HISTORY OF BURMA
From a Multi-ethnic Perspective
Teacher’s Book

Educasia
Education in Context

The Curriculum Project
ABOUT US AND THIS BOOK

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Published 2016

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Published 2016 by the Curriculum Department, Thabyay Education Foundation, Yangon
www.thabyay.org

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History of Burma: A Multi-ethnic Perspective

There are many histories of Burma. Every person from Burma, or who has been involved in Burma, has a perspective on events. Many published histories of Burma (and other places in the world) look at only one perspective, which provides only one point of view to historical events, people and situations. In this module, we try to show many different perspectives. However, we are aware that not all points of view can be represented. Firstly, there are as many perspectives as there are people! Secondly, it is very difficult to get source material, especially from pre-colonial times. If there are things in this module you or your students disagree with or feel are not represented, that’s OK. Use this in your lessons to demonstrate different points of view. And write and tell us!

The goals of the unit are to:
—Provide students with a history of Burma that includes all ethnic, religious, and political groups
—Provide students with a solid chronological understanding of the history of Burma
—Provide students with knowledge of the important events, discoveries, developments and changes, and famous personalities from the history of Burma
—Provide students with multiple perspectives on controversial events and convey that understanding these multiple perspectives is essential to understanding history
—Provide opportunities for students to be historians (to find, evaluate, and interpret sources; to think critically and form their own opinions about history)
—Encourage students to think about history in the context of their own lives and to understand they are a part of history
—Encourage a culture of tolerance and democracy inside and outside of the classroom
Section I: Monarchs and Kingdoms (2500 BC—1885 AD)

What do you already know about the history of Burma?

**OBJECTIVE**
The purpose of this lesson is to gauge the knowledge students already have about the history of Burma. When you understand what students know and what they don’t know, you can adjust your teaching to fill in the gaps in their knowledge and go deeper into familiar topics. This lesson also gives students a chance to bring their knowledge into the classroom, which will help them feel like they are playing an important role in their learning.

**group work**

Students work in small groups to come up with around 5 items in each category.

**Example answers:**

Important Events: *Kings rule Burma, British colonize Burma, WWII and the Japanese occupation, Burma gets independence, ethnic revolutions begin, military coup, pro-democracy demonstrations….*

Discoveries, Developments, and Changes: *Development of health and education systems, change from parliamentary democracy to military regime, change from socialist economy to market economy….*

Famous Personalities: *King Anawratha, King Tabinshweti, Aung San, U Nu, Ne Win, Dr. San C. Po, Saw Ba U Gyi, Aung San Suu Kyi, Khin Nyunt, Than Shwe….*

Ordinary People Like You: *birth, family events, move to another place, start school, join an organization….*

Make a timeline on the board and have groups share some of the items they listed. Students copy the timeline in their books; at the end of the unit, they will be able to see how much they have learned since the first day.

As timelines will be important in this unit, you may want to review students’ understanding of BC and AD (BCE and CE) and related topics.

**discussion**

This discussion gives students a chance to explain their interests. You can make notes about what topics the students are especially eager to study, and emphasize these topics. If possible you can look for supplementary materials or guest speakers about these topics.
History: Whose story?

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- identify some controversial issues in Burma’s history
- different perspectives about history; from their families or from school
- why different perspectives exist; how there is no fixed version of history
**A. Answers:**

1. Your ancestors are your family members who lived long ago in ancient times.
2. Historians do research in order to find evidence that will give them information about things that happened long ago. Then, they can try to prove their ideas about history are correct.
3. History is controversial because people have different ideas about it. People do not always have the same perspective on history, because they have had different experiences or have learned different information.

**B. Students decide which of these options is the main point of the text. Of these options, one is the main point, one is a supporting point, one is not part of the text, and one is a conclusion. If your students find this exercise easy, you might ask them to identify which is which.**

**Answers:**

A. *(People have different ideas about the history of Burma)* is the main point.

B. *(It’s OK to disagree about what happened in Burma)* is a conclusion

C. *(History is a very difficult subject because of all the different ideas)* is not part of the text.

D. *(Many groups think they were the first people in Burma)* is a supporting point.

**C. Answers:**

1. C. *are not sure what happened in Burma and disagree sometimes.*
2. A. *sometimes fought and sometimes worked together.*
3. C. *could have been any of several groups; historians are not sure.*

**group work**

This group work gives students a chance to bring up controversial issues that are important to them.

**Example answers:**

*The BIA’s actions during WWII, the SPDC’s human rights violations, the 1990 elections, ceasefire negotiations, other subjects....*

**discussion**

This discussion gives students a chance to think about why people have different ideas about history. They might say that people lived in different places, had different experiences, read different books, or heard different stories from their families.
Myths and legends

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- myths and legends from different cultures
- relationship of myths and legends with ethnic identity
- importance of oral histories
A. Answers:
1. Myths and legends are stories passed down from old people to young people. These stories are not always written down in books; sometimes they are spoken out loud as oral history. These stories have symbols in them that help people understand the past and remember who they are today.
2. If you run around in a circle, you will get dizzy.
3. If you have plentiful food, you will not feel hungry or awful.
4. The sands of the desert are light brown.

B. Answers:
1. Muang Mao, or dizzy land  B. Shan
2. Thimzing, or great darkness  A. Chin
3. Hongsa, or golden sheldrake bird  D. Mon
4. Kawthoolei, or pleasant land  C. Karen

C. Student shut their modules, and remember what the legends say about these things.
Answers:
- The female golden sheldrake bird was standing on top of the male bird on a small rock. The Buddha said that this place will be a great city.
- The magic harp led the elephants to the place where the tilanka took the queen
- The Land of Flowing Sands is where Karen people come from
- Dry wood and stones came to life, so people couldn’t make fires

In pairs, students tell each other a myth or legend from either their culture or another culture that they know. Then each pair joins with another pair, so they are in groups of four. Did they tell the same stories, or different ones? If anyone has a different story, they explain it to the group. Groups explain their stories to the class (no need to retell the stories again, just summarize). How many stories are there in the class?

A. Do students think that all people believe that these things happened? Who tells these stories nowadays? Students discuss how these stories are used today.

You might like to point out that they are often told to children—why? Probably so children can get an idea of their cultural history and background and feel that they are part of a group.

B. Students discuss why myths and legends are important to people.

You might point out that legends give people a sense of group identity, people can feel that their culture is unique, different from others, important, and special. Myths help people understand their identity. They might say that passing down oral histories helps older people to communicate with younger people.
What life was like in ancient times

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- ancient life; kingdoms, religions and lifestyles of ordinary people
- compare and contrast life in ancient times to life today, and how it was different.
**Exercises**

**Answers:**

1. When large groups of people move from one place to another, they migrate.
2. Village chiefs paid tribute to more powerful rulers.
3. Muhammad is the prophet of Islam.
4. If a king had enough power, he could build a large empire.
5. In animism, people believe in nature spirits.
6. Christianity is the religion in which people believe in Jesus Christ.
7. In Buddhism, people try to reach enlightenment.
8. A mandala kingdom is one in where the ruler at the center is most powerful, and rulers in far away areas are less powerful.
9. Kings were at the top of the hierarchy in ancient Burma.
10. Empires expand when kings are powerful.

**Group Work**

Students work in groups, and make lists of things that these people would have done in ancient times.

**Examples:**

Kings: made empires, built palaces, had wars, built temples…

Princes and Chiefs: paid tribute to kings, ruled over their areas…

Ordinary people: grew rice, fished, migrated, fought in armies…

Make class lists on the board.

