A black and white portrait of General Khun Sa. He is an older man with dark hair, looking directly at the camera with a serious expression. He is wearing a dark, high-collared jacket. His right hand is raised to his face, holding a lit cigarette between his fingers. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

GENERAL
KHUN SA

HIS LIFE AND
HIS SPEECHES

GENERAL KHUN SA

HIS LIFE AND HIS SPEECHES

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FORWARD

Many people are familiar with the name KHUN SA. Yet very few really know him. We hope this booklet will help you understand him, and see him in a new light.

12 August 1989



Khun Sa, a prominent
and powerful revolutionary
leader in the Shan State
Government, is a
Revolutionary
Shan State Government

PART ONE

SHORT ACCOUNT OF LIFE

Khun Sa is the seventh generation descendant of his ancestors who immigrated in the 18th century from Nawng - sae (Talifu), an ancient Shan principality in China. One of them won chieftainship (Zao - muang in Shan) of the Loimaw territory in Hsenwi Principality through meritorious service to the principedom.

Khun Sa, also known as Chang Si - Fu, was born in Hpa - perng Village, Loimaw Ward, Tang Yan Township, Lashio Province on 17 February 1934. Some outsiders think the name " Khun Sa " is just a nom de guerre (like Boon Thavorn and others) ; as a matter of fact, that is not so. It is not unusual to see ethnic Chinese people who become naturalized citizens of their adopted countries taking up local names. Pichai Rattakul, for instance, without doubt a typical Thai name, belongs to a famous Chinese living in Bangkok's China Town. He later became Vice Premier of the Royal Thai Government. It is also interesting to note that Khun Sa's mother was a Palaung Shan by the name of Nang Saeng Zoom. His father was Khun Ai. Khun is a prefix used by people who had been promoted into Shan royalty.

Khun Ai died prematurely in 1937. His widow remarried, this time to Khun Ji, the Chief of Mong Torm, a neighboring territory. She too passed away two years later. The five year old orphan was adopted and taken care of by the stepfather and was later reclaimed by his grandfather, Khun Yi Sai, the Chief of Loimaw.

He was sent to school for a while but was soon recalled when the war broke out. His grandfather himself tutored him to read and write Chinese, and also tea cultivation and horse / mule breeding in the practical field. He was much influenced by the thoughts and exploits of his uncle, Khun Ja, who fought alongside the Allies against the Japanese and who was also politically active after the war.

No sooner had the Shan State survived the War and achieved independence than the Kuomintang (KMT), defeated by the Communists in 1949 , took sanctuary in the Shan State by the thousands. Loimaw, situated on the western bank of the Salween, had to bear the brunt of this unexpected foreign invasion. Local people were conscripted for labor and military service, taxes were levied on them and they were subjected to harsh, lawless rule. One day they came for his grandfather's horses and mules. Khun Sa can still recall his grandfather, eyes filled with tears, as he directed his

grandson to show the KMT personnel present at the occasion, the designated packsaddle for each of the mules. This resolved him, he said, to regard the KMT as foreigners and enemies to be driven from the motherland.

He then organized an anti - KMT force from his boyhood friends and staged a raid one early dawn on an unsuspecting KMT unit. The surprise seemed to be total, because according to him, he managed to acquire more than 30 assorted weapons from this single adventure. But his victory and the resulting buoyancy were short - lived, because the KMT quickly moved to put his grandfather in custody and demanded, together with the return of the weapons, discontinuance of his activities. consequently, the young rebel had to flee for his life into the urban districts and immediately found himself among another foreign invader - the Burmese, who had occupied the main towns and cities.

The bitter experience that he had witnessed under foreign occupation, first by the Japanese, and later by the KMT and the Burmese were enough for this rebellious young man whose heart had been imbued by his late uncle with love and loyalty to the motherland. The knowledge of the Burmese betrayal of their promise to respect the right of the Shan State to manage her own destiny after a ten - year trial period led him to form a clandestine underground movement on New Year's Day, 1960. He was at once faced with immediate problems which demanded prompt solution: Was he to fight both the KMT and the Burmese simultaneously? If not, which was to be regarded as the most dangerous? How best should he build up his strength? The solution of these problems, however, came in the person of Col Maung Shwe, the Burmese Commander of the Eastern Strategic Command (Shan State), who, on 6 January 1960, offered him the status of a volunteer militia chief and a free hand in the build - up of his strength in return for his pledge to fight the KMT and the Communist Party of Burma (CPB). He accepted with alacrity. His strength, supported by the local merchants who were by nature averse to socialism, gradually grew and by 1963 spread to Kengtung, which borders Laos.

By then, due to the KMT's promotion policy coupled with Burmese economic mismanagement and secret encouragement, poppy cultivation and opium trading had jumped on a shockingly rapid scale. Khun Sa was aware of the disastrous side - effects of this development. He felt that only cure and education as a preventive measure could ease and counter the effects. Accordingly, from

1964 onwards, he had built two hospitals and more than eighty schools.

On 15 June 1964, a special conference was held in Loimaw, where Bo Deving, a veteran of the famous 1959 Tangyan Battle was chosen as the group's leader. A decision was also taken to extend forces into areas bordering Thailand. They reached Thailand later in that year. However, the KMT remnants, the Third Army commanded by Gen Li Wen - huan and the Fifth Army commanded by Gen Tuan Shi - wen, were alarmed by Khun Sa's emergence as a rival. They managed to bribe Bo Deving, a simple minded man, and on 7 November 1964, they attacked the SUA unit stationed at Ban Hin Taek, the scene of yet another famous conflict nearly two decades later. The resultant failure to establish permanent bases along the Thai border left Khun Sa with only another alternative - to concentrate on the Laotian border.

