

# Myanmar Literature Project

မြန်မာစာပေစီမံကိန်း

Hans-Bernd Zöllner (ed.)

Working Paper No. 10:5

Material on Ba Khaing, *Political History of Myanma*

Passauer Beiträge zur Südostasienkunde

Working Papers

ISSN 1435-5310

Alle Rechte © Lehrstuhl für Südostasienkunde, Universität Passau 2006

Druck: Universität Passau

Printed in Germany

## **Contents**

About the Contributors.....	3
<b>I. INTRODUCTION (Hans-Bernd Zöllner).....</b>	<b>4</b>
A Pioneering Work in Blind Spot.....	4
Shared Convictions – Different Ways .....	5
Closed Systems of Communication .....	7
About this Volume .....	8
Reproduction: Front Page.....	11
<b>II. MATERIAL on BA KHAING, <i>POLITICAL HISTORY OF MYANMA</i> .....</b>	<b>12</b>
1. Kyaw Hoe, Bibliographical Information (Translation: Frankie Tun).....	12
2. Dr. Khin Thida, Review of the Book [Extracts] (Translation: Htun Aung Kyaw) .....	13
3. <i>Myanmar Political History</i> , Translation (Tin Hlaing).....	19
Introduction.....	21
Chapter 1: History of Burma.....	24
Chapter 2: Growth of the Desire for Independence .....	27
Chapter 3: The Beginning of the <i>Wunthanu</i> Movement.....	30
Chapter 4: General Council of Burmese Associations (G.C.B.A.).....	39
Chapter 5: The Breach Begins .....	41
Chapter 6 .....	45
Chapter 7: The Sasana.....	48
Chapter 8: <i>Wunthanu</i> Activities of Burmese Women.....	50
Chapter 9: U Chit Hlaing GCBA .....	52
Chapter 10: Second Split of GCBA .....	57
Chapter 11: U Soe Thein GCBA.....	60
Chapter 12: [50 Sub-chapters; see overview on pp.12-14] .....	63
4. Extracts from U Ba Khaing's book “Burma's Political History” (Translation: Tin Htway).137	
Extract No. 1 (pp.: 56-58).....	137
Burmese Text (The Split between Old Men and Youth) .....	138
Extract No. 2 (pp.: 64-66) .....	144
Burmese Text (GCBA Associations).....	145
Extract No. 3 (pp.: 77-78).....	148

Burmese Text (Chapter 6) .....	149
Extract No. 4 (pp.: 90-95) .....	158
Burmese Text (Chapter 8 - <i>Wunthanu</i> Activities of Burmese Women) .....	159
Extract No. 5 (pp.: 209-211) .....	165
Burmese Text (The Thakin Movement) .....	166
Extract No. 6. (pp.: 271-272) .....	170
Burmese Text (U Chit Hling and Burmese Language) .....	171
Extract No. 7 (pp.:301-302) .....	175
Burmese Text: (The Financial Situation of Myanmar) .....	175
5. Ko Ko Thett, An Appraisal of 'Political History of Burma' by Ba Khine.....	183
<b>III. APPENDICES</b> .....	191
SHORT INFORMATION on the MAKING of the BOOK REPORTS .....	191
INFORMATION about COMMENTARIES on BOOK REPORTS .....	193

## About the Contributors

**Kyaw Hoe** studied Library Science at Yangon University and received his M.A. degree with a work on the Nagani Book Club. He later retired from the library field and became a merchant.

**Frankie Tun** born 1964 in Monywa, received a B.A. in Psychology at Yangon University. In 1994, he went to Bangkok and became a teacher and head of the Secondary Department of an International School. In 2001 he moved to Germany and since then is employed in various occupations.

**Tin Hlaing**, born 1941, comes from a rural background, being born in Thakutpinle village, Monywa district. He studied physics in Mandalay University and from 1972 on did graduate work in London University where he got his Ph.D. degree and did his doctorate there. – Tin Hlaing taught in universities in Burma for 30 years and later became a Director-General in the Ministry of Science and Technology. Since retirement, Tin Hlaing writes books and articles on science, technology, culture, history and education. His translation of Abdul Kalam's book 'Ignited Minds' won the National Literary Award for Translation

**Khin Thida** received her Ph.D. in Burmese History from the History Department, Yangon University. She is teaching at the Department as an Assistant Professor.

**Htun Aung Kyaw** is Head of Department of English at the Defence Serviced Medical Academy, Yangon

**Tin Htway**, born 1930 in Monywa, attended the University of Rangoon from 1947 to 1952 and finished his I.A. and B.A. (English, Burmese Language, Literature, History) there. From 1967 to 1969 he studied at SOAS in London and obtained a M. Phil (Burmese Language and Literature). From 1969 until his retirement in 1995, he was Lecturer for Burmese language at the University of Heidelberg. He now lives in a small town near this city.

**Ko Ko Thett**, a native of Rangoon and a resident in Helsinki, is an independent Burma scholar and analyst. He is a former student of Yangon Institute of Technology and a student of world politics at the University of Helsinki.

## INTRODUCTION (Hans-Bernd Zöllner)

### A Pioneering Work in Blind Spot

The book “Political History of Myanmar” introduced in this volume was the third book published by the Nagani Book Club, following Thein Pe’s biography of U Lun (Thakin Kodaw Hmine) and the compilation of Nu’s early plays. It heralded a new chapter in the history of historical writing in Burma as it signifies the first Burmese *yazawin* (historical chronicle) of Burmese written by a Burmese in his native language focusing on the country’s history after the end of the Burmese kingdom. After an overview of the country’s history up to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the book gives a detailed account of the nationalist movements in colonial Burma until late 1937. Since it was published in early 1938, its temporal closeness to the events described and commented upon make the book a valuable source for understanding the critical period prior to the Second World War. However, since it was written in Burmese, it was almost completely ignored by Western scholars.<sup>1</sup>

A quote by J.S. Furnivall sheds light on this issue. Furnivall was one of the founding fathers of Burma studies, and a Fabian socialist as well as an ardent advocate and practitioner of uplifting education and knowledge in Burma, where he lived during the years 1902-1936.<sup>2</sup> In 1942, he wrote on the topic of education with regard to Burma’s reconstruction after the war:

Fifty years ago Burma could claim to be the best educated country in the tropical Far East, with the possible exception of the Philippines. Now it would be hard to refute the charge that it is the worst educated. ... In Burma, I can recall only half a dozen works in English by Burmans that are worth reading and of these three are translations from the Pali and another is a study of Burmese history. Only two books look outside Burma: that on Burmese Mysticism by U Ba Maw<sup>3</sup>, the late premier and one on Blake by his brother.<sup>4</sup>

It is not known to which book on “Burmese history” Furnivall referred to, but his yardstick for the standards of education is clear. Educated people were supposed to write in English and their

---

<sup>1</sup> This is partly due to the fact that Western scholars until now did not pay much attention to the small “Fabian group” in pre-war Burma to which Ba Khaing belonged.

<sup>2</sup> For an introduction into Furnivall’s life and writings see Frank Trager, *Furnivall of Burma*.

<sup>3</sup> See Furnivall’s review of the work submitted 1924 at the University of Bordeaux in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 15, 2 (1925): pp.89-91.

<sup>4</sup> J.S. Furnivall, *Reconstruction in Burma*. Place and exact date of publication: unknown: 64. - Ba Han’s dissertation, *The Evolution of Blakean Philosophy*, is the Ph.D. thesis submitted in Freiburg, Germany, which dealt with the

writings had to touch on matters related to the world outside Burma.

Ba Khaing's book did not meet these criteria — nor did all books published by the Nagani Book Club, which were deliberately written in Burmese so as to educate the readers about domestic as well as international affairs.<sup>1</sup> Another reason why Ba Khaing's book — as well as the other Nagani publications — did not attract Furnivall's attention was due to the fact that he left Burma in 1936 and thus missed the years before the war and — in Tin Htway's words — “the climax of political writing in Burmese literature”.<sup>2</sup> But even Tin Htway, who translated parts of the book in his M.A. thesis,<sup>3</sup> did not mention the work in the summary of his thesis published in journals for a wider public.<sup>4</sup> As a result of these and other causes research on Burma's historiography developed a blind spot with regard to Ba Khaing's book.

Furthermore, Furnivall's remark discloses two different concepts of education connected to the question of language. One lay behind Furnivall's many attempts to “educate” Burmans in a bi-lingual and bi-cultural way. The other, followed by Ba Khaing and the founders of Nagani, accented “Burmeseness”. The two concepts of language and education are particularly striking since several indications point to a relationship between Ba Khaing and Furnivall. Therefore, the next paragraph will look into the personal connections that may have contributed to the publication of this book as one of the very first Nagani publications. Thereafter, some considerations on the form of the book will be presented.

### **Shared Convictions — Differing Ways**

Until now, not much has been known about Ba Khaing, the author of the book. His name is not mentioned in the Myanmar Encyclopedia. He was born in 1906 and died early in 1940. He contributed two more books to U Tun Aye's publishing house, one on “Internal Affairs of Germany” and a second one written together with Hla Pe on “War and Socialism”.<sup>5</sup> He was a scholar and a writer interested in Burma, world affairs, and socialism. Tin Htway characterised him

---

English mystic William Blake and was published in 1926 in Rangoon. Furnivall reviewed the book in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 16, 1 (1926): pp. 68-70.

<sup>1</sup> The “Dragon Book of Verse” by Nagani (see Vol. 1 of this series) was printed for the needs of Burmese students to meet their English class requirements.

<sup>2</sup> Tin Htway (1972) The Role of Literature in Nation Building. *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 55, 19-46: p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> See below II. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Tin Htway's article was published twice in 1972, in the JBRS and in Bernhard Grossmann (1972) (ed.) *Southeast Asia in the Modern World*. Wiesbaden. Otto Harassowitz.

<sup>5</sup> Numbers 83 and 86 respectively in Kyaw Hoe's bibliography.

as a “professed Fabian”<sup>1</sup>, an expression substantiated by Dr. Maung Maung.<sup>2</sup> According to internet encyclopaedia Wikipedia

[t]he Fabian Society is a British socialist intellectual movement, whose purpose is to advance the socialist cause by reformist, rather than revolutionary, means.” It was founded in 1884 and some of its members participated in founding the Labour party in 1900. Besides many other persons up to this day, Persons such as George Bernhard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Annie Besant and Bertrand Russell have shared and propagated the convictions of the Society, which continues to this day.

So too did Furnivall,<sup>3</sup> whose impact on the intellectual life of Burmese society could hardly be underestimated.<sup>4</sup> In 1911, he co-founded the Burma Research Society. After he left the Indian Civil Service, which had brought him to Burma, he set up the Burma Book Club in 1924 along with the magazine “The World of Books”. About four years later he founded the Burma Education Extension Society under the biblical motto “The Bricks are Fallen down, but we will build with Hewn stones”<sup>5</sup>. In 1931, Furnivall published a bilingual book entitled “An Introduction into the Political Economy of Burma”.

It may be no more than pure accident that this title resembled that of the work of Ba Khaing under consideration here. Ba Khaing was close to Ba Choe - who helped in founding and popularizing Nagani<sup>6</sup> - and to Nu. Editor Ba Choe, in turn, not only helped young authors such as Nu to publish their works in his Deedok journal,<sup>7</sup> but he also founded and chaired the Fabian party, which contested the elections of November 1936 and won one seat in the first Burmese parliament after the separation of Burma from India.<sup>8</sup> Ba Khaing, as mentioned by him in his book, was a co-founder of this party.<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, it is likely that the “Fabian connection” helped to produce Ba Khaing’s book and led to its publication in the Nagani Book Club. However, it remains unclear whether the book was originally written for Nagani or whether it was republished. Tin Htway stated November 1936 as

---

<sup>1</sup> Tin Htway, *Emergence*: 181.

<sup>2</sup> (Dr.) Maung Maung (1969), *Burma and General Ne Win*. Rangoon, Religious Affairs Department Press: 50.

<sup>3</sup> See Julie Pham (2005) J. S. Furnivall and Fabianism: Reinterpreting the ‘Plural Society’ in Burma. *Modern Asian Studies* 39, 2: pp. 321-348.

<sup>4</sup> *Oway*, the magazine of Rangoon’s Student Union, in its first issue, dated 1938 contained an article on Furnivall entitled “Oway’s No. 1 — The Architect of our Destiny”.

<sup>5</sup> Isaia 9:10.

<sup>6</sup> See Vol. 1 of this series: pp.: 16-17; 38.

<sup>7</sup> U Nu’s early plays, which were published by Nagani as the second book of the enterprise, had been published before separately by Ba Choe.

<sup>8</sup> The elected person was U Maung Myint, representing the Mawlamyingyun Township in the Delta region.

<sup>9</sup> For Ba Khaing’s assessment of the party, see below pp. 116-118.

the date of the first publication without providing any details.<sup>1</sup> The foreword of the Nagani book written by the author,<sup>2</sup> however, shows the date January 1938.<sup>3</sup>

More important than the clarification of the book's publishing history is another question raised by the coincidence of English and Burmese Fabian activities in Burma. Furnivall had left Burma some years before Nagani started publishing. Ba Khaing's book could be seen as an actualisation of his legacy. It would deepen our understanding of the interchange of traditional Burmese and foreign ideas if we knew how the Fabian idea of promoting socialist ideas by "reformist, rather than revolutionary, means" was conceptualised and put into practice by Western and Eastern professors. An apt object of investigation is the group of enterprises founded by "Fabian" Furnivall and "Fabian" Nu to distribute books for the sake of education. Apparently, they shared similar ideas, but realised them in rather different ways.<sup>4</sup>

Such an investigation could start with a deliberation of the difference of Furnivall's bi-lingual approach<sup>5</sup> and Nagani's attempt to translate the wisdom of the world into Burmese.<sup>6</sup> From this starting point, one could proceed to an investigation into the different concepts of "education" followed by a tentative explanation of the reasons of Burma's longtime reluctance to enter into an open exchange with "others" - and conversely the "others'" reluctance to take the country as it is - in general. This could lead to an additional explanation of the rather limited efforts to encourage the use of English even in the field of academic studies in Burma and Myanmar, particularly after 1962. Such inquiries will not result in simple explanations, as I will demonstrate in the following paragraph, which will discuss some formal aspects of Ba Khaing's book.

### **Closed Systems of Communication**

It may be of interest to quote Tin Htway's assessment of Ba Khaing's book at some length, simply because it is the only estimation that could be found so far:

One of the most remarkable books of this period [1930-1936], and one which is outstanding in the whole history of Burmese political writing, is U Ba Khaing's Burma's Political History. This book is the only record in Burmese of the modern history of Burma as seen through the eyes of a

---

<sup>1</sup> Tin Htway 1969: 174. - The book was not mentioned in the "Catalogue of Books".

<sup>2</sup> See the reproduction following this introduction.

<sup>3</sup> The date is according to the Burmese Calendar.

<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, Julie Pham's investigation into Furnivall's ideas does not mention any of the Burmese practitioners of Fabianism.

<sup>5</sup> The Journal of the Burma Research Society as well as the World of Books accepted contributions in English as well as in Burmese.

<sup>6</sup> The target group of the "Nagani Book of Verse" published in English (see Vol. 1 of this series) was Burmese students who needed help in their English classes.

contemporary politician. U Ba Khaing was a professed Fabian but succeeded in maintaining a detached unbiased attitude in writing of rival parties and politicians.

[A short summary of the book follows.]

In many instances U Ba Khaing's account differs considerably from the reports of the non-Burmese historians who have dealt with that period.

One major criticism of U Ba Khaing's book is that he provides little documentation. This is due less to a lack of scholarly zeal on U Ba Khaing's part than to the traditions of scholasticism in Burma. For centuries knowledge has been preserved and passed on from generation to generation, from teacher to student, by word of mouth and learning by rote. As a result, confusions and inaccuracies have arisen. Even in the Buddhist scriptures, which have been afforded comparatively greater care, divergences can be found. The style used in Buddhist scriptures also tends to vagueness, thus we read 'Once upon a time' or 'Once a long time ago a certain angel approached Buddha'.

This tradition still prevails in Burma. Many writers are content to put down what they consider to be true facts of a situation without bothering to consult sources, state references or do even elementary checking. Thus, it is quite possible to find in something which purports to be a serious article, contradictory facts, unsuspected conjectures.

The value of Ba Khaing's book, despite these inadequacies, is self-evident: it is the first attempt of any Burman to record, as a sympathetic bystander, the events and activities he witnessed in a particularly tumultuous period of his country's history. The value lies mainly in the fact that he saw the event through Burmese eyes; non-Burmese historians have described Sayadaw U Ottama as a rabble-rousing monk who was even an outcast from his own fellow monks. U Ba Khaing points out the great respect in which the Sayadaw was held by the Burmans, his learning, his experience, his patriotism, the role of the C.I.D. in the affair, the fear of involvement in political upheavals on the part of the Sangha.

Again, non-Burmese historians have, almost to a man, neglected the part which Burmese women played in the independence movement as they have neglected the part played by the ordinary citizen.

U Ba Khaing lived through this period, he was a protagonist in the drama.

There is a great deal of information regarding the Shoe question, Dobama Asia-yone, the Thakhin and the Wunthanu movements which are omitted in the accounts given by non-Burmese historians. U Ba Khaing in his writings not only gives more information but he is able to suggest the feelings and emotions of ordinary Burmese living through this period. This is an advantage denied to non-Burmese historians however sympathetic. ....<sup>1</sup>

Tin Htway's comments point to a focal problem which unfolds in various facets. Ba Khaing, the unbiased and thus "modern" Burmese reporter of the country's history, was not able to cast off the

fetters of tradition. Tradition prevented him from presenting an account of his subject, which met all the requirements of modern research according to London SOAS standards, where Tin Htway had submitted his thesis. Western students of Burmese history and politics, however, were not better off because they lacked Ba Khaing's special insight into the Burmese contemporary political and cultural world.

The problem surfacing here points to a special variant of the "tradition and modernity paradigm". Ba Khaing was "modern" and "traditional" at the same time, at least in the eyes of Tin Htway. Modernity and tradition were interleaved. Both elements cannot be separated. They belong to a particular system of communicating the subject under review — modern Burmese history — for a Burmese public. This system was a closed one and, was, therefore, at least partly regarded as "strange" from the outside. One may ask whether Tin Htway's critical remarks apply to his own history of Burmese political writing. For example, he does not quote any of the non-Burmese historians who might have misjudged at least some parts of Burmese history.

This fundamental problem of historiography can be looked at from another perspective. We can imagine a conventional Western scholar who knows how to use "modern" methodology, but lacks the intimate and up-to-date insight into his subject of inquiry. The results of his investigation might be labeled "orientalist" by an outside critic because he never will be able to completely cast off the fetters of his Western scientific traditions. In other words, there are different systems of communication which arrange the elements of "tradition" and "modernity" in a particular way. Only by way of meta-communication can these systems can be related to one another.

"Fabian" J.S. Furnivall's example might be invoked to counter this argumentation. Indeed, he lived in Burma, was married to a Burmese lady, had many Burmese friends and wrote brilliant pieces on Burma. He seemed to live in both worlds and was able to bring both sides together. But, unfortunately, he failed to convince his addressees on both sides. As long as he tried to influence British politics towards Burma in the colonial period, his recommendations went unheeded. When he served as an adviser to the Burmese government after independence, the same happened. However, he remained very much respected on both sides. This respect may be regarded as respect in the face of a dream which would become real.

Furnivall's example shows that another criterion, which was omitted by Tin Htway, needs to be added to analyse Ba Khaing's as well as others' contributions to the study of "things Burmese". It could be termed the successful transfer of insight to the other side of a cultural border. Or, in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Tin Htway 1969: pp. 181-183.

terms of Niklas Luhmann's Systems Theory: All social systems including scientific ones are closed in their inability to "import" the mode of communication from a neighboring system. The only way out of this dilemma is to construct a third system with a special kind of communication.

This leads directly to today's problems. The ongoing non-communication between different systems operating in the field of Burma studies is striking. The book reports submitted for this project provide an example. Most of them were written by people who received their education exclusively in Burma and thus still follow the modes of communication characterised by Tin Htway. Consequently, this project could be interpreted as an attempt to establish a new "system of interpretation" of texts, which in comparison to existing ones do not claim to be "better" or "worse", but which are simply "different".

### **About this Volume**

This Working Paper has undergone some changes since its first draft in June 2006. This is due to various factors, the most important of which is the translation of the whole work into English by Dr. Tin Hlaing, completed in 2008. Of course, this translation is the highlight of this paper. The former versions contained two book reviews which provided some detailed insights into the contents of the book. They are omitted in this volume, apart from the introduction and the conclusion of Dr. Thida's review. It is placed between Kyaw Hoe's basic bibliographical information and the full translation because it gives some information about the composition of the book.

Finally, Tin Htway's translation of seven extracts of the book is reproduced here again. Also added is the Burmese text of the respective sections which Tin Htway found particularly interesting. This may be helpful for teaching and other purposes.

Finally, the editor is glad to include the appraisal of the book by a scholar from the young generation. Ko Ko Thett's essay can be regarded as a good introduction into the Ba Khaing's work and might be read first before the whole book is studied in detail.

### **Open Questions**

As usual, comments and assessments are very much appreciated and might be included in a further updated version of this paper. Some topics that could be worthy for further investigation may be briefly listed:

- a) Fabian U Ba Khaing's biography, as well as assessments of his writings, could shed more

light on the roots and the history of political thinking in Burma / Myanmar.<sup>1</sup>

- b) More information about the history of the “Fabian movement” in Burma and the influence of John S. Furnivall on the group connected with U Ba Choe could help to clarify the relationship between a “nationalist” and a “foreign” perception of Burmese political history.
  - c) Ba Khaing bemoans the sad state of “politics” in Burma and lists some faults of politicians, parties and the people in general. It could be extremely interesting to look at perceptions of “politics” throughout the various periods of Burmese history after Ba Khaing.
  - d) Similarly interesting would be an overview about “unbiased” and “biased” historiography in Burma / Myanmar up to this day. Here, Tin Htway’s previously quoted observations could be a starting point to work on a “meta-methodology” of writing Burmese history.<sup>2</sup>
  - e) Ko Ko Thett recommends to add the dates of some of the events mentioned in the book.
- Any volunteers willing to undertake this task are very much welcome!

To sum up: Ba Khaing’s work might provide the starting point for investigation into some-very interesting topics. It is hoped that the updated Working Paper might help a little to uplift the standards of reflection on the history of political writings in Burma / Myanmar.

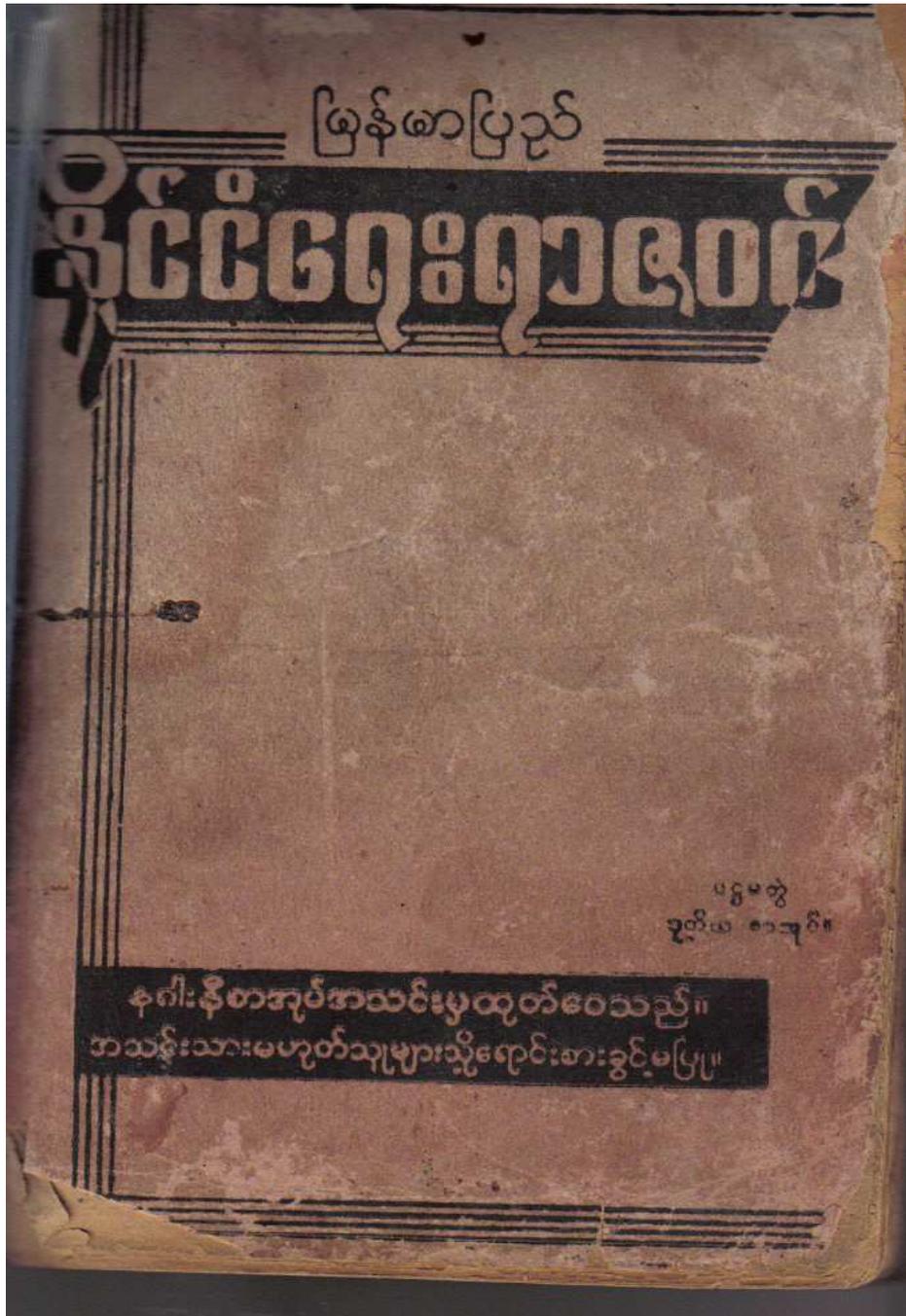
Hans-Bernd Zöllner

March 2010 (last update)

---

<sup>1</sup> For a first attempt, see the editor’s paper delivered at the Burma Studies Conference 2008 in De Kalb: <http://www.zoellner-online.org/BSC2008.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> For a “starter” into this discussion, see Hans-Bernd Zöllner (2001), *Asterix and Caesar in Burma/Myanmar. Some Remarks on the Historiography of Burma in the Global Age. Myanmar Two Millennia. Proceedings of the Myanmar Two Millennia Conference 15-17 December 1999*. Yangon, Universities Historical Research Centre. Part 1: 192-211.



Ba Khaing: "Political History of Burma"

Front Page

## **I. MATERIAL on BA KHAING, *POLITICAL HISTORY OF MYANMA***

### **1. Kyaw Hoe, Bibliographical Information**

Translated from his Nagani Bibliography, pp. 16-17 by: Frankie Tun

U Ba Khine: Burmese Political History / Yangon / Nagani / 1937, 352 Pages, 1 Photo.

In this Burmese political history is included from the time of past history to the GCBA 21 group. Maiden's Organization, Saya San, Students' Boycott, Outlaw San Phe, Indian-Burmese clash, Shwedagon fire, unions and divisions, the *Nga-Pwint-Saing* (Five Flower Group), *Sinyetha* (Poor-Man-Party), *Dobama* (We, the Burmese!), all of them are fully included.

It had 12 chapters and written under 50 sub-titles.

As being frustrated with the present politics, the author wrote, "If we look at today's political situation in Burma, it had been much lower than that of the past 15 years' time" and he also pointed out the failures fact by fact in his introduction.

The author thanked Deedok U Ba Choe and wife Daw Hla May, U Ohn Khin, U Htun Phe, U Thein Zan from the royal courier group, U Hla (Prosperity Magazine), U Ngwe Zin, U Ba Pe, U Wimalar Bya Di, Saya Taw U Ke Tu, Thar Du Monastery Head Sayadaw U Zawana, Ko Nu and U Kyaw (England) by mentioning their names.

The photo included is that of the delegates of Burma who attended Burma's First Face to Face Meeting.<sup>1</sup>

It is written at the first page: Tun Aye-Publishing, Yangon. On the cover, it is written that Nagani had published this book and also noted "The first part, The Second Book".<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> This photo is not included in the copy obtained for this publication, and cannot be reproduced here. The "Face to Face Meeting" may refer to the first Burmese "nationalist" delegation to London in 1919.

<sup>2</sup> This information may indicate that Ba Khaing's book was the second and not the third one published by Nagani.

## 2. Dr. Khin Thida, Review of Ba Khaing, *Political History of Myanmar*

Translation: Htun Aung Kyaw

‘The Political History of Burma’ by U Ba Khaing was printed at the Burma Film Press, 240-244 Barr (Maha Bandoola Park) Street, Rangoon (Yangon), and distributed by Tun Aye Book Distribution. Although the date was not there in the publishing notes, the date accompanying the author’s name at the end of the book (1937) implied that it was published in pre-independence time. There were 12 chapters in that book each with its titles and subtitles except for chapter 6. Chapter 12 had 50 subtitles but the rest had only 1 or 2 subtitles.

Chapter 1 deals with Burma’s past history and Chapter 2 with motivation for independence. The origins of *wunthanu* (patriotism) and the split between the old and the young (there was a misspelled word in the table of contents. The Burmese word ဝဲ for split was misspelled as ဝဲ for change or fall – an assumed oversight by the compositor). Chapter 4 described the General Council of Burmese Associations (GCBA) and its branch associations, and their discord in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 had no subtitles/lead titles, and religious affairs were presented in Chapter 7 Burmese Women’s patriotic movement and the Burmese Women National Council was described in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 was about the GCBA led by U Chit Hlaing, and Chapter 10 dealt with the second split in GCBA. The GCBA led by U Soe Thein was covered by Chapter 11, and the last Chapter; Chapter 12 was in 50 subtitles as follows:

- 1) Differences of opinion between U Soe Thein and the Buddhist clergy
- 2) Resolution by the GCBA
- 3) The Galon Rebellion and Saya San
- 4) Plenary meeting
- 5) Rangoon College Students’ Strike
- 6) Riots in Mandalay
- 7) ‘*San Phe*’, the outlaw
- 8) Anti-Indian Mobs
- 9) Uprising at the Rangoon Central Jail
- 10) Anti-Chinese Mobs
- 11) Earthquakes and fires

- 12) The Shwedagon Pagoda on fire
- 13) Youth prosperity club
- 14) *Doh Bama Asiayone* (The Burmese/Our Burman Organization)
- 15) Translation work
- 16) Our nation, our country and our literature
- 17) When monasteries turned into vernacular schools
- 18) The statue of stone
- 19) The year 1390 (Burmese Era)
- 20) Wonders of the arts disciplines
- 21) The Arts and Farming
- 22) Way to succeed
- 23) Prepare for the worse
- 24) Sovereignty
- 25) The emergence of the *Thakins* (Master race/ Lord)
- 26) To secede, or not
- 27) Proponents of secession
- 28) The Mingalun GCBA
- 29) The second University strike
- 30) The demands
- 31) Sir Mya Bu's Report
- 32) Students called off the strike
- 33) Students' Conference
- 34) National College
- 35) Proletariat, .the ideology of the poor
- 36) Group led by U Chit Hlaing
- 37) The policy of U Chit Hlaing
- 38) U Chit Hlaing and the Burmese language
- 39) The group of five
- 40) In the services of the poor
- 41) How Burma was offered self-rule.
- 42) The finance of Burma

- 43) Burma's earnings
- 44) Burma's expenditure inventory
- 45) Tasks within the Assembly
- 46) The Second Assembly session
- 47) Indian Civil Service (ICS) and Burma Civil Service (BCS)
- 48) Aim of the new administration
- 49) The Achilles heel of the Burmese people
- 50) Conclusion

In the preface the aims of the book were stated. The author said that it is necessary for the public to know the political movements for independence. Therefore, the book is meant for the new generation and those students of politics to the authentic history of Burma, and for politician to be able to gauge their performances against the backdrop of the changing times.

The author admitted that he had written this book with special care on the authenticity of facts and figures for which he had relied on newspapers, magazines and journals as supporting evidence. It was an objective compilation ignoring personal bias, he said.

In his introduction, the political activities in Burma were assessed as promising at the initial stage. Those who pursued politics at that time were not necessarily of true politician/ professionally skilful ones/ but mostly amateurs who were after a fad.

In fact there were very few people to sacrifice their lives to politics. Moreover, there were more people to exploit politics for their own interests. The author defiled Burmese politics and politicians to the extent that politics was a haven for the unemployed, the morally lax, and even the educated who initially appeared to be doing politics, would abandon it when the Government offered them prestigious positions. For him, the politicians took advantage of the country not being farsighted, and the people not being rational and manipulated by deceptive means to achieve their own interests. Nevertheless, the author admitted that there were also true politicians. He assessed the Burmese political situation as very low in standard. Therefore, the author wrote the book with the aim of enlightening the future generations on the weaknesses of the Burmese political scene so that they could take its failures as stepping stones for success in achieving independence for country.

The author acknowledged his thanks to *Deedoke* U Ba Cho and wife Daw Hla May, U Ohn Khin of the hiking club, U Tun Pe, U Thein Zan, U Hla of the *Kyeepwaryay* Magazine, U Ngwe

Zin, U Ba Pe, U Vimlabuddhi, Sayadaw U Ketusaddhu, Presiding Monk Sayadaw U Javana, U Nu, and *Bilat* (UK) U Kyaw for their help in writing the book.

[Summary of the book]

In conclusion, the author said that the prevailing political situation had reached its lowest in the Burmese political history. No political party could yet work effectively for Burma's independence. The reason was that the political parties had not ample supporter for their causes. The Burmese people were also not exactly on the path to independence, but working for their own personal gains. The Burmese thought the path to independence ended at the Legislative Assembly formed by the British administration. Thus, the fight for independence had lost its course. There were political parties but with them the split story had become a trade mark of Burmese politics. The split was always between the self-interest group and those making sacrifices for the political cause. He remarked that one prominent political party going after self interests was the 5-Party Group which tried to grab every high position in the government. Not until that mentality had been got rid of would anyone be able to lead the country. Dr. Ba Maw's group was, in fact, doing nothing for the independence of the nation nor did it intend to. U Chit Hlaing's group stopped doing politics, but was bent on seeking self fulfilment. The Fabian group really did sacrifice for the national cause. Unfortunately, they did not have ample supporters to be having some effective gains in politics. The DBA (Doh Bamar Asiayone), (the Burman Organization) members worked in earnest for independence undergoing prison sentences, bankruptcy and poverty. However, they were without or overall strategy, and tactical arrangement, and so their sacrifices did not pay off. All efforts were crushed by the government. Youthful pride was also a hindrance to unity in the organization. Social relations was not very much valued and that did not help in amassing supporters for their cause. The author concluded that without ample followers, or adherents, the Burmese politicians would not be able to work effectively for the nation's independence.

The people needed to support organizations that had sacrificed for a political cause. They should rally to reinforce such group organizations and work in unity. Therefore, the people needed to be able to distinguish who were egoistic and who were not, the author suggested.

### **Assessment**

A review of the book on the history of Burmese politics by U Ba Khaing would find the author's attempt to compile a comprehensive volume on the topic. However, the presentation needs clarity, and the arrangements need to be more systematic. It might as well be the time difference between the publishing practice of yore and the present day readership. When mentioning of dates are involved the author ignores consistency in that Burmese and Christian eras are used at his own convenience. Nevertheless, the author was frank and candid in what he wanted to put forward as a subject of discussion. The time of the publication was pre-independent era and Burma was still under the British rule. Even then, the author could speak frankly and made a critical assessment of Burmese politics. May be it was because U Ba Khaing's book on the political history of Burma dealt more with the criticism of native political leaders than with the British Government.

The author, true to his words of presenting objectively, did his best to present the then prevailing political Situation in Burma, especially about the political leaders of those days. He pointed out that the progress of a nation depends much on qualifications of its political leaders. Should the political leaders go astray, the country would surely go downhill. And without any bias, the author made outright criticism of what he saw happening before him.

According to the author, there were not only lay people but also members of Sangha who had made politics a means to their personal ends. The Sangha community could either be an advantage for unity in a political organization or be a disadvantage since they could work for unity as well as for diversity. The common weakness of the Burmese people - that of the tendency to fall in with those near and dear irrespective of their personality and ideology - and other undesirable characteristics as estrangement and quarrels had all led to total destruction. The author let his readers realize the shortcomings of Burmese politics. Burmese political parties usually have no ideology. That was the greatest shortcoming which all citizens were responsible to correct. The prosperity and the rights of the Burmese people would have to be brought about by themselves. It was their responsibility, the author added. Malpractices in handling public funds were disclosed by the author. The pro-government MPs had never worked effectively for the people, but were busy trading votes in Parliament for their own benefits. The Burmese political leaders lacked good leadership, and there were more egoistic persons than those ready to sacrifice for a political cause.

Burma did not develop on as much as it should have had due to individuals using politics as a means to their ends. Unity was rare in the Burmese mentality because of mistrust, selfishness, and pride in oneself. Without unity there would be no success. With a few cases of disparities in

historical facts and figures, that was a work worth reading to have a clear view of Burmese politics in those days. For those who thought highly of Burmese political leaders of the colonial days, it might be some food for thought.

### **3. Complete Translation (Tin Hlaing)**

**POLITICAL HISTORY OF MYANMA**

**U BA KHINE**

Ba Khaing, *Political History of Myanmar*

**Tun Aye Book Distributors**

**Printed in Myanmar**

**Myanmar Yoke Shin Printing Press**

**240-244 Barr Street, Rangoon**

## INTRODUCTION

My aim in writing this book is to inform the public about the politics of the independence movement. I also want those interested in political history and politics to be correctly informed; and former politicians to be reminded about their past activities. I want them to make correct assessments as to whether politics has gone forward or backward, and to reason why it happened so.

I have tried my best to give correct facts; in doing so I have approached respective politicians and also referred to newspapers, magazines and journals. I have tried to be objective and to be unbiased.

Looking back, the political beginnings have been ambitious and united and have developed the desire for independence. Although it was encouraging, generally, the politicians lacked the feel of the taste of politics; in fact they had no idea of politics, but they thought their strong desire for independence meant real politics. Believing the national liberation to be an easy affair, they have rushed in, in high spirits. They had not realized it would be a long and hard struggle, a gradual process, which requires patriotism and sacrifice of lives and labor spanning over generations.

In those days politics appeared to be a fashion; and those who ventured to sacrifice were few. Those who didn't dare lost their interest in politics – they were like 'straw fire'. Like building founded on sand, their edifice quickly crumbled. Those who had taken up politics as amateurs were apparently interested in the task, but when they found it really called for sacrifice they faced a dilemma. With no way to turn back, they pretended to march ahead; but they worked for their own benefits. Such leaders happened to be mostly modern educated people, who to some extent got the support of followers. They continued to use politics as cover, but they worked for their own ends, such as by taking up pro-government tasks, and sharing the benefits with their followers. They might be known as politicians, actually they were not. The English saying "Politics is the last refuge of scoundrels" applies to them. Unemployed, without a profession, or without a government job, these men generally were of bad character; some were former government employees who had been dismissed for bad conduct. Lacking good intentions, when chance occurred they worked to destroy organizations. Some educated men used politics as stepping stone; once they got the approval of the government, they took up

positions given them as bribe in return for their silence. Once they got a government post they gave up politics. Those who have not been bought became self seekers once they got into the Legislative Council. Some men started with good intentions in the beginning; but as time dragged on they found hardships unbearable: they lost patience and 'drank the bitter rain water, like others' and abandoned politics to become corrupt.

Some men knew the ignorance of the masses and exploited from it. Pretending to work for the poor who form ninety five percent of the population, they would give impossible promises. To sustain the people's confidence, they would turn to new issues, leaving old ones, showing unreal expectations. In the end they had only deceived the nation for personal gain.

Apart from above type, there were others who knew politics and loved independence; they knew how much sacrifice they have to make and they were prepared for it. A way to test whether a politician was truthful is to look to look at how poorer he got. Those who remain well off after they got involved in politics were not real politicians, but rather they were selfish men who exploited from politics. Otherwise they had not been really doing politics.

Looking at the present political situation, we see that it has much degraded from what it was fifteen years ago. Actually there is really almost no political movement at present. What remains is party rivalry and business for self interest. The reasons for the absence of political and the loss of sight of independence may be listed as follows.

1. Lack of appreciation of independence leading to absence of real desire for it.
2. Poor growth of nationalism.
3. Insufficient love of the country.
4. Dishonesty of political leaders.
5. Presence of followers who, with hope of personal gains, support leaders, whom they know as dishonest.
6. Unwillingness for sacrifice.
7. Ignorance of one's responsibilities.
8. The Burmese people's inability to carry out cooperative effort.
9. There were few able leaders.

10. Followers had unchecked allegiance in their leaders.
11. Followers lacked power to reason and to distinguish what was good and bad, and they had personal loyalty for their leaders.
12. People have the spirit of forgiveness for a leader who had once did a selfless job, but then became a menace for the party.
13. People's attachment and loyalty for a party regardless of it being right or wrong.
14. People lack forbearance.
15. People used to mix personal domestic affairs with national politics.
16. People accepting the Sangha's advice without reasoning whether they were right or wrong.
17. They have been unable to overcome the government's various tactics to disrupt their plans.
18. People have poor knowledge of foreign countries and were unable to learn from their experience.
19. People used to make unfounded accusations against English educated men with whom they disagree.
20. People appreciate titles given by Western capitalist and became instant leaders.

I have written this book with intention to correct these weaknesses and to achieve independence.

In preparing this book I have got the assistance of Deedoke U Ba Cho and wife Daw Hla May, U Ohn Khin of Hiking Association, U Tun Pe, U Thein Zan, Kyi Pwar Yay Magazine U Hla, U Ngwe Zin, U Ba Pe, U Wimala Bodhi, Sayadaw U Kaytu, U Zawana, Chief Abbot of Thardu Monastery, Ko Nu, and Bilat (England) U Kyaw. I thank them all very much.

Maung Ba Khine

12 the Waxing day of Nattaw, 1299 (Myanmar Era)

(December, 1937)

## Chapter 1

### HISTORY OF BURMA

Burmans are an eastern race with a glorious history: they had commanded fear and respect among eastern countries; long before the age of steam ships they had been to Sri Lanka in big wooden boats and waged war there; they had marched on foot and conquered Indian lands as far as Brahmaputra River; they had captured Ayudhoya (Thailand) using bamboo sticks; they had defeated the invasion of China in the north, a much more populous country. These are historical facts. However a boxing champion ceases his training when he became unchallenged and that leads to his utter defeat when a contender comes up. Burma has had the same experience. Valiant Burmans had been subjugated by the British who were far superior.

Since 1600 Englishmen had ventured overseas for trade and exploration. Under favorable conditions they looted and colonized lands. And the English Kings and government encouraged these acts. Men like Drake and Raleigh, of the English navy, were famous for their exploits. They explored and gathered riches, Englishmen had come to Burma three hundred years ago for trade. Gradually they became stronger; and in 1826(?), 1188 Myanmar Era, England waged war against the Burmese kingdom. The war ended with the treaty of Yandabo, by which the English annexed Tennesarim (Tanintharyee) and Arakan (Yakhine). Again in 1852, during the reign of King Bagan Min, motivated by greed, the English fought the Burmese. With unmatched weapons, the Burmans put up brave resistance, killing many English and Indian troops. But it was an uneven fight and Burmans were driven back. Lower Burma fell to the English. The English generals who had used a large number of Indian soldiers admitted that their victory in Burma had not been easy. In capturing Indian territories their job had been much easier, they said. One can judge the quality of the Burmese who fought guns with knives and daggers from North and South Americas, and from Asia. Some of them pirated on the high seas and became rich. In those days, the Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch were competitors in enriching their countries by ventures abroad.

In the beginning there were only four powers, French, English, Portuguese and Dutch, who went overseas in search of riches. But they quarreled, and only France and England remained. The two powers provoked clashes between Indian princes and took sides. Princes who got French support lost and the English annexed one Indian Territory after another. They got victory because the Indians were not trained for war, and Indian weapons were inferior. It was

an age when better guns prevailed. The whole of India ended under British rule.

In this way, the British who had come to Burma 300 years ago for trade gradually gathered strength. In 1826, 1188 Burmese Era, as a result of colonialism which had grown in England, the British fought the Burmese. The war ended with the treaty of Yandabo, by which the British annexed the Burmese lands of Tennesarim (Tanintharyee) and Arakan (Yakhine). Again in 1852, during the reign of King Bagan Min, the Second Anglo-Burmese War broke out. The Burmese, armed with weapons of inferior quality and much less quantity, fought bravely. With the fight unequal, they had to retreat, and the British captured Lower Burma. The British had employed Indian forces in Burma, but they admitted that their victory in Burma was much harder to achieve than in India. It shows the quality of the Burmese who fought guns with swords.

Then in 1884 (1247 Burmese Era), following a dispute with the Bombay Burma Timber Company, war broke out between the British and Burmese, for the third time. In this conflict, they almost didn't use guns. They conspired with U Kaung (Kin Wun Min Gyi) and other ministers and captured King Theebaw like a bird. The British exiled Theebaw to Ratnagiri in India. This time the annexation of Burma was final and complete.

The British government as well as British historians maintain that the war was due to the unfairness of the Burmese government. They said the judgment in the case was one sided, and the company's appeal to King Theebaw didn't bring justice; instead, the Burmese government confiscated the company's timber while its appeal was pending. This explanation is incorrect; it hides the truth. Even political leaders in England admitted that the capture of Burma was an unfair job. Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Winston Churchill's father, a prominent leader in parliament, had written about Burma. He said that Burma had to be captured, against the will of parliament, because of the threat of French domination over it. Lord Peel, a member of parliament, also wrote a book titled "Friends of Burma". In this book he wrote that the colonization of Upper Burma was unjustified and that parliament disagreed with it. However, he added that annexation happened because the Burmese were negotiating with the French to form an alliance.

This shows that the Burmans have been unfairly subjugated. But it is the way colonialists do things.

Before the third war, Burma had been a buffer state between China, a great power and British

India. Traditionally, a small buffer state used to be kept independent. But they had to annex Burma, they said, because the Burmese government had been attempting to cooperate with French to build a railway, and to give them license in the ruby mines. They feared that Burma would become a French colony, bringing it in contact with British Lower Burma. Cochin-China, to the east of Thailand was already a French possession. The two powers agreed to keep Thailand neutral and unharmed

The Burmans having become a subject race unknowingly felt bitter; they took up arms to resist British rule. The British had to use, in addition to the army, a 20,000 strong military-police force. It took them five years and a huge amount of money spent to suppress the revolt. The population of the country suffered like 'the grass under two fighting buffaloes'. And the number of resistance fighters with only their swords slowly dwindled as they had to yield or relax in the face of uneven strength. Some gave their lives in fighting; some fled to remote frontier regions; some simply gave up the fight and reverted to normal professions. Even though threats to peace had been wipe out Burma was not ruled like other countries, but as a special administrative region known as 'Scheduled Area'. This plan gave the officers unlimited powers, which they used to the full. The natives saw for themselves the ruthless repression, the memory of which left them scared all the time.

The people felt threatened, and were scared; they began to adopt the attitude of slaves. They realized their helpless status. They blamed their bad *kamma* for their woes. When the government changed, the people did not like to give allegiance to the new ruler like their former Burmese King. They couldn't afford further revolt, but they did not like to live under foreign rule. The displeasure seemed to be there all the time because new revolts occurred frequently. And whenever a new contender for the throne came up, there used to be an appreciable number of followers who rallied to his cause. This is seen in the revolts of Min Laung Maung (King-to-be) Maung Thant, Bandaka, the ascetic, Saya San etc.

But the government was efficient; once a new rebellion started they could crush it before it could grow. Because of modern technology, such as telegraph and wireless, it was easy for the British to handle revolts. When reports reached the top officers, troops equipped with machine guns were sent quickly by boat or railway, and they can block the movement of rebels. There was no chance for the rebels to succeed.

In spite of some public support for rebellions they did not achieve any aim because their

leaders were autocratic; they wanted to revive the monarchy. Those who disliked it stayed away from them. This shows that like other people the Burmese people appreciate freedom but not autocracy or brutal government.

Looking at Burmese history, we notice that there never had been a national success due to collective effort. We find that we used to reach the peak due the leadership of an individual. This is obvious from the great empires built under Anawratha, Tabin Shweti, Bayint Naung, Mingyi Yan Naung, Alaung Paya, Sinbyu Shin, Bandoola etc. who were either kings or generals. The conquest of Alaung Paya over Ayodhya and Sinbyu Shin's defeat of the Chinese using only bamboo rods are examples of success due to good individual leadership. But when their successors were incapable the nation declined. Bagan kingdom built by Anawratha became disunited under 'Tayoke Pyaye Min' (the king who ran away when Chinese came); Taungoo kingdom founded by Bayint Naung soon decayed under King Anauk Phet Lun (the king who died on the west bank) and his successors. These are clear examples.

Likewise, the level of politics in Burma depends solely on the leaders of political parties. Wrong leadership took the country on the wrong path and left it in poor condition. The present status testifies this fact.

## **Chapter 2**

### **GROWTH OF DESIRE FOR INDEPENDENCE**

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 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 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 slightly enlightened. But in

Burma there are people who believed a "Buddha Raja' would come soon and save the country; others believed in predictions from '*thaik sar*' (document from treasure mine) which says, "*Inn hintha sin lein myee; hintha muksoe lay hnint khwin leint myee; muksoe htee yoe yeik leint myee; htee yoe moegyo pyit leint myee*" (meaning Hintha bird will land in the reservoir; the hunter will kill the bird with bow and arrow; the umbrella rod will strike the hunter; then thunder will hit the umbrella rod.) (Translator's note: This is known as *tabaung*, a saying which predicts events to come.) Such beliefs gave the Burmans hope. Then there also were the examples of revolutions which arose due to oppressive governments: the revolutions in France, Portugal, Spain, Russia, and in addition the Indian mutiny of 1857. The British government knew all these. Thus, in order to prolong its rule over Burma, the British began to relax its rigid rule.

The Governors' Advisory Council which had few members initially was enlarged with more members. After the Indian mutiny, Her Majesty's government took over the Government of India from the East India Company. The Governor's Council, with twelve members, now consisted of six native members who were non-officers. At the same time in the provinces, governors had Advisory Councils. In England, the Liberal Party came to power; it sent Lord Ripon as Governor-General to India. In 1884 Lord Ripon introduced a law known as the Ilbert Bill. Previously, only European judges could try criminal cases in which Europeans were the accused. The Ilbert Bill aims to remove color discrimination and allow Indian judges to try European criminals. The Bill caused a row among the Europeans; it was soon revoked. This obvious bias provoked people's hatred for the Europeans. We can still see such attitude of Europeans in Burma today.

During Lord Ripon's time the government formed town municipal committees with local members. It also organized local councils. But in Burma such changes came late. Municipals which started from 1874 had been run by government officers; they were expanded in 1898. In 1921, local government was given to District Councils.

These changes in India and Burma came about because Lord Ripon was a member of the ruling Liberal Party. In England also the government had made liberal changes. New laws, included anti-slavery law and the law prohibiting inhuman treatment of men. Thus the 1900's mark the years of change and progress.

Although the government brought changes gradually, the Indians thought they were too slow.

Their grievance led to the formation of Indian Congress in 1885. It first it had some European members; their ideas was to influence Indian mind so that respect for the British grew. But in 1903 the Japanese, an eastern power, defeated Russia, a European power. This encouraged all Easterners. Then World War came; the government enlisted natives in the army to fight its equal, the Germans. After fighting the Germans, who were better armed perhaps than British, the natives became bolder. They told their stories to their folk. Their impression and respect for the British gradually faded.

