104. EU statement ending economic sanctions [April 22, 2013]

The European Union imposed sanctions on Burma in the 1990s in response to the military regime's crackdowns on democracy activists. In 2013, the EU lifted economic sanctions, while keeping the arms embargo in place.

1. The European Union has watched and supported the remarkable process of reform in Myanmar/Burma. It welcomes the developments towards democracy, a strong Parliament, freedom of expression, and the government's efforts against corruption, as well as the efforts towards the release of remaining political prisoners.
2. The EU is willing to open a new chapter in its relations with Myanmar/Burma building a lasting partnership and to promote closer engagement with the country as a whole. In response to the changes that have taken place and in the expectation that they will continue, the Council has decided to lift all sanctions with the exception of the embargo on arms which will remain in place.
3. The EU congratulates the government of Myanmar/Burma on what has been achieved, but is conscious that there are still significant challenges to be addressed. It looks forward to working in partnership with the government, by establishing a regular political dialogue involving all concerned stakeholders:
 - To achieve sustainable peace in Myanmar/Burma by addressing long-standing differences in an inclusive way, and in particular calling for an end of hostilities in Kachin State; [...]
 - To establish Myanmar/Burma as an active and respected member of the international community, by adhering to international agreements, including in relation to human rights, land mines, non-proliferation and disarmament, particularly supporting President U Thein Sein commitments to comply with the relevant UNSC resolutions; [...]
4. The EU stands ready to cooperate with Myanmar/Burma with regard to the following complex challenges while underlining its concerns on:
 - The need to unconditionally release the remaining political prisoners, while noting with satisfaction the creation of a review mechanism and looking forward to the early completion of its work;
 - The need to deal with inter-communal violence. The EU welcomes President U Thein Sein promise that all perpetrators of violence will be prosecuted, and his commitment to a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-faith society which should include addressing the root causes of the violence. In this context, the EU is studying the possibility of assisting the reform of the police service in Myanmar/Burma, in partnership with all appropriate stakeholders, in particular with the country's Parliament;
 - The need for urgent action to deal with humanitarian risks for all displaced people in the Rakhine State. At the same time, the government should continue to pursue and implement durable solutions to the underlying causes of the tensions that include addressing the status of the Rohingya;
 - The need for unhindered and full access for humanitarian and development aid workers to all communities affected by conflict and sectarian violence.

[Council of the European Union. (2013). Council Conclusions on Myanmar/Burma. Retrieved from http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/136918.pdf]

TIMELINE OF BURMESE HISTORIES

In this timeline you will find some major events that are mentioned in the Documents. People or groups found in the Who's Who section are in bold. You will notice that not all historical events are listed, only the more important periods and dates. If you believe any particularly relevant events have not been mentioned, inform us so that we can consider including them in future versions.

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| 40 mill. BCE | <i>Origins of human life?</i> Most archaeologists believe humans originated in Africa 2-3 million years ago. |
| 3000-1000BCE | <i>Migration to Burma:</i> Tribes and communities from the Tibetan plateau begin to migrate south to the hills and lowland plains of Burma. The exact dates when different groups migrated to the area are difficult to determine. Some Karen people believe they arrived in 739 BCE. Groups such as Karen, Kachin, Chin are not mentioned in this timeline until the colonial era because they did not establish large kingdoms that left behind historical evidence; however, historians believe they have lived in the region for centuries. |
| 1st-9th c. | <i>The Pyu People</i> rule a variety of city states at Beikthano, Thayetitty and Pagan with influences from nearby India. |
| 320-550 | <i>The Gupta Empire</i> reigns across what is now modern day India and Pakistan. The prosperity of the empire encourages the pursuit of science and art, which greatly influences the development of other countries in the South East Asian region. Buddhism and Hinduism spread along land and sea trade routes, along with a system of organising people into kingdoms under a powerful king (called a cakravartin, dhammaraja, or sekyamin) who is also a spiritual leader. |
| 4th-6th c. | <i>The Dhanyawadi Kingdom</i> ruled by Arakanese Buddhists with Indian influences rules near Kaladan River. |
| 8th-12th c. | <i>Nanchao and Dali Kingdoms</i> rule in what is now the Chinese province of Yunnan, by Buddhists of unknown ethnicity. |
| 849-1287 | <i>The Pagan Kingdom</i> based in Pagan reigns across large portions of the Irrawaddy basin in northern and southern Burma ruled by Pyu, Mon, and Burman Buddhists. |
| 9th c.-1057 | <i>The Thaton Kingdom</i> rules Thaton by Mon Buddhists; also called Suvannabhumi. |
| 13th-18th c. | <i>The Lanna Kingdom</i> rules around modern day Chiang Mai by Thai Buddhists. [M1, M2] |
| 13th c. | <i>Kengtung state</i> establishes, ruled by Shan Buddhists, sometimes independent and sometimes under control of surrounding kingdoms. [M1, M2] |

1206-1368	<i>The Mongol Empire</i> based in what is now China and ruled by Mongolian people spreads through much of Asia. It creates a vast overland empire that stretches from the middle east and eastern Europe to Korea.
1238-1583	<i>The Sukothai Kingdom</i> rules across what it now modern day Sukothai and Phitsanulok, by Thai Buddhists. [M2]
1254-1448	<i>The Mong Mao Kingdom</i> rules near the Shweli River, by Shan Buddhists.
1287-1539	<i>The Hanthawadi Kingdom</i> rules in Pegu by Mon Buddhists; also called Ramanyadesa. [M2]
1351-1767	<i>The Ayutthaya Kingdom</i> rules across most of southern Thailand and southwestern Burma, ruled by Thai Buddhists. [M1]
1364-1555	<i>The Ava Kingdom</i> (also known as Inwa) rules across parts of northern Burma by Burman and Shan Buddhists. [M1]
1433-1784	<i>The Mrauk-U Kingdom</i> rules near the Kaladan River in modern day Rakhine state, by Arakanese Buddhists with Islamic influences.
1486-1762	<i>The Toungoo Kingdom</i> rules across southern Burma, based in Toungoo then Ava, by Burman Buddhists. [M1] (For exercises on p. 25 of SB2, use this entry in addition to T-1287-1539)
15th c.	<i>Arrival of Europeans:</i> Portugese and Dutch traders arrive in the region and begin a period of trade with many of the above mentioned kingdoms.
1752-1885	<i>The Konbaung Kingdom</i> rules in Ava and Mandalay, by Burman Buddhists; also called Upper Burma. [M2]
17th c.	<i>Competition among Europeans</i> including British, French, Dutch, and Portuguese “East India Companies” for control of trade in South and Southeast Asia.
18th-19th c.	<i>Industrialization:</i> worldwide, new inventions such as the steam engine enable quicker transportation and the growth of factories. More people begin doing wage labor instead of subsistence agriculture. Economies grow and the middle class develops.
1775-1848	<i>Age of Revolutions:</i> worldwide, people revolt against monarchies and colonial empires to form republics. The US gains independence from Britain (1776), France ends its monarchy (1789), Italy gains independence from the Austro-Hungarian empire (1866). These revolutions, along with the Irish revolt against British rule in 1922, inspire some Burmese nationalists to resist the colonial government.

