



The Arakanese Student and Youth Movements Series-8: The Prisoner of Mandalay and Democracy-Part2

Shwe Lu Maung *alias* Shahnawaz Khan, Ph.D. (Wales, UK)

IN the light of the critical and sarcastic presentation of the Series-7, it will appear that we the Arakan people are living in the past with anguish and crying for revenge. As a matter of fact, we are not. As I presented in the earlier article in the Arakanpost, it was a Rakhaing leader Bikkhu U Uttama who started Burma's freedom movement. Please note that he never mention a word of Arakan or Rakhaing in his speeches. All along he fought for Burma as a whole. His prime philosophy was the concept of a Greater Asia or an Asian Nation. This was in 1920s, but his vision is becoming to crystallize in the mid 20th century, with the emergence of ASEAN and SARRC. Bikkhu U Uttama will be happy to see the tide of the 21st century globalization in the light of his concept, *an Asian Nation*.

A Republic. Born at 04:20 hour on the 4th of January 1948, under the 1947 Union Constitution, the Union of Burma, was a republic. In a republic the sovereignty emanates from the citizens, not from the throne, a monarch, a person, a class, a race or a religious sect. Accordingly, we must draw a clear demarcation line at 1948, separating the pre-1948 feudal and colonial era from the republican era of the post-1948. In other words, the pre-1948 feudal and colonial sovereign authority does not devolve upon our republic, the Union of Burma. Sadly, General Ne Win (1901-1991) and the successive military

governments reinstated the feudal and colonial authority of the First, the Second, and the Third Myanmar Empire upon our republic. This is the Myanmar Colonialism. Therefore, decolonization of Burma is the core of our struggle for democracy.

Democracy. The sovereignty emanates from the citizens. This is the central philosophy of Democracy. Today, the Myanmar regime and the Myanmarese are embarked in a National Convention that will lead Myanmar to democracy, as per propaganda of the ruling Junta. Democracy is not new; it is as old as Buddhism. Democracy originated in ancient Athens in the period of 480-338 BCE. Great philosophers and political thinkers named Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle promoted philosophy and practices of democracy. Aristotle (384-322 BCE), who was also a scientist, wrote the principles of democracy in his famous book *Politics*. The following excerpt is from his *Politics* VI.2⁽¹⁾.

“The basis of a democratic state is liberty; which, according to the common opinion of men, can only be enjoyed in such a state – this they affirm to be the great end of every democracy. One principle of liberty is for all to rule and be ruled in turn, and indeed democratic justice is the application of numerical not proportionate equality; whence it follows that the majority must be supreme, and that whatever the majority approve must be the end and the just. Every citizen, it is said, must have equality, and therefore in a democracy the poor have more power than the rich, because there are more of them, and the will of the majority is supreme. This, then, is one note of liberty which all democrats affirm to be the principle of their state. Another is that a man should live as he likes. This, they say, is the mark of liberty, since, on the other hand, not to live as a man likes is the mark of a slave. This is the second characteristic of democracy, whence has arisen the claim of men to be ruled by none, if possible, or, if this is impossible, to rule and be ruled in turns; and so it contributes to the freedom based upon equality.

Such being our foundation and such the principle from which we start, the characteristics of democracy are as follows: - the election of officers by all out of all; and that all should rule over each, and each in his turn over all;

In 1776 CE, i.e. 2098 years after Aristotle’ death, the Americans picked up his trail and declared, “...We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. --That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,...” in their Declaration of Independence from British colonialism.

In the light of the above-mentioned democratic principles, I would like to ask: -

In the Myanmarese democracy, will sovereignty emanate from the citizens or from a particular racial religious group? Will the Myanmarese democracy endow justice, liberty, and equality upon every citizen regardless of race, faith, or origin? Will Myanmarese democracy set Mahamrat Muni Rakhaing Buddha free? We must have the answers for those questions.

Every citizen of the planet Earth has to ask this question because democracy is a concern of entire mankind. Similarly, every Rakhaing person has to ask this question because a Rakhaing person will be free only when Mahamrat Muni Rakhaing Phragri is free. *In other words, as long as Mahamrat Muni Phragri remains as the Prisoner of Mandalay the Rakhaing people will be the colonial slaves of Myanmar.* Only with the

freedom of Mahamrat Muni Phragri, liberty, equality, justice, and happiness will prevail in our Rakhaing Land as well as in Myanmar.