In 1869, with the opening of the Suez canal, the voyage from Europe to India became much shorter. More people went to Europe to study or visit. While in Europe they lived among the White men as equals. When they came back they no longer feared the White men. They had seen Englishmen working as laborers. They now knew that only in their subject countries could Englishmen act like masters. Those who came back from the west stopped giving them respect as masters. This attitude spread to the masses and their fear of White men went away.

Moreover, during the World War many Europeans in India were drafted for war and sent to Europe; inferior men, with poor intellect were given government posts, and at the same time some positions were given to higher caliber, far better than Europeans. This also let the natives know that Europeans really are not superior, and indeed they began to have poor impression for them. At the same time Woodrow Wilson, US president, announced his fourteen point declaration which included the right of nations for self determination. The colonial peoples eagerly welcomed Wilson's declaration, and it gave them hope and raised their hearts. After the war, the Indians, having worked hard, had developed India's economy; they found India also could produce goods like Europe. They became convinced that more hard work would allow them to compete with England.

India government which had carried out Lord Macaulay's plan gave English education to the natives. Indians had read 'Men are born free'; their lessons included human rights and history and universal knowledge. The Indians began to realize that the struggle for independence was every man's duty. Then they saw the Russian revolution, the assassination of Czar, the proletarian government which brought rapid progress in Russia. Indians at the bottom liked the Russian system.

When political parties were organized in neighboring India for independence struggle, the Burmese did likewise.

The British had suffered badly during the war. Their colonial subjects no longer had respect and admiration for them.

### **Chapter 3**

#### **THE BEGINNING OF THE WUNTHANU MOVEMENT**

Mr. A. O. Hume, I.C.S., a retired officer formed the India Congress in 1885. Its aim was to gradually improve the form of government and ultimately to make India a self-governing dominion within the British Empire. Other objectives were to improve morals, to encourage cooperation, and promote industrialization. YMBA, the Young Men's Buddhist Association, the first political entity in Burma which opened people's eyes, also had identical objectives as the Indian Congress. But in 1907 a split occurred in Indian Congress between moderate and radical factions. The radicals didn't like the adopted aims; they aimed for full independence. Similar splits also occurred in Burma: the split between Tu-Thar-Thin and young men and the split of diarchy and anti-diarchy factions. In 1916 the Congress factions reconciled, but diverged again in 1918. They differed in their response to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, a system of government proposed by Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and Chelmsford, the Governor-General of India. The radicals, who stood for full independence, rejected the reforms; the moderates accepted it. The moderates formed the new party, National Liberal Federation. The extremists changed Congress's constitution by removing articles containing 'British connection'; they meant to break any connections with the British and claimed for total independence.

The Burmese people, feeling the need for social organizations, formed the Buddha Sasana Noggaha Athin (Society to Support the Buddhist Order) in Mandalay in 1897, 1259 Burmese Era. This was followed by the opening of Buddha Sasana Noggaha (BTN) High School, also in Mandalay. But, because of its religious nature, its membership was limited. Then in 1902, people formed the Asoka Society in Bassein (Patheingyi) under the patronage of Buddhist monk Bhikkhu Asoka. It also aimed to work for social and religious development. In 1906, imitating the western organization, YMCA, the Burmese formed YMBA, Young Men's Buddhist Association. The founders of YMBA were students of Rangoon College whose prominent leaders were U Ba Pe, U Maung Gyi, U Sein Hla Aung, Dr Ba Yin, U Hla Pe and others. But the membership was less than twenty. Thus in the first two years the students held meetings in their homes as convenient. The association has only its secretary and executive committee, but

no constitution yet. In 1908, the association's meeting was held at the Queen Victoria Buddhist High School in Kyone Gyi Road. U Ba, who had so far been secretary, was elected chairman. In his speech, U Ba spoke about the benefits to be gained from the organization. The participants agreed with him and the meeting elected president, vice-president, secretary and executive members of the association. In 1910, the general meeting of YMBA resolved to organize branches in the districts, and to enlarge its activities. The meeting also elected U Po Byawt as president. Soon after that meeting the news paper '*Thuria*' (The Sun) began publication. It became the main promoter of the YMBA. U Ba Pe and U Hla Pe were the editor and manager of *Thuria*. YMBA also published its own monthly magazine, *Burman Buddhist*, to promote its ideals and work.

Following that U Mone, a retired Inspector of Schools, and U May Aung toured the districts and gave talks to urging the formation of YMBAs. This led to many YMBAs. In 1911 (1273 Burmese Era) the general conference of All Burma YMBAs was held in Rangoon. It elected U Po Byawt chairman. After deliberating on the constitution, the conference resolved to form the General Council of YMBAs, on a trial basis. Members were enthusiastic and the Council thrived. The annual meeting of 1914 became a national meeting with representatives coming from all parts of the country. The next meeting, held in Mandalay appointed Mr. Pearle, an advocate, as president. It was followed by 1916 meeting at Henzada when U May Aung became president. In following years also meetings were held, at Pyinmana in 1917, with U Po Byawt in the chair; at Moulmein in 1918, with the election of U Pe, Sub-Divisional Officer as president. In 1919, the meeting in Bassein (Pathein) appointed U Chit Hlaing president. Then U Ba Pe became president, chosen by the 1919 meeting held in Prome (Pyay).

The conference at Pyay was important because the Council resolved to change its name as 'General Council of Burmese Associations' (GCBA). Thus U Chit Hlaing became the first president, with U Ba Si and U Sein Hla Aung, deputy-presidents, and U Ba Hlaing, treasurer respectively. The Council became a united political force.

A remarkable fact up to the early years of GCBA was that the annual meetings opened with prayers for health and glory of King George and Queen Mary. Also the meetings ended with the British national song 'God Save the King', in Burmese; but there were some in the audience who sang in chorus 'Buddha Save the King'. There were also people who read poetic messages

of congratulation for the King George.

We reproduce here some of the resolutions passed by these meetings.

Meeting of October 26, Resolutions 2 and 3:

“The gentlemen present, being pious people, prayed, in Burmese, for the health and glory of King George and Queen Mary.

Following the proposal by the delegation of Sagaing, the participants sang the Burmese equivalent of the song in praise of the British monarch.”

The declaration which opened the fourth meeting at Henzada reads as follows:

"In recognition, and appreciation of the power and glory of the King, the owner of the all powerful *Sakkya* weapon, the conqueror of all enemies on land, sea, and in air, the proprietor of all mines of gold, silver, and rubies and sapphire, the one who always has his will fulfilled, His Majesty King George V, together with his trusted agents, the British Government consisting of wise ministers, we, the faithful subjects, express our love and affection ----".

At the same meeting U May Aung, as Chairman moved that "The representatives gathered for the conference confirm their unshakable allegiance, and their love, for the most glorious and majestic Emperor, together his agents in charge of the British Empire." U Shwe Zan Aung supported the motion.

Another resolution

"Puts on record the expression of profound thanks to the Lieutenant Governor, and the Government, for permission to send 100 Burmese soldiers to march to the battle field."

The resolution, moved by U May Aung, and seconded by U Mya U, (Advocate and consort of the third daughter of King Theebaw), was unanimously adopted.

Resolution 1 from the 1917 conference at Pyinmana is recorded as follows.

"As Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India will be visiting India in the near future, the meeting agreed to adopt the proposal made by U Mya U, Advocate of Henzada, and supported by U Kyaw Yan, President of Buddha Sasana Noggaha Athin, Mandalay; the meeting resolves to send a GCBA representative to welcome Mr. Montagu and hold

discussions with him."

At the sixth conference at Moulmein, three Brahmins prayed for the health and longevity of His Majesty King George V and Queen Mary.

At that meeting, President U Pe, in his speech, said:

"The delegates from various townships and town GCBA's who gather here are loyal subjects of his Majesty King George. They are educated in English and they admire the Western traditions. As they are gentlemen who understand the benefits of British rule, they have pleasure from relations with British officers. We have enjoyed peaceful lives since we came under British rule, and we thank the government for that. We pray that the British rule lasts long, because only under the British government we Burmans can progress and prosper and able to compete as equal with other significant countries.

We enjoy peaceful lives under this good government. As we know this, is there any one who does not have confidence in the government?"

These are some of the resolutions passed by GCBA conferences. From today's point of view they may appear to be unusual. But there were also many resolutions which concerned important issues at the time. They also contain advanced suggestions for the government.

Much had been done in education in those days. The fifth conference at Pinyinana passed resolution 21, dated October 4, 1917, as:

"According to suggestion 9 made by the 'Imperial Idea Meeting' only British citizens will be appointed principals, or head-masters of government supported Anglo-Burmese High Schools. This conference objects this rule and decides to appeal to the government to cancel it."

The sixth conference held in Moulmein on October 22 contained the following. In resolution 6,

"the GCBA should request the government to make primary education compulsory for all children aged 6 to 12, and to provide it free of charge." In addition resolution 7 says "There should be no discrimination between Burman and European in matters of education. The conference resolves to request the government to have on one education law; in case the matter is not resolved, arrangements should be made for further perusal with the Government of India."

The same meeting, in its resolution 8, disagrees with, and regrets about

"the government's order to abolish matriculation examinations conducted by University of Calcutta. As this national conference is unhappy with this decision, it expresses its desire to continue the examinations as long as colleges in Burma remain attached to Calcutta University. The meeting decides to make a second appeal to the government; and should it fail, the issue should be taken to the Government of India."

The minutes of the same conference contains, in resolution 11, the need to "request the government to select more Burmans for state scholarships." And resolution 18 "expresses the need to establish a Burman-Buddhist College in Rangoon with donations from Burmans."

After that the seventh conference held in Bassein on October 11, 1919, passed resolution 13, which "objects the government's action deleting some Burmese alphabets. A letter of objection should be forwarded to the government." And resolution 14 says,

"As monks in monasteries have to teach arithmetic, the conference would like to have examinations in arithmetic at seventh standard level, and those who pass to be acknowledged and rewarded. The conference decides to take this matter to the government."

These are some of the deliberations and actions concerning education.

There were also many motions and decisions for political matters. For example the fifth conference resolves to "appeal to the government to allow students to put on Burmese foot-wear in schools." In those days, school rules didn't allow students with Burmese foot-wear in class rooms; they have to take them off and leave outside. But shoes were allowed. Also the conference expresses the people's lack of confidence in U Ba Tu, U Po Thar and U Nyunt, members of the Legislative Council, and resolves to write to the government asking for their dismissal. This is a non-confidence motion currently used by politicians. It is not a new invention, but a kind of motion already twenty-year old. Then there were demands which called for change. Government offices were used to using humiliating terms, such as *Maung Ming, Nga, Mi, nar khan ya myee*, when they summon people. They agreed to ask the government to stop using these impolite terms. These are revolutionary because they tend to improve the status of the people. Other suggestions include the need to change the 'village act' and in consultation with the people. Another proposal suggested that only Burmans should be elected village head-man. Such ideas which were proposed twenty years ago are now

beginning to materialize.

With regard to social relations, one resolution calls attention to "the expansive nature of social functions like weddings, funerals, *shin pyu pwe* (ceremony for introducing into novice-monkhood); it sees "The increasing use of decorations and the fashion of valuable jewellery are not commendable", and calls on "The YMBAs to strive to eliminate such traditions for the people's benefit." Another decision deals with the case for moral improvement. It calls on "the GCBAAs to oppose drunkenness and to wipe out the bad habit." Also "hiring of *pwes* (stage shows) at religious ceremonies like lighting and 'processions for food collection' " were seen as inappropriate. There was also the demand for "the right of Burmans to write wills", and "expression of disagreement with the government excise department's opening of 'marijuana shops'."

The conference also stated "its opposition to the marriage of Burmese women with foreigners"; and called on "the GCBAAs to enlighten the people in this respect." "The spread of such practices would lead to the decline of the Burman race. The issue should be tackled by education and papers should be written to oppose the trend." One resolution suggests that "Burmese stage shows should begin at 8 pm and finish by 12 pm." Another resolution deals with the issue of racial discrimination. "The sign boards 'Reserved for Europeans' should be removed from third class railway coaches. It is a sign of racial discrimination. A letter should be written to the railway company to remove the sign boards." In addition, "the railways should resume the practice of keeping coaches reserved for Buddhist monks. A letter should be written to the railways to request it." "Burmese Buddhist women who marry foreigners should be married according to Buddhist civil and criminal laws. Appeal should be made to the government to enact laws to enforce it." There is also a suggestion "to renew opium licenses."

In economic matters there is the call "to promote native arts and crafts", and "monk preachers should teach people the value of austerity during their dhamma talks." "The government is requested to promote and assist salt production." "In villages money lenders are charging high interests. They should be stopped." "The government is requested to stop giving land grants and holding rights to foreign investors." "It is resolved to put up appeal to the government not to freeze paddy prizes in 1919-20. The profits from paddy business should be spent in Burma." These are advanced economic proposals. Judging from them we have to admit that those leaders were really far-sighted.

There is something to write about their work in religion. In those days foreigners used to enter pagodas and religious compounds wearing shoes, which was rude behavior, seen to be insulting the Buddhists. A motion was moved and passed, at the fifth conference at Pyinmana, calling to stop intruding into religious buildings and compounds with shoes on. "Any one who enters pagodas, monasteries, and religious compounds seriously upsets the Buddhists. The conference agrees to ask Buddhist associations or elders of towns and villages to put up sign boards declaring 'shoes not allowed within the precincts.'"

The 1918 conference in Moulmein agreed "to teach *Mangala sutta* in all schools. The 1919 conference at Bassein adopted that "those entering Buddhist monkhood should be given certificate of identity certified by the sponsor monk as a person belonging to the *Sasana*." It also expresses the desire 'that the presiding monk in each monastery keeps a register of monks who belong to it.' As we are now seeing that the *Sasana* is degrading, we should thank the past leaders for these preventive actions. The same conference demanded the removal of British troops stationed on the Shwedagon Pagoda platform, making it a fortress; it also called on the government to set a date, and openly declare it, to open the Western Arcade leading up to the Shwedagon platform."

Although leading men in politics in those days were infected with slave-like ideas and were timid, their actions in areas of education, politics, economic, social affairs, religion etc. were nonetheless worthy of praise. Recently reports say that a proposal to give revolver gun license to all members of Legislative Assembly was discussed in parliament. A similar motion had been deliberated by the Bassein GCBA conference. According to it, those who have paid land revenues up to Rupee 500, tax payers who paid tax on income above Rupee 3000, and government employees with salary above Rupee 500 per month, should be given weapon license, like in India, after they have applied to the government.

The annual GCBA meeting at Prome was the last one in the series. From that meeting emerged GCBA *Wuntharnu* (nation lovers). In September 1921 there were altogether over 2000 men and women associations of YMBA and YWBAs. The rapid increase in associations was due to the arrest and subsequent imprisonment of monk U Ottama. Had the government not been oppressive then, but was patient with politicians, it might not have led to such political awakening. Oppression results in revolution, as the saying goes. While U Ottama was in the dock, people were forming organizations in towns: Pyinmana, Thaton, Moulmein, Mandalay,

Nyaung Lay Pin, Let Pa Dan, Bassein, Henzada, Pegu, Shwegyin, Tharyawaddy, Oke Pho and others. This was the start of political awakening in Burma.

Prominent leaders at the time were Sessions Judge U Hla Baw, *Wundauk* (Sub-divisional Officer) U Pe, *Wundauk* U Po Pyay, U Shwe Zan Aung, U Kyaw Yan, U Po Thar, U Ba Yu, U Thin, U Nyunt, U Po Pe and others. Among the young leaders were U Chit Hlaing, U Ba Pe, U May Aung, U Kin, U Hla Pe, U Maung Gyi, U Sein Hla Aung, U Sin Hla Aung, C.P. U Khin Maung, U Thein Maung, Dr Thein Maung, U Thin Maung, U Paw Tun, J.A. Maung Gyi, U Pu, Dr Ba Yin, U Mya U and others. The head quarters of GCBA were in Lewis Street, Rangoon.

The association's aims are: promotion of austerity and economic development, promotion of the habit of saving and economic cooperatives, improving social relations, promotion of native arts and crafts, campaign against alcoholic drinks and drugs and fight against other bad habits, opposing the use of diamonds, gold and jewellery, and promotion of religion. In those days there were no political activities. When political matters arose, people were not allowed to take up the issue; they were merely put aside. However, when ambitious young leaders gradually introduced politics into the GCBA's programs, the elder leaders opposed them. As the old men's opposition did not get anywhere, split occurred between young and old. In the days following the founding of the GCBA, government employees were accepted as members. When it gradually got involved in politics, the government forced the officers to resign and keep away from GCBA. Since then the old guard became dormant, while the new generation became more and more active. Political interest had started to grow.

### **THE SPLIT BETWEEN OLD MEN AND YOUTH**

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 Pen 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.

### **Remark**

U May Aung was first asked to act as chairman of the meeting on the shoe question, but he not only refused, but he left the youth faction altogether. The young men found it a hard job finding a suitable man daring enough to act as chairman; then U Thein Maung came forth and the meeting proceeded. He was a successful advocate who could expect to be appointed a High Court Judge. So far he hasn't got the job, and we hear that his act as chairman of the shoe question meeting was a black mark for him. But looking at U Thein Maung's political activities these days it is inconceivable that he had taken the chair at the shoe question meeting.

Before the breach occurred between the young and old factions, the British parliament decided on August 20, 1917 to give India improved form of government. Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, came to explore the possibilities. The Burmans sent a delegation to India to demand the form of government not inferior to India's. In the Burmese delegation were U Ba Pe, U May Aung and lawyer U Su, representing the GCBA; Dr San C. Po and Sydney Lu Nee for the Karens; U Po Thar, U Thin, U Ba Tu and U San Win, an advocate representing cooperative societies; and advocate U San Win from Upper Burma. The delegation went to Calcutta. After they were examined, they asked Burma to be separated from India. They returned home with the commissioners' promise to give their presentations sympathetic

consideration.

But the Burmans' demands came to nought. When the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme came out as Government of India Act of 1919, Burma was left out of the scheme. The commission's report explains that Burma has been left out because it would be given a separate government. But the true reason was the rival scheme presented by Sir Reginald Craddock, the Governor of Burma. In his report he argued that the Burmans did not yet deserve a 'responsible form of government'; instead he had proposed the 'Craddock Scheme.'

As a result of the Government of India Act 1919 not applied to Burma, a three man delegation of U Pu, Advocate, U Ba Pe and U Tun Shein was sent to London, to ask for 'Home Rule' from the British parliament. But they didn't get any promise in London. Soon after that U Tun Shein died. His death became an occasion for great national sorrow. It was an indication of how much *Wun thar nu* spirit had developed, and how much the people relied on their leaders.

After the first unsuccessful attempt, a new delegation went to London in 1920. The delegation members were U Ba Pe, U Pu, U Thein Maung and others. This time Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, gave the promise that Government of India Act 1919 would be applied also to Burma. The delegation came back satisfied.

As a result of that promise, Burma got 'Dyarchy Government'; and the first elections under this plan were held in 1922.

## **Chapter 4**

### **GENERAL COUNCIL OF BURMESE ASSOCIATIONS (G.C.B.A.)**

By 1920 associations affiliated with GCBA had increased significantly. At the annual conference held at Prome, U Ba Hlaing (at present labour member of parliament) and U Tun proposed that instead of YMBA the organization should adopt the name GCBA, General Council of Burmese Associations. The proposal was unanimously adopted. From that moment to the split between *Wun thar nu* and 21-faction was a period of great patriotism and vigorous political activity.

The 1917 conference at Moulmein elected U Chit Hlaing as President of GCBA; he continued in that post for some years. With him were U Ba Pe, Vice-president, U Thin Maung, secretary and U Tun Aung Kyaw, treasurer. The executive committee members were U Maung Maung Ohn Khine, U Ba Hlaing, U Ba Si, Tharawaddy U Pu, U Thein Maung, U Maung Gyi, U Tun

Wai, U Aye Maung and others who are now active politicians.

Having been called to the bar in England, U Chit Hlaing had come back as a barrister. He had been appointed President not because of his education, nor for his barrister designation. In fact, it seemed, he had been chosen as a figure-head, with the hope that the GCBA could rely on his rich financial resources. His appointment did indeed gave the GCBA strong support in man power as well as finance. Since then U Chit Hlaing has not given up the post.

U Chit Hlaing, son of a rich man, London trained barrister, now *Wun thar nu* President toured the nation and got introduced to the peasants. He got strong support from the public including the Buddhist monks. The trust he commanded was so great that it became impossible to remove him from the position of President of GCBA,

### **GCBA Associations**

After transformation into a national organization, with the new name GCBA, people everywhere rallied to it. It was considered a great honor in those days to be a *Wun thar nu* member. People who wore home made clothes and put up long hair, knotted in old Burmese style were highly admired. Almost every home had hung up *Wun thar nu* sign board. The people did not heed government obstruction; they repulsed it with the strength of unity. That was a period of greatest *Wun thar nu* influence.

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. *Heike tone* (long wooden block used to keep victims' legs immovable) which used to be a village head-man's weapon abruptly disappeared from his place.

Forced labor stopped. The village head-man now became a commoner. How can it be possible for people not to be proud of their *Wun thar nu* membership. If patriotism pays so much even

under foreign, they wondered, it would pay even more when the nation becomes independent. 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. *Wun thar nu* associations had big funds and they could afford to use it to take cases to higher offices. In addition, villagers and friends would assist one who had been unfairly treated. When a member went to jail for civil disobedience or sedition, others would look after his business. If he were a farmer, friends would do the farming; and they also took care of his family's welfare. Such was the enviable status of the *Wun thar nu* association before the 21-faction left it.

The total number of *Wun thar nu* associations at the time was over 8000; with 20 to 500 members in each association, the membership was in millions. Each association paid a contribution of Rupees 20 annually; out of that Rupee 2 went to the township association; the village tract association, and the sub-divisional association got Rupees 3 each for their funds. The remaining Rupees 12 was given to the GCBA center. The annual funds collected by GCBA exceeded Rupees one hundred thousand. Apart from the contribution from associations, there also was a fund known as the 'Home Rule Fund'; it was collected from individuals paying Rupees 2 each. In addition commercial banks were opened in many parts of the country; shares for them were sold at Rupee 50 each. They did domestic business as well as foreign, with Germany, Japan, France, England, India etc. The profits from them ranged to million rupees. U Tun Aung Kyaw who was treasurer kept the funds in his bank. U Chit Hlaing remained *Wun thar nu* President.

## Chapter 5

### THE BREACH BEGINS

The ninth annual conference held at Mandalay in 1287 (Burmese Era) was a grand affair attended by more than 100 000 people. Prior to the meeting, the sub-committee, led by U Ba Pe, discussed proposals, among which were three important items. The first concerned U Chit Hlaing's continuous occupation of the President's post. Because of his long years in that position, other eligible persons had lost the chance also to serve as president. The need to give

others the chance to gain leadership experience was pointed out. They also cited the Indian Congress' tradition of electing a president every year. By electing an alternative president the GCBA would be able to convince the people that it has able persons, in addition to U Chit Hlaing. The second point had to do with too many regional representatives coming to Rangoon for monthly meetings. Some people used to come primarily for shopping or other business. It was wasting people's time and money. Among them were government agents who leaked the discussions even before the meetings had finished. There was a need to reduce the number of meeting participants, and also to check their identity. Thus it was proposed only to allow elected members to attend meetings in Rangoon. The third business was to purchase a building in Rangoon for use as head office of GCBA; until then it has no building its own. As for the money to buy the building, there was over Rupee 10 000 deposited by GCBA in Nyaunglebin bank, and over Rupee 60 000 in U Tun Aung Kyaw's bank. U Chit Hlaing, Tharawaddy U Pu and U Tun Aung Kyaw opposed the plans, although others on the sub-committee agreed. If the first issue passed through, U Chit Hlaing would have to give up his post. He saw that proposal as a device to cut down his influence; to make his resistance stronger, U Pu and U Tun Aung Kyaw supported his stand. They produced various news and gossip to break the confidence of monks and laymen in the members who sponsored the proposal. U Pu had the bad reputation as an expert in splitting organizations. People knew him as a black sheep. If the second proposal was adopted U Pu would lose his right to attend the conference as Tharawaddy district delegate. The third proposal was more serious. There was no money in the GCBA's account in Nyaunglebin bank; it had been taken out by U Chit Hlaing who gave the reason that the interest given by that bank was too small. He said he would deposit the money in Moulmein bank which gave better interest rate. In fact the money was no where, and could not be traced. If the proposal went through, U Chit Hlaing would have to pay his debt to the GCBA. On the other hand, if Rupee 60 000 was taken out, U Tun Aung Kyaw's bank would become defunct. He saw this plan as directed toward his destruction. The alliance of U Pu, U Chit Hlaing and U Tun Aung Kyaw considered the proposals to be U Ba Pe's plan to crush them. They launched an internal attack upon U Ba Pe. Soon people were saying that U Ba Pe had schemed to make himself president, and to remove U Pu and U Tun Aung Kyaw due to personal grudge.

At the tenth conference in Thayet, the proposal to form 'Home Rule League' had to be scrapped because the Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP) objected it on grounds of Article 144 of Indian Criminal Code. The DSP happened to be U Ba Pe's friend. U Pu began to say that the

Home Rule League plan had been sabotaged by U Ba Pe, using his friendship with DSP. Then people lost confidence in U Ba Pe because they believed U Pu. Faced with this mess, U Ba Pe returned to Rangoon before the conference finished. The meeting appointed U Chit Hlaing president, Paungde U Tun Hla and Tharawaddy U Pu, deputy presidents, and U Tun Aye, secretary and treasurer.

Signs of GCBA's decay had appeared after Thayet conference. Leaders had lost trust in each other. They had become disunited. At that moment the British government introduced the Dyarchy Rule in Burma, under the 1919 Government of India Act. Elections would be held in Tazaungmon (November) that year. Having insisted on getting 'Home Rule', the GCBA now faced a tough choice. It now had to decide whether to accept 'Dyarchy Government'.

The GCBA held a meeting Nayon 1285 (Burmese Era), June 1923, in Jubilee Hall, Rangoon to discuss the issue; U Ba Si chaired the meeting. U Chit Hlaing was unable to attend it.

The meeting would decide whether to take part in the 'Local Government' and 'Legislative Assembly under Dyarchy'. U Ba Pe, U Thein Maung and U Pu, leading a fourteen member group produced a manifesto supporting the acceptance of Dyarchy. A strong reaction came from the extremists, the *Wun thar nus* who maintained their demand for 'Home Rule'. The pro-Dyarchy men argued that they would get into the system first and then work from inside to get their demand. But the staunch *Wun thar Nus* branded them variously as traitors, moderates, Dy-ists. The plan to form the Dyarchy Council was defeated.

## 21-FACTION

Having got harsh criticism, 21 members produced a long declaration. They were 1. Bassein U Ba Sein 2. Rangoon U Maung Maung Ohn Khine 3. U Ba Pe 4. U Maung Gye 5. U Ba Hlaing 6. U Sein 7. U Maung Maung Gyi (Myanmar Ahlin) 8. U Thin Maung 9. U Pu 10. U Hla Pe 11. U Kun 12. Dr Ba Yin 13. U Tun Wai 14. Pegu U San Lin 15. U Tun Hlaing 16. Nyaunglebin U Tun Maung 17. Mandalay U Ba U 18. Thaton U Ko Ko 19. Kamayut U Thaw 20. Pyawbwe U Maung Gyi 21. Kyaukse U Sein Ba. They said in their declaration that they would get inside and fight for independence; if they failed they promised to boycott the government. But it was rejected by the representatives from the regions and the Sangha. The 21-men were accused as opportunists who were unwilling to venture and sacrifice; they were even branded the nation's rebels.

Although the 21 had promised to work inside, actually there was no provision in the law for them to do anything for the country. Instead of fulfilling their promise, they took up ministers' posts and worked for their personal gains. Such were the causes for the split between *Wun thar nu* and 21-group.

When they went apart, the GCBA funds, which remained in U Tun Aung Kyaw's hands, were grabbed by the *Wun thar nu* faction. The 21-group took hold of the council's documents and books.

*Wun thar nus* then were against the Dyarchy system; they had no idea how one could exploit from it. They were selfless men, dedicated to self government, and they had no idea of self enrichment. Only after the 21-men had accepted the Dyarchy, and 'eaten' from it did they realize how they too could benefit. They now have 'exemplary' men to imitate. Some sought ways to gain something inside *Wun thar nu*, and there were others who changed side, and joined the Dyarchy faction. Irreparable damage had been done. It was wholly the work started by 21-men, and they deserved blame. At first, no one liked the Dyarchy. It was obvious from the fact that only seven percent of the voters turned out in the elections, a clear sign of the people's lack of interest. This is also a gauge that indicated the popularity of the 21-ners.

In the Legislature, there were about 25 members belonging to Progressive Party headed by Mr. O. de Glanville, some independents, and 21-ner Dyarchists. This group was then named the Nationalist Party. It chose U Pu as leader and U Ba Pe deputy leader.

The first Legislative Council appointed U Maung Gye Minister for Education; J.A. Maung Gyi from the Progressive Party got the post of Minister of Forests; O. de Glanville and U Ba Pe became speaker and deputy speaker respectively. Soon the post of a High Court Judge became vacant. J.A. Maung Gyi was appointed there. U Pu succeeded him as Minister of Forests.

This was 'eating inside the Legislative Council'. After the second election, these men were not given any posts. They became the opposition.

They failed to get ministerial posts because they had too few supporters. The governing group consisted of government nominated members, government officers and members from J.A. Maung Gyi's Shwe Taung Gyar (Golden Valley) Party, who formed the majority. The 21-ners had faded into insignificance. U May Aung, the Home Minister, hated the 21-ners very much; and he went all out to destroy them. But they were not too weak compared to the

government's group, and it wasn't easy to bring about their immediate destruction. In the mean time U may Aung died. Sir J.A.Maung Gyi, his successor, also did much to hit the 21-ners, but he didn't get much success. In 1932, a new issue came up: separation from India versus continued affiliation. The 21-group, U Chit Hlaing's group and Dr Ba Maw's formed an alliance and shared the spoils from the Legislature. Sir J.A. Maung Gyi's party became gradually weaker, and finally extinct. In the second council, the 21-members, who did not get jobs, sat in the opposition. In one session of the council, they raised the question, "In which prison does the government keep U Ottama?" Sir J.A.Maung Gyi replied, "There are over ten or twenty thousand prisoners. How can the government know where an ordinary prisoner like U Ottama is?" This answer aroused anger among politically minded members; they walked out of the meeting in protest. Then Sir J.A. Maung Gyi mockingly said, "They have gone out not to protest me; they went out to see a warship in Rangoon port." The members who walked out organized a party named *Pyi Thu Pyi Thar Party* (People's Party). The members in it consisted of Tharawaddy U Pu's Home Rule clique of 4-5 members, who were from the 21- or Nationalist party, National Parliamentary Party of U Ni, U Ba Soe, U Khin Gyi and U Soe Nyunt; in addition, others like Mr. Trudjee, U Tun Win and U Mya U. From then on, the 21-group took the name People's Party in the Council.

When the election of 1936 drew near, the People's Party was renamed '*Ngar Pwint Saing Party*' (Five Star party), and it took part in the election. The constituents of *Ngar Pwint Saing* were *Pyi Thu Pyi Thar Ahpwe* (People's party), U Maung Gyi's Free Burma Party, Central *Wun thar nu* GCBA under Ye U Sayadaw, U Ba Si's boycott GCBA faction, and Upper Burma 21-faction. They chose Teik Tin Wa, Prince of Makkaya, as president and contested in the election.

## Chapter 6

In 1280, Sayadaw U Ottama came back after visiting Europe, America, and Japan; at home he found the YMBA deeply engaged in politics. With heart and soul he got himself involved too, and assisted the YMBA. Because of his activities, he was followed by government informers. Other monks shunned him. Another reason he didn't get along with other monks was his crude manners and harsh words which did not befit a monk's. As he was not accepted by monasteries, he lived in a house in Thamaing in Insein district. The newspaper *Thuria* gave big support to U Ottama, and in almost every issue commended his activities. People with modern

outlooks began to understand him, and they went to his political talks. He spent most of his time with U Ba Pe and U Hla Pe at the Thuria office. They were leading men in the country who supported U Ottama. Their efforts together with U Ottama's opened the country's eyes. The Thuriya deserves praise for its work for the national cause.

Using strong words and candid speech he called on the people and the monks to wake up. He used the term *kyun* (slave). "The country is a *kyun* country; the people are *kyuns*; the religion professed by *kyuns* is a *kyun* religion. Monks, don't be idle and sleeping. Rise up. Only in liberty can our religion prosper." Using the media as well as political meetings he urged the monks to organize "*Sangha Samaggis*" (Monks' associations). The monks began to realize the poor status of Buddhist Sasana as well as the pathetic lot of their supporters. They knew the religion wouldn't prosper unless they had a good king to sponsor it. Their interest in politics grew.

Assisted by young leaders, U Ba Pe, U Thein Maung, U Hla Pe, U Maung Gye and others among them, U Ottama organized political meetings at the Shwedagon, Botataung pagoda and Botataung Hlwasintan. At first the audience was small, only 30 or 40 present. Slowly he became popular and drew larger crowds. He also went to the towns and villages and gave talks. Then he found himself in jailed; he was taken to court for sedition under section 124(a) of the Criminal Code, for his speech at Sukalat village, Dedaye township. He was taken first to Pyapon and then to Maubin, where he was tried and sentenced to imprisonment.

U Ottama's case aroused the people, as well as monks, all over the country. The monks formed a *Sangha Samaggi* at Thayettaw monastery in Rangoon. Initiated by young monks, the *Sangha Samaggi*, didn't grow big at first. Then presiding abbots of Aletawya, Salin and Weluwun monasteries joined it. The support of these Sayadaws gave the *Sangha Samaggi* movement great impulse. More *Samaggis* were organized in Rangoon and Lower Burma. After thirty seven organizations had been formed, they convened a meeting of *Sangha Samaggis*. For the national *Samaggi*, the meeting elected Aletawya Sayadaw as President, and U Dhammadara of Kyaungtawya Shwegyin Taik as secretary. After the death of the secretary in about three months, the post was taken by Sayadaw U Waipulla.

With the *Sangha Samaggis* came a crop of famous monk political speakers. Famous among them were U Wisuddha, U Wisara, and U Sandawbhasa, who were especially well known in Rangoon. U Wisuddha was famous for his humorous allegory of London myay-pe-yo' (London

peanut cake). "When home rule comes, Englishmen will have to go back to London and sell peanut cakes for a living. His prophesy and manner of deliverance cheered the audiences everywhere.

Such active movement in Lower Burma shook the people of Upper Burma. They followed by organizing *Sangha Samaggis*. The Upper Burma *Sangha Samaggis* held a general meeting in Pyinmana under the patronage of Baymei Sayadaw. The Upper Burma organization also took part in politics.

Burma's politics was most exciting in those days with both Sangha and laymen taking part. Never in the history of Burma had political fervor reached such height. The Sangha, who had no family to look after, were free and daring. They wielded great influence; they excited the masses brought politics to high pitch. Knowing the power the monks had over the people, the government became concerned, and scared. It wasn't easy to handle the situation; and to leave it alone would make it worse.

Leading Sangha were honest and no personal ambitions. Although monks and laymen did not at first like their work, gradually the leading monks became popular. They got large offers of food and monk's requisites. Soon the country was filled with numerous *dhamma katikas* (speakers of dhamma). It was a time of greatest patriotism and most vigorous political activity, thanks to national unity.

When the split occurred between the 21-group and *Wunthanus* some Sayadaws tried to mediate a reconciliation. But as the 21-group had broken the rules the *Wuntharnus* did not want to join them. When reconciliation failed, six monks for, for personal reasons followed the 21-group. Important monks among them were Sayadaws of Aletawya, Pwinthla Theingone and Weiluwun. As the followers of 21-group got into the local councils, monasteries which supported them were given financial assistance from the councils. This had the effect of changing the traditional monasteries into modern schools. Financial assistance also attracted more monks to the 21-group.

This led the 21-group as splitters of not only the layman society, but also the Buddhist Order. They deserved criticism. They had led laymen to be dishonest, and monks also began to be selfish. Vote buying thrived and corrupted the whole people. It was a sorry state of affairs. The country had been on the right track for independence; but when the 21-group deserted the *Wuntharnu*, the direction was lost. Now politics in Burma had come to its lowest. And the 21-

group was to blame for this tragic consequence.

Our discussion of monks in politics would be incomplete without U Wisara. As he was strongly dedicated to politics, he used to give speeches without restraint. Frequently he got into jail. Then he would object to wearing jail uniform instead of monk's robes; he also refused jail food. For the last time, on the 13<sup>th</sup> Waxing moon day of Tangu, 1291 (Burmese Era), the Sessions Judge of Hantharwaddy District sentenced him to six years rigorous imprisonment. Denied his right to perform monk's Ubosata service, and to wear monk's robes, he went into a long hunger strike, which ended with his death after 166 days. He had been sent to the lunatic asylum also, and tortured in various ways. The way he suffered is remarkable and he is admired as a valiant patriot. Because of U Wisara, monks now enjoy the rights he fought for. And his ultimate sacrifice had put the Burmans in a bright spot in world history. He is now honored with a bronze statue. (A road is also named after him – translator's remark.). His last words 'Be well-behaved' remain as popular usage for politicians.

There are other monks, who went to jail for the sake of the country, although they had not risked as much as U Wisara. They were U Ottama, U Kay Tu of Kemendine Twante Kyaung, Mahlaing U Devinda, Thayetmyo U Vimalabuddhi, Allan U Laba (Allan is now Aunlan – translator), U Nageinda, U Sandimar, Tharawaddy U Nyeya, Mandalay U Kaylar, Sinbyukyun Sein Yaung Chi U Arsara, Koe Taung San\* U Gautha (\**Koe Taung San* = resident of 9 jails), U Arlawka aka Arlawaka, U Arsapha, U Kwapindadipadi, Shwe Myet Hman U Wizaya (*Shwe Myet Hman* = gold framed glasses), Hyopingauk U Wimalsara, Tharawaddy Maezalitan Siyanda U Edessa, Shin Aria, Koop Hman Kyaung Siyanda U Ariyavumsa, U Dhammavara etc. A few of these monks later signed agreement not to give political speeches in future, in return for release from prison. But others did not give up their cause.

## **Chapter 7**

### **THE SASANA**

There are two main sects of the Buddhist Sasana, namely Shwegyin and Thuudamar. In terms of monks, Shwegyin is much stronger than Thudamar (sic. Actually this statement is wrong. Thudamar is much stronger than Shwegyin – translator's note.) Thudaamar is divided into two – one under Taung Khwin Thathanar Baing, the government appointed 'Patriarch'; and under Payagyi Sayadaw, previously appointed by the former Burmese King. In Lower Burma, there

are three sects, Kan Gaing, Shwegyin Gaing and Dwarya Gaing. Kan Gaing is similar to Thudamar and Shwegyin is a branch of the Upper Burma Shwegyin. Dwarya is similar to Shwegyin. Although the monks belong to different sects, the *vinaya* rules they follow are the same.

Among the monks who practiced the Buddha's true teachings, Ledi Sayadaw stands out. He had written over one hundred books which explain to laymen the Buddha's teachings. In addition, he also gave Dhamma lectures. By answering hard questions asked by Western scholars, he had propagated Buddhism in the West. Ledi Sayadaw had been offered the D.Litt. degree (by Rangoon University). After the death of Ledi Sayadaw, Mohnyin Sayadaw became famous as a Dhamma teacher. Apart from these great monks, there were also nationally well known Buddhist lecturers, who delivered '*yat hle tayar*'. (It is Buddha Dhamma talk which is delivered with '*yat*', a big fan, dropped aside; the traditional is to have the monk's face hidden behind the fan. - Translator). The new style of *yat hle tayar* was first used by young monks in Mandalay. It is appealing for the young people, because the monk used to add jokes and modern short stories, or occasionally sing, to make the Dhamma talk lively. They have become so popular that these days the traditional *yat taung*, fan up, style have become almost obsolete. There were also others who mingle Dhamma talk with political lecture, the most famous among them being Tharawaddy U Nyeya. But such monks are rather like mercenaries, because they demand '*palin sin ngwe chay*' (pay I full as I get off the stage). As people think this system inappropriate for monks, their popularity is waning; there are some who even denounce them.

A nationwide movement had taken place to denounce and boycott a monk named U Adissavumsa, (the action known as *Pakasaniya kan*), because he had written a book with the title *Bikkhuni Sasanar Padesa Kyan* (treatise on the status of female monks in the Buddhist Order). Monks and laymen considered this book undesirable, because it could lead to the destruction of Buddha's teachings. This was the first time since Buddha's time that the *Pakasaaniya kan* action had been taken against an individual.

*Ya Thegyi* (Old Ascetic) U Khanti of Mandalay Hill was another religious worker, well known for his work in erecting new buildings, or renovating old ones at Mandalay Hill, Pyinmana Sinbyu Taung, Settaw Yar (site of Buddha's foot-print), Kyaik Htee Yoe etc. The people paid generous contributions for his works.

In addition to these religious efforts, there were the *Sasana Mamaka*, or Young Monks' Associations founded from 1297 B.E. Although it has few members in townships, there are four big associations in Rangoon. Although they had originally agreed to devote only to religious work, there were young monks who broke this rule. Because of their political activities, there is little cohesion among the different associations. There are also *Sasana Mamakas*, which in effect, supported the government, with the result that young monks in them were accused of being opportunists. Some young monks have been accused of taking money monthly from political parties. In this situation, *Sasana Mamakas* have begun to lose public support.

Actually the intention of *Sasana Mamaka* is to unite to fight those who use monkhood to disgrace and destroy the Sasana. But after forming the associations they began supporting parties of their choice in elections. This caused disunity among them. However, *Sasana Mamakas* have recently regained public support for their action in driving out bad monks from Shwedagon Platform and other parts of the country. Thus we are now finding much fewer monks at cinemas and horse races than before. This indeed is good work of *Sasana Mamakas*.

## Chapter 8

### WUNTHANU ACTIVITIES OF BURMESE WOMEN

#### *Konmari Athin Myar* (Burmese Women's Union)

In accordance with the saying '*Yaung nauk sadone par*' (meaning woman follows man), women assisted the political work of their men folk. Worldwide, Burmese women are the most free, and they enjoy the fullest women's rights. In unison with their men folk they have organized to fight for national independence. Burmese Women's Union (*Myanmar Konmaryi Athin*) was the first one, organized in 1914. Its president was Daw Su, wife of U Po thaung, the retired municipal commissioner, and the secretary was Daw Pwa Thin a business woman from West Rangoon. The assistant secretaries were Daw saw Khin, U Kyu's wife, and Daw Hla May, wife of Deedoke U Ba Cho. Prominent members of the executive were Daw Saw Tin, wife of U Thein Maung, Daw Tin, U Thin Maung's wife, Daw Htay, wife of Saya U Ba Thein, Daw Ngwe Tin, Daw Ngwe shin, and Daw Mya May from Mawton Zay (market). Originally they aimed to promote good deeds and austerity. But they soon came into politics.

Because of the work of Burmese Women's Union, the number of women who wore diamonds

and gold became much fewer in those days. Other successful actions were the creation of women's compartments in electric trams and trains; and recall home at government's expense of Burmese women who had become destitute in Penang Island. It was affiliated with the YMBA.

But it was sorry to find that after the split between Wuntharnu and 21-faction, the Women's Union became disunited. This was because the President Daw Su was a government officer's wife. Also among the members there were wives of government officers, as well as wives of 21-faction members, apart from Wuntharus. The women couldn't get along together. The Union dwindled, and after some time it remained only in name. This was one immediate result of the split between Wuntharnu and 21-faction.

Before the Wuntharnu breakup, the women's associations were active and frequently held their meetings. They also took part in annual conferences, as equals with men. The reason that the Kummari associations did not thrive was because the women of high social class, who were considered prestigious, such as the wives of government officers, advocates, or wealthy men, had taken up the posts like president, or treasurer. They had taken up politics merely as a fashion. So the associations did not grow to the extent they should.

### **Dana Thukha Athin**

Apart from the Burmese Women's Associations, there was another named Dana Thukha Athin. Initially, it was dedicated to meritorious work, but gradually it became involved in politics. Its president and secretary were Daw Kyin Ein and Daw Hla Khin respectively. They were appointed president and later changed the association's name to '*Wuntharnu Kummari Athin*', and worked in tandem with Wuntharus. There were nine associations in Rangoon, designated first union, second union etc. After the death of Daw Kyin Ein, Yetkan (Weaver) Daw Ma Ma Gyi was appointed president, and Daw Hla Khin secretary.

There were also women's associations in the districts, which are now defunct. When the GCBA split, the women's associations had unitedly sided with the anti-Dyarchy Wuntharus. 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 Kummaris, 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. But nature takes its course. When poor leaders got disunited, the spirit of followers degraded. Gradually women's associations dwindled to the extent that there is no women's association left standing at present. When gallant men had become selfish, how could the women retain their selfishness.

### **National Council of Burmese Women**

This is the association organized prior to the Round Table Conference held in London in 1931; Its president was Mingyi Kadaw Commissioner's wife) Daw Mya May, and secretary Daw Mya Shwe, Inspector of Schools. Because of its initiative, Daw Mya Sein, daughter of the late U may Aung, Home Minister, could represent the Burmese women at the Round Table Conference. The Council of Women used to meetings to denounce foreign publications which offended the Burmese women. Some of its members (Mrs. Paw Tun alias Daw Than Tin), an American, Daw Ma Ma Khin, wife of U Tun Nyo, Daw Mya Sein, Daw San, Daw Mya Shwe etc.

The members of this association being wives of government officers, or wealthy men, who couldn't afford to oppose the government, it remained free from political activities. They held meetings only when occasions arose. The membership was also limited. The executive committee members used to participate in social events like child health contest, and local social services. In addition to being not hard working, they belonged to the pro-government elite; and as they considered themselves the upper class, and also behaved as such, they were out of touch with the ordinary women. Its prospects came to nothing.

## **Chapter 9**

### **U CHIT HLAING GCBA**

After the 21-group deserted, the Wuntharus chose U Chit Hlaing as president, and Paungde U Tun Hla and Tharawaddy U Pu, Vice-presidents respectively. U Tun Aung Kyaw served as secretary and treasurer. It assumed the name '*U Chit Hlaing's Thabeik hmauk GCBA*', or Boycott GCBA under U Chit Hlaing. It had separated from the 21-group because of its anti-

Dyarchy stance, refusing to work in the legislature and local councils; but its strength didn't become much weaker. Both monks and laymen supported the Wuntharnu. The strong support was seen at the eleventh conference at Paungde, attended by more than ten thousand people. That there were more than one thousand branch organizations was also proof that it had strong support of the people. Held from 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> Waxing-moon of Kason (May), 1286 Burmese Era, the conference chose U Chit Hlaing as president, U Tun Aung Kyaw, treasurer, and U Pu, secretary.

An important decision of the conference was to boycott foreign goods; the women also displayed their intense anti-English sentiments by collectively breaking their '*leik khun bees*' (combs made of tortoise shell), as the word *leik* is pronounced the same way as *Ingaleik*, Myanmar word for English. That was a rash action, for they had later to buy new ones; but it was nonetheless seen as patriotic.

These acts aroused the public sentiment, and it was a blow for the government. In spite of the material waste, the demonstration of spirit had its value.

One notable action was the proposal made by the delegate from Thayet township to authorize President U Chit Hlaing to spend at his discretion unlimited amount of money from the GCBA funds. Despite objection by Katha delegate U Po Thar, arguing that the words 'at his own discretion' were not clear, the conference approved it, on condition that the president spends money for GCBA's business. For his objection U Po Thar got angry response from the audience; he was even accused as 21-group's Trojan horse who came to disrupt the conference. But as he was prominent in the Wuntharnu circle, no further action came. A less well known man acting in such manner at the conference would have risked his life. But U Po Thar's membership in Wuntharnu up to the time of his death testified his patriotism, and his honesty in protesting against granting U Chit Hlaing unlimited financial power. But participants at the conference will have to admit that to give unrestrained power to its leader was a reckless act. U Po Thar from Katha deserves praise for being different.

The 'unlimited financial power of U Chit Hlaing' became a joke among the 21-group members, who previously had worked with him and had insider information on GCBA spending. They criticized it especially because the delegate who proposed it came from treasurer U Tun Aung Kyaw's native town; presumably he moved the motion under U Tun Aung Kyaw's influence. The 21-men thought that U Tun Aung Kyaw had done it because the

GCBA's funds were deposited in his bank, which was in shaky condition. However, we cannot know the true motive of the mover. U Chit Hlaing's opponents maintained that he did take out money from the bank; his correspondence with the bank, telegrams and letters had been printed in news papers. From the 21-ners view, the conference's decision was an act to forestall blame and shame on the two leaders when their character would be judged before the court of public opinion.

The 21-group's mockery wasn't groundless; only U Chit Hlaing, U Tun Aung Kyaw, U Pu and Paungde U Tun Hla could tell where the money had gone. There is no money left today, and there are no accounts, although all Wuntharnu members have the right to know it. We do not think that leaders of independence struggle were not aware of their duty to present the accounts. There could be some reason why it happened that way. For the citizens it was irresponsible not to demand auditing of GCBA accounts. It was a sad affair to see the absence of effective politics, in spite of appreciable financial resources, public following and enthusiasm.

There is evidence to show that Wuntharnu leaders had not been careful with contributions paid by members. We find reckless spending during the Mandalay conference as follows:

Erection of marquee	Rupee 9 000
Food costs	7 000
Money for tea	1 000
Miscellaneous	1 628
<b>Total</b>	<b>18 628</b>

The funds collected for that conference totaled Rupee 21988 and 11 annas; Rupee 10813 and 12 annas contributed by branch associations, and Rupee 111174 and 15 annas from Mandalay. This generous giving was evidence for the people's *wunthanu* spirit, love of nation. But the leaders had misused it. Thus political activity "marched one step ahead, but retreated two steps". Who do we blame for it?

U Chit Hlaing as president of GCBA commanded so much respect that Thayet and Paungde conferences accorded him the title '*Thamada*' (President of the State, by acclamation, the title of the first king in this world), and a *Beisaka*, or *Beik theik* (dedication ceremony) was held on a grand scale to mark it. U Chit Hlaing's influence was so great that he had been called the

“Uncrowned King of Burma”. Everywhere he went, he was welcomed like a King, with White or Gold Umbrellas over his head; and at ports on *Karaweik* barge, also royal paraphernalia. There never had been a leader as popular as U Chit Hlaing. At Paungde conference, when U Chit Hlaing was nominated for *Thamada*-President, the delegate who proposed said, “Let alone the one hundred and fifty thousand people present at this meeting, even the babies, still in the mothers’ womb, will support him. The meeting agreed; they said aloud “*Sadu, Sadu, Sadu*” (Very good, very good, very good).

Why was U Chit Hlaing so popular? We find that his qualification as *Wut-lon* (literally one who wears a gown), or barrister carried great charm. In those days barristers became leaders. In addition to this, U Chit Hlaing’s father was a very rich man, so he didn’t earn his living as a lawyer. Making use of his own resources, U Chit Hlaing had entered politics. He had U Chit Hlaing’s assets; never once cooperated with the government; but he always stood for the people, the poor folk. This was the reason why all Wuntharnus admired U Chit Hlaing, and treated him as a God-like icon.

