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speeches and Travels of U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma 1 of 2

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Speech delivered at the eighth day sitting of the third session of the Burma Constituent +Assembly on 24th September 1947.

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I might say, at once, that it will be Leftist. And a Leftist country is one in which the people working together to the best of their power and ability strive to convert the natural resources and produce of the land, both above ground and below ground into consumer commodities to which everybody will be entitled each according to his need. In a Leftist country there will be no such thing as a handful of people holding the monopoly over the inexhaustible wealth of the land while the poor and the striving grow more and more numerous. Then again, in such a country the aim of production is not profit for the few but comfort and happiness of a full life for the many. Lastly in a Leftist country there will be no distinction between the employer class and the employed class, or to put it simply there will be no such thing as the master-class and the slave-class, the governing-class and the governed-class. That briefly put, Sir, is what I mean by a Leftist country.

#### A Leftist Country.

In the Draft Constitution which this Assembly is now to approve there are many features which bear the seeds of such a country, and those who have made a study of it will see them plainly. That is why I say from the start that Burma will be a Leftist country.

x x x

#### The two Ideologies.

However, to proceed. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, two ideologies became current- one was to start revolutions in all countries of the world and another to secure firm and sure foundations for Socialism in Russia itself. The adherents

of the former school of thought were led by Trostsky and the latter by Lenin. A study of both these ideologies reveal that both exponents ~~and~~ agreed that Socialism will stand safe and secure in Russia only when there are revolutions all over the world and Socialism is established in all the countries. There is but one point of difference, and that is immediate action versus deferred action; action only after one has made oneself strong

In the post-Revolution period of excitement the general feeling was that Trostsky's "immediate action" rang true and sound. But looking back now it will be seen that history has proved the soundness of Lenin's view.

Speech delivered on the National Day, 8th November 1947.

x x x

x x x

The blows that the Leftists can deal one another are far more damaging than any blow the Rightists can deal them, because Leftists know best where it can hurt fellow Leftists most. So while they grapple for a fall the watching Rightists will wait for their chance and grin. Finally it will be the Rightists who will tread the Leftists underfoot.

x x x

x x x

Broadcast talk on 27th November 1947

A Communist Allegations.

x x x

Also in our anti-terrorist campaigns, although the Communist leaders were loudly condemning terrorism, they were at the same time secretly instructing their followers behind our backs not to surrender their illicit arms.

x x x

x x x  
Communists.

The Communists, if they do care for the masses their duty is to strive for the masses even if (as they allege) the Treaty we have signed is not satisfactory. For instance, they should put their heads together with those of the AFPFL leaders and make the best of a bad job. This is what they would have done if their vaunted desire for unity with the AFPFL is a genuine desire.

Communists

Alas, they are not even knowledgeable about the Anglo-Burmese Treaty. They can only twist it to suit



their twisted purposes. Just as Thakin Ba Sein and U Saw being unable to find fault with the Aung San- Attlee Agreement, slung mud at it at random, so now the Communists, unable to criticise our Treaty constructively and improve upon it, are disparaging it destructively just to make political capital out of it. I shall substantiate this statement.

#### Communist

The Communists said apropos the Defence Agreement "Why did the Government of Burma agree to receive a Naval Military and Air Force Mission from the United Kingdom Government only and not from any Government outside the British Commonwealth? If Burma is supposed to be a sovereign Independent nation why can't she receive such a mission from any Government she likes? From Japan or Germany, for that matter?" The Communist big noises shouted in chorus, "We know. It is because the Independence given to us is not sovereign Independence. That's why we had to agree in the Treaty to receive only a British Mission."

#### Communists

That was, so they supposed, a knock-out blow for the AFPFL. Unfortunately, they missed, and the force of their own blow carried them off the stage.

x x x

x x x

no other allegation the Communist leaders are shouting everywhere is that Burma's Defence Agreement is not different from the Trans-Jordan Defence Agreement. The relevant passages in the two Agreements have already been expounded in comparison and contrast by the Central Executive Committee of the AFPFL. We shall in addition lay the entire Defence Agreement of Trans-Jordan before the masses in Burmese translation for better scrutiny. I leave it to the masses to compare the two things. And I hope the Communist leaders will, as befits true leaders, admit <sup>their error before the masses,</sup> Agreements were <sup>having found that the two</sup> in fact quite different.

x x x

#### Communists

I warn you, AFPFL members, the Communist protestations of desire for unity with you are as treacherous as the song of the sirens. They stretch out their lure with one hand while with the other they poise their javelin to plunge it into your heart.

Their tactics are by no means consummate. Nevertheless, beware.!

x x x

x            x            x

Communists

At this turn of events, the Communists, with their nimble tongues, accuse us of being Rightists, being the stooges of Imperialists, and the Lord knows what. In this matter, no force, no Opportunists or Imperialists could have obstructed the road to unity. The Communist tactics alone have done it.

x            x            x

Communist

To cite a brief example, Yugoslavia, a leading Communist country, has accepted the principle of compensation in respect of foreign property acquired by her. In this world, no country can afford to act only in accordance with its own wishes nor can it rely always on its own strength. For this reason, Soviet Russia has to submit to the rejection by the Persian Majilis of the Persian-Soviet Oil Agreement. For the same reason, the Soviet has to submit to the advent of the United States in the Dardanelles, which is not outside the sphere of Russian influence.

Communist

In connection with this point, a principle accepted by Lenin, the apostle of the Communists, may be cited for the information of the Communists themselves. Under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Soviet Government, though it had assumed power as the result of a successful revolution, agreed to the surrender of a part of her own territories. This is cited

for the guidance of S

for the guidance of Stalin's pupils, the Communist revolutionaries.

Communists

In brief, the above principle is this. In signing the Agreement Lenin sought to secure peace on one side to obtain time for acquiring more strength, to enable the consolidation of the forces of Socialism.

x            x            x

Presidential address at All-Burma AFPFL Conference on 20th December 1947.

x            x            x

Leftist

As all know nearly every political leader of note in Burma is now Leftist in his political outlook. Capitalism and Imperialism must see danger in a Leftist regime on Burma and will seek means of over throwing such a regime. Just as Hitler and Musolini sought a Franco in Spain, so such interests might seek such a leader in Burma. Let the masses be more vigilant than ever and watch carefully for potential Francos.

x            x            x

Broadcast talk on 28th March 1948.

..... the Red Flag Communists and the Communists led by Thakin Than Tun and Goshal are preparing to seize power

from the Government by force of arms. And what I mean is that these Communists are plotting to overthrow the present government, and I must tell you how they set about doing this. The Red Flag Communists were first in the field to adopt the policy of wrecking the AFPFL by force and the wresting of power from the Government by use of arms.

x       x       x

### Communists

The proclamations by the Communists are such as would make a strong appeal to the masses. They say that they will seize the property of the foreigners and pay no compensation, that they will repudiate our foreign debts, and that cultivators need pay no rent but become owners of land. What can be better from the point of view of the masses? If the masses ponder over these proclamations and can believe that these are not mere shouts but are possible of practical achievement, they will doubtless follow the lead of the Communists and disown the AFPFL which says that compensation will be given, that the national debt must be discharged and that rent must be paid at twice the land revenue. Why do not the Communists proceed with this course? Is it because they don't believe in the masses, or because they don't believe in their own programme, or because they believe in neither?

### Communists

If at the General Election, the masses return Communists in great number they will be able, not only to form a Government, but to denounce in Parliament the Nu-Attlee or Anglo-Burmese Treaty which they profess to dislike. If as they say, they will be able to confiscate foreign property, it should not be difficult for them to denounce the Treaty in Parliament. With these methods open to them, why don't the Communists adopt them? Is it because they will not be satisfied unless there is bloodshed?



Communists

It may be that their text book says that power should be wrested by violence, but they will be making a mistake if they say that there is no other way. When Stalin, highest of Communist leaders, met a goodwill mission despatched to Russia by the British Labour Party with Harold Laski as leader, Stalin said to them, "There are two roads to Socialism, the British road and the Soviet road. The British road attains it in slow but steady stages, the Soviet road attains it quickly, but involves bloodshed."

x x x

Warning to Leftists.

May Day speech 1st May 1948.

x x x

Leftists

A Leftist State possesses the following characteristics.

The wealth of the country, both above and under the earth, should be exploited by the united efforts of the people and there should be a system under which what is won by these efforts should go to the people themselves according to their needs. That, in brief, is Leftism, and a State in which such a policy exists is a Leftist State. In a Leftist country the natural resources are not at the disposal of a handful of people for them to enjoy abundantly, while the poor and the unfortunate live in abject misery and want. In such a Leftist country, the production of commodities is not for the purpose of profit but for the use of the people and in order that they may have a decent standard of living. In such a Leftist country there is no distinction between employer and employee, or between master and servant, or between the governing class and the governed. Such a country is a Leftist country.

x x x

Leftists

Lenin and Stalin when building up Russia did not use everything which they found in the writings of Karl Marx. They adopted what was suitable for Russia. In China also Leftist leaders adopted what was suitable for that country. Not very long ago when my friend Ko Ohn went to Poland he was advised by Polish leftists thus: "We don't go wrong because others go wrong. We do what is suitable for Poland and we advise Burma to do what is suitable for Burma"

Leftists

For these reasons I would warn our Leftists of Burma not to attempt extremes after reading books, but to try and give practical effect to what is possible in the circumstances of our own country.

x x x

Communist

When Trotsky was trying to bring about a world revolution he accused Stalin and his followers, who were endeavouring to strengthen Russia, of being traitors to the revolution. In 1939, when the non-aggression treaty with Germany was signed, some mistakenly believed that Stalin proved a traitor to the masses. If we now look back to history, we find that Stalin followed the right path, I urge therefore that it behoves us all to strengthen ourselves particularly at a time when our people and our country are in disorder.

x x x

Address to the Cultivators on 9th May 1948.

x x x

Communists.

But there is one regrettable matter that I must mention. While we are collecting our energies for a supreme effort at our agricultural rehabilitation, the Communists have appealed to arms in an attempt to capture power. This is a grave matter, a wanton attack on the masses and on the cultivators. But let me assure the cultivators that the conflagration started by the Communists will soon be put out.

x x x

Rehabilitation of Frontier Areas. Broadcast Talk  
on 19th May 1948.

x x x

Communists

... An old man had a son, infirm of decision and unstable of mind, and bearing the name of Maung Ludu. A Socialist came to the boy and promised him a jeep, a revolver, and the prospect of being a Mayor. Undeterred by his father's words of caution, the boy signed on as a Socialist. Then came a Communist, abusing the APPFL, and saying that the Government must be knocked out by armed revolt and that when Communism prevails in the country, Maung Ludu would become a Deputy Commissioner. Again paying no heed to his father, the boy signed on as a Communist. Then a Red Flag Communist came, and lured by the prospect of lootings of rice, the boy then became a fallower of the Red Flag.

x x x

The Nature of Leftist Unity.

Speech at the B.A.A. Ground on June 13, 1948.

x x x

Communists

The Communists have made definite charges against us of being under the authority of the British Government in the economic sphere, as well as in the sphere of defence. The Government of Burma are not alone in saying that if we take over the property of foreigners, equitable compensation would be given. Yugoslavia, a country held in high admiration by your Communists, have entered into an agreement with the British Government to pay compensation for foreign property taken over by the State. Let me inform the Communists that after the agreement in principle details are being discussed between the two Governments.

x x x

x x x

Communist

I have to recount these at length because the Communists do not believe what others say and believe only what Stalin says. In connection with this, I recall to mind certain words of the Bogyoke uttered before his demise. When in the course of the second world war, Russia declared war on Japan, a Burmese newspaper stated that Russia would at last obtain her revenge for her defeat by Japan in 1905. The Communists became angry with this view of a war which, they said, Russia was waging as a matter of policy. About two days later Stalin was reported in a speech to have said words to the effect that his country would now be able to revenge herself for the defeat of 1905.

Communist

The Bogyoke then said to the Communist leaders, "You are angry when a journalist made that statement. Now Stalin says the same. What about it, gentlemen?" Then the Communist leaders replied, "We are in an awkward position". This was recounted to me by the Bogyoke.

x x x

Communist

I can only suppose that those who support the PYA Plan do so because they are unaware of the little drama of mediation which was played from March 25 to 2 a.m on March 28. One question remains to be asked of me. "We know now that Communists and the AFPFL like mercury and iron cannot be compounded, and will follow divergent paths both in world affairs and in Burma affairs. Must therefore the Communists



fought?" Let me answer plainly. The Communists are welcome to hold freely and to express freely their views on world affairs and on Burma. They are free to call us traitors, opportunists and tools of capitalism. They are free to propagate their views to the masses.