The First Move. In conformity with the universal inspiration of democratic principles, the Rakhaing people set out in quest of democracy struggling to achieve liberty, equality, justice, and happiness. The first move in the struggle for democracy was initiated by our grandparents and parents, whom I call *founding parents*. Under the leadership of our Awakening Father Bikkhu U Uttama, our *founding parents* envisaged a Greater Asia, in which the Rakhaing Nation will duly enjoy the rights and deliver the obligations as the responsible citizens. The first step toward the Greater Asia was formation of a Federation of Burma co-opting with all people of the British Burma. In this connection please refer back to my earlier articles, *Series-2: AFPFL*, *Series-3: Bo Gree Kra Hla Aung*, and *Series-6 The Struggle of A Hidden Colony and Globalization*. The result of our *founding parents*' first move was the 1947 Union Constitution and the Union of Burma, which was a parliamentary democratic republic. They anticipated that sovereignty would emanate from the citizens in the Union of Burma, without discrimination of race, faith or origin.

Our *founding parents* understood very well that democracy did not come in a day. As the British subjects, they were very well aware of the evolution of democracy in Great Britain. They also knew very well that the United States of America declared independence in 1776 CE, and got the constitution in 1787 CE. Nevertheless, the slavery came to an end with Abraham Lincoln's the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, and the 14th Amendment in 1868, whereas women suffrage came with the 19th Amendment only in 1920⁽²⁾. We do understand that the echo of Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I have a dream"⁽³⁾ and George C. Wallace's "Segregation Forever"⁽⁴⁾ will ever remain aloud across the world. Struggle for achievement of meaningful democracy is a form of *permanent Revolution*⁽⁵⁾.

The weakness of the first move was that the Rakhaing as well as the other federating nations such as the Chin, the Kachin, the Shan, and the Mon lacked professionalism. Their cooperation with the Bama (Mynamar) was total and absolute, without any check and balance. It was a very bad tactical move despite of a progressive political philosophy to form a new nation with trust and unity. With no respect to our trust and allegiance, the cunning Bama (Myanmar) people established *a unitary state*, in the place of earlier agreed *federal state*. As a consequence, the trust and unity became negated.

The Second Move. In total contrast to the first move, the second move was characterized with absolute distrust, disunity, and armed rebellion. The political psychology of the Rakhaing rebellion was reflected in the federation movement. Although the 1947 Union Constitution was not perfect it marked the birth of a democratic republic. In his left-oriented motion to adopt the draft constitution in the Constituent Assembly, on September 24, 1947, Prime Minister U Nu concluded his speech with the words, "I firmly believe therefore that they (members of parliament) as gardeners, must succeed in raising this tender seedling into Burma's magnificent tree of freedom."

The main weak points of the U Nu Constitution were (1) unitary, not even a quasi federal, character of Burma in contrast to a federal character that we wanted, and (2) right of secession, which can be exercised unilaterally by a State, ten years after the adoption of the Union Constitution. The Rakhaing and the federating nations were happy with *the*

right of secession, but unhappy with the unitary character of Burma. The unitary character of Burma was constitutionalized by creating a parliament with disproportionate representation of the *federating nations*, whom the Myanmarese (Bama) called *Lumyosu* meaning sub-nations, subordinate nations, or tribes. The Union of Burma's parliament was bicameral. The Upper House is called Chamber of Deputies (*Pyithu Hluttaw* or *People's Assembly*) and the Chamber of Nationalities (*Lumyosu Hluttaw* or *Tribal Assembly*). In the Chamber of Deputies 180 seats, or 72%, of the total 250 seats were occupied by Burma Proper. Similarly, in the Chamber of Nationalities 85 seats, or 68%, of the total 125 seats were assigned to Burma proper. In the joint floor of the two chambers 265 seats, or 70.66%, of the total 375 seats belonged to Burma Proper. Thus, the Myanmarese were in power all the time; it was totally one-sided domination amounting to cultural subjugation and colonialism. *In essence the sovereignty of Burma emanated from the Bama racial group. It was a form of racial colonialism.* Therefore, a strong federation movement for uniform and proportionate representation of the people in the parliament began as soon as Burma gained independence from Great Britain. The main theme of the federation movement were: - (1) the Rakhaing, the Chin, the Kachin, the Shan, the Karenni, the Karen, the Mon, and the Bama (i.e. Myanmar) must have their own States in the style of the United States of America, and (2) the Federal Assembly must be represented by equal number of representatives from each States, in the same manner of the US Senate. This was the reason why the federationists were charged as the US stooges, *equating federalism with US imperialism.* As a matter of fact, the proposed federal structure was in good agreement with Aung San Constitution⁶ that was adopted by the AFPFL Convention on May 20, 1947.

