



## The Arakanese Student and Youth Movements

Series-10: The People's Republic of Arakan and Her concept

Part-II

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In the previous article Series-9, Arakanpost Issue-11, I have discussed that the concept of Chairman's Kyaw Zan Rhee's *The People's Republic of Arakan* was in the line of Bo Gri Kra Hla Aung's *the Union of the Republics of Burma*, and Bonpauk Tha Kyaw's *New Democracy*. In this communication, I would like to discuss how the Chairman's concept differs from U Seinda's *Independent Sovereign Arakan* and Ratanya's *Rakhine State*? I would

like to request the reader to refer back to the Series-9, whenever necessary for better clarity.

**Independent Sovereign Arakan.** The goal of Saradaw U Seinda was an *Independent Sovereign Arakan*. This is also a very popular dream of the Rakhaing people. Sara San Kyaw Tun and his men formed the *Arakan Independent Organization* (AIO) with the goal of an Independent Arakan in 1968. Chairman Khaing Moe Lunn and his Arakan Liberation Party's also espouse the same goal. In their view, every attempt of the Rakhaing people for a voluntary association to form a Union of Burma on equal footing failed. The only option left was for struggle for an Independent Sovereign State. San Kyaw Tun's disciples Chairman Kyaw Hlaing (NUFA) and Chairman Khin Maung (NUPA) continue the fight for an *Independent Sovereign Arakan*. A faction of *Arakan*

*Communist Party*, led by Red Comrade Shwe Tha, merged in NUPA (National United Party of Arakan), strengthening the fight. It is obvious that the concept of an *Independent Sovereign Arakan* is a very popular dream of the Rakhaing people. What will be the structure and constitution of that *Independent Sovereign Arakan*?

Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee views that such an independent sovereign state of Arakan will be feudal, colonial, imperial, and capitalistic because its concept is based upon the feudal history, not on the struggle of the people. The history is all about the kings. Nothing was mentioned about the people in the history. At this point, I would like to recall the following passage from the Series-9, in order to refresh our mind.

".....In many occasions Chairman emphasized that Arakan Communist Party fought against the fascist, imperialist, capitalist, colonialist, and military dictatorship. It did not fight against the proletarian, working people, peasants, intellectuals and common citizens. He and his party did not advocate for the one-party proletarian dictatorship, but favored a multiparty system with free economy, in which the proletarian movement would be free to exist. As a proletarian, he said, "I preferred to live among the proletarians without any borders. The national borders are simply the manipulations of the feudalists, imperialists, capitalists and colonialists. I want to see a proletarian world living in peace and harmony". Quotes from Series-9 ends here.

The above recitation of Chairman's words highlights the core difference from that of U Seinda's *Independent Sovereign Arakan*. In the concept of Saradaw U Seinda, the *Independent Sovereign Arakan* is a modern version of Dhannywadi and Mrauk-U Dynasties. Therefore, it espouses feudalism, imperialism and capitalism. In comparison, it is the same as today's concept of the Union of Myanmar, which is nothing but the extension of old Burmese Pagan-Taungnu-Kobaung Dynasties. As mentioned above, Chairman opposes feudalism and colonialism. Therefore, Chairman deserted U Seinda in early 1950s. With due respect to each other, they maintained the Rakhaing tradition of teacher-pupil relationship, but waged a war of philosophy all through their lives.

I must also emphasize that Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee does not absolutely abandon the idea of an independent sovereign People's Republic of Arakan, but his priority is to work with all other oppressed proletariats of Burma to establish a common social-welfare state where a democratic proletarian culture will prevail. In parallel, U Seinda, San Kyaw Tun, and Khaing Moe Lunn do not entirely abandon the possibility of an *Arakan State* inside a *Federation of Burma*. San Kyaw Tun, in his Manifesto of AIO, clearly stated, "...the collectivism is more beneficial than individualism. The leaders of non-Burmese peoples therefore agreed with the Burmese leaders to settle genuine Union....". Similarly, Khaing Moe Lunn and his party, Arakan Liberation Party, joined hands with other nations and formed the National Democratic Front (NDF) and also became a member of the Democratic Alliance of Burma in 1989.