There was another admirable quality in U Chit Hlaing – his great generosity. Everywhere he went, when asked for donation, he paid lavishly. He had awarded many scholarships and sent students to university. He encouraged businesses owned by Burmans. U Kyu’s company had made shoes, in competition with foreign firms, and sold them at half the actual price; the remaining half was paid by U Chit Hlaing! Because of his charitable deeds, some people even regarded him as a *Bodhisattva*, a future Buddha. As he worked in politics, he left his own businesses in the care of other people. This, combined with his generous giving, swallowed up; finally he became poor. He might have been right or wrong. But there’s one weakness U Chit Hlaing consistently avoided; while other leaders drank and gambled, U Chit Hlaing didn’t. The people considered him a good man.

U Chit Hlaing’s name had been tarnished due to the loss of Wuntharnu funds, Ngawun flood relief funds, and Thilawa refinery shares. But he did not spend those monies. People believed crooks and scoundrels who surrounded him were to blame; they regarded U Chit Hlaing as a simple honest man. It is for this reason that U Chit Hlaing still has a significant number of followers, and has retained a well paid position.

In those days U Chit Hlaing used to wear trousers, and his garb like an Englishman’s makes him more attractive. However, these days, people who put on trousers are looked with

disfavor, as if they are unpatriotic. Once a people abandon its religion, language, traditions and culture, it is headed toward its destruction. But the Wuntharus of the period were not aware of this truth. This indicates that although patriotism in those days was admirable in some ways, it seems it didn't recognize true nationalism.

Another good point about U Chit Hlaing is that he didn't tell lies as much as others. After he had decided to accept a government post, he said he wanted the post. He admitted before an audience that he would accept a ministerial post because he had been told by his wife that she wanted to see him come back to Moulmein as a Minister. Regardless of love or hatred by others, he was always candid. Unlike other politicians, U Chit Hlaing didn't have hidden motives, or deceptive intentions. It is not clear whether it was because he was afraid of committing the offence of telling lies, or he didn't understand the techniques of political strategy. But he had accepted a post after giving promise not to accept, in response to an editorial request; he had promised, before the election, to work out a revenue system, like in Ceylon, to give relief to the poor class, but he had done nothing. People now acknowledge that U Chit Hlaing is now beginning to become a modern politician.

In 1937, U Chit Hlaing had been elected speaker of the Lower House under the 1935 Government of Burma Act. Under his chairmanship, a motion had been passed, which forbade all English educated members from speaking in Burmese. Unbiased people, with critical minds gave U Chit Hlaing low grades after this action. Today, U Chit Hlaing avoids anything that would be taken with disfavor by the government. He explains that he couldn't offend the government because, as House Speaker, he is now a salaried government servant, and that he is not free to say what he likes. He has given up politics. He has declined to work on a committee to choose a national flag, national day, and national song, because this work he is afraid that the government will not like it. He has resigned from that committee. He is now seen to be enjoying the friendship with government officers, as well as the prestige and glamour of his position. Critics who said, "U Chit Hlaing didn't have correct political ideals from the beginning," seem to be correct.

U Chit Hlaing has never been to jail for his political work. But he had been tried in the court of the Deputy Commissioner of Rangoon for a criminal offence. During the trial, he appealed to the judge not to give him prison sentence, because he was incapable of hard work, and otherwise to allow him to work as prison clerk. The judge sympathized with him, and with a

smile, he ordered a fine. As that fine was paid by contributions from Wuntharnus, we find that U Chit Hlaing had never sacrificed anything. It is also said that he likes flattery; and he had even been accused that he remained in politics because he likes to be flattered. We can see that U Chit Hlaing's political convictions were only skin-deep. This is fact testified by what he is doing these days. His job now is to perform the duties of a salaried officer. This is the story of the *Thamada-President*, Uncrowned King of Burma.

## Chapter 10

### SECOND SPLIT OF GCBA

The GCBA split again in 1286 Burmese Era; its cause was related to the aftermath of flooding in Bassein district due to failure of Ngawun dam. The flood killed many people and left many homeless. The whole country rallied to assist the victims. U Chit Hlaing's GCBA also collected money and materials to help the flood victims. But when the accounts were audited, over Rupees 10 000 could not be located; and U Chit Hlaing was found to be responsible for the loss. Investigations showed that there had been misappropriations by the workers; they had made profits in buying food, and transporting it to the flood hit area. They also used unfair weights and measures on the goods delivered, and the gains from it went into their pockets. This shameful row led to the destruction of Wuntharnus.

As for the Rupee 10 000, U Chit Hlaing didn't give any explanation, even after people loudly demanded the release of accounts. Those in the GCBA who were unsatisfied with the unexplained loss of money complained to the monks. A committee of six monks met at Be Mei monastery in Mandalay to look into the case. The committee members were, from Upper Burma, U Pannasami of Modar Taik, Kyauk Saung Sayadaw of Sinbaungwei, Shwe Palei Sayadaw from Monywa, and from Lower Burma, Sadu Sayadaw, Bagaya Sayadaw, and Kyaungyi Taik Salin Sayadaw. Being unable to travel to Rangoon, the three Sayadaws from Upper Burma fully authorized the senior monks in Lower Burma to investigate and decide the course of action. The monks met at U Thet's home in Lanmadaw, Rangoon.

At the meeting, Sadu Sayadaw and Salin Sayadaw tried to bring U Chit Hlaing to his senses regarding the spending of public funds. Instead of taking the lesson, U Chit Hlaing retorted in harsh terms. Bagaya Sayadaw intervened, saying that he should respect people's money and that if he needed support for his living, monks and laymen would grant him salary. The

Sayadaw continued that he should be polite in what he was saying, and that it was very inappropriate for him to retort to monks 'like a dog barking.' U Chit Hlaing became infuriated at being compared with a dog. During the row he openly declared that he would not accept advice from the monks. The three monks reported the matter to the Lower Burma Monk's association of GCBA. The monks tried to find out if it was true that U Chit Hlaing had said he would not take the monk's advice. Monks and laymen who had sympathy for Chit Hlaing urged that the dispute should be settled amicably. U Chit Hlaing promised to listen to the monk's advice. But then Tharawaddy U Pu told U Chit Hlaing not to accept the monk's intervention. U Chit Hlaing openly declared, swallowing his earlier words, that he would not take heed of monk's advice. At this the Sangha (monk's) association decided to break relations with U Chit Hlaing. They declared that they did not recognize U Chit Hlaing as GCBA president. The 12<sup>th</sup> conference was held in Shwebo in Nayon (June), 1287 Burmese Era, and elected U Soe Thein as *Thamada-president*, replacing U Chit Hlaing, who was dismissed. The conference also appointed Paungde U Tun Hla treasurer, and Ko Pu, alias Ko Sein, secretary.

Remark: Ko Pu was renamed Ko Sein, because the monks didn't like the name Pu as they abhorred Tharawaddy U Pu.

U Chit Hlaing's faction, having rejected the monk's advice, took a new name, *Innya Myinnya Thanbada Ahphwe*, and continued to exist as an alternative GCBA. The Sangha association also split, with the U Chit Hlaing faction monks adopting the name *Innya Myinnya Thanbada Sangha Samaggi*. But the pro-U Chit Hlaing monks, whose were not very strong. A very prominent monk in this group was Dhambi U Brahmabahu, while Kyontala Sayadaw took the position of president. Laymen who were close to the monks joined U Soe Thein's GCBA. But U Chit Hlaing also retained some followers personally loyal to him, including a few monks. But, U Soe Thein's was the bigger of the two factions, a fact which shows the influence of monks in Burma. Now, the future of the country, independence or continued slave status, prosperity or poverty depends upon the monks.

At the beginning of the breach between U Chit Hlaing and the monks, a special meeting of the central organization of monks was held, on the 4<sup>th</sup> Waxing Moon of Tabaung (March), 1286, at Pyinmana. Monks sent to observe the meeting reported the events that occurred during negotiations with U Chit Hlaing. Sadu Sayadaw from Rangoon stated, "I have made two trips, taking leave from Vasa (Buddhist lent). I have heard years ago that Maung Chit Hlaing had

been freely spending GCBA's money, and the Sayadaws (senior monks) have tried to put a halt to it, tackling the matter as an internal affair. When U Wizaya and U Nyanottara got to the GCBA head office, it came to light that its funds were almost exhausted. Sadu Sayadaw knew all about this. As GCBA is the party supported by the Sangha, we have patiently handled the matter; now it has taken us a few months telling Maung Chit Hlaing to accept auditing the accounts. But he wouldn't listen. The present problem simply is that Maung Chit Hlaing is stubbornly refusing the senior monks' advice."

Other monks who had met U Chit Hlaing also reported, "In his letter revoking his promise, Maung Chit Hlaing has said that if he cannot spend GCBA funds freely, as the general conference has authorized him, he on his part cannot abide by the orders of the monks association. His reply was clear and decisive. Also, secretary Maung PU is showing signs of defiance to the orders from the central body of monks' association. In the circumstances, it is impossible for us to have confidence in Maung Chit Hlaing in the future."

At that time U Tun Aung Kyaw had gone to jail, and U Tun Hla had taken his post. He had also written to the monks. Para 6 of his letter reads "I had received a letter, from U Chit Hlaing, through U Po Su, ordering me to regularly send money to him in Kyaukse, by registered postal order, as it has been promised by U Tun Aung Kyaw. Moreover, he had once sent me a telegram asking for money. As the money wasn't for GCBA's business, but for U Chit Hlaing's personal expenses, I have not sent the money, as prescribed by the Paungde conference resolution number (10). Then he gave me order to give Rupee 2500 to buy a foot-operated printing press, but I refused because there was only little money left. Secretary U Pu thought that there was no chance to get the money back. And the printing press was not a very important machine to buy; in fact we are unable to pay Rupee 1300 for the large printing press we have bought from U Maung Maung; and we have apologized him for the default. After repairs, that old machine is running, and there is no need for a new one. The GCBA is in debt; we haven't paid the costs of U Thet Shey's oil refinery, for machinery and installation fees. For these reasons I have refused to pay Rupees 2500. My job as secretary cum treasurer is not simply a cashier's; I have to be careful with the nation's money, and I am responsible by any mispending. Also the president had ordered me to pay three district presidents daily allowance Rupee 10 each, totaling Rupee 99 per month, and also second class

fares for their travels by railway or boat; in this case too, I have refused to obey his order. In

addition, when secretary U Pu asked for advance money to hire motor car for him and his wife, I have told the accountants not to give the money.”

From the above, it is obvious that U Chit Hlaing and U Pu had been irresponsible in regard to the use of GCBA funds. And it was also clear that they were deliberately doing damage to the GCBA because they cannot run it the way they liked. But U Chit Hlaing explained his side of the story; they were only finding fault with him, because he had openly defied the intervention of the monks.

## **Chapter 11**

### **U SOE THEIN GCBA**

After separating from U Chit Hlaing, the U Soe Thein became president of the new GCBA. An oil-well owner, and an American-trained petroleum engineer, U Soe Thein had widely traveled; he had visited, together with his wife Daw Thawt, Europe, Japan and other countries. He became president in Tangu (April), 1287 Burmese Era, being elected by the 14th. Conference held at Meikhtila and was re-elected the following years by the 14<sup>th</sup>. Conference at Pegu and the 15<sup>th</sup>. Conference held at Minbu; U Su, educated in Germany, and Tharawaddy U Maung Maung, also American educated, and currently Education Minister, were appointed vice-president and secretary respectively. After the 15th conference, U Soe Thein's GCBA gradually became stronger. Although not an able leader, U Soe Thein was regarded as the most honest president in those days. He had never been accused of misusing party funds; and for political trips he did not travel first class by train. Unlike U Chit Hlaing, who took out first class railway fares, U Soe Thein traveled third class, together with his party followers. He had acquired this humility and noble spirit after meeting socialists in Europe and India. U Soe Thein loved freedom, and he had no ambition to get government posts. We can say that he was keen to do politics, but without dealing with the government. He had declined the invitation to attend the Burma Round Table Conference in London, and he had never tried to get elected to the legislature. These facts show that U Soe Thein did not crave for position or power, or to deal with the government.

An honest and straight forward man, U Soe Thein did not achieve great success as a leader because he lacked modern views; he lost followers to modern-minded and clever men.

U Soe Thein seemed to be a hands-on politician who lacked theoretical knowledge. Because of

his exposure to free western countries, he had seen unselfish politicians, and emulated their noble ideals. U Soe Thein never sought riches out of politics, and he didn't seek lime light either. Daw Thawt, his wife accompanied him everywhere he went including America and Europe. Realizing the backwardness of the Burmese people, the strongly nationalist couple had joined the movement for independence, as they believed it was every body's duty. Behind every great man there is a great woman; for U Soe Thein, Daw Thawt was the one.

Like other leaders, U Soe Tein was also not free from criticism; he had been accused by some people, as well as by the government, that he had encouraged violence in politics. But certainly, U Soe Thein, with his exposure to the west, would know that the unarmed Burmans would only suffer to rise against a government, whose forces were armed with automatic weapons. The accusation that he incited violence couldn't be true. It seemed his followers had misunderstood him; and the reason probably could be the large number of people from his GCBA who joined Saya San, who rebelled.

In those days government employees were even handed in their dealings with people; so the people, unable tolerate their use of extreme powers, complained to the GCBA, which in turn took the cases to the government. But the government wouldn't care. With government repression becoming excessive, the people, without any alternative, revolted. U Soe Thein used to take up cases of government unfairness with the higher officers, although his policy was non-cooperation with the government. Frequently he called meetings at which he denounced the government, or passed declarations. Government spies used to take note from these meetings, in short-hand, and fully reported to the government. In spite of this, the government didn't take action. It was an irresponsible for a government, and it is to blame for the revolt.

In India, civil disobedience and the campaign not to pay revenues has met with some measure of success. They succeed because when the defiance was harshly tackled by the government, the people kept their determination, and suffered injuries. This doesn't work in Burma, because, only recently subjugated, the people are unprepared for such tolerance. Throughout history they had been a proud and unyielding race. U Soe Thein might not have realized this fact, or he was just posing a threat to the government, when his GCBA passed the resolution to "launch a civil disobedience campaign, and non-payment of revenues, if the government separates Burma from India, against the will of the people."

Whether U Soe Thein encouraged violent means, or just used peaceful methods for

independence, his following gradually dwindled, because, unlike other shameless ‘modern’ leaders, he didn’t give false hopes to his people. In days when honest action was unpopular, villains came to take the political stage, so that in the end, people disfavor politics as they became passive and sought calm lives.

The ‘modern’ politicians have been ultra-modern and hurt the interests of the people. On the other hand U Soe Thein had been too simple; in the end he was gradually deserted by the people because he was incapable of delivering anything.

## **Chapter 12**

### **U Soe Thein's Disagreement with Monks**

In the belief that U Soe Thein was inclined to violent methods in politics, monks and some men began to be worry about keeping him as GCBA president. They were scared that he would one day bring trouble for all. At Taungoo conference, held from 10 to 13 Waxing Moon of Tangu (April) 1291 resolutions were passed which were considered to be rebellious by some people. Resolution 10(a) states: “In case the government separates Burma from India, against the wishes of the people, it is resolved to launch a campaign for civil disobedience including not paying revenues.” General decisions clause 23(b) contains the provision to form civil service organization. These were seen as rebellious against the government. Some senior monks who were unwilling to support U Soe Thein left the conference early. They set up a rival party with German trained U Su as president. Thus the GCBA again broke up into two factions: the U Soe Thein’s GCBA, under the patronage of Thet Pan Sayadaw; and U Su’s Central GCBA under Ye U Sayadaw. Saya San, who later became a rebel leader, was prominent in U Su’s GCBA, and at Taungoo conference he had moved the proposal to organize civil service organization. Now with the partition of the strongest party, the GCBA, there were now four political parties in the country, namely: U Chit Hlaing’s Innya Minnya GCBA, U Soe Thein GCBA, U Su’s Central GCBA, and the Group of 21.

When U Soe Thein and U Su separated, the townships along the railway line, Taungoo, Yamethin, Kyaukse, Mandalay, Sagaing etc. sided with Ye U Sayadaw, while those along the river, Hanthawaddy, Tharawaddy, Henzada, Pyapon, Insein, Prome, Thayet, Minbu, Meikhtila, Myingyan etc. supported U Soe Thein. Their support was not based on matters of right or wrong, but purely on personal relations. Monk also did the same; they sided with the leader

they personally revered, and accordingly organized their disciples to follow their lead.

Regarding U Soe Thein's break away, opinions differ. Some say that U Soe Thein was to blame because he refused to take the monk's advice; some say that some monks who had been guilty, for misusing party funds, deliberately took up an issue to break up the party. In deed there have been reports that some monks were dishonest with party funds, having recklessly spent money. According to news still circulating in political circles, U Pyinnasami, who is presently residing in Moda Taik had built a brick monastery (*taik*) for himself; he is said to have taken Rupee 15000 to 20000 from contributions to GCBA, and Rupee 4000 from train and steamer fares, and had destroyed all documents relating to them. Moda Sayadaw U Pyinasami denied these accusations. It is frequently seen that some senior monks were authoritarian in their actions, like the bureaucrats, and were perhaps overbearing on the people. Thus we observe that just as monks can be helpful in building unity, they can also cause political disruption.

After U Soe Thein and U Su split, followers joined their respective groups, without any regard for the causes of the break up; rather they followed the monks based on personal affinity. U Soe Thein's faction was stronger, in both layman and monk followers, because Sayadaw U Thuseitta of Mandalay Payagyi Taik, and other presiding monks approached other monks to support U Soe Thein. This habit of supporting someone simply for personal reasons is a bad one that will prolong Burma's status as a subject nation.

Now the four-party rivalry has taken the form of competition in holding conferences, building large marquees, organizing crowds, each trying to show that it had greater following. Then they passed resolutions, denouncing, urging, and demanding the government. Their actions ended after they were presented to the government, without further attempt to get what they asked for. In fact, conference decisions did contain alternative actions in case their demands are not granted. Apparently the resolutions seemed only designed to please the peasants and workers. For the people, however, relief from hardships can come only with full self-government, and before that is achieved, they need to have their lives made a bit easier. But in spite of the natural tendency to sail with the wind, the people look forward, with great hope, for great leaders to come forth. Among the conventional *wunthanu* leaders, there is not one who might rally people to their goal. Thus when the issue of separation from India arose, the *wunthanus* united to stand together, behind a leader whom they believed would take them to

their goal. This is the way politics works.

In politics, leaders need to be modern minded, and a modern leader has various western systems to apply. Soon after the Russian revolution, landless peasants were restless; they eagerly followed the leader who launched the slogan “Land for the peasants”. During the socialist revolution, the workers and peasants supported the ploritarian cause. The socialist government gained the support of 95 percent of the population. Only in this way can a leader gain the trust of the people, and only after that he could seek for himself, or continue to serve the country.

### **GCBA’s Decisions**

Prior to the GCBA split, as well as after, most of the highly educated men, skilled in politics, had taken up government appointments. Those who didn’t take government posts got into diarchy councils and became corrupt leaders. There were very few able men to lead the wunthanus, as first and second rate men became officers or 21-ners. Only fourth and fifth grade people remained with the GCBA. Those who had deserted the Wunthanu organization were selfish men who deserved blame. Those who remained, although they lacked caliber, were praiseworthy. Without skillful politicians, the annual conferences became ineffective; the resolutions they passed lacked substance. We find that the resolutions mostly blamed the government, but did not contain proposals for promoting the economy, education, and society in general.

We can judge from the actions of the GCBA that government officials and wunthanus were against each other. Any action by the government, however good, was seen as negative by wunthanus; in return, the government servants were always finding fault with wunthanus, occasionally taking action against them. This state of antagonism and hatred had led GCBA to pass resolutions such as the one below.

“In this land of Burma, where Buddhism thrives, although Burman-Buddhists are against killing for food, we find that government officers, when they travel to villages, used to demand meat and eggs from the villagers, with or without payment; and the people had to comply. This amounts to undue pressure, which forced the villagers to break the teachings of their religion. We deplore such acts, which are against Buddhist religion, and declare

that they are unlawful.”

“Some officers had ordered people to sweep the grounds every week and to fill up the muddy spots. When for some reason the people failed to do their duty, the officers used to take action discriminately; they fined or punished wunthanus, whom they don’t like, but kept a blind eye for others whom they favor. For these unfair acts of its employees, we declare, for people of ages to remember, this government as repressive, and put on record our perpetual dislike for it.”

“It is the duty of policemen, who are paid by the poor public, to guard them against the harm of robbers and burglars. But they have ordered the people to make bows and arrows, which are weapons viewed with disfavor by Buddhism, to protect themselves. We consider this order an undue and really unjust pressure on the people.”

“We are against government health officers who come to impose regulations during pagoda festivals and monk’s funerals. Accordingly, we decide to inform the government our objection to such meddling.”

Such resolutions were intended not for the benefit of the country; rather they were manifestations of sheer enmity for government servants.

The following actions which concern conflicts between villager and head-man, and between citizen and authorities, are remarkable. “A case which stands for government action is the death of Yatha Dhamma Association secretary, Maung Lu Nge of Myang Thit village, in Salin Township, Minbu district, due to accidental shot fired by Maung Nyo, head-man of Kyun Tan village; the case happened on 1286 B.E. 2nd. Waxing day of Tango (April). In another case, U Nan Yone, president of Yatha Dhamma Association in Myaung Tit village, died due to accidental fire from gun belonging to Maung Thar Maung, head-man of Minyat village. In these deaths of two members of GCBA, victim’s families have not received compensation; and the head-man had not been punished, and they are still keeping the weapons. We are afraid that in future they might use loaded guns to shoot at people they dislike, and say that the resulting death was accidental. We ask the government to take away the guns from them, or to see to it that they do not handle the guns carelessly.

“This conference puts on record explicitly the fact that a government, which grants licenses to open, liquor shops, opium shops, toddy-juice shops, shops which sell other intoxicating drugs, slaughter houses, and gambling casinos, is unethical. Likewise,

according to Buddha's teaching, a government, which oppresses and heavily taxes the people, or bullies monks and laymen, and does not fulfill people's desires, is rude and vulgar."

"According to Buddhist teaching, the danger of robbers and burglars and of swords, guns and weapons are linked to poverty and famine. In early days when Burma had been prosperous, the threat of robbers and burglars was not as serious as at present. Under British rule, the country has become poorer; there are now more robbers and thieves; crime rate is rising; and people are getting deeper into poverty. All these are the result of the British government's inability to govern."

"As it is impossible for unarmed villagers to defend themselves against armed robbers, we ask the government not to punish with fines villagers when they failed to repel robbers. We hold the opinion that the government ought to pay compensation for all losses, including physical injuries, in cases which involve the use of licensed guns."

#### Other decisions

"demand the return of religious lands requisitioned by the government"; "urge the people to use native products only". The conference also asked the government "not to make the schools run by Sangha Samaggis government supported schools; those schools which have become government supported should be discontinued, but reopen as free national schools." "In order to preserve the native calendar, the conference asks the people to use dates and days in the traditional Burmese way."

"This conference rejects, and seriously denounces the Rangoon police commissioner's order which bans monks from pagoda festivals and monk's funerals in the city."

These resolutions indicate the new wunthans were in disfavor of the government, whereas, during GCBA days, they had been more in support of the government.

### **Saya San and Galon Rebellion**

On the night of December 22, 1930, a rebellion broke out from Yetaik village in Tharawaddy village. The rebels, without guns, but armed only with knives and swords, attacked the stronger British government. Oppressed by the burden of heavy taxation, the people had appealed to the government to reduce the taxes, or to postpone payment. Sir J.A.Maung Gyi, the Governor, during his tour of the country, pointedly refused to comply with the peasants' appeal. It seemed

the peasants, dispirited and on the verge of famine, had no way out, but to revolt. Soon the rebellion gathered force; from Tharawaddy district it spread to Insein, Henzada, Prome, Thayet and Pyapon districts. The rapid increase in the strength of the rebels is an indication of the people's grievance and dislike of the government. The rebels' leader was Saya San. Knowingly to fight an unassailable power seemed to be the result of extreme desperation; with no difference in sight between living and dying, the peasants chose to do or die, as men of courage.

Mr. Leach, secretary in the home ministry, has written a report about the rebellion. The points he mentioned include: 1. Saya San had covertly organized and planned the rebellion, with both monks and laymen members of U Soe Thein's GCBA and Sangha Samaggi secretly supporting him. 2. Under Saya San's leadership Galon associations had been formed in the guise of GCBA volunteer force. 3. The people of Tharawaddy are naturally aggressive and are inclined to be lawless. 4. Since many years ago, they hated paying government taxes and revenues. 5. U Ottama and other monks of Sangha Samaggi, as well as GCBA members, have given speeches inciting rebellion and provoked the people. 7. The people are believing; when a leader like Saya San gave them tattoos to guard them against the harm of guns and bullets, they easily believed him etc.

In fact the revolt was due to poverty and threat of hunger, grievance for heavy taxes, and rude overbearing nature of tax collectors. Although the wrongs done by junior officers have been complained to the government, no effective action had been taken against them.

Galons really were fighting only the foreigners and their native stooges, because they believed foreign occupation was the main cause which makes the people poorer. But in times of chaos, crooks and wayward men, who had taken the Galon garb, took the chance to loot and plunder. For these acts of Galon-imposters, the people's affection for Galons began to wither. Saya San took the title Thupanna Yaza (Supannaraja); he formed a rival government, and gave orders and pronounced declarations. Because of unmatched arms, his men did not fight out in the open, but they waged a guerrilla war with swords and spears, and a few guns. The Galon rebels gradually gathered strength at first; often they raided police stations, and took away weapons. Sometimes they went to homes of village headmen and others to take away their guns. With the rebellion nonstop and gaining momentum, the government had to employ, in addition to military police, regular forces from India.

Suppression was ruthless; under machinegun fire, poor peasants died in large numbers; the government forces set villages on fire, on assumption that rebels were hiding there. Horrible acts were committed in many ways; Karen and Indian soldiers harassed or raped Burmese women; they chopped heads off the rebels killed, and publicly displayed the severed heads. Newspapers criticized the government for these horrible acts.

After one year the government crushed the rebellion. Rebel leader Saya San, who had escaped and taken refuge in Shan State, had been caught and taken to Tharawaddy jail. There a tribunal chaired by Justice Sir John Cunliffe tried Saya San and accomplices for high treason. Saya San and others got the sentence of death; hundreds, or thousands got long prison terms. During trial, the government was worried that Saya San might refuse to defend himself, or if he did he might make historic statements against the government. However, the government felt relieved when it was known that the court received an explanatory statement, apparently submitted by Saya San. Actually Saya San was facing a hopeless case; he did not seem to realize the seriousness of his crime; he did not seem to know he wouldn't be spared his life, nor did anyone seem to have reminded him about it. It is not clear whether he signed the letter after some people gave him false hope, or he was forced to sign it. But the truth is: Saya San did sign the letter. In spite of this 'sort of appeal' Saya San died on the gallows, like a criminal. It is indeed a bad history.

The lawyers who represented Saya San at the trial were Dr Ba Maw, the current prime minister, and U Pu, who put on the wuntharnu brand, and died as government advocate in Taungoo. Saya San's submission, prepared under their care was said to contain the following statement:

"I have never been in favor of bloodshed; I like civil disobedience without bloodshed. Holding this belief, I had gone to Alantaung, with followers, legally to defy the forest regulations. While we were preparing to demonstrate, Bo Po Kha and Bo Po Byawt misled some peasants to the wrong path of killing. It resulted in killing in Tharawaddy. I humbly state that I did not like this act, and that to keep away from horrible acts, I had gone into the Shan State. In addition, I want to state that I am innocent because I had only planned legal civil disobedience, for fear that Burma would be separated from India."

However, the tribunal found Saya San guilty and gave him the death sentence. In connection with this, Dr Ba Maw and Tharawaddy U Pu, who pleaded on Saya San's behalf, have a

responsibility to explain to the country why they advised him to submit the explanatory letter. Did they think Saya San would get away from hanging? It is sad to find that Saya San lacked good counsel when he was on the verge of death. One of the two men who advised Saya San is now a prime minister. The other, a third grade pleader, is now holding the post of government law officer, while Saya San got death, a sentence worse than punishment given to opium eaters and burglars. From being Thupannaka Galon Raja (King), Saya San had descended to the rank of a murderer. Such is the poor lot of the Burmese rebel leader.

### **Round Table Conference**

The 1919 Act of Government of India gave India a Dyarchy form of government, on a trial basis. The British government also promised to give India, after ten years, improved form of government, better than Dyarchy. The British parliament sent a commission headed by Sir John Simon, known as the Simon Commission, to India and Burma to investigate the prospects for improved government. When the Simon commission arrived in India, delegate from Burma went to argue before it, for Burma's separation from India. In response, the Simon commission sent to the British government a draft proposal for Burma, separated from India.

Soon after Simon Commission submitted its report, an Indian delegation was invited to a round table conference in London, to discuss the new form of government. U Ba Pe, U Maung Maung Ohn Khine, Sir de Glenville and U Aung Thin, representing Burma, took part in the Indian delegation. They attended meetings held from October 1930 to February 1931. At the meeting U Ba Pe asked Burma to be separated from India. As a result, the British government arranged a separate round table conference for Burma, to be held also in London. The conference took place from October 1931 to February 1932 and discussed how Burma would be governed after its separation from India.

The Burmese participants in the London conference were: 1. U Ba Pe, 2. U Maung Maung Ohn Khine, 3. U Maung Gyi, 4. U Ba Si, 5. Dr Thein Maung, 6. U Chit Hlaing, 7. Tharawaddy U Pu, 8. U Tun Aung Kyaw, 9. Tharawaddy U Maung Maung, 10. U Su, 11. U Ni, 12. Daw Mya Sein, 13. Mr Sydney Lu Ni, 14. Saya Shwe Ba, 15. Sir O. de Glenville, 16. U Aung Thinn, 17. Me Harjee, 18. Mr. Kowasjee, 19. Mr. Harper, 20. Mr. Kempennak, 21. Mr. Ho Kim Sien, 22. Hsipaw Sawbwa (Ruler of Hsibaw), and 23. Yaungshwe Sawbwa.

At first the wuntharus said they would boycott the round table conference. The government was in an awkward position. Men from the 21-faction persuaded U Chit Hlaing to take part,

and U Chit Hlaing finally agreed. But Tharawaddy U Pu, U Tun Aung Kyaw and U Paw Tun raised strong objection because they thought they would not be included. In the mean time U Chit Hlaing, Tharawaddy U Pu and U Su, who got invitation from the governor, promptly replied that they would attend the conference. Then Tharawaddy U Pu started talking about the benefits of taking part in the conference. But U Tun Aung Kyaw and U Paw Tun continued staunchly to resist participation. The next day, Tharawaddy U Pu, seeing that their opposition would disrupt his journey to London, approached Sir J.A.Maung Gyee to obtain the Governor's invitation letters for them. After receiving the invitation U Tun Aung Kyaw became silent; he even dozed though a meeting held that night. Asked whether he was for or against delegates going to London, he kept silent after saying only "Sorry, I'm unhappy." Although the meeting was to discuss participation in the conference, those who came after receiving invitation did not mention it and they did not say anything. In fact they had already written RSVP to take part. When pressed for answer by other members if it was true they had received invitation, and they had replied their readiness to go to London, they admitted they had. The decision being made, independently by individuals, without national consent, prior to the meeting, there was no point for further discussion. However, the wunthanu members of the delegation, considered to be in need of advice, were told to ask for Burma's complete self-government in London, and that they shouldn't come back with anything less. Sayadaw U Nyeya, on behalf of the people, exhorted them "not to come back from London riding beautiful Welsh horse, rather than a *lar*." (Note: *lar* means an ass. To ride an ass in Burmese is '*lar si*'; if the vowels are reversed, it becomes '*lee sar*', a vulgar word meaning 'eat penis'. That is a very clever Burmese Spoonerism.) So went the Burmese delegates to London, but without representatives from U Soe Thein's GCBA, the strongest of all parties.

Once the delegates arrived in London, they learnt that the opening speech would be given by the prime minister, on behalf of the King. As the King had opened the conference for India, the Burmese delegation objected the plan. As a result, the opening ceremony was held in the Prince of Wales's robe room, and instead of the prime minister, the Prince of Wales gave the inaugural speech.

Young men, opposed to the round table conference, spoke out in protest. When their protests failed, they put up cartoons and posters along the route to the port, and distributed pamphlets in protest. One cartoon depicted the delegate as a dog, with a chain around its neck, and swimming after a cow's bone drifting in the sea. The sea meant a sea of deception; the bone

meant the lack of substance in the government to come out. Prime Minister MacDonald was shown holding a sign board, tied to a cow's bone, and guiding dogs with the bone. The prime minister was riding a Burmese boat, with mouth watering dogs, the Burmese leaders, pulling it in the direction shown by the prime minister. The cartoon was printed and distributed to the public. It mocked the Burmese leaders as foolish men, unable to see Britain's strategy, and desiring for something of no substance, who played according to the British tune. The young men who printed that cartoon belonged to the newly formed Dobama Ahsiahyone. Elder people criticized their act as one of disrespect for the elders. The newspapers also blamed them. But the young men explained that they did not mean to insult the elders, but they were only reminding, with good intentions, that the nation was going into the trap laid by the British imperialists. The editor of one newspaper even warned parents that they should reign in their sons and keep them at home; otherwise they would be put in jail by the government. The editor's column, which looked like an advice, was actually designed to push young men into the ditch.

### **Rangoon Jail Break**

Dissatisfied inmates of Rangoon main jail caused a riot around 3 pm on June 24, 1930. When the gate opened for the lorry from the printing press section, the prisoners waiting for a chance grabbed the occasion. They attacked the guards and took from them five guns and 35 rounds of ammunition, and shot at the military police on guard. The jail wardens immediately called in the military police to quell the uprising. While some prisoners attempted to escape, others organized their fellow inmates to revolt. As the uprising gathered momentum, the whole town watched in suspense. Soon the government called in troops and suppressed the uprising.

Twenty eight inmates were killed in the unrest, and fifty five wounded. From the government side, the jail gate keeper, one army truck driver, seven jail security men, one soldier and a sergeant were killed.

### **Burman-Chinese Riot**

Soon after the Indo-Burman conflict, a fight broke out between the Burmese and Chinese. It started from an argument in a noodle shop when some Burmese workers went to a circus show at the corner of Strand Road and Lanmadaw Street. The argument ended in a fight between Burmans and Chinese. The Chinese attacked the Burmans in the following days, and a monk,

who was putting on his robes, was hit with a spear. The Burmans became enraged after the attack on a monk. The monks also felt angry. They plotted to revenge on the Chinese. But they were prevented from attacking the Chinese, because the police stopped the people in the outskirts entering the town, and the monasteries were guarded; government officers also went to senior monks and appealed them to help calm down the situation. However, sporadic fights occurred.

The government tried to pacify the situation, but it was accused to be biased in favour of the Chinese. The people especially blamed the government for moving the Chinese living in Burmese quarters to safety, and its failure to take out the Burmans in Chinese quarters.

The riot grew and spread to towns and villages, and the government appealed to both sides for peace. Due to the intervention by influential elders the conflict calmed down after about ten days.

In this conflict more Burmans than Chinese were killed or injured.

### **Earth Quake and Fire**

Only a little needs to be written about the earth quake of May 5, 1931 (1292 Burmese Era). The damage was severe in Pegu and Taungoo districts and also in Rangoon. But the most damage occurred in Pegu, where brick buildings crumbled and fires raged, destroying over Rupee ten million worth of property, in addition to deaths of many people. That was a historic earth quake.

### **Fire at Shwedagon Pagoda**

On the 4<sup>th</sup> Waning day of Tazaungbon (November), 1292, about 2 million rupee worth of property was destroyed when fire broke out at Shwedagon pagoda. It began from dry grass lands and rubbish dump; then U Nageinda's pavilion caught fire, and it spread to the Western Arcade. Altogether about 20 arcades and 5 pavilions burned down, together with five big flag posts. The people grieved about the damage.

No one really knows if the fire was accidental, or arson. Rangoon citizens, including youth, held meetings and blamed the pagoda trustees. Then they investigated the incident and produced a report. The report offended the pagoda trustees, who in turn hated the investigators. The report brought to light the breach of duties on the part of the trustees. They are now paying more attention to their job.

## **Association for Promotion of Youth**

In 1296, some young men met at the residence of U Ba Sein, railways accounts officer, and formed a youth fraternity association which they named the Friendly Correspondence Club. Its important members were Ko Thein, a clerk in the secretariat, and Ko Win, a clerk in the railway office. U Ba Sein gave a room in the ground floor of his house to be used as an office. After the association obtained more members, it was renamed the Association for Promotion of Youth, and its office moved to Ko Thein's residence at 51, 44<sup>th</sup> Street, Rangoon.

The aims of this association are: 1. to promote knowledge and education, 2. to cultivate good morals, 3. to promote health, 4. to facilitate friendship, and 5. to enhance verbal abilities. After adopting these aims, the association hired room number 172 in Scott market and used it as headquarters. In this room they opened evening classes with young men taking turns as teachers. They also opened a free library.

As the association grew, ten members collected Rupees 10 each and published a magazine with the title *Kyeepwayay Magazine* (Magazine for Progress), starting from 1931. But due to financial problems, the magazine has been handed over to Ko Hla, the present publisher. He is continuing its publication to this day.

The members of the association who are still active are Ko Myo Min, Ko Tin Maung, Ko Ba Sein, Ko Tun Hla, Ko Tin Swe, Ko Ba Lwin and others. The president and secretary are annually elected; U Kyaw Khine, now ICS, Ko Kyaw Win, Ko Tun Tin, barrister, Ko Thein Aung, barrister, B.Sc., Ko Kyaw Tun B.Sc., Ko Tin Maung (Maung Hla Maung Co.), Ko Tun Aung Kyaw B.A., Ko Chit B.A. have been presidents.

Among the association members are government employees, employees in semi-government businesses, sons and daughters of government officers. Some members wanted the association to be involved in politics, but the government-related members wanted to keep it free from politics. When they discussed this matter they had a row; but as the government-related members formed the majority, they decided to keep it away from politics. However, the politically minded members do not give full support as before.

At present, with its headquarters situated at 222, Sule Pagoda Road, the association is doing well as it can collect regular monthly and annual contribution from members. But the political issue has weakened the association. In some townships, some members have left it. There are

reports that some branches are continuing to function with only government employees in charge; some branches have severed relations with the headquarters in Rangoon, and some have changed into something like private business. In previous years, the association used to take part in national day celebrations; but this year, under president Ko Chit, a government translation officer, it has avoided participation in the national day events. Some people have criticized this decision as ugly.

Some people have accused that the government has formed the Youth Development Association for fear that young men would otherwise be drawn into politics. Because of the composition of sons of government officers and rich men, and government employees, some see it as a club of unemployed men. But the association is working steadily, and there are at present about 100 branches through out the country. Its membership has not increased significantly, because, as it is said, of government involvement.

Although the members have soft minds, the association's business is commendable. They have opened libraries, and held debates, in towns and villages. More over, the members occasionally go out to the villages to do development work. The head quarters in Rangoon has invited well known speakers for talks on various topics, including politics, economy, social relations etc. Actually nation building business begins this way. The YMBA, in early days, consisted of government officers. As members grew more mature, the government men withdrew, and the nature of the association changed. Mr. D.J. Sloss had formed the Student's Union, hoping to influence it. But we have seen that the Union he had formed has now become his greatest opponent. Similarly, we can put great hope on the Youth Development to take the leftist path as desired by the nation.

### **Face Imminent Danger Head-on !**

Not long after the publication of these papers riot broke out between the Chinese and Burmans. Influenced by these papers, as well as concern raised by Dobama Association, the people desired unity to resist the assault of the Chinese. Unlike in the past, the Dobama members held a mass meeting in Botataung football ground and organized the people. With high passions, the people came to the meeting carrying spears, swords and sticks; against the background of huge peacock banner, they shouted "Dobama, Dobama" three times.

After the riot ended Dobama *Ye-tat* conducted military drills in Botataung football field every afternoon. (*Ye-tat*, literally 'Brave Force' is a pseudo-military force.) It consisted of 120 *Ye-tat*

members, with Thakin Hla Baw as commander. The commissioner of police and the chief of secret service came to observe the drill. The government officers made various efforts to disband the *Ye-tat*; they appealed, or threatened the parents, and the police visited the *Ye-tat* members' homes frequently to investigate. The *Ye-tat* membership declined when it was under the command of *Yetat*-major Ko Ba Thar, who is now in Burma Army. After a short time it merged with U Maung Gyi's *Ye-tat*, which was another group.

After the merger, U Ba Khine, the current secretary of Fabian Socialist party, Ko Maung Toe, Ko Ba Yee, Ko Kyaw Tun Sein, Ko Tin Sein, Pinphyu Hla Pe (alias) Thakin Hla Pe joined the party and took active roles. There were many Dobama sympathizers, including government officers. Among them were Saya Tint and Saya Hein from Myoma High School. Under Dobama leadership, they organized anti-cigarette-smoking pickets in Rangoon downtown; they appealed the public to give up cigarettes in favor of Myanmar cheroots. And the people gave up cigarette; they smoked cheroot, enhancing the business to employ more workers.

Today, Dobama members are singing the Dobama song, composed by YMB Saya Tin, at every available opportunity. They went to favorable places to sing it. The song, accompanied by musical instruments, was especially popular with Rangoon University students when it was introduced in the campus. Then the students sang it in shower rooms and dining halls and in residential rooms; when vacation came, the students took the song to their towns and villages. The Dobama song became a hit. In addition the University College magazine printed it, together with English translation.

The singing of Dobama song in the campus brought the students in contact with the party members. As a result, Ko Nu and Ko Tun Sein joined the Dobama Ahsi-ahyone, and got started in politics. Very soon, they brought in Thakin Ba Sein and Thakin Lay Maung. In this way the Dobama Ahsi-ahyone got university student members.

However, Dobama Ahsi-ahyone had only members, but no president or secretary. It was under collective leadership; decisions were made by meetings attended by members. But, despite the unity, Thakin Ba Thaug, the leading member was not very popular with his peers; he used to talk loudly about socialism, but his ways appeared capitalist, and the members disliked him. In the mean time, Dedaye invited them to sing Dobama song and to give political speeches; Thakin Ba Thaug and Thakin Tin Sein went there by boat, in first class, while others in the team were deck passengers. The Dobama members became unhappy with Thakin Ba Thaug's

high-handed behavior; some of them resigned in protest. Although Thakin Ba Thaung worked hard in the party office, he was an anti-social person; perhaps he revealed superiority complex. He lost friends. The Dobama Ahsi-ahyone, despite its noble aims, failed to become as strong as it should. It published a propaganda news periodical, Dobama Thadinzin; but due to dispute between the press owner and Thakin Ba Thaung it stopped.

Those who did not like Thakin Ba Thaung – Ko Ohn Khin, Ko Maung Toe, Ko Ba Yi, U Ba Khine and Ko Kyaw Tun Sein – formed a group apart from Thakin Ba Thaung, and published, for Dobama propaganda, 'Pyi Thu Letyone News' (People's Arm). By that time there were no members left in Thakin Ba Thaung's Dobama. Soon, Thakin Thein Maung, who had come back from England for health reasons, together with Thakin Ba Sein, went to Thakin Ba Thaung and revived political activities. Then U Thu Ta, Legislative Assembly member for Shwebo died, and a bye-election was held. Thakin Ba Thaung stood for election. But when he went to Shwebo, the deputy commissioner ordered him not to give political speeches, and to leave Shwebo district. Thakin Ba Thaung defied the order. He and his companions, Thakin Thein Maung, Thakin Tun Shwe and Thakin Ba Sein were sent to court for trial for defying authority; they were given prison terms. However, they were released upon appealed to a higher court. Again, Thakin Lay Maung, Thakin Ba Sein, Thakin Thein Maung and Shin Ariya went to Shwebo and gave political speeches. The deputy commissioner also sent them to prison.

By that time, Thakin Han, Thakin Tun Oke, U Chan Tun, Thakin Kan Tint, Thakin Tin Maung, Thakin Bo and others have also joined their group. Thakin Hla Maung had been in prison for the offence of pasting the stamp with King George's head up side down on the envelope, and writing, "I have put 'dog's head' up side down." Thakin Hla Maung and Thakin Tun Oo again got imprisonment for demonstrating during a meeting in Nyaung Oo in Myingyan district. Also Thakin Ba Sein, Thakin Than, Thakin Aung Than and Thakin Nyi went to jail after speaking at a rally in Moulmein. But, Thakin Tun Shwe, one of the speakers, appealed to the government, admitting guilt; he got pardon. Nearly simultaneously with them, Thakin Tun Oke got prison sentence after conducting a political meeting in Sangyaung, Rangoon. But they did not stay long enough to serve their full terms; there was a new government which granted them clemency to mark the Coronation of the new King George VI, along with other prisoners. Thakin Kha of Yenangyaung was also one of the activists who went to prison.

After dispute with Thakin Ba Thaung, youth members of Dobama left the organization headquarters at 33, Yedashe Road, Bahan, Rangoon; they organized the Youth League, with leaders Thakin Lay Maung, Thakin Ba Sein, Thakin Tun Oke, Thakin Han, and Thakin Their Maung. After the departure of the second group of youth members, Thakin Ba Thaung's Dobama became defunct. With no followers to back him up, and unemployed, Thakin Ba Thaung got prison sentence, for making fake currency notes. As Thakin Ba Thaung was no longer in charge of Dobama, the young members used the Dobama name. Putting aside Thakin Ba Thaung's character and his lack of friendliness, he was in deed a brilliant man, and hard working a well. It was for his brain and efforts that the names Thakin and Dobama came into existence. But politics is not a one-man play. Under proper leadership and guidance, the people unite and follow the leader. When the direction goes wrong, the leader has to be removed. Thus Thakin Ba Thaung, the father of Dobama, faded away. Such is the lesson from politics.

### ***Komin-Kochin Ahphwe (Our-King, Our-Government-Party)***

During the conference held at Myingyan, Dobama Ahsi-ahyone members debated whether to contest in the first election to be held under the Burma Act, 1935. After deciding to take part in elections for the legislative assembly, local councils and municipal committees, they formed a group for the election business, and the group took the name *Komin Kochin Ahphwe* (Our King, Our Government Party). Dobama sent in about 30 candidates for the legislative assembly, but only three got elected. Taking side with the opposition, the three MPs attended the assembly meetings, with their adopted aim to revoke the 1935 constitution. This required that they consistently oppose the government; and it meant that they could not accept ministerial posts. Thus they always supported no confidence motions.

### **The Thakin Movement**

All foreigners who came to settle in Burma assumed themselves to belong to a race superior to the Burmans. They let themselves addressed as 'Thakin', rather than plain 'Mister'. They had translated Mister a Thakin. Thus Mr. Brown became Brown Thakin, Mr. Banerjee, Banerjee Thakin etc. (The actual meaning of Thakin is Master- Translator's remark). Pioneered by Thakin Ba Thaung and members of Dobama, the members put the prefix Thakin in their names, to show that they were the real masters in their own country, and also to stop the precedent of calling the foreigners Thakin by the natives. Thus was born the Thakin movement.

The original aim of Dobama was to wipe out the inferiority complex Burmans as a subject race, and to transform the country into a socialist state. Actually, the name Dobama Ahsi-ahyone and the name prefix Thakin were incompatible with the ideals of socialism. Dobama conveys the spirit of Burmese nationalism, whereas socialism is international in nature. Thakin is rather a capitalist usage, being applied to the elites, either rich men, or officials. Thakin implies that there are servants or slaves, so that Thakinism couldn't represent socialism. Currently, there is dispute about the suitability of using Thakin.

By now Dobama Ahsi-ahyone has appreciable strength, due mainly to the risks taken by its members and their hardships and sufferings in prisons. While other parties were active only for the sake of personal gains, Thakins were truly devoted to the national cause, and people rallied to Dobama. One factor that boosted the people's trust in Dobama was Mr. Maung Hmaing aka Thakin Kodaw Hmaing, its patron. He toured the country and gave talks on patriotism and nationalism. The people liked and respected Thakin Kodaw Hmaing. In addition, there was Mintha Kodawgyi, of blue blood descended from King Mindon, who acted as president of Dobama.

But there were also many people who stayed away from Dobama, although they liked its aims and principles, because they disliked the manners of its members. Often they gave speeches which some in the audience saw as disrespectful. Another reason was the rule that all Dobama members must adopt the compulsory Thakin, which repelled people from the party.

Also, Thakins are mostly young men who are arrogant, and conceited. They think they are the most courageous and daring politicians; they think their sacrifice cannot be matched by anybody or organization; they hold that the policies of their party are always right, and other parties' policies always wrong. They consider other parties as the first enemy because they play according to the divide and rule policy of the government. The government ranks as their second enemy. They have openly declared that they must fight other political parties first, rather than the government. Because of this statement, Thakins are gradually losing support.

Thakins are also said to appear rude to members of other parties. Criticizing policies and actions is not rude. Vulgar in speech, they do not show respect for age seniority, and status; they address leading men like U Ba Pe, U Ba Maw, U Chit Hlaing, without the respectful prefix U. In writing they use to refer to themselves as *ngar* (I), or *ngardo* (we), which are impolite. They also refer to government officers as *myo asaygan* (town servant), or *nai asygan*

(servant of region), also rude references. For these defects, Dobama Asi-ahyone has not gained strength as much as it should.

### **Separation [from India] versus Antiseparation**

Some political parties wanted to separate the government of Burma from India. Whenever representatives of British government came, they have demanded them to take Burma out of India. But others argued that both Burma and India being under foreign rule together, separation would only weaken their struggle for independence. Anti-separationists believed that Burma must stand together with India before they are liberated. Although the separation-antiseparation debate has been going on, the British government did not pay attention to it. After annexing Burma, it was made a province of India against the objections of Indians. It was never in the nature of the British government to comply with people's demands that do not suit their needs. Turning point came; when some Burmese parties and leaders demanded that Burma be ruled independently of India; it coincided with their own ideas. The British government said Burmans can decide to stay linked with India, or become separate. It was the people's view that the government permitted choice because they trusted the Burmans would like to break links to India, and the government liked it. To decide the issue, an election was held in 1931. The people have to decide whether they like the draft constitution for Burma as a separate entity, or to remain as a province of India according to the government's white paper.

Politicians for or against separation took up the issue in terms the standard of government and rights people would enjoy by choosing either way. Among the men who did not belong to any party, but effectively supported anti-separation were Dr Ba Maw, who is the present prime minister, Dr Ba Han, his elder brother, U Kyaw Myint, Deedoke U Ba Cho, Ramree (Yanbyee) U Maung Maung, U Kyaw Din, barrister, U Ba Khine, U Shwe Hla, Bandoola U Sein, C.P. U Khin Maung, and U Paw Tun. Parties which openly supported separation were U Soe Thein's Thetpan GCBA, U Chit Hlaing's GCBA, and U Su's GCBA, under the patronage of Ye U Sayadaw. And there were some independents, monks and laymen, who also stood for separation. There were also some GCBA's who did not support either choice, but simply boycott the election. But it happened that U Tun Aung Kyaw, who was formally chairman of the boycott group, entered the election, as a separationist from Thayet constituency. Thus the boycott GCBA was accused of having directly or indirectly supported separation. In another tricky maneuver, in an effort to defeat anti-separation, U Su, an anti-separationist, wrote in

newspapers and accused other anti-separationists, his fellow workers, got bribe money from an Indian named Mr. Harjee, agent of Sindhira Shipping Company. He admitted he got a large sum of money from the Indians. At about the same time U Su resigned as Dobama president, and he took a job as chemist with the British owned BOC Company. With that U Su's role in politics came to an end.

