

REPORT OF THE FRONTIER AREAS COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY, 1947

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CHAPTER I. THE PROBLEM

1. Origin of Committee

The Committee originated from the conclusions reached in the conversations between His Majesty's Government and the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma in London in January, 1947.

Paragraph 8(d) of these Conclusions states:-

"A Committee of Enquiry shall be set up forthwith as to the best method of associating the Frontier peoples with the working out of the new constitution for Burma. Such Committee will consist of equal numbers of persons from the Frontier Areas, nominated by the Governor after consultation with the leaders of those areas, with a neutral Chairman from outside Burma selected by agreement. Such Committee shall be asked to report to the Government of Burma and His Majesty's Government before the summoning of the Constituent Assembly."

2. Terms of Reference

The terms of reference of the Committee were those quoted above. They have, of course, to be considered in the light of the statement of the agreed objective of His Majesty's Government and the Government of Burma with which paragraph 8 of the Conclusions opens:-

"To achieve the early unification of the Frontier Areas and Ministerial Burma with the free consent of the inhabitants of those areas."

3. Scope of Committee

For the purposes of this Enquiry, Frontier peoples have been taken as those inhabiting the areas listed in both parts of the Second Schedule to the Government of Burma Act, 1935. These areas fall into two divisions, Part I administered by the Governor in his discretion and Part II administered by the Governor in his individual judgment. It was also decided that, although the three States of Karenni were not part of the Scheduled Areas and did not therefore necessarily come within the purview of the Committee, they should be invited to send representatives to express their views, on account of their close economic and racial ties with both Scheduled Areas and Burma proper. All three Karenni States duly accepted this invitation.

4. Administrative Units in Scheduled Areas

The Scheduled Areas as defined in the 1935 Act cover 113,000 square miles or about 47% of the total area of Burma. The population, however, is only 2,400,000 or 16% of the total. The main administrative units are the following:-

(i)

Federated Shan States. The Shan States, though British territory, are a quasi autonomous area ruled by hereditary Shan Chiefs known as Sawbwas, under the general supervision of the Governor of Burma. In 1922 the states were formed into a species of federation for purposes of common subjects and for administrative purposes were divided into southern and northern groups. Within the Federation are the notified areas of Taunggyi, Kalaw and Lashio and the civil stations of Loilem and Loimwe, which were originally carved off from the states and placed under the direct administration of the Government of Burma through the Federation officials.

The two groups are:-

(a) *Southern Shan States.*

Area 36,416 sq.mls.

Total Population * 927,000 "

* (Gross figures for population are taken from the 1941 Census. The 1941 figures for population by race were lost as a result of the Japanese invasion. Figures in this paragraph are based on the assumption that percentages given in the 1931 Census remained approximately the same in 1941 and that the increase in population should be distributed between races accordingly.

Population by Races:-

Shan and Lolo Moso 515,412 or 55.6%

Karen Group 192,108 or 20.4%

Burma Group 152,955 or 16.5%

Palaung-Wa 50,985 or 5.5%

Indian, Chinese and Others 18,540 or 2.0%

(b) *Northern Shan States.*

Area 21,400 sq.mls.

.Total Population

Federated States 690,000

Unfederated Wa States 82,614

Population by Races:-

Shan and Lolo Moso 333,960 or 44%

Palaung-Wa 220,000 or 28%

Indians, Chinese and Others 93,840 or 12%

Kachin 71,070 or 9%

Burma Group 53,130 or 7%

They are six states in the Northern group including the Wa State of Mong Lun. The other Wa States which are not in the Federation were brought under administration only in 1935 and the Was are still addicted to headhunting.

Kokang, a sub-state of North Hsenwi with a predominantly Chinese population and administered by a Chinese Myosa. claimed to be a separate state during the war.

(ii)

(a) Bhamo District.

Area 4,148 sq.mls.

Total Population 129,000

Part I Population 52,000

Part II Population 77,000

Population by Races:-

Kachin 49,794 or 38.6%

Shan 36,765 or 28.5%

Burma Group 33,540 or 26.0%

Indian, Chinese and Others 8,901 or 6.9%

The Bhamo Part II Area is a Constituency Area, represented in the Burma Legislature and the Constituent Assembly.

(b) Myitkyina District.

Area 19,762 sq.mls. (excluding the Triangle not measured).

Total Population 298,000

Part I Population 189,000

Part II Population 109,000

Population by Races:-

Kachin 157,642 or 53.2%

Shan, Lolo Moso 76,586 or 26.0%

Burma Group 40,230 or 13.7%

Indian, Chinese and Others 23,542 or 7.1%

Almost all the Burma Group of the population live in the Part II Area. Of this Area, Myitkyina is represented in the Burma Legislature and the Constituent Assembly, but Kamaing Township is Non-Constituency. The Shan States in the Hkamti Long Area are included in Part I.

Katha District. This district is in Ministerial Burma, but includes a small Part I Area inhabited by a few hundred Kachins.

(iii)

(a) Chin Hills District.

Area 10,337 sq.mls.

Total Population 186,000

Population by Races:-

Chins 183,768 or 98.8%

Others 2,232 or 1.2%

Kanpetlet Subdivision in the south of the district has close ties with the neighboring Chin population of Ministerial Burma.

(b) Arakan Hill Tracts.

Area 3,543 sq.mls.

Total Population 34,000

Population by Races:-

Chin 25,772 or 75.8%

Others 4,624 or 13.6%

Burma Group 3,570 or 10.6%

The Burma Group of the population who are Arakanese Buddhists nearly all live in the Southern part of the Tract bordering on the Arakan Division.

(iv)

(a) Salween District.

Area 2,582 sq.mls.

Total Population 57,000

Population by Races:-

Karen Group 49,020 or 86.0%

Tai(Shan) 4,389 or 7.7%

Burmese 2,223 or 3.9%

Others 1,311 or 2.4%

(b) Karenni.

Area 4,519 sq.mls.

Total Population 70,000

Population by Races:-

Karen 51,310 or 73.3%

Shan 13,580 or 19.4%

Burma Group 2,660 or 3.8%

Others 2,450 or 3.5%

(v) *Naga Hills District.*

Area 5,895 sq.mls. (excluding Homalin (Part II) Subdivision)

Total Population 84,000 + Homalin approx 48,000 = 132,000

Population by Races, Part I Area only:-

Naga 71,736 or 85.4%

Tai 12,264 or 14.6%

Homalin Subdivision is a Part II Non-Constituency Area more advanced than the rest of the district. In Part I, the Shan States of Thaungdut and Singkaling Hkamti, and the Somra Tract inhabited by Chins and Shans, are more advanced than the rest of the district which is inhabited by the Naga tribes. These are the most backward of all frontier peoples, still addicted to head-hunting and human sacrifice. They were brought under administration only in 1940, and little progress in civilizing them has so far been possible.

(vi)

Other Part II Areas.

(a) Tamu Township Population 5,870

Tamu Township is a small Part II Non-Constituency Area on the India-Burma frontier in the Upper Chindwin District. Details of the racial composition of the population are lacking, but it is known to be predominantly Shan.

(b) Thaton Part II Areas Population 218,008

(c) Eastern Toungoo 160,000

(d) Kyain 59,897

(e) Myawaddi 8,360

Details of the racial composition of the population in these areas (b) to (e) bordering on the Salween District, are lacking, but it is known to be predominantly Karen. All four areas are represented in the Burma Legislature and the Constituent Assembly.

5. Geographical and Historical Background of Frontier Areas.

Reference to the map of Burma shows that the great river valleys of Burma proper are surrounded from the North-West to the South-East by an unbroken chain of mountain and hill country covering all land approaches from India and China and all except the extreme South-Eastern approach from Siam. These hill areas contain more than 100 distinct tribes. The great majority, however, are too small to be of political importance and the four largest, Shans, Kachins, Chins, and Karens, dominate more than 95 percent of the Frontier Areas between them.

Although there is a diversity of languages, dress and customs ethnological research discovers an intimate relationship not only between the races of the Frontier Areas but also between them and the Burmans and the Karens. Most of the races belong to the ethnological group known as Tibeto-Burmans, subdivided into Eastern Tibeto-Burmans and Western Tibeto-Burmans. To the former class belong the Chins, the Kachins and the Nagas of Upper Burma and to the latter the Burmese of the Irrawaddy Valley, the Marus and Lasis of the N'Maikha, the Lisaws of the Salween and the Lahus and Akhas of the Mekong. There are signs of a common ancestry in the languages of the Burmese, the Chins and the Kachins. The Shans, Palaungs and the Was, however, belong to a separate though allied ethnological group known as the Tais.

The historical and cultural links between the Burmese and the Shans have been particularly close. In the middle of the 8th Century, the Shans formed a powerful state in Nanchao, the modern Yunnan, and could resist Chinese attempts at conquest until 1253. About 1254 the ruler of Nanchao subjugated certain tribes of the Upper Irrawaddy and had close relations with the Kingdom of Burma, composed of Pyus, a race which later merged with others to form the Burmese.

In 1253 the Shan Kingdom of Nanchao was broken up by the Tartar Emperor Kublai Khan and the Shans were forced to migrate mainly south and west. Some of them entered Siam and founded a kingdom at Chieng Rai in 1276, another at Chieng Mai, in 1296, and a third at Ayuthiya in 1351, after defeating older kingdoms established by the Mons. These kingdoms in later centuries were consolidated into the Kingdoms of Siam. An earlier migration of Shans which took place before the Chinese conquest of Nanchao was across northern Burma into Assam where they founded the once powerful Kingdom of Ahom. There is an obvious connection between the words Ahom, Assam, Shan and Siam.

In the period of the Kingdom of Pagan (1044-1287) the Shans had established in northern Burma a state known as Maw and comprising Mogaung and Mohnyin, but though it is recorded in Burmese chronicles that the Sawbwa of Maw sent tributes and a princess to wed King Anawrahta of Pagan, he was probably independent. After the fall of Pagan before the Tartars in 1287, three Shan princes dominated Upper Burma, one of them, Thihathu, becoming king in 1312 with his capital at Pinya. A younger son of his set up an independent kingdom at Sagaing in 1315. There was at this period a large penetration of Shans into Upper Burma, and even further south to Toungoo. The Shans of Maw, now gradually strengthened by fresh Shan migration, invaded both the kingdoms of Pinya and Sagaing in 1364. After their departure the two kingdoms were united under another Shan King, Thadomingya, who built his capital at Ava. By the time of his successor, Minkyiswasawke (1368-1401), the Shan dynasty had merged with the remnants of the older Burmese dynasty of Pagan and many of the Shans who had penetrated into Burma and had intermarried became indistinguishable from the Burmese.

There was a second invasion of Upper Burma by the Shans in 1507, this time by Sawlon, Chief of Mohnyin, who attacked over a long front and began a systematic destruction of the Burmese kingdom, until it fell in 1527 with the death of its king in battle. A great part of the Burmese population of Upper Burma migrated southwards to the new Burmese kingdom of Toungoo. After the conquest, Sawlon set up his son Thohanbwa (1527-43) as King of Ava who was afterwards assassinated and was succeeded by the Sawbwa of Hsipaw under the title of Khonmaing in 1543. The dynasty founded by him ruled Upper Burma until Bayinnaung, the Burmese King of Toungoo, reconquered it in 1555. The latter King, as part of the process of consolidating the whole of Upper Burma in three campaigns, invaded the Shan States, one after another, including Mohnyin and Mogaung and also two states, Chiengmai and Linzin, which are now in Siam. The suzerainty of the Kings of Burma over the Shan Chiefs dates from that period. Bayinnaung also established the Buddhist faith in the Shan States.

It was traditional Burmese policy not to interfere with the internal administration of their feudatory states and Shan chieftains were left to rule their own states. Many young Shan princes and princesses were, however, brought up at the Burmese court, many Shan princesses became Burmese queens and Shan levies were from that period constantly present in the Burmese armies, being particularly noted for their spearmanship and for their skill in fighting on elephants. Though the Shans preserve their own language, many Shans have learnt Burmese and in fact the two races share a common culture, and almost a common literature. The last King of Burma, Thibaw, was half Shan. After the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 the British had succeeded to the rights of the Burmese kings. Many of the Shan chieftains, however, looked askance at the claim and rallied round a Burmese prince, the Limbin Mintha, in an attempt to resist the British, an attempt which they gave up when it proved hopeless.

The relationship between the Burmese and the Kachins was less close. As a race the Kachins originate from the eastern portion of the Tibetan plateau and, as compared to the Burmese, the Chins and the Shan, they are latecomers into Burma, though they have now reached as far south as the Shan State of Kengtung and the concentration of hills in the Myitkyina, Bhamo and Katha districts. They are scarcely mentioned in Burmese chronicles and inscriptions before the 15th century, but the Burmese King Bayinnaung of Toungoo (1551-81) used Kachin levies for his army. It was their custom to obtain permission from the ruler of the country or state before practising shifting cultivation in the hills and it may be assumed that, though they governed themselves according to tribal customs, they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Burmese or Shan ruler concerned. The armies of King Alaungpaya (1752-60) contained Kachin levies.

The Burmese were not interested in the internal administration of the Kachins and the suzerainty exercised did not mean much more than occasional presents or tribute from the Kachins and their occasional service in Burmese armies. In some cases Kachin Duwas of importance received appointment orders from the Burmese King. Thus the Kansai Duwa, a powerful chieftain, received his appointment order and his badge of office from King Mindon (1853-1878) U Khaung in the same period was appointed military commander in Hkamti Long by King Mindon and placed under the orders of the Sawbwa of Wuntho.

The Kachins did not take easily to the idea of submitting to the British on the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 and several British expeditions had to be sent to the Kachin Hills, the Kachins resisting with considerable success. It was not until 1895 that the Kachins opposition could be broken and British administration introduced in the Kachin Hills by the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation of that year. As the Kachins are not self-sufficient in their hills they have always been obliged to maintain contact with the plains population through Shan-Burmese villages in the foothills. Some Kachins know Burmese.

Sections of the Chins who have migrated into Burma from the Tibetan plateau almost in a straight line down south are to be found from the Somra Hill Tracts down to Cape Negrais. The Chins, then mostly in north-western Burma, are known to have had social intercourse with the Burmese at the time of the Kingdom of Pagan (1044-1287). There were Chin levies in the armies of King Bayinnaung of Toungoo (1551-81) and of King Alaungpaya of Ava (1752-60).

Local tradition has it that the ancestors of some of the people forming the principal tribes ascended the Chin lands from the Kale-Kabaw and the Myittha river valleys. One group went there by the foothill Burmese village, Yazagyo, and are the clans now inhabiting the north-east region of Tiddim. Another group went up Mount Kennedy from the Kale Valley. They then descended the western slope of Mount Kennedy and settled in Zangpitam above Thuklai village, Siyin Valley. Later they continued their move to Cimnuai near Saizang village, Sokte area. Their descendants spread along various routes from Cimnuai and are believed to be the ancestors of the present tribes of SiYin, Dokte, Kamhau, Zo and Thado. The remainder moved from the Myittha river valley into the central Chin country and were the ancestors of the Zanniats, Zahaus, Tashons of Falam and various tribes of Haka.

It is not within tribal memory that any full-scale organised war was ever waged between the Burmese kings and the Chins, but minor hostilities used to occur at times in the foothill valleys, resulting in raids and skirmishes on the border.

British troops were in action against the Northern Chins after the annexation of Upper Burma for a continued period of seven months or thereabouts among the foothills now passed by the Kalemio-Fort White-Tiddim road, at a place called Leisan (now known as the Basha hill). The Chins resisted the advance of British troops fearlessly till they were subdued. It was not until 1892 that the northern people now inhabiting the Tiddim subdivision were totally disarmed. The central Chins did not offer

any full-scale resistance. Further down in the south, the various tribes of the Haka subdivision resisted sternly the advance of the forces from the Gangaw Valley.

There is a great deal of social intercourse between the Chins and the Burmese and a considerable number of Chins speak Burmese. Many Chins living in the Pakokku, Thayetmyo, Prome and Henzada districts have become Burmanised, being mostly Buddhists. Even in respect of the Chins in the Chin Hills District, those who inhabit the southern portion and those areas adjacent to the Kale-Kabaw valley are in close touch with the Burmese. The Chins have frequently expressed a desire to have Burmese as the medium of instruction in their schools.

The Karens of the Frontier Areas, apart from Karenni, are mostly found in the Salween District, in certain portions of the Southern Shan States and in the hill areas of the Toungoo District. The Karens in the Shan States naturally have close relations with the Shans, while the Karens of the Salween District live intermingled with the Shans and other races, which form the minority population of this district. They were the earliest settlers in Burma and, after migrating southwards through the hill areas, some penetrated into the plains of the Irrawaddy Delta and the Tenasserim Division and lived peacefully with other races. Peace loving, shy and aloof by nature, many preferred to remain in the seclusion of the hills. The Salween District was ruled by a Chief Sgaw Saw Ku at the time of the British annexation of Tenasserim, who surrendered the district to the British authorities.

Karenni, the home of the Red Karens, is made up of the State of Kantarawaddi, forming Eastern Karenni, and the States of Bawlake and Kyeboyyi forming Western Karenni. At some periods in the history of Burma the Chiefs of Karenni were feudatories of the Burmese King. Thus King Minkyinyo (1486-1531) received propitiatory tribute from the rulers of Karenni. Nevertheless no attempt was ever made by Burmese kings to interfere with the States till 1845, when the Red Karens became aggressive and raided the neighbouring Shan States in pursuit of slaves. The Burmese raised an expeditionary force in the Shan States, raided Karenni and did not withdraw until the Red Karens submitted. After this trouble the Chief of Kyeboyyi, formerly an official of the Chief of Bawlake, received from the Burmese King recognition as the ruler of a separate state in Karenni and the title of Myosa. In 1886 the Chief of Kantarawadi in Eastern Karenni assisted the Burmese King in suppressing a rebellion led by the latter's son, the Prince of Mingun and in recognition of these services the Chief was granted by King Mindon a letter of appointment under the title of Myosa of Kantarawadi. In 1881 the Chief sent his son Sawlawi with presents to King Thibaw at Mandalay and Sawlawi received royal recognition as Kyem-mong, or heir apparent, of the State.

A Burmese outpost was established at Loikaw in 1872 and another at Nammakon in 1873, but the latter was withdrawn in 1876 on the representation of the British Government.

In 1875 the independence of Western Karenni was guaranteed as follows, by an agreement between the British and the Burmese Governments:-

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

After the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 the British, in view of the Agreement of 1875, left Western Karenni alone for some time. An attempt made in 1887 by the British to secure the peaceful submission of the Myosa of Kantarawaddi in Eastern Karenni was unsuccessful and in 1888 the Myosa even raided the Shan State of Mawkaikmai which had accepted British suzerainty. A British force despatched to Karenni in December of the same year subjugated the State. The Myosa was deposed and his son Sawlawi, the Kyem-mong was elected by the people Chief of Kantarawadi and subsequently confirmed by the British authorities as Myosa under a sanad or patent of appointment in the same terms as Chiefs of Shan States. The status of the Myosa was later raised to that of Sawbwa.

In 1892 the Chiefs of Western Karenni, of whom there were four at the time, nominally independent, were formally recognised as feudatories by the Government of India and were presented with sanads appointing them Myosas on terms similar to the Myosa of Kantarawadi. These four states were later reduced to the present two by amalgamations.

The three Karenni States have never been annexed to the British Crown and have the status of feudatory states. The Chiefs, under the sanads recognising their appointment, are required, among other conditions, to pay an annual tribute and accept and act upon any advice given to them by the British political officer concerned.

6. British Administration of Frontier Areas up to 1942.

The strategic importance of the Frontier Areas as a buffer between an inland invader and the valleys of Burma proper prompted the British to extend their administration over these areas piecemeal, as necessity or opportunity arose, in the years following 1886. Local advances continued in the far north as late as 1940, when the head-hunting Naga tribes were first brought under some sort of administration.

From the late 19th century until the 1935 Government of Burma Act came into force in 1937 the form of administration in the Frontier Areas, other than the Shan States, did not materially change. They were ruled as part of Burma in the traditional manner by local chieftains under the general supervision and control of the Governor of Burma.

British administration of the Shan States up to 1942 may be divided into four periods. First, in 1888, leading Sawbwas were persuaded to accept the simple form of Sanad, one of the clauses in which required a Sawbwa to accept the guidance of the "Superintendent." The actual administration during the period 1886-1897 however was left in the hands of the Sawbwas. British advisers were attached to the Sawbwas of Hsipaw and Yaunghwe. This was the origin of the system of "Assistant Superintendents" in the Shan States.

The years 1897-1922 were marked by the introduction of local self-government in Burma and in the Lieutenant Governor's Council a Shan Sawbwa was a member throughout this period.

The third period, 1922-1935, was an experimental one in federation. The federation of Northern and southern Shan States came into effect on 1st October, 1922, which was a year before the introduction of the dyarchical form of government in Burma. The Federal Council of Shan Chiefs, with a Commissioner as President, was introduced. Through this Council the Sawbwas expressed their views on federal and general matters, including the federal budget. The Burma Frontier Service came into being with the introduction of federation. Towards the end of this period suggestions were made for the creation of a Peoples' Council.

The fourth period, from 1935 to 1942, was marked by a series of reforms as a result of representations by Sawbwas to His Majesty's Government. A significant feature was the creation of a small Standing Committee of Council Chiefs composed of six representatives elected by the main Council. This Standing Committee had direct dealings with the Governor periodically. Thus federal subjects came under the general direction of the Council.

Although, however, the system of administration was different, the course of events forged a number of new links between the Frontier peoples and Burma during this period. Many trading centres sprang up in the valleys where Burmese, Indian and Chinese merchants settled and built up a considerable trade with the people of the nearby hills. By 1935 the population of these centres and the surrounding country had become rather more advanced than their neighbours in the hills.

The 1935 Act made allowances for the different stages of development in the different part of the Scheduled Areas by dividing them into less politically advanced regions, known as Part I areas, still to

be administered by the Governor in his discretion, and the more politically advanced Part II areas, the administration of which was within the ministerial sphere, though the Governor had a special responsibility over these and could over-rule the decision of ministers in respect of these areas. A further division was made in Part II between the Constituency areas, which returned members to the Burma Legislature in Rangoon, and the Non-Constituency areas.

It was contemplated that, as Part II Areas continued to develop, they should in time be completely merged in Burma proper. The same course of development was open to Part I Areas. The Act allowed Part I Areas to become Part II Areas, as they matured, and Part II Areas to be merged in Ministerial Burma, but did not permit the reverse process in either case.

The 1935 Act remained in active operation until the Japanese invasion in 1942 and the process of closer association between Burma and the frontier Areas continued. The links between the two were not only commercial but also financial. For instance, Health, Education, and various other services were financed in part by the revenues of Burma, since all the Frontier Areas with the possible exception of the Federated Shan State were deficit.* Moreover, Kachins, Chins and Karens had all come to regard service in the Burma Army and Police, both financed by Burma, as an important source of income.

By the time of the Japanese occupation in 1942, the situation was that the frontier peoples had begun to be accustomed to many amenities of which they had known nothing before 1886, and which they could not afford to maintain out of their own resources. Thus, both political and economic links had been strengthened between them and Burma since the British annexation of 1886.

* (The Shan States were self-supporting before the War, if the Shan States Federal Fund is taken into account. This Fund was created in 1922 and maintained by contributions from the States and from the funds of Burma and by receipts from minerals and forests. From 1937 the contribution from the central revenues of Burma was not a gift to finance a deficit, but a carefully calculated allotment of what was due to the States in consideration of revenue accruing to the Central Government from taxation of commercial activity in their territories (e.g. the entire Petrol Tax accrued in the first place to central revenues, although much petrol was consumed by transport operating in the Shan States). The Fund has been in abeyance since 1941, but Articles 8 and 9 of the Panglong Agreement foreshadow its renewal.)

7. British Re-occupation in 1945.

After the British re-occupation in 1945, it soon became apparent that administration under the 1935 Act would not for long satisfy the political aspirations of Burma. Burmese nationalism had greatly increased both in strength and in the urgency of its demands, and a similar, though less marked, development had taken place among the frontier peoples, who were anxious to take into their own hands as soon as possible many of the powers formerly exercised by the British. It was realised that the time had come when the traditional methods of personal rule must be modified by the development of representative institutions, where they were in existence, and their creation where they were not. A start was made by enhancing the importance of the Village Councils that had, according to customary law, formerly advised the Chiefs in the exercise of their powers, and by fostering the growth of larger District and Domain Councils to which the villages could send representatives. A hierarchy of Councils with powers at first advisory and later executive was in fact envisaged. The process, however, was bound by its very nature to take time, and was, by early 1947, still at a comparatively rudimentary stage. As far as the Shan States were concerned the absorption in 1945 of the duties of the Commissioner, Federated Shan States, in those of the Director, Frontier Areas Administration, with headquarters in Rangoon, and the placing of the Federated Shan States under the charge of two Residents, constituted a reversion to the system of administration before 1925, when there was no separate Commissioner for the Shan States. This did away with the central executive within the

Federated Shan States and the control over federal departments. The Sawbwas therefore formed their own Executive Council including the representatives of the people.

At the same time, the more enlightened leaders of the frontier peoples realized that they were economically as well as politically less advanced than Burma proper. They depended on Burma to supplement the inadequate local production even of their staple foodstuff, rice, and, outside the Shan States, the sparsity of population and difficulty of communications were serious obstacles to development. They appreciated the fact that, in order to achieve a higher standard of living, they needed a measure of outside assistance which would have to come from either Britain or Burma, and that, in the conditions of the modern world, they had certain common interests with Burma which precluded a continuance of the pre-war arrangements for entirely separate administrations.

Nonetheless, the historical fact that the frontier peoples had never been interfered with in their internal affairs was not forgotten, and the desire for a large measure of autonomy was almost universal.

Various contacts between Burmese and frontier political leaders took place during 1945 and 1946, and progress towards mutual understanding was made. In January, 1947, when the London Agreement cleared the way for the speedy creation of a new constitution for Burma, the problem of relations between the Frontier Areas and Burma acquired a new urgency. The Agreement, moreover, gave a clear indication of the most desirable solution to the problem, by proclaiming that it was the agreed objective of both H.M.G. and the Government of Burma "to achieve the early unification of the Frontier Areas and Ministerial Burma with the free consent of the inhabitants of those areas."

In February, 1947, leaders and representatives of the majority of the frontier peoples met members of the Burma Executive Council at Panglong, in pursuance of the terms of paragraph 8(b) of the London Agreement, and agreed on a form of association during the interim period until the new constitution came into force.

8. The Panglong Agreement

The terms of the Panglong Agreement, which regulated relations between Burma and the major portion of the Frontier Areas when the Committee of Enquiry began its work, were as follows:-

THE PANGLONG AGREEMENT, 1947.

A conference having been held at Panglong, attended by certain Members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma, all Saohpas and representatives of the Shan States, the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hills:

The Members of the Conference, believing that freedom will be more speedily achieved by the Shans, the Kachins and Chins by their immediate co-operation with the Interim Burmese Government:

The Members of the Conference have accordingly, and without dissentients, agreed as follows:-

1. A representative of the Hill Peoples, selected by the Governor on the recommendation of representatives of the Supreme Council of the United Hill Peoples (SCOUHP), shall be appointed a Counsellor to the Governor to deal with the Frontier Areas.
2. The said Counsellor shall also be appointed a Member of the Governor's Executive Council, without portfolio, and the subject of Frontier Areas brought within the purview of the Executive Council by Constitutional Convention as in the case of Defence and External Affairs. The Counsellor for Frontier Areas shall be given executive authority by similar means.
3. The said Counsellor shall be assisted by two Deputy Counsellors representing races of which he is not a member. While the two Deputy Counsellors should deal in the first instance with the

affairs of their respective areas and the Counsellor with all the remaining parts of the Frontier Areas, they should by Constitutional Convention act on the principle of joint responsibility.

4. While the Counsellor, in his capacity of Member of the Executive Council, will be the only representative of the Frontier Areas on the Council, the Deputy Counsellors shall be entitled to attend meeting of the Council when subjects pertaining to the Frontier Areas are discussed.
5. Though the Governor's Executive Council will be augmented as agreed above, it will not operate in respect of the Frontier Areas in any manner which would deprive any portion of these Areas of the autonomy which it now enjoys in internal administration. Full autonomy in internal administration for the Frontier Areas is accepted in principle.
6. Though the question of demarcating and establishing a separate Kachin State within a Unified Burma is one which must be relegated for decision by the Constituent Assembly, it is agreed that such a State is desirable. As a first step towards this end, the Counsellor for Frontier Areas and the Deputy Counsellor shall be consulted in the administration of such areas in the Myitkyina and the Bhamo Districts as are Part II Scheduled Areas under the Government of Burma Act of 1935.
7. Citizens of the Frontier Areas shall enjoy rights and privileges which are regarded as fundamental in democratic countries.
8. The arrangements accepted in this Agreement are without prejudice to the financial autonomy now vested in the Federated Shan States.
9. The arrangements accepted in this Agreement are without prejudice to the financial assistance which the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hills are entitled to receive from the revenues of Burma, and the Executive Council will examine with the Frontier Areas Counsellor and Deputy Counsellors the feasibility of adopting for the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hill financial arrangements similar to those between Burma and the Federated Shan States.

The importance of the Agreement lies not only in the fact that it settles the form of association during the interim period, but also in its enunciation of certain principles, notably that the frontier peoples should be entitled to fundamental democratic rights, that they should have the right to full autonomy in the internal sphere, and that they should be entitled to receive a measure of assistance from the revenues of Ministerial Burma, which are relevant to decision of the ultimate form of association. The formation of the Supreme Council of the United Hill Peoples was also a noteworthy step forward in the establishment of representative institutions among the frontier peoples.

9. Limitations of Panglong Agreement.

When the Committee began its investigation, the Panglong Agreement had not been accepted by all the frontier peoples. The Shans, Kachins and Chins had ratified it, and their actions may be assumed to cover the small racial units within their areas. The Karens, however, of the Salween District and the Karenni States, who were not represented by delegates at Panglong, were not parties to the Agreement. Others who were not present and whose adherence could not be taken for granted were the Chins of the Arakan Hill Tracts, the Nagas and the Was.

Such was the situation when the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry began its work.

CHAPTER II. THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE.

1. Composition of the Committee.

The Members of the Committee were:-

Chairman:

Mr. D. R. Rees-Williams, M.P.

Burma Members:

The Hon. U Tin Tut, C.B.E.
Member without portfolio
of Executive Council.

Thakin Nu, Vice-President
A.F.P.F.L.

U Khin Maung Gale,
A.F.P.F.L

Saw Myint Thein,
Karen Youth's Organization.

Frontier Areas Members:

The Hon. Sawbwa of
Mongpaw (Shan),
Counsellor to H.E. the
Governor for
the Frontier Areas, and
Member of Executive Council.

Sima Hsinwa Nawng (Kachin),
Deputy Counsellor.

U Vum Ko Hau (Chin),
Deputy Counsellor.

Saw Sankey,
Karen National Union.

Secretariat:

Mr. W.B.J. Ledwidge,
Burma Office,
Secretariat.

U Tun Pe, B.Fr.S.,
Joint Secretary.
Major Shan Lone, O.B.E., M.C., B.Fr.S.,
Assistant Secretary.

Saw Myint Thein joined the Committee when it moved to Maymyo, in place of the Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein, Home Member, who was a member in Rangoon, but was forced to resign owing to pressure of other work.

2. Programme of the Committee.

It was clear that, in order to arrive at a solution, the Committee must hear the evidence of all interested parties. Witnesses from every one of the Frontier Areas were therefore invited to testify before the Committee. The selection of the main body of witnesses was carried out by the Councils in each area; but it was also announced that any individual or organization who was dissatisfied with the selected list of witnesses might apply to the Committee for a separate interview. A number of requests of this kind were received and all were accepted.

It was decided that witnesses from the Arakan Hill Tracts and the Salween District should be heard at Rangoon, and that those from the other Frontier Areas should be heard at Maymyo, which was more accessible to them. The possibility of the Committee establishing its headquarters in every area in turn in order to interview witnesses locally was considered, but rejected because of shortage of time and transport, and administrative difficulties.

The Committee further decided that all meetings should be held in private and that the Chairman together with two Members each from Burma and the Frontier Areas should constitute a quorum.

It was agreed that Advisers to Members should be allowed to attend all meetings but should not participate in the discussions. Advisers who attended were:-

1. Sao Boon Waat, Political Secretary to the Hon. Sawbwa of Mongpaw.
2. Labang Grong, Adviser to Sima Hsinwa Nawng.
3. U Thong Chin Tang, B.Fr.S., Adviser to U Vum Ko Hau.

The Hon. U Kyaw Nyein, who resigned from the Committee when it left Rangoon, was also permitted to attend certain meetings in Maymyo as an observer.

3. Preliminary Tour.

The Chairman, accompanied by the Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpaw, the Hon'ble U Tin Tut and U Khin Maung Gale, made a brief Preliminary tour of Kachin, Shan and Karen country from 7th to 17th March, 1947, and held informal meetings with local notabilities. Their programme was as follows:-

- 7th March- Rangoon to Myitkyina by air.
- 9th March- Myitkyina to Bhamo by road.
- 10th March- Bhamo to Lashio by road.
- 12th March- Lashio to Loilem by road.
- 13th March- Loilem to Taunggyi by road.
- 14th March- Taunggyi to Loikaw by road.
- 15th March- Loikaw to Mawchi by road.
- 16th March- Mawchi to Toungoo by road.
- 17th March- Toungoo to Rangoon by road.

The Hon'ble U Tin Tut and U Khin Maung Gale left the party at Lashio to return to Rangoon by way of Mandalay and Meiktila.

4. Meeting in Rangoon.

The Committee held its first formal meeting in Rangoon on 18th March, 1947, and then proceeded to hear witnesses as follows:

- 19th March- Director, Frontier Areas Administration (for factual evidence relation to Salween District). Salween District witnesses.
- 21st March- Saw Marshall Shwin, President of Shwegyin Karen Association.
- 22nd March- Director, Frontier Areas Administration (for factual evidence on natural resources of Frontier Areas).
- 24th March- Arakan Hill Tracts witnesses.
- 26th March- Karen Youths' Organisation witnesses.

5. Meeting in Maymyo.

On 27th March, 1947, the Committee moved to Maymyo, and resumed hearings in accordance with the following programme:-

11th April- Witnesses from:-

- (a) Shan States Peoples' Freedom Congress.
- (b) Kalaw, Taunggyi and Lashio Notified Areas, and Loilem.
- (c) Northern Wa States.
- (d) Kokang State.

12th April- Witnesses from:-

- (a) Southern Wa States.
- (b) North Hsenwi State.
- (c) South Hsenwi State.
- (d) Taungpeng State.

14th April- Witnesses from:-

- (a) Karenni States.
- (b) Mongmit and Kengtung States.
- (c) Papun United Karen Organisation.

16th April- Witnesses from:-

- (a) Myitkyina and Bhamo Council Kachins.
- (b) Hkamti Long Shans.
- (c) Kachin Youths' League.
- (d) Jingpaw National Modern Civilisation Development Association.
- (e) Northern Hsenwi- Mongmit Kachins.
- (f) Army Kachins.
- (g) Frontier Constabulary Kachins.
- (h) Nepali Association, Myitkyina.

17th April- Witnesses from:-

- (a) Karen National Union.
- (b) Bhamo A.F.P.F.L.

19th April- Witnesses form:-

- (a) Falam Chins.
- (b) Haka Chins.
- (c) Tiddim Chins.
- (d) Chin Pensioners' Association.
- (e) Kanpetlet Chins.
- (f) Somra Tract (Part I Area) Chins.
- (g) Thaukdut State (Part I Area) Chins.
- (h) Singkaling Hkamti State (Part I Area) Shans.
- (i) Homalin Subdivision (Part II Area) Burmanised Shans.

21st April- Witnesses from:-

- (a) Supreme Council of United Hills Peoples.
- (b) Shan Sawbwas.
- (c) Other Southern Shan States.
- (d) Tiddim and Kanpetlet Chins.
- (e) Bhamo Part II Area Burman community.

6. Preparation of Report.

After completing the hearing of evidence, the Committee proceeded immediately to consideration of their Report. On 23rd April they agreed unanimously on the Recommendations and Observations contained in the following chapter and the Report was formally signed on 24th April. The Committee held a total of 24 meetings, 17 devoted to the hearing of evidence and seven to private deliberations.

CHAPTER III. RECOMMENDATIONS AND OBSERVATIONS.

PART I. GENERAL

The terms of reference of the Committee appear to restrict us to enquire and report on the best method of associating the frontier peoples with the working out of the new constitution for Burma. We make these recommendations in Part II of this chapter. It, however, proved difficult in the course of our enquiry and in the examination of the witnesses who appeared before us to restrict the scope of our investigations strictly to the objective set out in our terms of reference. In the minds of many of the witnesses from the Frontier Areas the question of participation in the work of the Constituent Assembly is inextricably intertwined with the question of the future of the frontier peoples under the new constitution, and indeed, they appear to view the two questions as different facets of a single great problem. Our tours and our enquiry have also given this Committee unprecedented opportunities of contact with and insight into the minds of the frontier peoples. We would, therefore, be failing in our duty if we were to refrain from adding to our recommendations a summary of the salient features that emerge from the evidence on the second question and if we did not add to these certain observations which may be of assistance to the Constituent Assembly when it deals with the difficult problem of framing a constitution for the whole of Burma. These observations will be found in Part III of this chapter.

PART II. THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

(1) With the exception of the unfederated Shan States of Taungdut and Singkaling Hkamti, all the witnesses before us expressed without hesitation the desire that representatives of their States or local areas should take part in the work of the Constituent Assembly, the members of which, in respect of such portions of ministerial Burma as enjoy rights of representation in the Legislature under the 1935 Act, have already been elected. We recommend accordingly that their wishes be met and that the following areas be given representation in the Constituent Assembly:-

- The Federated Shan States, including Kokang and Mongpai.
- The Kachin Hills.
- The Chin Hills with the Arakan Hill Tracts.
- The Karenni States.
- The Somra Tract.
- The Salween District.
- The Homalin Subdivision.

We have grouped Kokang with the Federated Shan States though its de jure position is not quite clear. We have, however, ascertained from the Federated Shan States that one of the seats to be allocated to them for the Constituent Assembly will be given to a representative of Kokang. We have grouped the Arakan Hill Tracts with the Chin Hills, as the witnesses from the former area have shown a clear desire to be associated with the Chins of the Chin Hills, and we have ascertained that one of the seats to be allocated to the Chin Hills will be given to the Arakan Hill Tracts. Witnesses from the States of

Thaungdut and Singkaling Hkamti not only expressed a desire to be incorporated in ministerial Burma but stated that they are prepared to accept whatever future constitution is drawn up by the Burmese. We found it impracticable to procure witnesses from the Naga Hills and the Wa States, but we have no hesitation in recommending that representatives need not be sought from these areas for the Constituent Assembly on account of the primitive nature of their civilisation and the impossibility of their finding persons who will be able to assist in the drawing up of Burma's future constitution.

(2) We have found the question of determining the number of seats to be allocated to the Frontier Areas in the Constituent Assembly one of considerable difficulty. Strictly on a population basis they would be entitled to a maximum of some 35 seats as against the 210 seats allocated to the constituency areas of ministerial Burma. But some consideration is due to the fact that, though the population of Frontier Areas is only one-sixth of the population of ministerial Burma, in point of area they constitute some 47 per cent. of the whole of Burma, and also to the fact that many parts of the Frontier Areas are subdivided into numerous States or tribal areas and that too small a number may impede a satisfactory division of seats within the same territorial unit. Thirdly, there are small units which, though they may not be entitled to one seat each on a population basis, cannot be given less than one member if they are to be represented at all. We accordingly recommend that the Frontier Areas (by which we mean here the areas set out in Part I of Schedule II of the Government of Burma Act, 1935) and the Karenni States be allocated 44 seats and that the Homalin Subdivision, a Part II non-constituency area in the same Schedule, be allocated one seat.

In regard to the distribution of the seats our recommendations are as below:-

Federated Shan States (including Kokang and Mongpai)	26
The Kachin Hills	7
The Chin Hills with the Arakan Hill Tracts	6
Karenni	2
	<u>41</u>
	.
The Salween District	2
The Somra Tract	1
The Homalin Subdivision	1
	<u>45</u>

We have shown in the above table the Salween District, the Somra tract and the Homalin Subdivision in a separate compartment for convenience, as witnesses from these areas expressed a desire for their incorporation in ministerial Burma.

(3) The physical difficulties of travel in the Frontier Areas, the unfamiliarity of their peoples with the system of expressing their will through the ballot box and the limiting factor of time preclude us from recommending for the Frontier Areas elections to the Constituent Assembly the method of electoral rolls and the ballot box, and, indeed, with the exception of a small section of the witnesses from the Chin Hills, every witness before us to whom the question was put replied in fact that full-dress elections are impracticable. Simpler and quicker measures are essential and for the Federated Shan States we recommend that the Council of Shan States should form the electoral body for returning the members for these States to the Constituent Assembly. This Council is a representative body, half of which consists of representatives of the Shan Sawbwas and the other half of representatives of the

people of these States. There are no bodies of a sufficiently representative nature in the other Frontier Areas and we make the following recommendations after taking due account of the local conditions:-

(i) For the Kachin Hills we recommend that the electoral body should consist of the members of the District Council, the members of the subdivisional or domain councils, the duwa in charge of each administrative unit and a peoples' representative from each such unit. The peoples' representative should further be elected at a mass meeting of the members of such unit.

(ii) For the Chin Hills we recommend that one representative be elected in the Arakan Hill Tracts by a mass meeting, one be elected at a mass meeting in the Kanpetlet subdivision and the remainder be elected at a joint mass meeting of the residents of the remaining subdivisions, all these meetings to be held in such manner as may be approved by the Deputy Counsellor in charge of the Chin Hills.

(iii) For the Karenni States we recommend that the chiefs or administrators of the three States may be asked to consult the wishes of their peoples and to nominate jointly the representatives for the Constituent Assembly .

(iv) For the Salween District we recommend that the representatives be selected by a mass meeting to be convened in such manner as may be approved by the Hon'ble Counsellor in charge of the Frontier Areas.

(v) For the Somra tract and the Homalin Subdivision we recommend that the representatives be selected at mass meetings to be convened by the principal civil officer administering each area.

(4) We commend that the Frontier Areas members of the Constituent Assembly should have the same status in the Assembly as members elected from ministerial Burma and that they be entitled to participate fully in the deliberations of the Assembly and be eligible for places on such committees as the Assembly may appoint. We further recommend that the participation of representatives from various parts of the Frontier Areas in the work of the Constituent Assembly should not be regarded as committing them to union or federation with Burma. As a further protection to the Frontier Areas, we recommend that no proposal relating to the mode of government in the Federated Shan States, the Kachin Hills, the Chin Hills and the Karenni States shall be deemed to have been carried in the Constituent Assembly unless it has been voted for not only by a majority of the members of the Assembly present, but also by the majority of the members present of the unit concerned. Similarly, we recommend that no proposal relating to the constitution of a federated Burma shall be deemed to have been carried in the Constituent Assembly unless it has been voted for not only by the majority of the members of the Assembly present, but also by a majority of the members present of the Frontier Areas which will form states in the federation.

PART III. OBSERVATIONS.

1. The Future of the Frontier Areas.

The view of the witnesses from the Federated Shan States and from the Kachin Hills are strongly in favour of a federated Burma in which the Federated Shan States will form a state or unit and the Kachin Hills another. They desire the fullest possible autonomy for the states within the federation but agree that certain subjects of general scope should be entrusted to the federation. On the evidence

tendered before us, representatives from the Chin Hills do not desire to federate the Chin Hills with Burma proper but prefer an amalgamation of their area with ministerial Burma, stipulating only that there should be no interference with their tribal customs and traditions and that their chieftains should be allowed to administer their tracts as at present. The Chin Hills would otherwise become one or more ordinary districts of Burma proper. On the day after they had tendered this evidence, the witnesses submitted a letter saying that they had not understood the point correctly and that they intended to say that the Chin Hills should form a separate state within a federated Burma. The only conclusion we can safely draw is that the people of the Chin Hills are not yet in a position to come to a firm conclusion on this matter and that it will have to be left to their representatives in the Constituent Assembly to define their views precisely. The witnesses from the Arakan Hill Tracts, the majority population of which is Chin, expressed no independent views but desire to follow the lead of the Chin Hills people. The witnesses from the Somra Tract, Thaungdut, Singkaling Hkamti and the Homalin Subdivision expressed categorically the view that their areas should be incorporated in ministerial Burma and should be given the same constituency and other rights as other areas in Burma proper. The representatives from the Karenni States, while stating clearly that they wished to be represented in the Constituent Assembly, did not definitely commit themselves to any views in regard to the entry of the Karenni States into a federated Burma. A group of witnesses from the Salween District, appearing before us early in our meetings, expressed views in favour of forming a state within a Burma federation. Another group, appearing before us later, supported by a letter from the leaders of the first group, stated that, after further consideration at a mass meeting of the residents of the district, they now desire the incorporation of the district as a part of ministerial Burma.

The picture that emerges from this welter of evidence is that of a federated Burma, with the federated Shan States and the Kachin Hills as two constituent states and with the Karenni States possibly another, but with Burma proper enlarged by the possible incorporation of the Chin Hills, the probable incorporation of the Salween District and the elimination in respect of many of the Part II Scheduled areas of the political disabilities now suffered by them. These amalgamations should reduce the craziness of the patchwork quilt which the present administration of the Frontier Areas resembles.

2. The Federal Council.

With due reference to the difference in political experience between Burma proper and the Frontier Areas and between the Frontier Areas themselves, not to mention the present preponderating importance of Burma proper, it may be found inexpedient for the Constituent Assembly to attempt to draw up the constitution of a fully-fledged federation, even if the decision should be that the future political structure should be in federal form. The present circumstances may call for an elastic interim constitution establishing perhaps a Federal Council which will be somewhat on the lines of a Legislature, with such subjects as may be allocated to the federal sphere. The majority of the members of this council in equity be allocated to representatives of Burma proper in view of its present preponderating importance. But, in determining the number of seats to be allocated to the other states, we think that considerable weightage should be given, in order that these members should have a real share in the control of the federation. In assessing this weightage due account must, we think, be taken of the probability of party differences among the members from Burma proper.

3. Future Development.

In view of the fact that there exist differences in the stages of development between ministerial Burma and the Frontier Areas and between the Frontier Areas themselves, the Constituent Assembly may find it desirable to postpone the formation of a Federal Constitution on the lines adopted in other countries, till such time as the Frontier Areas become more developed. The Federal Council, when established by the Constituent Assembly, could then be elaborated into a Senate or a federal Legislature. We note in this connection the existence of a Supreme Council of the United Hill Peoples, representatives of which

gave evidence before us, and which is at present a representative advisory body dealing with Shan States, Kachin Hills and Chin Hills affairs and which also hopes to be entrusted with Karenni affairs. We see scope for this Council playing a part of considerable importance in advising Frontier Area states in the proposed Burma federation on subjects which are within state jurisdiction and upon which joint action or a common doctrine is desirable.

4. Common Subjects.

The weight of opinion among the witnesses examined by us is that, if there should be a Burma federation, the federal organ should deal with the following subjects:-

1. External affairs.
2. Defence.
3. Post and telegraphs.
4. Communications.
5. Currency and coinage.
6. Customs.
7. Titles and honours.

There is danger that the anxiety of the constituent states for the fullest possible internal autonomy might lead to the constitution of a weak federal or central government which will be the government in Burma which deals with the outside world. It is not for us to make recommendations regarding federal subjects, but we see obvious omissions in the above list, which makes no mention of foreign trade or of inter-state commerce or of federal finance.

5. Right of Secession.

The majority of the witnesses who favoured a federation of Burma asked for the right of secession by the states at any time. Few federal constitutions contain provision for the secession of states. It seems to us that, if any such right is to be contained in the federal constitution for Burma, it will have to be carefully limited and regulated.

6. Constitutional Safeguards.

The recommendations of the Constituent Assembly relating to the Frontier Areas should be incorporated in the Burma Constitution and in the appropriate Act of Parliament.

7. Interim Arrangements.

During the transitional period, the Shan Counsellor and the Deputy Counsellors for the Kachins and Chins should continue in office. The Frontier Areas Administration should also continue in this period under the control of the Counsellor and his Deputies. Where possible, administrative officers should be drawn from the indigenous peoples of the Frontier Areas.

8. States and other Territorial Units.

(1) The Federated Shan States.

(a) This federation should consist of the present States. The notified areas of Lashio, Taunggyi and Kalaw and the civil stations of Loilem and Loimwe should, for convenience in the administration of the federation, be incorporated in the respective States in which they are situated.

(b) Mongpai State should continue to be grouped with the three Karenni States for administrative purposes. Its political future should be decided by a Committee consisting of representatives of the Shan States Council, Mongpai and Karenni.

(c) The Kokang State or Sub-State should remain as a Sub-State of North Hsenwi.

(2) The Kachin Hills.

If a Kachin State is to be established as a Constituent State in the Burma Federation, the question is whether the Part I and the Part II areas should be amalgamated to form the new administrative and economic unit. Evidence given by representatives of Part II areas in the Bhamo District indicated probable unwillingness on the part of the Burmese and the Shan-Burmese population of the Part II areas to be merged in the new State, particularly as some of these are constituency areas. We must leave the point to be settled by negotiations in the Constituent Assembly. We agree, however, that the Triangle should be included in the new State and also the Hkamti Long area. The Namwan Assigned Tract should also be included in the State, but this inclusion will not of course, as such, affect its position as an Assigned Tract. Kachin witnesses assured us that, if Part II areas should be united with Part I areas to form the new state, they would willingly guarantee the rights and privileges of the non-Kachin peoples and freedom to retain their own customs.

(3) The Chin Hills.

In view of the doubt regarding the wishes of the people of the Chin Hills and of the Arakan Hill Tracts in regard to their political future, it must be left for negotiation and decision in the Constituent Assembly.

(4) The Karenni States.

The representatives of the Karenni States expressed a desire for some form of association with the other Frontier Areas. The exact form should be worked out in the Constituent Assembly.

The future of Mongpai State has already been referred to in paragraph 8(1)(b) above.

(5) The Salween District.

Evidence from the second group of representatives of this district indicated the desire for incorporation ministerial Burma as an ordinary district, but with the rider that, wherever possible, administrative officers in the district should be Karens.

(6) The Naga Hills.

External government of some kind is, we think, still necessary in this area, till such time as its people are fit for administering their area as a state in the Burma federation or a unit in ministerial Burma. We have considered whether the Federal Council which was mentioned earlier in this report, might suitably be entrusted with the supervision of the administration of this area. We think, however, that, since the Homalin Subdivision, to which the Naga Hills adjoin, will be part of Burma proper, the Naga Hills administration might be supervised by the Government of Burma proper. At present Homalin is the headquarters of the Naga Hills District. In the meantime it is desirable that close liaison should be maintained by the Burma Government with the Government of Assam, which also has Nagas on its borders, in order that a common policy for the Nagas can be worked out and operated by these two authorities.

(7) The Wa States.

The administration of these areas should be supervised either by the Federal Council or by the government of the Federated Shan States, until their people are fit to take over the administration of their own area either as a state in the Burma federation or as a unit of Burma proper. At present the Wa States are under the charge of the Resident of the Northern Shan States. On the whole we are of opinion that the Shan States government rather than the federal authorities would be in the best position to supervise the administration of the Wa States.

(8) Other Areas.

(a) Tamu Township. This, we think, should be included in ministerial Burma and have full constituency and other rights

(b) Eastern Toungoo, Kyain, Myawaddi and Thaton Part II Area. In our opinion, these areas should be include in ministerial Burma and should have full constituency and other rights, but negotiations to this end should take place in the Constituent Assembly.

(c) Thaungdut and Sinkaling Hkamti. These should, we think, be included in ministerial Burma with full constituency and other rights. The Sawbwas in these states should continue to perform their present functions.

(d) The Homalin Subdivision. This should also, in our opinion, be included in ministerial Burma and have full constituency and other rights.

(e) The Somra Tract. We think that this should be included in ministerial Burma and have full constituency and other rights.

(f) The Katha Part I Area should be, in our opinion, incorporated in ministerial Burma and have full constituency and other rights, this is a matter to be negotiated in the Constituent Assembly.

9. Acknowledgment.

Our task, enhanced in difficulty by the time factor, was facilitated by the energy and ability displayed by Mr. W.B.J. Ledwidge of the Burma Office, our Secretary; U Tun Pe, B.Fr.S., our Joint Secretary; and Major Shan Lone, O.B.E., M.C., B.Fr.S., our Assistant Secretary; and by the devoted and efficient services of our staff of reporters, interpreters, typists, clerks and peons, all of whom worked overtime and throughout the Burmese New year holidays. To each and every one of our Officers and Staff we wish to convey our grateful thanks and appreciation.

Signed: 1. D. R. REES-WILLIAMS, Chairman.

2. THAKIN NU.

3. SAO SAM HTUN.

4. TIN TUT.

5. HSINWA NAWNG.

6. KHIN MAUNG GALE.

7. VUM KO HAU.

8. MYINT THEIN.

9. SAW SANKEY.

**Maymyo,
24th April, 1947.**

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FRONTIER AREAS COMMITTEE
OF ENQUIRY

1947

REPORT

PRESENTED TO HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

IN

THE UNITED KINGDOM

AND

THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA

(Maymyo, 24th April 1947)

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APPENDIX I.

I. EVIDENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF SUPREME
COUNCIL OF UNITED HILL PEOPLES.

Maymyo, 21st, April 1947.

- (1) *Sawbwa of Yawnghwe*,—*President*.
- (2) *Sawbwa of North Hsenwi*,—*Vice-President*.
- (3) U Htun Myint.
- (4) *Duwa Zau Lawn*, Central Kachin Executive Council.
- (5) *Zau Rip*.
- (6) Chief *Pumza Mang*, K.S.M., A.T.M., Chin Hills.
- (7) Chief *Van Kio*.
- (8) *Sang Sam*,—*Secretary*, S.C.O.U.H.P. (Interpreter).

1. *Chairman* : You gentlemen know the object of our Enquiry ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : Yes.

2. *Chairman* : Would you let us know the views of S.C.O.U.H.P. as to the future association of the Frontier Areas with Ministerial Burma ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : We want to associate with Burma on the condition that full autonomy is guaranteed in our internal administration.

3. *Chairman* : What about common subjects ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : They are going to be combined with Burma.

4. *Chairman* : Have you suggestions as to how these common subjects should be dealt with ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : Subjects like Defence, External Affairs, Currency and Coinage and so on and so forth will be common subjects.

5. *Chairman* : What form of Government do you suggest to deal with them ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : A Federal Government.

6. *Chairman* : What is the Federal Government to consist of ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : It will consist of representatives of Burmese, Shans, Kachins, Chins and Karens.

7. *Chairman* : Should it be in a form similar to the United States of America system or will it be in a simpler form of Government ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : It is possible that it may be similar to the United States' System.

8. *Chairman* : Do you think this country will be able to run this proposed system straightaway? Have you enough men able to run a system like that of the United States?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : We consider that we have enough men for this purpose.

9. *Chairman* : Can you give us the list of common subjects you suggest?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : These common subjects will consist of External Affairs, Currency and Coinage, Customs, Excise and Railways.

10. *Chairman* : And other communications?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : Not other communications.

11. *Chairman* : Are these representatives here from the Shans, Kachin and Chin groups in the S.C.O.U.H.P.?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : Yes.

12. *Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : I think the President of the S.C.O.U.H.P. has some proposal as to how we (the S.C.O.U.H.P.) should go into the Federal Government, that is concerning the Shan States Council going direct into the Federal Council?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : Yes, here is a diagram of it.

13. *Chairman* : I see from your diagram that the Shan, Kachin and Chin areas are to send representatives to the S.C.O.U.H.P. and S.C.O.U.H.P. itself is to send representatives to the Federal Council. If I understand this diagram correctly, there would be no direct representation of the Shan, Kachin and Chin areas in the Federal Council. Am I right?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : Yes.

14. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Are you considering sending representatives to the Constituent Assembly from the S.C.O.U.H.P.?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : We do not contemplate sending members of the S.C.O.U.H.P. to take part in the Constituent Assembly. Provincial Councils from the various areas will do that.

15. *Chairman* : Is there anything else the President of the S.C.O.U.H.P. would like to say?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : We have already submitted to the Chairman a memorandum of the answers to the Questionnaire as determined by the S.C.O.U.H.P.

The Chairman read out the memorandum to the Committee as follows :—

EVIDENCE GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT OF S.C.O.U.H.P.

1. Representative members to the Constituent Assembly to be nominated by the Provincial Councils proportionately on intellectual basis, irrespective of race, creed and religion as far as the Hill Areas are concerned.

2. To take part in the Burmese Constituent Assembly on population basis, but no decision to be effected in matters regarding a particular area without a 2/3rd majority of votes of the Representatives of the Areas concerned.*

(a) Equal rights for all.