**Here we can see that the political goal of the Rakhaing people is entangled in dualism. This is the weakest point of our philosophy in the struggle for freedom.**

**The 1964 Peace-Talk.** In the context of Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee's universal proletarianism, it is relevant to mention the Chairman's participation in *the 1964 peace-talk*. This narration is based on what Chairman told us at the *Phado Summit* (1966-67). Chairman and his Arakan Communist Party was invited by General Ne Win to participate in the *1964 peace-talk*, in which all warring factions including the Burmese Communist Party (White Flag) also participated. (Please refer back to the Series-9 at this point). After

his famous speech at Saite Twey, he continued to Rangoon where he met with General Ne Win and his Cabinet of *the Revolutionary Government*. Ne Win's team was led by Colonel Hla Han, a medical doctor, who was the minister of the Ministry of Health in the cabinet. According to the Chairman *the peace-talk* was extraordinarily short. At the negotiating table, after exchanging pleasant greetings and good wishes, the Chairman was allowed to present his political objectives of The People's Republic of Arakan. Colonel Hla Han, after recognizing Chairman's open, frank, and cordial presentation, asked Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee, "Before we continue, may we know your party's view on *the Revolutionary Government*?"

Chairman, "We view that the Revolutionary Government is nothing but a *capitalist-imperialist-colonial-feudal-military dictatorship*."

Chairman told me that Colonel Hla Han was visibly upset with his reply and said, "If it is so, we must end *the talk* here. You and your team will be safely escorted back to your area."

That was it. The peace talk was blunt and short. It was in 1964, but I do not think Chairman has changed his view today, in 2006. I absolutely agree with him, then and now. Whoever is at the helm, General Ne Win, Sr. General Saw Maung, or Sr. General Than Shwe, it basically is nothing but a *capitalist-imperialist-colonial-feudal-military dictatorship*. May I ask, "Is there any one who disagree with Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee?" In spite of my agreement with the Chairman's view, I still consider that the Chairman, a radical, was very blunt, and Colonel Hla Han, a conservative soldier, was very sensitive. Both lack tact, diplomacy, and tolerance, which form the basic quality of a negotiator. In overall consideration, the *1964 peace-talk* was a total failure. General conclusion was that the Revolutionary Government of General Ne Win was simply forcing all warring factions to surrender and follow his leadership. The only person who reached peace agreement was Saw Hunter Tha Hmwe who led a faction of the Karen rebellion. If you do a Google search on the World Wide Web for Saw Hunter Tha Hmwe you can find good amount of information about him and the Karen's struggle for freedom. (Please compare and contrast the *1964 peace-talk* and today's SPDC's *peace-settlement* with the warring factions).

**Ratanya and the Socialist Internationals.** Born in the newly independent nation known as the Union of Burma, Ratanya or Rakhaing Tairüntha Nyinyut'rē Aphwèchok (Rakhaing National Unity League) was a towering political organization until 1962. According to my father, U Maung Tha Pru (1910-1987), the Rakhaing people approached the Rakhaing intellectuals, such as U Kyaw Min (I.C.S.), U Maung Kyaw Zan (Bar-at-Law), U Tun Hla Pru (Bar-at-Law), U Ba Myaint (Bar-at-Law), etc., to lead them to the paradise of political freedom and economic emancipation.

In the days of British Burma, my father belonged to a Socialist International group led by Rakhaing Tasaung San Shwe, who is also popularly known as Thakin San Shwe. There were only a few Thakins among the Rakhaings. Thakinma Daw Kra Zan, a top lady leader of the Rakhaing's AFPFL was another famous Thakin in Arakan. The Socialist International is also known as the Second International. It was held in Paris in 1889 with the help of Frederick Engels. The First International was organized by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in 1864 through 1876. It was in the Second International (Paris, 1889) that the First Day of May was adopted as the International Labor Day. Today's form of the Socialist International came into existence in 1951. Today it is a

body of 161 political parties and organizations, including 31 parties from Africa, 38 from the Americas, 20 from Asia and the Pacific, 30 from the European Union and 29 from other parts of Europe, 3 fraternal organizations and 10 associated organizations. To learn more about the Socialist International please visit <http://www.socialistinternational.org> and <http://www.marxists.org/history/international/social-democracy/index.htm>.

