

Myanmar Literature Project

မြန်မာစာပေစီမံကိန်း

Hans-Bernd Zöllner (ed.)

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Material on Four Books about Sun Yat Sen

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About the Contributors

Kyaw Hoe studied Library Science at Yangon University and received his M.A. degree with a work on the Nagani Book Club. He later retired from the library field and became a merchant.

Gunnar Peters studied physics and South Asian studies at Humboldt University in Berlin. There he started to learn the Burmese language with Dr. Uta Gärtner. In 1997-98 he studied Burmese at the University of Foreign Languages in Yangon, Burma. After getting his degree in physics, he worked for five years as a Burmese interpreter for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Burma, later also as Thai interpreter in Southern Thailand. At present he works as a freelance translator and compiles an English-Shan dictionary.

Shwe Pyi Soe was born in 1964, Kheck Saie Township, Mandalay division. He got his Master degree of art, *Myanmarsar* (Myanmar language/literature) in 1991. He started his career as the tutor and continued his study. He got a Ph.D degree of *Myanmarsar* in 2003. He is now at the post of Associate Professor in Foreign Language University, Mandalay.

Ye Nyunt was born February 10, 1960 in Yangon. He received his first science degree in 1982 while he worked as a clerk at the New Light of Myanmar Daily. He got a Diploma in Journalism from the “International Institute for Journalism, Berlin, Germany” in 1990. In 2000, he obtained his master’s degree specializing in International Relations from the “International University of Japan, Niigate”. He is married and has a daughter. He is currently working for the weekly Popular Journal as the chief translator in Yangon.

Salai Kipp Kho Lian is an ethnic Chin of Burma residing on Germany. He was a student political activist during the 1970s and currently he is running the Vansangva Online Democracy Training (*in Burmese*) as a blogger.

Nay Linn was born 1966 in Yangon. He studied at Yangon University and received his B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. there. Until 2006 he worked as Tutor at Yangon University, Department of Myanmar Language & Literature. Later, he was recently transferred to Myeik (Mergui) college in southern Myanmar and to Bago (Pegu). Before being transferred back to Yangon.

Richard Zatu was born in 1945 in Chin State. He got bachelor of commerce in 1972. He worked as a project manager after finishing his study. In 1983 he changed his carrier as an editor at the Guardian daily Newspaper until 1990. From 1992 to 2005 he worked as a private translator. At present, he is working as a trainer at the Shalom foundation.

I Introduction (Hans-Bernd Zöllner)

Look East ...

This volume introduces a ‘mini series’ of Nagani publications published in the starting period of the book club on the writings of the Chinese political leader Sun Yat Sen (1866 – 1925) together with a book on his role in the downfall of the last Chinese imperial dynasty and the attempt to form a Chinese republic. The series introduced the Chinese leader’s political philosophy, the “Three Principles of the People” (San Min Chu I), to Burma. The first volume translated Sun Yat-sen’s ideas on principle one, *Mínzú Zhǔyì*, that is nationalism. The following two books informed about the second principle, *Mínquán Zhǔyì*, “people’s power” or “democracy” as implemented in the French and the British-American revolutions. However, Sun Yat Sen’s ideas on his third principle, public welfare (*Mínshēng Zhǔyì*), were not offered to the readers in a Burmese version. The translation of Sun Yat Sen’s texts was done by Thakin Ba Thaung, the introductions were written by U Ba Choe (Nationalism), Thein Pe (People’s Power I) and the translator (People’s Power II) who however remained anonymous because he was jailed at the time of the publications.

The books on Sun Yat Sen’s principles were the first introducing foreign models after three books on Burmese topics - a portrayal of the prominent nationalist writer and patron of the main wing of the Dobama Asiayone, Thakin Kodaw Hmaing,¹ some plays by the book club’s co-founder, Nu,² and Ba Khaing’s pioneering *Political History of Myanma*³. Between the first publication of the Sun-Yat-Sen series (Nagani book no. 4) and the last one (Nagani book no. 11) books on Burmese affairs (Thein Pe’s “Student Strike”, vol. 1⁴ and Maung Maung Myint’s “Burma’s Problem”) a biography of the Philippine national hero José Rizal⁵ and books on Socialism⁶ and the American way to success⁷ were published.

Tun Pe’s translation of the first part of a book of a Chinese representative of the Kuomintang in London which came out in 1930⁸ was published in early 1940 and belongs to a later period of the book club after it had become a publication house among others. The book concentrated on

¹ See vol. 2 of this series.

² See vol. 17 of this series

³ See vol. 5 of this series.

⁴ See vol. 4 of this series.

⁵ See vol. 7 of this series.

⁶ Soe’s “Socialism”; see vol. 10 of this series.

⁷ The first volume of Nu’s translation of Carnegie’s “How to Win Friends and Influence People”.

⁸ The translator mentions to have made use of some other books on China as well (see below V.1), but only after a thorough comparison of the models and the Burmese version an assessment of how these sources were used will be possible.

disseminating information about the changes happening in China in the lifetime of Sun Yat Sen and not on the “religious” spirit of the Chinese leader as highlighted by Thein Pe’s introduction to the first volume on “People’s Power”.

Nagani looked to its eastern neighbour first in its attempt to introduce foreign experiences about how to achieve independence to the Burmese public. Only then western ideas like Socialism and capitalist concepts were dealt with.

One may ask why it was not the struggle for independence of Burma’s western neighbour, India, which was evaluated first as an Asian model for the country’s political struggle.¹ This choice can be explained by a combination of general and personal reasons. In 1938, India’s independence struggle was as undecided as Burma’s. The constitutional reforms introduced by the British were as controversially discussed as in Burma. One main question was if or if not to participate in the institutions of self-government and if participation was chosen, how it should be put into practice. Within the Indian National Congress, various factions competed for political domination. Everything seemed to be in a flux and no clear line was visible.

In contrast, China had undergone a transition of liberating the country both from its own traditional fetters symbolised by the Chinese Emperor and, to a lesser extent, from foreign dominance. It was Sun Yat Sen who replaced the last Emperor of the Qing dynasty as China’s head of state, albeit only for a very short time. Despite the fact that his political aim to build a united republican China never became reality during his lifetime and that he had to perform his revolutionary activities mainly from abroad, he was the personification of a “New China” until the emergence of the communist challenge to Sun Yat Sen’s nationalist Kuomintang Party under Mao’s leadership.

The symbolic role of the revolutionary relied not so much on his political achievements but on the propagation of a new conception of China’s state and society laid down in the “Three Principles”. They were published first in Chinese language in 1905 during Sun Yat Sen’s stay in Japan were and later adopted as the national ideology of Republican China until today.

“Deedok”² U Ba Choe, the patron of the Nagani Book Club,³ wrote the foreword to the first of the three adaptations of the “Three Principles”. One may conclude that it was he who induced the

¹ For the two books published on India see vol. 14 of this series.

² „Deedok“ (owl) was the name of the journal published by Ba Choe.

³ See vol. 1 of this series, pp. 19-22.

publication of the three books introduced here. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that Ba Choe was one of the members of the Burmese friendship delegation that visited China in late 1939.¹

... to the West

The “Three Principles” try to apply western political concepts which Sun Yat Sen learned about while living and studying abroad to Chinese culture and society. By acquainting the Burmese public with the concept of the Chinese thinker cum politician, the Burmese readers were introduced to western political ideas through the glasses of a Chinese who spent his youth in Hawaii (1879-1882), studied in the British colony of Hong Kong (1883-1894) after suffering a culture shock at his return to his native village, lived in exile in Britain, America and Japan after an unsuccessful attempt to topple the imperial government (1895-1911) and was exiled again between 1913 and 1917.

This biographical information about the Chinese revolutionary points to a special feature of the Burmese independence movement as exemplified by the leading men behind the Nagani Book Club compared to their foreign Eastern models. Unlike Sun Yat Sen, and José Rizal they had never lived and studied in a western country. Their first-hand experience of western education was gained through attending the educational institutions established under British rule and heavily influenced by nationalist ideas that characterised Burmese schools and colleges after the first student strike of 1920.

The only Burmese politician who could be compared to Sun Yat Sen was Ba Maw who had studied in England and France – and who, like the Chinese politician – was a Christian. Ba Maw, however, like other politicians who participated in the political system introduced by the British, was never really trusted by the younger generation of activists close to the *Dobama Asiayone*.

Idealisation of Second-hand Experiences and Incorporation into the Buddhist Sphere

The first education about western political history such as the emergence of nationalism and the revolutions in Europe and America happened as a kind of “second-hand learning” through eastern thinkers who had studied the West in the West respectively in a western environment. This indirect route of the knowledge transfer into Burma might have had a big impact.

The Burmese revolutionaries never developed an intimate and friendly relationship with western teachers and friends like Sun Yat Sen and Rizal did.¹ Consequently, their attitude towards

¹ See vol. 6 of this series.

foreigners and their know-how was almost unilaterally characterised by the way the “Thakin” title was taken over from the colonial “masters” and turned against them. The adoption of information from the West either indirectly or directly therefore was not accompanied by feelings of sympathy towards the representatives of such knowledge but just taken up in a predominantly “cool” and technical way.

Another aspect of this way of intelligence transfer is illustrated by Sun Yat Sen’s reported reaction on the discovery of his native village’s backwardness. The 16-years-old after his return from Hawaii is said to have damaged the statue of a deity venerated by the villagers, a misdeed that caused his flight to Hong Kong. No similar act is recorded by any Burmese revolutionary the wrath of whom was directed only against the British colonialists and their political system. A significant symbolic attack was performed by Nu and some friends who burned the Union Jack on April 1, 1937, the day of the implementation of the new constitution for Burma. Burmese Buddhism as well as Burmese political structures had to be reformed,² but were never emotionally criticised.

The young Burmese revolutionaries thus never experienced the emotional kind of cultural shock that challenged their traditional world view as Sun Yat Sen did. As a consequence, Sun Yat Sen’s and other role models were perceived in a particular manner. As a person, he was depicted by Ba Choe as a virtuous man in compliance with a good Buddhist abiding by the traditional *silas*. No shortcoming of his personal or political life is mentioned. He was reported to have died as a poor man who had sacrificed his life for the sake of his nation as Rizal was seen as a forerunner of the Burmese martyrs like U Wisara and Bo Aung Kyaw.³

The teachings of Sun Yat Sen are treated in a similar way. The title page of “Nationalism” as well as Thein Pe emphasise the fact that the “Three Principles” were taught all over modern China as an academic subject. Thein Pe adds that his teaching could be regarded as a “religion” (*sasana*), i.e. as ultimate truth as laid down in the Buddha-dhamma.

The teacher and his teaching were thus separately idealised and at the same time incorporated by way of a “Buddhist Burmanisation”.

¹ The relationship to John F. Furnivall can be seen as an exception of this rule. See Hans-Bernd Zöllner (2000) Asterix and Cesar in Burma/Myanmar. Some Remarks on Burmese Historiography in the Global World. *Myanmar Two Millennia*. Yangon, Universities Historical Research Centre.

² See Thakin Ba Thoung’s manifesto of the *Dobama Asiyayone* written in 1930 (vol. 5 of this series, pp. 90-99).

³ See vol. 7 of this series.

The Neglect of Difference and the Choice of New Models by the Political Elites

One may conclude from these deliberations that the foreign wisdom employed to win Burma's independence was integrated into the already existing Burmese patterns of how independence could be gained by personal virtue plus knowledge. Sun Yat Sen and other fighters for independence in foreign countries were thus invoked to encourage the Burmese people to make use of their own moral talents and employ the techniques necessary to stage a successful revolution. The differences between the models and their teachings and the Burmese situation were however neglected.

End of August 1938, at the time of the publication of the three books dealing with Sun Yat Sen,¹ a Burmese journalist summarised the influence of foreign impact on the Burmese nationalists.² He started with an enumeration of liberal English (Burke, Bentham, Mill, Gladstone) and later French and Italian (Rousseau, Voltaire, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Danton, Robespierre) philosophers and politicians. After that, a new phase set in:

Slowly, Burma turned towards Ireland, could we not import Sinn Fein? Sinn Fein Movement gave birth to Dobama (Thakin) Movement. The experiment was tried; but though there was no lack of Griffiths and de Valera to reach the efficiency of non-violent? self-reliance, the iron hand of British Imperialism tried to nip it in the bud. Nietzsche and his superman philosophy cropped up with Thakinism. The old reactionaries said this country was not ripe for Revolution [...] The world outside Burma had in the meantime went beyond the Irish stage. The 1917 coup and Lenin appear on the political horizon. Marxism-Leninism is the new political philosophy for the younger generation, though the elders despise it as something crazy and utopian. [...] „Comrades“ and „Hammer and Sickle“ come out in the streets, in face of Fascist militaristic organisations of some of our old political leaders.

Interestingly, the author only mentions western role models taken up by Burmese nationalists, nothing about the Eastern and Western neighbours, China and India or Japan. His focus is on discriminating different phases of adopting foreign ideas on the part of the young revolutionaries. They followed international developments but made a different choice than the “old reactionaries”.

A look at the Nagani publications points to another criterion for selection. No books were published covering exclusively the lives and ideas of philosophers like John Stuart Mill, Jacques Rousseau and Friedrich Nietzsche. They were, as the journalist, writer and politician Tun Pe observed after the war only read by a small number of intellectuals. Nietzsche, for example, had influenced

¹ The books were published between April and September 1938.

² *New Burma*, 28.8.1938. For details on the author and the context see Zöllner 2000: 339-340.

particularly Thakin Ba Thaung, the founder of the Dobama.¹ In contrast, fighters for Irish freedom like De Valera, Michael Collins, Roger Casement and others were portrayed in Nagani books even after the outside world had moved “beyond the Irish stage”. There was a public interest in their life stories, a phenomenon which can be noticed until today.²

The educational level surely played a role in the reception of the final stage of reception noticed by the journalist. Tun Pe who was one of the few outspoken critics of the Thakins used an unflattering comparison to describe the composition of the movement: “the new ideology was not constant. In the process of adoption it underwent variations, like the ‘Irish whispering game’ which I learned in a Missionary school: The word ‘elephant’ whispered from ear to ear was heard as ‘ant’ when it came to the last man. Thus ‘Communism’ whispered from books sounded like ‘Opportunism’ when it reached the fringes of the circle.”³

The adoption of international models into the Burmese political scene thus only reached the intellectual elites of the people. Furthermore, the young nationalists never had time and opportunity to thoroughly bring up the ideas imported from abroad to discussion. As a consequence a variety of foreign impacts can be noted. They layered about and besides each other without being integrated into a concept shared by the majority of the people. The interest in Sun Yat Sen may represent just one of such layers which were soon superimposed by another one. In the book Nu wrote on the travel of a Burmese delegation to China in 1939/1940, a picture of Mao Tse Tung not of Sun Yat Sen is presented.⁴ And for Salai Kipp Kho Lian, one of the contributors to this paper who was a student activist in the 70s and many other Burmese students it was only Mao who was regarded as worthwhile discussing (see chapter II.3). Sun Yat Sen had been forgotten.

Such considerations lead to the question of how ideological ideas took root in Burmese politics after independence until today and how they were integrated into the traditional patterns of “political culture”. This however is a question beyond the scope of this Working Paper.

A Note on the Books’ Contributors

All four books introduced here are translations. The titles mention the topic of the respective text translated. The cover of “Nationalism” highlights its importance for “400 million Chinese” whereas

¹ Zöllner 2000, 340 and 412-425.

² Editor’s personal observation.

³ Tun Pe 1949 *Sun over Burma*. Rangoon, Rasika Ranjani Press, .

⁴ For Salai Kipp Kho Lian, a student activist in the 70s, and many other Burmese students, it was only Mao who was regarded as worthwhile discussing (see chapter II.3). Sun Yat Sen had been forgotten.

the covers of the two volumes on “Peoples’ Power” display an identical picture. It illustrates the books’ subtitles, the revolutions in France and England/America. The name of Sun Yat Sen is never mentioned but his photo in the first of the three volumes makes clear whose ideas were disseminated. The title of Tun Pe’s translation reproduces the English title of the main source of the book.

For the intended “meaning” of the translations of Sun Yat Sen’s political philosophy and his life the introductions written by different people are instructive. “Deedok” U Ba Choe writes a rather long essay of 25 pages and informs the reader about the life of Sun Yat Sen and the global context of his writings as perceived by him.¹ The first volume of “People’s Power” contains an introduction – eight pages long - by Thein Pe entitled “Sun Yat Sen’s Religion” which concentrates on the Chinese leader’s stance on socialism and communism.² Finally, the second volume of “People’s Power” is the shortest – three pages – and written by Mogyo (“thunder”), the pen name of U Ohn Khin.³ It reflects some problems of translating English texts into Burmese. Tun Pe’s foreword to the “Inner History” just mentions his sources.

The authors of the reviews of the three books on Sun Yat Sen’s philosophy obviously did not have access to Maung Zeal’s paper on “Thakin Ba Thoung and Nagani”.⁴ Therefore, they assume that the writers of the introductions of the books on Sun Yat Sen’s political program and the translators are identical. This assumption, however, applies only to the second volume on “People’s Power”. Both the introduction and the text were written by Thakin Ba Thauung. U Ohn Khin acted on behalf of the founder of the *Dobama* because of his imprisonment. The foreword the third book therefore can be regarded as a personal “translator’s note” to all three volumes on Sun Yat Sen’s writings. The two other introductions are different in nature in providing some factual information on the respective book’s topic.⁵

The four contributors introducing Sun Yat Sen’s ideas and life to Burma share some common characteristics but stand for very different segments of the nationalist movement. Ba Choe (born 1893), Thein Pe (born 1914) and Thakin Ba Thoung (born 1901) were writers cum politicians. Ba

¹ For a summary of the foreword see below pp. 28-32.

² See below pp.

³ See below p.

⁴ See vol. 1.1 of this series, pp. 66-68.

⁵ The difference is underlined by the different Burmese word used for the introductions. Ba Choe’s and Thein Pe’s introductions are called *nidan*, Mogyoe’s/Ba Thoung’s *ahmazaga*. The same linguistic difference appears in the two forewords to Ba Hein’s “World of Capitalists” by Thakin Than Tun and Thakin Soe. The former’s personal introduction of the young author is entitled *ahma*, the latter’s more factual information *nidan* (see vol. 3 of this series).

Choe represents the blend of tradition and Western socialist views as shown in his founding of Fabian party in Burma.¹ Thein Pe belonged to the group of young communists and Ba Thoung was an extreme individualist. He had personal contacts to the Nagani leaders, contributed to the publication of the book club, but was no part of the Nagani movement. The same applies to Tun Pe (born 1900) who contributed two translations to the book club² but kept a clear distance to the young Thakins who stood behind the enterprise.

About This Volume

Three book reports written by Shwe Pyi Soe, now an Associate Professor for Burmese language and literature at Mandalay University, form the backbone of this volume. They provide a rough introduction into the contents of the books and the men who introduced Sun Yat Sen's ideas to the Burmese public together with short assessments of the books. There is a second review on "Nationalism" written by Salai Kipp Kho Lian a Burmese exile born in Chin State now living in Germany who left his home country after spending some time in jail in the Ne Win in era. It might be interesting to compare both reviews on the same book because of the different approaches taken.³

Salai Kiap's review contains a summary of Ba Choe's introduction to "Nationalism". The two other introductions by Thein Pe and Mogyo/Ba Thoung are fully translated in order to enable the reader to make sense of the meaning of the publications by Burmese nationalists representing different facets of the independence movements.