1782-	<i>The Chakri Dynasty</i> rules Bangkok, by Thai Buddhists.
19th c.	<i>Christian missionaries</i> arrive and begin seeking converts, especially among Karen, Chin, and Kachin people. <i>Indian and Chinese immigration:</i> The British encourage the migration of Indians to Burma. They serve as civil servants, soldiers and businessman. Chinese also migrate.
1824-1826	<i>First Anglo-Burmese War:</i> The Konbaung monarchy pursues criminals fleeing into British territory. War results. As stipulated in the Treaty of Yandabo, the British annex Arakan and Tenasserim and demand war reparations from King Bagyidaw. [M3]
1852-1853	<i>Second Anglo-Burmese War:</i> Dispute over violations of the Treaty of Yandabo lead the British to blockade the port of Rangoon then occupy Pegu, which they called Lower Burma. [M3]
1858-1948	<i>British Empire in South Asia:</i> The British monarchy formally colonises what is now India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Burma. [M3, M4]
1863-1954	<i>French colonisation of Southeast Asia:</i> French take control of what is now Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. The French begin negotiating with the Konbaung court in 1880s.
1875	<i>Independence of Western Karenni:</i> The British recognise the area as an independent entity.
1881	<i>Karen National Association forms.</i> Over the next decades, ethnic minority nationalism grows alongside Burmese nationalism.
1885	<i>Third Anglo-Burmese War:</i> Trade dispute and anxiety over French encroachment causes British to demand concessions from Konbaung court. King Thibaw refuses and the British invade, deposing him and taking direct control of Burma Proper and indirect control of the Frontier Areas. [M3, M5]
1885-1890	<i>Anti-colonial resistance:</i> various groups and individuals revolt against British rule. British suppress resistance and try to control Burmese people through a bureaucratic system of laws with officials and police to enforce them.
1910s	<i>Burmese Nationalist movement gathers force:</i> founding of YMBA and <i>Thuriya</i> newspaper and concern about British wearing shoes in pagodas. Followed by founding of wun thar nus in 1920s.

1914-1919	<i>World War I:</i> The assassination of archduke Franz-Ferdinand of Austria triggers the start of the first world war. The war, mostly centered in Europe, is the first to involve all of the Great Powers. Britain, France and the USA emerge victorious against the growing Imperial ambitions of the German, Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian Empires. Communist revolution in Russia occurs during the period in 1917, forming the Soviet Union.
1918-1923	<i>Transition to diarchy rule:</i> Montagu-Chelmsford Report indicates that provinces in British India should have limited self-government; 1919—Government of India Act grants this right to Indian provinces; 1923—Burma becomes a province separate from India, Burmese Legislative Council has limited powers of self-government; Shan State, Chin State, and Kachin State are included in the province but administered separately.
1919	<i>Kounmari Athin:</i> The women's organization forms and women become more involved in politics.
1920	<i>University boycott:</i> Students protest the University Act, which established Rangoon University under British control with high tuition and with requirements for students' proficiency in English. Students succeed in lobbying for the opening of National Schools not controlled by the British. National Day (November 22) commemorates the beginning of this strike.
1920s	<i>Military recruitment of minorities:</i> The British recruit Indian, Kachin, Chin, and Karen and other ethnic minority people to their army, but limit the number of Burmans to keep the country divided.
1927-1950	<i>Chinese Civil War:</i> Chinese Nationalists (KMT) and Communists fight for control. The communists achieve a decisive victory in 1950, and the nationalists flee to Taiwan. The remnants of the KMT remain active in Burma for some time.
1928-1935	<i>Reforms to diarchy system:</i> 1928—Simon Commission recommends giving more control to Burmese Legislative Council . 1931—Roundtable Conference in London where Burmese delegates argue that Burma should receive independence. 1935—Government of Burma Act fully separates Burma from India and grants more powers to LC .
1930	<i>Salt March:</i> Gandhi leads Indian nationalists on non-violent 240-mile march, stopping to make salt along the way as an act of civil disobedience against a tax the British had imposed on salt producers. Indian nationalism grows and British rule control is eroded.
1930s	<i>The Great Depression:</i> A worldwide economic depression causes widespread poverty and job loss. The global price of rice falls, affecting Burmese farmers.

1930s	<i>Indo-Burmese riots</i> break out after Burmese dock workers break an Indian strike. Dobama Asiayone is founded in an upsurge of Burmese nationalism.
1930-1931	<i>Saya San Rebellion</i> : Peasants fall into debt and lose their land to moneylenders including Chettyars and demand land reform to get it back. Saya San leads peasant revolt in countryside.
1936	<i>Nagani Book Club</i> , founded by Thakin Nu , publishes mostly socialist and communist literature, influencing a generation of young people to adopt leftist ideas.
1938	<i>1300 Revolution</i> : Oilfield workers go on strike against the British Oil Corporation, students organize a march from Chauk to Rangoon, where they are joined by other workers. Strike spreads countrywide after British kill a student.
1939-1945	<i>World War II</i> : Nazi Germany invades Poland, triggering the start of the Second World War. The first truly global war sees the Allies fight against the Axis powers. Burma is briefly occupied by Japan but is later retaken by Britain. The Allies defeat the Axis in 1945, setting the stage for the Cold War. [M6]
1942-1945	<i>Japanese occupation</i> occurs after Thirty Comrades receive military training in Japan and form the Japanese supported BIA to help drive out British. Half a million Indians flee to British territory. Fighting throughout Burma causes hardship, inter-ethnic tension, and violence, for instance, between the BIA and Karens at Myaungmya. Burma receives nominal independence, but Japanese retain most control. [M6] (For exercises on p. 25 of SB1, see T-1962; for exercises on p. 26 of SB1, see T-1988)
1944-1945	<i>Anti-fascist revolution</i> : The AFO leads a revolt against the Japanese with aid of the British. Resistance Day (March 27; re-named Armed Forces Day by SPDC) commemorates this revolt.
1945-1948	<i>Interim Government</i> : British re-occupy Burma. White Paper Policy promises independence for Burma Proper by 1948 and grants limited authority to Executive Council controlled by AFPFL . Frontier Areas are given the choice to join Union of Burma or remain under special British administration.
1946-1947	<i>Negotiations with British</i> : The AFPFL signs Aung San-Attlee Agreement promising Burma Proper independence along with the Frontier Areas if FAs agreed. Some ethnic minority groups lobby for their own states; KCO delegation visits London for this reason.
1946-1947	<i>Panglong Conferences</i> : February 1946— AFPFL , Kachin, Shan, Chin, and Karen people meet to form SCOUHP and discuss uniting Burma Proper and the Frontier Areas. February 1947—representatives of Kachins, Shans and Chins agree to join a federal union in exchange for internal autonomy and the right to secede at a later date. Union Day (February 12) commemorates signing of Panglong Agreement.