**Discussion**

Get students’ ideas on things that are the same and things that are different. Students might say that things that are the same are that ordinary people still grow rice, fish, and fight in armies. They might say that the things that are different are that there are not kings anymore, countries have more permanent borders, and chiefs do not have to pay tribute to the capital.
Ancient kingdoms

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- basic information about important events from ancient times; who was around where, at what time, doing what.
- how different groups influenced each other
- map skills; ethnicities and kingdoms
- analyze why each ethnic group might claim to have arrived first
- put events in chronological order
exercises

A. Answers:

1. Different cultures influenced each other and shared their knowledge.
2. Trade between different areas brought new technology.
3. Empires declined after they got too big.
4. The British colonized Burma.
5. Princes rebel against kings when they wanted more power for themselves.
6. The region of Southeast Asia had many kingdoms and civilizations.
7. The Mon established a kingdom called Ramanyadesa.
8. The architecture in Arakanese areas was beautiful; there were many large buildings.

B. Students write the information about kingdoms and empires on this timeline. You might want to copy it onto the board and elicit a few examples first.

Answers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AD:</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>500</th>
<th>1000</th>
<th>1500</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gupta Empire</td>
<td>Dhanyawadi</td>
<td>Thatan</td>
<td>Ramanyadesa</td>
<td>Pegu</td>
<td>Mrauk-U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Halin</td>
<td>Hongsawaddy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Beikthano</td>
<td>Thayetkhittaya</td>
<td>Sriksetra</td>
<td>Pagan</td>
<td>Ava</td>
<td>Toungoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muang Mao</td>
<td>Sukothai</td>
<td>Lan-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanchao</td>
<td>Mongols</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Students match the ethnicities with kingdoms or cities.

Answers:

1. C. Burman
2. A. Mon
3. E. Arakanese
4. B. Shan
5. D. Pyu
Discuss as a class how groups might have influenced each other.

**Examples:**

*Good influences include sharing language, religion, art, knowledge, or goods.*
*Bad influences include oppression, forcing a group to lose their identity, or violence and war.*

**group work**

A. Students work in groups of four or five. They use the information on pages 9 and 10, and write about 5 questions (and answers) about this information, e.g.:  
   - Which ethnic group lived at Dhanyawadi? (Arakanese)  
   - When did Europeans first come to Burma? (15th century)

B. Everyone closes the modules. Groups read out their questions. Other groups discuss and decide on the correct answer, and write it down. After all groups have read out their questions, check the answers. Which group got the most correct answers?

**homework**

This timeline activity will continue throughout the module. Each student will need a large piece of paper—the larger the better. Students draw a timeline across the paper, starting from the first century (1AD/1BCE), finishing now, e.g.:

Students write the events from pages 9 and 10 on this timeline, as in the examples above. They should use small writing as they will add more and more to their timelines throughout the module. After they have done this, get students to keep their timelines in a safe place. You might ask them to leave them on the walls, if possible, or in a cupboard in the classroom.
Section II: Colonialism (1885—1948)

What is colonialism?

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- define “colonialism”
- motivation of colonizing powers
- economic and social impact of colonialism
- map skills: geography of the British Empire

A. Answers:

* Europeans began to colonize other countries in the 16th century. Some tried to modernize these countries because they believed that the local people were not civilized.*

* Missionaries tried to bring Christianity to people. The Europeans also used the land’s natural resources to get raw materials to bring back to Europe. Sometimes the British mistreated the local people, and the local people did not accept them. Colonialism had economic, political, social, and religious effects.*
B. Students fill in the chart with information about the reasons for colonialism—why the British wanted to colonize Burma and other countries in Asia and around the world.

**Answers (from the text):**

**Economic**
- to get natural resources and raw materials
- to use local people as labor

**Political**
- to gain control of more places in the world

**Social**
- because they believed non-Europeans were not civilized
- they thought they were modernizing education, health and political systems

**Religious**
- to bring Christianity to people

Encourage students to add their own ideas to the chart.

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**group work**

In groups, students look at the map and identify as many former British colonies as they can. Countries that gained independence before 1900, such as the US, are not part of this exercise).

**A list of British colonies in 1900:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burma</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Sri Lanka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Somalia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Rhodesia</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>Guyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei</td>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Malawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Tobago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**discussion**

As a class, discuss how colonialism affected the world. Try to get students to talk about their own ideas and feelings, rather than only the ideas in the texts, e.g., how did local people feel under colonialism?

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**homework**

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
The Anglo-Burmese wars

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- disputes over territories in 1824-1826, 1852, and 1885
- local resistance to colonialism
- analyze the reasons why the British were able to win the wars
- look for bias in a text
- identify different perspectives

Extra Idea
Have you or your students heard the expression ‘neo-colonialism’? What does it mean?

*Neo means ‘new’ so neo-colonialism means ‘new colonialism.’ The term is used to
describe richer countries—sometimes the former colonizing powers, sometimes newer
powerful countries—behaving like colonizers.*

Do your students think modern powerful countries behave like colonizers? What is similar, and what is different? Discuss this with your students. Some points to bring out or elicit:

- *These days, most countries do not occupy other countries with force, do not invade
  with armies. This still happens, but is much less common.*
- *Many large international companies get natural resources and raw materials from
  poorer countries and use local people as labor.*
- *International NGOs are working to ‘modernize’ education, health and political systems*
- *Missionaries are still working to spread Christianity*

This is a large, complex and controversial topic! If you are interested, these ideas are discussed in the study of *globalization.*
exercises

A. Answers:
1. First, the British annexed Arakan and Tenasserim.
2. The first Anglo-Burmese war started because the Burmese chased some dacoits into territory the British had claimed.
3. The British were disrespectful of the Burmese custom of taking off shoes when entering a building.
4. The British and Burmese had fights over territory in Assam and Manipur.
5. The British and the Burmese tried negotiation to solve their problems, but it did not work, so they fought wars.
6. The Burmese had rebellions against the British, but the British took control of Burma anyway.
7. Always try to avoid bad things.

B. Students answer these questions. They should use their own words, rather than copy exactly from the texts, where possible. You might like to make students close their modules and answer the questions without looking at the text.

Answers:
1. The Burmese chased some dacoits into British India.
2. The British took them to live in India.
3. They fought with each other, and different ethnic groups rebelled against them.
4. The British had more soldiers and better weapons, and the Konbaung kings had problems.

C. For this exercise, students try to guess/figure out whether the writer of the module thinks these things. If they think that any of these statements are the writer’s opinion, they should produce evidence from the text to back up this.

Answers:
1. No
2. No
3. Yes, because the writer lists many problems (disputes about territory, conflicts about religious and social customs such as the shoe question) and talks about the Burmese rebelling against the British.

group work

In groups, students have a role play about the shoe problem. Students work in groups of 6-10. One member of each group is the Burmese king, others are British officials and Burmese palace workers. Groups act out the scene when the British refuse to remove their shoes. They decide on a dialogue between these people, rehearse it and act it out for the class.

discussion

As a class, discuss the British and the Burmese opinions and attitudes about the Anglo-Burmese wars. What do they think these opinions were? How would Burmese and British people have talked about these events? You might like to encourage the class to imagine British and Burmese newspapers at that time. How would they report these wars? What would they say about them?

homework

A. Students imagine they are a British official who went to the palace and didn’t remove his shoes. They write letters (perhaps to their friends in Britain) describing the situation.

B. Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Colonial administration

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- map skills: “Frontier Areas” and “Burma Proper”
- different administration of these areas
- different treatment of ethnic groups
- “divide and rule” policies
- long-term effects of these policies
A. Answers:

1. The British used a **divide and rule policy** to keep the ethnic groups separate from each other.
2. When you buy something, you may have to pay **taxes** on it.
3. Burma Proper included lands in the flat part of Burma; but outside of the plains, the British set up the Frontier Areas, where hill people lived.
4. The British used **direct rule** when they wanted more power over an area, and they used **indirect rule** when they wanted to let the local leaders stay in power.
5. The British may not have fully understood what the **consequences** of their actions in Burma would be in the future.
6. Loyal people make very good friends, because you can depend on them when you need help.
7. The British colonial administration decided to separate the hills from the plains.

B. Answers:

1. The British changed the region by **B. making permanent boundaries between Burma and other countries.**
2. The British were similar to the Konbaung kings because they **A. let some local leaders stay in power.**
3. “Divide and Rule” is a policy that **C. kept different ethnic groups separated.**
4. The British **B. increased the divisions between ethnic groups in Burma.**
C. Students identify whether their hometown or village is in Burma Proper or in the Frontier Areas. They draw a star where their hometown or village is located.

