





Country Profile

Size:

Lies between 19 and 24 degrees latitude North, and Stretches from 96 to 101 degrees longitude East, covering approximately 64,000 square mile; shares boundaries with Burma, China, Laos, Thailand and the Karenni.

Topography and Drainage:

Bisected north to south by the Salween, one of the longest rivers in Asia. It lies at an average of 2,000 feet above sea-level, and the highest point, Mount Loilaeng, is 8,777 feet. It is composed of broad valleys, thickly wooded mountain ranges and rolling hills forming scenic landscapes. Jong-ang, the biggest waterfall (972 feet) can be found near the town of Kengtong in Mongnai State.

Climate

There are three seasons: Raing (May to October), cold (November to January) and Warm (February to April). Annual rainfalls average between 40-60 inches. The overall temperature is agreeable: not too cold and not too hot.

Vegetation

Pine and evergreen forests can be found in abundance. Teak and various kinds of hardwood cover over 47,210 square miles.

Minerals

The bulk of the so-called Burmese natural resources are in the Shan State: silver, lead, gold, copper, iron, tin, wolfram, tungsten, manganese, nickel, coal, mica, antimony, fluorite, marble, gemstones and even uranium. Mines well known are: the Mogok (Mognkut in Shan) and Mongsu ruby mines, and the Namtu Bawdwin silver mines discovered by the Chinese traders and renovated in 1904 by none other than Herbert Clerk Hoover (1874-1964) who became the 31st President of the United State. A study of Indian geological reports made by Drs Cogging and Sondhi in 1993 reveals Northern Shan States incredible mining potential...As for Southern Shan's remarkable resources, they can be studied from the reports made by a G.V. Hovson (Shanland's Grievances, by Htoon Myint of Taunggyi.)

People:

The population of these multi-racial people, described by ancient travelers as the most peace loving people who trust everybody and envy nobody is estimated at 7-10 million, the majority of whom are Tai, of the same ethnological stock as Thai and Laotian, plus several other racial groups including Pa-o, Palaung and Wa of Mon-Khmer stock; and Kachin, Akha and Lahu of Tibeto-Burman stock. All in all, it various indigenous races have lived harmoniously together for centuries. This fact is supported by the Burmese analyst Josef Silverstein, who say's. Although the Shans dominated the people in the area both politically and numerically, they never assimilated the minorities; as a result, cultural pluralism existed through out the Shan States' (Politics in the Shan State, The Question of Secession from the Union of Burma, 1958). The Shan stand on the racial question is best described by Sao Shwe Thaik, who in his capacity as the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly, countered the objection that Muslims could not be considered as being indigenous by saying : Muslims of the Arakan certainly belong to one of the indigenous races of Burma. If they do not belong to the indigenous races, we also cannot be taken as indigenous races.

Culture:

Shan is still the first language of the majority, though due to 60 years under British protection and 40 years under Burmese colonialism, usage of English and Burmese has become fairly common. As for attire, Shan men, unlike the Burmese, who wear longyi or long skirts, don long baggy trousers. Theravada Buddhism is the pre-eminent faith, and perhaps due to this tolerant religion, Hinduism, Christianity, Islamism and even animisms flourish in this land.

Agriculture:

Primarily a self-sufficient agricultural economy, being blessed with fertile soil, it produces rice, tea, cheroot leaves, tobacco, potatoes, oranges, lemon, pears, and opium. Cattle-and horse-breeding is also a common sight in low grasslands. Added to the fact that it is rich in mineral resources and abundant in timber, there is no reason why the Shan State could not become one of the richest and most economically dynamic countries in Southeast Asia, given a favorable political climate.

National flag

1. The design of the national flag is as sanctioned at the Panglong Treaty conference in 1947.
2. The size of the flag is (5ft. x 3ft)
3. Diameter of the Moon is (1.½ ft)
4. The breath of the three colors: yellow, green and reddish (1 ft) each.

Example



The meaning of the color:

1. Yellow means religion and Race
2. Green means forest, rich in natural resources, people and peace
3. Red means bravery
4. White means purity

THE 1947 UNION CONSTITUTION

Before 1962, there were only 4 states, namely: Kachin, Karen, Karenni and Shan. The Kachin and the Karen States were expressly denied the right to secede. Thus Article 201 applies only to the latter two states.

CHAPTER X.

Right of Secession.

201. Save as otherwise expressly provided in this Constitution or in any Act of Parliament made under section 199, every State shall have the right to secede from the Union in accordance with the conditions hereinafter prescribed.

202. The right of secession shall not be exercised within ten years from the date on which this Constitution comes into operation.

203. (1) Any State wishing to exercise the right of secession shall have a resolution to that effect passed by its State Council. No such resolution shall be deemed to have been passed unless not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of the State Council concerned have voted in its favour.

(2) The Head of the State concerned shall notify the President of any such resolution passed by the Council and shall send him a copy of such resolution certified by the Chairman of the Council by which it was passed.

204. The President shall thereupon order a plebiscite to be taken for the purpose of ascertaining the will of the people of the State concerned.

205. The President shall appoint a Plebiscite Commission consisting of an equal number of members representing the Union and the State concerned in order to supervise the plebiscite.

206. Subject to the provisions of this Chapter, all matters relating to the exercise of the right of secession shall be regulated by law.

THE KING'S WITNESSES

Lord Bottomley, His Majesty's Government representative, who accompanied Aung San to Panglong. (February 9, 1947)





ပင်ဂျမ်ပင်လူင် ပွဲးတီ 1 ဝမ်းတီ 1-12 မာတ်တီ 1946

Representatives seen in the first meeting to sign Panglong Agreement (1/12/1946) and took a memorial photo together



ကွင်,သခမ်းတင်းဗုးကွမ်ဂွင်လမ်းတိုင်း မိုင်းသခမ်လုံ

Aung San, the Burmese representative and The Representatives of Hill People

THE PANGLONG AGREEMENT

Dated Panglong, the 12th.
February 1947.

THE PANGLONG AGREEMENT, 1947.

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

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

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

1. A Representative of the Hill Peoples, selected by the Governor on the recommendation of representatives of the Supreme Council of the United Hill Peoples (SCUHP), shall be appointed a Counsellor to the Governor to deal with the Frontier Areas.
2. The said Counsellor shall also be appointed a Member of the Governor's Executive Council, without portfolio, and the subject of Frontier Areas brought within the purview of the Executive Council by Constitutional Convention as in the case of Defence and External Affairs. The Counsellor for Frontier Areas shall be given executive authority by similar means.
3. The said Counsellor shall be assisted by two Deputy Counsellors representing races of which he is not a member. While the two Deputy Counsellors should deal in the first instance with the affairs of their respective areas and the Counsellor with all the remaining parts of the Frontier Areas, they should by Constitutional Convention act on the principle of joint responsibility.
4. While the Counsellor, in his capacity of Member of the Executive Council, will be the only representative of the Frontier Areas on the Council, the Deputy Counsellors shall be entitled to attend meetings of the Council when subjects pertaining to the Frontier Areas are discussed.
5. Though the Governor's Executive Council will be augmented as agreed above, it will not operate in respect of the Frontier Areas in any manner which would deprive any portion of these Areas of the autonomy which it now enjoys in internal administration. Full autonomy in internal administration for the Frontier Areas is accepted in principle.
6. Though the question of demarcating and establishing a separate Kachin State within a Unified Burma is one which must be relegated for decision by the Constituent Assembly, it is agreed that such a State is desirable. As a first step towards this end, the Counsellor for Frontier Areas and the Deputy Counsellors shall be consulted in the administration of such areas in the Myitkina and the Bhamo Districts as are Part II Scheduled Areas under the Government of Burma Act of 1935.
7. Citizens of the Frontier Areas shall enjoy rights and privileges which are regarded as fundamental in democratic countries.
8. The arrangements accepted in this Agreement are without prejudice to the financial autonomy now vested in the Federated Shan States.
9. The arrangements accepted in this Agreement are without prejudice to the financial assistance which the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hills are entitled to receive from the revenues of Burma, and the Executive Council will examine with the Frontier Areas Counsellor and Deputy Counsellors the feasibility of adopting for the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hills financial arrangements similar to those between Burma and the Federated Shan States.

Shan Committee.

[Signature]
Saopha of Fawngpang State.
[Signature]
Saopha of Yawnghwe State.
[Signature]
Saopha of North Hsenw State.
[Signature]
Saopha of Laihka State.
[Signature]
Saopha of Mong Pawa State.
[Signature]
Saopha of Hsamohkha State.
[Signature]
Representative of Esabtung Saophas:
H. Hsun Hpa
(Hkam Pung)
[Signature]
(U Yin E)
[Signature]
(U Yin Su)
[Signature]
(Sao Yape Hpa)

Kachin Committee.

[Signature]
(Jinwa Kaw, Myitkina)
[Signature]
(Zau Rip, Myitkina)
[Signature]
(Uinra Tang, Myitkina)
[Signature]
(Zau La, Bhamo.)
[Signature]
(Zau Lawm, Bhamo)
[Signature]
(Labang Grong, Bhamo)

Burmese Government.

[Signature]
12/2/47

Chin Committee.

[Signature]
(U Hkur Hsung, A.T., TDR,
H.K.M., Palaw.)
[Signature]
(U Thawng Za Khup, A.T.,
Tiddim.)
[Signature]
(U Kio Wang, A.T., Iaka)

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Dated Panglong, the 12th
February 1947

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

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

1. A Representative of the Hill Peoples, selected by the Governor on the recommendation of representatives of the Supreme Council of the United Hill Peoples (SCOUHP), shall be appointed a Counsellor for Frontier Areas shall be given executive authority by similar means.
2. The said Counsellor shall also be appointed a Member of the Governor's Executive Council, without portfolio, and the subject of Frontier Areas brought within the purview of the Executive Council by Constitutional Convention as in the case of Defence and External Affairs. The Counsellor for Frontier Areas shall be given executive authority by similar means.
3. The said Counsellor shall be assisted by two Deputy Counsellors representing races of which he is not a member. While the two Deputy Counsellors should deal in the first instance with the affairs of their respective areas and the Counsellor with all the remaining parts of the Frontier Areas, they should by Constitutional Convention act on the principle of joint responsibility.
4. While the Counsellor, in his capacity of Member of the Executive Council, will be the only representative of the Frontier Areas on the Council, the Deputy Counsellors shall be entitled to attend meetings of the Council when subjects pertaining to the Frontier Areas are discussed.
5. Though the Governor's Executive Council will be augmented as agreed above, it will not operate in respect of the Frontier Areas in any manner which would deprive any portion of those Areas of the autonomy which it now enjoys in internal administration. Full autonomy in internal administration for the Frontier Areas is accepted in principle.
6. Though the question of demarcating and establishing a separated Kachin State within a Unified Burma is one which must be relegated for decision by the Constituent Assembly, it is agreed that such a State is desirable. As a first step towards this end, the Counsellor for Frontier Areas and the Deputy Counsellors shall be consulted in the administration of such areas in the Myitkyina and the Bhamo Districts as are Part II Scheduled Areas under the Government of Burma Act of 1935.
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8. The arrangements accepted in this Agreement are without prejudice to the financial autonomy now vested in the Federated Shan States.
9. The arrangements accepted in this Agreement are without prejudice to the financial assistance which the Kachin Hills and the Union Hills are entitled to receive from the revenues of Burma, and the Executive Council will examine with the Frontier Areas Counsellor and Deputy Counsellors the feasibility of adopting for the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hills financial arrangement similar to those between Burma and the Federated Shan States.

Shan Committee	Kachin Committee	Chin committee	Burmese Government
(Signed) Saohpalong of Tawngpeng State	(Signed) (Sinwa Naw, Myitkyina)	Signed (U Hlur Hmung, Falam)	(Signed) (Aung San
(Signed) Saohpalong of Yawnghwe State	(Signed) (Zau Rip, Myitkyina)	(Signed) (U Thawng Za Khup, Tiddim)	
(Signed) Saohpalong of North Hsenwi State.	(Signed) (Dinra Tang, Myitkyina)	(Signed) (U Kio Mang, AMT Haka)	
(Signed) Saohpalong of Laihka State.	(Signed) (Zau La, Bhamo)		
(Signed) Saohpalong of Mong Pawn State	(Signed) (Zau Lawn, Bhamo)		
(Signed) Saohpalong of Hsamonghkam State.	Signed (Labang Grong, Bhamo)		
(Signed) Representative of Hsahtung Saohpalong. (Hkun Pung)			
(Signed) (Signed) (U Tin E) (U Htun Myint)			
(Signed) (Signed) (U Kya Bu) (Hkun Saw)			
(Signed) (Signed) (Sao Yape) (Hkun Htee)			



လက်မှတ်ရေးထိုးနေသော အဖွဲ့ဝင်တစ်ဦး

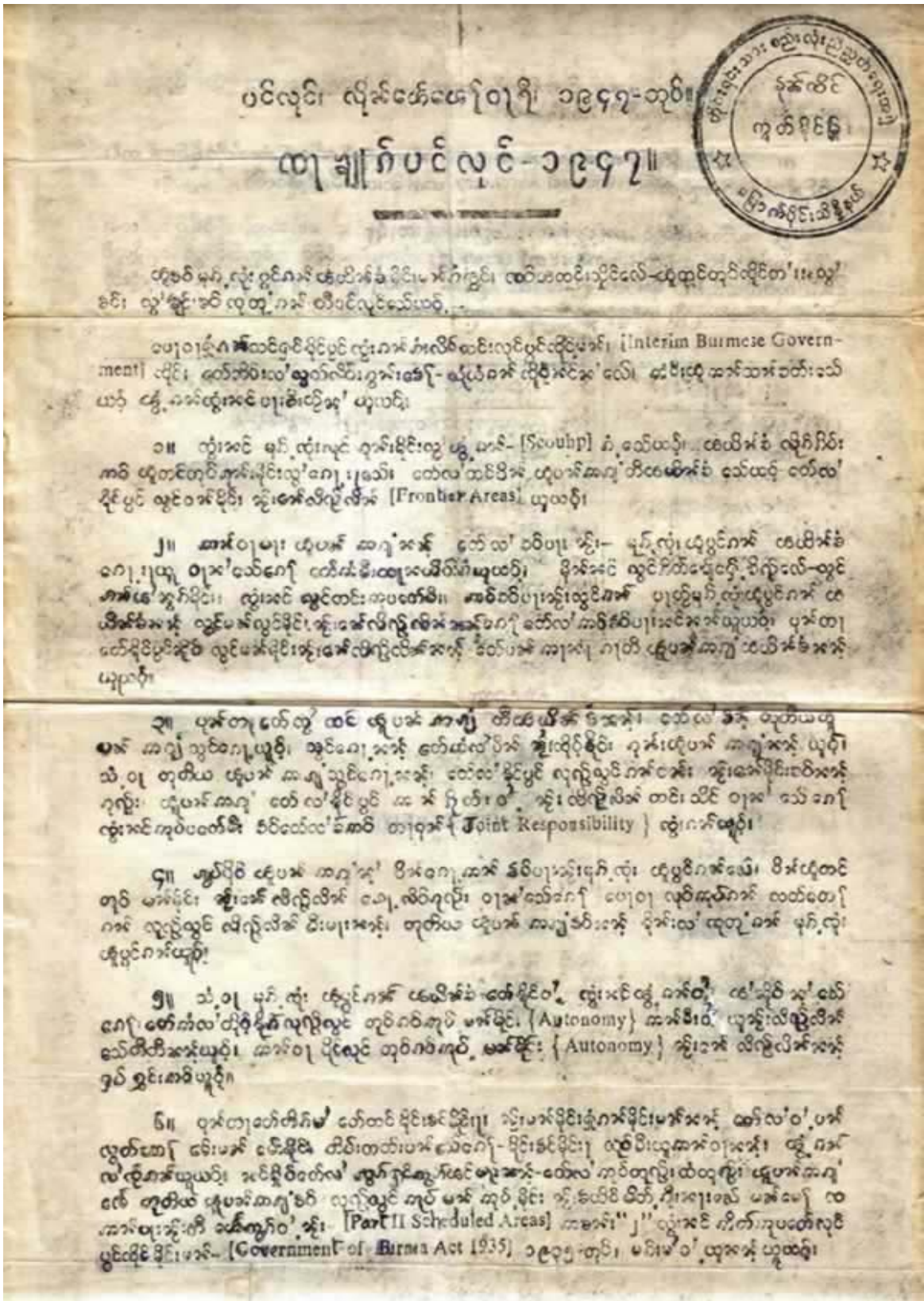


ဗဟိုအဖွဲ့ဝင်တစ်ဦး အဖွဲ့ဝင်တစ်ဦး



All Sao Phas, Representative of Shan States, the Chin Hills, the Kachin Hills and Aung San signing Panglong Agreement

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States



၇။ ဂွမ်းယူဆင် နှုံးဆော်လိဂ်လိဂ်ဆင်၊ တော်လဲခဲကပ်- ကစွင်ကယော်ကဆင်ဝိဂ် ပိုင်လွင် ဂ်
 လိုဝ်းနှုံးခိုင်း " တီမုဝ်ဂရေလီ " ဆင်တုယတု၊

၈။ စွင်တင်းဒိုင်ပွင်၊ အာဆင်ဂွံဂန် လဲလိဂ်ဂန် နှုံးတုချုဂ်နု၊ တော်ဆင်တီဝ်ခိုဂ်ဂန် တင်း
 လွင်ငိုဆ်းတုဂ်ဂပ် အုတ်ထိင်း (Financial Autonomy) အာဆင်ငိုဆ်းတီဝ် နှုံးပိုင်လိဂ်နု ယုယတု၊

၉။ လွင်တင်းဒိုင်ပွင် အာဆင်ဂွံဂန် လဲလိဂ်ဂန် နှုံးတုချုဂ်နု၊ တော်ဆင်တီဝ်ခိုဂ် လွင်တင်း
 လွင်ခင်း၊ လွင်ခင်းခပ် ထုဂ်လဲဆုံးအာနုဆင်ထု နှုံးမန်ဖွ်း ကံဂု၊ ဆင်ခိုဝ် လွင်တင်းဒိုင်ပွင် လုဂ်လွင်
 ငိုဆ်း၊ ထုဂ်လဲဆဲထုဂ်လဲ နှုံးဆင်-ခိုဝ်းတံးလဲ နှုံးမန် ဖုန်ထုလွင်ခပ် လွင်နု၊ ခပ်ဆင် ဖုန်လုံးထု
 ပွင်ဆင် တော်ဆင်တုလွင် တင်းဖုဂ်ဂန်အကျလဲ တုတုယ-ထုတုကကျ ခပ်ယုယတု။

မုဂ် လုံးတံး။	မုဂ် လုံးခင်း။	လွင်ပွင်ထိုင်မန်။
{၅၆} နှုံးပန်းလိင်း၊ လပ်တုလွင်ခိုင်း-လွင်လင်း၊	{၅၆} ထမုးတုတု၊ သိန်တုးခွင်း၊ မိတ်ဂို၊ ဆု။	{၅၆} ကွင်သား။ ၁၂-၂-၅၇
{၅၆} လပ်ထုဂ်တုဂ်၊ လပ်ထုလင်း-ထွင်ခွင်လွင်၊	{၅၆} လော်ဂိုဆ်း၊ ခိတ်ဂို၊ ဆု။	
{၅၆} လပ်ခွံယံ၊ လပ်ထုလင်း-သိလိဂ်ခိုင်း၊	{၅၆} တီဝ်လဲထင်၊ မိတ်ဂို၊ ဆု။	
{၅၆} လပ်နု၊ လပ်ထုလင်း-ခိုင်းလုံး၊ နု၊	{၅၆} လော်လဲ၊ မန်မော်၊	
{၅၆} လပ်ထံထုဆ်း၊ လပ်ထုလင်း-ခိုင်းပွန်း၊	{၅၆} ထေ(လွင်)ဆ်း၊ မန်မော်၊	
{၅၆} လပ်ထုဆ်းမုဂ်၊ လပ်ထုလင်း-သုခိုင်းခိုင်း၊	{၅၆} နာယံတုလွင်၊ မန်မော်၊	
{၅၆} ကျ၊ ထုတင်တုဂ်လပ်ထုလင်း ထုထုလင်း၊	{၅၆} မုဂ် လုံး နှုံး။	
{၅၆} နှုံးထုလင်း၊ တင်တုဂ်ခင်း၊ ထုခိုင်းခိုင်း၊	{၅၆} ကျ၊ ကျ၊ မုဂ် (ATM, DSM, BEM) ထေလဲ	
{၅၆} ကျ၊ တီဝ်မုဂ်၊	{၅၆} ကျ၊ တွင်ထုလွင်၊ ATM၊	
{၅၆} ကျ၊ ထုဆ်းမုဂ်၊	{၅၆} တီဝ်တုဂ်၊	
{၅၆} ကျ၊ ကျ၊ မုဂ်	{၅၆} ကျ၊ မုဂ်မန်။	
{၅၆} ကျ၊ နှုံးထုထု	{၅၆} ATM၊	
{၅၆} လပ်ထုလင်း	{၅၆} ဂု၊ ဂု	
{၅၆} ကျ၊ နှုံးထုထု		

တိုက်ယု၊ လိဂ်-လွင်ပွင်ထိုင်တံး၊ ခိုင်း၊ နှုံးနု။



On 25.03.2005

His Royal Highness Prince Hso Khan Pha Yawn Hwe was sworn in as President of Shan States by Shan Elders including Ven. Sao Pandita, Sao Khur Sur, Sao Hseng Zed, Sao Khun Hom, Sao Lawnt Meuang and Sai Soi Kham Hseng, representatives of the Shan People.

Government

On April 17, 2005 the Shan State made a Declaration of Independence and the Shan Government was elected by the people. The SG is now working to fulfill its Mandate for Independence and to deliver humanitarian relief to the victims of Burmese SPDC atrocities and war crimes.

Government Structure & Portfolio



President and Head of States
His Royal Highness Tzao Hso Khan Pha
B.A. (Hons), Keele, UK. 1964.
Geology & Political Institutions
P.Geol

Yawnghwe, Tiger (Hsö-khan-pha): Consulting Geologist. Born in Yawnghwe. Yawnghwe State, Shan States (British Burma). April 15, 1938, to Sao Shwe Thaike Saopha (Ruler) of Yawnghwe and his Mahadevi (Consort) Sao-nang Hearn Hkam. (Sao Shwe Thaike was the first President of the democratic and newly independent Union of Burma from 1948-52).

EDUCATION: Primary education in a local school at Yawnghwe and at convents run by Roman Catholic nuns at Kalaw and Hsenwi in the Shan States; in 1949 attended the Doon School at Dehra Dun in India, graduating in 1954; studied for two years at Rangoon University; attended the Bell School of Languages at Cambridge, England, and the Cambridgeshire Technical College; graduated in 1964 from the University of Keele, England with a BA (Hons) in Geology and Political Institutions.

POSITIONS: Upon graduating he was hired as a geologist in England, and went to prospect for diamonds in the Ivory Coast. West Africa, for the Diamond Corporation Limited; in 1966 TRANSFERRED TO Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company Limited, starting first in Flin Flon, Manitoba, and on to exploration projects in Ontario and Quebec; joined Mattagami Lake Mines as a Senior Exploration Geologist in 1970; in 1972 became Senior Project Geologist in charge of all explorations in western Canada; opened the Western Exploration Office for Mattagami Lake Mines in Edmonton, 1975; became an independent geological consultant in 1976, working briefly in 1977 for Alberta Environment; in 1978 started consulting in the oil-patch; sought the Liberal nomination in the federal riding of Elk Island in April, 1993.

ASSOCIATIONS INCLUDE: APEGGA (Association of Professional Engineers, Geologists, and Geophysicists of Alberta) P.Geol. Association of Exploration Geochemists; formerly a member of Association of Alberta Petroleum Geologists; Fellow, Geological Association of Canada. Service Organizations: Founding member and past President of Burma Watch International, a Society for Human Rights; Royal Alberta United Services Institute; Associate of the Garrison Officers Club, Mewata Armoury, Calgary. Enjoys the outdoors, painting, photography, classical music, reading and the occasional game of chess.



Vice President
Hkun His Ha
(B.sc (Bio, Dip. Ed. RA, Ragoon
University)

EDUCATION/ QUALIFICATIONS

- 1966 B.S.C (Bio) Dip,Ed: R.A (Ragoon, University)
1994 ii MBBS (sr) Medical College (1);Ragoon.

EMPLOYMENT TO DATE

- 1969-1989 Principal, State High School, KUTKAI, N.S.S

WORK EXPERIENCE, POLITICS.

- 1957 As leader of Hsenwi youth, went to demand transfer of power from Hsenwi Saw Bwa (prince)
1958 English editor, Shan literary Magazine, Ragoon University.
1959 Protest Hpimaw, Gawlam, Gang Fang transfer to China.
1976-80 Elected member of Township Council, KUTKAI.
1981-88 Elected Shan State Councillor, Taunggyi.
1988-87 CEC,SNLD (Member of Political Steering Committee)
1992 Member of constitutional Drafting committee, SNLD.
1992 Met with U NU and his Peace and Democracy Party, Aung San Su Kyi's NLD Party, Ex Brig, Aung Gyi's Party, with U WITHURA Thakin Chit Maung's Party.

Skills

1. Translation (English = Burmese)
2. 1973 March –Census Taking (Leader)
3. 1973 December – National Referendum (leader)

Interests

Hunting, Tennis, Chess, Scrabble.



Prime Minister
Hkun Seng Zed
 (Member of Central Committee,
 Former Vice Chairman of SNLD)

Educational Qualification

- 1954-1955 High School Final Pass (Rangoon)
 1956 Matriculation

Experience

- 1957-1965 Namkham Municipal Secretary (Shan State Government period)
 1966-1976 Muse Secretary of the BSP for a year and Chairman of the BSP in Namkham
 1997-1979 An elected-member of the Central Committee for the region of Lashio, Northern Shan State. Elected Representative of Namkham to attend the third National Convention.
 1980-1983 An elected member of the Central Committee to the Region of Taunggyi. Elected 2nd. Representative for Hsipaw Township to the Fourth National Convention acting as a Chairman.
 1983, retired from the Central Committee of the SNLD after six months service.
 1984-2005 Moved to Mandalay from Taunggyi and established a Gem Company named “Heng Yai”.

Note***

- 1989 Acting as a Vice Chairman of SNLD for 6 months
 2000 Carrying a secret Task for setting up Shan Government and acting as an Advisor for declaration of Independence
 1968-83 Led a mission to overthrow Burmese Communist Party



**Foreign Minister and
Deputy Prime Minister
Sao Hkun Hom**

Dipl. Ing. Austria,
M.Sc. Engineering, MIMM, Melb.

Experience

1. Founder of Shan Human Right Foundation
 2. First Delegation to UNPO
 3. First delegation to UK Mission (Regarding Shan State Independence
 4. RCSS (Restoration Council of Shan State) Advisor
 5. Co-founder SDU, (Shan Democratic Union)
-

**Deputy Foreign Minister
Lionel Hkun Kha**

(BA, Agriculture)

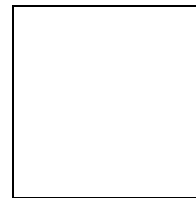


Photo reserved



Defense Minister

**Col. Sao Hsai Kher
War Veteran**



General. John (XXXX)
Special Military Advisor
for Shan Forces



Reconstruction and
Development Minister

Hkun Htoon Aye
 (B.Com, Rangoon University)
 War Veteran

Experience

1. Former Num Suek Harn Troops (co-founder of Shan Revolutionary with Sao Saw Yanda)
2. Former RCSS (Restoration Council of Shan States) advisor
3. The president for Drafting Committee of Shan States Administration

Home Minister

Pandida (a) Zhao Khur Sur
 War Veteran



EDUCATION/ QUALIFICATIONS

Monastic Education

EMPLOYMENT TO DATE

II World War SSO Force (1942-3)

WORK EXPERIENCE, POLITICS.

- 1958 A Delegate member to Mongyai Conference.
- 1958 Met with Ex-PM, U NU, General Ne Win and Tha kin Ba Sein
- 1958 U NU back track on his pledge on Right of secession and sent soldiers to assassinate me but failed in the attempt.
- 1958 Took part in the capture of Tangyan with Bo Maung, Bo De Ving.
- 1959 Joined Sao Ngar Kham's Noom Suk Harn (Brave Young Warriors)
Armed Resistance Movement against Burmese junta.
- 1960 Attempted to form Government in Exile. Escaped second assassination attempt.
- 1961-todate: Took part in the formation of Shan Government on 25.03.05 with subsequent declaration of Shan Independence.

**Deputy Home Minister
Sai Lont Mueang**

**War Veteran
(Former Num Serk Harn)**



EDUCATION/ QUALIFICATIONS

High School Final (Chinese, Thai)

**Finance Minister
Sao Sai Yord**

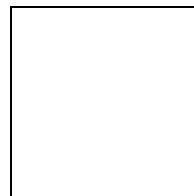


Photo reserved

Deputy Finance Minister

Hsai Khoang



Information Minister

Sai Suvan Soikhamseng

(Dip, BA, MA, Ceylon)

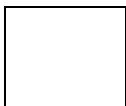
Dip in Computer Science

EDUCATION/QUALIFICATION

- 1996-1999 Dip in Eastern Philosophy
- 1999 2001 BA ----- (Upper Class)
- 2001 2003 MA (Psychotherapy, Distinction.)
- 1997 -2002 (Part time) Diploma in Computer Science (Cambridge Uni.)

EXPEREINCE

- Volunteer teacher (2001-2002)
- Survey people's opinion about Independence the whole of Shan State (2003)
- Head of Information of RCSS (2003-2004)
- Secretary of MI, SSA-S (2003-2004)
- Secretary of DCSSA (2003-2004)
- Responsibility for Military Website during seating office in RCSS (2003-2004)
 - shanworld.com (English)
 - surkhanfa.com(English)
 - sarmluangfa.com (Thai)
 - khunsarnghung.com(Chinese)



Minister of Justice as Attorney
General

Sai Aung Mart Teekham

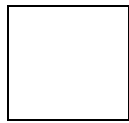


Photo reserved

Minister of Trade and commerce
Khun Sai Yord



Photo held in reserve

Minster of Forestry
Khun Fa



Photo held in reserve

Minister of religious and culture
Tzao Hsur Htao



Photo held in reserve

Minister of Education
Hkun Vicitta

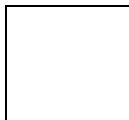


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Minister of Health
Hkun Sai Kham

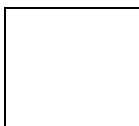


Photo held in reserve

Minister of Mine
Name held in reserve

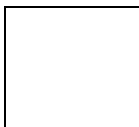


Photo held in reserve

Minister of Sport
Name held in reserve

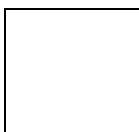


Photo held in reserve

Minister of Immigration of Customs
Name held in reserve



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Minister of Tourism and Aviation
Name held in reserve



Photo held in reserve

Minister of Labour
Name held in reserve

DECLARATION & AFFIRMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

**His Royal Highness Prince Surkhanpha,
Head of State of the Federated Shan States**

Good Morning

Today, on this auspicious day of April 17th 2005, I declare and affirm the Independence of the Federated Shan States by the Will and in the Name of all Peoples of the Shan States.

Historically as well as legally the Shan State is a Free Country as Section 2 of the 1947 Constitution of the former Union of Burma provides: It states that "The Union of Burma shall comprise the whole of Burma, including (i) all the territory heretofore governed by His Britannic Majesty through the Governor of Burma and (ii) the Karenni [Kayah] State".