The Nagani News published in addition to the series of books in 1938 contains an early review of the first publication of Sun Yat Sen's thoughts. Another article reviews a book published by the Victor Gollancz' Left Book Club on "Racism". Both articles are reproduced here to give an idea about the difficulties of correctly transferring the English term "nationalism" into Burmese language. For an attempt to look at the Burmese equivalents of "democracy" see the article of Dr. Tin Hlaing in Working Paper 100 of this series.

Some more material which may help to contextualise the books introduces here and to investigate into their impact on post-war Burmese political thought are welcome.

Hamburg, November 2010

¹ For details, see the introduction to vol. 5 of this series.

² In April 1940, a translation of Pat Sloan's "Soviet Democracy" was published (book No. 44 of Kyaw Hoe's bibliography).

³ Salai Kipp Kho Lian intended to review all three books but was not able to finish this task.

II Material on “Nationalism”

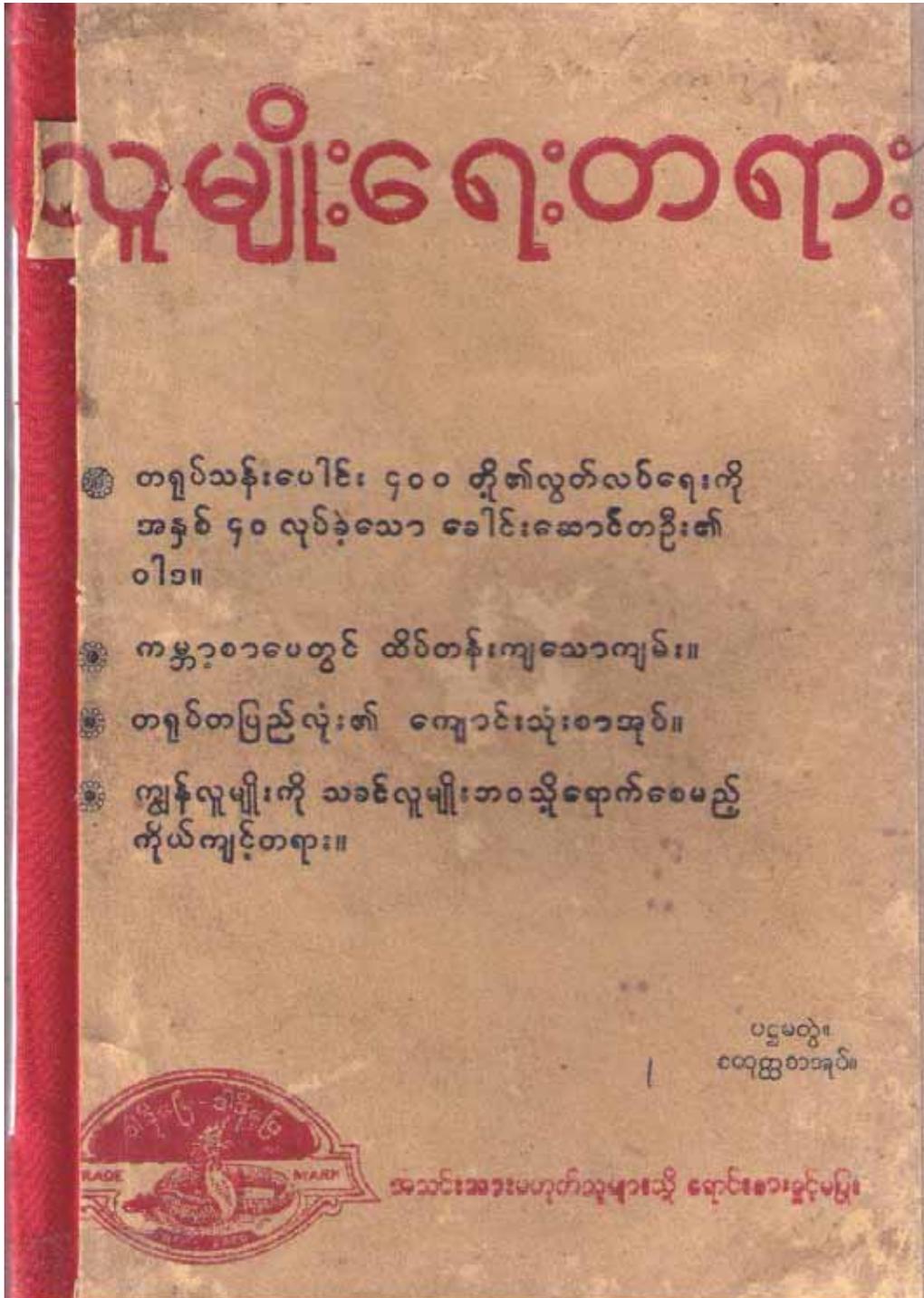
1 Kyaw Hoe, Bibliographical Information

Translation: Gunnar Peters

4) *Nationalism*. Author: Dr. Sun Yat-sen, translation: Nagani Book Club, Yangon, Nagani, 1937. 260p., 1 picture of Sun Yat-sen

Nagani translated the first part of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's „*sānmínzhǔyì*“ [The Three Principles of the People], „Nationalism“, and published it under the same name. The 25 pages long introduction was written by Dee Doke U Ba Cho. Under the heading „The world's problem“ he gives a short assessment of world politics, and under the heading „Let's look ahead“ he talks about the question of independence of colonized countries. Then follows some information on Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the testaments he addressed to his son, his wife, and his country. The „Selflessness of Sun Yat-sen“ is shown with some examples. In the end of the introduction he writes: „Everyone who wants to build a modern Burma should hold on to the Three Principles of the People. I am writing this introduction because I am very glad that Nagani translated and published Sun Yat-sen's first part „Nationalism“, and I think that this is a book that will lay a foundation stone for our Burma's independence and for the Building of a New Age.“ Dated 2nd waxing moon of Tabaung 1299.

This book contains Sun Yat-sen's first six lectures. In his lectures for China's independence from the colonial power, Sun Yat-sen gives a detailed account of events starting from history up to the current situation and describes how the struggle for independence should be fought. So this was an important support for the Burmese people struggling for their own independence from the English. As laid out in Dee Doke U Ba Cho's introduction, it represents a clear description of what the aims should be.



Reproduction of Title Page¹

¹ For a translation of the slogans see pp. 17-18.



ဒေါက်တာဆွန်ယက်ဆင်

Reproduction of a Photo of “Doctor Sun Yat Sen”

2 Shwe Pyi Soe, Book Report on Nationalism (Author: Deedok U Ba Cho)

Translation: Ye Nyunt

Biography of Deedok U Ba Cho (1255 - 1309 Myanmar Era)¹

U Ba Cho was born of U Po Sar, a traditional medicine practitioner, and Daw Myit in Myaungmya on Monday the 10th Waxing Day of Kaso, 1255 ME [1893]. In childhood, he started pursuit of education in Myaungmya, but moved to Yangon where he continued reading at St. Paul High School. Although he attended the University of Rangoon for a bachelor's degree in arts, he quit the education before completing the degree course for an eye disease. His share in going against the British was remarkable.

He contributed to founding the National University in 1282 [1920]. He was a well-known figure in Myanmar literature, and music and theatrical worlds and also in the independence struggle. His share in the anti-colonialist movement was a work done with the might of the pen. On top of all, he was revered by the people as a martyr, assassinated by unscrupulous elements aligned to the colonialists on July 19, 1947.

He was a teacher in Hinthada and Myaungmya. Not only a leading independence fighter, he had wide knowledge in both secular and religious affairs. He was a good writer, too. Among his literary works were Kappa Lankara Vandana Treatise, Introduction to Sama Treatise, U Punnya's Responding Supplication, Gita Visodhani Treatise, Bwe Siha novel, Taingpyu Pyi-pyu (Construction of the Country), etc.

Bwe Siha novel had its background in the monarchic era, seemingly giving a comparison between the monarchic and colonial ruling systems.

He contributed articles to Myanma Alin (The New Light of Myanmar) and Hne Pah Kyi Journal and Bandoola Journal. In 1287 [1925], he founded the Deedok Journal together with a printing press in Yegyaw Ward in eastern Yangon. After the name of his journal, he became popular as Deedok U Bo Cho.

In addition to Deedok U Ba Cho, he used other pseudonyms - Doe Doe Dauk, Kyukauk, Kaytha, Sabe, Okkala Ma Khin Sein and Eh Mike Malay- to write novels and articles.

¹ The Myanmar years 1255 - 1309 fell around 1893 -1947. U Ba Cho, along with General Aung San and other leaders, was gunned down by unscrupulous persons, lackeys of the British, on July 19, 1947. (Translator's note)

He had a hand in the emergence of the Burmese Journalists Association (BJA) in 1936. One year before the outbreak of war, he was elected BJA chairman.

Mature and strong in nationalist spirit, he participated in political movements in the anti-colonialist struggle. At the end of World War II, he served as the Minister for Information with the AFPFL.¹ In this post, he was assassinated in 1947.

Nationalism (Nagani series)

This book was published only for the Nagani members, not for sale.

Introduction

“Nationalism” is a paper, which is a collection of works without reference to source authors. It is also a translation of Dr Sun Yat-Sen’s political thoughts and ideologies. Printed on its cover is Fourth Book, Volume I. It carries a long introduction by Deedok U Ba Cho, who is assumed to be the translator. It does not mention the author’s name. Mentioned beneath the introduction was the date - 2nd Waxing Day of Tabaung, 1299 ME [1937] - with the place name Yangon.

Dr Sun Yat-Sen’s speeches were recorded with various dates: January 27, 1924 for Speech 1; February 3, 1923 for Speech 2; February 10, 1924 for Speech 3; February 17, 1924 for Speech 4; February 24, 1924 for Speech 5; and March 2, 1924 for Speech 6. “Nationalism” was a collection of all the six speeches in 260 pages, impregnated with Sun Yat Sen’s ideologies, and was printed at Myanmar Movies printing press and published by Maung Tun E. The reader can study the world political situations around 1923-24. The author’s intention seemed to allow the public to weigh the political situation and independence struggle in the colonial era in Myanmar in comparison with the world’s political movements and evolving ideas and ideologies.

Context of the book and review

The cover was printed with the Nagani logo along with a motto “This is our country, this is our land.”

There is also a line on the cover “Ideology of a leader who has been engaged in struggles for the independence of 400 million Chinese,” with two more lines “The top treatise in world literature” and “Prescribed textbook for students in the entire China.” Another line which states “Ethics that

¹ Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League

will transform slavery to mastership” was an underpinning exhortation to all Myanmar fighting for independence.

The “Introduction” begins with the contemporary world’s problems. There are two problems in world’s politics - the battle between unfulfilled imperialists and fulfilled imperialists, and the battle between the imperialists and their slave countries. These were the reasons for the two “class-wars” that invariably came to surface in the colonialist era.

At the end of World War I in 1918, a problem arose between the winners and the losers. England, American and France, the winners, got a great deal of compensation and occupied small colonial countries once under Germany, the loser.

Despite its loss in the war, Hitler re-established a new Germany, and it stands as a first-class country in Europe today. Yet, it needed colonial countries where it could find raw materials and markets for sales of finished goods.

In the post-war period, the English gained influence and glory in the eastern half of Asia with its powerful navy. At the same time, Japan of East Asia copied the Western systems and established itself to become a second-class country in the world. America interfered in the manipulation of the Western capitalists, who kept China as their base as an economic pastureland. The situation called for preparation of defence against the Americans.

In accordance with this urgency, the English helped Japan to reinforce its naval forces and build war ships. Every situation in 1894 was directed towards conflagration of the fire of World War II. Germany tried to defend the English Navy with the promulgation of a Navy Law in 1900.

In the interval between the end of World War I and the start of WW II, European capitalist countries were engaged in an arms race. With its growing military strength, Japan aimed to bring the entire of China under its influence.

The crux of the problem lied in the grabbing of the share of slave countries by each colonialist country. Propelled by colonialism, wealth and industrialized countries extended their colonies where they could invest their capitals.

At that time, Myanmar was only a small nation with a population of 14 million in a status of low dignity. The independence and future of Myanmar was greatly associated with WW II. It was a time appropriate for Myanmar to take up anti-colonialist activities without neglecting world

political ideologies. If Myanmar wished to emancipate itself from slavery, it had to cooperate invariably with China and India, which were combating imperialism.

In the meantime, a personality called Dr Sun Yat-Sen emerged in China. He had been endeavouring for 40 years for the liberation of China from Manchurian monarchs, establishment of a Chinese republic ruled by the people's government, abolition of agreements made forcibly with China and establishment of a modern China that could keep abreast with world nations.

The situations in Myanmar under the British were not different from those in China. People had to embrace patriotism, as Sun Yat-Sen adopted, for founding a new, modern Myanmar.

Nagani Association has translated "Nationalism," the first part of the three-section ideology or *san min chu-i*, and published it as a Nagani movement. Hence, it should be said that it was a good book that had laid foundation for the liberation of Myanmar or the establishment of a modern Myanmar. *San min chu-i* in Chinese means "Three ideologies".

Dr Sun Yat-Sen

Dr Sun Yat-Sen was a leader who founded the new China. He had played a top, model role for about 40 years for the welfare of China. He was born in 1866 in a small village, called Cuiheng, in Guangdong province. Since childhood, he had been possessed with enthusiasm to transform backward China into a modern nation. He went to Hong Kong to pursue modern education. He got a chance to study medicine with the help of the principle of Medical College Sir James Cantlie to whom he was introduced by a missionary association. On completion of the course, he became Dr Sun Yat-Sen and had to go to Macao, which was under the Portuguese administration, to work as a medical practitioner. He attempted to rebel against the Manchu monarch for ten times. His battle against the unjustified monarchic rule won success in December 1911, and one year later in 1922, China was declared a republic. Dr Sun Yat-Sen died poor, without any material possession.

The six speeches of Dr Sun Yat-Sen were ideologies in favour of the impoverished, and were collectively published by Nagani Publishing Association with an introduction by Deedok U Ba Cho.

Speeches 1 – 6

San min chu-i is a set of ideologies. We have to seek an ideology for the welfare of our people. What is the ideology for wealth? Nationalism is an ideology for the welfare of one's own country and people.

Ideology refers to one concept, one belief and one power. Power stems from belief in one ideology. In other words, belief means power. One should have belief in *san min chu-i*, or people's ideologies which provide wealth.

What is nationalism? Nationalism is similar to political ideology. Nationalism calls for taking care of one's household members and relatives. But, some say that taking care of one's relatives cannot be said to be taking care of one's fellow citizens. By extension, taking care of one's relatives promotes unity.

Western countries have a differentiation in meanings between "nation" and "the people". It is correct to say only in China that nationalism and people's ideology are the same. This is not correct for Western countries.

Some nations are made up of people belonging to different races. Some people, though belonging to the same race, live in different nations. China is a nation which is made up of the people of the same race. England, a powerful country in the world, has been founded with the Whites. However, the capitalist government's extension of its territory caused the British emperor to encompass not only the Whites but also the Browns and the Blacks. Though the English ruled Hong Kong, its citizens were Chinese. India, under the rule of the English, was home to about 350 million of Indians.

Hence, according to Sun Yat-Sen's belief, nations appear by nature, but not by themselves. People establish a nation with the might of weapons. Weapons are called strength. Establishment of a nation with strength can be called employment of the strength method or pursuit of the strength path. Nation is a cluster of people that emerges by the strength method.

Hong Kong did not appear by itself. It emerged when the English annexed it from China and established it as a nation. The fact that India had emerged as a colonial country under the English was due to the strength of weapons. A nation cannot appear without the employment of the strength method.

The British Empire was called the sun-never-goes-down empire because nations under the British rule were found at every place where the sun rose. This empire was founded by the British by treading the path of strength.

In differentiating between the nation and the people, there is another criterion - whether the means of livelihood are the same or not. The third criterion is the language. The nation and the people can

be differentiated by language. The fourth is the faith and belief because of which nations emerge. The fifth is the customs, culture and behaviour. People of the same customs live together while those of different customs leave for another place. These five criteria have come into existence by nature, not because of wars.

Hence, adopting nationalism is the cause for wealth. Chinese tend to look after their family members and relatives, not fellow countrymen. So, China, home to about 400 million people, is disintegrating like grains of sand on a dune, not sticking to each other, instead of getting united.

Although peoples, because of race differences, have different colours and customs, generally there is not much difference in their intellect and ability. Manchurians and Mongols, minor racial groups, made Chinese their slaves. One race may completely disappear if it is swallowed up by another race. If the people concerned do not look after their race, their nation will disappear. These facts are contained in Speech 1.

Speech 2 begins from page 64. It is a natural phenomenon that the rise and fall of a race can be estimated by looking at the increasing or decreasing situations of its population. It can be found in history that some races, that had achieved great fame, completely disappeared. Some vanished races have not even left traces.

Changes in the natural processes, migration of the people and other secular phenomena cause a population to rise or fall. On the other hand, people's machination can obliterate nature's creations. It can even overpower heavenly functions. Mainly included in the people's machination are weapons for the national defence and economy for the national wealth. Human machination is the most powerful. Weapons and economy can surpass nature.

Though the scourge of nature does not bring immediate impacts, it is so powerful that it can even delete great races to disappear. About 200 or 300 years ago, the continent of America was home to the Red tribes. As the Red tribes were backward, primitive people, they were not united, living widespread in detached small tribes. They have disappeared gradually since the Whites entered their land and made it their home. Today, there are no more Red races or Red areas which have been wiped out from the surface of the land. North America has become the land for the Whites. This explains the Law of Nature's Choice which has erased a great race from the earth.

It is also found under the Law of Nature's Choice that the economy can also delicately erase a nation. Hence, Sun Yat-Sen has advanced an argument in his Speech 2 that the rise and fall of a nation can be gauged by the decrease or increase in its population.

In his **Speech 3**, Dr Sun Yat-Sen says nationalism is the precious mainstay of a nation. A nation with this mainstay achieves progress. A nation that has adopted this mainstay lasts long. Without this mainstay, the nation disintegrates.

There were many causes of the collapse of nationalism in China. Nationalism is depleted when a nation falls under the people of different race and belief. Nationalism collapsed when majority Han race fell under minority Man or Manchurians in China.

Jews have lost their nation and nationalism since before the emergence of Jesus as they fell under the people of other race. However, Jews still exist because they continue to perpetuate their race despite their loss of nation.

In the world today, countries that have the widest empires with the strongest weaponry and wealth are Great Britain and the United States. The two countries have stood as two great powers after destroying other countries.

There are three greatest dangers in this region: (1) extreme increase in the population of foreigners, (2) extreme suppression in economic affairs, and (3) depletion of nationalism. Today's Germany is preaching nationalism. When there are no more cases of injustice, we just need to preach non-racialism, instead of nationalism. In the world, unfair suppression, restriction, coercion and bullying do not contribute to non-racialism. Sun Yat-Sen also deals with his beliefs and views concerning race.

Speech 4 - beginning on page 142 - deals with imperialism. Before the outbreak of the European war, Europeans were poisoned with colonialism and imperialism. Dr Sun Yat-Sen defines imperialism as brutalism with which one nation overpowers another nation relying on the might of weapons. Chinese adapt imperialism into a Chinese term, meaning "far-stepping or outstretched attack." European capitalists wage wars to seek self-benefit. They are fighting battles constantly, drifting in the current of inequity, at a rate of one battle in every 10 years and one war in every 100 years.

Of all the wars, the recent European war was the largest. The Europeans pulled other races into the war. Because of the inclusion of people of all races, it could be called a world war with the largest casualties.

