

A Critical Study on the History of Insurgencies in Myanmar (1948-1958)

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Abstract

This paper studies the insurgencies that broke out after the independence of Myanmar. The organizations that had stood while struggling for the independence from the British Colonists, got split up after regaining the independence. Worse than that, the organizations did not settle their controversies by political means, but through the armed conflicts. The concept of fighting for freedom led to the outbreak of the civil war. Therefore, the causes of such outbreaks were discussed in this paper. This paper aims at providing partial aid to the scholars who study the political history of Myanmar after the Independence.

Key words: political disagreements, rebels, insurgents

Introduction

This rise of the insurgencies in Myanmar resulted from the disintegration of political leadership within the A.F.P.F.L (Anti-Fascist People Freedom League). When the A.F.P.F.L was first founded with the purpose of anti-fascist revolution, it comprised important organizations such as the Patriotic Burma Tatmataw, the Socialist Party, the *Do-Bamar Asi-Ayone*, the Communist Party and the Central Kayin Organization. According to the Kandy Treaty, when the Patriotic Burma was reformed as the Burma Army under the British Colony, the Patriotic Burma Army had to withdraw from the A.F.P.F.L. Since the personnel of the Patriotic Burma Army had been selected politicians, those who had no chance to be recruited in the new Burma Army according to the constraints of the Kandy Treaty. They were organized as the P.V.O (People's Volunteer Organization) on 1st December, 1945, by General Aung San as the leader. Later, the P.V.O joined the A.F.P.F.L: since it was originally organized for the cause of the revolution for the independence, this organization was meant to be cancelled when Myanmar regained her independence. These political parties that had stood united within the A.F.P.F.L later differed in political views, and as a consequences, there arose the civil war strongly.

The first insurgency in Myanmar was the Red Flag Communist Party or the Communist Party (Burma), led by *Thakhin Soe*.¹ Then, the Communist Party got split into two, and *Thakhin Than Tun's* Burma Communist Party joined the A.F.P.F.L in revolting against the colonist government. On the other hand, even before 1947 State Constitution was drafted, the Red Flag Communist Party declared outright, "we the Red Flag dare to fight! We the Red Flag dare to die!", and first took to arms to revolt against the British government. When the A.F.P.F.L Executive members led by General Aung San joined the Governor's Executive Council of Sir Hubert Rance, the Red Flag Communist Party was declared by government as illegal party. But the Red Flag Communist Party, once again, did the terrorist campaigns, and Red Flag Communist Party went underground and revolted the government in 1946.

The Burma Communist Party, led by *Thakhin Than Tun*, began to criticize the A.F.P.F.L, which undertook duties in the Governor's Executive Council. So, on 10 October 1946, the A.F.P.F.L dismissed the B.C.P (Burma Communist Party) from the League. After

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¹ Group of *Thakhin Than Tun* and *Thakhin Thein Pe* belonged to Broadism, in which no armed revolution was needed to regain independence from the British Colonist, who had been on the decline of power; Group of *Thakhin Soe*, who belonged to Trotskyite, in which the armed revolution was the only means for regaining the independence. These two groups got split into *Thakhin Soe's* Alan-Ni Communist Party and *Thakhin Than Tun's* Alan-Phyu Communist Party in February, 1946.

1947 Constitution had been drafted, the A.F.P.F.L offered the B.C.P to get reconciled, but since the policy was already laid down, that the strategy of armed revolution shall be practised, if necessary, for the International Communist Information Bureau, *Thakhin* Than Tun' B.C.P had renounced the Broaderism, and already decided to follow the instructions coming from abroad so as to fight for the independence through the means of armed revolution. The member of India Communist Party Political Leader Adrikari drew the policy of armed revolution in Myanmar to practise as in India.²

As instructed from abroad, *Thakhin* Than Tun and Goshal attacked the Prime Minister U Nu's A.F.P.F.L Government, declaring that the independence of Myanmar was just a fake. *Thakhin* Than Tun threatened thus:

We must send *Thakhin* Nu to the coldest cemetery because he loves to live a peaceful life. There must be a heap of the bones of the socialist in the Vagayar Valley. The extremist patriots called P.V.O are making the negotiation without understanding the situation.³

After attending the Calcutta Conference, *Thakhin* Than Tun and Goshal held the Second Conference of Burma Communist Party, which was the last one,⁴ in Pinyinana on 10 March 1948. In that conference, the 1948 Revolutionary Trends paper instructed by the India Communist Party was approved, and the decisions embodying the procedures for taking to armed revolution were made. As a result, the A.F.P.F.L government seized the Burma Communist Party Headquarters, and arrested the leaders. However, on 28th March, 1948,⁵ the day before the government took action the communists had already gone underground, and took to arms.

A hard liner force of the A.F.P.F.L was organized by General Aung San as P.V.O. They had been given seats in the Parliament. They split into White Band P.V.O and Yellow Band P.V.O. The White Band P.V.O went to underground, like the Communist Party. Although the Prime Minister U Nu announced a declaration on the 15 Leftist Unity Procedures, and made a request for not going underground. A few members, who would later group themselves under the name of Yellow Band P.V.O, accepted 14 points out of 15, and joined the A.F.P.F.L, but the White Band P.V.O, the majority, made a claim for the negotiations with the underground communists, and turned down *Thakhin* Nu's Leftists Unity Policy. The White Band P.V.O were headed by Bo Poe Kun and Bo La Yaung. The Yellow Band P.V.O were led by *Bohmu* Aung and Bo Sein Hman. In the end of July 1948, the White Band P.V.O made an uprising.⁶

It happened that the A.F.P.F.L government had already issued a large sum of arms to the P.V.O since the beginning of the year in order to fight the communists. Besides, since the government had been engaged in pressing down the communist insurgents, the government could not take effective measures to take arms from the P.V.O. The White Band P.V.O launched opening attacks and won victories in Patheingyi, Ma-Ubin, Hanthawaddy, Pyi and Bago Districts. They plundered money and people's provisions from the government treasuries.

² *Pyitwin Yeyar Ahmat Five* (Local Affairs No.5), the Myanma Socialist Lanzin Party, Party Organizing Central Committee Headquarters, Yangon, Sarpay Beikman Press, 1970, p.95

The task programmes prepared by the India Communist Party contain 8, 127 pages, which is entitled, "1948 Revolutionary Trends"

³ Thein Pe Myint, *Taw-lan-ye Kar-la Nai-ngan-ye A-twe-A-kyon-mya* (Political Experiences Through the Revolutionary Period), Yangon, Shwe Pyi Tan Press, 1956

⁴ Over Thirty Years starting from 15-8-1939, when the Burma Communist Party was first founded, the party conference was held only two times, i.e., in 1939 and in 1948

⁵ *Pinlon-Nyi-la-khan Thamai-sin A-kyan* (A Brief History of Pinlon Conference), Myanma Socialist Lanzin Party, Central Committee Headquarters, Yangon, Sarpay Beikman Press, 1972, p.28 (Henceforth: *Pinlon Nyi-lar-khan Thamai*, 1972)

⁶ *Myanmar-nai-gan-taww-nint Hus-pu-thaung-gyan-hmu* (Myanmar and Insurgencies), Yangon, Thuddhamawaddy Press, 1949, p.112 (Henceforth: *Myanmar-nai-gan Thaung-gyan-hmu*, 1949)

They could establish the rival military administrative committees. The A.F.P.F.L government, which came to exist according to 1947 Constitution, could not enjoy law and order restoration. It did not even last three months.⁷