This is implicit recognition that the territories of the indigenous people such as the Chin, the Kachin and the Karen and other state nationalities of the Union like (us) Shan people were neither under the rule of successive kings of Burma nor were they an integral part of Burma before the British annexation. The sole legal bondage between the Shan and the Burman was mainly due the 1947 Panglong Treaty that was subsequently enshrined in the Constitution of the Union of Burma following our joint independence attained from Britain in 1948.

Fourteen years after our independence, successive Burmese military regimes have occupied and subjugated us for 43 years since General Ne Win's military coupe in March 1962.

They have driven our People beyond endurance by rape of our girl children and women; pillage, plunder, and wholesale beating and murder of our men, women and boys by soldiers of the occupying Burmese troops.

For those who tell us that a union is forever and sacrosanct - it is as it were, in an abusive relationship, the abused partner is forbidden to sue for separation, but must grin and bear the abuse.

Indeed, the Burmese regime, in abolishing the 1948 Union of Burma Constitution that arose out of the Panglong Agreement of 1947, - the regime of Ne Win and his successors have already destroyed the very fabric of the 1948 Union of Burma by their unilateral action. They have inadvertently freed us Shan as they have also freed the other three original Constituent States of

the Chin, Kachin and Karenni from all obligations and responsibilities towards the now defunct and shattered Union of Burma.

The claim that the Burmese generals are still making of “preserving” the Union is not only hollow but it is also deceitful and disingenuous, for they have already destroyed the Union they swear to preserve.

And in any case it does not give them the right to commit crimes against humanity, and to use rape and genocide as a weapon of war and intimidation against our hapless Shan People.

In destroying the Union of Burma of 1948, the Burmese regimes are striving to convert it into a chauvinistic 4th Burman Empire or shall I say the 4th Burmese Reich; and it is this territorial expansion of the Burmese Reich by subterfuge and specious arguments, guises and lies of the so-called “preservation of the Union of Burma” is what we the Peoples of the Federated Shan States and our Government oppose and reject without reservation.

On April 9th, 2005 we received the report of the death of Hkun Htoon Oo; Leader of the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy in prison by suicide says the Burmese regime. This is preposterous – Is this “murder by suicide”? It is criminal.

This latest report puts the lives of all nine remaining imprisoned moderate political leaders at grave risk – namely Sai Hso Ten, Sai Noot, Sai Hla Aung, Sai Tha Oo, Sai Ba Khin, Sai Myint Than, Sai Ne Moe, Sai Myo Win Htoon & Sai Htoon Nyo at an even greater risk for their lives. The crime of these Shan leaders, in the eyes of the Burmese regime, is that they were honestly trying to work towards a peaceful resolution with the Burmese generals. Hkun Htoon Oo's murder by suicide and unjustified arrests of these leaders for treason & sedition is yet another catalyst showing us yet again, what an exercise in futility it is to try to negotiate with the unreasonable and uncompromising Burmese military regime in Rangoon.

We call on the international community to condemn the unjustified arrests of our leaders, and of Hkun Htoon Oo's murder, to demand the immediate and unconditional release of the remaining 9 Shan Leaders and the freeing of other Shan activists and all those innocent civilian victims that the Burmese military regime are holding captive in prisons and in concentration camps.

The Burmese generals do not negotiate, they dictate and issue ultimatums.

I ask the civilized international community to bear witness for deaths and bloodshed visited upon innocent victims of the Burmese generals and their troops.

Let it be known that we shall pursue and prosecute them in the International Criminal Court of Justice at The Hague for all the breaches of the Geneva Convention and of crimes committed against humanity.

The Government of the Federated Shan States shall be based on democratic principles and practices. We shall adhere to the Rule of Law and subscribe to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to the Geneva Convention.

We shall be a federation of national States and Peoples living in equality and harmony as we have done in times past before its disruption by the Burmese dictatorship who seek to enslave us and to occupy our lands.

The conduct of our Government shall be that of accepted international norms, of diplomatic and civilized codes; but henceforth we reserve the right to defend ourselves against all alien domination and aggression and shall seek assistance from any nation friendly to us.

We shall seek to live in peace and harmony with all our neighbours, but this shall not mean that we shall allow ourselves to be trampled upon or to allow ourselves to come to harm from those who seek to cause us injury either by covert or overt means and from those who seek to destroy us from within.

We shall extend our hands in friendship to all those who mean us no harm, but it is the Will of our Peoples to stave off and strike out against those who will injure us; and to expel all aliens who pose a threat to our security.

We shall not tolerate anyone dealing in illicit drugs or narcotics, and those found dealing in such substances shall be meted out with the harshest penalties without exception.

We are presently at War to expel foreign occupation troops from our lands and to free and liberate ourselves from alien domination of the Burmese military dictatorship. But as soon as it is practical, transparent general elections shall be held to elect a bi-cameral Congress or Parliament consisting of the People's Representatives and Senators from the national states of the Federated Shan States.

All nationalities from the States of our Federation shall enjoy equal rights irrespective of race, colour or creed and shall be treated equally under the same law. By democratic usage and universal suffrage we shall elect a secular representative democratic government.

We appeal to the United Nations and the international community to come to our aid in sending International Peacekeeping Forces to oversee:

- 1. Immediate halt of all hostilities in our country**
- 2. that no further atrocities against civilians are committed and**
- 3. Withdrawal of all hostile Burmese Forces from the Shan Plateau**

Thank you

HR.H Prince Surkhanpha is the son of late Saophalong Sao Shwe Thaike 1896-1962 and the Mahadevi Sao Nang Hearn Hkam of Yawnghwe, 1916-2003, who were the First President and First Lady of the Union of Burma 1948-1952; and the elder brother of Dr. Chao Tzang Yawnhwe, 1939-2004, and of Sao Hso Harn Yawnhwe.

Reference:

1. www.almanach.be
2. The 1947 Constitution and the Nationalities, vol. I and II, Universities Historical Research Center, Innwa Publishing House, 19



FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT

Good Morning Ladies and Gentlemen, my fellow citizens of the Federated Shan States,



As our country The Federated Shan States is now a Sovereign Nation-State, my duty as a responsible Minister of Foreign Affairs is to declare that, as from today, all Shan people living in all corners of the globe are no longer second class citizens. Your act of holding a foreign passport or IDs will not be considered as an act of disloyalty to the country. Provided you are not subjected to criminal offence, you will be entitled to dual citizenship.

You are now welcome back home and serve your country. I urge all of you to return, as HRH Sao Hso and I did, to your new and free motherland to help rebuild our impoverished nation that was once a proud country of our King Chao Surkhanfa the Great.

First and foremost, let it be known that our Shan Government of the Federated Shan States shall seek help from all friendly nations for full recognition of our sovereign state. This will include registration for UN Membership.

Our strong candidacy to UN will be backed up by our:

- 1. Eight million population**
- 2. 65,000 square miles of well defined territory**
- 3. Distinct cultural diversity, history & languages**
- 4. A self-sustainable economy and**
- 5. Potential human resources.**

Along with these undertakings, it goes without saying that the conduct of our foreign policy will basically include, but not necessary limited to, as follows:

- 1. We will respect fundamental human rights and universal brotherhood that are enshrined in UN Treaties and Geneva Conventions.**
- 2. We will conduct in trade and commerce based on the principles of “free market economy”.**
- 3. As such, we will review all existing commercial treaties and trade practices in terms of each individual merit so as not to cause harm to our Shan people and the Shan Nation-State.**
- 4. As the Federated Shan States is endowed with rich natural resources, we will allow these to be exploited with due respect to be given to materials and environmental conservation on a long term basis.**

5. We earnestly direct our appeal also to all friendly nations to sponsor UN Peacekeepers and Experts to help us conduct transparent and fair elections leading to the formation of a long lasting democratic country.
6. To this end we reserve the right to ask for help from friendly nations to enforce immediate halt of all hostilities in our country and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from our soil.
7. We will make The Federated Shan States a drug free zone. We suspect there is collusion between the Burmese military regime and a foreign element in plotting a character assassination on one of our Shan military commanders; a diversion tactics used to cover up a sanctuary given to drug barons who are on the “wanted list” internationally.
8. A word of advice to all foreigners!! Shan State is now a war zone. Please stay away as we cannot guarantee your safety for sometime to come.
9. Finally, we also appeal to the UN to send experts to conduct forensic studies on the extent of the genocide and the ongoing human right violations by the Burmese military regime against our innocent and defenseless Shan people.

The examples of such atrocities that will be presented on this occasion, is just a tip of the iceberg. They were prepared for inspection by UN Envoy Mr. Pinheiro, but he was not allowed in by the military regime.

- Photos
- Video film shots
- Human Right reports.

Hkun Hom

Dated: 17th April 2005



Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

Reasons for Independence

1. After 10 years of trial period with Federated Union, Shan People have the option to secede from the Union as from 1958.
2. In 1959, Shan Rulers from 34 states agreed to relinquish their power back to Shan People to honour the spirit of the 1947 Panglong Agreement and for the preservation of the Federal Union.
3. In 1974, a referendum was held in Shan State by the Burmese Military Regime of Ne Win to replace the 1947 Constitution by a new one. The Shan people were tortured, arrested or killed for voting against it. The 1974 Constitution was short-lived.
4. Shan People had enough of the atrocious Burmese Military rule for the past 43 years.
5. Genuine Federal Proposals were rejected four times by the Burmese Military Regime respectively in 1962, 1993, 1996 and recently at the June 2004 National Convention.
6. The SPDC's continued refusal to participate in "Tripartite Dialogue" and eventual reconciliation.
7. In more than 43 years we have been waiting for the political reform for a genuine federal Union, but that has not taken place. We think it never will for following reason:
 - The hard line Burmese nationalists believe that a Genuine Federation will break up the union which is unfound and therefore they feel that they have to hold on to power to stop the movement for a genuine federation.
 - The release of Daw Aung Saan Suu Kyi is highly unlikely in the foreseeable future. Even if she is released and with eventual tripartite Dialogue or discussion taking place, it will not lead to reconciliation. This is because the hard line military generals would still want complete control over the government.
 - We cannot foresee that Burma will return to a peaceful country in the near future as we have seen for the last 43 years as well as recently. The assassination attempt on Daw Aung Saan Suu Kyi at Depayin in May 2003 was an outright conspiracy to suppress the movement for democratic reform and reconciliation. The purge of Khin Nyunt demonstrates the intolerant nature and uncompromising chauvinistic attitude of the hard line Burman to any form of co-operation. They see everything as rivalry. This characteristic behavior is typical of hard line Burmese now in the ruling military junta.
 - Shan State has had the experience of being autonomous under separate administration following British annexation nearly 50 years from about 1900 until 1948. During this period the Shans have been living peacefully in harmony with other ethnic groups. We believe we can do it again.
 - Legally Shan State is independent based on the abrogation of the 1947 Panglong Agreement and 1948 Constitution and as stated in Section 2 of this constitution.
 - Shan State also qualifies to become a sovereign state under UN Charters based on the following criteria:
 1. Territorial integrity
 2. Population
 3. Language
 4. History and Culture
 5. Sustainable Economic
 6. Shan State is a member of UNPO

The Press Conference held at the FCCT in Bangkok 10:00 28th, April 2005



Thai Medias put questions to HRH Surkhanpha about the Mandate from People and the affirmation of Shan Independence.



Burmese Medias questioning HRH Surkhanpha as for the declaration of Shan Independence and the Agenda to be done



HRH Prince Surkhanpha, SG President and Khun Hom, Foreign Minister interviewed with World famous Medias regarding the " DECLARATION & AFFIRMATION OF INDEPENDENCE"



Khun Hom, Foreign Minister explaining to all walks of life's Media " the Reasons for Independence"



Khun Hom, Foreign Minister declaring Government Agenda to Worldwide Nations as following:

1. To seek international recognition
2. withdrawal of all SPDC troops under UN auspicious
3. Hold free and fair Elections
4. Drafting of Shan States Constitution
5. Elimination of narcotics
6. Development and reconstruction, rehabilitation

And also stressed the policy to cooperate with International Community as follow:

1. Democracy
2. Human rights
3. Anti-Narcotics
4. Anti-terrorism



Statement by Shan Government Federated Shan States.(Number 1)

The destiny of Shan State has been on the cross-roads to national disasters for the last forty three years. This was brought about by the successive military dictatorships of both SLORC and SPDC ever since General Ne Win usurped power in 1962.

The plight of the Shan people today is due to ongoing chauvistic policy of the military regime not only to enslave Shan people but also to subjugate them by committing atrocities including intimidation, torture, arrests and mass killings. The deprivation of equal rights, democracy and the political reform through federalism has gone critically beyond its endurance point.

Therefore, in accordance with the aspirations and the WILL of Shan people, many Shan leaders has no other options but finally decided to form an Shan Government and subsequently declared and affirmed its independence on 17th April 2005.

The Shan Government (SG) of the Federated Shan States is now charged with the following responsibilities:

1. The SG shall recognize and follow through the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.
2. The SG will ensure all ethnic nationalities from the States of our Federation shall enjoy equal rights irrespective of race, colour and creed.
3. The SG shall alleviate poverty in Shan Nation State.
4. The SG shall ensure those who were guilty of crimes against humanity will be brought to justice through ICJ (International Court of Justice).
5. The SG shall make Shan Nation State a drug free zone with the full cooperation of international institutions and NGOs.
6. The SG shall promote the development of social and economic status of Shan people.
7. The SG shall promote peace, justice and prosperity in Shan State Nation.
8. The SG shall adhere to the principles of universal brotherhood and emity to all our neighbouring Nation States.

Dated: 14th.May 2005

SG Ref: issue # 1/2005

**Shan Government
Federated Shan States**

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States



STATEMENT NO (2) Shan Government, Federate Shan States

The Shan Government was formed on 25th March 2005 based on the overwhelming mandate by the people of Shan State. The mandate was obtained by a secret ballot conducted in a liberated Area in Shan State where representatives from 48 countries of 56 voted in favor of the Shan Government which comprised of 17 cabinet members. In accordance with the “will” & Aspirations of the Shan people, the Federated Shan States was declared independent on 17th May 2005.

1. The Federated Shan States & its people had been a member State of the Federal Union for the past 53 years and during that time there was no justice and peace in the country. Shan people were enslaved, subjugated and only suffered at the hands of the brutality of the military regime. We see no other way out but independence as a solution to the country’s on-going political crisis.
2. The Federated Shan States was formed not just for the benefit of Tai People only. We have the responsibility to ensure all ethnic people of FSS such as Tai, Pa O, Palaung, Wa, Intha, Danu and Kokangnese and so on will enjoy the basic principles of equality and human rights under the UN Charter.
3. The physical boundaries of the Federated Shan States shall include the area of 65,000 square miles as was determined at the time of the 1947 Panglong Treaty and its subsequent adoption by all Shan elders and leaders. However, the area and the territorial boundaries are subject to reviews in the interest of all parties involved.

Dated: 14th May 2005
Ref No. 5/2005
Shan Government
Federated Shan States



STATEMENT NO.3

Shan Government, Federated Shan States

In accordance with the SG Statement One, Item (7), Shan People shall be fully responsibilities for the promotion and development of its economic and social progress in compliance with its declaration on independence on 17th April 2005

As formally stated in section 10 of the 1947 Federal Union Constitution, the secession clause provided the right for Shan State to separate from the Federal Union, if it so desires after 10 years with the Union. This provision and the right of self-determination under the UN charter and the abrogation of the 1947 constitution in 1962 by General Ne Win were the compelling reasons why Shan state seceded from the former defunct Federal Union.

The Federated Shan States is now free to decide for its own destiny. As from today our Sovereign Nation State, the Federated Shan States shall reserve the right to:

- Defend its Sovereign Nation State by Shan Armed Forces to be called Federated Shan States Army (FSSA) and
- Govern and administer its own Nation States in the future.

Dated: 14 May 2005

Ref: no. 3/2005

The Federated Shan States Government



Statement No. 4

Shan Government, Federated Shan States

With reference to Section 4 of the Federated Shan States Policy Statement 1, it stated that “ The SG shall ensure those who were guilty of crimes against humanity will be brought to justice through ICJ (International Court of Justice) or its equivalent institution” as may be determined by the FSS Government.

Therefore the Federated Shan States Government demands that:

1. The SPDC junta ceased immediately all hostilities and barbaric atrocities including all oppressive measures, forced portering, extra judicial killings, looting, force relocations, mass rape and tortures.
2. The immediate and unconditional release of SNLD leader, Hkun Htoon Oo and all other Prisoners of Conscience.
3. The immediate withdrawal of all SPDC troops from Federated Shan States, especially the 150 battalions stationed in three main regions of the Shan Nation States (such as eastern Shan State, Northern Shan State and Southern Shan State). The use of 2 battalions to control each township in causing unnecessary burden and hardships to our Shan people.

The Federated Shan States Government reserves the rights to expel all alien troops from its soil. The SPDC must pull back all its military and administrative apparatus from Federated Shan States.

Date: 14. 5. 2005

Ref.No: 4/2005

Shan Government,
Federated Shan States



Shan People in Bangkok gives strong support for ISG's declaration of Shan Independence

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States



Shan People in Chiang Mai of Thailand gives strong support for ISG's declaration of Shan Independence

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States



Shan People in Muang Kerng of Shanland gives strong support for ISG's declaration of Shan Independence

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States



Shan People in Lai Kha of Shanland gives strong support for ISG's declaration of Shan Independence

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States



Shan People in Mong Nong of Shanland gives strong support for ISC's declaration of Shan Independence

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States



Shan People in Ke Si of Shanland gives strong support for ISG's declaration of Shan Independence



Shan People in Tung Lao of Shanland gives strong support for ISG's declaration of Shan Independence

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

SHAN PEOPLES CONGRESS (27TH FEBRUARY 2006)



Shan state became independent in February 1947, a year before she joined the now defunct union of Burma in January 1948 under the principles of equal partnership of the famous Pang Long treaty.

The union of Burma collapsed when Gen Ne Win seized power from U Nu's government in 1962. Ever since then Shan state was ruled by successive generals for more than five decades turning it into a neo-colonial state, a situation far worse than the pre-colonial days under the British rule. After all these years of bloodsheds, there is little hope for any transformation whatsoever from the iron fisted rule by the SPDC generals. Nor the protracted armed struggle by Shan peoples has brought about any change. The future is bleak for Shan peoples as the military generals are hell bent on clinging to their power without compromise. Shan people continues to see nothing, but a reign of terror, genocide and ethnic cleansing leading to forced assimilation, domination and subjugation.

Faced with the desperation for their own salvation and survival, Shan peoples have no choice but to resort to unilateral declaration of independence that was legally enshrined in the 1948 constitution.



On 27th February 2006, Shan leaders held a secret congress where they unanimously reaffirmed the resolution of the independence on 17th April 2005. This congress was reminiscent of WWII during which General De Gaulle led his secret mission in United Kingdom in a struggle against the Nazi Hitler of Germany.





The congressional meeting was an act of bravery and display of high moral courage on the part of Shan core leaders. They were fully aware their lives were at stake but it was necessary to sacrifice for once in their life time for the freedom of Shan states.

For some it took months to reach the congress to evade detection by the ruthless fascist enemy. Shan leaders dared face punishment by death but after all it was for a worthy cause.



Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

**Shan people in Bangkok gathering in front of the UN Building demanding SPDC free Shan political Leaders and support SG for the declaration of Independence
On 1st May, 2006**



Shan People in Bangkok gathering in front of UN building demanding SPDC release all Shan political leaders, asking UN to stop SPDC inhumane treatment to Shan people as animal and support SG's decision of declaration of Shan Independence



Pi Hsai Khoang and his colleagues presenting letter to UN Authority, and asking international community to stop SPDC brutal behavior.



Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States



UN Authority paid attention to the Impulsive Pictures and Poster



After reading poster and receiving letter from Shan delegates she promised to take the case to UN concern.

Shan Armed Forces taking an oath of allegiance from the Government on 21st May, 2005



Letter from Shan State Army (Central Part) supporting Shan Government making a decision of re-affirmation and declaration of Shan Independence on 17th April, 2005

မီဝခမ်း - 25 - 04 - 05

မီလိဝ်း - ၈-ပ-သ-00517

ဗိုခမ်လိဝ်းဂမ္တီမ် လူင်ပွင်လိုင်မိုင်းတီး

ဗိုခမ်လိဝ်းဗိတ်မွတ်၊ လူင်ပွင်လိုင်မိုင်းတီးဂုမ်းစား၊ ယိုခမ်းဗိတ်မွတ်၊မူးခေခေ ဂုဂ်ဂုခမ်လိဝ်း လီဝါမ်းသေ -

1။ လွမ်းခေင်၊ဂုခမ်းလူင်ဂုမ်းစားခွတ်၊မိုင်း/ခွဲမိုင်းဂူ.ဂုခမ် လွင်းယာပ်၊ဗိုတ်၊ ဂုခမ်းမိုင်းတီး၊ ငလးလွင်းမုင်းမွင်းဂုခမ်းမိုင်းတီးဂုမ်းစားသေ ခေင်၊ဂိုဝ်သမ္မံပျေး တေဂေ၊ငသ၊ ကပ်လိး၊ ဝါခမ်းမိုင်း/ဂုခမ်းမိုင်းတီးဂုမ်း လင်းကွတ်၊ပူခမ်လိးပျေး တွဲး၊ ဖူးကမ်၊တြူး တီဂ်းတီဝ်ကုဂ်ပိုင်၊ တင်းလိးမိုင်းမွဲးခေခေ ။

2။ လွင်၊လိးလိုင်ခမ်သေ ခွတ်၊ဖွတ်ပုဂ်းတင်းပီခမ်မူး လူင်ပွင်လိုင် မိုင်း တီး မိုင်းဝခမ်းထိ - 25 -03-05 သေ ထိုင်မူးဝခမ်းထိ - 18-04-05 သိုပ်၊ ပိုခမ်ဗေင်၊ လူင်ပွင်လိုင်မိုင်းတီး ငလး ပိုခမ်ဗေင်၊မိုင်းတီး လွတ်လိဝ်းဂုခမ်း စေးခေခေ ယူ၊တီးဂုမ်းစား ဂွင်းဂါခမ်ဗေင်၊သိုင်း တပုံလုမ်း[758]တပုံသိုင်းလိုင် တီး (ပွတ်းဗေင်) ဂီခမ်ဂိုင်း (2727)ဂေ၊သိုင်းဂုခမ်ဂီဝ်၊ ဖူးမီးလခေတင်း သိုင်း ဂုခမ်လိဝ်းဂမ္တီမ်တီမ်ထူးခမ်းငလး ကပ်ဂုင်၊မုခမ်ပျေးယူ၊ကေး ။

3။ ဂီခမ်ဂိုင်းသိုင်း(2727)ဂေ၊ခေ့ဂေ့ကပ်မွတ်ကပ်ပခမ်လူင်ပွင်လိုင်မိုင်းတီး ဂွဲးလူင်ပွင်လိုင်မိုင်းတီးဂုမ်း ပေးလင်းတြူးဝါင်း ခွတ်၊ဖွတ်ပီခမ်မူး တပုံသိုင်း တြူးဝါင်း၊လူင်ပွင်လိုင်မိုင်းတီးသေကမ်၊ဂူး လွမ်းခေင်၊လင်းမါငလး၊ ဂါခမ်ငါခမ်း ကခမ် လူင်ပွင်လိုင်မိုင်းတီး ဝါင်းကပ်ပခမ်ခေခေဂေ့ တေဂျေင်ဂမ်တိုင်းလွမ်း တီမ်ထူးခမ်းငလး တေကပ်ပခမ်းဖွမ်းဂိုတ်းလွမ်းတီမ်ထူးခမ်းယူ၊စားကေး ။

လင်းသိုင်းမိုင်းလိုင်ခမ်း
25 - 04 - 05



Shan (Syam) Security Forces (Eastern Shan State Front)





Syam Women Academic Military Training



Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

**MOU between Shan Government and Karen Government
19th May, 2005**

**Memorandum of Understanding
between
the Karenni Government and the Interim Shan Government**

1. Mutual respect of the rights of declaration of independence by both the Karenni Government and the Interim Shan Government.
2. It is agreed that both Governments will endeavor to implement a genuine federal union in the future commencing with our two Governments as forerunners.
3. It is agreed by both Governments to hold a second round of meetings for a formal and mutual recognition of the federal union between the two Governments.
4. Both Governments agreed to keep in close touch in preparation for the next meeting. The exchange of information required for the formal agreement shall take place freely for the mutual benefits of both parties.

Signed on the 19th May, 2005 by:

Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) & Karenni Government Representatives

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>		<i>Signature</i>
1. Khu Bya Reh	President		
2. Khu Hteh Bupeh	Chairman, KNPP		
3. Aung Than Lay	Prime Minister & Vice Chairman of KNPP		
4. Khun Rimond Htoo	Secretary, KNPP		
5. Khu Oo Reh	Joint Secretary of KNPP		
6. Abel Tweed	Minister of Foreign Affairs		
7. Aung Sein	Minister of Information & Public Relations		
8. Su Reh Soe Win	Minister for Prime Minister's Office		

Interim Shan Government Representatives

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>		<i>Signature</i>
1. Hkun Seng Zed	Prime Minister		
2. Hkun Hom	Minister of Foreign Affairs		
3. Sao Lwon Mong	Deputy Minister of the Interior		

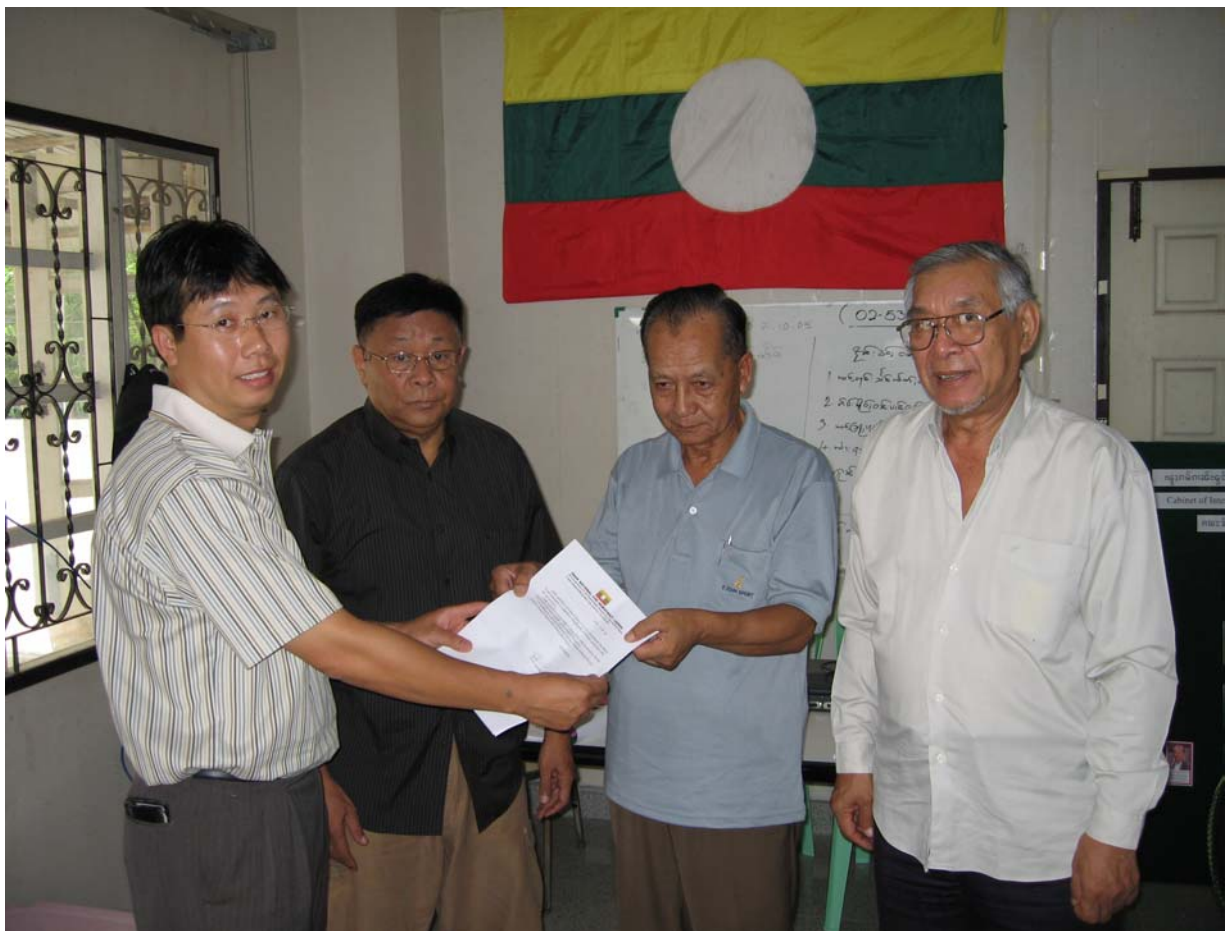
Karenni Government Representatives and Shan Government Representatives signing MOU
On 19/5/2005
In one of the liberated Area
Kerenni and Thai Boundary, Mae Hong Son of Thailand



We are also prepared to give firm and prolong support in every way, so that the SG can reclaim our motherland and form a government with administrative, legislative and judiciary powers.

We shall take full responsibility to inform the Japanese Government so as to give recognition to SG and the Federate Shan States

**With trust and respect,
Sai Sam (Chairman)
SND-Japan**



Sai Hsam, President of Shan National for Democracy in Japan presents a supporting letter to SG Members at Bangkok's office.



Khun Siha, Vice President, on behalf of Shan Government of the Federated Shan States presents Shan States Gazette to Sai Hsam, President of Shan National Democracy in Japan on visiting SG office in BKK on 21 July, 2005.

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

Statement of Hongsawatoi Restoration Party on Declaration of Shan States Independence

Hongsawatoi Restoration Party warmly welcomes the decision of the leaders of Shan People to declare its sovereignty of Federated Shan States. Hongsawatoi Restoration Party supports Shan Government, Federated Shan States on the following historical facts;

- (1) There was Federated Shan State since 1922 under the British Ruling before it became one of nations which comprised in the so called Union of Burma. In 1947 the leaders of Burma Proper (including Mon Kingdom and Arakan Kingdom), Federated Shan State, Kachin Hill, Chin Hill and independent Karenni State had signed Panglong Accord in order to form Union Of Burma where every member nation must have equal status and self-determination within the Union. The Union of Burma came into existence in 1948 out of 1947 Constitution which was also outlined by the Panglong Agreement. But in reality no nations, except Burma Proper State, which comprised in the Union, could be able to exercise their own self-determination rights and could enjoy equal status within the Union of Burma. But only the Burman leaders, from the Burma Proper State who distorted the concept of the Federal Union, had monopolized and exploited all the resources of the country for the benefits of Burman only.**
- (2) According to the 1947 constitution of The Union of Burma each member nation could exercise its seceding right after (10) years of founding the Union of Burma whenever it sees to do so upon the will of its own people.**
- (3) And in 1962 when Bo Ne Win, Chief Burmese Army, seized the State Power by forces and abolished the 1947 Constitution, the only institution which bonding the member nations of the Union of Burma, there was no more the so called Union of Burma and each member nation of the Union has its own sovereignty again as it has had before it became member of the Union of Burma in 1948.**
- (4) Since 1948 when the Union of Burma became an Independent country and up to now 2005, there is no Burmese Government which is sincerely willing to accept the concept of Federal Union. Successive Burmese Governments, which always represent Burman and Burmese chauvinism, fraudulently try to create the Burmese Empire under the bogus name of Union of Burma.**
- (5) Hongsawatoi Restoration Party sees that it is the right time for the Shan People to decide to exercise its self-determination Rights by declaring the sovereignty of Federated Shan States.**
- (6) No one could decide or interfere in the affairs of Shan People but only Shan People who could decide whatever political system which might be suitable for their own interest. No body can make any decision upon the fate of Shan People but Shan People themselves. No body can deter and prevent the Shan People from exercising their fundamental right, the right of self-determination, in pursuing their sovereignty.**

According to the above facts Hongsawatoi Restoration Party warmly welcomes and supports the decision of Shan People and their leaders on 17 April 2005 to declare the Sovereignty of Federated Shan States.