But the ex - KMT, determined to stop Khun Sa at all costs, attacked his force in Ban Kwan, Laos. The battle raged for four days, 6 - 9 July 1967 and became known as the " 1967 Opium War ". They also launched an operation against him in the following year, attacking him at Ban Nakha, Mong Kao Ward, Mong Lurn Township, Lashio Province. Failing to destroy him, the KMT used a different strategem which turned out to be unfortunately effective as subsequent events proved. Through couriers and contacts, the ex - KMT informed the Burmese Government of Khun Sa's real intentions i.e., to overthrow foreign rule by force.

Khun Sa arrived in Taunggyi on 17 October 1969 having been invited to attend a special meeting. On 20 October he was arrested and sent to Mandalay Prison for five years in a lone cell with nobody to talk to, only a copy of Lo Kuang - chung's famous " Romance of the Three Kingdoms ". It was nevertheless worth it, he said, because he was able to make a thorough review of the Shan situation and formulate plans for the future.

Meanwhile his troops had not been idle. Most of them, being timely alerted, swiftly left the towns and joined hands with the Shan State Army. Only an insignificant number were caught napping and disarmed. The leaderless army was then led by the able and loyal Falang : " Thunder " his Chief of Staff. It was he who conceived the daring plan to kidnap the Russian doctors to hold as hostage in exchange for the return of their leader.

The Russians were abducted on 16 April 1973 and Khun Sa was released the following year on 7 September after diplomatic hurdles had been cleared away. He had to wait and while away his time acting as a playboy to the everwatchful Burmese Military Intelligence Service for more than a year. Finally, on Shan National Day, 7 February 1976, he escaped and successfully ran the blockade to rejoin his men. He arrived in Ban Hin Taek later that year and drew up the Six Year plan for the control and eradication of opium and opium related crops.

On 16 April 1977, Congressman Lester Wolff who was Chairman of the U.S. House Select Committee on Narcotics, sent his emissary, Joseph Nellis, to meet Khun Sa, now dubbed by the U.S. Narcotics Agency and the press as the "Opium King". He promised to cooperate with the international community to fight against narcotic drugs and submitted his six year plan. This was rejected by the Carter Administration on 18 July in the same year.

His later diplomatic efforts also came to naught, and on 21 January 1982, the Thai Border Patrol Police, hired by the DEA, attacked Ban Hin Taek. Since then altogether forty attacks have been launched against him and so far all have failed to produce any concrete results to justify the subsequent losses brought about on both sides by these meaningless ventures.

On 3 March 1985 he accepted the three conditions of the Tai Revolutionary Council (TRC) : Anti - BSPP; Anti - CPB; and, Anti - Narcotics, together with its two phased Control and Eradication Program and joined it.

He is currently the Vice President of the TRC, and carries the military and financial portfolios.





PART TWO

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS (ENUNCIATED ON DIFFERENT OCCASIONS)

I. REVOLUTION

WHY?

This land has been given to us by our forefathers since time immemorial.

Our country is full of natural wealth. We are just like beggars who sleep on beds made of gold and live in huts built of gems.

It is because we don't enjoy self-government. The Americans used to live in a lesser developed condition than us. Yet they have managed to become a superpower today. Why? Because they have their own government.

If you have your own country but not your own government, nothing you own is secure. The money you earn is for others to take and squander; the rice you grow is to feed them; the home you build is for them to burn down; your sons are to be pressed-ganged as their cannon fodder and porters; and your daughters are to be raped and sold as prostitutes.

The selfish Burmese have, through their mismanagement, made us suffer for decades. We cannot continue to humor their whims any longer. How can we believe they love us when they are only trying to make us more and more ignorant and poor? Ignorance and poverty only makes us admire other people. This in turn encourages us to pattern ourselves after them, thereby we ourselves become "other people". That is the aim of the Burmese. That's why I say take back our own land.

The Shan people have been too good for their own good. We have been so yielding to other people's encroachments that we now have scarcely enough room to stand, not to mention sit and sleep.

Tell me one Country that became independent without having to bear hardships, without having to struggle and fight.

If the struggle of the Shan people, to whom this country legitimately belongs, is unfair, so was the American Revolution.

WHY - INDEPENDENCE?

we take up arms because of our people. And what do our people say? Everyone of them, from their children upwards, has been saying that they want back the country which was given to them by their forefathers. We are merely their servants, and servants can act only according to the wish of their masters.

WHY - FEW FIGHTS WITH THE BURMESE?

Why aren't the Americans fighting with the Russians then?

To fight a superior enemy is like preparing a new field to cultivate. First you have to clear the weeds and bushes that get in your way. Only then will you be able to cut down the big tree.

If you are weak, nobody will listen to you even though you beg them to with your hands clasped in front of you as a sign of homage. On the other hand, if you are strong, people will readily listen to you even though you are sitting on their heads. We may then even recover our motherland without having to fight at all.

OUR ENEMIES

Black Burmese — meaning successive Burmese governments

Red Burmese — meaning the Communist Party of Burma

White Chinese — meaning the Kuomintang remnants

If you are unable to recognize your enemy, then you will probably become his guide when he comes to plunder and lay waste to your villages and towns.

The CPB is led by the Burmese. It works for the good of the Burmese. It's finished without Chinese help.

The KMT are Chinese. They work for their own good. They are finished once our Thai cousins stop backing them.

The Rangoon regime is also Burmese. Its primary mission is also the good of the Burmese. They're done for once we are united.

As for us, we are Shans. We are in our own land and we are working for the good of our own people. We can never perish even though no outsiders lend us a helping hand.



OUR FATE

The fate of the Shan people is not in other peoples' hands. It's in our very own.

Reliance on others can never carry you far. Only reliance on one-self can see one through.

There are people who are trying to persuade us to go and enter a crying contest in front of the people of the West. It will be a mistake to pay much attention to them.

Without the Burmese, we live.