**Extra Idea**
If you find your students come from many different areas of Burma, pass around a map and ask each student to star where their home town or village is. Post this for the students to see.

**discussion**
As a class, discuss the results of this division. What do students think are the consequences of this policy for modern-day Burma? How do they think life would be different if the British had ruled all of Burma as one country? You might like to bring up or elicit these points:
- **Would ethnic groups get along better with each other?**
- **Would people speak the same language?**
- **Would ethnic groups have a different opinion of the British?**

**homework**
Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Effects of colonization

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- development during the colonial era
- evaluate good and bad points of these developments
- analyze the effects of colonization
A. Answers:
1. The British built more infrastructure in the cities than they did in the Frontier Areas.
2. Viceroy, commissioners and governors ruled Burma for the British monarchy.
3. Missionaries converted many people who lived in the hills to Christianity.
4. The British made Burma a diarchy in 1935, but they still did not give the Burmese much power.
5. Petroleum makes cars run.
6. If your parents give you things that their parents gave them, those things are hereditary.

B. Students fill in the chart with information about the effects of colonialism—things that happened on Burma as a result of colonialism.

Answers (from the text):

- **Economic**
  - British introduced their money
  - Farmers sold rice to the British, as they needed money to pay tax
  - British took raw materials to sell or take to Britain

- **Political**
  - British exiled the Konbaung monarchy
  - British removed mothugyis and gave power to thugyis
  - Burma controlled by viceroys, commissioners and governors
  - Burma had British laws
  - British ruled from Rangoon

- **Social**
  - Cities were modernized, different lifestyles for city and country people
  - more hospitals and schools
  - schools taught British perspectives
  - many Chinese and Indian people came to Burma

- **Religious**
  - British did not promote Buddhism
  - many hill people converted to Christianity

Encourage students to also add their own ideas to the chart.

C. Students answer these questions. They should use their own words, rather than copy exactly from the texts, where possible. You might ask students close their modules and answer the questions without looking at the text.

Answers:
1. Burma used British money. Farmers sold rice to British, rather than using it themselves, as they had to pay taxes. The British took a lot of Burma’s raw materials, to sell or take to Britain.
2. They became more powerful, replacing the myothugyis.
3. The British and the Burmese shared power, but the British still made the important decisions.
4. They became more modern with improved infrastructure
5. Britain was good for Burma.

**group work**

In groups, students make lists: the benefits of colonialism (good things) and the bad effects of colonialism. Groups present their lists to the class. Make a class list on the board.

**homework**

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Increasing ethnic diversity in Burma

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- Chinese and Indian people coming to Burma; in urban business, as landowners
- the reaction of Burmese people to Chinese and Indian immigration
- analyze the problems and consequences of Chinese and Indian immigration
- look at the effects on Burma’s present citizenship laws
A. Fill in the gaps from the KEY WORDS box.
1. Only people who can show that their families have lived in Burma since before 1824 can have citizenship.
2. The British brought Indians to Burma to work for the government as civil servants.
3. Burmese people resented their Indian landlords, who owned their land, and the moneylenders, who lent them money. These Indians were called chettyars.
4. Ethnic diversity increased in Burma in the 19th century.
5. Some groups intermarried, but others mostly married people from their own ethnic group.
6. Many people have been hurt and killed in riots that happened because of communal conflict.

B. Answers:
1. Indians who came to Burma became D. all of the above.
2. Communal riots usually happened when C. there were difficult economic conditions and people were angry.
3. Burmese people resented Chinese and Indian people because A. these groups sometimes had more money and power, and because the Burmese did not want to lose their own culture.

C. Students research and write a paragraph about the causes of anti-Chinese and/or anti-Indian riots in Burma. They could get information from people in their community who remember these riots and any other sources available to them. If students do not live near people who remember this or have other sources of information, skip this exercise.

Discussion
Have a class discussion about the causes of bad feelings of Burmese people toward Chinese and Indians during the colonial period and later. Do they agree with Burma’s present citizenship law? How would they change this law?

Homework
Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Missionaries

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- Christian missionaries among the Karen, Kachin, Karenni, Chin, and hill people
- analyze positive and negative effects of missionaries
- separation of church and state
A. Answers:
1. There has been tension between Christians and people of other religions in Burma that has caused different groups to resent each other.
2. If people believe in the idea of separation of church and state, then they feel that the government should not take the side of one religion; they support secularism.
3. It is easiest for missionaries to convert marginalized people who are suffering, who need protection, or who are looking for salvation.
4. Baptist, Catholic, and Anglican are denominations of Christianity.
5. There was a Karen prophecy that a white brother would come with a special book that would help the Karen people.

B. Answers:
1. The missionaries B. tried to help people, but also caused tension.
2. The missionaries were most successful at C. were marginalized or had prophecies converting people who similar to Christian ideas.
3. The missionaries helped converts by D. all of the above.

C. Students look through the text, decide whether these sentences are true or false (according to the text) or not stated (the text does not mention this point at all)
Answers:
1. true
2. false - they are more successful
3. true
4. not stated
5. true
6. not stated

discussion
Discuss the separation of church and state—whether the government should encourage and promote one religion. Do students like this idea? What are the consequences of it?

homework
Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Anti-colonial activities

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- resistance to colonialism: Saya San, U Ottama, U Wisara, and others
- analyze why people resisted colonialism
- reactions to anti-colonial activities
- differentiate between facts, opinions, and hypotheses
- consider different perspectives of colonialism
A. Answers:
1. The Burmese in the YMBA wanted independence from Britain.
2. Nationalism causes people to fight for their country.
3. During the colonial era, Burma was not a democracy; it was ruled by the British monarchy.
4. Participating in a strike by not working or going to a demonstration are both ways to let the government know about your ideas.
5. People who make good speeches can inspire others to do what they say.
6. Going on a hunger strike is not good for your health.

B. Explain fact, opinion and hypothesis to the students:

- **fact**: a thing that is true, definitely happened
- **opinion**: the writer’s thoughts on events or people
- **hypothesis**: something that might be true but is not proven. With a hypothesis, it is possible (if not necessarily practical) to get proof to either support or disprove it.

Answers:
1. Hypothesis (we don’t know what “most people” thought, but if we did some research, we could find out the majority idea on independence)
2. Fact (they were part of the GCBA, which organized pro-independence activities)
3. Opinion
4. Opinion
5. Hypothesis (the text doesn’t say what history was taught in these schools, but we could do some research and find out)
6. Hypothesis (we don’t know for sure what the exact causes were. It seems likely that economic conditions were a major factor but more research is needed to make this statement a fact. However, it is very, very likely to be true.)

C. Students write paragraphs describing these people, organizations and events. They should use their own words, not copy the text. Encourage them to contribute their own knowledge or thoughts, as well as the information in the texts.

**group work**

Students get into groups of four or five, and choose one person or organization from C. They compare their paragraphs about this person or organization. Then they write a statement from this person or organization about their aims, and the reasons for their actions. You might like to show this example to the class.

**Example:**

*We, the Saya san rebellion, want independence for Burma. We do not want British colonial control over us, we want to rule ourselves. We are poor people, farmers and peasants. We cannot afford to pay taxes to the British. We will attack British buildings until we get independence. We are prepared to die for our beliefs. INDEPENDENCE FOR BURMA!*

**discussion**

Discuss the British response to anti-colonial activities. Sometimes they gave Burmese more independence, sometimes they reacted violently, and tried to stop all opposition. Students try to see the perspective of the British at the time. Why would they give the Burmese more independence? Why would they suppress independence movements? If the students were British officials in the 1930s, what would they have done?