(b) Full internal autonomy for all Representatives of Hill Areas.

(c) Right of secession from Burma proper at any time after attaining Freedom.

3. It is resolved that due provision shall be made in the future Burmese Constitution that no diplomatic engagements shall be undertaken or appointments made without prior reference to the Hill States.

4. In matters of common subjects, e.g., Defence, etc., no decision shall be made without the prior consent of the majority of representatives of the Hill States irrespective of the Burmese votes.

5. The provision shall be made in the Constitution of the Federated Burma that any change, amendment or modification affecting the Hill States, either directly or indirectly shall not be made without a clear majority of 2/3rd votes of the Representatives of the Hill States.

6. When opinion differs as to the interpretation of the terms in the Constitution, the matter shall be referred for decision to a bench of the † High Court of Judicature at Rangoon comprising of the Chief Justice and two other Justices.

7. The total numbers of the Burmese members in the Federal Cabinet shall not exceed the total number of the members of the Frontier States in the said Cabinet.

President, S.C.O.U.H.P., C/Myaymyo.

Dated the 21st April 1947.

THE SHAN STATES COUNCIL.

1. It shall be called the Shan States Council.

2. Members shall be equally represented on the Council from the *Saohphas* and the people (33 *Saohphas* and 33 popularly nominated representatives).

3. For immediate purposes the Representatives of the people shall be nominated on intellectual basis, but election on population basis shall be the fundamental rule of election.

4. The nomination of the Representatives of the people shall be left to the present existing representatives of the people with the power to call in for advice and assistance anybody having genuine interests of the Shan States at heart.

5. This Council shall be invested with the following powers:—

(a) Legislative, (b) Executive and (c) Finance.

* Special consideration for Chins in view of divergence in language, customs and difficult means of communication.

† The Supreme Court the appointment or selection of which judges should by convention be approved by the majority of Frontier members of the Federal Government.

6. An Executive Committee consisting of 8 members (4 *Saohpas* and 4 representatives of the people) shall be selected from the Council to be in charge of all the Departments in the Shan States.

7. The present Executive Committee of the Council of Shan States *Saohpas* together with 2 nominated representatives of the people shall carry on with the work till such time as the Shan States' Council and its Executive Committee comes into existence as contemplated in 3 and 4.

8. The Shan States Federal Fund be revived and placed within the sole financial power of the Executive Committee.

(Sd.) HKUN PAN SING,

President, Council of Shan States Saohpas.

Dated Taunggyi, the 15th February 1947.

Addition to 5 above.—(d) Judicial (The Shan States shall have a separate High Court within the Shan States).

Addition to 6 above.—If 8 members is considered to be too many 4 to 5 main departments can be started with.

(Sd.) HKUN PAN SING,

President, Shan States Council.

Dated C/Myaymyo, the 21st April 1947.

**Decisions and Resolutions of the Meeting of the Supreme Council
of the United Hill Peoples held in Yawnghwe *Haw*, Yawnghwe,
from 18th to 25th March 1947.**

Extracts : Meeting No. 3, dated 23rd March 1947.

1. Representative members to the Constituent Assembly to be nominated by the Provincial Councils proportionately on intellectual basis, irrespective of race, creed and religion as far as the Hill Areas are concerned.

2. To take part in the Burmese Constituent Assembly on population basis, but no decision to be effected in matters regarding a particular area without a 2/3rd majority of votes of the Representatives of the Areas concerned.

(a) Equal rights for all.

(b) Full internal autonomy for all representatives of Hill Areas.

(c) Rights of secession from Burma proper at any time after attaining Freedom.

**Emergency S.C.O.U.H.P. meeting held at Yawnghwe Haw,
Yawnghwe, at 1 a.m. on the 27th March 1947.**

Present :—Saya Zau La.

Duwa Zau Lawn.

Labang Grong.

Captain Mang Tung Nung.

Chief Thawng Za Khup.

Chief Hniar Kulh.

U Vawmthu Mawng.

Saohpalong of Yawnghwe State.

Saohpalong of North Hsenwi State.

U Kya Bu.

I. It is resolved that due provision shall be made in the future Burmese Constitution that no diplomatic engagements shall be undertaken or appointments made without prior reference to the Hill States.

II. In matters of common subjects, *e.g.*, Defence, etc., no decision shall be made without the prior consent of the majority of representatives of the Hill States irrespective of the Burmese votes.

III. Due provision shall be made in the Constitution of the United Burma that any change, amendment or modification affecting the Hill States, either directly or indirectly shall not be made without a clear majority of 2/3rd votes of the Representatives of the Hill States.

IV. When opinion differs as to the interpretation of the terms in the Constitution, the matter shall be referred for decision to a bench of the * High Court of Judicature at Rangoon comprising of the Chief Justice and two other Justices.

(Sd.) S. S. THAIKE,

President, S.C.O.U.H.P., Yawnghwe.

The Shan States desire the following facts be taken into consideration by F.A.C.E. in its report to the Governments concerned :—

(1) The Shan States shall participate in the forthcoming Constituent Assembly, members to be nominated by the Shan States Council on population basis.

(2) In the Constituent Assembly no decision shall be effected in matters regarding the Shan States or any change, amendment, modification affecting the Shan States in the future Constitution of the Federation without a clear majority of 2/3rd of the votes of the members from the Shan States.

* The Supreme Court the appointment or selection of which judges should by convention be approved by the majority of Frontier members of the Federal Government.

(3) Association with Burma shall be on Federal basis with—

- (a) equal rights and status ;
- (b) full internal autonomy for the Shan States ;
- (c) right of secession from the Federation at any time after attainment of Freedom.

(4) Federation on subjects which cannot be dealt with by the Shan States alone—such as—

- (a) Defence,
- (b) Foreign and External Affairs,
- (c) Railways, Post and Telegraph,
- (d) Coinage and Currency,
- (e) Customs, etc.,

which would be defined as common subjects by the Constituent Assembly.

(5) The selection and appointments of the Judges of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution, should by Convention be approved by the majority of the Frontier members of the Federal Government.

BASIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WITNESSES.*

Shan States.

Q. 1.—What is the economic position of your area ?

A.—Fair.

Q. 2.—What is the geographical position of your area ?

A.—

Q. 3.—How have the political desires of the people you represent been discovered, e.g., by Council meetings, mass meetings, etc. ?

A.—Panglong Conferences on two occasions, 1946 and 1947.

Q. 4.—Do your people desire union with Burma ?

A.—No.

Q. 5.—If not, do they desire federation with Burma ?

A.—Yes.

Q. 6.—Do your people think that members of the races in the Frontier Areas should send representatives to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly ?

A.—Yes.

Q. 7.—If the answer to question *six* is in the negative, what do they propose in respect of the future of the Frontier Areas ?

A.—

Q. 8.—If the answer to question *six* is in the affirmative, what do they think should be the total number of representatives of the Frontier Areas in the Constituent Assembly ?

A.—On population basis.

* This questionnaire was presented to witnesses at least 24 hours before they gave evidence, as a general guide to the Committee's line of enquiry.

Q. 9.—How do they divide the total proposed in your reply to question *eight* between the several races in the Frontier Areas ?

A.—Only 3 races, Shan, Chin and Kachin recognized.

Q. 10.—Do they think that the representatives of the Frontier Areas in the Constituent Assembly should be elected in a manner similar to that for Burma proper ? Or do they think elections unsuitable ? If so, do they wish to suggest an alternative method ?

No. — Yes.

Q. 11.—Would they regard to the entry of Frontier Areas representatives into the Constituent Assembly as involving the inclusion of the Frontier Areas in a United Burma ?

A.—No.

Q. 12.—How do they propose that the Constituent Assembly should settle questions relating to the internal affairs of the Frontier Areas ?

A.—This question does not arise. Full internal autonomy.

Q. 13.—What methods of internal autonomy do they propose so far as they affect Burma proper ?

A.—This question does not arise.

Q. 14.—Does Burma declaring for a State outside or inside the Commonwealth make a difference ?

A.—No.

Q. 15.—Do they think that a small committee should be appointed to allocate subjects between the Central Government of Burma, and the governments of separate States and provinces ? Have they any suggestions as to what the common subjects should be ?

A.—Yes.

Q. 16.—Have they any observations to make on boundaries ?

A.—

Q. 17.—What do they suggest as the legal condition in the new Constitution, *i.e.*, statutory or customary law ?

A.—Customary law.

Q. 18.—What safeguards do they require for the faithful execution by the Central Government of Burma of any agreements reached ?

A.—His Majesty's Government to be guarantors.

SPECIAL QUESTIONNAIRE.

Shan States.

Q. 1.—What future do you propose for the Notified Areas of Kalaw, Taunggyi and Lashio and the civil stations of Loilem and Loimwe ?

A.—Go back to their respective parent States.

Q. 2.—What future do you propose for the Wa States ?

A.—We like to welcome them in the S.C.O.U.H.P. but a matter for Was to decide. It is our desire that Was should be given freedom simultaneously with us.

Q. 3.—What future do you propose for Kokang State ?

A.—It has been a sub-State of North Hsenwi since pre-war days.

Q. 4.—What future do you propose for Mongpai State ?

A.—It should remain in the Shan States.

16. *Chairman* : Is the answer regarding Mongpai State the decision of S.C.O.U.H.P. or of the Shan States Council ?

Sawbwa of North Hsenwi : The decision of the Shan States' Council.

17. *Chairman* : Do you mean by " population basis " a " population basis as compared with that of Ministerial Burma " ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : Yes.

18. *U Vum Ko Hau* : In paragraph 2 of Extract from Meeting No. 3, dated the 23rd March 1947, it was decided, was it not, by the S.C.O.U.H.P. to take part in the Constituent Assembly on a population basis and the S.C.O.U.H.P. recommended that special consideration be given to the Chins on account of the diversity of languages, customs and manners among the many tribes inhabiting the Chin Hills ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : The final decision rests with this Committee. I understand that the Chins have asked for 14 representatives to the Constituent Assembly, but on a population basis they should get only 3 or 4. The S.C.O.U.H.P. is willing to recommend a small number more than their actual entitlement on a population basis, for example one or two more. This was understood by all the Chin Members at our meeting.

19. *Chairman* : That is you are prepared to recommend one or two more, but not the whole number they have asked for.

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : Yes.

20. *U Vum Ko Hau* : What I want to know is what number the S.C.O.U.H.P. would recommend on a strictly population basis ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : On a population basis, as already said, the Chins are entitled only to 3 or 4.

21. *Chairman* : Have you worked out what number you are entitled to for the Shan States ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : Thirty.

22. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Will that 30 include the Kachins in the Shan States ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : All the population of the Shan States.

23. *Chairman* : There are 210 members in the Constituent Assembly representing Ministerial Burma. The population of Ministerial Burma is roughly 14 millions.

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : There are 1½ millions in the Federated Shan States.

24. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : On what census ?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : That is according to the 1941 census.

25. *U Khin Maung Gale* : According to the 1931 census, there were only 696,000 pure Shans in the Shan States.

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : We take the population as a whole.

26. *Chairman* : What about the Kachins ? How many do you think they are entitled to ?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : Two members are recommended for the Kachins in the Shan States.

27. *Chairman* : They will be included in the 30 ?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : Yes, in the 30.

28. *Chairman* : How many do you suggest from the Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts ?

Zau Rip : 10.

29. *Chairman* : That is from the area of the separate State which the Kachins have asked for ?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : Yes.

30. *Chairman* : How many members do you recommend for the Chins ?

Pum Za Mang : On account of the difficulty in communications and the diversity of languages, we should like to recommend more than our entitlement on a population basis. But we leave the matter entirely to the Committee.

31. *Chairman* : We want your suggestion. I want to know what it works out at on a population basis ?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : According to the actual population basis, they are entitled to three or four, but S.C.O.U.H.P. is willing to recommend two or three more.

32. *Chairman* : According to the 1941 population figures, I see that the total population of the Northern and Southern Shan States is 1,617,000. Do you agree ?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : Yes, that was the census figure.

33. *Chairman* : According to the 1941 census figures for the Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts, the population is 427,000 people ?

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : The actual number of the Kachin population is now more than what was originally recorded.

34. *Chairman* : The 1941 figures are the only definite figures we have. With regard to the Chin area, I notice that their figure is 186,000 according to the 1941 census.

Sawbwa of Yawngghwe : Yes.

35. *Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : About boundaries, does S.C.O.U.H.P. support the Kachin State ?

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : Yes.

36. *Chairman* : That is to say the State should include the whole of the Myitkyina and Bhamo Districts, Part I and II Areas.

Sawbwa of Yawnghwe : Yes, that is so.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

II. EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES FROM THE SHAN STATES.

Maymyo, 21st April 1947.

1. PRESIDENT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SHAN *Sawbwas*.

- (1) *Sawbwa* of Tawngpeng State,—*President*.
- (2) *Sawbwa* of Yawnghwe State.
- (3) *Sawbwa* of North Hsenwi State.
- (4) *Sawbwa* of Laikha State.
- (5) *Sawbwa* of Hsamonghkam State.
- (6) U Htun Myint.
- (7) Hkun Htee.
- (8) U Pyu.
- (9) Sang Sam (Interpreter).

37. *Chairman* : Have the *Sawbwas* considered the question of the association of Shan States with Ministerial Burma ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : Yes, we have.

38. *Chairman* : Would you like to give the Committee the views of the *Sawbwas*' Council ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : The views of the *Sawbwas* are recorded in the statement already submitted this morning.

39. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you would like to say ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : We have nothing else to say.

40. *Chairman* : Actually the Council of *Sawbwas* has ceased to exist and in its place the Council of the Shan States comprising both the *Sawbwas* and the representatives of the people has been constituted. Is that not so ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : Yes.

41. *Chairman* : Has the new Council met ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : We have not yet met.

42. *Chairman* : How much power has the Council ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : We have not yet drawn up the constitution.

43. *Chairman* : Is it the desire of the *Sawbwas* that the representatives to the Constituent Assembly shall be nominated by this Council ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : Yes.

44. *Chairman* : Is it also their intention that the representatives to the S.C.O.U.H.P. shall be nominated by this Council ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : Yes.

45. *Chairman* : Do you gentlemen think that it is better to send representatives from the S.C.O.U.H.P. to the Federal Government rather than direct from the Shan States' Council when the latter is set up ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : Yes, the representatives should go from the S.C.O.U.H.P.

46. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Is the S.C.O.U.H.P. going to be a sub-federation with a Government of its own ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : Yes, for the Frontier Areas only.

47. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : What subjects is it going to administer ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : All the common subjects of the Frontier Areas—Kachins, Chins and Shan States.

48. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : I thought the Federal Government was to deal with the common subjects. What I am trying to visualize is what the function of this S.C.O.U.H.P. will be ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : The S.C.O.U.H.P. is going to deal with the subjects which are common only to the Frontier Areas, *i.e.*, Shan States, Kachins and Chins.

49. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Is it going to have subjects different from those of the individual States ? or is it going to supervise the administration of these subjects ? What I am trying to get at is how the subjects are differentiated ; apparently there is to be one lot dealt by the Federation, one lot by the States, and one lot by the S.C.O.U.H.P. Is the S.C.O.U.H.P. going to supervise the subjects that will be administered by the State ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : S.C.O.U.H.P. will deal with subjects which are common to the Frontier Areas. As far as purely home affairs are concerned, they will be administered by the States themselves.

50. *Chairman* : Have you a list of the subjects to be administered by the S.C.O.U.H.P. ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : We have not drawn them up yet.

51. *Chairman* : Is there anything else any of you would like to say ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : No, nothing else.

51A. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Is the idea that the S.C.O.U.H.P. will deal with some subjects which are not federal subjects ?

Sawbwa of Tawngpeng : They will deal with certain common subjects for the three areas.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 11th April 1947.

2. SHAN STATES PEOPLES' FREEDOM CONGRESS
AND HSIPAW STATE.

- (1) Ko Tun Myint } Shan States Peoples' Freedom
(2) Hkun Saw } Congress.
(3) U Sein, Hsipaw State.

52. *Chairman* : I understand that you, who attend here, are from the Shan States Peoples' Freedom Congress, is that right? Can you tell us something about the Congress?

Ko Tun Myint : We have re-organized this Congress from March of this year.

53. *Chairman* : What are its aims and objects?

Ko Tun Myint : The unity, freedom and progress of the people.

54. *Chairman* : Is this a movement aimed at *Sawbwas*?

Ko Tun Myint : The aim and object of this association is to secure the freedom of the country in co-operation with the *Sawbwas*.

55. *Chairman* : How many members have you in the Congress?

Ko Tun Myint : 136,743 members.

56. *Chairman* : Are they paid-up members?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes, Sir.

57. *Chairman* : Has your Congress considered the question with which the Committee is concerned?

Ko Tun Myint : We have considered it only since we came here.

58. *Chairman* : What has been the result of your consideration?

Ko Tun Myint : We will answer your questions.

59. *Chairman* : What have you decided that you want politically?

Ko Tun Myint : We have decided to go into the Constituent Assembly which is going to be held not very many days from now, in Rangoon.

60. *Chairman* : Would you like to be represented in the Constituent Assembly?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes, Sir.

61. *Chairman* : You mean that you would like the Congress to be represented there, or the Shan people to be represented there?

Ko Tun Myint : The Shan people.

62. *Chairman* : Have you thought out what sort of representation you want; how many members?

Ko Tun Myint : We propose to be represented in the Constituent Assembly in proportion to the population—on population basis.

63. *Chairman* : As compared with Ministerial Burma?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes, Sir.

64. *Chairman* : How do you suggest that the representatives would be chosen ?

Ko Tun Myint : We propose that the representatives shall be chosen by the Provincial Council which is going to be formed in the Shan States.

65. *Chairman* : So the representatives will really be nominated by the Provincial Council ?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes, Sir.

66. *Chairman* : Have you thought out what the eventual outcome should be so far as the association of the Shan States with Burma is concerned ?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes, Sir, we have thought it out.

67. *Chairman* : What have you in mind about the future association between the two ?

Ko Tun Myint : As a federation.

68. *Chairman* : There are many kinds of federation. What kind do you like ?

Ko Tun Myint : The common subjects should be dealt with by the central federation, and the rest should be dealt with by the States. The States will have internal autonomy.

69. *Chairman* : This central federation you are talking about—is that a central body with representatives of Ministerial Burma and the frontier States or is it the Burma Legislative Assembly itself ?

Ko Tun Myint : By and by after the formation of the Constituent Assembly there might probably be two Houses :—the Upper and the Lower ; the representation to the Lower House will be on the basis of population, and that to the Upper House will be according to territory.

70. *Chairman* : Are you talking about some Federal Parliament—is that what you mean ?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes, I mean a Federal Parliament.

71. *Chairman* : Do you mean a Federal Parliament in addition to a Parliament for Ministerial Burma itself ?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes. The Ministers from Ministerial Burma shall have to be in that Federal Parliament.

72. *Chairman* : Do you mean that there should be one Parliament for Ministerial Burma and one Parliament for the Shan States, and in addition, another Parliament for the whole, including the Frontier Areas ?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes, exactly.

73. *Chairman* : There are two possible ways, are there not ? First you can have a Federal System as in the United States of America and secondly you can have your representatives in the Legislative Assembly of Burma proper. Which do you prefer ?

Ko Tun Myint : I prefer the first way.

74. *Chairman* : Does it make any difference to you whether Burma stays within the Commonwealth or goes out ?

Ko Tun Myint : No, Sir.

75. *Chairman* : You do not mind either way ?

Ko Tun Myint : No, it does not matter.

76. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : With regard to the Federal Upper House do you prefer the House to consist of representatives of Regions or of Nationalities ?

Ko Tun Myint : I prefer it to be on the basis of nationality.

77. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : What future do you propose for the Wa State ?

Ko Tun Myint : We have not thought specially about the Wa States but we have included it in our consideration regarding the Shan States.

78. *Chairman* : Should they form part of the Shan States ?

Ko Tun Myint : If they should like to be in the Shan States, well, they can be.

79. *Chairman* : If not ?

Ko Tun Myint . Well they can choose to be outside it, but they ought to be given freedom at the same time as the Shan States.

80. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : What about Kokang State ?

Ko Tun Myint : We propose that the Shan States Parliament should consider this question.

81. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Papun District is under the direct administration of the Governor. Does your Congress think that the privileges which the Karens, Chins and Shans have received should be also extended to the Papun District.

Ko Tun Myint : We are prepared to give them every assistance and every help if they should care to take help from us.

82. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : If there is a federation, have you thought out how you are going to send your representatives ?

Ko Tun Myint : We have thought out what subjects should be handled by this federation.

83. *Chairman* : What are they ?

Ko Tun Myint : Foreign relations, Defence, Communications and Currency.

84. *Chairman* : Do you believe that the Burma Ministerial Government would agree to all these things being dealt with by the Federal Council ?

Ko Tun Myint : There is no reason why the Ministerial Government should not agree to it.

85. *Chairman* : Well take the question of Finance. The Frontier Areas are 16 per cent of the whole in population. Most of the

finance at the moment comes from Ministerial Burma. Do you see Ministerial Burma being prepared to allow finance to be handled by the Executive Council ?

Ko Tun Myint : We shall have to settle that question in the Constituent Assembly with the Burmese people.

86. *Chairman* : Can you tell me something about what you propose ? Do you propose that there should be one Parliament for the Shan States itself ?

Ko Tun Myint : Well we propose to have a sort of Council, not exactly a Parliament—but a sort of Council.

87. *Chairman* : For the Federated Shan States ?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes, Sir.

88. *Chairman* : Will that Council appoint representatives so far as the Shan States are concerned to the Federal authority ?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes, at present we make that proposal.

89. *Chairman* . A Parliament for Burma consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives, that is what you said. Well until such time as these are set up do you foresee a Federal Council for Burma, representatives being appointed to it from the Federated Shan States Council ?

Ko Tun Myint . It is possible.

90. *Chairman* : Have you considered the question of the “ notified areas ” and “ civil stations ” ?

Ko Tun Myint : According to the Congress these will have to be made over to their respective States.

91. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Which of the nationalities do you think should be represented in the Senate ?

Ko Tun Myint : For example, only those peoples who number over 50,000—will have representatives in the Senate, and not those who do not come up to that number.

92. *Chairman* : If the Council of the Shan States is going to select representatives, that would seem to be on a territorial and not on a nationality basis ?

Ko Tun Myint : It depends on the will and pleasure of the Shan Council.

93. *Chairman* : Whether it should be nationality or territorial ?

Ko Tun Myint . Yes, Sir.

94. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Just now you talked about a Shan State, a Kachin State and a Chin State, yet in the composition of the Senate you want representation by nationality. How can you reconcile these two opposite views of representation by territory and representation by nationality ?

Ko Tun Myint : The best thing will be representation by nationality, but if that is not possible we shall have to choose the alternative of territory.

95. *Chairman* : You have suggested nationality but in fact so far as you have gone you have worked on a territorial and not a nationality basis.

Ko Tun Myint : We will try and work it out and if that is not possible we shall have to revert to the other.

96. *Thakin Nu* : Because some other nationalities do not come up to the required number, you will have to work on the territorial basis ?

Ko Tun Myint . Some of the nationalities do not come up to the required number.

97. *Chairman* : By internal autonomy, which you mentioned earlier you meant autonomy on a territorial basis ?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes, Sir.

98. *Chairman* : A territorial basis for internal autonomy and a nationality basis for the Federal Senate will be very difficult to work out ?

Ko Tun Myint : Perhaps so.

99. *U Khin Maung Gale* : When you ask for internal autonomy you ask on a territorial basis, but when you ask for the representation in the Senate you ask on a nationality basis ?

Ko Tun Myint : Yes, Sir.

100. *Chairman* : Hkun Saw, do you want to say anything in addition ?

Hkun Saw : In the Frontier Areas there are Shans, Kachins and Chins. Supposing Shans were represented in the Federal Senate by two persons, Kachins and Chins would likewise be represented by two—each race represented by two. There are many tribes in the Shan Race but those who are in the Shan States we would consider as Shans in spite of their tribes. The population of Chins, Kachins and Shans is about equal.

101. *U Vum Ko Hau* : How many principal tribes are there in the Shan States ?

Hkun Saw : There are nearly 30 tribes among the Shans, but of them, some 7 are best known to the people.

102. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Are the dialects the same ?

Hkun Saw : Some of them are different.

103. *U Vum Ko Hau* : How many different dialects are there ?

Hkun Saw : I cannot say exactly, but the 30 tribes have some three dialects which are similar.

104. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Can they all understand the Shan language ?

Hkun Saw : No, some of them do not understand it.

105. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Is that the universal language ?

Hkun Saw : Generally the Shan language is spoken and understood but there are some who do not understand it.

106. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : When you say two representatives from each area in the Federal Senate, how many representatives do you suggest for Burma ?

Hkun Saw : Burma should be represented by two.

107. *Chairman* : What about you, U Sein ? Are you representing Hsipaw State ?

U Sein : Yes, Sir. I represent Hsipaw State.

108. *Chairman* : You heard the other representatives. Do you agree with what they have said ?

U Sein : I agree with them.

109. *Chairman* : Is there anything you would like to add to what they have said ?

U Sein : In the Shan States there may be a number of tribes but all of them are at the same time Shans and most of them speak the Shan language which is almost universal. Shan culture is imbibed by almost all.

110. *Chairman* : Is that all ?

U Sein : My friends have already spoken.

111. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Are you a member of the Shan States Peoples' Congress ?

U Sein : Yes, I am a member.

112. *Chairman* : Are you also a representative of the Hsipaw State ? By whom were you chosen ?

U Sein : I am a representative. I was chosen by the votes of the Hsipaw State Advisory Council.

113. *Chairman* : Are you a member of that Council ?

U Sein : I am the Chairman of the Working Committee of the State Advisory Council.

114. *Chairman* : Is that the Official Council of the State ?

U Sein : Yes, under the direction of the Government, it is the "Peoples' Advisory Council."

115. *Chairman* : But it is the official one set up recently.

U Sein : Yes, at the instance of the Government.

116. *Chairman* : Anything further that you would like to say ?

U Sein : I endorse what my friends have said.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses and wished them a safe return journey. The witnesses then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 21st April 1947.

3. SOUTHERN SHAN STATES OTHER THAN KENG TUNG.

- (1) Hkun Htee.
- (2) U Htun Myint.
- (3) U Pyu (*Taungthu*).
- (4) U Sein Nit.
- (5) Sang Sam (Interpreter).

117. *Chairman* : Have you gentlemen selected your spokesman ?

Hkun Htee : I will speak for all of us.

118. *Chairman* : Whom do you represent ?

Hkun Htee : We represent the Southern Shan States.

119. *Chairman* : By whom were you selected ?

Hkun Htee : We were selected by the Shan States' Council.

120. *Chairman* : But, how can that be when we were told it has not met as yet ?

Hkun Htee : Before the Panglong Conference we had the Shan States *Sawbwas*' Council, but afterwards it was dissolved and a new Council was formed. Representatives of the people are also to be on this new Council. The Executive Committee of the new Council has met and selected us as representatives to this Committee, but the full Council has not met as yet.

121. *Chairman* : Are the other three witnesses also selected by this Executive Committee ?

Witnesses : Yes.

122. *Chairman* : What is the opinion of the Southern Shan States people on the question of the association of the Shan States with Ministerial Burma ?

Hkun Htee : Our views are just the same as those recorded in the statement submitted by the *Sawbwas* and we have nothing to add to it.

123. *Chairman* : Is there anything else any of you would like to say ?

Witnesses : No, all has been said.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 14th April 1947.

4. MONGMIT AND KENG TUNG STATES.

- (1) U Shein, Mongmit State.
- (2) Sao Sing Zai, representative of the *Sawbwas* of Kengtung State.
- (3) Sai Ling Tip, representative of the people of Kengtung State.

124. *Chairman* : U Shein, you are the representative of Mongmit State ? Is it in the Northern Shan States ?

U Shein : Yes, Sir.

125. *Chairman* : Are you a representative of the people ?

U Shein : Yes, Sir.

126. *Chairman* : Where and when were you elected ?

U Shein : At Mongmit on the 23rd of March.

127. *Chairman* : Do you know the purpose of this Enquiry ?

U Shein : Yes, Sir.

128. *Chairman* : Will you tell the Committee what your people desire with reference to the subject matter of this Enquiry ?

U Shein : What the masses want is to abide by the decision of S.C.O.U.H.P. to unite with Burma.

129. *Chairman* : What exactly do you mean by " unite " ?

U Shein : I mean " federation ".

130. *Chairman* : What would be the common subjects ?

U Shein : Foreign Relations, Currency and Coinage, Customs, Communications. These are the common subjects.

131. *Chairman* : What about Defence ?

U Shein : S.C.O.U.H.P. will decide that.

132. *Chairman* : Can you tell us whether your people want the Shan States to be represented in the Constituent Assembly ?

U Shein : We would like to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

133. *Chairman* : In what numbers ?

U Shein : On a racial basis.

134. *Chairman* : In what numbers ?

U Shein : On a basis of 1 : 50,000.

135. *Chairman* : Anything further you would like to say ?

U Shein : No, Sir.

136. *Chairman* : Sao Sing Zai, you are the representative of the *Sawbwa* of Kengtung State, and your colleague is a representative of the people. Is he not ?

Sao Sing Zai : Yes, Sir.

137. *Chairman* : What is the wish of the *Sawbwa* and the people with regard to the future association of the Kengtung State with the other Frontier Area people ? In other words, does the Kengtung State wish to remain in the Shan States Federation ?

Sai Ling Tip : Yes.

138. *Chairman* : What do the people wish with reference to the future association of the Shan States and Ministerial Burma ?

Sai Ling Tip : It depends on the decision of the Shan States Council.

139. *Chairman* : Have they got any views on it at all ?

Sai Ling Tip : We want internal autonomy and equal rights in the federation.

140. *Chairman* : Is that in the Shan States Federation ?

Sai Ling Tip : Yes.

141. *Chairman* : Have you got any ideas as to the form of federation ?

Sai Ling Tip : Representatives should be sent on a population basis to the Federal Council.

142. *Chairman* : What subjects should the Federal Council deal with ?

Sai Ling Tip : It depends on what the internal Government cannot decide.

143. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : You mean subjects which the internal Government cannot properly deal with ?

Sai Ling Tip : Yes, Sir.

144. *Chairman* : Do you wish to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly ?

Sai Ling Tip : Yes.

145. *Chairman* : In what proportion ?

Sai Ling Tip : On a basis which is a compromise between a population basis and a racial basis.

146. *Chairman* : Does Sao Sing Zai agree with what you have said now ?

Sao Sing Zai : Yes, Sir.

147. *Chairman* : Sao Sing Zai, your State is very closely associated with Siam. Is it not ?

Sao Sing Zai : Yes, in everything.

148. *Chairman* : In fact, it is much easier to get into Siam than to get into Burma ?

Sao Sing Zai : Yes.

149. *Chairman* : Are you still anxious to remain in the Shan States Federation ?

Sao Sing Zai : Yes, for the present.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses and wished them a safe return. The witnesses then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 12th April 1947.

5. NORTH HSENWI STATE.

(a) Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung.

150. *Chairman* : What is your name ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : My name is Hkun Hpung.

151. *Chairman* : You are the representative of North Hsenwi State ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : Yes, Sir.

152. *Chairman* : North Hsenwi State is predominately Shan ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : Yes, Sir.

153. *Chairman* : But there is a big Kachin minority there ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : Yes, Sir, but more Shans than Kachins.

154. *Chairman* : Whom are you representing this morning ? Are you representing all the people of the State ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : Yes. I am the President of the Kutkai Council (which is Kachin) as well as a member of the State Advisory Council (which is Kachin and Shan) and a member of the S.C.O.U.H.P. from North Hsenwi State.

155. *Chairman* : You are sent by the Council to represent the people of the State ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : I am sent by the Chief of North Hsenwi State.

156. *Chairman* : By the *Sawbwa* ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : Yes, Sir.

157. *Chairman* : What is the desire of the *Sawbwa* and the people of North Hsenwi State as regards the future of the Shan States ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : The opinion of the people is that Chins, Kachins and Shans, according to Panglong Agreement, should associate themselves with the Burmese Government, and these free people should form themselves a S.C.O.U.H.P. to participate in the Burmese Constituent Assembly.

158. *Chairman* : Have you considered what should be the form of association between the people of the Frontier Areas that you mention and Ministerial Burma ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : The Frontier Areas people should have equal rights with the Burmese and should also obtain the internal autonomy of their areas.

159. *Chairman* : Have you worked out any form of Government which could carry out the purpose you have in mind ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : Once freedom is obtained, it is left to the representatives of the Frontier Areas people to work out the form of constitution in the Burma Constituent Assembly.

160. *Chairman* : How many representatives do you suggest there should be in the Constituent Assembly for the frontier peoples ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : There should be representatives in equal numbers of Chins, Kachins and Shans.

161. *Chairman* : Yes, but how many should there be in the Constituent Assembly ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : I cannot say what number at present. It is left to the Council to decide.

162. *Chairman* : Which Council ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : The Shan States Council.

163. *Chairman* : Well, the Shan States Council cannot decide for the Chins.

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : The S.C.O.U.H.P. Council.

164. *Chairman* : S.C.O.U.H.P. Council ? When is it going to meet again ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : If necessary, after this Enquiry Committee meeting. We are waiting for the President.

165. *Chairman* : Anything else which you would like to say ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : I want to speak on the internal problem of North Hsenwi State. Before the war, it was one complete State and Kokang State was considered a subsidiary State of North Hsenwi State ; but since the war, Kokang State has become a separate State. I want all the people of North Hsenwi State, the Kachins, Chinese and the Shans, to live together in one State and to participate in the Federated Shan States as well as in the S.C.O.U.H.P. I leave it to the Government to consider this problem.

166. *Chairman* : You haven't mentioned Karens at all. Don't you think they should form part of the S.C.O.U.H.P. ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : I have not spoken to the Karens yet.

167. *Chairman* : Yes, but what do your people think about it ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : The peoples' opinion is that the Karens should join us in the S.C.O.U.H.P.

[The Chairman thanked the witness and wished him a safe return journey. The witness then withdrew.]

SOUTH HSENWI STATE.

(b) U Hme.

168. *Chairman* : What is your name ?

U Hme : My name is U Hme.

169. *Chairman* : Where do you come from ?

U Hme : I come from South Hsenwi State.

170. *Chairman* : Are you a representative of the *Sawbwa* ?

U Hme : No. I am a representative of the masses.

171. *Chairman* : How did the masses select you ?

U Hme : There was a meeting and it was decided to select me as a representative.

172. *Chairman* : Where was the meeting held ?

U Hme : At Mongyai.

173. *Chairman* : And when was that ?

U Hme : During the *Tabaung* Festival—in the month of March.

174. *Chairman* : And what did they instruct you to say ?

U Hme : The resolution passed at the meeting was that we agreed to the Panglong Agreement and decided to join the Shan States with Ministerial Burma.

175. *Chairman* : Do you agree to the federation of Shan States with Ministerial Burma ?

U Hme : Yes, Sir.

176. *Chairman* : Have you considered what the form of union should be with Burma ?

U Hme : We want internal autonomy.

177. *Chairman* : And what should be the common subjects ?

U Hme : Defence, Foreign Relations and Communications.

178. *Chairman* : Have you thought at all how the form of union should be framed ?

U Hme : We want to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

179. *Chairman* : In what numbers ?

U Hme : In proportion to our population.

180. *Chairman* : In comparison with Ministerial Burma ?

U Hme : Yes, Sir.

181. *U Khin Maung Gale* : What about Finance as a common subject ?

U Hme : We don't want to have Finance as a common subject in the Central Government.

182. *Thakin Nu* : Do you know what is known as the British Commonwealth of Nations ?

U Hme : Yes, Sir.

183. *Thakin Nu* : At the Constituent Assembly the question whether we shall remain within or go outside the British Commonwealth of Nations will have to be decided. So, if Burma decides to go out of the British Commonwealth of Nations, will your decision to federate with Burma be affected ?

U Hme : We have asked for permission to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly. We shall abide by the decisions of the Constituent Assembly.

184. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Are you a member of the Shan States Peoples' Freedom Congress ?

U Hme : No. I am not.

[The Chairman thanked the witness and wished him a safe return journey. The witness then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 12th April 1947.

6. TAWNGPENG STATE.

- (1) Ko Nwe.
- (2) Ko Pwint.

185. *Chairman* : Ko Nwe, you are a representative of Tawngpeng State ?

Ko Nwe : Yes, Sir.

186. *Chairman* : Is Tawngpeng one of the States in the Shan Federation ?

Ko Nwe : Yes, it is in the Northern Shan States, Sir.

187. *Chairman* : Are the Bawdwin Mines in your State ?

Ko Nwe : Yes, Sir.

188. *Chairman* : Are you a representative of the *Sawbwa* or the people ?

Ko Nwe : I am a representative of the people.

189. *Chairman* : When were you elected as a representative ?

Ko Nwe : A meeting was held on the full-moon day of *Tabaung*, in March, and a Resolution was passed to the effect that I should come here as the people's representative.

190. *Chairman* : Where was the meeting held ?

Ko Nwe : In the town of Namsam, the capital of Tawngpeng State.

191. *Chairman* : What are the desires of the people of Tawngpeng State with regard to the future of the Shan Federation ?

Ko Nwe : We are satisfied with the Agreement made at Panglong and we support the Agreement.

192. *Chairman* : The Panglong Agreement did envisage co-operation with Burma, did it not ?

Ko Nwe : Yes.

193. *Chairman* : Have you worked out the form of co-operation that you desire ?

Ko Nwe : We will consider this question only after our Council is formed.

194. *Chairman* : Which Council ?

Ko Nwe : The Shan States Council.

195. *Chairman* : The Shan States Council has already been formed, has it not ?

Ko Nwe : Our aims and objects are for a Federal Council.

196. *Chairman* : Have you considered the question of sending representatives to the Constituent Assembly which is shortly to meet in Rangoon ?

Ko Nwe : Yes, we have considered it.

197. *Chairman* : What is your decision ?

Ko Nwe : We have decided that the Shan States Council should elect representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

198. *Chairman* : In what numbers ?

Ko Nwe : I do not know.

Ko Pwint : On a population basis.

199. *Chairman* : Ko Pwint, are you also a representative from the people of the Tawngpeng State ?

Ko Pwint : Yes.

200. *Chairman* : Were you selected at the same time as your colleague ?

Ko Pwint : Yes.

201. *Chairman* : Do you mean by "population basis" one proportionate to the population of Burma ?

Ko Pwint : Yes.

202. *Chairman* : Have you any ideas about the form of association between Burma and the Shan States ?

Ko Pwint : We would like to hold elections as in Burma proper, but we cannot carry them out at present. It is not advisable or suitable at present to have an election.

203. *Chairman* : Who would then appoint the representative ?

Ko Pwint : They should be elected by the Shan States Council.

204. *Chairman* : Are you talking about representatives to the Constituent Assembly ?

Ko Pwint : Yes.

205. *Chairman* : Have you any views on what the form of Government should be in order to associate Burma with the Frontier Areas ?

Ko Pwint : We should have equal rights with Burma proper. We should also have the right of secession if we desire and self-determination.

206. *U Khin Maung Gale* : If Burma and the Shans were to unite what form do you suggest ?

Ko Pwint : Federation.

207. *U Khin Maung Gale* : What subjects do you propose to entrust to the Central Government ?

Ko Pwint : Defence, Communications, Foreign Relations and Customs.

208. *U Khin Maung Gale* : What about Finance ?

Ko Pwint : Finance and currency are also to be included.

209. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Do you mean that you are going to empower the Central Government with these subjects ?

Ko Pwint : Yes.

210. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpaw* : Finance too ?

Ko Pwint : By Finance, I do not mean all finance, I mean currency.

211. *Chairman* : Do you mean by currency the actual coinage issue ?

Ko Pwint : Yes.

212. *U Khin Maung Gale* : If Burma were to go out of the British Commonwealth of Nations, how would it affect the federation of the Shan States with Burma ?

Ko Pwint : It will not affect it in any way.

213. *Chairman* : Do you wish to say anything more ?

Ko Pwint : We want to unite with Burma and have freedom.

214. *Chairman* : Are you a Member of the Shan States Peoples' Freedom Congress and your colleague too ?

Ko Pwint : Yes, Sir. We both are members.

215. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Who are the majority of the labourers in the Bawdwin Mines ?

Ko Pwint : At present the Indians form the majority, and next come the Chinese.

216. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Are these Indians imported from India or are they nationalized Burmans ?

Ko Pwint : Most of them were imported from India.

217. *Chairman* : For the purpose of working in the Mines ?

Ko Pwint : Yes, Sir.

218. *U Vum Ko Hau* : What is the percentage of our own indigenous races working in the Bawdwin Mines ?

Ko Pwint : The indigenous races from 10—15 per cent only.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses and wished them a safe return. The witnesses then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 16th April 1947.

7. KACHINS OF NORTH HSENWI AND MONGMIT STATES.

(1) Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung, North Hsenwi.

(2) Duwa Zau Bawk, North Hsenwi.

(3) Lashi Gam, North Hsenwi.

(4) Kareng Hkam, A.T.M., North Hsenwi.

(5) Duwa Zau Ba, Mongmit

219. *Chairman* : Are you all representatives of North Hsenwi State ?

Witnesses : Four are from North Hsenwi and one is from Mongmit.

220. *Chairman* : Have you elected a spokesman to speak for all of you ?

Witnesses : Duwa Zau Bawk will speak for us.

221. *Chairman* : You all know the purpose of this Enquiry ?

Duwa Zau Bawk : Yes.

222. *Chairman* : What are the views of the North Hsenwi Kachins with regard to their future position ?

Duwa Zau Bawk : We want to live cordially with the Shans and to remain in the North Hsenwi State as a sub-State under the *Sawbwa*. We want to have equal rights with the Shans and internal autonomy within our own sub-State. We want to send our own representatives to the Constituent Assembly on a population basis.

223. *U Vum Ko Hau* : What is the population of the Kachins in North Hsenwi ?

Duwa Zau Bawk : Over 90,000.

224. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Does that figure include the Kachin population of Mongmit as well ?

Duwa Zau Bawk : No, the population of Mongmit is not included in that.

225. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you four gentlemen would like to say ?

Lashi Gam : We support the Kachins' claim for a distinct Kachin State in Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts, federated with Burma. That is all I want to say.

226. *Chairman* : Duwa Zau Ba, you come from Mongmit State ?

Duwa Zau Ba : I represent the Kachins of Tawngpeng, Mongmit and Kodong States, Sir.

227. *Chairman* : They are minorities in the Shan States ?

Duwa Zau Ba : Yes.

228. *Chairman* : What are their wishes ?

Duwa Zau Ba : I have already signed the memorandum * demanding a distinct Kachin State. All the Kachins in our area support this claim.

229. *Chairman* : What about your own position ? Do you want to stay in the Mongmit State ?

Duwa Zau Ba : Yes, we want to stay under the *Sawbwa* as a sub-State.

230. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Do you propose the sub-State be called " Kachin sub-State " or merely " Kodong sub-State " ?

Duwa Zau Ba : We do not want to differentiate between Shans and Kachins ; we just want to have a sub-State.

* For text of memorandum, see III-1, Annexure I.

231. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you would like to tell us ?

Duwa Zau Ba : We want to stay in the Shan States with the same status as the Kachins of North Hsenwi and we support all the statements made by them.

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : I have signed the memorandum asking for a Kachin State ; but I want to add something to that. In the Shan States, including the Wa and Kengtung States, there are over 100,000 Kachins and for that reason we asked the British Government in 1945 to give us a distinct Kachin State in the Shan States. But the Government replied that since we were under the Shan States we had no grounds to ask for it, and therefore we do not want to raise the matter again. The people of my area, however, want to support the Kachins' claim for a distinct State in Myitkyina and Bhamo Districts, which areas have never been under anybody. If the non-Kachins in Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts have the same ideas as the Kachins of North Hsenwi State, there should be no difficulty in the development of social dealings with the people of that area.

232. *Chairman* : What you mean is that if the Kachins in the North Hsenwi State are prepared to remain with the Shans, the non-Kachins in the Bhamo and Myitkyina areas should be prepared to live with the Kachins ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : Yes, exactly. The Kachins are backward and are like a younger brother to the Burmans and Shans, and if the Shans and Burmans assist the Kachins in every way, the prosperity of Burma will then be assured. I am a representative of both Shans and Kachins of North Hsenwi State. What my colleagues have just stated is incomplete. I want to explain further about the separate Kachin State in the Shan States. The most thickly populated Kachin areas are in Tawngpeng, North Hsenwi and Mongmit ; we want to have a distinct Kachin State there and have our own local autonomy. But the budget, etc., should be handled by the respective Shan Chiefs. That means some will go to North Hsenwi, some to Tawngpeng and some to Mongmit.

233. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tül* : Do you want a combination of the three Kachin sub-States ? For what purpose ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : Yes, to preserve the Kachin race. The Kachins of Mongmit and Tawngpeng are very backward. They have never even seen their *Sawbwas*. They have just been under the Assistant Residents all the time and they know nothing. By having a combination of three groups, they can help one another. We have no intention of rising up against the Shan States or anybody.

234. *Chairman* : From an administrative point of view, they are within three distinct Shan States, are they not ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : Does that mean that we cannot form a Kachin State composed of the areas of the three Kachin sub-States ?

235. *Chairman* : I am asking whether the difficulty is that the Kachin areas lie in three different Shan States, no two of which adjoin one another ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hpung : We shall have to settle that in the S.C.O.U.H.P.

236. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : If you send any representatives to the Constituent Assembly should it be from any distinct area, e.g., from Mongmit or North Hsenwi or Tawngpeng ?

Howa Duwa Hkun Hbung : It should be on a population basis. We do not mind whether it be from Mongmit or North Hsenwi or Tawngpeng.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 11th April 1947.

8. KOKANG STATE.

(1) Yang Cheje.

(2) Yang Kyein Sein.

237. *Chairman* : Well, you two gentlemen are from Kokang State, and Yang Cheje, you are the son of the *Myosa* of Kokang State, is that right ?

Yang Cheje : Yes, Sir.

238. *Chairman* : The *Myosa* is the hereditary chief, is he not ?

Yang Cheje : Yes, he is.

239. *Chairman* : Is it a fact that most of the inhabitants of the State are Chinese ?

Yang Cheje : Of the total population of 40,804 ; 33,474 are Chinese.

240. *Chairman* : What are the others ?

Yang Cheje : The numbers are : Palaung 3,224 ; Shans 1,405 ; Lisu (allied to the Chinese) 720 ; Myaung (also allied to the Chinese) 649 ; Was 636 ; Kachins 600 and Sino-Shans 96.

241. *Chairman* : If my understanding is correct, prior to the Japanese occupation Kokang was a sub-State of North Hsenwi ?

Yang Cheje : Yes, it was.

242. *Chairman* : Has there been any difference since the British reoccupation ?

Yang Cheje : It has become a separate State.

243. *Chairman* : What State is it now ?

Yang Cheje : Kokang State.

244. *Chairman* : Does your father now claim to be an independent chief ?

Yang Cheje : Yes, Sir.

245. *Chairman* : Has your father any Council to advise him ?

Yang Cheje : We have not formed a Council yet, but we have two or three elders to advise him.

246. *Chairman* : He claims to be not merely an independent monarch but an absolute monarch as well, is that right ?

Yang Cheje : I cannot say, Sir.

247. *Chairman* : Well, now, what is the opinion of your father and the elders and, if they have any real means of knowing the will of the people of Kokang with regard to the future of the State ?

Yang Cheje : If we get internal autonomy and if we have all the rights and privileges of the *Sawbwas* we should like to abide by the decision of S.C.O.U.H.P.

248. *Chairman* : Do you desire to form part of the Shan Federation ?

Yang Cheje : If we get internal autonomy we will join.

249. *Chairman* : What is your father's view of the association of the Shan States with Ministerial Burma ?

Yang Cheje : If we get what I have mentioned just now he agrees to whatever federation the Shans choose to join.

250. *Chairman* : He will abide by the decision of the Council of the Shan States ?

Yang Cheje : Yes, Sir.

251. *Chairman* : Supposing he does not get autonomy ; supposing the Shan *Sawbwas* do not agree ?

Yang Cheje : Then we won't join the federation.

252. *Chairman* : What would you do then ?

Yang Cheje : We will convince the *Sawbwas* of our case.

253. *Chairman* : Supposing you fail to do so ?

Yang Cheje : We believe that we will succeed.

254. *Chairman* : You make no provision for failure ?

Yang Cheje : We will try not to fail.

255. *Thakin Nu* : Since Kokang is on the Chinese border and since the majority of her population is Chinese, in case of failure, would you like to go over to the Chinese ?

Yang Cheje : We will join with whatever country gives us internal autonomy.

256. *Chairman* : What do you mean exactly by internal autonomy ?

Yang Cheje : There should be no external interference in our internal affairs.

257. *Chairman* : Yes, but that is only half way. What are the common subjects you propose should be dealt with by whatever federation you join ?

Yang Cheje : Communications, Finance, Defence and Foreign Affairs.

258. *Chairman* : These are the common subjects ?

Yang Cheje : Yes, we will abide by whatever decision they make regarding these subjects.

259. *Chairman* : In other subjects you want to run your own affairs.

Yang Cheje : Yes, Sir.

260. *Chairman* : What do the Kachin minority say ?

Yang Cheje : Because they are in the minority they would abide by whatever decision we make ; when we fought the Japanese they joined us.

261. *Chairman* : Is there any Chinese pressure in your area ?

Yang Cheje : No pressure at present. But they have been making propaganda.

262. *Chairman* : What sort of propaganda ?

Yang Cheje : Political propaganda.

263. *Chairman* : For what purpose ?

Yang Cheje : They say that China is good. I do not know what they mean by it.

264. *Chairman* : Who is the gentleman with you, what is his position ?

Yang Cheje : He is the peoples' representative.

265. *Chairman* : Is he the representative of the three elders ?

Yang Cheje : No, Sir, he does not represent the three elders.

266. *Chairman* : How did the people select him ?

Yang Cheje : At a meeting.

267. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : With effect from what date do you consider Kokang State separated from North Hsenwi State ?

Yang Cheje : I do not know definitely, Sir. When my father interviewed the former Governor of Burma in India during the war he was told verbally.

268. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Has this separation been legalized by the Civil Government on its return to Burma ?

Yang Cheje : I do not know, Sir, if it was legalized. However, since the time of the Japanese we have been running our own show and the Government did not say a word to us.

269. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Will your father be content to remain in North Hsenwi State if he is allowed to manage the affairs of Kokang State ?

Yang Cheje : My father would not like to stay in North Hsenwi State and the people also would not like to stay in it : we are from a different tribe ; and our customs are different ; and so is our social life.

270. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Do you consider yourself still in the Shan Federation at present ?

Yang Cheje : We have no dealings with the Shan Federation at present and we do not know our position.

271. *Chairman* : Yang Kyein Sein, you are said to be the representative of the people of Kokang State ?

Yang Kyein Sein : Yes, Sir.

272. *Chairman* : By whom were you chosen ?

Yang Kyein Sein : On receipt of a letter from Government the people selected me and sent me here.

273. *Chairman* : How did they make this selection ?

Yang Kyein Sein : On receipt of the letter from Government and when the people came to know that certain evidence was to be given at Maymyo I was selected.

274. *Chairman* : Yes, but where, how and when ?

Yang Kyein Sein : We invited the people and informed them that we had a letter from the Government to such and such effect and then they collected and said to me " You had better go and represent us " ; and thus I come here.

275. *Chairman* : Where did they collect ?

Yang Kyein Sein : At Kokang.

276. *Chairman* : Is there a town of Kokang ?

Yang Kyein Sein : At the bazaar.

277. *Chairman* : You mean at the bazaar of Kokang ?

Yang Kyein Sein : It is a market town—Longkong, also known as Malipa.

278. *Chairman* : You just got the people who happened to be in the bazaar together ?

Yang Kyein Sein : Yes, Sir.

279. *Thakin Nu* : What the Chairman means is, did they come for shopping purposes, or did they come for the purpose of discussion on receipt of the letter from the Government ?

Yang Kyein Sein : On receipt of the letter we informed the people that such and such was the case and that certain evidence was to be given before the Committee. On the Market Day they collected at the bazaar, and the selection was made.

280. *Chairman* : What did they tell you to say ?

Yang Kyein Sein : No specific instructions were given. But I was told " proceed to Maymyo and answer what Government ask you. You go and ascertain what the questions are ".

281. *Chairman* : Well what is your own view on the future of Kokang ?

Yang Kyein Sein : Similar to what Yang Cheje has stated, Sir. We do not want any external interference in our internal affairs.

282. *Chairman* : Would you like to say anything further ?

Yang Kyein Sein : No, Sir.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 12th April 1947.

9. (a) SOUTHERN WA STATES.

(1) Naw Hkam U, Manglun State.

(2) Sao Naw Hseng, Hsawnglong State.

283. *Chairman* : Naw Hkam U, are you the Chief Minister of the Manglun State ?

Naw Hkam U : Yes, Sir.

284. *Chairman* : Is the Manglun State one of the 33 States in the Shan Federation ?

Naw Hkam U : Yes, Sir.

285. *Chairman* : Are the people of the Manglun State all Was ?

Naw Hkam U : There are Shans as well as Was.

285A. *Chairman* : Are there more Was than Shans ? Have you any idea about their numbers ?

Naw Hkam U : There are more Was than Shans.

286. *Chairman* : Is the *Sawbwa* or Chief of your State a Shan or a Wa ?

Naw Hkam U : He is actually a Wa, but by inter-marriages and so on, he had become almost a Shan.

287. *Chairman* : What are you yourself ?

Naw Hkam U : I am a Shan.

288. *Chairman* : Has the Chief of Manglun a Council ?

Naw Hkam U : Yes.

289. *Chairman* : Is that State Council representative of the people in any way ?

Naw Hkam U : Yes, it is a peoples' Council.

290. *Chairman* : Has that Council considered the subject matter of this Enquiry ?

Naw Hkam U : Yes.

291. *Chairman* : What is the desire of that Council with regard to the future status of Manglun ?

Naw Hkam U : In the past, we have been in the Federated Shan States and now we are willing to continue to be in them and abide by the decisions of the Shan States Council.

292. *Chairman* : Is that the *Sawbwa's* view too ?

Naw Hkam U : Yes.

293. *Chairman* : Have you any ideas on the form of association between the Federated Shan States and Burma ?

Naw Hkam U : We are not well educated in politics but we are willing to abide by the decision of the Federated Shan States Council.

294. *Chairman* : Sao Naw Hseng, is the State of Hsawnglong one of the Wa States ?

Sao Naw Hseng : Yes, Sir.

295. *Chairman* : Is the Hsawnglong State one of the 33 States in the Shan Federation ?

Sao Naw Hseng : No, it is a separate Wa State.

296. *Chairman* : Is it administered by the Frontier Areas Administration ? Have you any British Officers there ?

Sao Naw Hseng : Yes, it is administered by the Assistant Resident from Manglun.

297. *Chairman* : Who is your *Sawbwa* ?

Sao Naw Hseng : I represent the Chief of Ving Ngun. I am the head of the Hsawnglong State, which is a sort of a sub-State of Ving Ngun.

298. *Chairman* : Are you also a Chief ?

Sao Naw Hseng : I am a minor Chief.

299. *Chairman* : Are the people in your sub-State Was or Shans ?

Sao Naw Hseng : All Was.

300. *Chairman* : Is the principal State Wa or Shan ?

Sao Naw Hseng : It is a Wa State. There is only one Shan village in my State.

301. *Chairman* : Have you a State Council or elders to assist you ?

Sao Naw Hseng : Yes, there is a State Council.

302. *Chairman* : Have you discussed with the State Council the subject of this Enquiry ?

Sao Naw Hseng : Yes, Sir, but I do not know much about politics. I cannot even speak good Shan. I was sent by the Chief of Ving Ngun (the principal State) to come here.

303. *Chairman* : What do you want to happen to your State, politically ?

Sao Naw Hseng : We will abide by whatever decision the Government makes in regard to our future.

304. *Chairman* : What does the Chief of Ving Ngun think about it ?

Sao Naw Hseng : I am representing him, and he will say the same thing.

305. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Would you like to go into the Federated Shan States ?

Sao Naw Hseng : No, Was are Was and Shans are Shans. We would not like to go into the Federated Shan States.

306. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : If the Shan States prosper, would you not like to prosper along with them ?

Sao Naw Hseng : I cannot say, because I have no instruction from my Chief on this point.

307. *Chairman* : Have you any other instructions ?

Sao Naw Hseng : I have nothing more to say.

[Chairman thanked the witnesses and wished them a safe return home. He also requested them to convey the Committee's greetings to the *Sawbwa*.]

(The witnesses then withdrew.)

Maymyo, 11th April 1947.

9. (b) NORTHERN WA STATES.

(1) Hkun Sai.

(2) Sao Maha.

308. *Chairman* : We are very pleased to see you and thank you for coming here. Are you representing the people of the Wa States ? Who has selected you ?