Communists

Then you will ask, why then are you fighting the Communists? We are not fighting them because they hold views differing from those of the AFPEE, nor are we fighting them because unity cannot be achieved with them, but only because they are attempting to overthrow masses to understand this point.

x x x

Communists

I do hope very much therefore that Communists who have faith in their own beliefs, in their leadership and in the masses will leave the darkness, quit the insurrection and emerge into the light of day. I beg them to do so.

x x x

Communists

If there is only one way for obtaining power in the country, and that is by arms, by all means adhere to your present method. But since power can be obtained by the democratic way, why do you follow the lawless way? I do urge again that the Communists should leave the darkness and come out into the light of day.

x x x

x x x

Leftism

If Leftism prevails, there would be an end to private property. The wealth inside the earth and over the earth would no longer be exploited for private use but for the use of all men and women, and each will work according to his strength and capacity and take from the produce just what he needs. This in essence is what I mean by Leftism.

x x x

Communist

In the propagation of of the writings of Marxist authors, such as Marx hi self, Engels, Lenin, Sralin, Mao Tse Tung, Tito, Dimitrov, the work will~~not~~ be undertaken either by the Government or the AFPFL Headquarters as such, nor is it intended that Marxism should be forced on the whole of the masses. It will be for the Socialists, the Communists, the Pyithu Yebaws and others who favour the Marxist doctrine to engage themselves onthe task of propagating it.

Insurgents can never wrest power.

Broadcast speech on August 23, 1948.

x x x

Communist

.. In the struggle for power, forcible method, if successful, is, I admit, quicker in achieving results than the democratic method. But success is not only uncertain by that method, but profuse shedding of blood is involved. Moreover, once power is seized by means of force, power must be maintained by employing force. The shadow of reprisals will always be a menace to such seizure of power and repressive measures will have to be taken to maintain this power. For these reasons, action by force should be taken only when no method of democracy exists.

x x x

Communist

These Communists have been shouting from house-tops that we were fascists and that we used repressive measures. I want to tell you now that the people in the countries, which they are so keen to emulate, do not enjoy one-twentieth of the democratic rights which the people in Burma are now enjoying. Therefore, I would ask you again not to be taken in by their propaganda.

x x x

(Speech delivered on June 14, 1949)  
Communist

I know that our Communists are not amenable to appeal. They do not understand love. Gun is the only thing they understand. In spite of all that, I would take this opportunity of addressing them on one point,

x x x

Communist

Is it not true that you Communists dislike treating politics as static and believe that Political tactics must change with changing circumstances? I would therefore, request you most earnestly to adapt your tactics to the circumstances and contest the forthcoming General Elections.

x x x

x x x

Peace within One Year

Speech delivered on Martyrs' Day on July 19, 1949.

x x x  
Communist

We need not copy foreign methods to strengthen our national economy. Stalin's method may suit Soviet Russia but it is doubtful if it will suit us. Mao-Tse-Tung's method may work wonders in China but it may not suit the Union of Burma.

Communist

The circumstances of Soviet Russia warrant Stalin's policy of "the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." Mao-Tse-Tung's "New Democracy" in China is based on the actual conditions in that country. In our Union too, we must adopt a Union Democratic policy of our own based on the circumstances in our country.

Communist

But the leftist deviationists in Burma refuse to take the actual circumstances of the country into consideration. During World War II, Communists in colonies blindly accepted the line of action set forth in "Peaceful Development" enunciated by one Browder, an American Communist, and they whole-heartedly sided with the Anglo-Americans. After the war, the Communists declared to the world that Browder's deductions were wrong and they embraced the principle of "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." Not long afterwards when Mao-Tse-Tung announced his "New Democracy" our Communists accepted this creed and since then they have never been tired of shouting slogans like the "New Democractic Front."

x x x

*(Speech delivered on Martyrs' Day on July 19, 1949)*  
Communists

One can find some interesting lessons out of Soviet Russia's endeavours to make herself self-sufficient. After the Russian Revolution, Trotsky wanted to launch an international revolution. Stalin, however, wanted first to consolidate the new regime and make the country self-sufficient. He was quite averse to any idea of "longing for the aunt while ignoring the mother" as the Burmese saying goes. It is needless to say that Stalin won and Trotsky had to flee. History now testifies to the correctness of Stalin's calculation.

Communist

Moreover, Soviet Russia had to make considerable concessions to the Anglo-Americans to get reciprocal help in her economic rehabilitation. Though our Communists are ignorant of the dictum "Nothing will come of nothing," Soviet Communists know this fully well.

x x x

Communist

Now in Burma, the leftist deviationists, instead of devoting their attention towards economic self-sufficiency are crying for "distant aunts while ignoring the mother." Whenever I think of them I am reminded of the game of chess. The kings, bishops and castles on the chess board cannot move of their own accord. They must be moved by the player who manoeuvres for position sacrificing his pawns. So-called Communists of Burma who are indeed leftist deviationists are assuming to themselves the roles of pawns in the political game of chess. They move at the dictates of their "distant aunts" and they sacrifice themselves if the latter so desire,



x x x

Communist

One can profess Communism if one is genuinely convinced of it. It is not our intention to suppress the very elementary human right - freedom of belief, but I cannot encourage anybody who plays second fiddle to another without knowing what he is playing. I detest such nit-wits who will even go to the extent of killing one's mother to enrich the aunt.

x x x

(Delivered in Parliament on the 14th June 1949).

THE 14th JUNE 1949.

COMMUNISM.

I know that our Communists are not amenable to appeal. They do not understand love. Gun is the only thing they understand. In spite of all that, I would take this opportunity of addressing them on one point.

In the present circumstances, it will be futile for any single party to attempt to wrest political power by forcible means. Though the democratic method is slow in fulfilment, under the present circumstances in the Union, it will bear speedier results than the method of force.

Is it not true that you Communists dislike treating politics as static and believe that Political tactics must change with changing circumstances? I would, therefore, request you most earnestly to adapt your tactics to the circumstances and contest the forthcoming General Elections.

(Speech delivered in Parliament on 5th September 1950).

### COMMUNISM

On 25th June Communist troops from North Korea advanced into the territory of the Korean Republic. The Security Council called for the immediate cessation of hostilities; the communist troops were asked to go back to the 38th Parallel. It was not heeded. On June 26th the United Nations Commission in Korea reported that the resolution of the Security Council was not being heeded by the North Koreans and that hostilities continued. On 27th, the Security Council resolved on a declaration by the United Nations calling on all members to go to the assistance of the victim of aggression, South Korea. Thus the United Nations entered the fight against aggression.

He said that Ceylon's admission deserved more consideration than that of New China where two separate Governments still contest each other for authority. Yet through Russia's dissent, Ceylon was not admitted into the UNO. With regard to China, Thakin Nu added it was very pathetic at this juncture to realise that Burma's seat in the UNO was gained through the recommendations of the Kuomintang delegation.

(Speech delivered in Parliament on 3rd October 1950).

### COMMUNISM

Worse than that some even go to the extent of declaring that Lord Buddha was a lesser man than Karl Marx. It will be one of the functions of this Buddhist organisation to combat such challenges in the intellectual field. Any doubt regarding the existence of omniscience must be promptly dispelled. We must be able to explain what omniscience really is, if any Marxist comes out with the statement that Karl Marx was a very wise man, it is not our concern to question it. But if he encroaches on our sphere and ridicules Lord Buddha whom we all adore and revere and if he has the effrontery to say that Marx was wiser than Lord Buddha, it is up to us to retaliate. It will be our duty to retort in no uncertain terms that the wisdom or knowledge that might be attributed to Karl Marx is less than one-tenth of a particle of dust that lies at the feet of our great Lord Buddha. The contrast is so marked.

(National Day Message on 4th December 1950.)

### COMMUNISM.

For instance, what is the nature of Soviet Russia's relation with her immediate neighbours--Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, etc.? Why did Marshal Tito, an ardent Communist, become the bitter enemy of Soviet Russia? Why did Soviet Russia have to shut out the world from her and her satellites with an iron curtain?

(Speech delivered at the Union Youth Rally on  
8th January 1951.)

### COMMUNISM

These events had their repurcussion even to communist in Burma. Although Burmese Communists had all along decried Burmese Kings and all things connected with Burmese royalty, they suddenly turned turtle and landed the achievements of Burmese Kings like Bayin-naung, Alaungpaya and Anawrata. The explanation is that Soviet Russia at the times was launching an intense nationalist drive to pep up the morale of its fighting forces by excavating the wonderful exploits of the Russian Czars whom they had conveniently buried before war came to Russia.

Burmese communists went even farther than this. In direct contrast to their avowed policy, they declared that Freedom could be won without the necessity of rising up in arms against the British.

If it can be alleged that one country becomes a stooge of another if the former accepts aid from the latter, can it not be said Lenin was a stooge of capitalist countries because during the first period of Soviet history Lenin asked for and obtained the aid of the capitalists? Can Soviet Russia be classified as *reactionary* because it joined in 1934 the League *which it has repeatedly broken* of reactionary countries? Can Stalin be called a fascist because in 1939 he entered into a pact with fascist Hitler and rendered him considerable economic assistance? Just prior to Hitler's attack on Russia, the latter attacked Finland. For that will you call Soviet Russia an imperialist country?

Our communists are always ready to justify whatever Lenin or Stalin did. Without any asking from the other end they get busy explaining from the press and platform why Lenin did this and Stalin did that. But when it comes to our actions, these communists lose no time in accusing us blindly as stooges of imperialists, deviatinnists or reactionaries.



A juggler may be able to transform a mango seed into a plant in two minutes but no political leader is capable of transforming a country overnight. Look at Russia. Communists came into power in 1917, after four years it was realized that many schemes could not be put into operation. Socialist scheme was shelved for the time being and the " New Economic Policy " which permitted a degree of capitalist activities came into being. The First Five-Years Plan was tried only in 1928, eleven years after seizure of power. For about 15 or 16 years from the Soviet Revolution to the end of the First Five-Year Plan, Russia experienced a series of unhappy episodes: famine due to hitches between the Soviet Government against recalcitrant farmers, attempts to sabotage the Five-Year scheme by outside technicians in collaboration with the enemies of the Soviet, poor results achieved due to inefficiency of some Communists in spite of their zeal and slow progress in the implementation of the schemes excellent though they are, due to absence of understanding between the Government and a section of the people. In fact the First Five-Year Plan did not provide for any measure for the amelioration of the people; it was primarily concerned with strengthening the defences of Soviet Russia. Therefore, after 14 or 15 years of Soviet rule, millions of Russian people were half-fed, ill-clad and poorly accommodated.

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(Speech delivered in Parliament on 8th March 1951.)

#### COMMUNISM.

Sir, some Hon'ble members tell us their anxiety over Sino-Burma relations. Some are afraid that China will attack our Union on account of the false and malicious propaganda spread by certain political rogues to the effect that we are rebuilding Rangoon port and Mingaladon airfield just to accommodate Anglo-American military craft. We are also aware that ~~xxx~~ some Hon'ble members have a fright over the news of the presence of Chinese soldiers with the Communist insurgents. On investigation the news is found to be completely baseless. Whatever Chinese personnel the underground Communists have are not Red Chinese soldiers but some Chinese chowchow sellers from our country whom our communists have collected and dressed in uniform, to deceive Communists rank and file whose morale is declining. There are still others who are uneasy at one map produced by Communist Chinese Government because the Sino-Burma frontier shown in the map encroached a great deal into our territory.

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(Speech delivered at Resistance Day. Mass Rally on 27th March 1951).

No sooner however did it appear that the AFPFL was going to be in power than movements within the AFPFL for position, rewards etc., began to appear. I think you will remember what efforts the Communists made at that time to put the AFPFL in their pocket

At least you will remember how they demanded ~~two~~ portfolios in the Cabinet. And you'll remember how because of these manoeuvres, Communists were expelled from AFPFL.

There were many such disgruntled among those who walked out of the AFPFL. Yes, I want to speak out briefly and plainly about these defectionists. We differ on these points: the defectionists believe in dictatorship; we believe in democracy. They brook no opposition and would set up one party rule, supreme in the country; we would rather have free opposition putting the Government on its mettle for the good of the country. They regarded Religion as the opium of the people and therefore would suppress it as much as possible; we regard Religion as the preserver of Man's Morality, and therefore would ensure freedom of worship. They believe in the Government of the people by the sword, we believe in the Government of the people by the people for the people. In fact although they may shout with brazen faces such slogans as "Democratic rights", the moment they get power they would rule the masses with the iron hand of the Kampei Tai.



(Speech delivered at Resistance Day. Mass Rally on  
27th March 1951.)

DICTATOR.

In a dictatorship country there is only one part, rule, all opposition being ruthlessly suppressed. Criticism of the Government is capital offence. Leave alone open criticism, you may not even whisper a word between four or five friends against the powers that be, because among the four or five friends one may be a spy.