The Rakhaing Socialist International were very small in number. My father introduced me to Rakhaing Tasaung (Thakin) San Shwe in 1n 1960. At that time, he was working as an Office Administrator at the Embassy of Czechoslovakia. His daughter, Ma Thein (Dr. med. Ma Thein, Hamburg, Germany) and I were classmates in 1960-61, at Rangoon University. He died in Germany sometime in 1980s. He is known as the Rakhaing Tasaung San Shwe since he was the one who first published Rakhaing Tasaung (i.e. *the* Rangoon University Rakhaing Students Annual Magazine) in 1930s in parallel with O-Way magazine of Aung San (later Thakin Aung San and Bogyoke Aung San). **We, the Rakhaings, ought to give due credit to U San Shwe, who is the founding father of the Rakhaing Tasaung - the flag-bearer of our Rakhaing cultural movement up to today.**

In Burma the Socialist International is almost unknown. I came to know about the organization only in June 1972 when I went to the United Kingdom for higher studies as a Colombo Plan Fellow, under the British Council. It was the Lennox Cook School of English, Cambridge, where I was sent by the British Council to get trained in advanced English before I joined the post-graduate studies at the University of Wales-Bangor. The Lennox Cook School of English was a kind of an international paradise. There were students from Sweden, France, Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Turkey, Nigeria, Kenya, Thailand, Laos, Nepal, and Japan. They ranged from university students through tourists, businessmen to politicians, all coming to improve their English proficiency. I became friendly with most of them. As I partied with them we exchanged our culture and philosophy. I discovered that most of them, who were from the European countries, were the Socialists and part of the Socialist International. When I mentioned that my father was a Socialist International in pre-war time, and we, in Burma, hardly know much about them, they explained to me about their socialist philosophy and their objectives of establishing social-welfare states. I was impressed. In 1972, at the University of Wales at Bangor, I became the founding Secretary of the Asian Students Association<sup>1</sup> (later the President), and worked actively in the Cambodia Peace Campaign, Anti-Apartheid Movement, Palestinian Liberation Movement, and Peace for Vietnam. I attended the City Government Meetings to learn about the local government and also got involved in the 1973-Referendum of the United Kingdom to join the European Common Market. I joined the Labor Students when they went around the city, *Miking* (i.e. announcing by a microphone through a loud speaker) - *European Common Market: Vote Yes - Vote Yes*. I also joined the Conservative students when they went around calling to vote 'No' to the European Common Market. What a freedom I had there! I greatly enjoyed it. It was there that I learned much about the British socialism and the Socialist International. I believe the Socialist International is a beauty and it neatly fits in my philosophy of Social Darwinism. We, the Asians, ought to study more about the Socialist International, the social-welfare states, and the European Union.

My father told me about their involvement in the formation of Ratanya and offering its leadership to the Rakhaing intellectuals very briefly, when I complained that

these intellectual leaders simply disappeared from the scene after 1962. I charged them as the opportunists, in 1964. My father defended them saying, "Son, we approached and invited them to lead us because we needed the intellectuals in the politics." With these words he dispelled my charges against the leaders. No doubt, the Ratanya's leadership constituted the most educated leadership in Burma up to today. The Rakhaing people should be proud of this fact. The support of the Socialist Internationals in the formation of Ratanya<sup>2</sup> indicates that it did represent the Rakhaing people from all walks of life.

I am not aware of any other Socialist International in other parts of Burma. Although such top leaders like U Ba Swe, U Kyaw Nyein, and Brig. General Aung Gyi were well known socialists, they were not associated with the Socialist International.