Without us, the Burmese don't.

Enlighten yourself with this reality, and we can win the war just by keeping the Burmese out in the cold

II. WARFARE

WHY SHOULD ONE BECOME A SOLDIER?

To have a nation, you must have an armed force first.

If one's country can be regained by paying homage, one should not fight. Keep this in mind! We are not paying respect to other people, but only to the interests of our people.

A strong armed force is a sharp fish - bone of a nation. like a fish - bone, it poses as an obstacle to those who wish to swallow the nation, and, like a fish - bone, it can cut the insides of the aggressor nation if swallowed.

We have a population of eight million made up of one million families (eight members to a family). If each family furnishes a soldier, then we will have an armed force of one million troops and the war will be won with ease. Shouldn't each family be responsible for contributing one soldier?

We should not hire substitutes to serve in our own armed forces because we are not protecting other nations but our very own.

You don't dodge death by avoiding military service. Tens of thousands of our people have been killed during the last forty years because of few enlistment in the national armed force. Had these people united to form a national armed force, we could have scared the invaders off just by our sheer numbers and nobody would have died. Even independent countries have laws requiring every able - bodied citizen to enlist in the armed services for a period. In Thailand, even the crown prince has to serve in the Army. By contrast, we are not independent yet so are we not more responsible for national defense than other peoples who are already independent?

THE PEOPLE AND THE ARMED FORCE

The people come before the Armed Force and not otherwise.

The people do not belong to the Armed Force. On the contrary, it is the Armed Force that belongs to the people. But they must be one and indivisible.

HOW TO WAGE A WAR

Should we turn to the regular course of fighting all the time. In my thinking, it is not advisable, because we would just turn homes, properties and the lives of the people and soldiers into playthings to entertain ourselves. Precious lives are lost but our land is not recovered. They are sacrificed needlessly.

A war cannot be fought by following the course of action previously employed. In the past, the Burmese were still green but now they have become battle – hardened and experienced. Use our brains and find the way that will kill them, protect us, and win back our land.

We must compare our strength with that of the enemy and strive to build up ours until we are able to contend with him. So that when the time is ripe he will return our land without resorting to war, and if we are compelled to fight, we shall be in a position to defeat him in a swift campaign.

Sages said there were five points to remember :

First, **COMPARISON** which means to compare our strength with that of the enemy and strive to build up ours.

Second, **ACCURACY** which means to make the comparison from reliable information and intelligence data.

Third, **SECRECY** to keep the enemy in the dark about our plans.

Fourth, **SPEED** to be swift in the execution of plans and in military operations.

Fifth, **AUDACITY** to win a speedy victory, daring, decisiveness and determination are indispensable.

Keep distance with the enemy if you cannot defeat him. Don't invite him to come near.

Why are others being attacked and crushed all the time? It's because of their invitation without being prepared to meet him.

A strong enemy should be left alone and kept in indulgence. You take him only when he is off guard.

Our country is not of deserts and plains like some countries. Even those countries, despite these handicaps, have won wars. If we, with all the facilities endowed by nature, cannot win this war, we have no one else to blame but ourselves.



III. NATIONAL UNITY

FOR WHOM?

Every party needs unity. So do we. But for whom? Not for Khun Sa, or for Sai Lek either, but for our sacred cause : To expel the invaders and take back our country.

WITH WHOM?

With our people of all races from all religious faiths.

With all the diverse groups, big and small, of the Shan people.

With the retired resistance fighters.

With the retired militia men.

HOW?

It must not be based on personal interests or blood relations.

Personal conflicts should be let bygone be bygone. Old feuds should not be recounted.

Don't repeat rumors uttered by other people with the aim to divide us.

Don't use them as slingshots to be thrown at one another from a distance.

One should have evidence to back one's charges.

If we have to find fault with one another, there will be no ending to it. Instead, it will be only self — defeating.

Idle talk like “ Khun Sa, is he not a Chinese? ” are only meant to divide us. Other nations also have leaders who come from Chinese backgrounds (like King Taksin in Thailand and Aquino in the Philippines, and even Ne Win, himself, in Burma), yet nobody has made issues out of them. However, it is a big issue in our country. Through whom and why? The answers are as plain as can be.

It is unwise to discriminate against one another on the basis of racial, class, cultural and religious differences. If one fulfills the basic requirement, i.e., to uphold the same MOTHERLAND, FLAG and SEAL, that should be enough.

We are delighted to learn about various foreign agencies' offers to help forge the Shan national unity. And we sincerely encourage their efforts. But, since it is essentially an internal affair, a family problem, it should be settled mainly by the members of the family themselves.

We should be ashamed of bringing outsiders to straighten out our own affairs. We should realize from past experiences that it was always through dependency on outsiders that the Shan people have suffered.

When someone else farts, you are all too ready to say it's got a pleasant smell. But you refuse to listen when one of your own people speaks. Just let me ask you who you are?

Don't rely on the Burmese, both Black and Red alike, and the White Chinese to bring about our unity. Even though they are fighting against each other, the obvious fact is that it is our own pots and pans that are smashed and our own people who have to bear the brunt of their fighting. What good have they done for us anyway? I can only see them eating our rice and using our rice—steamers as their bedpans.

Is it not also a fact that through them, large villages in the Shan State have become small ones, and small ones have become desolate, big high ways have become small road tracks, the rich become poor and the poor become beggars and prostitutes?

We want to rely on our Thai cousins, but they have to listen to the Americans.

We want to rely on our Lao cousins too, but they have to listen to the Vietnamese.

We also want to rely on our Chinese neighbors, but since theirs is a huge family with many mouths to feed, they are busy attending to the needs of their own people.

So, if we don't rely on each other, who can we turn to?