Hkun Sai : I come as representative of the Chief of Mongkong.

309. *Chairman* : Is that a Wa Chieftain ?

Hkun Sai : Yes, he is a Wa Chieftain.

310. *Chairman* : What does the Chieftain think about the future of the Wa States ?

Hkun Sai : The Chieftain told me that he had received orders from Government to come and listen to what the Committee had to say. When I arrived at Lashio, the Resident told me to come here and listen to the Committee and what it had to say.

311. *Chairman* : Do you know anything about the object of this Committee ?

Hkun Sai : I do not know anything.

312. *Chairman* : The object of this Committee is to find out what the peoples of the Frontier Areas want as regards their political future.

Hkun Sai : As for the future, we would like to remain as in the past, that is to be independent of other people.

313. *Chairman* : Do you want any sort of association with other people ? What about the Shans ? Do you want to be joined up with them ?

Hkun Sai : We do not want to join with anybody because in the past we have been very independent.

314. *Thakin Nu* : Don't you want education, clothing, good food, good houses, hospitals, etc. ?

Hkun Sai : We are very wild people and we do not appreciate all these things.

315. *Chairman* : Do you have any communication with other people, for example, with the Shans and the Chinese ? Or do you live entirely by yourselves ?

Hkun Sai : We live entirely by ourselves ?

316. *Chairman* : Does the Chieftain rule on his own or do the people have any say ? Is there any form of Council ?

Hkun Sai : Yes, we have elders. They advise the Chieftain.

317. *Chairman* : Are the elders selected by the tribes ?

Hkun Sai : The Chieftain as well as the people agree that they should be elders.

318. *Chairman* : Are the Wa States administered now to some extent by the Frontier Service ? Do they have British Officers ?

Hkun Sai : Yes.

319. *Chairman* : Do you want something of the same kind of administration to continue ?

Hkun Sai : As for the future, I cannot say, but now we are working hand-in-hand with the Government.

320. *Chairman* : Do you want that to continue ?

Hkun Sai : I do, at present.

321. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Are there any Kachins in the Wa States ?

Hkun Sai : Yes.

322. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : How many ?

Hkun Sai : I do not know.

323. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Do the people of the Wa States know that you are being sent here as their representative ?

Hkun Sai : No.

324. *Chairman* : Sao Maha, who sent you here ?

Sao Maha : One Assistant Resident sent me. I do not know his name. I come from Mongmon.

325. *Chairman* : Do the people of that district know that you have come here ?

Sao Maha : No.

326. *Chairman* : Do you know what this Committee is considering here ?

Sao Maha : I do not know. I was sent from my State to Mongmon where I stayed ten days. From there I was sent to Lashio and from Lashio I was sent over here.

327. *Chairman* : What do you want the future position to be in the Wa States ?

Sao Maha : We have not thought about that because we are wild people. We never thought of the administrative future. We only think about ourselves.

328. *Chairman* : Have you got any ideas as to how you would like the Wa States to be administered in future ?

Sao Maha : No.

Chairman : We know that you have come a long way through very difficult country and we are very grateful to you for coming to Maymyo. We are very glad to meet you. We hope you will take back to the people of the Wa States our greetings.

(The witnesses then withdrew.)

10. NOTIFIED AREAS.

- (1) Ko Myat Tun, Kalaw Notified Area.
- (2) Ko Ba San, Taunggyi Notified Area.
- (3) Ko Aung Nyun, Lashio Notified Area.

329. *Chairman* : Ko Myat Tun, are you from Kalaw ?

Ko Myat Tun : Yes, Sir. I am from Kalaw.

330. *Chairman* : Have the people of Kalaw considered the subject matter of this enquiry ?

Ko Myat Tun : Yes, Sir. The Kalaw people have considered it.

331. *Chairman* : Is Kalaw a Notified Area ?

Ko Myat Tun : Yes, Sir.

332. *Chairman* : Have you had a meeting of the people of Kalaw ?

Ko Myat Tun : Yes, Sir. We had a meeting.

333. *Chairman* : Was the meeting a representative one ? Was there a large gathering ?

Ko Myat Tun : It was a meeting of the whole town ?

334. *Chairman* : What did they decide there ?

Ko Myat Tun : In gist, Sir, for Burma and the Shan States to be united and for both Burma and the Shans States to get freedom.

335. *Chairman* : What did they decide about the form of unity between the Shan States and Burma ?

Ko Myat Tun : Our aim is that the Shan States should get freedom as much as Burma gets freedom, and go into Burma as part of Burma.

336. *Chairman* : Do you mean by sending representatives to the Burma Legislature ?

Ko Myat Tun : Yes, Sir.

337. *Chairman* : In other words, they would like the Shan States to be part of Ministerial Burma, *i.e.*, Burma proper ?

Ko Myat Tun : We propose to send Shan Ministers to the Ministry of Burma to work together with other Ministers of Burma on a proportionate basis.

338. *Chairman* : What Ministers are you talking about ?

Ko Myat Tun : The Ministers elected by the Shan States.

339. *Thakin Nu* : There are two ways of uniting with Burma. One way is for the Shan States to be united with Burma as a part of Burma and the other is to be federated with Burma. Which does Kalaw want ? That is what the Chairman wants to know.

Ko Myat Tun : What I mean to say is for the Shan States to be united with Burma. If the Shan States are not satisfied to be in the union they should have the right of secession to go out of the union.

340. *Chairman* : Does that mean that Kalaw wishes the Shan States to be merged with Burma as part of Burma or to be federated with it, having in the latter case their own form of Government for local and internal affairs and federation with Burma for common subjects ?

Ko Myat Tun : We wish the Shan States to have internal autonomy and to federate with Burma for common subjects.

341. *Chairman* : What about the future of Kalaw ? What was decided at the meeting about that ?

Ko Myat Tun : To follow the footsteps of the Shan States ; whatever the Shan States get, Kalaw should get.

342. *Chairman* : What about its future position ? Is it to be merged with the Shan States or to remain separate ?

Ko Myat Tun : To merge with the Shan States.

343. *Chairman* : What State do the people of Kalaw want to be in ?

Ko Myat Tun : In Thamakhan, which is the nearest to us.

344. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Previously Kalaw was part of Thamakhan and it was under the Thamakhan *Sawbwa* ?

Ko Myat Tun : Yes.

345. *Chairman* : That is previous to it becoming a Notified Area ?

Ko Myat Tun : Yes.

346. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Are you a member of the Shan States Peoples' Freedom Congress ?

Ko Myat Tun : No, I am not a member.

347. *Chairman* : By whom were you chosen to appear before this Committee ?

Ko Myat Tun : By the meeting of Kalaw.

348. *Thakin Nu* : Will your decision to federate with Burma be affected if Burma decides to go out of the British Commonwealth ?

Ko Myat Tun : It does not affect us.

Ko Ba San.

349. *Chairman* : Ko Ba San, you represent Taunggyi ?

Ko Ba San : Yes, Sir.

350. *Chairman* : Is that a Notified Area ?

Ko Ba San : Yes, Sir.

351. *Chairman* : Have you had a town meeting at Taunggyi ?

Ko Ba San : Yes, Sir.

352. *Chairman* : How many people attended that meeting ?

Ko Ba San : The whole town, Sir.

353. *Chairman* : Did they select you to represent them here ?

Ko Ba San : Yes, Sir.

354. *Chairman* : What was the decision of the people of Taunggyi ?

Ko Ba San : Firstly, to federate with Burma. Secondly, that Taunggyi should be restored to Yawnghwe because it was part of Yawnghwe previously.

355. *Chairman* : Did they go further at all and suggest what form of federation they wish with Burma ?

Ko Ba San : No, we have not decided.

356. *Chairman* : Anything more you would like to say ?

Ko Ba San : I have nothing to say but I am prepared to answer any questions put to me.

357. *Chairman* : Have you thought yourself about the form of federation between the Shan States and Burma ?

Ko Ba San : I have my personal opinion.

358. *Chairman* : Would you like to express it ?

Ko Ba San : No, Sir. I do not like to divulge it.

359. *Thakin Nu* : Why not ?

Ko Ba San : Because it is my single individual opinion.

Thakin Nu : I think you can express it as your individual opinion.

Chairman : You are a man of standing in your town and your opinion would be valuable.

360. *U Khin Maung Gale* : I think you are a member of the Shan States Peoples' Freedom Congress and you will therefore abide by the decision of the Congress ?

Ko Ba San : Yes, Sir.

361. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Do you want to say anything about the Civil Station of Loilem ?

Ko Ba San : Yes. (Witness produced a document from the people of Loilem. This was read out to the meeting by the Interpreter, as follows :—

“ A meeting of the Shan States Peoples' Freedom Congress was held at the Congress premises in Loilem and the following decisions were made :—

1. To send representatives to the coming Constituent Assembly.
2. To depute *Ko Ba San* as representative to the Enquiry Committee which is going to be held at Maymyo.”)

362. *U Khin Maung Gale* : You represent Loilem as well ?

Ko Ba San : Yes.

363. *Chairman* : I understand that the people of Loilem desire to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly. Do they desire to form part of the Shan States ?

Ko Ba San : They desire to be federated.

364. *Chairman* : What I mean is do they desire to merge with any State ? If that be so, what State would that be ?

Ko Ba San : It would be Laikha.

U Aung Nyun.

365. *Chairman* : U Aung Nyun, you represent Lashio ?

U Aung Nyun : Yes, Sir.

366. *Chairman* : Have you been appointed by the people of Lashio to represent them ?

U Aung Nyun : Yes, Sir.

367. *Chairman* : We have the minutes of the Lashio Town mass meeting held on the 20th March of this year to ascertain the views of the people of Lashio on the subject matter of this Enquiry. We notice that 447 people attended the meeting.

U Aung Nyun : Yes, Sir.

368. *Chairman* : A certain resolution was passed unanimously ?

U Aung Nyun : Yes, Sir.

369. *Chairman* : The question decided was that the people desired to stay within the North Hsenwi State. Is that so ?

U Aung Nyun : Yes, Sir.

370. *Chairman* : Does it mean that the people want to re-enter the North Hsenwi State ?

U Aung Nyun : Burma is on the verge of freedom and the same applies to the Shan States. We should like to go into North Hsenwi State to get the advantage of this freedom.

371. *Chairman* : Have they given you any other instructions beyond that? Anything about the future association of the Shan States with Burma?

U Aung Nyun : No further instructions, Sir.

372. *Chairman* : Have you had any instructions other than that mentioned in the minutes?

U Aung Nyun : No, Sir. No further instructions.

373. *Chairman* : Have you any personal views you would like to express?

U Aung Nyun : My personal opinion is that the Shan States should federate with Burma.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses and wished them a safe return home.]

III. EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES FROM BHAMO AND MYITKYINA DISTRICTS.

Maymyo, 16th April 1947.

1. BHAMO-MYITKYINA, KACHINS AND HKAMTI LONG SHANS.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----------------------|
| (1) Duwa Zau Lawn | ... | } Bhamo District. |
| (2) Ugyi Htingnan | ... | |
| (3) Zau Tang | ... | |
| (4) Lawdan Duwa Zau La | ... | |
| (5) Mungga Tu, A.T.M., B.G.M. | ... | |
| (6) Subedar Maran Tu | ... | |
| (7) Maraw Tu | ... | |
| (8) Kumreng Gam | ... | |
| (9) Zau Rip | ... | } Myitkyina District. |
| (10) Zau Naw | ... | |
| (11) Karing Naw | ... | |
| (12) Hpala Gam | ... | |
| (13) Zau Aung | ... | |
| (14) Gum Lan | ... | |
| (15) Sumdu Gam | ... | |
| (16) U Aung Ba | ... | } Hkamti Long. |

374. *Chairman* : Now whom do all you gentlemen represent?

Duwa Zau Lawn : I represent the Myitkyina and Bhamo Central Council.

Ugyi Htingnan : I represent the District Council and the people of Shwegu District.

Zau Tang : I represent the masses and the District Council of Bhamo.

Lawdan Duwa Zau La : I represent the District Council, Bhamo.

Mungga Tu : I represent the masses and the District Council, Bhamo.

Subedar Maran Tu : I represent the masses of Bhamo.

Maraw Tu : I represent the District Council, Bhamo.

Kumreng Gam : I represent all the Kachins in Myitkyina Town and neighbourhood.

Zau Riþ : I represent the Central Executive Council of Bhamo and Myitkyina.

Zau Naw : I represent the people of Sadon and Sima Subdivisions, Myitkyina District.

Karing Naw : I am the President of the District Council of the Triangle Area and also one of the members of the S.C.O.U.H.P.

Hþala Gam : I represent the District Council of Laukhaung and Htawgaw Subdivisions of Myitkyina District.

375. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Is that also part of the Triangle ?

Hþala Gam : Yes.

Zau Aung : I represent the Hukawng Valley.

Gum Lan : I represent the Hukawng Area.

Sumdu Gam : I represent the Kachins of three tracts of the Putao Subdivision.

376. *Chairman* : Have you chosen a spokesman ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, Sir. I will be the spokesman.

377. *U Khin Maung Gale* : And also for Hkamti Long ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : I will speak for Bhamo and Myitkyina. If you wish to examine the Hkamti Long witnesses separately, he is prepared to make an answer separately.

378. *Chairman* : You are representatives of the Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts are you not ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, Sir.

379. *Chairman* : And one representative from Hkamti Long ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, Sir. One representative from Hkamti Long is also among us.

380. *Chairman* : How were you chosen ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : In some places the representatives were elected at District Council meetings and in some places at mass meetings.

381. *Chairman* : You know the purpose of this Enquiry ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, Sir.

382. *Chairman* : What is the desire of the people of Bhamo and Myitkyina with regard to the purpose of this Enquiry ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Before the Kachins from Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts came to a decision they held a meeting and prepared their desires in a Memorandum * which I have brought here and which they desire to have laid before the Committee.

383. *Chairman* : Is it in English ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Because we are short of time we have prepared it only in Burmese. We want to request that the translation of the Memorandum which is now submitted be made by the Hon'ble U Tin Tüt.

Chairman : We have official translators. U Tin Tüt will, perhaps check the translation.

The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt : I will.

384. *Chairman* : I see that you speak in the Memorandum about a " federal constitution " ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, Sir.

385. *Chairman* : Well, do you think that the Frontier Areas are ready for a full-scale federal constitution straightaway ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, we think so, Sir.

386. *Chairman* : Do you think it advisable to have a half-way stage between the present, when there is no such constitution, and the full federal constitution ? Is that advisable in your opinion ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, I hope that we should have an intermediate stage at least for five or six years.

387. *Chairman* : Have you thought out what the intermediate stage should be ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : We shall have to think that matter out at the Constituent Assembly.

388. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Please describe how you form the District Council ?

389. *Chairman* : Do you want the Hkamti Long Tract as part of the Kachin State ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : We should like to have it, Sir.

390. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Have you got the figures for the population of Hkamti Long ?

391. *Chairman* : No figures at all ?

392. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : What is the racial distribution in Hkamti Long ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : I think the representatives from Myitkyina will be able to tell you.

393. *Chairman* : What about the Namwan Assigned Tract ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : We should like to have them, Sir, in the Bhamo District as now.

* For text of Memorandum, see Annexure I.

394. *Chairman* : You have been envisaging a Kachin State not a Bhamo District. What future do you foresee for the Namwan Assigned Tract ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Now they are under the administration which the Kachins are getting. We should like them to remain in *status quo*. We agree with what the British settle.

395. *Chairman* : Do you mean that whatever agreement the British make with the Chinese you will abide by it ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, Sir.

396. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tül* : Who live in the Namwan Assigned Tract ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Mostly Shans.

397. *Chairman* : What about the Triangle ? I presume you want the Triangle in the Kachin State as well.

Duwa Zau Lawn : They might like to be with us in the Kachin State.

398. *Chairman* : Have you a representative here from the Triangle ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, Sir. His name is Karing Naw, Sir.

399. *Chairman* : Well, Karing Naw, do you agree with everything the *Duwa* has said ?

Karing Naw : Yes, Sir.

400. *Chairman* : All the people of Triangle want to form part of the Kachin State mentioned in the Memorandum is that right ?

Karing Naw : Yes, Sir. We should like to do that. The majority there are Kachins.

401. *Chairman* : Who is from the Hkamti Long Area ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : U Aung Ba.

402. *Chairman* : Now, U Aung Ba, you are from the Hkamti Long Area ?

U Aung Ba : Yes, Sir.

403. *Chairman* : What is your desire ? Is it the same as is in the Memorandum ?

U Aung Ba : Yes, Sir. Exactly.

404. *Chairman* : What is the major race in your tract ?

U Aung Ba : Roughly, Sir, the Shans form the majority of the population, and the minority is Kachin ; very insignificant in number are Lisus.

405. *Chairman* : What are you yourself ?

U Aung Ba : I am a Shan, Sir.

406. *Chairman* : Do the Shan majority wish to form part of the Kachin State ?

U Aung Ba : Yes, Sir.

407. *Chairman* : Who is from Katha ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Padip La Tawng, Sir. He is representative of Katha and was one of the signatories of the Memorandum. Because I told him that it will not be necessary for him to give evidence, he did not come here, Sir.

408. *Chairman* : Do the people of the Katha, Part I Area, agree with the terms of the Memorandum ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, Sir. The representative himself has signed it.

409. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : In that Memorandum there are certain conditions. Are they the conditions for your entry into the Constituent Assembly ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : We will go into the Constituent Assembly anyway. There, we will place the matter before the representatives. But if they reject our demands we will not join the federation.

410. *Chairman* : You will enter the Constituent Assembly in any case ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, Sir.

411. *U Khin Maung Gale* : How many representatives of the District Council are here and who are they ?

(12 representatives from the District Council stood up.)

412. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Is Jinghpaw the dialect generally understood in the Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Not all the people understand Jinghpaw in either Myitkyina or Bhamo.

413. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Is it generally understood among the Jinghpaws ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, Sir.

414. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Are the customs of the Jinghpaws the same ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Generally, Sir, they are alike.

415. *Chairman* : Have you anything further to say ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : I have nothing particular more to say, Sir.

416. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : The British have administered the Lisai. What do you suggest for the future of Lisai ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : According to us, Sir, we should like to have it in the Kachin State because the customs and manners of the people are all Kachin.

417. *Chairman* : Where exactly is Lisai ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : It is just above Homalin, Sir; the western projection of Myitkyina District, just above Homalin. (The witness pointed it out on the map.)

418. *Chairman* : Who administers this now ? Is it a Part I Area ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : It is in Myitkyina District, but it is quite far off and is not properly administered.

419. *Chairman* : Does it officially form part of Myitkyina District ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : Yes, Sir. It forms a part of it.

420. *Chairman* : Well that is all right. You have already dealt with that in your Memorandum.

421. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : What understanding have you come to with the people in the Hukawng Valley ?

422. *Chairman* : The Hukawng Valley is in the Myitkyina District, is it not ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : It is part of Myitkyina. Some of the people there are Chins but they are very much akin to the Kachins and would like to be with us. Their Chief is here with us.

423. *Chairman* : What is his name ?

Duwa Zau Lawn : His name is Gum Lan.

424. *Chairman* : Gum Lan, are you the representative of the Hukawng Chins ?

Gum Lan : Yes, Sir. I was selected by the Chins and the people over there.

425. *Chairman* : Do you agree with what Duwa Zau Lawn has said ?

Gum Lan : Yes, Sir.

426. *Chairman* : Do you agree with the terms of the Memorandum ?

Gum Lan : Yes, Sir.

427. *Chairman* : Do you want to join with the Kachins of the Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts and be made into one State ?

Gum Lan : Yes, Sir. Our ideas are all the same and we would like to join them.

428. *Chairman* : Have any of the gentlemen anything further to say ?

Zau Naw : What we want has been already mentioned in the Memorandum.

429. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you wish to say in addition to the Memorandum ? This is your opportunity.

Zau Rip : We want to get into the Constituent Assembly not later than the 15th of May.

430. *Chairman* : Well, I understand that the Constituent Assembly is going to open on the 1st of June. Do you mean that you want the decision to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly to be reached by the 15th of May ?

Zau Rip : Yes, Sir.

431. *Chairman* : No doubt the Burma Government will appreciate that point of view and will make arrangements for you. Any other questions?

Zau Tang : Sir, I represent the area between Burma proper and China. All our people have asked me to try my best to get a Kachin State. Our area has been frequently visited by the Chinese and I am afraid there might be friction between the two in future.

432. *Chairman* : What is the attitude of the Chinese over the border?

Zau Tang : I saw signs that the Chinese would invade Burma.

433. *Chairman* : Do you think that the Chinese will invade Burma when the British leave?

Zau Tang : There are signs that the Chinese will come in when the British move out of Burma.

434. *U Khin Maung Gale* : What do you mean by the signs of Chinese aggression?

Zau Tang : There are rumours in our locality that Burma belongs to China.

435. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Among whom, Chinese?

Zau Tang : Both among Kachins and Chinese.

436. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Was there any Chinese invasion of the Kachin area before the late war?

Zau Tang : Do you mean by the Chinese Army?

437. *U Khin Maung Gale* : By armed infiltration.

Zau Tang : Before the war there was no such case.

438. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Can you enlighten us why now after the war there will be armed infiltration by Chinese in the Kachin area?

Zau Tang : When the Japanese invaded Burma some of the Chinese evacuated through the Kachin Hills; since then the Chinese have maltreated Kachins, and there had been friction between the Kachins and the Chinese. The Chinese want to have some reprisals on the Kachins.

439. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Do you think that the friction between the Kachins and Chinese would bring about revenge on the Kachins as a whole by the Chinese? Will these accidents form a national issue?

Zau Tang : The Chinese are blaming the Kachins.

440. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Are the Kachins any way to be blamed? Don't you think that this is the responsibility of those who went into the war? These accidents were the deeds of the people who were actively engaged in the war.

Zau Tang : I am not aware of all those things, I just express the state of things existing there.

441. *Thakin Nu* : I understand from you that you do not want the British to leave Burma because the people here would be unable to defend you all against the Chinese invasion, is that right ?

Zau Tang : I am not fully aware of all those things. I just say what the people asked me to tell.

442. *Thakin Nu* : So do I understand this from you ; in view of the fact that the Chinese will invade the Kachins when the British go out of Burma, proper steps should be taken for the defence of the Kachin Hills ?

Zau Tang : I have no idea about it, I just express what is happening here.

443. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Just a statement of fact without any implication ?

Zau Tang : Yes, Sir.

444. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Have there been any frequent armed infiltrations of the Chinese even after the termination of this war ?

Zau Tang : There have been frequent infiltrations by batches of 4 or 5 Chinese and there have been instances when the regular Chinese Army under Major Wang came into Loiye and other places in our area.

445. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Was the invasion by Chinese under Major Wang during or after the war ?

Zau Tang : After the reoccupation of the area by the British.

446. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Did you hear a rumour that when asked by some people at Loiye, Major Wang said that they were not fighting against the Kachins but against the British ?

Zau Tang : I have not heard that.

447. *U Khin Maung Gale* : When you say batches of 4 or 5, do you mean dacoits ?

Zau Tang : Yes, Sir.

Kumreng Gam : I want to request that if we by our ignorance fail to express certain things which ought to be expressed clearly here, then we should like our case to be considered very favourably and with kindness.

448. *Chairman* : You have expressed yourselves very clearly. We are very grateful to you for coming here and for giving evidence before the Committee and we wish you all a safe return.

(The witnesses then withdrew.)

ANNEXURE I.

Memorandum expressing the wishes of the Kachin People, submitted to the Enquiry Committee by the Group of Kachin Representatives sent from Kachin Hill Areas.

We thank the British Government and the Governor's Executive Council for their success in forming an Enquiry Committee to explore ways and means for the lasting association for mutual benefit of the minority races in the hill regions of Burma, with the Burmese, as contemplated by the London Agreement executed between the two Governments.

We also thank the Chairman as well as the members of the Enquiry Committee for the consideration paid to the Kachin people by inviting them in order to ascertain their wishes.

As the Kachin representatives, who will give evidence are those selected at meetings of the District Council and the Kachin people, it may be accepted that what they will say are without doubt in the best interests of the Kachin people and their future welfare, in administration as well as in the field of economics.

Though undoubtedly there are many natural and geographical links between the Burmese and the Kachins, yet there are such wide divergences in manners, customs, beliefs and racial characteristics that we cannot consider that the time has yet come for the fusion of the Burmese and the Kachin into one nation.

On the other hand, our complete separation from the Burmese will affect adversely the welfare and economic progress of both. The best course therefore is for the Kachins to form a separate state within a Burmese federation.

The Kachins have a strong desire that the Kachin State should include not only the hill areas but the whole district of Myitkyina and Bhamo, and the plains and hill areas forming the northern portion of the Katha District.

The reason for this desire to include the plains areas which come under the scope of the Government of Burma Act, 1935, is that the Kachin Hill areas in the northern part of Burma run north to south down to the north of Katha and extend in strips like the fingers of a hand. There are streams and narrow plains in between these strips of hill areas and there live Shans, Burmese and a few non-Burmans. Under the Government of Burma Act, 1935, those streams and plains are Part II Scheduled Areas while the Kachin Hill Areas are Part I Scheduled Areas.

In the Myitkyina and the Bhamo Districts, the Part I Areas, where the Kachins live form the largest portion, and the Kachin population is also the largest. The dissection of each district into numerous parts has caused undue complexity and difficulty in the relationship between the Kachins themselves and also in the political and economic progress of the Kachins.

The retention of the division into Part I and Part II will hinder the association of the Burmese and Shans with the Kachins and create antagonism. In Part II Areas the Shan population is the largest. Shans and Kachins have been living together in amity since the days

of old. There is considerable similarity between Shans and Kachins in the manner of living, in customs and in mentality. Over a hundred thousand Kachins are residing in the Shan States of Hsenwi, Momeik, Tawngpeng and Hsipaw States. In view of the fact that the Kachins can live amicably with the Shans in these States, there is no reason why those Shans who live in the Myitkyina and the Bhamo Districts should not live in harmony with the Kachins.

In requesting the inclusion of the Shans and the Burmese of the Part II Areas in the Kachin State, the Kachins have no intention of interfering with the livelihood of these races or with their religious practices, customs and usages. The Kachins intend to grant all indigenous races in the separate Kachin State to enjoy equal rights, and to constitute a Council in which will be represented every indigenous race and which will be empowered to administer for the common good after free deliberation.

The Constituent Assembly of Burma is to be constituted to devise means for the long-term association to their mutual benefit of the Kachins and the Burmese. The Kachins desire to attend the Assembly on the basis of the following principles identical with the resolutions passed by the S.C.O.U.H.P., at a meeting held by the Shans, Kachins and Chins at Yawnghwe :—

- (1) To confirm and decide on a separate Kachin State.
- (2) Equal rights with the Burmese people.
- (3) The internal affairs of the separate Kachin State to be controlled by the people belonging to the State with no external interference.
- (4) Defence, External Affairs, Communications, Posts and Telegraphs, Currency and Coinage, Titles and Honours, the holding of Durbars, and Customs, etc., to be Federal subjects ; Kachins should be represented in the Federal Government and no decisions to be taken therein without the consent of the minorities representatives.
- (5) A subsidy from the Central Government until the Kachin separate State can organize its own finance in a stable manner ; when the state can do so it should have separate finance as the Shan States Federation.
- (6) The right to secede from the Federation at any time.
- (7) As the population of Kachins in Burma is over five hundred thousand, not less than ten representatives in the Constituent Assembly, these to be selected by the District Councils or at mass meetings and not to be elected by voting.
- (8) Resolutions in the Constituent Assembly relating to a State should be passed only if two-thirds of the members of the State concerned agree.
- (9) The Constitution to be on the lines of United States Constitution or on such other new lines as may be devised in the light of the circumstances of Burma and be acceptable to the minorities. The separate States shall be represented in the Federal Government Departments and in the Federal Cabinet.
- (10) The separate Kachin State to have a legislature for internal subjects.
- (11) If it should be necessary to constitute a Council to advise the Kachin State in its relations with the Federal Government ; such Council shall be constituted in such manner as may be desired by the State.

(12) Whether the Kachins will remain within the British Commonwealth or will leave it will be decided only at the Constituent Assembly.

(13) Points which are in dispute with the Burmese over constitutional rules either when they are being shown up or when they have been drawn up to be settled by a tribunal consisting of one Burmese High Court Judge and another High Court Judge.

(14) No amendment to the constitution, agreed upon by the Constituent Assembly, to be made in regard to the Kachin separate State without the consent of the representatives of the State.

(15) If the Burmese pledge themselves to the above principles, a firm Agreement on Burmese-Kachin relations should be executed. The British Government should witness the said Agreement to reassure the minorities of its binding nature.

(16) If the Burmese find themselves unable to accept either the whole of the above-mentioned principles or some of the main principles, it would be difficult to constitute the proposed Federation now and the matter will have to be postponed. In the meantime the Kachins will devise alternatives in consultation with the S.C.O.U.H.P.

The Kachins find that though the British Government has ruled over them for over 60 years there has been no marked improvement in their circumstances. At present there is a wide difference in development between the Burmese and the Kachins who consider therefore that at such a time of transition the British Government should accept responsibility for guiding the Kachins to a course of action which will not prejudice their future.

In both world wars the Kachins fought with the Allies against the enemies of the interests of the British Empire. The Kachins therefore can never think that the British Government would forget them who thus defended their interests.

The representatives who submit the above resolutions are as below :—

Signatories.

- (1) Kumweng Gam, Elder, Manhkrin, Myitkyina.
- (2) Zau Rip, Secretary, Kachin Central Executive Council, Myitkyina.
- (3) Zau Naw, Chief, Sadon, Myitkyina.
- (4) Karing Naw, President, Kachin District Council, Myitkyina.
- (5) Hpala Gam, Counsellor, Kauhkawng, Myitkyina.
- (6) Zau Aung, Chief, N'Wanghkrang, Myitkyina.
- (7) Gum Lan, Chief, Tagap, Myitkyina.
- (8) Sumdu Gam, Counsellor, Putao, Myitkyina.
- (9) U Aung Ba, Representative, Hkamti Long, Myitkyina.
- (10) Maung Shwe Thaug, Representative, Hkamti Long, Myitkyina.
- (11) U Hla, Representative, Hkamti Long, Myitkyina.
- (12) Sao Nwa Seik Ta, Chief Representative, Hkamti Long, Myitkyina.
- (13) Zau Rai, Counsellor, N. Triangle, Myitkyina.
- (14) Sumlat Gam, Counsellor, N. Triangle, Myitkyina.
- (15) Ningrang Yaw, Counsellor, Sumprabum, Myitkyina.
- (16) Mwijang La, Counsellor, Sadon, Myitkyina.

- (17) Sara Hkaw Sau, Counsellor, Lauhkawng, Myitkyina.
- (18) Taik Bawn, Counsellor, Lauhkawng, Myitkyina.
- (19) Dingra Tang, Representative, Putao, Myitkyina.
- (20) Ngwa Le, Elder, Manhkrin, Myitkyina.
- (21) Padip La Tawng, Counsellor, Mohnyin.
- (22) Hpauyam Gam, Jinghpaw Modern Civilization Development.
- (23) Ginran Tang, President, Central Karen Association, Youths' League.
- (24) Sara Gun Gam, Member, Central Karen Association, Youths' League.
- (25) Duwa Zau Lawn, President, Kachin, Central Executive Council, Bhamo.
- (26) Duwa Zau La, President, Kachin District Council, Bhamo.
- (27) Mungga Tu, A.T.M., B.G.M., Chief, Manmaukawng, Bhamo.
- (28) Zau Lawn, Chief, Mongkha, Bhamo.
- (29) Gumja Naw, Chief, Maga, Bhamo.
- (30) Hpaugan Tu, Chief, Hkamleng, Bhamo.
- (31) Sub F. Maran Tu, Pensioner, Bumwa, Bhamo.
- (32) Sub Gawlu Tu, Pensioner, Momauk, Bhamo.
- (33) Sara Manam La, Elder, Chyahkandap, Bhamo.
- (34) Maran La, Elder, Sinlunkaba, Bhamo.
- (35) Maran Kamhpang, Headman, Tunghongyaung, Bhamo.
- (36) Maraw Tu, Elder, Lana Hpara, Bhamo.
- (37) M. Yaw Han, Contractor, Kailitik, Bhamo.
- (38) Zau Tang, *Taung-òk*, Lweje, Bhamo.
- (39) Ugyi Hting Nan, Range Officer, Shwegu.
- (40) L. Ra Ring, Secretary, Kachin District Council, Bhamo.
- (41) Lawang Li, Kachin Youths' League, Bhamo.
- (42) L. Yawng Htang, Kachin Youths' League, Bhamo.
- (43) Maru Shawng, Kachin Youths' League, Bhamo.
- (44) Hkun Hprung, Chief, Howa, North Hsenwi.
- (45) Kareng Hkam, A.T.M., Interpreter, Kutkai, North Hsenwi.
- (46) Lashi Gam, Elder, Kutkai, North Hsenwi.
- (47) Sub Zau Bawk, Elder, Kutkai, North Hsenwi.
- (48) Sara La Hkang, Youths' League.
- (49) Sara Zau Ba, Mawswi, Mongmit.
- (50) Maraw Hkunlpa, *Taung-òk*, Shwegu, Bhamo.

MAYMYO : 15th April 1947.

Maymyo, 16th April 1947.

2. KACHIN YOUTHS' LEAGUE.

- (1) Kin Raw 'Tang Goon, Myitkyina.
- (2) Lawang Li, Bhamo.
- (3) Zing Hang La Hkong, North Hsenwi.

449. *Chairman* : You are all representatives of the Kachin Youths' League ?

Witnesses : Yes, Sir.

50. *Chairman* : Have you considered the object of this mittee ?

K. R. T. Goon : Yes, Sir.

451. *Chairman* : And what are your views on it ?

K. R. T. Goon : We do not like the administration under which we : now.

452. *Chairman* : What do you desire for the future ?

K. R. T. Goon : We want to enjoy all the advantages that should come to the youths of East Asia.

453. *Chairman* : What does that mean exactly ?

K. R. T. Goon : Under the present administration we find ourselves very backward.

454. *Chairman* : What I want to know is what do you suggest for the future ?

K. R. T. Goon : We believe that we young people, the youths, are responsible for the reformation of our people.

455. *Chairman* : Do you want a Kachin State or do you want to be part of Burma ?

K. R. T. Goon : We want a separate Kachin State.

456. *Chairman* : Do you want this State to be federated with Burma ?

K. R. T. Goon : We want a separate State, to be joined with Burma in certain subjects where we cannot remain ourselves.

457. *Chairman* : What are they ?

K. R. T. Goon : Defence, Foreign Affairs, Currency and Coinage, and Titles and Honours.

458. *Chairman* : Have you read the Memorandum submitted by the witnesses from Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts ?

K. R. T. Goon : Yes, Sir. We have seen it, and we want to say that it is through the endeavours of the Kachin Youths' League that this Memorandum has taken shape.

459. *Chairman* : Do you Kachin Youths agree with the terms of this Memorandum ?

K. R. T. Goon : Yes, Sir, we agree.

460. *Chairman* : How many members are there in your league ?

K. R. T. Goon : We have about 15,000 members at present.

461. *Thakin Nu* : Has your league been affiliated to the Youths' League in Rangoon—the Burma Youths' League ?

K. R. T. Goon : We haven't joined the Youths' League in Rangoon, but our desire is not only to join with them, but to join with the Youths of the world.

462. *Chairman* : Now North Hsenwi Representative, what is your decision about this Memorandum ?

Z. H. L. Hkong : We agree with the Memorandum submitted by the elders who have spoken.

463. *Chairman* : But do you want the area of North Hsenwi State to be under the Kachins or the Shan *Sawbwa* ?

Z. H. L. Hkong : Under the *Sawbwa*.

464. *Chairman* : Anything else you would like to say ?

K. R. T. Goon : Nothing particular to say, Sir.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses, who then withdrew.]

3. JINGHPAW NATIONAL MODERN CIVILIZATION DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION.

(1) Hpau Yam Gam.

(2) Padip La Taung.

465. *Chairman* : What are the objects of the Jinghpaw National Modern Civilization Development Association ?

Hpau Y. Gam : Our aim is to secure freedom, Sir.

466. *Chairman* : How many members have you ?

Hpau Y. Gam : About 15,000, Sir.

467. *Chairman* : Are you in association with Kachin Youths' League ?

Hpau Y. Gam : Yes, Sir, we are associated with them.

468. *Chairman* : But are you members of that association ?

Hpau Y. Gam : Yes, Sir, I am a member.

469. *Chairman* : How does your association differ from the Kachin Youths' League ?

Hpau Y. Gam : There is no difference, Sir.

470. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are the members the same : are the members of one, the members of the other ?

Hpau Y. Gam : They are different associations. They have their own members and we have our own members. But we work together and our object is to abolish backward customs and administration.

(The witness read out a Memorandum of aims and objects of the Association in Burmese to the Committee. The following is a translation) :—

(a) To establish a Democratic Kachin State, and to secure the absolute independence of the Kachin State and people.

(b) This Association totally rejects the new oppressive administration and the old policy of "divide and rule" which the British gave to the Kachin people after the end of the second Great War.

(c) The form of administration acceptable to this Association is that which will be drawn up by the representatives of the Kachin State in the Constituent Assembly, elected by the people of the Kachin State by universal suffrage.

(d) We support the formation of Federal Government of Burmese Nationals on the following lines :—

(i) To have representatives sent to the Constituent Assembly to draw up a Constitution on the lines of an Independent and Federal State to be known as the United States of Burma.

(ii) In order to facilitate the formation of the Federal Government, there shall first be a federation of minority races of Burma and the hill areas which should join with the Central Federation.

(e) The Federated Burma, in which all races are represented, should recognize the separate Kachin State, and give it all necessary aid.

(f) The separate Kachin State should include Myitkyina and Bhamo Districts, the Kachin Hills in the North of Katha, and the Kachin areas of the plains.

471. *U Khin Maung Gale* : (To *Padip La Taung*). Where do you come from ?

Padip La Taung : I come from Namsi Aung.

472. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Is that in Katha District ?

Padip La Taung : In Myitkyina District.

473. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Actually in Myitkyina District, but adjoining Katha District ?

Padip La Taung : Yes.

474. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you wish to say ?

Padip La Taung : I have nothing else to say, Sir.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 16th April 1947.

4. ARMY KACHINS.

(1) Captain Sao Seng, 1st Kachin Rifles.

(2) Lieut. Kareng Tang, B.G.M., 1st Kachin Rifles.

(3) Major Lazum Tang, M.B.E., 2nd Kachin Rifles.

475. *Chairman* : Major Lazum Tang, you know the purpose of our Enquiry ? Will you tell us what the views of the 1st and 2nd Kachin Rifles are ?

Major L. Tang : My subordinates, the Kachin soldiers, told me that they want a separate Kachin State. Secondly as soldiers, we shall have to take orders on land, on sea or in the air. If there is a war, we go wherever we are ordered. However, during peace time we should

like our soldiers to be stationed near their parents. According to history, there has been a Tartar invasion of Burma. They came down as far as Ava. It is likely that there will be another invasion of Burma from the East. When that occurs the races of Burma will have to fight the invaders with team work as in a football team, with some playing as forwards, others as halves and backs. We want experts on the frontier localities and want such experts to be stationed near such localities.

476. *Chairman* : Are you talking about soldiers only or civil servants as well ?

Major L. Tang : I am talking about soldiers only. What I mean is that there should be soldiers who are well acquainted with the frontier areas. As far as we are aware there is no organized Government in Yunnanese China. There is potential danger from the Yunnanese and if we do not take care of the territories in between Yunnan and Ministerial Burma, there will be raids. Even now there have been raids between Bhamo and Lashio. In Yunnan a man who has a force with him is the lord. If I have the power, I am the war-lord. If you have power, you are the war-lord. Perhaps the Members here might have heard that there have been outbreaks of crime in the form of murders and that Yunnan is the happy hunting ground of criminals, and China is the sanctuary of the criminals from Burma. Even if the Government tried to arrest the criminals, they could easily slip into Yunnan and be safe.

477. *Chairman* : Do you wish the Kachin State to be federated with Burma and with other Frontier Areas ?

Major L. Tang : That is beyond our scope. We are soldiers and it is very difficult for a soldier to tackle these questions. If I were to dabble in politics, as an officer I would not have any control over my subordinates. This is the business of the elders. We will accept their decision. If the majority of them decide a thing, we will abide by their decision.

478. *Chairman* : You only wish to stress the military stand-point ?

Major L. Tang : Having been in the Army for the past 23 years, I want to stress the military point of view only. I am not a politician and I do not propose to be one either.

479. *Chairman* : Would the other officers like to say anything ?

Captain Sao Seng : As has been pointed out by Major L. Tang, there have been disturbances in the frontier areas. We want a third Kachin Battalion so that there will be a full Kachin Brigade. We should also like to have an educated Kachin in the Defence Department of the Government.

480. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Do you mean in the Secretariat ?

Captain Sao Seng : In Army Headquarters.

481. *Chairman* : You mean as a General Staff Officer ?

Captain Sao Seng : Yes, Sir.

482. *Chairman* : On the Operations side, I take it ?

Captain Sao Seng : Yes, Sir.

483. *Chairman* : Is that because you are well aware of the dangers of the frontier areas and know the country well ?

Captain Sao Seng : Yes, we know the country well.

484. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you would like to say ?

Captain Sao Seng : We are greatly in need of family quarters. We should like 75 per cent of the Kachin soldiers to be provided with quarters for their families. We should also like the frontiers between China and Burma to be demarcated in order that there may be no frontier disputes later on.

485. *Chairman* : Is it true that some of the boundary posts on the frontier have been removed ?

Captain Sao Seng : Yes. In some places they have been washed away by the streams and in some places removed.

486. *U Khin Maung Gale* : I think the removal of boundary posts at Joije had been settled by the Bhamo Deputy Commissioner ?

Captain Sao Seng : Yes, at Joije and Panghkam.

487. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Isn't Panghkam on perpetual lease to China ?

Captain Sao Seng : I do not know about that. We think it is advisable to have a Kachin Brigade so that we can take care of the frontier areas and expel criminals and so on.

488. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Do you think if there is Migration Law between China and Burma, it will meet the case ?

Captain Sao Seng : I do not think these problems can be settled by rules like that. There are so many footpaths which can be taken by anyone.

489. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpaw* : Major L. Tang told us that his friends wanted to be stationed near their homes in time of peace. Do you think it will be better for you if you have to stay in stations like Taunggyi, Loilem and Kutkai ?

Major L. Tang : I will explain. There is a rule that soldiers must be able to stand all kinds of climates. Myitkyina and Bhamo are as hot as Rangoon, Shwebo or Meiktila. So it is necessary that one battalion should be stationed at Myitkyina and another either at Kutkai or Loilem, because these have better training grounds.

490. *Chairman* : What about a third battalion ?

Major L. Tang : If we get a third battalion, I want to station it like a football team. It should be stationed further back—say in Maymyo. Like a football team, the Frontier Constabulary will be our forward line. In case of a clash, the two battalions can go up and the third can remain in the rear.

491. *Chairman* : You want the third battalion in Maymyo ? It is the old idea of defence in depth, is it not ?

Major L. Tang : Yes, so that we can manoeuvre easily.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 16th April 1946.

5. FRONTIER CONSTABULARY KACHINS.

(1) Lieut. L. Naw Tawng	}	Myitkyina Battalion.
(2) Subedar Kin Ran Tawng		
(3) Jemadar Lazum Yaw	}	Bhamo Battalion.
(4) B. H. M. Nangzing Yaw		
(5) Sub-Major Phauda La	}	Lashio Battalion
(6) Subedar Zau Naw		

492. *Chairman* : Have you selected your spokesman ?

Lieut. L. Naw Tawng : Yes, Sir. I will be the spokesman.

493. *Chairman* : Well, you know the purpose of this Enquiry ?

Lieut. L. Naw Tawng : Yes, Sir.

494. *Chairman* : Will you let us know what the views of the Frontier Constabulary is on the purpose of our Enquiry ?

Lieut. L. Naw Tawng : As a matter of fact, Sir, only three Battalions have sent their representatives here to-day.

495. *Chairman* : What are the views of these three Battalions on the future of the Kachin people and their association with Burma ?

Lieut. L. Naw Tawng : The three Battalions at the conference requested us to ask for a Kachin State.

496. *Chairman* : What should that consist of ?

Lieut. L. Naw Tawng : Well, as soldiers we are not conversant with the subject, and we want to have it settled by the chiefs and elders who are civilians and more competent than us.

497. *Chairman* : Have you anything further to tell us ?

Lieut. L. Naw Tawng : Well Sir, we have been told to make as much enquiry as possible regarding the Frontier Constabulary. As soon as the Japanese war was over this Constabulary was formed in Myitkyina, Bhamo and Lashio. The Kachins form the majority of the Constabulary. Up till now, Sir, we cannot make head or tail of this Constabulary, because the duties are military duties but we are given police rank. So, Sir, we have framed four demands.

(1) That the Frontier "Constabulary" should be re-named Frontier "Force". Why we prefer this name is that before the war those Battalions were known as Frontier "Force". But when the war started Frontier "Force" was changed into "Fighting Force". We want the Frontier Constabulary to be a fighting force.

(2) We want, Sir, rations, clothing and other privileges as in the Army.

(3) We have observed, Sir, that all commissioned officers are Europeans.

498. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : What about yourself ?

Lieut. L. Naw Tawng : I was an I.P. which is a Civil Police rank. All commissioned officers are British—I mean I was holding the position of Inspector for a long time although I am now a Lieut. What we mean to say is that we do want British Officers but not all. With the exception of the Commanding Officers we want our people to hold the commissioned ranks of Assistant Commandants and so on. Sir, we want direct recruitment to commissioned ranks after undergoing officers' training course ; and in time we want the Kachins to be Commanding Officers.

(4) The Deputy Inspector-General who is now at Lashio is the Head of the Frontier Constabulary. If you look at the composition of the Frontier Constabulary you will find that the majority of them are Kachins. So, Sir, we want one Kachin to be appointed as adviser on the staff of Deputy Inspector-General. We want Kachins in the office of the Deputy Inspector-General.

499. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Are the European Officers more conversant with the work than the Kachin Officers ?

Lieut. L. Naw Tawng : Doubtless we know as much as they do.

500. *Chairman* : Is there anything else that you would like to say ?

Lieut. L. Naw Tawng : In administrative work they are as good as we are but in actual tactical operations we can do more than they can.

501. *Chairman.* : Is there any other point you would like to make ?

Lieut. L. Naw Tawng : That is all, Sir.

502. *Chairman* : Would any of your colleagues like to say anything ?

Subedar Zau Naw : I want to speak about the Shan States, Sir.

503. *Chairman* : What would you like to say ?

Subedar Zau Naw : In the Northern States the Kachin population is almost equal to the Shan and we should like to be on very friendly terms with the Shans. We want a sub-State and a Kachin *Duwa* under the *Sawbwa*. That *Duwa* will decide cases relating to the Kachins. In finance we want to be together with the Shans. As the population is almost equal we should like to have the same number of ministers under the *Sawbwas* as the Shans.

504. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you would like to say ?

Jemadar L. Yaw : I want to speak on behalf of the Junior Ranks. Sir, some of the soldiers have not received their back pay although they have completed their documentation with the Army Holding and Enquiry centres.

505. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : In respect of the Japanese occupation period ?

Jemadar L. Yaw : We have not received 5 or 6 months' pay which had fallen in arrears.

506. *Chairman* : Does he mean the current pay ?

The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt : They mean the pay in respect of the people left behind during the occupation.

Jemadar L.Yaw : The soldiers said that they have contributed towards the G.P.F. before the war and they are not able to draw on it now.

507. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Are you asking as a soldier or as an S.I.P.?

Jemadar L.Yaw : As a soldier and for our Service with the Army pre-war, not as a police officer.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 16th April 1947.

6. NEPALI ASSOCIATION, MYITKYINA AND ALL-BURMA
GURKHA LEAGUE.

- (1) Manbahadur Limbu.
- (2) Gopal Singh Pardhar.
- (3) Jung Singh Basnet (Interpreter).

508. *Chairman* : You gentlemen are from the Nepalese Association, Myitkyina ?

Manbahadur Limbu : Yes, Sir.

509. *Chairman* : Have you chosen your spokesman ?

Manbahadur Limbu : I am the spokesman.

510. *Chairman* : What is your name ?

Manbahadur Limbu : My name is Manbahadur Limbu.

511. *Chairman* : What are your views on the future association of the Frontier Areas with Burma proper ?

Manbahadur Limbu : First of all, I would like to present the authority given me by the All-Burma Gurkha League.

[The Chairman read out the following :—

" OFFICE OF THE ALL-BURMA GURKHA LEAGUE

Headquarters : Maymyo.

Dated the 15th April 1947.

This is to authorize Mr. Manbahadur Limbu, the representative of the Gurkhas of Myitkyina, to speak on behalf of All-Burma Gurkha League for the welfare of all Gurkhas settled in Burma including Frontier Areas.

(Sd.) DALBIR,—15-4-47,

President,

All-Burma Gurkha League, Maymyo (Dalbir).

Reg. No.—.

Date—15-4-47."]

512. *Chairman* : What is the view of the Nepalese Association of Myitkyina on the future status of the Myitkyina District ?

Manbahadur Limbu : We are in favour of inclusion of Myitkyina, Bhamo and other areas in the Kachin Hills in a Kachin State.

513. *Chairman* : You are in favour of such a State being formed and you are quite happy to live as a small community in that Kachin State, are you ?

Manbahadur Limbu : Yes, Sir, we are.

514. *Chairman* : Are you in favour of the federation of the Kachin State with Burma proper ?

Manbahadur Limbu : Yes, we are in favour of the federation in accordance with the Panglong Agreement.

515. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Don't you wish to go back to Nepal ?

Manbahadur Limbu : Well Sir, we have more or less decided to stay here and ask for the citizenship of Burma.

516. *Chairman* : In a Kachin State ?

Manbahadur Limbu : Yes, a Kachin State within a unified Burma.

517. *Chairman* : There is a difference between citizenship and nationality. Do you mean to say that you want Burmese nationality ?

Manbahadur Limbu : Not exactly nationality, just citizenship.

518. *Chairman* : You mean you want the right to vote ?

Manbahadur Limbu : Yes, Sir.

519. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : How many of you were born in Burma ?

Manbahadur Limbu : Of the 15,000 Gurkhas in Myitkyina about one-third were born in Burma.

520. *Chairman* : Would either of your friends like to say anything or do they agree ?

Manbahadur Limbu : No, Sir, they have nothing to say.

521. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you would like to say ?

Manbahadur Limbu : Before we came here we held a meeting of the representatives of the Burma Gurkha League representing the whole of Burma. They chose me to come and represent the cause of the Gurkhas here if permission be allowed. We want equal rights in the whole of Burma wherever we be, either in the Shan States or in the Kachin Hills or in Burma proper.

522. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : If you remain subjects of His Majesty the King of Nepal you cannot get that.

Manbahadur Limbu : Is it not enough if we become citizens of Burma ?

523. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : That is what I mean.

Manbahadur Limbu : Do you accept our demand if we seek Burmese citizenship ?

524. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : If you seek Burmese citizenship or Kachin citizenship you have ceased to be Nepalese ?

Manbahadur Limbu : We have decided to cease to be citizens of India or Nepal.

525. *Chairman* : No man can have two nationalities. Are you prepared to surrender Nepalese nationality and accept Burmese nationality ?

Manbahadur Limbu : Yes, Sir. We would like to have the nationality of whichever State we are in. Then about our status in the Army, at present, I think there is a large number of Gurkhas engaged in the Army of Burma.

526. *U Khin Maung Gale* : What do you mean ? In the independent Burma Army or the Army that is still hired by the English in Nepal ?

Manbahadur Limbu : We do not care about the Army hired from Nepal. We mean our status in the Burma Army.

527. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Is it possible for them to come down from Nepal and join the Burma Army without any arrangements with the King of Nepal ?

Manbahadur Limbu : I was speaking of the Nepalese in Burma who will attain citizenship of Burma. But if the Burma Government will accept them we would like to bring recruits from India and Nepal without making arrangements with the King of Nepal.

528. *Chairman* : Is it possible to do that ? Can you bring troops here in that way ?

Manbahadur Limbu : What they can do is not to recruit us in Nepal. We can just come out as civilians and join the army here.

529. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : If we do want to engage Nepalese as foreign troops, do you think that the King of Nepal would have any objection ?

Manbahadur Limbu : I have no idea. My idea is that whoever comes here and satisfies the terms of citizenship may be taken in the Army.

530. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : When he has got citizenship ?

Manbahadur Limbu : Yes, Sir.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 17th April 1947.

7. A.F.P.F.L., BHAMO.

(1) U Ngwe.

(2) U Ba Hla.

531. *Chairman* : Are you two gentlemen from Bhamo and are you representatives of the A.F.P.F.L. there ?

U Ngwe : Yes, Sir.

532. *Chairman* : How many A.F.P.F.L. members have you got in your district ?

U Ngwe : All the residents of Bhamo are members of A.F.P.F.L.

533. *Chairman* : The Burmese residents or the others ?

U Ngwe : Indian Muslims as well as Burmese and Shans.

534. *Chairman* : Would you like to tell us what are your members' views on the subject matter of this Committee ?

U Ngwe : The decision of A.F.P.F.L. was to send four representatives to this Committee here. But later only two representatives were asked to represent them—according to this wire.

535. *Chairman* : Yes, that is so, and what have you to say ?

U Ngwe : We do not have anything much to say, except that we support and agree to the demands of the Kachins for a separate Kachin State.

536. *Chairman* : Have you read the memorandum that the Kachin representatives have put in to us ?

U Ngwe : We have not read that, Sir.

537. *Chairman* : Well what they want is a Kachin State federated to Burma.

U Ngwe : Yes, Sir.

538. *Chairman* : And the present Myitkyina and Bhamo Districts and also north Katha should form this State.

U Ngwe : We do not exactly know the areas but we know of the proposal to form a Kachin State.

539. *Chairman* : Do you agree with that ?

U Ngwe : Yes, Sir.

540. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : The proposal generally or the proposal to include the plains areas ?

U Ngwe : We have not come to any decision regarding the plains areas but we leave the matter entirely to the Bhamo representatives who came here.

541. *Chairman* : Thank you. U Ba Hla do you agree with what U Ngwe has said ?

U Ba Hla : I agree with him, Sir.

542. *Chairman* : Is there anything further you would like to say ?

U Ba Hla : Nothing more, Sir.

543. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : How do you like the idea of forming a Kachin State and then federating that State with Burma ?

U Ngwe : I like it.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 21st April 1947.

8. BHAMO PART II AREA, BURMANS.

- (1) U Po Ti.
- (2) U Saw Yi.
- (3) U Ba Aung.
- (4) U Ba Sin.

(The witnesses presented a written statement to the Chairman who read it out to the Committee as follows:)

Memorandum submitted to the Enquiry Committee (F.A.C.E.) by the witnesses of Part II Area of Bhamo District (Burma), regarding the views of the people of Bhamo plains area and regarding formation of new States.

(1) The views herein set forth are the result of discussions and deliberations made at two mass meetings held on two different occasions at Bhamo. So we venture to say that what we are submitting here may be called public opinion of our locality.

(2) Sometime in February 1946, the people of the Bhamo District came to know that the Government was employing a special officer to settle the new boundaries between the plains area and the Kachin Hill Tracts. At the same time the same officer was making enquiries among the villagers of the plains whether they would like to be under the Burmese Government of Rangoon or under the British Government, by which was meant the Kachin Hill Tract Administration. A very few villages fell a victim to this jugglery of words with the result that the people of those few villages answered that it was all the same to them to be under the Burmese or the British Government. It was not made plain to the villagers that the intended meaning of the term British Government was Kachin Hill Tract Administration.

(3) When the people came to realize the situation a mass meeting was called attended by the people of the town and the people of 22 villages; and a resolution was passed condemning the clandestine action of the Government to slice off the plains area for a new Kachin territory. A meeting disapproved of any such action on the part of the Government.

(4) When the Hon'ble U Aung San visited Myitkyina about the end of November 1946, a delegation of Burmese elders was sent from Bhamo. This was done in accordance with the resolution passed at a mass meeting held at Bhamo. A copy of the resolutions was handed over to the Hon'ble U Aung San at Myitkyina. Some of the resolutions were to the following effect:—

(a) That the people of Bhamo plains area desired to let the inhabitants of Part I Area of Burma have equal political rights and privileges as Burmans.

(b) That this was desirable for the future defence and safety of Burma and its peoples—including Shans, Kachins, Chins and all other races inhabiting Burma.

(5) Further rumour has been afloat in our district that Bhamo, Myitkyina and Katha Districts are to be included in the newly proposed Kachin State. This has greatly agitated the minds of the people there.