**Ratanya and Rakhine State.** The 1947 Union Constitution prompted the Rakhaings to form the Ratanya, since the constitution did not include a Rakhaing State. Please note Rakhine is the Bamanized version of Rakhaing. The massacre of Tawpanzin in 1954 gave a big boost to the strength of Ratanya. Tawpanzin was a remote village of then Rakhine Division of Burma. The Burmese Army killed all Tawpanzin villagers, including women, children, and aged persons. U Tha Noe, our honorable MP-elect of the Arakan League for Democracy, will be able to give us details of the massacre. I was very young at that time.

I gave due credit to the Ratanya for its significant role in the parliamentary era of Burma. It is true that the highly educated leadership of Ratanya failed to uplift the education, economy, and quality of life in Rakhine Division. However, their life span of 12 years, from 1950 to 1962, was rather short to bring about any significant improvement in the quality of life. It was especially so because entire Burma was inflicted with severe civil war. They did bring the Rakhine State to the Rakhaing people in 1960. They must be given due credit and recognition for the achievement. Their Rakhine State still exists in the present Union of Myanmar.

Nevertheless, our generation is rather unhappy with the Ratanya leadership due to the following reasons.

(1). They disappeared in 1962 when General Ne Win seized the power. We, the members of the Rakhaing Network for Federation and Democracy, wanted to see that they stood up against the military dictatorship and led the resistance.

(2) We were unhappy with the Rakhine State, which is known as Rakhine Pyinay in Burmese. I have explained the meaning of Pyinay and Pyima or Burma Proper in my earlier book *Burma: Nationalism and Ideology*, University Press Ltd, Dhaka, 1989, page 35. It reads as follow.

".....'Burma Proper' is denoted in Burmese by the term 'Bhama Pyima'. The word 'Pyima', in its literal and derived meaning, means a center of ruling, administration, civilization and benefactors. This, at least literally, puts non-Bhama nations and states into a place of being ruled, being administered, subordinate civilization and beneficiaries, This is again reflected in the word "Pyinay," the term given to the non-Bhama nation States. To make it plain Pyinay carries exactly the opposite meaning of Pyima. Briefly put, Pyima is a place of all round superiority and mastery, while Pyinay applies to a place of all round inferiority and tributary...."

*Pyinay* is the Burmese translation of an Autonomous State. We are very unhappy with the fact that the Autonomous States are mainly designated for the tribal areas in general. Such a state has autonomy for their cultural affairs, nothing more. They have no

power to make policy and implement projects for social, educational, economic development and state security. The 1947 U Nu Constitution only granted States the power to take care of its traditions, language, and culture, nothing more. Our Rakhaing people voluntary association with the Bama and other nations of the British Burma is based upon the concept that the Rakhaing is a Federating Nation in the Union of Burma, which according to Aung San's Constitution is a federation in its structure. (Please refer back to Series-3 in Arakanpost Issue-4, May 2004). The Rakhaing and the Rakhaing State is nothing less than the original thirteen states (Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, North Carolina, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Virginia) of the United States of America. We do not want a Rakhine Pyinay, but we do want a *Rakhaingpray*. Ratanya leadership, despite their education and experience, failed to clearly and soundly project our political concept and aspirations.

**Rakhaing Republic versus Rakhine State.** Needless to say, when Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee came up with the policy of the People's Republic of Arakan (Rakhaingpraythû Thamada Naignan) the Rakhaing people immediately rendered solid support. "Yes, we want a Rakhaing Republic," was the answer of the Rakhaing people to Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee. This is also in agreement with the concept of the Rakhaing Socialist Internationals, who wanted a Union of Burma comprising of fourteen republics, namely Rakhaing, Chin, Kachin, Shan, Karenni, Kaothulay, Mon, Tanessarim, Dagon, Ayeyawadi, Pegu, Magwe, Mandalay, and Sagaing Republics. Inside the republics there shall be the Autonomous States or Pyinay. I accepted this concept of the fourteen republics and I prefer to call their union *the Federation of Thuwannabhumi Republics*. In that *Federation of Thuwannabhumi Republics*, a federating republic shall decide what power to surrender to the federal authority in addition to the federal defense and foreign affairs. In Ratanya Rakhine State of the Union of Burma in the days of U Nu's parliamentary democracy as well as Ne Win's Socialist Republic, the central government decided what power a *state* shall have. We, the Rakhaing Network for Federation and Democracy, determine that such power structure is feudal and colonial. It grossly violates the Union Spirit, and the foundation of our joint-struggle for independence from the British rule. We cannot and we shall not tolerate this.