This war was the most serious of all in the past. The main reason of fighting this war was to grab and dominate the seas. The second was to extend territory for economic reasons. In other words, colonialism underlay the war.

Under the current situation, powerful countries are attempting to annex the entire world unfairly, relying on their strength and power. They restrict the rights of other races by monopolizing the world. The war that had been fought violently for years could not extirpate imperialism. Imperialists test their strength in every war. A group of imperialists maims or destroys other group. The winners are none other than imperialists.

Non-racialism, now being spoken of by Westerners, is not genuine. Their means of winning over other races with reliance on weapons is against non-racialism. There is a saying in English: "Might is justified."

In Sun Yat-Sen's view in Speech 4, the motto "Might is justified" is not right. Imperialism and the ideologies advocating might, weapons and injustice will never contribute to peace in this world.

Speech 5, beginning on page 181, deals with the revival of nationalism, which will perpetuate the race. Countries that have fallen under the yoke of powerful countries are vulnerable to extinction. There are two methods of using strength over a race or a nation: one is attacking with the might of weapons and the other is forcibly making it to sign agreements unilaterally. Needing to extend their empires for the economic gains of their nations, they have taught a lot of people military science.

America has pre-arranged so that it can recruit as many soldiers as possible. At the European war, America sent 2 million soldiers to the battlefield within a year. Although the size of its regular army is small, it can draw as much strength as possible for its army.

Similarly, the English, keeping Hong Kong as its military base, have given military training for years. They have grabbed it from the Chinese as it is situated in a strategic location. In Hong Kong, English soldiers are constantly undergoing drilling and parades. Combat ships are always kept ready. Army and naval forces deployed in Hong Kong are in a position to attack China at any time.

India is under the British capitalists, bracing up against the unjustified rule of the latter. The Indians are helpless without any means to rise against the British except Gandhi's non-violent opposition.

There are means to tackle the world's problems with unjustified practices. The first is the employment of combat method, and the second is that of nationalism or patriotism. The first is

termed “positive or offensive” method, and the second is “negative or defensive” method. Boycotting is the negative method, which also constitutes an effective way to combat imperialism and prevent one’s nation against destruction. Sun Yat-Sen has presented this as a political ideology.

The last chapter of “Nationalism,” from page 216 to 260, mentions **Speech 6** which deals with an ideology to preserve the dignity of a nation. One should look for the causes of everything - gene, source, etc, seek more skills and knowledge, set proper aims, train one’s mind to be on the right path, look after his or her home and eventually, contribute peace to the world. These ideas make up one’s dignity. In the next stage, one should allow his or her culture grow gradually from inside to outside. If everyone’s mind is immaculate, the world will be endowed with peace. World peace should be built in this way.

These basic principles flourish in the territory of *sila* (morality). It is difficult to culture one’s inner mind - to keep it straight and gentle. Only when one has cultured the mind, will he or she be able to tend to outside affairs such as looking after one’s home and ruling one’s country. A cultured mind leads to proper tackling of outside affairs.

Caring for one’s home and ruling one’s country are possible only in a state free from the influence of foreigners. Accordingly, colonial countries wish to emancipate themselves from the yoke of the colonialists. Knowledge and sharp intellect are crucial in fighting for the independence. Abilities acquired through knowledge and intellect arouse latent patriotism to flourish with burgeoning branches and leaves. Then, it is ready for going all-out to regain independence.

Hence, people should preserve the dignity of their nation with noble, pure mind, with which the dignity of their nation will be enhanced.

Reflection of the time and system

The book “Nationalism,” in which Speeches 1 to 6 of Dr Sun Yat-Sen is incorporated, has been published as one in a series of Nagani Publishing House. As a literary movement, it enlightened people about the primacy of knowledge, and arouses political awareness. It responds to the need of the time and system. All the six speeches show the lanes that will eventually meet at a junction, leading to the reclamation of independence. Speech 1 deals with adoption of correct nationalism, Speech 2 with the concept of increase and decrease in population, Speech 3 with the danger posed by the collapse of nationalism, Speech 4 with the fallacy of winning over others relying on might, Speech 5 with revival of nationalism and Speech 6 with the concept of morality to preserve national dignity.

All these speeches throw light on the capitalist system in the colonial era in Myanmar. Myanmar lost their independence for their fallacious rivalry in the show of wealth and jealousy. Morals are invariably needed to preserve national dignity, especially at a time of struggling for independence. Speech 6 highlights the importance of patriotism on our march up to the goal of independence. One should contemplate on the concept of inner purity to outer purity. We should appreciate independence, believing it prevents war and concretely build up world peace.

With nationalism depleted, we cannot regain independence. The affair of the nationals is the nation's affair. Nation's affair is one's own affair. We cannot separate nationalism from the affairs of the nationals. Dr Sun Yat-Sen's speeches reflect the era and system of a small nation that has lost its independence.

In Myanmar, the saying "Race, swallowed by the earth, will not disappear. It will disappear only when it is assimilated by another race." Sun Yat-Sen exposed the affairs of Chinese affairs to the world's political system. Myanmar political system, Chinese political system and world's political system are identical for the fact that imperialists are destroying the peace of every nation in the world with their biased nationalism and warlordism. Nationalism will recede when the independence of one's nation is tampered with.

Hence, it is assumed that Nagani Books Association has responded to the need of the time by publishing "Nationalism" which bears the line "This is our country, this is our land." It constitutes a clarion call to its members and the entire nation for independence battles.

Conclusion

The cover of "Nationalism" does not bear the author's name. The papers in the book mention political visions of Dr Sun Yat-Sen with the involvement of Chinese affairs and world affairs. Deedok U Ba Cho, an independence martyr, wrote the introduction. It is not mentioned that the source has been translated by U Ba Cho.

"Nationalism" has provided concepts for upgrading the status of people from "slaves" to "masters." It calls for every national to adopt patriotism and morality for preservation of one's own race. Weapons and strength do not form the basis. Morality is the strength.

The English sank Myanmar and Myanmar nationals into slavery with the strength of weapons. The spire of the Myanmar golden palace fell to the ground to be firewood. Myanmar fell into a colonial country because it could not match the weapons, strength and technology. Myanmar degraded in its

status from “mastership” to “slavery.” Nagani wished the people to draw lessons from history and to march on towards independence,.

In a nutshell, “Nationalism” is a dose of tonic for Myanmar people, which is flavoured with the political and national outlook of Dr Sun Yat-Sen.

3 Salai Kipp Kho Lian, Book Review on Sun Yat-sen's "The Three Principles"

PART I

Introduction

This book review is part of the Nagani Project initiated by Dr. Hans-Bernd Zoellner which aims to research the works of the Nagani Book Club of the colonial Burma.

The original Chinese version of the book is known as the „*San Min Chu-i*“ and the English translation was done by a “Well-known Sinologue” and printed by the North China Daily News & Herald, Ltd. Shanghai in 1927. This book is among a series of books the Nagani Book Club translated into Burmese.

The translation of the book into Burmese was done in three separate parts and published by the Nagani Book Club in 1938. To be able to take part in this research work and review the book I was provided by Dr. Zoellner both the English and Burmese versions. The English version consists of lectures given by Dr. Sun Yat-sen on Nationalism, Democracy and Social Welfare. The three separate books of the Burmese translations dealt only with the first two lectures of which the Lecture on Nationalism was translated by Ba Cho (*Dee Doke*) into one book under the title “လူမျိုးရေးတရား” and the Lecture on Democracy was separated and translated into two books titled ပညာသူ့အာဏာနှင့်အင်္ဂလိပ်အမေရိကန်အရေးတော်ပုံများ (People’s Power and English-American Revolutions) and ပြည်သူ့ အာဏာနှင့်ပြင်သစ်အရေးတော်ပုံ (People’s Power and the French Revolution) by *Moe Gyoe* and *Thein Pe* respectively in 1938. The last part or Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s Lecture on Social Welfare was not translated.

In order to review the books the researcher thoroughly read all the translated versions as well as the original English translation including the last lecture which was not translated into Burmese.

I, the reviewer of this book, was born in 1948 after Burma gained Independence and since around the early 1960s I started reading political literatures written in Burmese. I came to realize that by the time the Nagani Book Club started their project during the colonial period to translate valuable books into Burmese the Burmese political terms or vocabularies were, comparatively saying, not yet well developed and some of the old Burmese usages seem to be awkward for us new generations as we become more familiar with well established contemporary political terms. So, reading old books such as this itself is a kind of pleasure as one has the chance to compare the old and new usages or terminologies and reflects on the interesting aspects of evolutionary changes taking place as the Burmese literature developed in the course of time.

As a person already familiar with books written by Mao Tse Tung during my younger days and more familiar with the leftist views of the Chinese struggle for freedom I enjoy reading through Dr. Sun Yat-sen's book as it enables me to fill my knowledge gap and at the same time compare the differing views and political concepts between the nationalists (Kuo-Ming Tang) leaders and the left wing Chinese (Communist Party).

It is also a great pleasure to contemplate on how the minds and thinking of the young Burmese readers could be influenced by these documents and one way or the other shape the future destination of our country - Burma.

1. A BRIEF COMMENT ON THE TITLES OF THE BURMESE VERSIONS

1.1. Lecture On Nationalism (လူမျိုးဂွေးတဂွေး)

Translated by Ba Cho (Dee Doke)

The first thing that attracts the reviewer's attention was the translation of the word "nationalism" itself. The translator U Ba Cho used the Burmese word လူမျိုးဂွေးတဂွေး which in the contemporary political literature may be more appropriate for the English word "racism".

In other word the title itself is, for contemporary readers, shockingly misleading since "racism" was not at all the subject, content or intent of the original book. The modern usage in our time, so to say, would be အမျိုးသားရေးဝါဒ to exactly translate the word "nationalism". The Burmese word တရား is nowadays more associated with religious teachings or philosophies and for secular ideologies and thinkings the appropriate usage is ဝါဒ which stands for the English suffix "-ism".

1.2.

LECTURES ON DEMOCRACY

ပည်သူ့အာဏာနှင့်အင်္ဂလိပ်အရေးတော်ပုံကြီးနှင့်အမေရိကအရေးတော်ပုံကြီး (People's Power and the English-American Revolutions), translated by Moe Gyoe and ပြည်သူ့အာဏာနှင့်ပြင်သစ်အရေးတော်ပုံ (People's Power and the French Revolution), translated by Thein Pe.

In translating the word "democracy" U Moe Gyoe and U Thein Pe both used the word ပည်သူ့အာဏာ which means "people's power" or "people's authority". Even though this Burmese word is the direct translation of the very meaning of the word "democracy" nowadays one would more often hear or see the Burmese using ဒီမိုကရေစီ (*de-mo-ka-ray-cy*) instead of saying or writing ပြည်သူ့အာဏာ. One would not see so often such a direct adaptation of foreign word in the Burmese

contemporary literature. In other word the Burmese literature is rich with terminologies of its own especially in political and social fields. Another word to be mentioned is the usage of “အရေးတော်ပုံ” for “revolution”. Nowadays the word တော်လှန်ရေး is more commonly used to describe “revolution” even though the word အရေးတော်ပုံ is not rendered totally out of date as it is more often used as part of political slogans: For example the common political slogan အရေးတော်ပုံ - အောင်ရမည်! (Victory to the Noble Cause!) used during anti-government demonstrations. It is worth mentioning that the word တော်လှန်ရေး itself is quite a new entity in the Burmese political literature and it was coined or first used by the well-known and respected Burmese writer U Thein Pe Myint. In the olden days a similar word used was တော်လှန်။ ပုန်ကန်။ ခြားနားသည် which describe rebellion against the king, for instance. U Thein Pe Myint coined the word တော်လှန်ရေး to describe mass-based serious struggle for a noble cause or to bring about radical change for the whole nation or people – i.e. revolution - different from that of rebellion တော်လှန်။ ပုန်ကန်။ ခြားနားသည် against an aristocratic ruler mostly out of personal feud among the ruling elites as in the olden days and the motive used to be for personal gain, authority or fame.

Apart from these comments on some Burmese political terms used in the title of the books numerous other usages could be seen in the content that draw attention and invite comments and discussions. However, doing so would take up too much space as this review aims to focus on political and social impact of the book; so it may be too out of context to go through deeply into terminology or usages. I am of the opinion that such detail analysis properly done by relevant scholars would mean valuable contributions to the Burmese literature.

1.3. The Cover Description

The following is a description in Burmese on the cover of the book “လူမျိုးရေးတရား” meant to attract potential readers’ attention.

- The policy of a Chinese leader, who for forty years, worked for the emancipation of 400 million Chinese.
- A document of highest standard among the world literature.
- Designated as school curriculum throughout China.
- The ethic that will change a slave nation into master nation.

2. SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS

2.1. Lecture On Nationalism

လူမျိုးရေးတရား

Translated by Ba Cho (Dee Doke)

2.1.1. The preface

Note: This is an excerpted and rough translation of the preface written by the Burmese translator U Ba Cho.

Further on some interesting parts of the main contents of the English translation will be mentioned in brief. And the final part will be my personal comments.

In the preface the translator U Ba Cho described about the political situation of the world in general and the Chinese struggle for democracy in particular. He also mentioned a brief biography of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. First, the translator informed the readers about the two big crisis of the world after the world war ended in 1918 that need a final solution sooner rather than later. 1) The conflict between the imperialist countries that are content (those countries whose wishes are fulfilled: England, America and France) and the imperialist countries that are discontent (those countries whose wishes are not fulfilled: Italy and Germany).

2) The conflicts between the imperialists and their subjects (oppressed peoples).

The translator further informed that:

Among the imperialist countries that are vying to grab China, Japan's situation is unique. Even though England gained superiority with its mighty global naval power it needs to balance the ever rising naval power of the Americans in the Far East. So to fill the power vacuum it needs to help strengthen the naval power of Japan. Since 1894 England provided Japan with technology and know-how on building battleships. And in 1902 to make up the naval strength needed to protect its own country England signed a mutual defense treaty with Japan so that its imperial interests in the East Asia would be secured with Japan's naval strength at the rear. For this reason among the world imperialists Japan became even more aggressive and daring than ever before in China despite its second class imperialist status. Even more so Japan managed to promote herself to the first class imperialist country during the world war by strengthening herself economically and technologically while the European countries were pinned down fighting the war. America, which became one of the richest and most powerful country after the war, worries about the rising strength of Japan and initiated a naval treaty to limit the naval power of the signatory nations that includes America, Japan, UK, Italy, Germany and France (*the translator mentioned about a nine-country treaty here.*) Worst still for Japan the treaty also effectively restricts newly industrialized Japan's search for

wider markets in China. So, Japan becomes one of the discontent imperialist nations. The contended imperialist countries naturally try to preserve the status quo and protect their own interests; to do so they co-operate among each other against the discontent countries. Germany and Italy are now trying to expand their imperial ambitions into central Europe and Africa respectively and Japan aims to grab the whole of China. The English who have befriended Japan for fear of the Americans are realizing Japan's ambition to kick all the white imperialists out of China and has to make friend ironically enough with the Americans now for fear of the Japanese. The conflicts between these imperialists (both content and discontent) and the colonialized people are becoming potentially explosive and these countries are accumulating weapons in preparation for the impending world war that will break out soon. Can our country Burma simply stay away from such world conflicts? Are we going to waste our time focusing only on our internal affairs and ignore these world affairs? We need to firstly consider this point.

2.1.2. Looking forward

So the Great War to be fought in the near future as the final solution of the second world crisis between the empire builders will take place in the Pacific Ocean and the countries in the East.¹ As such a slave nation like India and a half-slave nation like China should not sit idle with folded arms. That will only lead them to end up with being transferred from one master's hand into another's or just a change of colours on the world map. Both China and India are very much aware of this fact and for this reason they are consolidating the unity among themselves and preparing to take active part in the final solution of the world's second crisis. The unity they are building is not only confined to their internal unity but it is the unity of all those slave nations under various empires such as 350 million Indians and 450 million Chinese and also with the 200 million Russians who have already triumphed over imperialists-capitalists - the destroyers of world peace - and have established communism which is truly the poor people's road to riches. It is necessary for a country like Burma with a population of 14 million needs to take the strength from those 1000 million people to free themselves from the colonial yoke and the future of Burma is intertwined with the second crisis of the world. Even though the Burmese are ignorant at this moment they will definitely need to join the Chinese and Indians if they want to set themselves free from a slave nation status. The conflict is not only confined between imperialism and the oppressed people but

¹FOOTNOTE (in English):

“The storm centre of the world has shifted to China” P.T. Moon's “Imperialism and World Politics”.

“The scene has shifted away from Europe to the Pacific. The problems of the Pacific are ... The World's problems of the next 50 Years or more” General Smuts' speech to the Imperial Conference in 1921.

also involving conflicts within the imperialist countries where struggles against capitalism to establish poor people's government is gaining momentum so the Burmese, who are dreaming of building a nation of new era, need to be well prepared and at the same time it is important for them to educate and equip the Burmese people with the spirits that are in harmony with the time and in this way one man's strength could become the strength of the whole nation.

Today the Irish leader *de Valera's* strength has become the strength of the Irish people. Likewise *Lenin's* strength become Russia's strength *Mahatma Ghandhi's* strength become the strength of all India, *Dr. Sun-yat Sen's* strength has today been transformed into a powerful strength of the entire Chinese people. The emancipation of the whole China from the notorious Manchu Kings and the successful establishment of the people's government was attributed to Dr. Sun-yat Sen and his policy enshrined in his book "The Three Principles" (ပြည်သူ့ တရားသုံးပါး).

2.1.3. Dr. Sun-yat Sen

Dr. Sun-yat Sen left two testaments (last wills) - one for his family and another for the Chinese people. In his short testament to his family he mentioned that as he had dedicated his whole life to work for the interest of his country he had no time to accumulate wealth for his wife and children except his house and some of his belongings He further instructed his children to carry on his works for the freedom of his country.

In his last will or testament to the Chinese people he urged them to follow his writings handed down to the people's representatives and other documents including "The Three Principles" and carry on the struggle for China's freedom. He also mentioned that from his forty years of experience he believed that for the Chinese people to reach their ultimate goals of freedom they must arouse the people's awareness; united with those who treat them equally and form alliance with other nations struggling for freedom.

During his forty years of political activities he had tirelessly worked to free China from the Manchu Kings and to establish people's government; to abolish all unfair treaties signed between China and foreign empires; to establish a modern China equal to the nations of the world.

China, like our country Burma, is also struggling to free herself from the yoke of foreign colonial empires and Dr. Sun-yat Sen also pointed out that all those struggling for freedom must form an alliance. India, Burma and China are neighbours and we all are facing the same fate and enemy. Sooner or later we all must form an alliance. Burma had been under one roof with India until 1937 so we are familiar with the political developments in India. There are many things we can learn

from India's experience and we have done so. So, we also need to learn about China and her leaders.

After graduating from the school of medicine with the support of a missionary and while working as a physician in Portuguese Macao Dr. Sun-yat Sen submitted a paper urging Peking for reformation and when the proposal was rejected (on the ground that the ancient Chinese way is superior to Dr. Sun-yat Sen's proposals of Western barbarian methods) he started to organize an armed revolt. When the plan was exposed he fled to Honolulu, where his brother lived, and with the financial supports from his brother he organized Chinese associations and started his political campaigns.