Some countries are like rich farmers with large stores of rice seeds. They would not just give them away just because we say we want to grow rice. They would want to know if we were really serious about growing rice, and whether we are healthy and strong enough to do it. Don't expect any assistance from them if you are feeble and fragile like drug addicts.

Why should we pay so much attention to power—sharing when our common aim is to drive out the aggressors and regain our state power? How great is our power at the present? Why, we even have to bow to the wishes of a mere 16 – man unit of Border Patrol Police across the border. Let us unite and fight for the power which will allow our people to travel at will in other countries without fear of discrimination. Or perhaps you just prefer to be appended to other nations and hold a lesser power?

Unity should be forged by the application of President Korn Jerng's teaching : IMPROVE, LOVE, JOIN, and HELP each other. And to be able to apply it, you must also know the meaning of being WIDE, NARROW, HARD, and SOFT.

WIDE means to be broad – minded. To know it is US even though we swear at each other ten times a day.

NARROW means to keep your attention within the bounds of your nation. To know it is THEM even though they treat you ten times a day.

HARD means to be firm in your principles. To be unyielding however strong your enemies may be.

SOFT means to be flexible in your tactics. And to be gentle in your dealings with the people.

The Soviet Union and China, with hundreds of races and tribes, succeeded in forming nations. If we, with only 26 races, cannot do it, we are unworthy of an independent state.

I am really surprised with people who are not happy with the unification efforts. It is as though they are afraid of regaining their motherland. How can they call themselves Shans?

The problem of driving out the invader is our task at hand. It cannot be postponed indefinitely. However, Problems among us can be put off until we have accomplished the task of expelling all the invaders from our country. Then, if we still wish to sort our problems out, we can, by majority consent, elect judges to administer justice for us



RACIAL AFFAIRS

The Tai race, constituting the majority in the Shan State, should be accordingly broad – minded and generous.

Why is Burma always in turmoil? It is because the Burmese never want to elevate any race other than their own. We cannot follow the Burmese way if we wish for a peaceful and prosperous nation. We must promote races other than the Tais to become national leaders.

Whoever creates racial conflicts must pay with his own life. I don't see any alternative course. You still have to receive this punishment even though you have accomplished many meritorious deeds throughout your career.

Every Burmese who wishes to fight for the Independence of the Shan State is also welcome to join our ranks.

IV. UNITY WITH OTHER NATIONALS

The present Union of Burma can be likened to an open human hand. The seven states are the fingers and Burma a nut in the depression in the palm's center, if every finger is strong and each act in concert with the rest, the nut can be crushed with ease.

We support, in principle, the formation of a United Front with other nationals, e.e., Arakan, Chin, Kachin, Karenni, Karen and Mon. However, the present United Front is inadvisable. It is weak ; resolutions are made but cannot be carried out ; meetings are for different groups to come and engage in endless quarrels. A FRONT, yes; but UNITED, no. Instead of devoting their time to wrest their territories back from the Burmese, they are only concentrating on the possession of territory from one another. Pleasing to the eyes and ears but it has no real force to back up its bluffs. This kind of United Front needs no enemy to come and bother. It will disintegrate on its own.

If you keep on spending your money, exhausting your ammunition and pitting your one against the enemy's ten, you only bring suffering to your own people, death to your troops and frustration to your sacred cause. How can this mode of warfare – fighting without sufficient strength – bring forth victory?

They say the National Democratic Front adheres to the principle of Genuine Federation which receives full support from the international community, while we are stubbornly clinging to the worn out principle of Independence which the rest of the world ignores. They ask me how we are going to win? Don't let these empty harangues make you waver. We have the legal claim, witnessed by none other

than the British. If treaties are made only to be broken later, what's the point of making them at all? I solemnly urge you not to vacillate. Have complete faith in your cause, in yourselves, in your leaders, and in your organization. Our policy concerning the present United Front is that of Encouragement and Friendly Persuasion.



I don't grow poppies. I'm working for the freedom of my country. It is my people who grow them. And, they are not doing it for fun. They do it because they need to buy rice to eat, and clothes to wear for themselves and their families. I haven't heard anywhere that they are growing it for the sake of destroying other nations.

To grow an alternative crop, our people need roads to transport their products to markets. But the Burmese do not care to build them. Our oranges together with other fruits, just rot away. On the other hand, opium needs no roads. The merchants are right there at their doorsteps or at the entrances to their poppy fields to buy it.

The Shan people do not have the know — how and connections to go and sell narcotics abroad. There is no opium in the display cabinets of the stores, nobody bothers to place ads, and drug enforcement officials are swarming around wherever you go. Yet our opium has managed to travel to your countries, thanks to your own drug smugglers.

I don't grow poppies and I don't deal in drugs. I'm just my people's servant, fighting to win back our lost land.

I don't like drugs. I hate them. For I am well aware of the dangers they pose for human societies. That is why I have offered to help eradicate them; ever since 1977, with my six — year plan. This offer still stands.

We regard opium eradication as our duty even though nobody cares to help us. One of our first jobs after Independence will be its eradication.

Poppy cultivation was terminated in China because it had its own government. By the same logic, the termination of poppies in the Shan State is inseparable with the set up of an independent Shan government. The independent Chinese government never found the need to get any urge from foreign governments to do it. Neither will we.

Legalization of drugs is not commendable. The proper way is to stop growing poppies. If there is no poppy plant, no longer will there be any dealers and users even if they have the money to buy it.

I reckon there are only two persons in the world who really want to stop opium; the parents of the addict and I, myself. The others are too busy making political and financial profits out of it — they are just afraid it may really end.

To free their respective peoples, the Kachins rely on their jade fields, the Karens on their timberland, and we Shans on our own people. However, our people have no choice but to grow opium for their subsistence. Successive Rangoon governments have been responsible for this state of affairs.

U.S.DRUG POLICY

The people of the Shan State are its legal owners. Representing them, I have ceaselessly offered to cooperate with you but you have repeatedly shut your eyes and ears to my offer.