Now, the big question is:-

**How does the SPDC's constitution differ from the above feudal and colonial power structure that I highlighted above? The answer is "There is no difference." Then, what shall we do with it?**

**New Recruits.** The failure of the 1964 *peace-talk* led to a new generation of rebellion in Burma. It was then that many university students joined the rebel forces<sup>3</sup>. The consensus was that there was no other option left except for armed revolution. In 1964-65, Ako Aung Sein Tha, Ako Saw Maung and nine others university elite joined the Arakan Communist Party, and Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee told us all about them, when I told him that they were all my good friends, and Ako Kyaw Zan and his wife, Waine Mashey, were my schoolmates from the 7<sup>th</sup> Standard to Matriculation, at the People's Private School of Saragri Aung Hla Zan, from 1957-1960. Waine Mashey, one of the most beautiful women, was the first female elite to join a revolutionary force in our contemporary history. Her family is very well established and well-to-do. She is sophisticated, cultured, well behaved, but still very daring. Ako Kyaw Zan, also a very

handsome fellow, and Waine Mashey are high school sweethearts. Ako Kyaw Zan and I passed the matriculation in 1960 and were admitted to Rangoon University in the same year. He distinguished himself by passing the matriculation with honors in mathematics. It is a great thing to have honors in mathematics. Age wise, he was three years older than me. Except Ako Kyaw Zan, all others in their revolutionary group were two to three years senior to me at Rangoon University. Ako Aung Sein Tha and Ako Saw Maung were the leaders in their group. I have more to talk about them than the others.

**Aung Sein Tha.** Ako Aung Sein Tha, about 172 cm (5 foot 9 inches) in height and with a well-built body (77 kg or 170 Lb), is very handsome and charismatic. I came to know him at the Rangoon University (RU) Rakhaing students annual meeting of 1960 to elect the new officers of the Rakhaing Students Association. He was well articulated, very knowledgeable, and humble. He served the RU Rakhaing Students Association in the capacity of its president or secretary for two terms. In addition he was the Chairman of the RU Federation of All Ethnic Students Associations. He also served as the secretary in about ten other student organizations. We called him *Secretary-everywhere-Aung Sein Tha*. He was also very active at the Rangoon University Students Union (*Rakatha*) as well as at All Burma Students Union (*Bakatha*). I always consider him as my candidate for the President of the People's Republic of Arakan, after Bo Gri Kra Hla Aung and Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee. During the *1964 peace-talk*, he was very active. He led the RU Federation of All Ethnic Students Associations in that time frame as its Chairman and was in the Rangoon Reception Committee of the incoming delegates from all warring factions, including KIO, BCP(White Flag), BCP(Red Flag), ACP and etc. He was a national figure. The most interesting part of his character is that he never got involved in the ideological debates or philosophical arguments. He remains technical and tactical. He simply puts things saying, "I have full respect for your logical view and opinion. My simple suggestion in this matter is that if we approach in this way we have good chances to get best results." He always came out as the winner in the student gatherings and meetings. I must say he is very crafty and diplomatic. Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee has very high regard for him. In 1988, he and Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee formed the Arakanese People's Democratic Front (APDF, Rapadata). He was the Secretary of the party while Kyaw Zan Rhee was the Chairman. When I learned about this I happened to laugh aloud and recited, "Secretary-everywhere-Aung Sein Tha." He competed in the 1990 election with his party ticket in the Munbra Constituency No-2. In the Burma's Election Commission Publication the following account is given for him.