During the federation movement, the Rakhaings did not salute the Union Flag, with the complaint that "there is no star for us". With this simple philosophy a civil disobedience campaign was put into operation.

Civil Disobedience. In parallel with armed rebellion led by Bo Gri Hla Aung and Bikkhu U Seinda, the days of mid-1950s were also marked by rigorous civil disobedience in Rakhaingpray. It began in its modern capital Saite Twey. In Burma, the law requires the cinema theaters to hoist the national flag on the silver screen and play national anthem before the feature presentation starts. The moviegoers have to stand up and salute to the national flag. The Rakhaings in Saite Twey refused to do so with a complaint that there was no *star* for them in the flag. The original Burmese flag had a big white stars, surrounded by five small stars. The big white star represented the *Pyima* or Bama land, whereas the surrounding five small stars were for the five tribal states or *Pyinay* of the Chin, the Kachin, the Shan, the Kaya (Karrenni), and the Karen. The flag boycott spread to other cities in the then Rakhaing Division. When General Ne Win took over the government in 1958, he crushed the flag boycott by arresting the entire male audience, including children in the movie theaters of Saite Twey, but always released them by midnight. There virtually was no youth left free in Saite Twey. After a few times of such arrests and releases the Rakhaing youths and students gave up going movies. Faced with the business closure, the theater owners, with reduced ticket price, re-attracted the movie lovers with great Hollywood movies starring Marilyn Monroe (1926-1962), Brigitte Bardot⁽⁷⁾ (b1934), Sophia Loren⁽⁸⁾ (b1934) and John Wayne (1907-1979). Who can resist these super stars? For love of these super stars, the Rakhaing youths gave in and saluted that hated flag. However, the civil disobedience that refused to salute the 1947 national

flag did not go wasted. In 1974, General Ne Win adopted a new national flag that displays 14 equal-sized white stars around a pinion with paddy ears. Today, this flag still remains as the Myanmar national emblem.

I was a young boy at that time. Among the youth leaders who staged the flag boycott I warmly remember Ako Tha Noe (now our honorable MP U Tha Noe), Ako Tun Shwe Maung (the Founding President of Arakan Independence Organization, AIO, now defunct), and Ako (Nwa) Tha Tun Aung, now a retired business man.

Weakness of Federation Movement. The first weakness of the non-Burma federating nations was that they also wanted the right of secession that allowed a State to secede unilaterally. This was over zealous and politically wrong. My reasons behind my statement are (1) it undermined the trust of the fellow citizens, (2) it jeopardized consolidation of the union of the people of Burma, and (3) it diluted determination and resolution in the process of nation building. The second weakness of the federation movement was that they could not solve the interest of the smaller ethnic groups inside their own territories. Major issues arose in Rakhaing and Shan territories. In these two territories there are a number of small ethnic groups who are being subjected to the rule of the Rakhaings and the Shans. Such groups as the Mro-Khamee, the Dinnut, the Kaman, the Thet (Chakma), and the Chin were not happy with the Rakhaings at all. To make the things worst, in 1950s, the Araknese Muslims revolted against the Rakhaing declaring their independent identity as the Rohingyas. The Rohingya nationalism emerged in protest against the oppression invested upon them by the Rakhaing and the Burmese. They were, and still are, discriminated as the *Kala or despised foreigners* and their citizen rights were, and still are, denied. In the Shan State, similar situation surfaced between the Shan and such groups known as the Wa, the Paluang, and the Pa-O. The Rohingyas, the Wa, the Palaung, and the Pa-O also demanded to have their own states. They do not want to be ruled by the Rakhaing or the Shan. I find their feeling and demand very legitimate. Who would like to be ruled by a racist over-lord? Accordingly, I support their cause.