We believe that there is some foundation in this rumour. It may be a war-time promise of the British Government for obvious reasons, or it may be a promise of the Burma Government to win over the Kachins, or it may be the request of the Kachins themselves also. We were asked by the Commissioner of Sagaing (U Kyaw Min) and by the Special Boundary Commissioner (Mr. R. S. Wilkie) what our attitude would be regarding any proposal to give up certain parts of our Plains for the formation of a new Kachin State. People of many villages came to receive U Kyaw Min and represented to him that any proposal to slice off the Plains area would not be viewed with favour. Towns people were present there also. Some of us were among those who acted as spokesman. This was sometime in February 1946. When the Special Boundary Commissioner (Mr. R. S. Wilkie) enquired us on the same subject sometimes afterwards, we gave a straight reply that any measure adopted by Government changing the *status quo* would resent the people because the people in the Plains would not allow their right of representation abrogated or withdrawn. Such same enquiry was also made by Mr. H. N. C. Stevenson, Director of Frontier Areas. The reply was given that the people would not agree to re-alignment of the boundaries between the Hill Tracts and the Plains. From the above it will be seen that we should not be representing the wishes of the people of our locality if we agreed to any scheme for inclusion of any part of Plains area in the proposed new Kachin State.

(6) We have learnt through newspapers that the people of the Part I Area (II Schedule) are willing to join the Federation. We would welcome them. Our desire is to create a "Union" and to let them enjoy equal rights and privileges with the people of Burma proper, or, if they want to have States of their own in the Federation—retaining internal autonomy of course—we heartily support them.

(7) We also learnt that certain conditions are being imposed by the people of Part I Area as a price for their federation. Of these the most important one is the Right of Secession. We should like to mention that Burma is a small State lying between two big and powerful countries whose economic conditions might in time compel their people to seek territorial expansion. As the self preservation of all the races of Burma depends not only upon the Geographical Unity, but also upon our Political and Economic Unity, we are not prepared to accept any constitution granting Right of Secession to any member of the Federated Burma.

(1) (Sd.) U Po Ti, *ex-M.H.R.*, and Municipal Commissioner.

(2) (Sd.) U Saw Yi, Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.

(3) (Sd.) U Ba Aung, Town Elder.

(4) (Sd.) U Ba Sin, Town Elder.

544. *Chairman* : I take that the views of you four gentlemen are those expressed in the Memorandum which I have just read out, and that one of the main points is that you don't want the Part II Areas to be included in any Kachin State that may be formed.

U Po Ti : Exactly, Sir.

545. *Chairman* : The second point is you do not agree to the right of secession by any Kachin State that may be set up.

U Po Ti : Yes, Sir.

546. *Chairman* : But you do not object to the Kachin State having its own internal autonomy, do you ?

U Po Ti : We would welcome it.

547. *Chairman* : Provided you are not in it ?

U Po Ti : Exactly.

548. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Why don't you wish to be in the Kachin State ?

U Po Ti : Historically, we have been occupying the Plains for a long time and we do not wish to be in the Kachin State. We obtained the right of representation in the Burma Legislature only after a very hard fight ; if we are included in the Kachin State, we might lose that right.

549. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : If we Kachins get from the British the same freedom as the Burmese, will you still object to joining us ?

U Po Ti : We don't want to be in the Kachin State, because we have been occupying the Plains areas for a very long time.

550. *Thakin Nu* : Even though you retain all the rights and privileges you have now, you do not wish to be in the Kachin State ?

U Po Ti : No, we want to be with the Burmese.

551. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : What do you propose should be the future constitution of the Kachin State ?

U Po Ti : I have already stated in the Memorandum that the Kachins, Shans and Chins should be in a Federation with equal rights with the Burmese.

552. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : You do not want to live with Kachins ?

U Po Ti : No, we are Burmese

553. *Chairman* : All you four are Burmans living in Bhamo, are you not ?

U Po Ti : Yes, Sir.

554. *U Khin Maung Gale* : What is your objection ? Why do you not want to be in the Kachin State ?

U Po Ti : In as much as the Kachins do not wish to be in a Burman State, we Burmans do not wish to be in the Kachin State.

555. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : We do not say that we do not wish to be with the Burmans and all we want to be connected with each other in Defence, which is vital to the country, in Currency and Coinage, Posts and Telegraphs, Communications, Foreign Affairs, Customs, Durbars and holding of Government functions, and in Titles and Honours. If all the people in the Kachin State have equal rights irrespective of race, would you still object to living in the Kachin State ?

U Po Ti : Why should we be under the Kachins ? Bhamo is not a Kachin but a Burmese area. We have been living there for a long time. If you go through the records from the time the British came here, you will find that we were regarded as in Burma.

556. *Thakin Nu* : Do you think that the mass meeting which you have described in the Memorandum was quite sufficient to express the views of the Burmese community in that area ?

U Po Ti : Yes.

557. *Thakin Nu* : Do you not think that it would be advisable for the Government to hold a plebiscite to ascertain the genuine desire of the people ?

U Po Ti : Yes, certainly.

558. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : The British once said they would give us the Plains areas, but they did not. That is why there was trouble between the British and ourselves. Now the Burmese leader, U Aung San, led us to think that, provided the minorities in the Kachin State were fairly treated, he did not anticipate any difficulty in placing the Plains areas in the Kachin State. If now you express your views to the contrary, will it not be awkward for the Burmese ? Is it not likely to cause friction ?

U Po Ti . This is the first time I have heard, in this room, that the British Government gave you a promise of a Kachin State including Myitkyina, Bhamo and Katha. Secondly, I do not believe and I do not accept that there is likely to be friction between the Burmese and Kachins if we are not to be in the Kachin State.

559. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Is it because you are not satisfied with Bogyoke Aung San that you are taking this attitude ?

U Po Ti : I do not think any single patriotic Burmese would disagree with what I have said.

560. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Could you not live in harmony with the Kachins in the Kachin State ?

U Po Ti : Yes, we could, just as a Kachin can live in a Burmese area amicably.

561. *Thakin Nu* : If the plebiscite decides in favour of merging the Plains with the Kachin area, would you abide by the decision ?

U Po Ti : If it is the decision of the people, everybody must abide by it.

562. *Thakin Nu* : But would you or your group go out of the Kachin State or would you remain there ?

U Po Ti : That is a personal question, Sir.

563. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawng* : If the Kachin State is administered not only by Kachin representatives, but also by representatives of the Plains people, do you not think that they will administer it for the common benefit ?

U Po Ti : I think so ; I agree.

564. *Chairman*: But in spite of that you still wish to remain out of the Kachin State?

U Po Ti: We want to be out of the Kachin State because we are Burmans.

565. *Chairman*: Is there anything else any of you would like to say?

U Saw Yi: I should like to add a little, because I am not satisfied with the questions, put by Sima Hsinwa Nawng. For a very long time, history relates that the Kachins have been in the Burmese nation on a friendly basis and, now that Burma is to be liberated I do not see any reason why they cannot behave in the same way and come into Burma again. Since they want to be a separate State, for the same reason we want to be outside their State. I am prepared to answer any question the *Duwa* wants to put, Sir.

566. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng*: If that is your opinion we cannot do anything but to give a patient hearing to what you have to say.

U Saw Yi: If the Shans, Chins and Kachins would like to come into Burma proper, we would give them more privileges than the Burmans themselves.

567. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng*: We do not mean that we do not want to unite with Burma in the future—we might perhaps. We have now decided on an experiment thinking that it would be the best course, in present circumstances, for the Kachins. If in spite of that, the Burmans of Bhamo wish to remain out, we cannot help but note their views.

U Saw Yi: We have never been consulted about the future of Bhamo by the frontier people. We have come here from Bhamo because we have been beaten from the back; and because we are hurt we have to come here. Bhamo District is under a Deputy Commissioner and the Kachin population is barely 1 per cent. The *Duwa* can imagine how we feel when we are not consulted in such a matter. It is really difficult for us to consider whether it is for good or for ill.

568. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng*: We admit that we are in the wrong, because we have not consulted you in the first instance. The reason was that we were very busy at that time. But we told Bogyoke Aung San about it and we are now placing our case before you. We believe in U Aung San because he is in the Government and he represents the A.F.P.F.L. which represents the people.

U Saw Yi: When Burma attains freedom she should either be an independent State or a Dominion. I don't wish to see her subdivided into A B C D and so on. That is why we oppose the formation of a Kachin State.

569. *Chairman*: Is there anything else you wish to say, gentlemen?

Witnesses: There is nothing, Sir. Thank you.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 19th April 1947.

IV. EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES FROM CHIN HILLS DISTRICT AND ARAKAN HILL TRACTS.

1—6. Chin Hills Districts.
7—10. Arakan Hill Tracts.

1. (a) FALAM CHINS.

- (1) Chief Thang Tin Lien, A.T.M.
- (2) Chief Hnyer Kulh.
- (3) Chief's brother Sang Klir.
- (4) Thang Com, A.P.R.O.
- (5) Tial Dum.
- (6) Lian No.

570. *Chairman* : Are you the representatives of Falam ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : Yes, Sir.

571. *Chairman* : Have you chosen your spokesman ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : I am the spokesman, Sir.

572. *Chairman* : What are the desires of the people of Falam with regard to their political future ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : I have a Memorandum which I beg to submit. It is in Burmese.

(The Interpreter read out the Memorandum to the Committee.)

The following is a translation :—

“ We thank the British Government and the Burmese Government for their success in forming an Enquiry Committee to explore ways and means for the lasting association for mutual benefit of the minority races in the hill regions of Burma, with the Burmese, as contemplated by the London Agreement executed between the two Governments.

As the Enquiry Committee has invited the Chins in order to ascertain their wishes, after giving due consideration to them, the following Memorandum is submitted to the Chairman and all the members of the Enquiry Committee.

The Chin representatives, who will give evidence now, are those selected at the meetings of the Chin Hills District.

- (1) That the Chins shall have equal rights and privileges as the Burmese, after they have federated with Burma.
- (2) To combine (or unite) with the Central Government in all subjects except internal affairs and ancient custom of the Chin Hills, e.g. Foreign Relationship and External Affairs, Defence, Posts and Telegraphs, Communications, Health, Education, Customs, Currency and Coinage, Titles and Honours, the holding of Durbars, etc.

- (3) To have a Council recognized and financed by Burma Government to enable them to manage the internal affairs of the Chin Hills.
- (4) To have 14 Representatives at the rate of one for 3 tribes, from 42 tribes of the Chin Hills or 16 Representatives for the whole hills, in the Constituent Assembly. The above demands are based on the difference in dialect, Law of Inheritance and Marriage Laws, difficulty in communication and the fact that one tribe is ignorant about the other tribe.
- (5) Being still ignorant of the system of election by votes of Representatives to the Constituent Assembly, the Chin Hills Council and the Local Government shall select them.
- (6) To have 4 Representatives from the Chin Hills Districts in the Upper House of Burma.
- (7) To have a Chin Representative in the Supreme Council.
- (8) To have a (Chin) Minister or Councillor.
- (9) To have a (Chin) Secretary-in-Charge of the Defence Department.
- (10) To have a (Chin) member in the Public Service Commission.
- (11) As the Chins are weak in Burmese, because they had no permission to learn Burmese though they wish to do so, they may be given concession while they are undergoing training for any post, or studying, or in appointment of posts, or in schools or colleges, so long as they have not yet come to the standard.
- (12) To send State Scholars to Foreign Countries fairly according to their places.
- (13) (a) Education.
(b) Health.
(c) Communications.
(d) To arrange, as quickly as possible, for the appointment of a Chin Minister or a suitable elder in the Board of Selection of Military Officers.
- (14) Although the Chins wish to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations they will abide by the decisions made by Burman.
- (15) To secede, if they wish to do, as envisaged in the Panglong Agreement.
- (16) After the Burmese have pledged themselves to the above principles, in order that the terms agreed upon by the Central Government might be faithfully observed, the British Government should witness it (any pledge made) to reassure the minorities of its binding nature.

In both World Wars the Chins fought with Allies against the enemies of the interests of the British Empire. The Chins therefore can never think that the British as well as the Burmese Governments would forget about it.

Except for administration of internal affairs, the Chins have desired to unite with Burma proper in more subjects than the other Frontier Areas do. The Chins therefore wish to have equal Rights

and Privileges as the Burmese, Arakanese, Karen, Talaing and Burmese-Muslims of Burma proper get, in every respect.

Falam Subdivision.

- (Sd.) Thang Tin Lien, A.T.M., Chief of Zahau Tract, Falam Subdivision, Chin Hills.
- (Sd.) Hnyer Kulh, Chief of Laizo, Falam.
- (Sd.) Thang Com, Than Village, Falam.
- (Sd.) Sang Klir, Village Khuangli, Falam Subdivision.
- (Sd.) Lian No, Village Laizo, Falam Subdivision
- (Sd.) Tial Dum, F.C.C.S., Falam.

Tiddim Subdivision.

- (Sd.) Pum Za Mang, K.S.M., A.T.M., Chief of Kam Hau, Tiddim.
- (Sd.) Thawng Za Khup, A.T.M., Chief of Saizang, Tiddim.
- (Sd.) Thuam Za Mang, Chief of Mual Bem, Tiddim.
- (Sd.) Pau Chin, K.P.M., O.B., K.S.M., T.D.M., Village Kosak.
- (Sd.) Khup Khen Kham, son of Pumza Mang,
- (Sd.) Sein Lien, Secretary, Siyin Councillors' Society, Siyin Valley.

Haka Subdivision.

- (Sd.) Van Kio, Chief of Surkhua, Haka Subdivision.
- (Sd.) Mang Ling, Chief of Klangpi, Haka Subdivision.
- (Sd.) Mang Kio, Chief of Haka, Haka Subdivision.

Kanpetlet Subdivision.

- (Sd.) Bu Ki, *ex*-Interpreter, Kanpetlet, Village Khui Long.
- (Sd.) Law Ha, Inspector of Police, Kanpetlet.
- (Sd.) Pyun Thang, Police Constable, Kanpetlet, New Area.
- (Sd.) Ling Ge, Police Constable, Kanpetlet.

573. *Chairman* : Thank you very much for the Memorandum. We are very grateful to you for putting it in. From the signatures it appears that not only the Falam representatives but those from Haka and Kanpetlet signed this Memorandum ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : Yes, Sir; all of them.

574. *Chairman* : Although you have asked to be taken separately, in fact you have all agreed in this Memorandum.

Chief Thang Tin Lien : Yes, Sir, but there is a group consisting of a minority of about 6 persons who have not signed it. The difference between us and them was only with regard to the manner of election of our representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

575. *Chairman* : Which group were they, where do they belong ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : They will be coming to see you separately, Sir. At present their spokesman is ill.

576. *Chairman* : Right. Now I am not quite clear about one point. Do you want the administration of your territory to be controlled by Ministerial Burma alone or by some Government representative of the Frontier and Burma races? You talk about federation in your Memorandum, but it is not quite clear whom you have in mind.

Chief Thang Tin Lien : As we have said, in our Memorandum, we should like to go into Burma proper. Only as far as the preservation of Chin customs is concerned we should like to deal with that matter ourselves.

577. *Chairman* : Apart from the ancient customs of the Chins all other matters of administration are to be dealt with by the Government of Burma proper. Do I understand that ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : Yes, Sir.

578. *Chairman* : So will you become one of the districts of Burma ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : Yes, Sir.

579. *Chairman* : And in time will you send representatives to the Burma Legislature ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : Yes, Sir.

580. *Chairman* : I have it clear now. Is there anything else you wish to say ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : Sir, we have explained everything in our Memorandum and we have nothing to add.

581. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tül* : What form of administration do you desire in the interim period ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : As at present, while the Interim Government is functioning. What is important for the present in the Chin Hills is communications. We have no proper roads for motor traffic—education and health. We should like to have these amenities to-morrow or the day after to-morrow.

582. *Chairman* : You realize no doubt that that will take time ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : We should like to expedite the matter, Sir.

583. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Do I understand that by going into Burma you are leaving the S.C.O.U.H.P. ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : I do not think that we need leave the S.C.O.U.H.P. The Panglong Pact would stand.

584. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : What is the meaning of No. 3 in your Memorandum ?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : That is regarding travelling allowances. At present whenever there is a meeting of a District or other Council, we are not paid travelling allowance and stand travelling expenses out of our own pockets.

585. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : What do you mean by Burma Government? Is it the Government of Ministerial Burma alone or the Government of the Federation?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : In the Memorandum we mean the Federal Government.

586. *Thakin Nu* : If you want the Chin Hills to become a district or districts of Ministerial Burma, they cannot be administered by the Federal Government. Which do you mean? —The Burma Government or the Federal Government?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : We meant the Federal Government, Sir. If that is not possible we shall have to reconsider the matter.

587. *Chairman* : The answer you gave me was that you want to be administered by the Government of Ministerial Burma and to become one or more districts in Burma. Now you talked about being governed by a Federal Government. What exactly do you mean?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : All our areas—Falam, Haka, Tiddim and Kanpetlet should go into Ministerial Burma as a district. We were not quite clear regarding these terms "Federal" and "Burma proper".

588. *Chairman* : It makes rather a difference. Do you quite understand the point now?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : Yes, Sir.

589. *U um Ko Hau* : When was Burmese abolished in the Chin Hills?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : In 1924 and 1925.

590. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Was it due to the Chins?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : No, Sir. It was against our wishes. We even petitioned that we wanted Burmese to the Deputy Commissioner, but he got angry and shouted at us.

591. *U Khin Maung Gale* : The petition was sent up by Tiddim?

Chief Thang Tin Lien : Yes, Tiddim made the petition.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 19th April 1947.

1. (b) FALAM CHINS.

Za Hre.

592. *Chairman* : Now are you the representative of the Falam Area?

Za Hre : No, Sir. I do not represent any one.

593. *Chairman* : What have you to say?

Za Hre : I want to speak about how the Constituent Assembly should handle the internal affairs of our country. In my opinion, we must have reserved subjects and common subjects in the Chin Hills;

as to common subjects, the Constituent Assembly can handle them ; and for reserved subjects, the Council or whatever it may be of the Chin Hills must be left alone to handle them. For this purpose I would like to outline which subjects should be common, and which reserved.

594. *Chairman* : The Constituent Assembly will not handle all these subjects. They will frame the Constitution. Should the Chin Hills go into Ministerial Burma or be joined in a Federation with Burma and the other Frontier Areas ?

Za Hre : Sir, I think we should go into Ministerial Burma.

595. *Chairman* : Do you wish certain subjects to be left to be dealt with by the Council of the Chin Hills ?

Za Hre : Yes, Sir.

596. *Chairman* : Have you got any idea what those subjects should be ?

Za Hre : Roughly Marriage Law and Local Customs ; Revenue, Posts and Telegraphs, Communications, Education and Public Health should be dealt with by the Burma Government.

597. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : That we understood to be the views of others also.

[The Chairman thanked the witness who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 19th April 1947.

2. HAKA CHINS.

(1) Chief Mang Ling.

(2) Chief Van Kio.

(3) Chief Mang Kio.

598. *Chairman* : Are you the representatives of Haka ?

Chief Mang Ling : Yes, Sir.

599. *Chairman* : I notice that you have signed a Memorandum which has been put in this morning by the first group of witnesses. Is that not so ?

Chief Mang Ling : Yes, Sir.

600. *Chairman* : You agree with the contents of this Memorandum ?

Chief Mang Ling : We all agree, Sir.

601. *Chairman* : One point is not quite clear in the Memorandum. Do you wish to go into Ministerial Burma as a district or districts or do you wish to be administered by a Federal Government of all the peoples of Burma ?

Chief Mang Ling : We do not know about the literal meaning of " federation ". What we want is to join with Burma as a district in Burma.

602. *Chairman* : Is there anything further you would like to say ?
Chief Mang Ling : Nothing, Sir.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 19th April 1947.

3. TIDDIM CHINS.

- (1) Chief Pum Za Mang, K.S.M., A.T.M.
- (2) Chief Thawng Za Khup, A.T.M.
- (3) Chief Thuam Za Mang.
- (4) Khup Khen Kham.

603. *Chairman* . Have you selected your spokesman ?

Chief Pum Za Mang : I am the spokesman, Sir.

604. *Chairman* : We received from the first group of witnesses who gave evidence this morning a Memorandum containing their wishes and I notice that you four have signed this Memorandum. Do you all agree with the contents of it ?

Chief Pum Za Mang : Yes, Sir. We all agree with it.

605. *Chairman* : There is one point in the Memorandum on which we are not quite clear. Do you wish to join Ministerial Burma as a district or districts or do you wish to be administered by a Federal Government of all the peoples of Burma ?

Chief Pum Za Mang : We should like to be in the Federation according to the Panglong Agreement.

606. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : You seem to be under the impression that you will not get any financial assistance from Burma unless you federate under the Panglong Agreement. Is that so ?

Chief Pum Za Mang : Yes, we have that fear. If we could preserve our ancient customs, we should like to join with Burma proper.

607. *Thakin Nu* : What as ?

The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm : Are you afraid you might not get financial assistance from Burma if you do not join as a district of Burma ?

Chief Pum Za Mang : Yes, Sir. That is what we fear.

608. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Monpawm* : Is it your view that you want to join a Federation, like the Shans and Kachins, with equal representation in the Federal Government ?

Chief Pum Za Mang : Yes, Sir.

609. *Thakin Nu* : If that is so, your views are entirely different from the views of the other two groups who gave evidence here this morning ?

Chief Pum Za Mang : Our views are the same.

610. *Thakin Nu* : According to those two groups, they wanted the Chin Hills to merge with Burma as a district or districts provided that they could retain their customs and traditions. Do you agree with that view ?

Chief Pum Za Mang : That is what we mean, Sir. We do not have enough money to carry on the administration and as long as we can preserve our traditions and ancient customs we are quite content. We shall join with Burma for the sake of financial assistance.

611. *Chairman* : Would any of the others like to say anything ?

Witnesses : We all agree with what Chief Pum Za Mang has said and we have nothing more to say.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 19th April 1947.

4. SIYIN COUNCILLORS, SOCIETY AND CHIN PENSIONERS.

(1) U Sein Lien, Siyin Councillors, Society.

(2) Hony. Capt. Pau Chin, O.B., K.S.M., T.D.M., K.P.M.
(Pensioners' Representative).

612. *Chairman* : U Sein Lien, I notice that you are the Secretary of the Siyin Society.

U Vum Ko Hau : Do you represent the Siyin Society or do you come here as a representative of the Chin Hills ?

U Sein Lien : I come as a representative of the Chin Hills people.

613. *Chairman* : I notice that you both signed the Memorandum submitted to us this morning ?

U Sein Lien : Yes, Sir.

614. *Chairman* : I presume therefore that you agree with the terms of this Memorandum ?

U Sein Lien : Yes, Sir.

615. *Chairman* : Could you clear one point on which we are rather in doubt ? Do you wish the Chin Hills to be administered by Ministerial Burma as a district or districts, or by a Federal Government representing the whole of the Frontier Areas as well ?

U Sein Lien : We should like to be under the Minister, and to be administered by that Minister.

616. *Chairman* : What Minister do you mean ?

Captain Pau Chin : By the Minister of a Central Government wherein we are represented.

617. *Chairman* : Is this Central Government the Government of Ministerial Burma, that is Burma excluding the Hills areas, or is it the Government including the Hill areas ?

Captain Pau Chin : I mean the Central Government.

U Sein Lien : We want to control our internal affairs ourselves and for the rest we should like to join with Burma proper.

618. *Chairman* : What internal affairs do you mean ?

U Sein Lien : Ancient customs.

619. *Chairman* : Is there anything further you would like to say ?

Captain Pau Chin : If you are prepared to hear me, I should like to say a few words.

620. *Chairman* : Yes, if what you have to say is within the scope of this Committee.

Captain Pau Chin : We are very grateful to the Chairman, for coming over here to enquire about our people. I am a Siyin from the Chin Hills. We trace our genealogical tree up to the 15th generation. During these 15 generations we have been under this Government for one generation only. For the other 14 generations we were under nobody. When the British troops advanced into the frontiers of the Chin Hills we did not surrender at once, but fought from the Chin Hills boundary up to our very villages. After two years we made an agreement. From that time onwards we were not harshly treated by the British Government. Therefore we love the Government. The present Government has created a new constitution for Burma and it may not therefore be possible for the British Government to look after our interests in future. Because we are poor financially and numerically fewer, we must look to Britain and Burma for help.

Secondly, I went to talk about pensions. There are more than 800 pensioners in the Chin Hills. As you are aware these pensions were given by the British Government for work in their service. There are also many more pensioners in Burma proper. As you are no doubt aware these pensions were not earned by tradesmen's methods but by hard and unhealthy work in service. Many lives were lost and widows and children were granted pensions. I would like to request on behalf of all the pensioners that the payment of these pensions be continued by any Government that may come into power in Burma.

621. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Will you please accept our assurance that the present Government has no intention of repudiating the payment of pensions already earned and that it is unlikely that any future Government will do so. In fact we are now paying pensions earned even during the period of Japanese occupation. We want to make it clear that it is not the British Government who paid the pensions but the Burmese tax-payer and the Burmese Government.

Chairman : Well, you have heard what the Hon'ble U Tin Tüt has said and I hope that that assurance will calm your mind.

Captain Pau Chin : I would request that the pensions may not be discontinued on the excuse that there is no money.

622. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : We are doing our best. We have very great potential resources, such as forests and minerals. We have three members of the Cabinet of Burma here and we give our definite assurance that we will continue pensions.

Captain Pau Chin : I want to say something on Education. Burmese schools were opened in the Chin Hills in the year 1897 and many of them were 7th Standard Schools, but they were abolished in 1924. From 1925 onwards Anglo-Vernacular Schools and Primary Chin Schools were opened. Since then, we have had no chance to learn Burmese. In schools or in Government posts, our standard of Burmese cannot be as high as that attained by the Burmese themselves, for sometime to come. Therefore I should like to request the Burmese Government that for examinations in the 10th Standard, a lower standard of Burmese, say about an equivalent of the 5th Standard might be prescribed for Chins. Otherwise they will be handicapped in competing with the Burmese.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

5. KANPETLET CHINS.

- (1) U Bu Ki.
- (2) U Law Ha, I.P.
- (3) Pyun Thang.
- (4) U Ling Ge.

623. *Chairman* : You are the representatives of the Kanpetlet Subdivision ?

Witnesses : Yes, Sir.

624. *Chairman* : Have you chosen your spokesman ?

U Bu Ki : I will speak first, Sir.

625. *Chairman* : I notice that you all signed the Memorandum that was put in to the Committee this morning ?

U Bu Ki : Yes, Sir.

626. *Chairman* : I presume that you all agree with the contents of it ?

U Bu Ki : Yes, Sir. We have in addition with us a separate Memorandum * concerning the Kanpetlet Subdivision.

627. *Chairman* : Can you tell us what this Memorandum contains ?

U Bu Ki : From the time our area was administered up to the year 1929, there was a Deputy Commissioner in charge of the Kanpetlet area, but from 1929 onwards the post was abolished and we were placed under the Chin Hills District (Falam). It is the desire of the Kanpetlet area that we should be a separate unit.

628. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Do you want direct dealing with the Government or through the Chin Hills ?

U Bu Ki : We want direct dealing.

* Annexure.

629. *Chairman* : Are you then anxious to go into Ministerial Burma ?

U Bu Ki : Yes, Sir.

630. *Chairman* : Is that the gist of the Memorandum you have now with you ? Do you still wish to submit it to the Committee ?

U Bu Ki : Yes, Sir.

631. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Actually they did not deal direct with the Burma Government. They were under the Commissioner of Magwe.

U Bu Ki : Yes, Sir.

632. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Supposing you are under a Commissioner, will that be all right ?

U Bu Ki : We would like to receive the same conditions as are given to the Chin Hills. But we want our area to be a separate unit.

633. *U Vum Ko Hau* : If Kanpetlet and the Arakan Hill Tracts were to be united, would you agree ?

U Bu Ki : The Arakan Hill Tracts can join us if they like.

634. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Are there any communications between your area and the Arakan Hill Tracts ?

U Bu Ki : Yes, there is a six-foot road.

635. *Chairman* : Is that a mule track ?

U Bu Ki : Yes, Sir.

636. *Chairman* : Do the other gentlemen wish to say anything ?

Witnesses : No. We agree with U Bu Ki.

637. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : What do you mean by " federation " ?

U Bu Ki : It is very perplexing to us. We have no clear idea of it at all.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

ANNEXURE I.

Memorandum.

We thank the British Government as well as the Burmese Government for their success in forming an Enquiry Committee to explore ways and means for the lasting association for mutual benefit of the minority races in the hill regions of Burma, with the Burmese, as contemplated by the London Agreement executed between the two Governments.

As the Kanpetlet Chin Representatives, who will give evidence, are those selected at meetings of the District Council and Kanpetlet Chin Nationals, it may be accepted that what they will say are without doubt in the best interests of the Kanpetlet Chins and their future welfare, in administration as well as in the field of economics.

It is the desire of the Chins of Kanpetlet to allow the indigenous people of all creeds, residing within Kanpetlet Area, to have equal rights and to form a Council, representative of all the indigenous people, to carry out matters for the development of their interests.

The Kanpetlet Chins wish to send Representatives to the Constituent Assembly based mainly on the following principles :—

Equal rights with the Burmese.

Defence, Foreign Relations, Communications, Posts and Telegraphs.

Subsidy from Central Government until such time as the Kanpetlet separate State can organize its own finance.

Right of secession from the Federal Government at any time.

Resolutions in the Constituent Assembly relating to a State should be passed only if 2/3rd of the members of the State concerned agree.

A legislature for Kanpetlet State for conduct of internal affairs.

Kanpetlet Chins to decide the question of staying within or without the British Commonwealth of Nations in the Constituent Assembly.

Points which arise in dispute with the Burmese over Constitutional Rules either when they are being drawn up or when they have been drawn up to be settled by a Tribunal consisting of one Burmese High Court Judge and another High Court Judge.

If the Burmese pledge themselves to the above principles, a firm Agreement on Burmese-Kanpetlet Chin relations should be executed. The British Government should witness the said Agreement to re-assure the minorities of its binding nature.

The Kanpetlet Chins find that though the British Government has ruled over them for many years, there has been no marked improvement in their circumstances ; and they consider that the S.C.O.U.H.P. should accept the responsibility for guiding them to a course of action which will not prejudice their future at such a time of transition on account of a wide difference in development between them and the Burmese.

To restore Kanpetlet Area now to Pakòkku District as of old without being separated from Burma, and the separate administration to be controlled by the Chin Nationals.

To send representative to (Federal) Racial Assembly and to allow to have a Counsellor for internal affairs of Kanpetlet area of Chin Hills.

Desires to link Arakan Hills with Kanpetlet Area and not to exist separately.

To form an Armed Police force of strength, not less than 200 for Kanpetlet and Chin Hills.

The following are the answers to the Questionnaire.

1 To improve such matters relating to economic condition, education, and communications.

2. Being a hill country, the communications are not easy and the area has no mineral resources and the standard of living is not up to the mark like other countries.

3. That the questionnaires are now answered by the representatives of all the *chaung-òks* and village headmen of Kanpetlet area, Chin Hills.

4. Do not desire union (with Burma).

5. They desire federation (with Burma).

6. The members of the races should like to send representatives to Constituent Assembly when formed (to participate in its work.)

7. (With reference to question 8) it is intended to request to depute a Councillor from each area.

8. The area under the charge of a Frontier Officer at present, is administered through 17 *chaung-ôks*. The dialects being different a *chaung* under the charge of a *chaung-ôk* should send a representative to the Assembly with the consent of the *chaung-ôk*, committee members and village headmen.

9. As answered in item 8 above.

10. To be elected by the Frontier Officer-in-charge, *chaung-ôks*, committee members and village headmen.

11. The entry of representatives (into Constituent Assembly) should be considered as entry for Federation.

12. If the request for a Councillor as made in item 10 above is acceded, the Councillor shall settle questions relating to internal affairs of the Chin Hills.

13. The Councillors shall settle the question as already answered in items 11 and 12 above.

14. To federate (and abide by the decisions of the federation).

15. To form a small Committee at the Chin Hills and the Committee to be composed of two Councillors from each tribe, according to the standard of the tribes.

(a) Defence.

(b) Communications.

(c) Finance.

(d) Education.

16. To restore the boundaries as existed during the days of the Burmese Kings. By it, it means Yaw-Burmese boundary.

17. (We) suggest that the customary law be applied for all legal matters including criminal offences.

18. (We) agree that the British Government should witness (the agreement).

(1) (Sd.) BU KI,
Kanpetlet Chin Representative.

(2) PYUN THANG.

(3) LING GE.

(Sd.) LAW HA, *Inspector,*
Representative from Kanpetlet,
Chin Hills.

Desires and Demands of Kanpetlet Chins expressed at the Political Meeting in Maymyo on 19th April 1947.

1. Since the date our Kanpetlet areas came under the administration of the British Government, it was made a district and a Deputy Commissioner was appointed for it. As it was amalgamated with Falam Chin Hill in the year 1929, the places are too far away for making journeys. When we made demands also expressing our desires, our papers have to be sent through Falam to higher authorities concerned. We therefore have suffered a great deal for the waste of time and delay. Hence we agree Kanpetlet Areas to federate separately with Burma.

2. Our area is not similar to other Frontier Areas. We are much backward in Education, and almost every month and every year people from one village fought and killed those of another.

Since Education is the most essential thing for the suppression of crime, an Anglo-Vernacular High School should be opened.

3. The people of Kanpetlet Area are still too wild that they do only *taung-ya* cultivation without any yield of valuable minerals and their products from their area.

As there is hope of becoming a little more wiser, only when there are dealings with other countries in commerce, it is really essential to link Kanpetlet Area with Burma proper by a motor-car road.

4. As regards Health, a fully equipped hospital should be built.

5. The Yaw-Burmese Hill people at Chin Hill Frontier having trespassed beyond the boundaries demarcated since the time of Burmese Kings, the said areas should be settled and demarcated again.

6. A modern Federation having been already formed (Counsellor) and Members of Assembly Council and Sub-Committee, etc., should be formed and appointed similarly as in Haka, Falam and Tiddim Areas.

7. As we, wild Chins, are totally ignorant about voting in the election of Representative Members for the Frontier Areas, those persons who are selected by the Frontier Officer and Chin elders as the most suitable ones should be elected.

8. To have autonomy in respect of our ancient customs and customary laws, which are still in force in our wild Frontier Areas, without any interference.

(1) (Sd) LAW HA, *Inspector,*
Representative of Chin Hills, Kanpetlet.

(Sd.) BU KI,
Representative of Kanpetlet Chins.

(2) (Sd.) PYUN THANG.

(3) (Sd.) LING GE.

ANNEXURE 2.

NOTE.—After testifying before the Committee, the Chin witnesses who gave the evidence recorded in Parts 1 to 5 of Section IV held another meeting in Maymyo, and then submitted the following letter to the Committee.

From U VUM KO HAU, Deputy Counsellor (Chins), Frontier Areas Administration, Burma, Camp Maymyo, to the Chairman, Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry, Maymyo (through the Hon'ble Counsellor, Frontier Areas Administration, Burma, Camp Maymyo), dated the 20th April 1947.

I submit herewith the decision of the Chin Representatives examined on the 19th April, 1947, to reconcile the difference in their evidence as contained in the Memorandum and as stated orally before Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry.

The explanation given in their Minutes of 20th April 1947 is what they really meant to say.

Forwarded.

(Sd.) SAO SAM HTUN.

Copy forwarded to the President, S.C.O.U.H.P., Camp Maymyo.

**Minutes of the Meeting of the Chin Representatives on the
20th April 1947 at Maymyo.**

It was never the intention of the Chins to go in as a district in Burma proper. The Chin State shall remain in the S.C.O.U.H.P. The evidence as given to Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry by some certain Chin witnesses on the 19th April, 1947, should not be taken to imply in the least of our intention to drift ourselves away from the S.C.O.U.H.P. It is the intention of the Chins to stick to the general principle as outlined in Panglong Agreement executed between the S.C.O.U.H.P. on the one hand and the Burmese Government on the other. The statement as made by the witnesses was made without understanding precisely the difference between the terms "Union Government" and "Federal Government".

It is our intention to associate with Burma on Federal basis and what we mean by "Central Government" in our Memorandum submitted to Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry is the Federal Government. Details and methods of association with Burma shall be as would be determined by the S.C.O.U.H.P.

The same statement was made by Tiddim Chief and approved by the undersigned.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| (1) (Sd.) Pumza Mang, K.S.M.,
A.T.M. | (10) (Sd.) Sang Thir. |
| (2) (Sd.) Thang Tin Lien. | (11) (Sd.) Bu Ki. |
| (3) (Sd.) Thaug Za Khup. | (12) (Sd.) Pyun Thang. |
| (4) (Sd.) Law Ha, I.P. | (13) (Sd.) Lian No. |
| (5) (Sd.) Thuam Za Mang. | (14) (Sd.) Hnyer Kulh. |
| (6) (Sd.) Khup Khen Kham. | (15) (Sd.) Mang Kio. |
| (7) (Sd.) Tiel Dum. | (16) (Sd.) Mang Ling. |
| (8) (Sd.) Van Kio. | (17) (Sd.) Thang Cem. |
| (9) (Sd.) Seing Lien. | (18) (Sd.) Captain Pau Chin. |
| | (19) (Sd.) Ling Ge. |

Maymyo, 21st April 1947.

6. TIDDIM AND KANPETLET CHINS.

- (1) Captain Mang Tung Nung, Tiddim.
- (2) Vawmthu Mawng, Kanpetlet.
- (3) Subedar Thang Za Kai, Tiddim.
- (4) Headman Thawn Hang, Tiddim.
- (5) Thang Ko Kai, Tiddim.
- (6) Lian Ko Mang, Tiddim.
- (7) On Ko Mang, Tiddim.
- (8) Let Suah, Tiddim.

638. *Chairman*: Whom do you represent ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung: I represent Tiddim.

639. *Chairman* : Have you selected a spokesman ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung : Yes, Sir. I am the spokesman for the Tiddim representatives.

Vawmthu Mawng : I represent Kanpetlet, Sir. I should like to speak on behalf of my subdivision separately.

640. *Chairman* : Do the others agree to this gentleman (Captain Mang Tung Nung) being a spokesman ?

Witnesses : Yes, Sir, we agree. We wish to submit a Memorandum containing our views.*

641. *Chairman* : We heard the other Chin witnesses last Saturday. In what does your opinion differ from theirs ?

Coplain Mang Tung Nung : It is stated in the Memorandum, Sir.

642. *Chairman* : Can you give us the gist of your statement ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung : Our opinion differs from theirs in respect of the method of election, and also in the form of administration stated in Item No. 2.

643. *Chairman* : Tell us how you differ from them with regard to elections.

Captain Mang Tung Nung : The first party want to have nomination as well as election at the same time.

644. *Chairman* : What do you mean by " nomination as well as election " ? I do not quite understand.

Captain Mang Tung Nung : They said they would allow the Government to nominate, but at the same time would hold elections.

645. *Chairman* : But how could the Government nominate and yet allow the people to elect at the same time ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung : I don't know. But that is what I understand the first group of Chin witnesses to propose.

646. *Chairman* : What is your intention ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung : We want election by the masses.

647. *Chairman* : Do you mean that elections should take place as in Ministerial Burma ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung : Yes, Sir.

648. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you talking elections for the Constituent Assembly or for the Burma Legislature ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung : We want them to start from now.

649. *Chairman* : Do you want elections for the Constituent Assembly ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung : Yes, Sir.

650. *Chairman* : The other point is that you want to have a different type of administration from that desired by the other Chins. What is the difference ?

• *Captain Mang Tung Nung* : The taxes imposed by the Chiefs on the people are too heavy. On this point of taxation we differ.

651. *Thakin Nu* : Do you mean that you don't want these Chiefs at all ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung : We don't want Chiefs, Sir. We want the administration to be carried on according to the principles of democracy.

652. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you would like to say ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung : No, Sir.

653. *Chairman* : Now for the gentleman from Kanpetlet. What do you wish to say to us ?

Vawnthu Mawng : I beg to submit this written statement.*

654. *Chairman* : Do you want to say anything in addition ?

Vawnthu Mawng : We want the same administration as we had before 1927-28.

655. *Chairman* : Now, what was that ?

Vawnthu Mawng : In those days we were directly under the Government of Burma.

656. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Was it in the Pakôkku Hill Tracts ?

Vawnthu Mawng : Yes, Sir.

657. *Chairman* : Was it then a district in Burma ?

Vawnthu Mawng : It was a subdivision. At first it was administered by a Deputy Commissioner, but afterwards, on the grounds that the area was small, it was converted into a subdivision.

658. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Was it under a Commissioner ?

Vawnthu Mawng : Yes, Sir, it was under the Magwe Commissioner.

659. *Chairman* : Do you want Kanpetlet to be united with Ministerial Burma or do you want it to form part of a federation which includes the Frontier Areas as well as Burma ?

Vawnthu Mawng : We should like to be in a federation, Sir. But there are difficulties with regard to finance, communications and so on. Therefore we should like to be in Ministerial Burma.

660. *Chairman* : (To Captain Mang Tung Nung). What do the people of Tiddim say about that ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung : We have already stated it in the memorandum I have submitted.

661. *Chairman* : Can you tell us whether you would like to be part of Ministerial Burma or in a federation such as I have described ?

Captain Mung Tung Nung : We should like to be in the federation, Sir.

662. *Chairman* : Not in Ministerial Burma ?

Captain Mang Tung Nung : No, Sir.

663. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Does Vawmthu Mawng want to have nomination rather than election ?

Vawmthu Mawng : We want election—in accordance with the principles of democracy.

664. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you would like to say ?

Vawmthu Mawng : I should like to put a few questions, Sir.

665. *Chairman* : Yes.

Vawmthu Mawng : We want to know if this Committee has invited the representatives of the administration or the representatives of the masses.

666. *Chairman* : Primarily, representatives of the masses. Representatives of all interests in the Frontier Areas have been invited.

Vawmthu Mawng : In such case do you consider that the Chin representatives who came here spoke on behalf of the administration or on behalf of the people ?

667. *Chairman* : Well, that is a matter for us to decide.

Vawmthu Mawng : The reason why I have to ask this question, Sir, is that, although I do not know anything about any other part of the Chin Area, I know at least that the people who came to give evidence from Kanpetlet came to represent the administration.

668. *Chairman* : But, do you come to represent the masses ?

Vawmthu Mawng : Yes, Sir, I am the representative of the people.

Chairman : Well, in that case we have heard both sides.

669. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Do the other party not form the intellectuals of the Kanpetlet Subdivision ?

Vawmthu Mawng : What I mean is that to have a correct opinion, you should have the opinion of various stratas of society—those who form the intelligentsia and those who are less intelligent.

Chairman : We shall take note of what you say.

670. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Were you sent by the people or by the Assistant Resident, Kanpetlet Subdivision ?

Vawmthu Mawng : I was sent by the people of Kanpetlet after the Assistant Resident had told us about the Committee.

671. *U Vum Ko Hau* : You now say that you are in favour of election. Was it not a fact that you supported nomination, when you were a representative to the S.C.O.U.H.P. meeting held at Yaunghwe on 27th March 1947 ?

Vawmthu Mawng : I stated, in the presence of all, that I was there as a guest ; and as a guest I could not go against the decisions of the S.C.O.U.H.P., nor could I play a very great part in the working out of the programme.

672. *Chairman* : You mean you could not do much as a guest. Is that so ?

Vawmthu Mawng : Yes.

673. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Do you think you can carry out the elections in time for the Constituent Assembly ?

Vawmthu Mawng : I do not know about other places. But in Kanpetlet it can be done in time in consultation with the Supreme Council, the District Councils, the Circle Councils and the Village Councils.

674. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : If these Councils are to have elections, they are likely to elect you. Is that not so ?

Vawmthu Mawng : They may, perhaps. But they may prefer someone else.

675. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Is it not possible for these various Councils to select or nominate representatives ?

Vawmthu Mawng : The Councils represent the masses. Therefore, the Councils and the masses are the same.

676. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Is that not nomination ?

Vawmthu Mawng : The distinction I want to make is that if the Councils were to select that would be nomination, but if the individuals in the Councils as individuals were to make selection it would be election.

677. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : How long will it take if we are to adopt what you have suggested before you can send representatives ?

Vawmthu Mawng : You fix a date and we will do it.

678. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Do you consider that those people who came here the other day had been tutored by the officials and therefore they cannot do anything beneficial for the country ?

Vawmthu Mawng : I cannot express any opinion in this respect.

679. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Well, look at my case. The people want me to represent them and I came to represent my people. I am the Chief of a tribal society of some 30,000 people, and they were pleased when I was selected—that is when I was nominated. Cannot that also be true in your case ?

Vawmthu Mawng : I don't want nomination, Sir.

680. *Chairman* : Is there anything more any of you gentlemen would like to say ?

Witnesses : Nothing, Sir.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

ANNEXURE I.

From the Signatories * as representatives from the various parts of Chin Hills, to the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry, Camp Maymyo, dated the 21st April 1947.

We thank the British Government and the Governor's Executive Council for their success in forming an Enquiry Committee to explore ways and means for the lasting association for mutual benefit of the minority races in the hill regions of Burma, with the Burmese, as contemplated by the London Agreement executed between the two Governments.

Desires for the improvement of the conditions of Chin Nations.

We find that though the British Government has ruled over the Chin Hills for about 60 years, we are very much backward, if compared with other Frontier Areas, in Education, Health, Communications, Agriculture and Economic conditions. As regards Administration also, the poor people have greatly suffered due to the collection of taxes on food under pressure by the Circle *Thugyis*, appointed by the Government, as in the days of Dictators, Capitalists and Rulers (*Sawbwas*) of States, and not like other Kachin Frontier Areas. Therefore, in the new Administration, the said Circle *Thugyis* should be made Government servants, or to find out some other practicable method.

All the Chin Nationals of the Frontier Areas being in favour of Democratic Principle only, we wish to have only such administration after election by votes as in the election to the Council recently formed. After having duly elected 12 members, on the basis of 3 from one area under the charge of a Subdivisional Officer, originally in the Chin Hills, to represent and give evidence here on behalf of the Chin and Kachin Nationals, and on their arrival at Maymyo, they were divided into six parties and they have to give evidence continuously for two days. The reason for this is that they were not representatives of the people, but only Circle *Thugyis* who had come only for their own interests under the influence of the Government. Therefore the desires of the Chin masses of the hill and their demands for the future administration are as follows :—

Demands for the Future Administration.

(a) Panglong Agreement executed in February 1944 by the representatives of Frontier Areas and those of the Burma Government is confirmed.

(b) Supported and confirmed the resolutions passed at the meeting of all representatives from the Frontier Areas, held in March 1947 at Yaungthwe.

(c) To participate in the forthcoming Constituent Assembly. To have twelve representatives in the Assembly in view of the fact that there are four tribes among the Chin Nationals, difficulties in communications

* (Sd.) 1. Mang Tung Nung, Captain, Representative of the people, Pensioner.
 2. Thang Za Kai, Pensioner, Extra Representative.
 3. Hkhavkai, Pensioner, Representative of Mweyaw, Headman.
 4. Thawn Hang, Headman, Extra Representative.
 5. On Ko Mang, Headman, Extra Representative.
 6. Lian Ko Mang, Extra Representative.
 7. Let Suah, Extra Representative.

between one village and another and between one place and another, difference in dialects and one place being too far away from another. To elect such representatives by votes under the democratic principle.

(d) Two conditions under which to unite with Burma:--

First : To join the Federation.

Second : To secede at any time.

(e) To include Naga Hill Areas and Arakan Hill District, Paletwa Township in the Chin Hills area. They are Chin Nationals in the said areas, and they are also geographically linked to one another.

(f) (i) The Government has converted *Bobabaing* (freehold) lands into *Ayardaw* (leasehold) lands.

(ii) To restore immediately such freehold lands, bought by our ancestors but converted into *Ayardaw* lands by the Government, to the rightful owners.

We never consider that the British would forget us, Chin Nationals, who had fought effectively in the first World War from 1914 to 1918 and in the second World War from 1942 to 1945 with a view to save the British Empire. We therefore earnestly urge the Enquiry Committee to carry out successfully the desires and demands for the future welfare of the Chin Nationals, who had defended at the sacrifice of their lives for the security of Burma and British Empire.

ANNEXURE II.

From the People of Kanpetlet, Pakôkku Hill Tract, to the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry, Camp Maymyo, dated the 21st April 1947.

SUBJECT.—*The original condition of the People of Kanpetlet, their views and demands for their future.*

Original Condition and Administration.

1. In the days of the Burmese King, the Chin Hills area was administered by a Deputy Minister.

2. From the time of British annexation till 1935 the area was administered by a separate Deputy Commissioner as Pakôkku Hill Tract.

3. From 1928-29 it was administered as part of Chin Hills District with Headquarters at Falam by a Subdivisional Officer and Magistrate and subordinates.

4. Under the said administration, the people of Kanpetlet organized themselves into political bodies and agitated for various rights. Some 730 persons were arrested, some of whom were sentenced to jail and others were restricted to Frontier Areas. (The said organization made demands to unite with Burma *in toto*).

5. During B.I.A. and B.D.A. period in 1942, the area linked itself with Burmese Central Government and carried on the local administration with local councils.

6. Later in the early part of 1946, a political association was reorganized and demands were made for absolute independence and for union with Burma. Many arrests were made and restrictions of every kind were imposed right up till now.

7. Next, the people of the area supported the agreement between Representatives of the Government of Burma and Representatives of the Frontier Areas at Panglong, Southern Shan States, on

12th February 1947 at Burmese-Chin Goodwill Conference attended by Burmese and Chin Leaders and about 10,000 people, held at Htulin from 5th March 1947 to 3rd April 1947.

8. At the All Minority Races Meeting held at Yaunghwe, Southern Shan States, for seven days, from 18th March 1947 to 25th March 1947, all the tribes of the Chin race were united and made a unanimous demand from the British Government to devise ways and means to unite with Burma proper.

Views on Future Administration.

1. To confirm and respect the abovementioned Panglong Agreement.
2. To participate in the forthcoming Constituent Assembly. In view of difficult communications in Chin Hills Area, a representative from each of the area under a Subdivisional Officer be elected on democratic principle with the consent of the masses (to the Constituent Assembly).
3. In view of the difference in the dialects, manners and customs among the Chins according to locality, local governments should be formed for each tract, subject to alteration according to circumstances.
4. There shall be no impediment or restriction whatsoever for the people of the Subdivision in the Chin Hills or of the Chin Hills as a whole either to secede from the Federal Government which they desire to enter at the present or unite with Ministerial Burma.
5. To merge with Paletwa area and form a national Government to link directly with central Government of Burma.
6. The present A.F.P.F.L. Government, to carry out especially in accordance with its declaration the plans for education, health and communications for the Chin Hills area.
7. At present, the subsidy from Burma Government goes to foreign countries. The said subsidy should be enjoyed only by the indigenous nationals.

That as the Chins care this Committee and as they co-operated with the authorities concerned in the last war and also in the World War II and carried out effectively, it is our hope that this Committee will secure absolute freedom for us in terms of the Atlantic Charter and accede to our demands.

VAWMTHU MAWNG,
*Representative of Chin Hills,
Kanpetlet Area.*

Rangoon, 24th March 1947.

7. KHUMI AND LAKHER CHINS.

- (1) Htat Ling.
- (2) Tung Aung.
- (3) Htin Kon.
- (4) Pat Wei.
- (5) Theitn.

U Tha Aung,—*Interpreter.*

682. *Chairman* : (To Interpreter) Are you the interpreter? What is your name please?

Interpreter : Tha Aung, Sir.

683. *Chairman* : The first group we are seeing from the Arakan Hill Tracts consists of representatives of the Khumis and Lakhers ?

Tha Aung : Yes. We are representatives of the Khumis and Lakhers. They are separate tribes inhabiting the Arakan Hills Tracts. They are animists by religion.

684. *Chairman* : Now, are these two people of the same race as the Chins ?

Tha Aung : Yes, Sir.

685. *Chairman* : We understand that you have no industries in this area, and in fact you have to import rice from Akyab as your area suffers from shortage.

Tha Aung : Yes, Sir, we are particularly short of rice, salt and *ngapi* (salted fish).

686. *Chairman* : You have to import these, and you have to obtain from Government funds to carry on. You are not self-sufficient ?

Tha Aung : Yes, that is right.

687. *Chairman* : Now, have the witnesses here to-day obtained from those they represent their political desires ?

Tha Aung : Before departure from Headquarters we held meetings among ourselves and we came to definite decisions.

688. *Chairman* : What headquarters are you talking about ?

Tha Aung : Paletwa. We had meetings of representatives from the Hill Tracts and we brought some elders on to Paletwa when a meeting was held there.

689. *Chairman* : When was that ?

Tha Aung : We left Paletwa on the 16th. The meeting was held there about the 13th or 14th of this month.

690. *Chairman* : And as a result of these meetings you learnt what the people desired ?

Tha Aung : Yes, Sir.

691. *Chairman* : And what is that ?

Tha Aung : Now, as most of the people of our (Khumis) tribes are illiterate, we want to amalgamate with Haka or Kanpetlet. In case the British are not to govern us, that means if Burma is given independence, we want to amalgamate with Haka or Kanpetlet as we are unable to govern ourselves.

692. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : May I put a question ? Does your area adjoin Haka and Kanpetlet ?

Tha Aung : Yes, Kanpetlet and the Arakan Hill Tracts touch each other.

693. *Chairman* : Have you any views as to how the Chin Area should be constituted? You state that you want to join these two regions. Now, are there any views of the Chins in that area on the constitution of the Chin State or whatever it may be?

Tha Aung : Of course they are willing to join a Chin State, Sir, but they want representatives in that constitution. If there is a Chin State these people want to be represented in it from their tribes.

694. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are they (witnesses) of the same opinion? Or is that the view of Tha Aung only?

695. *Chairman* : (To Interpreter). Ask the other representatives here whether they agree with what the spokesman has said or whether they want to differ. Is there any difference of opinion?

Tha Aung : All of them agree.

696. *Chairman* : Do they know Burmese?

Tha Aung : Of course, but they can't speak it.

697. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : What is the reply in gist? May I put a question? If the Chins in either Haka or Kanpetlet want to go into Ministerial Burma, are you willing to join them on the assumption that they are not having a separate State.

Tha Aung : Yes, Sir, if those people are willing to go in, we are ready to follow.

698. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : There may be a difference of opinion between Haka and Kanpetlet; Haka might like to be a separate State, and Kanpetlet might like to be in Ministerial Burma. If so, which State do you want to join?

Tha Aung : In that case we want to amalgamate with Haka—that is, if Haka State stays in and if Kanpetlet goes out. We don't want to follow Kanpetlet, we shall follow whatever Haka does.

699. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : May I ask the reason why you want to follow Haka?

Tha Aung : Haka is nearer to us.

700. *Chairman* : Which part of the hill tracts do you inhabit?

Tha Aung : The banks of the Kaladan River.

701. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Is that the only reason why your people want association with Haka and not with Kanpetlet?

Tha Aung : That is the only reason—it is a question of distance.

702. *Chairman* : You have now reached the point of saying that you would like to join with the Chin State if there is one. Supposing the Chin people want to have a State of their own and not to be merged with Ministerial Burma, have you thought out the relationship between the Chin State and the rest of Burma, that is whether there should be federation with the rest of Burma?

Tha Aung : Not yet.

703. *Chairman* : You have'nt in fact gone any further than the desire to follow the people of the Haka Division whatever they decide to do ?

Tha Aung : Yes, Sir.

704. *Chairman* : Are your people prepared to accept the decision of the people of Haka whatever it may be and accept such federation with Burma as Haka may decide, or as the rest of Chin States including Haka may decide ?

Tha Aung : What I mean is that we are afraid that no representatives from our tribes would be accepted. We want representatives from our tribes.

705. *Chairman* : We are hearing the people of Haka in a fortnight's time and I want to know whether you wish to abide by whatever they decide.

Tha Aung : Yes, Sir.

706. *Chairman* : Any other questions, gentlemen ?

707. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Are communications from your Hill Tracts easier with the Arakan or Haka ?

Tha Aung : They are easier with Akyab than with Haka.

708. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Do you wish to combine with Arakan ?

Tha Aung : When we left Paletwa my people told me that they did not want to amalgamate with Akyab District.

709. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Is there anything else you want to tell us ?

Witnesses : No.

710. *Chairman* : Who is the Lakher representative ? Do you agree with everything which has been said ?

Theitu : Yes, Sir, I agree.

[Khumi and Lakher witnesses withdrew.]

8. LUNPU MRO CHINS.

(1) Lunpu.

U Tha Aung—*Interpreter*.

711. *Chairman* : What number of people are there in your area ?

Tha Aung : About 1,000.

712. *Chairman* : What do your people want ?

Tha Aung : We want to amalgamate with Burma, but we want our people to be ruled according to our customs.

713. *Chairman* : How did you find this out ? Was there any meeting ?

Tha Aung : A meeting was held at Mee-zar-wet Village before I left my area.

714. *Chairman* : Was that the decision of the Mro people ?

Tha Aung : Yes.