**homework**

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Burmese nationalism and the thakin movement

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- Important figures in the Burma nationalist movement: Aung San, U Nu, Thakin Kodaw Hmaing, and the Dobama Asi-ayone
- evaluate strengths and weaknesses of the nationalist movement
- identify main ideas in a text
- examine alternative tactics to involve more ethnic groups in the independence movement
exercises

A. Answers:
1. Burmese nationalists started an organization called the Do-bama Asi-Ayone and began calling each other “thakin” to show they were their own masters.
2. People in the Burmese nationalist movement wanted to expel the British from Burma; they were determined to get independence.
3. If you want to express your feelings, you can write them down or tell your friends about them. They will be interested to know your opinion.
4. The DAA demanded independence from the British.

B. Answers:
1. E
2. A
3. B
4. C
5. D

C. Students answer these questions. They should use their own words where possible, rather than copy exactly from the texts. You might ask students to close their modules and answer the questions without looking at the text.

Answers:
1. Because previously they had to call the British thakin—”master”—and they wanted to show they were their own masters.
2. Thakin Ba Thaung and Thakin Lay Maung.
3. Because of their political activities.
4. Many nationalities but it didn’t really include people from the Frontier Areas.
5. A lot of people in the Frontier Areas wanted their own independent nations. They did not feel connected to Burma Proper and didn’t want to be part of a Burmese nation.

D. Students read through the text and identify the main point.
Answer: B

discussion

Discuss this issue with the students. How could the nationalist movement have gotten more support from people in Frontier Areas? What strategies could they have used to work together with Frontier Area people?

homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Bogyoke Aung San

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- the biography, character and beliefs of General Aung San
- analyze the reasons why Aung San was such an important leader
- reference new information and prior knowledge

If you or your students would like to read more about the life and ideas of Bogyoke Aung San in English, his daughter Aung San Suu Kyi wrote a biography of him ‘Aung San’. Also, Kin Oung’s book ‘Who Killed Aung San’ discusses the events around his assassination. Contact the Curriculum Project if you want a copy of either book.
A. Answers:
1. People respected Bogyoke Aung San because he was good at making compromises and he could negotiate with all people.
2. Bogyoke Aung San was assassinated in 1947.
3. He wanted to convince the British to leave Burma.
4. He negotiated with British and ethnic leaders so Burma could get independence.
5. People who are direct will tell you their opinions.
6. You are related to your grandmother, grandfather, and cousins.

B. Students decide whether these statements are facts or opinions (no hypotheses in this exercise).
Answers:
1. F
2. O
3. O
4. F
5. F
6. O

C. Students look through the text and decide whether these sentences are true or false (according to the text) or not stated (the text does not mention this point at all).
Answers:
1. T
2. F
3. NS
4. F
5. F
6. T

D. Students think of a list of things they learned about Bogyoke Aung San before studying this module. They write these in the things you know column. Then they look through the text for new information about Aung San, and write it in the new information column. Then they think of a list of things they would like to find out about him—perhaps more about his personal life? Which leaders he most admired? Why didn’t he support independent nations for ethnic groups? What ethnic leaders really thought about him? They write these in the things you want to know column.

discussion

Have a class discussion about why leaders need to compromise. You might want to make these points:
If two sides want different things, it is not possible for both to get everything they want. Without compromise, one side will win and the other side will lose, which leads to bad feelings. If both sides compromise and agree to get some things they want but allow the other side to have some things they want, both sides can be satisfied.

homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Ethnic leaders in the colonial era

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- important ethnic leaders during colonial times
- case study of Dr. San C. Po;
- compare and contrast Aung San’s ideas and San C. Po’s ideas
- analyze different perspectives on independence
- review topics studied in Sections 1 and 2 of this module
A. Answers:

1. The House of Representatives had more power to make laws than the Legislative Council.
2. Members of the Karen National Association worked to oppose self-rule so the Karen people would not come under the control of the Burmans.
3. Dialogue is one way to reconcile problems without fighting.
4. I will cook the rice; meanwhile, you should cook the curry.
5. The Shan Sawbwas formed a council, and the Kachin Duwas discussed the future of their people.
6. If you are concerned about a problem, you can talk to your friends about it and maybe they will help you.
7. Many Burmese nationalists attended Rangoon University.
8. If you are appointed chairperson of the council, then you will have an important job.
9. The indigenous people of an area know it very well.
10. The principal reason that Dr. San C. Po did not want self-rule was that he did not trust the Burmans.

B. Answers:

1. Dr. San C. Po did not want Burma to have self-rule because
   b. he worried the Burmans wouldn’t treat the Karens as equals.
2. Many people respect Dr. San C. Po because
   a. he wanted to solve problems peacefully by discussing them.
In groups of four or five, students rephrase Dr. San C. Po’s statement. They can do this in English or in their own language.

Example answer (English):

*The country of Burma, which includes people from many different ethnic groups, will not be a stable country unless all ethnic groups have fair and equal treatment and the chance to participate in running the country.*

Groups read their statements to the class and discuss which statement is the most accurate.

Discuss the difference and similarities between San C. Po and Aung San’s ideas.

**Suggestions:**

- **Similarities** - They tried to solve problems through dialogue
  
  *They both wanted ethnic groups to participate in government*  

- **Differences** - San C. Po didn’t want the British to leave, Aung San did.
  
  *San C. Po wanted an independent Karen nation, while Aung San wanted a united Burma.*

A. Students imagine that they were around in the 1920s. They write a paragraph about their opinions of self rule, explaining their opinions.

B. Students write the events from this section on their timelines.

A. Students choose eight of these people, places, things or events and write a few sentences about them. They should use their own words, either in English or their own language, rather than copy the wording in the module. Encourage them to use as many of their own ideas as possible. If you like, make posters for each topic. Stick each paragraph on a piece of paper, in topics (e.g., make a poster about the Pyu and stick everyone’s paragraph on the Pyu on this poster), so students can read everyone’s poster.

B. In groups of four or five, students write quiz questions about the information in Sections 1 and 2. Everyone closes their modules. Groups read out their questions. Other groups discuss and decide on the correct answer and write it down. After all groups have read out their questions, check the answers. Which group got the most correct answers?

C. This exercise is only possible if your students live somewhere where there are older people who remember life under the British and are happy to talk to your students about it. First, they work in groups to write a list of questions they want to ask someone about life under the British. Then they interview an older person to find out as much as they can. After they have completed their interview, they present the results of their interview to the class.

**Extra Idea**

*If you know an older person who has a lot of ideas and things to say about life under the British, invite them to talk to your students.*
Section III: World War II (1940—1945)

Overview of WW II

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- Allies and Axis powers
- fascism
- conflict between British and Japanese in Southeast Asia
- map skills: WW II in Asia and the Pacific
**exercises**

Answers:
1. Germany, Italy, and Japan all had fascist governments.
2. Japan invaded and occupied Burma in 1941.
3. England and France stopped following a policy of appeasement in 1939 when Germany attacked Poland.
4. Hitler committed genocide against Jewish civilians.
5. The Allied powers, including Britain, France, and the USA, made an alliance that said they would help each other in fighting against the Axis powers.
6. Japan, Germany, and Italy surrendered to the Allied powers in 1945.

**group work**

In groups, students look at the map and write a list of the countries the Axis Powers controlled by 1942. If possible, give each group access to a color atlas or world map.

Answers:
- Germany controlled: Finland, Poland, Soviet Union, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), Yugoslavia, Greece, and Czechoslovakia.
- Italy controlled: Libya.
- Japan controlled: China, Manchuria, Philippines, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, New Guinea, and many islands in the Pacific Ocean.

**discussion**

Have a class discussion about the reasons the Allies opposed fascism. You might like to elicit or make these points:
- Ideological reasons - many people in Allied countries disliked fascism
- They did not want to be under the control of the Axis powers
- They had made agreements to defend countries the Axis powers attacked.