Executive Committee

Hongsawatoi Restoration Party, Mon Land

17th May, 2005 (For more information contact Nai Za Han Mon, Public Liaison Officer, by Ph: 066-78242802)

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

Monland Restoration Council of USA, Statement on the Declaration of Shan State Independence

April 29, 2005

We, Monland Restoration Council of USA, firmly believe that all ethnic nationalities in Burma have the right to determine their own destiny. If the Shan people decide to secede from the so-called Union of Burma and choose to live independently, it is their right to do so. Their secession only means that they exercise their right. When they are determining their own destiny by exercising their own right, it is unfair for us to oppose their decision. We fully sympathize with the Shan leaders who were forced into making such a decision. Our Mon people are in the same boat as the Shan and other ethnic non-Burman nationalities, living in the so-called Union which is essentially a Unitary State being ruled by the Burman military dictatorship, officially known as the State Peace and Development Council or SPDC.

We are unhappy with the NLD's statement of opposition against the Shan State independence as it clearly shows that the Burman-dominated popular National League for Democracy does not want to recognize the right of the non-Burman peoples to determine their own destiny. Disintegration of the Union is not just the Burman's concern, it is the concern of all the non-Burman peoples. Historically, the Burman's concern of disintegration of the Union has always been mixed with their desire for keeping the non-Burman peoples under their ethnocentric rule. It is now the time for NLD and the Burman to show their real good will towards the non-Burman peoples so the non-Burman peoples will put their trust in them.

The declaration of Shan State independence is a result of SPDC's intransigent attitude and stubborn refusal to solve the prevailing political problems by peaceful political means, as well as a direct result of its increased oppression of the Shan people. The so-called "National Convention" being held by SPDC is nothing but a sham one as it does not allow full representation and free participation of the democratic and ethnic opposition parties. It has flatly rejected the proposal for establishment of a genuine democratic federal Union of Burma – common proposal put up by ethnic non-Burman ceasefire groups. We firmly believe that only a genuine tripartite dialogue between SPDC, NLD and ethnic non-Burman groups is the best and wisest way of resolving the nation's political crises.

We strongly urge SPDC to stop its military expansion in the ethnic non-Burman territories by immediate withdrawal of all its troops, and to stop immediately all its human rights violations in the areas. We also urge SPDC to release immediately all political prisoners, including the Shan leaders, and to announce a nation-wide ceasefire and start negotiating with the NLD and the ethnic non-Burman leaders. We appeal to the international community and the United Nations to increase pressure on SPDC so that it will speed up the process of democratic transition in the country.

Central Committee, MRC

Rakhaing Women Union residing in Bangladesh staged a demonstration before the High Court in the city demanding release of Aung San Suu Kyi and supporting the declaration of Shan Independence.





NATIONAL UNITED PARTY OF ARAKAN

GENERAL HEAD QUARTERS, ARAKAN

RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT ON DECLARATION OF SHAN STATES INDEPENDENCE (The 10th may 2005)

We, the members of the Central Committee of NUPA and the Senior Commanders of Arakan Army held a meeting from 2 to 8 of May 2005 and unanimously agreed to recognize and support in principle on the declaration of Shan States Independence by the Shan Elders on 17 April 2005. We agreed that historically they have legitimate right to declare Independence of Shan States to protest their land and their people from the danger of extinction. Why?

The newly merged union of Burma on 4th January 1948 was one of the “New Nations” of post WW II, focused on the Panglong Agreement signed by Aung San as Head of the Burmese Government and the leaders of Federated Shan States, the Kachin Hills and the Chin Hills on 12 February 1947. The Panglong Agreement guaranteed among other things, “Full Autonomy in Internal Administration”, “rights and privilege which are agreed as fundamental in democratic countries for the citizen of frontier Areas. In confidence on the assurance, the signing members of this new nation were the founding members or federating nations of the new union of Burma.

After unilateral abolition of the Agreement and the Union Constitution, General Ne Win imposed the **intra-state imperialism** in March 1962 and the non-Burman co-federated nations were subjugated into internal Colonies. On the other word, there was no more existence of the Panglong Agreement and Union Constitution, and all the non- Burman co-federalist had right to declare Independence or self-determination and sovereignty of their own. (Here the Arakan and the Mon were included inside the Burman Empire as occupied territories. After declaration of the UNO on decolonization in 1960s, the colonies like us conceived in the womb of 3rd World newly independent countries like Union of Burma underrate to Un-represented or Hidden Colonies. Both hidden and internal colonies are naturally the members of 4th world countries of un-represented nation and peoples).

If any nation is compelled to integrate, that federal/union will run into an alternative sense. Empire- i.e. Pseudo-federal or Pseudo-union in which self-determination of the component nation and equality among them are totally lost and one nation captures domination by which it profits from the land and labor of dominated nation- the essence of colonialism. In genuine federation, the political problem coming out are and will be solved by broad democratic ways and means but

in pseudo-federal/union, a kind of modernizing empire like today Burma empire the Armed suppression is the only way of solution and there a new style of colonialism.

Under the circumstance, the peoples in such pseudo-federal/union states are still discriminated against because of their race, sex, languages, religion and other attributes. They are still suffering from the direct aggression of hidden colonialism and **Intra-State Imperialism** in which the political domination, economic exploitation, racial discrimination, cultural assimilation persistent denial of human rights and military oppression are prevailing.

Beyond that, the “Burmese official nationalism”, Creation of Economic Centers to Burma proper” and the “Colonial Assimilation or Burmanization Policy” of the consecutive ruling Burmese Government, both civilian and Military Junta are the extra-ordinary characteristics of hidden colonialism and **Intra-State Imperialism** which make more complicate to be solved. And the ethnic cleansing policy has been dragging the oppressed colonies to the terminal of national extinction and loss of homeland ahead. Time passed over half century. Who could give guarantee to our national security and internal integrity? Day by day our future is deteriorating and uncertain.

Such type of pseudo-federal/union cannot exist and maintain peace and unity on the basis of questionable loyalties of its nationals. To eliminate such type of federal/union we should and could replace with a genuine one in which the right of component nations to self-determination, both internal and external, and full equality among them shall be definitely guaranteed first to have complete confidence and brotherly unity. Otherwise, the complete separation of a group or more from the existing pseudo-federal/union may perhaps be unavoidable in situation involving unilateral imposition unrepresentative regimes and persistent denial of internal self-determination.

There will still be room for the creation of new state in the de-colonized era by exercising secession right of self-determination of the oppressed people under certain circumstance like today 5th Burma Empire. On the other hand, adherence to the territorial integrity of a state will be a fair solution with alternation of most feasible federal system, now the Ethnic Nationalities Council is going on to establish through the tripartite Dialogue by UNO since 1994.

The Central Committee
National United Party of Arakan

The Meaning of Panglong Accord versus the Shan's Declaration of Independence

*By Salai Za Ceu Lian
Mizzima News (www.mizzima.com)
April 23, 2005*

Noticeably, the recent declaration of Shan's independence is shaking the whole pro-democracy movement of the day in the conflict-ridden Union of Burma. The Union of Burma, or as it is conventionally known as "Burma", has been plagued by internal conflicts, especially since independence from the British in 1948. While dealing with the conflict of Burma, it is so important to have a clear understanding of how the Union of Burma was founded. Therefore, the founding of the Union of Burma needs to be recalled in brief. We recall and study history, not just to blame ourselves for the mistakes we might have made in the past, but in order to avoid and not to repeat them in the future.

Based on historical facts, the Union of Burma came into existence through the Panglong agreement, the historic accord that was signed on February 12, 1947, at Panglong in Shan State. The legitimate representatives of the pre-colonial independent countries were the Shan, the Kachin and the Chin, besides the Ministerial Burma, also known as the Burma Proper. To put it in a better way, the independent Chin, the Shan, and the Kachin nationals co-founded the Union on an equal footing with a vision of founding a stable Union. Today, the Panglong accord, which was signed on the basis of equal rights, stands as the foundation and legal cornerstone of the Union itself. As a result, the signing date of Panglong accord is observed as the national holiday, the Union Day. We must stress the fact that the terms, "equality" or "equal footing", fully signifies and recognises the equal status of the founding members of the Union. It means, regardless of the size of the population of each region joining the Union, no single signatory nation of the agreement is superior or inferior to the rest of the other confounding members of the Union.

As a matter of fact, in the pre-colonial period, these nations were historically independent, living side by side with the political administrative system of their own under their respective legitimate leaders. The historical fact should be noted once again that no King of Burma had ever ruled or conquered these nations. Only the British expansionists conquered them separately from Burma - Burma Proper. A clear interpretation and essence of the Panglong Agreement was made by a native Chin scholar and the leading politician, Dr. Lian Hmung Sakhong : "The essence of the Panglong agreement- the Panglong Spirit- was that the Chin, Kachin, and the Shan did not surrender their rights of self-determination and sovereignty to the Burman. The Chin, Kachin, and the Shan signed the Panglong agreement as a means to speed up their own search for freedom together with the Burman and other nationalities in what became the Union of Burma [1]. The preamble of Panglong agreement also declares: "Believing that freedom will be more speedily achieved by the Shans, Kachins, and the Chins by their immediate co-operation with the Burmese government".

On a similar question, native Shan scholar and political scientist, Late Dr. Choa Tzang explained, "The meaning of Panglong is clear, made clear by U Aung San (formerly Bogyoke) and leaders of the ruling AFPFL (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League) party. The meaning is none other than that the Shan, Kachin, Chin and other nationalities agreed -- jointly and unitedly. Here again, the implication is that the Pyidaungzu (the Union) that came into being in 1948 is made up of co-independent and equal states" [2]. To have a clear picture of the creation and joining of the Union by the non-Burman ethnic groups, we have to understand that the non-Burman national ethnic groups did not relinquish their national sovereignty. The true essence of the Panglong accord emphatically expressed mutual recognition of national sovereignty, national right of self-determination and equal status of the founding members of the Union. Therefore, the essence and true spirit of Panglong is to be interpreted as the treaty that fully recognised the equal status and distinct national identity of the Kachins, Karrennis, Karens, Chins, Mons, Burmans and the Arakans. Given the fact that Burma is a multi-ethnic country, it is necessary that each region's leaders mutually accept the principles of national equality and sovereignty of each region to bring to an end the deep-rooted crisis in Burma. This would enable to achieve a prosperous, peaceful and democratic Union of Burma under the proposed system of federalism, if we choose to establish a stable Union.

The Shan's declaration of Independence: Whenever we argue over the political issues of Burma, we repeatedly stress the crucial importance of the Panglong agreement and the necessity of respecting the true spirit of the Panglong Agreement, because this historic accord among the founding fathers of the Union of Burma is the only legal entity/contract that binds the nation together. What we need to note here is that the signing of Panglong Agreement was totally voluntary, which means any region, joining the Union, can secede from it and be a sovereign nation. It is totally up to the people of the individual region to have an ultimate say on its own destination. No other member of the Union has any authority to determine the future of the seceded State. That is the very reason that in the modern time, political thinkers and advocates of the model of democracy put emphasise on the question of self-determination and the need to understand what the terms, " legitimacy and mandate", mean. With regard to the recent declaration for Shan independence, the ultimate decision has to be taken by the Shans themselves alone. Nobody else. No foreigners should have a say in this matter.

During the revolutionary period and the pro-democracy movement of today, it is understandable that there are diverse ideological confrontations over the very question of Shan declaring independence. Not only among the pro-democratic forces of Burma, but even within the inner circle of the intra-ethnic Shans themselves, there could be ideological differences and diverse political standpoints. It is totally acceptable. We can see a clear example in the un-identical political viewpoints and ideological split-up between the Bama Communist Party and Anti-fascist People's Freedom League over the question of how to attain independence from British during the struggle for Burma's independence. The point is that we should not be surprised even if there are different opinions over the current example of the Shan.

In fact, there are crucial political realities associated with the Shan's declaration of being a free nation. We should understand that and respect the people's will. In doing so, any critic of the Shan's movement should refrain from being too judgemental and intrusive in the internal matters, exclusively related to the Shans. Likewise, one should also be very careful to avoid using the phrases like "the Shan demands Independence". They have declared independence by exercising their inherent national right and have not demanded it. Why should the Shan have to demand? From whom? From NLD or SPDC? Under what conditions and circumstances, the Shan has to do so? Whether the National League for Democracy (NLD), led by Daw Suu or State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) has NO right or authority to judge the destiny of the Shan people. In the real sense, they are foreigners. Quite shockingly, the recent statement of NLD in opposing the Shan's movement is a bizarre example, which indeed is totally unacceptable. So is the SPDC's condemnation of the Shan initiatives. A foreigner should stay away from the internal affairs of a sovereign nation like Shan, which has every legitimate reason, supreme power and full mandate to determine its own future. Let us be very clear about that. The Shan people have the absolute right to get materialised any policy they think fit and take whatever actions they deem relevant and necessary with regards to the political fate of their own future. To simplify it, they can do whatever they like, but cannot make a man a woman. We must fully acknowledge and respect their divine rights of national sovereignty and their self-determination.

Wishfully speaking, if there could be a plebiscite or national referendum for all the Shan people to assemble and vote on the question of either declaring Independence or joining the Union of Burma under the proposed system of federalism, which would be so desirable. Unfortunately, such arrangement seems unlikely to take place under the current military regime.

(Commentator, Salai Za Ceu Lian, a student at the University of Winnipeg, Manitoba, is currently Secretary of Burmese Community Organization of Manitoba. He is also an assistant General Secretary for the Chin National League for Democracy (Exile), a political party that won 3 Parliamentary seats in Chin State during the 1990 general elections in Burma. He was a former Chin Youth representative at the United Nationalities Youth League (UNYL), multiethnic youth alliance based in Thailand, a former General Secretary of Chin Students' Union, and was a former Assistant General Secretary of the Committee for Non-violent Action for Burma (CNAB) based in India. He also works as Associate Editor for Chinland Guardian and Rhododendron News, a bi-monthly human rights newsletter published by Chin Human Rights Organization.)

Foot Notes:

- [1] Lian Hmung Sakhong. Democracy movement towards federal union: the role of UNLD in the struggle for democracy and federalism in Burma. Thailand: UNLD Press, May, 2001.
 [2] Yawnghwe, Chao-Tzang. "Federalism: Putting Burma Back Together Again," Legal Issues on Burma Journal No. 10 (Burma Lawyers' Council), May

A Miracle took place!

Date: 05/25/05

To,
His Royal Highness Prince Surkhanpha, Head of State, Federated Shan States and Ministers of Shan Government,

When it comes to the welfare of the people of Shan States, we, the National Revival Group of Burma (NRGB) are more than willing to support in a huge way the noble endeavor of it. The national survival and renaissance of the people of Shan States---Rejuvenation of Shan States-- should be our goal, which calls for unity, solidly and unequivocally based on one major compelling need---Liberation from maltreatment of hapless, innocent people of Shan States like animals by the Burmese Military Junta (BMJ), the goon squad.

The Shan States Independence is, for us, the NRGB, sort of a miracle brought on by the quintessential free will of the people of Shan States invoked upon by our venerable leaders.

We, the NRGB enthused over Shan States Independence, which we could have established successfully, by dint of our "Inherent Rights". Under the present persistent, negative political weather plotted by the BMJ, the people of Shan States have their backs against the wall. The only way to work out for our survival---Liberation from the ruthless onslaught of the BMJ---is nothing but the secession from Union of Burma, dominated by the unscrupulous racist BMJ.

The arrests of prominent Shan leaders Hkun Htun Oo and others are tantamount to the flagrant rejection of our legitimate rights to decide our own future, as laid down in the Historical Panglong Agreement (1947) signed by General Aung San, the architect of Burmese Independence and founder of Burmese Army, which the BMJ have been manipulating to their will and pleasure wantonly, and the minority race leaders. The Panglong Agreement bestows the rights to secede from Union of Burma, on the minority racial groups, if they desire so.

We, the NRGB accept on principle that re-establishing Burma based on Federalism would be in the best interest of the people of Burma as a whole. But any attempt by minority racial leaders were constantly nipped in the bud by taking them into custody, or by intimidating them with armed suppression, or by corrupting them with the most sinister favor of all---drug-trafficking---to persuade them in fighting other anti-BMJ groups, or by playing them cunningly, one against another.

The BMJ, as well as its predecessors had totally ignored the Panglong Agreement. Without signing it by the minority race leaders, the political scenarios of Burma could be otherwise. Only with the co-operation of the minority racial groups, Burma could have attained its Independence from the British, without resort to arms. It is highly noteworthy here that Shan Saohpas and representatives of Shan States played the key role in uniting the people of Burma in their struggle for it.

On the contrary, the ungrateful Burmese military leaders from Ne Win down to Than Shwe, the megalomaniac tyrants had been unashamedly and viciously antagonistic against the people of Shan States. The Burmese soldiers raped our female folks of all ages; our innocent people were tortured and killed like

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

animals; our villages were torched; our food supplies were ransacked; thousands of villagers were forced to work for Burmese army like beast of burden; many people were humiliated by being displaced en masse. Moreover, "Resettlement Areas" for ex-servicemen of Burmese army was set up throughout Shan States, to encourage them to mingle up with local people. The sole purpose of BMJ's subjugating the people of Shan States by using sex as a weapon, our logic goes, is to eradicate the ethnicity of indigenous people of Shan States, so that they become culturally more compatible to merge with Burmese---another concrete reason to go secession, otherwise, our identity will be lost forever.

To hold Tripartite Dialogue, the BMJ should have at heart genuine volition for the welfare of the people of Burma, entirely regardless of race and their shortcomings, which the BMJ lack.

The Declaration and Affirmation of Shan States Independence dealt a fatal blow to the BMJ and it also serves as a wake-up call for other states to emulate it. If other states follow suit as it, Burma's geographical entity will be literally shattered and other States might also want to be independent on their own in terms of sovereignty. That will be the coup de grace for total debacle of our common nemesis, the BMJ, the most unconscionable military rulers, the world has ever known.

Recent bombings in Rangoon and Mandalay were, to all intents and purposes, the doing of the ignominious BMJ, as most of the people believe.

We, the NRGB conjecture that the bombings of the civilians were intrigued, with three specific ulterior motives,

1. To show that it can not guarantee the security for the representatives of ASEAN and other countries when they come to Rangoon to attend the meeting of ASEAN, with Burma as the scheduled chairman, in Rangoon in 2006. That is a face-saving stratagem, because the BMJ have inevitably to forfeit its chance to hold it in Rangoon, for being unable to act on it promises to pursue democratic reforms.
2. Especially, to denigrate Shan's Independence, an anathema to the BMJ by randomly pointing fingers at all opposition groups. Distraughtly, the BMJ even implicated Thailand, its closest country in training the bombers with the help of Central Intelligence Agency. All BMJ's accusations were rebutted by the countries concerned categorically.
3. To fabricate a pretext to stamp out all opposition elements, more harshly.

For all those unwholesome political upheavals, the National League for Democracy (NLD) is to be partly blamed. The NLD, with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, our national heroine leader under house arrest, is absolutely impotent to curb the ferocious onslaught of the BMJ on opposition groups.

The present ongoing A(rmy)-NLD's leadership mostly by octogenarian turncoat ex-high-ranking-army-officers is a dud in confronting the BMJ's aggressive measures against its opponents. We firmly believe the political picture of Burma will be dramatically changed if Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is ever released from house arrest and the BMJ know it. We need to recruit the young Turks for a change in our political movements. Just holding the meetings indoors is not enough. We know it is easier said than done, but still we need some improvements in our maneuvers and in that respect we can count on the Young Turks; there are many of them in Burma; all we need is to find them.

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

We, the NRGB were sort of embarrassed when we learnt that at one point the NLD leaders seemed to be colluding with the BMJ by letting the NLD's statement of unacceptability and depreciation of Shan States Independence to be used in disinformation-oriented BMJ's media. We feel it is not a misdemeanor on our part to assume that it is enormously manifest that "Majority-Race-Attitude" is still lingering in Burmese politics.

On learning the news of Shan States Independence the BMJ, out of frustration, started out intensifying the campaign of arm-twisting anti-MBJ minority groups to surrender, which is not the solution to get out of the political quagmire, sustained intentionally by their intransigent attitude.

Anti- Shan States Independence meetings instigated by the BMJ were held throughout the country to rundown and desecrate the sanctity of the yearning of the people of Shan States for their Liberation from the harassment by the BMJ, the eye-less monster.

We are fully aware of the grave situation facing our Shan States Independence but we are sincerely confident that with your leadership it will keep on developing.

(In beefing up Shan States Independence, we need arms and ammunition, for which we can approach certain Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia and Libya. As the BMJ have been putting down mercilessly Burmese-Muslims in all possible ways, it can be depicted as a group of anti-Muslim hooligans. We simply hope that any Muslim countries will help us if we ask for help to fight the anti-Muslim BMJ, the evil beasts).

It is the BMJ's funeral for bombing its own downtrodden people. We can safely label it as downright, dirty political machinations to cripple all anti-BMJ elements in Burma and abroad. Eventually, their abominable political conspiracy will boomerang on the BMJ itself.

We, the NRGB strongly feel that Shan States Independence has set up an exemplary political episode, which could serve as a fillip for other states to secede from the belligerent BMJ, led by scatterbrained soldier-gangsters.

Finally, we the NRGB would like to solemnly assure you that we will be always standing by you, in time of war or peace.

- Down with the BMJ, the scum in international community
- Long live our Shan States Independence and its Leaders
- The people of the Federated Shan States unite
- We will succeed.

Signed,

SAI WYNN TOOT

Chairman

The National Revival Group of Burma (NRGB)

Email: howsan@usa.com Tel: 1-503-916-0994

SHAN UK MISSION

MINUTES OF THE MEETING WITH FCO (FOREIGN COMMONWEALTH OFFICE) OF UK GOVERNMENT, LONDON 2:30 PM ON 14th JANUARY, 2005

The official meeting, that was made possible by the initiatives of Nel Adams (Sao Noan Oo) through her MP, the Hon. Mr. Mike Hall, took place at the FCO Building, King Charles Street, London.

Present at the meeting were:

FCO-

- 1) Mr. Michael Reilly, Head of South East Asia Department, ASEAN & Oceana Group
- 2) Mr. Graham Styles, Team Leader, Mekong & Burma Team, ASEAN & Oceana Group.
- 3) Secretary to Hon.MP Mr. Douglas Alexander, Minister of State, Trade & Investment and Foreign Affairs.

SHAN DELEGATION-

- 1) Khun Hom, Team Leader & Shan Peoples' Representative, Bangkok Office for RCSS.
- 2) Nel Adams (Sao Noan Oo) UK citizen and Lead-Coordinator for the Shan delegation, Shan Representative, UK Office.
- 3) Sao Maha Su, (UK Office)
- 4) 4) Sao Vichit, (UK Office)
- 5) 5) Sai Pang, (UK Office)

PRESENTATION OF PAPER ON SHAN CASE

The materials and issues of major concern were prepared and presented in a format comprising:

- a) Power Point presentation on the Main Headings.
- b) Detail papers as attachments.
- c) Photos and CDs on the plight of Shan people.

The main topics of discussion included:

- **Introduction paper with attachments.**
- **Shan Refugees (IDP) and Human Right Violations with Graphs & Statistics.**
- **Drug Eradication in Shan State with Graphs, Statistics & Attachments.**
- **Ethnic Alliance & FORMATION OF NEW FEDERAL UNION Attachments.**
- **Shan Peoples' Voices for Independence with Attachments.**
- **Formation of an INTERIM SHAN GOVERNMENT with Government Seal & Signatories of Shan Leaders AND REPRESENTATIVES.**
- **Help needed for Shan People.**

Sao Noan Oo opened the meeting with an introduction based on joint papers submitted on behalf of Shan people and signed by Khun Hom and Sao Noan Oo. This is followed by PP (Power Point) presentation on the main headings. The attached documents were used for further clarifications

and highlights for each main topic mentioned above. While these were in progress, discussions were interspersed with simultaneous questions and answers on specific issues concerning Ethnic Alliance, Independence and the formation of Interim Shan Government.

In concluding the discussions, various resources were highlighted that required urgent attention and considerations.

Three copies of the "Shan Case" documents were then presented to FCO officials, one each for the Hon. Secretary of State, Mr. Jack Straw, The Hon. MP Mr. Douglas Alexander, Minister of State, Trade & Investment and Foreign Affairs and Mr. Michael Reilly, Head of South East Asia Department.

Generally the discussions were fair, frank and focused. It is noteworthy that the Shan Delegation was given a sympathetic hearing.

The meeting lasted over two hours with an overall positive note as summarized below.

- **Mr. Michael Reilly stated that the UK's foreign policy on Burma is not mainly on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's release but also on other various issues. He said expelling Burma from the UN membership would be unprecedented, because the UN recognition and acceptance of Burma as a member is based on the "COUNTRY", (Union of Burma), and not on the government itself. This will also have far reaching implications on similar doctoral governments from nations such as Algeria, Cuba and North Korea. In the case of Kmer Rouge government, it hung on to its UN seat for a long time despite being voted out by overwhelming majority of the UN members.**
- **Mr. Reilly said UK's government will respect the will and aspirations of Shan people for independence, if that is what they really wanted. He cited East Timorese and Cambodian models for Shan people to follow and bring about change through "REFERANDUM".**
- **Shan people have to do more work to lobby for support from international Communities because UK government cannot act alone to assist with the implementation of referendum.**
- **The FCO Officials seem to favor the "FORMATION OF THE NON-BURMAN SEVEN STATE FEDERATION" as leverage for change from "within" Burma.**
- **With regard to setting up of a "Branch Office" for the Interim Shan Government, the FCO said there will be no official approval alongside the UK Burmese Embassy. However, it (FCO) will not interfere with Shan peoples' plan, irrespective of its choice of names and location in UK.**
- **Mr. Reilly said the response to our request for military help is out of the question officially. Other humanitarian help will be taken into considerations.**
- **FCO will look into setting up Shan Refugee Camp(s) close to the Thai/Burma border. It should be on the Thai side to facilitate direct access and for official monitoring purposes by UNHCR and NGO(s).**
- **-FCO will find out precisely through its British Embassy in Thailand why Thai authorities are blocking the proposed Shan refugee camps.**
- **In concluding the meeting, the FCO said they will study our presentation paper on "SHAN CASE" thoroughly. We believe there will be an official response of some kind later.**

- **The Shan delegation expressed its sincere thanks on behalf of Shan people for the two-hour meeting session and believes this could be the beginning of a better relationship with UK government for promoting our Shan cause in the foreseeable future.**



Shan Representatives on First Mission to United Kingdom



England

Dated: April, 2005

Yours Majesty,

I write to Your Gracious Majesty to keep you informed of our Declaration and Affirmation of the Independence of the Federated Shan States on the auspicious day of April 17th 2005 in the Will and the Name of the Shan Peoples. It was the overwhelming democratic majority voice of 48 or 56 of the Se-Mongs of the Shan States representing 85.7% of our population.

As Your Majesty is fully aware, our People of the Shan States have suffered and still suffer grievously at the hands of the occupying troops of the Burmese military dictatorship all manners of human rights abuses and breaches of the Geneva Convention for 43 years ever since the military coup of General Ne Win in 1962. The almost daily rapes of our women and girl children, beatings, torture and imprisonment of our men, women and boys and the wanton killings and genocide of whole villages and districts are well recorded and documented. These have driven our long suffering and patient People beyond endurance and it is a wonder that they have borne these unspeakable atrocities for so long.

We look forward to re-establishing our past historical links from the time of King Pra Nareseun the Great and before, of genuine cordial and fraternal kinship and a shared common heritage of language and culture that indeed go back many millennia.

If I may Your Majesty, I will convey to Your Majesty, from the Peoples of the Federated Shan States our heartfelt wishes for the health and well being of You and of Her Majesty The Queen and Royal Family, and to the Peoples of the Kingdom of Thailand.

Yours most humbly,



H.R.H. Prince Surkhanpha
(Hso-khan-pha of Yawnghwe)
Head of State
Federated Shan States.



England

Dated: April 18, 2005

Ms. Condoleezza Rice
Secretary of State
Washington DC, U.S.A.

Dear Ms. Condoleezza Rice,

I write to enclose you my recent letter to President George W. Bush and a copy of my Declaration and Affirmation of Independence of the Federated Shan States in the Will and Name of the Shan People.

Both my letter to President Bush and the Declaration are self evident.

Thanking you in advance for your interest and the support of the United States of America.

Yours truly,

H.R.H. Prince Surkhanpha
Head of State
Interim Shan Government
Federated Shan States

To,
The Honourable Junichiro Koizumi
The Prime Minister of Japan
Through H.E the Ambassador
Embassy of Japan
101-104 Piccadilly
London W1J 7JT

From,

Mrs. Nel Adams- Representing People of the Shan State (Contact Address)
No.7 Halton Station Road,
Sutton Weaver, Runcorn, WA7 3EL
United Kingdom

Dated 22 April 2005

Dear Sir,

We are grateful to the Ambassador, Embassy of Japan in London for giving us this opportunity to meet with Ms. Mizuho Hayakawa to discuss some issues included in the letter and documents to be delivered to the Prime Minister of Japan and his Governmental Officials. We are not affiliated to any political party but we represent the ordinary people of the Shan State.

Dear Sir,

We have previously written to you on behalf of the people of the Shan State with regards to the Tasarng Dam. You have kindly heeded our appeal and acted sympathetically in spite of the pressure from the Thai Government and the Burmese Military Junta. By doing this you have saved an environmental disaster in the Shan State, and the livelihood of Shan farmers who have escaped the relocation program. The farmers are able to use water from the Salween for farming to support their livelihood. We can never forget and thank you enough for your consideration and generosity. I am also aware of the aid you have given to the non-political organisation to help the desperate Shan and other citizens of Burma. Thank you.

At this critical period of our history the Shan people have again asked us to appeal to you for advice and help because we know that we can depend on you for your understanding, and also for the high regard you have for honour, truth and justice. If we may we would like to inform and explain the issues below under the following headings:

1. The Shan State in relation to Burma.
2. Summary of the Shan State
3. The 5 decades under the Burmese Military Regime- the plight of the Shan people
4. Is Burma a viable Nation State?
5. The Convention- What it means to the Shan State and people
6. The imprisonment of the Shan Leaders- How it can affect International communities and neighbours

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

7. Conclusion- Independence is our only hopes

The Shan State in relation to Burma

On the 14th of February 1947 Shan and the Non-Burman ethnic Leaders signed the "Panglong Agreement" with Bogyoke Aung San, who represented the Burman ethnic state, Burma Proper, to ask the British government for joint independence.

A Union Constitution was drafted and passed in 1948, which was witnessed by the British Government Officials. Thus the Union of Burma came into existence. Burma had eight constituent States: Arakan, Chin, Karen, Karenni(Kayah), Mon, Kachin, Shan(Mong Tai) and Ministerial Burma or Burma Proper. The previous Union of Burma therefore, was made of eight states instead of one Myanmar or Burma as termed by the SPDC and most international communities..

The Non-Burman ethnic problem stems from the failure of the military regimes to honour the "Panglong Agreement. This and the atrocious human rights violations practised by the Junta gave rise to the resistant movements of every non-Burman ethnic national in Burma. In 1962 the army led by Ne Win staged a coup and seized power when the Shan Leaders formed a Federal Proposal to amend the constitution. Ne Win suspended the 1947 Constitution, whereby ending the legal binding of the Shans, Chin and Kachin to the Union of Burma.