715. *Chairman* : What sort of guarantee do you want from the Government of Burma about the retention of your customs ?

Tha Aung : We want to decide all the cases by ourselves.

716. *Chairman* : How do you want to be assured that the Burma Government will recognize this right ? Do you want a treaty or a proviso in the constitution ?

717. *Thakin Nu* : Will they be satisfied if they get a declaration from the Burmese Government, that their customary laws will be maintained ?

Tha Aung : Yes.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who withdrew.]

9. MAUNG HMYAR LEMRO CHINS.

Maung Hmyar.

U Tha Aung,—*Interpreter*.

718. *Chairman* : You are Maung Hmyar ?

Tha Aung : Yes.

719. *Chairman* : How many people do you represent ?

• *Tha Aung* : I do not know the population. We are about 700 households.

720. *Chairman* : Whereabouts ?

Tha Aung : All along the Lemro River. I am only speaking for my own Circle.

721. *Chairman* : All we want to know is whom you represent. Did you discuss with your people what you want with regard to the future of the Arakan Hill Tracts ?

Tha Aung : My village is in my Circle and I discussed with the people in my Circle what they want in regard to the future of the Arakan Hill Tracts. We want the present administration of the Arakan Hill Tracts to continue for the time being.

722. *Chairman* : Supposing the Chin people decide either to merge with Ministerial Burma or to be a state on their own, will that affect the decision you have made ? What constitution do you desire for the future of the Arakan Hill Tracts ?

Tha Aung : We want the same administration as at present.

723. *Chairman* : You know that recently an agreement has been arrived at between the British Government and the Government of Burma empowering the Constituent Assembly to decide the future status of Burma. It is unlikely that the present administration will continue. What do you want if there is to be a change ?

Tha Aung : There are at the present moment 24 Circles in the Paletwa District. Whatever those 24 Circles decide we will abide by that decision. I am only the headman of 2 Circles.

724. *Chairman* : Are you prepared to follow the majority of the people in the Arakan Hill Tracts ?

Tha Aung : Yes.

725. *Chairman* : Have your people discussed the question of the formation of a separate Chin State ?

Tha Aung : We will follow whatever the Chin Hills people decide. We found difficulty in discussion with other tribes. However, we are desirous of discussing matters with the Kanpetlet people.

726. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Will they come under the system of representative Government if Burma promises to maintain their customs ?

Tha Aung : We will follow the decision of the Paletwa people
[The Chairman thanked the witness, who withdrew.]

10. ARAKAN HILL TRACTS A.F.P.F.L.

(1) Tun Mra.

(2) Saw Hla.

U Tha Aung, —*Interpreter*.

727. *Chairman* : What race do you belong to ?

Tha Aung : Arakanese.

728. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you residing in the Arakan Hill Tracts ?

Tha Aung : Yes.

729. *Chairman* : How many supporters have you in your district ?

Tha Aung : About 3,000 people.

730. *Chairman* : That is the whole of the Hill Tracts ?

Tha Aung : I mean all the Arakanese people in the Arakan Hill Tracts. We belong to the Burma group, numbering about 3,570.

731. *Chairman* : What is the desire of the people in your group ? What do they visualize as the future constitution of the Arakan Hill Tracts ?

Tha Aung : We want independence simultaneously with Burma.

732. *Chairman* : Do you want to be joined up with Burma in any way ?

Tha Aung : We want to join with Burma provided that we are given the same status.

733. *Chairman* : I want to know whether you want to join Ministerial Burma or not.

Tha Aung : Yes.

734. *Chairman* : Do you want to be a district in Ministerial Burma ?

Tha Aung : We do not want a separate district. We want to be in with Burma.

735. *U Khin Maung Gale* : I suppose you want Paletwa to be united with Burma as a District.

736. *Chairman* : Do you want Paletwa as a district in Burma ?

Tha Aung : Yes.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses for giving evidence and the witnesses withdrew].

V. EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES FROM NAGA HILLS DISTRICT.

Maymyo, 19th April 1947.

1. SOMRA TRACT.

(1) Shon Khotong.

(2) Ngam Yang.

(3) Htu Be.

(4) Yawhsagyaw.

737. *Chairman* : Are you the representatives of the Somra tract ?

Shon Kholong : Yes, Sir.

738. *Chairman* : Have you chosen your spokesman ?

Shon Khotong : Yes Sir, I am the spokesman.

739. *Chairman* : Now what are the races of the people of Somra tract ?

Shon Khotong : Kongsai, Para and Tangku.

740. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are they Shans or Chins ?

Shon Khotong : Chins, Sir.

741. *Chairman* : The people you mentioned there are tribes of the Chins. I expect that you know that this Committee is considering the future of the Frontier peoples in Burma.

Shon Khotong : We know a little about this Committee, but not everything.

742. *Chairman* : Now what are the wishes of the people of the Somra tract as to their future government ?

Shon Khotong : I beg to submit this memorandum, Sir.

(The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt read out the memorandum in Burmese to the Committee).

The following is a translation :--

From the Chin Nationals of Naga Hills and Representatives * to the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry, temporarily at Maymyo, dated the 19th April 1947.

Our desires are as follows :--

1. To join the Burma Federation in the same way as the other minorities.

* 1. (Sd.) Ngam Yang—Garman.

2. (Sd.) Shon Khotong—Kawllam.

3. (Sd.) Yawhsagyaw—Clingli.

4. (Sd.) Htu/Be—Naymi Ronepi.

2. As there are three different tribes in the Nagas, one Representative from each of them should be sent to the coming Constituent Assembly.

3. To have the right of secession as the other minorities.

4. To elect Representatives for the Constituent Assembly from the Mass Meeting of the whole district.

5. To take immediate action with regard to Education, Health, Communications in the Naga Hill Areas.

6. The British Government to guarantee the above and sign as witness.

The above being the desires and demand of all the Chin Nationals of Naga Hills, we submit this memorandum for necessary action.

743. *Chairman* : How many people signed the Burmese memorandum ?

Shon Khotong : We four signed it.

744. *Chairman* : What do you mean by federation ? Do you want to go into Ministerial Burma or to be associated with all the other frontier peoples ?

Shon Khotong : Our finances are very meagre and for the sake of finance we should like to be with Burma—that is what we mean.

745. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Have you discussed this point with the representatives of the Chin Hills ?

Shon Khotong : We only heard about this Committee on the 15th of March and we had no time for deliberations with them until we came here, Sir. Then we consulted one another.

746. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you definite in your views ?

Shon Khotong : We cannot say definitely, Sir, what course we ought to adopt at present.

747. *Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Is the point that you want to join Burma ? But you don't quite know in what manner ?

Shon Khotong : That is so, Sir.

748. *Chairman* : I take it that there are no motor roads in this Somra tract.

Shon Khotong : No, Sir.

749. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are there any schools ?

Shon Khotong : There are no schools, Sir.

750. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Then how did you learn Burmese.

Shon Khotong : We have been to Burma in connection with our trade.

751. *Chairman* : What is your trade ?

Shon Khotong : Oil-seeds.

752. *Chairman* : In what way do most of the people make a living ?

Shon Khotong : Some are paddy cultivators and some are *taungya* cultivators.

753. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you or your friends would like to say ?

Witnesses : Our spokesman has said everything, Sir, we need not add to it.

754. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : What do they adjoin ?

(Witness pointed out his area on the wall map.)

755. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : When was that Memorandum in Burmese written and when was it signed ?

Shon Khotong : We had the Committee's questionnaire but we did not know how to express our answers properly. So we approached somebody here who understood the matter and with his help tried to put our answers in the memorandum which we have signed and presented to you.

756. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : You signed it to-day ?

Shon Khotong : Yes, this morning.

757. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : When was it translated into English ?

Shon Khotong : It is not translated.

758. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Have you any contact with the Nagas ?

Shon Khotong : We do not talk the same language, but we are in contact with one another. The language medium is Manipuri.

759. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Have you any idea what the Nagas would like ?

Shon Khotong : We saw them at the meeting on the 25th March when the resolutions in that English paper were passed. They will abide by whatever decision we come to.

760. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Do you agree with the letter put in by the Chins yesterday ?

Shon Khotong : Personally, we agree with it but we do not know the opinion of our headmen who have not seen it. But we will explain it to them when we get back.

(The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt read out an extract from the Resolutions passed at the Meeting of the Chiefs and the Village-elders of the Somra tract which was held on the 25th and 26th of March 1947. This was in English and read as follows :—

" So long as the British Government administer us we have no mind to be subject to any other powers. In case the British Government is pleased to leave, it is certain that we are under Burma provided that we are enjoying the same rights and privileges. "

761. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are those your views ?

Shon Khotong : Yes, Sir, we should like to be as we have stated in that resolution.

762. *U Khin Maung Gale* : You have contacts with Homalin and the Naga Hills ?

Shon Khotong : Yes, Sir.

763. *Chairman* : Do you want to be represented at the Constituent Assembly ?

Shon Kholong : Yes, Sir. Will the representatives be from us four or from all our people ?

764. *Chairman* : From your people.

Shon Kholong : We will select them by holding a mass meeting.

765. *Chairman* : How many representatives do you want ?

Shon Kholong : We are very few in number, Sir, but we would like three.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 19th April 1947.

2. THAUNGDUK AND SINKALING HKAMTI STATES.

Group II.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| (1) U Ohn Pe (<i>Sawbwa's</i>
Representative). | } Thaungduk State
(Part I Area). |
| (2) U Maung Than ... | |
| (3) U Ba Lin ... | |
| (4) U Ba Pe ... | |
| (5) U Nyan Paing ... | |

Group III.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| (1) Saw Mya Sein, <i>Sawbwa</i> ... | } Singkaling Hkamti State
(Part I Area). |
| (2) U Po Yin ... | |

766. *Chairman* : Are you the representatives of Thaungduk State and Singkaling Hkamti State ?

Witnesses : Yes, Sir.

767. *Chairman* : Have you selected a spokesman to speak for you all ?

U Ba Lin : Yes, Sir. I am the spokesman.

768. *Chairman* : Are you one of the representatives of the Thaungduk State ?

U Ba Lin : Yes, Sir.

769. *Chairman* : Is that a Shan State ?

U Ba Lin : Yes, Sir.

770. *Chairman* : Is it surrounded by Chins ?

U Ba Lin : No, Sir. It is not surrounded by Chins.

771. *Chairman* : Who are your neighbours ?

U Ba Lin : We adjoin the Upper Chindwin District on one side.

772. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are the people there Burmese ?

U Ba Lin : Yes, Sir.

773. *Chairman* : Do you adjoin the Somra tract ?

U Ba Lin : Yes, Sir.

774. *Chairman* . Are they Chins ?

U Ba Lin : Yes, Sir.

775. *Chairman* : Then you are surrounded partly by Burmese and partly by Chins ?

U Ba Lin : Mostly by Burmese. There are also Manipuris on one side.

776. *Chairman* : Is yours a small Shan State surrounded by other people ?

U Ba Lin : Yes, Sir. But although we are all Shans we are Burmanized.

777. *Chairman* : But you were originally Shans ?

U Ba Lin : Yes, Sir.

778. *Chairman* : And you have a *Sawbwa* ?

U Ba Lin : Yes, Sir.

779. *Chairman* : Does the *Sawbwa* administer the State ?

• *U Ba Lin* : Yes, Sir.

780. *Chairman* : What is the desire of the people of this State regarding their political future ?

U Ba Lin : I will read out their desire.

Chairman : Yes, please.

U Ba Lin : The representatives from Thaungdut and Singkaling Hkamti States should come to the Committee and give evidence as follows :—

(1) We will unite with Burma proper with the following rights and privileges :—

(a) The Government of Burma shall continue to recognize and allow our *Sawbwaws* to administer their respective States.

(b) If either *Sawbwa* fails to govern his State according to democratic principles he shall abdicate in favour of one of his relatives.

(c) The *Sawbwaws* shall not move away from the areas which they are administering.

781. *Chairman* : You mean move away permanently ?

U Ba Lin : Permanently, Sir.

(d) If there none in the line of the *Sawbwa* who is capable of administering the State, the people shall elect one from the masses.

782. *Chairman* : Who is to decide whether the *Sawbwa* is capable or not ?

U Ba Lin : We, the masses, and the Central Burma Government.

783. *Chairman* : Anything more ?

U Ba Lin : That is all, Sir.

784. *Chairman* : Is there anything more you or your friends would like to say ?

U Ba Lin : I have nothing more to say, Sir.

Witnesses : We agree with what he said.

785. *Chairman* : What about the Singkaling Representatives. Have you anything in particular to say ?

Saw Mya Sein : Nothing in particular, Sir.

786. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Do you want to be represented in the Constituent Assembly ?

Saw Mya Sein : No, we do not intend to be.

787. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpaw* : What about the representative from Thaungdut ? Don't you want to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly ?

U Ba Lin : No, Sir.

788. *U Khin Maung Gale* : May I ask one question to the *Sawbwa* *U Mya Sein* ? Do you agree with what *U Ba Lin* has said just now ?

Saw Mya Sein : I endorse everything that *U Ba Lin* has said.

789. *Chairman* : You are the *Sawbwa* yourself ?

Saw Mya Sein : Yes, Sir.

790. *Chairman* : Anything further you would like to say, *Sawbwa* ?

Saw Mya Sein : No, Sir.

791. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Are you Shan or Shan-Burman ?

Chairman : They said they were Burmanized Shans.

U Vum Ko Hau : Is that not the same as Shan-Burmans ?

The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt : Literally, they said they were originally Shans, but had become Burmans.

792. *Sina Hsinwa Nuwng* : What is the Shan population of your area ?

Saw Mya Sein : About 7,000 in Thaungdut, and 3,000 in Singkaling Hkamti Long.

793. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Is there any other population ?

Saw Mya Sein : Yes, Sir, in Singkaling Hkamti Long there are Nagas and a small number of Kongsai.

794. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : What are Kongsai ?

Saw Mya Sein : Chins.

795. *Chairman* : Is the *Sawbwa* in contact with the Nagas at all ?

Saw Mya Sein : Yes, we are in contact.

796. *Chairman* : We have not been able to get them here to give evidence. Do they know anything about this Committee ?

Saw Mya Sein : I myself had to come here hurriedly. One day I heard of the Committee and the next day I had to leave for Maymyo.

797. *Chairman* : We are told that the Nagas are busy head-hunting and that they are not able to devote any attention to other things, even to this Committee.

Saw Mya Sein : They are addicted to head-hunting but I don't know if that is the reason why they have not come here.

798. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : What about the Lisai Kachins ?

Saw Mya Sein : They are our neighbours, Sir.

799. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : In Homalin ?

Saw Mya Sein : They are in the Myitkyina direction.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

Maymyo, 19th April 1947.

3. HOMALIN SUBDIVISION.

(1) U Ba San.

(2) U Thein Pe.

800. *Chairman* : What are the people of Homalin Subdivision ? Are they Burmese ?

U Ba San : Nominally they are known as Shans but 75 per cent of them speak Burmese and if you eliminated the Burmese language they would not understand each other. There is no such thing as Shan script or literature among us.

801. *Chairman* : Are you originally of the Shan Race ?

U Ba San : Our ancestors came from Hkamti Long, but, on account of the danger from the Kachins, they had to migrate down the valley of the Chindwin. Nowadays though we are Shan by descent, we are Burmanized, and, in fact, Burmese.

802. *Chairman* : What is the view of the people of the Homalin Subdivision as to their political future ?

U Ba San : In our customs, and way of living, we are Burmese and we should like to enjoy all the rights and privileges of the Burmans. 100 per cent.

803. *Chairman* : In other words, you mean you would like to be in Ministerial Burma ?

U Ba San : Yes, Sir.

804. *Chairman* : Do you want to be represented at the Constituent Assembly ?

U Ba San : Under the 1935 Act we are scheduled as Part II Areas and we have no right of voting under that Act. However we would like to send our representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

805. *Chairman* : Would your people like to vote in any elections in Burma in future ?

U Ba San : Yes, Sir.

806. *Chairman* : How will the representatives to the Constituent Assembly be elected ?

U Ba San : By mass meetings.

807. *Chairman* : Not by District Council ?

U Ba San : No, by public meeting.

808. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Have you a District Council ?

U Ba San : No, Sir.

809. *U Vum Ko Hau* : How many representatives do you want to send to the Constituent Assembly ?

U Ba San : It would be better if we could get two representatives.

810. *Chairman* : What is the population of your subdivision ?

U Ba San : We had a Census in 1945. According to that census the population of our subdivision is 45,000.

(U Thein Pe submitted a memorandum in Burmese to which he had nothing to add verbally.)

The following is a translation :—

Statements of the Representatives sent from Homalin Township, Naga Hills District, to the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry.

Answer to the Special Questionnaire.

1. To withdraw the inclusion of Homalin Township in Part II Areas under the 1935 Act, and to unite with Burma without any restriction.

Answers to 3 items of the Questionnaire given in advance to the Representatives by the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry.

1. The people of Homalin Township will be satisfied, if they are allowed to take part in the next Election, although they are now denied the right to vote and elect a Representative from Homalin Township for the Constituent Assembly of Burma. If the right to take part and give their opinions in the present Assembly be given to one or two elders, elected by the masses of Homalin Township and if, by the time the said 1935 Act is withdrawn, those elders who have been thus allowed to give their opinions are recognized as Members of the Constituent Assembly, they will be very glad.

2 and 3. No special answers necessary.

Answers to 18 questions.

1. Owing to the death of cattle and so on, as a result of the war activities of the Allies and Japan against each other in the second world war, all kinds of industries for their livelihood have greatly suffered, and it is therefore very difficult now for the rehabilitation of the economical conditions of Homalin Township.

2. The geographical situation of Homalin Township is that it is run over by hills, and that Shans live in areas on either side of the rivers and streams and some Chins, who are looking forward to the New Constitution of Burma, live in some hilly portion.

3. (a) The formation of *Wunthanu* Associations all over the Township of Homalin and their activities with a view to get Independence, according to the political desires of the masses, who had elected the Representatives, before the arrival of the 1935 Constitution.

(b) The submission of a Memorial signed by the masses of the Township to the Governor for the withdrawal of the separate administration as Part II Area under the 1935 Act.

(c) The passing of resolutions and demands to be made at the meeting for the freedom of Frontier Areas in the Mass Meeting held on 18th January 1947 with an attendance of over 2,000 people.

(d) The passing of resolutions demanding the Freedom of Frontier Areas and the Public Demonstration around the town of Homalin by over 4,000 to 5,000 Representatives from over 4,000 houses on 31st January 1947.

(e) In the course of the whole district Meeting of Representatives elected at a proportion of one for 50 houses, held on the 2nd Waning of *Tabaung* 1308 B.E. under the patronage of the Deputy Commissioner (J. W. McGuinness), 17 elders were elected for deciding the fate of Homalin Township and we learnt the desires of the masses of the district as we have received instructions from the said 17 elders to speak for the Union with Burma without any restriction.

In consideration of the above facts, we think it is not necessary to answer questions (4) to (13).

14. We wish Burma to associate with the British Government only like one ruling nation to another and love for each other. But we are not at all in favour of any love (for the British) as a Dictator.

15. Not necessary to answer.

16. There are Chins and Shans in Naga Hill District, but they (Nagas) have now shifted to Homalin Township as a result of the jungles or forests all over the whole Naga Hill having been wasted by *Taung-ya* cultivations. If the said (Naga) wish to remain as a separate Federated State, they should not be allowed to remain as such within the boundaries of Homalin Township. Even if they are allowed to reside within the boundaries of Homalin Township, where the Shans reside, though they said they would unite with Burma without any restriction, they should be allowed to reside only when they could do paddy cultivation for their livelihood after giving up their wasteful habit of *Taung-ya* cutting by deforestation, which would upset the climatical conditions, on which the means of livelihood of the majority races depend mainly.

Then only, dangers such as earning of livelihood by cutting and selling bamboos and canes, when paddy cultivation is impossible, could be prevented for the paddy cultivators' rights of the people of Homalin Township who have to work with a scarcity of cattle. So the interests of the boundaries and the plains should be defended.

17 and 18. No special answers necessary, in particular, we desire the Homalin Township to be included as soon as possible in the Upper Chindwin District, so that they may be able to enjoy equal rights with Burma.

(Sd.)

19-4-47,

Representative of the masses of Homalin Township.

(Sd.) THEIN PE,

Representative of Homalin Township.

We sign hereunder as witnesses, who heard U Po Oh verbally making over the responsibility to U Ba San in the motor at Kalèwa foreshore on 10th April 1947 saying that he agreed to all the statements of Representative U Ba San to be made on behalf of Homalin Township and that he felt sorry for his inability to follow and take part personally as he would have to attend hospital on the advice of his doctor that he was very seriously ill.

(Sd.) MAUNG NYAN PAING,
Representative of the people of Katha.

(Sd.) ———
Sawbwagyi of Hkamti State.

VI. EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES FROM KARENNI STATES.

Maymyo, 14th April 1947.

- (1) Gilbert Krasu.
- (2) U Bi, Bawlake.
- (3) U Sein.
- (4) Saw Mya Lay.
- (5) Saw Shwe, Kyebogyi.
- (6) Thai Ba Han.
- (7) U Ba Thaung, Mongpai.
- (8) Saw Lawi, Kantarawaddy.
- (9) Saw Shwe Lay.
- (10) Saw Paw Lay.

811. *Chairman* : We are very glad to see you this morning. I think I met most of you at Loikaw. Have you all the same point of view ?

Witnesses : Yes, Sir.

812. *Chairman* : Have you appointed a spokesman to express your views ?

Witnesses : Mr. Gilbert Krasu will speak for us.

813. *Chairman* : Are you the representatives of the three Karenni States ?

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir, we represent the three Karenni States—and Mongpai State.

814. *Chairman* : Are you appointed by the people of the States ?

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir.

815. *Chairman* : Are you members of the State Councils of the three States ?

G. Krasu : We haven't formed Councils yet ; but some of the representatives here are going to be members of the Councils.

816. *Chairman* : But how did the people appoint you as representatives ?

G. Krasu : We held a mass meeting, and the mass meeting elected us as representatives.

817. *Chairman* : Where and when did you hold the mass meeting ?

G. Krasu : Before we came here, at Loikaw.

818. *Chairman* : Has every one of the three States a Chief ?

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir.

819. *Chairman* : Are any of the Chiefs here or their representatives ?

G. Krasu : This gentleman, Saw Shwe, is the representative of Kyebugyi State.

820. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : You mean representative of the Chief ?

G. Krasu : Yes.

821. *Chairman* : Are any of the Chiefs here ?

G. Krasu : We have Saw Lawi here. He is one of the sons of the *Sawbwa* of Kantarawaddy State.

822. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Is he the Administrator of the State ?

Saw Lawi : No, Sir, I am not the administrator.

823. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Who is the administrator ?

Saw Lawi : Saw Shwe Hone is the present administrator.

824. *Chairman* : Is there any Chief at the moment at Bawlake ?

G. Krasu : No, Sir.

825. *Chairman* : Is there an administrator ?

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir, U Bi here is the administrator of Bawlake State.

826. *Chairman* : So we have the representatives of the heads of all three States.

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir.

827. *Chairman* : The three Karenni States claim to be independent States, do they not ?

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir.

828. *Chairman* : But, for a considerable period they have been administered by the Frontier Areas Administration.

G. Krasu : Yes, that is so.

829. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : When a Chief is recognized, he used to be given by the Governor-General of India, but of late by the Governor of Burma, a *sanad*, one of the terms of which is that the Chief accepts the advice of the British Resident. Is that not so ?

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir, such a thing exists.

830. *Chairman* : Now I take it, you gentlemen have considered the subject of this enquiry.

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir.

831. *Chairman* : What are your views on the future status of the Karenni States?

G. Krasu : Sir, we beg to submit this memorandum in connection with the subject. (The witness handed over a document to the Chairman who read it out to the Committee as follows) :—

" The aspiration of the representatives of Karenni and Mongpai States submitted to the Frontier Areas Enquiry Committee at Maymyo.

(1) Our people wish to join Frontier Areas Administration if their status of Independence is not affected.

(2) If we are incorporated in Frontier Areas Administration, we wish to have a Councillor in the Supreme Council.

(3) We wish to have full autonomy within our States.

(4) We wish to have the option to secede from Frontier Areas Administration if and when our people feel that our future peace and prosperity are at stake.

(5) Common subjects such as Foreign Relationship, Post, and Telegraph Communication, Finance, Defence, etc., will be dealt with by the Councillor in the Supreme Council (No. 2).

(6) For our rural reconstruction we wish to get aid from Burma Government until such time as we are self-supporting.

(7) We wish to have the benefit of getting proportionate amount of Income-taxes, Rebates, Custom duties, etc.

(8) We wish to form a Karenni States Council within Karenni to deal with our internal affairs. The Councillors shall be elected by the people.

A person other than a Karen who has resided for seven years or over within Karenni shall have the right of Karenni Nationality.

(9) Our people shall have the rights and privileges enjoyed by Democratic Countries.

(10) Karenni State Council shall have the power to deal with our National Budget, laws, rules and regulations, appointments and postings, etc.

Representatives of Bawlake State.

(1) (Sd.) U Bi Tu Re.

(2) (Sd.) Saw Shwe Lay.

Representatives of Kyebo gyi.

(1) (Sd.) Saw Shwe.

(2) (Sd.) Saw Mya Lay.

Representatives of Mongpai State.

(1) (Sd.) Thai Ba Han.

(2) (Sd.) Saw Paw Lay.

Representatives of Kantarawaddy.

(1) (Sd.) Saw Lawi.

(2) (Sd.) Saw G. Krasu.

(3) (Sd.) U Sein.

Representatives of Youths' League.

(1) (Sd.) U Ba Thaug.

Dated Maymyo, the 14th April 1947."

832. *Chairman* : This draft is clear. You have done it well. Now, what I think we would like to know first is this—what association do you wish with Ministerial Burma ?

G. Krasu : We wish to join the Frontier Areas S.C.O.U.H.P.

833. *Chairman* : And this appointment of a Karenni Counsellor. Is that under the existing arrangements as for the Kachins and Chins ?

G. Krasu : We are not very clear on this point, Sir. We don't want a *Deputy* Counsellor.

834. *Chairman* : You want a Counsellor in the Governor's Council ?

G. Krasu : Aren't we in the Frontier Areas, Sir ?

835. *Chairman* : You see, at the moment S.C.O.U.H.P. represents certain of the frontier people—Kachins, Shans and Chins ; but not the Karens. In addition to that, in the Governor's Council there is a Counsellor (the *Sawbwa* here) and two Deputy Counsellors. The *Sawbwa* is a Shan, and of the two Deputy Counsellors one is a Chin and the other is a Kachin. What I am asking is whether this Counsellor is to be a Counsellor in the Governor's Council or not ?

G. Krasu : We want a Counsellor who works with the Governor.

836. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : You don't want a *Deputy* Counsellor ?

G. Krasu : We don't want a *Deputy* Counsellor. We want a fully-fledged Counsellor.

837. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : We have to consider the population.

G. Krasu : Will not the Governor speak with us because we are of lesser importance ?

838. *Chairman* : Have you any views on the association between the frontier peoples as a whole and Ministerial Burma ?

G. Krasu : At present we are watching Ministerial Burma in order that if necessary we may join with them.

839. *Chairman* : You haven't made up your mind yet ?

G. Krasu : No, Sir.

840. *Chairman* : But you are quite prepared to join with the other frontier peoples ?

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir.

841. *Thakin Nu* : But is there any condition by which you are going to join the S.C.O.U.H.P. ? For instance, if you don't get a fully-fledged Counsellor you are not going to join the S.C.O.U.H.P. ?

G. Krasu : Not exactly this way.

842. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : You don't wish to say at the present moment ? If you wish, you can lay down the terms later.

G. Krasu : If we don't get a fully-fledged Counsellor we do not intend to be in the S.C.O.U.H.P.

843. *Chairman* : What about the Salween Karens ? Have you formed any opinion as to whether you should like to join with them ?

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir. We desire to do so.

844. *Chairman* : What is your desire in this regard ?

G. Krasu : We should like to join the Salween Karens, Sir. But we shall have to call a meeting together with them, and it appears that they have already been in the S.C.O.U.H.P. The meeting with the Salween Karens will elect representatives. And as a matter of fact we are not quite sure of our position—we don't know how many rooms we have in our own house.

845. *Chairman* : Is it your wish if the Salween Karens agree to make a Karenni State in the federation of Frontier Areas ?

G. Krasu : The Hon'ble Chairman's question was regarding the Salween District people only. But our intention is to have all the Karens on the hills on the east of Sittang River to join into one Karenni State.

846. *Chairman* : But you will appreciate that this Committee is directly concerned only with the Salween and the Karenni.

G. Krasu : But can't the Committee record what we want, Sir ?

847. *Chairman* : That's what we want to know. Now you tell us exactly what you want.

G. Krasu : We want to have a household of all the Karens of the Karenni States, Salween, Mongpai and the Karens on the hills to the east of Sittang River. (The witness showed the areas on the map to the Chairman.)

848. *Chairman* : Karenni, Salween, Mongpai and the areas on the hills to the east of Sittang River, that is what you want. And you want them in one State ?

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir, exactly.

849. *Chairman* : Now, we can go a stage further. You know that we are now considering the association between the Frontier Areas as a whole and Ministerial Burma.

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir.

850. *Chairman* : If your observation of Ministerial Burma's activities is satisfactory, how do you wish the Frontier Areas as a whole to be associated with Burma ?

G. Krasu : We cannot at present say.

851. *Chairman* : Do you want to be represented in the Constituent Assembly ?

G. Krasu : Do you mean the Karenni State ?

852. *Chairman* : Yes, the Karenni States, in the Constituent Assembly which is to open in the first of June in Rangoon.

G. Krasu : We want to know if the Shans are sending representatives there.

Chairman : We haven't heard the Shans yet, but I think they will.

The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm : They will do so certainly.

G. Krasu : We are considering the cost. Who is going to pay for the cost if we are to send representatives ?

853. *Thakin Nu* : Let us know first of all whether you would like to send representatives or not.

G. Krasu : We should like to send representatives, Sir.

854. *Chairman* : Have you considered how many you would like to send ?

G. Krasu : At present, Sir, one for each State.

855. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : That means three.

G. Krasu : Including Mongpai, four.

856. *Chairman* : We are going to deal with the question of Mongpai later. You want three for the Karenni State and one for Mongpai ?

G. Krasu : Yes, Sir.

857. *U Khin Maung Gale* : You said a little while ago you were watching the developments in Burma. If the developments in Burma are satisfactory to you, what will be your opinion of federation with Burma.

G. Krasu : Then, Sir, nobody needs ask us to come in. We shall ask to be allowed to come in.

858. *Thakin Nu* : What do you mean by developments in Burma ? Do you mean to say that you are hesitant simply because you fear that Burma might decide in the Constituent Assembly to go out of the British Commonwealth of Nations ?

G. Krasu : As a matter of fact, Sir, to tell the truth no Karens trust Burmans.

859. *Chairman* : But that is not exactly an answer to Thakin Nu's question. Do you mean that what you fear is that Burma may leave the British Commonwealth of Nations ?

G. Krasu : If Burma gets full independence we are not willing to join them, Sir. But if they remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations, we shall join them.

860. *Thakin Nu* : You mean to say that if we decide to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations, you will say that you are satisfied with the developments in Burma.

G. Krasu : If the Burmans can win our trust, then we shall join.

861. *Thakin Nu* : I want to know very definitely. You will trust the Burmans only when Burma decides in the Constituent Assembly to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

G. Krasu : No. Only when they have proved that they are loyal and faithful to their words.

862. *Chairman* : Well, how do you suggest they can do that ?

G. Krasu : In theory all the arrangements made appear to us very good, but in practice we do not know yet.

863. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Then what guarantee do you want so that you can have faith in us in practice ?

G. Krasu : You must develop the relationship and so forth.

864. *Thakin Nu* : Just let me put this very straight question to you. Even though we decide in the Constituent Assembly to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations, you cannot say you can trust us fully.

G. Krasu : Sir, you will have to show your good faith by work, and only after judging your work can we decide whether we trust you or not.

865. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Then the question of coming together with the Burmese lies with the question whether Burma will remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations as a Dominion or not. Isn't that so ?

G. Krasu : This is a big question. We three small States cannot answer. We must be in the S.C.O.U.H.P. and it is a question for the whole S.C.O.U.H.P. to decide. It is not a question that we three small States can answer.

866. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : To get the question right ; you don't trust Burmans, and if we elect to have complete independence you are not going to try us at all ; only if we elect Dominion Status are you more eager to try ?

G. Krasu : This is not a question which we three States can decide, and it is an important question. The S.C.O.U.H.P. only can answer.

867. *Thakin Nu* : So, does this last statement of yours supersede all you said just now about being ready to try the Burmans only when they decide to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations ?

G. Krasu : If we don't join hands with the Burmans, our economic conditions and our peace and tranquility will be disturbed.

868. *Thakin Nu* : I'll put you two straight questions. Under any circumstances you are not going to try the Burmans if they decide to go out of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Is it so ?

G. Krasu : First of all, we should like to join the S.C.O.U.H.P. and then we shall consult with the S.C.O.U.H.P. and the S.C.O.U.H.P. will answer this question.

869. *Thakin Nu* : So this statement of yours supersedes the statement you made previously that you were going to give us a trial only if Burma decides to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations ?

G. Krasu : We shall refer the matter to the S.C.O.U.H.P.

870. *Thakin Nu* : So, does this statement of yours supersede the one made just now that you will try Burmans only when they decide to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations ?

G. Krasu : Now, Sir, only after consultation with the rest of the representatives will I be prepared to answer the question as it is.

871. *Chairman* : Would you like to have a chat about it with your colleagues, whether the decision to associate with Burma depends upon Burma's remaining within the British Commonwealth of Nations. That is the point ?

(The witness had a brief discussion with his colleagues.)

G. Krasu : Well, Sir, the S.C.O.U.H.P. shall decide the matter. We shall be in the S.C.O.U.H.P.

872. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : If the S.C.O.U.H.P. decides to come in irrespective of Burma's remaining within or without the Commonwealth of Nations, will you also join Burma ?

G. Krasu : Even if the S.C.O.U.H.P. were to decide that we should join Burma, we shall have to exercise our individual opinion and we shall have to attach conditions to the S.C.O.U.H.P.

873. *Chairman* : What conditions do you want to have in the S.C.O.U.H.P. ?

G. Krasu : We have written our conditions, the right of secession and so on.

874. *Chairman* : The question of Burma remaining in or seceding from the British Commonwealth of Nations. Is that one of the conditions or not ?

G. Krasu : No, Sir. What we have stated there does not depend upon the question of Burma remaining in or seceding from the British Commonwealth of Nations.

875. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you aware that you are not self-sufficient in income, your revenues are very small and the Government of Burma has to subsidize you in this respect ?

G. Krasu : We have never obtained any financial aid from the Government of Burma.

876. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you aware that rice is being given to you free ?

U Sein : Yes, Sir. We are not very clear on this point. We want to know whether the question refers to the pre-war period or to the present.

877. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : You deny the pre-war assistance ?

G. Krasu : Yes.

878. *Thakin Nu* : Do you think that if only you were allowed to exploit all the mineral resources there by yourselves, the Karenni States would be self-sufficient without needing any financial assistance from Burma ?

U Sein : Yes.

879. *Chairman* : Is it not true that at the present moment 75 per cent of the people who are working in the Mawchi Mines are Ghurkas ?

U Sein : If we exploit the mines ourselves, then we shall be self-sufficient.

880. *Chairman* : But isn't it a fact that the Manager has been unable to get Karens to work in the mines ?

U Sein : No, Sir. No privileges were given to the Karens.

881. *Chairman* : But will they work in the mines ?

U Sein : No, Sir. We do not work as labourers.

882. *Chairman* : Are you prepared to if the development Thakin Nu talks about takes place ?

G. Krasu : We have various strata of society. Coolies will work as labourers and those who are of the higher strata of society will take administrative jobs, etc.

883. *Chairman* : But who are going to be the technicians such as the mining engineers ?

G. Krasu : We shall have to engage experts.

884. *U Vum Ko Hau* : When will the current licence of Mawchi Mines expire ?

G. Krasu : It will expire in 24 years' time from now.

885. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Isn't there a renewal clause in the licence the right to continue it from time to time ?

U Sein : Yes, Sir. There are renewal terms in the licence and I believe it is renewable after expiry of every 30 years.

886. *Thakin Nu* : Have the management of the mines in the past complied with the terms of agreement made with the State ?

U Sein : The management of the mines did not comply with all the terms of the lease.

887. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Who issued the lease ?

U Sein : The Governor.

888. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : You said you would join the Constituent Assembly and afterwards there has been much talk and it is not quite clear. Do you mean to say that your answer that you would join the Constituent Assembly is definite ?

G. Krasu : It all depends upon you. We have given the answer that we would like to join the Constituent Assembly.

Sima Hsinwa Nawng : That's all I want to know.

889. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Can't the Karennis themselves work as labourers in the Mawchi Mines ?

G. Krasu : Yes, they can.

890. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Do the Karennis and Papun Karens speak the same dialect ?

G. Krasu : We speak the same dialect in some villages, but it is different in others.

891. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Are their customs the same in all respects ?

G. Krasu : Yes, they are similar in customs.

892. *Chairman* : Would any other representatives like to say anything further ?

U Bi : Yes, Sir, I have something to say.

893. *Chairman* : What have you got to say ?

U Bi : There are some factors which have to do something with the Committee here.

894. *Chairman* : Well, go on.

U Bi : At present Mr. Paynton Cowan has taken all the powers to himself in the Mawchi Mines. From 1942 to 1945 the Land Revenue to the extent of Rs. 6,000 per annum were not realized.

895. *Chairman* : But that was during the Japanese occupation, and Mr. Paynton Cowan was in South Africa. Was he not ?

U Bi : Sir, according to the terms of contract, he is bound to pay all the time.

896. *Chairman* : Even though the Japanese were in occupation ?

U Bi : According to the terms of the contract he is bound to pay, Sir.

897. *Chairman* : This is a matter between you and Mr. Paynton Cowan ?

U Bi : We come up here to appeal to you, because we cannot settle the matter between ourselves.

Chairman : Well, that is a matter for the Government.

898. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : If you say you are independent, how is it that you cannot rescind the lease of the Mawchi Mines ?

U Bi : We have been independent all along, Sir. The treaty signed on the 21st of June 1875 may be referred to.

899. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : If you claim to be independent, why can't you rescind the lease ?

U Bi : Because the lease was taken and given in the presence of the Governor, we cannot rescind it.

900. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Do you call it real independence when you cannot go any further and when you cannot override the Governor ?

U Bi : We have real independence, but we cannot exercise it because we are weak.

901. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Don't you appreciate you need to get real independence to do whatever you like and at the same time to be friendly with the British ?

U Bi : Yes, we should like to be independent to do anything we like and at the same time to be friendly with the British.

902. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : I put it to you : America and France, are two countries which are independent yet friendly. Don't you like that sort of independence in which you can appreciate independence and yet be friendly and co-operative with other countries.

U Bi : We have answered in our memorandum.

903. *Chairman* : Does any other representative want to say anything except the Mongpai representative ?

Witnesses : No, Sir, we don't want to say any further.

904. *Chairman* : Well, Thai Ba Han, you are the representative of Mongpai State.

Thai Ba Han : Yes, Sir.

905. *Chairman* : By whom were you chosen ?

Thai Ba Han : By the masses.

906. *Chairman* : Where ?

Thai Ba Han : At Falam. There was a meeting at Falam, Mongpai.

907. *Chairman* : And is that the Headquarters of the Padaungs ?

Thai Ba Han : Yes, Sir, it is the Headquarters of Padaung Area.

908. *Chairman* : And that Padaung Area is part of Mongpai State ?

Thai Ba Han : Yes. It forms a part of Mongpai State.

909. *Chairman* : Padaung is the district where the giraffe-necked women come from, isn't it ?

Thai Ba Han : Yes, Sir.

910. *Chairman* : Padaung people are closely related to the Karens, are they not ?

Thai Ba Han : Yes, Sir.

911. *Chairman* : You have been in trouble with the *Sawbwa* of Mongpai, haven't you ?

Thai Ba Han : Yes, Sir. We are not on good terms with the *Sawbwa*.

912. *Chairman* : And the State of Mongpai is actually one of the Shan States ?

Thai Ba Han : Formerly it was.

913. *Chairman* : Is it in the Federated Shan States ?

Thai Ba Han : Yes, Sir, it was one of the Federated Shan States.

914. *Chairman* : Was ? It is, is it not ?

Thai Ba Han : Legally, it is.

915. *Chairman* : Then what is it illegally ?

Thai Ba Han : Legally speaking, it is part of the Shan States, but we work together with the Karennis.

916. *Chairman* : You mean Padaung people work with the Karennis ?

Thai Ba Han : Yes.

917. *Chairman* : Have you any idea what the proportion of Padaung people is in the Mongpai State ?

Thai Ba Han : 90 per cent of the population are Padaungs.

918. *Chairman* : Now, will you tell us what your desire is ?

Thai Ba Han : It is the desire of the masses of Mongpai State to unite with the Karenni States.

919. *Chairman* : They don't wish to belong to the Shan States any longer ?

Thai Ba Han : No, Sir.

920. *Chairman* : What does the *Sawbwa* say about it.

Thai Ba Han : The *Sawbwa* is at Pinlong.

921. *Chairman* : And what does he say about it ?

Thai Ba Han : We have pensioned him off.

922. *Chairman* : Does he still act as a *Sawbwa* ?

Thai Ba Han : He would like to be a *Sawbwa*, but the masses don't like him.

923. *Thakin Nu* : Who is the Chief now ?

Thai Ba Han : I am.

924. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Who appointed you as a Chief ?

Thai Ba Han : The masses appointed me and recognized my Government.

925. *Chairman* : When did this take place ?

Thai Ba Han : It took place during and after the re-occupation.

926. *Chairman* : Did the *Sawbwa* side with the Japanese during the Japanese occupation ?

Thai Ba Han : Yes, he sided with the Japanese.

927. *Chairman* : And the people were against him ?

Thai Ba Han : They were against him even before that—since 1936.

928. *Chairman* : And what is your view about the future of the Karenni State. If you form part of it, you want to see yourselves joined with the Salween and others.

Thai Ba Han : Yes, Sir.

929. *Chairman* : You agree with Mr. Krasu ?

Thai Ba Han : Yes.

930. *Chairman* : Does it make any difference to you whether Burma remains in the British Commonwealth of Nations or not ?

Thai Ba Han : No, Sir. So long as we are friendly.

931. *U Tum Ko Hau* : Does your State wish to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly ?

Thai Ba Han : Yes, Sir.

932. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongfawn* : When were you recognized as *Sawbwa* or Administrator of the State ?

Thai Ba Han : At first I was an Assistant Township Officer. Afterwards I became the chief administrator.

933. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tiit* : And recognized by Government ?

Thai Ba Han : I was recognized by Government in September 1946.

934. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Is it not a fact that the *Sawbwa* gave you all the powers ?

Thai Ba Han : No. The *Sawbwa* did not give me them, but Government gave them to me.

935. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : But when he was coming back from Pinlong he said he would give you all the powers ?

Thai Ba Han : Yes. He gave me a letter giving me all the powers, but I did not take any notice of it.

936. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Is it his son or the aged *Sawbwa* himself that you don't like ?

Thai Ba Han : We don't like the aged *Sawbwa*, and since 1936 we have been agitating and we don't like his son at all.

937. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you would like to say ?

Thai Ba Han : We agree with all that Mr. Krasu has said.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses and informed them that the Committee had enjoyed listening to their evidence and that it had been of great help to the Committee. The witnesses withdrew.]

2nd Meeting, Rangoon, 19th March 1947.

VII. EVIDENCE OF WITNESSES FROM SALWEEN DISTRICT AND KAREN ORGANIZATIONS IN MINISTERIAL BURMA.

1. DIRECTOR, FRONTIER AREAS ADMINISTRATION (FACTUAL EVIDENCE).

938. *Chairman* : Mr. Leyden, what factual information do you wish to give the Committee regarding the Salween District ?

Mr. Leyden : The area of the district is 2,582 square miles. The total population is 57,000. The division of the population by racial groups is :—

Karen	...	49,020 or 86.0%
Tai (Shan)	...	4,389 or 7.7%
Burmese Group	...	2,223 or 3.9%
Others	...	1,311 or 2.3%

939. *Saw Sankey* : Are these population figures taken from the 1931 Census ?

Mr. Leyden : No. They are taken from the 1941 Census.

940. *Thakin Nu* : Was the 1941 Census completed before the Japanese occupation ?

Mr. Leyden : The figures for each area were completed, but not the covering report. The figures have been published in the "Burma Handbook".

941. *Saw Sankey* : Is there any reason to suppose that the population has altered materially in size or composition since 1941?

Mr. Leyden : No. The small foreign element under the heading "Others" may have diminished, but there has been no significant change.

[The Chairman thanked Mr. Leyden, who then withdrew.]

2. SALWEEN DISTRICT (FIRST GROUP).

- (1) Saw Chittee, District Councillor.
- (2) Saw Pan U, District Councillor.
- (3) Saw Ba Han, District Councillor.
- (4) Saw Tun Lin, District Councillor.
- (5) Saw Hla Baw, District Councillor.
- (6) Sao San Po, District Councillor.
- (7) Sao Tha Kyin, District Councillor.
- (8) Saw Seal, District Councillor and Interpreter.
- (9) Saw Darlington, United Karen Organization, Papun, Salween.
- (10) Saw T. Po Ku, United Karen Organization, Papun, Salween.
- (11) Sao Tun Gyaw, District Councillor.

942. *Chairman* : (To all witnesses) Have you appointed a spokesman?

Witnesses : Saw T. Po Ku will be our spokesman.

943. *Chairman* : What is the economic position in your area?

Saw T. Po Ku : The economic position of the district is not good. There is quite sufficient production of rice and timber, but communications are not easy, and no trade organizations have been developed.

944. *Chairman* : Are your areas self-supporting or do you rely on the support of your neighbours?

Saw T. Po Ku : As regards essential foods, we are quite self-supporting. As for salt and *ngapi* (salted fish) we have to import them from Rangoon, Delta and from the Talangs.

945. *Chairman* : Geographically you are to the south of the Karenni States, are you not?

Saw T. Po Ku : Yes. We also have Karens to the south and west of us, and to the east in Siam.

946. *Chairman* : So you are really surrounded by Karens. Now how have the people of Salween District made known their desires?

Saw T. Po Ku : On March 2, 1946, we had a mass meeting and we passed a resolution saying that we are going to remain in the Frontier Areas and not join with Burma proper yet. The mass meeting was held at Papun. The resolution reads "We Karens of Salween

District prefer to stay under a separate administration from Burma proper and under the direct control of the British Government as far as possible".

947. *Chairman* : Did this meeting, that you mention, represent the Karens of Burma as a whole ?

Saw T. Po Ku : It was a meeting of the Salween Karen National Association.

948. *Chairman* : And what does that Association consist of ?

Saw T. Po Ku : It consists of the representatives from each village-tract in Salween District.

949. *Chairman* : Do the villagers elect the representatives ?

Saw T. Po Ku : They elect representatives by show of hands.

950. *Chairman* : You said that you passed a resolution that you wanted Salween District to remain apart from Burma and under the direct control of the British Government. What is your reason for not associating with Burma ?

Saw T. Po Ku : The thing is that we have had a lot of experience. Before the 1935 Act came into force, we were in Burma, and during that time our district was under a Burmese district Police official, U Khin Pe. There was no development in the district at all, and Salween District was especially a centre of crime. When war broke out in 1941-42, we had a very sad experience, Sir. The B.I.A. came up and said "We are going to take over the administration". They set up a new administration, and our leaders came down for co-operation. They were killed by the B.I.A., and looting followed. Then there was a clash between our volunteers and the B.I.A. This incident brought us to a point where we lost all our confidence in the Burmese Administration. Not only that, the Japanese and the Burmese administrators came up again—that was during the Japanese occupation. Instead of proving a better people, they went round and burned up lots of our villages. During that incident there was a little clash too. When our people sent up representations to the Central Government, they recalled that D.S.P. and a new D.S.P. Saw Tommar, took his place. When he went out of the district with his comrades he took away a lot of property, like household goods and arms. When the British re-occupied Burma, we hoped that all the wrongs done to us would be righted. Those who were responsible for all that should be punished but so far the man who is responsible for killing 17 of our leaders is still alive. Boh Tun Hla was the man responsible. He is being tried in the Court of the Thatôn Sessions Judge, and his case has been postponed indefinitely. So, that too makes us lose our confidence in the Burmese. So, judging by reason, we all made up our mind and passed a resolution very recently, that is on the *Tabaung la-pyi-may* (6th March 1947) supported by the whole mass of Papun District.

951. *Chairman* : How do you wish yourselves to be under the direct control of the British Government ? Have you worked that out in the form of a definite proposal with due regard to the geographical position ?

Saw T. Po Ku : We have no definite proposal.

952. *Thakin Nu* : You said in the course of your evidence that your people are still backward and undeveloped. Who do you think is responsible for the backwardness? The British or the Burmese?

Saw T. Po Ku : I should say that both are responsible for the backwardness.

953. *Thakin Nu* : Why Burmese and why British?

Saw T. Po Ku : I should say both, because as administrators of the whole of Burma, looking after the interests of every race in Burma, the British should see to the improvement of our district. But they haven't done that. And the Burmese, being our close neighbour, should have special consideration for this little district.

954. *Thakin Nu* : Do you realize that the Burmese themselves have not yet power to develop themselves as much as they desire?

Saw T. Po Ku : Yes, we realize that; but then they should at least develop our district as much as Burma proper. For example, take the Forest Department, Public Works Department and Education Department in our district. The officers in charge of Forest and Public works Department are stationed in Thatôn, and the Education Officer in Moulmein. When we have any business with these Departments, we have to go down to Thatôn and Moulmein to see them.

955. *Thakin Nu* : Don't you want to join Burma even if you are to be independent together and at the same time with Burma? You want to remain under British in all circumstances?

• *Saw T. Po Ku* : Well, as to that of course we want to be friendly with Burma. But when it comes to External Affairs and Defence and so on, we can't look after ourselves yet.

956. *Thakin Nu* : I shall be thankful if you can give me a straight reply : yes or no. You don't want to join Burma, even if you are to be independent at the same time with Burma? You want to be under the British in all circumstances? So far, the British Government have not given you any pledge about independence. But they have stated that, in the Constituent Assembly, we Burmans can decide whatever we like.

Saw T. Po Ku : If we get our own independence, we will stay outside Burma.

957. *Chairman* : I should like to know a little more about this separate State of yours—about the size and population. Have you formed any idea about your independent State and how you would like it to work? Who would deal with Defence? Is what you require a Crown Colony, under the British, independent of Burma?

Saw T. Po Ku : We want to work this administration by ourselves in everything except Defence and External Affairs. Britain will be responsible for these, but not for our internal affairs.

958. *Chairman* : Is your State to be simply the Salween District or have you got any idea of other people coming in with you?

Saw T. Po Ku : We are the representatives of the Salween District only. But the Karen masses in Burma have asked His Majesty's Government for a separate State independent from Burma. That is the aspiration of the Karens. We Salween people of course want to be

part of that independent State. In a mass meeting held in Rangoon in October 1945, the Karens asked for a separate State including Tenasserim Division.

959. *Thakin Nu* : What do you propose to do if those people living in Tenasserim Division refuse to be formed into a Karen State ?

Saw T. Po Ku : So far as I know they don't refuse.

960. *U Khin Maung Gale* : How about the Mòns ?

Saw T. Po Ku : Of course they must state their choice. They have not done so yet.

961. *U Khin Maung Gale* : I think there is a split between your own selves—some wanting to form a Karennistan and others wanting to be with Burma ?

Saw T. Po Ku : Of course there is a difference of opinion, but those who want to be with Burma are not a major portion.

U Khin Maung Gale : I think that is only your guess.

962. *Chairman* : Have you considered the question of having a separate State or a Federation of States forming part of Burma ?

Saw T. Po Ku : Yes, we have considered it. But we have not full confidence in the Burmese Government.

963. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : You stated that you want an independent Karen State, with Defence and External Affairs controlled by British. Supposing the Burmese Government objects to that sort of arrangement do you believe that it will be feasible ? Can the British cut Tenasserim out of Burma and give it to you, if the Burmese do not agree ?

Saw T. Po Ku : Whether the British Government can concede our demands or not is left to them.

964. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Would it be acceptable to you to join a Federated Burma with only a few central subjects, such as Defence, External Affairs and monetary policy, and with complete internal autonomy ?

Saw T. Po Ku : In theory, yes. But where is the guarantee that in practice it will work ?

965. *Chairman* : If some guarantee could be provided by the Burmans of fair play to the Karen people, would you then agree to the suggestion ?

Saw T. Po Ku : I cannot answer that question now. We should have to convene a meeting of our people first.

966. *U Khin Maung Gale* : If you have to refer this issue back, how can you be called representatives ?

Saw T. Po Ku : We were chosen rather hurriedly, and we cannot say that we represent all the people. Two of us are popular representatives, and the other nine are District Counsellors.

Saw Chittee : We did not know what sort of questions were going to be put to us. We should have been given copies of a questionnaire beforehand.

967. *Chairman* : You ought to have known that these questions would be asked. They are very general.

Have you got idea what is likely to be the view of the Karens on what they would require in the way of a guarantee ? The next point is, can you tell us what the Karens would require in the way of a bargain or treaty with the Burmese Government ?

Saw T. Po Ku : I cannot answer explicitly on this point, because we are not fully representative.

968. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Since the British Government have already stated that their policy is to allow self-determination to Burma, it is up to us, the nationals of Burma, to co-operate in forming a Federation of some kind.

Saw T. Po Ku : We Karen leaders wish peace and understanding with the Burmese. But this is a time when the Burmese leaders cannot control their people, and we cannot control our people.

Saw Chittee : Constitutional questions like these are beyond our understanding. Our view, in brief, is that, if Burma gets one rupee, we want one rupee. The Karens must have equality with the Burmans. Detailed discussions are beyond us.

969. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Have you studied the Panglong Agreement ? Have you considered the possibility of the Karens coming to an agreement with the Burmese on similar lines ?

Saw Chittee : We do not know what happened at Panglong. The Conference coincided with the Karen National Congress Meeting. None-the-less, we sent 4 representatives to Panglong, but they were not consulted.

970. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Is it not a fact that Saw Sankey was present at the meeting ?

Saw Sankey : We went there not as representatives of the Salween District, but as representatives of the Karen people in Burma. And we were present only as observers.

Saw Chittee : If we decide to remain ^{all} by ourselves apart from the rest of the hill people, will it affect the grant of the independence for which Burma is asking ?

971. *Chairman* : The Committee cannot answer that. It is a matter for His Majesty's Government. But, having regard to the Attlee-Aung San Agreement, we do not think it would affect the grant of independence at all.

Is there anything else you wish to say gentlemen ?

Witnesses : No.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses, who then withdrew.]

3. DIRECTOR, FRONTIER AREAS ADMINISTRATION (FACTUAL EVIDENCE)

972. *Chairman* : This morning I had a letter from your Department in which there is a rather vague statement "the Salween District has great potential wealth in its forest produce, mainly teak and bamboo".

The Committee would like to have some more detailed information of the great potential wealth of the district and would like to know whether the words "teak" and "bamboo" exhaust the categories or whether there is also mineral wealth.

Mr. Leyden : I was a geologist before I came here. I wrote a paper on the mineral resources of the Scheduled Areas some years ago, to be exact on the 16th April 1943, after a detailed study that I had put in. There is no geological survey. We have to pick up information from people like me and by a study of the literature of the past. This paper which describes the mineral resources of the Scheduled Areas, is in my hand now and I will hand you, Mr. Chairman, a copy.* It tells you about every area ; in some cases it is my personal work and in others the work of geologists of the last 50 years in Burma. There is very little information about the geology of the Salween District, (which forms part of the famous Tungsten Tin Belt). It might be very rich and it might not. The areas of tungsten and tin in Burma run down from the Northern Shan States and the Yamèthin area all the way to Malaya. It is highly probable that there is tungsten in the Salween area but no one has done any detailed investigation.

The note I have prepared which I will leave with you is the only record of the geology of the Scheduled Areas.

I do not know very much about forests of this area, except that they are very deep. There are certainly very big bamboo resources but whether there is great potential wealth, I very much doubt. It is a potentially wealthy forest area but I do not think it can be described as an area of *great* wealth. Teak and bamboo are known to be there, but the area had not been surveyed.

973. *Chairman* : Might there be mineral resources other than tungsten ?

Mr. Leyden : I do not know, because there is no information.

974. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Your notes cover up to 1943. In His Excellency's speech, he said that a geologist would be sent to the Frontier Areas to survey the mineral resources there.