The federation movement, which was (and still is) identified as *an imperialist-sponsored secessionist movement*, was used as the accuse for the 1962-coup d'état by the Bama (Myanmar) Armed Forces. Disgusted with all the rubbish of the parliamentary democracy General Ne Win and his commanders, including Colonel Maung Lwin, who now is the President U Lwin⁽⁹⁾ of NLD, dissolved the 1947 Union Constitution, abolished the Parliament and government, arrested prime Minister U Nu and his cabinet members. All political parties were also banned. With the establishment of the Revolutionary Government by General Ne Win his commanders, the second move ended in defeat in 1962.

The Third Move. The main characteristic of the third move was armed insurrection against the Bama (Myanmar) military dictatorship. In 1962, General Ne Win and his clique, that included today NLD President Colonel Maung Lwin⁹, established absolute military dictatorship. Their military socialist constitution of 1974 established one party rule and a People's Assembly made up of total 485 seats, of which 329 belonged to the Burma Proper. It created a 67.8% Bama majority in the military socialist People's Assembly, to which the representatives were selected, rather than elected. It was the consensus of our generation that there was nothing left but armed revolution against the Bama military dictatorship. I have presented good account of our armed insurrection

in my book *Burma: Nationalism and Ideology* (University Press Ltd, Dhaka, 1989) and previous articles in Arakanpost.

Our armed struggle failed. The reason of our failure was that the Rakhaing nation was not in a position to support an armed revolution. Our infrastructure was so much underdeveloped and ridden with absolute poverty and illiteracy. Entrapped in a colonial life since 1784, our Rakhaing Land is just a wasteland, without any resource.

Our attempt to include the Bama (Myanmar) in the struggle against the military dictatorship failed. The Bama people, including Bogyoke Aung San's family, strongly stood by the military junta. Aung San's family lived in the comfort of the Burmese and British aristocracy in England, enjoying the favor granted by the military junta. Due to the differences in the concept of federation of Burma the attempt to make an alliance with U Nu's Pyithu Pyichit Party did not work out either. The Bama's denial to cooperate with us worked out in favor of General Ne Win's military regime. *It was at this point that the racial feeling and hatred seeped into our politics. We concluded that the military junta was an institution of the Myanmar racism, which derived its legitimacy from the ancient Myanmar Empires, and ruled us as their colonial slaves. The developments in the aftermath of 1988-uprising strengthens this conclusion, making it valid to date.*

Burdened with failures and despairs, our armed revolution simply degraded into a political romanticism. More than 90% of active members of my generation embraced martyrdom in the combat or inside the prisons. The survivors faded away and I abandoned Burma in search of a new life and new horizon in 1977. This marked the end of the third move.

The Fourth Move. The 8th of August 1988 generated *the fourth move*. The Rakhaing participation was very strong and united, as I presented it in my earlier articles in the previous issues of the Arakanpost. It was as much powerful as the first move that our founding parents put up in their struggle for independence from Great Britain. Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi Aris (Daw Suu) duly recognized this fact and romantically termed the pro-democracy uprising *the second struggle for independence*. In the period between the 8th of August and the 18th of September 1988, it surely was very similar to the onset of AFPFL (Anti-Fascist and People's Freedom League) in post WWII. However, it rapidly changed into the patterns of the 1948-1974 political scenario. The people of the Myanmar became clearly divided along the racial and religious lines. Please see my article *Series-5: The Strategies and Tactics after 8.8.88*, in the Arakanpost Issue-6. In the very short duration from 1990 to 2000, i.e. in the last decade of the 20th Century, racial and religious hatred bloomed across the nation. To our great dismay, racial and religious hierarchy strongly revived in Myanmar politics, in the line of the analysis presented by a Rakhaing scholar, Professor Maung Maung Gyi, who was a relative of our respected Sara U Hla Pe (U Tint Zaw). Please read his book *Burmese political values; the socio-political roots of authoritarianism*, New York, N.Y., Praeger, 1983.