Each of the eight constituency states of Burma is not a homogeneous ethnic state, but a historical multi-ethnic one. It carries the name of the dominant ethnic group, for example, in the Shan State the population is made of Shan, Kachin, Pa-O, Palaung, Wa, Intha, Lahu, Lisu etc. but the Shans are the most dominant, making 60 per cent of the population of the Shan State. The different ethnic groups of the Shan State together make up 20 per cent of the whole population and occupy 23 percent of the land mass of Burma. In times of peace during the Sawbwa, British and Japanese regimes these ethnic people in the Shan State had lived in harmony with one another, but now they are all waging war of resistance against the Burmese Army.

SHAN STATE (MONG TAI)

Location- in the Eastern part of Burma, bordered by China in the North and North-east; Laos in the East; Thailand and Karenni in the South and Burma Proper in the West

AREA 62, 000 square miles (160,000 square kilometers) 23 per cent of the whole of Burma

Population-approximately 8 millions- Shans or Tais make up 60 per cent; Palaung-7 per cent; Pa-O 7 per cent; Wa 5 per cent- the others in smaller numbers are Kachin,Dhanues, Inthas, Lahus, Akhas , Kokangese, Chinese, Burmans, Indians and a few others.

There were 34 states, with Taunggyi as the capital

Historical Background- Early history tells us that the Shan or Tai once had a powerful dynasty, called the Nam Mao Long Dynasty which expanded from Yunnan to the Shan Plateau, Upper/Central Burma and Assam. Later on, in Central and Upper Burma there were frequent power struggles between the Burmans, Mons and Shans, each having a turn of being dominant over the others. The Shan Kings ruled Burma from the 13th. Until the 16th century. Finally, the Shans got tired of fighting and the majority went to join their colleagues in the Shan State although small groups remain in many parts of Upper and Central Burma until the present day. Since thousands of years ago the Shan State had been the home and haven of the Shan peoples, until 1962 when the Burmese military occupied it by force.

Ethnic Origin- The Shan or Tai share the same origin as the Dai of Yunnan, the Thai of Thailand and Tai of Laos.

Before the Military Regimes the Shan State was made of several states, each state ruled by a Chieftain called Sawbwa and was administered separately from Burma Proper.

The British annexed "Burma Proper" in 1824 -1826 and in 1885 after deposing and exiling the Burmese King, Thibaw to India Burma Proper became part of British India until 1937.

Different from Burma Proper the Shan State became an autonomous State under the protectorate of the British Empire.

From 1937, Burma Proper was known as "Ministerial Burma, while the Shan and other Hill States were "Excluded Areas" and later known as the Frontier States

In 1942, the British Rule came to an end and was replaced by the Japanese. Under the Japanese the Shan State remained an autonomous country.

In 1946, after the return of the British, Bogyoke Aung San wanted independence for Burma as soon as possible so he set out to woo the Leaders of the Frontier States to join him in asking the British for joint independence for both Burma Proper and the Frontier States. Aung San thought that with the co-operation of the Leaders of the Frontier States independence for Burma Proper would be more speedily achieved.

Bogyoke Aung San promised that all the terms required by the Leaders of the Frontier States would be incorporated into the Constitution.

On the 12th February 1947 the Shan Leaders signed an agreement with Bogyoke Aung San who represented the ethnic Burmans at Panglong, a village in the Shan State. Thus, the Agreement signed between the Frontier Leaders and Bogyoke Aungsan came to be known as the "Panglong Agreement"

The Agreement stated that the association of Burma Proper and the Frontier States should be on a Federal basis with:

- A. equal rights and status
- B. full autonomous for the Shan State
- C. right of secession from the Federation after the attainment of independence, but later a term of ten years was agreed.

On July 19, 1947 Bogyoke Aung San and his Associates including a Shan Sawbwa of Mong Pawn were assassinated.

Aungsan was succeeded by U Nu as the leader of AFPFL (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League)

The Federal Union was not a genuine one, because U Nu who was under pressure from the Nationalist politicians. Altered the Panglong Agreement by making Buddhism a state religion and the Chamber of Nationalities became under the control of the ethnic Burmans contrary to the Agreement set out in the constitution.

In 1961 the Shan Sawbwas demanded the amendment of the altered constitution, and their rights of full autonomy, which they were not getting.

U Nu did responds; He called all members of Parliament and legal experts of both Burmans and Non-Burmans to assemble in parliament.

At the end of February 1962 Parliament was in session. On the 2nd of March U Nu was about to give a speech when the military led by Ne Win siezed power, and put all members of Parliament including the Sawbwas in prison.

The Military stated that the military coup had taken place because of the issue of "federation". Ne Win was afraid that by reforming the constitution the army's supremacy in the Non-Burman areas would be lost. The equality of the Non-Burman with the Burman nationalities was to him unthinkable. When Ne Win took over power he destroyed the 1948 Constitution. By destroying the constitution the Military Junta has also destroyed the Union making it defunct, and at the same time freeing the different states from their commitment to be part of the Union. The Shan State, one of the states became an independent country colonized by the Burmese military Junta. During the military occupation the Shan State has retrogressed; all the junta can claim is that they had brought deep sorrow and suffering to the citizens of the Shan State.

The 5 decades under the Burmese Military Regime resulted in the Plight of the Shan people.

The Military coup was followed by the obsession of the Army to rule over and Burmanise the non-Burman nationals by controlling them with arms and force. Young men belonging to the non-Burman ethnic nationals rose and resisted the military rule: they were fighting for their survival and freedom. The army tried to suppress not only the resistant groups but subjected the civilians to terror, gang rape, extrajudicial killing, massacre, ethnic cleansing and genocide. All basic human rights including means of farming for survival have been taken away from them. Hundreds of Shan farmers had been dispossessed of their farmlands and for these reason there had been an exodus flow of refugees into Thailand and other neighbouring countries.

During the last few years the situation in Burma has driven more and more people of the Shan State into despair due to the diminishing prospect of ever being free from this regime.

We would therefore, like to bring to your attention the tragic problem of the IDP of the Shan State. (IDP=Internally displaced Persons) Not only have hundreds of thousands of Shan peasant farmers been dispossessed, but IDPs are harassed, hunted down like animals, and their jungle shelters mortared, set afire and what little they have planted are destroyed or taken away. Those caught are killed, the women raped and killed afterwards. The IDPs have nowhere to go, but to flee from one jungle hide out to another. They have nothing to look forward to except being chased out again.

Recently, with the help of international Red Cross, the Shans have unearthed a mass grave of dead bodies, genocide committed by the SPDC. This is just the tip of an ice berg

We would like to ask your Government to act on our behalf and ask the UN and the Security Council to take action against the SPDC.

On our behalf we would like to ask your Government to press the UN to provide a sanctuary for those Shans fleeing from the killing zones. Or alternatively, we would like to repossess our land with the help of all Democratic Governments. We humbly beg you for advice and assistance to repossess our land so that our people have a place to live in peace and without fear.

Is Myanmar as constituted by the Military Junta a viable Nation State?

In Burma the SPDC refuses to accept that the Union of Burma is defunct. The Generals, one after the other continues to hold the ethnic states together by brutal force. The forty or more years of their attempt to do so has failed dismally and the root of Burma's decline and subsequent economic decay can be traced directly to colonial arrangements and misrule practiced by the Generals. By looking at these facts there is very little reason to pronounce that Myanmar is viable as a Nation-State. We therefore would like to ask Japan to lead and influence other nations, especially SEAN to face squarely the unviability of Burma as a Nation State as at present constituted, and to stop encouraging and helping the SPDC to hold on to its power and possessions obtained by force. In fact Burma Proper' could be more productive without the Shan State, Kachin and Chin State. Under the misrule of the SPDC it is neither productive neither for Burma Proper nor for the states it is trying to hold on to. It is therefore time for the Generals to loosen their grip on these countries which do not belong to them.

The Convention

Most Shan organizations work together through a coordinating body called the Shan State Peace Council. Recently, the Shan State Peace Council has coordinated its efforts with several other ethnic groups who are attending Than Shwe's National Convention. The Convention has 1,000 members of Burmese society, aimed to draft a constitution and supposedly make a transition to some form of democracy. While the Convention sounds good on paper, it is in reality just a sham- no leading democracy movement was invited. For the most part the convention is a

collection of Than Shwe's allies and handpicked based on their obedience. Some ethnic groups agreed to attend the Convention because they felt they had no option. Refusing to attend would mean that Than Shwe would order military attacks on their people. The Non-Burman ethnic nationals put forward proposals, one of which was for them to be given more freedom and some autonomy but all were rejected. Fearing that the voice of the Shan people would grow too strong for them to ignore the proposal Than Shwe and his Generals are putting pressure on the "Cease Fire groups to surrender their arms."

The Imprisonment of Shan Leaders

At present Than Shwe seems to have lost confidence and is paranoid that every group is plotting against him. He feels very uneasy when there is a gathering. Therefore, when the Shan Leaders got together to celebrate the Shan State Day in Taunggyi ten of our moderate political leaders - Hkun Htoon Oo, Sai Hso Ten, Sai Noot, Sai Hla Aung, Sai Tha Oo, Sai Ba Khin, Sai Myint Than, Sai Ne Moe, Sai Myo Win Htoon & Sai Htoon Nyo, were arrested. They have been honestly trying to work towards a peaceful resolution with the Burmese Generals. Now, that Than Shwe has announced that the arrested Shan Leaders will be tried for sedition, they could receive life imprisonment or even death. This could lead to a much more serious situation and instability not only in Burma but also in neighbouring countries. Orders, threat and bribery from the SPDC has also instigated the Wa to attack the Shan State Army base. Than Shwe has promised that the Wa can own any part of the Shan State they can conquer from the Shan State Army. What the SPDC cannot see is that most of the Was are Chinese in disguise and their leaders Chinese drug warlords. The Was that were moved down from the mountains to occupy part of the Shan State a year or two ago are actually the fore-runner of Chinese occupation.

Where do we go from here?

The Burmese politicians are very eager to tell the outside world that General Aung San rescued the people of Burma from British Colonial Rule and Imperial Japan; this statement has been drummed into all international communities, especially US Government. Contrary to the statement the Shan people were better off under the British Colonial and Japanese Rules. The Burmese Politicians, especially the Generals have not shown any consideration for the Shan people other than wanting to possess our land and getting rid of the inhabitants.

After fifty years of Burmese military occupation the Shans have had enough of living every day in fear and terror, an existence no human being should have to experience. They cannot foresee any future, therefore they are now serious and determined to fight for independence.

The Shan State is already an independent country but it needs acceptance and recognition from the UN and International Governments. Any country who believes in honour, truth and justice will have to admit that the Shan State has the constitutional right to be independent.

Owing to the Geographical conditions and its natural resources, the Shan State has a potential to become a developed nation, and it has the criteria needed by the UN standard assessment to set up an independent nation

1. The Shan nationalities have, since ancient times, lived together.
2. They have a common culture and language used by the majority
3. They also have a common territory with defined boundaries.
4. The natural resources are rich and abundant, and the economy could be strong and self-sufficient under the right Government

Once the Shan State becomes independent the Shans are prepared to form a Federal Union with other ethnic states including Burma.

Having presented to you information about the Shan States we would like to appeal to you and your government for advice and aid

1. The most urgent need is to urge the SPDC to stop human rights violations against the Shan and other non-Burman ethnic nationals
2. We would like some aid for the internally displaced people in the form of grant so as to build a safe zone for them.
3. To call on the SPDC to free the 10 Shan Leaders because their accusation is unfounded as these are moderate men trying to work for peace.
4. To make the SPDC and other SEAN see that Burma as it presently constituted is not a viable nation- state and therefore the SPDC should loosen its grip on power and other ethnic states
5. To put yourself in our place, and by taking the legal issues into consideration to support the Shan State in its struggle for independence.

Thank you,

Nel Adams alias Sao Noan Oo





To
His Excellency Li Zhaoxing
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
People's Republic of China,
Beijing.

Dated: 18th April 2005
London, UK

Your Excellency Li Zhaoxing,

Re: Recognition of Independence Shan Nation-State.

Historically, close ties between Tai and Chinese people can be traced back thousands of years and they have been well documented. It was only due to Sino-British McMahan Treaty in 1899 that we were separated from China.

The decision for the Shan people to ultimately arrive at the declaration of independence was not taken lightly. It was the outcome of a soul searching and in-depth analyses of the five decades old political crisis in Shan State resulting from our domination by the Burmese.

The Declaration of Independence for the Shan Nation was made on 17th April, 2005, following the formation of the Interim Shan Government on 25th March 2005. This was in absolute compliance with the "WILL and WISHES" of the Shan People as represented by over 85% of the Shan Population.

At present there are 17 cabinet members elected by the ten-member Standing Committee for the formation of the Government. From these, a five-member War Cabinet was formed as front line leaders to immediately accomplish the following urgent tasks:

1. Appeal to all friendly nations, including UN, for recognition of the Shan Nation State as soon as possible. These included China, Britain, USA and members of EU.
2. To demand for Burma's military regime to withdraw all their armed forces from all territories of the Shan Nation-State, the Federated Shan States.
3. To hold election, under UN supervision to elect a Parliament or Congress and to form a civil representative government as soon as possible in a peaceful environment.

The war cabinet comprises:

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

1. H.R.H Sao Surkhanpha -----Head of States
2. Hkun Seng Zet -----Prime Minister
3. Hkun Hom -----Minister of Foreign Affairs
4. Hkun Hsiha -----Home Minister
5. Sao Khursur -----Defense Minister


The highlights of the foreign policy towards our neighbors, especially China are:

1. To ensure that the Shan Nation State maintains our independence within our established boundaries.
2. To allow China's passage through the Federated Shan States in transit for trade and commerce to international sea lanes in the Indian Ocean.
3. Support for the One China Policy.
4. Will recognize the extension of the "Peaceful Co-existence"- of the previous Sino-Burma's Nu-Chao En-lai Treaty.

With these in view we earnestly hope that the People's Republic of China and Your Excellency will understand and receive our appeal for your government's recognition of our new Shan Nation-State, The Federated Shan States.

We look forward to your quick response for a positive consideration and decision.

Yours most respectfully,



Minister of Foreign Affairs
Khun Hom

ATTACHMENTS: Declaration & Affirmation of Independence.
Foreign Policy Statement.
Reasons for independence.
Photos of Mass Support.
Photos of Genocide in Shan Nation State



His Excellency Dr. Jose Ramos Horta,
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Cooperation
 GPA Building#1, Rua Avenida Presidente Nicolau Laboto, Dili, Timor-Leste.

Your Excellency Dr. J. Ramos Horta,

Re: An appeal for recognition of a new Shan Nation State.

Tai People were once living freely alongside Chinese for thousands of years. In 1899 they were separated from the mainland China(PRC) by the Sino-British Treaty called The MacMahn Line. Those who lived under the British colony were later to become known as Shan people. The word Shan is synonymous with Syam or Siam (now known as Thailand) and these two peoples are cousins.

During the British colonial time, 1886-1948, the Shan State was once likened to the “Swiss of the Far East” because of its cool climate and location on the Shan Plateau. The most notable neighbours include China(PRC) in the North, Laos in the North-East and Thailand in the East. The size of Shan Nation State is similar to that of Cambodia or 160,000 square kilometers.

In 1948 Shan people regained their Independence from Britain when they joined the Federal Union of Burma and later to be called as Union of Myanmar. Ever since the country was usurped by the General Ne Win’s military regime in 1962, Shan State was plunged back into neo-colonialism. For the last forty three years the successive Burmese military regimes were persistently bent on subjugating Shan people by committing atrocities and human right abuses. This included mass rape of women which was later documented for UNHCR and known as “Rape: as a Weapons of War”.

The extent of the genocide that was going on with impunity for the last forty three years was due to the regime’s hard line policy in restricting accesses by international media. Despite these constraints, it is not too difficult for us to prove beyond reasonable doubt in what President Bush of USA was calling Burma fittingly as “one of the six outposts of tyranny.”

In recent exhumation of one of the mass graves, 173 innocent Shan people, including women, children and elderlies were found executed by shooting at point blank range. Some were tortured and burnt to death. Shan peasants were driven out of their ancestral homeland and had to leave behind them their livestock and farmland.

Against this backdrop of ongoing sufferings for almost five decades by our Shan people under this extremely repressive military regime and coupled with the recent arrests of our legitimately elected Shan leaders, Shan people's patience have been tested beyond their endurance point. Now they were left with no other options but "INDEPENDENCE" as a last resort in taking their destiny into their own hands.

In a secret poll conducted to mobilize support from the mass population, representative leaders from 48 townships out of 56 voted for absolute independence following the formation on 25th March 2005 of an Interim Shan Government of the Shan Nation State, which is now called the Federated Shan States. Hence, on the auspicious day of 17th April 2005, Shan people succeeded in proclaiming and reaffirming its independence despite military occupation by the Burmese junta.

The Interim Shan Government has 17 cabinet members of which five were elected to form a WAR Cabinet, now going into exile. These included:

1. HRH Sao SurKhanpha.....Head of State.
2. Hkun Seng Zed.....Prime inister.
3. Hkun Hom.....Foreign Minister.
4. Hkun Siha.....Home Minister.
5. Sao Tun AyeDefence Minister.

The ISG is now facing the daunting tasks of rebuilding its impoverished country that is ravaged by civil war, political crisis and economic mismanagement.

Topping the list of our government agenda are:

1. To demand the military regime for the withdrawal of all its troops from Shan soil and immediate end to all hostilities and genocide under the UN supervision.
2. To conduct a free and fair election for the new Shan Government and transfer of power.
3. To implement the development of the country's rich natural resources for trade and commerce to which foreign direct investment will be the main feature.
4. The Interim Shan State Government is fully committed to drug eradication in its Nation State.

Among other things, we will seek immediate entry to UN membership with the help of international communities and on the basis of criteria such as:

- Eight million population,
- Well defined national boundaries,
- 65,000 sq. miles (180,000 sq. km) land area,
- Diverse ethnic languages and cultural heritage,
- Endowed with rich natural resources,
- Self-sustainable economy and
- Member of the UNPO since 1994.

We will never forget how awesome it was to watch your country emerged from the brink of defeat to accomplish one of the most impressive victory that prevailed through the sheer inner strength and the will of the Timorese people. Please give us advice on how to convert our present freedom movement into another exemplary victory. Whilst we remember the close similarities between the two military dictatorships of Suharto of Indonesia and General Ne Win of Burma and his successors, there was no justification whatsoever why Burma blocked Timor Leste's entry to ASEAN.

With these in view, we earnestly appeal to your Government and Timorese people to lend us a helping hand for a recognition of our new Shan Nation State, the Federated Shan States. Shan people, in their desparate attempt to shake off the yoke of neo-colonialism, need your sponsorship and championship on democracy, so that we can one day live together in peace, harmony and prosperity in the forseeable future.

Last but not least, please allow me to pay my heart-felt tribute to your unwavering conviction and dedication that brought about dramatic change to your Timor Leste and the its people.

Yours most respectfully,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,



Hkun Hom
Foreign Minister.

- Attachments: 1. Declaration of Independence
2. Foreign Policy Statement,
3. Reasons for Independence,
4. Photos of genocide and mass
uprising in Federated Shan States.
5. Expressions of support from like-
minded and sympathetic institutions
and & organizations.

USA: 204 BOULEVARD, GLENROCK NJ 07452-2524; E-MAIL: surhan@aol.com
CANADA: 4523-47 STREET INNISFAIL ALBERTA T4G IP5; E-MAIL: hso@telus.net
UK: 7 HALTON STATION ROAD, SUTTON WEAVER, RUNCORN CHESHIRE WA7 3EL. TEL: 44(0)928790667; E-MAIL: oot@snoo.freereserve.co.uk
AUSTRALIA: 55 STUCKEY CTR, HOWARD SPRINGS, NT DARWIN. TEL: 61889831404; E-MAIL: shanlawcouncil@yahoo.co.uk
THAILAND: 4 MU6 SAIMAI BANGKOK THAILAND; E-MAIL: jai_chanamarn@yahoo.com



His Excellency President Xanana Gusmao
 Presidential Office,
 GPA Building#1, Rua Avenida Presidente Nicolau Laboto, Dili, Timor-Leste.
 Dated: 12th May 2005.

Your Excellency President Xanana Gusmao,

Re: Request for an audience at Dili, Timor Leste.

First, I would like to convey a message of heart-felt thanks to Your Excellency and the Timorese community how fortunate I am to have had this rare opportunity of meeting Your Excellency on this special occasion of “fund raising dinner” in Darwin.

At the same time, may I, on behalf of Shan People of the Federated Shan States (formerly of Myanmar), refer to our previous letter to H.E. Dr. Jose Ramos Horta on the 12th May 2005, in our petition for recognition of the new Shan Nation State.

The birth of a new Shan Nation State, the Federated Shan States, on 17th April 2005 was not only a reflection of a genuine aspirations and the “will” of 85.5 % of Shan people but also in compliance with its legitimate rights as were enshrined in the now defunct “Union of Burma” 1948 constitution. The Union between the two States, namely Burma (now Myanmar) and the Federated Shan States, was voided when General Newin usurped power in 1962 and the Union Constitution abolished, thus wiping out the “Union Spirit” of the 1947 Panglong Treaty.

In forging ahead with our Independence and bring peace, justice and rehabilitation to our impoverished Shan people as quickly as possible, we earnestly appeal to the people of Timor Leste to give us a moral support by a diplomatic accord of recognition to our new Shan Nation State.

Your compassionate and positive decision at this critical time of our historic struggle for freedom, a testimony of two small nations sharing in many ways the same destiny of human right abuses and immense suffering, will be like a “God-send” to our eight millions of Shan people of the Federated Shan States.

With this in view we hope Your Excellent will grant us an audience in Dili, the capital of Timor Leste, to enable our cabinet ministers to explain in more detail the chain of events leading to Shan Independence.

Looking forward to your response at the earliest convenience

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

Your most respectfully,



Hkun Hom
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Interim Shan Government

Please reply to contact address as follows:
PO Box U37, Charles Darwin University, Darwin, NT, 0815, Australia.
Tel.: 66 8 8983 1404; Mob.: 61 4 3706 7231.
E-mail: hom321@yahoo.com.au
Please also visit ISG website at: www.taigov.org

Copies: HRH Sao Surkhanpha, Head of State, ISG.
H.E. Prime Minister Hkun Seng Zed (aka Sai Myat Aung), ISG.
H.E. Hkun Siha (aka Hkun Sam), VP, ISG.

Attachments: A duplicate letter of petition to HE Dr. Ramos
Jose Horta.
A copy of petition letter to UK FCO.



President of Shan Lawyer Council and Foreign Minister, Khun Hom pictured with His Excellency President Xanana Gusmao for memorial record after exchange information between two parties.



H.E. Mr. Huo Jintao
President,
Peoples Republic of China

Dated: 17th.June 2005

Re: A brief presentation of Federated Shan States, Interim Shan Government and an appeal for advice and assistance.

Yours Excellency Huo Jintao,

May I refer to our previous letter submitted to H.E. Li Zhaoxing, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, PRC, dated 18th April, 2005.

First I would like to reaffirm my belief that The Federated Shan States and its Shan people have a rightful place in a community of nations. The reasons are as follows:

1. In 1947 Shan State and Burma jointly attained their independence from Britain and in accordance with the 1947 Panglong Treaty of the Federal Union of Burma and in Chapter 10, Section (201-206) of the Union Constitution, it stated explicitly that Shan State has the right to secede from the Union if it so desires after ten years of equal partnership.
2. In fact Shan people have been patient enough in putting up with the Federal Union for the past 43 years despite the lack of substantial progress and the deterioration of the social welfare of the Shan communities at large.
 - a) There is no justification of Burmese troops being stationed in Shan State in the absence of external threats. These troops are being used to subjugate Shan people by committing atrocities including torture, rape, and destruction of houses by burning, plundering, lootings and extra-judicial killings. Most of the Shan villages were uprooted causing an exodus of Shan refugees to neighboring countries like Thailand and China where they have to fight for their survival under inhuman conditions.
 - b) There were drastic changes in the public administrative systems through the replacement of the local authorities by the Burmans as a result of the take over by SLORC and SPDC respectively. In all public sectors relating to administration, economy, health, education and social welfare the Burmans were taking a predominant role with absolutely no Shan participation in the governance. The village headmen, wardens and even the tax collectors were made up of only the

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

Burman. The influx of Shan job seekers into Thailand alone could be estimated between 300 and 500 a day.

- c) Most recently, many ethnic national leaders were prepared to make conciliatory moves to resolve the on-going political crisis but were not only watered down but the Shan leaders were jailed for alleged treason against state. There was no hope a genuine political reform in the foreseeable future with top national leaders being excluded from participation in the national convention.

For these reasons, we have no choice but to comply with the “WILL” and the overwhelming aspirations of Shan people by forming an Interim Shan Government with subsequent declaration of independence on 17th April 2005.

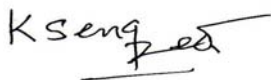
In our effort to promote good relationship with our neighbors including Peoples Republic of China, in contrast to the ruthless military dictatorship of the junta, we will ensure the following bilateral issues would be steadfastly observed.

- The Interim Shan Government of the Federated Shan States will recognize one China policy.
- Non interference in the affairs of Dai people living in PRC by ISG/FSS.
- We will ensure drug eradication in Federated Shan States with full cooperation from PRC.
- Our government will participate in the construction of the ASIAN HIGHWAY NETWORK linking India and PRC.
- No foreign troops will be allowed to station in the Federal Shan States.
- The ISG will adhere to the principles of peaceful co-existence that was enshrined in the Sino-Burma Treaty.
- Will not hinder PRC’s direct land passage to the Indian Ocean.
- Will fully cooperate and participate in the Mekhong River project.

The decision by Shan people to live freely from the Burmese domination was not taken lightly as we have endured enough sufferings under the ruthless military regime. Shan people have the legitimate and constitutional right to reclaim their freedom from being enslaved by the Burmans. We look to you not only as our traditional close allies and big brother, but as our savior whose help in terms of advice, material and human resources and above all your recognition of our Interim Shan Government would be considered in high esteem.

We earnestly wish to make an appeal on Your Excellency to give our Interim Shan Government an audience and look forward to your positive reply at the earliest convenience.

Yours most respectfully,



Hkun Seng Zed
Prime Minister, Interim Shan Government, Federated Shan States.



The Hon. Jack Straw,
The Secretary of State, FCO
Per kind favour of the
British Embassy,
1031 Wireless Rd., Patuwan
Bangkok 10120,
Thailand.
Dated: 28th June 2005

(Copy: H.E. Dr. Jose Ramos Horta, Timor Leste, FYI please.)

Dear Hon. Jack Straw,
Re: - **Request for an urgent meeting (political).**

May I first refer to the pervious official meeting which took place at the UK FCO (Foreign Common Wealth Office) on 14th January, 2005, when a Shan delegation made a successful representation of the plight of Shan people under the present Burmese Military regime.

The FCO Officials present at this meeting were;

- 1 Mr. Michael Reilly
Head of the South-East Asia Department, Asean & Oceana Group
- 2 MR. Graham Styles.
Team Leader, Mekong & Burma Team. Asean & Oceana Group.
- 3 Secretary to Hon. MP Douglas Alexander.
Ministry of State, Trade and Investment and Foreign Affairs

The five-member Shan delegation was led by Hkun Hom and Nel Adams, a Shan princess and a citizen of UK.

In response to Shan petition and in recognition of the gravity of the political stale-mate for the last 47 years Mr. Reilly concluded the meeting with a positive note which may be quoted as follows:

“The UK’s policy on Burma is not mainly on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s release, but also on other issues. Mr. Michael Reilly further said: “Expelling Burma from the UN membership would be unprecedented, because the UN recognition and acceptance of Burma as a member is based on the “country” (Union of Burma) and not on the government itself (ruthless or otherwise). This will have far reaching implications on similar dictatorial governments, from nations such as Algeria, Cuba and North Korea. In the case of Khmer Rouge government, it hung on to its UN seat for a long time despite being voted out by the overwhelming majority of the UN membership. The in-depth discussion at the meeting touched on constitution, legal and humanitarian aspects of Shan people under the ruthless suppression and subjugation by this Burmese military regime, as they are bent on reviving or protecting their defunct “ **Maha Buma Empire** “.

In conclusion, Mr. Reilly said ‘The UK’s government will respect the will and aspirations of Shan people for independence, if that is what they really wanted”

He cited East Timorese and Cambodian models for Shan people to follow and bring about change through “referendum”.

Precisely that’s what the ISG Interim Shan Government has done in compliance with the “will” and aspirations of Shan people. The Federated Shan States, declared its independence on 17th April 2005, following the formation of the first historic government on 25th March 2005.

Contrary to wide-spread speculation otherwise, the Interim Shan Government was not self-appointed nor were they political nominees from an unknown entity as published in the news media.

HRH Sao Surkhanpha Yawngwe, for instance, who is the ISG Head of State, is the eldest son of the First President of the “Union of Burma” and Prince of Yawngwe of Shan State , a royal status that was recognized by the Monarch of Thailand,

The Prime Minister Hkun Seng Zed (aka Sai Myat Aung) was a senior public servant for the past 45 years and is an ardent pro-Shan independence activist. He and his wife were both active members of the SNLD and respectively were Deputy Chairman and atanding MP for SNLD of Hsipaw state. Senior General Than Shwe was once Hkun Seng Zed’s contemporary in a military campaign against the CPB (the Communist Party of Burma).

The Vice President Hkun Siha (aka Hkun Sam) is currently an active member of the SNLD charged with the tasks of organizing key Shan Leaders to come to the national conference held under secret cover on 8th August 2004. At this historic meeting, 54 Shan leaders from 48 townships (out of 56) representing senior administrators, SNLD party members and Intellectual & Cultural group unanimously decided in favour of Shan Independence. Hkun Htoon Oo, the Chairman of the SNLD who is now under detention by the SPDC regime, was one of the signatories to the pro-Shan independence document.

No sooner than the declaration of Shan Independence, the SPDC’s Minister of Information Brig General Kyaw San condemned the above Shan leaders in a press conference held on the 21st

April 2005 and charged them for high treason against the State by endangering to split the defunct “Federal Union of Burma” (please see attachment).

In submitting this petition to UK Government for recognition and support for Interim Shan Government, we wish to make an earnest request to grant us another opportunity, thus would enable us to explain the chain of events leading to the crucial decision for Shan Independence.

We see this action as the last resort left in our strategy for survival of the indigenous Shan people of Shan state. We strongly believe this reaffirmed independent status would give Shan people a better bargaining position based on equal partnership for reconstituting a “new federal union”, if ever there is one at all emerging in the foreseeable future.

With its eight million populations, Shan people will never give up its moral high ground against the genocidal onslaught of the Burmese regime.

And with your help, advice and relevant support, we solemnly pledge to defeat this “out post of tyranny” within 3-6 months for the sake of regional stability, peace and democracy in SE-Asia in an attempt to emulate East Timor and Cambodia that preceded Shan State Independence.

We hope you will come to appreciate the resolve of Shan people and the resolution of protracted political crisis by granting a compassionate hearing to members of the Interim Shan Government, with HRH Sao Surkhanpha Yawnghwe as leader of the Shan mission.

We await your response at the earliest convenience.
With deep respect,

Yours faithfully,



Hkun Hom
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Please reply to contact address as follows:

Hkun Hom
PO Box U37
Charles Darwin University
Darwin, NT 0815.
Australia. Tel. (61) 8 8983 1404.
Mob: 61 04 3706 7231
E-mail: hom321@yahoo.com.au

TWIN TOWER, Suit 60/112
Soi 42 Chang Wattana Rd.
Pakred, Nonthaburi-
Thailand-
Tel: 66-2-5740207-10 Ext.6112
Fax:66-25739918/ Rm 6112
Mob: 66-01-5566260.