Mr. Leyden : Geologists are the most highly paid people in the world. If they are economic geologists they make more money in business. There is a world shortage of metals. The world's present lead supply, for instance, will last only for another 15 years. Therefore, new resources have got to be found. The men who are looking for them are highly paid. They earn Rs. 4/5/6,000 a month. We have not got anybody because we cannot afford to pay.

975. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Isn't there somebody who has come to Rangoon to survey the Frontier Areas ?

Mr. Leyden : We cannot afford to pay any good geologist. Some big companies have got them cheap, therefore they are not good. The type of men we want who could do original survey without detailed survey, that is prospecting geologists, we cannot afford to pay.

976. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Is there no hope at all of getting anyone ?

Mr. Leyden : We are trying to get somebody all the time. The type we want will cost about Rs. 5,000 a month.

977. *U Vun Ko Hau* : Are any students sent from Burma to study this kind of mineralogy ?

Mr. Leyden : I do not know. It is not my province. There may be some State scholars studying mineralogy.

[The Chairman thanked the witness, who then withdrew.]

Rangoon, 21st March 1947.

4. **Saw Marshall Shwin**, PRESIDENT, SHWEGYIN KAREN ASSOCIATION.

Saw Marshall Shwin : I am the Superintendent of the Shwegyin Karen School, and President of the Shwegyin Karen Association. Shwegyin is in the south of Toungoo District. Shwegyin Subdivision is mostly in the Part II Area, adjoining the Salween District, which is a Part I Area.

978. *Chairman* : What is the opinion of your Association regarding the future of the Salween District ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We would like to join the Salween District.

979. *Chairman* : By " we ", do you mean the Karens of the Part II Area ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : The Karens in the Part II Area and those in Toungoo District as well. We would all like to join the Karens in the Salween Area.

980. *Chairman* : What about boundaries ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We leave it to His Majesty's Government and the Government of Burma to decide these in co-operation with our Karen elders.

981. *Chairman* : We hear from time to time talk of a Karen State. Can you tell us your Association's proposals on this point ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We leave it in the hands of the Karen National Union. A memorial has been submitted by them for the formation of a Karen State or Karen Colony.

982. *Chairman* : To embrace Tenasserim Division and also part of Bassein ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We certainly want Tenasserim. I am not so sure about Bassein.

983. *Chairman* : What constitutional set-up do you desire in this Karen State ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We want to have internal autonomy.

984. *Chairman* : Will you be allied or federated in any way ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : If possible, we would like to be federated with peoples of other areas, for example, Shans, Kachins and Chins.

985. *Chairman* : Supposing these people desire to form a federation with Burma, would you be prepared to enter into it ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : If there is to be a federation, it should be an experiment only. We should be under the direct control of the Governor, having nothing to do with Ministerial Burma.

986. *Chairman* : But supposing the other Frontier Areas decide that they would like to be federated with Burma, what would your view then be ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We would like to know how far they are going to be federated. It all depends on that. If the federation is reasonable, of course, we would be willing to join.

987. *Thakin Nu* : What do you mean by "reasonable" ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : It means many things. Though we do not want to join Burma proper altogether, we might be prepared to join in the Constituent Assembly. We should want to have our own representatives in any Council formed for Federal Government. To that extent, we would be willing to join.

988. *Chairman* : Supposing there was some form of Federal Council proposed in which Ministerial Burma and the various Frontier Areas had representation, something like the American Senate, would you be satisfied with that sort of structure ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes.

989. *Chairman* : You say that you would be satisfied if there was some system, such as a Federal Council, in which everybody was represented ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes.

990. *Chairman* : About your internal autonomy. Do you see yourselves managing your own affairs ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We presume that we would be under the Governor of Burma and it is his duty to see that the internal affairs of our people are well looked after.

991. *Chairman* : If you have a Federal Council, do you still want internal autonomy ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : If Burma secedes from the British Government, we would not join the Federal Council.

992. *Chairman* : You are only prepared to join if Burma remains in the British Commonwealth. You envisage the situation in which the Governor is controlling your internal administration in the same manner as he now controls the Frontier Areas. Would you be prepared to see the powers now vested in the Governor transferred to the Federal Council ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : You mean, the Governor should be guided by the said Federal Council.

993. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Suppose there is no Governor ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : That is a supposition only.

994. *Chairman* : Assuming that Burma is in the British Commonwealth and the Frontier Areas people are represented in the Federal Council, do you foresee the possibility of a State Council running the affairs in which the Karen State enjoys autonomy ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : In that respect, we should have a separate council and that council should be represented on the Federal Government.

995. *Chairman* : We are talking about internal affairs. Do you see them under control of a State Council ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : By State Council, I mean one which consists of elected representatives.

996. *Chairman* : You are talking about internal autonomy. Do you want your own State Council, one for instance, like an American State, say Massachusetts ; that has its own autonomy and State Government ? Do you foresee something of that kind in the Karen area ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes, I do.

997. *Chairman* : After the constitution of the Karen State would it be desirable to keep on the Frontier Areas Administration ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes.

998. *U Khin Maung Gale* : A Part II Area cannot revert to a Part I Area under the 1935 Act. Shwegyin being a Part II Area cannot revert to Part I.

Saw Marshall Shwin : The 1935 Act was made by man and can be abolished by men.

999. *Thakin Nu* : Do you think that when Burma becomes a Dominion, the British Governor will still control Frontier affairs ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes, and I think that even if Burma becomes a Dominion, she will secede from the British, as a Dominion Government has the right of secession.

1000. *Thakin Nu* : Do you think if Burma severs her connection from the British you will suffer ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Certainly.

1001. *The Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein* : It appears that you have fears and distrust of the Burmese Government should Burma secede from the British Commonwealth. If so, what are your fears ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Burma has only 17 million population. Assuming that we are all united, even then we won't be safe from foreign aggression. We will be too weak to withstand foreign aggression.

1002. *Chairman* : Do you think foreign aggression is likely ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : I think it is certain.

1003. *The Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein* : Is that the only reason why you do not want Burma to secede from the British Commonwealth and why you want to join Burma only if she is a Dominion ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : That is the only reason.

1004. *Thakin Nu* : If certain arrangements can be made to defend Burma from foreign aggression, are you prepared to have Burma secede from the British Empire ? For instance, if we have a treaty of mutual alliance or some thing like that ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Treaties are made to be dishonoured.

1005. *Thakin Nu* : If Burma is a Dominion, even then we will have to link with the British Commonwealth by means of treaties. You fear that the British or the Burmese Government, for that matter, are going to dishonour the treaties ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : If Burma is not in the Commonwealth, I do not think the British will defend her, whatever treaties we made with her.

1006. *The Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein* : Supposing the world situation is such that Burma can stand on her own legs and can defend herself against any possible foreign aggression, would you object to Burma's secession from the British Empire and would you object to joining Burma ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : I do not think this is likely to be for a thousand years to come.

1007. *The Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein* : I understand from you that you do not want to join Burma if she secedes and you do not want her to secede because you fear she cannot defend herself. Supposing that Burma could defend herself, would you still object to joining her ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : This supposition is very far-fetched.

1008. *The Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein* : In any case your point is that you want to join Burma proper only, if she remains a Dominion, because you think that if she secedes she would not have the benefit of help by the British Commonwealth ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes.

1009. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : If Burma decided to be out of the British Empire, do you consider that no assistance would be received from the British any more ? Can the British not help Burma as an ally ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Once she is out of the Empire, I do not think it is possible for the British to come to the aid of Burma in case of war.

1010. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Although we were under the protection of the British as part of its Empire, we have experienced war, e.g. Japanese aggression ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : The British have liberated you, otherwise things would be worse.

1011. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : The war has been won by the combined efforts of the United Nations and the purpose of the British return to Burma cannot be regarded only as the liberation of Burmese people.

Saw Marshall Shwin : The British are under no obligation to help a nation which remains outside their Empire. I hold a different view from you regarding the liberation of Burma.

1012. *U Vun Ko Hau* : If Burma secedes from the British Commonwealth, and if you do not want to join Burma proper, what arrangements would you like to make ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We will try to set up a sort of a Council for our people to look after our own interests.

1013. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Is your area likely to be self-sufficient ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : It is not, but we shall have to find ways and means for that.

1014. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Do you think you have any minerals unexploited in your area ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Of course. To a large extent they are still intact.

1015. *U Vum Ko Hau* : If Burma secedes from the British Empire, what is your idea of defence ? Do you propose to set up your own defence in your own State ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : If we can we will set up our own defence.

1016. *U Vum Ko Hau* : If you form a separate State of your own, do you wish to form a defence corps ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Certainly, we will have to.

1017. *U Vum Ko Hau* : In that case, would you join the Shwegyin Karen State with other parts of the Karen State ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes, we would have relations with other areas where the Karens are predominant, such as Karenni, Bassein Delta, Moulmein and Tavoy.

1018. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Do you know in the memorial set up by other Karens, they asked for a State of their own in the Shwegyin area ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Shwegyin is in the Tenasserim Division.

1019. *Chairman* : But take Bassein. You have Ministerial Burma between you and Bassein.

Saw Marshall Shwin : It need not form part of our States. We will try and form a State in the east of Burma and have friendly relations with other parts.

1020. *U Vum Ko Hau* : What is the composition of the races in the Shwegyin area ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : The hill tracts are entirely Karen. In other areas Karens are predominant and there are a few Burmese.

1021. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Do you think by setting up a Karen State in the Salween area your economic position will be more advantageous ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We will have to develop it. There are still a lot of areas that are not yet developed.

1022. *Chairman* : Do you hope that the Burmese will remain in the British Commonwealth and that you will federate with them or do you hope to remain entirely independent ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We hope that they will remain in the British Empire and we will join them.

1023. *Chairman* : In other words, you would like to join Burma provided you get assurances of remaining in the British Commonwealth.

Besides the question of defence, is there any other reason why you do not like federation with Burma ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : The next reason is that under the British we will not be oppressed by our neighbours. At least there will be somebody to look after us.

1024. *Thakin Nu :* Do you believe that if Burma becomes a Dominion and if the Burmese still want to oppress you, they cannot do so ? The British will have no control whatever over us and we can do what we like by being a Dominion. If the Burmese wish they can oppress you.

Saw Marshall Shwin : We will get some assurance from Britain. If Australia is attacked the British will help her.

1025. *Thakin Nu :* If the Australian Government wishes to oppress some of her people, Britain cannot go and say "don't oppress them". So, if the Burmese people wish to oppress you, Britain has no right whatever to come and say to us "don't oppress the Karens".

Saw Marshall Shwin : At least they can give us some assistance, by giving advice and moral support.

1026. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm :* I understand that you want internal autonomy. But just now you stated that the Frontier Areas administration should go on for the time being. Do you mean the Frontier Areas administration of the present set-up? That means everything will be controlled by the officers of the British Administration.

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes, for the time being, *i.e.* during the interim period until the Karen people are in a position to take over.

1027. *Chairman :* Do you wish this Administration to continue ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes, for the time being, possibly to train and assist Karens to take up these duties.

1028. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm :* Supposing you become an independent State do you want to have any relations with Burma ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Of course, we want to join Burma so long as she remains in the British Commonwealth.

1029. *Chai man :* If you agree to federation with Burma, what sanctions would you require ? In other words, what guarantee do you desire from Burma ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : I want an Act to be passed by the British Parliament for the administration of our area. Firstly, the Burmese should not interfere with our internal affairs. Secondly, they should allow us to have our own system of administration, such as defence, revenue, so on and so forth.

1030. *Thakin Nu :* What form of guarantee do you want, a Pact or a proviso in the constitution ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : An agreement between ourselves and the Burmese.

1031. *Thakin Nu :* If this is done, are you prepared to come in ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes.

1032. *Thakin Nu* : Even if we are out of the British Empire ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : No.

1033. *Chairman* : Do you wish safeguards to be incorporated in the Burmese constitution ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes.

1034. *Chairman* : Possibly there would be an Act of Parliament and these safeguards should be in that also ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes. .

1035. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Am I to understand that you will federate with Burma only if Burma remains within the British Empire and not otherwise ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes.

1036. *U Khin Maung Gale* : First of all you state that you have no faith in any Agreement, Pact or anything. Then you say that if we are a Dominion, you wish to make an agreement or pact or some provisional constitution between the Burmese and Karens. Why do you think an agreement will be honoured if Burma remains in the British Empire and not if she is outside it ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : If within the British Empire, Britain is responsible.

1037. *The Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein* : I understand you to say that the British Government will not keep her faith to people outside the Empire, e.g. if Burma remains a part of the Commonwealth, then Britain will come to her help, but, if she is outside the Commonwealth, Britain may or may not keep her faith even if she has an agreement with us like that with America.

Saw Marshall Shwin : The British Government will not enter into an agreement if she has no control over Burma. She has made an agreement with America because she has other interests there. Here in Burma she has no interests at all.

1038. *Thakin Nu* : If Britain is prepared to make a Treaty what do you say ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Let the British answer that question.

1039. *Thakin Nu* : But, if British Government is prepared what will be your attitude ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : That is "if" only.

1040. *The Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein* : May I know how many members there are in your Association ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We have over 60,000 population who are of the same opinion as us.

1041. *Thakin Nu* : How do you ascertain opinion ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We made our decision very recently at a meeting attended by representatives from Kyaukkyi, Shwegyin and Salween Districts.

(Witness produced a list of signatures.)

1042. *The Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein* : Are these signatories individuals or representatives ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Representatives of villages. We have a sort of Karen Baptist Association, in Pyu Township, Kyaukkyi Township and Shwegyin Township. We met on the 7th March as a religious body and at the same time we discussed and decided matters of importance in politics, etc. The resolutions passed at that meeting have been already submitted.*

1043. *The Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein* : Is there any register for membership ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : We had a register before 1942. When the war came everything was lost. We have just started again.

1044. *The Hon'ble U Kyaw Nyein* : There is no regular membership ? You invite people from this township and that township and so on and pass resolutions ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : At present yes. Before 1942 we had records. We have not yet completed our re-organization.

1045. *Thakin Nu* : At the time of the passing of the resolution, were the representatives who attended chosen by elders and pastors to represent villages ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : Yes.

1046. *Chairman* : Were they appointed by the pastors or by the congregation ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : By the congregation. In addition to the Karen National Union, we have a sort of Shwegyin Baptist Association. There are several units. Each Church unit sends a representative.

1047. *Chairman* : What proportion of your people are Christians ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : 25 per cent of them. The rest are Animists or Buddhists ; most of the people along the Sittang are Buddhists, and the rest on the Salween side are *nat* worshippers.

1048. *Chairman* : Representatives of the Churches will be representatives of 25 per cent of the people ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : There are also non-Christian members who are represented.

1049. *Chairman* : How are they represented ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : By headmen. Most of the headmen signed the Resolution.

1050. *Chairman* : Do you want to say anything more ?

Saw Marshall Shwin : I want to say that this Committee seems to be composed of more Burmese members than Frontier people. The Frontier people should be more represented on this Committee.

1051. *Chairman* : There are four members from the Frontier Areas and four from Burma.

Saw Marshall Shwin : It would be much better if the Frontier peoples alone decided for themselves.

1052. *Chairman* : That is not within our scope. We did not constitute ourselves. We were set up by the British and Burmese Governments.

If your conditions are satisfied and you are in a position to federate with Burma, do you envisage the possibility of joining the Constituent Assembly? If so, what number of representatives do you propose?

Saw Marshall Shwin : I think it is still too early to say. We want to get the broad principle settled first.

Chairman : Our thanks are due to you for coming here at short notice, for the very clear way in which you have given your answers, and for the forthright way you have replied to the questions.

(The witness then withdrew.)

ANNEXURE I.

From the Secretary, The Shwegyin Karen Association, Medaingdaw, Kyaukkyi Township, to His Excellency the Governor of Burma, Government House, Rangoon (through the Secretary, The Karen National Union), dated the 7th March 1947.

At the annual meeting of the Shwegyin Karen Association held on the 7th March at Medaingdaw Village, Kyaukkyi Township, Toungoo District, attended by hundreds of Karens in addition to the representatives of the various units of the above Association from Shwegyin Township, Kyaukkyi Township, Pyu Township, Thandaung Township South, and northern half of Salween District, the following resolutions were unanimously carried :—

(1) That this Association strongly protest against the action of the present Executive Council to bring Salween District into Ministerial Burma.

(2) That it is the will of the Karens in this Area in asserting their right of self-determination, to remain within the British Empire and thereby to totally agree to the formation of a distinct Karen State as demanded by the Karens of Burma an inter Kareno-Burmese boundary to be demarcated on a mutual agreement, duly executed and registered, and to be drawn up between Karens and Burmans.

(3) Until such time as the above points are satisfactorily fulfilled the Karens choose to remain under the direct control of the Governor having to do nothing with the Ministry as a whole.

(4) That in support of the above demands the Karens in this Area refuse to participate in the forthcoming Election.

(5) And that Saw Marshall Shwin be empowered to inform the authorities concerned about the expressed desire of the Karens in this Area outlined in the above resolutions.

(Sd.) SAW PAW GYAW,
Secretary,

The Shwegyin Karen Association.

MEDAINGDAW, dated 7th March 1947.

Copy to—(1) Deputy Chairman of the Executive Council, Burma.

(2) The Prime Minister, British Parliament, 10 Downing Street, London.

(3) Leader of the Opposition, British Parliament, London.

(4) Presidents of All District Karen Associations, Tenasserim Division.

- (5) The Editor, *Hlaw-Meh-Pah*, Bassein, Burma.
- (6) The Director, Frontier Areas Administration, Secretariat, Rangoon.
- (7) The Secretary, Karen National Union, U Loo Nee Street, Rangoon.

Rangoon, 26th March 1947.

5. KAREN YOUTHS' ORGANIZATION.

(1) Saw San Po Thin. ●

(2) Saw Norton Bwa.

[The Chairman read out a note from the Secretary, Karen Youths' Organization to the Committee introducing Saw San Po Thin and Saw Norton Bwa.]

1053. *Chairman*: Saw San Po Thin, I see that you were a Major in the Civil Supplies Department.

Saw San Po Thin: Yes, and formerly with the Burma Army Service Corps.

1054. *Chairman*: You are now the President of the Karen Youths' Organization.

Saw San Po Thin: Yes, Sir.

1055. *Chairman*: You are the President of the Hlaw-Meh-Pah Association, Bassein. You are also the President of the Defence Organization (H.Q.). You are the Managing Director of the Karen Trading Corporation, Limited. You were lately the President of the Karen National Union and you were the Commander of the Guerillas in Bassein District during the war.

Saw San Po Thin: Yes, Sir.

1056. *Chairman*: I see that you hoisted the Union Jack at Bassein which was later presented to the King.

Saw San Po Thin: Yes, Sir.

1057. *Chairman*: We must congratulate you on being elected a Member of the Constituent Assembly. You are one of those fortunate people who were returned unopposed.

Saw Norton Bwa, I see that you are a member of the Karen Youths' Organization, Moulmein, and you are also in the happy position of being returned unopposed to the Constituent Assembly from the Amherst West Karen Constituency. You are one of the founders of the United Karen Organization in Papun. You recently attended a meeting of the organization there and you have now arrived at Rangoon to report to the Karen Youths' Organization (H.Q.) on Karen feeling in the Salween District.

1058. *Saw Sankey*: Did you go to Papun to organize the United Karen Organization or did you go there on business?

Saw Norton Bwa: I did not go there to organize. I was the founder of the United Karen Organization, Papun.

1059. *Chairman* : There was a Karen Organization already in Papun ?

Saw Norton Bwa : That was the Karen National Association and not the United Karen Organization.

1060. *Saw Sankey* : In that case there are two Karen Organizations in Papun ? One is the Karen National Association and the other the United Karen Organization ?

Saw Norton Bwa : The Karen National Association was changed into the United Karen Organization.

1061. *Chairman* : I do not quite see the point of Saw Sankey's questions.

Saw Sankey : In this letter it is stated that Saw Norton Bwa was the organizer of the United Karen Organization and it is, as I know, the same Association as the Karen National Association,—just a change of name.

1062. *Chairman* : Is there any difference between the United Karen Organization and the Karen Youths' Organization ?

Saw Norton Bwa : Yes. The Karen Youths' Organization is quite separate. The United Karen Organization is a local Papun affair.

1063. *Chairman* : You seem to belong to both ?

Saw Norton Bwa : I do not now belong to the United Karen Organization although I was the founder of it.

1064. *Chairman* : You don't belong to it and you were the founder of it. You have since left it ?

Saw Norton Bwa : Yes.

1065. *Chairman* : Although one of the founders you are not now a member. And Mr. Saw San Po Thin, you are the President of the Karen Youths' Organization, but not a member now of the United Karen Organization. Is that right ?

Saw San Po Thin : It is a bit difficult to say. The latter organization was part of the Karen Central Organization, which changed last month into the Karen National Union. I was made President of that Union, but due to some difference of opinion I resigned. My resignation has not been accepted by the Union as yet. So I am in the air now. I am still in both.

1066. *Chairman* : You are here to-day representing the Karen Youths' Organization ? Would you like to tell us what their views are on the questions which we are considering regarding the association of the Frontier Areas, particularly the Karen Areas, with Ministerial Burma ?

Saw San Po Thin : What I would like to ask is, is there any Karen Area in the Frontier Areas ?

1067. *Chairman* : Yes, the Salween District is a Part I Area. The Karenni States are said to be independent.

Saw San Po Thin : In the opinion of the Youths' Organization, Papun which is in the Salween District should be as free as any other State in Burma, and we want to get rid of all foreign elements there.

1068. *Saw Sankey* : What do you mean by "foreign elements" ?

• *Saw San Po Thin* : I mean that I want the District to be administered purely by Karens. But now we have Burmans and Englishmen and we want to get rid of them both.

1069. *Chairman* :! You mean that you want to get rid of everybody except Karens ?

Saw San Po Thin : No. What I mean is that the people there are very tender mentally and any little thing will confuse them. They cannot talk Burmese or English and what is the sense of keeping people there who cannot talk our language ? We, as plains Karens, have our responsibility for the Papun people and we want to help them as much as possible and also want them to be free with us. We wish these people to be in the same category as us.

1070. *Chairman* : Supposing they desire to have internal autonomy, but would like to have Federation with Burma, would it be agreeable to you ?

Saw San Po Thin : That would be agreeable to us.

1071. *Chairman* : Would that be agreeable to the people of the Salween District ?

Saw San Po Thin : These people want to be free and in fact after the war they were very much disappointed. They had been promised quite a lot of things, but when it came to carrying out those promises they were left in the lurch. As they are typical Karens, they bear these things in their heart and go home and keep quiet. But they mark down, "Now the British treated us in this way".

1072. *Chairman* : Do you think that the British let them down ?

Saw San Po Thin : Yes, very badly.

1073. *Chairman* : In what way ? Could you give us an example ?

Saw San Po Thin : In many ways. They were promised certain pay, but when they went along to Tenasserim they didn't get what they were promised. What I mean is they were cheated.

1074. *Chairman* : The usual complaints about pay and allowances ?

Saw San Po Thin : Somewhat to that effect. They were promised many things, and it came to nothing. That is also true of the plains Karens.

1075. *Chairman* : Now, can you say whether the Salween State would be able to manage its own affairs in view of the economic position and the state of literacy and so on among the Karens there ?

Saw San Po Thin : They would have to import outside help. There are lots of educated Karens in the plains without jobs. With their help the hill people can be trained.

1076. *Chairman* : So you think it is possible to import people from the plains to run the internal affairs of the Salween District ?

Saw San Po Thin : Exactly.

1077. *Chairman* : You think it would be quite acceptable to have internal autonomy for the Salween Area only. You are not asking for anything more ?

Saw San Po Thin : That is quite enough.

1078. *Chairman* : What I am asking you is—Do you think in your opinion the present Salween District is sufficient to satisfy the Karen demands for a separate State ?

Saw San Po Thin : A separate State not by itself but federated to Burma.

1079. *Chairman* : The present Salween District would then form an autonomous State for the Karens ?

Saw San Po Thin : That is what I want.

1080. *Chairman* : You are not asking for other Karen Areas to be associated ?

Saw San Po Thin : I think that is the only logical place for the Karens.

1081. *Chairman* : In the past the Karens have had very big schemes, even including part of Siam.

Saw San Po Thin : But I have been against them right along. What I want to say to you here is, if we can have the whole house free, why ask only for the kitchen ? We people in the plains will never go there.

1082. *Chairman* : What about the Karenni Area ?

Saw San Po Thin : What do you mean by Karenni Area ?

Chairman : I mean the present Karenni States which are said to be independent.

Saw San Po Thin : We don't want that sort of independence. That Independence to my mind is an Independence which is not free.

1083. *Chairman* : Do you wish to see the present Salween Area joined to those States ?

Saw San Po Thin : It is quite feasible. As it is, the Karenni States are supposed to be independent on paper and when Burma is free Salween District will be free as well. I think it would be a good idea to link up Salween with the Karenni.

1084. *Chairman* : Assuming the Salween State to be autonomous how do you wish to see it linked up with the rest of Burma ?

Saw San Po Thin : On an equal footing. This may be a bit slow, but it can be done.

1085. *Chairman* : What form of union ? Have you thought about it at all ? How are the people of Salween District to be represented ? Is there to be a Federal Council ?

Saw San Po Thin : That is right. It should be on the same lines as the United States of America. There are some parts in America,

which are more backward than the Salween—places like Tennessee. I have been there. They were carrying on, and it is possible for us to work like that here too.

1086. *Chairman* : If the Salween District had representatives in the Federal Council, as the people in the States in the United States of America have in the Senate, would that be satisfactory ?

Saw San Po Thin : I think it would be quite satisfactory.

1087. *Chairman* : What about the Constituent Assembly ? Do you think that the Salween people should be represented in the Constituent Assembly ?

Saw San Po Thin : Yes.

1088. *Chairman* : How many representatives do you think there should be ?

Saw San Po Thin : It will have to be decided by the Frontier people. A portion of their allotment should be given to the Salween people. If you give a hundred seats to the Frontier Areas people they will divide it up among themselves.

1089. *Chairman* : So, you are thinking in terms of a hundred ?

Saw San Po Thin : I think a hundred will be quite sufficient.

1090. *U Khin Maung Gale* : I think it is only a suggestion ?

Saw San Po Thin : It is only a suggestion, not the exact number.

1091. *Chairman* : That number is not proportionate to the population as compared with Burma's.

Saw San Po Thin : Well, fifty seats can be divided between the Karens, Chins, Kachins and Shans, or some such number.

1092. *Chairman* : Do you agree with continuing the Frontier Areas Administration up to the time when the Karens in Salween District are able to manage their affairs ?

Saw San Po Thin : No.

1093. *Chairman* : What should take its place ?

Saw San Po Thin : The Salween should be a State originally linked with Burma and the burdens should be borne by the Burmese Government of Burma.

1094. *Chairman* : You mean the Salween District should be administered by the Burma Government ?

Saw San Po Thin : Yes.

1095. *Chairman* : How does that fit in with your desires ? Your desire is that you do not want the British and the Burmese in the Salween Area ?

Saw San Po Thin : It is a safeguard that we don't want them. It is not that we hate them; but that these hill people do not understand the outside people. We have to bring them up slowly so that association will be palatable to them.

1096. *Chairman* : During that slow process, somebody has got to keep on the administration. Who is going to do that ?

Saw San Po Thin : Karens from the plains. We are progressing rapidly.

1097. *Chairman* : Would you be prepared to ask the present Frontier Areas Administration to continue if more Karens were introduced into it ?

Saw San Po Thin : During the transition period.

1098. *Thakin Nu* : What transitional period ? From now to the time you are free ?

Saw San Po Thin : As it is now, the people there are crying out for Karens from the plains. As I understand it, they do not want Burmans nor English, especially these half-castes.

1099. *Chairman* : If you are going to administer the country, you must have an administrative service and organization. A lot of stray Karens going up from the plains will have no effect whatever as a public service.

Saw San Po Thin : I would like them to be just like the Shans. Let them do what the Shans are doing.

1100. *Chairman* : The Shans are administered by the Frontier Areas Administration. Have you thought at all how the administration should be carried on during the months or years between now and the time when the Karens in the Salween Area will be able to run their own affairs ?

1101. *Thakin Nu* : Do you want the same form of administration which you have now to be carried on up to the time of final settlement with the British ?

1102. *Chairman* : Rather more than that. Up to the time the people of Salween are able to run their own affairs ? You said the Salween people are very backward and that they are unable to run their own affairs now. You also said that you were hoping that the Karens of the plains would come up there and educate and train up these people. But between that time and the time they would be able to run their own affairs, what are your plans for the day-to-day administration ?

Saw San Po Thin : Since the Shans and Kachins are coming into Ministerial Burma, I think the Salween people can benefit in the same way as the Shans and Kachins.

1103. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Just now we have Frontier Areas Administration in Part I Areas, but the Salween intends to become independent. The date of Independence will come later. But from now on up to the date we declare independence, there must be some form of administration in that area. Will that be of the same form as the Frontier Areas Administration or would you like any other form ?

1104. *Chairman* : There is a further point. Even after getting Independence, there is still the question of who is to run the administration. They are said to be quite unfit to run it themselves.

Saw San Po Thin : According to history, they ran it themselves.

1105. *Chairman* : Yes, but history dates back a very long time. We are living in the world of to-day.

1106. *Thakin Nu* : What sort of administration would you like to have in Papun District till such time as you are able to run your own affairs ?

Saw San Po Thin : I think we can carry on the same as the Government that is carrying on in Burma. After all, it is part of Burma, not outside.

1107. *Chairman* : But not if you are independent. Your answers are very contradictory.

Saw San Po Thin : These people can understand only Karen, and it would be better for them to have Karen officers there. There is hardly any crime in this area. In the whole year there are only three or four cases. Isn't that true ?

1108. *Chairman* : I don't think it matters. What we are trying to gather from you is what is your idea of the constitution in the Salween ?

1109. *Thakin Nu* : There are many ways of training the Papun people to be fit for self-government, for instance, do you want to put in as many Papun people as possible in the administration in that area ? Or do you favour any other way of training the people ?

Saw San Po Thin : These Papun people are capable of being educated in schools and universities.

1110. *Chairman* : What I do not follow is the position during the interim period. I think it is very dangerous to have a complete gap. I think it is likely to happen. At present the Salween Area is administered by the Frontier Areas Administration.

Saw San Po Thin : Are you quite sure about it ? I think it is in Ministerial Burma and is administered by the Government of Burma.

U Klin Maung Gale : But it is still under the Frontier Areas Administration.

1111. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Up to the present, the Frontier Areas Administration has been responsible for the administration and development of all the Frontier Areas including Papun District. Since the Panglong Agreement, there is one Counsellor and two Deputy Counsellors responsible for the areas that signed the Agreement. Do you want Papun Area to deal with the Counsellor or to deal direct with the Governor ? Up till the time we obtained the Counsellor, His Excellency exercised full control over all the areas through the Director of Frontier Areas. From now onwards the Counsellors and Deputy Counsellors are in charge of Frontier Areas. Do you want the Papun Area to deal with the Counsellors in the same way as the Shans, Chins and Kachins ?

Saw San Po Thin : Yes, that is all right.

1112. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : We are thinking of presenting a scheme for autonomy in the Shan States. Do you think the Area will follow suit ?

Saw San Po Thin : Yes.

1113. *Chairman*: This autonomy of the Salween Area, provided there is stipulation to that effect in the Burma constitution and also in an Act of Parliament, would that satisfy you with regard to safeguards?

Saw San Po Thin: Yes, that will be sufficient.

1114. *Thakin Nu*: You said just now you want to be federated with Burma, but if Burma secedes from the British Empire, will that affect your decision?

Saw San Po Thin: If Burma secedes, the Salween has got to secede too. She has got to remain with Burma.

1115. *Thakin Nu*: Do you know Saw Marshall Shwin?

Saw San Po Thin: Yes.

1116. *Thakin Nu*: According to that man there is a definite opinion in the Papun Area that if Burma secedes from the British Commonwealth of Nations they do not want the Salween District to be linked up with Burma in any way.

Saw San Po Thin: No. We happen to be born in the same country and belong to the same boat. If that boat moves to India we all go to India, and if it goes to China we go to China. If it sinks, we all swim.

1117. *Chairman*: What is the wish of the people in the Salween Area in this matter? Do they wish, or do they hope that Burma will remain in the Commonwealth?

Saw San Po Thin: They have no idea of their own. In fact they know nothing about politics. Saw Marshall Shwin used to write about Papun while staying in Shwegyin. The Papun leaders said he has no right to interfere with their district.

Thakin Nu: The Papun people think that he has no right to represent the Papun Area.

1118. *U Khin Maung Gale*: Have you visited the Salween Area? If so, how far?

Saw San Po Thin: Yes, I have visited it.

Saw Norton Bwa: He (Saw Marshall Shwin) can speak about Shwegyin, but not about Papun.

1119. *Chairman*: I believe both of you live outside the Salween Area. How do you know what they want?

Saw Norton Bwa: The Salween District wants to be under the direct control of the Governor, but it is our bounden duty as plains Karens to uplift them. If we leave them under that round-about administration, we Karens over here cannot help them.

1120. *Chairman*: You are in fact stating what you think is good for them rather than necessarily what they want. I do not quite understand how you get authority to speak for them.

Saw San Po Thin: I was there for the last two months.

1121. *Chairman*: I suppose you were an eye-witness of the meeting at Papun on 6th March. Can you tell us something about it?

Saw Norton Bwa: It was a hurly-burly meeting. We had intended to make the people understand that Karens should be united but when

the people arrived there they did not know anything about it. The Karen National Union had been there too.

1122. *Chairman* : When you say the Karen National Union, is that the same organization as Saw Marshall Shwin's ?

Saw Norton Bwa : Yes.

1123. *Chairman* : It is the people outside the Salween Area who are giving evidence on the area and telling us what they want. We are trying to find out exactly whose opinions you have been expressing.

Saw San Po Thin : This is the opinion of the plains Karens. I believe these people too want, as far as I could make out, to be free from everything—the Salween people do not want any "shoke-te" business.

1124. *Thakin Nu* : Do I understand from you this? You told us something about the meeting held at Papun. People over there are so simple and backward that they do not know anything about the resolutions passed there. It was the people of the Karen National Union who went over there and told them to pass that resolution?

Saw Norton Bwa : Yes, that is what I want to say.

1125. *Saw Sankey* : In that case, the President of the Shwegyin Karen Association does not know anything about what he said the other day? What about U Chittee?

Saw Norton Bwa : I don't know anything about U Chittee.

1126. *Saw Sankey* : Do you mean to say that we, and the other witnesses from the Salween District, do not know anything about it?

Saw Norton Bwa : You go to Papun and say something and they will pass resolutions. Men may go there and say anything and they will readily accept it. They make a speech and when they ask the people to stand up if they agree they all will stand up.

Saw San Po Thin : More than 400 per cent will stand up. At present we cannot get anywhere under the democratic process—that is our feeling. When they can decide on their own let them do so. We don't want to force these people to be in. The Shans are the majority over there.

1127. *Thakin Nu* : Was not any attempt made by some of the people of Papun to protest against the action of the Karen National Union in interfering in their affairs?

Saw Norton Bwa : The Karens there don't understand such things. Any man who goes along and talks to them, gets them to agree with him.

1128. *Thakin Nu* : Anybody can go and ask them to agree?

Saw Norton Bwa : Yes, they will agree easily.

1129. *Thakin Nu* : Do you think that Saw Marshall Shwin can speak for the people of Papun Area?

Saw Norton Bwa : At present it is very hard for the people from there to be represented. We have to get there and make them understand these matters. It is the desire of the Karens over here to uplift them.

1130. *Saw Sankey* : Have you got plans to uplift them ? What are they ?

Saw Norton Bwa : How can I tell them ?

1131. *Thakin Nu* : You say you knew Saw Marshall Shwin ?

Saw San Po Thin : We were school mates. After that he went to College, but I went to the United States. Later on he became the Superintendent of the Mission School, Shwegyin. During the Japanese time he ran away into the hills but later on he was captured by the Japanese and tortured. That is all I know about him.

1132. *Chairman* : Will you answer Saw Sankey's question please—what plans you have for the Salween people ?

Saw Norton Bwa : According to the 1935 Act, the Salween is under the Governor's direct control. I don't understand about Part I, Schedule I, or Part II or Schedule II and so on. There is no difference. We feel that even if these people want to stay in the Frontier Areas Administration we cannot allow them to. We want to uplift them and it is natural for us to uplift them.

1133. *Chairman* : You are not talking about administration or representation in the Federal Council and so on ?

Saw Norton Bwa : Yes, Sir.

1134. *Chairman* : What do you mean by uplifting them ?

Saw Norton Bwa : Uplift means to build schools, hospitals and so on for them.

1135. *Chairman* : What form of administration is going to do that for them ? At present they are administered by the Frontier Areas Administration under the Governor.

1136. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpaw* : So far as the Shan States are concerned the *Sawbwaw*s are content with this administration for the interim period. Would you agree that the Salween people should come under the Counsellor ?

1137. *Chairman* : The Mongpaw *Sawbwa* wishes to know whether you would like the Salween to join the other Frontier Areas. It may be that you would like to have a Deputy Counsellor with him like the Kachins or Chin here.

Saw San Po Thin : Yes.

1138. *Chairman* : Remember there must not be a vacuum. The administration must be carried on. What are your plans for this interim period ?

Saw San Po Thin : The Salween would be under the Counsellor, and have a Deputy Counsellor of its own to speak for the people and advise the Government concerning them.

1139. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Will you tell us something about the strength and membership in your organization ?

Saw San Po Thin : This will explain it to you. (The witness handed over a typed statement.)*

1140. *Chairman* : This document you have handed in shows the strength of the people whom you represent together with the districts represented.

1141. *Thakin Nu* : You two are not from the Salween District. You represent the plains Karens. Is it your opinion that the plains Karens have a moral obligation to uplift and to take the Salween Karens along with you ? Is that your idea ?

Saw San Po Thin : Yes.

1142. *Saw Sankey* : Is there any Youth Organization in the Salween District ?

Saw San Po Thin : We have not gone so far yet. But we are going to.

1143. *Thakin Nu* : Have you any sort of association sponsored by your organization for the Karens in the Salween District ?

Saw San Po Thin : No.

1144. *Chairman* : Anything else you wish to say—either of you ?

Saw San Po Thin : As far as the Salween District is concerned, even though we don't come from Salween, when the Salween people suffer we suffer too. Since they are our flesh and blood it is our duty to look after their interests and advise them as much as possible. During the Japanese period when these Salween people suffered we suffered along with them.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses, who then withdrew.]

ANNEXURE I.

THE KAREN YOUTHS' ORGANIZATION (BURMA).

Headquarters : No. 5, Saw Te Lane, Karen Quarter,
Kemmdine, Rangoon.

Strength of the Karen Youths' Organization, Burma.

1. *Membership*.—Fully paid-up, duly registered and to whom membership certificates are issued—12,112.

According to the Secretary's Report for the year ending October, 1946, the membership was estimated from the reports of the District Organizations to be over 30,000. At present according to the progress reports of the District Organizers and the District Branches the membership is estimated to be over 50,000. The actual lists are still with the Village Branches. This includes fully paid-up and partially paid-up members.

2. *Branches*.—According to the Secretary's Report for the year ending October, 1946, there were 93 branches (District, Township and regional) and covers 503 village-tracts. At that time there were no

branches in Tharrawaddy, Thatôn, Amherst, Tavoy and Mergui Districts. Now we have important branches as follows :—

<i>District.</i>	<i>District Branch.</i>	<i>Township Branch.</i>
i. Bassein ...	1	3
ii. Myaungmya ...	1	2
iii. Henzada ...	1	2
iv. Maubin ...	1	3
v. Pyapôn ...	1	3
vi. Hanthawaddy ...	1	2
vii. Insein ...	...	2
viii. Toungoo ...	1	3
ix. Pegu ...	2	...
x. Amherst ...	1	..

3. *Organizations in Support.*—

- i. Htaw-meh-pah Organization (formerly the strongest district of the Karen National Association).
- ii. Karen Association, Myaungmya.
- iii. Karen National Organization, Myaungmya.
- iv. Karen Village Headmen Association, Myaungmya.
- v. Karen Defence Organization, Burma.
- vi. Karen Trading Corporation, Limited.
- vii. Karen Weavers' Association, Kyaukkyi, Toungoo District.
- viii. Karen Peasants' Union, Bassein.
- ix. Burma Karen Women Organization (recently formed).

The above strength of the Karen Youths' Organization (Burma), is respectfully submitted to the Representatives of the Karen Youths' Organization (Burma), to the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry for information.

(Sd.) SAW KYAW SEIN,

*Secretary,
The Karen Youths' Organization, Burma,
Headquarters, Rangoon.*

Dated the 25th March 1947.

Maymyo, 14th April 1947 (2-30 p.m.).

6. SALWEEN DISTRICT (SECOND GROUP).

- (1) Saw Lu Lu.
- (2) Newton Pan Gyi.
- (3) Saw Maung Nyein.
- (4) Saw Myat Shwe.
- (5) Saw Robert Dee.
- (6) Saw Ngwe Oh.
- (7) Saw Aung Shin.

1145. *Chairman* : Are you all Members of the Karen's Youths' League ?

Saw Lu Lu : No, Sir. We are from Papun District.

1146. *Chairman* : Whom do you represent ?

Saw Lu Lu : We are representatives of the people of Salween.

1147. *Chairman* : Is there a Karen Youths' League in Papun ?

Saw Lu Lu : No, there is no such League.

1148. *Chairman* : We have already heard witnesses from Papun District.

Saw Lu Lu : We come to represent the United Karen Organization.

1149. *Thakin Nu* : Have you brought any Resolutions ?

Saw Lu Lu : Yes.

1150. *Chairman* : Is your Organization a Burma organization or a Salween one ?

Saw Lu Lu : It is a Salween Organization.

1151. *Chairman* : Is it a branch of the Karen National Union of Burma ?

Saw Lu Lu : Yes.

(*Saw Lu Lu* submitted a document. The Chairman read to the Committee as follows :—

"We, *Saw Chittee* and *Saw T. Po Ku*, President and Secretary of the United Karen Organization, Papun, do hereby declare as follows :—

1. The resolution, to join the Frontier Administration, passed in the meeting convened on 6th March 1947, is not according to what was actually aimed. The paper, attached herewith,* is the actual desire and aspiration, which was set aside.
2. We recognized the following gentlemen as the leaders of Karen Mass in their respective areas in Salween States :—
 - (1) U Maung Nyein, H.M., Kyauktaung.
 - (2) Saw Myat Shwe, H.M., Mewaing.
 - (3) Saw Robert Dee, Nankokhi Leader.
 - (4) Saw Newton Pan Gyi, Leader, Kyauktaung.
 - (5) Saw Lu Lu, President, K.H.T. Co., Papun.
 - (6) U Ngwe Oh, H.M., Kadinedi and
 - (7) Bo Aung Shin, Papun South Leader.
3. The first delegates were comprised of eight members from the District Council, who were appointed not by the mass but by the Government and only two by the U.K.O. with the mandate as in paragraph 1.
4. We strongly object Marshall Shwin of Shwegyin, to give statement about Papun as he has never been a resident of this Salween States."

(Sd.) *SAW CHITTEE, President.*

SAW T. PO KU, Secretary.

Dated 5th April 1947.

* The resolution contained in the attached paper are enumerated in Answer 1159.

1152. *Chairman* : How many members have you in your organization ?

Saw Lu Lu : Every Karen in the District is expected to be a member of the organization.

1153. *Chairman* : When were you selected by the Salween Karens to be their representatives ?

Saw Lu Lu : On the 5th of April.

1154. *Chairman* : Did you have a meeting ?

Saw Lu Lu : Yes, at Kyauktaung Village.

1155. *Chairman* : In Resolution 3, you say " the first delegates were comprised of eight members from the District Council, etc. ". Do you mean the first delegates to this Enquiry Committee.

Saw Lu Lu : Yes, Sir.

1156. *Chairman* : Do you now say that you are the only true representatives of the Salween people ?

Saw Lu Lu : Yes, Sir.

1157. *Thakin Nu* : Who are the two men, who signed the document you submitted—Saw Chittee and T. Poku ? Were they in that group of eight ?

Saw Lu Lu : Yes, these two men were in the first batch of eight.

1158. *Chairman* : Do you all know the purpose of this Committee ?

Saw Lu Lu : Yes, Sir.

1159. *Chairman* : What is the opinion of the people of Papun with regard to our Enquiry ?

Saw Lu Lu : On the 5th April we had a meeting, where we passed certain Resolutions, the first of which was to send representatives to the coming Constituent Assembly to safeguard the rights and privileges of the people of Papun. The second resolution was that all matters connected with internal affairs be given to the people of Papun for administration. The third was with regard to the relations between one state and another in Burma ; the matter should be decided within the Constituent Assembly in consultation with the Karens of all Burma. The fourth was that the said meeting did not agree with the decisions arrived at by the meeting held on the 6th of March at the Tabaung Festival, because they were reached through the machinations of the French Roman Catholic priest. The fifth was that, the said meeting selected the following representatives to give evidence before the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry :—

Saw Maung Nyein.

Saw Myat Shwe.

Saw Robert Dee.

Saw Newton Pangyi.

Saw Lu Lu.

Saw Ngwe Oh.

Bo Aung Shin.

1160. *Chairman* : Did you also elect Saw T. Poku and Saw Darlington who appeared before us to be representatives on your behalf ?

Saw Lu Lu : They were elected previously, but I did not take part in the election.

1161. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : By whom ?

Saw Lu Lu : By the Salween people.

1162. *Chairman* : Why are they not here ?

Saw Lu Lu : Because the evidence previously given is not compatible with our decisions. So they do not come.

1163. *Chairman* : What number of representatives do you wish to send to the Constituent Assembly ?

Saw Lu Lu : Four.

1164. *Chairman* : Do you want to take part in the Supreme Council of United Hills peoples, which represents the Shans, Kachins and Chins but not, up to the present, Karens ?

Saw Lu Lu : No, we do not want to be in the S.C.O.U.H.P.

1165. *Chairman* : Do you not want to associate with the other Frontier peoples at all ?

Saw Lu Lu : We have social intercourse with them.

1166. *Chairman* : I mean politically ?

Saw Lu Lu : They have one view point and we held another so we cannot associate with them.

1167. *Chairman* : Would you like to join up with the Karenni States ?

Saw Lu Lu : If the political views held by them and us are identical, we will join up with them.

1168. *Chairman* : Do you know what their views are ? Have you discussed the matter with them ?

Saw Lu Lu : We have consulted them but our views are divergent.

1169. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are your views more in line with the Karens of Burma proper ?

Saw Lu Lu : Yes. Our views are akin to those held by the Karens of Burma proper.

1170. *Chairman* : Will you tell us what your views are ?

Saw Lu Lu : According to what I have already stated that is to say, Resolutions 1 to 4, to send representatives to the Constituent Assembly and so on.

1171. *Chairman* : These do not say what your view is with regard to the association of the Salween District with Ministerial Burma ?

Saw Lu Lu : We want internal autonomy and we want to send representatives to speak to Ministerial Burma.

1172. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : You mean now or within the Constituent Assembly ?

Saw Lu Lu : Within the Constituent Assembly.

1173. *Chairman* : What I want to know is how do you see the future, after the Constituent Assembly has come to an end. What will happen then ? Is there to be a Federal Council or what ?

Saw Lu Lu : Our locality is only a District. We would like to come into Burma as a District.

1174. *Saw Myint Thein* : Do you think that you will get rights and privileges if you come into Ministerial Burma ?

Saw Lu Lu : That we shall have to discuss with Ministerial Burma.

1175. *Chairman* : Do you belong to the same United Karen Organization as the Karens of the plains ?

Saw Lu Lu : We were separate organizations but later we joined up.

1176. *Chairman* : Do you know that a meeting was held at Thatôn on the 9th March 1947 ?

Saw Lu Lu : No, Sir.

1177. *Chairman* : Do any of you know of it ?

Saw Lu Lu : No, Sir. None of us know.

1178. *Chairman* : So you do not know what resolutions were passed at that meeting ?

Saw Lu Lu : No.

1179. *Saw Sankey* : Is your organization under the orders of the Karen National Union ?

Saw Lu Lu : It is an independent organization but it has a sort of link with the Karen National Union.

1180. *Thakin Nu* : Do you consider that your organization is obliged to hold the same kind of opinion as that held by the kindred association of the plains of Burma ?

(No answer.)

U Khin Maung Gale : It appears they just have a moral connection.

Thakin Nu : It is a separate organization of its own.

1181. *Chairman* : Can you tell us why Saw T. Po Ku and Saw Chittee who gave evidence before this Committee on the 19th of March have now apparently entirely changed their minds ?

Saw Lu Lu : Because the people there did not understand the decisions made at that time and when the matter was explained to them they held another meeting and passed fresh resolutions.

1182. *Thakin Nu* : Will your decision to become a District of Ministerial Burma be affected in any way if the Burmese at the Constituent Assembly decided to go out of the British Commonwealth of Nations ?

Saw Lu Lu : No, that will have no effect.

1183. *Saw Myint Thein* : Who convened these mass meetings ?

Saw Lu Lu : I convened the first mass meeting.

1184. *Chairman* : That is the one held on the 6th March.

Saw Lu Lu : Yes, Sir.

1185. *Saw Myint Thein* : Is it a fact that two entirely different set of resolutions were passed at the two meetings ?

Saw Lu Lu : On the first occasion, they did not decide according to our desire. By "they" I mean the French Roman Catholic Priest and others, his clique. T. Po Ku was the spokesman sent to the Enquiry Committee at that time.

1186. *Saw Myint Thein* : I understand that there was a second meeting at which it was decided to send representatives of the Council to the Committee. Is that so ?

Saw Lu Lu : The Deputy Commissioner asked us to form a Council to send representatives to the Enquiry Committee.

1187. *Saw Myint Thein* : The resolutions were entirely different from one another. Is there any reason why there should be a difference among yourselves ?

Saw Lu Lu : I think there cannot be any difference.

1188. *Chairman* : We are told that whenever anyone goes up to Papun, and makes a big speech and asks the people there to do something, they do it. Is that right ?

Saw Lu Lu : If they can understand the subject, they can determine for themselves what ought to be done.

1189. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : What happened to the French Roman Catholic Priest at the second meeting ?

Saw Lu Lu : He did not take part in that meeting.

1190. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Did T. Po Ku tell you the statement he made at Rangoon ?

Saw Lu Lu : He related to us what evidence he had given in Rangoon.

1191. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Was it not acceptable to you ?

Saw Lu Lu : We do not accept his evidence given before the Committee at Rangoon.

1192. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Which is the main point on which you all are at variance ?

Saw Lu Lu : On the first point. The first meeting decided that the Salween District should remain in the Frontier Areas Administration. We decided to go into Burma as a District.

1193. *Chairman* : What I want to know is what evidence have you to show that you represent the true opinion of the people of Papun.

(Thakin Nu asked Saw Sankey whether he considered the present representatives before the Committee were better able to speak for the Papun people than the previous representatives who had given evidence—Saw Sankey answered in the affirmative.)

1194. *Chairman* : Do all the representatives here agree with what Saw Lu Lu, your spokesman, has said ?

(They all signified their agreement.)

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses for their interesting evidence and wished them a safe return.]

Maymyo, 17th April 1947.

7. KAREN NATIONAL UNION.

- (1) Thra Tha Htoo, General Secretary,
Karen National Union.
- (2) Man James Tung Aung.
- (3) Saw Maung Daught.
- (4) Saw Ba San.

1195. *Chairman* : Have you gentlemen selected your spokesman ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, Sir, I am the spokesman.

1196. *Chairman* : Are you representatives of the Karen National Union ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, Sir.

1197. *Chairman* : Well, do you know the purpose of this enquiry ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, Sir.

1198. *Chairman* : First of all, will you tell us what your association consists of and how many members ?

Thra Tha Htoo : The Karen National Union is the Union of all the Karen Associations in Burma.

1199. *Chairman* : How many members has it ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Members are left in their own districts, some have only names on the records, some issue membership cards ; each district is responsible for organizing its own association, thus if it is in Bassein, the Bassein Karen National Association, in Henzada, the Henzada Karen National Association. When they are united, they affiliate to the Karen National Union.

1200. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tül* : Has the Union any particular authority to speak for the Frontier Areas, particularly the Salween District ?

Thra Tha Htoo : The Salween District has one of the association affiliated to the Union. The decisions and the minutes of their meeting are sent to us. We have been all the time looking after their interests and they have always come to us for help and guidance.

1201. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : We understood from some of the witnesses from the Salween District that although there is some form of affiliation between the Salween District United Karen Organization and your main body. Salween Organization is in no way bound to the views of the Central Association, is that correct ?

Thra Tha Htoo : As an affiliated body they do not have to abide by the decisions of the Karen National Union to the very word, but they have to abide by the principles of the decisions and co-operate with us. Unless they co-operate with us we cannot help them. As far as I know there is no serious difference between the Salween Organization and the main body.

1202. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : If there is a difference, do you agree that the view of the Karens in the Frontier Areas in regard to their own future is likely to be more valid than the view of the Central Association ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Of course their own views carry weight, but we, as their main body, have to see that they do everything in accordance with procedure. If they do anything out of procedure, we have to guide them till they know what they should do and where they are wrong.

1203. *Thakin Nu* : Do you know that only a few days ago the representatives of the Papun people came here and gave evidence which is entirely contrary to that of your association.

Thra Tha Htoo : I saw Saw Lu Lu and the rest at the Lake Hotel in Rangoon where they put up. Previously, they used to come to me for advice and for other things. But this time when they came down to Rangoon they did not come to me at all. So I hunted for them and finally I found them in that Hotel. I had a talk with them for about two hours. I asked them what their idea was, what they were going to say and whether they understood what they were going to do ; to go into Ministerial Burma or into the Frontier Areas Administration, or into the S.C.O.U.H.P. But they seemed to be quite ignorant as to the real position. Even Saw Lu Lu himself said so. I explained the situation on both sides—pros and cons—and I discovered from them that they had held a meeting without informing us about it and had reached a decision. But they did not tell me what it was at that time. I saw it in the newspapers. One thing they made clear to me was that they were willing to join Ministerial Burma according to the decision of the meeting which was held very recently and suddenly without our knowledge. Their previous decision had been made only about a fortnight previously. On that occasion they sent the Minutes of their meeting to us. They also came down—Saw Chittee who is the father of Saw Lu Lu, the President of the so-called United Papun Organization—United Salween Karen Organization. Within a fortnight's time they held another meeting and reached a fresh decision in such a short time that we were baffled and we did not know what to do. Usually they informed us of their meetings, but this time they did not. So I think, I can safely say that they have been unduly influenced by some politician and they were tutored or something like that.

1204. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Is that only your guess, or have you any solid evidence with you to prove your statement ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Well according to what they told us this is the point : they wanted us to get them the Agencies of Supplies. We tried to get these Agencies for them but the Deputy Commissioner thought that the old Agents were quite efficient and only one or two were given to them. They were not satisfied. That was about 5, 6 or 7 months ago.

1205. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are the old Agents non-Karens ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, Sir, they are non-Karens, Indians. Another thing was about the forest leases. They came to me and we all went to the Frontier Areas Administration. I tried my best and they got some. But they wanted forest leases of the whole area in place of T. D. Findlays. But that is almost impossible at present, so we could not help them. It would be more than they can chew. But now they tell me that they have been promised by some authorities that they will get the Supplies Agencies and the forest leases from the new Deputy Commissioner who is coming in place of Mr. Jennings whom they do not like. They told me they wanted a change about six months ago. I represented the matter to the Frontier Areas Administration, but they could not find any body to fill his place. They wanted a Karen if possible, and only Mr. J. Poo Nyo was available. He was too senior for the post, and Saw Torry and Saw Butler were just new hands. So the Frontier Areas Administration thought that these two were not efficient or senior enough to take charge of Papun District. That is why we could not get the man they wanted it there. They put the blame on us and said that we Karen elders could not do anything for them whereas the other authorities can give them immediate help.

1206. *Chairman* : Is there a new Deputy Commissioner at Papun now ?

Thra Tha Htoo : I am told that Saw Butler is to relieve Mr. Jennings.

1207. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you aware that the policy of the Government is to give an increasing share to the indigenous peoples in the Supplies Agencies as in other departments ?

Thra Tha Htoo : No, we are not aware of it.

1208. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Also forest leases—are you aware that the long-term leases held by the European firms had expired before the war ?

Thra Tha Htoo : I heard about it but I have not seen any order or any written document, or anything of the sort.

1209. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you also aware that it has long been the definite policy of the Government of Burma to give increasing shares to all Burmese races in the exploitation of the timber resources of Burma ?

Thra Tha Htoo : You mean my race ?

1210. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : All indigenous races.

Thra Tha Htoo : Well, I think that is natural. The Government should have that policy, but at present I do not know whether the Government is in a position to carry it out, because of the old Companies and obligations.

1211. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : But Government is doing it. The Government employ the big firms as agents in the Timber Project. As soon as the Timber Project is over do you not think it proper that Government should make every attempt to encourage the members of the Burmese races to exploit these forests ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, I think it is proper.