Spies, spies, all over the country. One indiscreet word in their hearing and you disappear, must disappear, over night. So-called elections are held in dictatorship countries, but only to hoodwink the masses. You may not vote freely for the candidates you choose. The candidates are chosen for you by the party and you are allowed to vote for only one out of those candidates already chosen and listed for you by the party. And newspapers: So far from having a free press, no newspapers are allowed to exist in dictatorship countries other than two or three which are the subservient echoes of the party's policy. Information is what the party feeds the masses. No booh but what the party approves. No radio but what the party permits. Foreign contacts are cut off by the iron curtain. In a country like that if you are caught chatting amicably with an uncredited foreigner, off you go to transportation, or disappear.

EXTRACT FROM " BURMA'S GOAL.

(Speech delivered on August 24, 1953 at Annual Conference of Commanding Officers held at War Office, Rangoon.)

"MATERIALS ABOUT COMMUNISM".

The dictator state is different. Its existence depends on the ruthless suppression of the opposition. In the event of the opposition coming to power resulting in the downfall of the Government, ~~there is~~ <sup>there is</sup> no chance for the fallen government to return to power. Total extinction is the inevitable result. Realizing this, a dictator government throws all caution to the winds in all activities. Arrests and executions are not guided by judicial or humanitarian considerations. A dictator's maxim is "It is more desirable to kill by mistake one hundred innocent people than leaving a guilty one at large." Therefore, a dictator is rash in arrests, rash in tortures and rash in executions.

A dictator state ~~is different. Those who aspire for political power have no need to~~ <sup>require the good-will of the people. As soon as a dictator falls, then aspirants gather force and the strongest of them becomes a new dictator. Once in power, the new dictator suppresses all rivals ruthlessly and does not take any chances. Elimination of all prospective contenders for power is his line of action.</sup>

A democratic state remains unruffled in the event of the change of government. A dictator state is not so. Power is concentrated in the hands of the dictator and his death causes chaos and disorder. At the best there is a semblance of order during the regime of his successor at whose death the whole structure collapses.

A dictator state is not so. However wicked and inefficient a dictator and his colleagues may be they will remain on top so long as they have armed strength behind them.

A dictator state is different. The people cannot criticise the government. To criticise is to commit an unpardonable crime. No opposition parties can be formed. To organise opposition is one of the greatest crimes that can ever be committed by the people. Freedom of worship is non-existent. The creed enunciated by the top few must be regarded as religion. Freedom of religious worship is one of the greatest crimes that can be committed by the people.

Dictatorship whether in the form of monarchy, fascism, nazism or proletarian dictatorship, by whatever name it is called and by whatever colour it is painted, is all the same. Sovereign power resides in the hands of the top few sharpers who wield actual power; it does not reside in the down-trodden masses.

We would also by no means tolerate dictatorship in any form which ruthlessly suppresses the people like mere cattle whether that dictatorship is Fascist, Nazi or proletarian.

EXTRACT FROM "ADVICE TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS."

(Speech delivered on December 2, 1953 at Annual Convocation of University of Rangoon.)

"MATERIALS ABOUT COMMUNISM."

At the beginning of the third stage (1927-35), as a restatement of the policy of World Revolution which had been the cry formerly, the Communist International passed the resolution to strive until World Revolution is realized and achieved. But this resolution was an empty boast, making a great deal of noise with no shot, just like a festival gun. It was a resolution which was passed merely to provide a pleasant thrill to the Communists all over the world and the subject peoples in the colonies.

Through the whole of this third stage, although on the one hand there was a resolution for the successful realization of World Revolution, on the other hand, we find the Soviets avoiding any conflict with Capitalist governments. In this third stage, there was a very curious measure of the Soviets. This was in connection with the Social Democrats. The Soviets believe in Dictatorship. The Social Democrats believe in Democracy. In the words of Stalin, the Social Democrats were Number One enemy of Communism. Therefore when there was a movement in Germany to create a Leftist Front of German Communists and German Social Democrats to fight against Hitler, the Stalinites strongly criticized it as a deviationist movement. The Front was destroyed. The result was the Nazis came into power and the German Communist Party in strength, was next to the Russian Communist Party in strength, was utterly crushed by Hitler. Then, the Hitler menace grew day by day and came to threaten Soviet Russia. It was only then that the Soviets changed their policy, as an admission of the mistakes they had made.

That was not all. Then, Soviet Russia which had been most vocal about the freedom from imperialist occupation, during the war became an imperialist power itself by occupying the small states of Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania. She was also guilty of aggression against Finland, when she annexed a part of Finland's territory.

From 1947 to the present time, Russia is in her seventh stage of her history since the Soviets came into power. In this stage, the defeated countries, Germany, Italy, and Japan, lost their position as first class powers. Britain, the United States and France were also exhausted due to the war. The Russian leaders saw that it was a good opportunity for Soviet Russia. Thus, the Communist International, which had been abolished in the previous stage, was now revived again under a new name, that of Cominform.

MARTYRS' DAY THE 19th JULY 1954.

COMMUNISM.

Then, let me tell you how we also see the Peoples' Republic of China. To start with, this viewpoint is different from that of most of those who are anti-communists. As we do not like communism, we do not want to see the spread of this creed into our territories. We have, therefore, been doing our best to prevent such a contingency here. But, it is far from our intention to meddle in their affairs. They have chosen communism in order to suit their own circumstances.

In fact we had never in our lifetime seen a United China. The unity of the Chinese people under Chairman Mao Tse Tung gratifies us as Asians.

In the past we had witnessed China, with over 500 million people, bent low under a handful of foreigners. Things have changed under Mao. His China has earned the respect of any foreigners, and as Asians we take pride in this new phenomenon. In the past the great country of China was plagued with bribery and corruption from top to bottom. Under Mao such practices vanish like the "snows of yester year". As Asians we applaud this new moral climate. In the past in China, only a handful of upper strata could roll in wealth and luxury while the down-trodden teeming millions were in dire straits. Now things have changed. China's new leaders at great sacrifice to themselves, are building a new world for the masses. As Asians we are delighted at the great strides made there.

In any country which fulfills the four requirements I have outlined above, there can be no opportunity for either communists, imperialists, capitalists, reactionaries or fifth columnists to create trouble. In such countries the slogans like ~~(1)~~ (1) Give us Freedom, (2) Lands to the tillers, (3) Factories to the Workers and (4) Down with traitors and stooges will be just huge jokes. In such countries, no outside subversive agencies will be able to take firm roots.



Without caring to give effect to these four factors, if one shouts to "crush communist aggression," then this slogan too will be a huge joke in South East Asia.

If my advice is unheeded and if war is launched with the backing of atomic bombs, then it is certain that only American blood will have to be shed in profusion, because no people of those South East Asian countries, which are wanting in four fundamental factors, will have the strength to co-operate effectively. Their participation can even be a liability instead of an asset. Where two divisions are sufficient without them, I guess four division shall have to be deployed with them in order to give them protection from the enemy.

The battle is half lost before the start if those countries without these four factors are allowed to participate. As soon as war is declared, the peoples in such countries are bound to be spilt up roughly into four groups. They are: (1) the people at the top and a handful of their henchmen; (2) those who want to pull them down; (3) the indifferent and apathetic masses; and (4) those who want independence. How then can that country face the enemy with a united front? In-stead of being used against the enemy, the bomber planes will have to be fully occupied with transporting the people at the top to places of safety. In the circumstances, it seems to me that the war will certainly defeat the purposes for which it is fought.

Hydrogen and atomic bombs will have one result, If these weapons are resorted to, of course countries will be laid waste. Out of the ashes will grow the inevitable hatred against Anglo-Americans who wield the terrible weapon, and out of these ashes will grow communism which thrives on destruction and poverty.

Therefore, a South East Asian today requests that his voice be heard by those who are principally concerned, so that a world wide conflagration does not break out.

I pray that the United States of America and the Peoples' Republic of China may be able to work jointly and with understanding for world peace and progress.

Broadcast talk on 3rd April 1948

x            x            x

Democracy

Section 4 of Chapter 1, dealing with the form of the State in the Constitution of our Union is clear enough on the point. It says clearly that all powers legislative, executive and judicial, are derived from the people. It follows that those who are entrusted with the responsibility by the people have to form a Government, those who are not so entrusted have to make way. Nothing can be clearer. At the present day, any Government in Burma can be displaced by this democratic method. Whoever seeks to hold power as a Government can obtain it only by this method of democracy.

x            x            x



(Broadcast talk Democracy  
on 3rd April 1948)

Let those who favour the seeking of power by the method of democracy enter the circle of democracy. Do not hang about hesitant and uncertain. By being so, you may lose the confidence of both sides, and you will be injuring the cause of your country. For myself, I have already chosen the circle of democracy, and in it I shall stand hand in hand with others who have chosen the same side, and together we shall exert our utmost efforts to protect this great Union of Burma from the dangerous threat of those who seek violence.

X X X

(Approved text for the 1948-49 session)

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those who seek violence.

x x x

Funeral Oration on 12th April 1948.

x x x

Democracy

The Third Pillar is the Pillar of New Democracy, meaning a just Democracy. To be able to relinquish one's own welfare and one's own life in favour of an intense love for the welfare of one's own country and one's people is not the attribute of ordinary persons, and the same applies to a sense of justice between persons. Entrusted with the people's power to rule over all the people in absolute discretion, our leaders ruthlessly destroyed injustice, and basing their acts on the principles of social justice, they built for us this Pillar of Democracy in accordance with the wishes of the people and at the price of their lives, a price which leaves us disconsolate. This is no ordinary feat. In this country as elsewhere political leaders are mostly apt to talk of social justice before they are in power, and to forget it when they are in power and use their power to benefit themselves or their relatives of their won groups. This is of almost daily occurrence in history. Therefore it heboves the masses to revere and preserve this rare and beautiful Pillar of a new and just Democracy.

x x x

Burmese New Year Message, Delivered on 16th April 1948.

x x x

Democracy

With similar motives, the far-sighted President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, put up a stiff resistance against the demand of the Southern States for secession at the risk of war.

x x x

A word to our Defence Forces.

Address at the formal opening of the War Office on the  
17th May 1948.

x x x

Democracy

On the principles of democracy, all executive, legislative and judicial powers in a country flow from the people themselves. As these powers cannot, however, be exercised by every citizen, the citizens elect representatives by the vote of the majority to exercise powers. These

representatives of the people become members of the legislature and enact the laws of the country, and the political party which has the greatest support in the legislature select the Cabinet or Council of Ministers, and this Cabinet or Council administers the country. This, in brief, is government on the principles of democracy.

We know from the evidence of history that a democratic constitution, by which the administration of a country is carried on under powers derived from the people not only gives maximum happiness and prosperity to the people, but is also, among constitutions so far known to the world, the most stable and lasting.

x x x

Democracy  
(Speech at the B.A.R. grounds on June 13, 1948)

Burma having been established as a democratic country,  
those who favour anti-Marxist doctrines will have full  
freedom to propagate their views in the same way as the  
followers of Marxism will be free to propagate their own views.

x x x



Soldiers' other duties

Address to members of the Auxiliary Forces on  
17th October 1948.

x   x   x  
Democracy

The third responsibility of yours is to inspire the whole Union with the spirit of reverence for the Constitution which has been framed on democratic lines. And there is provision for the amendment of the Constitution either by way of variation, addition or repeal by democratic methods if such a course is desired. Whether the amendment is towards the Right or the Left, Red or White, it can be done by democratic methods, but so long as the Constitution remains as it is, its principles must be respected.

Democracy  
(speech delivered in Parliament on June 14, 1949)  
x x x

I wish to take this opportunity, therefore, of explaining to the House, with your permission, Sir, that we have been persistently advocating adherence to the democratic method not in slavish imitation of slogans but because the lesson of history and our national circumstances demand that we have faith in the people and follow the path of democracy.

x x x

Democracy

From the floor of this House I wish to place on record, on behalf of those who believe in democracy, my profound sense of gratitude to some of the newspapers, the people and the armed forces who stood solid as rock in defence of democracy, and who do not shake like an aspen leaf which sways with the wind.

x x x

Democracy

I also wish to place on record my heartfelt gratitude to the democratic countries, Ceylon, India, Pakistan and United Kingdom who in our hour of need, have gathered together to render us moral and material help, in defence of democracy and for the speedy restoration of peace in our country.

x x x

(Speech delivered at the Divisional Conference held in Rangoon, Moulmein and Mandalay in October and November 1950).

DEMOCRACY.

I have been shouting "Democracy" hoarse because the circumstances of our Union demand it. My shouts are in no way blindly prompted by similar shouts across the frontiers. I would urge upon you to bear these important backgrounds in mind.

(Translation of the Hon'ble Prime Minister's Concluding Speech delivered at the Divisional Conferences held on Wednesday the 15th November 1950, at Mandalay.)

DEMOCRACY.

This applies equally to the Government servants. The spirit of Democracy has been responsible for saving our Union from utter chaos and to keep this spirit alive the primary requisite is the presence of an unwavering and firm civil service.