1946-	<i>Civil War</i> begins in several parts of Burma with the revolt of Red Flag BCP , Mujahid , and APLF , followed in 1948 by KNDO , MNDO , PNDO . In the 1950s and 60s they are succeeded by other groups such as KNU , NMSP , KNPP , SSA , KIO , KNLP , PNF , and LSA .
1947	<i>Assassination</i> : Seven leaders including Gen. Aung San are killed at the Secretariat building in Rangoon by gunmen allegedly sent by Gen. Aung San 's rival U Saw ; Martyr's Day (July 19) commemorates this day.
1947	<i>Anglo-Burmese Treaties</i> : Nu-Attlee Agreement grants Burma sovereignty in exchange for paying £5,000,000 in debts to Britain; British-Burma Defence Agreement (aka Let Ya-Freeman Agreement) allows a British military mission to remain in Burma for three years.
1947	<i>The Burmese Constitution</i> is written by a team of 12 men and approved by the convention in less than a year so that Burma can get independence according to the timetable set by the British.
1948	<i>Independence</i> : The AFPFL replaces the British as the ruling government in Burma, led by U Nu; Independence Day (January 4th) commemorates this day. [M7]
1948-	<i>Ethnic minority alliances</i> : KNDO allies with MNDO and temporarily takes over Mawlamyine and, in 1949, Insein. This begins a series of alliances between ethnic minority nationalist groups including NDF in 1975 and DAB in 1988.
1949-1985	<i>Cold War</i> : The US and the USSR engage in an indirect war of power and influence across the globe. The capitalist US and the communist USSR attempt to spread their ideology through proxy wars, espionage, economic competition and technological advancement.
1953-55	<i>Non-aligned movement</i> : China and India agree to "peacefully coexist" in 1953; in 1955 at the Bandung Conference in Indonesia, countries including Burma join India in refusing to take sides in the Cold War. Burma is drawn in nonetheless, as US uses KMT based in Burma as proxy to fight Chinese communism.
1958	<i>AFPFL splits</i> into the Clean faction and the Stable faction.
1958-1960	<i>Caretaker Government</i> : The government, under U Nu allows the regime led by Ne Win and other army officers to take control because of AFPFL 's split and ongoing civil war.
1958, 1963	Peace talks with armed struggle groups begin, organised by Kodaw Hmaing .
1961	<i>State Religion Act</i> amends the Constitution to make Buddhism the official religion, upsetting some Christians and Muslims. Ne Win repeals this act when he takes office after coup.

- 1962 *Coup*: Gen. **Ne Win** seizes power in a coup on March 2, styling his administration as 'The Revolutionary Council'. This occurs after U **Nu** announces he will consider Shan demands for federalism. The **BSPP** formed later that year. Student protests cause **RC** to blow up Rangoon Student Union building.
- 1966 *Cultural Revolution*: **Mao Zedong** launches plan to purify Chinese Communist Party of old, anti-revolutionary culture and ideas. Thousands of Chinese people are killed and old books and buildings destroyed. Tension in China's relations with other countries, including Burma.
- 1967 *Anti-Chinese riots*: **Mao Zedong**'s effort to promote the Cultural Revolution among Chinese in Burma leads to rioting in which hundreds of people of Chinese descent living in Burma are killed.
- 1974 *The Constitution* establishes a socialist one-party state under the **BSPP**.
- 1974 *U Thant affair*: After U **Thant** dies in US, his body is brought to Rangoon, where thousands attend his funeral. **BSPP** leaders' plan to bury him in an ordinary cemetery is foiled by students who snatch his body and bury it at the site of the former Student Union, protesting **BSPP** policy. The army intervenes in the affair, killing students and burying U **Thant** at the foot of Shwedagon Pagoda.
- 1980s- *Refugee Crisis*: People fleeing armed conflict in Shan, Karen, Karenni, and Mon states flee into Thailand. Camps are established in Bangladesh for Rohingyas fleeing persecution. Other groups including the Chin and the Kachin flee to Malaysia.
- 1988 *Demonstrations*: (aka '8888') Widespread student demonstrations occur following the recent government demonetization and subsequent wiping out of many personal savings. Clashes between police and students demanding democracy, escalates to a mass uprising across Burma in which soldiers and police kill and imprison thousands of protesters. Gen. **Ne Win** resigns and the **BSPP** dissolves. Student parties such as **ABSDF** and **DPNS**, as well as Daw **Aung San Suu Kyi**, emerge as political forces, while veteran politicians such as U **Nu** and Brig.-Gen. **Aung Gyi** resurface.
- 1988 *SLORC*: Gen. **Saw Maung**'s establishes the **SLORC** following the coup of September 18. The economy opens to international trade.
- 1990 *Elections*: The **NLD** led by Daw **Aung San Suu Kyi** wins about 60% of the vote, but the **SLORC** annuls the election result, does not allow MPs to take office and retains control. Many **NLD** leaders are imprisoned or flee the country.

- 1994-95 *Rise and fall of Manerplaw:* Ethnic minority and democratic groups join forces; **KNU**-held town of Manerplaw is their base. A group of **KNLA** soldiers breaks away to form the **DKBA**, which negotiates a ceasefire with **SLORC** and helps to bring down Manerplaw.
- 1994- *Ceasefires:* Several ethnic minority armies negotiate ceasefires with the **SLORC** in exchange for limited regional autonomy. These include the **KIO** in 1994 and **NMSP** in 1995.
- 1990s-2000s- *Ongoing Accusations of human rights abuses:* 1996—Earthrights International condemns oil company Chevron and **SPDC** for environmental destruction and human rights abuses; Human Rights Watch condemns use of child soldiers. 2002—**SHRF** and **SWAN** condemn army's use of sexual violence. 2005—**ILO** condemns use forced labor. **SPDC** denies most allegations, but USA and some other Western countries place economic sanctions on Burma as a consequence.
- 1997 **ASEAN** accepts Burma as a member, despite the misgivings of much of the international community over allegations of human rights abuses. Burma gains greater regional economic connections as a result of membership.
- 2000 **AAPP** is founded in exile on the 11th anniversary of Ko **Min Ko Naing**'s detention to support and advocate on behalf of political prisoners and their families. As of 2010, there were about 2,100 political prisoners in Burma.
- 2003 *Seven Step Roadmap to Democracy:* Gen. **Khin Nyunt** outlines steps to re-start National Convention, stalled since 1996, to draw up a new constitution, hold elections, and move toward multi-party democracy.
- 2007 *Demonstrations:* Thousands of Buddhist monks protest in Yangon and major Burmese cities against growing economic hardship spurred by the sudden cuts in government fuel subsidies(aka 'The Saffron Revolution'). Ordinary people join the monks in the demonstrations for political change following the dramatic rise in fuel and living costs. The **SPDC** cracks down on protests using extreme force that results in casualties. (13 according to **SPDC**, 138 according to **DVB**).
- 2007 *Resettlement:* Burmese refugees in Thailand and Malaysia start to be resettled by the UN, to the US, Australia, and the EU. Many teachers and doctors leave leading to 'brain drain' - the loss of many educated members of society to migration and resettlement., More hardship in the camps occurs as a result.