Once while visiting England he was lured by the Chinese Embassy there and was secretly arrested only to be released when the incident was leaked to one of his former British teacher. Many a time he clandestinely returned to China risking arrest or death and attempted ten times to start an armed revolution even under the big sum of reward the Chinese authorities had put on his head. The difficulties facing Dr. Sun-yat Sen in his relentless attempts to stage armed revolt against the Manchu Kings despite all the hardships and his courage and persistence were remarkable. Owing to such moral qualities he possessed Dr. Sun-yat Sen became one of the world widely known persons. Even though he struggled hard to abolish the aged old system and establish a modern China by means of revolution Dr. Sun-yat Sen clearly understood that there were many old ways that need to be preserved. So all of us Burmese youth who are determined to modernize our country must also be prepared not to totally discard all things old but to preserve those old ways and methods that are still useful in the modern day.

After years of attempts to bring down the Manchu Kings to emancipate China the revolution started by Dr. Sun-yat Sen came to an end in December 1911. As 1912 dawned a new era. China was declared a republic and Dr. Sun-yat Sen was elected the first president of democratic China. Even then the Manchu Kings gave up power only when persuaded by one of their generals who eventually joined Dr. Sun-yat Sen's revolution. When this general asked Dr. Sun-yat Sen the post of presidency in return for his successful efforts to bring down the Manchu King he easily gave him his post for the sake of his country. Even after so many years of carrying all the brunts of hardships on his shoulders and sacrifices Dr. Sun-yat Sen was ready still to easily sacrifice such a desirable positions. Not only that he has even denied other lucrative positions offered to him. These examples were clear proofs of Dr. Sun-yat Sen's firm principle not to pursue personal interests through politics and we Burmese should record this fact and take him as our model.

After the revolution his brother from Honolulu asked him for a post as governor of Canton province. He rejected outrightly stating that the province is a big province and this kind of positions could only be given to qualified person based on merit but not on feelings of gratitudes. His brother in reciprocation angrily submitted a financial bill he had offered to Dr. Sun-yat Sen during the long period of armed revolution. Dr. Sun-yat Sen had to get loans from friends to clear the bill of 20,000 dollars and for this reason he had no other belongings except the house his friends bought for him and when he died he died a poor man.

This is the first translation of “Nationalism” which is the first part of the book “The Three Principles” written by Dr. Sun-yat Sen who possessed such a high moral qualities and as the events in China had not been so different from what happened to our country Burma and since it is considered this book should serve as a handbook for the Burmese who are also struggling to build a new nation Nagani Book Club decided to publish this book. I am personally overjoyed in writing this preface with the knowledge and hope that this little work will serve as a foundation for the freedom and construction of modern Burma.

Ba Cho (Dee-doke)
Yangon 1938

3.0. LECTURE ON NATIONALISM

3.1. The First Lecture on Nationalism

On the Chinese People's historical lack of Nationalism Dr. Sun-yat Sen wrote:

The Chinese have always hold in highest reverence the ideas of The Family and of The Ancestors, but only these ideas, and not that of Nationalism. Foreign observers say that the Chinese have no principle of cohesion. Why is this? Because most of them only think of the Family and Ancestors, and not of the Nation. this cohesion with reference to the Family and to Ancestors is very powerful, and they have always been ready to sacrifice even life itself in order to preserve the ancestral unity, as may be seen in the feuds between any two clans in Kuangtung. No matter how much f property or life is given up, they are never willing to cease fighting. This is because f their inordinate attachment to the Ancestral idea. 7his having entered deeply into their life, they have been able to uphold it to the point f sacrifice. With reference, however, to the nation, there has never been one instance of such sacrifice. Therefore, we see that the cohesion amongst the Chinese stops short at the Ancestral idea and has never extended to the nation as a whole.

On the difference between **Nation and People:**

.... there is a distinct difference between the two The best way is to discover first how the two have originated. In a few words we may say that the people are the product of the action of natural forces, and the nation is the result of military power. To illustrate this from the history of Chinese government, the Chinese say that the rule of the ancient kings, when right was might, followed the natural order of things. To put it another way, the natural forces are the royal rule of right, and the body formed by this rule is the people. On the other hand, military power is the rule of might rather than right, and the organization which results from it is the nation. This can be illustrated by the origin and growth of Hong Kong. It did not originate because the many thousands of the people of Hong Kong welcomed the British, but because the British used military force to obtain it.

3.2 The Second Lecture on Nationalism

3.3. The Third Lecture on Nationalism

3.4 The Fourth Lecture on Nationalism

3.5 The Fifth Lecture on Nationalism

3.6 The Sixth Lecture on Nationalism

4.0 ASSESSMENT

Note: This is my personal assessment on the translated version of the book entitled လူမျိုးရေးတရား which is one part of Dr. Sun-yat Sen's "The Three Principles".

In choosing to translate the "Lecture on Nationalism" I believe the Nagani Book Club made a right choice at a right time. For the young Burmese readers of that time (1930s & 1940s) the book would have been a very exciting and inspiring one leading or helping them to deeply think further about their country's future and fate since they were facing almost the same situation with China under colonial powers. Many a time Dr. Sun-yat Sen urged the Chinese to learn from the West but in many occasions whenever appropriate he also pointed out the differences between the two cultures and histories and why and how it was irrelevant to copy or adopt such matters that he may specifically mention. Dr. Sun-yat Sen's ability to analyze and differentiate what to learn and what not to adopt from the West is truly remarkable. Even though Japan was seen as one imperial power with the ambition to enslave China Dr. Sun-yat Sen praised Japan in some occasions where she learned from the West and tried to reach the stage of a modern developed country equal and respected by the Western countries. He urged the Chinese people to take Japan as example and to learn from them. However, when it comes to imperialism he disapproved Japan's aggressive ambitions towards other countries after acquiring know-hows and knowledge from the West.

As made clear in the preface written by the translator U Ba Cho the book is aimed to inspire young Burmese leaders to take example from the Chinese experience and take Dr. Sun-yat Sen as their model. But when it comes to moral quality apart from Aung San, the Burmese national hero, it is very rare to find political or military leaders with dignity and integrity comparable to Dr. Sun-yat Sen among the Burmese. Nepotism and corruption is rampant among Burmese leaders and contrary to Dr. Sun-yat Sen, who could outrightly say “no” to his brother when the later asked for political favour it is common to hear about the wives of Burmese leaders (military or political) yielding powers or reaping the fruits of their husband’s powers and taking all advantages from their kitchen.

Even though no two countries could be exactly the same there were a lot of similarities and most of the political ideas and principles laid down in these lectures of Dr. Sun-yat Sen could be directly adopted. On the other hand it was also equally dangerous for the young Burmese leaders of that time to have overlooked some important facts that were fundamentally and historically totally different or dissimilar and fall on the mistake of adopting ideas or principles that may be irrelevant for Burma. For example Dr. Sun-yat Sen correctly

4 Book Review of “Nationalism” (Nagani News Vol 1, 2: p. 24)

Translation: Salai Kipp Kho Lian

Lu-myo-ye-ta-ya

Selected for the month of April

Author – Dr. Sun Yat-sen

For outsiders 2 kyats for Nagani Book Club members 10 penny

Critic – “A Kyo Saung” (Advocat)

The English word Nationalism is being translated as *myo-chit-seik* (patriotism). If we study the English word nationalism it is not enough to translate it as patriotism. We can neither say *a-myo-tha-ye-wa-da*. Nationalism is not an –ism. It is being translated as *lu-myo-ye-ta-ya* so we need to be thankful to the translator for the newly added terminology.

In the forward U Ba Cho explains about the world problem. He mentioned about two big problems but we feel that this is not complete as far as our knowledge is concerned.

- 1) The conflict between content and discontent empires (meaning England, France , America on one side and Germany, Japan and Italy on the other side)
- 2) The conflict between the Empires and their subjects. (meaning India – Burma on one side and England on the other side).

So two conflicts are highlighted here.

But as far as we are concerned we realize that there are not only two conflicts but four.

- 3) In the capitalist countries like England and France the conflict between the capitalists and the poor people.
- 4) The conflict between the capitalist countries such as England, France, Japan, Germany etc. and the poor people’s country like Russia.

So we can see two more conflicts.

The more we study the situation carefully the more it becomes clearer. It is even becoming clearer when we look at how the government of England, for the sake of suppressing the poor peoples’ Russia, is curry favoring with Italy, Japan and Germany.

In Sun Yat-sen’s *lu-myo-ye-ta-ya* he vividly described how nations emerged, how populations increased, how the indigenous capitalists in China are becoming rich and powerful.

It is very similar to the situations in Burma.

Since guidelines are laid down (in the book) on what kind of moral must be attained by those who are fighting against the imperialists it (the book) is a must read for those who are fighting for the freedom of Burma.

As it is a handbook of the Chinese in Burma also can this become a handbook for the Burmese?

5 Book Review of “Racism” by Magnus Hirschfeld¹

(Nagani News vol. 1, 4: p. b)

Translation: Salai Kipp Kho Lian

Lu-myo-wa-da (Racism)

Author Magnus Hirschfeld²

For outsiders 7 kyats and 14 penny

Leftist Gang Book Club members 1 kyat 14 penny

Critic – by Lu-myo-ma-ywe (“No race discrimination”)

Following Hitler’s claim that the “Germans are the descendants of the noble Aryans” discussions has been going on over whether ones race is genuine or not; if ones blood is mixed or not.

Nowadays in Burma people say “One must be genuine Burman, we don’t trust mixed bloods, they will betray us”.

Even though it is said that the Burmans are the descendants of Thaki tribes actually the Thaki tribes are Aryans, Indians. In actual sense the Burmans are closer to the Mongols, Chinese than the Indians.

Even those we call Burmans themselves are born out of mixture of many different tribes.

The slogans like “The race must be pure, the blood must be genuine” are only meant for the survival of the capitalists.

How *lu-myo-wa-da* (Racism) is flawed is written in this book.

The author is one who opened a *Kama-sutra* school and taught literature in Germany. He was tortured by the Nazis for spreading propaganda that “*Lu-myo-wa-da*” (Racism) is unscientific.³

This book is especially recommended for those who want to know more about the “*Lu-myo-wa-da*” (Racism) and / or the –ism that says blood must be pure etc.

[Read together with the article written by Dee-Doke U Ba Cho in “*Bamah A-ye*”. *Editor*]

¹ The book was published in January 1938 by the Left Book Club in London. The review appeared in vol. 4 of the Nagani News on page b.

² 1868-1836; For his biography see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Magnus_Hirschfeld.

³ Hirschfeld was a sexologist who defended homosexuality. For that, he was heavily beaten up by some “rowdies” in 1920 after having delivered a lecture in Munich.

III Material on Thein Pe, Peoples' Power and French Revolution

1 Kyaw Hoe, Bibliographical Information

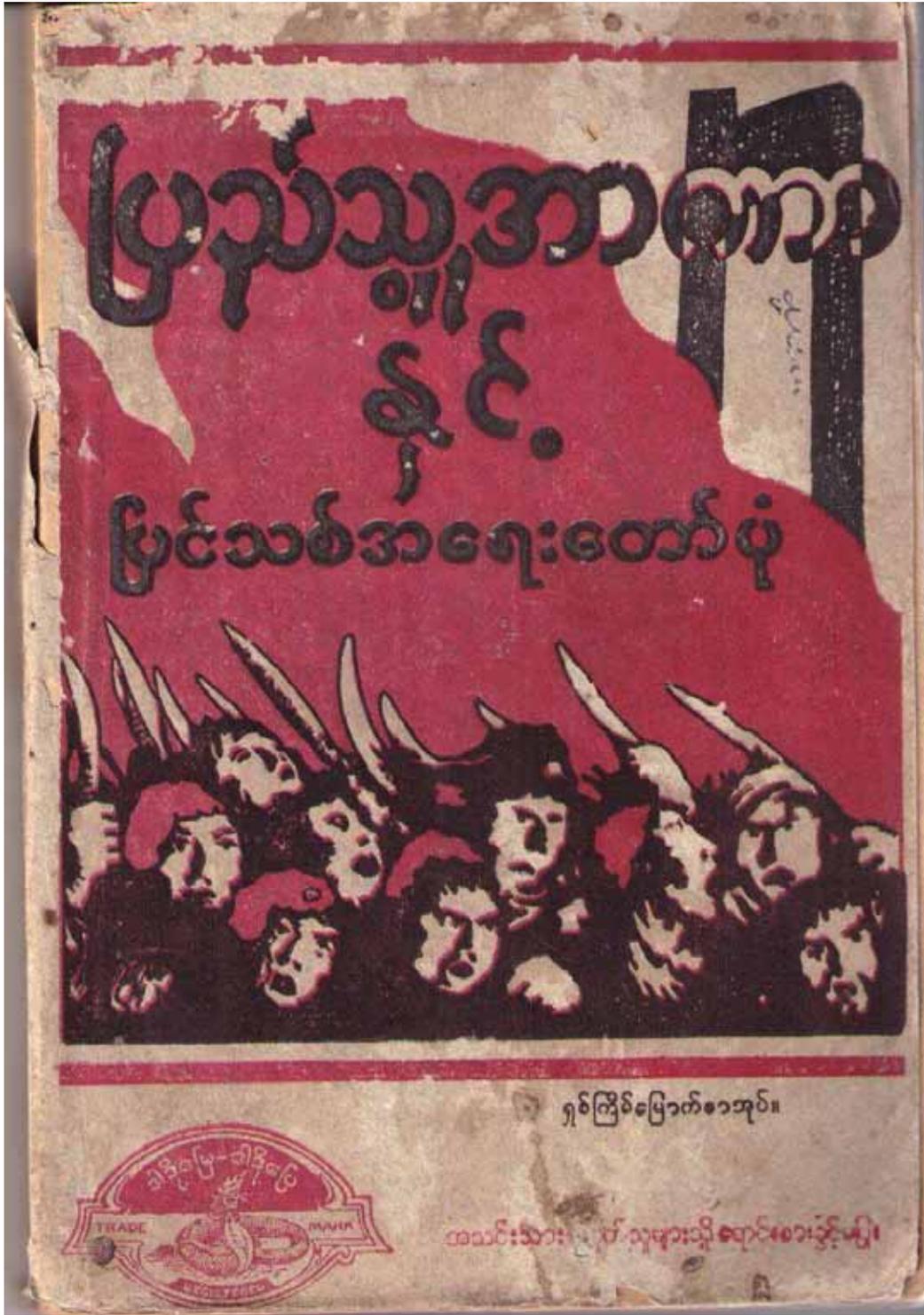
Translation: Gunnar Peters

9) Ba Thaug, Thakin: *People's Power*. First Vol. and the French Revolution. Yangon, Nagani, 1938. 215 p., 1 picture, 2 charts.

Nagani's publication No. 8. Cover title: „People's Power and the French Revolution“. Foreword (p. 1-16) by U Thein Pe Myint (Thein Pe), dated July 25, 1938. Pages 17-179: *People's Power*. Then a page with a picture of Rousseau, the great French author of the „Social Contract“. The rest of the book is taken up by „*The French Revolution*“. The introduction explains that Sun Yat-sen very often referred to the English, American and French revolutions in his lectures, and that it has been included here in order to make it known among the Burmese. The second volume will then contain the English and American revolutions. Introduction written by Thein Pe, dated 7/25/38.

Although the name of the translator is not mentioned, it is known that it was Thakin Ba Thaug. These are the lectures of the great Chinese leader Sun Yat-sen. Included are the first three lectures. Lecture no. 1 on the people's power is about the people and the government. The second is on independence, and lecture no. 3 is on equality. This book also contains a short summary of the French Revolution. In the end of the book there is a 9 pages long list of English and Burmese publications by Tun Aye Publishing house, which can be useful for researchers.

Printed August 10, 1938; 3000 copies. This is a translation.



Reproduction of Title Page

2 Foreword to “People’s Power, vol. 1): Thein Pe, Sun Yat-sen Religion

Translation: Ye Nyunt

In China, where it was thought that women with small feet are beautiful, worshipped Sun Yat-sen as their god and fostered his political teachings as a new religious faith. Thus, one more religion “Sun Yat-sen Religion” appeared in addition to established religions such as Christianity and Buddhism.

Sun Yat-sen himself thought that his political teachings had been devised by his own wit. He thought that the administrative system of China called “the Five-Power Constitution” had been invented by himself.

He said:

“The political system I have devised has never been seen in political science. This new system of mine will solve every problem.

However, Western scholars in politics said Sun Yat-sen did not have such intellect, and copied the points suited to China after studying political beliefs from various parts of the world.

American writer Lion Sherman said:

“Sun Yat-sen did not have a single mentor. He gleaned opinions from politics from which he chose the points he liked, and created a new ideology. He said unequivocally in the “Chinese Revolution” brought out in January 1923 that “The Three Laws of the Public” had been created after extracting the best ideas from various sciences of social relations. He pursued this method. Hence, inconsistencies appeared.”

Some alleged that he had been manipulated imperceptibly by Michael Borodin, a Russian Communist. It is true that Michael Borodin influenced him. But it would be difficult to rein in Sun Yat-sen all the time as he was stubborn. When Sun Yat-sen met Michael Borodin, he was already old. Borodin did not interfere with Sun Yat-sen who was so powerful in Jimintang party. He just helped him attain more power as he understood that he was coveted of power. (See Chapter 4 of the Jimintang’s Rules and Laws) Sun Yat-sen blew his own trumpet in the “Chinese Revolution” over ideas that he had conceived and successes he had achieved. As Borodin found that Sun Yat-sen wanted to be thanked or praised, he always lauded him for his ideas and successes. Sun Yat-sen often said that he had been conversed in socialism since before Soviets were well familiar with it.

Borodin imperceptibly inculcated socialist ideas in him by not going against his desires.

It was Borodin who urged Sun Yat-sen to give a speech on the three laws of the public called san min chui. It was Borodin who gave most advice on amending the three laws. But he did not bring honour on himself. He put Sun Yat-sen in the forefront. In consequence, the third law of The Three Laws of the Public is completely same to an idea of socialism.

Dr Morris William said that he first assumed that Sun Yat-sen was an original socialist, but that only after reading one of his works “Social Interpretation of History,” was he illusioned.

Whoever said whatever, the speeches preached by Sun Yat-sen have become Sun Yat-sen Religion in China. Chen Kai-shek—who served as a forum for Chinese capitalists and a lackey of the capitalist Americans and English—claimed “Sun Yat-sen religion is the religion I profess, and I rule the country upholding the san min chui.” Chinese proletariat leaders and allies of the Russians such as Mao Tse Tung and Chu The said Sun Yat-sen Religion was not of great difference to the religion they professed.

Of the six demands asked by the Communists when they wished to merge with the Chinese government for military march, concerned by the danger posed by the Japanese, the sixth demand was: (6) to adhere to the san min chui of Sun Yat-sen.

Thus, both capitalists and the poor and both the rightists and leftists were in favour of the Sun Yat-sen ideology. Why? Just keep the question in your mind, and read the Nagani publications: “Nationalism” already published, “Democracy” being published and “The Public’s Subsistence Rice” about to be published.

It would be an interesting fact to find out what Sun Yat-sen was, a capitalist or a socialist. If one reads “Democracy,” the reader will find praises to the democratic governments of America, England and France. Though they are democratic governments, in fact they are the ones manipulated by minority capitalists. The MPs were capitalists or otherwise, lackeys of the capitalists. As Sun Yat-sen had a favour for these governments, he attempted to form such styled governments in China by associating with the capitalists. Hence, Chen Kai-shek and his rightist members determined that Sun Yat-sen was the one who was inspired by the capitalist government.