The people assumed that the Europeans and the government favored separation. One reason was U Su's employment by BOC. In another case, BOC gave unduly large advertising fees to enable Tharawaddy U Pu to publish his pro-separation newspaper, Nawratha. Also gossip went around that Mr. Harper, the agent for BOC, who was also a delegate in the Round Table Conference in London, had made secret agreements with former Wuntharus, U Su, U Pu and U Tun Aung Kyaw; as a result, it was said, they became separationists. Some said that, during the voyage, they had agreed with the 21-group to share the government ministerial posts after separation came about. U Tun Aung Kyaw and Tharawaddy U Pu were prominent members in U Chit Hlaing's GCBA. Previously they had vehemently spoken against separation; but after they came back from London conference, they changed their stance and joined the 21-group in the issue. Wuntharus, as well as members of 2-group no longer trusted these men; consequently they quit politics. That year, U Pu was badly defeated in the election; he took the post of government law officer in Taungoo. The appointment of U Pu, a third grade pleader, in preference to English trained barristers, caused a stir in political circles. It was said that U Pu had supported unpopular causes because he was getting 'something to eat'. U Tun Aung Kyaw also lost the election; after that he became president of Boycott GCBA, which had no members. He did not get followers, and was incapable of doing anything. U Pu and U Tun Aung Kyaw died within a short period each after the other. During U Tun Shein's funeral, the whole nation grieved; the people didn't feel any sorrow for the deaths of U Pu and U Tun Aung Kyaw. People just said, "They are gone." That's how the people judged them. It's a great lesson for politicians.

U Chit Hlaing and the whole of his party identified with the Link-India side, i.e. anti-separation. U Chit Hlaing was also accused of taking money from Indians. People understood that Englishmen favored separation, whereas the Indians liked Burma linked to them. When the election was held the separationists lost; they blamed their defeat on the monks, whom they accused of forcing villagers to vote for Link-India. They wrote articles in newspapers and pamphlets to protest the unfair election. They even wrote to the British parliament to complain

about the monks' meddling. Together on U Chit Hlaing's side were monks led by Thetpan Sayadaw, who were pro-U Chit Hlaing, and U Tun Zan, U Tun Sein and other leading men. In U Su's GCBA, under Ye U Sayadaw's patronage, after U Su's departure, the remaining monks and men appointed U Myat Tha Tun president; this group also supported Link-India. U Pyinnasami of Moda Taik and Pyinmana Kan U Kyaung Sayadaw followed U Su. U Ba Shwe's group of eight from Mandalay helped the separation activists. Others who helped Link-India were Tharawaddy U Pu, U Tun Aung Kyaw, Tharawaddy U Maung Maung and others, the break away faction from Wuntharnu. Together with them were 21-members, U Ni's Peasant's Party, and Sir J.A.Maung Gyi and his independent followers.

Many people found themselves unable to decide which side to vote. But they found an easy hint in Sir J.A. Maung Gyi; he and his party had consistently been pro-British. So when he stood for separation, the people thought it would be wrong to support that side. In addition the 21-ners have become well known as self-seekers, who put themselves above the country; this group also pushed the people into voting the other way. On the other side, the GCBA monks, who were influential, told their disciples to vote anti-separation.

### **The Two Camps**

Both camps formed their coalitions to promote their cause. In Link-India coalition, the monks proposed barrister U Kyaw Myint for the position of president. But U Kyaw Myint argued that Dr Ba Maw, being his teacher, and educationally better qualified should be given the leadership. The group agreed with U Kyaw Myint, and chose Dr Ba Maw as president. After Dr Ba Maw became president U Chit Hlaing became unhappy, and he left the coalition. Some said U Paw Tun influenced him to leave. When U Chit Hlaing declared his decision to leave, the group elected him president. In fact it was a tripartite-presidency, with Dr Ba Maw representing U Soe Thein GCBA and independents, U Myat Thar Tun representing the Central GCBA, and U Chit Hlaing for Inya-myinya GCBA. But when business meetings began, U Chit Hlaing and his men did not participate. U Myat Thar Tun then split apart; he joined U Chit Hlaing, and they acted independently. Thus there arose two sub-groups in the Link-India faction, one under Dr Ba Maw and the other under U Chit Hlaing.

When this camp started to fight against the separatists, it had no daily newspaper on its side. Then Deedoke U Ba Cho, as editor, published the Myanmar Zeya daily, to promote Link-India. Thus Myanmar Zeyar daily and Deedoke and Bandoola journals strongly criticized separatists

and advocated for staying with India. The other camp had Thuria and Myanmar Ahlin, the two major dailies to promote their cause.

When the election results came out Link-India camp won by a majority of 500 000 votes, as well as in the number of member of legislative assembly members (or members of parliament). However, the government insisted that the decision could not be based only on election outcome; it had to be debated in the house. When the members started work on the motion, Ramree U Maung Maung and barrister U Kyaw Din, originally executive members on the Link-India side, were working behind the scene with Sir J.A. Maung Gyi and Bin Chun. U Ba Maw was commuting to the Governor's residence. Irregularities continued to happen. Dr Ba Han, Dr Ba Maw's brother, U Kyaw Myint and U Ba Cho drafted a motion the "the house does not agree to split Burma from India according to the form of government proposed by the (British) Prime Minister". While the meeting discussed the non-separation draft proposal, Ramree U Maung Maung and U Kaw Din strongly opposed it.

Dr Ba Maw suggested that Ramree U Maung Maung's motion should go ahead. But U Chit Hlaing, now the Speaker of the House, rejected it, saying that it was illegal, because what the government wanted was a clear cut "Yes", or "No" answer. Then U Tun Pe, the house member representing Rangoon University, proposed that "the house accepts the form of government outlined by the Prime Minister, and accordingly to take Burma apart from India." But objections came up as it would mean accepting separation. In this impasse, they came back to Ramree U Maung Maung's motion; during this phase, the *Avada Sayadaws* (Panel of Advisory Monks) gave advice adopting it. There was no way out, and those who did not agree were left disheartened. However, when the motion came up in parliament, the Speaker turned it down saying it did not conform to the rules. There was still U Tun Pe's motion left to keep the people in suspense.

Ramree U Maung Maung's motion proposed that "the house rejects the form of government for Burma suggested by the Prime Minister, as it also rejects the government given to India; the objections being raised because Burma's link to India is not to go on permanently."

When this motion was debated in the house, U Chit Hlaing again turned it down again insisting that the Prime Minister has asked for a "Yes" or "No" vote. The rejection of this motion enraged separatist Dr Ba Maw and Ramree U Maung Maung, as well as anti-separatists U Ba Pe and Sir J.A. Maung Gyi. The MPs voted out U Chit Hlaing from the Chair, and replaced

him with Sir Oscar de Glanville, the English independent member. U Kyaw Myint, U Ba Cho, Dr Ba Han and others had vehemently objected his appointment. Before they did so, U Sandawbasa, U Yhuseitta and other advisor monks had ordered U Chit Hlaing to be removed, as they had disliked him from the beginning. At this point Dr Ba Maw's motives and actions are remarkable. He had severely criticized U Ba Pe and Sir J.A. Maung Gyi, yet he conspired with them in removing fellow separatist (U Chit Hlaing) from the Chair; quite a remarkable feat.

The motion to dismiss U Chit Hlaing from the post of House Speaker was approved supported by the splinter members from 21-group, pro-government Sir J.A. Maung Gyi's faction, and Dr Ba Maw's party. Then Sir Oscar de Glanville, an Englishman became Speaker, and Ramree U Maung Maung's motion passed through without voting.

Sir Charles Innes, the Governor, who had reported to his government in London that he expected the separatists would win, was now embarrassed because the election result had come out the other way. His secret service and regional officers had also predicted the separatists to win; now as the most responsible administrator, he would feel ashamed for the failure of his efforts.

Now the election result had been manipulated, the government what it wanted; MPs elected on the anti-separation ticket have converted to separation; they have revealed their identity as pretenders. Having secured success, and as his term of office ended, Sir Charles Innes went home, happily. He will never forget Dr Ba Maw as he owes him a lot. Here, the political strategy of Englishmen is remarkable, perhaps praiseworthy. "As I have said the separatists are the winners now. Defeat in election is immaterial; what is crucial is achieving the aim. Isn't 'bringing cattle home' the finishing point," said leader U Ba Pe puffing his cigar, and smiling. His words answering everybody who asked him are still ringing today.

The contrary outcome was loudly protested outside the legislature; the British prime minister answered that Burma legislature had been given the chance three times to decide whether to separate or stay linked to India, but has failed to give a clear 'yes' or 'no' answer. He explained that this failure has led him to conclude that Burma wanted to separate.

Wuntharus, who hated diarchy, and had boycotted the legislature, were now in it; they said they were there only to protest Burma's separation from India. U Chit Hlaing, its president had accepted the post of House Speaker; Dr Ba Maw, in order to get the rupee 5000 per month post

as minister, put up the whole of his party for separation, along with U Kyaw Din and Sir J.A. Maung Gyi. Then, following internal disputes, Dr Ba Maw made allies with former rival U Ba Pe, leader of 21-group, and sacked U Kyaw Din and Sir J.A. Maung Gyi from the rupee 5000 ministerial posts; he took the post of prime minister. Before accepting the post he took part in the conference in London to discuss the form of government after Burma's separation from India.

Participants in the joint committee meeting in London for the new Burmese administration were 1. U Ba Pe, 2. U Thein Maung, 3. U Chit Hlaing, 4. Dr Ba Maw, 5. Mr. Trudjee, 6. Dr Ma Saw Sa, 7. Saya Shwe Ba, 8. Me Kimpenet, 9. Mr. Harjee, 10. Mr. Cowasjee, 11. Mr. Harper and 12. U Shwe Thar. After the joint committee meeting, Burma got the Burma Act in 1935, which brought in a new government.

After the 1935 Burma Act came into force, new elections were held in November 1936. About 600 candidates contested for 132 seats, among them, apart from minorities Nga Pwint Saing (Five Star) party, U Chit Hlaing's party, Ko Min Ko Chin party, Fabian Socialist party, Dr Ba Maw's party, Independence party and independents.

The numbers elected from the parties were 40 from Five Star party, 16 from Dr Ba Maw's party, 12 from U Chit Hlaing's party, 3 from Ko Min Ko Chin, also known as Thakin party; the remainder belong to independents and representatives of minorities, like Indians, Karens, Anglos. About 20 Burmans, not belonging to any party, got elected, retaining the prospect of joining a party of choice after the election. A remarkable feature of this election was the failure of Sir J.A. Maung Gyi's Independence party to get a single seat; for years past he had been influential and manipulated Burma's politics. This is a fact which showed that the people of Burma have progressed.

### **Mingalun GCBA**

After the separation issue ended, Dr Ba Mae's became more and more powerful. This was partly due to his education, friendly relations with monks, and his official position. Another factor which contributed to his rise was U Chit Hlaing's lack of activity; he saw his GCBA now in the hands of the government, and he thought he couldn't guide the Wuntharus and monks in the right direction, and he discontinued his political activities. After Dr Ba Maw removed U Kyaw Din from office he and Ramree U Maung Maung gradually drifted apart. Then Ramree U Maung Maung went to Thetpan Sayadaw in Katha, and appealed to no longer

support Dr Ba Maw. Thetpan Sayadaw gave him a letter declaring that he had revoked his support for Dr Ba Maw. Ramree U Maung Maung published the letter in news papers. It resulted in a split between Dr Ba Maw and Thetpan Sayadaw; after the split, Sayadaw U Thuseitta, who was *Avadasariya* (member of advisory panel of monks) in Dr Ba Maw's party, toured the country and urged monks to remove Thetpan Sayadaw from his position as president, and to replace him with Myaeso Sayadaw from Meikthila. As influential monks agreed with him, U Soe Thein's GCBA ended up in the hands of Dr Ba Maw. At that time disagreement was also beginning between U Soe Thein and his party secretary U Thein Zan. This was due to U Thein Zan's close relations with Dr Ba Maw. U Thein Zan then joined Thetpan faction. U Soe Thein didn't join Thetpan party because it was weak, and he also knew that it was bound to break up because Ramree U Maung Maung and monk U Nyanottara were in that party. Thetpan party appointed U Chit Pe, an MP, as president, and U Thein Zan secretary.

After the split between Dr Ba Maw and Thetpan Sayadaw, the GCBA sank deeper, and lost the trust of the people. This was the result of accepting Ramree U Maung Maung and U Nyanottara, who had earned bad names as cronies of Sir J.A. Maung Gyi. U Chit Pe, the Thetpan president, was also seen to be changing side all the time in the legislature, and this added to the view that they were indeed Sir J.A. Maung Gyi's men. Thetpan group faded because of its involvement with the wrong persons. U Thein Zan, who had given up much when he was in U Soe Thein's GCBA became unpopular with followers. Presently he is working as secretary of Thetpan party; but with a president like U Chit Pe, the party has no chance of achieving anything. Then there was the death of Thetpan Sayadaw to add to its decline.

Burma's political history wouldn't be complete without mentioning the activities of Ramree U Maung Maung and U Nyanottara. U Maung Maung had been a treasurer of the Burma Day funfair to raise funds for Wuntharu. But when time to audit the income and expenses, he had lost the books; only his verbal statement of financial records had to be accepted. Since that time Ramree U Maung Maung got the nickname 'Burma Day Thabut-u', meaning the 'Burma Day mess'. And this is remembered by all politicians. U Nyanottara had been an influential monk among political monks. But his role in laymen's parties had always been negative, leading finally to their destruction. But Burmans have poor memory of political events; when they organize new parties they accept men who were well known as crooks in previous parties.

Thus we see that parties one party after another had disappeared. U Nyanottara and Ramree U Maung Maung, for now, are out of sight. One wonders how they will reappear one day, and the readers have to watch.

As a result of the split between Dr Ba Maw and Thetpan Sayadaw, U Soe Thein's GCBA, under Thetpan Sayadaw's patronage, became Bandoola U Sein's GCBA, under the patronage of Myaeso Sayadaw. After U Sein, Tharawaddy U Maung Maung became president. Although the GCBA exists in name, it has no list of members, no membership cards, no member's contributions; its only business became holding occasional conferences, to support Dr Ba Maw's work. When Myaeso Sayadaw passed away, Mingalun Sayadaw took his position, and the GCBA became known as Mingalun GCBA to this day.

Mingalun GCBA has no political agenda; its only mission was to seek benefits for members and get political posts in the government. Outside the legislative assembly, it is known as Mingalun party, and inside, it is called Dr Ba Maw's party.

Although in name it receives advice from Mingalun Sayadaw, Dr Ba Maw is the real authority; as he has authority, he decides all matters; he informs the party about the actions he has taken on his own decision; he reports to the patron monks, when he wants to. No one, monks or laymen, demand anything from Dr Ba Maw; the members', laymen's as well as monks', role is only to defend Dr Ba Maw, regardless of right or wrong, when other parties criticize him.

Dr Ba Maw has some followers because of his abilities. He speaks words which peasants and workers like; he is friendly, he always greets with smile Wuntharnus who are poor men; and he has done a project that benefits workers and peasants. It is known that he gives generously, and he has supported, with monthly payments, men and monks, who could become useful for him. When someone asks money from him, he never refuses; he always gives something. "He who eats his rice must dare to do his job" is a proverb left by old generations, not without reason. Dr Ba Maw's followers have only to support him, right or wrong, honest or dishonest. As he is now the prime minister we have only to conclude that he is quite a lucky person.

Right now, there is no Mingalun GCBA, as a party, although on occasion we hear news, from time to time, about the formation of the party known as Dr Ba Maw's Sinyetha (poor folks') party. But the membership is not durable; it has some strength in Upper Burma, especially in Mandalay region. In addition to Sinyetha party, there is also the Dha-ma Tat (chopping knife force), which has some strength. However it is not really great; it only has occasional

activities.

### **Dobama Ahsiahyone**

After the student strike against the university act, some students went back to government colleges and schools, some took up jobs. Others became self-teaching students who read various books they could get. These boys got the chance to read about the Russian socialist revolution, with the result that their attitudes changed. They exchanged knowledge, multiplying the number of left inclined youth. These young men became politically active. They studied revolutions in Russia, Italy, and other countries. From their readings they have learnt human rights principles. A new breed of youth had come on the scene.

Like a bundle of explosives that would be ignited by a fuse, these young men organized into discrete groups and held secret discussions. The Indo-Burmese riot prompted them into open activity; they formed the ‘Dobama Ahsiahyone’ (We Burmans Organization). The outstanding man of Dobama was Thakin Ba Thaung. A brilliant man, who had read the history of the Russian revolution and other leftist writings, he was ideally prepared to play a leading role. He copied the ‘hammer and sickle’ the Russian symbol of workers and peasants movement, and used it as symbol for the Burmese peasants and workers struggle. It was a hit which brought immense public recognition of the Dobama organization as the party of down trodden classes. Thakin Ba Thaung also made use of a poster, as in Russia, of man coming out with a torch, proclaiming the arrival of the revolution in Burma.

Thakin Ba Thaung published Dobama’s political pamphlet (1)<sup>1</sup> as ‘A document dedicated to the memory of the men who died or suffered injuries while defending themselves from the unreasonable assaults of Indians, (against the Burmans), on the Closing-moon day of Kason 1292, and the following days.’

---

<sup>1</sup> For a full Burmese text of the two pamphlets of the Dobama Asiayone see Khin Yee (1988) *The Dobama Movement in Burma: Appendix*, Ithaca, Cornell University. For the first series: pp. 1-9; for the second series: pp. 13-35. Besides the “cover page” of pamphlet number 1 mainly dealing with the Indo-Burmese riots of May 1930, Ba Khaing reproduces the eight paragraphs of pamphlet number 2 (The Business of Translation; Our Land, Our Nation, Our Written Language; When Monasteries Transform into Universities; The Marble Statue of Buddha; The Year 1390; Marvelous *Weikza* Knowledge; *Weikza* and Agriculture; The Way to Success. – For another translation of parts of the pamphlets see Hans-Bernd Zöllner (2000) *Birma zwischen “Unabhängigkeit Zuerst – Unabhängigkeit Zuletzt”. Die birmanischen Unabhängigkeitsbewegungen und ihre Sicht der zeitgenössischen Welt am Beispiel der deutsch-birmanischen Beziehungen zwischen 1920 und 1948*. Münster, LIT: pp. 508-513. The translation is taken from the appendix of U) Maung Maung’s thesis „From Sangha to Laity” from 1976. The appendix is not reproduced in Maung Maung’s book published 1980 by Manohar.

The cover page of Political Pamphlet 1 carries the slogan:

*Burma is our country;*

*Burmese, our written language;*

*Burmese, our spoken language;*

*Love our country;*

*Promote our written language;*

*Respect our spoken language.*

The political declaration begins with emotional words:

*Fellow countrymen,*

*Isn't Burma our country?*

*Isn't it our great duty to love our country?*

*Burma for Burmans, don't you agree?*

*Yes it is; Burma must be for Burmans;*

*Don't forget that!*

*Get united; organize yourselves;*

*Be helpful to each other.*

***OPEN BURMESE SHOPS;***

***BUY FROM BURMESE SHOPS.***

It ends with the words: “If you are not aggressive, you will only have more enemies; to conquer the enemy, face it!”

Along with this declaration, the name Dobama Ahsiahyone spread to all parts of the country.

Those who had read this political manifesto became stronger in their nationalism.

Well known among Thakin Ba Thaug's colleagues in those days were Thakin Hla Baw, a chemical analyst, U Ohn Khin, now with the hiking association, and Ko Ohn Pe of Wakema.

Then Thakin Ba Thaug published Political Pamphlet 2, containing eight remarkable articles, which we reproduce below.

## **The Business of Translation**

When will Burma, our country, a land of pagodas, become free? The answer is simple: it will get freedom when it gets the brilliance of the sun. When will it get the brilliance of the sun? It will get it when it possesses the eye of wisdom. When will it get the eye of wisdom? The eye of wisdom will come when the Burmans have read and studied plenty of foreign literature; the stuff that has the potential to open eyes. Opponents may ask, "Is it only possible to open eyes by reading foreign literature?" We don't mean to say it is absolutely necessary. But we say there is the fact which the majority cannot deny: the currently available literature in Burmese is not sufficient to make our nation a modern one, the equal of others. *Lokaniti* is good as a book of advice; *paritta sutta* is good for chanting to brighten our minds and cool our hearts. But neither *Lokaniti*, nor *Paritta sutta* can teach us to make motor cars and airplanes which enable us to move fast on the ground and fly in the air. Nor would it teach us to weave fine clothes, like velvet. Times have changed. We are in a new age. Long, long ago, a walled city surrounded by moat, is safely protected. A country surrounded by seas and mountains and deep forests had nothing to fear about enemy attack. But those days are now far in the past. A city wall, with water ditch around, could guard against the enemy forces with swords, spears and guns, and elephant-mounted troops, and cavalry. But those days are gone long ago. These days such a walled city may not withstand the assault of big guns with range up to 73 miles. It's true, the seas and oceans can guard against attack from boats with oars and sails; but how can they stop today's battle ships. High mountains like the Himalayas can discourage foot-soldiers and cavalry with horses and mules; but they will not tell today's airplanes, "Don't fly over us." If they did, it's entirely useless.

What do we do then? Don't worry, it's quite easy: fry fish in fish oil! We've only got to tie the monkey with its tail! Cannons which don't heed city walls and moats, however, would not dare to be impertinent when airplanes fly over. Battle ships, which don't heed seas or oceans, are likely to take care of submarines, and under-water mines. Intruding airplanes don't care mountains and ranges, like the Himalayas, regardless of how high they are; but they do wouldn't be reckless with anti-aircraft guns.

Thus, only by relying on superior weapons can we make our lives lovely. Life is a continuous struggle which can be won only with constant attention and hard work. The rule is: 'survival of

the fittest.’ As in all battles, there can be only one result: loser, or winner; there’s no stalemate, no draw.

Friends, fellow citizens, you Burmans; how are we going to do in this struggle for existence? We will fight for liberty and maintain our independence. We will seek the eye of wisdom. We will do our utmost in this business of translation. Be prepared to do your part. We can depend only upon ourselves; who else is there to help us? We have no one to rely on, but ourselves. Do rely on yourselves; do the good job of translation; printing only slogans and declarations in dailies and monthlies will not do the job. We don’t see any benefit in relying on foreign rulers. We must do what we should, by ourselves.

We shouldn’t regard translation as a business too big for us. There is no job we ought not to tackle. For a brave soul there is no task too big for him. “A really able man can certainly grab a star in the sky,” says our proverb. Is translation as difficult as catching a star in the sky? Even if it is like the star in the sky, let us go on with the task. Let’s begin right now. A hard job is a happier task than an easy one. A hard earned meal tastes sweeter.

Therefore, let us bear in mind that every Myanmar should take part in the noble task of educating the Myanmar people in their own language. (Every Myanmar ought to remember the Pali stanza: “*Attahi attanaw nataw; kawhi nataw paraw thera.*”) It is a high duty. We must do it, by physical act, rather than by lip service. Friends, how will you take part in this noble endeavor? Will you contribute by means of your effort, physical, or intellectual? Or, by financial contribution?

### **Our Land, Our Nation, Our Written Language**

Education is important because it is the basic requirement of national progress. To broadly educate our nationals, we should use, in our land, our own language. As we have our own language, to think of teaching in any other language could only be stepping backward; it goes against progress. It is like “missing one’s aunt, rather than mother.”

The Japanese use their language as medium of instruction. This has made Japan powerful, and the Japanese people abreast with other races. The Myanmar people have not done much in teaching in the native language. So we are inferior to others; we are lagging behind. Our folk have become servants of other people; we are not in the same rank with them. In some great nations, people cannot even locate on the map the country called Myanmar. And they don’t

have reason to know it. But they do know where Japan is. Why is Japan known everywhere?

The Chinese also use their language as medium of teaching. Because of that, they have got plenty of educated people. China has developed from backward status; it is now standing as the equal of other powers.

About twenty years ago, powerful nations have not considered China as equal. They had treated it as common property, like a charity feast, where anyone can go in, or out, at will. Like sons and daughters dividing inheritance, before parents were dead, France, Russia and Britain have been trying to divide China; they were consulting who would take which portion. In fact no single power had invaded China then, not because it was afraid of it; it was only their mutual scares, because of conflicting interests, which held them back. However, today China has risen; it is now a power to reckon. The Chinese have produced educated people, and they are working to train more. The education department is seriously working to teach modern technical subjects in Chinese language. Now, a committee of 122 learned men has been formed to work out uniformly acceptable terms for translation.

It is now only about fifty years that Japan started teaching western education in Japanese. In this short period the Japanese have shown themselves to be a respectable race. It is now forty four years since Upper Burma was annexed by a foreign power; it's almost fifty years now. But Myanmar is now far behind Japan.

If we ignore the task of teaching in the vernacular, and continue in the present manner, we will not improve from the status of fire-wood-cutters and water-carriers; we will remain so even when Arimitterea, the next Buddha comes; in fact, it is a real prospect that the Myanmar race will disappear before that time. We can cite as example the extinction of natives after the White men came to Australia.

If we can afford to spend about 500 000 rupees for the business of translation, in ten or fifteen year's time, our lamentable country should make considerable progress. These days a minister of education is paid 5 000 rupees per month; 500 000 rupees is less than the salary aid to three ministers of education in three years.

We have known that there are great men in our country who believe that our country have had scholars since the days of the Buddha; we also know that there are new great men who are about to bloom, and they would hold the view that, since the time of King Alaungpaya, we have had learned and skillful men. But Myanmar has not prospered because of the virtue of the

'omniscient golden brains' of such great men; but they have only grumbled about the poverty of lexicon in Myanmar language. What a pity; we have only to weep for our miserable kamma. But the Japanese do not weep, and neither do the Chinese and Thais; they only do what they ought to. In addition, in Mysore province of Nizam Maharaja, text books for various subjects have been translated into Urdu, for use in the university. It is a wonderful and delightful job that they have translated high level texts in only six years. Our kamma seems more miserable than it appears to be, because we have been wasting time praising the achievements of others, but upon looking back at the state of affairs of our land we only find it deplorable. In Myanmar, we find our language only the second language.

However, we shouldn't lament for our lot. Let us not be sorry. Let us be determined, as long as we live, to carry out the task of teaching all subjects in our language. Let us endeavor to push up our people to number one rank in the world.

In addition, let us hope to live long enough to see that the task of teaching in our language is achieved. Let remember our land, our nation, our language, day and night; let us dedicate ourselves to liberate our country, to enable us to live as free men.

### **When Monasteries Transform into Universities**

One reason Myanmar has high literacy rate is the existence of numerous monasteries. Myanmar has the highest literacy among the various provinces of India. No one can conceal the debt we owe the monasteries for the literacy of our people. If we look at the annual statistics published by the British government and other reports, we will find that we are not boasting, but really stating the facts. Therefore it is very important to bear in mind the importance of monasteries in our task of national development. But at present, the monasteries lost former reputation; it is obvious they are declining like the waning moon. But there seem to be very few people, perhaps none, who is aware of the fact that declining standards of monasteries would slow down national progress. Actually, if in deed there are people who realize it, their number probably may be less than one thousand. It is a sorry situation.

Monasteries give, over the ages, free education; there is no excuse for not learning because of the inability to pay fees. At present, civilized Western nations have planned, or are planning, to provide free education; and they will continue to do so in the future. This shows that we are the first nation to know the benefits of free education; we should be proud, and be happy, for this great honor. Some Indian provinces are now making laws to make primary education

compulsory. In Russia, higher education is regarded as responsibility of the government, which is providing free university education. In our country, we need to renew and modernize existing monasteries. In fact this is an inevitable task. The world is changing fast; the present is quite different from a decade ago. The monasteries, slow in changing with the times, are lagging behind. The fast changing world will not wait for the people, or the monasteries; if we want to be modern, we have to move ahead with the pace of the changes. This is not the age of bullock carts and row boats; this is the age of telegraph and airplane. Education is invaluable, more valuable than gold, silver and gem stones, the seven kinds of jewels. Let us make use of free education institutions, the monasteries, to provide modern education for our 13 million citizens, in our native language. We should begin right now. What would you like to say about this?

When monasteries have thus transformed into modern universities, the status of our country, Myanmar, will have changed from what it is today; perhaps the difference may be compared to that between a plum seed and the Himalaya Mountain.

### **The Marble Statue of Buddha**

The above title might suggest that the author is going to write about pagodas and temples. No, it's a big mistake to think so, because it's not our intention to meddle in religious matters.

What do we want to appeal in this little pamphlet? We will look at our selves from the point of view of aliens; i.e. we wanton find out how foreigners see us. This is because the other point of view is often important; we ought to be broad minded to pay attention to even the opinion of the enemy. Ordinary people naturally do not like being looked down by others; they tend to ignore the fact that others have poor impression on us because we deserved it. Usually we don't see our own faults. But we are will find the truth, and let us be unperturbed by other people's opinion onus. We must be critical and rely on reason, for we have big intentions.

A few years back, the Germans looked at us, Easterners, from their own perspective. They saw all Asians as nothing, but a marble statue of the Buddha. The Westerners, who are ever so active with ideas and actions that they regard sleeping and eating as unavoidable jobs, see the Easterners as inanimate like the Buddha statue. And with this comparison, they mock at the Asians.

What do you think you folks? Will you stay dead like the Buddha statue? Or, will you animate

the statue and show yourselves to be alive and active? Khingyipyaw, [a great scholar monk, who became literate only in old age – translator], had shown that even a grinding stone can grow branches. It's now time, our turn, to show that the statue is living.

The great dragon, China, has now wakened up. The world is watching it to see what will happen. Will the Chinese Dragon become a world power when its statues wake up? Are we Burmans not going to produce intellectually able men like Pyu Saw Hti, who with bow and arrow wiped out the menace of monster bird and swine in ancient Pagan? This is a query you should answer.

“Streams may become shallow, but a race may not decline,” say the proverb. If we Myanmar people are active and hard working, we will not decline. Maung San Wa and team are now hiking around the world; U Kyaw Yin, the artist from Tavoy, has flown up in a balloon measuring sixty or seventy feet. These are signs that the Burmese statue is beginning to become alive. Feel great, and be proud of such feats!

Let us be determined, with great vision and broad minds and tough hearts. Let us take on the task. We have a great history; let's not belittle it in our time. It is nobler to live famously a day, than to live an unknown life one hundred years. Don't forget; don't let yourselves become marble statues.

### **The Year 1390**

Our main aim is to make our country independent. And we have dedicated ourselves to this cause. Some people want to know when we will reach this goal. If we really work hard, starting from this year, 1290 B.E., we probably will gain liberty in the year 1390. Some may think it's too long and lose heart and give up altogether.

Most people look for short-term benefits; they want to enjoy profits in their own life-time. They may think 100 years too long a period.

In fact, time is not absolute; it's relative. People will think ten years too long if it takes that long to paint a picture. But, let us say it's a wonderful painting and will last 300 years. Then ten years painting it is not too long. “If you want to eat good tea leaves, let the Palaung go slow.” If an individual masterpiece takes 10 – 15 years, it's not too long for a national objective to take 100 years. One hundred years in history is just as long as 24 hours on the scale of human life. Mazzini of Rome had to wait fifty years to see his aim come true. Dr Sun Yat

Sen., the father of modern China, struggled forty years to liberate his country. No great historic task is achieved overnight. So, regardless of how one sees 100 years, our duty is not to count it. True we will not be living in the year 1390; even our offspring may not remember us then. Like the Great Irrawaddy river formed by the union of many small streams, let us treat ourselves like small streams to contribute to 'the future river of liberty.' Let us dedicate our task for future generations. Let us start in 1290 to take on this noble task.

Only by such dedication and hard work, we will be able to bring liberty in our land by the year 1390.

### **Marvelous *Weikza* Knowledge**

(Note added by translator: *Weikza* is a translation for the term science; it's a new terminology. In later years the translation was changed: in present usage, *weikza* is arts; science is the equivalent of *theikpan*.)

About the year 976, of our calendar, during the time of Anaukphetlun, the Maha Dhammaraja, a man named Solomon de Caus was sent to the lunatic asylum because he attempted to use the motive power of steam to drive machines. Then after two hundred years, in 1173, during the reign of our King Bodawpaya, breakthrough came.

When Colonel Stevenson tried to invent a steam-driven railway people thought he was mad. But today the railway is so common that no one think it strange.

Motor cars, airplanes, telegraph and audio-movies are no longer strange things. It would be a miracle to keep a dog living after its head has been chopped off, even for those who believe nothing is impossible with science. But it's no longer a miracle; Russian scientists have severed a dog's head, and kept alive both parts, by scientific means. When the Russians examined the severed dog's head, they found it appeared to be living, with eyes still shining, like a live dog's; and the tongue even licked the mater's hand. In addition, it refused food which was hot, or bitter, but ate food that was sweet and tasty. It closed eyes when a strong beam of light was shone on it. It showed dislike at any provocative action. All this was made possible by artificial blood circulation in the dog's body parts. One day it may become possible to keep alive a man whose had has been cut off accidentally, and rejoin the sections.

Will science be able to change sex, male into female, or vice-versa, one might ask. Although this is not yet possible with man, scientists have done sex change in birds and small animals.

An American scientist doing sex research has done experiments with frog. He found that fresh frog female eggs when fertilized with fresh sperm from male hatched into equal numbers of male and females; but eggs fertilized with four-day-old sperm hatched only males. When eggs exposed to x-rays were hatched in an incubator only females, and no males at all. Sex manipulation has been achieved in small creatures. Even changing a male into female has been carried out. Although sex-selection is not yet possible in humans, in future it might become a reality to favor one human sex over another, as in frog and chicken.

The wonders of science are innumerable. A scientist in London has used a single beam of light to open a door, stop an experimental train, switch on window lights, and ring a burglar alarm or fire alarm. In future street lights will be automatically switched on and off as the sun set or rises. This is already used in Bern.

Such are the wonders of science. But are we But we are not supposed to be amazed by the feats of other people only? When are we going to study science and become equal to others?

Although ordinary sunlight cannot burn animals and plants, when focused with a lens it burns anything beneath.

Likewise, man's mind when unfocused is not brilliant. But the concentrated mind can bring great ideas and put them into reality.

### **Weikza [Science] and Agriculture**

Don't throw away traditions; don't do lavish shopping.

Rejecting traditions may put one on the wrong track;

Lavish shopping may make one poor.

This maxim is not always true. One doesn't always get on the wrong path by rejecting traditions; and one doesn't always become poor by lavish shopping. We ought to reject some traditions; and at times we ought to spend lavishly in the market. Although there are many instances which do not go wrong after throwing away precedents, we will not much about it. As our aim in this article I to suggest the use of scientific methods in agriculture, and to discard traditional methods, where necessary, we will go straight to the point. In a way, we mean to propose using science, like oxen pulling a cart, to pull up agriculture.

Technology has given us the means the means to travel faster than on horse, or elephant, or on

ox-cart, or by sail-boat, or row-boat. On land we can travel by car or train; on waterways, motor boats and steam ships; underwater, submarines; and in the air, airplanes. This is a fact, and no one can deny it. But, why are we suggesting the application of scientific methods to only agriculture, leaving other areas? The reason is that eighty five percent of our population is farmers or farm workers. They earn their living from agriculture. Only twenty out of one hundred people living in our country are merchant, or brokers, or clerks and government employees.

However, we are living in an age when things are upside down; the concerns of ten out of 13 million people, although important, are not given due attention, but attention is given to the affairs of 3 million. For example, the today's movement for self-government and change is not aimed to directly improve the lives of 10 million people who work on the farms. Actually, political leaders do not pay much attention to the status of farmers.

This much should be enough to make it clear why we should use science and technology to benefit the farmers.

We are not using fertilizers other than cow manure. This actually is partly the result of conservative attitudes, and partly due to ignorance.

In fact putting manure on farm land is scientific, but we don't understand the reason. Chemical analysis shows that 1000 viss of cow manure contains 3 viss of nitrogen, the element that makes forms explosives. Nitrogen is abundant in air; 80 percent of air is nitrogen. But it is useless for plants, because they cannot directly consume it.

Nitrogen is found not only in air; it exists as compounds in such substances as fats and oils, soap, ash and other solids. Plants can use these compounds, when they are dissolved in water.

But nitrogen only is not sufficient for plant needs. Will we be satisfied to eat only rice, and no dishes? Plants do not need as much variety as we do; they require only four types of nutrients: nitrogen, phosphorous (found in bones), potassium, and calcium. These components should be provided in precise proportions, as in pharmaceuticals. Today we can buy fertilizer made specifically for paddy.

A fertilizer which can double the yield of paddy, named "Amophos" is available; it contains 20 percent nitrogen and 10 percent phosphorous. For nitrogen requirement, 100 viss of Amophos is equivalent to 700 viss of cow manure. Although cow manure is bulky, we should use is a

much a possible, if it is freely available. 100 viss (about 27 pounds) of Amophos costs only about ten rupees; and about 100 to 200 viss is needed for one acre of paddy farm. Tests showed that one acre of second class land, which normally yields 25 baskets of paddy, produces 26 baskets more, when it is fed 200 pounds of fertilizer. In other words fertilizer doubles the paddy output. As the fertilizer costs only about 20 rupees, the farmer easily makes 25 rupees profit.

So our suggestion is to dare to cast aside traditional methods, where necessary, and to employ scientific techniques. We urge farmers to use currently available fertilizers. Interested persons can contact us for information.

### **The Way to Success**

Many people desire success; there are few who do not like success. Men and women, just about every body use to say “I want to succeed; I’ll ever be grateful if you will please tell me the way to success.” And many people use to ask, “Why is that man so successful?”

Such queries show that there are obviously secrets to success. In some old literature we find “*Bhavatu Jeya subbha mangala*” (Noble success be yours), a wish for the reader. In deed there are the means to success. To those who will say, “Do tell us then,” here’s our prompt reply. Of course we are not sure whether amulets, or mantras, or magic squares, used by some people, really work to bring success.

But we do know one sure way to succeed. Well if you have good *kamma*, you will succeed. (Don’t think this is funny; please be patient until we finish.) What is *kamma* then? Is winning the lottery due to good *kamma*? Or, is it due to your bad *kamma* when you are tripped and you fall? May be they are; or they may not be.

Some may say they are accidents. But for us *kamma* is not something beyond our contemplation. It is just some ordinary concept we can think about; and you should agree on this point.

*Kamma* is a Pali word; in Hindhustan (Hindi) it is *kam*, derived from Sanskrit *karma*. Scholars can check this statement. For us, the root of the word is not important, because the meaning remains the same. In plain words, *kamma* means deed, action, achievement. Thus, it is true that “*Kamma* makes one prominent; wisdom makes one reasonable.” In other words, “One’s action makes him important; it is achievement which makes one well known.” Skeptical! We suggest

you try it.

Let's take an example. A man says he wants to learn English. He may be offended if you ask him if he really wants to learn. Offend him or not, we need to investigate. Then we can confidently say, "If you are really serious, you will learn for sure." Then he may say, "No, no, friend. It's been a long time I have wanted to learn English. So far I haven't learnt it really." What will you say then? Well, it's easy, really easy. We can say that he will learn if he really wants to. English doesn't run away from him. If he is serious for it, and makes real effort, he will get it. He can try this method, just for example. Learn 10 new English words daily; then he will learn 300 words in one month, 3000 in 10 months, 3600 after one year. In three years he will master a vocabulary of 10 800 words. Is it not simple? But the problem is not doing it. Who's to blame then?

Yet one may still argue, "How can I do it if I cannot get the books?" This is a problem. But it is not difficult. Abraham Lincoln was so poor before he became president that he couldn't afford to buy books. He walked 40 miles, nearly the distance from Rangoon to Pegu, to loan a book. That's real spirit. Those who wanted to learn English should take Lincoln as example; they should be determined to put at least one-tenth Lincoln's. How can one fail if he learns 10 new words daily? This is some thing anyone can try.

If one strictly follows the above method, how many words will he learn after five years? This is only one example. But there is no alternative from hard work and perseverance. To what extent should one be devoted to his aim? We say, he should go to such extent that others see him as crazy. Begin now to set on you mission; you fail once, try again; failure again, try again. Try again, and again, and again; go on and on; never give up. Don't give a thought to what others think or say. One knows ones work better. Had the inventors of the airplane consulted other people before the invention, they would have been told not to think about the impossible; they may even give a thousand reasons. If the inventors would give up because of discouragement by others, we would not have airplanes today.

Friends, keep *kamma* in your possession; be ye men of deeds and accomplishment; act now. Don't be bothered by what others say; don't listen to discouraging words. Follow your own pursuit, and be persistent with it. Begin today to develop your *kamma*. Then we will say, "This man's *kamma* has come up; this is his *kamma* at work." Well then, who wants to succeed? He who wants to succeed has to show up his *kamma*; bring it out; demonstrate it.

## **Second University Students' Strike**

In February 1936, Ko Nu, President of Rangoon University Students' Union, was expelled from the university. This followed a decision of the university council which considered him guilty for a speech criticizing the university authorities. After receiving the letter informing him about the dismissal, Ko Nu kept the news to himself, but he wrote a letter to the principal, Mr. Sloss, thanking him for forcing him out of the university, and that he was studying law, because it could enhance him when he entered politics. Ko Nu also went on to say that he found lawyers were blood-suckers; he even urged Mr. Sloss to tell his friends, when he talks about Burma, that although he has seen subdued and slave-natured Burmans, there are brave souls like Maung Nu, who would stand up to any unfairness, whatever the consequences. One can just imagine how Mr. Sloss would feel when he received this impertinent letter. After Ko Nu's expulsion, Ko Aung San, editor of the Student Union Magazine, *Ohway*, got the order to leave the university. His guilt was related to an article, *Hell Hound AT Large*, published in *Ohway*. The authorities saw the article to be an attack on one among them, and they asked Ko Aung San to identify the author. Ko Aung San refused, giving editor's ethics as the reason; he said, as editor, he was responsible for the article. As a result, Ko Aung San got expelled from the university.

News slowly spread among the students that Ko Nu had been dismissed. He was a leader, loved and admired by students. They also heard that Ko Aung San was also about to be dismissed. The students, with great displeasure about the authorities' actions, called a general meeting of the union, to denounce the principal. Without having discussed the matter earlier, the meeting resolved to launch a strike in protest. About 700 students joined the strike and left the campus.

No one had expected the strike, and no one had suggested it before the meeting; it was a spontaneous response. Ko Nu told the students not to strike for his cause, but they did not listen. The strike was an indication of the students' grievances against the university authorities.

Women students were as eager to join the strike as the men. In 1931, the university council had ignored the students' appeal to reduce fees, citing their hardships. In 1934-35 when the

students demonstrated to demand fees reduction, U Sett, the Vice-Chancellor, and Principal Sloss promised to consider the case; but nothing came of their promise.

The students camped on the Shwedagon pagoda platform, in *zayats*, rest houses; they got advice and support of the town elders. It was cold winter, and the students did not have enough warm clothing; and they did not have beds. They were admirable in their dedication, and defiance of authorities. A committee, set up for the welfare of students collected funds to support them. Some students took donations from worshippers, and they got quite a lot. One young man sold his blood for ten rupees, to support the students. Parents were pleased, and they felt honored, that their sons and daughters had left the campus in protest; they wrote letters to express support and satisfaction. Some sent telegrams. Lovers praised their lovers for their courage. All these showed that the system of education was not popular. The principal sent letters to parents asking them to send their children back to classes; but under the prevailing conditions, how could it have any effect?

High school students in Rangoon joined the strike in support of the university students. Students in other towns followed. The government was in a difficult position. The students formed a strike committee, which produced ten demands; they determined to continue the strike until they get their demands.

### **The Students' Demands**

1. To amend the university constitution.
2. To allow external candidates in the university examinations.
3. To reduce university fees, and boarding and examination fees.
4. To acknowledge the right of the students union to represent the students in their dissatisfactions; to drop the council resolution not to recognize the student representatives.
5. To cancel the order to expel Ko Aung San, if it was still in force; and to allow him to sit for the examination.
6. To revoke the principal's authority to expel students, and the university council to keep that authority.

7. To get confirmation from the government and university that Mandalay College would not be closed down.
8. To allow the students to see, for a fee, how their examination papers have been marked.
9. To postpone the examination at least one month, to allow study time, when the strike ends.
10. To give assurance that strike students would not be investigated, or intimidated, directly or indirectly.

These demands were sent to the government, the university council and the senate; but no reply came, and the strike continued. In the mean time, in order to force the students to come back to classes, the principal conducted examinations for the remaining students.

When the students heard about the examinations, they went to the residential halls and appealed the students who came to shun the exams and turn back. With those whom they wouldn't agree not to sit the exam, the students tried to bar them at the exam room entrance; their tactic was to lie flat on the floor before the room doors and on stairs, and tell those who wanted to enter to step over their bodies. Those who came for the exam sympathized with their fellow students. In this way the strike students disrupted the university and tenth standard examinations. The government postponed them indefinitely. The same thing happened in schools in the districts and townships. In Sagaing, school principal Mr. Dow showed horrible behavior when he mercilessly beat his pupils; and in Wesleyan school in Mandalay acted in similarly horrible manner. But due to the appeal of the students the examination had to be postponed. This was a remarkable first time achievement by the students, using peaceful means, to prevent they disliked from happening.

In the mean time, student leaders had daily meetings; and in the evenings they held mass meetings at which they reported their programs and views and individuals got up to comment or discuss. Mostly, they spoke to promote patriotism, and speakers got applause and praise. Moreover, the students gave vent to their felling with regard to the character of the principal, lectures and hall wardens. Such open criticism forced the university authorities to form an investigation committee, and students were allowed to stand witness. As they spoke the truth, with courage, the hearings appreciably hurt the prestige of the university administrative body.

But there was no outcome from the hearings, which were recorded, except that Bursar U Tin alone was forced to resign. Bursar U Tin was the right-hand man of principal Sloss; in accordance with the saying, “A powerful master keeps a slave,” U Tin had been very influential under Sloss.

(Remark: After resigning from the university, Bursar U Tin joined Dr Ba Maw’s party, and stood for election to the legislature from Henzada Township; but he lost. Bursar U Tin is now an important member in Dr Ba Maw’s party.)

The student leaders did not spend the nights in zayats, sleeping; instead they traveled to different parts of the country to explain their case. They spoke about how the university authorities were unjust, and how they bullied the students; and they explained how the government had kept the education standard low. They found the people very interested in the issues. Among those who went out and gave talks were Ko Nu, Mr. M.A. Rashid, Ko Ohn, Ko Tun Ohn, Ko Tun Tin, Ko Hla Pe, Ko Aye Cho, Ko Aung San and others. They were hard working and vigorous. One of the students’ supporters was Ko Thein Pe, who had graduated, and had left the university. He had taken a scholarship exam for further studies in England, and he had got an appointment for interview. But Thein Pe wrote to the scholarship board that he wouldn’t consider the scholarship until the students’ demands were granted. Ko Ohn, a law student, inevitably followed Thein Pe’s example; he too wrote to decline the scholarship in England, before the strike’s business was complete. Ko Thein Pe rejected the scholarship once and forever; Ko Ohn went to study in England after the strike ended, and he is still there.

### **Mya Bu Report**

While the students were still on strike, the government appointed an investigation committee, headed by Sir Mya Bu, High Court Judge, for the purpose of amending the University Act. It took one year to discuss and write the report. When the committee’s report was published, the students were upset to find it did not pay attention to their demands. The students rejected Mya Bu report, and in protest, they went around town shouting. Then the students held a meeting in the town hall, attended by Prime Minister Dr Ba Maw, and Education Minister Tharawaddy U Maung Maung. Dr Ba Maw remarked that Mya Bu report was just a set of recommendations, and that there was time for the government either to accept or reject its contents. He invited the students to cooperate with him if they wanted to amend the University Act. Saying that it

would be easy for him to agree to the students' demands, he also promised to take steps to enable sons and daughters of peasants and workers to attend the university. The students felt satisfied with Dr Ba Maw's promise; they praised his courage and patriotism.

When Dr Ba Maw's promise was printed in the newspapers the next day, he denied that he had said so. But the student leaders from the schools maintained that he did promise them. The readers have to decide whether it was the 1500 students who mis-heard Dr Ba Maw, or Dr Ba Maw who was wrong; but the fact remains that the rowdy students peacefully returned to their schools after they have heard Dr Ba Maw's words. The students' unrest calmed down after his speech like a fire extinguished by water.

### **The Students End the Strike**

The ten demands by the students was considered by the university authorities, and agreed to comply with some of them. When the decision of the council was conveyed to the students, they held a meeting to decide whether to end the strike. Mr. Rashid, Ko Ohn and others argued that they should return to classes. But there were who insisted on not yielding because their demands have not been fully met; they pointed out their earlier commitment to getting all their demands. The leaders explained that many students have lost their enthusiasm, and some have went home and were not coming back, and that those who wanted to come back to the strike center were not allowed by their parents. They also pointed out the declining support from the parents, as well as the lack of funds, and loss of financial and material support of Rangoon citizens. The student leaders told them also about the likelihood of the government using violence, in case peaceful means failed. Only the few hard-headed students remain insistent. The majority decided to end the strike. In the end, most of the students, except Ko Nu, Ko Hla Pe, and a few others.

### **Student conference**

An outcome of the students' strike was the formation of the national students' union. The first Conference of All Burma Students held in Jubilee Hall in Rangoon elected Mr. Rashid as president. Students, representing English-Burmese schools, Burmese only schools, and schools under monks, attended the national conference. Over 1000 students came to the conference which discussed topics of their interest and made resolutions and demands.

The second conference was held at the National School in Mandalay, with representatives

coming from all parts of the country; it elected Ko Aung San as president. The formation of the national union of students was an encouraging step, because students can complain their grievances; and in case of need the union can take action, in consultation with member unions, and has the option of strike, with their support, to get their demands

### **National University**

After the students' strike, students and parents became aware of the defects of education provided by government schools. It was 'slave education', because when there was no one to employ the graduates, they couldn't earn a living. They wanted 'Thanking education – masters' education' which teaches professional knowledge; and for that purpose they wanted a national university. To set up a national university, they held a meeting, and appointed a committee with U Thwin, a rich businessman, as president, and Ko Nu as secretary.

As a step to form the national university, they collected donations and opened evening classes in Myoma High School. About fifty students registered and classes continued. But the following year, the number of students who registered dropped, and as there were not enough students the project stopped. In the mean time, the president and committee members wrote to patriotic citizens to make contributions; they also advertised in news papers to get funds; but they did not get enough donations. Also the students as well as the parent's do not think the certificates from the national schools as valuable as ones from government schools. Naturally, the national university project stopped for lack of funds and students. That was the end of Ko Nu's dream of a national university; that was perhaps a misfortune of the country and the people.

During the strike, the students intensely hated Mr. Sloss, the university principal; they composed songs which they sang to highlight the slave nature of university education. One song, their favorite, which took the tune of 'Khwanyo-pan', carried the words, "We have left the university, the breeding ground of slave spirit; friends, let's stay together, and be united on Shwedagon platform. Unfair rules which we lived under, we want to throw out like spit, for as we ponder hard, we dislike them like filth. Mr. Sloss, the teacher, he's like a dictator; he's got no kindness, no sympathy for youth. Only the president we love, --- etc.."

There was also the precedent of composing songs during the 1920 strike; the students then had composed the *kagyi khagwe Thanbauk* (alphabet rhyme), and its subject was U May Aung, the author of University Act. The stanzas read:

- *Ma* means May Aung, the shameless faced fellow who openly wrote university act.
- *Ba* means U Bo Byay, who in particular, belongs to one side, with the country on the opposite.
- *Tha* means *thabeik* (the strike), police won't arrest; the weapon is crude.
- *Aa* means *ahlin* (light), which unites, but the ruler dislikes, for the secret agents trail behind; etc.

At the first anniversary of the 1920 strike, the students went around town shouting the following rhyme.