Politicians must come and politicians must go, but Government servants go on for ever in the administrative machinery. For this very fact I say that Government servants are the most important factor for the successful working of Democracy.

(Speech delivered at the Union Youth Rally on 8th January 1951.)

DEMOCRACY.

As this country cherishes Democracy, it is easy for them to pursue their nefarious acts unhampered. If they indulge in similar activities in the land of their political fathers, they would either be in prison or out of this world. But as we are believers in Democracy no rigid measures are taken against such activities. So long as the Law is not transgressed they get our forbearance.

(Speech delivered in Parliament on 8th March 1951.)

DEMOCRACY.

Before I come to the end of this third point, Sir, permit me to reply to the allegation often levelled against the Union Government by almost all political opponents that Democracy is non-existent under our regime. We hear them shouting hoarse from the house tops. I hope the Hon'ble members will agree with me that no reply to this allegation is called for. The very facts that political opposition exists and that it enjoys, the right to rank against the Government are clear testimony to the presence of Democracy under our regime. In those countries where true Democracy does not exist and where only a semblance of Democracy exists, political opposition has no chance to rear its head and nobody will be permitted to shout, "Democracy does not exist!"

Let me assure you, Sir, that we are firm believers in Democracy. We believe that the peoples in the Union and the Religions they profess will progress only when Democracy is firmly established in the Union. We also believe that elections are the life-blood of Democracy. Therefore, it is the fervent desire of the Union Government to hold General Elections as soon as the situation in the country warrants them.

(Broadcast appeal on the 11th June 1951 on the eve of General Elections.)

So long as these three fundamental principles are observed by the voters, the democratic way of life by which political power is sought from the people by the legitimate method of elections will be increasingly strengthened in our Union

If however, the voters do not exercise their right to vote through sheer indifference, or if the voters indulge in mudslinging against one another, or if the voters resort to dishonest means in the discharge of their political obligation resulting in the peoples' distrust in elections, then the democratic way of life will vanish from our country.

Once Democracy vanished from our midst, what do you think will appear in its place? The substitute will be no other than the cult of the gun.

Therefore, it is up to every one of us who genuinely desires our Union's stability to eradicate this cult of the gun, leek, stock and barrel. It is up to every one of us to uphold the principles of democracy and make this election an unqualified success.

Therefore, if you sincerely want to see Democracy firmly established in our soil,--

- (1) Please ~~for~~ regard your right to vote as your greatest duty to perform,
- (2) Please forbear if your opponent abuses you or excites your anger in any other way, and,
- (3) Please see that the elections are held in the cleanest and the fairest possible manner,



(Speech delivered on the occasion of All-Burma Teachers' Conference on 14th May 1952).

14th MAY 1952.

### DEMOCRACY.

It is not enough to provide for democracy in the country through legislative acts and other administrative procedures. It is not enough just to make constitutional provisions for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, or for the holding of frequent and periodical elections to ensure that all power is derived from the people. For these are only the appendages of democracy. The fundamentals of democracy can exist only in the hearts and basic thinking of the citizens of the country. So, no matter how well you provide for the appendages or limbs of a tree, these limbs will just dry up if the main trunk of the tree is weak. Similarly, no matter how much constitutional and legislative provisions are made towards democracy, they will be of no avail if the citizens themselves do not fully appreciate the principles of democracy.

The seeds of democracy must be firmly planted in the country and it becomes imperative then to plant these seeds early--as early as the age level of school-children. It is extremely difficult to change the attitudes of adults and we shall have to devote our energies more towards those young people so as to bring them up fully acquainted with the concepts of democracy.

Only when people in this country are replete with the above qualifications can we assert that democracy is well established in the country. And I am sure you will agree with me that to ensure that all citizens in this country be thus qualified, the most effective and possible solution would be to provide for the inculcation of the principles of democracy right from the school age.

Formerly, the duties and responsibilities of the teachers were confined to the educational, intellectual, moral and physical aspects of the students. But now these duties must be increased two-fold. Teachers must also train students to become good citizens of the Union of Burma so that they will maintain the practice of democracy in the country. Then, and only then, can an educator be described as having fulfilled his task satisfactorily.

The AFPFL believes in democracy which enables the masses to elect the government of their choice. It believes in that democracy which enables the masses to urge upon the Government to employ all its ability to secure whatever they desire. It believes in that democracy will allow freedom for public criticism on any shortcomings of the Government. It believes in that democracy of the people to unseat any government they do not like after every four or five years.



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. . . . .

### DEMOCRACY

( Speech delivered on the opening day of the Union Welfare Conference on 4th August, 1952.)

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(Delivered at the Annual Conference of Commanding Officers)  
On 24th August 1953.

24th AUGUST 1953.

### DEMOCRACY.

There are two ways of achieving that sovereign power. One is the democratic way and the other is the way of a dictator. The democratic way is no other than the request from the people of sovereign political power by means of free and fair elections. The way of a dictator is not through a process of free and fair elections, but through sheer exercise of force to wrest sovereign political power. In the democratic process, sovereignty resides in the people. In a dictator state, sovereignty resides in a handful of upper hierarchy which wields political power by force.

In a democratic state, the people are at liberty to elect the government of their choice whom they consider to be capable of building a Pyidawtha. As soon as this government is found to be wanting then the people are at liberty to unseat it. In a dictator state things are different. The all-powerful ruling hierarchy get political power not by public consent but through sheer force, and therefore, the people cannot unseat them whether they are found to be desirable or not.

In a democratic state the government needs public support and esteem for its retention; in a dictator state the ruling class needs a strong hand to retain power.

In a democratic state, since public support and confidence are essential to keep a government in power, it dare not suppress the people, nor flout public opinion, nor do any injustice. It has to adopt the method of discussion to retain the people's confidence. It must always strive to implement the people's will as far as possible. The dictator's way is different. Since public support is not essential for the maintenance of its power, it need not court public favour; it has no compunction to treat the people as just a herd of cattle and it need not care to gauge public opinion by way of discussion or enquiry.

The democratic state, realising that its existence depends on the support and confidence of the people and that the absence of that support and confidence means its collapse, adopts a cautious attitude in all its actions. It does not take risks by indiscriminate arrests or rash executions. However courageous a democratic government may be, it is invariably guided by considerations such as, "If we are rash in our actions against the opposition, then the opposition will be equally rash against us if it comes to power". Therefore, in a democratic state there can be no rash actions against the people, no indiscriminate arrests and executions. The dictator state is different. Its existence depends on the ruthless suppression of the opposition. In the event of the opposition coming to power resulting in the downfall of the government, then there is no chance for the fallen government to return to power. Total extinction is the inevitable result. Realising this, a dictator government throws all caution to the winds in all activities. Arrests and executions are not guided by judicial or humanitarian considerations. A dictator's maxim is "It is more desirable to kill by mistake one hundred innocent people than leaving a guilty one at large". Therefore, a dictator is rash in arrests, rash in tortures and rash in executions.



The structure of a democratic state depends not on one single individual but on the whole populace. Therefore, when the head of the government dies or falls from power, the state is not disrupted. There can be no forcible scramble for power since power is bestowed by the people and not by show of armed might. Therefore, in a democratic state indiscriminate arrests and executions are not warranted in the wake of the leader's fall. When a particular set of leaders go, the people just elect a new set of leaders whom they trust. A dictator state is different. Those who aspire for political power have no need to acquire the good-will of the people. Arms are their only source of strength. As soon as a dictator falls, then aspirants gather force and the strongest of them becomes a new dictator. Once in power, the new dictator suppresses all rivals ruthlessly and does not take any chances. Elimination of all prospective contenders for power is his line of action.

A democratic state remains unruffled in the event of the change of government. A dictator state is not so. Power is concentrated in the hands of the dictator and his death causes chaos and disorder. At best there is a semblance of law and order during the regime of his successor at whose death the whole structure collapses.

In a democratic state since the government is elected by the people there is chance for only the fittest to go to the top. If by mistake the wrong set of people are elected, they cannot remain in power for long. Their evil deeds and their inefficiency are revealed and at the next general election they drop miserably through the sieves of the people. A dictator state is not so. However wicked and inefficient a dictator and his colleagues may be they will remain on top so long as they have armed strength behind them.

In a democratic state the people are free to criticise the government they have elected. The right to criticise is one of the most precious rights of the people. Opposition parties can be formed and the right to form opposition parties is one of the most precious rights of the people. Everybody has freedom of religion. This freedom is one of the most precious rights of the people.

In a democracy, power is not entrusted entirely with anybody. A machinery is set up to check and countercheck. The power of the government is held in check by Parliament. The Parliament in turn is watched and moulded by the people. On account of this process of checks and counterchecks, neither the government nor the Parliament is likely to throw all discretion to the winds. This is the virtue of democracy.

EXTRACT FROM "ERADICATION OF TERMITES."

(Talk delivered to Officers of the BSI on October 17, 1953).

"DEMOCRACY."

We should always remember that since ours is a Democracy, sovereignty is derived from the people. Once this basic fact is lost sight of, then the relations between the government servants and the people cannot be correct.

Now, you have been entrusted with the vast powers. If you are lacking in self-control, these powers can certainly intoxicate you. To prevent this, you should always bear in mind the fact that our Union is not run on the lines of monarchy, imperialism or dictatorship but on democratic lines.

Under the democratic system of government the Prime Minister and his colleagues in the Cabinet are public servants No. 1. All other government employees down to ten-house-gaungs are public servants in several grades. In a Democratic State the Government is not to rule the people but to serve them.

EXTRACT FROM "THE ROLE OF THE UNION YOUTH LEAGUE."

(Speech delivered on November 29, 1953, at Terminal Ceremony of Union Youth Organizers).

Therefore, as those who believe in Democracy, we will never accept the idea of pocket organizations which are but concomitants of Dictatorship. I want you to bear this well in mind. Any political party, be it AFPFL or any other, will form the Government if it gets popular support and will fall if that support is withdrawn.

There is another equally important duty to perform. This is no other than your sacred duty to uphold and defend Democracy as best as you can.

As you all know, Democracy, unlike Dictatorship, respects fundamental human rights, and Democracy sees that everybody enjoys these rights to the full. Taking advantage of these rights permitted by Democracy, political bandits indulge in evil acts which may even lead to the end of Democracy.



EXTRACT FROM "OUR GOAL AND OUR INTERIM PROGRAMME."

(Address at National Day Mass Rally on December 1, 1953.)

"DEMOCRACY".

Democracy is our most treasured possession. Hatred of oppression and love of liberty being a human passion man has always endeavoured to free himself from all forms, of repression. On achieving liberty he has attempted to safeguard it by many means. In his struggles, man has ultimately discovered that the best safeguard against repression and slavery is a system of Government where the rulers derive power from the people and not vice versa. This is the system known as Democracy.

When a Government on its part finds itself exercising the powers and responsibilities entrusted to it without criticism or opposition from the people, its morale declines and it will ultimately betray its trust. When such betrayal takes place, democracy itself comes to an end.

Human history also shows that at times the people themselves have betrayed the trust, and this is of even greater significance. Such betrayal stems from a lack of understanding of the fundamentals of democracy. It occurs when people begin to think that democracy implies the right to do as one whils wills and without any restraint. When such beliefs creep in and the people forget their own responsibilities, democracy degenerates into mob-rule.

Government has taken full cognizance of these dangers facing our democratic system. As a first step towards safeguarding the Union of Burma against such dangers, we have introduced the Democratic Administration Act and are now in the process of implementing it. This act can be of great assistance in stabilizing democracy. Under this Act, power must be delegated right down to the village, By such delegation:-

- (a) people throughout the Union will be obliged to assume responsibility for administering their own affairs;
- (b) with the shouldering of such responsibility, the people themselves will become a fortress against the misuse of power either by Government or by the power-crazy individuals;
- (c) all the problems of the ludu will be solved more expeditiously and more satisfactorily than if the solution were to depend on the pressing of a button at the centre; and
- (d) the exercise of democratic rights and responsibilities in every village unit will lead to the creation of large numbers of people with a firm belief in democracy and with experience and knowledge of the responsibilities of democracy.

While implementing the above measures, in order to prevent the power-crazy individuals from destroying democracy by taking advantage of democratic rights, we must

- (a) make the words: "Defend Democracy at all Cost" ring in the ears of the people at all times;
- (b) watch closely every movement of the power-crazy individuals;
- (c) take action commensurate with its severity against all criminal attempt to destroy our form of democracy; and
- (d) ensure that the love of one's own country and a passion for democracy infiltrates into every corner of the country.

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION  
OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INSEIN DISTRICT COUNCIL  
AND THE TRANSFER OF POWER UNDER THE DEMOCRATIC LOCAL  
ADMINISTRATION ACT AT INSEIN ON APRIL 8, 1955.