However, Sun Yat-sen lauded communism as follows:

“The most intelligent minority have seized the most valuable of the world and use them to their own advantages, having made the majority their slaves. This system has filled the present era with the most dreadful of the wars. When will these wars come to an end? Only

when communism dominates the world will they be terminated. What are the people fighting for? They are fighting for their hunger. As communism will fulfil them with a plenty of food, they will stop their fights. Communism is the best system that can organize the society.”

He then praised Russia with intent to ally with it thus:

“The world had changed when Russia dethroned the capitalist government towards the end of the war, and established the socialist government. The greatest hope appeared in the minds of the people. Despite the short six-year period of the Russian Revolution, Russia could found a new nation and encourage peace by wiping out capitalism. Not only it abandoned the foolishly daring capitalism, and strove to help the weak (the poor) and crack down on the strong (capitalists).”

Sun Yat-sen also opened the way for communists to join his Jimintang party. For this, communists took a liking to him.

He wrote short notes to prepare speeches on *san min chui*. These notes turned into flames when his house was burnt in 1922. As a result, he had to give speeches impromptu on *san min cui* all along to the end of the first session of Jimintang in 1924.

He admitted, “I haven’t got enough time to prepare for this speech. I couldn’t read books that I wanted to read. I went up to the stage and spoke extempore.”

Hence, facts in the book “Democracy” are in disorder, some without conclusions and some not smooth and not compact. I would like to ask the readers to disregard these small flaws, and continue with their studies, by asking:

- (1) Why every class of Chinese admire and believe in Sun Yat-sen Religion.
- (2) How the ideology has been prepared into a dish palatable to the Chinese, by collecting pieces of ideologies from which countries.
- (3) How socialism and *san min chui* have come to have the same nature.

Yangon

Thein Pe
25-7-38

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: It is difficult for me to translate the words—e.g. *pyithu tayar thone par* (Chinese: *san min chi* - the Three Laws of the Public)—translated by the original writer into Myanmar. The Myanmar usages of the modern-day translators and those of the old-time translators are different. For example, “economics” is translated by modern-day translators as “*see pwa yay pyin nya*” while by old-time translators as “*baw ba bay da.*”

3 Shwe Pyi Soe, Book Review on Thein Pe, *People's Power and French Revolution*

Translation: Ye Nyunt

Biography of the Author

Thein Pe, the author, was born of U Ba and Daw Myint in Budalin in 1914. His mother's name "Myint" added to his name, he became well-known as Thein Pe Myint. In 1921, Maung Thein Pe attended Saya Nyan's Myanmar Middle School. In 1932, he passed the 10th Grade (High School final year) from the Buddhist High School in Monywa. In 1932-33, he enrolled at the Intermediate College in Mandalay. He began writing articles on history in 1933. His first article appeared in the January 27, 1933 issue of the Thuriya (the Sun) Daily. His pen-name at that time was "Wa Nay Ka Nga Pe (Budalin)."

He was an EC member with the Students Union of Yangon University in 1934-35. "Biography of Thakin Kodaw Hmaing," the first book published by Nagani Association, was compiled by Maung Thein Pe. He served with the Propaganda Arm of the All-Burma Doh Bamar Organization as Joint Secretary. From then on, he put the honorific "Thakin" before his name, and became Thakin Thein Pe.

In 1936, he joined Myanmar Alin (The New Light of Myanmar) as a reporter. In this designation, he attended a meeting of the All-India Congress Party. He became the Secretary (Liaison) of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Province Students Federation in 1937.

He studied at Calcutta University from 1936 to 1938 for a master's degree, specializing in Ancient Indian History. He also studied law.

During this period (1936 – 38), Nagani's activities gained strength. He served as an EC member with the Education Sub-committee of Nagani Publishing Association, also contributing other activities to it. In the political world, he was a comrade of Thakin Nu. Whenever, Nagani saw tasks which should be carried out and outside interferences in the government's administrative mechanism, he met and discussed them with Chief Minister Dr Ba Maw. He was sent to jail for two weeks for his involvement in the 1300 Workers' Strike in 1939.

In 1939 – 40, he directed the film "Yaukkyar Gonyi" (Status of Men) for the first time. He wrote a book "Tetkhit Net Soe" (Evil Deity in the Period of Development) and a play "U Saw's Visit to Britain" in 1940 – 41. In 1942, he became the chief organizer of the anti-fascist forces. In 1945, he

was the General Secretary of the Burma Communist Party (BCP), and Joint General Secretary of the Anti-Fascist People's Liberation League (AFPFL).

He married Daw Khin Kyi Kyi in 1946. He assumed duty as the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in the General Aung San's Cabinet the same year. He was sent to jail again in 1948 – 49.

Even while in prison, Maung Thein Pe (later to become U Thein Pe Myint) wrote novels from which film-scripts “Lansa Pawbyi Achit” and “Chit Ywei Khaw Yar” on love themes were created. He added “Myint”, his mother's name, to his pen-name, beginning with the former novel. Another literary work of his was “Teachings of Neo-democrat Mao Tse Tong.”

He served as Vice-Chairman of the Sino-Myanmar Friendship Association in 1950, Vice-Chairman of World's Peace Congress in 1951 and General Secretary of the newly formed People's Unity Party from 1952 to 1959.

He attended a meeting of the Preparation Committee in Beijing in 1952 for Asia-Pacific Peace Conference. He was elected leader of the People's Unity National Forces in 1956 for entering the 1960 Parliamentary Elections. He was the Chairman of Myanmar Writers Association from 1956 to 1963.

In 1957, he visited England with a Parliamentary mission. Writing articles in Botataung (Vanguard) Daily in 1958, he became a permanent contributor. He founded The Botataung Daily in partnership with others.

In 1961, he attended a meeting of Asian Writers Bureau, representing Myanmar Writers Association. In 1962, he became a journalist. When the Revolutionary Council came to power in 1962, he became a member of the Cultural Council of the Revolutionary Council Government. U Thein Pe Myint—writer, journalist and politician—died in 1978.

He experienced different lives from 1914 to 1978. He had gained a more than 40 years' literary experience when he was 60. Based on these literary experienced, he wrote two more books—“Kyundaw Ei Achit-U” and “Tetkhit Tetlu Tet Phoneyi Thein Pe”—on attaining age 60.

He set foot on the literary world in 1933 with two articles. Even during his student's life at Yangon University, he dabbled in politics and literature. He became famous by literature—travelogues, compilations on regional knowledge and biographies. His style of writing is simple. He also participated in the modern literature revolution. As a member of the Students Union, he wrote instigative papers with the pen-name “Net Oh Kwe” for the 1936 Strike.

During World War II he published in Calcutta Lay Nat Thar (Wind Spirit) booklets. U Thein Pe Myint's fame was greater with his penning of the book "Tet Phone Gyi" in 1937. In 1958, he wrote "Ashay Ga Naywun Htwet Thi Pamar" (Like the Sun Going up from the East). As aesthetic literature, he wrote "Wi Thay Tha Taing Thamaing" (History of Chin Division) in 1967, and a novel "Thida Pyone" one year later.

The book "Tet Phone Gyi" caused repercussions in the country. There was much talk about it among the monks and laity. He won the Sarpay Beikman (former Burma Translation Society) Award for "Like the Sun Going up from the East," which deals with movements for national independence during the period from 1934 to 1942. In 1967, the book "Wi Thay Tha Taing Thamaing" earned him the National Literary Award (Aesthetics). He won the National Literary Award (Novel genre) for his work "Thida Pyone" which was based on a theme drawn from the motto "Whatever work wins the doer dignity" in 1968.

U Thein Pe Myint contributed his works to many magazines, journals and newspapers—which included Kalaung Sone magazine, Kaythipan, Kyee Pwa Yay, Kyemon magazine, Chindwin Journal, Gantha Lawka Sarsaung, Journal Kyaw, Ngwe Taryi, Sanay Nagani, Sarchun Sarsaung, Sarsodaw, Sarpay Beikman magazine, Sarpay magazine, Sarbachi, Saryay Saya, Sandar, Medical Science Annual Journal, Santhit-U, Taya, Tawwin, Tekkatho Kyaungtaik, Dagon, Deedok newspaper, Doh Kyaungtha, Nagani, Padetha, Payphu Hlwar, Pyitawthit, Pyithu Arnar (People's Power), Bamar Digest, The Vanguard Daily, Burma Journal, Moe Wai, Myawaddy, Myanmar Alin, Yangon University Golden Jubilee Journal, Shumawa magazine, Wut Hmone magazine, Thadinzone, Cooperatives Journal, Thuriya, Thint Bawa, Thanbyuzayat 100th Anniversary Journal, Hanthawaddy Journal/Newspaper, Arr Kar (Sports) Sarsaung, Arr thit (New Strength) Sarsaung, Oh Way University Annual magazine, etc.

He had myriad pen-names—Tagaung Kywet, Tekkatho Akyawt, Tetphone Gyi Thein Pe, Tetphone Gyi Maung Thein Pe, Tetphone Gyi Thakin Thein Pe, Maung Tu, Maung Thein Pe (B.A.), Yebaw Kyauklone, Wa Nay Ka Nga Pe (Budalin), Wa Nay Nga Pe, Wa Nay Nga Pe (Tekkatho), Thein Ne Nwe, Thein Pe, Thein Be, Thein Pe Myint, U Kyauk Lone (Budalin).

Based on his life's experiences, he was active in both political and literary worlds. "Biography of Thakin Kodaw Hmaing," the book to be published for the first time by Nagani Publishing Association, was popular. Most of his works are left-oriented. He himself was a leftist. Thus, he held the views defending the poor, the suppressed.

Nagani Association, engaged in politics through literary movements, contributed his share to the efforts for regaining national independence, holding mottos “We will look after the welfare of the poor,” and “The poor will become rich.”

Introduction

This book - one in a series of books published by Nagani Publishing Association - presents political beliefs, ideology and concepts of Dr Sun Yat Sen regarding China and facts shedding light on the French Revolution which led to the foundation of a republic and establishment of people’s power.

The title on the cover is “People’s Power (Volume 1).” The second part deals with the French Revolution. On top of the table of contents is “The Religion of Sun Yat-Sen” which serves as the introduction. Three people’s powers are mentioned - the first power from page 17 to 76, the second from page 77 to 122 and the third from page 123 to 182.

Every word and every page embodies the sentiments to wrestle back national independence lost to the British. This reflects the author’s attitude. The book was distributed by Tun Aye Distribution to all parts of the country. In Myanmar, the word ‘printed’ could be translated into a bold challenge to the colonial system.

It should be said that “People’s Power” and “Revolution” were good usages that reinforced the strength of patriotic spirit in all Myanmar.

Review on “People’s Power and French Revolution”

This book was compiled by author U Thein Pe Myint. The 183-page book contains Speech – 1, Speech – 2 and Speech – 3 on People’s Power and the French Revolution. It was printed at Myanma Yokeshin (Myanmar Movie) Printing Press and distributed by Tun Aye Book Distribution. It carries the words “Printed in Myanmar.” In the “Introduction,” the author acquaints the readers with a summary of the main context.

Introduction to People’s Power

In China, Dr Sun Yat-Sen’s ideologies are taught as an academic subject, and the people regard his beliefs and concepts as a religion. Hence, it is found that in China, there is a new more religion, that is, the Religion of Sun Yat-Sen, in addition to Christianity and Buddhism. Sun Yat-Sen developed a five-power administration in the People Republic of China.

American writers criticized Sun Yat-Sen's administrative ideas as incongruous. Some alleged that Sun Yat-Sen was imperceptibly manipulated by the Russian Communists.

In fact, Dr Sun Yat-Sen introduced a system of people's power in China that reflects the true attitudes of the people, as distinct from the capitalist administrative system. The author says although America, England and France were claiming that their administrations exercised people's power, in fact they were the governments of the minority capitalists.

Context in the Speech – 1 on People's Power

Speech – 1 begins with the question, "What is people's power?" "People's power" means a nation ruled under the influence and power of the public or the majority citizens.

"The public" means people living in a community under discipline and definition. *Arnar* (power) means *degoh* (power), which is nothing to do with the power to levitate or do magic. It refers to tasks relating the nation's affairs. Hence, it should be interpreted that "people's power" in the Speech – 1 refers to collective endeavours for the welfare of the majority or the nation. It is a concept that one should strive for the welfare of the nation that belongs to the majority.

Only when the government is the people's government and the power belongs to the people will the capitalist and colonialist systems fail, independence be defended and evil, base motives to bully others with reliance on weapons be foiled. In China, soldiers say that they are mere soldiers and do not understand national affairs. In fact, they ought to understand about the government. The backbone of governments is the military and soldiers. So, it cannot be differentiated between the government and the military, the military and the people and the people and the people's power.

Man has two main duties—defence and livelihood. The former means defending oneself and his or her life and shelter and the latter, to earn a livelihood. To fulfil these two duties, people have to be on the move during the day or at night.

The most important things for the defence of a nation are defence and food. The power to defend against the enemy with strength is critical for the survival of a group of persons, a community or a nation. The second point is sufficiency of food for a people. People have striven for the fulfillment of these two things since the inception of the world. Man has to fight against the enemy for various reasons. So, soldiers should not stay ignorant of the meaning of a government. Those who do not realize this are mere fools.

The ideology which advocates people's power is democracy. Democracy is none other than serving the interests of the people. The era when projects for the welfare of the people are being implemented systematically is called Democracy Era.

The monarchic era when emperors ruled is called autocratic one. The era when people were ruled in accordance with the wishes of the God is called theocratic one. Historians label this era as the one when man and animal fought against each other. When civilization further progressed, autocracy and theocracy transformed into people's power era. It is a natural law.

Chinese believed that Chinese Emperor was the son of Heaven. When Bushi dethroned the Japanese Emperor and enthroned Miji, the latter was called a king who descended from Heaven. This showed an atmosphere remaining from the theocratic era.

Whatever is said, war cannot be avoided in autocratic or theocratic or democratic era. People have come to know that a far-sighted government wants a strong, consolidated army for defeating the enemy for the prestige of the people and the nation.

It has not been long since democracy came into vogue. In the present day, there are still countries which exercise autocracy. There are instances in which the nations that have just introduced democracy suffer injuries, destructions, losses and damages. People have ever discussed the kind of democracy practiced in China about 2,000 years ago. In the Western countries, democracy surfaced about 150 years ago only. The word "democracy" appeared just 150 years ago. People should have grasped the art of military in this world where war is a concomitant. Only when a nation possesses military science firmly will it be able to establish a genuine democratic system. Every danger about to fall on the people's lives, shelter and belongings must be deterred with the art of military.

The modern military art has developed, based on the experiences gained from the ancient large-scale wars.

Context in the Speech – 2 on People's Power

Dr Sun Yat-Sen wrote the Speech – 2 on People's Power. In the beginning, he compares democracy and liberty. Foreign scholars usually mention democracy or people's power together with liberty or freedom. They discuss the two terms together.

The motto of the French Revolution was "Liberty, Equality and Amity." It can be seen that the three requirements are based on people's power. Liberty—which conveys the meaning of resurgence against the suppression of the minority capitalists in a slave country—spread to Asian countries.

Equality embraces unity and human rights. Natural law has not adjusted people to equality from the beginning. In the era of autocracy, emperors extended the realms of equality and inequality to the extreme. More than that natural law has created differences, worse inequalities and differences appeared.

Social relations begin with equality as foundation. Based on this foundation, people seek knowledge for earning a livelihood, employing their instinct and qualities. Owing to the differences in inborn qualities, strength and exertion of efforts, people have come up in different levels.

There is the problem of racialism. The Whites regard the Blacks as slaves. Although Westerners fight battles for independence and equality, they strayed off course because of the different concepts of independence and equality. Genuine independence and equality are rooted in people's power. In Speech – 3, Dr Sun Yat-Sen asks a question why Western countries are abusing equality.

Some Western countries do not know the nature and essence of equality properly. They do not think it logically. They do not understand people's power fully. It is wrong that they are abusing equality, giving the pretext of human rights.

In the world, a large organization that has been formed systematically is the Labour Association. The labour unions came into existence in the period after countries regained their independence by staging great strikes. Labour associations strove for the parity of the high capitalist class and the low working class, and for attaining human rights.

Apart from equality, administration also plays a crucial role in creating a peaceful life for the people. The greatest problem regarding administration is instability in administration. If administration is not stable, the country will fall into disorder, and problems will remain unsolved. Hence, independence, administration, equality and stability form the basic foundations that should be invariably laid for establishing a developed country.

In the last part, it is mentioned that although people are born naturally different in their wisdom and qualities, if they constantly keep loving kindness and compassion in their heart, amity and friendly relations among them will develop and thereby, all the people become equal.

Study of the French Revolution

This part begins with an introduction which mentions that the French Revolution has delivered independence, equality and amity for the citizens of the world.

Revolution conveys a sense that a situation changes to another with momentum. It is found that “revolution” is a concept that has rooted itself in the secular world for centuries.

Revolution is also associated with disintegration of all bases on which relations, religion, politics and social affairs of a nation are rooted. Such a revolution took place in the period between 1700 and 1800 when Louis XIV was ruling France. In the entire country, living costs went up, and tax rates were increased many times so that greater incomes for members of the royalty could be sought. The poor, who were usually farmers, had to pay all the taxes. The situation of the poor was like “falling out of the pan into the fire.” Louis XIV did not take this into notice. All the circumstances compelled the people to wage the French Revolution

In France, brilliant words in literature and plays reflect the age and the system. The Social Contract published in France mentions man as one who was born free. But he finds himself constantly trussed up in a rope.

The French Revolution can be divided into two parts—1789 to 1791 and 1792 to 1799. In the first part, people attempted to establish a system under which the king was made to rule within the bounds of rules and law formulated. In the second part, the ruling system under law was abolished, and a republic was to be founded, after which people’s power was to be asserted.

The ruling system within the bounds of law was not successful because of the mistrust in the monarch and his foolishness. Eventually, the French parliament, which is merely a judicature, not a legislative body, was compelled to reach a decision. King Louis XVI lacked thought and consideration. On August 4, Louis XVI was dethroned and all his royal rights and privileges were withdrawn at a public meeting. On “August 27, a declaration on Human Rights was issued. Louis XVI was taken captive and brought to Temple fortress used as a prison.

The monarchic system was completely abolished in France and people’s power was established. France was entrusted into the hands of five wise men and allowed them to manage the country for the welfare of people for four years. All the administrative power was transferred to General Napoleon, who became the first president of France. All these events finally led France to abolition of monarchic system and establishment of a republic with people’s power.

Reflection and review of age and system in Myanmar

The concepts embodied in Dr Sun Yat-Sen's *Speeches and the French Revolution*—published by Nagani Publishing Association—constituted a clarion call that injected new strength into the people in their struggle for independence from the British.

The book features the author's willingness to establish people's power for the welfare of the country. The author, with the might of pen, stirred the spirit of nationalism and political awakening, concealed in the heart of the people.

All the facts in this book convey opinions concerning the capitalist and colonialist systems that should be discouraged and discarded. It is assumed that the book was compiled with a national outlook to arouse political awareness against colonialism in Myanmar.

Conclusion

The book appeared as a plan to combat the colonialist system and capitalist class in Myanmar while emphasizing "independence, equality and amity."

It was intended to wrest back the independence lost to the British, and to create an atmosphere of amity, harmony and unity in the entire country, not excepting any state or division in the post-independence period.

Hence, the book, Thein Pe's work, was of great benefit as a piece of foundation to the contemporary people in their struggle for regaining independence. It is found that Nagani series of publication reflect the situations in Myanmar politics during the colonial era.