— The real culprits, e.g. the KMT remnants, are well protected by you.

— You don't have the guts to offend the governments of independent countries that grow and deal in drugs. But your courage is truly outstanding when it comes to us people who have lost our human rights.

— On the one hand, you have hired Thai troops to attack us forty times during which lives and property were lost but that meant nothing to you. One noteworthy fact which came out of these numerous assaults was no drugs had ever been seized.

— On the other hand, you have hired Burmese troops to continue their occupation campaigns against the Shan people. You also gave them dangerous herbicides to spray on our people. Their fruit gardens and rice paddies were destroyed. The soil became unfit for cultivation.

Poultry and livestock were slain. As a result they could no more stay in their old settlements; neither could they move anywhere else.

People were repeatedly prohibited from visiting me, whose only crime is offering to help you.

Is this the way to show your respect for your fellow human beings?

Is this the way of democratic countries?

Is this the way of the rule of law?

Or are only Americans considered as human beings?

Are we not eligible to be classified as human beings also?

Is this the right way to stop opium, considering the ever increasing production despite your law enforcement efforts?

Before your country became a drug — crazed society, the British and your own people themselves had been in the forefront of drug running, feeding Asians with opium, while the Germans were doing it with heroin. But you did not bother to blame anybody. However, now that you are up to your neck in drug addiction, you just pick up Khun Sa and say it is his fault. Why?

You are pursuing a self – defeating policy by employing this pruning method. It also forces the Shan people to grow more and more poppies. Persist on it for another 60 years and the results will still be the same and probably will be worse.

In the past you picked out Lo Sing – Han as your scapegoat. After his departure, you picked me out. I have no doubt that you ll be able to find another scapegoat after I am gone.

You, yourself, are the one who's afraid of the end of opium.

You, yourself, are the one who has betrayed your own nation.

You, yourself, are the one who has made your people suffer for so long.

People got fed up with the CIA's meddling after the Vietnam War and it had to be taken to the back row. To replace it, the DEA was created Like its predecessor, the CIA wherever the DEA goes, American politics follows. It grabs Bangkok's hair with one hand and Rangoon's with the other, and meddles in their internal affairs. In the end, its the DEA itself that has been responsible for the Asian drugs in America.

You have to revise your drug policy. If you don't, more poppies will be grown, more addicts to it will arrive on the scene. By and by, you will find difficulty in choosing eligible candidates for your later presidencies. In Aaia itself, there will be more turmoil and instability.

It is not that the Shans are afraid of you, they have been patient with you so far. It is only because they do not take a fancy to the other political systems. Stop telling us that our fate rests with you. That kind of arrogance brought you defeat and shame in Vietnam. Stop behaving as if you are the only one that matters in this world. It is because of you that the freedom of the Shan people has been delayed – so has the freedom of the world from Shan State opium.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

Instead of attacking us, you should engage in teaching our people to grow substitute crops, build roads for them and buy their agricultural products.

Instead of delivering lethal herbicides to them you should give them food, clothing and medicine. And, you will be in our people's prayers day and night.

Even if I have horns, fangs and a tail, people should be allowed to visit me and verify the fact.

If I am the king, isn't it just one more reason you should employ my services to stop it?

How can you expect the Shan people to stop opium without offering them assistance and restoration of their rights in return?

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SHAN STATE

We don't have to fear anybody. Our conscience is clear. We don't grow opium to commit injustice to anybody. On the contrary, it is we who are suffering all the injustices meted out by outsiders.

Isn't it bitter and outrageous to be used as pawns by outsiders? Some don't even have the slightest hesitation to manipulate us for their greedy interests despite having blood relationship. Are we going to keep on submitting to this kind of humiliation?

Others are getting all the money and glory, while we are getting all the blame. If we are to get all the blame, it is just as well that we get all the money and glory too. Let us stand up together to reverse this situation.

The road to Shan Independence is through the opium issue because in the strategic calculations of the superpowers our Shan State is only a small country which is better ignored, except for its opium production. So we must strive to keep it under control at all times.



VI. ECONOMY

Thinking casually all along, the Burmese have succeeded only in bringing more poverty to their people. Burma used to be economically more advanced than Thailand but now, it is behind the latter. Large numbers of banknotes have been continually printed and put into circulation. But they have been able to retrieve only a tenth of what they let out. The rest they know not how to get them back except by using lowdown methods like demonetization. By their numerous acts of unjust rule, they have forever lost the faith of their people. And, without the people's faith, their attempts to regenerate economy is hopeless.

For its own survival they are selling the country's rich natural resources at knockdown prices. But their quick receipts are only matched by their equally quick outlays which are on the whole wastage. They can keep on doing it for all I care and we may even get our country back without having to fight

If the economy is weak, our brave soldiers can never become good fighters. On the contrary, even our inferior soldiers can become good fighters if the economy is strong.

The buildup of the economy must be proportionate to the buildup of our military power. The buildup of our military power, in turn, must be proportionate to the Burmese military strength in the Shan State.

Don't imitate 'Zaofahs' (Shan princes') way of procuring their revenues : by organizing gambling houses. They can only add to the people's sufferings.

There are those who only dare to rob our own people, holding them as hostages and demanding huge ransom money, while saying all the time they are working for the good of the people. If they really want to help the people and know no other way to help them except by robbing, why don't they stage bank raids and hijacks in Rangoon and other foreign cities?

We can win this war not by demanding too much of the people, yet satisfying the needs of our troops.

Money knows no enemies or national boundaries.

We cannot expect cooperation from any foreign government right now. But we can from the private sector.

Teach people how to make money. Encourage them in the free enterprise system.

You wish to develop your nation

You wish to attain Nirvana

But if you don't pay proper attention to acquiring shelter, clothing and food, you must be dreaming.