Then, the two regiments of the Burma Army, which were in support of the communists, went underground. This gave an advantage to the communists, who began to do propagating in a large scale so as to persuade the whole army to be on their side. They organized the army that the army should make a military coup, and put an end to the remaining colonialism. A military unit commander in allegiance to the communists occupied Insein and organized his troops to march to Yangon in order to build the military rule, and there started betrayals inside the army. Regiment 3 of Mingladon and Regiment No.1 of Thayet betrayed the army, joined the communists on 8 August 1948, and participated in the civil war.⁸ Since the two regiments had betrayed, the A.F.P.F.L was faced more and more with the political and military challenges. The Burma Communist Party, the White Band P.V.O and the two underground regiments had occupied the Ayeyarwaddy Delta, Myingyan District, Pakokku District, Minbu District, Magwe District, Thayet District, Pyi District, Rakhine State, Thandwe, Kyauk-phyu and the areas along Yangon-Mandalay highway. Worse than that, the A.F.P.F.L government encountered the KNDO insurgencies. These insurgencies were called the multi-coloured rebellions.

The KNU (Kayin National Union) organized the Kayin armed forces named KNDO (Kayin National Defence Organization). Then, they claim for founding a separate Kayin State in 1947 Constitution, but objection was raised on the ground that no real representative of the Kayin State was not included in 1947 Constitution. Then, starting from July 1948, the KNDO insurgencies broke out.⁹ Even before 1947 Constitution, recently after the World War II, the separate Kayin State Establishment movement had already taken place. After the World War II, with the instigation of the British Officer Major Baldwin, over 2000 Kayin soldiers sent through the Governor of Myanmar Doman Smith to the British government a letter claiming that a separate Kayin State be granted.¹⁰ During the Japanese Occupation, in Phapon and Myaung-mya, there took place some misunderstanding between some troops of Burma Independence Army and the local Kayins, and as a consequence, the view of setting up a separate Kayin State was consolidated. In All-Burma Kayin Conference held in Yangon on 4 February, 1946, the Kayin Central Organization submitted a proposal of setting up a separate Kayin State, and it was unanimously approved.¹¹

The Kayin Central Organization (K.C.O) sent a mission led by Saw Ba Oo Gyi to England before the independence for claiming for a separate Kayin State, but the achievement was invain. Then the KCO issued a manifesto claiming that the British Parliament to enact a special act for building a Kayin Nation for the Kayin nationalities. The K.C.O held a conference in Yangon from 5th to 7th February, 1947 and Saw Ba Oo Gyi, leader of K.C.O was dismissed from the Governors Executive Council, headed by General Aung San. The Assembly also condemned the Aung San - Atlee Treaty.¹²

The conference also boycotted the election for Constituent Assembly. On the other hand, the former Kayin Youth Organization (K.Y.O) resigned from the K.N.U, and continued to join the A.F.P.F.L. They enter the election of Constituent Assembly. The Constituent

⁷ *Myanmar-nai-gan Thaung-gyan-hmu*, 1949, 28

⁸ *Myanmar-nai-gan Thaung-gyan-hmu*, 1949, 28

⁹ U Thant, *Pyi-taww-thar Khayi* (The Journey of the Pyi Taw Thar Project), Part.2, Yangon, Sarpay Beikman Press, 1960, p.90 (Henceforth: Thant, 1960)

¹⁰ *Pinlon Nyi-la-khan Thamai*, 1972, 263

¹¹ *KNDO Hsu-pu-thaung-gyan-hmu* (KNDO Insurgencies), Published by the State Government, Yangon, 1949, Second Printing, p.13 (Henceforth: *KNDO Thaung-gyan-hmu*, 1949)

¹² *Pinlon Nyi-lar-khan Thamai*, 1972, 266

Assembly approved the Constitution of the Union of Myanmar on 24th September 1947. From the Burma Kayin National Conference held in Mawlamyaing in October, 1947, the decisions were made:

- (a) The 1947 Constitution approved by the Myanmar Constituent Assembly is turned down because of not getting any real representative involved.
- (b) The incident of building a separate Kayin State shall be reported to the United Nations
- (c) The duty of drafting law for separate Kayin State is handed over to the Central Executive Committee
- (d) The Central Executive Committee receives complete public trust
- (e) (1) Teninthayi Division and Ayeyaraddy Division, including Taungoo District, Insein District, Hanthawaddy District, and Nyaung Lay Pin District will be composed of Kayin State
(2) There will be negotiation with the Government of Myanmar over the organization of Kayin State after the independence
- (f) To withdraw the drafting law that those holding illegitimate weapons in hand shall be sentenced to death penalty
- (g) To acknowledge the present Kayin national flag as the flag for all Kayin nationals¹³
The 1947 Constitution, Section 180 and 181 prescribed as follow:

The following areas, viz., (a) the Karenni State, (b) the Salween District, and (c) such adjacent areas occupied by the Karens as may be determined by a Special Commission to be appointed by the President shall, if the majority of the people of these three areas and of the Karens living in Burma outside these areas so desire, form a constituent unit of the Union of Burma to be known as the Karen State, which shall thereupon have the same status as the Shan State. Moreover, it was enacted in 1947 Constitution Section 181, that before founding the Kayin State, as an interim plan, the Kawthulay Special Region, organized with the regions identified by the President-appointed commission, including Salween District, the Kayin Affairs Council shall be organized and the Kayin Affairs Council shall invest to administer with the autonomy over the region.¹⁴

However, the KNU rejected those enactments on the ground that they did not comply with their demands on the political territory. Starting from mid 1947, the KNU organized armed KNDO corps, and gave military trainings. In November 1949, the A.F.P.F.L government announced the amnesty law on the holding weapons, but the KNDO refused to denounce their arms. During that period of time, with the instigations made by the KNU, the Mons of Tanintharyi set up the Mon National Defence Organization (M.N.D.O) and they claim for founding the separate Mon State.¹⁵

In December 1947, the KNU's conference was again held in Patheingyi, approving the founding of the separate Kayin State in accordance with the Mawlamyaing Conference. On 4th January, 1948, the independence day was celebrated all over Myanmar. Though the faithful Kayins joined the celebrations, yet the KNU organized all Kayin people to celebrate the Kayin National Independence Day on 5th January 1948. On 11th February, 1948, the KNU launched a campaign against racism in all regions of the Kayins, holding the posters, "Give us our Kayin State", "One Kyat for the Kayin if One Kyat for the Bamar", etc. On 6 April, 1948, the President appointed Saw Naw Tin Bwar as the Chairman of the Kawthulay Identification Special Commission, and organized the committee to carry out the enactments included in Section 181 of the constitution. However, because of the civil war, the committee was not able to submit the final report. The newspapers also instigated the cause of the Kayin-Bamar crisis according to the views of the KNU. In this situation, the KNDO troop led by former lieutenant

¹³ U Thant, 1960, 98

¹⁴ *Pyi-daung-su Myanmar Naing-ngan Phwe-zee Oke-choke-pon* (The Constitution of the Union of Myanmar), Yangon, The Government Printing and Stationery, 1957 (Reprint), p.50

¹⁵ *KNDO Thaug-gyan-hmu*, 1949, 15

and absconder Yo-Ah attacked the Kaw-thaung Police Station, Thanlwin District, on 7th July, 1948, and there started the armed insurgency of the KNDO. The MNDO also joined the KNDO, and revolted against the A.F.P.F.L government.¹⁶ On 2 February 1949, Insein, six miles from Yangon, was seized by the KNDOs. One regiment of mutineers from Pyi also marched towards Yangon. They were joined by the majority of the remaining Kayin regiments in the Burma Army, the Kayin nationalities of Union of Military Police (UMP) and the Kayin Police Forces. Towns like Meikthla, Mandalay, Maymyo, Yetarshe, Yamethin, Taungoo and Daik-Oo, etc., were occupied by the insurgents. The insurgency of the KNDO spread nearly all over the country. While there arose the Mujahiz insurgency in Rakhine State, there broke out the Pa-O insurgency in southern Shan State. The conditions became worse: the newspapers even satirized the A.F.P.F.L government blocked by multi-coloured rebellions as being the Yangon Government.