IV Material on Mogyoe Peoples' Power and English and American Revolution

1 Kyaw Hoe, Bibliographical Information

Translation: Gunnar Peters

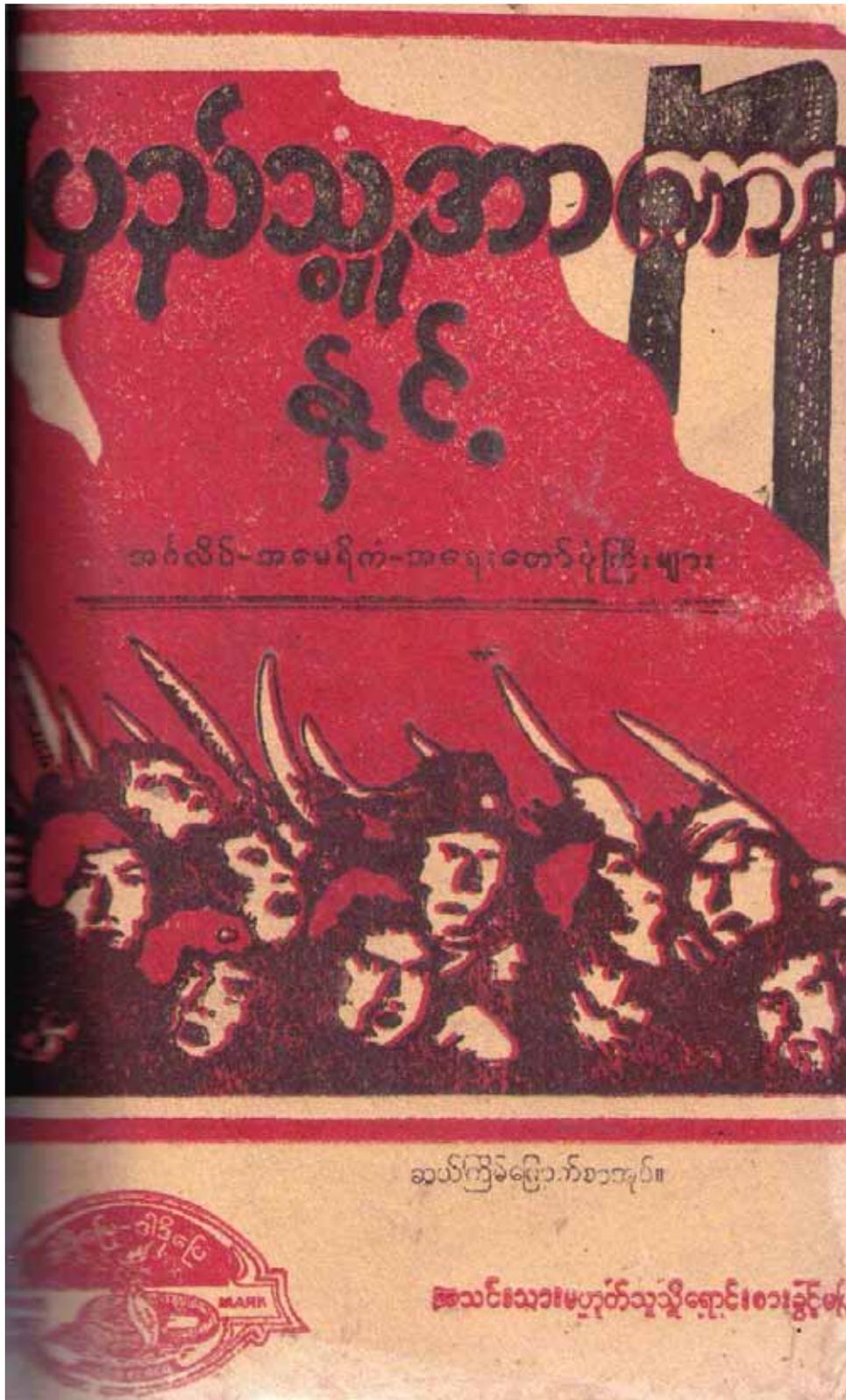
11) Moe Kyo, translator: *People's Power*, 2nd Vol., The English Revolution and The French Revolution. Yangon, Nagani, 1938. 232 p.

In the foreword the writer explains that the book *People's Power* is a translation into Burmese of the English version of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *Sanmin Zhuyi*, or *Three Principles of the People*.

On the book cover: the Nagani emblem and the title „People's Power and the English and American Revolutions“; Nagani's tenth publication. Divided into following chapters: Lecture on people's power no. 4, lecture no. 5, lecture no. 6, the English Revolution, and the American Revolution.

The translation of the *Sanmin Zhuyi* has been divided into two parts, the first part is called *Nationalism*, and the second part *Democracy*, or *People's Power*. As the first part is quite long, these have been published in two different volumes. This is the second part. In line with Nagani's policy, one gets the impression that the translator aims with his adaptation of the book at developing political education in Burma. In the foreword he explains: „In our Burma, national issues, administration, economy, and especially socialism and communism are more important than story books.

On the back cover there is a recommendation for Ko Nu's „*Way out for the Poor*“ due in November.



Reproduction of Title Page

2 Moe Gyoe, Foreword to Democracy (Vol 2)

Translation: Ye Nyunt

In translating San Min Chui or the three laws of the public, written by Dr Sun Yat-sen, the first part “Nationalism” was adapted into Myanmar as “Lumyoe yay tayar” and the second part “Democracy” as “Pyithu Arnar” (People’s Power). As Pyithu Arnar is a little bit long, it has been published in two volumes, and this book is the second volume.

I met difficulties in translating Dr Sun Yat-sen’s writings in English into Myanmar. When I translated “Democracy” into Myanmar, it might awkward to readers. But I believe they will soon get accustomed to it.

For example, a person, though literate, may be confused by the terms in a treatise of astrology which he has picked up. Yet, as he persists in reading it, he will become familiar with the terms, being able to grasp the meanings.

Similarly, it is tiring, with beads of sweat rolling out, to translate profound literature in political, administrative and economic spheres into Myanmar. Readers will not find it as relishing as reading novels.

However, as political, administrative and economic affairs—especially socialism and communism—are more important than reading novels in Myanmar, we will not progress further from the cart age or boat age if we stop on the way, inhibited just by a few difficulties.

We, Myanmars, should not stay contented with Boat Age or Cart Age. Myanmars, with same minds and same attitudes, should study their languages and follow their methods. Let’s do away with difficulties in translating or in comprehending translated works.

I have made efforts to translate the original book and do not expect readers to understand it by reading just once. It is hoped that if it is read at least three times with strong ardour, he or she can understand well.

A poor translator as I am, I would like to request readers to endure with some mistakes and unclear points.

Moe Gyoe

Translator

3 Shwe Pyi Soe, Review of People's Power (volume II) and the Historical Campaigns in England and the American Revolution

Translation: Ye Nyunt

Introduction

While Myanmar was trying to gain independence, Myanma Yoke Shin (Moving Pictures of Myanmar) press of 240-244 Barr Street, Yangon, in the course of the Nagani (Red Dragon) Literary Movement, printed a translation by Moe Gyo (Thunder) of People's Power (volume II) with a view to supporting Myanmar gaining independence. The book contains accounts of the Historical Campaigns in England and the American Revolution. By looking at the index one sees that the book is organized into six parts. First, there is the foreword. In the first volume there are the discourses, parts (1), (2) and (3); this second volume contains parts (4), (5) and (6). From page 187 to page 221 are accounts of the Historical Campaigns in England and the American Revolution.

From page (1) to (123) is the discourse about people's power. The foreword is the introductory part. The book has 232 pages in total. It was noted that 45 pages were devoted to the accounts of the Historical Campaigns in England and the American Revolution.

(1) People's Power

The principles of People's Power have been presented to the people of Myanmar in the first volume. More relevant writing is made in parts (4), (5) and (6) of People's Power volume II.

People's Power is, to have in the possession of the people, the general power and influence of the State and establish a peaceful and prosperous democratic process.

In the foreword has been mentioned that the first volume has a translation of 'people and the principles of power' by Dr Sun Yat Sin who paved the way to people's power in China. It has now published the democratic process to people's power in accordance with Dr Sun Yat Sin's principles and standpoint.

Moe Gyo has made a direct translation from English to Myanmar that people's power is a democratic process. At a time when a country is trying to gain independence, there is no prose or literature more important than those about socialism and communism and related principles of administration, economics and social duties and obligations. It acknowledges that it could be a difficult task.

The people are made aware that if they do not urgently follow the process of people's power the country would be left behind in the backwaters/ in the age of carts and paddles and boats.

The very beginning of People's Power volume II has the words saying that, 'We have clearly witnessed that it took the Europeans and Americans a couple of hundred years of exhaustive endeavour for the people to achieve the power to govern.' At one time, matters relating to People's Power was only evident inside China. Now, Sun Yat Sin's People's Power has spread worldwide. The democratic principles and practice have become prominent as people were able to read with interest about these in the newspapers and printed books as news and articles.

The principles and practice of democracy of the Western countries could be different from that of the countries of the East. The democracy as we have come to know from what we have experienced and have learnt from books is different from that of the West in principle.

The average person who believes in democracy thinks that the people have only a small stake in the affairs of the State and power. But those who risk their lives for this believe that the rewards are worth the sacrifice. Some harbour the hope that if the People's Power in China reaches the state of that in the Western countries, China would be a very culturally advanced and prosperous country.

The social uprising for people's power in the Western countries evolved about one hundred years ago. Freedom and equality are given to man by nature. Everybody should have their share of power in the affairs of the state. The system of people's power that emerged about one hundred years ago had a solid foundation. Matters relating to the freedom and equality of the people are many and varied.

In ancient times it was believed theocratic rule was the result of divine power. This was followed by the autocratic rule of monarchs. That system lasted many thousands of years. Compared to theocratic and autocratic rules, the present period of people's power or democratic rule has been relatively short.

In the discourse in part (5), the ideas and thoughts relating to administrative powers of the people came back into China from the Western countries. Thousands of years ago, China had only swords and bows and arrows as weapons. Only after 1900 was there change. Ideas and thoughts of the affairs of the state then changed very much. After the 1911 Uprising, China as a whole fervently wanted to adopt the ideology of people's power of the Westerners. They demanded to have it by any means. At present, they are planning to establish the system of people's power in China.

In the discourse in part (6) of the book, those who are well versed in management and administrative affairs of the state have written many books that would legally be the machines (or) the administrative machine of the state (or in other words) the legal tools necessary to run the country. The Chinese obtained the know-how from the Japanese. They translated this 'people's power' into Chinese and have put it into practice.

The authority of the people or the system of democratic rule has not changed in a hundred years. The practical application of people's power in many countries around the world is democracy or the right to cast votes. The people can cast votes by democratic means. The people can cast votes of their own free will but they cannot revoke them. If they have elected someone to office, they must allow him to execute the duties of the office, whether he proves to be good and up to the task or not; this is a failing of the system of people's power.

(2) The Historical Campaigns in England

More than 2000 years ago, there was the Emperor Caesar in Europe. He crossed the English Channel and invaded England. England was under Roman rule for four centuries.

There was no one to defend England and the Saxons of northern Germany came to England. They established many Anglo-Saxon counties and settled in England.

Then in the 11th century, the Danish king Canute expanded his empire to cover Norway and northern Germany and England became part of his empire. Even though the Danes were driven out, England was not free but remained a colony. Then, William, the Duke of Normandy fought and drove out the Anglo-Saxon king and declared himself king of England. Actually, the Norsemen were not English but French subordinates who rebelled against the French king. The history of England was thus revealed at length.

(3) The American Revolution

In the 17th century, the English established 10 small settlements in the land which was to become the present day America. The English and the French fought battles for the colonies in the West Indies and North America. The English and the Americans fought for seven years. Washington did much for the people of the colonies.

Washington's armies drove away the English from American soil and endured hardships for the American people and were very successful. The Americans were able to make the Declaration of Independence known to the world on 4th July. Jefferson wrote the declaration.

European countries were shocked at the revolt of the Americans against the English monarchic system. In actual fact, the American Revolution was just the usurpation of the power of the king by the capitalists. From that time on, the American capitalists became very rich. The author concluded his writing by stating that if there were another revolution in America, it would be that of the proletariat wresting power from the capitalists.

The Americans had in effect robbed the power from the king and given it unconditionally to the capitalists instead of the proletariat and this had resulted in a capitalist democracy.

Generalized Comment:

The second volume of People's Power was probably intended to let the people of Burma, who at the time were trying to gain independence, understand the principles of power and the systems such as monarchic, capitalist and socialist.

People's power is power in the hands of the proletariat. The idea that a country can develop and prosper when the proletariat has state powers is extreme leftist but this isn't opposing the state. It highlighted the fact that the expansionist English had robbed the power from the Myanmar king and had in its place a capitalistic power, a bureaucratic power that had totally neglected the interests of the people of Myanmar (the proletariat); and this was deviation from the democratic path.

The English and the Americans, who at one time were the ruler and the ruled, have come to be powerful Western bloc countries that today exercise the English and the American versions of democracy. The English and the Americans are basically the same; very close, like the two sides of the same coin. Despite claiming to be the power of the people, the English and the Americans have not placed power in the hands of the people (the proletariat) and the system is in fact, a capitalistic democracy.

The Americans did not remain as a colony and revolted against the English king and established a capitalist state. One should conclude that the democracy of America is a democracy of the capitalists built on economics and not the democracy which basically entrusts power to the proletariat. Therefore, America, which claims to be a democratic country of the world at present (2010), has in fact, deviated from the original democracy.

The democracy that General Aung San envisaged before gaining independence in 1948 would be different from the democracy of America. The democracy that the government of Myanmar is forging today is not the capitalist democracy of America. The democracy of Myanmar would not

deviate from the original, was the conclusion that I could draw from reading the People's Power (volume II) issued by the Nagani book club.

Conclusion:

The book distributed by the Nagani book club as a sequel to the first volume, enlightened the people of Myanmar (the proletariat) on the democracy of the English and the Americans and was of benefit to Myanmar before its independence in 1948.

The Nagani Sarpay (literature), the Nagani Club was more than a book club, a social club or a club for literary affairs; it had fanned the flames of political awareness of the people through books and literature and was supportive of the political movement for independence. It is concluded that the books and literature from the Nagani Publishing House was supportive of, and had strengthened, the political movements in Myanmar.

V Material on “The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution”

1 Kyaw Hoe, Bibliographical Information

Translation: Gunnar Peters

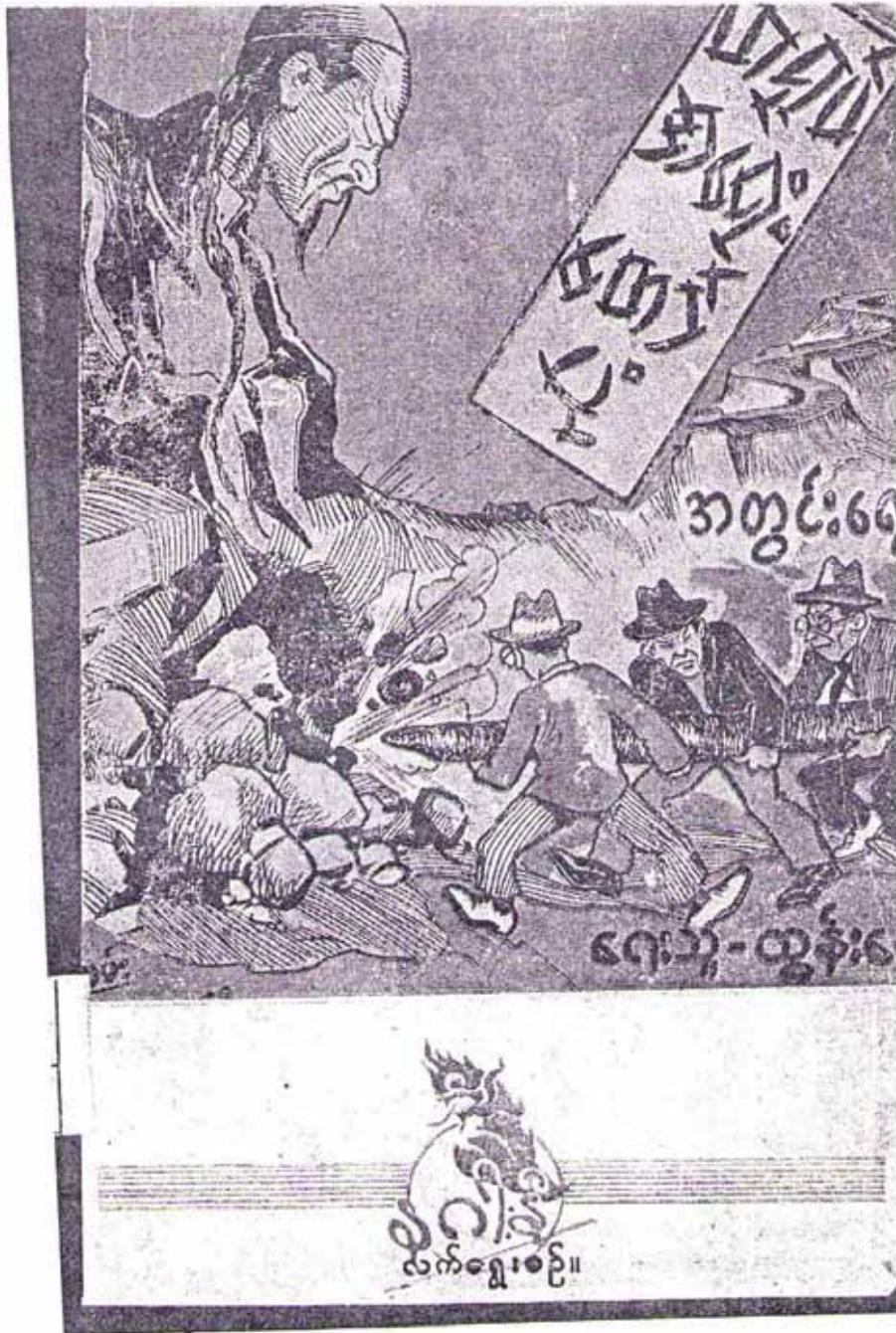
38) Tun Pe, U: *The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution*. Yangon, Nagani, 1940. 212 p.

Published by Nagani. There is a list of other books by the same author: 1) History of Myanmar Language; 2) Introduction to Myanmar Language (2nd edition); 3) The Simon Commission for Myanmar; 4) Japanese Spy (1938).

From the introduction: „This book is based on (a) a book with the title '*The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution*' by T'ang Leang-li, (b) a biography of Sun Yat-sen by Lyon Sharman, (c) the book 'The real Chinese Question' by Chester Holcombe. The introduction ends: „May the revolution prevail!“, signed Tun Pe, 13th waxing moon of Thadingyut 1301.

'The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution' is about Sun Yat-sen's overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, the revolution and the creation of the republic. It contains information about the original situation of the Chinese people and its national organisations, the battle with the Manchu government and the defeat, about Yuan Shih-K'ai and the internal affairs of the revolutionaries, about treason against the republic, that had been created in the face of so many difficulties. It also contains, in the end, the two testaments of Sun Yat-sen.