".....U Aung Sein Tha stood as the candidate with the ticket of Rapadata. He got 1522 valid votes that constitutes 7.45% of the total valid votes and lost the election. A native of Munbra, he was born in 1937 (B.E. 1299) to the parents U Aung Tha and Daw Hla Ma Phru. He has a bachelor degree in arts, with post-graduate diplomas in Higher Grade Pleader and Registered Lawyer and is a High Court Advocate. As a student leader he was expelled from Rangoon University for one year in 1963. He served as a Manager of Trade Corporation of the Ministry of Trade and Commerce from 1967 to 1976, and retired with compensation in 1976. In 1977, when the High Court found him guilty of *rebellion against the state* he was sentenced to life term, but freed under the General Amnesty in 1983. He resides in Sittwe..."

I would like to add that he is also a graduate of Phaungyi Civil Service Institute, specializing in Trade and Commerce to become a manager in the Trade Corporation of

the Ministry of Trade and Commerce. I have great respect for and confidence in him. Accordingly, he still is my choice for the Presidency of the People's Republic of Arakan, of course after Bo Gri and Chairman Rhee.

**Ako Saw Maung.** Ako Saw Maung, in contrast to Ako Aung Sein Tha, is an ideologue. He loves to start an ideological debate and indulge in philosophical argument. He is slim built with a height of about 168 cm or 5 feet 7 inches, and weighing about 71 kg or 150 Lb. He has a peasant personality and makes friends easily. He served as the editor of Rakhaing Tasaung magazine a few times. Being a very good poet, he is among the pioneers of Rakhaing modern literature, along with most popular Mun Rammar and a few others. His philosophical poems can carry you away to a wonderful world of imagination, and I love them. Like Ako Aung Sein Tha, he has a bachelor degree in arts, with post-graduate diplomas in Higher Grade Pleader and Registered Lawyer and is also a High Court Advocate. He is still practicing law at Akyab.

An ardent reader, he is a leftist theorist and his interpretation of Marxism and Maoism is very unique with the touch of the 20<sup>th</sup> century thoughts. He loves talking about philosophy and Marxism day and night without sleep. In 1965, this nature of his put him into a kind of predicament with Chairman Kyaw Zan Rhee, who is a pragmatic revolutionary. Chairman told us, "Saw Maung's philosophy is different from what we know. His view and interpretation of Marxism is untraditional." I was not surprised to hear that. It was clear that Ako Saw Maung's assertion of his views and philosophy created a situation that posed Chairman and his party as if they were on the wrong path. Chairman informed us that he told Ako Saw Maung, "Comrade Saw Maung, you are most welcome to establish a new party with your own ideology and policy. I will give you every venue you need. My main task is to keep this revolution going, alive." However, the government's major offensive put the dream of the Rakhaing elite to an end.

**The Offensive 1965.** A combined force of army, navy, and air conducted a major offensive assault at the Phadushay, in the monsoon of 1965. The timing was totally unexpected. In normal practice, the Burmese armed forces never make an offensive attack in Monsoon in the tropical jungle. However, Chairman, though an experienced guerrilla, overlooked that Phadushay (Small Phadu) was only about two hours away from Sittwe by sea. Phadushay, the home of his wife, Red Comrade Daw Khin Pu, was his favorite hideout, away from his headquarter that was in the tropical jungle of the Seven Hill Tracts. In one fine monsoon morning, the Burmese naval vessels brought in some three thousand combat-hardened soldiers under a command of a Brig. General. The naval gunboats pounded the island before their landing. When Chairman narrated it to me I remembered the Hollywood movie, *The Longest Day* (1962), that depicts the Allied invasion at Normandy in 1944. With 3,000 men, spanning shoulder to shoulder only with a four-foot apart from each other, the Burmese General combed the island, inch by inch. The naval gunboats kept pounding the mountain valleys to smoke them out. The scout planes monitored the movement of the ACP forces and the fighter planes were put into action where the navy and land forces could not reach. Chairman and his forces played a game of hit-and-run. It was the best they can do. Chairman sacrificed a number of his men to keep the intellectuals safe. After ten days, they ended up across the mountain in the western coast of island, at open sea. The Burmese military commanders also had their weakness. They did not expect that Chairman and his men could slip out by the sea.