**homework**

Students write the events from this section on their timelines. Check if there is still space on their timelines. There is a lot more of the module to go, and if their timelines are already full, you may need to give them some more paper.
The 30 Comrades

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- Aung San and the 30 Comrade’s trip to Japan
- analyze the motivations of the Japanese government
- consider the perspective of the Burmese nationalists
- research a biography
**exercises**

**Answers:**

1. *The Burmese nationalists started an underground movement because they did not want the British to know what they were doing.*

2. *At the thwe thauk ceremony, the 30 Comrades promised each other to try to get independence from Britain.*

3. *The average of 5, 6, and 7 is 6.*

4. *If you promise your loyalty to your organization, that means that you will do whatever you can to work for it.*

5. *Administrative training was just as important as military training, because the 30 Comrades needed to know how to run their country.*

**group work**

A. In groups of four or five, students imagine they are Burmese nationalists in the late 1930s. What would they have done? Would they have joined the 30 Comrades? Was it a good idea to get help from the Japanese? Why or why not? Groups make lists of good and bad points of getting help from the Japanese.

**Suggested answers:**

**Good points** - Immediate help to get independence (they act quickly)

Japanese are Asian, may be more culturally similar to Burma than Britain

**Bad Points** - Japanese have their own plans to control Asia

Not sure if it is possible to trust the Japanese

Groups present their lists to the class.

B. Groups choose three of the 30 comrades and find out as much as they can about them. How easy this will be depends on the school’s resources. There is some extra information in the Supplementary Pack. Encourage students to ask people who might remember the 30 Comrades. If possible, get groups to make posters about their three Comrades and put them on the wall.

**homework**

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Japanese occupation

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- Japanese occupation; life under the Japanese and atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers
- resistance: ethnic minority groups, the Anti-Fascist Organization
- Dr. Ba Maw’s leadership
- analyze the strategies of the anti-Japanese resistance
A. Answers:

1. The Chinese nationalist army was called the **Kuomintang**.
2. The Japanese soldiers committed terrible *atrocities* such as torture and *rape* against Burmese civilians.
3. The British followed a *scorched earth policy*, so it was difficult for farmers to grow food for themselves during the war.
4. The Japanese let the Burmese nationalists set up a *puppet government*, but it did not really have any power.
5. When armies *retreat*, sometimes they *destroy* everything so that the army that is coming will have a difficult time.
6. The BIA started *resistance* against the Japanese in 1945.
7. If you *commit* a crime, you might have to go to prison.

B. Answers:

1. The Burmese people welcomed the Japanese at first because *b. they thought the Japanese would help them get independence from Britain.*
2. The Japanese *d. said Burma was independent but did not give the Burmese political power.*
3. The BIA started resisting the Japanese because *a. the leaders realized the Japanese did not really want to give Burma independence.*
4. Some ethnic minority people fought against the Japanese from the beginning of the occupation because *b. they were loyal to the British.*

**discussion**

Have a class discussion about the BIA’s decision to rebel against the Japanese in 1945. Why do students think they rebelled at this time? Would earlier or later have been better?

**homework**

A. Students write the events from this section on their timelines.

B. This exercise is only possible if your students live where there are older people, who remember life under the Japanese and are happy to talk to your students about it. First, they work in groups to write a list of questions they want to ask someone about life under the Japanese. Then they interview an older person and find out as much as they can. After they have completed their interview, they present the results of their interview to the class.

**Extra Idea**

*If you know an older person who has a lot of ideas and things to say about life under the Japanese, invite them to talk to your students.*
The Burma Road

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- the Burma Road and Ledo Road
- consider perspectives of the people who built the Burma Road
- map skills: Japanese supply lines from Kunming to Rangoon
- analyze the reasons for international awareness of the Burma Road
exercises

Answers:
1. If you don’t want someone’s plan to succeed, you can try to sabotage it.
2. The Minami Kikan collected information about what was happening inside Burma during WW II.
3. The Burma Road was an important way to transport supplies.

group work

A. In groups, students draw the Burma Road and the Ledo Road on the map. The information they need to do this is in the text.
Answer:

B. Students look back at the excerpt from The Burma Road. This describes the experience of the workers building the Ledo Road. In their groups, students write more of this description—they continue writing the story. Groups present their writing to the class.

Extra Idea

Do a Collaborative Chain Story. The class takes turns to add a sentence to the story—student 1 continues the story from the text. Student 2 says what happens next, etc., etc.

discussion

The Burma Road is very famous in the US, especially to people who were alive during WW II. Many Americans who know nothing about Burma know about the Burma Road. Discuss the reasons for this with the class. Do they think the Burma Road story can help Americans understand the situation in Burma? You might like to elicit or make these points:
- The Burma Road story is mostly about Americans, so Americans know about it.
- The Burma Road story focuses more on Americans and Allies trying to win World War II. It doesn’t involve Burmese people or the Burmese situation much.
- However, the Burma Road story is very important in the history of Burma, as it was important in who controlled Burma. When the Ledo Road was built, the British were able to regain control over Burma.

homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Problems between the Burmese Independence Army (BIA) and ethnic minorities during World War II

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- the BIA; its founding and goals
- BIA actions in Burma (including atrocities committed by BIA soldiers and retaliations by ethnic groups)
- analyze relations between ethnic groups and the BIA
- discuss alternative trust-building strategies between these groups
A. Answers:
1. During World War II, communal violence happened between Burmans and Karens.
2. A mob of thakins killed Saw Pe Tha.
3. The BIA gathered recruits as they traveled through the country.
4. Some Karen villages were looted by armed gangs.
5. If someone does something bad to you, you might want to get revenge.
6. BIA troops needed more weapons.
7. There were problems between the BIA and ethnic minorities in several places in Burma, but in particular in Karen areas.

B. Students look at the photo of the Kachin and US soldiers during World War II. In groups, pairs or individually, they decide what is happening in this photograph. What is the relationship between these people? Are they friends or enemies?

Suggestion: We don’t know exactly what is happening in this photo as we couldn’t find an explanation of it. It is probably Kachin villagers helping US troops build the Ledo Road.

group work
In groups, students read the statement by Saw Tha Din. Write an answer to him. Brainstorm a list of strategies the central (Burman-majority) government would need to do, so the Karen and other ethnic minority people can trust them, in the years immediately following WW II. Are any of these ideas and solutions relevant today? Do students think any of these actions are likely to happen in the future?

homework
Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Section IV: The Struggle for Independence (1945—1948)

The Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League and Aung San’s negotiations with Clement Attlee

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- the Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League
- Aung San’s negotiations with Attlee
- reaction from ethnic minority groups and other politicians
- analyze whether Aung San represented Burma well
Answers:
1. If you want to discredit someone, you can say something bad about that person.
2. Some ethnic minority leaders wanted Burma to become a dominion of Britain.
3. The question of ethnic minority rights was urgent to the ethnic minorities, but not as much to the Burmese nationalists.
4. Not getting what you want can be frustrating.
5. If you want to achieve your aims, you must work hard.
6. The transfer of power was not easy to negotiate because not all British officials wanted to work with the AFPFL.

In groups, students read the message from the Council of Federated Shan States. This message insists that there should be representatives from the Frontier Areas at the Aung San-Attlee negotiations. The British did not reply to this message, so there was no representation from the Frontier Areas present. Groups imagine what might have happened if they had been present, and think of a list of points Frontier Area people would have wanted to include in the agreement.

Extra Idea
Write a response from the British to the telegram. How do you think the British would have replied to the Shan leaders at that time?

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
The Panglong Agreement

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- the Panglong Conference and Panglong Agreement
- identify participants and non-participants
- analyze the wording and concepts used in the Panglong Agreement
- evaluate the importance of the Panglong Agreement
A. Answers:
   1. Some ethnic minority groups wanted self-determination and autonomy from Burma Proper so they could make decisions about their own areas.
   2. Intermediaries helped negotiations by talking to several groups at the Panglong Conference.
   3. In the Panglong Agreement, autonomy was accepted for the Frontier Areas in principle, but it was not clear what the reality would be.
   4. The Panglong Agreement promised all people hereditary rights.
   5. The Kachins wanted to safeguard their culture so that their fundamental religion and beliefs would not be lost.
   6. The leaders from the Frontier Areas were not sure if the AFPFL genuinely viewed them as equals.
   7. If someone is upset, you can reassure him or her that everything will be OK.