" According to our constitution, the Union of Burma must be governed along democratic principles. For this, there are two primary requisites:

1. The state must enjoy full sovereignty.
2. Sovereignty must be vested in the hands of all the people and not in the hands of one or of a group.

As soon as Burma became independent, she attained sovereign powers. It may be said that sovereignty is vested in the hands of the Burmese people because the Government has to act on behalf of the Parliament which is elected by the people. But our democracy is limited because the people have entrusted their authority only to the members of Parliament. The Parliament, in turn, forms the Government which appoints officials who administer the country. Thus, the democracy we have today operates only in the upper strata. Down below, we still have with us a bureaucratic administration which is the legacy of foreign rule, Therefore, in the administrative set-up, the mere formation of a central government on democratic principles is not enough. We must broaden its base and let all share in running the Government.

The Central Government, in fact, is remote from the people; it cannot keep an eye constantly on their complex affairs. It is more effective, more expeditious and more fitting for the village representatives to solve their own problems than the remote Government in Rangoon. In other words, the Central Government should concern itself with matters which affect the entire country like foreign relations, national economy and other administrative matters which concern the entire country.

The affairs of the locality should be dealt with by the people's representatives elected from the locality. Only when a local administration is set up along these democratic principles then the administration can be said to be fully democratic.

With these aims the Democratic Local Administration Bill is now submitted to the Parliament. The basic idea behind this bill is that every citizen will have a hand in the administration of all matters which directly affect him. An administration with the Central Government holding all reins is a bureaucratic administration. In order to set up a democratic one, the village tract, the township and the district must be administered by the people who live there. And the people must have a real effective voice in local administration. This system, I am sure, will be accepted by all who believe in democracy.

X X X

## Democracy versus the gun

Speech delivered in Parliament on June 14, 1949.

X X X

X X X

### America

In the United States of America, unity was in evidence while the revolutionary war against the British was on. But once the revolution was over, unity was absent among the different States. Under the Articles of Confederation 1777-1789, the Union which existed among them was hardly worthy of the name; Washington spoke of it as a "rope of sand." Quarrelling was common and there was great danger that the States would fall apart entirely,

America

Moreover there was inflation and economic distress, and in 1786 agrarian distress led to Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts. Although the rebellion was crushed, the disorders led some to turn in despair to monarchy, and the President of Congress even sounded Prince Henry of Prussia whether he would accept the American throne.

America

Out of these troubles arose a desire for a stronger Union and at last a Convention was called to see what could be done, but the prospect seemed dark. The delegates from the different States could not agree and some of them went home in disgust. But at last the Federal Constitution was adopted in 1789. Five years after the adoption of the Constitution, Whisky Rebellion broke out when the militia of the States were called out to put down an insurrection, started by objectors to a tax on alcoholic liquors. After this Rebellion, in 1832, the legislature of South Carolina passed the famous "Ordinance of Nullification." This Ordinance in effect set the doctrine that any law passed by Congress might be declared null and void by any State that considered the law to be contrary to the Constitution of that particular State.

America.

From these events, it is obvious that it took a long time for the United States to achieve stability which was totally absent in the early stages of its Independence. The problems of reconciling unity with localism was ultimately solved only after the greatest Civil War between the North and the South. The Civil War lasted from 1860 to 1865 and there were over seven hundred thousand killed.







(Delivered in Parliament on)

THE 14th JUNE 1949.

MATERIALS ABOUT AMERICA.

In the United States of America, unity was in evidence while the revolutionary war against the British was on. But once the revolution was over, unity was absent among the different States. Under the Articles of Confederation 1777-1789, the Union which existed among them was hardly worthy of the name; Washington spoke of it as a "rope of sand". Quarrelling was common and there was great danger that the States would fall apart entirely.

Moreover there was inflation and economic distress, and in 1786 agrarian distress led to Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts. Although the rebellion was crushed, the disorders led some to turn in despair to monarchy, and the President of Congress even sounded Prince Henry of Prussia whether he would accept the American throne.

Out of these troubles arose a desire for a stronger Union and at last a Convention was called to see what could be done, but the prospect seemed dark. The delegates from the different States could not agree and some of them went home in disgust. But at last the Federal Constitution was adopted in 1789. Five years after the adoption of the Constitution, Whisky Rebellion broke out when the militia of the States were called out to put down an insurrection, started by objectors to a tax on alcoholic liquors. After this Rebellion in 1832, the legislature of South Carolina passed the famous "Ordinance of Nullification". This Ordinance in effect set the doctrine that any law passed by Congress might be declared null and void by any State that considered the law to be contrary to the Constitution of that particular State.

From these events, it is obvious that it took a long time for the United States to achieve stability which was totally absent in the early stages of its Independence. The problems of reconciling unity with localism was ultimately solved only after the greatest Civil War between the North and the South. The Civil War lasted from 1860 to 1865 and there were over seven hundred thousand killed.

(Speech delivered at the Y.M.C.A. Annual Meeting on  
11th February 1950)  
MATERIALS ABOUT AMERICA.

On this occasion I want to mention candidly a very sad instance of misrepresenting Government's actions. Of late a piece of news was current in the United States of America that the Union Government was bullying the adherents of the American Baptist Mission. This news was brought to our notice by the Burmese Embassy in Washington. I want to declare most emphatically that there is not a vestige of truth in this rumour. Among the insurgents whom the Government is at present suppressing, there are Baptists as well as Buddhists and adherents of other religions. Please bear in mind that they are suppressed not on account of the religion they profess but for the obvious fact that they are taking up arms against the lawfully constituted Government.

(Speech delivered in Parliament on 5th September 1950).

MATERIALS ABOUT AMERICA AND RUSSIA.

Among our countrymen there are those who think as highly of the Anglo-Americans as our Russophiles think of Soviet Russia. In fact, although the Russophiles make themselves conspicuous because they are more loud-mouthed I can assure them that the strength of the admirers of the Anglo-Americans ~~xxx~~ is of no mean order. They are quite strong, be it noted. Be it also noted that the admirers of the Anglo-Americans can be as effective as the Russophiles. In a situation like this, having good regard to the countries around us, and taking everything into consideration we, instead of acting irresponsibly, have decided on this policy of non-partisanship. We mean to support what is right and object to what is wrong. When we think the Anglo-Americans are right we shall support them. When we think they are wrong we shall object. Similarly with Soviet Russia. There is no question of antagonising the one or the other. Some politicians sometimes insinuate that although we declared a policy of non-partisanship we leaned towards the Anglo-Americans. To them I say, come and show us where and in what way we lean towards the Anglo-Americans I want to know. In what matter have we given our support regardless of its rightness or wrongness? Point it out. If we leaned towards the Anglo-Americans we could not have recognised the Chinese Communist Government. Could we? Nor would we avoid supporting them in the Israel affair. And we could not possibly have supported the motion to admit the Chinese Communist delegates to the United Nations, as we have done. These are only a few instances which I can recall on the spur of the moment. There are lots of other instances which I shall be glad to cite on any appointed day.

(Speech delivered at the Union Youth Rally on 8th  
January 1951.)

MATERIALS ABOUT AMERICA.

At present these traitors are resorting to clandestine means of spreading false rumours. Their propaganda is subtle; they want the credulous to believe that the Union Government has offered military bases to the Anglo-Americans, that the Union Government has signed secret pacts with Anglo-Americans to join them if war breaks out. The repair of our railways and the extension of Mingaladon airport are distorted by those sinister rumour-mongers as having been done at the bidding of Anglo-Americans. Such methods are of course not new.

You will notice that a good deal of sinister propaganda has been directed against us by some interested persons. We are accused of being pro-Anglo-American and of being stooges of the Anglo-Americans- I want to ask those Opium Throat Ayes if they can mention a single instance to substantiate their allegation. I am now reminded of an episode which occurred just before the communists went underground. About that time a Soviet film "Ivan the Terrible" reached Rangoon to be screened to the public. I had no knowledge of its arrival. The Board of Censors for reasons of its own did not pass it for public exhibition. Our communists then publicly alleged that I ordered its prohibition as I got money from the U.S. Government. They even published a cartoon in their newspaper where I was shown to be receiving a purse from Uncle Sam. Only then I knew that the Soviet film under reference was in Rangoon. I caused the film to be screened in my house and I found it excellent. I at once directed the Department of Stage and Films to purchase the picture for public exhibition in the country.

I sometimes feel like laughing at their allegation that we are pro-Anglo-American. Everybody knows that the People's Republic of China is at loggerheads with the United States, and Burma is the first non-communist country in the world to recognize the new Chinese Government. Moreover we have consistently demanded the return of Formosa to the new Chinese Government. In Indo-China Anglo-American powers recognized Bao-Dai but we still withhold recognition. In the case of Eritrea, the United Kingdom, the United States and Soviet Russia hold different views and we hold our own views quite independent of theirs. Therefore, is there any grain of truth in the allegation that we are out-and-out Pro-Anglo-American?

(speech delivered in Parliament on 8th March 1951.)

MATERIALS ABOUT AMERICA.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on page 14 of an American Journal, "News Week," dated the 12th February, we come across a commentary under the caption "United Nation." With your permission, Sir, let me read an extract from this item. It relates to the United States resolution in the General Assembly of the U.N. on 1st February to brand Communist China as aggressor in Korea. "Newsweek" observes, "The vote on this American sponsored resolution was 44 in favour, 7 against and 9 abstaining. The nations which openly favoured Peking were the Soviet Union and its satellites, Burma and India,"

Sir, I am not citing it as a strange phenomenon. We know that such comments are but natural. Any country which we happen to oppose will not view us in a favourable light. Although the Russophiles are branding us as traitors, stooges of imperialists and henchmen of Anglo-Americans, they will, in the twinkling of an eye, reverse their opinion if we offer ourselves as Russian stooge or Russian henchmen. They will then laud us as decent people with right view and progressive ideas. In the same way, although the Anglo-Americanphiles accuse us as renegade communists and Soviet satellites when we do not side with them, they will suddenly reverse their ~~opinion~~ opinion if we declare ourselves to be their camp followers.



## AMERICA

(Speech delivered on the opening day of the Union Welfare Conference on 4th August 1952.)

In reality the Anglo-Americans could accuse us of being the tools of the Soviet Union and Red China, because we were the first among the non-communist countries to accord official recognition to the People's Republic of China which is not liked by the Anglo-Americans;; we also put out our best effort to get Red China seated in the United Nations; we opposed the American resolution in the United Nations branding Red China as aggressor in Korea; we also refused the invitation of the United States Government to attend the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference held at San Francisco.

The United States is also a country with abundant natural wealth. She has amazingly immense technical potential to make the present world a great new world. She is the most industrially advanced country in the world.

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EXTRACT FROM "ADVICE TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS."

(Speech delivered on December 2, 1953 at Annual Convocation of University of Rangoon.)

MATERIALS ABOUT AMERICA AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Let us look at the United States of America first. It is a country which has been shouting loudest the slogans of freedom, equality and respect for human dignity. With these slogans the Americans fought for their independence and gained it from English Imperialism. With these slogans also, the Americans in 1898 encouraged the Filipinos to rebel against Imperialist Spain. In the Spanish American War of that year, Spain was defeated and America annexed the Philippines and took it over as a colonial possession from the hands of Spain. If you look at recent history also, you will find that the Americans, on the one hand, are most vociferous about democratic rights, about freedom and about respect for human dignity. On the other hand, we find that in Africa the United States is supporting the colonial Imperial systems which are most loathsome to the Africans. In Spain also the Americans support the Fascist-Franco regime. In Indo-China they are helping and encouraging the French colonial rulers who are not acceptable any more to all the Indo-Chinese. If you look at China also, you will find that the extreme reactionary Chiang Kai-shek group, which had been ousted from China because the Chinese masses could not stomach them any more, have to be picked on by the Americans to give them support and assistance.



MARTYRS' DAY THE 19th JULY 1954.

MATERIALS ABOUT AMERICA.

We can see the Americans as a nation of great men and women who are capable of making this world a better world. We can also see them as heroes who had saved the world from the scourge of Naxism and Fascism during the two World Wars, at huge sacrifice of manpower and materials. We can also see them playing the unprecedented role of benefactors showering the needy world with billions worth of free gifts, when most countries are indulging in taking instead of giving.

I am holding no brief for America, nor have I any axe to grind. As you all know, we have already refused aid offered by her.

## EDUCATION IN BURMA.

### I. Before Independence (1948).

#### A. The Educational System.

Before the outbreak of the Second World War, there were three types of schools in Burma, viz. the Vernacular Schools in which the medium of instruction was Burmese or one of the recognised indigenous languages; the Anglo-Vernacular Schools - in which English was taught as a second language and the media of instruction were English and Burmese or one of the recognised indigenous languages; and the English Schools in which the medium of instruction was English, with Burmese as the second language.