On 5th October, 1950, the temporary parliament under the A.F.P.F.L government amended the 1947 Constitution Sections 181-182 and 183: to establish the Kayin State, based on the Thanlwin District; and to re-name the Kayin Ni as Kayah according to the chronicles. Though the claim for the Kayin State was already granted, the insurgencies of the KNDO did not come to a halt. While the insurgencies was in high tension, the A.F.P.F.L government was faced with the boycotts involving workers, the unions of various government inservices. In the early 1948, because of the instigations of the Burma Communist Party, the workers of the BOC, saw mill and dockyard in Yangon boycotted the government. But being disillusioned with the goal of stepping up the power of the Burma Communist Party rather than the claims for the workers rights, and that the workers had been used as a stepping stone, the strikes were called off. Since the A.F.P.F.L had been on the decline of power because of the insurgencies. All Burma Youths Association withdrew in December, 1948. On 7th February 1949, there took place the all Government Inservices Strike.¹⁷ Though these events did not make a severe impact on the A.F.P.F.L government and the A.F.P.F.L, yet it marked the criterion indicating the decline of the power of the A.F.P.F.L.

A huge political event put a hindrance to the A.F.P.F.L government's implementing the political, economic and social objectives included in 1947 constitution were the high tension of the insurgencies. And the invasion of the KMT (Kuomintang) from China causes to the weakness of the Myanmar sovereignty. The immediate cause of the KMT's invasions was the consequences of the expatriate troops of the former government of Chiang Kai Shek taking refuge in the eastern regions of Myanmar after the Chinese Communist Government occupying the whole of China. With the aid of the Chiang Kai Shek government from Fomosa Island receiving the USA aid, and with the support of Siam (Thailand), the remnants of the absconder troops, the forces of about 17,000, invaded in 1950, into the Shan State of Myanmar.¹⁸ On 25 May, 1950, the Kuomintang Forces invaded into Kentung (Kyain-Tong), and occupied Kyu-kok, then Tachileik and Mai-sat. They build airfields, and made aerial contacts with their headquarters at the Fomosa Island. KMT troops were making such daring invasions into Myanmar. On one hand the A.F.P.F.L government made a complaint report to the UN,¹⁹ and on the other hand, the Burma Army crushed the KMT forces with operations named Bayint-Naung, Yangyi Aung and Naga-Naing. It was only in September 1953, that the Chiang Kai Shek government and the Myanmar government made negotiations, and after that, the KMT forces were withdrawn. Because of the KMT invasions, the A.F.P.F.L government was inflicted with the military expenditures. Because of the USA government

¹⁶ *Myanmar-nai-gan Thaung-gyan-hmu*, 1949, 112

¹⁷ *Myanmar-nai-gan Thaung-gyan-hmu*, 1949, 38

¹⁸ "Minutes of the Parliament Meeting - 3", File 4, 2-3-61, p.373

¹⁹ Myanmar was admitted to the United Nations on 29th April 1948

giving unofficial aid, the relation of USA and A.F.P.F.L government and the collaboration plan of the Myanmar Government and USA Government came to a halt.

As above mentioned, two months after the 1947 Constitution had been promulgated, there broke out the insurgencies of the multi-coloured rebels attempting to seize the power of the state, as well as the foreign invasions of the KMT, so Myanmar underwent the civil war, the weakness of law and order restoration and deterioration of national economy came to the nearly to downfall of 1947 Constitution. Though the A.F.P.F.L government's troops had occupied the strategically important towns and cities, since they were blocked by the rebel troops, the communication between the Yangon government and the regional government troops had been cut out. So the year 1949 saw the worst stage of the civil war.