B. Students look through the text and decide whether these sentences are true or false (according to the text) or not stated (the text does not mention this point at all)

Answers:
   1. F (They met at the Panglong Conference)
   2. T
   3. T
   4. F
   5. T
   6. NS (They didn’t attend, but there is no information about whether they wanted to)
   7. T
   8. T

In groups of four or five, students look at the wording of the Panglong Agreement. With the terms “full autonomy in internal administration” and “the rights and privileges which are practiced as fundamental in democratic countries,” make a list of rights and privileges they think the agreement means. What things were the Frontier people allowed to decide? What rights were they allowed to have? Groups present their ideas to the class.

A. Students write the events from this section on their timelines.

B. Students write a paragraph on the relevance of the Panglong agreement to the situation in Burma today. Why, or why not, do students think it is important? They could write this either in English or their own language.
The British role in negotiating Burmese independence with ethnic minority people

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- the changing attitudes of the British towards Burmese independence
- the Frontier Areas Commission of Enquiry
- consider the perspective of the British, the AFPFL and ethnic groups
A. Answers:
1. Britain’s ultimate goal in the late 1940s was to have Burma Proper and the Frontier Areas become one country.
2. The British did not think it was realistic for ethnic minority groups to get their own states.
3. The British changed their premise about Burma’s unity in the late 1940s.
4. Ethnic leaders testified in front of the FACE. Their testimonies were about their plans for the future.
5. After World War II, the British were recovering from the problems they had during the war.
6. For the British, problems in India overshadowed problems in Burma.
7. The British decided to say that the Frontier Areas were not independent and were merely a part of Burma.
8. What is your approach to the problems in Burma?
9. Most parents would never abandon their children.

B. Answer:
D

C. Students answer these questions. They should use their own words, rather than copy exactly from the texts, where possible. You might ask students to close their modules and answer the questions without looking at the text.

Example answers:
1. Around the late 1940s
2. People were recovering from WW II
3. He thought the Frontier Areas and Burma Proper should be one country
4. They started the FACE commission and talked to different ethnic groups about what they wanted.
5. Some leaders did not want to discuss their issues with the British, there were different opinions within these groups, and some leaders did not speak on behalf of the majority.

In groups, students list the good and bad points about the British role in negotiating with Burma’s ethnic groups.

There are no right or wrong answers to this exercise, it depends on students’ opinions.

Suggestions:

Good points-
- they started a commission
- they went to the Frontier Areas to talk to different groups

Bad points-
- they had already decided on their plans before talking to the ethnic groups
- they didn’t take action on behalf of the ethnic groups
- they were in a hurry to get out, so didn’t take much care

Students imagine they are British officials in 1947. What would they have done? How could they have improved the situation? Have a class discussion.

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
1947 constitution

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- the 1947 Constitution, process and problems
- consider how the 1947 Constitution could be improved
- differentiate between facts, opinions, and hypotheses
- analyze the constitution’s statements on religion
A. Answers:
1. **Delegates** from various groups participated in writing the Constitution.
2. Not all of the delegates were **satisfied** with the 1947 Constitution, because they felt it did not settle important issues.
3. The State recognized that people in Burma profess belief in all different religions.
4. The British administration set a **precedent** for treating different groups in the Frontier Areas under different rules.
5. The Constitution promised the Shan and Karenni states the right to **secede** after ten years.
6. The Constitution was **inconsistent**, because it did not treat all groups equally.
7. Leaders from many communities made up the **Constituent Assembly**.
8. At the **Constitutional Convention**, leaders wrote the 1947 Constitution.
9. The main idea of the Constitution was **adopted**.

B. Answers:
1. **NS**
2. **T**
3. **F**
4. **F**
5. **NS**
6. **T**

C. Students decide whether these statements are facts or opinions (no hypotheses in this exercise).

Answers:
1. **F**
2. **F**
3. **O**
4. **O (They prepared for armed struggle. Whether they had to or not is an opinion)**
5. **F**
6. **O**

**group work**
In groups of four or five, students make lists of the good and bad points of the 1947 constitution. There are no right or wrong answers here; some students might think the right to secede is a good point, other might think it is a bad point.

**discussion**
Have a class discussion on the religious clause in the constitution. Was this clause a good way to solve religious differences in Burma? Basically the clause says the Buddhism is special, because it is the majority religion, but that Islam, Christianity, Hinduism and animism are also practiced. Do students think this is fair?

**homework**
Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
The assassination of Aung San and his cabinet

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- the assassination of Aung San and his cabinet
- causes and effects of the assassination
- imagine an alternative future

exercises

Answers:
1. People think of Bogyoke Aung San as a martyr because he died struggling for Burma’s independence.
2. U Saw was executed for assassinating Bogyoke Aung San.
3. International leaders sent their condolences because they were sorry for the people in Burma.
4. July 19th commemorates the people who died on that day.

group work

In groups, students imagine what would have happened if Aung San had not been killed. How would Burma be different? What things would be the same? Groups discuss this idea and tell the class what they think.

homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Section V: The Parliamentary System (1948—1962)

Independence for Burma: U Nu’s vision

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- U Nu
- analyze U Nu’s Independence Day speech and his vision for Burma
- summarize U Nu’s speech
- evaluate U Nu’s description of Burma’s history
A. Answers:
1. U Nu thought the influence of the West was all-pervading, because it had effects on every part of Burmese society.
2. U Nu said that if there was discord among different groups in Burma, the Union might not succeed.
3. U Nu said the different ethnic groups of Burma had been integrated into a union until the British had intruded and changed things.
4. U Nu called people in the Frontier Areas brethren because he wanted to show that he cared about them.
5. U Nu wanted Burmese culture to align with its government.
6. He thought the British “divide and rule” policy had retarded the integration of the races of Burma.
7. January 4 was chosen as Burma’s independence day because it was an auspicious date.
8. U Nu thought Burmese people should pursue their own way of life again instead of following the British.

B. Students decide which of these summaries is the closest in meaning to U Nu’s speech.
Answer: B.
The parliamentary system

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- the structure of the Parliamentary system in Burma
- analyze benefits and disadvantages of this system
- compare this system to a federal system

exercises

A. Answers:
1. The Prime Minister was nominated, and not elected.
2. Thailand’s head of state is the King.
3. Amendments to the constitution must be approved by both the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Nationalities.
4. The School Committee’s duty is to appoint new teachers.
5. Cabinet members are in charge of ministries.

B. Students answer these questions. They should use their own words, rather than copy exactly from the texts, where possible. You might ask students to close their modules and answer the questions without looking at the text.

Answers:
1. this depends on students’ opinions
2. nominate the Prime Minister and (together with the Chamber of Nationalities) appoint judges, pass laws, approve constitutional amendments, and decide about war peace and foreign relations
3. the Prime Minister
C. Students complete this chart by writing about the job descriptions of each position.

Answers:

- Economic and Social Board: advise the president on economic and social issues
- Union President: agree or not agree to state laws
- Union Prime Minister: appoint heads of state for states and divisions
- Cabinet: in charge of health, education, and foreign relations
- Chamber of Deputies: elect president, appoint judges, approve amendments to the constitution, pass laws, make decisions about military and foreign relations
- Chamber of Nationalities: nominate the Prime Minister, the above duties in parliament
- Union Parliament: elect president, appoint judges, approve amendments to the constitution, pass laws, make decisions about military and foreign relations
- Chin Special Division
  - State Council: make laws for Chin state
- Kachin State
  - State Council: make laws for Kachin state
- Karen State
  - State Council: make laws for Karen state
- Kayah State
  - State Council: make laws for Kayah state
- Shan State
  - State Council: make laws for Shan state
- Ministries of the Union:
  - Chin
  - Kachin
  - Karen
  - Kayah
  - Shan
  - Other ministries

Students work in groups of four or five, and ask each other questions about the information from the chart.