His Majesty The King
Bhutan

July 26, 2005

Yours Majesty,

I write to Your Majesty to send you greetings from ourselves and from the Peoples of the Federated Shan States. A delegation of the highest level of our Government, as befits your Majesty's august position is seeking an audience with Your Majesty and your Government - May I present our Vice President Zhao Siha and the Prime Minister of our Interim Government Sao Seng Zed.

Our Government represents more than 85% of the popular voice of our Peoples from our 48 of 54 Se-Viengs or Counties of our Country and both the Vice President and the Prime Minister are very able and respected leaders of our nation.

I am happy and extraordinarily pleased to see that the holy and Venerable Sao Khu Poon Chum and his good disciple Sai Kyaw Hla are already well received and well beloved at the Royal Court of Bhutan and by the Royal Family, and it seems predestined that our two Nations will enjoy the most cordial and close friendship through our shared faith in the Teachings of the Lord Buddha.

I look forward to our meeting in the near future and to welcome and cement the friendships of our Nations and our Peoples.

Your most respectfully,

H.R.H Prince Surkhanpha
Head of State
Federated Shan States



To,

General Secretary, UN.
 President, USA.
 President, PRC.
 President, Russia.
 President, France.
 Prime Minister, UK.

Subject: Looting, torturing and invasion of Shan States by SPDC troops.

Reference: According to the report released on 9-9-05, September 1- 4, there were six instances of fighting between ISG troops and SPDC troops in the region of Mong Nawng and Lai Kha Townships in Central Shan States. Six soldiers on the enemy side were killed and many wounded. ISG troops got two assault rifles from the enemy. After the fighting, SPDC troops went on a rampage. SPDC troops went into the nearest village, going from house to house robbing gold, cash, jewellery. They also confiscated cars, motorbikes and agricultural machinery.

1. Because of the report the ISG is worried on the plight of the villagers who has to suffer the consequences. After the ISG declared independence on 17-4-05, The North-east commander, Gen, Myint Naing launched an offensive involving 40 battalions, estimated strength 10,000. Some unit of the SSNA and SPLA are forces to surrender. At present, Shan, Wa, Pa laung, Pa-O, Ka chin and KoKang forces numbering 9,000 troops are alerted to renew the guerrilla warfare. This rainy season offensive might be due to the ISG announcing its independence.
2. From the time of Burma's Independence in 1948 up till the present, no Shan forces enter Burma, But SPDC invading forces, on different pretexts, has been terrorising the Shan people. There has also been a systematic destruction of the Shan gentle way of life. Even then, the Shans are living in harmony with the much hated Burmese. In 1956, Burmese forces entered Shan States on the pretext of driving out the KMT intruders, and then refusing to withdraw. They grabbed administrative power from the legally elected Shan Government. There are no ethnic representative either in the administration or the military. Such dirty case cannot be found any where in the world. Even the British colonist gave a fair share of autonomy to the Shan State. We are now living in conditions of servitude for more than 40 years.
3. After the Sao Phas relinquished their hereditary powers on 24-4-1959, the Burmese practised chauvinism. Their divide and rule policy caused conflict among ethnic groups. They even used black magic to suppress ethnic minorities. The innocent Sao Pha of His Paw, Sao Kya Seng, was murdered by a Ne Win minion at Lawk Zork.

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

4. The ISG has the duty to protect our people. The Burmese military government is shunned by the world community because of lack of democracy, human right, Narcotics, terrorism. Drug lords are provided sanctuary in Yangon. Burma is trying to go unclear. It is striving to be a here in the poorest country. Burma's case should be put before the ICJ in the Hague. In the near future we shall be equal footing and then we can discuss our problems at the UN.

We Urge UN to act on the following: -

- (a) Withdrawal of SPDC troops and all SPDC administrative apparatus from the Federated Shan States immediately.
- (b) Release immediately Shan political and SSA leaders under detention.
- (c) Respected people's leaders Daw Aung San Su Kyi, U Tin Oo and other political leaders to be released immediately.
- (d) Boycott fictitious National Convention.
- (e) Demand stoppage of SPDC's military offensive in the Federated Shan States as well as use of torture and robbery.
- (f) To invoke a referendum on Shan Independence under UN Supervision but without SPDC participation.
- (g) The SPDC to take responsibility for destruction of the gentle way of life of the Shan people. Compensation must be paid for the ravages of war. A war crime tribunal must be set up for those guilty of crimes against humanity.

With Respects,




Khun Seng Zed
Prime Minister
Interim Shan Government
Date: 25-9-05
No.0001/7/2005

USA: 204 BOULEVARD, GLENROCK NJ 07452-2524; E-MAIL: surhan@aol.com
CANADA: 4523-47 STREET INNISFAIL ALBERTA T4G 1P5; E-MAIL: hso@telus.net
UK: 7 HALTON STATION ROAD, SUTTON WEAVER, RUNCORN CHESHIRE WA7 3EL. TEL: 44(0)928790667; E-MAIL: oot@snoo.freeserve.co.uk
AUSTRALIA: 55 STUCKEY CTR, HOWARD SPRINGS, NT DARWIN. TEL: 61889831404; E-MAIL: shanlawcouncil@yahoo.co.uk
THAILAND: 4 MU6 SAIMAI BANGKOK THAILAND; E-MAIL: jai_chanamarn@yahoo.com

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States



Mr. George W. Bush
President
United States of America
Washington D.C

12th September, 2005

Dear Mr.President,

On behalf of the Interim Shan Government of the Federated Shan States and the Shan People, I would like to extend to you our heartfelt sympathy for the unfortunate victims of Hurricane Katrina. As you know, the Shan States affirmed and declared our Independence on April 17, 2005 according to the Will of the People of Shan States and as is legitimately promulgated by our Treaty & Constitutional Rights of 1947 and 1948 respectively.

May we also send a contingent of our Armed Forces and/or Shan expatriates of USA as Volunteers to assist in the clean-up and reconstruction? We also offer to organise contingents from the Arakan, Chin, Kachin, Karenni, Mon & Karen States of the defunct former Union of Burma that the Burmese dictatorship has made into captive colonies. We make this offer in the spirit of kindred humanity and we look forward to be of assistanc and to hear from you.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink is written over a red circular official stamp. The stamp contains the Burmese text 'လူင်စွင်ထိုင်းမှိုင်းရှမ်းတုမ်ထိုင်းတံး' and the English text 'SHAN GOVERNMENT' and 'FEDERATED SHAN STATES'.

signed by:
H.R.H. Prince Hso-khan-pha
President of the Cabinet
Interim Shan Government

USA: 204 BOULEVARD, GLENROCK NJ 07452-2524; E-MAIL: surhan@aol.com
CANADA: 4523-47 STREET INNISFAIL ALBERTA T4G 1P5; E-MAIL: hso@telus.net
UK: 7 HALTON STATION ROAD, SUTTON WEAVER, RUNCORN CHESHIRE WA7 3EL. TEL: 44(0)928790667; E-MAIL:oot@snoo.freereserve.co.uk
AUSTRALIA: 55 STUCKEY CTR, HOWARD SPRINGS, NT DARWIN. TEL: 618889831404; E-MAIL: shaniawcouncil@yahoo.co.uk
THAILAND: 4 MUE SAIMAI BANGKOK THAILAND; E-MAIL:jal_chanamarn@yahoo.com



4523-47 Street, Innisfail, Alberta T4G 1P5

Tel./Fax: 403 227-3422; Cell: 403 803-4799; email: hso@telus.net

Hon. Mr. Pierre Pettigrew, M.P., P.C.,
 Minister of Foreign Affairs
 House of Commons
 OTTAWA, ON K1A 0A6

September 24, 2005

Dear Mr. Pettigrew,

I write to send you for your information, a copy of the Shan States Gazette, Interim Shan Government, Federated Shan States.

The Shan States declared and affirmed its independence in exercise of our democratic Rights by Treaty - The Panglong Agreement of 1947 & the 1948 Constitution of the Union of Burma that we entered with the Government of Burma and signed by General Aung San (who is Aung San Suu Kyi's father) for Burma.

The Shan declaration of April 17, 2005 follows over 4 years of necessarily secret canvassing by Shan Leaders that included senior members of the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy headed by Hkun Htoo Oo who is now imprisoned in the notorious Insein Prison in Rangoon. The canvassing resulted in a majority vote for independence from 48 out of 54 Se-Viengs or Counties of the Shan States that consists of Shan, Pa-O, Wa, Palaung States and other autonomous regions. Representatives from the Counties then appointed a 10 Member Standing Committee for Independence that selected and appointed the Interim Shan Government and its Cabinet.

The Shan process and procedures are not only democratic and popular but they are also absolutely legal by Treaty and Constitution. Neither was the decision to declare Independence taken hastily nor without due consultation and deliberation under extreme and dangerous conditions of SPDC Burmese Army occupation, which is brutal and oppressive - this is well known.

I would like to request the Canadian Government to sponsor and initiate a legal proceedings in the International Criminal Court at the Hague against the Burmese SPDC regime and their senior generals for Crimes Against Humanity and other War Crimes in using rape as a weapon of war against innocent girl children & women and the unacceptable killings, torture and looting of our civilian Shan population that has been ongoing for nearly half a century from 1962 onwards - (but some of our People would say 1958).

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

I look forward to hearing from you as to how the Government and the Parliament of Canada plans to proceed in this matter of War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity towards the rouge regime of Burma.

Yours sincerely,



Tiger Yawnghwe, P.Geol.

c.c. Senator Dan Hays, Mr. David Kilgour, M.P., Mr. Bob Mills, M.P., Foreign Minister Hkun Hom – Interim Shan Government.



PETTIGREW
The Hon. Pierre Stewart, P.C., B.A., M.Phil



Mr. Kofi Anan
Secretary General
United Nations
New York, U.S.A

26th. Sept.2005

Dear Secretary General,

SUPPORT FOR FIRM ACTION ON BURMA.

On behalf of the Interim Shan Government and the Peoples of the Federated Shan States we absolutely agree to support the proposal by Nobel Laureates:

(I) Bishop Desmond Tutu (South Africa) and

(II) Mr. Vaclav Havel (former Czech President)

in urging the UN Security Council to take firm action on Burma. This action is long overdue. Any further delay or failure by the UNSC to curb SPDCs' Crimes against Humanity and other War Crimes in all ethnic nationalities of Burma will lead to a conflagration of civil wars, with imminent threat to severely destabilize Southeast Asia.

We also give full support to the Women's League of Burma's (W.L.B.) demand for the unconditional withdrawal of all SPDC troops from all national ethnic areas and to cease hostilities immediately. Only then will there be peace and tranquility in the region.

Yours sincerely,



HRH Prince Surkhanpha
Head of Federated Shan States,
President of the Cabinet
Interim Shan Government, Federated Shan States

Copies to: Ms. Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State, USA.
PM Tony Blair, Government of UK.
Dr. Liam Fox, UK Shadow Secretary of State, UK.
Baroness Cox, Deputy Speaker of House of Lords, UK.
Mr. Benedict Rogers, Christian Worldwide Solidarity of UK,
All Ethnic Nationalities of Burma.
General Secretary, SDU (Complementary endorsement).

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States



Senator Dan Hays
Senate of Canada
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0A6

September 26, 2005

Dear Dan,

It has been too long since I was last in touch with you. I write now to enclose my letter to Mr. Pierre Pettigrew, Minister of Foreign Affairs that is self explanatory but also to bring you up to date of my recent activities.

On April 17, 2005 I declared and affirmed on behalf of the Shan People of the Federated Shan States, our Independence. This closely followed 4 years of necessarily secret canvassing by Shan leaders inside Burmese SPDC occupied Shan States of our population in our 54 Counties and the majority from 48 Counties or Se-Viengs voted for Independence.

Following this vote, Se-Vieng Representatives then appointed a 10 Member Standing Committee for Independence who in turn selected a 17 Member Cabinet and I accepted the post of Head of Federated Shan States & President of the Cabinet of the Interim Shan Government.

Our Declaration is both legal and constitutional in accordance with the 1947 Panglong Agreement that we (my father and others) signed with the Interim Government of Burma then headed by General Aung San who is Aung San Suu Kyi's father; and in accordance with the 1948 Constitution of the Union of Burma. Neither was the decision taken hastily nor without due consultation of our People - the fact of the matter is that it took us more than half a century since 1948 to reach this momentous decision.

The request and question I ask of the Canadian Government and Parliament are both reasonable and timely because the Crimes Against Humanity and other War Crimes perpetrated by the Burmese rogue regime for almost 50 years in the ethnic nationalities' areas of "Burma" are not only well documented but they are also well known.

Yours sincerely and with best regards,

Tiger Yawnghwe

Shan Government on diplomatic relationship with Republic of Vanuatu

(Second-round visit)
November 1, 2005

.....

President Prince Hso Khan Pha with Senior Members of Shan Government, federated Shan States were honored to meet with H.E. President Barak T. Sobe of Vanuatu Government and Mr. M.T.A Wan, Special Envoy of the Republic of Vanuatu and Pacific Region at Grand Hyatt Hotel of Hong Kong on 1st November, 2005 for diplomatic tie between two Governments. In the two hour long discussion, HRH Prince Hso Khan Pha briefed Shan agendum to Government of Vanuatu as:

Reasons for independence

1. Successive Burmese Government avoids implementation of commitment especially, paras (5 and 7) of Pang long agreement on 12.2.1947
2. Absence of representative in Government since 1962
3. Lack of genuine political reform and meaningful dialogue
4. Provocation by military junta to give a pretext to escalate its aggression
5. Forcibly implementation of IDPs and portorage
6. Lack of support for ethnic languages, literature and culture
7. Suppression of freedom of worship (religious persecution)
8. No end in sight for national convention going on since 1992

Political objectives

1. Shan state independence (liberty, unity, equality)
2. democracy, human right, drug eradication, anti-terrorism
3. Withdrawal of all foreign troops from Shan State. Recall of expatriates
4. Holding election under UN supervision
5. Drafting of constitution
6. Referendum
7. Nation Planning, reconstruction, rehabilitation
8. Creation of ethnic Areas
9. transparency and accountability

Economic Objectives

1. Foreign investment
2. Market based Economy
3. Uplift of agricultural sectors
4. Development of cottage industry
5. Development of Mineral resources
6. Reforestation (Teak, Hard woods)

Social Objective

1. Preservation of culture and custom
2. Maintenance of ethnic diversity, Unity in diversity
3. Recognition of all racial dialects, literature, cultural heritage, traditional medicines
4. Preservation of scenic Environment and gentle way of life
5. Peace and stability

Mutual Benefit

1. Priority in investment
2. Preference in Teak and hardwood extraction
3. Preference in mining sectors (gold, silver, lead, precious stones “ruby, sapphires etc.)
4. Development of tourist industry

At the closing meeting, Shan reached agreement as:

- Shan Government agrees to start a US\$50 Million joint venture investment with Vanuatu Government in trading with the government approved contracts.
- Shan Government highly appreciates His Excellency’s enlightening suggestion of how we may promote our independence movement to a fruitful realization.
- Shan Government recognizes Vanuatu’s well-known experience in regard to helping liberate Timor L’este and in recognizing the Palestinian State before it was generally accepted by the International Community.



President Hso Khan Pha with Special Advisor Mr. Poon Tip were discussion with H.E Mr. Barak and Mr. Wan the possible investment between two Countries in the near future.



VP Sao Khun Sam and FM Khun Hom say “thank to Mr. Barak and Mr. Wan for the possible meeting” at the meeting.



Prime Minister Khun Saeng Zed and Sai Soikhamsaeng, CoS of Shan Government on unofficial first-round meeting with Mr. Wan, Special Envoy of the Republic of Vanuatu and Pacific Region at (Ramada International Kowloon Hotel of HONGKONG) on 12 September, 2005



*HRH Crown Prince Mahavajiralongkorn
Sukothai Palace
Bangkok Thailand.*

Dated: 30th. October 2006.

*Subject: Providing humanitarian sanctuary for Shan/Tai
Cabinet Members.*

Your Gracious Highness,

The Shan people of Shan State, Federated Shan States, became free when the elected Interim Shan Government made a declaration of Independence on 17th. April 2005. This was carried out with the aim of not only to cast off Burmese colonial yoke, but also to alleviate fifty years of suffering inflicted by the Burmese SPDC military dictatorship.

The declaration was both legal and constitutional under the 1947 Panglong Treaty coupled with the abrogation of the Federal Union of Burma when General Ne Win unilaterally usurped power in 1962. The Federal Union of Burma, now defunct, to which Shan people became a partnership on a trial basis for Ten Years, has also elapsed in 1958.

We are deeply grateful for the temporary humanitarian sanctuary and kind hospitality accorded to Shan/Tai people by Your Gracious Monarch, the Thai Government and its people.

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

Information led us to believe that the SPDC urged the Thai Government to deny entry to ISG cabinet members.

We humbly request your Gracious Highness not to comply with the internationally damning SPDC Burmese military dictatorship since Shan/Tai people take a deep sense of pride and honor not only in sharing common ancestry with Thai people as blood brothers but also duty-bound to protect the one and only Thai Royal Kingdom in the family of sovereign nation states.

In our earnest wishes for “Long live with His Majesty the King of Thailand”, we Shan/Tai people who are stranded in Thailand, also solemnly pledge to refrain from breaking Thai laws and pay due respect to the Thai Cultural heritage.

Most respectfully yours,



*Zhao Hkun Sam,
Vice President, Interim Shan Government.*

*Copy: HRH Prince Chao Surkhanpha of Yawngwhe, Shan State,
President of the ISG & Head of State,
In exile Canada.*



Rt Honorable Margaret Beckett
 Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
 Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
 King Charles Street,
 London, SW1A 2AH
 United Kingdom.
 Dated: June 12, 2007

Your Rt Honorable Margaret Beckett,

RE: A PETITION FOR RECOGNITION OF FEDERAL SHAN STATES.

First may I refer to the meeting that took place early this year on January 14, 2005 between the Officials of the UK Foreign Commonwealth Office and the five-member delegation of Shan peoples' mission. (Please see attachment)

At this meeting and lengthy discussions, thanks to Mr. Michael Reilly et. al., the Shan delegation was able to make a successful representation on the plight of Shan people that has been inflicted by the Burma's ruthless military regime for the last 47 years. Against this backdrop of the on-going sad political picture in our country, it could not be helped that Shan people would fondly like to recall those memorable years of peace and tranquility that had prevailed in former Shan State throughout the period of the British Protectorate, not the least being under the Clement Attlee's Ruling Labour Party of the British Government.

Then in 1948, Shan people made a terrible mistake by joining the Union of Burma in partnership with the Burmans immediately following the 1947 Panglong Treaty. Later on following a military coup in 1962 and the subsequent abolition of the Union Constitution, the bitter pills that Shan people were forced to swallow was a clear reflection of not only a breach of the mutual trusts but also the annulment of the "Panglong Treaty" that was enshrined in the Union Constitution. As a result Shan people regained their freedom when the legal contract of the partnership was broken.

Shan people earnestly believe in this day and age of globalization, if ever will there be another union, it could only be in the form of the EU model rather than a resurrection of the old unitary state-like union. A prerequisite for this to happen would require Shan State to be totally free from the yoke of neo-colonialism under the SPDC regime.

To the expressed will of Shan People stated above, may I recall Mr. Michael Reilly's words as follows: *"The UK foreign policy on Burma is not mainly concerned with Daw Aung Sun Suu*

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States

Kyi's release but also on other various issues. UK Government will respect the will and aspirations of Shan people for independence, if that is what they really want".

On September 8, 2004, at a secret meeting conducted in central Shan State and under heavy tight security of Shan resistance army, 48 township leaders (out of 56) have unanimously agreed to pass a resolution to proclaim Shan Independence.

Accordingly, following the formation of an exiled Shan government on March 25 the following year, Shan Independence was declared on April 17, 2005.

Subsequently, the Interim Shan Government has sent the first petition letter to the UK Government for recognition of Shan Independence on June 28, 2005.

Since then the political scenario has changed dramatically for the worse as eight Shan political leaders received heavy sentencing for alleged treason against state. Moreover the truce between the Shan State Army and the SPDC troops were also broken when the ceased fire armed resistance groups (SSA) were forced to disarm immediately. This was despite the fact that they have agreed to attend the forthcoming National Convention on December 5 last year. Recently fighting has flared up and the increased tension could plunge the country into a full scale civil war. This could pose a potential threat to the stability of the SE-Asia region.

With this in view, we respectfully request your Rt Honorable Secretary of State to grant ISG's delegation another meeting urgently for discussions and your advise on the course of actions required to mitigate further conflagration in the region. **The three-member ISG delegation would be led by the Head of State HRH Prince Surkhanpha. If convenient the ISG delegation would be ready to meet your Honorable Secretary of State early July 2007.**

Looking forward to your response.

Your most respectfully,



Signed & sealed by:
Hkun Hom,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Interim Shan Government, Federated Shan States.

Copy: British Embassy, Bangkok, Thailand.
HRH Prince Surkhanpha, President & Head of State, Federated Shan States.

Attachment: Summary report on Meeting with UK FCO On January 14, 2005.

USIM International Conference – Anaheim Aug.11/2007

Address by H.R.H. Prince Hso-Khan-Pha of Yawnghwe,
President and Head of State for
the Federated Shan States:

“Mr. Chairman, Delegates – Ladies and Gentlemen,

Where are the Federated Shan States? The country lies in the hub between India, China and Southeast Asia and was a State of the former Union of Burma that gained its sovereign independence from Great Britain in 1948.

In size, it is more than 1/3 of the State of California and is larger than the State of New York. If it were in continental Europe, it would be almost 1/3 the size of France and in Asia over 1/3 of the Kingdom of Thailand. The Shan population exceeds some 8 million.

The name Shan comes from the Burmese mispronunciation of “Siam” or Siem” derived from a Pali word “Syam” meaning “Sky” – the name by which the ancient Khmer or Cambodians called the Tai or Thai Speaking clans. We Shan call ourselves “Tai”, which is a dialectical variation of Thai or Dai in China – indeed in 1957 the Premier Chou-en-lai said to my parents (my father was the 1st President of the Union of Burma 1948-52), that there were then some 100 million Dai or Tai Speaking Peoples in the Peoples Republic of China. That number will have grown dramatically since then.

Historically, Shan or Tai Kingdoms and Principalities have stretched from Assam in northeast India, through Southeast Asia into south and southwestern China and today the Shan are linguistically and culturally related to modern Thailand and Laos.

In the late 19th century the Shan Principalities on the Shan Plateau were annexed by the British to become a Protectorate following the British conquest of the Burmese Kingdom of Mandalay in the Irrawaddy River Basin or Plains. And as a Protectorate, the Shan self-ruled with a full autonomy in their internal affairs under the Governor of British Burma, whereas “Burma” or Burma Proper was ruled directly by the British Governor. Indeed the Banknotes of the day were inscribed in English, Shan and Burmese, a tacit recognition of the Shan polity separate from the Burmese.

In 1946, soon after the Second World War ended in 1945, the Shan Princes and Representatives convened the first Panglong Conference in the Shan States that was also attended by Leaders & Representatives of the British Burma Frontier Areas.

A second Conference was called in 1947, to which the Burmese came as Observers and it was at this second Conference that the Burmese Leader General Aung San tabled a proposal to include Burma in forming a Union of equal partners to share only a common foreign affairs and currency. The Shan, after a prolonged and heated debate, voted by a very narrow parliamentary majority of 51:49% deciding for the Union. Subsequently the Chin, Kachin & Karenni followed the Shan lead, and thus in January 1948, the 5 Constituent States of Shan, Chin, Kachin, Karenni and Burma gained independence from Britain as "The Union of Burma".

The Panglong Agreement of 1947 specified the Right of Secession for all signatories, and Chapter X of the Union of Burma Constitution specifically spelt out the Sovereign Right of Secession for the Shan and Karenni States, applicable 10 years after signature from 1948 onwards, should they choose to go their own way as independent sovereign nations.

It was also at Panglong in 1947 that the Shan Flag was raised and the British Union Jack lowered in the presence of British Government Representatives, led by Lord Bottomley, signifying and tacitly recognizing the sovereign status of the Shan Nation a year before Burma gained its independence in 1948. The Union of Burma lasted until 1962, when a military coup violently destroyed all democracy - a situation which continues to this day. My father, amongst many state leaders, and my brother, were amongst the first victims, with my brother dying defending our family home from Burmese soldiers, and my father being arrested and dying under brutal Burmese military imprisonment.

Following the Burmese military coup in 1962, the Union of Burma ceased to exist in all but name, and the Shan State, as all other States of the Union, came under Burmese military occupation of General Ne Win's BSPP regime, becoming and more and more Nazi-like under "SLORC" that changed to its present name of "SPDC" in 1989/90.

In 2000, 2004 & 2006 Shan Leaders secretly and clandestinely held meetings and canvassed the people of the Se-Viengs or Counties of the Shan lands, resulting in a majority of 87% voting for independence. This best effort democratic process was undertaken under the noses of the SPDC spies and brutal occupying forces in a situation that can be likened to that of the Free French resistance holding clandestine meetings in Nazi Occupied France – free and open elections would have resulted in immediate arrests, torture, and executions. For the Shan to have done it all not once but thrice underscores our determination for democracy and independence.

Early in 2005, 10 Shan Leaders including President Hkun Toon Oo of the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD) were arrested and subsequently sentenced to multilife-sentences and hard labour in remote concentration camps.

I was elected President of the Federated Shan States in March 2005 and was mandated to lead and affirm our People's vote for independence and I was then instructed to

make a Declaration of Independence on April 17th. 2005 from our leaders inside occupied Federated Shan States – we being a federation of Shan, Wa, Palaung, Pa-O, Kokang and other ethnic communities. The mandate of the elected Shan Government is not only to win our freedom but also to deliver humanitarian relief to all Shan refugees, victims of displacements, and of other Burmese SPDC major atrocities and war crimes, such as rape, and arbitrary extra-judicial killings of civilians, following “shoot to kill” orders being issued.

Sadly and inexplicably, these fleeing and displaced Shans are by and large not UN recognized as refugees and they do not receive any aid and assistance and they go unregistered and unrecognized as refugees by UNHCR, unlike many of the other peoples like the Karen, Mon, Karenni, Kachin, Chin, and Arakan for example. This has to do with a quirk in Thai policy in regarding the Shan or “Tai-yai” as an “internal problem” – (whatever that means) and the situation is often further exacerbated by the pride of the Shans in not wanting to be called refugees.

This means that officially, according to UNHCR records, the Shan or Tai victims of Burmese SPDC atrocities do not exist, (although we, the Shan Government have extensive war crimes dossiers) and as they flee they are treated as illegal migrants fending for themselves as best they can and becoming open to human trafficking, extortion, and being abused for cheap labor and prostitution. The lucky few who survive meld and blend in time into the Thai population, not necessarily by choice, but more by circumstance.

Those who are deported back are usually killed by the SPDC military regime, illegally occupying the Shan States. In truth, the displaced Shans all want to return home to their farms and homesteads from which they have been forcefully evicted at gunpoint. I know that very few Shan would willingly stay on in Thailand if and when they could return home to a peaceful Shan States.

I should know – because upon my Declaration of Independence in April 2005, many parents of sons and daughters who had fled, sent messages to their children – “You can come back home now, we are free!”. Unfortunately, this objective requires actions, not just words.

However more countless others with their children hide and wander in the jungles, forests and mountains without food and shelter, totally destitute, in fear for their lives and without hope, hunted, pursued and harassed by the landmine-sowing Burmese SPDC military. In comparison, the homeless in the USA and Canada are in a safe haven.

I here quote from Mr. John Bercow, a British Member of Parliament’s account in “The Independent” July 26, 2007, after a Parliamentary Committee fact-finding visit to eastern Burma* (*Shan State, Karenni, Mon & Karen States) by a group of British

parliamentarians. He writes- ***"Burma suffers a political, human rights and humanitarian situation as grim as any in the world today....."***

Rapes as a weapon of war, extra-judicial killings, water torture, mass displacements, compulsory relocation, forced labour, incarceration of political prisoners, religious and ethnic persecution, and daily destruction of rural villages are all part of the story that has disfigured Burma....."

People lack access to food, water, sanitation and the most basic health & education provision....."

Harrowing accounts of children dying from malnutrition, women perishing in childbirth and people succumbing to HIV, malaria and tuberculosis....."

Most shocking of all was the experience of meeting children who told me they had seen their parents shot dead and parents who are forced to watch their children's summary execution....."

Infectious diseases are approaching epidemic levels and 71% of the population is at risk of malaria. A 2006 of the child mortality rate in eastern Burma (& occupied Shan State) was 221 per 1000....."

The Shan Government is not only pledged to fulfill its mandate from the Shan people of achieving Independence, but also to establish Shan Refugee Reception Centres and to coordinate

and ensure the safe delivery of humanitarian aid in co-operation with NGO's in the border regions to reach thousands of Shan refugees and displaced children, men and women fleeing the brutality, rape, genocide, torture and murder of Shan civilians by soldiers of the Burmese currently occupying the Shan States. We will also be tireless in assisting the refugees in preparation for their return to a safer homeland, in counseling, training, vocational assistance; and in making the Shan States a sanctuary to all regional refugees.

The concept of offering sanctuary is not a stranger to us. In the 10th century for example, one of my early ancestors of Yawnghwe, gave sanctuary to the Pa-O refugees after their Kingdom of Thaton in Lower Burma war destroyed and their King Manuha and Family were taken in chains to Pagan by Anawratha to serve as pagoda slaves there. And again in the 20th century, my father the Saopha Prince Shwe Thaike of Yawnghwe, in 1937 offered sanctuary to the German refugee Jews suffering Nazi persecution, through Mr. Edmund de Rothschild of the English House of Rothschild.

In 1949, many Shan noble families and their retinues fled from the Chinese communist forces advancing across Yunnan, and were given sanctuary by my uncle in Hsenwi State, the northernmost state in the Federated Shan States. The families included the

Saophas of Monkwan, Kungma, and Mongti. All were given sanctuary by the Shan, remaining with us until their permitted safe return to Yunnan after Mao Tse Tung's death in 1974. With this history in mind, the Shan Government is proud to maintain our forefathers' tradition by making the following announcement at this Conference:

The Shan Government today publicly declares that all regional refugees are hereby offered sanctuary, peace, and a home for their families to resettle in the Federated Shan States. This gift of safe passage, resettlement, peace and freedom will be negotiated directly government to government, between Thailand, and the Federated Shan States, and with the community leaders and aid organizations, and will take effect once the Shan Government has restored freedom fully to its sovereign territories.

The Shan Government is also unconditionally pledged to achieve the eradication of opium poppy-fields in the Shan States and to programs restoring land-use to regular agriculture and commercial forestry. Unfortunately under the Burmese Army's occupation the Shan States have become a major supplier of opium to the illicit drug trade and this 30-40% of the world's supply is not only a scourge for us and our region but it is also a much greater scourge in the urban areas of the United States, in LA, New York City and other urban centres; Canada and Western Europe of crime, gang wars, child prostitution, of law and order and public safety. Does it not make sense to nip this problem at its source? This is something that the Shan Government is determined to do, once our lands are free of occupying troops, and democracy and human rights are restored. Some financial assistance from the G8 "War on Drugs" budget will help secure this huge gift to the world.

We also support USIM's global measures to end the human trafficking of Shan and other exploited children, men and women who are the products of the traumas and conflicts in the region and being in agreement with the philosophy of the United States International Mission (USIM) and having signed a Memorandum of Understanding, we will work closely with the authorities of the Royal Thai Government and other NGO's.