January 16, 1940. 5000 copies. Price 10 anna



Reproduction of Title Page (black and white)

2 Nay Linn, Critique of the Inner History of the Chinese Revolution

Translation: Richard Zatu

The book ‘The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution’ published by the Nagani Publishing House in 1940 was a translation of a historical book. The translator was Htun Pe (U Htun Pe of the *Htun Daily*). It was said that in translating the book, the translator based his translation on three English language books. The books he used as reference were: (1) The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution written by T’ang Leang-Li ¹ (2) The Biography of Sun Yat-sen written by Lyon Sharman² and (3) The Real Chinese Question written by Chester Holcombe.³ T’ang Leang-Li, the writer of the “Inner History of the Chinese Revolution”, was the representative of the Kuomintang sent to Britain.

Brief Biography of the Translator

Htun Pe was born in Thayet kaungpyin village in Mahlaing Township, Meiktila District on August 5, 1900. His father was a clerk with the Land Record Department and a judge with special powers of Yokan village by the name of U Po Hla. His mother was Daw Nan Aye. He began his schooling at the ABM school of Meiktila. He passed his tenth standard examination from Nokaha Buddhist school of Mandalay in 1918. He went to Yangon College and was one of the leaders of the University Boycott of 1920. He was elected as one of the members of the 26-member committee.

In 1921, he served as a teacher at the Girls’ School in Shwebo and at the Boys’ School in Bogalay. He entered the world of journalism in 1922. He served as a reporter for the *Burma Observer*, an English language daily and a reporter with the *Myanma Alin Daily* on a daily wages basis. As he was good at news story writing, he rose step by step from a reporter to the chief reporter and night editor at the *Thuriya Daily*. He wrote literary critique under the pen name “Maung”. He translated socialist ideological books into Burmese.

¹ T’ang Leang-Li (1901-1970) was a journalist and politician in the Republic of China. He studied at London University and Vienna University and acquired a B.A. in economics. In 1929, he was appointed to the chief of the communication office to Europe of the Kuomintang). Next year, he returned to China, became private secretary to politician Wang Jingwei’s and a reporter for several foreign presses, for example, *The New York Times*, News Agency of Social Democratic Party of Germany, *The Daily News* (London), *The Batavia Newspaper*, etc. In 1933, T’ang Leang-Li was appointed to an adviser of the Foreign Ministry, National Government with minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary status. After that he became a general editor of *The China Today Series* and the *English Encyclopedia of Modern China*. [Source: Wikipedia]. His book on the “Inner History” came out in 1930. [Editor’s note].

² The book was published in 1934.

³ Chester Holcombe (1842 – 1912) was an American diplomat and author. His book “The Real Chinese Question“ was first published in 1900.

In 1934, he was the editor at the *Myanma Daily* and with effect from 1942 until 1948 he worked for the *Bama Khit Daily* as editor-in-chief during the Japanese War. In 1943, he attended Greater East Asian newspaper conference in Tokyo. After the war ended, he became the chief editor of the *Hanthawaddy Daily* from 1946 to 1948. He served as the chairman of Myanmar Writers Association in 1947. He went to Britain and the United States of America as a member of newspaper delegation. In 1947, he was elected Member of Parliament to the legislative parliament from West Hinthada constituency. In 1948, he became the Minister of Information, the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of Culture. He left the cabinet in August in 1953.

In October of 1953, he founded the *Htun Daily* and served as the editor-in-chief. In 1956, he attended the East Asia Conference held in Delhi, India. In 1960, he visited Manila, the Philippines on a study tour. In 1962 he became the chairman of the Burma Press Council.

He also served as a member of the Public Service Commission of the union government and retired in 1969. U Htun Pe also served as a member of Burmese Language Commission. U Htun Pe translated the Japanese Spy, Personal Experience of the Soviet Union, Rasputin and the Inner History of the Chinese Revolution. In 1932, he published Biography of the Burmese Language and in 1958 Why the Burmese Language Was Not Progressing. U Htun Pe died on November 18, 1974.

Summary of the “Inner Story of the Chinese Revolution”

The time between AD 1800 and 1900 in China was a very corrupt and wicked era when the Manchu Dynasty reigned. To change and transform the sinful and immoral rule, an outstanding and intelligent man emerged. He was no other than Dr Tsonyetson (Sun Yet-sen).

Sun Yat-sen was born of farmer San Taw Chun and wife in Tsui Heng village¹ in Guandong Province on November 12 in 1866. He lived in abject poverty during his childhood. Since Sun Yat-sen himself lived in poverty, he wanted to live in weal and woe with the poor masses. The environment of Sun Yat-sen’s childhood was an environment of traditional belief and conservatism. To make the feet of Chinese women small, the feet of girls when they were still soft and tender were bound. Sun Yat-sen’s mother herself was a foot-bound Chinese woman. Sun Yat-sen even while he was still a boy protested vocally against the tradition of bound feet. His father was a Christian. Sun Yat-sen himself liked the teaching of Christ that urged people to love each other including their enemies. Based on this teaching he had the courage to rebel against the authority of the king. He was also a Christian.

¹ Chinese names are checked with the English original and rendered in the spelling given there.

Sun Yat-sen began his schooling at a school in Tsui Heng village. He had heard about the Tai Ping uprising while he was still a boy because his uncle who had taken part in the uprising against the Manchu king had told him about it. In 1879, at the age of 13 he lived with his brother in Honolulu on Hawaii Island. He studied English at a Christian mission school on the island. As he was intelligent, he was given a reward by the king of Honolulu. The very conservative brother of Sun Yat-sen's was afraid his younger brother would become up-to-date as he became more and more educated. So he sent Sun Yat-sen back to China at the age of 18. Sun Yat-sen taught what he had learnt to the villagers. As Sun Yat-sen began to attack the belief in conservative traditions, his parent sent him to Hankow. In 1886 he continued his studies at Queen's College technical school in Hankow. Although he was interested in becoming a military officer, there was no military academy in China. So he went to Po Tsi Medical School in Canton. In 1887 he pursued his further studies at a medical school in Hankow and passed the examination with flying colours in 1892. At the age of 18, Sun Yat-sen married a woman named "Lu" chosen for him by his parents. But they did not live together much.

While studying at a medical college in Canton, he joined at the persuasion of his friend Chen Shi-Liang an association secretly formed to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty. When he moved to a medical school in Hankow, he also joined the people who had revolutionary spirit. It was the time when most of the people thought that those who planned to rebel the Manchu government and overthrow the Chinese empire were fools. In 1892, he organized the people for the revolution in Macao using his medical practice as a front. He established an association called Sin Chung Hui and started to attack the belief that whatever the king did was right. His intention was to change the system of administration to constitutional monarchy first and then to an absolute change.

In the Sino-Japanese war in 1894, the Chinese were defeated for which the Manchu government was blamed. At that time Sun Yat-sen was in Honolulu organizing people for the revolution. In 1895, Dr. Sun Yat-sen and a group of comrades arrived back in Canton. He wrote an application to the king of China and sent it through the governor in Tientsin. Then government officials in Canton arrested all those who signed in the application. Dr. Sun Yat-sen returned to Canton and tried to capture the town. He set up a committee to rebel against the government in Hankow under cover of a trading company. Also in Canton he established an agriculture society to revolt against the government. Committee members included foreigners who had military skills.

On September 9, 1895 the government seized the 500 pistols they brought to invade the governor's residence. Lu Hao-Tung, who carried the revolvers, was executed and 70 people were arrested. Dr. Sun Yat-sen ran to Yokohama, Japan, along with Cheng Shi-Liang and Ch'en Shao-Pei to escape. The Manchu government announced that anyone who could catch Sun Yat-Sen would be awarded two hundred thousand units of Chinese money. Sun Yat-sen disguised himself in Western clothes and lived in Japan. He took his mother, wife and children to Honolulu because he was afraid the Manchu government would harm them in reprisal. In 1896, Dr. Sun Yat-sen went to San Francisco. During that time, no Chinese nationals were allowed to enter the United States of America. So he pretended to be a Japanese national and lived in America for three months. While in America he organized people to revolt. While Dr. Sun Yat-sen was in San Francisco, the Chinese ambassador in Washington informed the Chinese ambassador in London in advance that Dr. Sun Yat-sen was arriving in London.

On September 23, 1896 Dr. Sun Yat-sen left New York aboard S.S. Majestic for London and arrived there on October 1. The diplomats in London were closely monitoring the activities of the fugitive Dr. Sun Yat-sen. On October 11, while walking in London a China man greeted him in Chinese and dragged him by force to the Chinese Ambassador's residence. Then he was detained there until the Chinese Government sent a reply. Then the reply came for them to send Dr. Sun Yat-sen to China. Since Dr. Sun Yat-sen knew the practice of torture and persecution of the feudal Chinese government, he sought ways and means to escape. He therefore sent a letter with the help of an English servant to his friend Dr. Cantlie asking him for help. Although Dr. Cantlie reported the matter to the Scotland Yard, the bureau of investigation, they did not care about it. Later the reporters informed the newspaper that carried the news of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's arrest. The Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, knew about it and said that such action in British territory was a violation of British law and gave an order to free him with a play of words. Then Dr. Sun Yat-sen was allowed to live in the home of Dr. Cantlie.

After escaping from the jaws of death, he met with opposition leaders in Europe. He met with Longuet and Lafargue who were patrons of the socialist ideological organization founded in 1889. He began to study socialism as these two leaders urged him to do so. He came to know the disparity and conflicts between workers and capitalists in different parts of the world. He came to realize that the freedom and prosperity of the Chinese people was a more difficult matter than the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of the republic of China. Moreover, he came to realize

that it was necessary to employ a revolutionary method to make China independent, to free the national people and to make the livelihood of the people better.

Sun Yat-sen lived in Europe from 1896 to 1898. After that he lived in Japan again and met with political party leaders. He intended to make Japan and China allies. He organized with difficulty the Chinese people living in Japan. In one hundred days between June 11 and September 20 1898, the Chinese King Kuang Hsu promulgated new laws on reformation and issued new gazette orders. He held examinations, appointed new soldiers and opened military academies so that educated people would emerge.

On September 20, 1898, a rebellion broke out because of the treachery of Yuan Shih-Kai. Queen Tz'e Hsi, the wife of an ancient king, overthrew King Kuang Hsu and executed his collaborators. This dampened the revolutionary spirit a little. But the newspaper published by Editor Ch'en Shao-Pei in Hankow urged the people to rebel against the government and to uproot it. In 1899, association of the leaders of the Chinese youth and the clandestine associations of Kwantung, Kwansi and Fukien provinces elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen as leader.

Meanwhile, the Boxer's Rebellion broke out in northern China. Southern China did not take part in the rebellion. Dr Sun Yat-sen sent Cheng Shi-Liang to Waichow and ordered him to rebel suddenly. He also sent Shi Chien-Yü to Canton. Although he and the Japanese who were skilled in military affairs went to Hankow, they had to return to Japan as they were not allowed to enter the town. Kodama, the governor of Formosa promised Sun Yat-sen to help him.

First, the Chinese rebellion started by attacking Canton. The stretch between Waichow and Sinyang cities was captured by the rebels. Cheng Shi-Liang was waiting for weapons and reinforcements from Sun Yat-sen. Meanwhile there was a change in the Japanese government and the rebels no longer received any military assistance from Japan. In this way the rebellion was not successful and they had to disperse. But the spirit of rebellion was instilled in the hearts of the Chinese masses because of the restrictions they suffered from foreigners, the control of the whole country by foreign politicians and banking entrepreneurs and the ruinous situation of the economy.

If we study the Chinese economy, China had the upper hand in trading with western European countries in ancient times. The European continent and the American continent had been buying silk yarns and tea leaves from China. China had enough natural resources and had not depended on foreign trade. They did not like the fact that the English had been engaged in trade by establishing the East India Company. By the year 1800, opium eaters in China had increased by leaps and

bounds. Of the foreign imports, 54 percent were opium. In this way the English and the Chinese fought war over opium with the result that the whole country of China was flooded with Western goods. That meant the value of exports had gone down and the value of imports had gone up. The reputation and the economy of China had also gone down as the result of its wars against the Japanese, English and French people and its war reparations of 30 million dollars to the Japanese. After that, large factories and mills of foreigners and wealthy Chinese had sprung up in China. In 1895, rich Chinese businessmen set up silk yarn factories. But, being unable to cope with foreign competitions, about half of the factories were closed down in 1902. That was why wealthy Chinese had contributed a lot of money for the rebellion.

As the forces of rebellion increased more and more, the Manchu Queen had to consider what had been demanded in 1898. She then abolished the ancient educational system and replaced it with a foreign educational one. In 1903, she sent a delegation abroad to study the teaching method of western education. A large number of Chinese students went to foreign countries to study. There were 600 Chinese students in Japan. Dr Sun Yat-sen met with those students and held discussions with them.

At that time there were two kinds of political opinion in China. One was to change the country with reformation and the other was to root out the old system and change the country through revolution. Lian Ch'i-Ch'ao, who was educated and knowledgeable, was the one who imparted the first option. The Manchu government had issued a warrant for his arrest. After that Dr Sun Yat-sen and Lian Ch'i-Ch'ao advertised the idea from Japan. The objective of Lian Ch'i-Ch'ao was to make China modern without abolishing the old tradition. In 1900, he established the Association for Protecting the Empire. In 1902, he changed the name to Association for Protecting the Emperor. But the Chinese students thought that he was more of a talker than a doer. They wanted to overthrow the Manchu government and lay the foundation for democracy. They brought out a newspaper with revolutionary ideas that opposed the opinion of Lian Ch'i-Ch'ao.

In 1904, after travelling around the world, Dr Sun Yat-sen published a declaration called "The True Solution of the Chinese Question" and clearly spelt out his idea in connection with the Chinese revolution. He also called on democratic nations to help him. Dr Sun Yat-sen, in his declaration, explicitly wrote his revolutionary idea for the ending of the Manchu Dynasty and to establish the republic of China and to adopt socialism in the management of the country. While travelling around the world in 1905, Dr Sun Yat-sen had set up student organizations in Brussels, Berlin and

Paris. After that he formed the All China Revolutionary Association called Chung-Kuo Ko-Mind Tung-Meng Hui. It was called Tung Meng Hui Association in short. The association was based on the three public policies of racialism, people's power and human vocation. The objectives included freedom from foreign rule that had made the people of China living under very back ward conditions, the formation of a strong and powerful government of the people elected by the people and to manage and run the country under socialism.

In addition to this, Dr Sun Yat-sen had warned the people not to copy foreign countries in its entirety concerning the future running of the country. He proposed to rule the country under (a) Executive (b) Legislative and (c) Judicial bodies. In the transitional period to democracy, he proposed that the country should change step by step from (a) Military Government to (b) Educative Government to (c) Government According to Law. The Tung Meng Hui Association published its objectives of overthrowing the corrupt Manchu Dynasty, to establish the Republic of China, for the prevalence of peace in the whole world, to divide land in a fair and equitable way, for China and Japan to become allies and to help other foreign countries so as to establish a new China. But they could not work out a plan yet for the success of their objectives. Tung Meng Hui Association included the association for establishing a modern China called Hsing Chung Hui, the association for changing China according to modern times called Hua Hsin Hui and the association for reclaiming the country that belonged to the Chinese people called Kuan Fu Hui. The first and second associations were influential among its secret members who wanted to establish China as a republic. The third association did not want to set up the republic of China but to choose another Chinese as king if the Manchu Dynasty fell. In spite of the fact that there were differences in the objectives of the Tung Meng Hui association, Dr Sun Yat-sen was still influential.

The headquarters of Tung Meng Hui was located in Tokyo, Japan. The association had branches everywhere except in the Kansu area of China. There were also branches in other countries where there were Chinese. The chairman of the main association was Dr Sun Yat-sen. Under the association were the executive committee, the legal committee and the management committee. The legal committee inspected whether the plan done by the executive committee was suitable. It offered advice. If there were disagreements among the groups, the work management committee tried to resolve the disputes. For the association fund, donations were collected from students studying abroad. Between the year 1910 and 1911, Dr Sun Yat-sen himself travelled around the world and solicited funds and had reportedly obtained a large sum of money to the tune of four hundred thousand dollars. The majority of the Tung Meng Hui association members were students.

The officers who had completed their studies in the Chinese military academy were also interested in the revolution.

The Tung Meng Hui association also published a newspaper named Min Pao. In the newspaper, a man named Chan T'ai-Yen wrote about the wickedness of the Manchu Dynasty based on historical evidences. Another man named Chu Chih-Hsin wrote about the ideas of Karl Marx. The newspaper printed 3000 copies and sold 2000 of them in Japan and the remaining 1000 of them were sent to China. But since the Chinese government banned the newspaper, they were put inside envelopes and were sent. Another person who had joined forces with Dr Sun Yat-sen was a man named Huang Hsing who was knowledgeable about the histories of China and foreign countries. He was the one who in 1905 rebelled against the government in Changsha, Hunan Province and ran away to Japan. He became the chairman of the head office of Tung Meng Hui. So, Chinese historians came to refer Sun Yat-sen as the Lenin of China and Huang as the Trotzky of China.

At the end of 1906, a frontier area rebellion erupted in Hunan-Kwangsi province. It had nothing to do with Tung Meng Hui. But some of its members took part in the rebellion which however was not successful. It was a sudden uprising and the government knew about it. Only then did they come to realize that the association had no methodology as to fighting was concerned. A meeting of the association was called and a committee which included Dr Sun Yat-sen, Huang Hsing, Wang Chin-Wai and Hu Han-Min was formed. The committee arranged for the members to launch armed rebellions in Kwantung, Kwangsi and Hunan. The money required for the rebellion was collected from the Chinese people living in foreign countries. Committee members left Japan for Hanoi, Vietnam so as to create uprising in southern China. The rebels had managed to persuade the new Army of the Chinese government that had returned home after the Sino-Japanese war to help.

Later, in the period from 1907 to 1909 a special committee was formed that headed and started a rebellion. Dr Sun Yat-sen stayed in Hanoi and gave orders from there. But the rebellion was unsuccessful in the end. Although they rebelled again and again and failed again and again, the members of the association increased year after year. The Manchu government also devised various plans to divide members of the association. In 1907, two people called Chang T'ai-Yen and Chang Chi tried to topple Dr Sun Yat-sen from his chairmanship by accusing him of letting large numbers of Chinese youth die through his preposterous objectives and also misappropriating foreign currencies. The weapons that Dr Sun Yat-sen bought in foreign countries and brought home

were confiscated on the way. The Manchu government, in cooperation with the Japanese government, suspended publication of the Min Pao newspaper. The French government that had adopted a neutral stand in the internal affairs of China, banished the Chinese revolutionary gang from its territory in 1908: After the defeat of the rebels in Chin-Nan-Kuan, Dr Sun Yat-sen was expelled from the country. Handing over his work to Huang Hsing, Dr Sun Yat-sen left for Palau Penang. In 1910, he again travelled around the world to collect money for the revolution.

The revolutionary forces were desperate because they had suffered defeats every time they rebelled. The majority of the people also were not interested in revolution. So, Dr Sun Yat-sen and party discussed something to instigate the spirit of the people. That was no other than to assassinate the governor. For carrying out the task of killing the governor, they formed a group of commandos that comprised Fang Chün-Ying and his wife Tseng Hsin, Miss Ch'en Pi Chün, Li Chung-Hsi, Huang Fu-Sun and Yü Yüan-Chi and were sent to Canton. Among them was also Wang Ching-Wai, one of the right hand men of Dr Sun Yat-sen. On their arrival in Canton, their plan to assassinate the governor was cancelled and they proceeded to Hankow. In December of 1909, they went to Peking and planned to assassinate the prince who was the representative of the Queen. They planted a time bomb. But government policemen knew about it and the plan failed again. Later, Wang Ching-Wai was arrested by the government. He had managed to destroy by burning the big book that contained the names and addresses of revolutionary forces before government police arrived. Wang Ching-Wai was wanted dead or alive by the Manchu government that offered large sums of dollars as reward for his arrest. After the event, Manchu government members were frightened. The prime minister himself who would try the case of Wang Ching-Wai was also alarmed. Moreover, the prime minister was the uncle of the prince representative. In the end Wang Ching-Wai was sentenced to life in imprisonment because they were afraid the people would rise up as they were angry. Before he was sent to jail, Wang was persuaded not to trouble the government. Wang told them in turn that the only trouble-free way was to announce that China had become a republic.