The Vernacular Schools were administered by Local Education Authorities and were the only schools for the majority of children throughout the country. They were on the whole unsatisfactory in their objectives and ineffective in their results. Their main defect was that they were a dead-end; and in a country like Burma, where only those with a good knowledge of English could enter Government Service and the professions, the Vernacular Schools became second-rate schools. The teachers in those schools were fairly devoted to their work, but they were comparatively worse off than their colleagues in the other two types of schools in respect of training and academic back-ground as well as in respect of scales of pay and chances of preferment.

"Bridge" Scholarships existed to enable the more promising pupils in these Vernacular Schools to transfer to the fee-charging Anglo-Vernacular Schools, but as the numbers and rates of such scholarships were inadequate for actual needs, relatively few could take advantage of this opportunity for better education.

For the majority, the only venues of employment open for service under Government were as Revenue Surveyors and Vaccinators or under Local Authorities as Vernacular teachers. The wastage in human resources was therefore deplorable.

Into the Anglo-Vernacular and the English Schools with their high rates of fees and other expenditure, only children of parents within the higher-income brackets could seek admission. Admission of children of Burmese parents was also restricted to a certain extent in the case of the English Schools. There was a preponderance of private grants-in-aid schools over Government Schools in these two types of schools.

In this system of education, therefore, with its lack of sufficient diversification of curricula, its pre-occupation with book-learning and examinations, its tendency to stress the distinction between the privileged few and the mass of the people and to ignore the dignity of labour and the need for technical knowledge, it was inevitable that real progress should be slow and that national development should be retarded.

## B. Growth and Development of Nationalism.

This spirit of nationalism manifested itself in an increasing interest in educational matters when political leaders insisted upon active participation in educational enquiry committees and in drives for production of text-books written in Burmese and for a greater attention to Burmese language and literature resulting in a minor renaissance of the latter.

Simultaneously, strenuous efforts were made by educationists to raise the standard of teaching in the Vernacular School so that the invidious distinctions inherent in the three disparate types of schools should be eradicated, and a firm foundation for democracy laid.

## C. The British Military Administration.

### (1) The Simla Scheme of Education.

Soon after the return of the British Government in July 1945, the Department of Education as a Civil Affairs Service (Burma) was formed to implement the Simla Scheme of Educational Rehabilitation financed out of the British Military Budget. Its primary objective was as one of the phases of the Allied military effort against the Japanese in South East Asia.

The scheme was of necessity limited in aim and the educational provision was further restricted by availability of funds.

### (2) Number of Schools.

Based upon the concept of a homogeneous system of schools, 42 Post Primary Schools and 2060 Primary Schools were opened according to the Simla scheme.

With the restoration of the Civil Administration on the 16th October 1945, the sanctioned number of schools was increased to 125 and that of Primary Schools to 4500.

In 1946, an Educational Policy Enquiry Committee was formed and a fairly comprehensive report covering most phases of post-war educational needs was submitted by the Committee. With the Declaration of Independence on the 4th January 1948, the GOVERNMENT of the UNION of BURMA was ready to shoulder her responsibilities as an independent Republic.

### Number of Government and Aided Schools during Pre-War Period.

No.	Category of Schools.	High.	Middle	Primary.
1.	Government Schools.	38	7	42
2.	Aided English & Anglo-Vernacular Schools.	102	106	7
3.	Vernacular Schools.	251	863	5438

## II. After Independence: (1948 onwards):

### A. The Educational System:

Changes in the System: Based upon the Report of the Educational Policy Enquiry Committee and upon other reports previously considered by Government, a statement of Educational Policy was announced in 1948. But due to factors beyond control it was only on the 1st June 1950 that measures could be initiated to implement this Policy.

The salient features of the scheme initiated then were:

(1) Amalgamation of the Post Primary and Primary Schools in places where the former existed, to form complete units teaching from the Infant to the Ninth Standard:

(2) Revival of Middle Schools teaching from the Infant to the Seventh Standard;

(3) Re-classification of Primary Schools, teaching from the Infant to the Fourth Standard;

(4) Insistence on the use of the Vernacular (Burmese) as the medium of instruction; and

(5) Introduction of English as a Compulsory Second Language at the Post Primary Stage, i.e. from the Fifth Standard.

These State Schools were financed entirely out of the central revenues, and with effect from the academic year 1950-51, tuition and other fees, such as Athletic, Stationery and Library fees were entirely abolished, thus making education free for all pupils in State Schools, from the Primary to the University level.

A scheme for the free issue to indigent pupils or on loan to others, of school text-books was also launched at the same time involving an initial expenditure of Kyats 56,14,300.00.

A Pilot Project for Compulsory Primary Education was also introduced and it has been in operation in the suburbs of Rangoon for two years.

### B. Number of Schools:

Under the Registration of Private Schools Act (1951), a Registrar for Private Schools has been appointed to cope with the problem of numerous fee-charging private schools which are being run in their own school buildings.



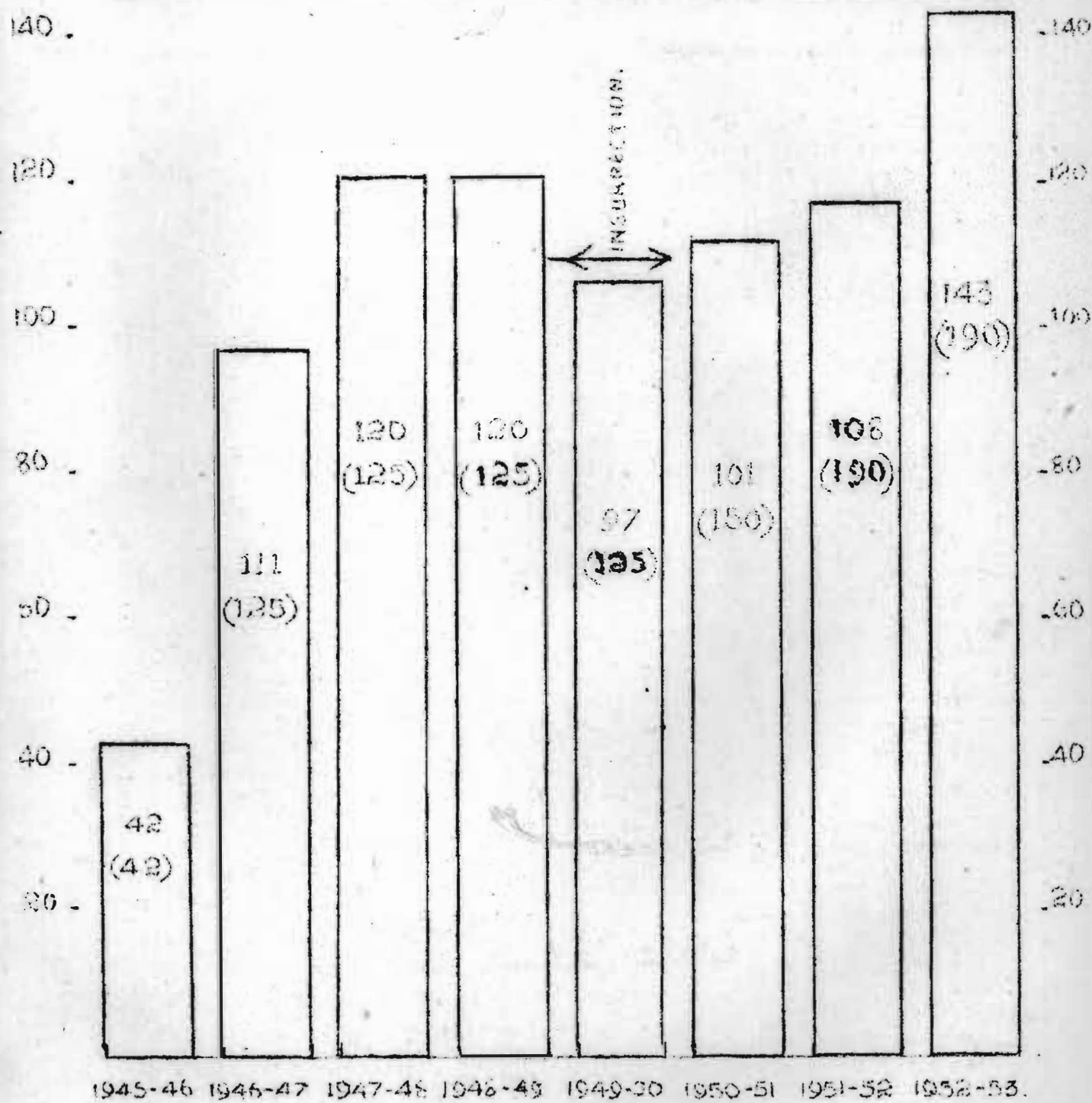
# STATE POST PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND STATE HIGH SCHOOLS.

PRE-INDEPENDENCE.

POST-INDEPENDENCE.

STATE POST PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

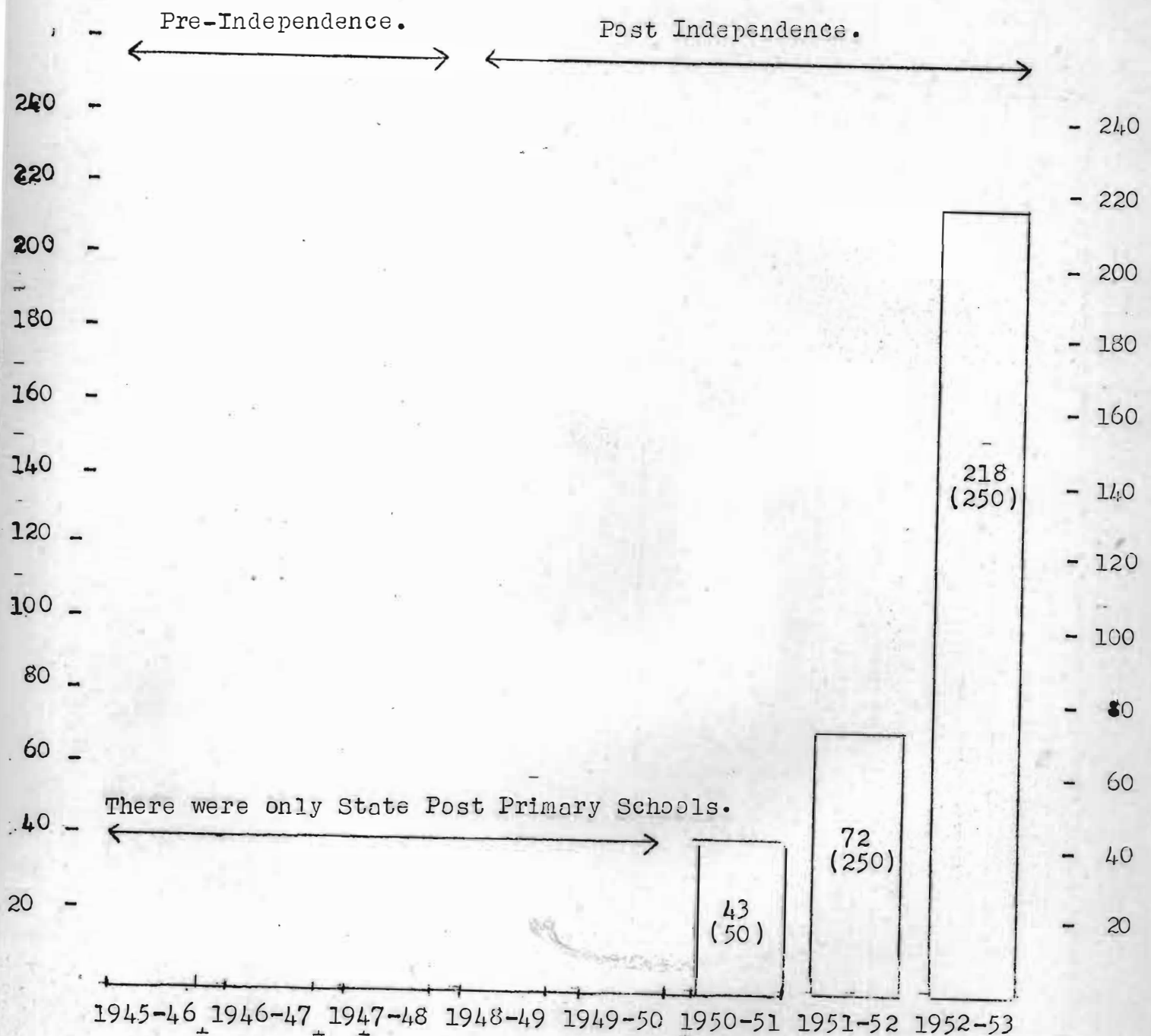
STATE HIGH SCHOOLS.



FIGURES WITHIN BRACKETS SHOW SANCTIONED NUMBERS.



STATE MIDDLE SCHOOLS.