The Shan National Reconstruction Program (SNRP) is being set-up under ministerial guidance, and it will be the flagship project of the **Shan Relief Foundation** which is duly and properly registered as a non-profit organization in the State of Indiana and is currently in process of filing its Form 501 (c) 3 for recognized charity status with the IRS.

In addition **Shan Relief Canada** will be the Shan Government's frontline humanitarian aid authority. It will be directing aid to meet the immediate needs of Shan Refugees as the Shan Government's sovereignty and world public awareness campaigns unfolds – exposing all facets of the Shan's plight, their tragedy and misery for the past half a century or 5 decades, and will work closely with their subsidiary Tai Relief Center in Thailand.

Freedom, the reconstruction of a nation, the bringing of that nation into the 21st century with all of the massive wealth of unexploited natural resources, undeveloped economy, and the restoration of peace, human rights, and democracy are the goals my government seeks to end the causes of the current plights of our people.

On behalf of the Shan People, I appeal now to the democratic nations of the world to help us. – I firstly urgently appeal for the world governments recognize our sovereignty as an occupied independent nation struggling to find its footing to halt the SPDC genocide of the Shan. I appeal to the UNHCR and the Royal Thai Government to open their eyes and recognize the Shan Internally Displaced Persons in Thailand for what they are – refugees, not illegal immigrants.

I finally appeal to all of you to help, with your diplomatic recognition, support resources, humanitarian aid, or to financially aid and assist our relief efforts.

In closing, on behalf of the Shan people, the Shan Government of the Federated Shan States, and on behalf of our aid organizations of Shan Relief Canada, Shan Relief Foundation, and the Tai relief Center, I would like to convey my enormous gratitude to the United States International Mission for the efforts they are making in assisting us at this time - thank you, Mr. Chairman.

To those who would like to know more or would like to help us, please feel free to visit our websites at www.taigov.org or shanrelieffoundation.org where direct contact information is available, or contact us through Atlas Group International at 001 (403) 697 0196.

I point out that this entire address is contained in a handout, which is available on request from our USIM host.

We welcome all those who would help our people, and we will be proud to work beside you in this immense humanitarian aid project.

I thank you”.

DIALOGUE WITH A SHAN LEADER, H.R.H HSO KHAN PHA

Recently, I got a chance to talk to the leader of a Shan Group campaigning for a totally Independent Shan State. His name is Tiger Yawnghwe or His Royal Highness Prince Hso Khan Pha; he is the eldest son of Sao Shwe Thaik, the former Saopha[Prince] of Yawnghwe[Nyaung-Shwe] and the first President of Burma after Burma's Independence from British colonial rule.

In the following excerpts I'll refer him as 'Sao Hso', and me 'Tayza'.



H.R.H HSO KHAN PHA



Dr. Tayzathuriya,

Sao Hso... "My family has been involved with the founding of the Union of Burma in 1948 and the Panglong Conferences that culminated in the signing of the Panglong Agreement in 1947 - the basis for the foundation of the Union that was so rudely destroyed in 1962 by Ne Win."

Tayza... "I'm really glad to get a chance to know a descendent of our first President of independent Burma."

Sao Hso... "Might I add that the problem that exists is not ethic "minority" rights versus the "majority" Burmese rights but rather of equality of rights for all? The 1948 Union of Burma was understood by us to be a federal union of equals. And though the intent of the 1948 Constitution was federal, in rushing it through the Constituent Assembly by the AFPFL [Fa-sa-pa-la], the federal Union in practice became unitary."

When we during 1958-62 tried to institute constitutional reforms in the Union Parliament towards a more equitable federal system as envisaged by the 1947 Panglong Agreement, Ne Win staged his military coup and he and his successor Burmese military troops in Shan country raped, murdered & tortured to oppress, suppress and intimidate."

Tayza... "I support all ethnic groups' rights to have their own federal states, probably in US style or Canadian style. I understand that Quebec Province in Canada is an autonomic federal state. Shan state can be like that?"

I never believe that "total separation of Union of Burma/Myanmar into a large number of totally separated & independent but very small tiny little countries" might be a wise decision."

Sao Hso... "Yugoslavia did break up into its components parts and theoretically there is no reason why the former and defunct Union - made so by successive Burmese military regimes could not do the same. The Shan States are larger both in population than Cambodia for instance and larger in area than some 24 States of the US and 20 or so Nation-States in Europe.

The Shan & Karenni has every right to secede and so guaranteed in the 1948 Constitution. There is another alternative that we have - we could form a federal union - United States of Southeast Asia or Southeast Asian Union a la EU with out the Burmese for example. But the Shan could certainly go it alone

Shan is a Burmese rendering of Siam as you know, & the Thai call us Thai-yai or Elder Thai - and Tai or Thai is only a dialectical rendering. The Tai Speaking Peoples stretch from NE India, through Burma, the Kachin and Shan States, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and south and southwest China - Premier Chou-en-lai of PRC[Communist Mainland China] said in 1957 to my parents that in China there were then 100million Tai/Dai Speaking Peoples in China.

For myself, I believe we all should talk - as Winston Churchill said "jaw jaw is better than war war". Some of us feel uncomfortable in talking heart to heart with Burmese who often become belligerent and abusive."

Tayza... "Although Shans can join with either Burmese or Thais or Chinese, I think it would be better to go on joining with Burmese; my idea is why you would topple the apple cart. We should sort out problems between ourselves, Shans and Burmese, rather than engaging with Thais/Chinese, it will just make matters more complicated."

Sao Hso... "Indeed we had high hopes too in 1947 and expected to have occupation & conflicts behind us and to avoid the sort of fighting and bloody killings that took place between 1812-19 when the Burmese kings of Mandalay tried to conquer and subdue the Shan Ahom kingdom in Assam where the Burmese general Maha Bandula's troops committed indescribable cruelties and barbarities as to desecrate something like 2/3 of the population and certainly 1/3 of the men and boys - disemboweling them, eating their flesh and burning them alive in cages to intimidate and suppress the Shan Ahom of Assam ref: History of Assam by Sir Edward Gaits. This event so weakened and disorganized the Shan Ahom that by 1839 the kingdom was completely annexed

by the British. Before that from about 1220 - 1812 AD they maintained themselves under one Dynasty, (that of Mong Mao 568-1604 AD when its descendants ruled Hsenwi or Theinni in Burmese). Indeed the Shan Ahom resisted conquest by the Mughals who had conquered much of India before the British incursion.

We are now in the 21st century, not 200 years ago. After WWII we had hoped to avoid bloodshed and war - and invasion by the Burma Independence Army under Aung San, an army that had been trained and armed by the Japanese while we had no army at all except police forces. The British told my father to expect no assistance whatever should the BIA under Aung San invade the Shan States and that they advised us Shan to make the best deal we could - hence the 1947 Panglong Agreement or Treaty. And I might add that the Chin, Kachin & Karenni agreed to the Union because the Shan had. Unfortunately as it turned out we merely delayed invasion and occupation by the Burmese Army by 14 year to 1962.

These are issues that are not easily resolved and after nearly half a century of being raped, tortured and murdered can you honestly say that a battered spouse of either sex cannot sue for divorce but must grin and bear in the hope that the abuser is going to miraculously change and become an angel? And under these existing conditions - the grass looks certainly greener on the other side. A magic wand cannot be waved to wishfully make things better. Wishful thinking resolves nothing and to solve any problem we need to look at all angles and discuss all issues pleasant and unpleasant.

Tayza... "If we are a family, I think, the oppressed Burmese children and the bullied Shan mother should join hands to fight against the bullying military man in their House/Home.

I won't want my mother to leave our family and marry a Chinese stranger or a Thai neighbour.

Anyway, thanks to your kind and patient explanation about the background history of your Shans' struggles, I got a lot of insight on some very important historical aspects which happened long before I was born."

Sao Hso... "It is truly encouraging to discuss matters of common interest, and it is only through honest discussions like these that real understanding and mutual respect will blossom.

I declared Shan independence on the wish and will of the majority of the Shan people - people in 48 of 56 Se-Viengs or Townships of the Shan States voted for Independence following a secret balloting that took 5 years to complete and 47 years after we had the Constitutional Right to Succeed. Thus this decision was not taken lightly or hastily. In 1947 at Panglong, the vote to form a Union and join with Burma was only narrowly won after a long and heated debate - the very narrow majority won the day and the minority who lost by a hair's breath conceded and obeyed the rules of parliamentary democracy - this is something the Burmese generals are loathed to do. And because the Shan agreed, the Chin, Kachin and Karenni followed suite.

The final say rests with the Shan People but looking at it objectively, we have many options: -

1. Confirm our Independence.

2. Form a United States of Southeast Asia - USSA with the Arakan, Chin, Kachin, Karenni, Mon & Karen.
3. Form an EU like grouping with the above partners, SEAU.
4. Negotiate a totally new federal union of equal partners to include the Burmese or Burma State - with effective safeguards so that we do not have a repeat of the Ne Win-BSPP/SLORC/SPDC dictatorship; and with a totally new name.
5. Join with our Thai brothers.
6. Join with our Lao brothers.
7. Form a Thai-Tai-Lao, Tai Speaking Peoples Union.
8. Form an association with China.

What is happening today under the Burmese generals is real and not merely an academic or intellectual speculation; and nearly half a century of oppression and inhuman cruelty that is still on-going as we speak cannot ever be forgotten, though in time may be forgiven."

Tayza... "Here I'd like to send my, rather late, condolences for the great lady Maha Davi, your mother, who passed away in 2003 and for the great Shan leader, your brother, who passed away last year.

And I also want to remind you a small point, with due respect. As you know, your grand father Saopha Sao Maung once got in a very difficult position and Burmese King helped him out. Right?"

Sao Hso... "Yes I am aware of the help given by Mindon Min when he became king, to Saopha* (Sir) Moun and his mother when his father Sao Suu Deva the Kye-Mong (Crown Prince) of Yawnghwe was assassinated by a rival half sibling who supported Pagan Min and whose sister was Pagan Min's Queen. I am also aware that Saopha Sao Maung opposed the Limbin Confederacy and that he employed many of Thibaw Min's ex-Ministers in the Yawnghwe Administration after Thibaw went into exile. This was why my father felt that he could work with the Burmese and with General Aung San. But as events are to show in 1962, disastrously as it turned out for us, my father's hope and trust was betrayed - he was put in In Sein Prison in March '62 as everyone knows, and he died that November in prison under questionable circumstances and one of his young sons not yet 17 was murdered by Burmese troops on our front doorsteps in Rangoon on the night of the coup.

My mother, as a former vocal Member of Parliament would have been arrested, too had she not been in England for medical reasons at the time. On returning to Rangoon in November 1962 to cremate my father she had to flee for her life early in January 1963 on being warned that the Women's Prison was being readied for her and she fled to Thailand together with two of my sisters and a brother, with the assistance of the Karen Resistance. Arriving there, the King of Thailand, on hearing of her sent an emissary to extend to her and her children his personal protection."

Tayza... "I understand your mother founded and led Shan State Army, and after her retirement your brother carried on leading SSA, right? But nowadays, there are two main Shan Armies SSA

& SSNA. And they are just very recently saying that they will unitedly support a federal state, while you are calling for an Independent State. It's a little bit confusing, isn't it?

Sao Hso... "As for the recent merger of the SSAS & SSNA and what they said is really no cause for confusion. It is ultimately the will of the People that matters and both these two worthy Commanders do not question the primacy of the civilian authority of the Shan People whom they have sworn to serve. "

Dialogue with a Shan Leader, part 2

[Tiger Yawnghwe or (HRH) Sao Hso Khan Pha is the eldest son of Sao Shwe Thaik, the former Saopha of Yawnghwe and the first President of Burma after Burma's Independence. He and a group of Shan elders declared an Shan Government in 2005.]

Tayza: Our American friends' well-intentioned attempts to get a UN Security Council resolution on Burma have failed thanks to China-Russia Axis conspiracy.

Tiger: We should not be surprised - China is playing geopolitics and flexing its muscle and using SPDC as a tool to do it with and Russia the opportunist.

Instead our response should be not anger at China but surprise and sorrow that they should be so predictable and totally without finesse. We expected better of them.

This is a suggestion: - "All the Peoples of the former Union of Burma, now under the heel of the Nazi--Narco SPDC dictatorship look to the People's Republic of China as a friend and as a friend of oppressed Peoples' EVERYWHERE. We look to the PRC as a friend and champion of the oppressed.

But if China does not want to be a friend of oppressed Peoples that are the People of the *former* Union of Burma - then we say that CHINA can chose to be neutral and NOT TO HELP OUR OPPRESSORS – the NAZI-NARCO FACIST SPDC REGIME OF MYANMAR. Otherwise the People's Republic of China gives us no choice but to seek our friends elsewhere."

Perhaps such an open letter should go to President Ho Jin Tao and the Chairman of the Communist Party of China and delivered also to the Chinese UN Rep. - Letter from the PEOPLE of the former Union of Burma.

If the PRC persists in assisting SPDC, then they are admitting to be pro Nazi-Narco-Facists; ditto India_ a similar letter to India for supplying arms to SPDC.

Of course the open letter is tongue in cheek and they could view it as insulting, but I say – if the shoe fits wear it! Its all we can say.

We should also be ready to quote right back at PRC lines from the Communist Manifesto and Chairman Mao's Red Book or if there don't respond - another open letter with these quotes. They are helping SPDC to kill us and so what have we to lose?

Tayza: I doubt they'll take any notice of it even if we send it to Hu Jing Tao!!!

Tiger: Of course Hu Jing Tao won't listen, but is it essentially not to him that such a Petition is addressed - it is more for world wide consumption and attention of the wrong sort that the Chinese don't want. The Chinese mindset I am sorry to say of those in power one of arrogance and of a perceived superiority whether warranted or not.

(By the way)...it has been long rumoured that Israel has built ammunition & arms factories in Burma.

I don't know that I told you of my father's offer of sanctuary to German refugee Jew fleeing Nazi persecution in 1939. The offer was made through Mr. Edmund de Rothschild of the English House of Rothschild and confirmed to me in writing by Edmund de Rothschild in 1992 or 1993. He is over 90 years now, but until 2 years ago he was quite alert and active. Although the Jewish refugees never came to Yawnghwe State in the Shan States, the offer was made at a time the USA, Canada etc were turning away boat loads of them.

Tayza: I am in 100% agreement with you concerning making god friends with Israelis. They are oppressed people; so we should sympathise with them. Moreover they are friend's friends_ our American friends' friends.

But I don't think they will be keen to come and live in our Shan State(s) now; they have now got back the land which their God promised to them thousands of years ago_ I mean the Jerusalem.

But, anyway, it'll be a great bonus for our ethno-democratic movement if we can get Israelis on our side.

Tiger: Yes, this is why they did not come in 1939 - they wanted to go to Palestine, but my father made that offer when the German Jews needed sanctuary. The fact that they did not accept is not the point here. The crucial point is that my father made that offer when he did not need to, neither the fact that they did not accept. The OFFER from his Shan heart is what is.

In the 10th Century when King Manuha was taken prisoner to Pagan as a Pagoda Slave, my Yawnghwe ancestor of the day gave sanctuary to the Pa-O who had fled Thaton - sacked by Anowratha. That is how the Pa-O came to be in the Shan States. The Pa-O know it, but they have been stirred up by Burmese military dictators from BSPP onwards and before that by BCP.

Tayza: Your father, our first President, was very kind indeed. By the way, some say that Than Shwe's wife Daw Kyine Kyine is a Pa-O.

Tiger: Mrs Than Shwe - Yes, I have heard it said.

Tayza: Now about ethnic people; if ethnic people are really overwhelmingly wishing to secede, then it's secession. We can't do anything about it. People's desire must prevail. But, personally I think, the first step is to form a truly democratic genuine federal union. And to restore human rights, equal rights and prosperity for all. Only after that if majority of people still want secession, we'll need a free and fair and internationally-recognizable referendum to decide the issue peacefully by people's votes. But it's too long a way to go yet. First thing first_ to make our ethno-democratic movement successful. Compared with SPDC's might, individual pro-democracy groups and ethnic groups are like Lilliputians; the only way for Lilliputians to beat Gulliver is to form a united front. No alternative.

Tiger: Your wish though very noble is unfortunately putting the cart before the horse. Trust and goodwill has been destroyed starting with Ne Win's 1962 coup, if not before by AFPFL's adroit

usurpation of the role of British over-lordship. We did indeed try to propose and institute Constitutional change and amendments from 1958-1962 for a genuine federal union in the Spirit of Panglong that even SPDC pretends to pay lip service to. The answers we got were: -

1). Ne Win's first coup - the so called Caretaker Government and then

2.) the 1962 Coup following the 1960 elections when the Clean AFPFL of Thakin Nu - the anti military faction of AFPFL was overwhelmingly returned to government. Debates on constitutional reforms were being debated in the Union Parliament for a genuine federalism of equal partners as envisaged at Panglong that Gen.Aung San signed for Burma Proper and that which Thakin Nu's Clean AFPFL was conceding to and Ne Win struck, having usurped the Union Army, to further his aims of Burmese hegemony in the guise of "preserving the Union" - a gross perversion of language, that SLORC/ SPDC still pursue today with increasing Nazi fascist brutality to maintain their power and personal wealth and in engaging in the illicit narcotic trade at every level.

Trust and goodwill has to be rebuilt and nurtured that 45 years of Nazi-Narco military brutality starting with barely disguised Burman or Burmese chauvinism of the Ne Win years to the open chauvinism of SLORC/ SPDC. Regrettably NLD's knee-jerk rejection of Shan independence also served to confirm our suspicions of the Burman's real intentions of hegemony in spite of protests for real and equal federalism from some Burmese quarters.

8888 dissidents' insistence that the military regime only came into being in 1988 and oft repeated, also tellingly confirms to us our suspicions of Burmese non existent interest in the military's chauvinistic brutality against us Nationalities of the former Union; and in denying such brutality until the Burmese themselves were affected and suffered - as we have at least since 1962 - the Karens say 1949 and many of us says 1958. One could say 48 years of brutality that the Burmese have totally ignored. This compares to 63 years of British rule in "British Burma" from the fall of Mandalay ("Upper Burma") in 1885 and independence in 1948 - the Shan States were never really completely annexed by the British until 1900, making it 48 years for the Shans - longer for "Lower Burma" of the British.

I am not saying this to you to win an argument, it is rather in the spirit of informing you why we feel the way we do and why dissents such as yourself must acknowledge if we are to build bridges to regaining that trust. It is only by frank discussions without attempts to sweep unpleasant memories and inconvenient historical episodes under the carpet that we can begin to understand each other.

Believe me I have had my share of abuse from Burman chauvinist for saying exactly what I am saying to you now.

There has been too much distrust created since those heady days of Panglong in 1947, but even then the Shan vote to agree to form the Union was very narrow - just a hair breath's parliamentary majority of 51:49%, a 1% majority; and because the Shan agreed, the Chin, Kachin and Karenni ie. 4 of the 5 original constituent States of the 1948 "Union of Burma", agreed to join.

In contrast in 2000, 2004 & 2006 the vote of the Shan Counties or Se-Viengs vote for Independence started with 48:8 raising to a 54:2 majority of the Counties voting for Independence; meeting necessarily in secret in the jungle and Delegates risking death and torture not only for themselves but also for their families. Remember these Shan Counties also include that of Palaung, WA, Pa-O and other ethnic nationals of the Federated Shan States

In August 2006 at the grassroots Forum of the Nationalities in Minneapolis hosted by the Karen Community of Minnesota I broached the idea for a Commonwealth of Independent Nations both privately and individually with Delegates and during Forum discussions and this idea was well received. My rational is - that in future times, if one nation were to invade another as the BSPP under Ne Win and now SPDC did & does, it becomes an international incident and no longer can an invader hide behind "internal affairs" and issues of "sovereignty" as is being done now by SPDC.

Yes in name we were supposedly partners in a federal state but in reality and practice, the "Union of Burma" was a unitary state with the so called States being little more than County Councils as in English practice and the Burmese or Burmans taking on the role of the Pyi-ma or the Crown and unfortunately many Burmans who are inclined to be "maha" rather enjoy this

imagined status - are loath to lose it, and sought to enshrine the belief that the Burmese or Burmans by divine right are "Masters" who own the rest of us "Minorities" as a subject Peoples - and how dare we leave!. The "maha" Bamah got their empire by subterfuge and now Than Shwe's SPDC seeks to consolidate it as the royal Burmese domain of Nay-pyi-daw.

The NLD's outright rejection of the Shan Declaration of Independence that is our democratic right by the 1947 Treaty and the 1948 Constitution is yet another ingrained symptom of that outmoded colonial and imperial mind-set of Burmese hegemony. Ask any numbers of the Nationalities in exile in Chiangmai how their websites and emails are full of venom and racist slurs from our Burmese "brothers".

The tender roots of trust that was hoped for in 1947 was destroyed starting with AFPFL's machinations and for many of us Nationalities "federalism" is just another subterfuge for Burman hegemony and imperialism as is the use of Burmese "majority" and "ethnic minorities", so our experience after the euphoria of Panglong teaches us.

Tayza: And I really want to know about the status of Shan State(s) & Saophas during British era. Did they enjoy a lot of freedom and autonomy at that time? If so, how much exactly?

Tiger: I don't have personal experience of course. I was born in 1938 and spent my very early childhood under Japanese occupation and immediate post WWII which were abnormal times. But from what I understand, in internal matters of administration and laws pertaining to Shan subjects, the Rulers were autonomous as long as they recognised the British Crown and did not foment rebellion or dissent. Forced labour was not permitted, neither corruption nor misrule or to be neither despotic, nor financial irregularities tolerated - Rulers were forced to abdicate for such offences and heirs who were anti-British were not accepted. They were to behave as perfect "gentlemen". It was a time of Pax Britannia and general prosperity. They did not prevent my father making the offer of sanctuary to the Jews for instance - in fact Edmund de Rothschild's visit to my father was arranged by the British Commissioner.

The British realized that that the Shan were different and simply acknowledged it. Banknotes of the British era were also inscribed in English, Shan & Burmese. It was not a case of "divide and

rule" as Burmese politicians are so fond of saying and likewise Burmese Students of 8888, but one of practical fair minded prudence.

Tayza: I am interested in British era Shan State because, I think Shans will be happy with a similar arrangement in our future truly democratic Burma, in stead of total separation. If British era arrangement is good, we can restore it when we get democracy.

Concerning Israelis, I 100% agree to make friends with them.

Tiger: I know you mean well, but you know what? You as representing the Burmese democrats, offer to give us a gift with what already belongs to us? This is incredible. Our Shan People in a majority vote from 54 of 56 Counties voted overwhelmingly and decidedly for independence in a majority of 54:2 that is ours by right by Treaty and Constitution, in 2000, 2004 & 2006.

Isn't your offer an Alice in Wonderland thinking? You can't be serious? We think that Burmese will always twist and turn any argument simply to win and thus cannot be trusted.

This is the sort of upside down illogical justification of the Burmese that makes us shake our heads because you really seem to believe in your own propaganda and often times we are too polite to point it out to you. Perhaps we should have.

I only know one way of speaking and that is plainly.

Tayza: I don't mind you speaking plainly. Speaking openly is better than saying sweet lies.

If I were a leader of Burma I'd be ready for any concession and compromise (except total separation) in negotiation with our ethnic leaders for the sake of national reconciliation and for a long lasting genuine trust among all ethnic groups and peace inside the whole Union.

But if I were a leader of Burma, I will not agree for a total separation. We have to look back in history on the separation between India and Pakistan. A very awfully tragic separation with loss of countless number of lives.

Nowadays, millions of non-Shans are living in the Shan State, and millions of Shans are living in non-Shan States in Burma. If a forced separation is carried out between Shan State and the rest of Burma, un-imaginably immense tragedy and loss of blood and destruction of lives of millions of ordinary people will unavoidable happen.

But I concede the fact that Burma and Shan State may not be integrated permanently for an eternity. Our Lord Buddha teaches us that nothing is permanent.

If overwhelming majority of people inside Shan state vote for total separation in an internationally recognized free and fair referendum openly carried out in a peaceful way, then we'll have nothing but to accept separation.

Tiger: Trust has to be rebuilt with patience and understanding and to be good friends and neighbours again we need good fences - stout fences make good neighbours. We each have our own histories, cultures, heritage and languages and the only thing we had in common during British times - that was for no more than 50 years - was in being subjects of the British Crown. Imagine what could have happened if French Indo-China became independent as "Union of Vietnam" as British Burma that is in reality "British Indo-China" become "Union of Burma". There lies most of the political problems of post European Colonial Africa today and even in the Indian Union now with their problems in Kashmir and in Assam & the Northeast.

Better I say to live as good neighbours than to live in the same house and in each other's pockets - that way lies friction and enmity even between members of a real family. Let reality reign rather than a wishful imagined "family" that does not exist. No amount of wishful thinking will mend the broken trust - let us not fool ourselves. The honesty said is echoed by all the other Nationalities be they Arakan, Chin, Kachin, Karenni, Mon, Karen, Pa-O, Wa , Palaung. Lahu & etc

Relation between Burma and Shan State

Olden day Shan States

The Shan States, a mountainous land covered with lush vegetation, were rich in natural resources. The inhabitants have their own distinct language, culture and literature. Since ancient times, Shan State was divided into several princely states and ruled by hereditary rulers called Saophas. The combination of these princely states became the modern Shan State.

Being neighbours with lowland countries, there were connections among the people or the rulers. The Shans even once occupied and established a ruling dynasty for nearly 3 centuries. Disputes and conflicts erupted due to personal feuds among the rulers, but no inter-ethnic conflicts. The common people lived together in harmony in this same land.

When King Bayintnaung came to the throne, he tried to subdue the Shan Saophas, which resulted in brutal battles, as the latter refused. In these battles, several Shan families of the ruling class were annihilated by the Burmese. For example, the Mong Nai dynasty, descendants of King Meng Rai was annihilated by King Bayingnaung. Several other families of the ruling class suffered the same fate.

During the period ruled by King AlaungPhaYa's KoBang Dynasty (AD 1762-1885), the ruling houses of Mong Kong (Mogaung) and Mong Yang (Monyin) perished. As the Shan did not submit to this tyranny, battles erupted and the country was in turmoil. The Burmese court had established garrisons at YawngHwe (NyaungShwe), Mong Nai, Mong Pai and Keng Tung to defend against foreign intrusion (especially Thais). However, the local people were abused by Burmese soldiers from these garrisons. In one case, the local Shan Saphas revolted and massacred the Burmese troops in one of these garrisons. Because of these past disputes, the Burmese of the present day regard Shans as blood foes.

Shan State during the British occupation

Before the British came, there was no country called Burma. It was named after the capital, e.g. Hongsawaddi, Ava and so on. It was not named after a race or ethnic group.

In 1928, after the British occupation of the coastal region (the Arakan and Tanisseriam), they declared that they had occupied Lower Burma. Because of this declaration, the name started to be known as Burma. In November 1885, Madalay was occupied and on 1st January 1886, they declared that they had annexed the whole of Burma to the British Crown colony. British troops entered Shan States in January 1887 and finally reached Keng Tung in 1890.

As they were of different countries and in a different situation, the British dealt with them differently. ThiBaw, the last king of the Kobang Dynasty was dethroned and deported to India, and his domain was colonized under the British Crown. However, the Shan Saophas retained their hereditary rights to deal with their own internal affairs, with supervision from the British Authorities. At the start, there were 44 Saopha States, but this was later reduced to 33 states, by amalgamation of the small states.

The British Administration of the Shan States

The form of British Administration of the Shan States can be divided into 4 periods.

1. Sanad Period (1887-1897).

In this first period the Saophas were given a mandate called Sanad to rule their domain. At the start there were 44 princely states ruled by 44 Saophas of various ranks. The British advised them in their relationships and gathered revenue.

2. The Lieutenant Governor's Council (1897-1922 AD).

Shan State was governed directly by the Lieutenant Governor's Council. During this period Shan State and ministerial Burma were governed by the Lieutenant Governor's Council. This Council was formed by 5 British Military Officials and 2 civilians. Among the 2 civilians, Sao Khun Seng, the Saopha of Hsipaw State, represented the Shan States and U Kawng, the KinWun Minister represented Burma. This meant the British regarded Burma and Shan States as separate equal States. The joint administration of Shan States with Burma was strongly objected to by the Saophas and they proposed that they should be governed separately.

3. The Federated Shan Chief Council (1st October 1922 to 1935)

During this period the Federated Shan Chief Council was formed to govern the Shan States. This Council was formed on 1st October 1922, and was chaired by Commissioner Mac Callum, with the Deputy Commissioner as his vice. Another British officer was appointed as the secretariat. All the Saophas in the Shan State became members of this Council. The administration was separated from Burma.

4. The Standing Committee.(1935 to 1942)

During this period, Shan States were governed by a Standing Committee.⁶ From the 33 ruling Saophas were elected in turns to form the Standing Committee. This committee reported directly to the Governor who oversaw Shan States and Burma proper. As they were of separate countries there were debts and credits between these 2 States.

Shan States during the 2nd World War

The 2nd World War broke out in September 1939 in the Western front. The Japanese Imperial troops with Aung San at the lead reached Shan States in 1942, in pursuit of the British troops. Shan Saophas took sides with the allies and some of them reached India, Africa and other parts of the world. This gave them the opportunity to experience the changing world.

In exchange for free passage, Japan promised to cede Shan State (Areas east of the River Salween) to Siam. It was actually ceded to Siam on 7th July 1943. But after the War ended, Japan lost the war and this area was again returned to Shan States.

In August 1941, England and the United States of America declared the Atlantic Charter. In this Charter:

- (1) They promised to grant Independence to their Colonies, who helped them in the War.
- (2) All Nations must be governed by their own Government.
- (3) All Nations are equal, whether they are of small or large countries.

As Shans took sides with the allies during the War, they were promised future development plans for administration, education, foreign relations & diplomacy, finance, and transportation under the British Dominion, before total Independence could be granted. Because of this, the Saophas were also thinking of the reformation and development plans of the Shan States.

The 2nd War ended in August 1945 and after the withdrawal of the Japanese, Sir R.Dorman Smith, the last Governor, returned to his office in Rangoon on 16th October 1945. Although the Shan States were governed by the same Governor, the form of administration was separate from Burma.

Post War Shan States and the Pang Long Agreement

After the end of the 2nd World War, Shan Saophas met at the funeral of Sao Khin Thaug, the Mahadevi of Mong Pawn State. She was the elder sister of the Saopha of Mong Mit. As all the Saophas were present, they discussed the issues of the Atlantic Charter, the promises of the British and the future of the Shan States. All of them agreed that the Shan States should gradually reform their system of administration

to become a Parliamentary Democracy system. At the start 12 among the 33 Saophas should be elected to take the leading role, in turns. In order to improve the current finance system, they agreed that a common finance system was essential. For further discussion, a conference was scheduled in Mong Kung in Central Shan States.

The Mong Kung Conference

The Mong Kung Conference started on 31st January 1946 and the issues which had initially been discussed in Mong Pawn became the principle topics for discussion.

As 33 Saophas were too many to govern the whole Shan States, they agreed to concentrate their power for the future of the Shan States. As the Shan States were situated between China and Burma, it was essential to establish a strong and solid state in order to maintain its sovereignty. Not only the Shan States should be united; they also thought of extending their unity to other hill peoples. Thus, they decided to invite the Chin and Kachin leaders to join them. On the finance issue, they were sure that, if they were united, the revenue could sustain the administration of the State. The conference came to an end with two decisions. Firstly, a Conference was scheduled in March 1946, in the town of Pang Long, central Shan State. Secondly, Chin and Kachin leaders were to be invited to attend this conference.