- 2008 *Cyclone Nargis* hits Burma on May 2, causing between 100,000 and 200,000 deaths and affecting millions of people's lives. Irrawaddy Division and Arakan State are particularly hard hit. Western countries criticise the **SPDC** for failing to provide warning, refusing to immediately accept their humanitarian aid, or distributing it unfairly. Thousands of ordinary Burmese people form civil society networks and NGOs to distribute aid privately, without government assistance.
- 2008 *The constitution*, begun in 1993, is completed by Convention (which **NLD** and other pro-democracy groups boycotted). **SPDC**'s referendum yields 92% approval, yet human rights organizations claim the voting process was not free and fair.
- 2009 *Border Guard Force*: The **SPDC** proposes that armed opposition groups become absorbed into a **BGF** under the supervision of the **Tatmadaw**.
- 2010 *General Election* The USDP wins an 80% majority and Thein Sein becomes President. The NLD boycotts the election. Daw **Aung San Suu Kyi** remains under house arrest until after the election. The NDF and the UN complain of voter fraud and irregularities.
- 2011 *KIA Ceasefire Breaks Down* Fighting breaks out and tens of thousands of refugees flee to China. The government announces a ceasefire in 2013, but fighting continues.
- 2011 *Letpadaung Mine Protests* Villagers protest that a Chinese mining company, in partnership with the Burmese government, has polluted their farmland. Government inquiry commission headed by Daw **Aung San Suu Kyi** offers farmers financial compensation, but does not punish police who injured protesters.
- 2012 *Suu Kyi's Nobel Lecture* Daw **Aung San Suu Kyi** travels to Norway to deliver a speech in recognition of the Nobel Peace Prize that she was awarded in 1991 but could not accept as she was under house arrest.
- 2012 *Buddhist-Muslim conflicts* Starting in Arakan State and spreading to many locations around the country, violence breaks out between Buddhists and Muslim or Rohingya people.
- 2013 *EU ends economic sanctions* Diplomatic sanctions and weapons embargo are kept in place, but trade resumes in recognition of what EU sees as progress toward democratisation.

Who's Who: Biographies of some key people and groups

In this section you will find some people and groups that are mentioned in the Documents or Timeline events. Because of space constraints, we could not include every important person in Burmese histories. As a result, you might know about some important people or groups that are not mentioned here, or you might have more details on people or groups already mentioned. If so, please inform us so that we can consider including them in future versions.

GROUPS

All Burma Monks Alliance (ABMA) formed in 2007 by a group of senior monks as a response to the economic and social problems existing in Burma. ABMA leaders played a prominent role in the September 2007 demonstrations.

All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) formed in 1988 by leaders including **Moe Thee Zun**, opposes the military dictatorship and supports human rights both through armed struggle and political means.

Allies (of World War II) a group of countries that opposed the Axis powers during the Second World War. The Allied countries included the UK, the US, the USSR, China, Poland and France, among others.

Anti-Fascist Organization (AFO) formed in 1944 by representatives from the **BNA (Aung San)**, **PRP (Ba Swe, Nu, Kyaw Nyein)** and the **BCP (Than Tun, Soe)** to revolt against the Japanese occupation during WWII. Later known as **AFPFL**.

Anti-Fascist People's Front for Liberation (AFPFL) previously called the **AFO**, **Aung San** led the demands for independence from Britain. After his death, **Nu** led this party, which controlled the parliament in the 1950s. In 1958 the AFPFL split into the Clean Faction (led by **Nu**) and the Stable Faction (led by **Kyaw Nyein** and **Ba Swe**).

Arakan National Congress (ANC) an umbrella for various Arakanese organizations, formed in 1942 by leaders including **Seinda** to protect Arakanese rights.

Arakan People's Liberation Party (APLP) formed in 1945 when **Seinda** broke away from the **ANC**. Armed wing is the **Arakan Defense Army (ADA)**.

Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (AAPP) formed in 2000 in Thailand by ex-political prisoners to support and advocate on behalf of those still imprisoned inside Burma.

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) an economic cooperation organization formed in 1967. Members include Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Brunei, and Cambodia. Burma joined in 1997.

Axis Powers (of World War II) a group of countries that opposed the Allies during the Second World War. They included Japan, Germany, and Italy, among others.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) formed in 1922 as a news agency affiliated with the British government; began broadcasting in Burmese in 1940.

Border Guard Force (BGF) Tatmadaw administered military forces based on the borders of Burma, comprised of former ethnic-armies who signed a ceasefire.

Burma Communist Party (BCP/CPB) formed in 1939 by **Soe**, **Aung San** and others. The BCP split in 1946 when the Red Flag Faction went underground to fight the **AFPFL**. Henceforth the BCP under **Than Tun** was known as the White Flag Faction; it later revolted as well.

Burma Defence Army (BDA) formed in 1943 during the Japanese occupation to replace the **BNA**.

Burma Independence Army (BIA) formed in 1941 by the 30 Comrades and Japanese forces to invade British Burma during WWII.

Burmah Oil Company (BOC) formed in 1886 to drill for oil in Burma around Magwe, it became a leading oil company around the world. It operated in Burma until 1963 when it was nationalised by Ne Win, and continued operating around the world until 2000.

Burman Muslim Organization (BMO) formed in 1945 by **Razak** to cooperate with the **AFPFL** to get independence.

Burma National Army (BNA) formed in 1942 as the armed forces of the Burmese government created by the Japanese during WWII. It was the successor of the **BIA**.

Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) formed in 1962 by **Ne Win** and other generals following his coup. The BSPP was the only legal political party until 1988. (For exercises on p. 66 of SB1, see SPDC)

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) US Government security agency established in 1947 to collect information about and intervene in world events that relate to US national security.

Chettyars an Indian caste of businesspeople who came to live in Burma during the colonial era. During the Great Depression in the 1930s, they loaned money to many farmers and became landlords when farmers could not pay their debts.

Chin Independence Army (CIA) formed in 1961 by leaders including **Son Ka Pao** to protect Chin rights through military and political means.

Chin National Front (CNF) formed in 1989 to protect the rights of Chin people through political and military means by leaders including **Zing Cung**. **Chin National Army (CNA)** is its military wing.

Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) formed in 1988 in Thailand as an alliance of pro-democracy exile organisations and ethnic minority armed struggle groups.

Democratic Karen Buddhist Army (DKBA) split off from **KNU** and formed in 1994 by Buddhist Karen leaders including **Thuzana**. Made ceasefire with **SLORC** in 1995 and has since aligned itself with the Tatmadaw; joined the **BGF** in 2009.

Democratic Party for a New Society (DPNS) was formed in 1989 to oppose the military dictatorship and support democracy.

Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) exiled Burmese media organization formed in 1992, based in Norway.

Dobama Asiayone anti-colonial Burmese nationalist organization formed by leaders including **Ba Sein** in 1930. Members called themselves Thakin (master) instead of using this term for the British.

Executive Council formed by British in 1946, group of Burmese political leaders including **Aung San** and other **AFPFL** members who served as interim government of Burma during transition to independence in 1948.

Fabian Socialist Party formed in Britain in 1884 to pursue socialism by reform rather than violent revolution. Burmese branch formed by leaders including **Ba Khine** and **Ba Choe** in 1930s.

Greater Council of Burmese Associations (GCBA) anti-colonial Burmese nationalist organization formed in 1920 as a successor to the **YMBA**, which had split. Leaders included **Ottama** and **Wizara**.