- From the marriage of *kyee and kyetma* (crow and hen) comes *awkalika* (the hybrid bird); that's from slave school.
- Those who left father, for the love of uncle, know how to forget those who feed, and to betray the benefactor.
- No red blood, even to match a woman's, they work as clerks in slave grade.
- They who return home after eating full; fellows who belong to the race of *bala* (fools) etc.

But the wording of songs and slogans for the national day which marks the 1920 students' strike has changed. As patriotism has grown stronger, the choice of words has become "Independence is your duty", "*Thay hlin myay gyi – shin hlin shwe htee* (literally meaning, 'Earth after death, golden umbrella for the living.' Or, 'Do or die.')", "*Lar myee bay away ga pyay twae* (Take risks early)", "*Kyauk hmay par zarganar hnint hnot* (If there's a timid hair, pull it out with tweezers)", "*Kyauk lwe, ye min phyt* (The timid fellow misses the chance, the brave becomes king)", "*Kyun bawa go set sote par* (ate living as slaves)", "*Da doe pyay da doe myay* (This is our country, this is our earth) etc.

These indicate the important role of the students in developing nationalism and patriotism. The 1920 students' strike is a landmark, and invaluable contribution in the struggle for national independence.

### **Sinyetha Wada (Socialism)**

After the story of Mingalun GCBA, we must write about the activities of Dr Ba Maw and his

men in the legislative assembly. Dr Ba Maw had contested the election with his manifesto, the 'Five year socialist plan' which he promised to introduce in the legislature. His policy consists of the following agenda.

1. To disrupt, by all means, the British government's plan of 91 departments administration for Burma.
2. To fight those who accept the government's plan, or help to make it successful.
3. To build national strength, based on the five year plan, in order to achieve the aim of independence.
4. To give equal opportunities for the rich and the poor.
5. To reduce the taxes paid by the poor peasants and workers.
6. To prescribe a law to make free primary education compulsory through out the country.
7. To give enough land to farmers for their livelihood; to prevent take over of farmers' land by rich men.
8. to follow government acting as arbitrator.
9. To set up banks to give loans to farmers at low interest.
10. To enable farmers to repay the loans in easy installments.

He had declared that accepting government office was to use it as a weapon to carry out the 'sinyetha wada –socialist plan'. In case that becomes impossible he would leave the office, and if needed to leave the legislature as well. His party men would not be allowed to discard the socialist plan to take office with another party or group whose policy is anti-socialist.

When Dr Ba Maw won only 16 seats in the assembly, the Governor asked him to resign as education minister; he appointed U Thein Maung, a barrister, in the post. Feeling ashamed at being asked to resign, which was a legal act, Dr Ba Maw gave promise to a group of editors that he would unconditionally oppose the new system of administration. It was a group dedicated to giving pressure to MPs to oppose the government's plan. Again, at a political meeting in West Kemmendine, attended by about 10 000 people, he promised he would not take office, but fight the new administration. The nation has requested him not to accept minister's post, but fight the new system, and as he agreed, he became very popular. The

people revered Dr Ba Maw; they thought he was a reliable leader. They followed him. But while he was saying he would not take office, and asking for 67 men (MPs?) to help him in the fight, he was found to be gathering MPs to enable him to form a government himself. When he got enough MPs he took down U Ba Pe and U Thein Maung, and took the prime-minister's post himself.

Dr Ba Maw's cabinet was given the name 'Nyunt paung ah phwe' (a coalition); his coalition partners were Karen, Indian, English representatives and men from U Chit Hlaing's and the splinter group from Nga Pwint Saing (Five Star) party. There was no specific policy; the only policy was to get into office and stay there. Ministerial posts acted as the glue that kept the coalition together. Dr Ba Maw then had to abandon his five year socialist plan. Mr. Leach, leader of the European group stated in the legislature that his group would like to support the government. When Mr. Leach asked if Dr Ba Maw was still following the socialist aims, he openly admitted that there was no socialist policy, but only the coalition policy. Before the election he had promised to stick to socialist principles; in case that was not possible, he said he would leave office, and if necessary to leave the legislative assembly altogether. So far Dr Ba Maw has neither resigned nor left the assembly.

Since he took office as prime minister, Dr Ba Maw has not been able to do anything for the country. He has wasted time trying to survive in office. So far he has (i) managed to abolish *Thathmaeda* (tax on head-count) by reducing it in steps within four years (ii) released 267 political prisoners (iii) said he has made arrangements to refund the deposit money confiscated by the government from newspapers. However, in the legislative assembly he has done nothing for the country. He has only finished (i) enactment of the bill to grant rupee 200 per month salary for the Speakers of Upper and Lower Houses, (ii) drafting bills to pay monthly salaries of rupee 2500 for ministers, rupee 3000 for prime minister, and rupee 750 for parliamentary secretaries respectively. In another work he has formed a committee to find new ways of taxation to cover the losses due to abolishing *Thathamaeda* tax. As district councils have been supported out of *Thathamaeda* revenue, the committee has told the chairmen of district councils that support will have to stop when *Thathamaeda* gets totally abolished after four years; the committee has told the district council chairmen to find new ways themselves to finance their projects. The committee is still finding the means; in case it has decided what kind of taxes the district councils can collect, the government will give them power to do so.

That much is the job done for the country by Dr Ba Maw's coalition cabinet up to the time of this writing.

Dr Ba Maw and his followers went into the legislature after promising to introduce socialism; once there they have abandoned socialism to take ministerial jobs by forming a coalition government. In a democratic society, such drastic change in policy would require MPs to resign, out of respect for voters, and stand re-election on the new policy platform. New election is needed because the voters have elected the members because they liked the policy they have declared; when their policy changes, they need to confirm that voters approve it.

As Dr Ba Maw knows this democratic precedent, his existence as prime minister appears to be an insult to the electorate, as well as to himself. We are sad that he has not convincingly explained why he needed to change his policy.

However, in a speech in the Rangoon University Students' Union, Dr Ba Maw pointedly said, "There can be no consistency in politics." [Quotation in English in the original text; ed.] Changing policy on his own will, which appears to be his habit, has done him personal good, but it has hurt the country. He has shown complete disregard for the voters. We have only to understand that he has deliberately followed selfish ends. As he has clearly stated that he needed to adapt to situations, one has only to blame himself for believing his words. If people blame him, it would be like saying, "The kitchen towel is dark."

In fact, when we look at Dr Ba Maw's past political activities, there is no consistency at all. During the separation versus anti-separation campaign he sided with the anti-separatists; but then he worked for separatist victory, contradicting his former stance. He said he hates imperialism; but apart from serving under an imperial government, he attended King George's coronation and confirmed his allegiance, thus putting the country at the King's disposal. He declared publicly that he would not take ministerial post, but fight to dissolve the new administrative system; then he took office and worked to sustain the system. He said he would fight those who support the new system; instead he oppressed who actually oppose it. After declaring the socialist policy for the election campaign, he scrapped it, and adopted the capitalist system. After giving various promises to the country, he kept none of them.

To sum up, there is no consistency in Dr Ba Maw's work; no matching of words and deeds; his appearance betrays his inner mind. He uses 'for the country' as a deception, in his search for own fortune.

However Dr Ba Maw has many praise-worthy qualities. He is friendly with poor or lower class people; he is simple, and unpretentious; he is generous; he understands that in a democratic society, one needs to be down to earth. Those who have met him briefly will not fail to appreciate his qualities. But those who have dealt with him long enough departed from him one after the other. Leaving aside opportunists who were or are in league with him, no plain politician can remain linked with him for long. Only the men who would share ministries will deal with him depending on the situation.

Dr Ba Maw has big rapport with Buddhist monks; Upper Burma monks are friendlier with him than Lower Burma monks. This is due to the fact that Upper Burma has come under colonial status only a short time ago, so that the people have high regard for, and desire to be friendly with, high officials. In particular, the Upper Burma monks take pride in dealing with barristers, ministers, and prime ministers. They used to talk with pride how they have had breakfast or lunch at the prime minister's residence. And Dr Ba Maw is generous in donations for the monks who helped him. He is similarly generous with people of all walks of life. These are some of Dr Ba Maw's admirable qualities useful in gathering supporters.

Dr Ba Maw is a man of ideas and ability. This is clearly shown when, as a leader with few followers, he took the prime minister's post. Another plus for him is his capability for hard work. Not an old man yet, he has great stamina, and works tirelessly; and he has the means to do his job. Also Dr Ba Maw has great power of persuasion. He never says no to people who come to him for help; he always has something, kind words or advice, to make them happy. He may be using short term strategies, but they do work.

Dr Ba Maw also has weaknesses. He likes flattery, he loves respect; and he easily believes other people's ill talk. Unless Dr Ba Maw corrects his weak points, he is going to fall as fat as he has climbed up. As people are getting better informed, it will become impossible to keep strength, for long, by conventional methods. Dr Ba Maw needs to seek new ways and new techniques; otherwise he will have to abandon politics.

So much about socialism and its proponent.

### **U Chit Hlaing's Faction**

After his break away from the monks, U Chit Hlaing did not actively work in politics. Although he had followers in the districts, they were dormant for his lack of activities. During

the separation versus anti-separation campaign he woke up his followers and got himself elected into the legislative assembly, and became the Speaker of the House. It may be said he was lucky to get his wish fulfilled, for it was a job he liked to work in forever. Then came the motions concerning Burma's linkage or break away from India. As the motions were not definitely for or against separation, as Speaker, he turned down the motions, saying they had to be specific whether to separate from India, or stay linked to it. Dr Ba Maw's party, the pro-British Sir J.A. Maung Gyi's party and the 21-group did not agree with his ruling; they voted him out in a no-confidence motion.

The British government explicitly stated that U Chit Hlaing made the correct moves, and his opponents were wrong; and it also said that in spite of the chance given to Burmans to say yes or no to separation, no definite decision was made. For that reason, assuming the people wanted to separate, the British gave Burma a separate government. After he was sacked, he got the job again in the sharing of posts. He had given up politics as he was serving as House Speaker. When the election drew near, he resigned and went to the districts to rally support. From the day U Chit Hlaing entered the legislature, his party existed only inside the house; outside, there is no such thing as U Chit Hlaing's party. Although politically inactive, there is an apartment in Phayre Street (the present name is Pansodan), with a sign board which reads U Chit Hlaing's party, but the building was only used for correspondence and for accommodation for MPs who come from the districts.

### **U Chit Hlaing's policy**

U Chit Hlaing and his party members stood for election on the promise that he would work to promote the poor folk; he said he would introduce a system of taxation, like in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), based upon income. After the election a team of editors asked him if he would effuse to take any post and fight to disrupt the new administration. He clearly answered he would not accept any post, and that he would oppose the system. At the time of this writing, he has carried out none of his promises. We see that he has only broken his promise. What he did do, after he became House Speaker, was only to make U Paw Tun home minister, and U Ohn Maung and Saw Ba Thein parliamentary secretaries. The nation will have to watch when he fulfills his pledge.

Near the end of his term U Chit Hlaing resigned from his post and went to the districts to meet the people. He frankly admitted he had been unable to do any Wunthanu activity, because he

had been a government servant, while in the house. Indeed U Chit Hlaing is admirable for his frank admission.

U Chit Hlaing is a man of poor abilities; and he has no modern ideas. His *Thamada* title appears to be his meal-ticket for life. He has used that title to get himself a job. As he is now poor, and in debt, he has no option other than to take the post to support his family in old age. U Chit Hlaing has another weakness; he is too friendly with Indians. He has been accused of making money out of his close relation with the Indians. U Chit Hlaing and his men, having taken government jobs are now in a position to do something to fulfill their pledge. That they have done nothing is a big defect in their party.

Like Dr Ba Maw who abandoned his declared socialism, U Chit Hlaing also gave up his declared promises to get into the coalition. For this change in policy, they have a duty to leave office as well as resign as MP. But as they haven't done so, they have breached democratic ethics. There is a precedent in India. Mohamad Ibrahim, a member of Muslim League, left his party to take a ministerial post under the policy of India Congress. With due respect for the voters, he resigned his seat in the Indian parliament, and stood for re-election as a Congress candidate. He was elected, and only then did he continue in his minister's job.

In Western countries also, members of parliament used to resign when they are confronted with no confidence motions in their constituents. In Burma, it is sad to find that there is no such tradition. There is a need to enlighten the voters. At present, it seems that the leaders want not to open the voters' eyes, but rather to close them, deliberately.

### **U Chit Hlaing and Burmese Language**

When U Chit Hlaing became Speaker of the House, the question, whether to allow the use of Burmese language, arose in the legislature. U Chit Hlaing ruled that, according to the parliamentary regulations, those who are fluent in English shall speak only in English only. Dissatisfied with this ruling, opposition members called a town meeting in Rangoon municipal hall, and denounced U Chit Hlaing. Although English is the prescribed language, the Speaker has the authority to allow discussions and speeches in native language. By not using this authority, U Chit Hlaing has pleased the government, but earned the scorn of the people. In the Upper House (the senate) the Speaker, U Maung Gyi permitted members to use the native language. For different interpretations of the same rule, the people blame U Chit Hlaing, but praised U Maung Gyi. In India the Speaker allows any language in the parliament proceedings.

We can clearly see the contrast in the patriotisms of Wuntharu House Speakers in India and Burma.

People blamed U Chit Hlaing with harsh words for his lack of Wuntharu spirit. But he has to do it because he was dependent upon English and Indian representatives for his survival as Speaker. In the past, he had opposed the government; he had been anti-British, and he had stayed away from pro-imperialists. This man who got the Thamada title changed abruptly. His political summersault may be viewed as the fickleness of political lives.

Another objection to U Chit Hlaing's behavior was his frequent use of 'His Excellency' in referring to the Governor. This made him seen as a stooge of the British. "He is enjoying his official position. He has become a British lackey. He might perhaps feel sorry to have wasted time as Wuntharu Thamada," remarked socialist MP U Ba Hlaing during a national conference. This should be a lesson for politicians. But there are others who U Chit Hlaing's past sacrifices; they are sympathetic to him, and agree that he has taken the government job. There were others who said they pitied him. But that amounts to humiliation. Obviously, he has lost the respect he once got as national leader, Wuntharu president, and Thamada.

A pathetic state of Burmese politics is that political parties do not have definite ideology. In England there is no such thing as Baldwin's party, or Landsberry's party, or Mac Donald's party, or Lloyd George's party. The parties in England are Conservative, Socialist, Labour, Liberal, which are based on party ideology. The same is true in United States and France; their parties are not named after a person. In Italy they have Fascist party, not Mussolini's party; in Germany Nazi party, not Hitler's party. After Mussolini's death Fascism will remain. However, in Burma no ideology will remain after the deaths of U Ba Pe, U Chit Hlaing and Dr Ba Maw. As the parties are named after persons there can be no definite ism; only activities that follow the will of the leaders prevail. This is the greatest defect in Burmese politics; it is the duty of the people to correct it.

The MPs who were unhappy with U Chit Hlaing's handling of the house affairs moved a no confidence motion against him. The result of the voting was 53 for, and 63 against U Chit Hlaing. But the motion was unsuccessful, because the new rules require a majority vote (i.e. 67 out of the total 132) for the motion to pass through.

Thus U Chit Hlaing did not have to give up his post. Although he has survived, the MPs are giving vent to their grievances against him in every meeting of the legislative assembly. If U

Chit Hlaing knew he was losing respect, he should find ways to change the trend.

### ***Nga Pwint Saing Ahphwe (Five Star party)***

Nga Pwint Saing is a coalition of five parties: Pyithu Pyithar Ahphwe (People's party), Burma Independence party, GCBA under Ye U Sayadaw, the Boycott GCBA, and Mandalay 21-group. People's party had its origin in the anti-government activities related to U Ottama in prison. When the monk was sent to jail, he was stripped of his monk's robes, and not allowed the monk's religious service in a *Sima*. The people and MPs demanded as well as appealed to the government, U May Aung, the Home Minister, only snubbed U Ottama. This aroused the MPs and the people; they formed the People's party to oppose the government. Its members include the old 21-group led by U Ba Pe, Barrister U Pu, U Maung Gyi, Dr Thein Maung, Home Rule party of Tharawaddy U Pu and others, National Parliament party of U Ni (barrister), and independent MPs Mr. Trudjee, U Mya U, U Tun Win etc., 2. Burma Independence party consists of the break away group from 21-faction led by U Maung Gyi, 3. Ye U Sayadaw's Central GCBA, 4. Boycott GCBA, a splinter group from Central GCBA, with barrister U Ba Si as president, and 5. Mandalay 21-group, a split faction from the old 21-faction, whose president is Prince Hteik Tin Wa.

The Five Star alliance has not worked as united force; there is internal contest going on to choose a leader, and there is no agreement. As a result we find that in some constituencies two to three Five Star party candidates have stood for election, which a sign of disunity.

Five Star party has won the largest number of seats in the legislature. The winning strategy is admirable. Putting Prince Hteik Tin Wa in the position of president has paid off; wavering voters thought the Prince would revive Burmese royalty, a move which they appreciated so much. In addition they have U Ottama on their side. The monk, who had lost followers when he had openly criticized young politicians, was living in India, in frustration. But on he had been invited home Dr Thein Maung. After coming back by air U Ottama worked the public on behalf of Five Star party. The old Wunthanu voters have forgotten the monk's mentality, and with due regard for his previous role, voted for Five Star which U Ottama supported. The Five Star candidates, being mostly well to do men, spent enormous sums of money the election campaign.

U Ottama's lectures were held with great fan fare, along with *Ahnyeint* dances and music and songs. As the scale of celebrations shook the constituencies, the undecided voters, who were

not intelligent enough, blindly voted for the party they saw as the strongest.

Five Star party is consists of men who had ignored the people's desire and joined the diarchy parliament; in fact they have been declared rebels by the people. The majority of its leaders are greedy men, always ready to accept what the British government gives them. Although they formed the majority, there is no consensus among them as to the sharing of available offices. Originally a loose coalition, it soon split into an ugly group of scattered groups.

The inability to form a cabinet, in spite of its victory with forty seats, was an indication that the party lacks an authoritative leader. The leading men, being more or less of the same intellectual caliber, were unwilling to accept any one among them as the leader. As every one was qualified for the posts, there were not enough for them to share. No one would be happy unless he gets a job. Thus every one was prepared to follow someone who could, and would give him a post. Five Star members have no commitment to go through thick and thin, as office was their main goal. Seeing the disarray in Five Star, Dr Ba Maw promptly formed the *Nyuntbaung* (assorted coalition) and moved a no confidence motion. At this, U Thein Maung, a joint leader in office, argued that the motion was directed at U Ba Pe's activities, and that the motion should be separate ones against individual ministers. Such is the spirit of the leading men of Five Star party.

Five Star fell after the motion. But U Thein Maung, who lost his minister's job accepted, form Dr Ba Maw, the man who brought him down, the chairmanship of the Public Service Commission, with a salary of rupee 2000 per month. He declared that politics is a business that is virtuous as well as evil when he took the Public Commission job. Also remarkable is the fact that Five Star party members who failed to get jobs conspired with Dr Ba Maw to bring down those who did get jobs. Outstanding among such men were U Pu, U Tun Aung, U Ba U and others. After they have got positions in Dr Ba Maw's *Nyuntbaung* team, Dr Thein Maung also took a post in Dr Ba Maw's cabinet. U Ba Than, his rival, who wrote columns in newspapers to criticize him, also became a parliamentary secretary. Observing these moves, one can conclude the Five Star party members were in deed selfish opportunists who would find benefits from political work. For them politics is business. They have no intention to suffer for the sake of the country.

However, there is one commendable quality of Five Star or 21- group politicians; we have not heard about the national funds being misused by them. That is unlike some of the Wuntharnus

who were dishonest, or careless in spending money contributed by the poorest section of the country. Another appreciable aspect is that they do not deceive the people. They openly state that they are anti-revolutionary; that they believe confrontation with the colonial government cannot bring good results; that they are not prepared to suffer personal losses; that they believe in evolutionary development. Thus their policy is self first, country second; they will work inside the government for the country's progress, whenever they get a chance.

Five Star politicians lack patriotism. That is their greatest deficiency. If they have to compete with truly nationalist parties they will certainly fall behind. And at the present Five Star is disunited and in disarray and it will be very hard to recover. As one pretending to be a friend is worse than the enemy, they are preferable to than deceptive Wuntharnus, because of their openness.

Five Star and 21- group being parties formed specifically for election purpose, they have become inactive after the election; the only business that remained was to blame and counter-blame others by those who failed to get government jobs. The internal conflict in Five Star at this time is very complicated, with followers changing leaders for cash. Most notorious in this respect are the Mps from Upper Burma.

This much is the present state of Five Star party.

### **Fabian Socialist Party**

This is a party formed in 1936, about four months prior to election. Named after a Roman general, the party's ideology is socialist, like Western Fabian socialist parties.

Socialism can thrive only in independent states; as Burma is not independent is formed to adapt socialism to the situation. There are pro-British parties as well as opposition, and the people are suffering, while politicians in some parties are selfish, and it is hard for people to go on suffering. Thus Fabian party has been formed to fulfill the needs of the people. U Soe Thein's Wuntharnu have always been in opposition; when people have grievances, his party would organize meetings to complain or condemn. But that is the end of their business. They follow a 'destructive policy'; but the Fabian party follows a 'constructive policy'. By it the party aims to promote the people, and relieve their suffering, by gradual transformation.

It is easy to destruct an existing system, but that does not build a new one. When a new system cannot appear, the people, the poor folk, will not like the change. It is the poor folk who have

to pay the most, but get the least in return. The Fabian party will oppose the government, but talk with it to launch programs that can bring relief to the underclass. The government has a duty to build embankments to protect the farmers' lands from floods. But as there are no serious demands for construction of embankments and dams, villagers are left thirsty in summer. The government has responsibility to open schools, but there is no effective program. And there is the need to industrialize, but nothing has been done about it. The socialist party will expose such lapses of government. It is a party for the people.

The founding leaders of socialist party are Deedoke U Ba Cho, leader of student strike Ko Nu, and U Ba Khine. It has produced a 32-point election manifesto, all of which concern the people's development. Currently, the party is working, both inside the legislature, as well as out side, to achieve its program.

The main aim of Fabian party is national independence as soon as possible, and the means to achieve it is to reject the form of government granted by the British government. The party desires to cooperate with like-minded people, and to refuse ministerial posts and oppose the government. The party propaganda has been launched in various ways, including talks, to build strength; but the people are inclined to the parties which take part in the government, and thus prolong the country's colonial status. It is a sorry situation for the Burmese people that out of 132 seats in the legislature, there are 100 native members, but they cannot find 67 member who will risk for the sake of the country; but all that depends on the people.

Generally, Burmese political parties are not used to declaring their ideologies, aims and programs. And the people vote without studying the parties. Thus unsuitable persons get elected into the legislature, making an ugly scenario. Such men, after they become MPs, have no regard for the voters. This is the result of the people's careless voting. But the Fabian Socialist party has kept its ideology and principles. It has kept the promise to always be in the opposition. The party MPs have promised to resign should they lose the confidence of the constituents. This good example will bring MPs from other parties on the people's side in the future.

But despite its declared policy and plans, only one out of 13 Fabian Socialist candidates won the election. Lack of support was due to the wrong impression it got as a new party only for the election. Another reason was the candidates, who were not well off, could not spend money in competition with others, to bribe for votes. A noticeable feature of the previous election was

the buying of vote by those who were to become leaders in government and amend the laws; they even gave liquor, and killed pigs and cattle to feed the voters. More surprising is the fact that many such candidates won the election. Those who despise vote buying and bribing that is going on in the legislature should only blame themselves for their dishonesty.

Since the election, the assembly has two meetings; the lone Fabian member of legislature has done much for the country; he does not sell himself, nor change party; as a true socialist member, he has shunned the government's receptions. His actions, in accordance with his pledge to the people, have convinced the nation that the Fabian party is a true party. The party is beginning to gain the people's trust.

So much about the Socialist party.

### **Transformations of Burma Government**

After the annexation, Burma was directly ruled by the British government of India. As the work expanded, a Chief Commissioner took charge of the administration. Sir Arthur Phayre was the first Chief Commissioner. Then Burma was recognized as a province and ruled through a Lieutenant Governor, assisted by an Advisory Council. The Council consisted of 15 members appointed by the Lieutenant Governor, at his discretion, and two members from the English businessmen, and Rangoon Chamber of Commerce. In addition, there were ICS (Indian Civil Service) officers who sat in the Council, whose role was only advisory; the Lieutenant Governor was not bound to accept its advice. In those days Burma had only one representative in the Indian government's advisory council.

When the liberal party came to power in Britain, Mr. Montague, the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the Governor General of India jointly declared the plan for advanced administration for India. The plan was gradually to improve the government, aiming toward self-government. It hoped to install a new system, after a 10 year observation of the gradually changed administration. In 1919 India was given the new government, known as diarchy.

Although India was given the new administration, Burma had been left out. She got diarchy only in 1923. In the new set up, the Governor took the place of the Lieutenant Governor as chief executive.

Under the diarchy scheme, a legislature, or diarchy parliament was set up with the following

membership.

• Myanmar nationals	58 members
• Karens	5
• Indians	8
• Anglo-mixed blood	1
• Europeans	1
• University	1
• Burmese businessmen	1
• European businessmen	1
• Chinese businessmen	1
• Europeans' Rangoon Chamber of Commerce	1
• Indian businessmen	1
_____	
Total	80
_____	

In addition to 80 members elected by various national groups, the government appointed 21 members. Also there were two members representing the civil service, making the total of 103 MPs.

According to the 1919 Government of India Act, to ministers, for Finance, and Home, took charge of the departments reserved under the Governor; two ministers, minister for education, and minister for forest were appointed from the native MPs, and they ran 52 departments, on a trial basis. In this system, the Governor retains the discretionary powers to over rule the decisions of the legislature, or the ministers. This meant that although it had been called a representative form of government, the actual power did not rest with the people. Even if the people's representatives could successfully oppose, i.e. vote down a government plan, the government continued in power. Thus the people's representatives became the opposition, without power to change policies. The diarchy did not do any good for the country, which was its great defect.

There were 2 million eligible voters, of whom 125 000 were women under the diarchy system. Only 7 percent voted in the first diarchy election, because those who hated it had stayed away in protest. In the second and third elections, the numbers who voted were 17 percent and 27

percent respectively. We find that 47 voted to resolve the separation-nonseparation issue. But under the 1935 Act, the number of voters increased to 2.8 million, including 0.6 million women.

The new (1935) scheme included two Houses; the Senate, or Upper House, consisted of 36 members, and the Lower House 132. Half the Senate members were nominated by the Lower House, and the rest appointed by the Governor. The Lower House consists of the following:

• Natives	91 members
• Karens	12
• Indians	8
• Anglo-mixed	2
• Europeans	3
• The University	1
• Burmese businessmen	1
• Indian businessmen	2
• European businessmen	5
• Chinese businessmen	1
• Rangoon European Chamber of Commerce	1
• Chettiar association	1
• Indian workers	2
• Burmese workers	2
_____	
Total	132 members

It is remarkable that the legislative assembly does not contain any members appointed by the government, or representing the government service; all members are elected by the people. The attorney general, and the financial advisor, who are allowed to sit in the chamber have only to explain the laws and regulations as advisors; they have no right to vote. But as there were 18 government appointed members in the Senate, the system does not differ much from dyarchy. The Governor still holds the powers as in dyarchy. It was not really a democratic government, but only an imitation.

The round table conference for India was held in 1930, in London, to discuss government

reform after ten years of diarchy. U Ba Pe, who attended the conference, proposed that Burma should be separated from India, and that a conference should discuss Burma's issue differently. The second round table conference, only for Burma, took place in 1931, also in London.

At the conference, Prime Minister Mr. Mac Donald declared that Burma may remain in the Indian Union, or leave it, and that it was for the people of Burma to decide. The delegates came home with this promise. The two sides, for, and against separation, debated the issue, to be decided by the election. The antiseperation, or Link India group won the election with 500 000 votes.

After the election, a joint committee on government reform met in London. It was the third conference for Burma. Participants in the joint committee were 1. U Ba Pe, 2. U Thein Maung, 3. Dr Ba Maw, 4. U Kyaw Din, 5. U Chit Hlaing, 6. Dr Ma Saw Sa, 7. Mr. Kimpinet, 8. Saya Shwe Ba, 9. Mr. Howasjee, 10. Sir De Glenville, 11. Mr. Trudjee, and 12. Mr. Harper. Soon after the conference, the British government announced the Government of Burma Act, 1935.

According to this Act, Burma would be governed, not as part of India, but by the Secretary of State for India, in London. Before the new government was formed, discussions went on in London whether to put Burma under the Dominions Secretary, or the Colonial Secretary, or a Secretary for Burma. They decided in the mean time to place Burma under the Secretary for India. He would be assisted by a three-man advisory committee. But as of now, only two advisors have been appointed. They are Mr. Hughes Stevenson, the former Governor, and Mr. Clarke (?). It's poor show that the advisory committee consists of no Burman at all.

The Governor of Burma rules the country on behalf of the government of Britain, and the Secretary for India and Burma. The Governor could appoint three advisors, but at present there is only one advisor. A financial advisor and attorney general are also in place to assist the Governor and government. The cabinet of ministers takes charge of the business of government. The Governor can attend the cabinet meetings if he likes to. In this way the country is placed at the disposal of the cabinet, with the Governor giving policy guidelines. However, there are disputes and disagreements between the ministers and the senior permanent officers. Although ten ministers can be appointed, there are only seven at present. In the previous system there were two ministers appointed by the Governor and two chosen by the people's representatives. In the present system all ministers are appointed by the people. There are more than four ministers because the departments under the central Indian government

have been handed over to the Burma government. They are railways, ports, income tax, post office and telegraph etc. The reserved departments, foreign relation, defense, reserved territories and states, finance, monetary authority, foreign exchange, the Christian church, and the senior civil service are kept in the hands of the Governor. The remaining departments, the so-called transferred subjects are under the ministers. Although the cabinet has been granted authority, in many cases they clash with the discretionary powers of the Governor. And in case of controversy, the Governor can overrule according to law; and as he does so in almost all matters, the ministers, appointed by the people have no real authority. Various constraints, like budget, security, racial relations etc. tied their hands and feet.

Normally the two Chambers meet twice annually; the first meeting takes place in February and march, and the second in August and September. Although the Houses can have special meetings, the authority to summon the meeting rests with Governor. The Senate can reject the laws passed by the Lower House, but in cases the two differ, the decision is made by vote in the joint meeting of the Houses.

There is a special provision in the Government of Burma Act. When a law is unacceptable by the British, because it adversely affects the interests of British citizens, or the British commerce, it must be sent to the King; only by royal ascent within one year it can become law. The King has the power to end the law, and as the British parliament influences the King, it has the capacity to influence in all matters of Burma government. As long as the Act remains in force, real authority will be in the hands of the Governor, and British parliament. As this is not the sort of law applicable in the Dominions, the lack of the people's role is an obvious defect.

### **The Financial Situation of Burma**

Upon separation from India, the Burma government got transferred to it the departments directly under the central Indian government. The important are ports, income tax and revenue, and salt industry. Others are railways, posts and telegraph, excise, foreign exchange, the mint, etc. Ports and income-tax departments earn the largest incomes. The biggest spender is the army department, which spends more than 60 percent of income. Over 20 percent goes into paying for debts and interests. The remainder is for pensions and expenses of other departments.

Previously, when money was needed, the Indian government took loans, and repays; now

Burma has its financial responsibility. The largest income comes from land revenue, which is not only from farmlands, but also from irrigation revenue and payments for mining concessions, as well as *Thathemaeda*, or human tax. Other incomes are forests, which bring in about 20 percent, excise and stamp duties. The biggest spending departments are the judiciary, police, and forest.

**Table of Burma Government Income**

	1927-28	1932-33	1937-38
	(in million rupees)		
Farm revenue	53.6	38.8	51.0
Forests	20.8	8.7	13.7
Excise	12.4	8.5	8.8
Miscellaneous	13.5	16.8	13.0

**Added income from centralized departments**

Ports	-	-	47.6
Income-tax	-	-	14.9
Salt		-	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>107.3</b>	<b>78.1</b>	<b>157.4</b>

(The figures for 1937-38 are approximate)

**Burma Government Expenditures**

	1927-28	1932-33	1837-38
	(in million rupees)		
1. Land revenue dept	6.6	5.3	5.6
2. General administration	10.6	9.9	11.2
3. Criminal dept. (Police)	14.8	17.9	15.3
4. Education	13.1	8.7	8.5

5. Health	7.3	5.0	5.6
6. Public works	26.6	9.7	12.4
7. Forest dept	8.9	6.5	6.0
8. Judicial dept	6.7	5.9	5.5
9. Pensions	6.0	5.8	10.4
10. Excise dept	2.2	1.9	1.9
11. Prisons	3.2	3.2	3.2
12. Miscellaneous	13.7	9.8	19.8
13. Loans	-	1.3	18.0
14. Defense dept	-	-	18.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>119.7</b>	<b>90.9</b>	<b>142.1</b>

(Figures for 1937-38 are approximate)

The data for 1937-38 shows that income exceeds expenditure by 15.3 million rupees. It should be possible to abolish the *Thathemaeda*, or human tax. This taxation, known in Upper Burma as *Thathemaeda*, and in Lower Burma as *Lu-khun*, human-tax, i.e. tax based on head count is practiced only in Burma, and not in any Indian province. It is additional tax paid by the Burmese people. As this system does not exist in any other country, the Burmans are the most heavily taxed people.

But the highest tax payers enjoy the least benefits. As foreigners manage every aspect of Burmese life, the Burmans are the guests in their own country. It is the duty of every Burman to try to regain their rights. But to regain their rights, they must first know what these rights are. And the informed people have a duty to open the people's eyes.

### **Inside the Parliamentary**

After the election, Five Star party emerged as the strongest party in the legislature, or parliament, with 45 seats. Dr Ba Maw's party has 16, and U Chit Hlaing's 12, Kominkochin party 3 and Fabian Socialist party one respectively. The remaining MPs are Arakanese (Rakhine), Karen, and independents. One remarkable point about this election is that Sir J.A.Maung Gyi's Shwe Taung Kyar (Golden Valley) party did not win a single seat. This

shows that the country does not like those who always supported the government, whether it was right or wrong. This is a feature of national progress.

The Governor asked U Ba Pe, the Five Star party leader to form a government. But U Ba Pe could not solve his party's internal disputes, and failed to get united support. He also could not attract enough number of other party MPs. He had to surrender his commission to form the government. In the mean time, Dr Ba Maw's coalition moved a no confidence motion and dismissed U Ba Pe as party leader.

After U Ba Pe and U Thein Maung resigned, U Paw Tun and Dr Ba Maw took the leadership. Dr Ba Maw took the initiative to form the government. But he faced a no confidence motion in parliament, moved by Five Star party, in alliance with Fabian and Thakin members. The outcome was even, 56-56, for and against the government. The decisive vote was cast by U Chit Hlaing as House Speaker, and the government stayed on. Then the MPs attempted to bring down U Chit Hlaing; the votes in the no confidence motion against U Chit Hlaing were 63 for the motion, and 53 against. Although U Chit Hlaing's opponents won, they lacked an outright majority, which was half the total number of MPs; and according to the statue, U Chit Hlaing stayed on as Speaker.

The government could not do anything effectively as it was preoccupied in parliament with the business of sharing jobs. Only one significant business came into parliament; Sir Thomas Cooper, the finance minister introduced draft law for farm rents, together with its Burmese translation which he distributed. The Frontier Garrison Act, proposed by the home minister was defeated; it was enacted later with the special power of the Governor. Other Acts introduced by the government concern the salaries of the House Speakers and other parliamentary officials, and the Light House Act.

Other proposals which came from the opposition were U Saw's draft law of farm rents, Fabian U Maung Myit's draft law to amend Rangoon Municipal Act, and the draft law to abolish the town municipals act. Other important tasks discussed were the amendment of parliamentary regulations, and the permission to use Burmese language in the legislature.

In a notable event, Dr came to parliament wearing the hat of his *Damma-tat* (Chopping knife force). For his lack of *gaungbaung* (formal head-dress), the MPs seriously censored Dr Ba Maw; harshest criticisms came from U Ba Thi and U Kun.

Another objection raised was the postal charges for letters and parcels sent to India; set at

foreign rates, it has been criticized especially by Indians and Europeans. However, the motion change it did not pass through after the voting. In another issue, Five Star party successfully blocked the grant of funds for the finance department, and pensions. This was a deliberate obstruction by Five Star party, intending to disrupt government plans, because they were not in it. The attack appeared as a surprise for the coalition cabinet. The government was hard pressed for lack of funds, but the Governor saved the situation by using his special power, citing his duty to ensure the financial obligations.

The first meeting of the legislature spent time on sharing of jobs; it has brought no benefit to the country.

The Upper House (Senate) meeting concluded after deliberating on the appointment of Speaker and Deputy Speaker, the budget, and approving the Light House Act, passed by the Lower House. Although the two Houses have not done a useful job for the country, the people paid about 200 000 rupees for the daily grants of the MPs.

### **The Second Meeting of Parliament**

At the second meeting held in August, U Ba Thein, mill owner of Shwe Paukpin, asked the government not to collect land revenues earlier than April 1; his proposal got approval. Then U Kyaw Zan introduced the Motor Vehicle Act, which was defeated. Again, U Kyaw Zan, after speaking his objections against horse racing, which was damaging the morals of the people, proposed the Burmese Boat Rowing Act, to allow rowing competitions. This also failed to become law.

Then U Ba Thein of Shwe Paukpin moved to open technical schools, at Meikhtila, Prome, Akyab (Sittwe), Bassein (Patheingyi), Moulmein, and Mandalay, under the Central Technical Institute. Although U Pu, minister for forests spoke against it, the motion passed through. Again U Ba Thein proposed to send 100 State Scholars abroad annually; it also got approval of the House.

Mr. Raphy proposed the government to build a museum, but was rejected.

Shwe Paukpin U Ba Thein urged the government to enlist 50 percent Burmese in the army, Mr. Booth Graveley, the Governor's advisor, promised that the suggestion would be favorably considered by the Governor. Then Myanmar Ta-yar U Nyunt from Mandalay put forward the bill to allow the Burmans to write wills; but it was defeated. As the objectors spoke in English,

Speaker U Maung Gyi translated them for U Nyunt.

Dr Thein Maung of the government party asked to be allowed to introduce the bill amending the Criminal Code, which has been passed by the Lower House. He also put forward another bill concerning paddy and grain measure.

U Kyaw Din proposed to form a seven member committee to consider MPs salaries. Then the education minister introduced a bill to appoint parliamentary secretaries; it passed through with a vote of 17- 12 in its favor. U Kyaw Zan proposed to introduce state lottery; the members decided to get the people's opinion and produced a questionnaire.

During the Lower House meeting, it was proposed to adjourn the meeting in consideration of the disaster due to storm and floods; it was agreed and the government gave 150 000 rupees for aid to the victims.

Then the House sought approval to have U Saw's farm rents law considered by a select committee. Draft legislations produced by majority consensus were Bassein U Ohn's Upper Burma Farm and Revenue Act, 1937, U Maung Myit's bill to abolish the municipals, Ganga Singh's 1937 bill to amend the Criminal Code, Prome rural member U Lu Wa's Burma Village Autonomous Administration Act, Bassein South member U Ba Ohn's draft Primary Education Law, Prome U Ba Than's draft bill for Salary of Members of Parliament. They all got the House's approval for further business. Then the House also permitted to introduce U Ba Win's draft Adoption Act, U Ba Ohn's draft for Buddhist Women's Special Marriage Act, and U Ba Pe's draft law for Permanent Residence in Burma.

In the second meeting of the Lower House, Myitkyina U Ba Yin made the proposal to the government to allot five acres of land for every family. Although it was in support of the promise given by Prime Minister Dr Ba Maw, the Speaker turned it down, saying it did not conform to regulations.

A noticeable incident during that meeting was the vehement objection raised by Mr. Leach when U Ba Hlaing referred to Europeans as *Kalar Phyu* (White Indians). But U Ba Hlaing won the argument after he explained the usage with reference to historical documents. In another incident, Indian member Mr. Arangar asked finance minister Dr Thein Maung if he would reduce the postal rates; when Dr Thein Maung replied that the matter was under consideration, Meikhtila U Ba Yin intervened and asked if the government would give a yes or no answer. After Dr Thein Maung replied that the government has no intention to reduce the postage rates,

he was loudly protested by Indian members. The row subsided only after Prime minister Dr Ba Maw rose to state that the government would give sympathetic consideration.

This meeting was unlike the meetings of the diarchy parliament; a number of proposals was made and draft bills introduced. This seems to indicate that the MPs are now dedicated to the good of their voters. However, the fact that they came only from the opposition appears to mean that governing party MPs consider their duties fulfilled after they have supported the government; for them it was the government's duty to do good for the country. But the government so far has done nothing effectively.

Another conspicuous feature was the open buying and selling of votes in parliament. Almost all Lower House members agreed that people bought nominations to become Senate members. Some members have been accused of, and despised for, taking money from Indians, in return for nominating Indians. News was also widespread that corruption was rampant during the selection of ministers. We have heard Home Minister U Paw Tun revealed, during a speech he gave in a province that a vote has fetched from 2500 to 3000 rupees. The MPs were not dutiful; they have been enjoying merriment. Many of them were seen at the horse race. It is even said that on voting days, some MPs were sent away with plenty of wine and women. Such is the loose character of the MPs. Voters from the townships should find out what their MP has been doing in Rangoon. Most notorious are the MPs from Upper Burma, and they are the subject of gossip in Rangoon.

Of course dutiful MPs did hard work; they took part in debates; they put up bills. The present system is unlike the diarchy in which the government has no real power; there is no chance of MPs doing anything good for the country. The Burma government, as well as the British government, has maintained that the present system is advanced. The MPs now have a duty to ask the government what it plans to do in response to parliament's activities. If parliament's decisions come to nothing, there is no reason to keep the record of proceedings. The MPs should be well aware of this point.

### **The aim of the new system of government**

The aim of the new system is to pacify the unrest in the country, by creating new official posts, and sharing them among the people; it will keep some people happy. But the system has brought nothing for the people; as the saying goes, "The people don't get, although they have been given; they are hungry although they have been fed." Although politicians have given

then high hopes, they actually have not received anything concrete. If things go on in the same manner, there is not much to hope in the future either. It is a clear fact that people are getting poorer day by day. The poor classes will have no way to support a system that cannot bring benefits for the poor who form 90 percent of the population. The new system may bring expectations for a while, but after some time, dissatisfaction, and unrest are bound to recur. There will be demands for change.

It is said the government is progressive. But the fact is nine or ten native ministers, instead of only two previously, does not make the difference. Farmers and workers have to continue giving what they used to give before; and the village headmen, township officers, and deputy commissioners, whom they dreaded are still there. New laws have not brought them relief. We understand that the ministers are responsible for policy, and the civil servants run the daily affairs. But this makes no difference for the poor folk. Officers are still wielding the same powers like before. Farmers and workers have seen no benefits from the new administration; they will not support it.

Having seen these defects of the new administration, it seems that every body should reject it. Indeed they will decide to do so in the near future.

### **The Indian Civil Service (ICS)**

Because the ICS civil servants are the real rulers, they can do both instant good and bad things for the poor people. As their rights and privileges are protected by the chief government secretary in London, they cannot be sacked, nor their salary reduced. Protection is given them by the 1921 Royal Services Commission, also known as the Lee commission. They are recognized as if they are heaven born. The 1935 Burma Act also provides special powers to the Governor to protect the ICS people. So long as these privileged rulers are running the administration, the nation's development would be stuck like an anchored ship.

In self-governed states and Dominions, no such special rights exist for the civil servants. And there are no such things as minorities. The people and their representative government can work together to develop their country. This is the difference between colonial status and Dominion status. Another difference is, although Dominions are under British rule, the British in no way can restrict their freedom. Britain has a duty to get the consent of the Dominions when it declares war on another nation; and it has to get the approval of Dominions in choosing a new king. Britain has no right to act freely in matters relating to Dominions. The

Governor of Ireland appointed by Britain has been removed by President Valera, but Britain could not protest it; since then there is no governor in Ireland. Also there were two chambers of parliament in the original form of administration given by Britain. But the Irish thought the Upper House was of no use; so they abolished it. This is how an independent nation can manage its own affairs.

To reach the Dominion status the Burmese leaders, as well as followers, will have to work selflessly. For now, both the leaders and followers are adrift in the sea of ministerial and other political posts.

### **Weakness of the Burmese people**

Although Burmans have got into politics, the nation has not progressed as much as it should; the reason is the lack of true politicians, and those who are there are only selfish opportunists. The selfish politicians can rally more followers; it is hard for genuine politicians to set up strong parties. When they have honest leaders followers are ready to take risks. But the leaders they have are like *tamar* (neem) leaves; the more you chew them, the more bitter they taste. Thus followers decline to sacrifice, but they also seek for themselves. But even if the followers are dishonest, they have some degree of loyalty.

For example U Ottama has opened the country's eyes; he has gone to jail for the sake of the people. And for that reason, the people tolerated all of U Ottama's faults. When the government arrested U Ottama and sent him to court, the people came out to help him. Within a few days U Ottama's legal fund collected more than 17 000 rupees. After the legal fees have been paid, there was more than 10 000 rupees left. U Ottama promised that he would not use that sum for himself, but that he would deposit it in a bank and use it to award foreign scholarships. But he did not keep his promise. It is known that no scholars have been sent abroad and that the money has been spent as U Ottama wished. Still the people revere U Ottama, and also thank him, as the 'eye opener' of the people. Only when U Ottama behaved worse did the people lose respect for him. Even then, there are people who would be ready to offer U Ottama lunch. This is the nature of the Burman followers.

When we do get honest leaders, they have no ability. Such leaders gradually lost followers. Some were selfless to begin with; but when pressed under poverty, they could not resist long enough, and they earned from politics. Some had good intentions; but for their lack of business skills, their organizations lost money. U Chit Hlaing formed the Thilawa oil refinery with

shares from the people; the people trusted him and bought the shares. But the refinery did not produce a drop of petroleum; the company lost hundreds of thousands rupees, and the shareholders suffered badly. Dr Thein Maung set up the Chisry (?) Pharmaceutical Company; but it went bankrupt, and it was the shareholders who lost. U Hla Pe built a spinning mill at Myingyan; but as he did not understand the business, it failed. U Po san and some people built a steel mill, but today we cannot find a trace of it. Such failures are due to dishonest intentions from the beginning, or to lack of management skills. In Burma no one is punished for the losses suffered by share holders. But in Russia they sue and punish people who are incompetent; the man whose corruption or cheating is evident is shot. In some countries they people take some form of action before the government does.

Because of the past failures of business led by political leaders, the people now do not cooperate to build new businesses. This is the reason why Burma remains undeveloped industrially.

Failures are the foundation for progress. In Burma, business failures, when they are just beginning to emerge, will open the people's eyes. But it usually is the experience of other countries. In England, when they started forming companies many people lost their fortunes due to the South Seas Company. Dubbed the South Sea bubble, the company was run by crooks, to do trading business with America and islands in the south.

About five years ago, in France, a man named Stavisky opened a bank and swindled people's money; the country erupted, and the government fell, as ministers and high officials have helped him. However we should look at not only the failures; there are success stories we should study. There are many Indian and European companies instituted in Rangoon. Many of them went broke; we have seen how Bulloch Brothers, the big European rice trading company, went bankrupt. But there are many successful ones, but very few are Burmese own. We ought to encourage company businesses, because only they can prevent foreigners taking away our fortunes.

We should blame not only the leaders, but also the followers. The Burmans have little faith in organized business. They have no mutual regard, or trust; they are individualistic. This is because they have no experience or training for organizational work. The government is also to blame. Huge sums of money have been invested in cooperative societies, but there is no progress; only the societies disappear one after another. This happens because the people have

not been trained to manage the cooperatives. In Japan cooperatives are very successful because they got proper government support. Some Japanese, who are skilled in cooperative business, are now giving training in other countries, and also have written books on the subject. One Japanese named Mr. Kagawa is very famous for organizing cooperative businesses. Although the Japanese are doing it, the British government has ignored it. Cooperatives are very successful in Denmark also. But the government has no intention to introduce them in Burma. It may have reasons. The British people are prospering by doing business with Burma. If Burma succeeds in business and industrialization, it will be at Britain's expense. They may have deliberately prevented Burmese business success, because they know it will result in closing down their factories, and the people losing jobs. The English are known as a Nation of Shopkeepers; they benefit more from trade with our country than by ruling it; for the British government, their people's business and trade is priority. In the new government set up of Burma cooperatives are placed under transferred departments, under a minister. If the minister is wise and patriotic like the Indian ministers he will do a great job for the country.

In some Indian provinces, the government is providing investment it as a public company. The government also gives loans for some new businesses. If the business does well, the investors share the profits; in case a business fails, the government shares some of the losses. This is an example of how patriotic ministers have done their job for the benefit of the country. In this way the country will gradually develop industries. In some areas the governments put in the investment, set up the industry, and manage it for some time; after it runs smoothly and is making profit, the governments privatize it as a public company. This is a method to industrialize the country quickly, and to solve unemployment.

Such programmes will become possible in Burma only if the people loudly demand them. Otherwise the government will just ignore them. A nation's progress depends upon the knowledge and vision of its people. If they remain passive, nothing will come from the government. It is only natural for a foreign government.

The Burmese people these days are not living well like in former days, when they used to say that, "There is no funeral of one who died of starvation." They said it because it was true then. But times have changed. The Burmans are doing worse; they are like fish in water that's getting scantier. One can see for oneself poverty and starvation. This is due to the gradual intrusion of foreigners who are cleverer. The Burmans being unable to match their cleverness

have fallen from being well off to badly off.

Foreigners who have intruded into the country rob from the people; but they do not rob all at once. Their method is gradual, like driving in a wedge; it's slow torture. For example, the people do not object the municipals which prescribe home designs; the people don't think it was against their interest. But the law makers have intentions. By making rules about home designs, the people are forced to buy iron, corrugated iron sheets for roof, cement, glass for glazing, ceramic toilet seats etc. That makes good business for importers and foreign factories, but puts the people in financial hardship. By such indirect means, the foreigners rob from the people. That is the way foreign capitalists work.

To fight such exploitation, the people need to produce the materials domestically; and there must be laws, enacted by government, to enforce the use of domestic products. The people on their part should use native products out of patriotism. In this way we can develop our national economy. But we are sad to observe that in Burma people are interested in politics, but not in the economy. A nation may be free, but without economic freedom, there is no real benefit; the people will remain backward. This is obvious in Thailand, which is politically independent, but cannot economically recover, because it is exploited by France. Due to unbearable economic oppression by foreigners, there had been a revolt to dethrone the King. In Abyssinia, even before it came under Italian invasion, the economy had been in the hands of foreigners. Economic exploitation by Italy is also evident in Albania which has its own monarch. It is clear that political leaders should bear in mind the importance of economic independence, in addition to national independence.

There is another important task. That is to improve commerce. It is the duty of the Burmese Chamber of Commerce, Burma Central Trading Association, Upper Burma Trading Association, and political leaders to work together to develop commerce. Commercial organizations have the duty to provide information, and assist people with their problems with regard to commercial business. They should find ways and means to make progress. The organizations should talk with the government, railway and shipping companies, to recover, or prevent losses. They should also fight foreign exploitation; find foreign markets for Burmese companies to export, exhibit native products foreign trade exhibitions.

It is for the purpose of assisting in these tasks that the Burmese Chamber of Commerce has got a set in parliament to represent it. The Burmese Chamber of Commerce and Upper Burma

Trading Association have representatives attached to railways and Rangoon port authority. Although the Burmese Chamber of Commerce is not quite active at present, it is hoped that in future it will work for the benefit of the country, as indeed it is required. It is the duty of the people to remind and ask them to do their duty.