The 1946 Pang Long Conference

The first Pang Long Conference in 1946 started on 20th February and lasted till 28th February. Due to the invitation, Chin and Kachin delegates participated in the conference. This first Pang Long Conference was the foundation for the Pang Long Agreement and the so called Union of Burma.

The Burmese political leaders who were struggling for Independence were not invited to this first Pang Long Conference, but U Nu, U Saw, U Ba Gyan and Mahn Ba Khine came to observe. They tried to lobby the Shan Saophas to join Burma for Independence, but it was fruitless. The Saophas reasoned that, "In Politics or any other aspects, the Hill States are not as developed as Burma, besides the difference in language and culture. The problems facing Burma and the Shan States are very different and the solution will also be different. By joining Burma, we are concerned and worried for our language and culture. They might be absorbed into Burmese and become extinct. Our people who had migrated to settle in low land Burma have lost their mother tongue and culture.

For these reasons, it is not possible for the Shans to join Burma for independence. "

The Chins and Kachins were also hill people and as under-developed as the Shans. During the war, they had sided with the allies to fight the fascists. In order to stand between Burma and China, they agreed to unite with the Shan States. The following principles were agreed in this Conference:

2. To form the United Hill States.
3. To form the Supreme Council of the United Hill Peoples (SCOUHP).
4. The 18-member Council should consist of equal representatives. (ie-6 Shans, 6 Chins and 6 Kachins).
5. The Council will be responsible for the United Hill States, whether under British Dominion or Independence.
6. The members of this council will be responsible for the leading role in their respective states. (eg. 6 Chins will be responsible for the administration of the Chin State and the 6 Kachin for the Kachin State.
7. The Council will be responsible in finance, education and other affairs, for the development of the United Hill States.

(1) As all participants agreed to these terms, the conclusion came as follows.

1. To form the SCOUHP in the coming Pang Long Conference, scheduled in 1947.

2. The Chin and Kachin were to select and send their participants for the Council. The 1947 Pang Long Conference was the result of the 1946 Pang Long Conference.

Aung San and the Burmese struggle for Independence

According to the Atlantic Charter, Aung San and other Burmese political leaders were also looking for a way and working hard for Burma to achieve Independence. Soon after the war Aung San went to London, to demand Independence. But the British Government insisted that a Constitution was essential for an independent country.

In January 1946, Aung San gave a speech in the People's Assembly, on the Shwe Dagon Pagoda Hill in Rangoon. Shan State students, who were learning in Rangoon listened to his speech and liked his revolutionary ideas very much. (Since August 1936, Aung San had been a member of the Communist Party of Burma, the CPB) These Shan State students liked the communist idea of equality for all human beings, without slaves or masters. With this view, they were negative towards the Shan Saophas and hated them very much.

The Shan's stand in the 1946 Pang Long Conference did not satisfy the Burmese leaders, so they encouraged and supported the Shan students to form a political party to oppose the Saophas. As a result, the Shan State People's Freedom League (SSPFL) was formed on 20th September 1946. This was the first division between Shan students and the Shan Saophas.

At the same time Aung San tried to organize the people of the hill states. On 23rd December 1946, he gave a speech in the football ground in Taunggyi, urging the local lay-people, who knew nothing about politics to rally and protest, and demand to join Burma for Independence. On 25th December 1946, he met with Saophas from the southern Shan States, demanding a letter of recommendation for his trip to London. This letter was to be signed by the Saophas, recommending Aung San as the representative of the Hill States.

The Saophas refused his demand and insisted they needed to consult with other Saophas in the northern and the eastern Shan States. Aung San went back to Rangoon on 26th December 1946.

After Aung San left Taunggyi, the Southern Saophas went to consult in the north and they held a meeting in the state of Hsenwi. They all declined to recommend Aung San as the representatives of the Hill States. On 30th December 1946, the Saophas sent a telegraph from Lashio to the Governor, who then passed it to the British Prime Minister, Clement R. Attlee. The telegraph clearly stated that, "Aung San does not represent the hill States and all affairs concerning the Hill States should be dealt with by the Saophas". This telegraph reached Attlee, on the 2nd January 1947.

By the time Aung San arrived in London on 9th January 1947, the telegraph from the Saophas was in Attlee's hand. Aung San not only demanded independence for Burma, but also to include the Hill States in the frontier areas. The British Prime Minister insisted that the unification of Burma and the Frontier States would not be possible without the free consent of the inhabitants. Again, Aung San demanded the appointment of a councillor in his cabinet to represent the frontier areas, but this demand was also refused. Attlee explained that it was unfair for a councillor alone to decide the fate for all, and the peoples of these areas had the right to show their consent. As Aung San kept insisting, finally Attlee showed him the telegraph.

Soon after Aung San left Burma for London, U Nu learned about the Saophas' telegraph and decided to counter it. He sent his colleagues to Taunggyi, to rally the SSPFL for a demonstration against the British Government. There were about 100-200 demonstrators and as they came near the post office, U Pe Khin, a colleague of Aung San, went to send a telegraph to London. This telegraph stated that, "Shan State peoples

are rallying against the British Colonial Rule and have recognized Aung San as their representative. Those who are opposing him are just a few Saophas". This telegraph arrived in time on the 26th January 1947.

With this telegraph in hand Aung San could bargain better than before. Finally, Attlee agreed to add paragraph 8 in the Aung San-Attlee Agreement. The gist of this paragraph was, "To achieve the unification of the frontier areas and ministerial Burma with the free consent of the inhabitants of those areas." The leaders and representatives of the peoples of the frontier areas shall be asked, either at the Pang Long Conference in the beginning of February or at a special conference to be convened for the purpose. The whole paragraph was concerned with the Frontier Areas and the Aung San-Attlee Agreement was signed on 27th January 1947. Thus, Aung San got a chance to attend the Pang Long Conference in February 1947, where Chin and Kachin delegates were present.

On 28th January 1947, Attlee also sent a telegraph to the leaders of the Hill Peoples, informing them of Aung San's coming and to be prepared for paragraph 8.

The Pang Long Conference 1947

As previously agreed in the 1st Pang Long Conference (1946), The 2nd Pang Long Conference was held in February 1947. The main objective was to form the SCOUHP. Starting from 3rd February 1947, Shan leaders discussed the future developments of the Shan States. With the system of administration, the Shan Saophas agreed that the reform to a Parliamentary Democracy required gradual changes. Before a true democratic system could be established, the Shan States should be governed by a Shan State Council and this was scheduled to be formed on 15th February 1947 in Taunggyi. The members of the Shan State Council were to consist of equal members from the ruling Shan Saophas and commoners. On 4th February 1947, the Saophas informed the Commissioner, who was in Taunggyi, about this formation.

On 5th and 6th February 1947, the Shan and Kachin delegates discussed the issue of forming the SCOUHP and the discussion with Aung San. They agreed to talk with Aung San collectively and not as separate groups. Chin delegates arrived on the evening of the 6th and agreed with what the Shans and Kachins had agreed upon.

On 7th February 1947, at 13:00 hrs they formed a sub-committee to negotiate with Aung San. The 6-men negotiating committee consisted of equal numbers of representatives, 2 each from the Shan, Chin and Kachin delegations.

Although the telegraph from London reached the Karen leaders in time, they did not arrive in Pang Long in time because they were busy with forming the KNU, which lasted from 5th to 7th February 1947. With the Karenni leaders, they arrived late and could not participate in the Conference. Instead they participated as observers.

On 7th February 1947, a telegraph from the British Governor arrived, informing them that before they could hold a conference and form the Shan State Council, they must first acquire the permission of the Governor. The students from the SSPFL were furious with this telegraph and they accused the Saophas of being weak and submissive to their British Master and demanded the conference be reconvened at that instant. Thus, the conference restarted at 19:00 hrs, where they formed the 14-member Shan State Council, with 7 members each from the ruling Saophas and from the SSPFL. The Tri-coloured Shan National Flag and the Shan National Anthems were first recognized on that evening. Before this day, Shan princely states had their own flag or standard. This Tri-coloured National Flag represents the whole Shan State.

And thus, 7th February 1947, became the first Shan National Day, on which they decided their own fate. The forming of the Shan State Council was the first step to reform the feudal Shan States into a Democratic Shan State. This proved, the Shans were walking on a true democratic pathway to reform the State.

The Arrival of Aung San and his team in Pang Long

In the evening of 8th February 1947, at 18:30 hrs Aung San arrived in Pang Long, together with U Aung Zan Way, Bo Khin Maung Gale, U Pe Khin and Bo Htun Hla. On the 9th, in the morning, at 09:00 hrs, Mr. Bottomley, John Leyden, and Bernard Ledwidge representing the British authorities and U Tin Htut arrived.

The Forming of the SCOUHP

The SCOUHP was formed in the morning of 9th February 1947, at 10:00 hrs. As previously agreed, 6 representatives each from the Shan, Chin and Kachin delegates became the members of the SCOUHP. Among the 6 Shan representatives, 3 were from the ruling Saophas and 3 others from the commoners (ie-SSPFL). This was further proof that the Shan Saophas were willing and ready to reform the system of administration.

The SCOUHP was formed to take responsibility for United Hill States' Affairs, and the office was to temporarily reside with the Office of the Shan State Council. This was the first leading administrative body for the United Hill States, in which no Burmese participated.

Aung San and the Hill Peoples

The SCOUHP was successfully formed on the 9th February 1947 and at 11:30 hrs. Aung San met with Hill States representatives. During the meeting Aung San kept insisting that the hill peoples should join him to speed up Independence.

They listened to his words without any comment or suggestion. On 10th February they met again to discuss once more. Mr. Bottomley represented the British Authorities.

The Shan delegates demanded that

1. The unification of the Hill States and Ministerial Burma should be temporary and should last only to the time of Independence.
2. The Hill States would secede, soon after Independence was achieved.

The Kachin delegates demanded that

- (1) The Kachin State be recognized.

The Chin delegates demanded that

- (1) Financial support be given to the Chin State.
- (2) Proper roads be constructed for transportation.

As these demands could not be settled, Aung San was furious and decided to leave the meeting and ordered his attendants to arrange his flight to Rangoon.

Before Aung San could leave, U Tin Aye, a member of the SSPFL led a rally, demanding that the Shan Saophas join Burma for Independence. The SSPFL had previously arranged a rally, by marshalling civilians (60 car loads of them) informing them that they were going to the festival at Pang Long. At the same time a brawl broke out between Aung San's bodyguards and the attendants of Sao Shwe Theik the Saopha of Yawnghwe. This caused Aung San to continue his stay in Pang Long.

Later, U Tin Aye and Sao Sam Htun, the Saopha of Mong Pawn, managed to persuade Aung San to continue his discussion. At the same time Kachin, Chin and Shan leaders were holding discussions with John Leyden.

On 11th February 1947, at 09:00 hrs, the Hill States' representatives held further discussions with Aung San once more and finally reached the following terms.

- (1) Every State was to have equal administrative power.
- (2) Every State was to have freedom in their finance system.
- (3) The administration of the Hill States would not be hindered by the Central Government.
- (4) Equal rights and Status according to Democratic Principles.
- (5) The Right of Secession was to be clearly defined in the Constitution.
- (6) The recognition of Kachin State was to be endorsed.

These were some of the principles previously agreed upon to be included in the Pang Long Agreement .On 11th February 1947 at 17:00 hrs, the Hill States leaders met with Mr. Bottomley, who said, "The Unification of the Frontier States was supposed to be temporary before Independence".

The Pang Long Agreement

As personally agreed with Aung San, the Pang Long Agreement was signed on the 12th of February 1947 at 11:00 hrs with the basic principles of mutual respect, non-interference in the States' Affairs and the Right of Secession. The Pang Long Agreement was not an agreement between Aung San and the Hill States' Leaders. It was also not an agreement between the Burmese and the Hill States' peoples. It was an agreement between the United Hill States and Burma. It was an inter-state agreement.

Therefore, without the Saophas, the conference with the Chins and Kachins would not have occurred. Without the conference, SCOUHP could not have been formed. Without the SCOUHP, there would have been neither Pang Long Agreement nor Union of Burma. During the drafting of the 1947 Constitution, the Burmese political leaders insisted on using the name, the Union of Burma, which misled the international community to think that the inhabitants wholly consisted of Burmese.

The Union of Burma was not founded by the Burmese alone and not only was they the inhabitants. In the land so-called the Union of Burma, about 60 % of the inhabitants still could not speak or understand the language of Burmese properly.

The recognition of Burma as a single unitary state and a single race means indirectly abusing the rights of the Non-Burmese people.

Invasion of Shan State by the Burmese Army

As agreed in Pang Long, all political leaders held a meeting from 10th to 18th June 1947, in preparation to draft the constitution and form the cabinet. The draft, which would later be known as the 1947 Constitution of the Union of Burma was completed and recognized on 24th September 1947. The drafting was dominated by Burmese political leaders from the AFPFL, who used Burmese terms and wording to confuse the Hill State leaders. When they asked the meaning, the Burmese leaders insisted that it had the same meaning as mentioned by the Hill State leaders.

The name the Union of Burma which was selected by the Burmese leaders was strongly opposed by the Saophas. Instead they suggested naming it the Federal Union of Burma, but this was declined by the Burmese, who reasoned that it had the same meaning in Burmese. The Saophas again proposed that it should be scrutinised by learned scholars and legal experts. This proposal was also declined by Burmese leaders, reasoning that they needed to speed up Independence and the document could be amended once Independence was achieved.

Independence was achieved on the 4th of January 1948. The splitting of the CPB on 23rd August 1948, resulted in armed rebellion, in which they came to take their roots in the Shan State. On 16th June 1948,

the SSPFL, who had continually urged and supported the unification of the Hill States and Burma, was condemned by the Burmese dominated Central Government. The CPB came to spread their Communist ideology among the Hill peoples to sow the seed of disunity. On 13th August 1949, the combined forces of Kachins, Karens and Pa-Ohs, led by pro-communist Kachin "Naw Seng" stormed and occupied Taunggyi, the capital of the Shan State. On 27th August 1949, Naw Seng's troops occupied Lashio, the capital of northern Shan State. On 31st August 1949, Naw Seng's troops occupied Nam Kham, a town in the northern Shan State bordering with China.

On 23rd November 1949, the combined forces which had occupied Taunggyi had to withdraw, but the Pa-Ohs left Taunggyi and used the hills around the town of HsiHseng, in southern Shan State as their base areas. In December 1949, U Hla Pe, a Pa-Oh from HsaHtung (Thaton) founded the Pa-Oh LengFu. This organization was pro-communist and anti-feudal, and revolted against the Saophas. This was the first communist intrusion of the Shan State after Independence.

At the same time, the remnants of KMT Chinese who were ousted by the Chinese communist troops were encroaching into Shan State, while the pro-CPB was being active in the south. Reasoning that Shan State was in turmoil the Burmese Army sent their troops in, on the pretext of defending the people against the danger of KMT and CPB troops. From that time the Burmese Army showed their true colours. Instead of defending them, the occupying Burmese troops abused the rights of the Hill Peoples by committing all known forms of atrocities. As Shan State was regarded as their colony, plunder, rapes, extrajudicial executions and burning of the villages by these Burmese troops were common. They interfered with the internal affairs of the Shan State without consulting its government. The Shan State Government filed complains to the Central Government, but these were rejected. They accused the Hill people of being responsible for all these troubles.

In 1952, they imposed Martial Law in Shan State, reasoning it was in turmoil due to the presence of the KMT and CPB troops. This paved the way to beef up their strength in the Shan State. From that time onwards, Shan State people lost their freedom in their daily life. They could not make their living freely. The budgets from the Central Government became less and less than in the British Colonial times. The Burmese's promises during the struggle for Independence in Pang Long were forgotten.

But the Saophas still stick to their promises, looking for a way to solve the problems by peaceful means. They could have secretly marshalled an army, but they didn't. They did not even think of forming an army and solving the problems by violent means. However, the Saophas' proposal to solve the problems by peaceful means was rejected and shelved by the Burmese dominated Central Government.

During the time when the Union of Burma was administrated by the Parliamentary Democratic System, the Hill States were governed by their own State Governments to deal with their internal affairs. The results of the election during these periods were as follows-

(1) The result of the 1st election in January 1952 was, U Nu's AFPFL won 147 seats (60%) out of the total 200 and the Hill State Representatives won only 33 seats.

(2) In the 2nd election on 27th April 1956, U Nu's AFPFL won 173 seats (55%) and the National United Front (NUF) won 48 seats (38.9%). In the 3rd election in April 1960, U Nu's AFPFL won 159 seats (52%), Ba Swe-Kyaw Nyein's AFPFL faction won 42 seats (38%), 3 seats for Mon, 23 seats for Shans, 2 seats for Karenni, and 6 seats for the United Party of Shan State.

As the Burmese political leaders were insincere and unfair, the results were imbalanced and the Hill States leaders found that they had no chance to implement programs for the benefits of their own people. While Shan leaders were trying to find a way to achieve a peaceful political solution, the Burmese Army were sending their reinforcements to the Shan State on the pretext of subduing the KMT and the CPB.

During the time of the Parliamentary Democratic administration (ie-1948--1962), Shan leaders always exercised peaceful means. According to the 1947 constitution they could exercise the Right of Secession after a 10-year period. As the 10-year deadline was approaching, the then Prime Minister U Nu made a secret deal with General Ne Win by sending a letter on 26th September 1958, stating that he could not hold the Union intact. On 29th September 1958, Gen: Ne Win formed the caretaker government for the period. He made some reforms to deceive the Hill State leaders, and believing Ne Win's Government would be fair and just, the Shan Saophas surrendered their hereditary rights to the Shan State Government on 29th April 1959, as part of their reformation to Democracy. But, their goodwill and sincerity were betrayed and Shan leaders found out that, having lost their hereditary rights and political manoeuvrability, they could do nothing to alleviate the daily life of their people. At the same time the Burmese Army stationed their troops at strategic positions and roads to keep Shan State under their control.

While Shan leaders were looking for a peaceful solution, without forming an army, the Burmese dominated Government had a different view. They were trying hard to subdue the Hill Peoples and occupy their lands.

In the election in October 1960, U Nu, who said he could not hold the country intact, was re-elected and became the Prime Minister of the Union of Burma. During the election, U Nu had made 3 promises. They were to demarcate the Sino-Burma border, to promulgate Buddhism as the State Religion and to amend the 1947 Constitution. For these issues he called upon the Shan State Government to express their views.

The Shan State leaders responded with the Federal Proposal, demanding to have 8 equal States and the amendment of the 1947 Constitution.

This proposal was signed by 32 political leaders of the Shan State. The proposal for Burma to become an equal State was not acceptable for the Burmese leaders who interpreted as an insult. The General Ne Win's coup d'etat in the morning of 2nd March 1962 was targeted to abolish the Shan State Government. Since that time onwards Democracy become just a word and ceased to exist in practice.

The Burmese Army invaded Shan State on the pretext of subduing the KMT and CPB, but even before the coup or 3-4 decades after the coup these armed groups still continue to haunt the Shan State people. The pro-communist armed groups, pro-democracy armed groups, the Ka Kwe Ye and Militias in Shan State were the creation of the Burmese militarists. Shan State people have been suffering the repercussion of the invasion for decades without knowing when it will end.

No Choice for the Shan State People

Due to the situation as mentioned above, Shan State People have no other choice. They have their own homes and villages, but could not live in peace and safety. They have their own cultivatable farmlands, but could not plant in peace to produce enough for their families. As there were no proper roads for transportation, farm products get rot in the fields. Livestock become feral because they have always been hunt and butchered by these armed groups, who first came in few but later in hundreds and in thousands.

In 1949, the members of CPB, from lower Burma came to Shan State. They had managed to organize the Pa-Ohs, who were honest farming people. They had lived in peace and harmony under the Shan rule for centuries without any dispute. By sowing the seed of communism, these people began to hate the Saophas and finally their armed rebellion became the "Feudal Revolution" even when most of them did not know what feudal meant. Although there were no more Saophas, the Pa-Oh armed groups still persist and this time viewing the Shans as their rivals. Since then these conflicts have been lasting for 50 years.

In 1950, the remnants of the KMT Chinese troops came to Shan State, paving their way of retreat to Taiwan but actually remained in Shan State, their transit point, for several decades.

In 1952, Burma Army sent their troops into Shan State, on the pretext of "To get rid of the KMT and CPB troops in the Shan State". But in truth they had targeted on the Shan State people, raping, killing and plundering their properties, while the mentioned armed groups went at large.

In 1958, ten years had passed and its time for the Shan Leaders to consider the facts which had previously agreed in the Pang Long Conference. As previously agreed, such as, mutual respect and co-operative; non-interference in the internal affairs of the States; full autonomy according to the democratic ways; to maintain the budgets not less than the British Colonial times; and other promises had vanished. Burmese troops interfered in every affair of the States. Under the military boots of KMT, CPB and the Burma Army, Shan State people became victims of abused. Even though the Burmese first broke their promises, the Saophas and Shan political leaders were patient enough to wait for expiration of the agreed 10 years period, before they took legal steps to restore the rights of the Shan State people.

In 1960, In addition to these several armed groups, the Burmese dominant central Government, formed more militia groups, known as Ka Kwe Ye, they were armed and supported by the Burma Army. By then there were more than 30 armed groups in Shan State. Beside these armed groups, village guards, called Pyi Thu Sit were also formed and armed by the Burma Army. These numerous armed groups were created by the Burmese to keep Shan State in turmoil. Ethnic Nationalities of the Shan State, who had lived in peace and harmony with each other, were now fighting each other as rivals. These armed disputes had added the misery of the Shan State people.

The Burma Army, who came on the pretext to drive away the KMT and CPB troops, were found driving the Shan people from their homes. Not once, the people could live in peace under the Burmese rule. The Ne Win's coup d'etat in 1962 was targeted to abolish the Shan State Government. Since that time onwards, Shan State people have no one to rely on or to speak on their behalf.

In 1968, Ba Thein Tin had moved from the CPB headquarter in China to the Wa and KoKang areas of the Shan State. Recruiting hill people as their front-line combatants, in which thousands of hill people had died or crippled. By sowing the hatred and distrust among the Shan State people, they made them killed each other.

The combatants of CPB, KMT, Ka Kwe Ye, Pyi Thu Sit and the resistant armed groups were all conscripted from the Shan People. Due to the policy or the orders of their superiors, one brother must kill his own brothers. Distrust among armed groups lead to armed conflicts, which cost countless innocent lives. Villagers were brutally executed for suspecting of being sympathizers or informers of the rival groups. Most of the executions were carried out by troops from the Burma Army and Burmese lead CPB troops. This action was clear that, Burmese were planning to get rid of the people in order to occupy the land in Shan State.

In 1988, there was a national-wide demonstration and uprising in Burma. After that uprising, several armed groups had made truce with the Burmese junta between 1989 1996 but the misery of the common people remains unchanged. Forced relocation and burning of the villages, rapes, plunders and extra-judicial execution still in common. Tens of thousands villagers have to flee from their ancestral homeland to neighbouring countries in the hope to find a safe place to live.

Because of these situation Shan State people who remain on their homeland have no other choice, rather than took up arms against the tyranny, in order to survive. In the past, Shan Saophas and Political leaders had sacrificed their lives by solving the problems by peaceful means. And several long standing armed opposition groups have made truce in order to solve the problems by peaceful means. But all these efforts seem useless, because they had gained nothing to alleviate the misery of the common Shan State people.

The total surrender of MTA in 1996 proved that it was useless. The living condition of the Shan State people changed from bad to worst. Mass migration of Shan people takes place, soon after the surrender. It's clear that surrendering of arms alone could not restore peace in the Shan State.

Therefore, to solve all these problems and disputes, it neither depend on the hill people nor on the armed groups who are still fighting against the regime. True peace could not be achieved by surrendering of arms alone. Surrendering of arms without achieving the true peace could only resulted in more armed groups and if they are lead by stubborn and ruthless leaders with no proper policy to think for the people, then the situation will be out of control.

Because of these reasons, the true peace could only restore, when every people in Shan State could live in peace and safety.

Solution to end the disputes between Burma and Shan State

Because they were of separate countries, The Burmese were always harassing Shan towns and villages for centuries, in order to subdue them. Due to the Pang Long Agreement, these two separate countries had merged to become the so call Union of Burma. In the name of the Union, the Burmese dominant central government behaved on Shan State as their new found colony. Plunders, rapes, executions and all forms of atrocities were committed by the Burmese troops until their name (Marn = Burmese) become a terror among the hill people. Not only have human beings, pets and farm animals alike, fled for their lives, because they had seen others being butchered. Frequent alertness has turned the domestic animals to become feral. The life of the people is not much better than their animals. Since joining Burma to achieve independence from the British in 1948, these basic human rights were not known to the Shan State people.

1. Shan State rural people have no Identity cards. As they were never been issued, these people are not included in the census. Villagers who have never left their villages since birth have become aliens in the own ancestral homelands.
2. The lack of school and educational facilities, have keep the people with inadequate knowledge of the changing world. Only fear dominates their daily life and they have become xenophobic, always pessimistic and distrust on the outsiders.
3. As the tradition way of life was hindered by the Burmese troops, the farmers could not produce enough to sustain their families. So, they were forced to find extra income by involve in every possible work for their survival. It was never known that these people get rich for their involvements in illegal trade.
4. Several armed groups which had been created by the Burma Army, had fought each other as rivals. In the meantime, although they have made truce with the junta, they are not free to contact with each other without permission of the Burmese military authorities, who are still planning to divide these groups. Distrust among these armed groups added more difficulties in the reconciliation.
5. Illegal immigrants; Due to the atrocities committed by the Burmese troops, tens of thousands of Shan State people had fled from their ancestral homeland to neighbouring countries in search of safe haven. Although their living and working condition are not good enough, at least their lives are safe from being executed.

These problems were started by the Burma Army and as long as they are present, these problems could not be solved. The fear on Burmese troops would hinder the people to show up their true consent. Without knowing the true consent of the people, there will be no proper solution to restore peace in Shan State.

Shan States Mineral and Vegetation



The Tai of the Shan State

Although the Shan State is geographically in Burma, the Shans are different in their origin and language from the other groups in that country. For example, the Mons and the Burmans are ancient immigrant races from the Tibetan Plateau, whereas the Shans, like the Thais and Laotians, are descended from the Tais. These were people from the independent region of Yunnan Province in south-west China at a time when some of the provinces existed as a separate entity from mainland China.

When taking the whole of Burma into consideration, the Shans make up about 10-15 percent of Burma's population with the majority occupying the Shan Plateau, in the eastern part of Burma. In their own language the Shans call themselves Tai or Tai Long and their country Mong Tai instead of Shan State.

The origin of the name Shan is not very clear, but has been discussed by many scholars. One of the hypotheses concerning the origin of the name Shan is that Shan, Siam and Assam had been derived from the word "Sian" (Hsian, Sein), which designates a group of mountainous people who migrated down from Yunnan in the 6th Century AD. Another says that the Shan people were named after the "Mighty Shan", the Great Mountain Ranges of China from where they had migrated. A third hypothesis suggests that Shan is a corrupt word of Syam, a name given to Kshatriya (warriors) on duty of the Khmer empire in the early period of the Tai history. In fact, all peoples of Mon-Khmer language family call the Tai "Shan", Shen, Sham, or Syam". However, all hypotheses lead to the names Shan and Tai as being one and the same race.

Migration of the Tai Long

5 million people inhabited in the Shan State (Mong Tai), the majority being the Shan or Tai. The early history of the area is hazy, though it appears that the first entry of the Shans into Burma took place in the 1st. century BC, when rebellions in Central China drove many people from that area to seek their fortune elsewhere. These people moved south into Burma and founded such ancient Shan cities as, Ta Gong, Mongnai, Hsenwi and Hsipaw.

The second migration took place in the 6th century AD, when a great wave of migration of Tai (or Sein?), a mountainous race, descended from the mountain of Yunnan. They followed the Nam Mao River, now called the Shweli River, to the south and settled in the valleys and regions surrounding the river in Upper Burma. This valley and neighboring regions became the center of Shan political power while the wave of migration spread south-east, followed the path already traversed by earlier Tai and spread over the present Shan Plateau (State). From here, some continued west into Thailand. A second branch went north, following the Brahmaputra River into Northern Assam. This was a period when the Yunnanese Tai were coming under the attack from the mainstream Chinese and many made attempts to assert their independence. When this failed they migrated south to escape from China rule. Thus, the three groups of migrants, Assam, Siam and Shan, came to regard themselves as "Free People"

In the middle of the 7th century AD the Shan history in Burma is obscure and it is not clear what important significance the Kingdom of Nanchao played. There seems to be two conflicting views: the majority of authors think that Nanchao is a unified state of the Tai in Southern Yunnan and

that it dominated Upper and much of the Lowland Burma in the 8th and 9th century AD. The second group holds the view that the Tai or Shans and Nanchao were two different entities. D.K. Wyatt in his book, "Thailand - A short History" argues that Nanchao leaders were not Tais, as they followed a linkage system, when choosing their names. This is unknown among the Tai, but common among the Lolo and other Tibeto-Burman group. Further more, the lists of words mentioned by Fan Ch'o were untraceable in the Tai language. No Shan, or other chronicle, mentions Nanchao or any of its rulers, but nineteenth century chiefs in Central Yunnan traced their ancestry back to Nanchao. (Some chronicles state that Nanchao, in the early period was not called Nanchao but "Laanzao" which means Land of a million Princes! ---- "The Upper Burma" and the "Shan State Gazetteer" also mentioned that in the Kingdom of Nanchao the ruling Shan-Chinese Chiefs spoke Chinese, but the mass of the population were Tais)

Nevertheless, Nanchao was a major power in Northern and South-east Asia until it made peace with China in the 9th century AD and then confined its military and political strategies to its heartland in south-western China.

In the 10th and 11th century, there is little doubt that a powerful Tai kingdom, the Nam Mao Long Kingdom, had been founded in the northern region of Nam Mao (now called Shwe Li River). It is believed that this was a branch of the "Tai Mao Kao" Kingdom founded in the 7th century by the Tai of Yunnan. Sao Hom Hpa of the Nam Mao line was the ruler of the Tai Nam Mao Long Kingdom in Burma for 80 years until he died in 1104. During that period the Tais were the main rivals of the Burmans and Mons, when the three groups were struggling for dominance in Burma.

The Tai of Yunnan were still moving south and in the 12th and 14th century AD they came down in massive numbers into Burma. This influx of Tai population into Burma enhanced the man power of the Tais of the Nam Mao Long Dynasty making it not only a major power in Burma but in South-east Asia.

The Nam Mao Long Dynasty reached its peak during the reign of Hso Hkan Hpa, one of twin brothers from Hsenwi. During his reign from 1220 - 1230, he more or less united all the Tai principalities and also marched to Kun-Ming to attack and defeat, the Chinese. Next, an army, led by his brother, Hkun Sam Hpa alias Hso Lung Hpa was sent to attack and conquer Assam and, in 1229, founded the Tai Ahom Dynasty, one of the greatest achievements in the Shan history. Hkun Sam Hpa was later crowned King of Mong Gong. The Mao Tais continued to attack and bring under their control, neighboring countries: Lao, Cheing Sein and Yonok country (Maung Joonok). In the same century the Mao King sent an expedition to raid the Burmese Pagan Empire and this coincided with the invasion of China by the Mongols under Kublai Khan. The first province to fall was the Province of Yunnan. Having established themselves in China, they invaded Burma in 1287 AD. This gave the Tais the opportunity to play a dominant role in Pagan. Three Shan brothers were in control of three chief towns round Kyaukse, an area irrigated for rice production, thus giving them a stranglehold over the city's food supply. From Yunnan the Mongols invaded Burma again in 1300 AD but from their fortifications at Maensein the three Shan brothers were able to resist all attacks. The last Mongol commander had accepted a bribe to lead his troop home, but was not accepted by his Chief in Yunnan and he was executed. The idea of holding Burma in subjection was abandoned by the Mongols. This was a victory for the Shans

and Pagan came under their rule: the Shans had become the dominant element in the social and political spheres of Pagan.