Human Rights Watch (HRW) formed in 1988 from regional human rights documentation organizations. This US-based group researches and publicizes human rights abuses around the world.

International Labor Organisation (ILO) formed in 1919 and became a specialised agency of the UN in 1946. It oversees international labour standards and supports workers' rights.

Kachin Independence Army (KIA) formed in 1961, it is the military wing of the **KIO** (see below). It signed a ceasefire with the **SLORC** in 1994 but resumed its armed struggle in 2011.

Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO) formed in 1961 by leaders including Zau Seng and Naw Seng in order to protect Kachin people's rights through political means; signed a ceasefire with the **SLORC** in 1994.

Karen Central Organization (KCO) formed by leaders including **San C. Po** and **Ba U Gyi** in 1942 to protect Karen people's interests and cooperate with the Burmese government to prevent inter-ethnic violence. In 1947 it split into the **KNU** and **KYO**.

Karen National Association (KNA) or "Daw K'lu," meaning "all the clans" in Sgaw Karen, formed in 1881 by a group of Karen Baptists in order to build Karen unity and represent Karen interests to the British.

Karen National Union (KNU) formed in 1947 by **Ba U Gyi** to protect the rights of Karen people and demand an independent Karen state. **Karen National Defense Organisation (KNDO)**, which later changed its name to **Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA)** was formed in 1949 as its military wing.

Karen Youth Organization (KYO) formed in 1947 to protect the rights of Karen people through political means by leaders including **Ba Khine**. It was the youth wing of the **KCO** and was affiliated with **AFPFL** while **KNU** was opposed to **AFPFL** and split off.

Karenni Army (KA) is the military wing of the **KNPP** (below)

Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) formed by **Taw Plo** to replace the **KNO** in 1957.

Karenni National Organization (KNO) formed in 1947 by **Gobi Turee** to protect the rights of Karenni people through political and military means.

Kayan New Land Party (KNLP) set up in 1964 by **Pyan** with support of Karenni rebels to fight for Padaung people's economic and social rights through political means and armed struggle; later became communist.

Kounmari Athin formed in 1919 as an anti-colonial, Burmese nationalist organization of women. Leaders included **Thein Tin**.

Kuki National Organization/Army (KNO/A) formed with support of **KIO** in 1987 by leaders including **Hanglen**, to protect Kuki rights through military and political means.

Kuomintang (KMT) or Chinese Nationalist Party formed in 1912 and retreated to Taiwan in 1949 after Communists won the Chinese Civil War. Remnants of this force, led by **Chiang Kai-shek**, were active in Burma in the 1950s and 60s.

Lahu National Unity Party/Lahu State Army (LNUP/LSA) formed with help of **SSA** in 1973 by **Pu Kyaung Long** to protect Lahu rights through military and political means.

Lanzin Youth a wing of the **BSPP** formed in 1973 that organized group activities and gave 15 to 25-year-old students lessons in health and socialist ideology.

Legislative Council established in 1923 as part of diarchy system. Burmese representatives are elected to some Ministries, such as Education.

Mon Freedom League (MLF) formed in 1947 by leaders including **Shwe Kyin** to protect Mon rights.

Mon National Defense Organization (MNDO) formed in 1948 by leaders including **Shwe Kyin** to protect the rights of Mon people through military and political means; allied with **KNU**.

Mujahid Party formed in 1947 to protect the rights of Muslims in Arakan State through military means.

Myanmar Women's Affairs Federation (MWAF) formed in 2003 to promote the welfare women. It is not officially affiliated with the **SPDC**, but it is reported to have close ties to it.

National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB) formed by leaders including **Sein Win** in 1990 as government in exile after the **SLORC** did not honor results of 1990 elections; based in Maryland, USA.

National Council of Burmese Women (NCBW) formed in 1931 by leaders including **Mya Sein** to lobby for the rights of women nationally and internationally.

National Democratic Force (NDF) formed in 2010 by leaders including **Khin Maung Swe** to contest the elections after splitting off from the **NLD**, which boycotted the 2010 election.

National Democratic Front (NDF) formed in 1976 as an umbrella for organizations including the **CNF**, **KNU**, **NMSP**, **KNPP** in order to work for federalism through political means.

National League for Democracy (NLD) formed in 1988 by leaders including **Aung San Suu Kyi**, **Win Tin**, and **Aung Gyi** to oppose the **SLORC** and secure democracy. Won the majority national elections in 1990 but its result was annulled by the ruling military who retained power.

National League for Democracy-Liberated Area (NLD-LA) political party with similar origins to **NLD** that operates in Thai-Burma border areas and internationally.

New Democratic Army (NDA)-Kachin armed group that split from the **KIO** and made a ceasefire with the **SLORC** in 1989 to protect the rights of Kachin people; joined the **BGF** in 2010.

New Mon State Party (NMSP) formed in 1958 by leaders including **Shwe Kyin** to protect the rights of Mon people through military and political means; signed a ceasefire with the **SLORC** in 1995.

Noom Suk Harn (NSH) literally "Brave young warriors" formed in 1958 by leaders including **Noi** to protect Shan rights through military and political means.

Palaung National Front (PNF) formed in 1963 by leaders including **Hso Lane** to protect Palaung rights through political and military means; allied with Shan and Kachin armies.

Pa-O National Organisation (PNO) founded in 1948 by leaders including **Hla Pe** to protect Pa-O people's rights through political and military means; signed a ceasefire with the **SLORC** in 1991.

People's Comrade Party (PCP) formed in 1948 after splitting from **PVO** to fight for communism through military means.

People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) formed during WWII by leaders including **Aung San** and **Ba Swe**. Later renamed the Socialist Party.

People's Volunteer Organisation (PVO) formed during WWII by leaders including **Aung San** to provide security in the countryside. The communist White Flag Faction led by **Po Kun** rebelled against the the **AFPFL** in 1948. The Yellow Flag Faction participated in the **AFPFL** government until resigning in 1949.

Radio Free Asia (RFA) media organization formed in 1988, based in US; began broadcasting in Burmese in 1996.

Revolutionary Council (RC) group of army generals including **Ne Win** and **Aung Gyi** formed during 1962 coup to rule Burma.

Rohingya Independence Front (RIF) formed in 1963 by leaders including **Mohammed Jafar Habib** to protect Rohingya rights by military and political means after Rohingya parties were outlawed by the **RC**.

Shan Human Rights Foundation (SHRF) NGO formed in 1990 in Thailand by Shan leaders including **Kya Oo** to promote human rights.

Shan State Army (SSA) formed in 1964 by to protect Shan rights through military and political means. Split into a Southern Branch (SSA-S), commanded by **Yawk Serk**, who maintained their armed opposition to the Tatmadaw. The Northern Branch (SSA-N) wished to maintain the previous ceasefire. The two branches are purported to have reunified as of 2011.

Shan Women's Action Network (SWAN) NGO formed in 1999 in Thailand to protect the rights of women and children by Shan leaders including **Charm Tong**.

Sinyetha Party formed in 1936 by **Ba Maw**, merged with **Dobama Asiayone** during WWII.

State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) formed by leaders including **Saw Maung** to seize control in a coup during the 1988 demonstrations to prevent disintegration of the Union. The **SLORC** changed its name to the **SPDC** in 1997.