Have a class discussion on whether the parliamentary system fits the definition of “federalism.” There is no right or wrong answer to this, as the term “federalism” can cover a lot of systems and different federal systems give states or regions different amounts of autonomy. Some points you might like to make or elicit:

- States had limited autonomy. They can make their own decisions about some things.
- They couldn’t make their own decisions about education, health or foreign relations.
- State laws had to be approved by the President.
Communist rebellion

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- the Communist Party of Burma; the insurgency and its connections with China
- the Red Flag/White Flag split
- analyze the effects of the insurgency
- consider the perspective of young Burmese communists
**exercises**

**Answers:**

1. People who believe in communism want to cause a revolution that will let poor people rule society.
2. Socialists and communists are both leftists, even though they have different ideas.
3. Some people think that capitalism leads to exploitation or the bad treatment of poor people by rich people.
4. The CPB split into two factions, the Red Flag and the White Flag.
5. During the Cultural Revolution, some CPB leaders were purged.
6. Rural people are usually farmers.
7. Young people are often idealistic because they are full of energy and they believe that they can do good things in the world.
8. What kind of fruit do you favor? I like papayas.
9. The CPB used several different strategies for fighting against the government.

**group work**

In groups, students discuss U Aung Zeya’s statement about communism and why so many people supported it. You might like to make these points:

- Until the 1980s, many young people all over the world supported communism. It was seen as the only way to create a fair society, similar to the way “democracy” is seen now.
- Many of the communists in the 1950s and 1960s in Burma were probably quite similar to your students today.

**Extra Idea**

If you know anyone in your community who was (or is) a communist or a student activist in Burma in the 1950s, 1960s or 1970s, ask them to come and talk to your students.

**homework**

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Ethnic revolutions and insurgency in the parliamentary era

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- the start of ethnic insurgency in the parliamentary era
- case studies: Mon, Arakanese and Karen insurgent groups
- consider the perspectives of ethnic insurgent groups
- compare and contrast the aims and strategies of these groups
- evaluate the benefits of armed struggle and non-violent resistance
A. Answers:
1. The situation in Burma in the early 1950s was very chaotic.
2. There was hostility between different ethnic groups.
3. The Arakanese insurgency was led by U Seinda.
4. Insurgent groups made money by taxing trade.
5. Some people shout slogans when they are at demonstrations.

B. Students look through the text, decide whether these sentences are true or false (according to the text) or not stated (the text does not mention this point at all)

Answers:
1. T
2. T
3. F
4. F
5. NS
6. T

In their groups, students make lists of the similarities and differences between the Mon, Arakanese and Karen nationalist groups. Students can use the information from the text and their own knowledge.

Example answers:

**Similarities** - they had armed insurgent groups
they felt that their people were not treated fairly or equally
Arakanese and Karen groups both had splits in their movements

**Differences** - they had different priorities (Mon were concerned about more parliamentary representation; the Karen were concerned with state boundaries)
the Arakanese started their rebellion before Burma got independence

Discuss the issue of armed struggle. Do students agree that taking up arms against the government was the only choice the nationalist groups had? What alternative strategies can they think of? Would these have been more effective than armed struggle or less effective?

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Development during the parliamentary era

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- developments that happened in Burma in the parliamentary era: urbanization, education, health, literature and art
- differences between urban and rural populations
- civil society
- the causes and effects resulting from different developments
- imagine life in different areas of Burma
exercises

A. Answers:
1. The parliamentary government redistributed land so poor farmers could own their fields.
2. Burma exported rice and imported things from other countries.
3. War displaced many people, who had to leave their homes because of fighting.
4. Civil society, including associations of women, peasants, and workers, flourished during the Parliamentary era.
5. Government programs tried to help people, but they did not always adapt their programs to the people’s situations.
6. Intellectual people like to read books and talk about them with other people.
7. Land reform can help poor farmers get control of the land they farm.

B. Students complete the chart, writing the missing cause or effect.

Answers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cause</th>
<th>effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>people were poor, it was easy to get guns</td>
<td>there was a lot of crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>previous civil servants had left</td>
<td>many problems were difficult to fix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma exported rice, and imported other goods</td>
<td>the economic situation improved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic and social conditions improved</td>
<td>there was a stronger civil society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>development was greater in central Burma</td>
<td>ethnic minority groups were unhappy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism became the state religion</td>
<td>non-Buddhist groups got angry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

group work

A. Students get into three groups. Each group is a group of foreigners visiting Burma in the 1950s. Group A are visiting the cities. Group B are visiting the countryside. Group C are visiting ethnic insurgency areas. In their groups, students brainstorm lists of things they are likely to see.

B. Individually, students write a short letter to their families at ‘home’ describing what they see.
Put the letters on the wall, and encourage students to go around reading them. You might like to mix up the letters, put numbers on them, and get students to identify which letters are about urban, rural and insurgency areas. Have class discussion on the differences between these areas.

discussion

Discuss the Burma airways timetable cover and what Burma airways wants people to think of Burma and its national airline.

homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Burma’s foreign relations during the parliamentary era

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- Burma’s relationship with major powers such as China, Russia, Europe, and the USA
- analyze changes in these relationships
- the non-aligned movement
- map skills: characteristics of the non-aligned movement
Answers:
1. Burma chose to be non-aligned during the Cold War.
2. Soldiers have to use violence, so they often alienate civilians.
3. The Cold War was an ideological disagreement that caused military conflicts.
4. Large countries that surround Burma have been influential in Burma's history because they have more power than Burma does.
5. Burma's foreign relations with China were not always good, because there was fighting between communists, the Burmese army, and the KMT.
6. If someone is running after you with a gun, you should flee.

A. In groups, students look at an atlas, find the countries, and then draw a star on the map showing where the lead non-aligned nations (NAM) are located. They draw a plus to show where the other NAM countries are on the map.

Answers: The lead countries for the non-aligned movement (NAM) in the 1950s and 1960s were India, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, Egypt, Ghana. Pakistan, Burma, and Sri Lanka. Other countries involved with NAM during this time were: China, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Nepal, Thailand, Japan, Philippines, Afghanistan, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Yemen, Libya, Ethiopia, Liberia, Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, and Cuba.

B. Groups decide what non-aligned countries in the 1950s and 1960s have in common.

Suggested answers:
Most of them are poor, “developing” or “third world” countries.
Most are former colonies.
They are mostly close to the equator, so they have tropical climates.
Most of the non-aligned countries were in Asia and Africa.

C. Divide the class into five groups: Group A is Burma, Group B is China, Group C is India, Group D is the Soviet Union and Group E is the USA. These groups are all attending a meeting to discuss their position on the Cold War. Groups write a short statement about their position on this and read their statements to the class.

Russia and China are communist, US is capitalist, Burma and India are non-aligned.

Discussion

Have a class discussion about Burma’s relationships with China and India. Have these relationships changed since the 1950s? You might like to make or elicit these points:
- Both India and China want to do business in Burma.
- Because of this, they don’t comment much on the situation in Burma and are less supportive of Burmese insurgent groups operating on their border and of refugees coming into their territory.

Homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
The caretaker government

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- General Ne Win
- the caretaker government
- martial law
- analyze whether greater discipline helps or hurts society

exercises

A. Answers:
1. Bo Ne Win made the squatters settle in satellite towns outside Rangoon, because they did not have any other place to live.
2. During the Caretaker Government, you would be censored if you wrote anything bad about the army.
3. Martial law is supposed to restore law and order, but it can take away people’s freedoms.
4. U Nu said he gave up control of the government because he was afraid there was going to be a military coup.
5. There were disputes between the Clean and Stable factions of the AFPFL.
B. Answers:
1. U Nu let Bo Ne Win take power because  
   C. he wanted to avoid violence.
2. The Caretaker government  
   D. All of the above.
3. People liked the Caretaker government at first because  
   A. they were tired of chaos.