TO THE THAIS

The Shans and Thais are close kinsmen. The Shans reverence His Majesty the King no less than the Thais. We are well aware that without him, this part of Asia will become a hotbed of trouble. We are also aware that with His Majesty in the lead, the Shans together with the Lao cousins will be free again and Asia will become a zone of peace and tranquillity.

With the Independence of the Shan State, the country which will benefit the most will be Thailand.

There was one Thai official who, while visiting me, spoke ill of the Laotians and the Vietnamese. I said : " It's not their fault. It's the Americans' and the Russians' and yours. Your fault lies in depending too much on the Americans. If you have courage enough to stand on your own feet and take the lead, we can also become a power to be considered with in the world. "

VIII. FOREIGN RELATIONS

Don't conduct foreign relations on the basis of political creed but on that of national interest.

We cannot become slaves to any nation but, we can become younger brothers because ours is a small nation.

We cannot become stepsons to any nations, but we can be their bosom friends.

The U.S. and the USSR can afford to advocate the policy : " Fight those near and befriend those afar "; but we cannot follow in their steps. In contrast, ours is : " Befriend those near and win over those afar. "

We have no desire to fight with anybody except the Burmese who have invaded our country.



IX POLITICAL CREEDS

No political creed can prevail over the interests of one's nation. That is why there is the Sino - Soviet conflict. By the same token, that is why there is the Iran - Iraq war.

It is through political creeds that we have the problem of displaced, unwanted Chinese. If we too are ideology - crazed, it would not surprise me to see displaced, unwanted Shans in the future.

Political creeds are formulated on each country's characteristics. One country's characteristics are not identical to another's. It is therefore unwise to pattern one country after another with different characteristics.

If we accept another nation's ideology, it is like letting its people ride on our backs. We can never exercise freedom of movement and action anymore.

Contrary to our expectations, We did not receive any aid even after we had adopted their political systems. Instead we were even jumped on and trampled over.

Let us have our own political creed. Surely we can afford that. We don't have to become stepsons and stepdaughters to any foreign country.

What kind of political system shall we adopt? The answer must come from the majority consent of our people. After all, it is their country and we are merely their servants.



How are the Burmese and the White Chinese able to exert their will in our land which is completely foreign to them? It is because of our shortcomings.

Our bodies are like machines, the longer we use them, the poorer their capacities become. Unlike them, our brains are like knives, the more we whet them, the sharper they become. Therefore, we can let our bodies age, but our brains, never.

Don't behave like drums and gongs : They make sounds only when beaten. Act like clocks : They sound off everytime the need arises. I want to ask those people who refuse to improve themselves : Are you afraid of Shan State becoming independent?

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF

" MONG MAI " THE SHAN ARMY BASE

Excerpted from Sao Saimong Mangrai's " The Shan States and the British Annexation "

Mongmai or Mong Mau as spelled in maps and old records, was founded by the famous Zaofah of Mawksmai, Khun Nai Noi (1844 - 1887), better known as the Kolan Sawbwa " because " he was reported to have been able to jump across a length of nine lan (9 fathoms) with the help of his long spear which, it is said, he always carried about, together with his musket. Kolan seems to have been a man of exceptional strength and extraordinary height for a Shan. It is said that when he sat on his haunches with his knees up, his two kneecaps were on the same level as his head, and the three points were likened to the three cooking - pot stones of a Shan kitchen. As far as territories south of Mawksmai were concerned, Kolan was no peaceful neighbor, for he carried on raiding forays in to Karenni and the now Thai territory of Mae Hong Sorn, and it is said that nothing could stand in his way once he made up his mind to go for certain objectives. Legends about Kolan's exploits can still be heard from old people of Mawksmai. "

He was thrown into Burmese prison for his refusal to recognize Burmese authority. He made a spectacular escape and went east of the Salween and founded the district of Mongmai from which he embarked on a 20 yearlong struggle to regain his land, the effort which paid off in the end.

During his rule he also took Mae Hong Son, settled by Shans from Mawksmai and Mongnai, and replaced the Zaomong there with his niece, Nang Mya, described as "a lady of some character".

After Kolan's death, his son, Khun Mung, succeeded. At his succession Nang Mya withdrew her allegiance. "Nang Mya wrote to her cousin, the Mawksmai Sawbwa, to say that as it has been decided in Bangkok that all in the territories east of the Salween belonged to Siam, he should not interfere in the future administration of Mong Mau" together with Mae Hong Son. Sao Saimong continues: "Shortly after this the whole district was overrun by Mae Hong Sorn Shans and a party of some 20 or 30 Laos established themselves at Tahwepong hoisting the White Elephant flag..... when the British Boundary Commission crossed the Salween from Mawksmai into the disputed area, they were met at the point where the road left the river towards Mong Mau by a major of the Siamese Army, Luang RanRon, who described himself as a member of the Siamese Commission and "welcomed Mr Ney Elias into Siamese territory". After an inquiry which had established facts.....the Sawbwa of Mawksmai was told to resume the administration of the area. The Sawbwa gathered a force of 300 men and when he appeared before Hwepong ferry the Siamese garrison withdrew."

It was formally restored to Mawksmai....." on 17 th October, 1894, King Chulalongkorn of Siam and the British Minister at Bangkok formally exchanged maps showing the boundary line as it appears today."

PROPOSAL FOR ERADICATION OF OPIUM FROM THE SHAN STATE " GOLDEN TRIANGLE " [3 JUNE 1989]

1. OVERVIEW :

As the expenditure of worldwide drug suppression funds grows so does the production and distribution of opium products. Billions of dollars have been spent to stop drugs, yet trafficking from the Golden Triangle has steadily escalated. In 1986 more than 900 tons passed through this area. The figure increased to 1,200 tons in '89. This year production will exceed 2,000 tons. Existing drug suppression programs aren't working. How do you think such enormous shipments can be exported from this underdeveloped region without the badges, credentials, clearances, and involvement

of corrupt authorities? It can't and is isn't! Tax payer dollars only increase the incentives of those involved in drug suppression to increase the flow of narcotics.