State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) the new name for the **SLORC** following a rebranding exercise in 1997. Headed by Gen. **Than Shwe**. It was officially dissolved in 2011 following the election of a nominally civilian government.

Supreme Council of United Hill Peoples (SCUHP) formed by leaders of Kachin, Shan, and Chin states in 1946 at the *Panglong Conferences* to protect the rights of ethnic minority people living in the Frontier Areas.

Tatmadaw the armed forces of Myanmar, a continuation of the same military force founded under the **BNA**.

Thirty Comrades group of men who received military training in Japan during WWII and founded **BIA**. **Aung San, Tun Ok**, Hla Pe, Aung Than, **Zeya, Ne Win**, Tun Shein, **La Yaung**, Hmu Aung, Yan Aung, Aye Maung, Min Gaung, Than Tin, Kyaw Zaw, Aung Shwe, Tun Shwe, Tin Aye, Soe, San Mya, Khin Maung Oo, Than Nyunt, Maung Maung, Tun Lwin, Min Yaung, Tun Khin, Saw Aung, Saw Naung, Kyaw Sein, Than Tin, Htein Win (those with multiple aliases listed by most famous name).

Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) formed in 1993 by members of **SLORC**. Its aims are similar to the **SPDC**'s.

Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) affiliated with **USDA**, formed to take part in the 2010 elections; purported to have won 90% of seats in parliament.

United Nations (UN) international organization formed after World War II in 1945 by 51 countries to maintain international peace and security. Burma became a member in 1948.

United Wa State Army (UWSA) formed in 1989 by leaders including to protect the rights of Wa people through military means. It is the largest ethnic army in Burma; signed a ceasefire with the **SLORC** in 1989.

Voice of America (VOA) media organization formed in 1942, funded by the US government; began broadcasting in Burmese in 1943.

Women's League of Burma (WLB) formed in 1999 in Thailand as an umbrella for women's organizations from different ethnic groups, in order to facilitate women's participation in the struggle for human rights, democracy, and equality.

Wun thar nu village-based Burmese nationalist and self-defense organizations formed in the 1920s, affiliated with the **GCBA**.

Young Mens Buddhist Association (YMBA) formed in 1906 to protect Burmese cultural rights. Later renamed **GCBA**.

PEOPLE

Alaungpaya, King [aka Aung Zeya] (1714-1760): Burman king, founded *Konbaung Kingdom* with capital at Ava, ruled 1752-1760. Invaded *Hanthawadi Kingdom* and *Ayutthaya Kingdom*.

Ali Khan, King [aka Ali Khin, Meng Khari, Min Khayi] (?-?): Arakanese king, ruled *Mrauk U*, 1434-1459. Invaded Chittagong. Made an alliance with King **Narapati**.

Aung Gyi, Brig.-General (1919-): Burman political and military leader. Served in *Caretaker Government*. Helped form **RC**, ousted in 1963 after criticizing the government's economic policy. Criticized **Ne Win** during *1988 demonstrations*, joined **NLD** and then left to form his own party in 1990 elections.

Aung San, Gen. (1915-1947): Burman political leader who led the anti-colonial movement and negotiated the Panglong Agreement, founder of the modern Burmese army, father of **Aung San Suu Kyi**.

Aung San Suu Kyi, Daw (1945-): Burman political leader, daughter of **Aung San**. Entered politics during *1988 demonstrations*, a founder of **NLD**. Won Nobel Peace Prize in 1991. Was placed under house arrest for 14 of the past 20 years.

Ba Choe, Deedok U (1893-1947): Burman writer, newspaper publisher, and Burmese nationalist politician. A founder of **Fabain Socialist Party**. Minister of Information in **Aung San's** cabinet, died in *1947 assassination*.

Ba Gale, U [aka Shway Yoe] (1893-45): Muslim actor, dancer, comedian, and cartoonist whose art supported Burmese nationalist and anti-colonial causes.

Ba Khine, U (1906-1940): Burman writer, scholar, and a founder of the **Fabian Socialist Party**.

Ba Khaing, Mahn (1903-1947): Karen politician, a founder KCO and KYO. Minister of Industry in **Aung San's** cabinet, died in *1947 assassination*.

Ba Maw, U (1893-1977): Mon-Burman Christian politician and lawyer. Founded the **Sinyetha Party**. He served as head of state during the *Japanese occupation*.

Ba Sein, Thakin (1910-1963): Burman political leader, a leader of *University Boycott*, a founder of **Dobama Asiayone**, ally of **Tun Ok** and rival of **Aung San**.

Ba Swe, U (1915-1987): Burman politician. Member of **Dobama Asiayone**, participated in *1300 Revolution*. Formed **PRP**. Served as Prime Minister in **AFPFL** government, led its Stable Faction.

Ba Tin, Thakin (aka H. N. Ghoshal) (?-1967): Communist leader of Bengali origin, one of the **Thirty Comrades**, founded **BCP**, led Red Flag Faction.

Ba U, Ko (?-?): Arakanese student leader of *University Boycott*, later headmaster of National High School.

Ba U Gyi, Saw (1905-1950): Sgaw Karen Christian political and military leader, a founder of **KCO** and **KNU**. Killed in battle with Burmese army.

Ba Yu Xiang (?-?): United Wa State Army leader,

Ba Zahn, Mahn (1916-1982): Christian Sgaw Karen political and military leader. Chairman of the **KNU** from 1969-1976, when he became Chairman of the **NDF**.

Bagyidaw, King (1784-1846): Burman king, ruled the *Kongaung Dynasty* from 1819-1837, including during the *First Anglo-Burmese War*.

Campbell, Kurt (?-): US diplomat, currently serving as the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 2009-present.

Carson, Mrs. Laura (?-?): American Baptist missionary who worked in Chin hills with husband Arthur in the early 19th century.

Chan Htoon, U (1906-1988): Burman lawyer, helped write 1947 Constitution, became Attorney General in 1948, Supreme Court Judge in 1954.

Charm Tong, Nang (1982-): Shan human rights and women's rights activist, a founder of **SWAN**. Testified before the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1999, won Reebok Human Rights award in 2005.

Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975): Chinese military and political leader, head of **KMT** 1925-1975.

Chulalongkorn, King [AKA Rama V] (1853-1919): Thai king, ruled Chakri Dynasty 1868-1910.

Clinton, Hillary (1947-): US politician, currently serving as the Secretary of State, 2008-present.

Cochrane, W. W. (?-?) British colonial administrator in the Shan states and author.

Collis, Maurice (1910-1973): British administrator in Burma, district magistrate in Rangoon in 1929-30 during *Indo-Burmese riots*.

Cranbourne, Lord (1830-1903): British politician, Secretary of State for India, 1866-1867.

Dufferin, Lord (1826-1902): British official, served as British Viceroy in India, 1884-1888, during *Third Anglo-Burmese War*.

Enriquez, Major C.M. (1884-?): recruiting officer for British Indian Army and author of books about Burma.

Forsyth, Sir Douglas (1827-1886): British diplomat, went to Burma in 1875 to negotiate with *Konbaung Kingdom* officials including **Kinwoon Mingyi**.