### **Conclusion**

At the moment politics in Burma is at the lowest level; there are various political parties, but not of them is capable of leading the struggle for independence. No party is strong enough to take a leading role, and the people do not follow the path of liberty, but go their own ways to seek for themselves. The goal of independence is lost because they think the new system of administration granted by the British government is the end. Even the brave university students and young men are no longer adventurous; they assume the legislative assembly the last place for politics. And the peasants and workers, the village folk are relying on the legislative assembly. They have mean attitudes; they would ask for government in trivial matters. They are reluctant to take pains, but rather follow the path of least resistance. The grandeur of independence is out of sight; the people are tangled in the vicious cycle of thirty one realms of existence.

The people need to realize that the legislative assembly cannot do anything to bring about their desire. Unlike in former days, there is no party both outside and inside parliament; parties exist only inside. And Wuntharu leaders have lost direction, as they also have come to believe that the legislature is the last place to seek independence, and they have made it their livelihood.

Thus the problem has arisen. Whom should we support? How will we proceed in our pursuit of independence? To tell the truth, although there are many parties at present, actually there are only two camps, self seekers, and selfless adventurers. But it is not difficult to find out who's who in Burmese politics.

Among the many parties, Five Star party has no serious program, although there are some internal conflicts. But it has to do with the disagreements over the sharing of office portfolios. Initially, it had declared the policy of accepting posts, and then to work to make better government. When they couldn't get the posts, they become incapable of doing anything. What it did, when they couldn't take the whole government, was to form alliance with other groups and attempt to form a all Burman cabinet, sort of national government. In this scenario, it is impossible to go ahead with Five Star to the goal of independence. Unless it gives up the

attitude of seeking benefits for self, from working for the country, and the unwillingness to make sacrifices, it has no chance to effectively lead the country.

Dr Ba Maw's party is now gathering strength, making use of its position in the government. It is making much use of the term *Sinyetha* (poor folk). The uninformed village folk believe that it has the potential to achieve independence, and put their lot behind this party. Those who became party members after it came to power are likely to be opportunists. When this party falls from power, they would rather move away. They are just like barriers in a tray, always seeking a position for itself.

Whether Dr Ba Maw is weak, or strong, his party is not really the one to bring independence. It is not doing it; it has not even a program for it. Although they use beautiful words, they are not working for independence; in fact the goal is receding. Again we have to rule out Dr Ba Maw's party as a reliable one.

U Chit Hlaing's party is no longer active in politics. An impotent party, it is working toward alliance with Indians, and Englishmen, for own benefits. It has no vision for the future, and no longer talks about independence. It is hand in hand with the government oppressing the independence fighters. There is no way we can rely on U Chit Hlaing's party.

How about the Fabian Socialist party? It has made sacrifices; it does not seek for self. It does work for the country. As a new party, and an unselfish one, it can help its supporters only with verbal suggestions. In a country with shallow people who love assistance in money or materials, it cannot rally support. It cannot launch an effective independence campaign. Although talk much about independence, and the means to get it, the people are moving the other way; it's just like the hound running north, while the rabbit runs south. The people have lost sight; it is not known when they will get back on the correct path.

There is also Dobama Ahsiahyone also known as Thakin party. Its aim is noble – total independence. The party men are unselfish; they sacrifice and take risks; and they go to jail, or face starvation. They are admirable. As the party members are mostly young men, they can do work. But they lack fixed program; they are taking up improvised tasks. In spite of their sacrifice and effort, valuable effect is still not in sight yet. And the party is now growing its strength as much as it should. Because there have been more words than deeds, the government's harassment is undoing what they have done. Being young, the party men use to be arrogant; and they are quarrelling to become *Bo* (captain).

Being young men, who took up politics just after leaving school, Thakins tend to be rash, impatient and anti-social. A bit on the vulgar side, these young men can attract few people, because the people value civility. There is no chance of success without good social dealing; there is no way to get followers without the art of friendly relations. And without followers Thakins cannot gain independence. Again we find Thakins to be unreliable.

Who can we rely on? This is a question we need to answer. The people need to give full backing to a party that is unselfish, and devoted to the nation's good. One day the people will have to rally behind such a party. But first, the people must identify who are selfish, and who are not; and then they ought to face hardships to work for the independence of the country.

#### 4. Extracts from U Ba Khaing's book “Burma's Political History”

Translation: Tin Htway<sup>1</sup>

##### Extract No. 1 (pp.: 56-58)<sup>2</sup>

The Sun Daily began in 1911 with three editions a week. U Ba Pe was the Editor and U Hla Pe was Publishing Manager (Publisher).<sup>1</sup> At a time when foreigners were allowed to wear their shoes in sacred places, even on the pagoda platform of the great Shwe-da-gon U Ba Pe and U Hla Pe made a protest against this by inserting a special cartoon in their paper. One of these was especially effective; the cartoon showed Pagoda trustee members sweating under the weight of an English couple whom they were carrying onto the Pagoda platform. The English couple were saying how grateful they were that Pagoda Trustee members were so obliging as to allow them to visit the Pagoda platform without having to take off their shoes.<sup>3</sup>



This cartoon aroused fury among the Europeans and Pagoda Trustee members. Mr. Shuttleworth, the Commissioner of Rangoon Police, summoned U Ba Pe and U Ha Po and gave them a serious warning not to repeat the offence. U Da Pe and U Hla Po refused to be browbeaten: they put their case and walked out of the office unrepentant. At that time, it took considerable courage to defy a Police Commissioner.

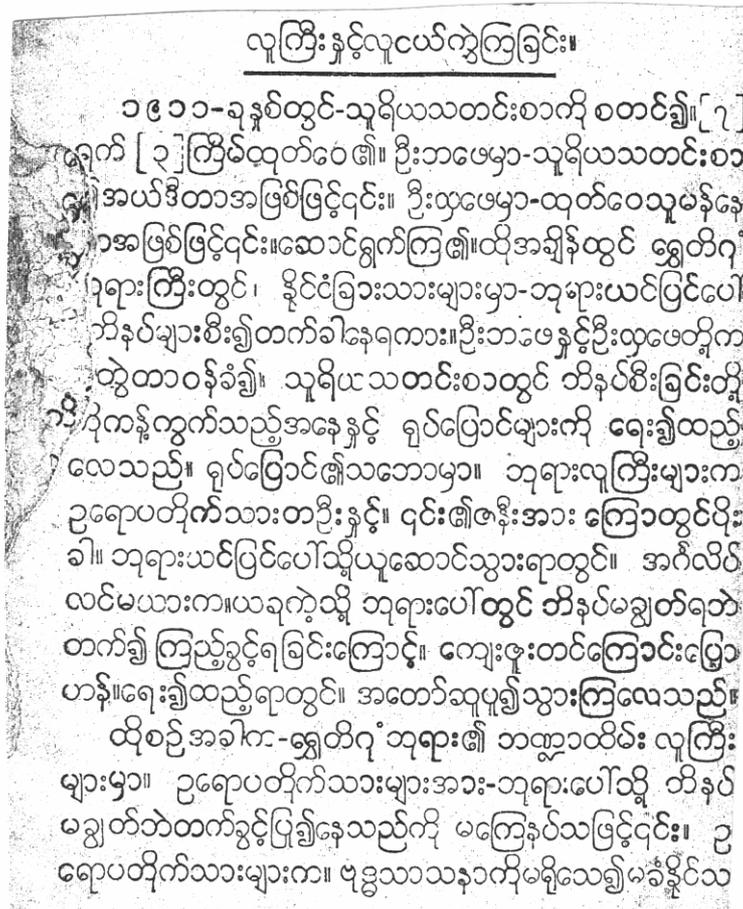
<sup>1</sup> Tin Htway: 184-194.

<sup>2</sup> This extract is taken from the book's chapter 3; see above pp. 37-38. – The numbers of pages given by Tin Htway do not correspond with the pagination of the copy used for this paper.

<sup>3</sup> A reproduction of the cartoon described here can be found in the work of Heinz Bechert and Werner Gombrich (1984), *Die Welt des Buddhismus*. München, Beck: 150. The reproduction is reproduced here as an illustration.

The Police Commissioner's attitude aroused the fury of the younger politicians who called a mass meeting at Jubilee Hall to discuss the Shoe Question. The older pro-establishment group sometimes known as the Tu-Tha-Thin group headed by U Ba Tu, U Po Tha, U Thin refused to register any protest against the Police Commissioner. Two distinct factions emerged from this disagreement, divided by age as well as by conviction. U Khin, May Aung, Sir J.A. Maung Gyi (all Anglophile Burmese joined the conservative side) and U Thein Maung, U Maung Gyi, U Ba Dun, Dr. Thein Maung, U Ba Pe and others remained with the young progressives. U Thein Maung presided over that mass protest meeting. For their part in the meeting, the C.I.D. and the Police shadowed them wherever they went and whatever they did.

**Burmese text:**<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Pages 52-57 of the original.

ဖြင့်။ ယခုကဲ့သို့ သူပုဂ္ဂိုလ်များ ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ဤရုပ်ပြောင်ကို မြင်ရသောအခါ။ ဘုရားလူကြီးများမှာ- အထူးစိတ်ဆိုးကြ၏။ ဥပမာပုဂ္ဂိုလ်သားများမှာလည်း။ မခံမရပ်နိုင်ဖြစ်ကြ၏။ ရန်ကုန်ပုလိပ်မင်းကြီး Mr. Shuttleworth ရှပ်တဲလ်ဝပ်(သ)က နောင်ဤကဲ့သို့ မထည့်ရန် ခေါ်၍ ပြောသော အခါတွင်။ -ဦးဘဖေနှင့် ဦးထွဏ်တို့မှာ။ ပုလိပ်မင်းကြီးနှင့် ရန်ဖြစ်၍ ထွက်လာခဲ့၏။ ထိုခေတ်အခါက ပုလိပ်မင်းကြီးရန်ခံ၍ ပြောဝန်သောသူများမှာ။ အတော်ပင် သတ္တိကောင်းများဟူ၍ ခေါ်ရပေမည်။

လူငယ်များမှာ ယခုသို့ ပုလိပ်မင်းကြီး၏ ပြုမူပုံကို မမြင်နိုင်ရကား။ ဂျူးဘလီဟောရုံတွင်။ ရှူးကွက်ရှင်း (Shuttleworth Question) ခေါ် ဆိုနပ်ပြဿနာကို ဆွေးနွေးရန် စည်းရုံးပွဲကြီးတစ်ခုကို ဝိတ်ခေါ်ကြ၏။ ဦးထိုးသာ-ဦးဘထူး-ဦးသင်အမှူးရှိသော လူကြီးများက။ ဤကဲ့သို့ ကန့်ကွက်ရန် ဖိတ်ခေါ်သည်ကို သဘောမတူကြသဖြင့် ကန့်ကွက်ရာတွင်။ လူကြီးနှင့် လူငယ် ၂ ကွဲ ကွဲရလေသည်။ ထိုအခါတွင် လူကြီးများ၏ နောက်သို့ ဦးခင်-ဦးမေအောင်-ဂျေအေဦးမောင်ကြီးတို့မှာ လိုက်ပါ၍ သွားကြလေသည်။ လူငယ်အဖြစ်ဖြင့် ကျန်ခဲ့သောသူများမှာ။ ဦးထိမ်းမောင်၊ ဦးမောင်ကြီး၊ ဦးဘခွန်း၊ ဦးပေါ်ထွန်း၊ ဒေါက်တာထိန်းမောင်၊ ဦးဘဖေ စသော လူငယ်တစ်စုဖြစ်လေသည်။ လူငယ်တစ်စုမှာ စိစဉ်ထားသော အစည်းအဝေးကို။ ဦးထိမ်းမောင်အား ဥက္ကဋ္ဌအဖြစ်ဖြင့် တင်မြှောက်ခါ။ စည်းဝေးကြ၏။ ဤအစည်းအဝေးကျင်းပပြီးနောက်။ ပိုင်-

အင်-ဘီ အေဖွဲ့တာသာကလျာဏယုဝအသင်းဝင်များကို  
 ယခုအခါ လူငယ်များအား။ လူကြီးများက ထောင်စာက  
 လေးများဟုခေါ်သကဲ့သို့ခေါ်ဝေါ်၍ရှောင်ရှားစပြုလေသည်။  
 ၎င်းတို့နောက်သို့လည်း ပုလိပ်များမှာ- စတင်၍ လိုက်လံစုံ  
 စမ်းစပြုလေသည်။ ထိုစဉ်အခါက- လူငယ်များမှာ။ ယခုအ  
 ခါလူကြီးများဖြစ်၍လာရကား။ ယခုလက်ရှိလူငယ်တရက  
 ခြေစားများ။ ရေသာခိုလိုသူများအနစ်နာမခံလိုသူများ  
 ခေါ်ဝေါ်ကြလေသည်။ ဝဋ်လည်ခြင်းပင်ဖြစ်တန်ရာ၏။  
 ခုလူငယ်များ လူကြီးအရွယ်ရောက်သောအခါ။ ထိုနည်း  
 ကဲ့ရဲ့ဖြစ်တင်ခံရမည်ကိုမြင်ယောင်ရှိတော့၏။ တခေတ်  
 ကတခေတ် ပိတ်ခါတ်တိုးတက်ခြင်း၏ အရိပ်နိမိတ်များ  
 ဖြစ်လေသည်။  
 ပတ်ချက်။

ထိုဘိနပ်ပြဿနာနှင့်ပတ်သက်၍ စည်းဝေးသော အ  
 စည်းအဝေးတွင်။ နာယကအဖြစ်ဖြင့်ဆောင်ရွက်ရန်။ ဦးမေ  
 အောင်အားခိုင်စေရာမလုပ်ဘဲနေသည်သာမက။ လူငယ်တို့  
 နှင့်ဆက်လက်၍ နိုင်ငံရေးကိုမလုပ်ဘဲ ခွဲထွက်၍သွားလေ  
 သည်။ သို့ဖြစ်သဖြင့် သတ္တိအကောင်းဆုံးလူကိုရှာသောအ  
 ခါ-လုပ်မည့်သူမရှိရကား။ ဦးသိမ်းမောင်ကပင်တာဝန်ခံ၍  
 လုပ်မည်ဟုပဋိဉာဉ်ပေးသောကြောင့်။ ၎င်းအားနာယကအ  
 ဖြစ်ဖြင့် တင်မြှောက်၍ စည်းဝေးခွဲကို ကျင်းပလေသည်။  
 ဦးသိမ်းမောင်သည် ဝတ်လုံအဖြစ်ဖြင့်အမှုလိုက်ရာတွင်။ အ  
 တော်နာမည်ရသူဖြစ်ရာ။ တရားဝန်ကြီး ရာထူးတစ်ခုကို ရ

ထိုက်သူဖြစ်သော်လည်း။ အစိုးရကမပေးအပ်ခြင်းမှာ။ ဘန်ပ  
ပြဿနာနှင့်ပတ်သက်၍ ဆွေးနွေးသောအစည်းအဝေးတွင်  
ဥက္ကဋ္ဌလုပ်ခဲ့မိခြင်းကြောင့် ဖြစ်သည်ဟု ပြောဆိုသည်ကို  
ဣဒ်းဘူးလေသည်။ ယခုအခါ ဦးထိမ်းမောင်၏နိုင်ငံရေး  
လုပ်ဆောင်ပုံကို ထောက်ရှု၍ကြည့်မည်ဆိုလျှင်။ ဤကဲ့သို့  
သောအစည်းအဝေးမျိုးတွင်။ ဦးထိမ်းမောင်ဥက္ကဋ္ဌလုပ်သည်  
ဟုဆိုသော်- ယုံနိုင်သွယ်ရာ အကြောင်းပင် ရှိမည်မဟုတ်  
ချေ။

ထိုသို့လူကြီးနှင့် လူငယ် မကွဲမိအချိန်အခါတွင်။ အိန္ဒိယ  
ပြည်အား။ အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးအဆင့်အတန်း တိုး၍ ပေးရန်  
၁၉၁၇-ခုနှစ်။ ဩဂုတ်လ(၂၀)ရက်နေ့တွင်။ ပါတီမန်ဆုံ  
ဖြတ်ချက်အရ။ အိန္ဒိယပြည်အတွင်းဝန်ကြီးမစ္စတာမွန်တော့  
သည်အိန္ဒိယပြည်သို့ရပ်စဲစစ်ဆေးရန်လာလေသည်။ မြန်မာ  
ပြည်အားလည်း အိန္ဒိယပြည်ထက်-အောက်တန်းမကျသော  
အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးကို ပေးအပ်ပါမည်အကြောင်းတောင်းဆိုရန်အ  
တွက်။ မြန်မာပြည်မှကိုယ်စားလှယ်များကိုစေလွှတ်ကြလေ  
သည်။ ၎င်းကိုယ်စားလှယ်များအနက်။ ဝိုင်-အမ်-ဘီ-အေအ  
သင်းမှစွတ်သောကိုယ်စားလှယ်များမှာ။ ဦးဘဖေ။ ဦးမေ  
အောင်။ ဝတ်လုံဦးဝင်းနှင့်။ ဦးဘဖေ။ ကုရင်လူမျိုးထည်းမှ  
ဒေါက်တာစံစိပိုးနှင့်။ ဆစ်ဒနီလူနီ။ သမဝါယမ အသင်းမှ  
ဦးဘိုးသာ။ ဦးသင်း။ ဦးဘတူ။ ဝတ်လုံဦးစံဝင်း။ အထက်မြန်  
မာပြည်မှ မစ္စတာပလဲတို့ကို စေလွှတ်ခဲ့လေသည်။ ကာလ  
ကတ္တားမြို့သို့ သွားသောကိုယ်စားလှယ်များသည်။ အစစ်ခံ

ပြီးသောအခါ။ အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးအပြင်-မြန်မာပြည်အား အိန္ဒိယ  
 ပြည်မှခွဲခွဲရန်အချက်ကိုလည်းတောင်းဆိုကြသေး၏။ ဤကဲ့  
 သို့တောင်းဆိုမှုကို ထောက်ထားဩာတာစွာစဉ်းစားပါ  
 မည်ဟု ကော်မစ်ရှင်အဖွဲ့ဝင်သူကြီးများက တာဝန်ခံချက်  
 ပေးသဖြင့်၊ အားလုံးပြန်၍လာခဲ့ကြ၏။

ဤကဲ့သို့ တောင်းဆို ခဲ့သော်လည်း။ *Montagu,*  
*Chelmsford Scheme* မွန်တေဂူ ချင်းမ(စ)ဖိုနိုစနစ်  
 အုပ်ချုပ်ရေး အက်ဥပဒေတွက်သောအခါ (*Government*  
*of India Act Of 1919.*) မြန်မာပြည်အား သီးသန့်  
 အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးပေးမည်ဟု ကြံရွယ်သဖြင့်။ အစီရင်ခံစာတွင်  
 ဘဏ္ဍာသွင်းခြင်းမပြုဘဲအတိအလင်းရေး၍ထားလေသည်။ ဤ  
 သို့ဆိုချက်၍ ထားခြင်းမှာ။ ထိုစဉ်အခါက-ဘုရင်ခံအဖြစ်ဖြင့်  
 ဆောင်ရွက်၍ နေသူ *Sir, Reginald Craddock* ဆာရီ  
 ဂျိနယ်ကရက်ဒေါက်က- မြန်မာပြည်အား တာဝန်ခံအုပ်ချုပ်  
 ရေးအခြေခံစနစ်မျိုးကိုမပေးသင့်ကြောင်းနှင့်မြန်မာပြည်နှင့်  
 သင့်တော်သော အုပ်ချုပ်ရေး တခုကိုရေးဆွဲခါ။ ကရက်  
 ဒေါက်စကင်း *Craddock Scheme* ခေါ်- ကရက်ဒေါက်  
 အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးစနစ်ကိုတင်သွင်းလေသည်။

ဤကဲ့သို့ *Government Of India Act Of 1919,*  
 ၁၉၁၉-ခုနှစ်။ အိန္ဒိယပြည် အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးအက်ဥပဒေတွင်  
 မြန်မာပြည်ကို ထည့်သွင်းခြင်း မပြုသော အခါ။ မြန်မာ  
 ပြည်မှဝတ်လုံဦးပု၊ဦးဘပေနှင့် ဦးထွန်းရှိန် ကိုယ်စားလှယ်  
 ၃ ဦးကို အင်္ဂလန်ပါတီမန်သို့ ပို့၍ *Home Rule* ဟုန်းရှူး

ခေါ်ကိုယ်ပိုင်အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးကိုအမြန် မြန်မာပြည်အားပေးအပ်  
 ရန်တောင်းဆိုစေလေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့သွားရောက်တောင်းဆို  
 သော်လည်း။ အင်္ဂလန်က တစ်စုံတစ်ရာရတိပြတ်တာဝန်ခံချက်  
 မပေးချေ။ ထိုအခါအတွင်းကိုယ်စားလှယ်တစ်ဦးဖြစ်သော  
 ဦးထွန်းရှိန်မှာ ကွယ်လွန်အနိစ္စရောက်လေသည်။ ဦးထွန်းရှိန်  
 ကွယ်လွန်ရာတွင်။ တနိုင်းငံလုံး-ယူကြီးမရ-ပူဆွေးဝမ်းနည်း  
 ကြခြင်းများကိုထောက်သော်။ ထိုစဉ်အခါက-ဝံသာနုစိတ်  
 မျိုးချစ်စိတ် တစ်စတစ်တိုးတက်လာကြောင်းနှင့်တိုင်းပြည်  
 လွတ်လပ်ရေးကို ဆောင်ရွက်သော ခေါင်းဆောင်များက  
 မည်မျှယုံကြည်အားထားပြုသည်ကိုသိနိုင်ပေသည်။

ကိုယ်စားလှယ် ၃ ဦးသွားရောက် တောင်းဆိုခဲ့သော်  
 လည်း။ တစ်စုံတစ်ရာထူးခြားခြင်းမရှိရကား။ ၁၉၂၀-ခုနှစ်  
 တွင်။ ဒုတိယအကြိမ်ဦးဘဖေ၊ ဦးပု၊ ဦးထိမ်းမောင်အဖွဲ့ရှိ  
 သောကိုယ်စားလှယ်များကိုအင်္ဂလန်ပြည်သို့တဖန်စေထွက်  
 ရာ။ အိန္ဒိယအတွင်းဝန်ကြီး မစ္စတာမုန်တေဂျီက။ ၁၉၁၉  
 ခုနှစ်။ အိန္ဒိယပြည်အက်ဥပဒေသည်။ မြန်မာပြည်အတိုလည်း  
 ဖြစ်ပါစေမည်ဟု တာဝန်ခံချက်ပေးသဖြင့်။ ခေါင်းဆောင်  
 ကိုယ်စားလှယ်ကြီးသုံးဦးမှာ။ ဤမျှနှင့်ကြေနှပ်ခါမြန်မာပြည်  
 သို့ပြန်၍လာခဲ့ကြလေသည်။

ဤကဲ့သို့-ဂတိ ပေးခဲ့သည့်အတိုင်း။ ၁၉၂၂-ခုနှစ်တွင်  
 နိုင်အာကီအုပ်ချုပ်ရေးစနစ်ကိုပေးအပ်ရကား။ ပဋိပဒေအကြိမ်  
 ရွေးကောက်ပွဲကိုကျင်းပရလေသည်။

**Extract No. 2** (pp.: 64-66)<sup>1</sup>

When the G.C.B.A. was set up, hundreds and thousands of people from all over Burma joined as members. At that time, to become a Wunthanu or a member of the G.C.B.A. was a matter of pride in Burma. Those who wore homespun clothes and those who kept the long hair knot were very popular. The word Wunthanu was clearly and boldly written in front of every house. Whatever obstructions they encountered from the government authorities, they resisted all attempts to put them down with a heartening show of solidarity and strength. This time, they were at the height of their power and influence.

Every shop proudly displayed the sign Wunthanu, each person carried his Wunthanu badge with him wherever he went. Those who held Wunthanu membership cards enjoyed great popularity every-where. Previous to the establishment of the Wunthanu associations, people had been terrified of all government authorities, of the D.C.'s the T.O.'s and the Village Headman, even of the Headman of Ten Households. But no longer. Now, if the authorities exceeded the limits of their authority by a fax fraction, the people had become aware of their rights: they would protest; if necessary, they would fight.

This determination to resist all encroachments of liberty not sanctioned by law, certainly made the authorities more circumspect in the pursuance of their duty. In olden days, whenever a senior civil servant paid an official visit to a village, the villagers had to provide valeting services, transport, and liquor and even provide girls for their pleasure. But now, with the Wunthanu spirit spreading through-out the land the stocks, the symbol of the village headman's power, which he had used all too freely to the fear of the villagers, now disappeared into the air. The authorities could no longer order people to patrol their villages, or to erect hedges round the village as forced labour. The village headman dared no longer overreach himself and this change was largely the work of the Wunthanu it is no wonder they commanded such popularity and admiration. They defended the rights of the ordinary man. If one of the villagers suffered victimisation, the whole village would not rest till justice had been done. The Wunthanu members protested and carried their protest to the highest levels. The erring civil servant could not withstand the zeal and determination of the Wunthanu. Party funds were plentiful at that time; if anyone needed money to fight for justice, it was his. This financial support came not only from the Wunthanu but from the ordinary villagers. If

---

<sup>1</sup> This extract is taken from chapter 4; see above, pp. 40-42.

a man suffered as the result of breaking an unfair government restriction, if a man was arrested on a charge of incitement to sedition or if a man was goaled because of his political convictions, the Wunthanu were on hand to help in every way. If he had a paddy field, the Wunthanu would cultivate it while he was detained, if he had dependents, wife, children, other relatives, they would be cared for with food, shelter and even money. No one was to suffer any loss as the result of his political convictions ...

**Burmese text:**<sup>1</sup>

ကျိးစိးဘိးအေအသင်းများ။

ကျိးစိးဘိးအေဟူသော အမည်နှင့်။ မြန်မာ အသင်းချုပ်ကြီးကို စတင်တည်ထောင်လိုက်သောအခါ။ မြန်မာပြည်တစ်ဝှမ်းလုံးရှိ မြို့ရွာဒေသများက ကျိးစိးဘိးအေအသင်းကြီးသို့ အသင်းသားအဖြစ်ဖြင့်။ ဝင်ရောက်ကြလေသည်။ ထိုစဉ်အခါက ဝံသာနု အသင်းဝင် ဖြစ်ရခြင်းမှာ။ မြန်မာပြည်တွင်။ လွန်စွာဂုဏ်ရှိသောလုပ်ငန်းတခု ဖြစ်လေသည်။ တိုင်းရင်းဖြစ်အထည်ကိုဝတ်၍။ မြန်မာပြီပြီ ရောင်ထားသူများမှာ။ အထူး မျက်နှာပွင့်ကြ၏။ အိမ်တိုင်းတွင် -- ဝံသာနု ဟူသော ကမ္ဘည်းများထိုး၍ထား၏။ အစိုးရတို့မည်မျှပင် နှောက်ရှက်စေကာမူ။ ပမာဏမထား။ စည်းလုံး ညီညွတ်ခြင်း အင်အားဖြင့်။ တွန်းထွန် ဖြိုဖျက်လိုက်ရကား။ ဝံသာနုတို့ လွန်စွာတန်ခိုးတက်သောအချိန်ကာလပင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။

ထိုစဉ်အခါက။ ဈေးဆိုင်တိုင်းတွင်။ ဝံသာနု ဟူသော စာတမ်းရေးထိုး၏။ ဈေးဝယ်သူများကလည်း။ ဝံသာနု အသင်းဝင်လက်မှတ်ကိုဆောင်ခါ။ ဂုဏ်ယူကြ၏။ ဝါကြွားကြ၏။ မာနတက်ခဲ့ကြ၏။ ဝံသာနု လက်မှတ် ပါသူ များမှာ။ နေရာတိုင်းတွင်။ မျက်နှာရှိ၏။ အသာရခဲ့ကြ၏။ မျိုးချစ် စိတ်ဓါတ် ကိန်း

အောင်းသူများအတို၊ ဒိဋ္ဌဓမ္မ အကျိုးပေးခြင်းပင် ဖြစ်လေသည်။ အေဒုတိယကရေစီခေါ် သဘောရှိ အုပ်စိုးသည့် အစိုးရခေတ်တွင် တန်ခိုးအာဏာနှင့်အုပ်စိုးသည့် အရေးပိုင်မှအစ ရွာသူကြီး၊ ဆယ်အိမ်ခေါင်းအဆုံးရှိသော အမှုထမ်း တို့ကို အဆိပ်မရှိသောမြွေကြီးများပမာ။ မည်သူကမျှ ကြောက်ရွံ့ခြင်းမရှိတော့ချေ။ ဥပဒေ စည်းကမ်းမကျလျှင်- ခေဘူးဟူသောစိတ်ထားသည်။ လူတိုင်းတွင်။ အန္တရာယ်ကင်း ဂါထာကဲ့သို့ဆောင်ရွက်၍ထားရကား။ အစိုးရ၊ အရာရှိ များကလည်း။ အာဏာကိုထင်တိုင်းသုံးခြင်းကို၊ စ၊ ချီလျှော့ရ လေသည်။ သို့ဖြစ်သဖြင့်။ အစိုးရအရာရှိများ လာလျှင်။ ရွာသူရွာသားများက။ အခမဲ့အစေခံများပေးရခြင်း။ ပျော်တော်ဆက်များပေးဆက်ရခြင်း။ ကြက်၊ ကြက်ဥ၊ မြက်၊ ရေ၊ ဖွည်း၊ စသည်တို့ ပေးရခြင်းများ ရပ်စဲ၍ သွားလေသည်။ သူကြီး၏ အိမ်တွင်- လူတိုင်းကြောက်ရသောထိပ်ထုံးများမှာ။ ကြက်ကလေးပျောက်- ပျောက်၍ သွားတော့၏။ အစိုးရ များကလည်း ကင်းစောင့်ရန်။ ရွာစည်းရိုးကာရန်။ အတင်း အကြပ် မခိုင်းတော့ပေ။ သူကြီးမှာ သူလိုငါလို။ လူဘဝသို့ နေ့ညအတွင်း ကျရောက်၍ သွားတော့၏။ သို့ဖြစ်လျှင်။ အဘယ်မှာလျှင်ဝံသာနုများဂုဏ်မယူဘဲ။ မာနမတက်ဘဲ ရှိနိုင်ချိန်အံ့နည်း။ လွတ်လပ်ရေးမရမှီကပင်။ ဤမျှကျေးဇူးခံစား၍ နေရလျှင်။ လွတ်လပ်ရေးရလျှင်။ မည်မျှကျေးဇူးခံရမည်ကို တွေး၍ အားတက်ကြလေသည်။

ရွာသားတယောက်ကို။ မတရားလှင်လျှင်။ တရွာလုံးက

<sup>1</sup> Pages 60-63 of the original.

မခံ။တသင်းလုံးကမခံ။လက်ညှိုးထိုး၍အစိုးရတို့ ပြုမူပုံများ  
 ကိုကန့်ကွက်ကြ၏။ဆူပူကြ၏။ ယဉ်ကျေးသော အစိုးရတို့  
 ၏ အုပ်စိုးပုံစနစ်နှင့်ဆန့်ကျင်သည်ဟု အတိအလင်း ပြော  
 ၏။အထက်အစိုးရတို့ထံသို့ တိုင်ကြား၏။ လက်အောက်အ  
 ရေးရှိများက မည်သည့်နည်းနှင့် ညှင်းဆဲကြ မည်နည်း ညီ  
 ညွတ်ကြပေစွကောင်းလေစွ ထိုစဉ်အခါက။ ဝံသာနု အ  
 သင်းရုံပုံငွေ မြောက်များစွာရှိသဖြင့်။ လူတယောက် မတ  
 ရေးနှိပ်စက်ခံရလျှင်။ အသင်းရုံပုံငွေနှင့်။ ခုခံပြောဆိုကြ၏။ ထို  
 မှုမကသေး။ ရပ်သူရွာသားမိတ်ဆွေ သင်္ဂဟ များကလည်း  
 ကူညီကြသေး၏။ နှုတ်၏စောင်မခြင်း။ လက်၏ စောင်မခြင်း  
 ဆိုသလို။ ကူညီကြ၏။ ထောက်ပံ့ကြ၏။ ပိုင်းဝန်းကြ၏။ အာ  
 ကာဖီဆန်မှုနှင့်၎င်း။ အစိုးရအကြည်ညိုပျက်မှုနှင့်၎င်း။ နိုင်ငံ  
 ရေးနှင့်ထောင်တန်းကျလျှင်။ ၎င်း၏ လုပ်ငန်းများကို။ တ  
 သင်းလုံးကပိုင်း၍ကူညီကြ၏။ ၎င်း၏ လယ်များမှာ သူရင်း  
 ငှားမထားရဘဲ။ ဝံသာနု များကဆိုင်ပျိုး လုပ်ကိုင်၍ ပေးသ  
 ဖြင့်။ စပါးတစ်မကြ နိရ၏။ သား၊ မယား၊ မှစ၍။ ဆွေမျိုး ညာ  
 တိမိဆိုသူများရှိလျှင်။ ဝံသာနုများက ပိုင်းဝန်း၍ ထမင်းကျွေး  
 ကြ၏။ ငွေထောက်ပံ့ကြ၏။ ဤကား- ဝံသာနု အသင်းကြီး  
 ၂၁-ဦးတို့နှင့်မကွဲမတူ တန်ခိုးကြီးစဉ် အခါက။ ဝံသာနုများ၏  
 အခြေအနေဖြစ်လေသည်။ အားကျော့ပတ်လောင်းလေစွ။  
 ထိုစဉ်အခါက။ ဝံသာနုအသင်းပေါင်း- ၈၀၀၀-ကျော်ရှိ  
 ၍။ အသင်းသားပေါင်း ထိန်းပေါင်းများစွာရှိ၏။ တသင်းလျှင်  
 လူပေါင်း- ၂၀-မှ ၅၀၀-ခန့်အထိရှိ၏။ အသင်းထသင်းလျှင်

ဆက်ကြေးငွေ တနှစ်လျှင် ၂၀ ကြပေးရ၏။ ရသေ့ဆက်  
 ကြေးများအနက်၊ နှိုနယ်အသင်းသုံးရန်စရိတ်ငွေ ၂၀။ တိုက်  
 နယ်အသင်းအတွက် ၂၀။ စီရင်စုနယ်အတွက်-၂၀။ ပေါင်း ၆၀  
 ကိုနှုတ်၍ ကျန် ၁၂၀ ကို အသင်းကြီးသို့ပို့ရ၏။ သို့ဖြစ်သ  
 ဖြင့်၊ အသင်းချုပ်ကြီးမှာ တနှစ်လျှင် ဆက်ကြေး တထိန်း  
 ကျော်ရလေသည်။ ဤဆက်ကြေးများအပြင်၊ ဟုမ္မရူးရုံပုံငွေ  
 ခေါ်လူတယောက်လျှင်-၂- ကြေးကိုလည်းကောက်ခံသေး၏။  
 ထိုမျှမကသေး၊ မြန်မာပြည်ဒေသအထီးသီးတွင်၊ ဘဏ်များ  
 ဖွင့်ခါနိုင်ငံအတွင်း ဆက်သွတ် ကူးသန်းရောင်းဝယ်ရန်၎င်း၊  
 ကျွဲမဏီ၊ ဂူပန်းပြင်သစ်၊ အင်္ဂလန်၊ အိန္ဒိယစသော ပြည်နယ်  
 များနှင့်ဆက်သွယ်၍၊ ကူးသန်းရောင်းဝယ်ရန်အတွက်၎င်း၊  
 တစ်လျှင် ၅၀-ကျနှင့် အစုများကို ကောက်ခံသေး၏။ ထိုအ  
 စုများအပေါ်မှလည်း၊ ငွေထိန်းပေါင်းများစွာရ၏။ ထိုစဉ်အခ  
 က၊ ကွယ်လွန်သူ ဦးထွန်းအောင်ကျော်မှာ၊ ငွေထိမ်းဖြစ်ရ  
 ကား၊ ၎င်းငွေများကို ၎င်း၏ဘဏ်တွင်ထား၏။ ဦးချစ်ထွဋ်  
 ကား၊ မြန်မာအသင်းချုပ်ကြီး၏ဥက္ကဋ္ဌဖြစ်၏။

**Extract No. 3 (pp.: 77-78)<sup>1</sup>**

In 1280 (B. E.), when Sayadaw U Ottama returned to Burma, after a tour of Europe, America and Japan he found the Y.M.B.A. movement in full swing and flung himself into its work with unstinting devotion. For this, he earned the uninterrupted surveillance of the C.I.D. The fear of implicating themselves in troubles with the police drove a number of the Sangha to withdraw their open support of him and to deny him shelter in their monasteries. U Ottama found himself staying in a house, somewhere in Tha-maing, Insein District, instead of a proper monastery. Despite all these difficulties, he found a staunch ally in the Sun Daily which published almost daily articles in support of him. Because of this publicity, his fame spread; more and more people attended the Sayadaw's lectures, were stirred by his passions.

---

<sup>1</sup> This extract is taken from chapter 6; see above, p. 45.

Burmese text:<sup>1</sup>

အခန်း-၆

၁၂၈၀-ခုနှစ်တွင် ဆရာတော်ဦးဥက္ကမသည် ဥရောပ  
တိုက်၊ အမေရိက၊ ဂျပန်ပြည် စသည်တို့မှ ပြန်၍ ကြွလာသော

p. 74

အခါ၊ မြန်မာပြည်တွင် ပိုင်-အမ်-ဘီ-အေ အသင်းက နိုင်ငံ  
ရေးလုပ်ငန်းများကို စတင်လုပ်ကိုင်နေပြီဖြစ်သဖြင့်၊ ဦးဥက္က  
မလည်း ကူညီဝင်ရောက်ခါ၊ စိတ်အားထက်သန်စွာ လုပ်  
ဆောင်လေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့ စတင် လုပ်ဆောင်လျှင် လုပ်  
ဆောင်ခြင်းပင်။ အစိုးရရုံးထောက်များမှာ ဆရာတော်၏  
နောက်သို့ တကောက်ကောက်လိုက်၍ နေခြင်းကြောင့်၊ ဦးဥက္က  
မအား သံဃာတော်များက မပေါင်းသင်းဝန်ကြွချေ၊ ထိုပြင်  
ဆရာတော်ပြောပုံ နေပုံတို့မှာ နိုင်ငံရေးဆရာတော်ပြီပြီ။ အ  
နည်းငယ်ကြမ်းတမ်းရကား။ အရဟတ္တဇေဂုဏ်နှင့် မညီ  
ညွတ်ဟုဆိုကာ ဆရာတော်အား မည်သည့် ကျောင်းကမှ  
လက်မခံဘဲ နေသောကြောင့်၊ အင်းစိန်ဒီပလိုမာတီ သမိုင်းမြို့ရှိ  
အိမ်တစ်အိမ်တွင် သိတင်းသုံး၍ နေရရှာလေသည်။ ထိုအချိန်  
အခါတွင် သူရိယသတင်းစာက ဦးဥက္ကမ၏ နိုင်ငံရေးဆောင်  
ရွက်ပုံများကို အထူးတလည် ထောက်ခံအားပေးသည်ပြင်။  
ဆရာတော်၏ အပြုအမူမှာ မှန်ကြောင်းကို နေ့စဉ် လိုပင်ရေး  
သားကြ၏။ ဤနည်းအားဖြင့် တစ်တစ် သတင်းစာတစ်စုံ  
ခေတ်မှီသော လူများမှာ နိုင်ငံရေးမျက်စိပွင့်၍ လာသော  
ကြောင့်၊ ဦးဥက္ကမဟောသော တရားပွဲများသို့ သွားရောက်ခါ  
နိုင်ငံရေးတရားများကို နှစ် ပြုကြလေသည်။ ဆရာတော်  
ဦးဥက္ကမမှာ များသောအားဖြင့် ဦးထွဗေ၊ ဦးဘဗေတို့နှင့် အ  
တူ၊ သူရိယသတင်းစာတိုက်တွင် သတင်းသုံး၏။ ဦးဥက္ကမ  
နိုင်ငံရေးလုပ်ဆောင်ရာတွင် ထိုခေတ်အခါက-ခေတ်၏ ရှေ့  
ပြေးဖြစ်သော ဦးဘဗေ-ဦးထွဗေ စသော ဝုပ္ပါယ်များက အား

p. 75

<sup>1</sup> Pages 74-84 of the original (complete chapter 6).

ပေး၏။ ၎င်းတို့၏လုလွှာကြောင့်-သူရိယသတင်းစာ၏အကူအညီဖြင့်။ တိုင်းသူပြည်သားများမျက်စိပွင့်လင်း၍လာလေသည်။ သို့ဖြစ်သဖြင့် သူရိယသတင်းစာ၏ ထိုစဉ်အခါက ဆောင်ရွက်ချက်များကို။ တိုင်းသူပြည်သားများကကျေးဇူးတင်ထိုက်လေသည်။

ဦးဥက္ကမမှာ နိုင်ငံရေးတရားကိုကြမ်းကြမ်း ဟောတတ်သည့်အတိုင်း၊ သံဃာတော်များအား။ ကျောင်းတွင် ကျိန်း၍ မနေကြရန်နှင့်။ တိုင်းပြည်သည် ကျွန်ဘဝတွင် ရောက်၍နေသောအခါ။ တိုင်းသူပြည်သားများမှာ။ ကျွန်များဖြစ်၍။ ကျွန်များ ကိုးကွယ်သောဘာသာသည်လည်း။ ကျွန်ဘာသာနှင့် ကျွန်သာသနာပင်ဖြစ်မည် ကျွန်ဘဝမှ လွတ်မြောက်မှသာ သာလျှင် သနာကြီးပွားထွန်းကားနိုင်မည်ဖြစ်သောကြောင့်။ ကျောင်းများတွင်ကျိန်း၍နေခြင်းငှာ မသင့်ကြောင်း။ သံဃာသမဂ္ဂများဖွဲ့စည်းခါ။ လွတ်လပ်ရေးကိုကြိုးစားသင့်ကြောင်း သံဃာတော်များအား။ သတင်းစာမှ၎င်း။ တရားဟောရာ၌ ၎င်း။ သံဃာတော်များကို ကိုယ်တိုင် လျှောက်ထားခြင်းအားဖြင့်၎င်း။ ဆွဲငင်ပြောဆိုလျှောက်ထားသဖြင့်။ သံဃာတော်များမှာ။ သာသနာညှိုးပယ်သည်ကို-ကိုယ်တိုင် တွေ့ရခြင်း။ တကာ၊ တကာမများတနေ့တခြားအောက်တန်းကျ၍ လာခြင်းဆင်းရဲခြင်း။ သာသနာပြုမင်းရှိမှသာလျှင်။ သာသနာ စည်ပင်ဖွံ့ဖြိုးမည်တို့ကို- သတိရခါ။ နိုင်ငံရေးတွင် စိတ်ဝင်စားစပြု၍လာလေတော့သည်။

ဦးဥက္ကမသည်။ ထိုစဉ်အခါက။ လူငယ်စုများဖြစ်သော

ဦးဘဇော်၊ ဦးထိမ်းမောင်၊ ဦးဖုလေ၊ ဦးမောင်ကြီး စသော သူ  
 များ၏ အားပေးချက်အရ- ရွှေတိဂုံ စေတီတော် ကြီး၌၎င်း၊  
 နိုင်ငံတော်တော်တော်များ၌၎င်း၊ နိုင်ငံတော်တော်တော်များ၌၎င်း၊  
 တရားဟောပြောရာ။ အစဦးတွင်- ၃၀-၄၀ မှာ လာရောက်၍  
 နိုင်ငံရေးတရားကို နာကြားသော်လည်း။ တစ်တစ် တရားနာ  
 ပရိသတ်တိုး၍လာလေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့ ဟောပြောရာမှ ရန်  
 ကုန်မြို့တွင်သာမဟုတ်။ စေတီနယ်များသို့လည်း။ ကြွရောက်  
 ဟောပြော၏။ ထိုနောက်- ၁၂၀၃ ခုနှစ်တွင်။ ဒေးဒရ်ဆုဆောင်  
 လက်ရွာတွင်။ တရားဟောပြောသည်အတွက်။ ၁၆၆-၁၂၄-  
 (က)အစိုးရအကြံပြုပျက်မှုနှင့်။ တရားစွဲခံရ၏။ ထိုကြောင့်  
 ပုသိမ်နယ်။ အရောင်းကုန်းတွင်တရားဟောနေစဉ်။ ဘင်းခင်း  
 ပြီးလျှင်- ဖျာပုံမြို့သို့ယူဆောင်ပြီး။ ဖျာပုံမှ တစ်ဆင့် မအူပင်နား  
 သို့ပြောင်းလွှဲခါ။ ထောင်ဒဏ်အပြစ်ပေးခြင်းခံရလေသည်။  
 ဤကဲ့သို့ဦးဥတ္တမအားအပြစ် ပေးလိုက်သောအခါ- တ  
 တိုင်းပြည်လုံးလှရော၊ သံဃာပါ- နိုးကြားလာကြပြီးလျှင်။ နိုင်  
 ငံရေးပိတ်အထူးဝင်စားလေတော့သည်။ သံဃာ တော်များ  
 မှာလည်း-- အမှုမဲ့- အမှတ်မဲ့နေခြင်းငှာ။ မသင့်ပြီဟု ယူဆ  
 ပြီးလျှင်။ ရန်ကုန်သရက်တောတိုက်နှင့် မဟာနန်းတိုက်များတွင်  
 သံဃာသမဂ္ဂအသင်းများကို စ၍ တည်ထောင်လေသည်။ အ  
 စဦး၌- ရဟန်းပျိုများစတင်၍ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းကြောင့်။ သံဃာ  
 သမဂ္ဂများ။ ကြီးပွားသင့်သလောက်။ ကြီးပွားဘဲ နေခဲ့ရာ။ အ  
 လယ်ထောရ၊ စလင်းနှင့် ဝေဠုဝန်ဆရာတော်တို့စ၍ ဝင်လိုက်  
 သောအခါ။ သက်ကြီးဝါကြီးဆရာတော်ကြီးများလည်း ဝင်

ရောက်ခါ။စိတ်ရောက်ယိပ်ပါ-အားပေးကြ လေသည်။ များမကြာမှီ-ရန်ကုန်မြို့တွင်သံဃသမဂ္ဂီအသင်းများတည်ထောင်ပြီးစီးလေသည်။ထိုနောက် အောက်မြန်မာပြည် တ၅၄င်းလုံးတွင်ရှိ သံဃသမဂ္ဂီအသင်း-၃၇-သင်းကို တည်ထောင်ပြီးစီး၏။ပဋ္ဌမသံဃသမဂ္ဂီအသင်းကြီး၏ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ အဖြစ်ဖြင့် အလယ်တောရဆရာတော်အား၎င်း။အကျိုးဆောင် အဖြစ်ဖြင့် ကျောင်းတော်ရာ ခန္တကျင်တိုက်နန္ဒ ဝန်ကျောင်း ဦးဓမ္မောရေအား-ခန့်ထားခဲ့ရာ။အကျိုးဆောင်ဆရာတော်မှာ(၃)လ ခန့်ကြာသောအခါ။ပျံလွန်တော် မူသဖြင့်။ ဦးဝေပုလ္လ ဆရာတော်က။ဆက်ခံ၍ အကျိုးဆောင်အဖြစ်ဖြင့်။ ဆောင်ရွက်ခဲ့လေသည်။

သံဃသမဂ္ဂီအဖွဲ့ များတည်ထောင် ပြီးသောအခါ။ နိုင်ငံရေးတရားဟော ဓမ္မကထိကများ တစတစ ပေါ်ပေါက်၍ လာလေသည်။ထိုစဉ်အခါက။ နိုင်ငံရေးတရား ကြမ်းကြမ်းဟောသဖြင့်။နာမည်ရသောသံဃာတော်များမှာ။ဦးဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ဦးဝိစာရ။ ဦးစန္ဒောဘာသ။ ဗားဂရာတိုက် [ယချ-ရွှေတောင်တွင်သီတင်းသုံးသည်]ဆရာတော်တို့မှာ။ ရန်ကုန်တွင် အထူးနာမည်ရ - ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်များ ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ဦးဝိသုဒ္ဓိ ကိုယ်တော်မှာ။“လန်ဒန်မြေပဲယို”တရားကို ဟောပြောသဖြင့်။ အထူးပွဲကျ၏။၎င်း၏တရားမှာ။မြန်မာပြည်ကြီး ဟုဗ္ဗရူးရတော့မည်ဖြစ်သဖြင့်။အင်္ဂလိပ်လူမျိုးများ အင်္ဂလန်သို့ ပြန်ခါ။လန်ဒန်မြေပဲယိုရောင်းရမည့် အတိတ်နိမိတ်များဖြစ်ကြောင်း စ

သည်တို့ကိုဟောပြောရာ၊ ပရိသတ်များမှာ အထူးနှစ်သက်ကြလေသည်။

အောက်မြန်မာပြည်တွင်၊ ထုပ်ထုပ် ရွရွနှင့် နိုးကြား၍ နေသည်ကိုမြင်ရသော အထက်မြန်မာပြည်မှာ၊ လစ်လျူရှု၍ ခွဲခြားခါမနေနိုင်တော့ဘဲ။ အလားတူသံဃာသမဂ္ဂ အသင်းများကိုတည်ထောင်လေသည်။ ထိုနောက်အထက်အောက်မြန်မာပြည်ရှိ အသင်းများကို ဖျဉ်းမနားမြှင့်ဘေးမဲ့ ဆရာတော်ကြီးကို အမှူးထား၍ စည်းဝေးပြီးလျှင်၊ ပေါင်းစပ်ခါ တဘက်တလမ်း နိုင်ငံရေးကို ဆောင်ရွက်ကြလေသည်။

ဤကဲ့သို့ သံဃာရောလူပါ မိတ်အားထက်သန်စွာ၊ လွတ်လပ်ရေးကို ကြိုးပမ်းဆောင်ရွက်နေသည့် အခါကာလသည် ကား၊ မြန်မာပြည်၏ နိုင်ငံရေးရာဇဝင်တွင် - ထိပ်တန်းအကျဆုံးသော အချိန်ပင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။ သံဃာနှင့်လူ - စည်းလုံးမိသဖြင့်၊ လူများအပေါ်တွင်၊ ဩဇာအာဏာ ယွမ်းမိုးလျက် နေသော သံဃာတော်များမှာ၊ ခင်တွယ် ထောက်ထားရမည့် သူများမရှိရကား။ လွတ်လပ်ရေးအတွက်၊ ကြွတ်ကြွတ်လွတ်လွတ် ဆောင်ရွက် နိုင်ပေလိမ့်မည်။ ဤအချက်ကို အမိုးရတို့ကောင်းစွာ သိသဖြင့် - တနေ့နေ့တွင်၊ လူများကို ဦးစီးခေါင်းဆောင်ကာ၊ အကြမ်းဘက်၍ ထိထိ ရောက်ရောက် လုပ်ဆောင်မည်ဆိုလျှင်၊ အုပ်ချုပ်သည့် အမိုးရတို့တွင် အတော်ပင် အခက်အခဲနှင့် တွေ့ကြုံရမည်ဖြစ်ရကား။ အထူး ထိပ်လန့်တုန်ထုပ်ခြင်း ဖြစ်သော အရိပ်များ ပေါ်ပေါက်သည်ကို ထိရှိနိုင်လေသည်။ သံဃာတော် များကလည်း၊ ဦးစီး ခေါင်း