1212. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : And also has it not been the demand of the Karens for a long time that the Salween District should have a Karen Deputy Commissioner ?

Thra Tha Htoo : They represented the matter directly to the Director, Frontier Areas, and they also sent copies to us asking us to support them. And we did so not once, but several times.

1213. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Do you see any impropriety in the Government's scheme to send a Karen Deputy Commissioner to the Salween District as soon as circumstances enable them to send one ?

Thra Tha Htoo : I do not see any impropriety. I think it is the best thing for the people there.

1214. *Thakin Nu* : Do I understand from you that these young representatives from Papun disobeyed you simply because they felt that they could not rely on you ?

Thra Tha Htoo : That is one reason they put forward—that we were too slow and did not work for them and that we did not show them that we could do anything for them. That is why they lost some faith in us.

1215. *Thakin Nu* : If that is their decision, will you still be in a position to represent them and speak for them ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Well, these are only young people who have been misled and misguided. They know nothing about what we have been trying to do for them, and how we have been helping them. They knew something of it, they did not know the whole thing.

1216. *Thakin Nu* : According to Saw Sankey, who has been elected by the people of Papun to serve on the Committee here, Saw Lu Lu and his party were the best party to represent the people of Papun. Do you want to contest that statement ?

Thra Tha Htoo : I have not heard about it.

Saw Sankey : I would like to add " Southern part of Papun ".

Thakin Nu : There was no qualification in Saw Sankey's former statement.

Chairman : That is at the conclusion of the evidence taken on the afternoon on the 14th April.

[U Khin Maung Gale read out the relevant passage].

1217. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : One more question. May I take it from you that your case is this : that the main reason why the Salween District Karens apply for a separate State is that they do not believe the Burmese Government will be able to look after the interests of the Karens adequately ?

Thra Tha Htoo : That is believed by many Karens.—not that they will not be able to look after them but they will not look after them. If they like they are quite able to do so.

1218. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Well, if the Burmese Government at present do show that they are capable of looking after the interests of the Karen people, is there any ground left for the demand for a separate Karen State ?

Thra Thu Htoo : If they can assure the Karens, and if the assurance is not only in words but in practice, I think that a lot of them will be satisfied.

1219. *Thakin Nu* : If definite guarantees are inserted in the future constitution of Burma don't you think that that will be sufficient to convince the Karens ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Well, if they are put in the constitution, and if the minority rights and privileges are really sufficient, I think the Karens will come to terms.

1220. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Do you think it probable that the reason for the change of attitude of the Salween Karen is that they are not satisfied that the Burmese Government will look after the interests of the Karens ?

Thra Tha Htoo : What do you mean by this ?

1221. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Well, this accounts for the change of mind you have noticed in the Salween Karens. Is it not a probable explanation ? It is not that they have been tutored and influenced but that they are satisfied on reconsideration that there is no danger to the Karens in having a united Government.

Thra Tha Htoo : My idea is this: they have been given a one sided view. A one sided view is presented to them, and there were promises that they would be able to enjoy certain privileges without the views of the opposite side. That is why they have changed their minds so quickly and suddenly. They could have sought the advice of other Karens from our side; and if they had done so we could have given them both pros and cons,—both points of view—to join Ministerial Burma or to join the S.C.O.U.H.P. or anything else. We could have explained to them the pros and cons, but they acted in such a hurried way that it aroused our suspicions.

1222. *U Khin Maung Gale* : May I put one question ? According to your statement the meeting was held on the 5th April without your knowledge. Is that not enough to show that the Salween people have utterly cut off affiliation with you ?

Thra Tha Htoo : No, it is not.

1223. *U Khin Maung Gale* : If it is not so, how could Saw Lu Lu, Saw Chittee and Saw T. Po Ku, three of the United Karen Organization put up a note to this Committee, reading thus :—

(U Khin Maung Gale read out the document produced by Saw Lu Lu and submitted to the Committee in his evidence on 14th April.)

Can you, with full authority, say that the seven representatives who came to us a few days ago did not represent the real aims of the district.

Thra Tha Htoo : Unless I have all of them before me, and they testify, I cannot say it.

1224. *U Khin Maung Gale* : But it has already been testified before the Committee and the Chairman.

Thra Tha Htoo : No, but the other people like Saw Chittee and T. Po Ku, we do not know where they signed it, and how they signed it ; and on what document they signed it ; whether it was on blank paper and whether it was signed simply to serve another purpose.

1225. *Chairman* : Is not Saw Chittee the father of Saw Lu Lu.

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, Sir.

1226. *U Khin Maung Gale* : They have brought a letter and it was submitted to the Committee, and it was signed by Saw Chittee and Saw T. Po Ku themselves. Can you say that these signatures were not theirs ?

Thra Tha Htoo : I will not say that. I will not pass any definite remarks before we have another meeting with them. We will reach a well chosen decision by giving them about two months' notice and having all interests properly and fully represented.

1227. *U Khin Maung Gale* : If you are not from Papun District, can you say that you have full authority to say anything about the Papun area ?

Thra Tha Htoo : I am the General Secretary of Karen National Union and the Papun District Organization is affiliated to the Karen National Union.

1228. *U Khin Maung Gale* : You say it is affiliated to the Karen National Union, and you say that you talked to Saw Lu Lu for two hours, but even after that talk they came here and gave evidence, quite contrary to what you advised them in Rangoon ?

Thra Tha Htoo : I did not advise them anything. I just simply explained to them their position.

1229. *Thakin Nu* : Do you mean to say that you could not tutor Saw Lu Lu ?

Thra Tha Htoo : No, I could not.

1230. *Thakin* What were you doing during those two hours ?

Thra Tha Htoo : I was trying to find out what they were going to say, why they came down, and why they stayed in that hotel, instead of staying in our Karen quarters or in Saw Sankey's house as usual. I did not tutor them at all.

1231. *Thakin Nu* : You did not tell them what to say before the Committee?

Thra Tha Htoo : No, I did not.

1232. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tül* : Is it not clear by the action of those who run the Salween Association that they now refute the authority of your Central Organization?

Thra Tha Htoo : It is not a conclusive proof.

1233. *Thakin Nu* : Is it true that your organization, the Karen National Union, is under the influence of a British Bishop, called Bishop West?

Thra Tha Htoo : Absolutely wrong.

1234. *Thakin Nu* : Then is it not true that Saw Ba U Gyi, who is one of your leaders, was appointed a member of the Governor's Executive Council on the recommendation of Bishop West, the Bishop of Rangoon?

Thra Tha Htoo : Absolutely wrong. What happened was this. When one Karen was going to be nominated to the Council, the Governor did not try to get our opinion because we had already sent our minutes up to him. There was the whole record with Saw Ba U Gyi's name recommended and the names of Mahn Ba Khaing and Sir San C. Po. Of the three, Mahn Ba Khaing had served his term, and was not going to be appointed again. Sir San C. Po died. Saw Ba U Gyi was the only available person that had been put up by us. So probably the Governor thought that he had no reason to ask our opinion. Then somebody wrote in the newspaper that the Governor did not care to consult the Karens.

1235. *Chairman* : Which Governor do you mean, the present Governor or the late Governor?

Thra Tha Htoo : The present Governor. Probably it is a coincidence but, after the newspaper letter, Governor asked seven Karens to interview him and asked for their opinions. It so happened that Man James Tung Aung was one of them. But the Governor did not want the opinion of the political parties because he thought that they would be biased. So he sent for people he thought would be unbiased and would give him a true opinion. Saw Ba U Gyi was our candidate, and all the seven, except one, recommended Saw Ba U Gyi. Later on the Governor said that he would send a wire the next morning to Saw Ba U Gyi who was then in London. It had nothing to do with the Bishop or with our organization. It was our seven Karen elders who recommended Saw Ba U Gyi; the one who did not support him, was not against Saw Ba U Gyi, but said that as he was in England at that time, he should finish his work there. He said that he preferred the Governor to accept another Karen rather than Saw Ba U Gyi. But all the other six recommended Saw Ba U Gyi who was also our candidate. So I do not know how the Bishop's name was linked with that.

1236. *Thakin Nu* : Is it true that Bishop West said before your Association that when the Labour Party in England is thrown out—which that Bishop said will be before long—and the Conservative Party is in power, the Conservative Party will patronize your Party?

Thra Tha Htoo : Absolutely wrong. The Bishop never talked to us like that.

1237. *Thakin Nu* : Is it true that your organization is being used by the Conservative Party in England through this very Bishop West to obstruct the march of A.F.P.F.L towards independence?

Thra Tha Htoo : Absolutely wrong.

1238. *Thakin Nu* : Is it true that your organization sent a telegram to Mr. Winston Churchill recently and Mr. Churchill replied to your telegram that he was closely watching your activities?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, but not our activities—he replied that he was watching the interests of all minorities. He said that he was watching closely the interests of the minorities in Burma because we were too meek about it.

1239. *Thakin Nu* : He said that in reply to your telegram?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes.

1240. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : I want to know the present administration of the Papun District. Is it under the Frontier Areas Administration?

Thra Tha Htoo : I think the present administration of Papun district is a very, very peculiar one. To have a District Superintendent of Police as a Deputy Commissioner and no constituency means that it is a Schedule II, Part I Area.

1241. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : The Frontier Areas Administration which has been extended to the Shans, Kachins and Chins is of a type which applies to backward races. Would it not be a good thing if the Karens of the Salween were administered in a more civilized manner?

Thra Tha Htoo : Papun is a hilly region just like the Shan States, Kachin State, or Chin Areas. They are more or less alike in their mentality, in their habit of living and so on. Their education is limited and not as advanced as the people in the delta. Of course you said that the Frontier Areas Administration is meant for backward people, and it is a very poor administration. But now they are trying to have this S.C.O.U.H.P. to bring up the standard of administration and are trying to help these hill people in the best possible way.

1242. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : I take it that you all are more advanced in education than the Kachins?

Thra Tha Htoo : Well, our people in the delta and other regions are, where I think the economic position is better and where they have received education. But in the Papun Area they are not different from Kachins.

1243. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Would you not like to extend to the people of Papun a Government with ministers and a civilized form of constitutional advancement ?

Thra Tha Htoo : When you want to climb a tree you do not start jumping from the bottom to the top.

1244. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpawm* : Is it your view that both the March and April meetings held at Papun were not representative of the Papun people ?

Thra Tha Htoo : The first meeting was well organized when Saw Chittee presided and after it they came down to Rangoon to give evidence before you. But the second meeting I have no information about. It is my strong opinion that it was done in a hurry, and was not representative.

1245. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you aware that a Roman Catholic priest attended the first meeting ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Of course I heard about it in the newspapers when it was published only a few days ago. I know that Roman Catholic priest, he has not got much influence and he is not British. I think the Karens are not so ignorant as to be let by this Roman Catholic priest alone. He is not well educated, I think, and does not know anything about politics. As far as I know, and I know him personally, and have seen him several times, he is only a religious man; he cannot give advice on politics.

1246. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : If so why did he attend ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Probably he attended the meeting because some of our Roman Catholic people requested him to do so.

1247. *U Khin Maung Gale* : On what grounds do you make the statement that the 1st meeting was well represented, and the 2nd not ?

Thra Tha Htoo : For the 1st meeting, they issued notices; they also sent a message to the Central Body that they were going to have a meeting and asked us to send one or two of our representatives.

1248. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Representatives from the Central organizations ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, we sent up Saw Sankey, U Hla Pe, Saw Tha Din and another.

1249. *U Khin Maung Gale* : Please answer this question. Why was the 1st meeting a representative meeting and the 2nd not ?

Thra Tha Htoo : The 1st one was done in a very public way, they gave notices around, and the people at the centre were informed in time to send our own representatives to meet them and give them advice. But 2nd meeting was arranged in such a way that nobody knew about it. Then, there was a very short time between the two meetings.

1250. *Thakin Nu* : You were not present at the second meeting. So how can you know that it was done in a hurry ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Look at the time between the 1st meeting and the 2nd meeting, it was very short.

1251. *Thakin Nu* : But according to Saw Lu Lu, who can speak for the Papun people better than you, at the 1st meeting the French Roman Catholic priest was interfering with their affairs. What are you going to say about that?

Thra Tha Htoo : Saw Lu Lu was present at the 1st meeting. He did not raise any objection. If he were an ignorant villager, I could have excused him, but as he is an educated young man, he should have raised an objection in the meeting; if he was dissatisfied, and asked the Roman Catholic priest to go away, but he did nothing at all.

1252. *Thakin Nu* : Is it not possible that he did not do so because he thought it is improper to protest against the priest in the public?

Thra Tha Htoo : I do not think so. He is not Saw Lu Lu's opinion strongly.

1253. *Chairman* : What is Saw Lu Lu's religion?

Thra Tha Htoo : Saw Lu Lu is a Baptist and would not pay much respect to a Roman Catholic priest.

1254. *The Hon'ble Sawbwa of Mongpaw* : Since the 2nd group of witnesses had given evidence contrary to the 1st group how best do you think that this Committee can get evidence which is a real representation of Papun opinion regarding their future?

Thra Tha Htoo : If there is time of course then we can convene another meeting—and settle it. But we need about two months, or at least over one month because it will take quite a long time to send messages from one place to another, among people in a mountainous region like Papun. If we have time like that I find it helps us to get important information. But the best thing is to send for Saw Chittee and Saw T. Po Ku in the first group again if it is possible. Then we can have here, you see, the answers of both sides. But you are hearing only one side of the story.

1255. *Thakin Nu* : We have heard both sides.

Thra Tha Htoo : Well, say, when both sides come you can weigh the matter in your hands.

1256. *U Khin Maung Gale* : From your statement I understand that you are very anxious about the future of the Salween District and the Papun people. If so why don't you let the Salween join with the plains and work hand in hand with the Ministerial Burma.

Thra Tha Htoo : As Karens, they are our own flesh and blood. Whether they are hill Karens or plains Karens they are all the same, and our interests are the same. We are in Ministerial Burma at present and they are now in the Frontier Areas Administration. But the reason why, you see, we are not very anxious for them to come into Ministerial Burma is this—these people will do better with their fellow hill people and since the Karenni is probably joining the S.C.O.U.H.P., Papun might also join the S.C.O.U.H.P. and not be out of place. They are backward people, make one decision now, and within a few days choose the contrary. You can just imagine how well educated they are. You must have come to certain conclusions that they are a very backward people.

1257. *U Khin Maung Gale* : I want an answer Yes or No. Don't you want them to come in with us. Don't you know that it would be for their salvation if they chose to join with Ministerial Burma ?

Thra Tha Htoo : My opinion is that they would do better with the group of hill people.

1258. *U Khin Maung Gale* : By that I understand that you do not want these people to come into Ministerial Burma and join hands with the plains Karens people to work as part of Burma.

Thra Tha Htoo : Well, personally speaking I have to abide by the decision of the majority.

1259. *U Khin Maung Gale* : I want your personal opinion.

Thra Tha Htoo : My personal opinion is that, at present, as far as I can gather — my knowledge may be limited — they will be better off with the hill groups.

1260. *Chairman* : What is the opinion of the Karen National Union as to the future political development of the hill people ?

Thra Tha Htoo : We had a discussion about this with Saw Chittee before he came down to Rangoon to give evidence. He also wanted to know what the opinion of the Karen National Union was, and our first thought was that they should just mark time and see what Ministerial Burma and the S.C.O.U.H.P. are doing, and then join whichever is more profitable. We did not want them to join in the Panglong Agreement. We had seen the Agreement and it was reasonable to some extent. But we did not know what would come next. According to the opinion of the Karen National Union, the hill people, if they are going to join anyone, should join other hill peoples, so that they can develop themselves among the minorities. We have Kachin, Shan and Chin areas and the Karen area also, and our idea is that if they join anyone, it should be the S.C.O.U.H.P. Karenni, Papun and other Schedule II Areas should join together as an autonomous Karen State. They can join the S.C.O.U.H.P. and federate with Burma proper after settling terms — by the sort of agreement which will benefit them most.

1261. *Chairman* : When you say Schedule II Areas, do you mean the Karen areas east of the Sittang ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes.

1262. *U Khin Maung Gale* : You mean even the areas outside the Salween District ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, I include the areas between Salween District and the Sittang, Toungoo and so on.

1263. *Thakin Nu* : How will you advise your friends in Papun if Ministerial Burma decides in the Constituent Assembly to go out of the British Commonwealth of Nations ?

Thra Tha Htoo : I don't think Burma will go out of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

1264. *Thakin Nu* : But what if it does ?

Thra Tha Htoo : I don't know what to do. It will be very hard for the Karens. They won't like it. In that case, I think, the Karens will remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations—not that the Karens are very fond of British, but that they think they will be more safe in the British Empire. I think probably the Karens are a little bit sentimental too.

1265. *Thakin Nu* : A sentimental attachment for the British ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, something like that. They think it will be more safe ; and probably the British will be able to protect them better than other big nations.

1266. *Chairman* : What do you mean by “ protection ” ? To protect them against the outside world or inside Burma ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Against outside aggression as well as internal oppression or anything like a civil war.

1267. *Thakin Nu* : But could the British protect you when the Japanese came to Burma in the last war ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Of course, during the war what you say is quite true. But at that time the British could not even protect themselves ; but later on they liberated us. It was not really the fault of the British. They were forced to leave.

1268. *Saw Myint Thein* : I understand that the United Karens Organization in Salween District sent some representatives to Panglong. Is that right ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, we sent four representatives. But they were a bit late and nobody knew that Papun District was in the Frontier Areas. So they were not consulted.

1269. *Chairman* : Did the representatives not got there merely as observers ?

1270. *Saw Myint Thein* : Am I to understand that they went there as observers ?

Thra Tha Htoo : They had our instructions.

1271. *Saw Myint Thein* : Who were the representatives ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Saw Sankey was one. Others were U Hla Pe, U Chittee and U Weregaw who attended the Panglong Conference as delegates of the Karen National Union.

1272. *U Vum Ko Hau* : Did they know that Papun was in the Frontier Areas ?

Thra Tha Htoo : They went a bit late and nobody took any notice of them. To put themselves into the Agreement was not proper according to their ideas. They wanted more time to think over the matter. Nobody persuaded them ; nobody thought they were really in the Scheduled Areas.

1273. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : May I explain, Sir, as a member of the Conference ? We were told by the representatives of Salween District that they had no authority to negotiate, and were merely observers.

1274. *Chairman* : Well, Saw Sankey, you were there. Will you clear the matter up for us ?

Saw Sankey : When we went there, the preliminary meeting was over, and we decided to remain as observers.

1275. *U Khin Maung Gale* : But just now you said that they were sent there as delegates. As delegates, they should have mandates, is that not so ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Of course. Their mandate was not to join the S.C.O.U.H.P. at present, because we did not know what the S.C.O.U.H.P. was.

1276. *Chairman* : Would any of you other 3 gentlemen like to say anything ?

[Saw Ba San stood up.]

Would you like to say anything in addition to what the first witness has said ?

Saw Ba San : The Papun Organization was affiliated to Karen National Union. That is the reason why we come here to voice views on their behalf. What we should like to say is that it is not good for them to join Ministerial Burma at present. If you observe their condition, their sudden entry won't be very advantageous to them ; because they cannot advise anything fruitful for Burma proper. What we want them to do is to make themselves acquainted with politics, and, when they are conversant with the subject, they can work for the prosperity of Burma. We want them to consult with the Karenni State, which is their neighbour, and work for their own development. When they have come up to the standard, they can join Ministerial Burma. That is our idea.

1277. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Haven't you heard that when a question was put to Mr. Winston Churchill regarding the application of the Atlantic Charter to such subject countries as Burma and India in East Asia, it was replied to in the negative ?

Thra Tha Htoo : No, I haven't heard that.

1278. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : And haven't you heard that it was also replied to in the negative in respect of other subject countries in the British Empire ?

Thra Tha Htoo : I haven't heard about it, not in an official way. But I think even if Mr. Churchill had said so, we should not take his word as authority.

1279. *Sima Hsinwa Nawng* : Haven't you heard of the negotiations between the Burma Legislative Council and the British Government regarding the Burma-China Road, when the war was on but not then reached Burma ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Well, I must have read something about it in the newspapers, but I have forgotten about it.

1280. *Chairman* : Would any of the others like to say anything ?

Saw Maung Daught : I should like to say something, Sir. The Karens in the Salween District belong to the same race as ourselves. The interests of the people there are the same as ours. It is very proper that they should be in the Frontier Areas. We people in the Delta would like to join the S.C.O.U.H.P. if it is advantageous to do so. Our idea is that the people from Papun, Toungoo and the rest of the areas east of the Sittang River should join and work together in the Frontier Areas Administration. They can develop themselves, and, when they are ripe, they can join Ministerial Burma.

1281. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Then, if Burma proper join the S.C.O.U.H.P. we have achieved the unity which you want ?

Saw Maung Daught : Yes (laughter). We should like to have the various communities, like Chins, Kachins and so on, formed, into various states, and into a federation like the U.S.A.

1282. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you want to say ?

Man J. Tun Aung : We feel that our Karen people in Papun and in the Salween area can co-operate better with the minorities such as Shans, Chins and Kachins than with the Burmese. With due deference to the Burmese Members here, I should like to say frankly that the Burmese people have forfeited the goodwill and confidence of the minorities by the incidents of 1942. Attempts were made in 1942 to exterminate the Karen people, especially in the Delta Area, that is to say in Myaungmya District, and even in Papun. Notices were sent out first to wipe out the Karen Christians wherever they were found. Later a second notice was sent out to wipe out all Karens. We feel very sorry for it. We don't want to have this incident repeated, and by consultation with each other, I think we can come to amicable terms and we are quite willing to make them up. But in the meantime, if our people in Papun Area can join with Shans, Chins and Kachins in S.C.O.U.H.P. and form a minority front and finally come into Ministerial Burma it would be more advantageous for us. That is my opinion and also the opinion of the Karen people in the Delta. The reason why we have come here is simply because the Karens in Papun or Salween Area are our own kith and kin. The question whether they really want to join in the S.C.O.U.H.P. or Ministerial Burma direct, as the *Sawbwa* has asked, is a matter for decision by plebiscite. It should be settled once for all, because there are two parties. And if it cannot be done then, as said by our Joint Secretary, Saw Chittee and Saw T. Po Ku can be summoned to appear before the Committee and tender their evidence. That would clarify the position. As regards the separate Karen State, I should like to say that the people in Salween District were the loudest in their demand for a separate Karen State. So far as the intention of the Karens is concerned, we are not unwilling to negotiate with the present Burmese National Government on equitable terms. But at present we feel that our rights and privileges have not been conceded to us. For instance, if we take the case of State Scholarships, many Burmese students had been sent abroad and I think only one Karen student had been sent. If the Burmese people show their goodwill and fairplay and give more State Scholarships to the Karens, I do not think the Karen people will be unwilling to negotiate.

Not only in State Scholarships but also in other matters too, in the field of economics we find we have been very badly treated by our Burmese brethren. We have not been given wide scope to develop.

1283. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : About State Scholarships, are you aware that the selections are made by a Board appointed not by the present Executive Council, but the late Executive Council ?

Man J. Tun Aung : Yes, we are quite aware of it.

1284. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : And are you aware also that the late Executive Council did not represent the Burmese people, but were appointed because they were convenient to the authorities who were then in power ?

Man J. Tun Aung : May be.

1285. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you aware also that in the recent Conference between the representatives of the Karen National Union and the present Executive Council, the Council gave a definite undertaking that when selections were made in future a full share would be given to the Karens provided they are qualified ?

Man J. Tun Aung : But there is a proviso that they have to be qualified. Unless it is on a population basis, it is not going to be fair. We will get nowhere. It is very difficult for the Karens to compete with the Burmese, when we have to take Burmese as one of the subjects.

1286. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : But, as you are aware that the purpose of State Scholarships is that those who have good educational qualifications should go abroad to enhance their qualifications ?

Man J. Tun Aung : It may be true. But, I think that when you make Burmese one of the compulsory subjects it is very difficult for the Karens to compete with the Burmese.

1287. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you aware that Burmese is only a compulsory subject to qualify for State Scholarships ? Candidates are selected on an interview, not on a competitive examination, but they have to qualify in a preliminary examination.

Man J. Tun Aung : Yes. But I haven't seen any instance where the Karens are given any privilege.

1288. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you aware that in the selection of members of the Currency Board in London, out of two appointments one was given to a Karen ?

Man J. Tun Aung : Yes, but the Government cannot help it, because that one Karen candidate had been sent as a State Scholar to England. It had to select him as there was no choice. There was no option for the Burmese Government.

1289. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you aware that there are many others who had financial and accounts experience who could be appointed if the Government so desire ?

Man J. Tun Aung : But that man was specially trained in accounting in the Reserve Bank, and naturally you had to select him.

1290. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you aware that there have been criticisms in the Burmese newspapers about this appointment ?

Man J. Tun Aung : It shows that the Burmese have no goodwill towards the Karens.

1291. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : But the criticism was on the ground that better qualified people than this Karen were available.

Then about the events of 1942 : Was the alleged extermination entirely confined to Burmese ? I mean, were the Burmese the only people who killed others during the unfortunate events of 1942 ?

Man J. Tun Aung : May be not. I have still got some leaflets with me telling the Burmese to kill the Karens. Whether I should produce them or not I do not know. I feel very reluctant to do so. They were issued and printed at Wakema Press.

1292. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : What I am asking is whether the Burmese were the only people who killed others ?

Man J. Tun Aung : The Karens had to return it. They also killed Burmese. They had to defend themselves.

1293. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you aware that many Burmese villages were raided by Karens not only during the war, but even after the war ?

Man J. Tun Aung : The attacks were made by dacoits. Dacoits have nothing to do with communal affair.

1294. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : But they were Karens. The Karens were also attacking the Burmese. I put it to you that those people who were alleged to have arranged for extermination of Karens were not representative Burmans, but were just the evil elements of the population.

Man J. Tun Aung : But the leaflet was issued by big people, although there were no signatures to it.

1295. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : You see, the point is that there are bad elements everywhere—among Burmese, among Karens and among the British—who want to kill everybody. But you cannot regard them as representative of the Burmese.

Man J. Tun Aung : But the leaflet said that it was through the incitement of the British troops that the Karens started murdering and looting. I have not found the second notice. It was issued under the signature of five people, one of whom was a Japanese officer, and I believe 1 or 2 of them are still alive.

1296. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Do you regard such people as representative of the Burmese people ?

Man J. Tun Aung : Well, to some extent.

1297. *Thakin Nu* : Did not other Burmese strongly condemn the actions of these Burmese in the extermination of the Karens ?

Man J. Tun Aung : I am afraid not. It was not in 1942 or 1943, but only afterwards that the Burmese leaders expressed some regret.

1298. *Thakin Nu* : Do you know that those people, I mean the responsible leaders, were in jail at that time ?

Man J. Tun Aung : I don't think the Hon'ble U Aung San was in jail at that time.

1299. *Thakin Nu* : He was engaged elsewhere at that time with some other business.

Man J. Tun Aung : But he was a Minister then.

1300. *Thakin Nu* : By that time he had strongly condemned those people. Serious efforts were made to condemn these bad Burmese.

Man J. Tun Aung : May be. They might express their regret.

1301. *Thakin Nu* : Not only regret, we tried to tour the Delta Areas with Karen leaders and bring about a reconciliation between the Burmese and the Karens ; and our efforts were very successful.

Saw Maung Daught : I never saw Thakin Nu at that time in the Delta.

1302. *Thakin Nu* : But Saw Ba U Gyi can testify to my presence at that time, because I went along with him.

Saw Ba San : It was only after those incidents they talked to the bad hats, and the views of the Karens are such that some of them cannot forget. But this opinion is confined to those who were actual victims. We are aware of all the activities of Thakin Nu and others at that time as he has said, but they were done only after the events had occurred.

1303. *Thakin Nu* : At that time, when the incidents took place, I was in jail.

Saw Maung Daught : Who arrested you ?

1304. *Thakin Nu* : The British Government arrested me, and put me into jail as a political prisoner. I was at that time in Mandalay, far away from the places where the incidents occurred.

Thra Tha Htoo : There were other leaders at that time, but they did not speak openly to the Burmese. So it shows that Burmese leaders in those days did not have much control over their followers.

1305. *Thakin Nu* : The fact is that these bad Burmese happened to have guns in their hands and the Burmese leaders were afraid to say "stop it". That was the position.

Saw Ba San : We agree with you.

Thra Tha Htoo : And this is the thing which has always been the stumbling block for the Karens in the way of accepting the will of the Burmese Government readily. They feel that this history might repeat itself, and that they might be treated badly again. Such a state of thing is in the minds of the Karens. Therefore, it is very advisable that some definite steps should be taken to display goodwill towards the Karens, because we see only from our Karen point of view. The Burmese may have their own say, but, according to Karens, they are very aggressive.

1306. *Thakin Nu* : Do you know that no such incidents happened when the Japanese ran away from Burma. Was not that a conclusive proof that the incidents were not repeated when the leaders could prevent them ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Well, I think U Aung San did us a very good turn when he placed a Karen battalion in the Delta. It was free from riots after that time and it shows that when Karens have arms they don't commit any aggression.

1307. *Thakin Nu* : Any way, does it not show that the situation will not repeat itself ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes. When we have armed Karens we are more or less safe ; but once we are disarmed our position is not safe.

1308. *Chairman* : Is it not a fact that the new General Officer Commanding the Burmese Army is to be a Karen ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, the first one may be a Karen, but his successor may be Burmese.

1309. *Chairman* : But you can't have a " closed shop ". (Laughter).

Thra Tha Htoo : But still he will be under the control of the Defence Minister.

1310. *Chairman* : But the Burmese are giving you a considerable position in the Army. It shows that they are not ignoring you, Does it not ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Any way, I think they show their goodwill although he was appointed according to seniority. The Karen, Smith Dunn, has been in the service for many years and is a trained man. If Bo Letyar were to supersede Smith Dunn it would be rather glaring, as the former is not a properly trained man.

1311. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Are you aware that selections for the higher appointments are not made in accordance with seniority, but by efficiency ?

Thra Tha Htoo : Don't you think Smith is very efficient ?

1312. *The Hon'ble U Tin Tüt* : Yes, you of course know that there is another officer who is senior to him—Kyadaoe.

Thra Tha Htoo : Yes, I admit that.

1313. *Chairman* : Is there anything else you would like to say gentlemen ?

Witnesses : No, nothing.

[The Chairman thanked the witnesses who then withdrew.]

APPENDIX II.

Unanimous decisions of the Party or Group of Kachin Peoples' Representatives.

1. Kachins to obtain Independence along with the Burmese.
2. To establish a Kachin National State, in accordance with the clear wishes of all the Kachin Nationals to form an Independent Separate Kachin State.
3. The Kachin Independent State should comprise the Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts, Kachin Hill Areas and the plains area to the north of Katha Town, including the areas in the plains.
4. With a system acceptable to both the Burmese and Kachins, the boundaries of the above-mentioned Separate Kachin State should be demarcated immediately.
5. To enable the Kachin people to obtain at once the present Rights and Privileges received by the Burmese now and to take over the Kachin Administration, Rights and Powers from the hands of His Excellency the Governor after the demarcation of the boundaries have been completed, the present Interim Government of Burma should have a Kachin Minister, unanimously elected by the Kachin Nationals or to have one by other means.
 - (a) The said Kachin Minister shall act as the Minister for Home Affairs of the Separate Kachin State.
 - (b) He shall take part in the affairs concerning Foreign (Relation) and Finance.
 - (c) To appoint a Kachin as adviser to the Minister in the Defence Department.
6. The Separate Kachin State as well as the Separate Shan State to participate at once in the Constituent Assembly, to which all the indigenous races of Burma could join, for the immediate attainment of Independence of the whole of Burma.
7. When all the indigenous races of Burma become independent by means of the above-mentioned method, an Independent Federal Government of Burma including the Independent Separate Kachin State shall be formed.

Exception.—

- (a) Whether or not the Separate Kachin State should join the said Federation shall be decided only by the people from that Separate State.
 - (b) After the formation of Federation, the Kachins shall have the right to secede from the said Federation at their will and pleasure without any obstruction if they so desire.
8. The Central Government of Burma shall give such financial aid as required for the Rehabilitation and development of the Kachin State.

9. It is aimed to get also the consent of all other peoples of Frontier Areas to the above unanimous decisions of the Kachin Nationals.

- (1) (Sd.) Sinwa Nawng, Myitkyina.
- (2) „ Htingnan Kunja, Myitkyina.
- (3) „ Zau Naw, Myitkyina.
- (4) „ Zau Rip, Myitkyina.
- (5) „ Karing Naw, Myitkyina.
- (6) „ Dain Ra Tang, Myitkyina.
- (7) „ Chyang Zung, Myitkyina.
- (8) „ Tawng U, Myitkyina.
- (9) „ Zau La, Bhamo.
- (10) „ Zau Lawn, Bhamo.
- (11) „ Maran La, Bhamo.
- (12) „ Labang Grong, Bhamo.

Dated Kutkai, North Hsenwi State, the 1st February 1947.

From the Secretary, Joint Meeting of the Salween and Toungoo Karens, 33, Rifle Range Road, Insein, to the Deputy Director, the Frontier Areas Administration, Secretariat, Rangoon.

I am directed to request you to forward the copies of resolution enclosed to the Representatives of the Shans, the Chins, the Kachins and the people of the Arakan Hill Tracts as I find it difficult to have access to them.

Thanking you.

Meeting of the Representatives of the Karens of the Salween District and Toungoo Excluded Areas at 33, Rifle Range Road, Insein, on 17th March 1947.

That this meeting of the Representatives of the Karens of the Salween District and Toungoo Excluded Areas resolved to protest against the inclusion of Burmese members on the Rees-Williams Commission which is solely to make investigations into the affairs of the Frontier Areas peoples, as they desire to have a free enquiry into their aspirations without being influenced or dictated to by the Burmese and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Representatives of the Shans, the Chins, the Kachins and the people of the Arakan Hill Tracts for information and necessary action.

(Sd.) T. Po Ku,
Secretary.

(Sd.) M. SHWIN,—17-3-47,
Chairman.

From the President, Shwegyin Karen Association, Shwegyin, to His Excellency the Governor of Burma, Rangoon.

SUBJECT.—*Hill Karens wish to be under the direct control of the Governor.*

Herewith attached the resolutions passed by the Shwegyin Karen Association which met at Medaingdaw Village, Kyaukkyi Township, on the 7th March 1947. The Karens of this area wish to be in a distinct Territory under the direct control of the Governor because of the following amongst other reasons :—

1. That 95 per cent of the Karens in this Area are still illiterate at least 90 per cent of whom do not even understand Burmese to an appreciable extent ; the bulk of the population knows nothing about democracy and dictatorship, about communism and fascism, about Dominion Status and Independence ; they realize only that they owe everything to the British and the allies for their present liberation. At present they acknowledge no other master except the British and they still wish to be under the control of the British at least for an indefinite period.

2. That the Karens of this Area do not want to live among their neighbours who are by nature turbulent and rebellious, who never hesitate to commit robbery and dacoity, to carry on strikes and sedition, and who are prone to resort to rowdiness and hooliganism; whereas the Karens want to live in a place where there is orderly administration with good discipline in all of the services ; and that it is their conviction that two peoples of different temperaments and characteristics, and different moral conceptions and ethical principles cannot be paired together under the same yoke of equal weightage.

3. That in the _____ of the Karens, this part of the land, particularly Part I and _____ Areas, was never conquered by the Talaings and Burmese Kings ; they had never paid tributes and taxes to outside monarchs except their own Chiefs called " S'kawa " and to the British later on. Thus they refuse to be included in Burma proper to accept the same system of administration.

4. That the present Burmese leaders have no plans and schemes whatever, not to say of concrete pecuniary help or otherwise, for the development of Part I and Part II Areas educationally, industrially, hygienically and so on. Such leaders with no plans prepared ahead are unfit to look after the interest of a backward people.

5. That if a separate Area is given to the Karens with provincial autonomy in their hands they will prove that they can excel other districts in Burma in the maintenance of law and order, peace and personal security, and in the upkeep of the high tradition of discipline and morale, if not in other respects. In these respects Salween District with only 6 Burmans residing in Papun is leading with a clean record of no dacoity and serious crimes. The Karens want to live in such a place.

6. That during the darkest moments of the Japanese occupation when there was no hope of the reconquest of Burma, the Karens in this Area fanatically threw in their lot with Major Seagrim, D.S.O., by doing everything in their power to form a formidable Spy Ring and powerful organization behind the line. These Karens valued and thought a great

deal of the following letter from General Auchinleck which was read out and translated to them on the 11th December 1943 in the presence of the late Major Seagrim, D.S.O., the late Captain Nimo and the late Captain McCrindle :—

" New Delhi, the 17th November 1943.

' The loyal attitude of the Karens has been reported to me by my officers. Loyalty through so long a time in your difficult and dangerous circumstances is worthy of the highest praise. I know that many of you have borne arms in defence of your country and will bear them again to ensure victory. In the meantime my officers and I do not forget the loyalty of Karenni.'

(Sd.) **AUCHINLECK, General,**
Commander-in-Chief, India

(A similar letter from Lord Louis Mountbatten was also read out at that meeting. Unfortunately it could not be preserved.)

The Karens had fought and died, had sacrificed themselves and were imprisoned, scores of them were punished and tortured, and some of them were executed and sent to Penal Servitude. They feel very bitter to learn eventually that the contents of the above letter are meaningless and such other assurances are empty.

7. And that the Karens of this Area went through a series of bitter experiences during the war attributable to the treachery of some of their crafty neighbours. They shall not forgive and forget the atrocities and rape committed at Papun in April and May 1942, they shall not forget hateful measures of religious intolerance, highhandedness and barbarism committed in certain parts of the Area during the Japanese occupation. Experience has taught them to be cautious and their best safeguard is to establish a Territory of their own where they are given the powers to look after their own interests and manage their own affairs with the option to remain within the British Empire.

These hillmen intuitively realize that a United Burma with 17 millions inhabitants is helpless and hopeless against foreign aggression. Instinct of self-preservation has urged them to clinch to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Karens are bewildered to learn that the British have ignored their promises given during the war and have let them down by delegating power to a leading party to shape their future destiny during such time when their racial existence is seriously threatened. If the British Government have any conscience at all they shall not allow a favoured few who are biased and prejudiced already to dictate terms to an unwilling people.

Under the circumstances the Karens in this Area firmly claim that their right of self-determination be recognized by the concession of a separate Colony for the Karens. If the British fail to honour this great responsibility of theirs the Karens should not be blamed if they think of other alternatives to achieve their legitimate objective.

From SAW MOLO, for Karens of Toungoo Hill Tracts, Trinity Lodge, Steel Road, Toungoo, to Lieut.-Colonel Dr. REES-WILLIAMS, M.P., Chairman of Frontier Areas Enquiry Committee, Government House, Rangoon, dated the 15th March 1947

SUBJECT.—*The humble memorial of the Reverend Saw Molo, Trinity Lodge, Toungoo, in connection with the Toungoo Hill Tracts, Burma.*

I most respectfully beg to avail myself of this rare opportunity on the occasion of your historic arrival in Burma to guide the destiny of the peoples inhabiting the Frontier Areas of Burma and submit the following facts for your kind consideration and necessary action :—

1. Allow me to mention that if one starts from Toungoo and goes to the east on foot for a distance of about forty miles or goes up the Sittang River in a boat, all the Karen villages one sees on the east situated forty miles from the town were, from times immemorial free from any subjugation even in the times of the Burmese Kings.

2. To substantiate my statement in paragraph 1, it will be seen that the Karen villages situated over 40 miles from Toungoo have single names in the Karen language only.

On the other hand, the Karen villages within the radius of 40 miles from the town have two names, one in Karen and one in Burmese. The meaning of the names of these villages are not alike. This shows that the Karen villages having dual names in Burmese were once under the influence of the Burmans whereas the Karen villages with only Karen names were entirely free from all outside control or influences.

An old Karen elder named Thra Kedi of Maw-nwai-gyi Village, 'handaung Township, Toungoo District, once informed me that a famous Karen Township Officer U Myat U, who captured a notorious rascot and his followers, was made to understand that even in the case of villages within 40 miles from Toungoo would be granted internal autonomy but unfortunately this promise made by the British was never materialized.

3. It is evident therefore that if and when Burma proper is independent, the Karen villages which were never under any Foreign rule, should enjoy the same old privilege of liberty and freedom. If the rights and privileges of these Karen villages were overlooked it would be like the case of Abyssinia when Italy ravaged her land. But of late, Abyssinia regains her country and the honour of England remains untainted. In the same way as England "is under a deep debt of gratitude" to the loyalty of these hill peoples, the realization of this in concrete form is to retain the age old freedom of these Karen villages.

4. According to Karen tradition, the white race is the younger brother of the Karens, and when they meet a fight would ensue ; but instead of bullets, delicious food would fall when they meet face to face. On account of this tradition, the Karens longed to meet their white brothers and loved them before they ever dreamed of it.

In Burma it often happens that the rich land-lords engage poor labourers to work for them. In course of time the daughters of these rich men fall in love with the poor workers without the knowledge of their parents. Unconsciously the young couples fall in love and

become husband and wife. In the same way, so to speak, unconsciously under the government of the British who never came to Burma intentionally to rule the Karens. In other words the British never came to conquer the Karens who also never consider themselves a conquered race.

5. I may be pardoned if I mention that I am a Karen Author, well-known all over Burma, among the Karens. I know that the Karens as a peculiar race, desire to live by themselves in a peaceful and quiet way unmolested by other races. They greatly appreciate the protection of the British Government. At the core of their hearts there burns the spirit of freedom and liberty. The Karens on the hills are not politically advanced. When census is taken every ten years, they are afraid that if their actual numbers are known, their children would be forced to join the army or they would be made to pay heavy taxes. I saw with my own eyes how they tried to escape being numbered. In the electoral rolls too, they do not like to have their names enrolled for fear that if they fail to cast their votes, they would receive punishment from the Government. Even in the case of those who are politically advanced to some extent, they still harbour the desire of having their white brothers remain with them to make better roads, to train them in business and to use the waterfalls for electrical purposes.

6. The Karens would rather carry heavy burdens on their backs and reside in malarial infested places than to plunge themselves in the troublous sea of politics. They do not like to find fault with others nor do they like others to interfere in their affairs. Since the time of the British occupation of Burma about a century ago and at the same time of the advance of the missionaries, the Karens on the hills have retained this individuality and peculiarity of living in their shells, so to speak. They are quite happy on the hills, though poor. They still wish to be free and independent.

7. In conclusion, I feel it my bounden duty to lay before you the above facts so that by knowing the real feelings of the hill Karens, you would see your way to guide their destiny by keeping the Karen Hill Tracts of Toungoo still a land of freedom and liberty. I would consider my debt duly paid after having laid down all facts before you to take back to our King and the Members of Parliament.

Endorsement by C. C. G. HARRIS, Esq., for Secretary to the Government of Burma, Frontier Areas Administration, General Administration,—No. 142FA(A)47, dated the 4th April 1947.

A copy of Memorandum, dated the 28th March 1947, from the Secretary, the Karen National Union, Burma, together with its enclosures, is forwarded to the Secretary, Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry, for information.

Minutes of the Mass Meeting of the Karens and Taungthus of Thatôn District, held at Thatôn, on the 9th March 1947, from 1 to 4 p.m.

The Meeting which was presided by Saw Ba Lone, ex-M.L.C., President of the Central Karen-Taungthu Committee, Thatôn District, as Chairman and Saw Ohn Pe Nyunt as Secretary, was attended by about 450 people, mostly representatives from the Townships.

After the Chairman had delivered his opening speech, (1) Saw Tha Din, a Member of the Karen Goodwill Mission to United Kingdom, (2) U Hla Pe of the Karen National Union, Rangoon, (3) U Weregaw, Political Secretary to Saw Ba U Gyi, (4) Thra Yone Hla of Amherst Karen National Association, and (5) U Po To, Chief Adviser to the Thatôn Karen-Taungthu Committee made speeches touching on racial aspiration to self-determination, the need for solid unity and concerted action and resolutions asking for Karen rights at the last Karen Congress Meeting held in Rangoon, Vinton Memorial Hall.

Resolutions.

1. That this meeting wholeheartedly and unanimously supports the following resolutions of the Karen National Union passed at its recent meeting held in Vinton Memorial Hall, Ahlone, Rangoon :—

(1) That, in the forthcoming elections to the Constituent Assembly one Karen seat be given in each of the constituencies in Insein, Tharrawaddy, Pegu, Hanthawaddy, Pyapôn, Tavoy and Mergui Districts.

(2) That, 25 per cent of the total seats in the Governor's Executive Council in the Interim Government be allotted to the Karens.

(3) That, 25 per cent of the total seats in the Interim Legislative be allotted to the Karens.

(4) That, the right of " exclusiveness " at present enjoyed by the Karens serving in the Armed Force be continued.

(5) That, the question of the creation of a Karen State with sea board in the United Burma be accepted in principle.

(6) That, in the future administration of the Country real and definite steps be effectively taken by the Government to have the Karens fully represented in all services on the basis of population.

(7) That, immediately following up the setting up of the Constituent Assembly a true census of the population of Burma to be taken with as little delay as possible.

2. That the authorities concerned be urged to comply with the resolutions (1) to (7) above as passed in the Meeting.

3. That, until compliance with the foregoing resolutions is made by the authorities concerned, Members are not to take part in the forthcoming elections to the Constituent Assembly.

4. That copies of the resolutions passed in this meeting be sent to the Prime Minister of His Excellency the Governor of Burma, Karen National Union and the Governor's Executive Council.

OHN PE NYUNT,
Secretary of the Meeting.

SAW BA LONE,
Chairman of the Meeting.

From SAW YONE HLA, Secretary, Amherst-Karen Association, No. 25A, South Pagoda Road, Moulmein, to the General Secretary, The Karen National Union, No. 5, Loo Nee Street, Rangoon, dated the 18th March 1947.

With reference to your letter, dated the 11th March 1947, forwarding a copy of reply from the Secretary of His Excellency the Governor of Burma, dated the 7th March 1947, in which gist of intimation from the Secretary of State for Burma are contained and for which I acknowledge receipt I am to say that, the communication had been studied and in my Association's opinion, an adequate reply to the points raised by the Secretary of State should be given immediately. The reply should deal with every point raised by the Secretary of State and most especially the one in reference to the advice made for the Karens to participate in the Constituent Assembly to labour on the Karen State question. The Secretary of State may be informed of the fact that the representatives of the Karen National Union or Congress had firstly approached the Governor and secondly the Executive Council and from the reply received from the Executive Council, it is clear that no useful result could be obtained in so far as the Karens' aspiration for a Karen State is concerned, as it had been definitely indicated that even the principle of recognition of a Karen State could not by any means be conceded to, by the Burmese Members of the Executive Council, who are in the majority. Therefore it is a foregone conclusion that the Karen Members, though augmented to 24 in the Constituent Assembly over the previous number twelve, would battle in vain for a Karen State in the face of overwhelming majority of the Burmese votes.

- His Excellency the Governor may be also informed that, knowing the Burmese as the Karens do for centuries and after having adopted constitutional procedure, e.g., the recent Karen interview with the Executive Councillors, the Karen Masses have no confidence in the Constituent Assembly in which the Burmese element will predominate and it is the Karen's wisdom and statesmanship that dedicate to them at this critical juncture to boycott the elections and refrain from participating in the Constituent Assembly.

The Salween United Karen Organization which is affiliated to the Karen National Union, Burma, unanimously resolved that :—

I. We, Salween Karens, definitely decide the Salween District should remain in the Frontier Areas Administration for the following reasons :—

- (i) The Salween District has for the last 60 years been left undeveloped under the Burma Government. Other districts in Burma have been developed. For areas similar to Salween District, the Frontier Service has done very much more for them with the result that the Chins and Kachins are far ahead of us. We therefore consider that we will receive much more benefits by remaining under the Frontier Areas Administration.
- (ii) In the short time this district has been placed in the Frontier Areas Administration our leaders and representatives in Rangoon have received better co-operation in matters of administration and development. The Frontier Service Officers who are specially trained for these areas can more easily appreciate our problems and try to work for us.

(iii) During the Japanese occupation the Karen Leaders of this district were willing to co-operate with the Burmese troops who came to Papun with the assurance to the people that they had come to maintain law and order. Very soon we found that they had come to loot our property, molest our womenfolk and ill-treat and even murder our leaders. Some of us find it difficult to forget these wrongs and we cannot be blamed if we cannot completely trust Burmans to do very much for our welfare and development.

II. We also unanimously elect Saw Sankey, *ex*-Captain Force 136 S.E.A.C., and U Hla Pe, *ex*-Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, to be members of the Rees-Williams Commission on behalf of the Salween District.

III. That this meeting elect Saw T. Po Ku and Saw Darlington as representatives of the Salween Karens to give evidence before the Rees-Williams Commission on behalf of all the Karens in the Salween District.

IV. That these resolutions be submitted to His Excellency the Governor of Burma, through the Deputy Commissioner, Papun, and the Frontier Areas Department, and copies forwarded to Colonel Rees-Williams and the Karen National Union, Rangoon.

(Sd.) T. Po Ku,
Secretary,
Papun, Salween.

(Sd.)
President, U.K.O.
Papun, Salween.

FEDERATED SHAN STATES.

With the institution of Federal Fund the Federated Shan States became financially autonomous. In normal times there was a slight surplus of receipts over expenditure. The Federal Fund was funded as follows :—

(a) By contribution up to 25 per cent of State revenues.

(b) By a contribution from the Government of Burma of a share of receipts on common subjects such as excise, customs, etc.

At present the Federal Fund is held in abeyance. However, accounts are still maintained for the Federated Shan States separately from the rest of the Frontier Areas by the Accounts Officer, Federated Shan States. The constituent States run their own budgets and in normal years make ends meet, though occasionally their Federal contributions have to be reduced. Each of the notified areas maintains its own services funded by taxation within these areas and controlled by the Director, Frontier Areas.

SOUTHERN SHAN STATES.

<i>Area</i> ...	...	36,416 sq. miles.
<i>Population</i> ...	...	927,000.
<i>Population by Race</i> ...	Burma Group	... 152,955 or 16·5%
	Shan and Lolo Moso	... 515,412 or 55·6%
	Indian, Chinese and others	... 18,540 or 2%
	Palaung-Wa	... 50,985 or 5·5%
	Karen	... 192,108 or 20·4%

Composition—

<i>Sawbwas.</i>	<i>Myosas.</i>	<i>Ngwegunhmus.</i>	<i>Notified Areas.</i>
1. Kengtung	1. Nawngwawn	1. Yengan	1. Kalaw
2. Mongnai	2. Nam Hkok	2. Pindaya	2. Taunggyi
3. Yawngnhe	3. Mong Nawng	3. Pangmi	
4. Mong Pai	4. Kehsi Mansam	4. Kyong	Civil Stations—
5. Lawksawk	5. Loilong		
6. Lai Hka	6. Hsatung		Loilem
7. Mawkmai	7. Wanyin		Loimwe
8. Mong Pan	8. Hopong		
9. Mong Pawn	9. Sakoi		
10. Samka	10. Mong Hsu		
11. Mong Kung	11. Hsa Mong Hkam		
	12. Pwela		
	13. Baw		

Brief Review of Economic Position.

In this area as a whole there exists a balanced economy. Certain parts required imports of foodstuffs from outside sources. Portions of Kengtung State habitually imported rice from Siam in return for tea. Similarly in the Myelat Area (Western States bordering on Burma) where agriculture is so exclusively devoted to the cultivation of

potatoes, rice was imported from Burma in return for potatoes. As elsewhere in the Frontier Areas salt and other articles of life have to be imported.

There are no major industries. There were a few extremely fourth-rate wolfram mines on the Mongpai-Pyinmana border while Steel Brothers & Co., Ltd., operated a small lead mine at Bawdwin. In the Yawngwe State the production of cloth on local looms expanded greatly during the Japanese occupation. The cost of these prohibits competition with machine-manufactured imported textiles. Elsewhere small cottage industries exist but these are essentially subsidiary to the normal agricultural pursuits. In the Salween Valley, Messrs. Findlays extract teak, while there are tung plantations. Both these employ a limited number of indigenous persons, well admixed with Siamese nationals. Some 6,000 persons in Kengtung State produce opium as a cash crop but this practice is being brought to an end.

Crops.—Rice, wheat, opium and various types of beans, tung.

Natural Products.—Lac, pine resin and various other natural resins, teak.

NORTHERN SHAN STATES.

<i>Area</i> ...	...	21,400 sq. miles.	
<i>Total Population</i> ...	...	690,000.	
<i>Population by Race</i> ...	Burma Group	...	53,130 or 7·7%
	Shan Lolo Moso	...	333,960 or 62·8%
	Kachins	...	71,070 or 10·3%
	Indian, Chinese and others	...	93,840 or 13·6%
	Palaung Wa	...	138,000 or 20·0%
<i>Composition</i> ...	Hsipaw, Mongmit, Tawnpeng, North Hsenwi, South Hsenwi, Manglun, Kokang.		
<i>Notified Area</i> ...	Lashio.		

1. The Kokang is shown as an independent State. This State is mainly east of the Salween having only three small, and with the exception of the Kunlong waterfront, unimportant areas on the west bank of the Salween. For various confused reasons the Kokang, which is ruled by a Chinese *Myosa* and is very largely populated by Chinese, was included as a sub-State under the *Sawbwa* of North Hsenwi State. This arrangement was far from felicitous; before the last war it became necessary to prohibit the *Sawbwa* from any direct exercise of authority there. Since the war, the Kokang has been recognized as no longer subordinate to North Hsenwi State.

2. The Kachin Hill Tracts of North Hsenwi State pay revenue to, and derive services from, that State but are administered by the Assistant Resident. Considerable success has been achieved in effecting an approachment between the Kachins and the Shans by means of the District Council.

3. The Kachin Hill Tracts of the Kodaung are also administered by the Assistant Resident, direct, though their revenues and services form part of the Tawngpeng State receipts and liabilities.

Brief Review of Economic Position.

Northern Shan States is not self-sufficient, rice being imported from Burma to some *Cis-Salween* Areas and from China in some of the *Trans-Salween* Areas. The main exports are oranges, opium and tea.

The largest industrial concern is the Burma Corporation lead-silver mines at Namtu ; very little indigenous labour is engaged either above or below ground. The Corporation depends almost entirely on Indian and Chinese labour. Apart from revenues paid into the Federal Fund and State treasuries of Momeik and Tawngpeng, very little cash flows *directly* into the hands of indigenous persons. Indigenous labour is employed on the Tung estates but the total is not very large. There are two major cash crops ; tea in the *Cis-Salween* State of Tawngpeng and opium in the *Trans-Salween* Areas of Kokang and Manglun. Tea is not grown on plantations but is produced by individual Palaungs who supply the brokers and contract with Messrs. Bombay-Burma Corporation, Limited. Opium is almost a Chinese monopoly. Large quantities are bought by Government or by the States, while a not inconsiderable portion is smuggled to China. Some indigenous labour is employed on three tung plantations while Momeik State has a certain amount of teak forest. As can be seen the majority of the people are agriculturists.

The people may be divided into two main groups, the wealthier mainly Shans, who live in valleys and the poorer, who include Kachins, Palaungs and Chinese, who live in the hills. The hill areas balance their economy by producing tea and opium as noted above and also by mule breeding and caravanning which is a large industry among the Chinese. Only the Kachins lack such assistance and they depend for a cash surplus on casual cooly work.

Crops.—Rice, tung, opium, tea, oranges, beans.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,

*Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.*

FEDERATED SHAN STATES.

Communications. Roads.—These are divided into two types—Federal and State. An extremely good network of tarred and gravel roads was maintained by Federation before the war. Since the cessation of the hostilities efforts have been and are being taken to restore the dilapidation due to neglect and military activities. The State networks are supplementary and very much smaller in scope than the federal works. It must be remembered that there are large areas in the Shan States where wheeled traffic cannot pass, and where coolies or draught animals are the only transport.

Water.—The biggest river in the Shan States is the Salween. Owing to its swiftness and to the hazards that impede its course, it is not navigable save on short disconnected stretches. Similarly too, the Shweli and the Namtu are useless. The only water which features strongly as a line of communication and in fact as a very major feature of life itself, is the Inle Lake with its continuation up to Loikaw.

Railways.—There are two feeder lines, one from Mandalay to Lashio and the other from Thazi to Shwenyaung, 11 miles from Taunggyi. The latter has now been re-opened as far as Heho, 21 miles from Taunggyi. It is hoped that Shwenyaung will be reached by June 1947.

A great bar to the rehabilitation of the Lashio line was the destruction of the Gokteik Viaduct. It is understood, however, that by some means Burma Railways have managed to get locomotives over on the eastern side of Gokteik and propose to start running in a limited way to Lashio by the end of September. While the Viaduct remains unrepaired it will be necessary to tranship all goods by lorry over the gap, a not freight-fully economic business. Moreover, the amount of freight that can be carried is further limited by the number of rolling stock found abandoned and serviceable on the eastern side of the gorge. While the Burma Railways gives as a tentative target date, May 1949, as the date for the complete rehabilitation of this line, by experiments and makeshift the monthly tonnage should achieve a respectable figure before that date.