Fowler, R. W. D. (?-?): British civil servant, private secretary to Acting Governor **Rance** in the late 1940s.

Gandhi, Mahatma (1869-1948): political and ideological leader of the Indian nationalist movement. Led the Salt March and nonviolent struggle for Indian independence from Britain.

George IV, King (1762-1830): ruled the British Empire from 1820-1830, during the *First Anglo-Burmese War*.

Gobi Turee, (?-1948): Karenni military and political leader, founder and Chairman of the **KNO**, killed by Burmese military.

Hanglen (?-?): Kuki military and political leader, founded the **KNO/A** in 1987.

Henry Soe Win (?-?): activist living in Australia, working with groups like the Democracy for Burma network.

Hla Pe, Thaton U (1909-1975): Pa-O political and military leader, Ministry of Forestry in **Ba Maw's** cabinet, founder of the **PNO**, involved in the **KNU**.

Hong Sa, Nai (?-): Mon politician, currently the General Secretary of the NMSP.

Hso Lane (?-?) [AKA Sai Hla Aung]: Palaung political and military leader, founded the **PNF** in 1963.

Htin Aung, Maung (1909-1978): Burman writer and historian, rector of Rangoon University from 1946-1958.

Judson, Reverend Adoniram (1788-1850): American Baptist missionary in Burma, translated Bible into Burmese, converted many Karen people, wrote the first Burmese-English dictionary.

Kala, U (?-?): scholar of unknown ethnicity from Ava who wrote a history of the *Pagan Kingdom*, *Ava Dynasty*, and *Toungoo Kingdom* during the *Restored Toungoo Kingdom*.

Khin Mar Gyi, Dr. (?-?): Burmese doctor from Monywa who was arrested under the Distributing Pamphlet Act in 1996. She was jailed for over 6 years and was released in October 2002.

Khin Maung Swe, U (1942-): Burman politician, served 2 years in prison for activities with the **NLD**; formed the **NDF** during *2010 elections*.

Khin Nyunt, General (1939-): Burmese politician of Chinese descent, head of Military Intelligence unit in the **SPDC**, Prime Minister from 2003 until 2004 when he was placed under house arrest.

Kin-Woon Mingyi [aka U Kaung] (1831-1918): Burman diplomat, minister in courts of the *Konbaung Kingdom* kings including **Thibaw**.

Knight, Sir Henry (1886-1960): British administrator who served as the Governor-General of Burma from 1946-1948.

Kodaw Hmaing, Thakin (1876-1964): journalist, intellectual and strong nationalist who led the anti-colonial movement and later led the peace talks between Ne Win's government and rebel groups.

Kya Oo, Khun (?-1997): Shan human rights activist and founder of the **SHRF**.

Kyansittha, King (1041-1113): Burman king, ruled the *Pagan Kingdom* 1084-1113. Made alliance with the *Thaton Kingdom*.

Kyaw Nyein, U (1915-?): Burman politician, served as Prime Minister in the **AFPFL** government, formed Stable Faction.

Laithwaite, Sir Gilbert (1894-1986): British diplomat, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for India 1943-1947.

Lawrence, Sir John (1811-1879): British politician, served as the Viceroy of India 1864-1869.

Lee Kuan Yew (1923-): Singaporean politician, served as Prime Minister 1990-2004, Minister Mentor until present.

Mahabandula, General (1783-1825): Commander of the *Konbaung Kingdom's* army, 1819-1825. Died in action during the *First Anglo-Burmese War*.

Mao Zedong [aka Chairman Mao] (1893-1976): Chinese communist revolutionary, political leader and founder of the People's Republic of China. Oversaw the *Cultural Revolution*.

May, Daw [of Theingyi Market] (?-?): a leader of the Burmese nationalist women's movement, member of **Kounmari Athin**.

Min Ko Naing, Ko [AKA Paw Oo Tun] (1962-): Mon-Chinese student leader of *1988 demonstrations* and later pro-democracy movements, imprisoned on and off since 1988.

Minyaza [AKA Pho Yaza] (?-?): Burman diplomat, Chief Minister to **Zwasawke** during the *Ava Dynasty*.

Moe Thee Zun, Ko (1962-): Burmese political and military leader, involved in *1988 demonstrations*, a founder of the **ABSDF**.

Mohammed Jarar Habib (?-?): Rohingya political and military leader, formed the **RIF** in 1963.

Mountbatten, Lord Louis (1900-1979): British civil servant, Viceroy of India in 1947.

Mya, Bo (1927-2006): Christian Sgaw Karen leader, Chairman of the **KNU** 1976-2000.

Mya, Thakin (1897-1947): Burman politician, served as the Minister of Home Affairs on **Executive Council**. Killed in 1947 *assassination*.

Mya Sein, M.A. Daw (1904-?): Arakanese author and teacher involved with the **NCBW**. Had M.A. degree from Oxford University. Represented women at the *Burma Roundtable Conference* in 1931.

Narapati, King (1413-1469): Burman king, ruled the *Ava Dynasty* 1443-1469. Made an alliance with Ali Khan, king of *Mrauk U Kingdom*.

Naw Seng (1922-1972): Kachin military and political leader, fought with the **KNU** and the **BCP**, helped form the **KIO**.

Ne Win, General [aka Shu Maung] (1911-2002): Burman political and military leader. One of **Thirty Comrades**. Prime Minister in *Caretaker Government*. Executed 1962 coup, founded the **BSPP**, served as head of state until 1988 *demonstrations*. Placed under house arrest in 2002.

Nehru, Jawaharlal (1889-1964): Indian politician, Prime Minister of India 1947-1964. Started *Non-Aligned Movement*.

Noi, Chao/Sao [Saw Yanda] (?-?): Shan political and military leader, a founder of the **NSH**.

Nu, U (1907-1995): Burmese nationalist political and military leader and author; devout Buddhist; member of **Dobama Asiayone**, Prime Minister of the **AFPFL** government, 1948-1956, 1957-1958, 1960-1962. Leader of the **APFLF**'s Clean Faction. Deposed in the 1962 *coup*, led an armed resistance group in 1970s, active in 1988 *demonstrations*.

Ottama, Sayadaw U (1880-1939): Arakanese monk, Burmese anti-colonial nationalist leader. Active in the **YMBA** and the **GCBA**. Imprisoned frequently throughout the 1920s and 1930s, eventually dying in prison on hunger strike.

Pethick-Lawrence, Lord Frederick (1871-1961): British politician, served as Secretary of State for Burma and India, 1945-1947.

Po Kun (?-?): leader of the People's Volunteer Organization (**PVO**)'s White Flag Faction.

Pyan, Bo (?-?): Padaung political and military leader, formed the **KNLP** in 1963.

Pu Kyaung Long (?-?): Lahu spiritual, military, and political leader, formed the **LNUP/LSA** in 1973.

Rajakumar, Prince (1078-?): son of **Kyansittha**, governor of Arakan during *Pagan Kingdom*.

Rance, Major-General Hubert (1898-1974): British official, Director of Civil Affairs in Burma, 1945-46, Governor 1946-48.