ဆောင်ကာ၊ သန့်ရှင်းသော မိတ်စေတနာနှင့်၊ လူများအား  
 နည်းပေးလမ်းပြလုပ်သဖြင့်၊ အတော်ပင်ခရီးရောက်သည်ကို  
 တွေ့ရလေသည်။ အစဦးစွာနိုင်ငံရေး ဆောင်ရွက်သော သံ  
 ဃာများကိုသံဃာရောလူပါ။ များစွာ မနှစ်လက် ကြွသော်  
 လည်း၊ တစ်စတစ်စခေတ်စားလာသဖြင့်၊ သာသနာရေး သက်  
 သက်လုံးပမ်းသောသံဃာတော်များထက်၊ လူများက ပို၍အ  
 ရှိအသေပေးခြင်း၊ ဆွမ်းဘောဇာဗြဲပေါများခြင်းများကို တွေ့  
 ရှိနိုင်လေသည်။ မကြာမီ-မြန်မာပြည်စာပြည်လုံးတွင်း၊ သံဃာ  
 တရားဟောဓမ္မကထိကများနှင့် ပြည့်၍ နေထော့၏။ သို့ဖြစ်  
 ရကားထိုခေတ်မှာ၊ အနီးကြားဆုံး၊ ထကြွလုံ့လရှိ၍ မိတ်  
 အားထက်သန်ဆုံး၊ ဝံသာနုမျိုးချစ်မိတ်ခါတ် အတက်ကြွဆုံး  
 ခေတ်ပင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ဤကားစည်းလုံး ညီညွတ်ခြင်း၏ အ  
 ကျိုးကျေးဇူးများပင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။

သို့ရာတွင် ၂၁ ဦးနှင့် - ဝံသာနုများ ကွဲသောအခါ၊ ဆ  
 ရာတော်အမျိုးကား ထပ်မံစေ့စပ်၍ပေး၏။ သို့ရာတွင် ၂၁  
 ဦးများမှာ၊ စည်းပေါက်သူများဖြစ်ရကား၊ ဝံသာနုတို့က ၎င်း  
 တို့နှင့်ပြန်၍မတွဲလိုကြချေ။ ဤကဲ့သို့ စေ့စပ်၍မရသောအခါ  
 ဆရာတော် ၆ ပါးမှာ ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်စွဲကား၊ ၂၁ ဦးတို့၏ နောက်  
 သို့လိုက်၍သွားသည်ကိုတွေ့ရှိရလေသည်။ ၎င်းတို့အနက်၊ အ  
 ထိကရ ဆရာတော်ကြီးများမှာ အလယ်တော့ရဆရာတော်၊  
 ပွင့်ထွန်းကုန်းနှင့် ဆန္ဒဝန်ဆရာတော်များ ဖြစ်လေသည်။  
 မိုင်အောက်လက်ခံသူ-၂၁-ဦးများမှာ ဒေသန္တရ အဖွဲ့များ  
 သို့ဝင်ရောက်၍လည်း၊ လုပ်ကိုင်ဆောင်ရွက်သဖြင့်၊ ဒေသန္တ

ရန်ပုံငွေမှတန်းကြီးကျောင်းအချို့ကိုထောက်ပံ့ကြေးပေးခါ-  
ဘာသာရေးသက်သက်သင်သော တန်းကြီးကျောင်းများကို  
လောကဝါတ်ကျောင်းများသာသို့ပြောင်း၍ပေးလိုက်ရကား  
တစတစ-၎င်းတို့ဘက်ထောက်ခံလျှင် လာဘ်လာဘ ရှင်  
လန်းကြောင်းကိုထိသောအခါ။၎င်းတို့ဘက်မှရဟန်းရော လူ  
ပါထောက်ခံသူများတိုး၍လာလေတော့သည်။

ထိုကြောင့် ၂၁ ဦးတို့မှာလူများ၏ အစည်းအရုံးကို ခွဲ  
သူများသာမဟုတ်။ရဟန်းတို့၏ အစည်းအရုံးကို ဖျက်သူ  
များလည်းဖြစ်သဖြင့်။ ၎င်းတို့မှာ အထူးအပြစ်တင်ထိုက်သူ  
များပင်ဖြစ်သေသည်။၎င်းတို့၏ဆွဲငင်ချက်ကြောင့်။ လူများ  
မှာ သမာဓိပျက်၍ ကိုယ်ကျိုးရှာစပြုလေသည်။ ထိုနည်းတူ  
ရဟန်းတော်အချို့လည်းစ၍၊ ကိုယ်ကျိုးရှာကြ၏။ ခေါင်း  
ဆောင်များကိုယ်ကျိုးရှာနိုင်ခြင်း အလို့ငှာ။ ထောက်ခံသူ  
များအလိုရှိရကား။ထောက်ခံသော မဲများရရန်အတွက်။ ငွေ  
ကုန်ကြေးကျခံ၍။ မဲပေးသူများထံမှ မဲဝယ်ရ၏။ မဲရောင်း  
လျှင်ငွေရသည်ကိုထိသောအခါ။လူအများပင် စ၍ မဲရောင်း  
တော့၏။ ထိုနေ့မှစ၍တပြည်လုံးကိုယ်ကျိုးရှာမင်လယ်ကြီး  
၏ဝဲကြံ့စွာတွင်။ ဝဲဝဲသည်လည်စ၍ မြောလေတော့သည်။  
ဝမ်းနည်းဘွယ်အချက်ကြီးပေတကား။ ၂၁ ဦးတို့ ဝံသာနူ  
အဖြစ်မှ။ထွက်ခွာလိုက်သဖြင့်။ လွတ်လပ်ရေးရရန် လမ်းမှန်  
ကိုလိုက်၍နေရာမှ။ လမ်းလွဲကို လိုက်၍ သွားသဖြင့်။ တ  
တိုင်းပြည်လုံး။အမှားနှင့် ကြုံတွေ့၍နေရာ။ ယခုအခါ။ နိုင်ငံ  
ရေးလုပ်ငန်းမှာ။အနှူးသဖြင့် အောက်ကျ၍နေလေသည်။ ဤ

အခြေသို့ ရောက်ရခြင်းမှာ။ ၂၁ ဦးဘို့ကြောင့် ဖြစ်သဖြင့်။  
၎င်းတို့အား ဝံသာနုကိုသွေးခွဲသူများဟု ထိုစဉ်အခါကမှတ်  
တမ်းတင်၍ထားကြလေသည်။

ရဟန်းတော်များ- နိုင်ငံရေးကို ထိထိ ရောက်ရောက်  
ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်းများကိုရေးသားရာတွင်။ ဆရာတော် ဦးဝိ  
စာရ၏အကြောင်းကိုရေးတဲ့နေ့လျှင်- ပြည့်စုံမည် မဟုတ်  
ချေ။ ဆရာတော်ဦးဝိစာရမှာ။ နိုင်ငံရေးကိုထိထိရောက်ရောက်  
လုပ်ဆောင်သော ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်ဖြစ်ရာ။ စိတ်ထက်သန်သည့် အ  
လျှောက်။ စိတ်နောက်ကိုယ်ပါ။ နိုင်ငံရေးတရား ဟောမိသော  
ကြောင့်။ မကြာမကြာအင်းရအဖြစ်ဒါဏ်ကိုခံရသော ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်  
ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့ထောင်အတွင်းအကျဉ်းထားရာတွင်  
လည်း။ ထောင်ဝတ်မဝတ်လို။ ထောင်စားမစားလိုသဖြင့်။ အ  
စိုးရတို့အားအမျိုးမျိုးသောနည်းနှင့်ကန့်ကွက်ခဲ့၏။ ထိုသို့အ  
စိုးရကိုပုန်ကန်၍နေရာတွင်။ ၁၂၉၁-ခုနှစ်။ တံခူးလဆန်း  
၁၃ ရက်နေ့၌ ၁၂၄ (က) အင်းရ အကြည်ညို ပျက်မှုနှင့်  
နောက်ဆုံး ဟံသာဝတီစက်ရှင်တရားသူကြီးက။ အလုပ်  
ကြမ်းနှင့် ထောင်ဒါဏ် ၆ နှစ်အပြစ်ပေးခြင်းကို ခံရလေ  
သည်။။ သို့ရာတွင် ဆရာတော်မှာ ထောင်အတွင်းတွင်-  
ဥပုသ်ပြုခွင့်မရခြင်း။ သင်္ကန်းဝတ်ရုံနှင့်မရူခြင်းများကြောင့်  
ဆွမ်းမစားဘဲ နေခဲ့ရာ။ ၁၆၆ ရက်မျှကြာသော်- ပျံလွန်  
တော်မူလေသည်။ ဆရာတော်အား အရှူးထောင်တွင်ထား  
ပုံ။ အမျိုးမျိုးနှိပ်စက်ညှဉ်းပမ်းပုံ။ ထိုကဲ့သို့ နှိပ်စက်သော်  
လည်း-အားမလျော့ဘဲ။ လွတ်လပ်ရေးကို မှော်ကိုး၍သည်း

ခံခါနေပုံ။ နောက်ဆုံးတွင် မြန်မာယောက်ျားအာဇာနည်ဖြစ်ပြီး အသေခံပုံတို့မှာ၊ ကြည်ကွဲဝမ်းနည်းဘွယ်- မှတ်သားဘွယ်- အတုယူဘွယ် ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ဦးဝိစာရ ဆောင်ရွက်ချက်ကြောင့် ယခုအခါ ရဟန်းတော်များမှာ၊ ထိုအခွင့်အရေးများကို ရကြလေသည်။ ကျေးဇူးရှင်ဆရာတော် ဦးဝိစာရသည်၊ ပျံလွန်သည့်နေ့တိုင်၊ မိတ်မပျက်ဘဲ လွတ်လပ်ရေး ရရာရကြောင်း လုပ်ငန်းကို အနုနည်းဖြင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ခဲ့ခြင်းကြောင့် ကန္တာရာအဝင်တွင်- မြန်မာလူမျိုးများ ပြောင်၍ နေဘိ၏။ ဤကိုယ်တော်ကြီးမှာ မြန်မာတို့၏ ကြက်သရေကို ဆောင်သော ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်ကြီး ဖြစ်သည်အား သျော်စွာ။ ယခုအခါ ကြေးရုပ်သွန်းလုပ်ခါ၊ ဆရာတော်အား သတိရကြစေရန်။ ကျေးဇူးဆပ်သည့် အနေနှင့် အထိမ်းအမှတ်ပွဲများ ကျင်းပခါ အနိသေပေးကြလေသည်။ ဆရာတော်၏ နောက်ဆုံးအမှာစကားအဖြစ်ဖြင့်၊ တိုင်းပြည်အား လက်ဆောင်သဖွယ် အမွေပေးခဲ့သော စကားမှာ၊ “လိမ္မာရစ်ကြပါ” ဟူသော စကားတလုံးပင် ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ထိုစကားမှာ- ယခုအခါ နိုင်ငံရေးလိုက်စားသူတို့၏ အိမ်သုံး သြဝါဒစကားပင် ဖြစ်လေသည်။

ဆရာတော် ဦးဝိစာရလောက- မစွန့်စားခဲ့သော်လည်း တိုင်းပြည်အတွက် အနစ်နာခံ၍ ထောင်တန်းကျခံရရှာသော သံဃာတော်များမှာ၊ မြန်မာလူမျိုးကို နိုင်ငံရေးမျက်စေ့ဖွင့်ဖေးသော ဦးဥတ္တမ၊ ကြည့်မြင်တိုင်- တွဲဘေးကျောင်း ဦးကေတု၊ မလှိုင်ဦးဒေဝိန္ဒ၊ သရက်မြို့ဦးပိမလဗုဒ္ဓိ၊ အာသံဦးလာဘာ၊ ဦးနက်ဒွံ၊ ဦးဝန္တမာ၊ သာယာဝတီဦးညေယျ၊ မန္တလေးဦး

ကေလာ။ ဆင်ဖြူကျွန်း- မိန်ရောင်ချို ဦးအာစရ။ ၉ ထောင်စံဦးဇောဝသ။ အာဠာဝကခေါ်- ဦးအာလောက။ ဦးအာသမ္ပ၊ ဦးကွာပိန္နဲမိပတိ။ ရွှေမျက်မှန် ဦးပိဇယျ။ ကြို့ပင်ကောက်ဦးပိမလစာရ။ သာယာဝတီ မယ်ဇလီတန်းဆရာတော် ဦးအာဒိစ္စ၊ ရှင်အရိယ။ အုပ်ဖိုမှန်ကျောင်းဆရာတော် ဦးအရိယဝံသ။ ဦးဓမ္မဓရ- စသော ရဟန်းတော်တို့ဖြစ်ရာ။ ၎င်းတို့အနက် အနည်းငယ်သော သံဃာတော်တို့မှာ လက်မှတ်ထိုး၍ နောင်တရားမဟောပါဟု ကတိခံဝန်ချက်ပေးပြီး ထွက်ခဲ့သော်လည်း အချို့မှာ အထူးအနစ်နာခံ၍ နိုင်ငံရေးကို ဆောင်ရွက်ခဲ့ကြလေသည်။

**Extract No. 4** (pp.: 90-95)<sup>1</sup>

Among the women in the world the Burmese women are most privileged and most independent. Not less than the men, the Burmese women played their part in the country's independent movement. In 1919, they established an organisation called the Burmese Women's Union .....

Apart from the Burmese Women's Union, there is another women's organisation called the Dana Thukha Athin. Their original motive in establishing the organisation was to promote a religious revival – later they became involved in politics and changed its name to Wunthanu Kummari Athin.

As the aim of the Wunthanu Kummari Athin was political freedom and the end of colonial rule, one aspect of the association was very strong anti-government feelings and hostility towards the British, not in personal or radical terms but as colonial overlords. At the Paung-de conference, they passed a resolution that they would boycott everything English. To symbolise their resolution they broke their tortoise-shell combs as a public gesture of protest against the English. The significance of this is that 'tortoise-shell comb' in Burmese is lip-khwam-bhi., and the Burmese transliteration of 'English', is anga-lip. When a mass meeting was held to protest against the police treatment of Sayadaw U Ottama, the Commissioner of Police ordered the crowd to break up the meeting and disperse. Having no effect, the police decided to use force. They charged their horses into the crowd and battered the people with their clubs. Panic spread among the crowd, people, including men, began to run helter skelter out of reach of the clubs and the horses' hooves. Among those who remained to defy the police were a number of the Wunthanu Kummari Athin. The horses charged directly into them and they suffered many casualties, scratches, bruises and broken bones. But their courage, their solidarity, their unity, and their sacrifices was unmatched ...

There was another women's organisation called the National Council of Burmese Women. It was established long before the 1931 London Round Table Conference and its President and Secretary were Daw Mya May (Mrs. M.M. Hla Aung) and Daw Mya Shwe, D.I.S. In response to their demand, Daw Mya Sein, daughter of late U May Aung, Home Minister was allowed to take part in London Conference on behalf of Burmese women ...

---

<sup>1</sup> This extract is taken of chapter 8; see above, pp. 50-52.

Burmese text:<sup>1</sup>

**အခန်း - ၈၁**

မိမိများ၏ဝိသေသနိယာမများ။

[ ၁ ] ကုမ္ပဏီအသင်းများ။

**BURMESE WOMEN'S UNION.**

ရောင်နောက်ဆံထုံးပါ ဆိုသောစကားကဲ့သို့။ ယောက်ျားများက- နိုင်ငံရေးကိုထိထိရောက်ရောက် ဆောင်ရွက်၍နေရာတွင်။ မိမိများကလည်း။ တဘက်တလမ်း ကူညီလုပ်ဆောင်ကြ၏။ ကမ္ဘာပေါ်ရှိလူမျိုးများအနက်။ အလွတ်လပ်ဆုံးနှင့် အခွင့်အရေးအရဆုံးသော မိမိများမှာ။ မြန်မာမိမိများဖြစ်လေသည်။ မြန်မာမိမိများမှာ- ယောက်ျားများနည်းတူ။ မိုးတူဘောင်ဘက်- လွတ်လပ်ရေး ရ ဆုရကြောင်းများကိုအသင်းအပင်းများဖွဲ့စည်း၍ လုပ်ဆောင်ကြ၏။ ပဌမဦးစွာတည်ထောင်သောအသင်းမှာ *Burmese Women's Union*၊ မြန်မာ ကုမ္ပဏီ အသင်းဖြစ်၍။ ၁၉၁၉ = ခုနှစ်တွင် စ၍ တည်ထောင်လေသည်။ ၎င်းအသင်း၏ဥက္ကဋ္ဌမှာ။ ယခုအခါ ရိက္ခာထော်ရ စည်ပင်သာယာ အရေးပိုင် ဦးတိုးသောင်း၏ ဇနီးဒေါ်ရဖြစ်၍။ အကျိုးဆောင်မှာ ရန်ကုန်အနောက်ပိုင်းမှ ကုန်သည်ဒေါ်ဖွားသစ်ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ၎င်းတို့အား ကူညီရန် တွဲဘက်အကျိုးဆောင်များမှာ။ ဦးကြူး၏ဇနီး ဒေါ်စောခင်နှင့် မိုးဒုတ်ဦးတချို့၏ဇနီးဒေါ်လှမေတို့ဖြစ်၏။ အသင်းတွင် အရေးပါအရာရောက်သော ကော်မတီများမှာ။ ဦးထိမ်းမောင်၏

<sup>1</sup> Pages 89-94 of the original.

ဇနီးဒေါ်စောတင်၊ ဦးသင်းမောင်၏ဇနီး ဒေါ်တင်။ ဆရာဦးဘ  
ထိန်း၏ဇနီး-ဒေါ်ဌေး၊ ဒေါ်ငွေရင်-ဒေါ်ငွေရှင်နှင့်၊ မော်တင်ဈေး  
မှဒေါ်မြမေတို့ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ၎င်းတို့၏ရည်ရွယ်ချက်မှာ ။ ကု  
သိုလ်ရေးနှင့်ချွေတာရေးအတွက်၊ အထူးတလည် ဆောင်  
ရွက်ရန် ဖြစ်သော်လည်း။ များမကြာမီနှိုင်းငံရေးကိုပါ ဝင်  
ရောက်စွက်ဖက်၍ လုပ်ကိုင်ကြလေသည်။

မြန်မာမိန်းမများ အသင်းက - ဆောင်ရွက်သဖြင့်၊ ထို  
အခါက-စိန်အောင်တင်သူများ အထူးနည်း၍ သွားလေသည်။  
၎င်းတို့၏ လက်ထုတ် လက်ရင်းများမှာ။ ခါတ်ရထားများ  
တွင် -မိန်းမခန်းများထားစေခြင်း။ ပလောဗီနိုတွင် မြန်မာ  
ဆေးလိပ် လိပ်သူများ အတိအကျရောက်၍နေသည်ဟုဆိုသ  
ဖြင့်၊ ၎င်းတို့ဆုပူတောင်းဆိုကြခြင်းကြောင့်။ မြန်မာမိန်းမ  
များကို အစိုးရက-စရိတ်ခံ၍ အားလုံးကို ပြန်၍ ပို့ရလေသည်။  
ဤအသင်းမှာ ပိုင် အမ်-ဘီ-အေ အသင်းကြီးနှင့် ဆက်သွယ်  
သော ကုမ္ပဏီအသင်းတစ်သင်းဖြစ်လေသည်။

ဝမ်းနည်းဘွယ်ကောင်းသော အချက်မှာ။ ဝံသာနုနှင့် ၂၀  
ဦးကွဲပြား၍ သွားသော အခါ။ အသင်းဥက္ကဋ္ဌဒေါ်စုမှာ။ အစိုးရ  
အရာရှိတဦး၏ဇနီးဖြစ်၍။ အသင်းဝင်များမှာလည်း။ အစိုးရ  
အမှုထမ်းကတော်များနှင့် ၂၀ ဦးအဖွဲ့ဝင်များ၏ ဇနီးများ  
ဖြစ်ရကား။ အသင်းတွင်ရှိသော ဝံသာနုများနှင့် စည်းမကိုက်  
ကြဘဲနေသဖြင့်။ အသင်းမှာ တနေ့တခြား အားနည်းကာ။  
နောက်ဆုံးတွင် အမည်သာကျန်ခဲ့သော အခြေခံသို့ ဆိုက်လေ

တော့သည်။ဤကား ၂၁ ဦးနှင့်ဝံသးနွဲ့သဖြင့်။လက်ငင်း  
တွေ့ရသောလက်ရာတခုပင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။

ဝံသာနွဲ့ အစည်းအရုံးကြီးမကွဲမကွဲက-ကုမ္ပဏီအသင်းသူ  
များမှာ။မကြာမကြာစည်းဝေးပွဲများကျင်းပကြပြီးသျှင်။မိမိ  
တို့စွမ်းဆောင်နိုင်သည့်ဘက်မှအထူးတလည် ကြိုးစားလုပ်  
ဆောင်ကြလေသည်။ကွန်ဗရင့်အစည်းအဝေးကြီးများတွင်  
လည်း။၎င်းတို့တက်ရောက်ခါ။ ယောက်ျားများနှင့်ချင်ပေါင်  
တန်းလုပ်ဆောင်ကြလေသည်။ သို့ရာတွင် ကုမ္ပဏီအသင်း  
များမကြီးပွားကြခြင်းမှာ။ ၎င်းအသင်းများတွင်။ ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ၊ဧည  
ထိမ်းစသောသူများကိုခန့်ထားရာတွင်။ များသောအားဖြင့်  
ဂုဏ်ရှိသည်ဟုဆိုသူများဖြစ်သည့် အစိုးရအရာရှိကြီးများ။  
ဝတ်လုံကြီးများ။ သူဌေးကတော်များကိုသာခန့်ထားရကား  
ထိထိရောက်ရောက်နိုင်ငံရေးကိုမဆောင်ရွက်နိုင်ဘဲ။ပေါ်ပင်  
အလုပ်ကဲ့သို့ သဘောထားခါ လုပ်ခြင်းကြောင့်။ အသင်း  
များမှာ-ကြီးပွားသင့်သလောက်မကြီးပွားကြချေ။

[၂] ဒါနုသုခအသင်း

မြန်မာမိန်းမများအသင်းအပြင်။ ဒါနုသုခအသင်းခေါ်အ  
ခြားအသင်းရှိသေး၏။ ဤအသင်းမှာ။ ကုသိုလ်ရေးကိုအဓိ  
ကထား၍ဆောင်ရွက်သောအသင်းဖြစ်သော်လည်း။ ၎င်းအ  
ခြေအနေမှ တစတစနိုင်ငံရေးကို- ငင်ရောက် ဆောင်ရွက်  
လေသည်။ ၎င်းအသင်း၏ဥက္ကဋ္ဌမှာ။ ဒေါ်ကြင်အိမ်နှင့်။အ

ကျိုးဆောင်မှာ ဒေါ်ထွခင်ဖြစ်၏။ ထိုနောက် အသင်းကို ဝံသာနုကုမ္ပဏီအသင်းဟု အမည်ပေးခါ။ ဝံသာနုအသင်းများနှင့် တွဲဘက်၍ ဆောင်ရွက်ကြလေသည်။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့ပေါ်တွင် ဝံသာနုကုမ္ပဏီအသင်း ၉-သင်းရှိ၍၊ ၎င်းတို့ကို ပဋ္ဌမယူနီယံ ဒုတိယယူနီယံစသည်ဖြင့်ခေါ်ကြလေသည်။ ၎င်းအသင်း၏ ဥက္ကဋ္ဌဒေါ်ကြင်အိမ်သေဆုံးသွားသောအခါ၊ ယက်ကန်းဒေါ်မမကြီးအား ဥက္ကဋ္ဌနှင့် ဒေါ်ထွခင်ကို အကျိုးဆောင်အဖြစ် ဖြင့်ခန့်အပ်လေသည်။

အထက်ပါ ရန်ကုန် ကုမ္ပဏီအသင်းများအပြင်။ စိရစ်ဂုနယ်အသီးသီး တွင်လည်း။ အနှံ့အပြား ကုမ္ပဏီအသင်းများရှိသေး၏။ သရအခါထိုအသင်းများသေလေပြီ။ ဝမ်းနည်းဘွယ်ကောင်းလေစွ။ ဝံသာနုအသင်းကြီးပဋ္ဌမအကြိမ် ၂၀ ဦးတို့နှင့်ကွဲစဉ်က။ ဝံသာနုကုမ္ပဏီဘို့မှာ။ သပိတ်မှောက်ကို စိတ်အေးတက်မှ။ အားလုံးပင်အားပေးကြ၏။ ကုမ္ပဏီများမှာ။ နိုင်ငံရေးကို ရှုတ်ဆောင်ရာတွင်။ အထူးစိတ်အားထက်သန်သည်ကို တွေ့ရှိရ၏။ ကုမ္ပဏီအသင်းသူများ လွတ်သပ်ရေးကို လိုလားကြသဖြင့်။ လက်အောက်ခံဘဝတွင် မနေလိုသည့်အလျောက်မှာ။ အင်္ဂလိပ်ကို မုန်းကြောင်းပြရန်။ အင်္ဂလိပ်နှင့်သက်ဆိုင်သော အသုံးအဆောင်များကိုပင် အသုံးမပြုဟုဆိုခါ။ လိင်ခွန်ဘီးများကိုစ၍ ပေါင်းတည်ကွန်ဖရင့်တွင်မျိုးကြလေသည်။ ဦးဥက္ကဋ္ဌမအကြောင်းနှင့်ပါတ်သက်၍ ဘုရင်မပန်းမြီတွင်။ အစည်းအဝေးကျင်းပစဉ်က။ အစည်း

အဝေးသို့တက်ရောက်သူများအား၊ ပုလိပ်မင်းကြီးအမိန့်နှင့်  
 နှင်ထုတ်ရာတွင်၊ ထွက်၍ မသွားဘဲ။ အာဏာ ဖီဆံကြ  
 သောအခါ၊ မြင်းတပ်နှင့်အတင်းတိုက်၍လူစုခွဲရ၏။ ထိုစဉ်အ  
 ခါက၊ ကုမ္ဘာဒီများမှာ၊ ရဟန်းတော်များနှင့်ယောက်ျားများ  
 ထွက်ပြေးကြသော်လည်း၊ မပြေးဘဲ တောင့်ခံ၍နေသော  
 ကြောင့်၊ မြင်းနှင့်တိုက်မိ၍လဲသူလဲ။ မြင်းနင်းမိသဖြင့်၊ ခြေ  
 ပြတ်သူပြတ်၊ ဒါဏ်ရာရသူရ။ အမျိုးမျိုးအနက်နာခံကြသည်  
 ကိုတွေ့ရှိရလေသည်။ ကုမ္ဘာဒီများအနက်သိမ်ကြီးဈေးမှဒေါ်  
 မေကြီးမှာ အထူးရဲရင့်သဖြင့်နာမည်ရသူတယောက်ဖြစ်၏။  
 စိတ်ဓါတ် ထက်သန်ပုံ၊ စွန့်စားပုံများမှာ ရာဇဝင် တင်  
 လောက်၏။ ၎င်းတို့၏စည်းလုံးခြင်း၊ ညီညွတ်ခြင်း၊ ရဲရင့်ခြင်း  
 အနစ်နာခံခြင်း၊ မျိုးချစ်စိတ်ထက်သန်ခြင်း၊ လွတ်လပ်ရေးကို  
 လိုလားသောစိတ်ထားများ တက်ကြွခြင်းတည်းဟူသောမွန်  
 မြတ်သော စိတ်ထားများကို၊ အဖိုးရဘို့မျိုးနှိုမ်ဖျက်ဆီး၍မ  
 ရခဲ့ပေ။ ခေါင်းဆောင်များမကောင်းသဖြင့်၊ တကွဲပြီးတကွဲ  
 ကွဲခြင်း၊ တဒိုလ်ပြီးတဒိုဆ်ထက်ခြင်း၊ ထကြွလုံးလမရှိကြ  
 ခြင်းတို့ကြောင့်၊ တိုးတက်ခြင်းမရှိလျှင်၊ ဆုတ်ယုတ်ခြင်း  
 ဝင်လာသည်ဟူသောစကားကဲ့သို့၊ တစတစ၊ စိတ်ဓါတ်  
 များချော့ခါ သွားရကား။ ယခုအခါတွင်၊ ကုမ္ဘာဒီအသင်း  
 ထသင်းမျှမကျန်တော့ချေ။ အတောင်-၂၀-ဝတ်ယောက်ျား  
 များ-၆- ကိုယ်ကျိုးရှာ၍နေကြ ပြီ ဖြစ်ရကား။ ကုမ္ဘာဒီ-၃-  
 တောင်ဝတ်ဘို့ အဘယ်မှာလျှင်။ စိတ်ချောက်ဘဲနေနိုင်မည်

[၃] မြန်မာအမျိုးသမီးခန့်ရှင်နယ်ကောင်စီ

ဤအသင်းမှာ- ၁၉၃၁ ခုနှစ်တွင်။ အင်္ဂလန်ပြည်-မျက်နှာစုံညီအစည်းအဝေးမကျင်းပမှီ။ ဖွဲ့စည်းသောအသင်းဖြစ်ရာ။ အသင်း၏ဥက္ကဋ္ဌမှာမင်းကြီးကတော်ဒေါ်မြမေနှင့်။ အကျိုးဆောင်မှာ- ပညာအုပ် ဒေါ်မြရွှေဖြစ်၏။ ၎င်းအသင်း၏ဆောင်ရွက်ချက်ကြောင့်။ မြန်မာပြည် မျက်နှာစုံညီ အစည်းအဝေးသို့ပြည်တွင်းရေးအမတ်ကြီးဟောင်းကွယ်လွန်သူဦးမေအောင်၏သမီး ဒေါ်မြစိန်သည်။ မိန်းမကိုယ်စားလှယ်အဖြစ်ဖြင့် တက်ရောက်ခွင့်ရခဲ့လေသည်။ ၎င်းအသင်းမှာစည်းဝေးပွဲများလုပ်ပြီးလျှင်။ မြန်မာအမျိုးသမီးများကို ထိခိုက်နစ်နာအောင်ရေးသားသော။ နိုင်ငံခြား သတင်းစာများ၏ အရေးအသားများကို။ ကန့်ကွက်ခြင်းနှင့် အခြားအမျိုးသမီးများနှင့် သက်ဆိုင်သောလုပ်ငန်းများကို လုပ်ဆောင်ကြ၏။ ၎င်းအသင်းထင်ပါဝင်သူများမှာ။ ပြည်တွင်းရေးအမတ်ကြီးဦးပေါ်ထွန်း၏ဇနီး။ အမေရိကန်သူ မစ္စကပ်ပေါ်ထွန်း။ မြန်မာအမည်ဒေါ်သန်းတင်။ ဦးထွန်းညို၏ဇနီး-ဒေါ်မမခင်။ ဒေါ်မြစိန်။ ဒေါ်စန်း။ ဒေါ်မြရွှေစသည်တို့ဖြစ်လေသည်။

ဤအသင်းဝင်များမှာ။ အစိုးရအရာရှိကတော်များ။ ဥစ္စာပေါများကြွယ်ဝသဖြင့် အစိုးရများနှင့် မကင်းသူများဖြစ်ရကား။ နိုင်ငံရေးလုပ်ငန်းကို အလျဉ်းမလုပ်ဆောင်ကြချေ။ အသင်းအစည်းအဝေး များကိုလည်း။ အရေးအကြောင်း ရှိမှသာ သွင်းစည်းဝေး၏။ အသင်းဝင်ဦးရေမှာလည်း မများလှပေအမှုဆောင်များမှာ။ ကသေးပြပွဲ။ ကျေးဇူးပြပွဲစသည့် မြို့ရွာ

နှင့် သက်ဆိုင်သော လုပ်ငန်းများကို။ ရံဖန်ရံခါ ကူညီလုပ်ဆောင်ကြ၏။ ထကြွလှည့်လည်များစွာမရှိပေ။ အသင်းဝင်များမှာလည်း အထက်တန်းစားဟုခေါ်ဆိုအပ်သော။ အစိုးရအရာရှိများ၎င်းတို့နှင့်မကင်းသူများဖြစ်သည့်ပြင်။ ရပ်သူရွာသားများနှင့်ပေါင်းသင်းဆက်ဆံခြင်းမရှိဘဲ။ သီးသန့်အထက်တန်းစားဟု မိမိတို့ကိုယ်ကို။ ထင်မြင်ယူဆ သည့်အတိုင်းနေထိုင်ကြရကား။ ရပ်ရွာရှိကုမ္ပဏီများကအကူအညီမပေးသဖြင့်ကြီးပွားသင့်သောကံကြီးပွားခြင်းမရှိချေ။

**Extract No. 5 (pp.: 209-211)<sup>1</sup>**

The main idea of the Dobama Asi-ayone was to destroy the habit of fear and the acceptance of an inferior position in the Burmese actor as though they were slaves in their own land; and to carry a social revolution on socialist lines. But actually their name Dobama Asi-ayone and their prefix Thakhin were quite contrary to the tenets of socialism. The word Dobama belongs to nationalism - one race or one nation, but socialism belongs to a world proletariat, in other words, internationalism. And the word Thakhin also belongs to capitalist nationalism as it is used in upper-class society well-to-do people and high officials. Indeed, if there is a Thakhin (Master) it follows that there must be a kywan (slave or inferior), a concept quite alien to socialism. This was a point of debate and controversy.

By this time, the Dobama Asi-ayone had become a great deal stronger. This was due to the enthusiasm of the young Thakhins who were prepared to sacrifice their promise and future prospects for the sake of their ideals. It was also due to the honesty of the Thakhin M.P.s the Legislative Councils who took their stand against the government on behalf of the people. Most of the existing M.P.s were mere opportunists and office seekers and in contrast to them, the young Thakhins earned the love and gratitude of the people. Most of all, the increased strength of the Dobama Asi-ayone is due to the work of Saya Lun, otherwise known as Mr. Maung Hmaing or Thakhin Kodaw Hmaing. The entire nation respected him and trusted him. Since he became the Patron of the Dobama Asi-ayone he toured all over the country giving lectures. Because the people worshipped Saya Lun who in turn worked with the Thakhin, the Dobama Asi-ayone, the young Thakhin could not but win the support of most of the people.

But there were still people who although agreeing with the ideas and policy of the Thakhins were unwilling to co-operate with them. They thought the Thakhins were rude and wild in their dealings with other people and other parties and they often exceeded the bounds of good taste in their public speeches. What some people applauded as frankness and plain speech, they disapproved as vulgarities...

---

<sup>1</sup> This extract is taken from chapter 12, sub-chapter on "The Thakin Movement"; see above pp. 77-79.

Burmese Text:<sup>1</sup>

**သခင်ပေါ်ပေါက်ခြင်း။**

မြန်မာပြည်တွင်းသို့လာရောက်နေထိုင်သော လူမျိုးတိုင်း  
လိုပင်။ မြန်မာများထက် အထက်တန်းကျသည့်ဟု မိမိတို့

p. 216

ကိုယ်ကိုအယူရှိခါ။ မစ္စတာအစား- သခင်ဟူ၍ပြောဆိုရေး  
သားခေါ်ခေါ်လေ့ရှိလေသည်။ တနည်းအားဖြင့်- မစ္စတာကို  
မြန်မာဘာသာသို့ ပြန်ဆိုလျှင်။ သခင်ဟူသော အဓိပ္ပာယ်  
ပေါက်လေသည်။ ဟိုကြောင့်မစ္စတာဘာရောင်းကလည်း ဘာ  
ရောင်းသခင်။ ဘာနာဂျီကလည်း ဘာနာဂျီသခင် စသည်ဖြင့်  
ခေါ်ဆိုနေရကား။ ၎င်းတို့ကို မြန်မာလူမျိုးများက၊ ရက်ရက်  
ရော့ရော့အားရပါးရသခင်ဟူ၍ခေါ်ဆိုသော အလေ့အထကို  
ဖျောက်ရန်။ ထိုပြင် မြန်မာများသည်လည်း သခင်များဖြစ်  
သည်ကိုပြရန်။ မိမိဘုံ၏အမည်ရင်းတွင်။ သခင်ကိုတတ်၍  
ခေါ်စေလေသည်။ ဤကားသခင်ဘသောင်းနှင့်တကွ၊ တို့ဗမာ  
အစည်းအရုံးကို တည်ထောင်သူများကစတင်၍။ သခင်ဟူ  
သောစကားကိုထွင်ခြင်းအကြောင်းဖြစ်လေသည်။

တို့ဗမာအစည်းအရုံး၏မူလရည်ရွယ်ချက်မှာ။ မြန်မာလူ  
မျိုးများကို ကွန်မိတ်ကြောက်မိတ်များဖျောက်ပြီးလျှင်။ ဆို  
ရှယ်သစ်ဘုံအယူဝါဒအရ။ ဆင်းရဲသား ဝါဒအတိုင်း။ မြန်မာ  
ပြည်တစ်လုံးကိုပြုပြင်ပြောင်းလဲရန်ဖြစ်လေသည်။ အမှန်စင်  
စစ် တို့ဗမာအစည်းအရုံးဟူသောအမည်နှင့် သခင်ဟူသော  
စကားများမှာ။ ဆင်းရဲသားဘုံဝါဒနှင့် များစွာဆန့်ကျင်၍  
နေ၏။ တို့ဗမာဟူသောစကားမှာ။ Nationalism နေရှင်နယ်၏  
ခေါ်သူမျိုးတမျိုးနှင့်သာသက်ဆိုင်၍ Socialism ဆိုရှယ်လစ်၏  
မှာ။ ကမ္ဘာပေါ်ရှိဆင်းရဲသားအများနှင့်သက်ဆိုင်သောဝါဒ  
ဖြစ်လေသည်။ သခင်ဆိုသည့်စကားမှာလည်း။ နေရှင်နေရှင်

p. 217

<sup>1</sup> Pages 216-222 of the original.

နယ်လစ်ဝါဒ Capital Nationalism ကယ်ပစ်ဝဲလ် နေရှင်နယ်  
လစ်ဖင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။ အဘယ်ကြောင့်ဆိုသော် သခင်ဆို  
သောစကားမှာ။ အထက်တန်းစား-ဆူးမွှေးများ မင်းပိုးအရာ  
ရှိများနှင့်သာသက်ဆိုင်၏။ ထိုမှတစ်ပါးသခင်ရှိလျှင် ကျွန်ုပ်  
ရမည်ဟူသောစကားအရ။ သခင်ဝါဒမှာ-နာမည်အရ အ  
ဓိပ္ပါယ်ကောက်မည်ဆိုလျှင်။ မည်သည့်နည်းနှင့်မျှ ဘုံဝါဒ  
မဖြစ်နိုင်ချေ။ ဤကားအမည်နှင့် ပတ်သက်၍။ ယခုအခါ-အ  
ငြင်းအခုံဖြစ်၍နေသောစကားရပ်များဖြစ်လေသည်။

တို့ဗမာအစည်းအရုံးမှာ- ယခုအခါ အင်အား အနည်း  
ငယ်ပြည့်စုံ၍သာ၏။ ဤကဲ့သို့အင်အားပြည့်စုံခြင်းမှာ။ ၎င်း  
အဖွဲ့ငင်အချို့မှာ အနစ်နာခံ၍ ထောင်တား အကျခံခြင်း။  
ကိုယ် မင်းကိုယ် ချင်းအဖွဲ့ငင်အမတ်များက။ ဖြောင့်မတ်  
စွာ ယွတ်တော်တွင်။ အတိုက်အခံဘက်မှ ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း။  
အခြားဖွဲ့များမှာ ကိုယ်ကျိုးရှာအလုပ်ကိုသာ လုပ်၍နေကြ  
သဖြင့် ဆောင်ရွက်ပုံခြင်းကွာခြားရကား။ သခင်အဖွဲ့ကို  
လိုသားသောစိတ်များတိုးတက်၍လာလေသည်။ သို့ရာတွင်  
တို့ဗမာအစည်းအရုံးအထူးသဖြင့် တိုင်းပြည်က ယုံကြည်  
ကိုးစားခြင်းခံရသောအကြောင်းမှာ။ မစ္စတာ မောင်မှိုင်း။ အ  
ယ်ခံဆရာလွန်း - သို့မဟုတ်-သခင် ကိုယ်တော်မှိုင်းက  
င်းတို့၏နာယကအဖြစ်ဖြင့်။ တိုင်းပြည်အား ထည့်လည် တ  
ားဟောပြောသဖြင့်။ ဆရာလွန်းကြီးအား ကြည်ညို သော  
ကြောင့်။ ထောက်ခံသူများခြင်းတရပ်ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ထိုမှတ

ပါးမင်းသားကိုယ်တော်ကြီးကိုလည်း။ တို့ဗမာအစည်းအရုံး  
၏အကြီးအမှူးတစ်ဦးအဖြစ်ဖြင့်အင်ထူးခြင်းကြောင့်  
တနည်းအားဖြင့်။ နောက်လိုက်အင်အား တောင့်တင်း လာ  
ခြင်းဖြစ်လေသည်။

တို့ဗမာအစည်းအရုံး၏ ဝါဒနှင့် လုပ်ငန်းကို ကြိုက်နှစ်  
သက်သော်လည်း။ အဖွဲ့ဝင်များ၏ ပြောဆိုပုံနှင့် အနေအ  
ထိုင်တို့ကိုမကြိုက်နှစ်သက်ကြသောကြောင့်။ ၎င်းတို့နှင့် မ  
ဆက်ဆံလိုချင်စေရန် ဆောင်ရွက်ခြင်း။ အာပေးခြင်းမပြု  
သူများစွာရှိလေသည်။ တို့ဗမာအစည်းအရုံး ဝင်များမှာ။ စ  
ကားပြောရာ၌၎င်း။ တရားဟောရာ၌၎င်း လူများနှင့် ပရိ  
သတ်အား ဂါရဝထရားကင်းခြင်းကြောင့်။ ၎င်းတို့အား  
နှစ်သက်ကြချေ။ အခြားတချက်မှာ။ ၎င်းတို့နှင့် ပူးပေါင်း  
ဆောင်ရွက်လိုသူများအား သခင်ဟူသောအမည်ကို မယူ  
မနေရဟု ကြပ်တည်းစွာပိုင်ပင်၍ထားရကား။ သခင်ဟူ  
သော အမည်ကို ရွံရှာမေးတည်းသူများက။ ၎င်းတို့နှင့်ပူး  
ပေါင်း၍။ နိုင်ငံရေးကိုမရွက်ဆောင်လိုကြချေ။

အထက်ပါအချက်များအပြင် ၎င်းတို့အား မနှစ်သက်  
သောအချက်များမှာ သခင်ကလေးများသည်။ ငယ်ရွယ်သူ  
များဖြစ်သည်အားလျော်စွာ မာနတန်နှင့်ထောင်လွှားခြင်း၊ ပါး  
မိမိတို့ ကိုယ်ကို အထင်ကြီးခြင်းဖြစ်၏။ နိုင်ငံရေးတွင် ၎င်း  
တို့ထက်။ စွန့်စားဝန်ထမ်းမှုရှိ။ နိုင်ငံရေးကို၎င်းတို့ထက် တတ်  
သူမရှိ။ နိုင်ငံရေးဆောင်ရွက်ရာတွင် ၎င်းတို့အဖွဲ့၏ လုပ်ငန်း

သာယျင် မှန်၍ အခြားအဖွဲ့ များ၏ လုပ်ငန်းမှာ အကုန်မှာ  
 သည်။ ၎င်းတို့အဖွဲ့ရှိလျက် နှင့်။ အခြားအဖွဲ့ တည်ထောင်သ  
 ဖြင့်။ အခြားအဖွဲ့များမှာ အစိုးရတို့၏ လူများကို ခွဲဝေ၍ အုပ်စိုး  
 သော Divide And Rule စနစ်အရ ကြော့ကွင်းတွင် ဝင်၍ နေသူ  
 များ ဖြစ်သဖြင့်။ ၎င်းတို့၏ ပဋိပက္ခရန်သူမှာ မြန်မာပြည်ရှိ အသင်း  
 အပင်းများ ဖြစ်၍။ ဒုတိယ ရန်သူမှာ။ အစိုးရတို့ ဖြစ်သည်။  
 သို့ဖြစ်၍ အစိုးရကို မတိုက်မီ ဤအဖွဲ့များကို ပဋိပက္ခတိုက်ဖျက်  
 ရန် ဝတ္တရားရှိသည်ဟု အတိအလင်း ပြောဆိုကြလေသည်။ ဤ  
 ကဲ့သို့ ပြောဆိုကြသဖြင့်။ ၎င်းတို့၏ အဖွဲ့ကို လိုလားသူ တစ်  
 တစ် နည်း၍ လာလေသည်။ အခြားတချက်မှာ။ သခင်များ  
 သည်။ အခြားနိုင်ငံရေးသမားများကို ဆဲသည်ဟူသော စ  
 ကားရပ်ပင် ဖြစ်လေသည်။ နိုင်ငံရေးရွက်ဆောင်ခြင်းများ အ  
 လွဲလွဲ အချော်ချော် ဖြစ်၍။ အပြစ်ပြကာ ပြောဆိုခြင်းကြောင့်။  
 ဆဲသည်ဟု ခေါ်ဆိုခြင်းမဟုတ်။ ဦးဘဖေ။ ဦးဘမော်။ ဦးချစ်  
 ထွိုင် စသော နိုင်ငံရေးခေါင်းဆောင်ကြီးများအား။ အသက်  
 အရွယ် ဂုဏ်ဒြပ်နှင့် လိုက်အောင် ဦးတပ်၍ မခေါ်ဘဲ။ ဘ  
 မော်။ ဘဖေ။ ချစ်ထွိုင် စသည်ဖြင့်။ ပရိသတ်ရှေ့တွင်။ ရင့်  
 ဖီးစွာ ခေါ်ဆိုခြင်းတရပ် ဖြစ်လေသည်။ စာရေးသားရာတွင်  
 ၊ တို့သင်တို့ စသည်ဖြင့် ရေးသားခြင်း။ အစိုးရအမှုထမ်းများ  
 နှယ် အစေခံ။ မြို့အစေခံ စသည်ဖြင့်။ ရင့်ဖီးစွာ ခေါ်ဆိုခြင်း  
 ဤသို့ နှိပ်စားအစည်းအရုံးမှာ ကြီးပွားတိုးတက်သင့်သ  
 လောက် မတိုးတက်ချေ။ ထို့ပြင် မြို့ရေး ရွာရေး နှင့်ပတ်  
 သက်သော။ အခွန်ထမ်း အဖွဲ့များတွင် ပါတီအဖွဲ့အစိုး

p. 220

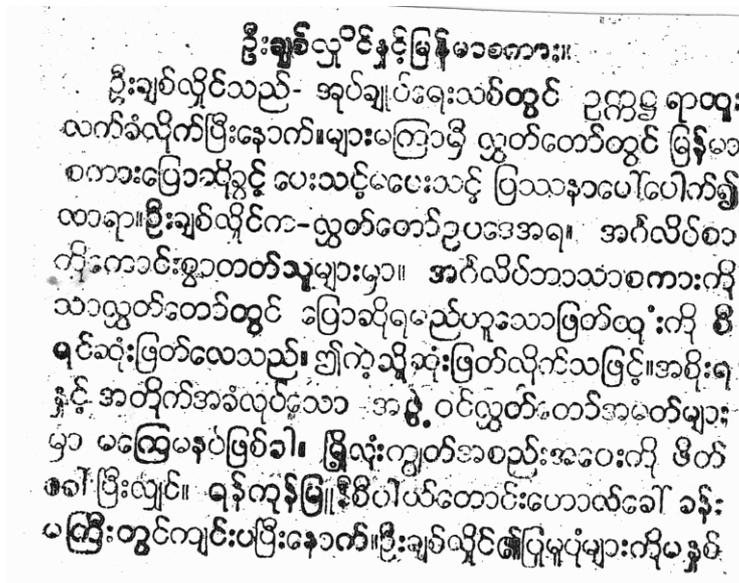
အစိုးရ ဝင်ရောက်ရွက်ဆောင်နေလျက် နှင့်။ ၎င်းအဖွဲ့မှ တက်  
 ရောက်သူများအား သခင်အမည်ခံကာ တက်ရောက်ရန် အ  
 တွက် အတင်း အကြပ် တိုက်တွန်း ရကား။ ၎င်းတို့အား  
 မေတ္တာသက်ဝင်သူများ နှင့် ၎င်းတို့အဖွဲ့ဝင်များ ကပ်လျှင်။  
 စိတ်သဘောသေးသိမ်သည်ဟု ယူဆချေ။ အဖွဲ့မှ နုတ်ထွက်  
 လေသည်။

p. 221

**Extract No. 6. (pp.: 271-272)<sup>1</sup>**

There is one vary regrettable aspect of Burmese politics which seems to have no exact parallel in other countries. Parties existed in Burma but with very little foundation and largely depend on the personality of the leader. There is no such thing as Baldwin's Party, MacDonald's Party, or Lloyd George's Party in England but Conservative, Socialist and Liberal parties. Italy is never said to have been led by Mussolini's Party but by the Fascist Party. Germany was not led by Hitler's Party but by the Nazi Party. However much the personality of the leader influenced the party, at least the party existed in its on right. It was not so in Burma. Because parties had no solid ideological foundations but were named after the leader and depended largely on his will and caprice however ill-judged and unpredictable, there was loyalty to no fixed ideal, no ultimate goal. The death of the leader or his failure, spelled the end of the party. This is a basic weakness in Burmese politics and it is the duty of all to right it...

**Burmese text:<sup>2</sup>**



<sup>1</sup> This extract is taken from chapter 12, sub-chapter “U Chit Hlaing and Burmese Language”; see above p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Pages 281-186 of the original.