Some 20 miles of track were laid beyond Lashio to the eastwards on the alignment of the China-Burma Railway, while the earthwork has been completed up to the Salween, a total of some 56 miles.

Namtu-Burma Corporation maintains a private narrow gauge railway from Nam Yao to Namtu.

Airways.—There are maintained air strips for Dakota aircraft at Lashio, Heho and Kengtung.

Postal Communication.—There is a postal service to all the main towns on the motor roads. Public telegraphic facilities do not exist except at Naungkio, Kyaukme, Hsipaw, Namtu, Lashio (Northern Shan States) and Kalaw and Taunggyi (Southern Shan States).

Medical.—There are at present 24 hospitals in the Federated Shan States providing 807 beds. All are under the control of the Chief Medical Officer, Frontier Areas Administration and the immediate superintendence of the Civil Surgeons, Lashio and Taunggyi. While some are paid for out of Federation Funds, expenses of others are met from the revenues of the State or States which they serve. A proposal has been approved by the *Sawbwas* for a centralized budget. This is a volte-face on their part for it was only in 1935, after repeated requests by the *Sawbwas* that the medical services were decentralized. The Frontier Constabulary outpost doctors also carry out civil duties by agreement with the Deputy Inspector-General, Frontier Constabulary.

The work of the missions reinforces that of the official hospitals. In the north Dr. Seagrave bases his work on Namhkam. It might be remarked that a recent letter from him bore the heading "American Medical Centre for Burma Frontier Areas" with a New York address. The Namhkam Hospital is also a nurses training centre for girls from all over the Frontier Areas. The Administration contributes considerably towards its maintenance.

In the South, the R.C.M. maintains a large leper asylum at Panglong.

There are also 9 dispensaries in the Federated Shan States.

The duality in the medical services is carried on into Public Health also. There is a Public Health Officer who controls the Notified Areas and offers advice to the States.

Education.—Education in the Northern Shan States, the Southern Shan States and Karenni is under the direction of the Chief Education Officer, Federated Shan States. The grants-in-aid system has not been

revived, but in spite of this many private educational institutions carry on their work without financial aid from Government. Schools in the Federated Shan States fall into three categories, namely, those maintained by the Federation, those maintained by the States, and those maintained by private educational institutions like the A.B.M. and R.C.M. The Chief Education Officer, Federated Shan States, has proposed that an Education Committee be set up as a first step towards the formulation of a long-term educational policy for the Federated Shan States. The Committee will consist of officials and non-officials, *Saophas* and non-*Saophas* and a meeting of the Committee will be convened about May 1947. Meanwhile the Chief Education Officer, Federated Shan States, has formulated an excellent interim Village Teachers Training Scheme which is an entirely non-official enterprise. The cost of training teachers will be borne by the villagers themselves and the scheme will ensure an adequate supply of teachers for village schools. It is hoped that the scheme will receive the support and response it undoubtedly deserves.

Monastic education among the Shans and Palaungs is a feature not found in the areas occupied by animists.

J. POO NYO,
Secretary (Dev.)

P. T. BARTON,
*Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.*

Comment by the *Sawbwa* of Mongpaw on Frontier Areas Administration Note on "Medical" in the Federated Shan States.

When Federation was started in 1922, the States contributed 40 to 50 per cent of their revenues for centralized subjects which included "Medical". From 1922 to 1935, other than in the Notified Areas and Civil Stations, Federation maintained only 6 Civil Hospitals, 5 Dispensaries and 3 Itinerant Dispensaries at a total cost of Rs. 1,00,000 (Rupees one lakh) a year. Many State and sub-State headquarters had no medical facilities. When "Medical" was returned to State control in 1935, hospitals and dispensaries were opened in most of the States and the amount spent on "Medical" was considerably increased.

In July 1946 at the *Sawbwa's* Meeting in Taunggyi, Dr. Lapping, Chief Medical Officer, Frontier Areas Administration, presented a scheme providing for the minimum medical and public health requirements in the Shan States. According to this scheme, hospitals within the Notified Areas as well as those in the States will be brought under a Shan States Medical Council. Dr. Seagrave, the Consultant Surgeon to the *Sawbwaw*s, also recommended the consideration of this scheme. Owing to the urgency of medical and public health needs after the war and the fact that Federal subjects will come under the Counsellor, Frontier Areas Administration, before the Shan States Executive Council function, the *Sawbwaw*s and peoples' representatives at their meeting in Taunggyi in February 1947 approved of the proposed centralized system. The proposed annual expenditure for this scheme is estimated at Rs. 20,00,000 (Rupees twenty lakhs).

(Sd.) SAO SAM HTUN,
Sawbwa of Mongpaw.

WA STATES.

<i>Area</i> ...	...	2,600 sq. miles.
<i>Population</i> ...	...	83,000
<i>Population by Race</i> ...	...	Not known. Mainly Wa.
<i>Composition</i> ...	...	Numerous Statelets.

Brief Review of Economic Position.

There are no major industries in this area, although deserted and largely worked out lead-silver mines exist in the north at Lufang. The population is largely agriculturist, producing rice and opium. The latter is a very important crop in the area ; part of the outturn is purchased by Government while a part is smuggled to China. A very small subsidiary industry is mule breeding and caravanning which, as elsewhere, is in the hands of the Chinese.

Financial Position.—While the States do to a certain extent provide services out of their own funds, they are at a much lower stage of development than the Shan States. They pay no contribution to central revenues and the pay of administrative officers, medical and police services is met by the Frontier Areas Administration.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,
Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.

WA STATES.

Communications. Roads.—In 1941 there was constructed a motor road from Kumlong eastwards along the north bank of the Nam Tong to the Chinese border. This was in connection with the China-Burma Railway construction. Now this road is of use to the Wa States, running as it does along their northern border. A branch road of a fair weather standard has been made seven miles into the Wa States.

For the rest mule tracks are the links between village and village.

Posts and Telegraphs.—There are no post offices but mails are accepted and distributed if addressed care of the Administrative Officers. The only telegraphic links are provided by the water transport detachments.

Medical.—The only medical facilities are those provided by the Frontier Constabulary outpost Medical Officers and by the itinerant Chinese practitioners (non-certificated).

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,
Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.

Education.—There is no organized education service in the Wa States. Most Chinese villages run a private school while Palaungs send their children to the monastery.

(Sd.) J. Foo Nyo,
Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.

MYITKYINA DISTRICT.

<i>Area</i> ...	19,762	sq. miles	(excluding the Triangle not measured).
<i>Total Population</i> ...	298,000	*	
<i>Part I Population</i> ...	189,000		
<i>Part II Population</i> ...	109,000		
<i>Population by Race</i> ...	Burma Group	...	40,230 or 13·5%
	Kachin	...	157,642 or 52·9%
	Shan, Lolo Moso	...	76,586 or 25·7%
	Indian, Chinese and others	...	23,542 or 6·9%
<i>Composition</i> ...	Includes Hkamti Long Shan State.		

Brief Review of Economic Position.

The Part II Areas are largely self-sufficient, while Part I Areas, which form the largest part of the district, are deficit ones. Only Hkamti Long State and part of Hukawng Valley enjoys a surplus in some measure. There are no industries with the exception of the jade and amber mines where the majority of the labour is immigrant Chinese. Certain forest products such as canes and teak are exported from this district. As a whole population is agriculturist requiring considerable imports of all commodities from Burma.

Crops.—Rice and maize.

Financial Position.—As elsewhere, the Part I Areas run at a loss.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,

*Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.*

MYITKYINA DISTRICT.

Communications. Roads.—The most famous road is the Ledo-Myitkyina-Bhamo stretch of the Ledo Road. At present this is being maintained only as far as Shingbwiayang, the mountain section through to India being let drop. At present the whole road is in fact passable to motor transport. A further major wartime road is the Tengchung Cut, eastwards from Myitkyina to Tengchung (Tengyueh). This is only being maintained for internal administrative purposes. Passable motor roads lead up to the foothill jumping off place of each major mile tract. The Myitkyina-Sumprabum Road is open to light motor

* FOOT-NOTE.—The total number of Kachin population shown for the Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts does not seem to be correct.

Enumeration of the census is said never to have been complete in the Kachin Hills on account of physical difficulties. Villages in the Kachin Hills are isolated and in some cases are alleged never to have been visited by officials.

I am of opinion that the approximate Kachin population in the Bhamo and Myitkyina Districts is 500,000.

(Sd.) HSWA NAWNG.

transport while the road northwards to Putao was jeepable when this area was an operational one. The road is not entirely closed now, though it is reported that the journey is a very breath-taking one.

Off these few roads, certain tracks are maintained by the Deputy Commissioner's Local Fund, while others are the responsibility of the villagers.

Waterways.—As remarked with regard to Bhamo, north of that place the navigation of the river is hardly an economic proposition. The Irrawaddy does take small country craft and does permit the extraction of a considerable quantity of forest produce,—teak, cane, etc., which is rafted away.

Railways.—A rail service already exists between Myitkyina and Naba, while the Burma Railways state that they hope to have through running from Sagaing by March 1948. Through running from Rangoon is contingent on the Ava Bridge being repaired, the target date for which is June 1949. It must be emphasized that all dates given on this note concerning the Burma Railways are extremely tentative.

Airways.—Myitkyina is a maze of airstrips, relics of the American occupation. It is planned to maintain one permanently.

This Administration also maintains, up to light plane standard, a natural strip at Putao.

Posts and Telegraphs.—Regular mail services exist but the inter-station wireless telegraphic system is open only to official correspondents. A public telegraphic service is in operation from Myitkyina Town to other districts.

Medical.—There are six hospitals providing a total of 226 beds located at Myitkyina, Putao, Sumprabum, Kajihtu, Laukhaung and Kamaing, while there are static dispensaries in Sadon and Yubang Ga. There is also a mobile dispensary in Htawgaw. It sounds as though the medical facilities in these hills are not too bad, but bad communications militate against more than the minority, who live near the hospitals, fully benefiting from the services available. The fever case who lives 50 miles from the hospital is going to content himself with opium pills or herbal remedies, while anyone more seriously ill must be *in extremis* before he or she will be carried in. This is partly reluctance on the part of the family to incur the considerable expense but there must be many many cases of death due, not to the parsimony of relations, but to the fact that immediate and vital tasks in the village cycle of life have absorbed all labour, leaving no surplus to transport the invalid.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,
Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.

Education.—The Kachins have emphatically asked for the provision of increased educational facilities. The Kachin District Council has reiterated its requests for more schools and teachers. Everything possible is being done to encourage education. The system of Boarding Grants has been revived. A sum of Rs. 31,660 has been sanctioned for the payment of Boarding Grants to Schools in the Kachin Hill Tracts of the Myitkyina District during 1946-47. Inspection work is at present carried out by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Myitkyina Hills.

The question of what Inspection staff the Kachin Hills should have is under consideration by the Director of Public Instruction, Burma. A provision of Rs. 350 has been made for the award of school stipends during 1946-47.

(Sd.) J. Poo Nyo,
Secretary (Dev.),
Frontier Areas Administration

BHAMO DISTRICT.

Area	...	...	4,148 sq. miles.
Total Population	...	...	129,000
Part I Population	...	...	52,000
Part II Population	...	...	77,000
Population by Race	...	Burma Group	...
		Kachin	...
		Shan	...
		Indian, Chinese and others	...
Composition	...	Includes Namwan assigned tract.	

Brief Review of Economic Position.

The Part I Areas are dependant upon imports from the Part II Areas. There are no industries in the Part I Areas except a limited amount of rubber extraction in which the hill tribes do not feature largely. Exports of coffee and the mule business provide a small amount of cash. The latter industry is monopolized by the Chinese. Both Part I and Part II Areas require imports of other essential commodities including salt, textiles and hardwares from Burma.

Crops.—Rice and maize.

Natural Production.—Teak and canes run at a loss to Government.

Financial Position.—The Part I Areas run at a loss to Government.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,
Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.

BHAMO DISTRICT.

Communications. Roads.—The Part I Areas are traversed by the Stillwell Road which links Bhamo to the Shan States and is the only alternative means of communication to the Irrawaddy River. This road is a constant source of anxiety owing to terrain through which it passes. During the rains it is often closed owing to landslides. Nevertheless it is a valuable and a vital link.

Partly through the efforts of the United States Army and partly through those of CAS(B) and the Civil Government, the road up to Sinlunkaba (Subdivisional Headquarters of the major Part I Area of this district) can now be reached by jeep.

One further motor road has been constructed in the last months from Pangkham to Lweje, where the existing mule track has been made up to 15-cwt. standard. Northwards from Bhamo Town the Stillwell Road passes to Myitkyina through level country which only occasionally is a Part I Area.

All other roads are mule tracks only. Certain are maintained by Public Works Departments but the majority are maintained as a village duty though in specific cases of difficulty financial assistance is sometimes given. In considering the communications of this district, it is important to remember that the main road cuts there the Namwan Assigned Tract. It would be difficult to realign the road so that it traversed unequivocally Burmese territory.

The Kachin Hill Tracts of Shwegu Subdivision are still in the dark ages of transport, depending only on mule tracks.

Waterways.—The most economic line of communication in Bhamo District is the Irrawaddy River. The launch services between Bhamo and Mandalay are becoming increasingly more frequent. Bhamo must be considered a limit beyond which the Irrawaddy is not economically navigable.

Airways.—Bhamo air strip is maintained. It is at present being used by the Chinese National Airways as a stopping place on their Kunming-Calcutta flight.

Postal Communication.—A weekly air mail service to and from Rangoon *via* Myitkyina has just been introduced by the R.A.F. It is open to the public.

Bhamo has a public telegraph office but communications between the outstations and Bhamo is by means of the Frontier Wireless Company or runner. Steps are being taken for line communication to Sinlunkaba.

Medical.—The only hospitals in Part I Areas are those at Sinlunkaba and Kaithik, but Bhamo Civil Hospital also caters for Part I people. The total number of beds is 88. The hospitals at Shwegu and Myothit cater for quite a number of inhabitants of Part I Area.

A serious problem in the Kachin Hills is the incidence of venereal disease, to combat which there are now four medical teams operating in this district. It is hoped to continue this useful work in Myitkyina District after the Bhamo Hills have been covered.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,

*Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.*

Education.—It is hoped to issue sanction shortly for the payment of boarding grants to schools in the Kachin Hill Tracts of the Bhamo District. The question of recognizing the schools that have been opened is also under consideration. District Councils and Subdivisional Councils are insistent in their demands for education. Every effort is being made to meet these demands. It is hoped that when a Chief Education Officer is appointed for the Frontier Areas educational progress will be considerably speeded up.

(Sd.) J. POO NYO,

*Secretary (Dev.),
Frontier Areas Administration.*

CHIN HILLS DISTRICT.

<i>Area</i> ...	...	10,377 Square miles.
<i>Total Population</i> ...	...	1,86,000
<i>Population by Race</i> ...	Chin ...	1,83,768 or 98·8%
	Others ...	2,232 or 1·2%

Brief Review of Economic Position.

This area is deficit requiring from the plains of Burma a minimum of two months supply of rice per year. There are no exports and no industry. Population is entirely agriculturist.

Crops.—Rice, maize, millets and some varieties of tubers.

Financial position.—Large assistance from Government is required.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,

*Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.*

Communications.—Roads.—During the 1939—45 war a motor road was constructed from Imphal to Tiddim but it ceased to be maintained after the battle had swept on. It would not be a feasible road under peacetime conditions without an entirely uneconomic outlay of money.

A further war time construction is the road from Tiddim to Ft. White and down to Kalemio. This, like every other road in this area was but a mule track before the war. It is now being maintained. Work is also in progress to bring the Ft. White-Falam road up to a motorable standard. It will not be possible for sometime to reach Falam itself owing to the magnitude of the task involved in crossing the Manipur River valley but this work will bring road head only 18 miles from Falam instead of the erstwhile 50.

The whole district is traversed by a comprehensive system of well graded mule roads. Some of these are maintained by the Public Works Department but mostly it is the duty of each village-tract to maintain the chief tracks within its area.

Railways.—Nil.

Waterways.—The northern part of the Chin Hills is cut longitudinally by the Manipur River which drains into the Chindwin, while the southern parts are in the drainage of the Lemro and Kaladan Rivers which flow into the Bay of Bengal. None of these is navigable.

The main line of communication from Burma is *via* Kalewa and the Chindwin, the land route up the Gangaw Valley from Pakôkku being of importance only in the extremely south.

Airways.—It is hoped that an airstrip out of the Kalemio group may be kept maintained.

Posts and Telegraphs.—Postal services exist but there is no telegraph. Detachment of the Frontier Wireless Company transmit Government messages.

Medical.—There are hospitals at each Subdivisional headquarters namely, Tiddim, Haka and Kanpetlet while Falam is the Civil Surgeon's headquarter from which an extra Sub-Assistant Surgeon can always

be deputed in times of epidemic. The R. C. M. maintains a small dispensary in the Kanpetlet Subdivision to which the Government gives financial aid. The total number of beds is 70.

There is a real need for more medical facilities in this district. At least one more static hospital is needed while each hospital should form the base from which one travelling dispensary could work. The extent of the problem is indicated by the road distances between each hospital, *viz.* Tiddim-Falam 75, Falam-Haka 32, Haka-Kanpetlet 224.

Vaccinators tour the villages vaccinating against small-pox while in times of epidemic Sub-Assistant Surgeons visit the infected areas and provide prophylaxis.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,

*Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.*

Education.—Whatever it may be in theory, it is in practice primary compulsory education in the Chin Hills. The desire for education is widespread. Councils have been unanimous in their request that a middle school be opened in each subdivision. Burmese is favoured by the Chins as the medium of instruction, as it is believed that a knowledge of Burmese will help in trade relations with Burma proper. Two Government Middle Schools exist at Falam and Tiddim. There is an excellent private Post Primary School in the Siyin Valley and the question of granting financial aid to this school is under consideration. The work of inspection is carried out by an Assistant Inspector of Schools, a Deputy Inspector of Schools and two Sub-Inspectors of Schools. It is proposed that these two Sub-Inspectors of Schools should eventually be replaced by Deputy Inspectors of Schools possessing higher academic and professional qualifications in order to raise the standard of education in this area. A sum of Rs. 800 has been placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioner, Falam, for the award of school stipends during 1946-47. Several Chin Boys are also being educated in schools and colleges in Rangoon and the cost of their education is being met by the Frontier Areas Administration.

(Sd.) J. Poo NYO,

*Secretary, (Dev.),
Frontier Areas Administration.*

ARAKAN HILLS DISTRICT.

<i>Area</i>	...	...	3,543 sq. miles.
<i>Total Population</i>	...	...	34,000
<i>Population by Race</i>	...	Burma Group	... 3,570 or 10.5%
		Chin	... 25,772 or 75.8%
		Others	... 4,624 or 13.6%

Brief Review of Economic Position.

The population is exceptionally backward and agriculturist by occupation. Their economy is balanced by the import of rice from Akyab, thus offsetting their annual shortage. In the deep valleys there

is a small but remunerative tea planting industry but apart from this no major cash crop is grown. There are no industries apart from hand weaving and similar crafts which supply the producers only. Despite the fact that active operations were in progress for several years of the war in Arakan proper, these hills have been largely unaffected. The aftermath of war, evidenced by dacoities from Arakan and incursions from the wild tribes of the Chin Hills hinterland, has made itself felt to a certain extent.

Salt and all other commodities are imported from Akyab.

Crops.—Rice, tea, a little maize and millet and varieties of tubers.

Financial Position.—The revenues are extremely slight. Consequently, the Government has to provide from the central revenues sufficient to fund the essential services.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,

*Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.*

Communications.—Roads.—There are no motor roads while the mule tracks are far from good. Even journeys on foot eastwards into Burma proper are virtually confined to the dry weather.

Waterways.—The sole reliable means of communication with the outside world is by water to Akyab. A weekly service is run at the moment.

Posts and Telegraphs.—A public telegraph service exists while the weekly boat carries the mails to Akyab.

Medical.—There is a small hospital of 24 beds at the headquarters of the district, Paletwa. The inhabitants have petitioned for a travelling dispensary which indeed is desirable in every subdivision of the Frontier Areas.

Vaccination against small-pox is provided by an itinerant Government Vaccinator but it should be remembered that all over the Frontier Areas the incidence of successful vaccination is unduly low owing to the poorness of communications and consequent staleness of the lymph.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,

*Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.*

Education.—Of the 4 pre-war schools in the Arakan Hill Tracts only 2, the middle school at Paletwa and the Primary school at Daletme are functioning. Qualified teachers are hardly available, and as a temporary measure permission has been given for uncertificated men of suitable educational qualifications to be employed until replaceable by qualified persons. There is also an acute shortage of school equipment. Inspection work is carried out temporarily by the Inspector of Schools, Akyab. The Director of Public Instruction, Burma, has under consideration the question of having a separate Deputy Inspector of Schools for the Arakan Hill Tracts. Most of the inhabitants of the Aarkan Hill Tracts speak no written language and Haka Chin has been suggested at the medium of instruction against the day when the Arakan Hill Tracts will become a subdivision of the Chin Hills

District. The inhabitants of the Arakan Hill Tracts have evinced a growing desire for education. The Assistant Resident, Arakan Hill Tracts, proposed that 12 primary schools should be opened but the Director of Public Instruction, Burma, has cautioned that the opening of these schools be spread out for the next two years. Recently a deputation waited on Secretary (Development) and represented that the middle school at Paletwa be raised to the status of a High School, and that more schools be opened.

A sum of Rs. 1,525 for the award of school stipends during 1946-47 has been placed at the disposal of the Superintendent, Arakan Hill Tracts.

(Sd.) J. Poo Nyo,
Secretary (Dev.),
Frontier Areas Administration.

NAGA HILLS DISTRICT.

<i>Area</i> ...	...	5,895 sq. miles excluding Homalin (Part II) Subdivision.
<i>Total Population</i> ...	...	840,000 + Homalin approximately 48,000 = 1,32,000
<i>Population by Race (Part I Area only)</i>		
... Naga	...	71,736 or 85.4%
... Tai	...	12,264 or 14.6%
<i>Composition</i> ...	...	Includes Thaugdut and Singkaling Hkamti Shan States.

Brief Review of Economic Position.

There are no major industries in this district. As a whole the internal economy is balanced with rice from Homalin Subdivision (Part II Area) and Thaugdut and Singkaling Hkamati Shan States meeting the shortage in Naga Hills and Somra Tract, leaving a slight exportable surplus. This is a considerable wet tea export but the majority comes from the Part II Area of Homalin. The population is entirely agriculturist.

Crops.—Rice and tea.

Natural Products.—Cane, teak and bamboo.

Financial Position—The Shan States are poor but manage to get along without any considerable outside assistance. The hills run at a loss which will increase as these areas become more arid for public services. Considerable revenue accrues from forest products in the Part II Homalin Subdivision.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,
Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.

NAGA HILLS DISTRICT.

Communications.—Roads.—This district is inaccessible to any wheeled transport. Mule tracks do not yet form a very complete network, and many of the trails are suitable only for pedestrians.

The Chindwin is navigable for small launches as far as Singkaling Hkamti while the I.F. Company have re-inaugurated a regular service to Homalin (Part II).

The administration is maintaining a light air strip at Singkaling.

Telegraphic services exist between Homalin and the rest of Burma while communications between outstations and headquarters is at present only by runner.

Medical.—There is at present no doctor anywhere in the Part I portion of this district, all medical provision being given by the Sub-Assistant Surgeon in Homalin. However, it is proposed to open two hospitals as soon as personnel can be found.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,

*Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.*

Education.—There are only three Primary Schools in the Naga Hills District. The Deputy Inspector of Schools, Mawlaik, carries out the work of inspection of these schools in addition to his other duties. The Director of Public Instruction, Burma, has under consideration the question of having a separate Deputy Inspector of Schools for the Naga Hills District. As elsewhere in the Frontier Areas, lack of schools and teachers retards the growth of education. A sum of Rs. 1,460 has been placed at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills District for the award of stipends during 1946-47. Homalin Subdivision being a Part II Scheduled area is not under the administrative control of the Frontier Areas Administration.

(Sd.) J. Poo Nyo,

*Secretary (Dev.),
Frontier Areas Administration.*

KARENNI.

<i>Area</i> ...	...	4,519 sq. miles	
<i>Total Population</i> ...	...	70,000	
<i>Population by Race</i> ...	...	Burma Group	— 2,660 or 3·8%
		Shan ...	... 13,580 or 19·4%
		Karen ...	... 51,310 or 73·3%
		Others ...	... 2,450 or 3·5%
<i>Composition</i> ...	...	Kyebogyi Kantarawaddy Bawlake.	
<i>Status</i> ...	...	Not British Burma.	

Brief Review of Economic Position.

The population of Karenni is almost entirely agriculturist. The labour employed in Mawchi Mines is 75 per cent Gurkha, Karens being employed mainly in timber and tributary ore production. Quite a few of the Gurkhas employed are Karen nationals by birth. Apart from the considerable revenues paid by the Mawchi Mines to Bawlake and Kantarawaddy States, little money flows *directly* from the Mines to the Karens. In normal times the Karenni States were nearly self-sufficient but there always existed a slight deficit. There was considerable import from Burma *via* the Inle Lake of all commodities including salt and rice. Exports were confined almost entirely to wolfram.

At present due to ravages of war largely due to their loyalty Kareni almost entirely depends on outside sources. There is a general shortage both of rice and other commodities and money.

Crops.—Rice.

Financial Position.—Prior to the war these States were able to balance their budgets. Karenni never received back from Burma any revenue from centralized subjects.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,
Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.

KARENNI.

Communications.—Roads.—The road net is "T" shaped, the upright of the "T" going east and west through Mawchi to Toungoo, while the arm northwards stretches from Kemapyu on the Salween dividing into 2 round the Inle Lake depression. The western branch goes to Kalaw while the eastern and far better one goes to Taunggyi. From Kemapyu the Japanese continued the road over into Siam. The eastern bank of the Salween extremely sparsely populated and the terrain is wild and difficult. Only the exigencies of war could justify such a road being built and maintained. Possibly the most important of these roads is the Loikaw-Toungoo one which is partly the private property of Mawchi Mines.

Waterways.—As noted above, the Inle Lake water system continues through to Loikaw.

Railways.—Nil.

Airways.—Nil.

Medical Provisions.—The facilities are best subdivided into those provided by the Mawchi Mines Company and the rest. In the mine area there are three dispensaries and one hospital maintained by the mine and intended primarily for mine^s personnel.

There is a 22 bed hospital at Loikaw which is funded by the Karen States while the R.C.M. maintain three dispensaries.

Vaccinators are employed.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON,
Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.

Education.—The Chief Education Officer, Federated Shan States, is also in charge of education in Karenni. Prior to evacuation there were two recognized schools teaching up to the 7th standard in Karenni, namely, the State school with 220 pupils and the aided A.B.M. School with 140 pupils. There was also an unaided R.C.M. "English" school. There were besides 25 State Village Schools and 1 R.C.M. and 2 other unrecognized village schools. A new Government school is now being constructed at Loikaw. The Mawchi Mines Company which formerly maintained a school at Kuku is no longer able to do so, and this administration has under consideration the question of taking this school.

J. Poo Nyo,
Secretary (Dev.),
Frontier Areas Administration.

The Economic Position of Salween District.

According to the available figures the population of Salween District is about 57,000 working out at 21 per square mile and except for about a couple of thousands who are Shans the rest of the population is all Karen. The country is mainly mountainous which means that paddy cultivation on a large scale is not possible. There are however wet paddy fields along the valley of Yunzalin River. The paddy produced from the wet fields in this valley is however not sufficient to meet the demands of the whole district. In normal times the paddy produced in the hill *Taungyas* and the wet paddy fields was just sufficient for local consumption. The ravages of the late war have however made the district a deficit area as far as rice is concerned and rice supplies had to be and are still being made by Government.

The district has to depend on outside sources for all essential commodities. The people being Karens live mainly in the hills and their needs are few and simple. Therefore even now the hill Karens of Salween District prefer to weave their own clothes from imported yarn.

The district however has great potential wealth in its forests produce mainly teak and bamboo. Although teak has been worked there for several generations it does not appear that bamboo has been exploited fully for commercial purposes.

There is only one main road in the district and this road links Papun the Headquarters of the District with the outside world. Even this road has only a continuation of Kyauk-hnayat-Papun road which was opened for transporting ore from the Mawchi Mines before the Toungoo-Mawchi road was opened. Kyauk-hnayat-Papun road is not open to motor traffic now. The Salween River is hardly used on account of the numerous rapids in it. The Yunzalin River however keeps Papun in touch with the scaport of Moulmein and during the rains when the Papun-Bilin road becomes impassable it is the only means of communication with the district.

The district is very backward and it has not got a single post primary school.

(Sd.) J. Poo Nyo,—20-3-47,

Secretary (Dev.),
Frontier Areas Administration.

SALWEEN DISTRICT.

Communications.—This district is situated in the hill country where the Salween River debouches into the plains. The country is generally rugged and split up by innumerable small valleys while longitudinally the district is divided in two by the valley of the Yunzalin. Communications are extremely poor. The motor road from Bilin to Papun is a fair weather road only. At present the Public Works Department have maintained the bridges and culverts up to 15 cwt standard only. The transport of supplies over this road is a constant source of anxiety. There is no land link from Papun northwards into Karenni apart from jungle trails, which form the main intercommunication network of the district.

Water Transport.—Navigation of the Yunzalin up to Kadaingti is possible, though in the dry weather the shallowness of the water necessitates only very small boats being used. At this juncture only 1/8 of total supplies destined for Papun can go in by water in the allotted time.

Country craft navigate the Salween between Kemapyu and Kyaukhnyat from which place there is a long time abandoned Motor-transport road.

Railways.—Nil.

Airways.—The administration maintains a light air strip at Papun.

Telegraphic Communications.—A section of the Frontier Wireless Company is stationed at Papun but this is only for official messages. Public telegraphic facilities do not exist.

One hospital with 40 beds is maintained at Papun. It is adequately equipped for day to day needs.

(Sd.) P. T. BARTON, .

*Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration*

Education.—As will be seen from the statement attached, the number of schools opened approximates to that in pre-evacuation period. There is not even a single post primary school in the whole district. There is a Deputy Inspector of Schools at Papun who is responsible for the work of inspection in the Salween District.

General.—The Secretary of State for Burma has been requested to recruit a Chief Education Officer for the Frontier Areas. Pending the appointment of this officer, the head of the Education Department for the Shan States is the Chief Education Officer, Federated Shan States, while the Director of Public Instruction, Burma, is in charge of the other areas which fall within the Frontier Areas Administration.

(Sd.) J. Poo Nyo,

*Secretary (Dev.),
Frontier Areas Administration.*

OTHER PART II AREAS.

Tamu Township Population ...	5,870	By race not known.
Eastern Toungoo ...	1,60,837	
Kyain ...	59,897	} Not known but largely Karen.
Myawaddi ...	8,360	
Thatôn Part II Areas ...	2,13,008	

*Population by Race of all Part I Areas and Part II
Areas of Myitkyina and Bhamo and Karenni States.*

Burma Group ...	2,88,308	or 11·3
Tai Lolo Moso ...	9,92,956	or 39·1
Indian, Chinese and others ...	1,55,440	or 6·2
Palaung Wa ...	2,21,000	or 8·8
Karen ...	2,92,438	or 11·6
Chin Naga ...	2,81,276	or 11·2
Kachin ...	2,78,506	or 11·1
	25,09,924	99·3

P. T. BARTON,
Deputy Secretary,
Frontier Areas Administration.

Statement showing the number and Locality of Hospitals and Dispensaries in the Frontier Areas.

District. (1)	Number and Location of Hospitals. (2)	Total. (3)	Number and Location of Dispensaries.		Total. (6)
			Static. (4)	Mobile. (5)	
1. Arakan Hill Tracts ...	1 in Paletwa	1	.....	...	...
2. Chin Hills District ...	1 each in Haka, Falam, Tiddim and Kanpetlet.	4	1 (R.C.M.) at Lukshe ... ..	...	1
3. Naga Hills District ...	.....	...	.....	...	...
4. Myitkyina District ...	1 each in Myitkyina, Putao, Sumprabum, Kajihtu Laukhaung and Kamaing.	6	1 each in Sadon and Yubang Ga ...	1 in Htaw-gaw.	3
5. Bhamo District ...	1 in Bhamo	1	1 in Sinlum ... ..	...	1
6. Northern Shan States ...	1 each in, Lashio, Namkham, Kutkai, North Hsenwi, Namtu, Hsipaw, Kyaukmè, Thônzè, Nahmsam, Momeik, Monglong, Mongyai.	12	1 each in Kota, Mongyaw, Manton, Panglong and Mongko (Private Dispensary).	...	5
7. Southern Shan States ...	1 each in Taunggyi, Mohgnai, Mongpaw, Kalaw, Aungban, Pinhaung, Pindaya, Yawnghwe, Lawksawk, Loilem, Panglong, Kengtung.	12	1 each at Nawngwawn, Loinwe, Takaw and Langkho (run by Rev. and Mro. short of B.C. M.S.)	...	4
8 Karenni ...	1 each in Pruso, Doròkkho, Loikaw, Bawlake, Mawchi Mines, Pekong.	6	1 each in Myale, mill camp and nine camp.	...	3
9. Salween District ...	1 at Papun	1	.....	...	...
	Total ...	43			17

Statement showing the number of Schools in the Frontier Areas before evacuation and on the 1st February 1947.

...	Arakan Hill Tracts. (1)	Chin Hills District. (3)	Naga Hills District. (4)	Myitkyina District. (5)	Bhamo District. (6)	Northern Shan States. (7)	Southern Shan States. (8)	Karenni. (9)	Salween District. (10)	Number of Schools before evacuation.										
1	2	89	No report ...	53	53	65	131	30	40	4										
Primary Schools.	Middle Schools.	Government Anglo-Vernacular Schools.	Government Non-Chin Schools.	Government Village Schools.	Private Anglo-Vernacular Schools.	Private Village Schools.	Primary Schools.	Unclassified Schools.	State Primary Schools.	Private Village Schools.	Post Primary Schools.	Primary Schools.	Federation Government Schools.	Federation Aided Schools.	State Schools.	State Aided Schools.	Non-Aided Schools.	Unclassified Schools.	Wholly Maintained Schools.	Unrecognized Schools.
1	1	2	1	81	4	31	3	44	28	28	4	54	9	...	57	2	12	27	39	4
Total		119		3	44	56	59	80	27	43	Plus 3 new schools unclassified.									

MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE SCHEDULED AREAS.

That part of Burma described in the Government of Burma Act as the Scheduled Areas has, like Ministerial Burma, three main sources of wealth and in the event of the Scheduled Areas being given a separate form of administration and accordingly a separate financial existence it is going to be essential that these resources be developed to the full. Agriculture, Forests and Minerals have in the past provided Burma's wealth yet these great resources have invariably been left in the hands of completely inadequate government departments. The Forest Department was certainly in a better position than the other two in regard to the number of qualified officers; for an agricultural country Burma's agricultural service was completely inadequate and, in a country possessing Burma's mineral wealth a mines department consisting of a solitary qualified Inspector of Mines was lamentable. The size of the geological survey party made it impossible for its officers to undertake any systematic and detailed survey of areas other than those containing the more well-known deposits such as those of Mawchi and Bawdwin. Outside of those main areas geological survey has generally been limited in the Scheduled Areas to traverses made on rapid tours; most areas remain untouched, even those areas wherein a local mining industry flourishes. In this note, which is intended only as a basis for further research and discussion, it is proposed to give a brief account of such scanty information as is available regarding the minerals resources of the Scheduled Areas. For convenience of compilation the subject is treated by districts rather than by individual mineral occurrences.

2. *Myitkyina District*.—No systematic geological survey has ever been made of this very large district. Three traverses were made in 1917—20 by Dr. Murray-Stuart in continuation of previous small surveys by F. Noetling, C. L. Griesbach, Mr. McLaren, A. W. G. Bleeck and Dr. Coggin-Brown. McLaren and Griesbach limited their activity mainly to Assam; Noetling dealt entirely with the Jade and Amber Mines; and Bleeck worked only in the Jade Mines.

Dr. Chhibber visited the district on two occasions in 1930-31 and 1934-35 and Mr. E. L. G. Clegg visited the Jade Mines in 1937-38.

(i) *Lead, Iron and Copper*.—Dr. Murray-Stuart examined certain galena deposits near the Lagwi Pass and north-east of Putao and found them of no commercial value because of their inaccessibility, a condition likely to be eliminated as communications improve under the new administration. Other large deposits of galena and cupriferous pyrites in the North Triangle (Arahku Village) have not yet been examined but were the subject of a prospecting license application by Messrs. Steel Brothers in 1941. Copper pyrites are found in the Shweli N'Mai Divide, in the South Triangle and in the Sumprabum Hill Tracts. The copper pyrites are invariably found associated with veins of iron pyrites and these veins are met with throughout the Naga Hills, Chin Hills and Arakan Hill Tracts. In the absence of detailed surveys their value cannot be assessed. South of Hpakan (Jade Mines) there are considerable deposits of iron ore of various kinds. Magnetite and Schistose hæmatite are found in this area on the road from the Jade Mines to Haungpha. The Nung Valleys, and North Triangle have deposits of iron and these were utilized until a few years ago as a source of supply for a *dah*-making industry.

(ii) *Gold*.—Throughout the Myitkyina District most streams are auriferous; a flourishing local industry is carried on throughout the district as most of the recent and older gravels are gold bearing. In addition to the local people outsiders have in the past been attracted by this gold. The history of the Myitkyina Gold Dredging Company is too well known to require reiteration here; it failed for various reasons and ceased operating. Other interests entered the district in 1932 and took out Prospecting Licences in parts of the Kamaing Subdivision. These areas were bored and in some areas near Shadzup (Kamaing Subdivision) were established as commercial possibilities.

In 1934 applications for Prospecting Licences for seven areas in the Hukawng Valley were filed by Mr. C. W. Chater on behalf of certain British interests but these applications were turned down as the area was at that time newly administered and it was not thought politic to permit of the entry of commercial interests. An analysis of alluvial washings done at that time revealed the presence of platinum, cerium and thorium with the gold. In 1941 Prospecting Licences were issued to British-American interests for a large area, along the Sinanhka Valley in the Sumprabum Subdivision.

The Triangle and Putao Subdivisions include many profitable gold washing centres and these annually attract large numbers of Chinese and Lisus from across the Frontier. I estimated that in 1940 over five thousand people crossed the Frontier to wash for gold in the various parts of the Myitkyina District ranging from the plains at the south end of the district (as low as Sinbo) to the very rich Latagawng Valley north-east of Putao. These Chinese subjects take out a large amount of money annually (examination of about 800 in 1940 revealed that their earnings varied from Rs. 60 to Rs. 800 for the season's work) and bring nothing in as no method of taxing them has as yet been devised. The taxation of these people is a matter for detailed consideration, it ought to be possible to raise annually a considerable sum. In the greater part of the Myitkyina District Chiefs allow gold washing to take place entirely without payment but at the Munggawn and Kapdup Rivers in the Hukawng Valley dues are collected.

I have on only two occasions seen gold in quartz in the Myitkyina District. One piece came from Wantukbum Range in the Hukawng Valley and the other from the upper reaches of the Hkrang Hka (N. Triangle). At both of these places the local people report large lodes containing gold; the metal is not worked as extremely ferocious *nats* stand guard over the deposit. These two areas require detailed examination. The large silver-lead-zinc deposit in the N. Triangle lies close to the place where this gold is said to be located. The most profitable gold washing centres in the Myitkyina District are:—

Latagawng Valley	...	Putao Subdivision.
Hkrang Hka Valley	...	N. Triangle.
Chati Hka	...	"
Chengma Hka	...	S. Triangle.
Tara Hka	...	"
Senan Hka	...	Sumprabum.
Daru Hka	...	"
Hpunain Hka	...	"
Tawa Hka	...	Hukawng Valley.
Tabyi Hka	...	"
Kapdup Hka	...	"
Munggawn	...	"
Mogaing Hka	...	Kamaing K.H.T.
Uyu Hka	...	"

In addition the Irrawaddy itself—where the gravels are exposed—and the Indawgyi Lake and its feeders have the reputation of being moderately good. The N'Mai Valley contains some good centres and both the main stream and the tributaries, Ngawchang Hka, Chipwi Hka, Tamu Hka and Shingaw Hka, are worked annually both by the local Kachins and a large number of Chinese Yawyins.

(iii) *Jadeite*.—The Jade Mines area in the Kamaing, Kachin Hill Tracts, has been the subject of several geological surveys. Mr. A. W. G. Bleock, Dr. Coggin-Brown and Mr. E. L. G. Clegg have all examined the mines area in the past 30 years. The workings are mainly worked by hills sluicing but there are two underground mines at Htawmaw. The underground mines, extremely dangerous workings, are invariably closed down in the rains owing to the pumping machinery being inefficient and unable to cope with the volume of water. The Jadeite is in the form of a lode which dips in a northerly direction; properly organized (and inspected!) underground mining would enable the outturn of these mines to increase considerably but the market for Jadeite was seriously affected by the Sino-Japanese war so the Chinese interest concerned were disinclined to invest money in improvement. If the market ever revives these mines should be worked in a systematic manner and should be subjected to strict inspection as the workings will be deeper than heretofore.

The hill sluice workings are seasonal. They also are worked mainly by Chinese coolies who cross the Frontier annually. In the last really normal year of working, about 1933-34, I recollect 10,000 Chinese coolies coming into the Mines Area.

Government took over the administration of these Mines in 1940 and it was estimated that the normal annual revenue from them would be about 1 lakh.

There are similar jadeite workings in the Mogaung, Kachin Hill Tracts, near Mawhan Railway Station. Royalty from these is collected by local Chief.

(iv) *Burmite*.—In Noiye Bum, seven miles from the main road to India through the Hukawng Valley, are deposits of amber. These were worked annually by Yunnanese coolies who came across from the Chinese Shan States. They paid a small due to the Chief of the Lalawng Tract for the privilege of working the amber but no royalty on the actual amber extracted. Most of this amber is taken back to China.

In a normal year about 400 coolies used to come to these amber mines from China and they paid no tax to Government.

The methods of working are discussed in detail in F. Noetlings paper [Rec. Geol. Survey of India, Vol. XXVI (1893)].

(v) *Precious and semi-Precious Stones*.—At Nanyaseik, Kamaing Subdivision, small ruby mines have been worked for many years. Their outturn is not large (it has never been officially measured) but occasionally a good stone is found. In 1932 an offer was made (by Mr. C. W. Chater) to work these mines on a systematic basis but this was refused. Local Shans have frequently requested that these mines be opened up but no action was ever taken on these applications. The mines have been illicitly worked for some years now.

Small sapphires, zircons, garnets and amethysts were found in the hills near Lawsun (Kamaing Subdivision) in 1934 when Dr. Chhibber of the Geological Survey visited this area. No detailed investigations was made.

(vi) *Coal and Oil*.—In the Kamaing and Mogaung Hill Tracts outcrops of soft coal are frequently seen. These do not look to be of commercial value though a detailed investigation might reveal further and more valuable seams.

In the Mogaung, Kachin Hill Tracts, oil seepage has been seen to the south-west of Sahmaw ; this area has never been examined by oil technologists.

(vii) *Miscellaneous*.—There are salt wells in many parts of Myitkyina District and it is believed that if these were properly worked the district could be freed of the need of importing salt. The most productive salt wells lie in the Hukawng Valley and in the Sumprabum and Htawgaw Subdivision. These wells produce a salt with an iodine content sufficiently high to be useful as a goitre prophylactic. Sulphur deposits are found in the South Triangle and Mogaung, Kachin Hill Tracts. The deposit in the South Triangle is considerable and of good quality. It is situated in the Shan Ngaw range in or near the Bwisam Tract. Limestone and building materials are plentiful throughout the Myitkyina, Kachin Hill Tracts. Considerable deposits of mica (biotite and muscovite) occur in the Putao Subdivision and were investigated in 1932.

3. *Bhamo*.—The Bhamo District has not been surveyed. It has been the subject of several prospecting licences (the last in 1935-36) for the gold found in the tertiary gravels throughout the plains of the district but none of these prospects materialized as a commercial proposition. A local gold-washing industry, which like that of Myitkyina attracts many Yunnanese coolies from across the frontier, is reasonably profitable. The extraction of gold in this way is subjected to no restriction and no revenue results from it. I have seen samples of galena and copper pyrites found in the Sinlum Subdivision but have not seen the source of these.

4. *Naga Hills District*.—There are no records of any survey having been done in this district. In 1940-41 licences were issued to B.O.C. geologists for an investigation of the country towards the Manipur Hills in the Thaungdut State but the investigation could not take place owing to the outbreak of war. This may be taken up after the war.

Samples of pyrites have from time to time been produced from the Naga Hills Area and jadeite and soapstone are reported but none of these deposits has ever been examined.

It seems probable that the coal seams of the Upper Chindwin District continue into the Naga Hills District as it is believed the Chindwin shale and clay groups wherein coal is found continue there.

Gold washing takes place as a local industry.

5. *Upper Chindwin District*.—The coal seams in this district have received attention in the past thirty years and Messrs. Fairweather Richards took out licences over three years in 1929-32. The seams in the Yu, Kale and Myittha Valleys, vary in thickness from $\frac{1}{2}$ " to 12' and are numerous. These Burma coals are tertiary and cannot be compared with the coals of the older geological formations ; but it would

is a mistake to condemn these deposits without further serious attention. It is true that such licences as have been taken out have not been renewed because the deposits were not an economic proposition.

Gold washing is carried out by local villagers as a subsidiary occupation in many parts of the Upper Chindwin District. Attempts to dredge on a commercial scale have in the past proved uneconomic and are not likely to be repeated.

At Indaw an anticline in the massive sandstone has resulted in an accumulation of oil. This oil has been worked by the I.B.P. since 1915 and that company holds a mining lease to extract oil from an area of 16.1 square miles south of Indaw. This lease is current up to 1954.

Other springs and oil seepage are reported from other parts of the district and these are likely to be examined in the post-war period.

In the Upper Chindwin District in the past, chromite, jadeite, platinum and pyrites have all been reported, but none has received detailed attention.

This district, the Chin Hills District (about which nothing is known), and the Arakan Hill Tracts all need detailed surveys as all have produced various samples of pyrites, cupriferous pyrites, and galena but no papers on the areas are available.

6. *Federated Shan States and Karenni*.—In the Shan States and Karenni much geological work has been done on the well known Bawdwin and Mawchi deposits and the work done on these is apt to obscure the fact that little beyond reconnaissances and traverses has been done elsewhere. The Wa States were prospected and the results disappointing ; Dr. Coggin-Brown with Mr. Sondhi did a reconnaissance of the road from Kalaw to the Salween ; H. C. Jones investigated antimony deposits in the Southern Shan States as he found occurrences of Stibnite in Loilem and Kalaw Subdivisions and in Kengtung State but further investigation was necessary ; and Dr. C. S. Fox investigated the Loian series (Cotter Coal Measures) in 1929. All these investigations merely showed the need for systematic survey and in 1940 Mr. P. C. Fogarty, then Commissioner, was contemplating the appointment of a mining geologist for the Shan States because of the innumerable and varied deposits reported by Chiefs from their States.

(i) *Northern Shan States*.—The Bawdwin ore deposit of the Burma Corporation is of course the best known mineralogical feature of the area. Though usually known as a lead-silver mine Bawdwin produces in addition antimonial lead, zinc concentrate, copper matter, nickel speiss, gold and silver. In addition the Company conducts the mining of iron in the Kungka and Manmakng ore deposits. Mr. E. L. G. Clegg (Vol. LIV, Pt. 4, Rec. of Geological Survey of India in 1923) has studied these iron ore deposits as well as the greater Bawdwin ore body (Vol. LXXVII, 1942). Mr. Binge in the appendix to his Report on the Reconstruction of the Mines Department has given a fairly full (page 17) description of Bawdwin so I need not comment further on this mine. The ore reserves of this mine are placed at three million tons which at its previous rate of working represents a further six years of life.

There are fields of soft coal in the Northern Shan States said at present to be of no economic value because the coal is the usual Burma tertiary coal. The point is worthy of further investigation. The

general geology of the Northern Shan States is discussed by T. H. D. La Touche in the Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India (Vol. XXXIX, Part II, 1913), but this is a very general survey and contains no detailed examinations.

The Mogôk Ruby Mines Area is adjacent to the Northern Shan States.

This series of mines produces rubies, sapphires, zircons and garnets. It was the opinion of Dr. Coggin-Brown that the valleys around Mogôk were worthy of detailed study and he suggested a survey of the stone tract with the object of determining the extension of the present field. In view of the geographical position of Mogôk it is certain that the gem field will extend into the Scheduled Areas.

There is said to be a considerable deposit of mica in the Namhsan Subdivision; I can trace no proceedings concerning it though I understand it is worked.

A large deposit of Magnetite was traced (by aeroplane pilots having their compasses disturbed!) near Lashio but it has never been examined.

(ii) *Southern Shan States*.—As Karenni is under the administrative ægis of the Southern Shan States it is included under this head; it is realized that Karenni is an independent State but it must certainly ultimately form part of any Scheduled Areas Federation and make its contribution from its relatively immense wealth, to the Federation revenue.

The best known mine in the area is Mawchi. The Mawchi Mines are actually part of the great wolfram-tin belt and the whole area from the Myelat down to Mergui has been aptly described by G. V. Hobson.

“Geologically, all these areas (*i.e.*, Mawchi, Yamèthin and Tavoy) together with Mergui, Amherst, Natôn, Salween and Toungoo Districts form a single metallogenetic province.”

(*Trans Min-Geol. Met. Inst. Ind.*, Vol. 36, Pt. I, 1940.)

The Mawchi Mines are the most important, single source of wolfram (the ore of tungsten) known and produce about 10 per cent. of the world's demand and 35 per cent. of the Empire demand.

It is possible that further detailed examination down the Salween will reveal further wolfram-tin deposits. There are already 11 small mines working in the Southern Shan States and they are mainly producing wolfram. Also in the Southern Shan States are occurrences of iron ore, antimony, galena, copper, barite carrying galena molybdenite and coal (in the Kalaw Area) but all these deposits require investigation as do the various other “mines” in the Southern Shan States which were reported on by Coggin-Brown and Sondhi as under:—

“It was impossible to come to any decision as to the potential value of the ‘mines’ in the short time at our disposal, but the proved occurrence of galena and the interesting examples of igneous rocks in the vicinity indicate that the whole neighbourhood is one which deserves methodical large scale mapping and careful prospecting.”

[Coggin-Brown and Sondhi Geological Survey of India, Vol. LXVII, Pt. 2 (1933), Report on a Reconnaissance in S.S.S.]

The one or two lode deposits carrying gold in the Southern Shan States require investigation. The Mwe-daw hill mass in the Kalaw-Taunggyi Area was worked in the past and systematic prospecting was started before the last war but stopped because of the war. Further investigations were started in 1933 and produced samples whose quantitative analysis gave encouraging results. Gems are found in the Kengtung State where the sapphire mines are worked by local methods.

In the Southern Shan States there are occurrences of monazite (anhydrous phosphate of cerium and lanthanum) which if they allow of economic exploitation will prove of great value.

In the Kalaw Area are the Loi-an series (Cotters Coal Measures) which were investigated by Dr. C. S. Fox in 1929. This field was described by Dr. Fox as important but Dr. Coggin-Brown (Records of Geological Survey of India, Vol. LXVII, Pt. 2, 1933) did not agree with this. This field was worked unsuccessfully by the Coalfields of Burma, Ltd., in 1922 as the seams were found to be irregular and a large proportion of the coal mere pockets. The value of these Coalfields is a matter of controversy between even the experts themselves and so is a matter for further more detailed investigation, particularly in view of the progress made in recent years in the technique of low temperature distillation of coals. The Kalaw coal is a typical Burma tertiary coal; any researches done in regard to this deposit will apply equally to the tertiary coals of the Upper Chindwin.

7. *South Karen Area and Salween District.*—Very little is known of the geology of these areas except that they are located in the wolfram bearing zone. In a paper entitled "The Distribution of Ores of Tungsten and Tin in Burma" (Rec. Geol. Survey of India, Vol. L, 1919) Dr. Coggin-Brown and Dr. Heron summarised briefly the information, then available regarding located deposits of cassiterite and wolfram and traced them district by district from a line across from Yamèthin to Loilong (Southern Shan States) to the southern extremity of the Mergui District. Further deposits in this zone have been located since that time and in a later paper Dr. Coggin-Brown and Heron stated :—

"The striking similarity between the geological conditions, vein structures and mineral associations of the Yengan (Southern Shan States) concession and those described in our earlier papers are apparent. The almost constant recurrence of such features amongst practically all the various wolfram deposits which have hitherto been described, stretching as they do over hundreds of miles of territory further to the south, appear to us to indicate a strong probability of the presence of identical rocks with similar origins in those occurrences of which we know nothing, beyond the mere fact of their existence, at present."

(Recs. Geol. Survey of India, Vol. LIV, Pt. 2, 1922.)

This bears out G. V. Hobson's [paragraph 6 (ii) above] conclusion of the existence of a single metallogenetic province in this immense area and makes it apparent that further exploratory and survey work is necessary in this province, a considerable part of which is included in the Scheduled Areas.

8. *Conclusion.*—(i) This review of the potential mineral resources of the Scheduled Areas is of necessity brief but it contains sufficient information to indicate that there has, in the past, been no systematic

attempt to survey the areas and assess the value of their resources. There was, in fact, no sufficient staff in Burma to undertake any survey work of an exploratory type; usually any work undertaken by the geological survey was merely resultant upon samples sent in by local officials and not upon any systematic survey. The Mines Department was unable to cope with the work on existing mines and so was quite out of the question as a survey body.

Now that the Scheduled Areas are faced with the question of providing revenue, the existing resources (they are happily plentiful) must be exploited. I have seen no mention yet as to how the geological survey is to be constituted in Burma (Ministerial) but it seems probable that the Scheduled Areas will require a separate organization. It has been a criticism in the past that Ministers would never allow experts of the various Ministerial Departments to interest themselves in the Scheduled Areas—Agriculture, Forests and Education were departments which were never able to send officers out because of Ministerial opposition and shortage of staff—and this state of affairs is likely to continue in future. It seems certain that a completely separate organization is likely to be necessary and it is suggested that two mining geologists be employed to undertake the immediate preliminary survey work.

(ii) The Scheduled Areas already has sufficient work for a Mines Inspectorate of two officers. If a programme of development is undertaken it seems likely that further mines will open—that contingency can be dealt with as it arises.

(iii) It is not suggested that all developments in mining in the Scheduled Areas are likely to be on large scale industrial lines. There are such possible local industries as—

- (a) the gold washing of the Chindwin, Bhamo and Myitkyina districts,
- (b) the gem workings in the Katha and Myitkyina districts and in the Federated Shan States,
- (c) coal workings in the Chindwin Area,
- (d) iron and lead-silver mining in the Myitkyina District and
- (e) salt boiling in the Myitkyina, Naga Hills and Bhamo Districts.

These industries would need to be examined and if they are not sufficiently large for economic development on industrial lines it must be possible to assist the local people to develop them for their own use and benefit.

(iv) The question of the imposition of either royalty payment or some other form of taxation on Chinese coolies coming into Burma to work mineral deposits should be examined. Much revenue is at present being lost by the complete lack of any organization or legislation to deal with this question. Chinese coolies come in annually to work jadeite, gold and gemstones. Formerly they also came in to work the galena deposits near the Lagwi Pass in the Myitkyina District.

(v) Questions of mining legislation, records, and royalty assessments will have to be considered separately when a Mines Department is created. A preliminary review of this type is not intended to deal with such details; it is merely intended to indicate that the Scheduled Areas possess mineral resources worthy of investigation, to provoke discussion, and to suggest that the future exploitation of these resources is a matter for the consideration of the Reconstruction Department as part of any long-term scheme for the development of the Scheduled Areas.

(Sd.) J. L. LEYDEN,

*Deputy Secretary,
Reconstruction Department.*

Dated 16th April 1943.

APPENDIX IV.

- 1. Administrative Map of Burma.**
 - 2. Racial Map of Burma.**
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BURMA RACIAL MAP

Census 1931

Scale: 1 inch to 90 miles



REFERENCES:—

BOUNDARIES

- EXTERNAL ————
- DIVISION ————
- DISTRICT - - - - -

TOWNS

KEY TO RACE GROUPS

Scale of Population: 1 Sq. inch represents 1,600,000 persons.

- | | | |
|------------------|-------|--|
| Burma | Group | |
| Lolo-Muhao | " | |
| Kuki-Chin | " | |
| Kachin | " | |
| Sak (Lui) | " | |
| Tai (Shan) | " | |
| Chinese | " | |
| Mon | " | |
| Paiaung-Wa | " | |
| Karen | " | |
| Indo-Burma Races | " | |
| Indian | " | |
| Other | " | |