Razak, U Abdul (1898-1947): Burman Muslim leader, founder of the **BMO**, Minister of Education in **Aung San**'s cabinet, died in 1947 *assassination*.

Sam Htun, Sao (1907-1947): Shan political and hereditary leader. Sawbwa of Mongpang, 1928-1947. Leadership role in *Panglong Conferences*. On the **Executive Council**, died in 1947 *assassination*.

San, Saya (1876-1931): Burmese monk and doctor, involved with the **GCBA**. Led the first concerted effort to forcibly resist British control in the shape of the *Saya San rebellion* in 1930-31. He was hanged by British authorities as a result of his involvement.

San C. Po, Dr. (1870-1946): Sgaw Karen Christian doctor, author, and political leader who was active in the **KCO**.

Sandalinka, Shin (?-?): Burmese monk and author in the court of *Konbaung Kingdom* kings.

Sangermano, Father Vincentius (?-1819): Burmese-speaking Italian Catholic priest and author, lived in Ava and Rangoon 1783-1808, preached to a mostly Portuguese congregation.

Saw, Galon U (1900-1948): Burmese politician, rival of **Aung San**. Executed in 1948 for masterminding *1947 assassination*.

Saw Maung, General (1928-1997): Burmese military leader, commander of army in the **BSPP**. Founder of **SLORC**, Chairman 1988-1992.

Sein Win, Dr. (1944-): Burman politician, Chairman of the **NCGUB** 1990-present.

Seinda, U (?-?): Arakanese monk, military and political leader, a founder of the **ANC**, led *Arakanese rebellion* in 1946, joined Red Flag faction of the **BCP**.

Shields, Daniel (?-): Current United States Ambassador to Brunei Darussalam with former diplomatic appointments in China, Japan, Philippines, Cambodia, and Singapore.

Shwe Kyin, Nai (1913-2003): Mon politician involved with struggle for independence. Founded NMSP in 1958, became President of the **NDF** in 1990.

Shwe Thaik, Sao (1894-1962): Shan politician and hereditary leader. Last sawbwa of Yawnghwe, first President of Burma, 1948-1952. Arrested during *1962 coup*, died in prison.

Sinwa Nawng, Sama Duwa (1914-1971): Kachin leader, delegate at the Panglong conference.

Snodgrass, Major J. J. (?-?): British officer and author, fought in the *First Anglo-Burmese War*.

Soe, Thakin (1906-1989): Burmese military and political leader, one of **Thirty Comrades**, founder of **BCP** and its Red Flag Faction.

Son Ka Pao (?-?): Chin military and political leader, formed the **CIA** (Chin Independence Army) in 1961.

Stirling, Officer (?-?): one of the British officers responsible for drawing the boundary between British and Thai territory and getting the loyalty of the local leaders in British territory after the *Third Anglo-Burmese War*.

Tabinshwehti, King [AKA Tayashwehti] (1516-1550): *Toungoo Kingdom* king who invaded the *Hanthawadi Kingdom* and moved his capital to Pegu.

Taw Plo, (?-1957): Karenni military and political leader who founded the **KNPP**. Assassinated by one of his bodyguards.

Than Shwe, General (1933-): Burman military leader, Chairman of the **SPDC**, 1992-present.

Than Tun, Thakin (1911-1968): Burman socialist leader, member of **Dobama Asiayone**, one of **Thirty Comrades**, Chairman of White Flag Faction of the **BCP**.

Thant, U (1919-1974): Burman author and politician; **Nu's** secretary 1951-1957; Secretary-General to the United Nations, 1961-1971. His death sparked *U Thant Affair*.

Thein Pe, Thakin (1914-1978): Burman author and political leader. Involved with **Dobama Asiayone**, a leader of *1300 Revolution*. Sided with British and negotiated for support from **Allies** during *Japanese Occupation*.

Thein Tin, Daw Thakinma (?-?): Burman anti-colonial, Burmese nationalist, and women's rights activist involved with the **Kounmari Athin**; jailed for her activities.

Thibaw, King (1859-1916): Burman king of the *Konbaung Kingdom* whose reign ended during *Third Anglo-Burmese War*, the final monarchy in Burma.

Thuzana, U (1943-): Buddhist Pwo Karen monk and political leader, involved with the **DKBA**.

Tun Ok, Thakin (1906-?): Burman political and military leader, member of **Dobama Asiayone**, one of **Thirty Comrades**, ally of **Ba Sein** and rival of **Aung San**.

Vum Ko Hau, Pu (1917-1977): Chin political and military leader, delegate at the *Panglong Conferences*, signed the *Anglo-Burmese Treaties* and helped write *1947 Constitution*. Joined Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1948, served as ambassador to other countries beginning in 1955.

Win Tin, U (1929-): Burman political leader, one of the founders of the **NLD**, imprisoned 1989-2008. Won UNESCO\Guillermo Cano World Press Freedom Prize in 2001.

Wizara, U (1895-1930): Burmese nationalist and ant-colonial monk, died while in hunger strike in prison.

Yawd Serk, Col. (?-): Shan military and political leader, head of the **SSA-South**.

Yeni, Ko (?-): Burmese democracy activist and journalist, participated in *1988 demonstrations*, member of **ABSDF**, currently journalist for Thailand-based *The Irrawaddy* media organization.

Zahkung Ting Ying, General (?-?): Kachin political and military leader, Chairman of **NDA-Kachin**.

Zeya, Bo (?-1968): Burman military leader, in **Dobama Asiayone**, one of the **Thirty Comrades**, joined Red Flag faction, killed in action.

Zhou Enlai, (1898-1976): Chinese communist political leader, Premier 1949-1976, Foreign Minister 1949-1958.

Zing Cung, Pu (?-?): Chin political and military leader, General Secretary of the **CNF**.

Zipporah Sein, Naw (1955-): Karen political leader and activist for women's rights, General Secretary of the **KNU** 2008-present.

Zwasawke, King (1331-1401): Burman king, ruled the *Ava Dynasty* 1368-1401, invaded the *Hanthawadi Kingdom*, fought rebels from the *Shan Mong Mao Kingdom*.

Maps

MAP 1: Southeast Asia in 1540



[Lieberman, V. (2003). *Strange parallels: Southeast Asia in global context, c 800-1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.]

MAP 2: Southeast Asia in 1824



[Lieberman, V. (2003). *Strange parallels: Southeast Asia in global context, c 800-1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.]

MAP 3: The Growth of British Bengal and Burma



[http://www.ask.com/wiki/Presidencies_and_provinces_of_British_India]

MAP 4: Military Map of the Indian Empire



[http://www.pakistanpatriot.com/?page_id=30664]

MAP 5: British Burma Before WWII



[http://www.euro-burma.eu/history_14.html]

MAP 6: Japanese Conquest of Burma



[<http://www.wisconsincentral.net/People121505B.html>]

MAP 7: Union of Burma, Independence, 1948



[http://www.euro-burma.eu/history_14.html]

MAP 8: Burma Administrative Divisions, 2007



[http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/txu-oclc-124072555-burma_admin_2007.jpg]

MAP 9: Blank Map of Burma



[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/3/30/Myanmar_location_map.svg/285px-Myanmar_location_map.svg.png]