With great losses of lives, the KNDO and the troops of the Burma Communist Party fought in Insein, Hmawbi and Bago for three months, but had to retreat under the fierce attacks of the Burma Army. These battles were historic fierce battles in the civil war of Myanmar. It was estimated that in 1949, there existed about 50,000 multi-coloured rebels. From the side of the government, 10 regiments, 5 regiments of Union of Military Police and a few police forces had to fight back the multi-coloured rebels.²⁰ Because of the civil war, the A.F.P.F.L government replaced the Kayin national General Smith Don from the position of Chief of staff with General Ne Win. Then on 2 April 1949, some minister were dismissed from their positions, and the Guardian Government was formed: *Thakhin* Nu as the Prime Minister, and General Ne Win became as the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence.²¹

The Guardian Government was engaged in the civil war throughout 1949. Focus was made only on the security of Yangon and re-occupying of Mandalay. In May, 1949, the Burma Army fought back with difficulty the KNDO and the Burma Communists already taking position at the gateway to Yangon and Bago. For the extended defence of Yangon, the self-sufficiency of foodstuff and fish for the people, and the export of rice, the Guardian Government re-occupied Khayan, Thone-Gwe, Htan-ta-pin, Twun-te, Nyaung-tone, Tharyarwaddy, and Daik-Oo from the hands of the multi-coloured rebels. Then, they continued to seize the central regions of Upper Myanmar such as Mandalay, May Myo, Meiktila, Yenanchaung and Chauk Oil Fields. In 1950, the government troops extended new forces, and with the reinforcement of the tank cars, changed from defence into attacks at the rebel. New infantry, army and air force troops, including the armour forces, and UMP 52 regiments, were formed in extension. The armour forces were amazingly employed in the strategies. So Taungoo, the headquarters of the KNDO, and Pyi, the capital of the multi-coloured rebels, were re-occupied by the government troops with only a few losses of lives.²²

The A.F.P.F.L government was to crush the mass of the rebels and re-occupy the political, economic and administrative centre and the life-blood of the country. In other words, its aim was to launch the attacks at the rebels from guerilla warfare into thieves and robbers.²³ In 1950, the number of the rebels declined from 50000 to 30000. In 1955, the number dropped to 10,000.²⁴ Especially because the KNDO and the White Band P.V.O gave up and surrendered the arms. One factor for the victory of the A.F.P.F.L troops was the political slogans: Peace and Prosperity within one year; Rehabilitation within 2 years.

²⁰ Bride General Kyaw Zaw, *Bo-mu-gyoke Kaw Zaw i Nyein-chan-ye Tha-baw-hta Hnint Let-ywe-sin-meint-khun-mya* ((Brid General Kyaw Zaw's attitude of peace: Selected speeches), Yangon, Dagon Press, 1957, p.4 (Henceforth: Kyaw Zaw, 1957)

²¹ Dr. Maung Maung, *Myanmar-nai-gan-ye-khayi-nint Bogyoke-gyi Ne Win* (Burma and General Ne Win), Yangon, Bagan Press & Kumara Press, 1969, p.337

²² Kyaw Zaw, 1957, 12

²³ Kyaw Zaw, 1957, 7

²⁴ Kyaw Zaw, 1957, 9

The Burma Communist Party had laid down the policy of conquest within 2 years starting from 1950, yet they encountered defeat after defeat, lost the trust of the followers, and the forces got disintegrated. The downfall of the multi-coloured rebels resulted from the lack of unity among themselves. They differed from each other in political policy, belief, and tactics of organizing, as well as dogmatism of sects and disputes over leader's seat. The multi-coloured rebels' troops assembly could not successfully be organized, and as a result, failed to fight with united forces. When the Burma Communist Party's policy of the conquest within 2 years turned out to be a failure, the Burma Communist Party, Red Flag Communist Party and the P.V.O troops joined together, and built the three parties unity for the first time. They laid down the policy of Democracy and Peace Coalition Government, but the conflicts over the leader's seat and gap in the negotiations over the political policy caused lack of trust among themselves, and no practical outcomes came out.²⁵