သက်ကြောင်းများကို အကျယ်တဝင့် ပြောဆိုဆုံးဖြတ်ကြ  
 လေသည်။ ဣတ်တော်ဥပဒေအရ အင်္ဂလိပ်ဘာသာစကား  
 ကိုသာပြောဆိုရမည်ဆိုသော်လည်း ဥက္ကဋ္ဌတိုင်းရင်းသာ  
 သာစကားပြောဆိုနိုင်ခွင့်ကို ပေးနိုင်သောအာဏာရှိရကား။  
 ထိုအာဏာကိုမသုံးဘဲ။ အစိုးရကြိုက်ကိုသာ လုပ်ဆောင်  
 ခြင်းကြောင့်။ တိုင်းသူပြည်သား၏ ပြုငြင်ခြင်းကို ခံခဲ့ရ  
 ၏။ မြန်မာစကား ပြောဆိုခွင့်အရေးနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍။ အ  
 ထက် ဣတ်တော်ဥက္ကဋ္ဌ ဦးမောင်ကြီးကမူ။ အထက် ဣတ်  
 တော်အမတ်များအား ပြောဆိုခွင့်ကိုပေးသဖြင့်။ ဥပဒေတ  
 ခုထည်းကို လိုက်နာရသူအချင်းချင်းဖြစ်လျက်။ ဦးချစ်လှိုင်  
 က-ခွင့်မပြုတဲထားခြင်းကြောင့်။ ဦးမောင်ကြီး၏ဆောင်ရွက်  
 ပုံကိုမျိုးဗွမ်းဘောက်ခံမြောဆို၍။ ဦးချစ်လှိုင်ကိုကဲ့ရဲ့ပြစ်တင်  
 ကြလေသည်။ အိန္ဒိယပြည်ဣတ်တော်အဖွဲ့များတွင်မူ။ ပြော  
 လိုသောဘာသာစကားရစ်များကို။ ဥက္ကဋ္ဌကအတားအဆီး  
 မရှိဘဲပြောခွင့်ပြု၍ထားရကား။ အိန္ဒိယပြည် ကွန်ဂရက်စ်  
 သာဥက္ကဋ္ဌများနှင့်။ မြန်မာပြည်မှဝံသာနုထိပ်သီးအမည်ခံ  
 ဥက္ကဋ္ဌတို့။ မျိုးချစ်စိတ် ကွာခြားသည်ကိုထင်ရှားစွာတွေ့မြင်  
 နိုင်လေသည်။

ဤကဲ့သို့ မြန်မာအမတ်များအား မြန်မာစကားပြောဆို  
 ခွင့်မပေးခြင်းနှင့်ပါတ်သက်၍။ ဦးချစ်လှိုင်အားဝံသာနုစိတ်ရှိ  
 သူမဟုတ် နိုင်ငံရေးပွားပြန်စသည်ဖြင့်။ ကဲ့ရဲ့ရှုံ့ချသောစ  
 ကားများကိုသုံးခါ။ အားထုံးကပင် ပြစ်တင်ပြောဆိုကြလေ  
 သည်။ ဦးချစ်လှိုင်သည်။ ယခုကဲ့သို့သောအခွင့်အရေးများကို

မပေးဘဲနေခြင်းမှာ။ အင်္ဂလိပ်နှင့်ကုလားအမတ်များကို နှိမ့်  
 ပြီးလျှင်ရာထူးရသူဖြစ်ရကား။ ထိုလူနည်းစုများနှင့် အစိုးရ  
 တို့ပြုပြင်မည်စိုးသဖြင့်။ ရာထူးမှလျှော့ချမကျရန် ကာကွယ်  
 ခြင်းတရပ်ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ဤသည်ကိုထောက်သဖြင့် ဦးချစ်  
 လှိုင်တွင်-မည်မျှပုံသားပျိုးချစ်မိတ်ရှိသည်ကို ချိန်ဆ၍သိ  
 နိုင်ပေလိမ့်မည်။ အင်္ဂလိပ်တို့နှင့်မဆက်ဆံ။ အစိုးရနှင့်ဟ  
 ဘက်တလမ်းလုပ်။ အင်ပိုင်ယာဝါဒသမားနှင့်မပေါင်းသင်း  
 တဲနေခဲ့သော။ သမတအမည်ခံ ဝံသာနုဥက္ကဋ္ဌခေါင်းဆောင်  
 ကြီးမှာ။ နေ့ညအတွင်း-မိတ်သဘောပြောင်းလဲ၍သွားသည်  
 ကိုတွေ့မြင်ရသဖြင့်။ နိုင်ငံရေးသမားကြည့်ခါ တရားမ  
 ထိုက်လေသည်။

ဦးချစ်လှိုင်အပေါ်တွင် အခြားမကျေနပ်ကြသောအချက်  
 များမှာ။ ဦးချစ်လှိုင်သည်။ ဣတ်တော်ကိစ္စအရင်ရပ်ကို ဆုံး  
 ဖြတ်ရာတွင်။ His Excellency ဟပ်(စ်)အိပ်စိလင်စီခေါ်သူရင်  
 ခံမင်းမြတ်ဟူသော စကားကို။ နှစ်နှစ်ချိန်ချိန်-ရေလဲနှင့်  
 သုံး၍နေသောကြောင့်။ ၎င်းအားအလိုတော်ရှိဘဝသို့ရောက်  
 ၍သွားလေပြီ။ အစိုးရအလိုကိုသာလျှင် လုပ်ဆောင်လျက်ရှိ  
 နေလေပြီ။ ဝံသာနုမိတ် ခန်းခြောက်၍နေကြောင်း။ ရာထူး  
 တည်းဟူသောပုဒ်ကို- သာယာနေသဖြင့်။ ရှေးအခါက-  
 ဝံသာနုအဖြစ်ဖြင့်အချိန်ဖြူးခဲ့ သည်များကို။ ဝမ်းနည်း၍နေ  
 ဟန်တူကြောင်းစသည်ဖြင့်။ အလုပ်သမားအဖွဲ့ဦးဆောင်  
 ကာ-ပြည်လုံးကျွတ်အစည်းအဝေးတွင်ပြောဆိုသည်ကိုမှတ်  
 သားရဘူးလေသည်။ ဤအချက်ကို နိုင်ငံရေးလိက်စားသူ

တိုင်းလည်းသတ်ပြုကြ၏။ အချို့ကမူ ဦးချစ်ယိုင်၏ထက်ရှိ  
ဆောင်ရွက်ပုံကိုသဘောမကျ။ သို့ရာတွင်-ရှေးအခါက-အ  
ထက်ခံခါ ဆောင်ရွက်ခဲ့ဘူးသဖြင့်၊ ဦးချစ်ယိုင်ယခုရာထူးယူ  
လျှင်ယူပါစေကြနပ်ပါသည်ဟူ၍၊ ဂရုဏာစကားများကိုအ  
ဆုံးပြုခါပြောဆိုကြ၏။ အချို့ကလည်း-ဦးချစ်ယိုင်ကိုသနား  
ပါသည်ဟုပြောကြ၏။ သနားပါသည်ဆိုသောစကားမှာဆဲ  
ခြင်းတမျိုးပင်ဖြစ်၏။ လူတယောက်ကိုတယောက် ကအထင်  
အမြင်သေးလျှင်သနားသည်ဟုပြောလေ့ရှိ၏။ ယခုဦးချစ်ယိုင်  
အားသနားပါသည်ဟုပြောခြင်းမှာ၊ ရှေးအခါကကဲ့သို့သမ  
သကြီး၊ ခေါင်းဆောင်ကြီး၊ ဥက္ကဋ္ဌကြီးစသည့် အမှုမျိုးနှင့်မ  
ကြည့်ညှိတော့ဘဲ။ အထင်သေးခြင်းခံရသောဘဝသို့ရောက်  
၍ အခြေဟုအတိအသင်းပြောခြင်းပင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။

မြန်မာပြည်၏ နိုင်ငံရေးတွင်- အထူးဝမ်းနည်းစွာပယ်  
တောင်းသောအချက်တခုမှာ၊ မြန်မာပြည်တွင်ရှိသောနိုင်ငံ  
ရေးအဖွဲ့များသည်။ များသောအားဖြင့်၊ ဝါဒဟူ၍မရှိခြင်းပင်  
ဖြစ်၏။ အင်္ဂလန်နိုင်ငံတွင်-ဘော်လီဆွင်အဖွဲ့။ လင်း(စ်)ဘာရီ  
အဖွဲ့၊ မက်ဒေါ်နယ်အဖွဲ့။ လျှောက်ကျော့အဖွဲ့ဟူ၍မရှိ။ ကွန်ဆာ  
ဗေးတစ်အဖွဲ့။ ဆိုရှယ်လစ်ဆင်းနဲသားအဖွဲ့။ လေဘားအလုပ်  
သမားအဖွဲ့။ လစ်ဘရယ်အဖွဲ့ဟူ၍သာ။ ဝါဒအရအဖွဲ့ကိုအ  
မည်ပေးဘေးခြင်းသာရှိ၏။ ထိုနည်းအတူ အမေရိကန်ပြည်နွဲ့  
ရင်း၊ ပြင်သစ်ပြည်နွဲ့ရင်း။ လူအမည်တစ်၍ အဖွဲ့ကိုအမည်မ  
ပေး။ အိတလီတွင်မူဆိုလိုလီအဖွဲ့ဟူ၍မရှိ၊ ဖက်ဆစ်ခေါ်အဖွဲ့  
သာရှိ၏။ ဂျာမဏီတွင်-ဟစ်တလာအဖွဲ့ဟူ၍မရှိ။ နာဇီဝါဒ

တိုင်းလည်းသတိပြုကြ၏။ အချို့ကမူ ဦးချစ်ယိုင်၏ လက်ရှိ ဆောင်ရွက်ပုံကိုသဘောမကျ။ သို့ရာတွင်-ရှေးအခါက-အထက်ခံခါ ဆောင်ရွက်ခဲ့ဘူးသဖြင့်။ ဦးချစ်ယိုင်ယခုရာထူးယူလျှင်ယူပါစေကြေအပ်ပါသည်ဟူ၍။ ဂရုဏာစကားများကိုအဆုံးပြုခါပြောဆိုကြ၏။ အချို့ကလည်း-ဦးချစ်ယိုင်ကိုသနားပါသည်ဟုပြောကြ၏။ သနားပါသည်ဆိုသောစကားမှာဆဲခြင်းတမျိုးပင်ဖြစ်၏။ လူတယောက်ကိုတယောက် ကအထင်အမြင်သေးလျှင်သနားသည်ဟုပြောလေ့ရှိ၏။ ယခုဦးချစ်ယိုင်အားသနားပါသည်ဟုပြောခြင်းမှာ။ ရှေးအခါကကဲ့သို့သမ္မတကြီး၊ ခေါင်းဆောင်ကြီး၊ ဥက္ကဋ္ဌကြီးစသည့် အဖွဲ့မျိုးနှင့်မကြည်ညိုတော့ဘဲ။ အထင်သေးခြင်းခံရသောစာပေသို့ရောက်၍ နှိုးမြှားအတိအလင်းပြောခြင်းပင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။

မြန်မာပြည်၏ နိုင်ငံရေးတွင်- အထူးဝမ်းနည်းဆုံးသောကောင်းသောအချက်တစ်ခုမှာ။ မြန်မာပြည်တွင်ရှိသောနိုင်ငံရေးအဖွဲ့များသည်။ များသောအားဖြင့်။ ဝါဒဟူ၍မရှိခြင်းပင်ဖြစ်၏။ အင်္ဂလန်နိုင်ငံတွင်-ဘော်လီဆွစ်အဖွဲ့။ လင်း(စ်)ဘာရီအဖွဲ့။ မက်ဂေါ့နယ်အဖွဲ့။ လျှိုက်ဂျော့အဖွဲ့ဟူ၍မရှိ။ ကွန်ဆာဗေးတစ်အဖွဲ့။ ဆိုရှယ်လစ်ဆင်းနဲသားအဖွဲ့။ လေဘားအလုပ်သမားအဖွဲ့။ လစ်ဘရယ်အဖွဲ့ဟူ၍သာ။ ဝါဒအရအဖွဲ့ကိုအမည်ပေးထားခြင်းသာရှိ၏။ ထိုနည်းအတူ အမေရိကန်ပြည်တွင်းရေးပြင်သစ်ပြည်တွင်း။ လူအမည်တပ်၍ အဖွဲ့ကိုအမည်မပေး။ အီတလီတွင်မူဆိုလိုလီအဖွဲ့ဟူ၍မရှိ ဖက်ဆစ်ခေါ်အဖွဲ့သာရှိ၏။ ဂျာမဏီတွင်-ဟစ်တလာအဖွဲ့ဟူ၍မရှိ။ နာဇီဝါဒ

p. 285

ဤကဲ့သို့ရာထူးကိုမစွန့်လွှတ်ရသော်လည်း။ လွှတ်တော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းအဝေးတိုင်းတွင်။ ဥက္ကဋ္ဌကိုအယုံအကြည်မရှိဟု အချက်အခံဘက်မှအမတ်များမှာ။ အစဉ်လိုပင် ပြောဆိုလေ့ရှိကြလေသည်။ မိမိအပေါ်တွင်။ ကြည်ညိုသူနည်း၍ လာကြောင်းသိလျှင်။ ပို၍ကြည်ညိုစေရန်နည်းလမ်းများကို ဦးချစ်ယိုင်ရှာဖွေ၍လုပ်ဆောင်သင့်၏။

p. 286

**Extract No. 7 (pp.:301-302)<sup>1</sup>**

In the 1937-38 budget it was clearly shown that income exceeded expenditure by 15,3 millions. So it became possible to abolish the Thathameda Tax. This tax called 'Capitation Tax' in Lower Burma and Thathameda Tax in Upper Burma was an extra tax levied only on the Burmese people. No equivalent tax existed in the Indian Empire.

This sort of taxation was never heard of in any country all over the world. Therefore Burma is the country which was heavily taxed regardless of per capita income.

Although we are heavily taxed by the government, we reap the least benefit, because the country is controlled by foreigners who run it as they wish. Though Burma is our land and although we are the live natives, now we have to like strangers, as though we did not belong to our own land. Everything is in the hands of foreigners. So to regain our own rights it is our duty to fight for them. First, people must know what their rights are. The progressive people must enlighten the ordinary people. Then they will know their rights and what they have lost and they will fight to regain them. That is the most important duty of every Burman...

**Burmese text:<sup>2</sup>**

မြန်မာပြည်၏ ဝင်ငွေများ။

	၁၉၂၇-၂၈	၁၉၃၂-၃၃	၁၉၃၇-၃၈
လယ်ခွန်	၅၃၆	ထိန်း ၃၀၀	ထိန်း ၅၁၀
သစ်တော	၂၀၀	။ ၀၇	။ ၁၃၇
ယစ်မျိုး	၁၂၄	။ ၀၅	။ ၀၀
ထံဆိပ်ကတ်ခွန်	၇၀	။ ၅၃	။ ၃၀
အထွေထွေ	၁၃၅	။ ၁၆၀	။ ၁၃၁
မဟိုဠာနုများကို သက်ခံဒိုက်ရသဖြင့် ရမည့် ဝင်ငွေ			
ဆိပ်ကမ်း	။	။	၄၇၆
အမြတ်ထောင်ကြေး	။	။	၁၄၉
ဆား	။	။	၄၅
<b>စုစုပေါင်း</b>	<b>၁၀၇၃</b>	<b>ထိန်း ၇၀၁</b>	<b>ထိန်း ၁၅၂၄</b>

အထက်ပါ ဝင်ငွေများအနက်၊ ၁၉၃၇-၃၈-ခုနှစ် စာရင်းမှာ၊ ခန့်မှန်းချေစာရင်းမျှသာဖြစ်လေသည်။

<sup>1</sup> This extract is taken from chapter 12, sub-chapter "The Financial Situation of Myanmar"; see above p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Pages 314-321 of the original.

မြန်မာပြည်နိုင်ငံရေးရာဇဝင်		၃၁၅		
အသုံးစာရင်းမှာ				
	၁၉၂၇-၂၈	၁၉၃၂-၃၃	၁၉၃၇	၃၈
	ထိန်း	ထိန်း	ထိန်း	ထိန်း
၁ မြေခွန်	၆၆	၅၃	၅၆	
၂ အထွေထွေအုပ်ချုပ်ရေးဌာန	၁၀၆	၉၉	၁၁၂	
၃ ရာဇဝတ်ဌာန	၁၄၈	၁၇၉	၁၅၃	
၄ ပညာရေးဌာန	၁၃၁	၈၇	၈၅	
၅ ဆေးနှင့်ကျမ္ဘာရေးဌာန	၇၃	၅၀	၅၆	
၆ မြို့ရွာပြည်နယ်ပြင်ပရေးဌာန	၂၆၆	၉၇	၁၂၄	
၇ သစ်တောဌာန	၈၉	၆၅	၆၀	
၈ တရားဌာန	၆၇	၅၉	၅၅	
၉ ပင်စင်လခ	၆၀	၅၈	၁၀၄	
၁၀ သစ်မျိုးဌာန	၂၂	၁၉	၈၉	
၁၁ အကျဉ်းထောင်	၃၂	၃၂	၃၂	
၁၂ အထွေထွေ	၁၃၇	၉၈	၁၉၈	
၁၃ အကြွေး	၂	၁၃	၁၈၀	
၁၄ စစ်ဌာန	၂	၂	၁၈၇	
အထွေထွေ	၁၁၉၇	၉၀၉	၁၄၂၁	

၁၉၃၇-၃၈ ခုနှစ်-စစ်ရင်းမှားခန့်မှန်းချေအသုံးစာရင်း သာဖြစ်လေသည်။

၁၉၃၇-၃၈ ခုနှစ်အတွက်၊ခန့်မှန်းချေဝင်ငွေစာရင်းနှင့်အ သုံးစာရင်းကို ကြည့်မည်ဆိုလျှင်၊ ဝင်ငွေကအသုံးစာရင်း ထက် ၅၃ သိန်းပို၍များသဖြင့်၊လူ့ခွန်နှင့်သဿမေခွန်များ ကိုဖြုတ်နိုင်ခွင့်ရပေလိမ့်မည်။အောက်မြန်မာပြည်တွင် လူ့ခွန် အထက်မြန်မာပြည်တွင် သဿမေခွန်ဟု ခေါ်သောအခွန် များမှာ၊အိန္ဒိယပြည်နယ်များတွင်၊မြန်မာပြည်တပြည်၌သာ လျှင် ကောက်ခံသောအခွန်ဖြစ်၍၊ မြန်မာပြည်သူပြည်သား များက အပိုပေးရသောအခွန်ဖြစ်ပေသည်။ ဤအခွန်မျိုးကို မည်သည့်တိုင်းပြည်တွင်မှ မပေးဆောင်ရသဖြင့်၊ မြန်မာ ပြည်မှာ၊ မိမိဝင်ငွေနှင့်တလျှင်၊အခွန်အများဆုံးပေးရသော တိုင်းပြည်ဖြစ်လေသည်။

ဤကဲ့သို့အခွန်အများဆုံးပေးရသော်လည်း၊အကျိုးကျေး ဇူးခံစားရန်ရှိသောအခါ၊ အနည်းဆုံးခံစားရသောပြည်ဖြစ် ၏။ မြန်မာပြည်တပြည်လုံးကိုနိုင်ငံခြားသားများသည်၊ နေ ရာတိုင်းတွင် ကြီးပိုးနေရကား။ မြန်မာများမှာ မိမိတို့တိုင်း ပြည်တွင်ညွှန်သည်များကဲ့သို့၊နိုင်ငံခြားသားများချုပ်လယ် ခြင်းကို သာခံ၍နေရလေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့နစ်နာ၍နေရာတွင်၊ မြန်မာလူမျိုးများ၏ တိုးတက်ချမ်းသာရေး - အခွင့်အရေး များကို၊ ရသင့်သမျှခံစားနိုင်ရန်အတွက်လုပ်ဆောင်ရန်မှာ မြန်မာလူမျိုးတို့၏ ငွေရားပင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။ မိမိတို့အခွင့်အ ရေးများရရန်မှာ၊ ပဋ္ဌမဦးစွာမိမိတို့ရသင့်ရထိုက်သောအခွင့်

အရေးသည်။မည်သည့်အချက်များဖြစ်ကြောင်းကို ထိရန်လို  
၏။ဤကဲ့သို့ထိရန်အမြော်အမြင်ရှိသူများက။ တိုင်းသူပြည်  
သားများအား။မျက်စေ့ ဖွင့်ပေးရန်လို၏။ ထိုသို့ထိသောအခါ  
တွင်။ မိမိတို့၏အခွင့်အရေးများကို၊ရရန်နည်းလမ်းအမျိုးမျိုး  
ဖြင့်။ဆောင်ရွက်ကြပေလိမ့်မည်။ ဆောင်ရွက်ရန်မှာလည်း  
မြန်မာလူမျိုးတိုင်း၏ငတ္တရားပင်ဖြစ်လေသည်။

လွှတ်တော်အတွင်းလုပ်ငန်း

လွှတ်တော်ရွေးကောက်ပွဲ ပြီးသောအခါ၊ ငါးပွင့်ဆိုင်အ  
ဖွဲ့မှာ။အမတ်ဦးရေ - ၅ ယောက်ရသဖြင့်။အင်အားအကြီး  
ဆုံးဖြစ်၏။ဒေါက်တာဘမော်အဖွဲ့က ၆ ယောက်ရ၍။ဦးချစ်  
လှိုင်က ၁၂ ယောက်ရ၏။ကိုယ့်မင်းကိုယ့်ချင်း အဖွဲ့မှ ၃  
ယောက်နှင့်ဗေဘီယန်အဖွဲ့မှ တယောက်ရ၏။ ကျန်အမတ်  
များမှာ။ရခိုင်၊ကုရင်နှင့်တသီးပုဂ္ဂလအဖွဲ့မရှိသူများဖြစ်လေ  
သည်။ဤရွေးကောက်ပွဲတွင် ထူးခြားသောအချက်မှာ။ ဆာ  
ဂျေ။အေ။မောင်ကြီး၏ ရွှေတောင်ကြားအဖွဲ့မှ။ အမတ် တ  
ယောက်မှအရွေးမခံရခြင်းဖြစ်၏။ ဤသည်ကိုထောက်လျှင်။  
အစိုးရအား။မှားသည်ဖြစ်စေ။မှန်သည်ဖြစ်စေ။ အစဉ် ထာ  
ဝရထောက်ခံနေသော သူများကို တိုင်းပြည်က မကြိုက်နှစ်  
သက်ကြောင်းထင်ရှား၏။ဤကဲ့သို့ မကြိုက်နှစ် သက်သဖြင့်  
မဲပေးဘဲနေကြခြင်းမှာ။ တိုးတက်ခြင်းဟုပင် ခေါ်ဆိုရပေ  
လိမ့်မည်။

ငါးပွင့်ဆိုင်အဖွဲ့တွင်အမတ်ဦးရေအများဆုံးရှိသဖြင့်။ထု  
ရင်ခံကငါးပွင့်ဆိုင်အဖွဲ့ခေါင်းဆောင်ဦးဘဖေအား။ အစိုးရ

အဖွဲ့ဖွဲ့စည်းရန်လွှဲအပ်သော်လည်း။ အတွင်းရေးဗိစင်၍ မရ  
ခြင်းကြောင့်တကြောင်း။ အခြားအဖွဲ့များကိုပူးပေါင်းရန်ဆွဲ  
ငင်၍မရခြင်းကြောင့်။ ငါးပွင့်ဆိုင် အဖွဲ့ခေါင်းဆောင် ဦးဘ  
ဖေက။ နောက်ဆုံးတွင်။ ဘုရင်ခံအား။ အဖိုးရအဖွဲ့ကို ဖွဲ့စည်း  
ခြင်းငှာ။ မစွမ်းကြောင်း ဝန်ခံ၍အဖိုးရအဖွဲ့ ဖွဲ့စေခြင်းအ  
လုပ်ကိုပြန်၍ဘုရင်ခံအားလွှဲအပ်ရလေသည်။ ထိုအတောအ  
တွင်းဒေါက်တာဘမော်ခေါင်းဆောင်သော။ ညွန့်ပေါင်းအဖွဲ့  
က။ အယုံအကြည်မရှိအဆိုတင်သွင်းပြီးသျှင်။ ရာထူးမှ နှုတ်  
ထွက်စေလေသည်။

ဦးဘဖေနှင့်ဦးထိမ်းမောင်ဘို့နှုတ်ထွက်ပြီးနောက်။ ၎င်း  
တို့၏နေရာတွင်ဦးပေါ်ထွန်းနှင့်ဦးဘမော်ကဆက်ခံ၍ဆောင်  
ရွက်၏။ ထိုနောက် ဒေါက်တာဘမော်သည်။ အဖိုးရ အဖွဲ့ကို  
ဖွဲ့စည်းလေသည်။ ဖွဲ့စည်း၍ပြီးသော်လည်း။ ငါးပွင့်ဆိုင်အ  
ဖွဲ့သည်။ အဖိုးရနှင့်အတိုက်အခံလုပ်၍နေသော။ ဖေဘီယန်  
နှင့်သခင်အဖွဲ့၏အကူအညီနှင့် အဖိုးရ အဖွဲ့ကို အယုံအ  
ကြည်မရှိအဆိုတင်သွင်း၍ဖြုတ်ချရာတွင်။ ၅၆ မဲစီရသဖြင့်  
ဦးချစ်ယိုင်က၎င်း၏ဥက္ကဋ္ဌမဲကိုအဖိုးရ အဖွဲ့အား ပေးလိုက်  
ခြင်းကြောင့်။ အဖိုးရအဖွဲ့မှာ။ ခိုင်မြဲ၍သွား၏။ ထိုနောက်။ ဦး  
ချစ်ယိုင်အားအယုံအကြည်မရှိအဆို တင်သွင်းရာတွင်။ ၅၃  
၆၃-မဲနှင့်ဖြုတ်ချသဖြင့်။ အနိုင်ရသော်လည်း။ လက်ရှိအမတ်  
ဦးချေ၏ထက်ဝက်သော အမတ်များ၏ ဆန္ဒမဲမရသဖြင့် ရာ  
ထူးမှဖြုတ်၍မချခိုင်ရှိလေသည်။

ပဋိပက္ခအပါတ်လွှတ်တော်အစည်းအဝေးတွင်။ ရာထူးတင်

ရေးနှင့်ရာထူးဖြတ်ချ်ရေးနှင့် အလုပ်များ၍ နေခြင်းကြောင့်။  
 အစိုးရအဖွဲ့မှာ။မယ်မယ်ရရ လုပ်ငန်းများစွာ မလုပ်နိုင်ခဲ့  
 ချေ။မယ်မယ်ရရလုပ်ငန်းတစ်ခုမှာ။တစ်ခုရေး အမတ်ကြီး  
 ဆာ-သောမတ်(စ)ကူးပါးက။မြန်မာပြည် လယ်သီးစားချ်  
 ရေးဥပဒေကြမ်းကိုတင်သွင်းပြီးလျှင်။ ဣတ်တော်က တိုင်း  
 ပြည်၏ဆန္ဒရယူရန်အတွက်။ ဥပဒေကြမ်းကို။ ဘာသာပြန်  
 ပြီးလျှင်ဝေငြခြင်းဖြစ်လေသည်။နယ်ခြားစစ်တပ်အဖွဲ့ဥပဒေ  
 ကြမ်းကိုပြည်တွင်းရေးအမတ်ကြီး တင်သွင်းရာ။ ၎င်းအဆို  
 မှာရှုံးနိုင်သွားသဖြင့်။ဘုရင်ခံက။အထူးအာဏာနှင့် ပြန်၍  
 အတည်ပြုရ၏။၎င်းနောက်-လက်ရှိအစိုးရအဖွဲ့က တင်သွင်း  
 သောဥပဒေကြမ်းများမှာအထက်အောက် ဣတ်တော် ဥပဒေ  
 မြို့များနှင့်အရာရှိများ၏လစာငွေဥပဒေ ကြမ်းများ ဖြစ်လေ  
 သည်။အခြားဥပဒေကြမ်းများမှာ။ မြန်မာပြည် မီးပြတိုက်  
 ဥပဒေကြမ်းဖြစ်၏။

တိုင်းသူပြည်သားဘက်မှတင်သွင်းသော ဥပဒေကြမ်း  
 များမှာ။ဦးစော၏လယ်သီးစား ဥပဒေကြမ်းနှင့် ဖေဘီယန်  
 ဦးမောင်မြစ်၏ ရန်ကုန်မြို့နယ်ပါဥပဒေပြင်ဆင်ရေး ဥပ  
 ဒေကြမ်းနှင့်စည်ပင်သာယာရုံးဖျက်ရေး ဥပဒေကြမ်းများ  
 ဖြစ်လေသည်။အခြားထူးခြားသော ပြင်ဆင်ချက် ဥပဒေများ  
 မှာ။ဣတ်တော်ဥပဒေများကိုပြင်ရန်နှင့်ဣတ်တော်တွင် မြန်  
 မာစကားပြောနိုင်ခွင့်အဆိုမျိုးဖြစ်လေသည်။

ပဋ္ဌမအပါတ်အောက်ဣတ်တော်တွင်။အနည်းငယ် ထူး  
 သောအချက်မှာ။ဣတ်တော်တွင်းသို့ ဒေါက်တာဘဏ္ဍာ

ခါးမတပ်ဦးထုပ်ကိုဆောင်း၍လာသဖြင့်၊ ခေါင်းပေါင်း မ  
 ပါခြင်းကြောင့်၊ ဣတ်တော်အမတ်အချို့က ကန့်ကွက်ခြင်း  
 ဖြစ်လေသည်။ အထူးသဖြင့် ဦးဘထိနှင့်ဦးကွန်းတို့က ကန့်  
 ကွက်ကြ၏။ အခြားဘချက်မှာ၊ အိန္ဒိယပြည်အား ချောစာ  
 များတင်ပို့ရာတွင်၊ နှုံးသားများကို နိုင်ငံခြား နှုံးထား အ  
 တိုင်းထားသဖြင့်၊ အိန္ဒိယတိုင်းသားများနှင့် ဥရောပတို့ကို  
 သားများက အထူးသဖြင့်၊ ကန့်ကွက်ကြ၏။ သို့ရာတွင်၊ ထို  
 အဆိုကိုမဲခွဲသော အခါတွင်၊ ရှုံးနိမ့်၍ သွားလေသည် ကျန်  
 တချက်မှာ၊ ဘဏ္ဍာရေးဋ္ဌာနနှင့် တကွ၊ ပင်စင် လခများအ  
 တွက်၊ အသုံးစရိတ်များကို ဣတ်တော်အဖွဲ့မှ ပါယ်လိုက် ခြင်း  
 ဖြစ်လေသည်။ ဤကဲ့သို့ ပါယ်လိုက်ခြင်းမှာ၊ ငါးပွင့်ဆိုင် အဖွဲ့  
 သည်၊ ရာထူးမှ ဖျော့၍ ကျသဖြင့်၊ မိမိတို့ မလုပ်ရမည့် အတူ  
 တူ၊ အုပ်ချုပ်ရေးဖျက်သည့်အနေနှင့် ပါယ်ချလိုက်ခြင်း ဖြစ်  
 ရာ၊ ညွှန်ပေါင်းအဖွဲ့မှာ၊ သတိမမူမိသဖြင့်၊ ထိုအသုံး စရိတ်ကို  
 ဣတ်တော်က ထုတ်၍ မပေးချေ။ သို့ဖြစ်သဖြင့်၊ အစိုးရတို့  
 မှာ၊ အတော်ပင် အခက်ကြုံ၍ နေရာ၊ ဘုရင်ခံက၊ ဘဏ္ဍာရေး  
 တည်တန့်ရေးကို တာဝန်ခံရသည်ဟူသော အထူး အာဏာ  
 ကို သုံး၍၊ အသုံးစရိတ်ကို ထုတ်၍ ပေးရလေသည်။

ပဋ္ဌမအကြိမ် ဣတ်တော် အစည်းအဝေးမှာ၊ ရာထူးလု  
 ရေးနှင့်ပင် အချိန် ကုန်၍ သွားရကား၊ အစိုးရ အဖွဲ့ဝင်များမှာ  
 တိုင်းပြည်ကျေးဇူးရှိရာရှိကြောင်း လုပ်ငန်းတခုမျှလုပ်၍ မ  
 ပေးနိုင်ချေ။

အထက်လွတ်တော်အစည်းအဝေးတွင်လည်း။ ထိုနည်း  
 တူ၊ ဥက္ကဋ္ဌနှင့်ဒုတိယဥက္ကဋ္ဌခန့်ထားရေး။ ဘတ်ဂျက်ငွေ အ  
 သုံးစရိတ်နှင့် ပါတ်ဆက်၍ အနည်းငယ် ဆွေးနွေး ပြီးလျှင်-  
 အောက်လွတ်တော်ကဆုံးဖြတ် အတည် ပြုလိုက်သော။ မြန်  
 မာပြည် မီးပြတိုက်ဥပဒေကြမ်းကိုအတည်ပြု၍ ရုတ်သိမ်း  
 လိုက်လေသည်။ ပဋိမအကြိမ် စည်းဝေးသော အစည်းအ  
 ဝေးတွင်လွတ်တော်နှစ်ရပ်လုံးက။ တိုင်းသူပြည်သားများအ  
 ကျိုးရှိစေမည့်လုပ်ငန်းဘာမျှလုပ်၍ မပေးချေ။ သို့ရာတွင်။  
 လွတ်တော် အမတ်များ၏ ခရီးစရိတ်အတွက်။ တိုင်းသူပြည်  
 သားများကငွေ-၂-သိန်းခန့် အခွန်ငွေမှ ထုတ်၍ ပေးရသေ  
 သည်။

## 5. Ko Ko Thett, **An Appraisal of ‘Political History of Burma’ by Ba Khine**

Published in 1938, when the Burmese independence movement was about to take an unexpected turn under the leadership of the young *thakins*, ‘Political History of Burma (*myanma pyi naing ngan yay yazawin*)’ seemed to have gone unnoticed in the hurly-burly of the days. Yet the book arguably is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, the most original, and an underappreciated treatise on Burma’s nationalist movement of the 1920s and 1930s. Its significance lies in the fact that the book was written by someone who had not only witnessed the unfolding of the history but was part of it.

The author was neither an undetached Western scholar nor a colonial administrator - one’s typical sources of Burmese history of that period. Ba Khine was part of the nationalist movement, and someone, as his book demonstrates, who had followed the movement closely, and more importantly, critically. He was better known as ‘Fabian U Ba Khine,’ since he was a founding member and secretary of Burma’s Fabian Socialist Party in the late 1930s. As such his version of Burmese history is a ‘history from below’, a natural outcome of ‘participant’s observation’ and an epitome of ‘self-criticism.’ The book has now been unearthed and translated into English by Dr. Tin Hlaing for Myanmar Literature Project.

The first striking point about the book must be its title. It should be noted that the Burmese word ‘*thamaing*’ for history was hardly in use in the 1930s. The word *yazawin*, literally meaning ‘chronicles of kings’, was widely used to refer to history in a general sense. The country’s name was referred to by the author as ‘*myanma pyi*’ not ‘*bama pyi*’ preferred by the *thakin* movement. *Nainganyay*, being politics or political in Burmese, the book’s title translates well as ‘Political History of Burma.’

Ba Khine makes it clear that, apart from informing the public about the politics of independence movement, his work is targeted ‘to the people of ‘the next generation’ who are into politics and political history, to the politicians who would like to be reminded of their past, and to those who would like to judge the progress and regress of the Burmese politics of the day.’ The author stresses that he has tried his best to give ‘unbiased and objective’ information as he has relied solely on primary sources - his interviews with politicians, newspapers, journals and magazines. His references are not revealed however. The author also acknowledges the assistance of many leading intellectuals of the day in the making of the book.

The author’s yardstick for an ideal politician is materialistic: ‘a way to test whether a politician was truthful is to look at how poorer he got (during his political career).’ The very first

point in his twenty-point analysis as to why Burmese politics has not seen any progress is noteworthy: 'lack of appreciation of independence leading to the real desire for it.' Reading into the first few pages of the book, the author's bold insights into Burmese political culture already delight the reader. Ba Khine argues that, in history, the Burmese has never been capable of collective efforts. They achieved what they achieved under strong and capable individual leaders. Thus, when a Burmese emperor was in decline, so was his empire. Several revolts against the British occupation since 1885 failed not only because the British were better armed, better organized and better at communication and logistics. They failed because the revolt leaders, from Minlaung Maung Thant of the 1900s to Saya San of the 1930s, were autocratic - they all wanted to restore monarchy. Those who did not like the idea stayed away from the revolts.

As to the rise of anti-colonial nationalism in India and Burma, the author holds that 'fear of the White men' went away as more and more colonial subjects were exposed to the West after the opening of Suez canal in 1869. The Indians came to the sense that 'only in their subject countries, Englishmen act like masters.' In addition to the enlightenment of the colonized, the worldwide political changes such as the 1905 Russo-Japanese war, World War I and the Wilsonian declaration for self determination as well as the Russian revolution have fuelled the Indian and Burmese nationalist movements.

The emergence of the *wunthanu* nationalist movement in Burma is traced back to its modest origin. The associational life in Burma was inspired mainly by India National Congress, founded in 1885. The formation of Young Men's Buddhist Association, YMBA modeled after YMCA, in 1906, and its transformation into a formidable political organization known as General Council of Burmese Association (GCBA) by 1919 is well known. Little known is the fact that even in the GCBA era in the early 1920s, its annual meetings were still opened with 'prayers for health and glory of King George and Queen Mary.' Nonetheless the GCBA grew into a nationwide movement in the 1920s as it was joined by firebrand monk U Ottama who promoted *wunthanu* patriotism, calling for self-respect, self-sufficiency and the boycott of things foreign. The author details how power and parliamentary politics, introduced to Burma by the British in 1922, corrupted some of the Wunthanu activists, known as the group of twenty-one, who attempted to fight the colonial system 'from within.' This led to the GCBA split in the mid-1920s and also resulted in a split of the sangha (the Buddhist order) who presided over the GCBA. 'The country has been on the right track for independence; but when the 21-group deserted the *wunthanu*, the direction was lost.' the author laments.

One whole chapter is dedicated to the affairs of *sasana* (Buddha's teaching) as the author ends the previous chapter admiring the selfless sacrifice of the nationalist monks, such as U Wizara and U Ottama, in the *wunthanu* movement. The author praises learned monks who stayed out of politics whereas he condemns the monks who 'mingle Dhamma talk with political lecture' and receive money for their talks. The author also chronicles how the Young Monks' Association (*sasana mamaka* founded in 1908?) became less influential due to some of the members' involvement in party politics. He balances this view by praising the *sasana mamaka* members who recently regained public support through their efforts to keep the Buddhist order clean.

Remarkably very much ahead of his age, Ba Khine pays special attention to the role of women in the *wunthanu* movement in another chapter. Pretty much in line with his age, the author assesses that female nationalists were simply following their husbands in politics. Nonetheless he does not fail to document the 'legendary' courage of Theigyizay Daw May who defied the British police at a meeting in support of U Ottama at Queen's park in Yangon (in 192?). She and many other ladies refused to leave the meeting while most men and, even monks, fled the scene. Daw May and many women were violently attacked by the police.

What follows are political lessons one can draw from the lives of U Chit Hlaing and U Soe Thein who led two different factions of the GCBA. U Chit Hlaing was generous and honest but his generosity and honesty were abused by 'the crooks and scoundrels who surrounded him.' The man who had once been regarded as *Thamada-President* or Uncrowned King of Burma ended up a sellout in 1937 as he was elected speaker of the Lower House under the 1935 Government of Burma Act. Thus, judges the author, U Chit Hlaing's political convictions were found to be only 'skin-deep.' U Soe Thein did not fare better. An oil-well owner and an American-educated petroleum engineer, Soe Thein, had been exposed to socialist ideas in India and Europe. For this he was accused of promoting political violence, even more so after the 1930 Sayar San revolt. He stayed out of legislature politics. Nonetheless he was 'gradually deserted by the people because he was incapable of delivering anything.'

The life and death of the revolt leader Sayar San, who had been a member of U Soe Thein's GCBA, provides another lesson. The author resents lawyers Dr. Ba Maw and U Pu who used Sayar San's trial as a stepping stone for their political career. When Sayar San 'descended to the rank of a murderer' and went to the gallows, his lawyers who failed to provide 'a good counsel on the verge of his death' became colonial employees. Other significant events of the time such as the 1930 Rangoon jailbreak, the Indo-Burmese communal riot and the Sino-Burmese communal riot are

noted in passing but the author does not link these events to the Great Depression, and the resultant economic downturn that was felt deeply in colonial Burma.

As for the 'Association of Development of Youth,' (founded in 1935?), the author hopes that the association would mature into 'the path of leftist politics' the way its forerunner YMBA had been gradually radicalized. The youth association was not only involved in rural development work, debates and library projects it also started *kyeepwaryay* magazine (the Progress). The magazine became widely known when it was handed over to a young intellectual, who would become known as Kyeepwaryay U Hla. The author astutely points out that the authorities allow associational freedom to divert the youth from politics but it hardly works. The founding of the Rangoon University Student Union, was encouraged by Principle D.J Sloss, in order to influence the student body, but the Union had become his biggest opponent.

The author's account of the emergence of the Dobama Asiayone (the *thakin* movement) in the mid-1930s is rather detailed and moving. One could almost feel the Dobama pamphlets and hear the Dobama song. It is noted that the Dobama Asiayone was genuinely under a collective leadership since it had neither president nor secretary. Decisions were made at the meetings of the members. Nonetheless the Asiayone almost fall apart under the erratic personality of the founder-member Thakin Ba Thaung who was seen as a socialist and a capitalist in the same person. U Ba Khine's critical approach to the Dobama movement is worth quoting at length:

“Actually the name Dobama Asiayone and the name prefix thakin (meaning master) were incompatible with the ideals of socialism. Dobama conveys the spirit of Burmese nationalism, whereas socialism is internationalist in nature. Thakin is rather capitalist usage, being applied to the elites, either rich men or officials.”

The paradox must have been felt by many leftist radicals who wanted to become members of the Dobama movement. Many of them, including Ba Khine himself, shunned the Dobama Asiayone as they could not put up with the arrogance and conceit of the thakins who showed no respect whatsoever to members of other parties. The thakins considered other Burmese politicians 'enemy number one' who played into the British government's game of 'divide and rule.' The author's caution that the *thakins* would lose support due to their extreme political stance and their rude manners would have actually happened if their Dobama movement had not been rescued by the student movement that had gained widespread following after the 1936 student strike.

For the 1936 election, the first election held under the 1935 Burma Act that separated the country from British India, the Dobama founded *komin-kochin aphwe* (our king, our affair party)

and fielded no less than 30 candidates. Only three were elected to the legislative assembly. The three Dobama MPs attended 'the assembly meetings with their adopted aim to revoke the 1935 constitution' and always sided with the party in the opposition. 'This required that they consistently oppose the government; it meant that they could not take ministerial posts. Thus they always supported no confidence motions' at a that time even the GCBA was in the hands of the government, writes U Ba Khine.

A considerable section of the book was dedicated to all other significant political movements and parties. The author writes a candid diatribe against Dr. Ba Maw, the most powerful politician of the time, who ran the *sinyetha* party with his unique brand of *sinyetha-wada* (socialism). Dr. Ba Maw was most famous for flip-flopping. The author however maintains that 'as he (Dr. Ba Maw) has clearly stated that he needed to adapt to situations, one has only to blame himself for believing his words.' The virtues of Dr. Ba Maw such as his ideas, his generosity, his friendliness for the poor, his stamina and hard work, his great power of persuasion are not overlooked. The author warns that, unless Dr. Ba Maw changed his ways, his fall would be as fast as his rise.

The GCBA U Chit Hlaing, who had abandoned the *wunthanu* spirit for the legislature politics, is criticized for his 'political summersault.' The author notes that it is 'pathetic' that Burmese political parties lack ideology and are usually constructed around the personalities of party leaders as he writes 'In England, there is no such thing as Baldwin's party, Landsberry's party, or MacDonald's party, or Lord Lloyd George's party. The parties in England are Conservative, Socialist, Labour, Liberal, which are based on ideology.' As for the politicians who had formed a coalition of five parties (*nga-pwint saing aphwe*) so they could control the majority of parliament seats, the author notes that even though these politicians lack patriotism, they should be commended for remaining true to themselves: 'they are not prepared to suffer personal losses; that they believe in evolutionary development.' The *nga-pwint saing aphwe* won the majority seats in the parliament in the 1936 election since they had spent much on their political campaigns and put up two charismatic personalities, U Ottama and Prince Hteik Tin Wa, as their figureheads. Nonetheless the squabbles among themselves due to the lack of an authoritative leader meant that they were not able to form a cabinet. The coalition fell apart under 'no confidence motion' by Dr. Ba Maw who skillfully co-opted some of the coalition politicians into his own wing.

As of his own party, Fabian Socialist Party, founded in the election year of 1936, U Ba Khine holds that 'socialism can thrive only in independent states; as Burma is not independent the

party was formed to adapt socialism to the situation' which means 'to fulfill the need of the people.' In contrast to the *thakins*, who opposed everything the government does, the Fabian socialists 'oppose the government but talk with it to launch programmes that can bring relief to the underclass.' The founding members of the party were Deedoke U Ba Cho, U Ba Khine and student unionist Ko Nu, who left the Fabian socialists for the *thakins* in 1938. Despite its declared policy and plan, only one out of thirteen candidates fielded by the Fabian Socialist Party was voted to the parliament. U Ba Khine attributes this failure to two reasons: the party was fresh new and was deemed a party set up only for the election, and the party was poor and it could not spend much on its election campaign at a time when vote buying became a norm in Burmese politics.

After dealing with the political movements of the time, the author turns to the political landscape change Burma had seen since she lost her sovereignty. After the annexation to British India in 1886, the country was ruled directly by the British government of India. Although India was introduced to dyarchy, a mixed administration that aimed toward self-government as early as in 1919, Burma was left out. Amidst the opposition, the country was granted dyarchy only in 1923. It is noted that only seven percent of all the eligible voters voted in the first dyarchy election in Burma since the people did not like the idea of dyarchy. The ethnic composition of dyarchy parliament as well as its successor the legislative body (Upper House and Lower House) under the 1935 Burma Act can be found in this section.

A brief review of the political economy of the country can be seen in the section titled 'the financial situation of Burma.' The author declares that the Burmese were 'the most heavily taxed people' since they had to pay *thathemadedda* tax or human tax that was not collected in any Indian province, nor in any other country. The author points out that the 1937-38 saw the income exceed expenditure by 15.3 million rupees. The money should have rendered the human tax irrelevant.

The author concludes that Burma has not seen any political progress due to the lack of 'true politicians.' He decries the fact that it was hard for committed politicians to set up strong parties since people usually fell for the selfish politicians who 'could really more followers.' Even the revered political monk U Ottama was not above reproach as he had failed to account for some 10,000 rupees, the leftover of a legal fund collected for him by his supporters. Yet, the author argues, the people still revered U Ottama and only when 'U Ottama behaved worse, did the people lose respect for him.' It should be noted that U Ottama, the foremost nationalist leader in Burma, died in oblivion in 1939.

Burma remained underdeveloped industrially, the author argues, because the politicians who

ventured into businesses had ‘dishonest intentions from the beginning.’ Besides, most of them lacked ‘management skills.’ Not only the corrupt leaders, but their unscrupulous followers were also to blame. U Ba Khine could have been the first Burmese cultural historian to point out that the Burmans had little faith in organized business, and that they had no regard or trust for one another; and that they were individualistic. The author has been inspired by successful cooperative businesses in Japan and Denmark. As for the plight of his own land, the author observes that Burmese people could no longer claim ‘there is no death from starvation in this country.’

Then who should the people turn to? Neither Dr. Ba Maw nor the GCBA U Chit Hlaing, nor five-party alliance, nor the Fabian socialists. Nor the thakins since they were anti-social and unreliable. Fabian U Ba Khine advises that ‘the people identify who are selfish, who are not; and then they ought to face hardships to work for the independence of the country.’

All in all Fabian U Ba Khine’s book has many a political lesson to offer, including lessons one can draw from the fate of the book and the life of its author. Little is known about the private life of the author, except for that fact that he was close to and greatly influenced by the British liberal scholar J.S Furnivall, who is regarded as the founding father of Burma studies. Ba Khine’s advocacy for Fabian tactics; peaceful and gradual undermining of the colonial system did not catch on at the onset of the Second World War, when a revolution was fermenting in the *thakin* quarters. He died in 1940, aged only 34.

The fact that the author was proven wrong on one major account - he had downplayed the *thakhin* movement as the *thakhins* would become the most powerful politicians, the winners who had to write history, during and after the War, should not affect the historicity of the book as a seminal study on Burma’s independence movement. Counterfactually one could even argue that, if U Ba Khine’s Fabian socialist visions had been materialized, the state of Burma, now known as Myanmar, would not have been through what she has been through since the book publication in 1938.

The lucid translation of the book by Dr. Tin Hlaing managed to capture the frustrated tone of the author. It would be of great benefit to Burma scholar community if the dates of some of the events, such as the exact date of the colonial police attack on the Burmese women at Queen’s Park in Rangoon in the 1920s, that are missing in the original can be checked and footnoted in the English translation. Burma scholars might even find that the English version of the book is more accessible than the original which is written in the 1930-style Burmese. No doubt Dr. Tin Hlaing’s translation will attract scholars and general readers alike. The author U Ba Khine will be smiling

from his grave if he knows that ‘the people of ‘the next generation’ who are into politics and political history, for whom he dedicated the book, are actually grateful for his efforts.

Ko Ko Thett

04.03.2010

Helsinki

### **III. APPENDICES**

#### **Appendix 1**

#### **SHORT INFORMATION on the MAKING of the BOOK REPORTS**

CHOSEN BOOKS from the bibliography will be provided on a lending basis by the manager [or for people in Myanmar through the Myanmar Book Centre in Yangon (55 Baho Road; telephone 221-271, 212-409)].

TWO REPORTS on each book by different persons are accepted.

LENGTH: 8,000 to 12,000 words (plus special space, if desired);

LANGUAGE of PUBLICATION: English; manuscripts in Myanmar language will be translated;

CRITERIA (must not slavishly be observed):

1. Biographical information about the author/translator, and other contributors;
2. Information about the non-Myanmar sources used in the book; (if the book is a translation, the original English version will be provided, too, if possible;)
3. Summary of the book's contents;
4. Information about the special aim and intended impact of the book at the time of publication;
5. How are foreign terms and concepts translated or transformed into the Myanmar language and the Myanmar context? (May be omitted!)
6. Personal assessment by the reviewer of the book, its impact on later times and its meaning for today

DEADLINE of DELIVERY of the REPORT: December 31, 2005 (the deadline can be extended);

DELIVERY of the REPORTS DRAFTED: Directly to the manager of the project by email or through the Myanmar Book Centre.

COMMENTS and EDITING: The reports will be commented upon by another person. The reviewer may react on the comments and answer the questions as he or she likes. The responsibility for the final editing of the reports is with the project manager.

REWARD: As a financial reward, each reviewer will receive 50 US \$ at the time of submitting the

book report and 30 US \$ after the final editing.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS like recollections of elder people, who remember the impact of Nagani on their life, and essays on subjects related to the club (Nagani Song, Nagani Magazine, the role of literature in disseminating knowledge in Myanmar, etc.) are very much appreciated.

## Appendix 2

### INFORMATION about COMMENTARIES on BOOK REPORTS

1. The commentaries asked for shall serve two aims

First (and most important): To start a dialogue on Myanmar's intellectual and literary heritage between interested people inside and outside of Myanmar.

Second (and important, too): To check the clarity of the report with regard to the intended publication.

Therefore, the commentator should be interested in Burma affairs and in the general topic of the respective book, but must not know anything about its specific content.

2. Length of each commentary: Must not exceed the space of this paper.
3. Some hints that may be useful to observe in writing a commentary:

Are there any questions that are brought up by reading the report?

If yes, what kind of questions do arise?

Are the criteria listed in the "Short information on the making of book reports" (see attachment) met by the book report?

What information on the book report do I find interesting/exciting or unnecessary/redundant?

Is there anything that I would recommend to the author of the report?

Delivery of the commentary: It would be appreciated if the commentaries could be sent by email to the above mentioned email address. If the author of the report chooses to react on the commentary, the commentator will be informed.

Affairs to come: All participants will be informed about the development of the publishing process of the reports and are invited to participate in future deliberations and activities. - Questions and recommendations are very much appreciated.

MYANMAR LITERATURE PROJECT



Starting with an investigation into the NAGANI BOOK CLUB

The project's  
**Working Papers**  
are published by  
the **Department of Southeast Asian Studies of Passau University**

Already Published:

No. 10:1, An Introduction into the Nagani Book Club

No. 10:2, Thein Pe, *Saya Lun* and *Member of Parliament*

No. 10:3, Ba Hein, *The World of Capitalists*

No 10:4, Thein Pe, *Student Boycotters* (Two Volumes)

Forthcoming:

No. 10:6, Nu, *Gandalarit*

-----

Some Nagani Books  
were scanned and are available on CD.

For details contact  
habezett@t-online.de

-----

All Working Papers published until now are available  
at

**<http://www.zoellner-online.org/mlp.htm>**  
and at the Online Burma Library  
**<http://www.burmalibrary.org/show.php?cat=2083>**

## INVITATION

Readers are invited to participate in the project by

- writing **comments and criticisms** on the contents of this and other volumes of this series;
- contributing **essays** on Burmese/Myanmar literature as a medium between the international world and Burmese society;
- providing **material** that sheds more light on the Nagani Book Club, its context and impact on Burmese intellectual and literary life;
- offering **assistance** as translators and commentators of book reports.

-----  
For contributions and questions, please contact:

Dr. Hans-Bernd Zöllner  
University of Passau  
Phone: +49-40-8317961  
Fax: +49-40-84051735  
Email: [habezett@t-online.de](mailto:habezett@t-online.de)