There is a positive solution. By uprooting all opium plants there can be no processing of heroin. The problems associated with addiction would go away, disarming those who would legalize drugs. Within five to seven years, opium from the Golden Triangle can be extinct! We have the capability and the desire. We will do the work, but we need your help.

The TRC (Tai Revolutionary Council) has now unified all 33 Shan principalities and provides recognized leadership and representation over 8,000,000 Shan State people. The TRC is a legitimate government — in exile, organized with a Constitution and functional branches patterned after the United States. Progress through free enterprise and programs continues despite oppressive efforts by the Burmese Socialist and Communist parties.

The Shan State " Mong Tai " Army is an exceptionally disciplined, equipped, and spirited self defense force that secures our borders from all invaders. The solidarity of our free people insures our continued security. We control our region and the drugs that pass through it. We can stop the trafficking and eliminate all future growing. To do it only requires reasonable assistance and cooperation in replacing our economic dependency on poppies.

It must be remembered that we are not the genesis of the heroin problem. It was the British that exploited cultivation and passed laws to protect distribution of opium that addicted East Asia. During the French Indochina era drugs continued to be used for political and commercial advantage by foreign interests. The American CIA Colonel Edward G. Lansdale reported in July 1953 to his superiors in Washington, D.C. that the French military had bought up the entire '53 opium harvest on orders of the French Commander — in — Chief, General Raoul Salan. The opium was flown to Saigon for sale and export. Through the U.S. war in Vietnam, heroin production was accelerated to help finance CIA mercenary expansion campaigns in Laos and Cambodia. It was further used to destroy the will of the American people at home and on the battle fields. Today the operation remains the same, only a few of the names have changed as people have died or been promoted.

After the Communist takeover in 1975 , the CIA stockpiled weapons in Thailand and the Philippines to continue operations in Southeast Asia. Heroin provides the means. Officials arrange the laundry of funds through international banks. Mafia contacts

handle worldwide distribution. We were not surprised to learn of Mr. Richard Armitage's appointment as U.S. Assistant Secretary of state for East Asia. He is well known to us as a key member of the CIA drug team. His position over this part of the world will assure business as usual while assuring his involvement.

It is because of this demand for heroin that we are prevented from establishing a legal economy. We Shans have been slaves to western government secret dealings which have poisoned the world's population. Our determination to free ourselves has led to this letter of appeal. We have been forced to rely on opium for our livelihood. The American DEA supplies the Burmese Socialists with aircraft, chemicals, and other resources which are used against our people, domestic animals, food, crops, and water. Public relations glorify suppression results while the world continues to overdose.

The Shan State proposal is clear, cost efficient, and conclusive! Total success will require only five to seven years depending upon the degree of external cooperation. We must have diplomatic support to restrain Burmese aggression, open commercial trade routes within Thailand, and legalize foreign access to our vast resources. We must have financial assistance to compensate growers as they uproot their poppy crops. Specialists will have to substitute legitimate alternatives. We will need help preparing for domestic and industrial expansion.

The following is a matrix outlining our plan for economic conversion :



II. SHAN STATE "GOLDEN TRIANGLE" ECONOMIC CONVERSION PROGRAM (5 - 7 YEAR)

PROG YEAR	OPIMUM REDUCT %	OPIMUM COMP \$M	NAT/DEV OPNS \$M	NATL DEF \$M	FORGN INVEST \$M	OPIMUM INCOME \$M	LEGIT INCOME \$M	UN AID \$M	PVT HELP \$M	COMMENTS ALLDOLLARS IN MILLIONS
1	30	39.8	4.7	3.5	-	92.9	- 1.0	-	48.0	*CROP CONVERSION *SPECIALIST ARRIVE *PUBLK INFORMATION
2	40	25.2	5.0	5.0	5.0	79.7	27.9 5.0	20.0	15.2	*UN VERIFICATION *ISTRYCROP CONVERSION *FOREIGN SURVEYS
3	60	30.6	10.0	8.0	10.0	53.1	49.1 13.1	35.0	13.6	*FOREIGN TRADE *TRANSPORTATION *COMMUNICATIONS
4	80	34.6	20.0	15.0	25.0	26.6	71.1 20.0	50.0	8.0	*ELECTRIFICATION *DIPLOMAT IC RECOG. *SANITATION
5	90	21.3	30.0	20.0	50.0	13.3	98.3 25.0	50.0	5.0	*URBAN EXPANSION *RURAL DEVELOPMENT *TOURISM
6	95+	10.6	40.0	25.0	75.0	6.6	115.6 30.0	35.0	-	*CULTURAL EXCHANGE *EDUCATION *LIGHT MEG FACILITIES
7	100	8.6	50.0	30.0	100.0	-	124.2 35.0	20.0	-	*RESOURCE EXPANSION *JERIOUS FOREIGN BUS. *INITATION HAY INDUSOSY

A. ALL FIGURES IN 1989 U.S \$ - NO INFLATION FACTOR ADDED.

B. FACTORS BASED ON 1,500 TONS PER YEAR (NOT METRIC)

C. FACTORS BASED ON 70% CROP CONVERSION BY 2D YEAR IN EACH YEARGROUP

D. LEGIT INCOME TOP FIGURE IS IPIMUM CONVERSION/BOTTOM IS OTHER PVT ENTERPRISE.

E. 3D YEAR UN RECOGNITION ASSURES PROGRAM SUCCESS.

F. IN 7TH YEAR ALL OPIMUM UPROOTED. LAST 5% CONVERSION GROWERS RCV\$ 2M COMP IN 8TH YR.

III. CONCLUSION :

Let there be no mistake, we have the desire, will, ability, and stand ready to wipe out opium from the Golden Triangle. To do this will take some time, diplomatic cooperation, technical assistance, and money. We are not looking for a handout! The Japanese have correctly opined that " the Shan sleep on a bed of gold ". Our untapped resources are well known. We are willing to share our wealth in exchange for the opportunity to chart our destiny as a free people. Thus far we have had no choice but to supply illegal products for ill use by greedy individuals, organizations, and governments. We have been labeled " the world's worst criminals " by those who would keep us from obtaining our birthright. Their accusations are reflections of their own guilt. They have given us no option. To survive we have had to satisfy their demands.