Under the assaults of the A.F.P.F.L government troops, the Delta Headquarters of the Alan-Ni Communist Party had to retreat to Pontaung-Pon-nya Region, Pakokku District. The Headquarters of the P.V.O also had to retreat from the *Let-pan Takar* (Pè-Ni Region), west of Thayet District to Pontaung-Ponnya and Alaungtau Kassapa Region. The Burma Communist Party also had to leave the *Ma-thone-lone* Region, which was the strategic guerrilla camp, and the Headquarter of Pyinmana, and take refuge in the borders of Myanmar. During one conflict between the Burma army and the KNDO, Saw Ba Oo Gyi, the leader of the KNU and the KNDO fell at Ko-Koe Village, Kawkaeit Township on 12 August, 1950. These troops had to retreat to border regions between Thanlwin District and Thailand border.²⁶ Though the A.F.P.F.L government fought their best to annihilate the remnants of these multi-coloured rebels for the complete end of the civil war. The multi-coloured rebels could not be reduced to the rebel with no political concepts. It is observed that such a failure still has the consequence of the disturbances in implementing the law and order restoration and the economic projects of the state. The A.F.P.F.L government could not crush the multi-coloured rebels either politically or in military tactics.

The civil war has tolled huge losses to Myanmar. The World War I and II had inflicted this poor country, and the slogan of the Burma Communist Party that Myanmar shall rise out of ashes of the civil war into Paradise in life, but nothing but the civil war happened. Because of the war waged by the Burma Communist Party, nothing could be done about the rehabilitation after the post-war days, unlike the other countries. The productivity did not once again come up to the status of the pre-war days. Prime Minister U Nu delivered his speech that within the ten years of the civil war, over thirty thousand lives of the working people were lost, and the value of the total damage was about 5000 million in kyats.²⁷ The worst consequence of the civil war was that since half of the state revenue was spend on the state defence expenditure²⁸ in the financial estimate budget of the government, no sufficient amount of investment could be made in the economic projects which were important for the state's rehabilitation. As a result, there took place the unfair ratio of the population rate and the productivity, and Myanmar was faced with general economic issues. There was a lack of the rule of law and security, and the people had to bear the burdens of both the government's taxation and the multi-coloured insurgencies. There took place the loss of equal rights,

²⁵ Yebaw Mya & Yebaw Ba Khet, *Thone Party-hu-thi* (What is the Three Party Coalition), Yangon, Sanpya Sarpay Taik, Einwah Press, 1970, Foreword (A) (Henceforth: Yebaw Mya, 1970)

²⁶ Yebaw Mya, 1970, 11

²⁷ Kyaw Zaw, 1957, 53

²⁸ The defence expenditure of the A.F.P.F.L government was 40.8 million in kyat in 1947-48; 90.9 million in 1948-49; and 400 million in 1959-60. In 1959-60, out of the state revenues of 960 million, half of the revenue was spent on defence.

Hluttaw-hmat-tan Asi-Away (The Minutes of the Parliament), Meeting No.6, File.9, 20-8-1959, p.590

freedom rights, cultural rights, economic rights and jurisdiction rights, as adopted in 1947 Constitution. Naturally, the 1947 Constitution had lost trust of the public. Therefore, it can be concluded that the very fundamental cause of the downfall of the A.F.P.F.L government was the insurgencies.

Conclusion

No matter the objectives may be firm and impressive, no matter the State Constitution according to the international law standards and criteria, as long as it was believed that the armed revolution was the only means to get the state power, no policies or system would turn out to be a success in the long run. It will be bitter the lesson to gain from the insurgencies of Myanmar.

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