As a result, the Rakhaing forces were compelled to detach their struggle from the Bama (Myanmar) forces. For example, the Rakhaing students worked under the banner of All Burma Students Democratic Front (ABSDF). They called themselves ABSDF(Arakan). Later, they independently formed All Arakan Students and Youth Congress (AASYC) in 1995. In the same pattern, the Arakanese Rohingyas Muslims were left isolated and excommunicated on the basis of their religion and origin. Racism

and Buddhist theocracy prevail all over Burma, the military junta and the pro-democracy camps alike. *Democracy movement turns into a racist-religionist vanity.*

Today, the Fourth Move is nothing more than a ripple of the 1988-uprising; it is getting afar from the primary objective of democracy and weakened with the burden of racial and religious hatred. Riding on the crest of the racial and religious hatred, the Myanmar military junta is implementing its racial colonialism by drafting a constitution. *The junta's new constitution will institutionalize the racism, theocracy, and militarism in the Burmese society and politics.* The consolidation of the military rule, its dictation of a racial theocratic constitution, and absence of a formidable opposition mark the end of the fourth move.

Colonialism to Democracy. The future is more important than the past. But, a future cannot be built on a foundation of injustice. Only when future is designed on the foundation of justice it will carry a promise. It is the duty of each and every racial group to bring about justice to all past and present injustice that they did to the weaker racial groups. In doing so, they must bury racism, theocracy, and feudal authoritarianism for good.

One thing is sure. As long as oppression is there, the rebellion, armed or unarmed, will remain legitimate. Will the ruling Bama race and its military elite create an open civil society so that we can debate, discuss and transform the Myanmar society into a *just, liberated, and equal* one on the foundation of the central philosophy of democracy? I have mentioned above that *emanation of sovereignty from the citizens* constitutes the central philosophy of democracy.

Revival of Myanmar Colonialism. Against all our expectation for establishment of democracy, reconciliation of the feudal wars, elimination of racial and religious hatred, the Myanmar have revived their colonialism, very strongly in the last 16 years. The central philosophy of Myanmar Colonialism has been presented by Senior General Saw Maung, Senior General Than Shwe, and General Khuin Nyunt. The presentations are given below.

Senior General Saw Maung:- "Comrades, Of the three main duties of our Tamadaw at present, the first is that of defending and protecting the State and ensuring its security.

Our State has been in existence as an independent one among the nations of the world for thousands of years. It is a State that had stood tall with its own kings all through the eras of Tagaung, Sriksetra, Pagan, Myinsaing, Sagaing, Pinya, Ava and Konbaung

Our Mother land which Anawrahta, Kyansittha, Bayinnaung, Alaungphaya, Sinbyushin, and Bogyoke Aung San had built up nurtured and consolidated through ages, cannot be allowed to be in disorder and to disintegrate during our time." (*Sr. General Saw Maung, 1989*). The source is '*General Saw Maung's addresses and discussions*', published by the Ministry of Information (Government of Myanmar), Department of Newspapers and Journalism, 1989, by U Tin Thwey, License No. 3492, page 93-105.

Senior General Than Shwe: - "Esteemed national brethren of the Union: On the occasion of the 56th Anniversary of the Union Day of the Union of Myanmar, I, with goodwill, wish auspiciousness to all the national races of the Union....Thus, the national races were able to found the First Myanmar Empire in Bagan Period, the Second

Myanmar Empire in Toungoo Period, and the Third Myanmar Empire in Konboun Period, achieving the glory and winning the respect of neighbouring countries.”

(The excerpt is from State Peace and Development Council Chairman Senior General Than Shwe's Union Day message posted at http://mission.itu.ch/MISSIONS/Myanmar/03nlm/n030212.htm#State_Peace_and_Development_Council).

May I ask Senior General Saw Maung and his successor Than Shwe, "Where do you throw away our Rakhaing kings? Where do you bury our Rakkhapura kingdom and Mrauk-U dynasties?"

A Retrogressive Metamorphosis. Devolution of the sovereignty of the Union of Burma from the feudal Myanmar Empires is a retrogressive metamorphosis. Its development is diametrically opposite to the central philosophy that *sovereignty emanates from the citizens*. It is the revival of Myanmar colonialism. More disturbing point is that the Myanmar democratic leaders remain silent to the revival of Myanmar colonialism. Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi Aris, her NLD and all her affiliates are silent over this issue, thus rendering tacit support to the revival of Myanmar colonialism. The Bama leaders in exile do not treat the non-Bama leaders equal. *A simple transfer of power from the military bureaucracy to a civilian rule dominated by the Bama chauvinists will not abolish Myanmar colonialism.*