The Panglong Agreement of 1947 establishes our right to be an independent nation state. We are as different from the Burmese as the French, Germans, English, Italians, Americans, and Mexicans are. To claim our independence we must have a viable legitimate economy, for which we have the resources. Now, with your help, this can become a reality while ridding the world of a great enemy, heroin.

President George Bush is not likely to support our plan. Too many of his associates have been involved in drug related operations. We can understand his dilemma, but his compassion as a leader should override his concern for compromise. No obstacle should be allowed to stand in the way of our righteous objectives. You cannot say that opium is only our problem. It is a global epidemic and we didn't create it. You cannot say that eradication should be left to the DEA. They have proven themselves impotent. As world citizens each of us has a responsibility to do whatever we can to rid the Earth of this evil.

I give my pledge that under the TRC leadership, which I represent, the Shans will, with your help, rid the Golden Triangle of opium. This is not just my personal proposal. It is the promise of the Shan people.

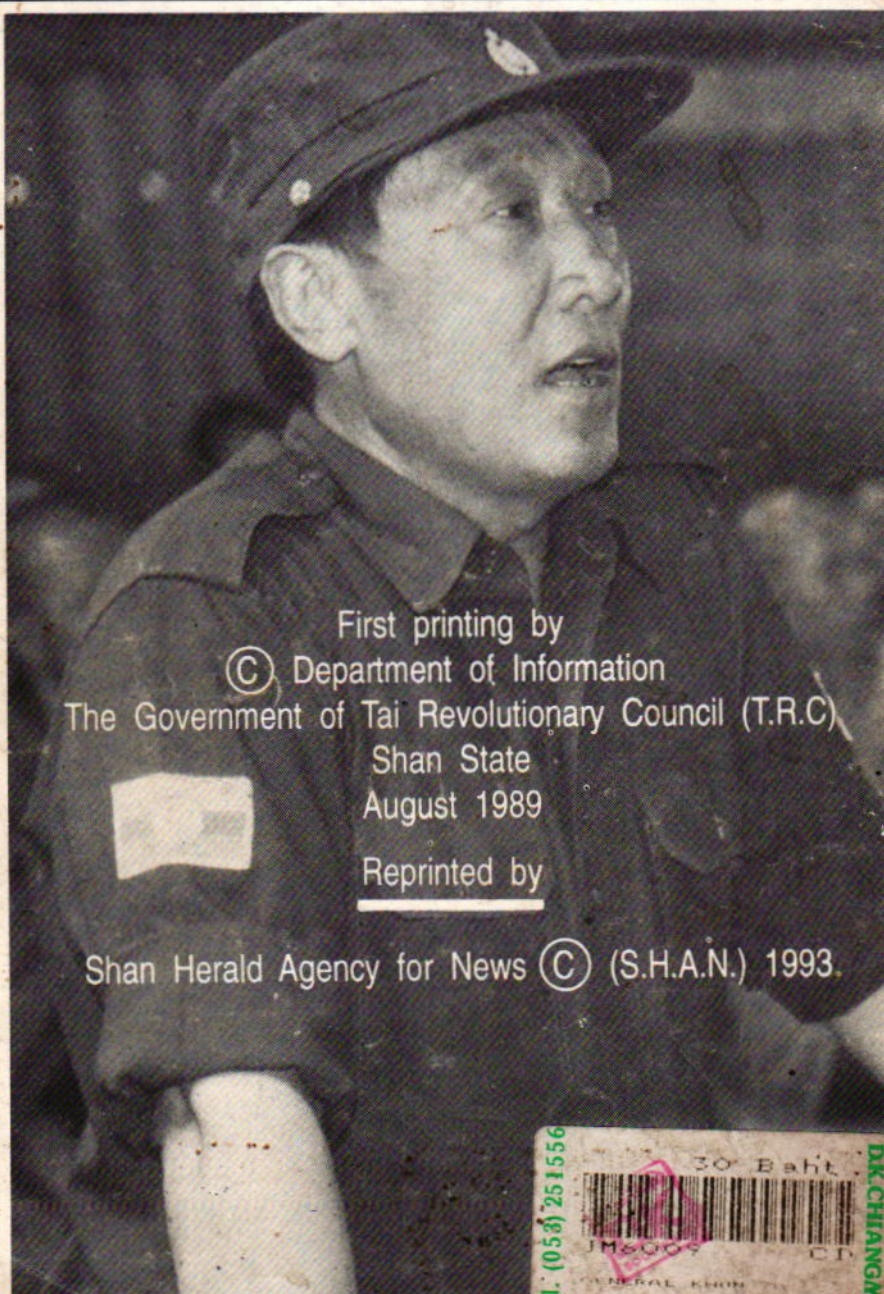
Khun Sa
Vice president, TRC
Khun Kaw - fah
Member, TRC
Zao Zarmmai
Member, TRC
Zao Khwan Murng
Member, TRC
dated 3 June 1989

Nanda Wamsa
Abbot, Mong Mai Monastery

II. CONCLUSION



and stand ready to wipe out again...
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