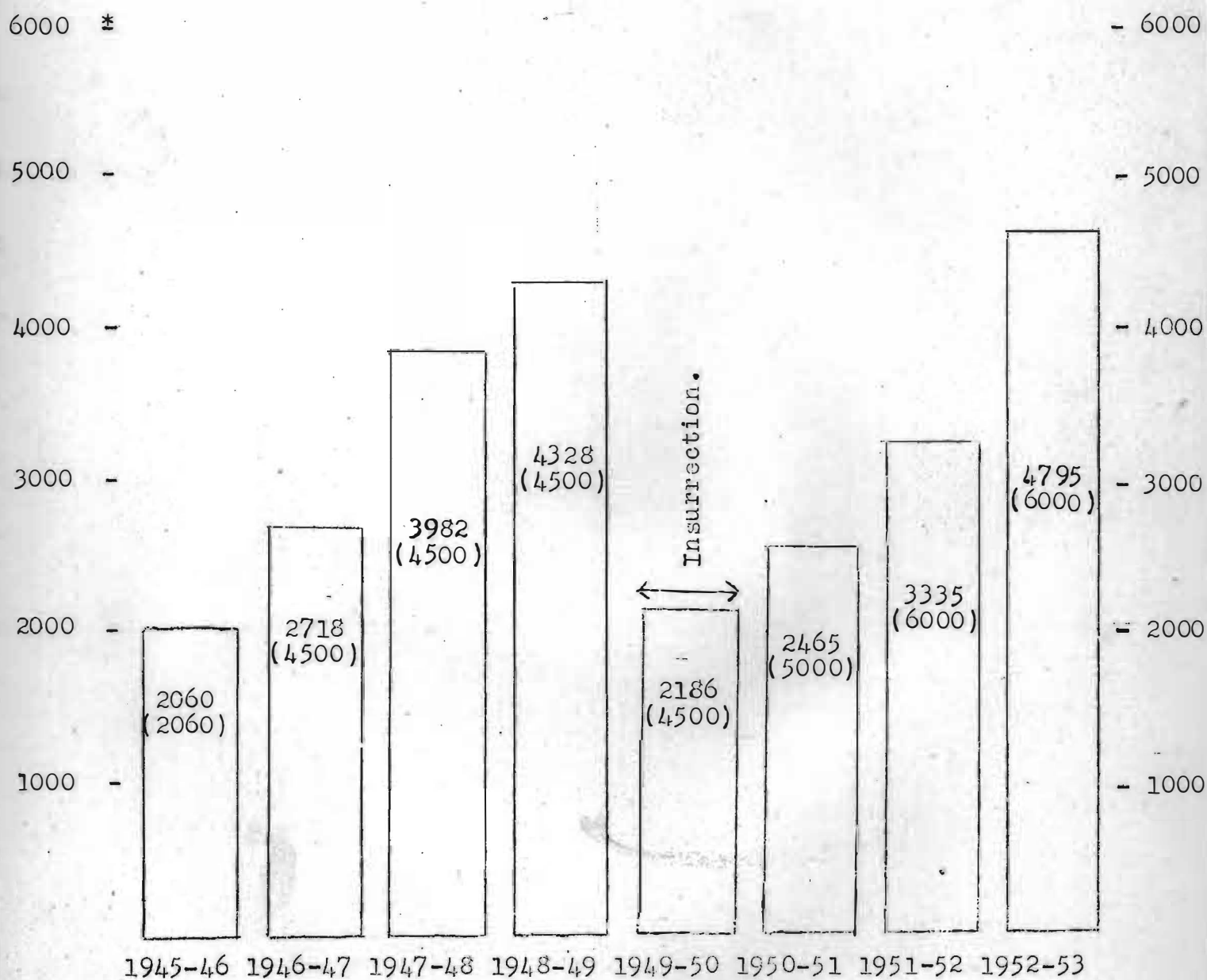


(Figures within brackets show sanctioned numbers).

There were no separate State Middle Schools prior to 1950-51.

STATE PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

Pre-Independence.      Post Independence.



(Figures within brackets show sanctioned numbers).

In 1950-51, the sanctioned strength of High Schools was 150, of Middle Schools was 50 and of Primary Schools was 5000. A further sanction for 40 High, 200 Middle and 1000 Primary Schools was accorded in 1951-52 and has increased the total sanctioned strength to 190 High, 250 Middle and 6000 Primary Schools.

For the current year (1952-53), provision has been made for an additional quota of 20 High, 80 Middle and 1000 Primary Schools to be opened as and when needed.

Number of State Schools:

(1) Before Independence:

		<u>Sanc-</u> <u>tioned.</u>	<u>Opened.</u>		<u>Sanc-</u> <u>tioned.</u>	<u>Opened.</u>
1945-46	Post Primary	42	42	Primary	2060	2060
1946-47	-do-	125	111	-do-	4500	2718
1947-48	-do-	125	120	-do-	4500	3982

(2) After Independence:

1948-49	Post Primary	125	120	Primary	4500	4328
1949-50	-do-	125	97*	-do-	4500	2186*
1950-51	(High)	150	101	-do-	5000	2465
	(Middle)	50	43			
1951-52	(High)	190	108	-do-	6000	3335
	(Middle)	250	72			
1952-53	(High)	190	143	-do-	6000	5440
	(Middle)	250	218			

\* Decrease due to insurgent activities.

C. Teachers and Education Officers:

It was realised early in the process of educational rehabilitation that the most important problem was the procurement of teachers with the requisite qualifications, experience and keenness for the public service of education. Previously, teachers and educational officers were relatively less well-paid and their prospects did not compare favourably with other services and casualties on account of resignations transfers to other branches of public service with better pay and prospects were heavy, resulting in a certain amount of discontent and demoralisation. Government therefore took

immediate steps to ensure better conditions of service, more attractive scales of pay and other privileges to retain the teachers already in service, and to attract suitable recruits to the profession. Cadres were also increased as follows, thus enhancing prospects of promotion.

Serial No.	Name of Post.	Original No.		Increased No.	
		Perma- nent.	Tempo- rary.	Perma- nent.	Tempo- rary.

Scholastic Branch.

1.	B.E.S.(Senior Grade) Headmasters.	16	3	19	67
2.	B.E.S.(Junior Grade) Headmasters.	14	157	104	
3.	Senior Assistant Teachers	123	523	471	175
4.	Junior Assistant Teachers	268	2472	2340	400
5.	Art Masters	43	307	350	-
6.	Physical Education Teachers.	8	198	206	-
7.	State Middle School Headmasters	-	250	250	-
8.	State Primary School Headmasters	-	5875	5875	-
9.	State Primary School Assistant Teachers	-	9402	8362	1040

Inspection Branch.

1.	B.E.S.(Selection Grade) Inspectors of Schools	12	-	12	2
2.	B.E.S.(Senior Grade)Assistant Inspectors of Schools	8	-	8	2
3.	B.E.S.(Senior Grade) Deputy Inspectors of Schools	5	-	5	20
4.	B.E.S.(Junior Grade) Deputy Inspectors of Schools	90	-	90	51
5.	B.E.S.(Junior Grade) Deputy Inspectors of Schools for Arts	1	-	1	1
6.	B.E.S.(Junior Grade) Deputy Inspectors of Schools for Physical Education.	2	-	2	9

Many teachers from State-aided schools have been absorbed into the State system and a general improvement in the morale of both teachers and educational officers has been noticed.

#### D. School Buildings:

Top priority has been given to the reconstruction of school buildings which were severely damaged or totally demolished during the War. With the active co-operation of local leaders and citizens extensions to 10 buildings, construction of 38 new buildings and proposals for construction of 20 more buildings have been taken in hand and by the beginning of the next school year, the building situation will have been considerably eased.

The Government of the Union has provided 1 crore 37.5 lakhs Kyats for the construction of 42 Secondary School buildings to be completed during this financial year.

A phased programme initiated by the Ministry of Education and to be implemented by the National Housing and Town and Village Planning Board is appended below :

<u>Serial No.</u>	<u>Locality</u>	<u>Type of School.</u>	<u>Target date for Completion.</u>
1.	Rangoon.	High School building to house 1000 pupils. Building for State Training College for Teachers.	
2.	Gyobingauk	High School building to house 800 pupils.	November 1952.
3.	Tharrawaddy.	High School building to house 500 pupils.	- do -
4.	Mandalay	High School Building to house 500 pupils (two Nos.)	February 1953.
		Building for State Training College for Teachers.	1954.
5.	Meiktila	High School buildings to house 500 pupils each (two).	March 1953.
6.	Kyaukse	High School building to house 800 pupils.	February 1953.
7.	Myittha	High School building to house 500 pupils.	July 1953.
8.	Tantabin (Insein)	Middle School building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
9.	Shwebo	High School building to house 800 pupils.	-do-
10.	Moulmein	High School building to house 800 pupils.	-do-
11.	Pyinmana	High School building to house 800 pupils.	February 1953.



<u>Serial No.</u>	<u>Locality</u>	<u>Type of Schools</u>	<u>Target date for Completion.</u>
12.	Yenangyaung	High School building to house 500 pupils.	November 1952.
13.	Taungdwingyi	High School buildings to house 500 pupils each (two).	February 1953.
14.	Thaton	Additional building to house 500 pupils.	July 1953.
15.	Taungtha	High School building to house 500 pupils.	January 1953.
16.	Myanaung	High School building to house 800 pupils.	December 1952.
...      ...      ...			
1.	Mahlaing	High School building to house 500 pupils.	July 1953.
2.	Wundwin	Middle School building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
3.	Mogok	High School building to house 800 pupils.	-do-
4.	Ye-U.	High School buildings to house 500 pupils each (two).	-do-
5.	Okpo	High School building to house 800 pupils.	-do-
6.	Tharrawaw	Middle School building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
7.	Kyangin	High School building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
8.	Madaya	High School building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
9.	Kawkareik	Middle School building to house 800 pupils.	-do-
10.	Palaw	High School building to house 800 pupils.	-do-
11.	Mergui	High School building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
12.	Myinmu	High School building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
13.	Tadau.	Middle School building to house 500 pupils.	

<u>Serial No.</u>	<u>Locality</u>	<u>Type of Schools.</u>	<u>Target date for Completion.</u>
14.	Minbu	High School building to house 800 pupils.	July 1953.
15.	Twante	High School building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
16.	Shwegyin	High School building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
17.	Thegon	High School buildings to house 500 pupils (each) two.	-do-
18.	Katha	Primary Dept. building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
19.	Wakema.	High School building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
20.	Htigyaing	Middle School building to house 500 pupils.	-do-
21.	Rangoon	High School (Kemmendine)	
22.	Kanbe Settlement.	High School building.	

List of School Buildings to be constructed through the Public Works Department.

Serial No.	Place.	Type of Building.	Remarks.
1.	Syriam.	State High School Building.	
2.	Henzada	State High School Building.	
3.	Rangoon.	(a) Additional school building to accommodate 1,000 students in the compound of the State Central High School Rangoon, (b) One High School building to accommodate 800 students.	
4.	Nattalin	One High School building to accommodate 800 students.	
5.	Thonze.	One High School building to accommodate 800 students	
6.	Mandalay.	One temporary building for Normal School.	
7.	Okkan.	One High School building to accommodate 800 students.	
8.	Moulmein	One High School building to accommodate 800 students.	

Extensions and Reconstruction.

Serial No.	Place	Type of building.	Remarks.
1.	Thazi.	Reconstruction of a building on the old plinth for State High School.	
2.	<del>Sagardga</del>	Construction of a new building to replace an old building.	
3.	Letpadan	Extension to the Hostel buildings on the east side of the State High School.	
4.	<del>Teikkyi.</del>	Extension of the State High School building.	
5.	Tavoy.	Additional building for State High School.	

To cope with the increasing numbers of pupils, and to ensure a steady supply of trained teachers, proposals for the opening by June 1953 of State Training Colleges at Akyab, Moulmein and Bassein similar to the State Training Colleges for Teachers at Rangoon and Mandalay, have been approved by Government and preliminary arrangements are completed.

E. Furniture and Equipment:

Funds have been allocated for the procurement of furniture and equipment, including Athletic gear, Stationery requisites and Library and Reference books. Globes and maps, type-writers and duplicators, Science apparatus and Domestic Science equipment have also been supplied in sufficient numbers. The following table shows the expenditure for six years.

<u>Before Independence.</u>			<u>After Independence.</u>			
HEADS	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53.
1. Furniture	15,18,500/-	-	-	1,90,000/-	24,09,495/-	34,84,020/- *
2. Stipends	93,612/-	1,01,117/-	1,29,819/-	77,000/-	90,000/-	4,18,000/-
3. Scholarships.)						
4. Science Apparatus	-	6,872/-	8,521/-	20,000/-	4,00,750/-	1,67,000/- @
5. Art Materials	-	-	-	-	2,01,050/-	5,000/- £
6. School Equipment (Duplicators & Typewriters).	18,900/-	63,210/-	-	91,925/-	1,00,000/-	1,57,332/- @
7. Domestic Science	-	-	-	6,000/-	29,200/-	1,93,750/-
8. Athletic Equipment for Schools.	-	-	-	1,27,500/-	2,78,960/-	1,26,160/-

\* 10 Lakhs sanctioned. Sanction being applied for the remainder.