The risk taken by Wang Ching-Wai served as the instigation of reviving the revolutionary spirit in China. At the request of the Manchu government, the British government had deported Dr Sun Yat-sen. Then, Dr Sun Yat-sen gave Huang Sen the responsibility to be the revolutionary leader to fight, and left for Europe. Huang Hsing, on his part, returned to Hankow, formed a special committee and planned to invade Canton. From there, they were to capture the whole of China. In that plan, besides the soldiers of the new Army of the government, secret revolutionary members joined them with ten thousand rifles. They were prepared to fight around the summer of 1910 if the new Army

gave the order. Meanwhile, government forces and the new Army encountered and fought each other. Army officer Ni Ying-Ting was killed in the battle and the new Army was in disarray. So the plan of the rebellion was not carried out. Dr Sun Yat-sen also returned immediately from America to China. While in Yokohama, a spy found out that he was Dr Sun Yat-sen. So he went to Penang instead. From Penang he called the members in Hankow. They decided to rise up along the Yangtse River valley. Huang Hsing also gathered fighting men in Hankow and prepared to attack the governor's home, the armoury and the police department. He was waited outside the town by secret members of the group and soldiers of the new Army. They were to attack the town when the signal was given. They had imported arms and ammunition from Japan by various means.

It was planned that the attack was to take place on March 28, but as mistakes were made in choosing the roads and as the government's side also discovered their plan, it was cancelled again. The March 29 plan was also postponed because the arms and ammunition sent from Japan had not arrived yet. But on March 29, the governor's house was entered into and attacked. At first, government forces retreated. But as their strength was no match for the government's soldiers, the rebellion failed again. Huang Hsing sacrificed two fingers of his left hand to escape. More people became interested in the revolution because of the rebellion. The government's soldiers themselves wanted to rebel. Taking advantage of this, they decided to capture Wuch'ang, the capital city of Hupeh Province. On October 9, 1911, the Russian police searched for and discovered bombs and the documents the head office of the revolutionary group secretly stored in the quarter where Russians separately lived in Hankow as a result of the accidental explosion of a bomb. The news was sent to the governor in Wu Chan. The governor almost immediately closed the gate of the city, entered into the head office of the revolutionary rebels and searched it. He found the list of Manchu Army officers and other ranks who were members of the revolutionary group.

On October 10, government forces marched to the residence of the governor holding the flags of the rebels. The governor and the government military officer Chang Piao were afraid and fled to Shanghai. So the revolutionary forces were able to capture the Wuch'ang city. For the period before the arrival of Huang Hsing, the Manchu government military officer Li Yuan-Haung was chosen as their temporary leader. This military officer announced in no uncertain terms to the whole country that the country was under military rule and that those who committed crimes would be put to death and that those who helped for the success of the revolution would be rewarded and that the lives and properties of foreigners would be protected.

On October 12, Hankow and Hanyan joined the revolution. After the fall of Wuhan, other towns also began to fall. Szechuan Province announced openly that it was free. Hunan and Shensi provinces also decided in the same way. In Shensi Province, the military killed the governor and burned down the Manchu city. Then, they made Yen Si-Shan their leader and established a temporary government. In Canton, they killed a Manchu military officer and chose Hu Han-Min as their leader. All the provinces except Tsinan joined the rebels.

Then, the queen of Manchu appointed Yuan Shih-K'ai as governor and as the commander of all the military personnel in the Manchu Empire and asked him to crush the rebels. But Yuan Shih-K'ai did not accept the offer and refused it. As they could not be persuaded, Prince Ch'ing and his colleagues who were ministers resigned from their positions. On November 1, the queen finally asked Yuan Shih-K'ai to form a cabinet with the gentlemen he liked and handed responsibilities over to him. The queen had accepted to hand over to parliament all the powers the new cabinet submitted and to only spend the budget of the queen's palace according to the amount allotted by parliament.

On November 3, Ch'en Ch'i-Mei captured Shanghai with the cooperation of the infantry and the navy. Rebellions took place in Yunnan, Kiangsi and Chekian provinces. The navy sent to recapture Wuhan on November 13 instead joined the rebels. Yuan Shih-K'ai's army invaded and attacked Wuhan city. Later, they recaptured Hankow and entered into negotiations with the rebel committee. Wang Ching-Wei was released from prison. Government officials themselves welcomed him. After attacking many times, the rebels began to succeed only after the 11th time of rebellion.

After the completion of the revolution in Wuhan, all the provinces in China joined the rebel government. The 250,000 Manchus moved from Peking to Manchuria. Yuan Shih-K'ai, who had taken over the responsibilities of the Manchu government, planned to annihilate the rebels in northern China. He assassinated military officer Wu Lu Chan. Chan Chaw Chan, who could be dangerous to him, was given a high ranking post. In addition to this, Yuan Shih-K'ai, while engaging in negotiation with rebel forces, was building up his army at the same time. Wan Chin Wai, who had been released from jail, was recruiting forces in Peking and Tiansin cities. Moreover, he proposed to suspend fighting and killing each other and to establish people's parliament elected by the people of the whole country and for a system where the parliament was to manage the administration of China. But since there were many people who opposed the plan, they sought other means. It was for Yuan Shih-K'ai to join the rebels.

Beginning on November 15, Yuan Shih-K'ai accepted to position of Prime Minister but under him were just Chihli Province, Honan Province and Shantung Province. But by military strength his army was bigger than that of the rebels. Yuan Shih-K'ai, although he was a man who had harboured grievances against the Manchu Dynasty, he himself was not a kind administrator. He was interested only in enhancing his power. The rebel committee of Wuhan city promised that if he agreed for the whole northern China to join the rebels and if the republic of China was set up they would elect Yuan Shih-K'ai as the chairman of the republic of China. But Yuan Shih-K'ai replied that he would establish 'Chin' Dynasty and would consider the king as a figure head. So the dialogue failed again. Yuan Shih-K'ai decided to abolish the Manchu Dynasty. Up to that time the army of Yuan Shih-K'ai and that of the rebels were still fighting each other. The rebel army captured Nanking city. Since the country was not peaceful, Yuan Shih-K'ai was unable to obtain foreign loans. On December 11, he sent Ambassador T'ang Shao-Yi and offered to make peace with the rebels. They held a peace conference in Shanghai. T'ang Shao-Yi, the representative of Yuan Shih-K'ai, made a verbal promise that the establishment of a republic could no longer be blocked and was therefore dismissed from being a representative. Yuan Shih-K'ai found himself in a difficult situation between the Manchu Dynasty and the Chinese people. The peace conference also failed abruptly with the dismissal of T'ang Shao-Yi. So Yuan Shih-K'ai had to watch the steps taken by the influential Manchu military officer Li Yan Pi.

While the revolution in China was in full swing, Dr Sun Yat-sen was collecting money in America. Homer Lea, who was skilled in military affairs, came to see Dr Sun Yat-sen and offered to help him. Later, Homer Lea wrote a book named 'The Valor of Ignorance'. He wrote in the book about the attempt of the Japanese to develop their military, about the Americans who did not care about military affairs and his belief that the Japanese would one day attack the beach of the Pacific Ocean. After receiving Homer Lea, Sun Yat-sen told him that when he himself ruled the whole country of China, he would appoint him a military advisor. Then Homer Lea told Dr Sun Yat-sen not to wait until he became the president of China and that he (Sun Yat-sen) would need him before that time came.

Meanwhile, Dr Sun Yat-sen received a telegram in cipher from Hankow asking him to send them money for attacking Wuchan city. Before he replied the telegram, the following morning newspaper carried the news of the capture by the rebels of Wuchan city. The other newspaper said that the attack of Wuchan city was carried out at the order of Dr Sun Yat-sen and that the republic of China would be established and that Dr Sun Yat-sen was going to be elected the first president of China.

Dr Sun Yat-sen was reading the newspaper on a train to New York. No passengers around him knew that he was Sun Yat-sen.

Dr Sun Yat-sen, thinking that he could receive some assistance from the English if the republic of China was established, disguised himself and went to England. He arrived at the home of Dr Cantlie in London. Dr Cantlie showed him the telegrams sent to his address. The telegram read, 'Return to China quickly. You will be given the presidency of China'. Dr Sun Yat-sen requested the group of four countries a loan for the republic of China. He again met with Homer Lea in London and then went to Paris on November 11. Dr Sun Yat-sen left France for China taking Homer Lea with him as his military consultant.

He arrived in Hankow on December 21 and was accorded a warm welcome by the rebel leaders. From Hankow he went to Shanghai along with Hu Han Min, a military officer. At the request of the leaders of the rebel group, he accepted chairmanship on January 1, 1912. Moreover, he formed the cabinet with Huang Hsing (Minister for Military Affairs), Wu Ting-Fan (Minister for Foreign Affairs), Wang Ch'ung-Hui (Minister for Judicial Affairs), Ts'ai Yuan-P'ei (Minster for Education), Ch'en Chin-Tao (Minister for Finance) and Chan Ch'ien (Minister for Commerce). Wang Chin-Wei, who had been given life imprisonment for planning to throw a bomb at the prince, requested to be appointed cabinet member but was given only the post of propaganda chief.

Thus, China had changed from a feudal monarchy system to a republic. Dr Sun Yat-sen had become the first president and was able to announce that the 'Republic of China' was born.

But northern China remained a monarchy with Yuan Shih-K'ai as the prime minister. Therefore, despite the announcement that China was a republic, the whole country was not yet a republic. Since no group was decidedly stronger than the other, the prospect of a civil war was certain unless there was a dialogue between the two sides. As Dr Sun Yat-sen wanted to unite the country as a republic, he decided to give his chairmanship to Yuan Shih-K'ai. After holding a dialogue among the two sides, Yuan Shih-K'ai agreed to set up a republic and the chairmanship was handed over to him. Dr Sun Yat-sen made a declaration in which he said he would devote his work to the development of the country's education and the progress of industrial enterprises. Huang Hsing and Chen Ch'i-Mei also resigned from high ranking positions and helped Dr Sun Yat-sen in his work. The name of Tung Min Hui association had also been changed to Kuo-Min Tang.

Before long, there were disagreements among members of the Yuan Shih-K'ai's cabinet. So some ministers left their jobs. Since there was no cabinet, foreign countries did not want to give them

loans. Members of parliament held an election and fired Yuan Shih-K'ai. Meanwhile the assassination of two military officers of Kuomintang sparked disturbances in the whole country. Dr Sun Yat-sen called Wang Ching-Wei who was living in Paris and planned to attack the rebels. Dr Sun Yat-sen arrived in Peking and Yuan Shi Kai handed power back to him. But the holding of election was delayed. The people of the country demanded an election and it was held in 1913. Yuan Shih-K'ai gave presents to many people and tried to win the election but without success. From that time onwards, Yuan Shih-K'ai tried to do some destructive things. He secretly killed some Kuomintang leaders. Because of the treachery of Yuan Shih-K'ai, the revolutionary forces faced another problem. In August the fighting forces of Yuan Shih-K'ai increased and they fought the rebels. Dr Sun Yat-sen again ran away and arrived in Japan on August 8, 1913. Huang Hsing and other leaders also arrived in Japan. This was known in Chinese history as the Second Revolution.

On January 1, 1916, it was planned that Yuan Shih-K'ai would be crowned king who establish the first Chinese state. Dr Sun Yat-sen who was in Japan was furious and again planned to rebel against it. Then the rebellion started before Yuan Shih-K'ai was crowned king. Yuan Shih-K'ai also cancelled his plan to set up a kingdom and instead established on March 23, 1916 a new republic. The revolution came to be known in Chinese history as the Third Revolution. On June 6, 1916, Yuan Shih-K'ai passed away and Li Yuan-Hung who had commandeered the revolutionary soldiers was chosen as the president/chairman. Dr Sun Yat-sen also arrived back in China. After suffering a lot of political conflicts, China again was attacked by allied forces in the First World War. In addition to this, the Chinese revolution that Dr Sun Yat-sen had headed and tried to finish had not been completed. There still were many things that should be solved.

Dr Sun Yat-sen died at 3 a.m. on March 12, 1925 in Peking. Before he died, he had written two wills – one for his family and another for the people of the country. He urged the people to successfully finish the independence struggle and the establishment of a new nation.

Evaluation

The book 'The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution' was a good book that was published in conformity with the political situation of Myanmar. The objectives of the book were to arouse political awakening and instigate revolutionary spirit in the Myanmar masses. The time of the appearance of the book was a time when Myanmar was struggling to free itself from the colonial rulers. Moreover, it was a time when the leftist ideology of socialism and communism along with

the Russian Revolution were beginning to impact the whole world. At that time, the association that was trying to instigate revolutionary spirit against colonialism and to impart knowledge about leftist ideology was the Nagani Publishing House. The books brought out by the Nagani Publishing House were trying to spotlight the journey to be traversed in the political future of Myanmar.

The book 'The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution' especially described how the Manchu Dynasty was uprooted in China and how the Republic of China was established through a revolution. In other words, it told the story of how the Chinese national leader Dr Sun Yat-sen had carried out the revolution that was worth imitation. It had managed to inform the Myanmar people that in carrying out a revolution, it was not enough to simply change something. Only when it was uprooted that the objectives could be achieved and that in engaging in a revolution people had to encounter various problems and difficulties and had to invest in lives and bloods.

The knowledge and the idea were tremendous supports for the Myanmar activities of opposing colonialism prior to the Second World War. It was a book that imparted knowledge to the forces that opposed colonialism and that in carrying out a revolution, it was not possible to do it alone or by a single party. It could only be successful if the strength of the people was mustered. Moreover, it was a book that gave directions to the Myanmar forces against colonialism in laying down the future political agenda of Myanmar. The reason was that at that time in Myanmar, revolutionary spirit against colonialism and leftist ideology were fashionable.

Even in contemporary time, the 'Inner History of the Chinese Revolution' is a book which is a useful help in studying the history of the Chinese revolution and in how socialism began to take root in China. In addition, it is a good book for studying from a biographical perspective the image of how the Chinese national leader Dr Sun Yat-sen who was the protagonist of the story had buried himself in revolution.

VI APPENDICES

Appendix 1

SHORT INFORMATION on the MAKING of the BOOK REPORTS

CHOSEN BOOKS from the bibliography will be provided on a lending basis by the manager [or for people in Myanmar through the Myanmar Book Centre in Yangon (55 Baho Road; telephone 221-TWO REPORTS on each book by different persons are accepted.

LENGHT: 8,000 to 12,000 words (plus special space, if desired);

LANGUAGE of PUBLICATION: English; manuscripts in Myanmar language will be translated;

CRITERIA (must not slavishly be observed):

1. Biographical information about the author/translator, and other contributors;
2. Information about the non-Myanmar sources used in the book; (if the book is a translation, the original English version will be provided, too, if possible;)
3. Summary of the book's contents;
4. Information about the special aim and intended impact of the book at the time of publication;
5. How are foreign terms and concepts translated or transformed into the Myanmar language and the Myanmar context? (May be omitted!)
6. Personal assessment by the reviewer of the book, its impact on later times and its meaning for today

DEADLINE of DELIVERY of the REPORT: December 31, 2005 (the deadline can be extended);

DELIVERY of the REPORTS DRAFTED: Directly to the manager of the project by email or through the Myanmar Book Centre.

COMMENTS and EDITING: The reports will be commented upon by another person. The reviewer may react on the comments and answer the questions as he or she likes. The responsibility for the final editing of the reports is with the project manager.

REWARD: As a financial reward, each reviewer will receive 50 US \$ at the time of submitting the book report and 30 US \$ after the final editing.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS like recollections of elder people, who remember the impact of Nagani on their life, and essays on subjects related to the club (Nagani Song, Nagani Magazine, the role of literature in disseminating knowledge in Myanmar, etc.) are very much appreciated.

Appendix 2**INFORMATION about COMMENTARIES on BOOK REPORTS****1. The commentaries asked for shall serve two aims**

First (and most important): To start a dialogue on Myanmar's intellectual and literary heritage between interested people inside and outside of Myanmar.

Second (and important, too): To check the clarity of the report with regard to the intended publication.

Therefore, the commentator should be interested in Burma affairs and in the general topic of the respective book, but must not know anything about its specific content.

2. Length of each commentary: Must not exceed the space of this paper.**3. Some hints that may be useful to observe in writing a commentary:**

Are there any questions that are brought up by reading the report?

If yes, what kind of questions do arise?

Are the criteria listed in the “Short information on the making of book reports” (see attachment) met by the book report?

What information on the book report do I find interesting/exciting or unnecessary/redundant?

Is there anything that I would recommend to the author of the report?

Delivery of the commentary: It would be appreciated if the commentaries could be sent by email to the above mentioned email address. If the author of the report chooses to react on the commentary, the commentator will be informed.

Affairs to come: All participants will be informed about the development of the publishing process of the reports and are invited to participate in future deliberations and activities. - Questions and recommendations are very much appreciated.

MYANMAR LITERATURE PROJECT



Starting with an investigation into the NAGANI BOOK CLUB

The project's
Working Papers
are published by
the **Department of Southeast Asian Studies of Passau University**

Already Published:

- No. 10:1, An Introduction into the Nagani Book Club
 - No. 10:1.1, Additional Material on Nagani
- No. 10:2, Thein Pe, *Saya Lun* and *Member of Parliament*
- No. 10:3, Ba Hein and Hla Shwe on Capitalism
- No. 10:4, Thein Pe, *Student Boycotters* (Two Volumes)
- No. 10:4.1, Additional Material on Students, Society and Politics
- No. 10:5, Ba Khaing, *Political History of Myanmar*
- No. 10:6, Nu, *Gandalarit*
- No. 10:7, Mogyo, *José Rizal*
- No. 10:8, Three Books on World War and Burma
- No. 10:9, Two Works on the History of the Russian Revolution
- No. 10:10, Soe, *Socialism* and Chit Hlaing, *Memories*
- No. 10:11, Ba Hein, *Students' Revolution*
- No. 10:12, Thein Pe, *Indo-Burman Riot*
- No. 10:13, Two Political Dictionaries
- No. 10:14, Thandwe Maung, *Asoka* and Tun Shein, *First Hand Experience of India*
- No. 10:15, Four Books on Germany
- No. 10:15.1, Two Books of Khin Khin Lay on Germany
- No. 10:100, Papers Presented at the Burma Studies Conference, Singapore 2006

Some Nagani Books
were scanned and are available on CD.
For details contact
habezett@t-online.de

All Working Papers published until now are available at
<http://www.zoellner-online.org/mlp.htm>
and at the Online Burma Library
<http://www.burmalibrary.org/show.php?cat=2083>

INVITATION

Readers are invited to participate in the project by

- writing **comments and criticisms** on the contents of this and other volumes of this series;
- contributing **essays** on Burmese/Myanmar literature as a medium between the international world and Burmese society;
- providing **material** that sheds more light on the Nagani Book Club, its context and impact on Burmese intellectual and literary life;
- offering **assistance** as translators and commentators of book reports.

For contributions and questions, please contact:

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