Decolonization of Burma. In the light of the discussion I presented above, it is obvious that democracy must mean *decolonization of Burma*. Any other form of democracy will be meaningless in the case of Burma. The international community must give due importance to this crucial point. Today, the Rakhaing and other small nations of Burma are being marginalized as the minorities who are fractionated among the 135 ethnic races though they together constitute more than 60% of the Burmese population. Please note that the population of the Burma Proper is made up of the Rakhaings, the Mons, the Karens, in addition to the Bama, especially in the Lower Burma. As such the population of the Burma Proper does not reflect the actual number of the Bama national race that claim to be the majority. The bottom line in the democracy is not the quantity, but the quality that guarantees emanation of sovereignty from the citizens, not from a racial or religious group. International community's over emphasis of Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi Aris compromises legitimacy of *the federating nations*, negates their rights to justice, liberty, and equality, and pushes them away to the periphery of the Burmese national politics. This is wrong. In all international and national political forum the federating nations and all other smaller ethnic people must be given equal footing with the Burman or Bama national race. *They all are the people of Burma.*

The Fifth Move. Now is the time for the people of Arakan to begin the fifth move. We must formulate the new move with due political maturity, rational thoughts, and sound political philosophy. In this and previous articles, I have presented the theories, philosophies, strategies and tactics that the Rakhaing people have pursued in their struggle for freedom. We must learn lessons from our failures so that we may be able to formulate new concept, theory, philosophy, strategies and tactics. In 1985, I distributed a series of "Analytical Presentation" to the Rakhaing community at Bangladesh-Burma. Those presentations, written in Rakhaing language, featured liberal democracy as its central philosophy. I highlighted that only liberal democracy could liberate our Rakhaing nation and bring her to the main stream of today's planetary

society. Modern Globalization had already begun at that time. Now, it is the year 2005 and exactly 20 years have passed. Enriched with new experience in my political voyage through these stormy years, my commitment to liberal democracy is stronger than ever before. With new vigor and enriched thoughts, I shall again present it to the new generation. I am confident that the new generation will be able to free *the Prisoner of Mandalay* and our Rakhaing nation.

The Union Spirit. Our goal must be to build a modern nation in which the sovereignty emanates from the citizens, not from a racial or religious group. As mentioned in my earlier communications, I would like to advocate for a *Federation of Thuwannabhum* in form and structure of the modern nation. The world is already thinking *beyond the nation states*. We cannot delay anymore. May I urge Senior General Than Shwe and the Myanmar military leaders to open the Myanmar society and politics so that we may openly and frankly discuss all our grievances and future prospects with *Union Spirit*?

Notes.

(1). The text is from *Aristotle: The Politics and The Constitution of Athens*, Edit. Stephen Everson, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p154.

(2). These information are collected from the US government web site at <http://www.archives.gov>.

(3). Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968) is the leader of the civil rights movement in America. His August 28, 1963 speech "I have a Dream" became a classic civil rights theme. He was awarded Noble Peace Prize in 1964.

(4). George C. Wallace (1919-1998) was a renowned governor of Alabama. In 1960s and 1970s, he became notorious among the civil rights groups but famous in the southern states for his policy of "Segregation Forever" in Alabama. The "Segregation forever" was his infamous Inaugural address as Governor of Alabama in January 1963. Later, he admitted that his segregation policy was wrong.

(5). I borrow these words from Leon Trotsky (1879-1940). Trotsky was a famous Russian Marxist theorist and revolutionary and a principle leader of the Soviet October Revolution in 1917. He was ousted in 1928 by Joseph Stalin (1879-1953), in the power struggle after the death of V. I. Lenin (1870-1920). The Stalin's agent in Mexico killed Trotsky in 1940. *The Permanent Revolution* is among his most famous books. It was first published in 1930 in Russian, and the English translations appeared in 1931.

(6) Maung Maung, *Burma's Constitution*, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1961, Appendix IV. He mentioned that the text was from *The Burmese Review*, May 26, 1947. An excerpt can be read at <http://www.shwelumaung.org/AungSanConstitution>.

(7). Madame Brigitte Bardot, is a French and the founder of the Foundation Brigitte Bardot for the animal rights.

(8). Sophia Loren is an Italian and also a famous writer.

(9). I deplore Colonel Maung Lwin for his crime against democracy by actively taking part in 1962-coup d'état and subsequent military rule. Accordingly, I do not support him or his NLD. He must repent for his crime and apologize the nation.