£ Additional allotment being provided in due course.

@ Sanction being applied for



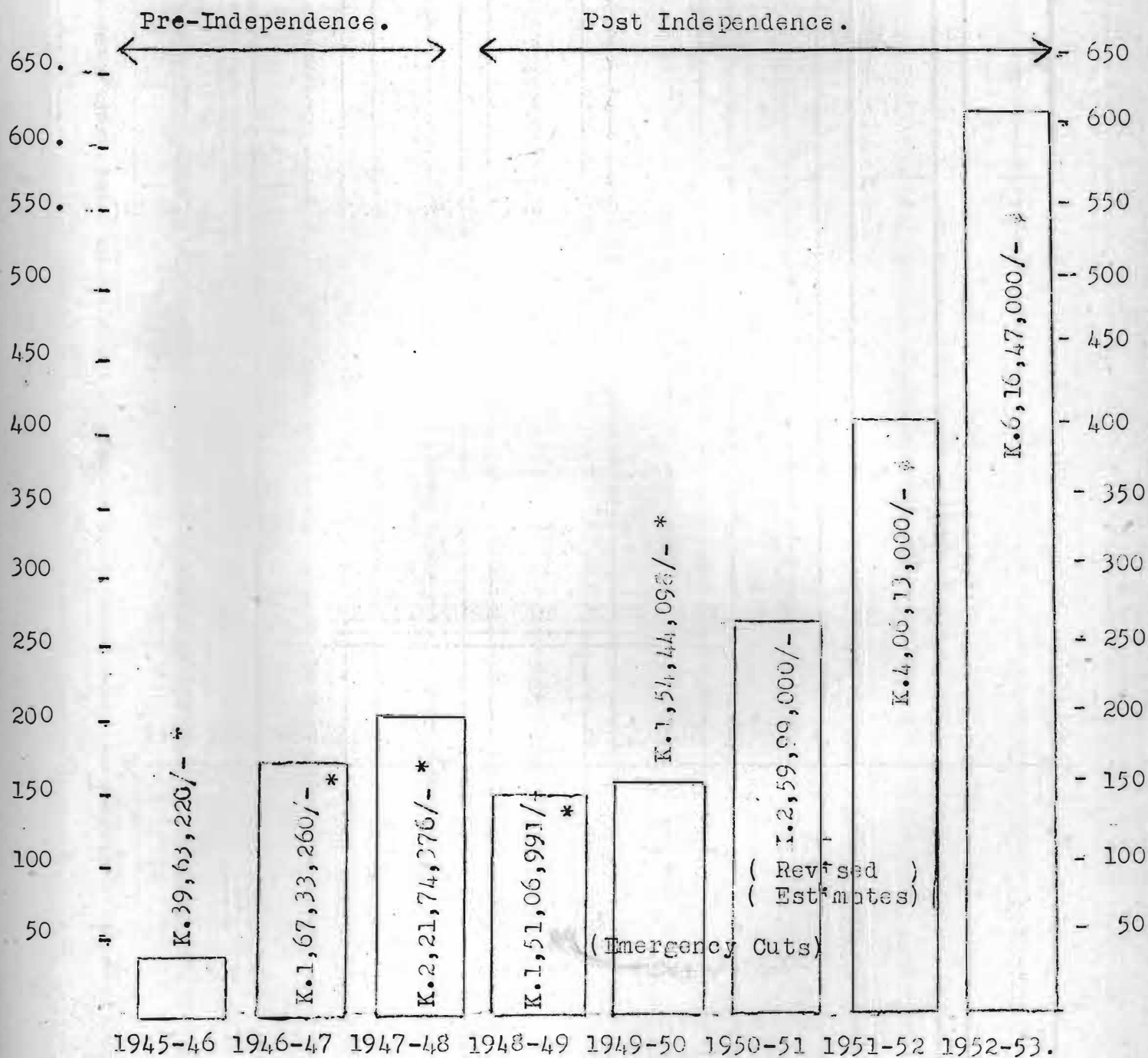
F. Scholarships and Stipends:

In accordance with the new education plan and to enable deserving pupils to climb the educational ladder, (50) Collegiate Scholarships, (100) High School Scholarships and (1000) Middle School Scholarships, as well as an increased number of School Stipends have been provided.

State Scholarships for studies abroad have also been awarded in increasing numbers.

G. Educational projects have been given their rightful place in the general welfare schemes and development projects, and the priority awarded to education can be assessed from the following table:

# EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION.



\* Actual Including Grants for University.

¢ Including Capital Outlay.

Expenditure on Education in the Union of Burma.

<u>Years.</u>	<u>Total expenditure for all departments.</u>	<u>Expenditure on Education.</u>		<u>Percentage of Expen- diture on Education.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
	Ks.	<u>PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE</u>			
			Ks.		
1945-46	36,13,53,936/-	....	39,63,220/-	... 2.5 %	Actuals including grants for Universities
1946-47	42,37,33,205/-	....	1,67,33,260/-	... 3.9 %	- do -
1947-48	49,78,39,002/-	....	2,21,74,376/-	... 4.5 %	-do-
		<u>AFTER INDEPENDENCE</u>			
1948-49	50,65,09,885/-		1,51,06,991/-	2.9 %	-do-
1949-50	31,19,33,617/-		1,54,44,098/-	4.9 %	-do-
1950-51	66,26,63,000/-		2,59,99,000/-	3.9 %	Revised estimates
1951-52	@ 88,15,51,000/-	@	4,06,13,000/-	4.7 %	-do-
1952-53	£ 113,12,91,000/-		6,16,47,000/-	5.5 %	Budget provision

@ Revised estimates inclusive of capital expenditure.

£ Budget provision inclusive of capital expenditure.

III. The New Education Plan for the  
Welfare State:

As one of the most important among the ten Welfare Plans considered at the recent Welfare (Pyi-daw-tha) Conference, the Education Plan has been favourably received by all and its implementation is proceeding apace.

(a) The aims of this new Education Plan are:

- (1) To ensure that every citizen of the Union of Burma shall have a basic foundation in the three R's.
- (2) To train an adequate number of technicians and technologists for the rehabilitation and further development of the Union.
- (3) To train and equip young men and women so that they can shoulder their responsibilities as citizens of the Union.
- (4) To eradicate illiteracy and imbue all Citizens of the Union of Burma with the five "Strengths" (Bala-Ngadan), and
- (5) To perpetuate the principles and practice of Democracy throughout the Union.  
To tackle the new problems arising out of the programme for educational expansion and rehabilitation, the machinery of educational administration is in the process of being re-designed and modernised. With the appointment of a Director of Teacher Training and his establishment to deal with the urgent need for trained teachers of all grades and types and of a Director for Text-Book Production and his establishment to deal with the problems of production of modern text-books in Burmese in all subjects, as well as of a Director of Technical Education and his establishment, acting in concert with the Director of Public Instruction, Burma under the leadership of the Ministry of Education, there is now an adequate team for the implementation of the Education Plan for the Welfare State.

/ as given  
in the  
Education  
Plan,

(b) Other Educational Matters:

- (1) In connexion with the rehabilitation of buildings and replacement of furniture and equipment, appropriate action has been taken:
  - (a) to construct new buildings;
  - (b) to repair or extend old buildings and modernise them;
  - (c) to procure Furniture and Apparatus and Teaching Aids, Library and Reference Books, Radio Receiving Sets, Gramophones and Tape and Wire Recorders and other Audio-Visual equipment;



- (d) to distribute text-books on loan or gratis in accordance with the Text-Book Loan and Rental Scheme;
- (e) to supply Arts and Crafts materials to schools;
- (f) to furnish Domestic Science rooms and School Kitchens with the requisite utensils and accessories, and
- (g) to equip Science Laboratories in schools.

The Curricula have also been re-oriented in accordance with the new educational aims set forth in the Education Plan and graded for the Primary, Middle and High School stages, with emphasis upon practical and pre-vocational subjects and activity programmes.

To inculcate the spirit of co-operative living and to make the school atmosphere congenial, school gardening and arts and crafts have been given greater attention, while General Science and practical work of other kinds including organised games will in time remove "bookishness" from our schools.

In Middle Schools, (a) carpentry and technical and commercial subjects for urban schools, and (b) animal husbandry and agricultural subjects for rural schools are being introduced and through educational guidance and specialist teachers and instructors, opportunity will be afforded to pupils to follow their interests and develop their latent abilities from the middle school stage.

In High Schools, over and above the usual subjects of the curriculum, new courses in:

- (a) Pre-medical subjects, for both boys and girls;
  - (b) General Workshop for boys only;
  - (c) Domestic Science (including Home Nursing) for girls;
- and (d) Business and Commercial training for both boys and girls - will be introduced, to give a vocational bias in the ordinary High schools.

The pre-medical courses have been opened since October 1952 in Rangoon and Mandalay, and similar courses are planned for Akyab, Moulmein and Bassein to begin in June 1953.

The Domestic Science and Home Nursing courses have been introduced into 35 selected schools and in most of them, the work has already started.



Higher Education:

In addition to the new schools and the existing types of schools, the following new institutes will be opened:

1. Agricultural Institute.
2. Technical Institute.
3. Pre-Vocational Basic High School.

For further education there will be in addition to the University of Rangoon, University Colleges of Mandalay and Moulmein -

1. Technical Colleges.
2. Agricultural Colleges and Forestry and Veterinary Colleges.

Educational Toys and other aids and activities such as Music, Art and Hobbies Clubs etc. to make the school a place of happiness and school-work interesting and profitable and exhibitions and competitions will be organised for hobbies and other creative work.

As the success of educational reconstruction depends on the active co-operation of parents, teachers and pupils and upon the proper development of new attitudes and awareness of responsibilities, it is considered essential that the Education Rescript of the Union of Burma should be understood and practised by every pupil, every parent and every teacher.

The progress made in the implementation of the Education Plan for the Welfare State within the first few months has already been broadcast by the Burma Broadcasting Service on the 20th December 1952 and has received favourable comment from the Press. There is no doubt that further progress will be made with the combined efforts of the teachers and educational officers who are directly concerned with the projects, and the active encouragement of the people, towards Pyi-Daw-Tha (Welfare State) the ultimate objective of these projects.

APPENDIX 3.

Translation of the Union Rescript on Education  
for Schools and other educational institutions.

Our country, the Union of Burma, attained Independence on the 4th of January 1948. Before we received this Independence, we had lost our " Five Strengths, " viz. National Health, National Education, National Wealth, National Character and National Unity and Co-operation. But from the time we gained this Independence, sovereign power returned to us and enabled us to change our old ways of life and build, with the combined efforts and abilities of our fellow citizens of the Union, a new life based firmly on the Five Strengths.

To build a new life for a Nation is not easy; it needs strenuous and sustained efforts.

In order that we may succeed in this great effort we must remember well the following Ten Points:

I. As an independent people we must foster the growth of the spirit of self-reliance and respect for our civilization, traditions and customs..

II. We must endeavour to provide an education which equips our people to serve the common good of all citizens of the Union.

III. As our zeal and determination must match the tasks of national reconstruction and rehabilitation we must develop these qualities.

IV. As in the task of national reconstruction we shall have to face many problems of considerable complexity, we must show the necessary courage and tenacity to tackle them.

V. This task of building a new life for the Union will succeed only in the hands of those with integrity. We must therefore endeavour to be pure in spirit, words and deeds.

VI. The new life cannot be built by the strength of one, but needs the combined strengths of all. So in our endeavours for the success of the building of this new life, we must use the methods of discussion and mutual consultation, decision according to majority, and implementation according to decision by the co-operative efforts of all.

VII. The success of building the new life depends on independence; and the stability of independence depends primarily on the unity of the peoples of the Union. Therefore, we must endeavour to develop and strengthen the unity of the people of the Union, and to this end we must love and respect every citizen of the Union without considering his birth, racial origin, or religion.

VIII. As in the building of a new life all types of work ranging from manual labour to intellectual work is needed, we should accord honour to all kinds of honest labour.

IX. A nation composed of people who do not respect the Law is like a rudderless ship or a jungle of predatory animals. For such a nation, there can be no prospect of a new life. Therefore we should respect and adhere to our Constitution.

X. Our Union of Burma cannot exist apart from the World. It is one of the member-nations of the World, closely linked with the other member-nations, and we should strive to know not only our own Union of Burma, but also the wider World and live amicably and harmoniously not only with our fellow-citizens of the Union of Burma, but also with the Citizens of the World. We should labour not merely for our own national advantage, but also for the good of the World, and by giving of our best, unstintedly, help to make the World a better, happier place to live in peopled with men and women endowed with the Five Strengths.

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