According to the Chairman, they spent three days at the western coast, taking cover in a swampy mangrove, and they slept standing. His faithfuls, the villagers, carried three boats (Rakhaing laung) over the 120-meter (400-feet) high Phadu Mountain, to save them. How did they manage it? Only those who have experience of the guerrilla war for the freedom of Arakan will understand. The people's love for freedom is so great that they are ready to go through any hardship to save their leaders and comrades. That is also why I could come out alive from the jungle in 1967. The Chairman mentioned how much he appreciated the urbanite intellectuals for enduring the hardship, and in particular Waine Mashey.

He said, "I kept them as my special guests, serving tea with condensed milk three times a day." I understand it surely was a luxury in the ragged revolution of Arakan. He concluded the narration saying, "I was greatly relieved when they all went back home safe and sound."

Ironically, he narrated to us the above legend when we were on the run from the Burmese Naval invasion of Phadushay in 1967 January. When I pointed out this fact he just smiled and told me, "This is nothing, Comrade. There are only about one hundred men out there. We have nothing to worry." He was right. From the top of Phadu Mountain, we watched the three Naval gunboats sailed away back to Akyab after a week. As I watched the cruising Naval ships, I warmly remembered my brother, Shwe Kyaw, who was a Bogyi in Burma Navy at that time. Frequently, I used to be on his ship, enjoying his hospitality in the Officers Mess. Not only that, he also financially supported me in my final year of the university as my father retired from the government service. I never wanted to be against him. But, there I was, standing against him. I hid my wet eyes from others.

(to be continued)

#### Notes.

1. The Asian Students Association not only put me into the realm of the international students politics, but also changed my life as I met my future wife, Shaima, who was an Officer of the Association. She came from the newly independent Bangladesh, with the stories of Sheikh Mujib and their struggle, which was very inspiring. Sheikh Hasina, the daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who became the leader of Awami League and Prime Minister of Bangladesh was her neighbor and college friend (Dhaka Girl's College, 1965-66). Not only she but also her family, clan, friends, colleagues, and mentors (including His Excellency President of Bangladesh, Dr. Iajuddin Ahmed) stand by me in my struggle for democracy in Burma in the post-1988 era. When we were in Great Britain we saw that Europe was just like a big family living in one big house. We envy them. As a scientist, she had a dream of making her country developed like a European Country. She did her part well. When she left Bangladesh to follow me to the United States in 1994, she left behind a good number of young fisheries scientists trained by her. About 80% of the fisheries scientists with master degree working in government agencies and private farms were her students. She took early retirement from her professorship at Dhaka University and followed me to the United States. Departing Bangladesh was a very sad event for us. We wanted to transform South and Southeast Asia in the pattern of the European Common Market. At that time we already had ASEAN. We were very pleased when Bangladesh took initiative to form SAARC. Now, we have the European Union. When shall we have an Asian Union? It was our Awakening Father Bikkhu U Uttama, who introduced the dream of Greater Asia in 1920s in Burma. Please see Series-1, Arakanpost Issue-2, January 2004.
2. It will be good to have a detail account of Ratanya. Our Honorable MP U Tha Noe was an active member of Ratanya and also *the* bodyguard of the Rakhine State Minister, U Maung

Kyaw Zan. I would like to urge him to write his memoirs on Ratanya and U Maung Kyaw Zan. I shall publish it through my DewDrop Arts & Technology if he writes.

3. For more information see my books *Burma: Nationalism and Ideology* (1989), and *The Price of Silence: Muslim-Buddhist War of Bangladesh and Myanmar - A Social Darwinist' Analysis* (ISBN 978-1-928840-03-9), DewDrop Arts & Technology, USA, 2005.