The Mao Long Kingdom maintained considerable power and prosperity until it was challenged by the Burmese King, Anawratha, who regained much of the lowland of the country, previously held by the Mao Tais. Some time later, the Mao power began to wane and no other Shan political power was great enough to take its place. In Upper Burma however, the Shan brothers, supported by the Mongols in Yunnan, still held considerable power. The youngest brother became the sole King of the area and he and his descendants ruled this part of Burma for about 250 years.

By the late 15th century the Upper Irrawaddy valley was rapidly breaking up into small units. The successors of the Shan Brothers had adopted the culture and society of the people they ruled and had become more and more Burmanised by intermarrying with the old royal house of Pagan. They also adopted Burmese scripts and appointed Burmese Officers in their administration. They gradually became isolated from their kinsmen on the Shan Plateau. Nevertheless, Sagaing area, consisting of Singaling Hkamti and Hsawngsap, Wuntho and Kale, east of the Irrawaddy and Khamti Long north of Myitkyina were autonomous and still retained Saopha as their chiefs.

The Tai Long did not only establish their power in the lowland and upland of Burma Proper, but slowly, by following the rivers they infiltrated to all the river valleys of South-east Asia. Small groups, as well as settling amongst the Mons and Burmese, went as far as Cambodia and Vietnam. The majority made their homes in the Shan State and some went further west into Thailand and Lao. The Tais brought with them their centuries old civilization, culture and socio-political organization. Most of them were drawn to the lowlands, where they engaged in subsistence agriculture based on wet-rice cultivation. They reared domestic animals, such as poultry and pigs and used buffaloes and cattle for pulling simple ploughs to till the land. They hunted in the forest, fished in the stream and gathered mushrooms, shoots of bamboo and wild leafy vegetables from the woodlands. They traded with people from outside their own communities for salt, materials for clothing and metal tools.

Having settled in different geographical localities the Tai peoples have gone through different historical changes by adopting the cultures of those with whom they were permanently in contact. The Tai Ahom, by moving across the mountains to Assam and by gradually adopting the Indian culture of the region into which they had moved, are slowly losing their identity as Tai.

It was round about the 14th century that the Siamese Tai properly established themselves on the great delta of the Menam River between Cambodia and the Mon country. Over the years they had interchanged some of their cultures with their neighboring countries. The seas surrounding the country also gave them the chance to trade, and come into contact, with various civilizations of the world. All these opportunities had contributed to the development of the present day Thais, making them ready to challenge and advance into the modern world.

In contrast, the Tai Long of the Shan State was only partially converted to the alien culture of the hill dwellers, and their neighbors, the Burmans and Mons. Also being inland, they had little opportunity to come in contact with the outside world, except for a few British Government officers, who would have had little to do with the ordinary people, and the Japanese during their

brief occupation. Thus for the Shans their culture and political identity have changed very little from that of their ancestors.

In spite of the geographical distribution the Tai peoples seem to have preserved in their folk tales and tradition a sense of common origin, which is clearly seen in their language and culture. The language is monosyllabic and tonal: the meaning of each word varies according to the tone, "dah" for instance has five tones, each tone meaning a different thing. dah a straight tone means eyes; dah, a low tone means for; dah; mid level tone means a box; dah: high level tone means to apply (make-up); dah. falling tone means to hope or guess. The Tai peoples still have many words in common and, although changes in dialect and accents over the years have contributed to their divergence, there still is some degree of mutual understanding among speakers of Thai, Yuon, Lao, Shan and Dtai in Yunnan and Southern China. Even the Ahom Tai, in spite of their isolation from other groups, call rice "kao", and the spirit of the rice field "Phii naah" the same as the rest of the group. They also retained the method of cooking rice in the hollow segment of a bamboo stick and used banana leaves to cook certain dishes; practices common among the Shans and certainly among other Tai groups.

The Influence of Buddhism

From the 6th century AD onwards as Buddhism spread from the Indian subcontinent to South-east Asia and China, several forms of Buddhism were introduced to the Shans. Over the years Theravada Buddhism had begun to have a great impact on not only the ruling class, but also the ordinary villagers. It became integrated into their everyday life and culture. It became their religion and was adopted as the religion of every mongs in the Shan State. Like the Burmans, the Shans adopted the Mon scripts, but Pali became the Holy Scripture containing Buddhist teachings and ethics that became the moral force and conscience of every individual. The five basic precepts of morality being to abstain from: taking life, stealing, sensuous, misconduct, lying and taking any intoxicants likely to impair the mind. Behind the respect for the moral rules lies the awareness of the law of Karma, which awards good deeds and punishes evil-doing in this life and in the next. Enlightened self-interest, therefore, should prompt us to lead good lives.

Besides the above basic precepts, all Buddhists should live by certain code of practice written in the "Yareyassa Vinaye" or the "Noble Discipline". This applies to the relationship between: parents and children, teacher and pupil, husband and wife, friends, relatives and neighbors, employers and employees and the ruler and his subjects.

Parents should give good examples to their children and do their best for their physical and moral development; in return, children should respect and look after them in their old age.

A pupil must be obedient and treat his teacher with respect, while a teacher's duty is to provide his pupil with proper education and training.

A love between husband and wife is sacred, and both should be faithful, respectful and devoted to each other.

Friends, relatives and neighbors should be tolerant, generous and hospitable to one another.

A master or employer has several obligations towards his servant or employee: he should be considerate, fair and just; the employee diligent, earnest and honest in his work.

Buddhism lays great stress on the spiritual and moral development of a society. For a country to be happy it must have a just government: the ruler's primary consideration should be that of his people, and should work in harmony with them. He should also be liberal, generous, charitable, tolerant and understanding. He must practice non-violence towards everybody and promote peace and prevent war.

Although the Shans continued to worship and pay respects to Phii Sao Mong, Phii Naah and such others they were not fanatic worshippers: the majority of them were staunch Buddhists and very loyal to their religion. The Christian missionaries who later came to the Shan State as they had other South-East Asian countries, were relatively successful in converting the hill ethnic groups to Christianity, but had failed to do so with the Shans.

Formation of Waan and Mongs

The Shan Plateau, which is more than 3000 feet above sea-level, lies between the Irrawaddy and the Salween Rivers. It is an area of 57, 816 square miles, a land of forests, rolling downs and mountain ranges with a temperate climate and an ideal rainfall. When the Tais arrived on the plateau, they found that they were not the only inhabitants in the country: there were other ethnic groups: the Was, Palaungs and Daungsu or Pa-O in Northern and Southern Shan states, Tai Neir, Lui, Lisu and Kaw in Kengtung and states along the Chinese border. Most of these were hill-dwellers by nature, who seemed to believe that they could not live in areas below the height of 5000 feet, and so occupied the mountainous or hilly regions surrounding the Central Lowland. Having discovered that the lowland area was ideal for wet-rice cultivation, the Tai readily adopted it as their home.

On the Shan Plateau, groups of Tai families settled together forming a small community. The community grew into a village called waan or baan. Until recent times, villages surrounded by rice fields were to be found dotted along the river valleys. Several villages collectively became a principality or state.

Thus, steadily the Tai established an abundance of states, which they called mongs in the Shan State. These varied in size and importance: the smallest Namtok measuring 14 square miles and inhabited by only a few hundred farmers scattered in a few villages and the largest mong is Kengtung, which is 12,000 square miles. Temples and Pagodas or Chaung Payaa were built in towns and large villages, and gradually schools headed by monks came into existence. According to Buddha Gautama all monks should not only develop their own spiritual knowledge and intelligence, but also dedicate to the service of others. Thus, basic education for literacy and religious knowledge became one of the primary functions of the monks. They represented part of the institution in the lives of the people and were treated with great regard and respect.

The monasteries and pagodas in both the towns and villages were the center of religious and social activities. Numerous ceremonies, including offerings to monks were performed as a thanks-giving to celebrate happy and memorable occasions. People and monks also gathered together in times of bereavement to say prayers for the dead.

The Saophas and their Mongs

The Tai's social organization, which was feudal, existed in the Shan State until 1958. A mong was looked after by a hereditary chief, called Saopha, meaning "Lord of the Sky" (Lord of Heaven). Around the 16th century the Shan Saophas lost their power in Central Burma, and the Chinese claimed supremacy over both Burma and the Shan states.

After the death of the Burmese King, Alaungpaya, in 1752 China and Burma were continually at war and the Saophas and their mongs in the Shan states were caught in the middle. After failing in its 4th invasion, China sued for peace. They blamed the intrigues on the Saophas of Hsenwi, Mong Gong, Baan Mu and Mong Hung and proposed that they, the Saophas would have to yield to the Burmese in exchange for the release of their officers, whom the Burmese had captured during the wars. Thus, some of the Saophas came under the protection of the Burmese. No chronicle clearly defines what power, if any the Burmans had over the Saophas, but in spite of threat from the Chinese and pressure from the Burmese Kingdom, the Saophas managed to retain their autonomy and a large degree of their sovereignty in the Shan states.

During this period Burma also declared war on Siam and thereafter were forever in conflict. Here, again, the Shan mongs, Kengtung and those along the Shan states and Siam borders were caught in the middle -subjugated to which ever was the stronger.

By the late nineteenth century AD, the British and the French were rivals in controlling South-east Asia. Lower Burma or Burma Proper had already been conquered by the British, while the French held Lao. In between these two countries was the undeveloped and wild country, the Shan states. In order to have efficient control of this buffer zone between them and the French, the British extended their conquest over this area. They also wanted to have an accessible trade route to China as it had been reported by the East India Company that, from the Shan states, very profitable trade with China could be achieved.

During the British annexation of the Shan states, the French, British India and Imperial China of the Ching Dynasty signed a treaty. Britain proposed to limit her frontier to the Mekong by transferring Keng Hung and Mong Lem to China, and Keng Cheng (Chiang Khaang) with its capital, Mong Sing to Thailand. However, the French did not approve and, after many disputes, which nearly brought the British and the French to the brink of war, Mong Sing was given to the French. In the Lao/Burma treaty, in 1896 the British and the French agreed to leave the Mekong as the boundary between the two countries. They also acknowledged a defacto political constitution and legal distinction between the Kingdom of Burma, with its capital at Mandalay and all the "greater Shan states. Thus, the geographical boundaries of North-east Burma are one of the results of the 1896 agreement between the French and the British.

Burma Proper, also called Central Burma, where the majority of the populations were Burmans, was incorporated with British India, under the direct rule of the British. The Shan states together with other "Hill states" were under indirect rule.

In the pre-British days, the Saophas and their mongs stretched from Sipsaung Panna in Yunnan, covering the whole of the Shan Plateau, Northern Thailand and Lao, without the present international boundaries. There was no network of communications linking the Saophas and,

although they were independent of one another, there was some kinship between them. This perhaps was due to the fact that the princes and princesses of the Saopha families inter-married. But, this did not mean that they had always lived in peace with one another: because there had been frequent conflicts and quarrels between the different mongs, often encouraged and fuelled by the Burmans. Nevertheless, they were united against any common foe on their border, as demonstrated in 1289 when the Mongols invaded Burma.

King Mangrai was a Tai, who in the 12th century, united all the states in the east of the present Shan State: Chiang Tung (Kentung), Chiang Suun, Chiang Hkam, Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Chiang Saan (Cheing sein) etc., and together with the Shan Brothers fend off their common enemy.

The political and geographical situation of the Shan states changed in 1886 when Burma became a British colony. The Shan states with other "Hill states" were allowed to remain autonomous, which meant that, in the Shan states, the Saophas would still rule over their states or mongs. The British Government respected and recognized the authority of the Shan Saophas; they were treated somewhat like the Rajahs of India. Very few changes were made, and none were forced on them: small states were absorbed into bigger ones, old states dismantled and new ones formed, making approximately 33 states. In 1922, these 33 states or mongs were united to form one body, "The Federated Shan States".

The British Government from its Central Office, a kind of mini White hall, in Taunggyi, the capital town of the Federated Shan States, appointed a British Commissioner and six Superintendents to assist him. Each Superintendent liaised between Central Office and the Saopha of his region. Reporting to the Commissioner were officers in charge of forestry, agriculture, education, health, transport, the environment and police, and they too worked closely with the Saophas. Members of the Central Government and the thirty-three Saopha formed a governing body for the whole of the Shan State - the Shan State Council.

Each Saopha administered his own state or mong with the aid of a prime minister, departmental ministers, a state judge and other departmental officers. A Saopha's salary was dependent on a fixed fraction of the state revenue. Thus, a Sao Hpa with a bigger and more prosperous state earned a salary higher than one with a smaller and less prosperous one. About thirty-five per cent of the revenue was contributed to the Central Government and the rest was used for state administration. A mong or state had a town or towns called weing and a number of villages called waan; the main town or weing in each state carrying the same name as the mong. Each village was overseen by a Heing, a Village Headman appointed, by the Saopha. Smaller villages, instead of a Heing had a Ching Kang. A Ching Kang could also act as an aid to a Heing. In large villages many elders, bu hoe waan or khone long waan would also be appointed by villagers to act as their representative or member of a village council.

The Saopha's system of government might have appeared feudalistic to some foreigners, but the Saopha were just leaders of their own people and, like the leaders of many other countries, were not above the laws of the land: a corrupt Saopha, who accepted bribes or mishandled state money would have his title and power stripped from him and, would have faced imprisonment.

Law and Order

Prior to the British Administration in the Shan states each Saopha built up his own administration for tax revenues and settling legal complaints, and he and his ministers upheld the law of his state. Each state had its own laws, which were based on the moral concept and ethics of Buddhism.

During the British Administration, the Civil, Criminal and Revenue administration of every state were the responsibility of the Central Government. But, the law to be administered in each state was the customary law of that state provided that it was just and practiced with a clear conscience and was not contradictory to the laws of British India. The powers of a High Court for the Shan State except those concerning European British subjects, was transferred in part to the Commissioner. As the Shans believed in Karma, the Saopha and their descendants were regarded as having been born into a privileged position in society and were treated as royalty. The Saopha was loved and revered by his people and expected to guide and advise them. His wife, the Mahadevi or Sao Nang Mong was regarded as the matriarch of the land and his sons and daughters as princes and princesses. The Saopha and his subjects, the Shan people and the ethnic hill dwellers, had great respect and trust for one another. For this reason, they were able to create a stable, united and peaceful society that had endured for decades. This system of political organization was not as one-sided as it may seem. The relationship was advantageous to both the Saopha and the people: the Saopha relied on the people for manpower and their loyalty and the people in return for his protection and leadership. Under the Saophas, the Shan peoples enjoyed considerable freedom: they had the right to own properties and lands, and to choose their own religion and place to live.

The Saopha had the power to select his officers as he pleased. Traditionally, the Saopha would declare the eldest son as his heir or Kemmong to succeed him as a ruler. After his education and training he would be given a position in the office to allow him to gain experience in administration and personal relationship with the people, upon whom depended the stability of the state.

As the older generations of Saopha practiced polygamy, the line of succession was not always straight forward. The eldest son of the chief wife or Mahadevi was considered superior to a son of any other wife, but there were instances, in which the son of a lesser wife was declared heir, because the natural successor was incompetent or his conduct was unsuitable. In such circumstances, conflicts and jealousy would have arisen between brothers. The brother who was the natural successor, would try to remove his stepbrother, and sometimes by resorting to criminal acts.

Adopted sons would not have the right to the title of succession unless they were connected to the ruling family. Shan public opinion was strongly in favor of the ruler being member of the ruling family.

Traditionally, rulers of states were strictly male, but in 1905, when the ruler of Cheing Hkam died leaving a minor, Princess Tiptila, the mother of the boy, administered the state until her son was old enough to rule. Being a woman of great force and character, she ruled successfully. Unfortunately, the son was later deposed for gross misconduct.

In some states, hereditary nobles existed in families, whose ancestors had received lands as grants from the Saopha for services rendered or for other reasons. The position of a Saopha to his people was absolute; rank and consideration depended upon his judgment.

Jobs, Land and Property

Among the Shans there was an enormous gap in wealth and education between the elite and the ordinary people. There were only a few of the latter who were educated enough to be employed as teachers, nurses, engineers and other professions. Cottage industries in weaving silk materials for skirts and bags, potteries, jewellery, silver and lacquer wares and Shan paper existed but only on a small scale and most were poorly organized. The Shans of the past were reputed to have been good traders, traveling to Lower Burma and Northern Siam with goods such as, agricultural produce as well as semiprecious stones.

In the villages the majority of the population depended on the land for their livelihood.

Until after World War II land was plentiful for everyone, subject to the claimant being able to farm it. It was often communal and held on, what were in effect squatter's right. Later, as population grew, when land was required for building or farming purposes the citizens had to apply for permission directly or through their Heing to the State Office. Permission was still granted without much difficulty as vacant land was still in good supply.

In the Shan State, part of the land was used for fixed agriculture, often including plants of temperate latitude, such as fruits like oranges, pineapples, soya, sesame, ground nuts and sugarcane, and market gardening. Tea and coffee were cultivated on the hill slopes and tungsten along the Chinese border.

The outermost area of the Shan Plateau is occupied by mountains, where a few Shans lived with ethnic races. Here, slashed and burn farming was practiced, until just before World War II when this was discouraged by the Central and Saopha governments. Opium was legally grown east of the Salween on mountain slopes or in small stream valleys well above 3000 ft. Part of the crop was bought up by the Government at certain rates, which varied from year to year. During the Burmese Military regime the production of opium went out of control causing world-wide problems and sullyng the reputation of the Shan people.

Dry-rice cultivation called hai, was practiced on terraces along the hill slopes or at the foot of mountain ranges. Here potato-tubers were also cultivated under mounds of mud. However, most of the central lowland areas were used for wet rice cultivation, which was, as in other Tai areas, an integral part of the Shan culture. Following migration, the Shans had lived within the vicinity of the river basins, rich in alluvial soil and watered by brooks and rivers. They had converted virgin soil into productive and usable farm lands.

Walled in by mountain ranges, the Nam Khong or Salween River rises at the foot of Himalayas and, in the Shan State, rushes down from north to south the whole length of the country. Unlike in any other countries, here in the Shan State, the Nam Khong receives many tributaries some of which were as long as 300 miles: the main ones being the Nam Pang, Nam Ping, Nam Teng, Nam Pawn, Nam Lwe and Nam Kha. Besides these, the tributaries of the Irrawaddy the Nam Tu

and Zawgyi rise in the hill swamp east of Hsenwi and flow through Hsipaw valleys. These tributaries of the Nam Khong and Irrawaddy fed the basin of the valleys especially those of the "Rice Bowl" in Central Shan State. Unlike the Irrawaddy, the Salween and its tributaries cannot be used for navigation, because of the swift currents and rapids. However, many of them, if properly planned, could easily be used to produce hydroelectric power or a useful and intensive irrigation system. The Salween is to the Shan State as the Nile is to Egypt: humans and animals depend on it for their existence. The terrain of the Shan State had enormous scope for both agriculture and population development.

There has been nobody who has undertaken a scientific study on the irrigation of the paddy fields in the Shan State. According to my knowledge there has been no intensive or controlled irrigation system. The wet-rice farmers took advantage of the natural flow of the rivers and their tributaries. Several streams combined to give a powerful flow of water, often carrying with it calcareous tufa, which formed natural dams. Later, the streams would break the dams and the water would take a different course, resulting in the formation of small streams and brooks. The rainfall and the river tributaries provided sufficient water to irrigate the paddy fields. The farmers used the knowledge, passed down to them by their forefathers to build temporary weirs and dams with wooden shutters to regulate the flow of incoming or the draining of excess water. On slightly-sloped areas, the streams were diverted into little channels to flood the fields to a depth of a foot. The water and the soil were retained in each small plot of field by turf walls containing holes to let water in. These were blocked, when the plots had been filled to the required depth.

The paddy fields or naahs, were made up of rectangular plots of land, approximately a quarter of an acre, called lock. An average family owned a tung which is equal to 10 locks. Not all farmers owned naahs, but rented them from landlords with an agreement to share a certain percentage of the harvest, which was usually 50 per cent.

Beside the rivers and their tributaries there were also small streams formed by natural springs. In most houses there were no convenient running water systems so the inhabitants used this stream for bathing, swimming, washing clothes and other domestic purposes. For uses in the home, the women would fetch water from the same stream in large pots balanced on their heads. Drinking water was carried from wells, normally situated in the monastery compounds. Larger quantities were fetched in barrels on bullock carts driven by the men folks or lads.

There was no law to govern the usage of water, but had a dispute arisen it would have been settled, as were all the others, by the Heing and his Village Council, elected wise men or village-elders.

Division of Labor

The Shans had a long tradition of voluntary communal work. Planting and harvesting were communally-organized among small holders, sometimes with additional hired hands. They would meet and organize the various jobs. There was no strict division of labor between the sexes, but the male usually did the more strenuous jobs like ploughing and harrowing the fields, while transplanting of rice shoots from the nurseries to the fields was left mostly to the women. In transplanting the women would work from morning till dusk with a lunch break in between. Once

a field was completed they would move on to the next and so on, until all the fields were completed. Transplanting was a backbreaking job in rather unpleasant circumstances: in slippery, muddy fields with so many crabs and leeches, but those who were familiar with the job seemed to enjoy themselves, laughing and singing as they planted. Harvesting and thrashing were a combined job of both sexes. In other quarters, as in farming the men did the more strenuous outdoor jobs, cutting wood, fencing or driving bullock carts and, the women household domestic chores.

As wet-rice farming was insufficient subsistence for their livelihood, during the lax period both men and women had to seek part-time jobs elsewhere. Some of the young men and women would travel to the towns or weings or to the markets to sell fruit and vegetables from their small market gardening. A few women would try to earn money by making cakes and other food stuffs to sell or some would weave bags, material for skirts, baskets and mats. A market took place every five days in weings and large waans on a rotation basis.

Related to the wet-rice farming were the cattle breeding. Buffaloes and bullocks were used as draught animals, buffaloes for ploughing the fields and bullocks for drawing carts. Taking care of the cattle was usually the responsibility of the young lads, who would in the mornings take them to graze on the rice fields during the non-rice growing season, thus naturally fertilizing the soil. In the evenings the cattle would be driven home again.

The Shans had the right to own land and property and were able to enjoy a household or trade houses or land with one another.

The Shan women, although they did not have full equal rights with men, enjoyed relatively high social standing and the opinions, which they were free to voice, were valued. The young people were given the freedom to choose their own marital partners, but it was considered undignified for a young girl to be too forward. It was the boy who should do the chasing by gentle and artful courting. Customarily, the boy's parents would present their future daughter-in-law with gifts of money and jewellery.

By tradition the Shan women do not have the same rights of inheritance of land and property as men, but there were no strict written rules, and daughters and sons, increasingly in modern times, have received equal shares.

The Tai Society

In a Shan society, life revolved around the family, the Buddhist festivals and the rhythm of the season. At least twice a year people from the town and nearby villages gathered together in prayers, celebrations and fun. Like other Buddhists, the Shan celebrated the Buddhist New year in April in the form of water festival. The significance of it was to use water to wash away the old year together with its bad luck and sadness and anoint the New Year.

The young people, mostly maidens in suitable clothing, each carrying a pot of water, well balanced on their heads, went round the town, stopping firstly at the Saopha's Palace. The Saopha and his Mahadevi would move to the veranda where the girls would anoint them with perfumed water. In return the Saopha and his wife would thank them and wish them luck and prosperity in

the New Year. This was the point, at which the real fun started for the young people: in the yard every body would joined in, throwing and splashing water until completely drenched.

The next morning before the full moon, the Saopha, his family and the people would gather at a chosen monastery and say prayers in front of Buddhist monks. This was usually followed by feasting.

Another important celebration in the Buddhist calendar is the "Light festival" which takes place in October to celebrate the return of Buddha Gautama to earth after visiting "Deva". According to legend, as he descended his route had been so brightly illuminated that it flooded the whole universe. Since that time the tradition is for lights of all kinds to be set alight in places of worship and houses to commemorate that occasion. The Saopha and his family, the whole town and nearby villages would then gather at the pagoda or monastery to say prayers. On the eve of the prayer meeting there would be great rejoicing. A long carnival led by young girls and women in their brightly-colored costumes, carrying lighted candles paraded the town. The boys and men would follow with lanterns. There were floats of young people singing and dancing, followed by the animals: the horses, the yaks, the monkeys and the elephants. There were also Shan sword dancers, accompanied by gongs and cymbals.

Besides religious celebrations a pwe or festival was held in each of five chosen villages at different times of the year. The festival usually lasted for ten days, during which the Saopha with his family honored the villagers with their presence and his house and his time were made available to those, who wished to call and discuss village or personal matters. This developed better relationships and communication between the ruler and his subjects. At the same time, town folks and villagers gathered together to enjoy themselves and to be entertained by actors and actresses, who performed dances, songs, concerts and plays. This was funded by gambling licensees, who were mostly Chinese.

At other times of the year the Saopha's Residence would also serve as the center for the gathering of all the Village Headmen, when they came to pay their respects to their ruler and discuss village affairs with him.

The World War II and After (1943 - Present)

In 1943, the Shan State like all South-east Asian countries came under Japanese rule. It was a common knowledge that the Japanese had promised some Burmese politicians that Burma would be given independence, when Japan won the war. They were also to be given the Shan State, apart from Kengtung and states east of the Salween River, which had already been promised to Thailand. This did not happen: Burma gained independence in name only and the Shan State was allowed to remain autonomous, with the Saophas still in power. The Burmese desire to rule over the Shan State had therefore, failed to materialize.

In 1947, after the British returned to Burma, Bogyoke Aung San, a prominent Burman political leader persuaded the Shan Saophas and other "Hill State leaders to unite their countries with Burma Proper also known as Central Burma to form the Union of Burma. Once united, he claimed they would have a better chance of gaining independence from the British Government.

For the first time in the history of the Shan State, the Saophas had come into direct contact with Burmese politicians and were faced with the most important decision of their lives. The Saophas were naive or even ignorant in the game of mainstream politics. During the past sixty years or more, although they had enjoyed the privileges of autonomy, the present generation of Saophas had also received protection and advice from the British government. Even the Japanese, in spite of their peculiar system of government, had respected the Saophas and had refrained from making changes.

Before World War II, the Shans had been content to be ruled by the Saophas and the Saophas by the British. After the war things had changed. The Saophas found themselves having to deal with activists in their own states, some were anti-Saophas and others anti-British. Their demonstration though not violent, were beginning to put pressure on the Saophas and, most probably, this was one, if not the main, reason why the Saophas had decided that times were changing and they had to follow the wishes of the people. Perhaps it really was time for the Shan State to be totally independent of the British. Thus, at Panglong, a village near the capital town of the Shan State, the Saophas held a conference and met with Bogyoke Aung San and his colleagues. It was there, in February 1947 that they signed the "Panglong Agreement":

"The Shan State would become part of the Union of Burma. The Union of Burma was to be one country of several states, each state with its own system of autonomous government and, with its representative to the Constituent Assembly of Burma, according to the principles of democracy".

The Agreement writes (Article 7): "Citizens of the Frontier Areas shall enjoy equal rights and privileges which are regarded as fundamental in democratic countries. The Association with Burma should be on Federal basis with equal rights and status, full internal autonomy of the Shan States.

The present Saophas would be life members of parliament, but their descendants would have to be elected by the people to become members.

"The Panglong Agreement was binding for ten years. After these ten years, if leaders of the Shans felt that the Union had failed the Shan State would be free to secede".

Five months after the "Panglong Agreement", Bogyoke Aung San and six of his colleagues were assassinated by a rival political party. However, the amalgamation of states went ahead and an election was held. The Burmese AFPFL, with U Nu as its leader was elected to govern the country. The Union of Burma gained its independence from the British in January 1948.

The Saophas as promised in the "Panglong Agreement" had become members of parliament. For the first few years of independence, working with the U Nu Government, things went quite smoothly for them: they were treated with diplomacy and Sao Shwe Thaik, the Saopha of Yawnghe was made the first President of the Union of Burma.

After sometime, although U Nu was in control, he was having trouble with other Burmese political parties, led by communists. In 1956 and 1957 there was a more serious problem for the U Nu Government. The Chaing Kai Shek's KMT forces, who had been driven out of Communist

China, were trying to make their way into Northern Shan State from Yunnan. There were rumors, that fearing foreign invasion; U Nu was willing to let the military take over power for an period. Military rule was not what the Saophas had agreed to and, probably for the first time, they seriously considered leaving the Union. By 1957 the Shan State had been in the Union for ten years and, according to the agreement, they were able to secede.

In 1958 the military led by General Ne Win, one of the world's worst tyrants took over power. Once in power, the main aim of General Ne Win and his dictator colleagues was to prevent the secession of the Shan State. The Saophas could not be given this choice if the Shan State was to be kept under Burmese (Burmans) domination. They had to be removed, if the population was to be swayed in favor of staying in the Union. In 1958 the Saophas acceded to the "demand" of the military dictators. They had to relinquish their power and hereditary rights. This was the turning point, when Burma became a land without parliamentary democracy, where the rule of force had to be obeyed.

The soldiers ransacked every household in the Shan State and confiscated every weapon. No mercy was shown to anyone, who offered any resistance or who spoke against the regime.

On the 2nd of March 1962, the army stormed the Government Building, where parliament was in session and, at gun point, arrested and put in prison the President, the Prime Minister and his cabinet, the Saophas and many of their relatives. Some of the prisoners died in prison under suspicious circumstances, some disappeared and those Saophas who were released in 1968 were not allowed to return to their own states and people. Their homes and properties had been confiscated or destroyed.

Under this tyrannical military regime, whose policy is to eliminate minority races, atrocities abound. Young girls are gang-raped and then shot or beheaded. Others, men and women alike, are subjected to other forms of violence: extra-judicial killings, torture and looting until they are driven to flee. Unfortunately, they do not find welcome or solace in these neighboring countries: they are either forcibly made to return or allowed to remain as cheap labor or prostitutes.

Since 1962, the military has priority over supplies of rice, cooking oil, salt and other essential commodities. As a result, more than 80 per cent of Shan people are facing destitute and malnutrition. Land has been confiscated: during the last few years. 300,000 Shan peasants from hundreds of villages, who had always gained their livelihood from the land were forced at gun point to relocate from their fertile land to strategic sites, which could be closely watched in case they should give assistance to freedom fighters.

After forty years of suffering, the life of the majority of the Shans (Tai) is reduced to a struggle to survive, sometimes, with not even a shelter over their heads. In the former Shan State (Mong Tai), unlike other underdeveloped countries, there had never been famine. Since the Burmese army illegally overran the country many are suffering from malnutrition, and the children of this hitherto-proud people, are begging by the roadside.

The future of the Shan people, especially the peasant is very grim. They are confronted with confusion, fear and a feeling of great loss: they are without leaders, and many of them have lost

fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, other relatives and friends. Lastly, but not least, they have lost their beloved land and thus, have no means to earn a livelihood. Their traditional heritage and way of life is completely destroyed.

The Shan State has now been under the military rule for nearly half a century and there is no sign of them ever relinquishing their power. The people continue to suffer from horrific human rights violations and the countryside is facing complete destruction. It will be a very long time, if ever, before peace and dignity return to the Shan people and their beloved land.

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First Appointed Shan (Syam) Government Office Staffs

Information Department of Shan Government, Federated Shan States