C. Students look through the text, decide whether these sentences are true or false (according to the text) or not stated (the text does not mention this point at all)

Answers:
1. T  
2. T  
3. NS  
4. T  
5. T  
6. F  
7. NS  
7. T

Discussion

Have a class discussion on “martial law.” Do students think it is ever necessary? Why? What are some of the good and bad points of it? Do students think it was necessary in 1958? Why or why not?

Homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Ethnic revolutions and insurgency from the late 1950s onward

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- ethnic and democratic resistance to the central government; organizations, objectives, strategies and personalities involved
- the response of the central government
- analyze the advantages and disadvantages of armed resistances
- consider the perspectives of groups at this time
Students match the leaders with the group. You might like to get students to do this from memory without looking back at the text.

**Answers:**

1. Lahtaw Zau Seng  
2. Bo Pyan  
3. Payah Pu Kyaung Long  
4. Mohammed Ali Tanggon  
5. Mahasang  
6. Son Ka Pao  
7. U Hla Pe  
8. Sao Noi  
9. U Nu  
10. Mohammed Jafar Habib  
11. Hanglen  
12. U Taw Plo  
13. Sao Hso Lane

**Group Work**

In groups of four or five, students discuss the benefits and disadvantages of armed resistance. Is it more effective than non-violent means? In what ways? What are the problems with armed struggle? If your students were ethnic leaders in the late 1950s, would they have started an armed resistance movement?

**Homework**

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.

**Review**

In the Supplementary Pack there are four texts about events that have occurred in the last two chapters of the module. Put these on the walls of your classroom, at different places in the class. Students work in groups of four or five. Give each group a copy of the worksheet. Groups complete their worksheets by reading the texts. Which group finishes first, and has the most accurate answers?
Section VI: The Military Dictatorship (1962—2011)

Bo Ne Win’s coup, the Revolutionary Council, and the beginning of the military dictatorship

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- the 1962 military coup and the Revolutionary Council
- Ne Win’s personality and influence
- federalism
- analyze the causes and effects of the coup
- advantages and disadvantages of federalism
A. Answers:

1. The RC would only publish newspapers and magazines that did not criticize them.
2. Bo Ne Win asked fortune-tellers to tell him what would happen in the future.
3. Astrologers look at the stars when a baby is born and say what kind of life the baby will have.
4. The RC was more authoritarian than the parliamentary government; they made strict rules about everything.
5. Bo Ne Win did not want federalist reform because he thought federalism was bad for the country.
6. The RC censored all publications that people read in Burma.
7. Superstitious people believe they can prevent bad things from happening to them if they do what fortune tellers say.
8. The Parliamentary government had made good relationships with many countries, but the RC was isolationist.
9. The RC wanted the curriculum in schools to say good things about the army.
10. Bo Ne Win plotted the coup in secret with other army officers.

B. Students list ways life changed for these groups after the 1962 coup.

Suggested answers:

1. they weren’t allowed to teach their own languages in schools
2. they came under control of the military, were censored, state-owned media published propaganda
3. they were imprisoned if they disagreed with the government
4. they had strict rules

C. Students read the last paragraph again and choose which of these is the main idea.

Answer: C

Group work

In groups of four or five, discuss the Shan leaders’ proposed reforms. These reforms were to give more power to ethnic states. What reforms do students think they wanted?

Suggestions:
- more control over health
- more control over education
- their own armies and police force....

Discussion

Discuss Ne Win’s statement about federalism. He thought federalism would destroy the Union of Burma. Do students agree or disagree with this statement? For what reasons?

Homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
The Burmese Way to Socialism

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- socialism
- the economic policy of the Revolutionary Council
- nationalization of industries, famine, inflation, and the black market
- analyze benefits and disadvantages of socialism
- analyze causes and effects resulting from changes in economic policy
- evaluate different economic systems and apply that knowledge to the Burma situation
A. Answers:

1. During the late 1960s, many people bought rice on the black market because it was very expensive in stores.

2. Corruption became more common in Burma after the military coup; police officers, teachers, and military men all took bribes.

3. The RC demonetized 100 kyat notes in 1964.

4. The military regime did not want foreign investment in the 1960s, because they wanted Burma to succeed economically on its own.

5. The Burmese Way to Socialism was supposed to increase prosperity and improve the country morally.

6. Previously, Chinese and Indian business people owned their businesses, but after the military coup, these businesses were nationalized so that Burmese people owned them.

7. The standard of living fell drastically in the late 1960s.

8. People need motivation to work hard; they need a reason for what they are doing.

9. Market reforms were introduced in the late 1980s to make the economy more capitalist.

10. The kyat is the Burmese currency.

B. Students match the causes to the effects. Answers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cause</th>
<th>effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the RC nationalised banks and businesses</td>
<td>the owners of these lost their money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>businesspeople lost a lot of money</td>
<td>many Indians and Chinese people left Burma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>military people did not have business experience</td>
<td>they did not run businesses efficiently.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farmers had to sell their rice for a low price</td>
<td>farmers lost their motivation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people couldn’t buy the things they needed</td>
<td>they bought things on the black market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it became more difficult to survive</td>
<td>corruption became a problem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Individually, students read through the text and list ways the military regime changed the economy.

Answers:

- they stopped international trade
- they nationalized banks and businesses
- they demonetized some currency notes
- they made it difficult for Chinese and Indian people to run businesses
- they redistributed land to farmers who did not own land
- they made farmers sell rice to the government at low prices

After they have made their lists, they get together in groups of four or five and discuss which changes they think are good and which are bad. Groups report their ideas to the class.

Students discuss economic policy for Burma. Which economic system (or mixture of systems) do they think is best for Burma?

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
The 1974 constitution and the Burmese Socialist Programme Party era

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- the new constitution that the leaders adopted in 1974
- evaluate whether the constitution made significant changes
- the Burmese Socialist Programme Party
- analyze advantages and disadvantages of one-party systems and multi-party systems
- compare and contrast the 1947 and 1974 constitutions
A. Answers:
1. Unlike the legislature in the Parliamentary Era, the legislature under the 1974 Constitution was unicameral; it had only one house.
2. Because only the BSPP was legal, Burma was a one-party system.
3. The people who ran the country were not farmers or peasants; they were an elite.
4. A referendum is supposed to find out if people support the government’s plan.
5. If there is a lot of crime and the government cannot control it, then there is not the rule of law.
6. An inspector tries to learn the truth about a situation.
7. The executive branch of government is led by the President and Prime Minister.
8. The structure of the 1974 Constitution gave power to the BSPP.

B. Students use the information in the text to complete the chart.

Answers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/Division People’s Councils</th>
<th>- carried out</th>
<th>decisions made at national level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Township People’s Councils</td>
<td>- carried out</td>
<td>decisions made at national level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward and Village Tract People’s Councils</td>
<td>- carried out</td>
<td>decisions made at national level</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- People’s Assembly
  - made decisions about war and peace

- Council of Ministers
  - ran the government
  - elected the Prime Minister
  - maintained rule of law

- Council of State
  - ruled over Council of Judges, attorneys and People’s Inspectors
  - ran the People’s Assembly
  - could declare state of emergency

Students compare and contrast the 1974 and 1947 constitutions and make lists of similarities and differences.

Suggested answers: Similarities - decisions about war and peace made by central government
different ethnic groups were treated differently

Differences - more ethnic groups got states
power divided between Burma Proper and ethnic states more in the 1947 constitution--1947 system was more federal

Have a class discussion on the 1947 and 1974 constitutions. Which one do the students prefer? Why?

A. Students write the events from this section on their timelines.

B. Students write a paragraph comparing and contrasting the 1947 and 1974 constitutions.
Resistance to the military regime from students, workers, and monks

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- UN Secretary General U Thant’s funeral
- urban-based activism: students, workers and monks
- analyze the strategies used by opposition activists to bring change and tactics the government used to suppress them
- compare and contrast strategies used in the 1960s and 1970s to strategies used today
A. Answers:
1. There are many graves in the cemetery; that is where people are buried after they die.
2. Pamphlets are much shorter than books, but they sometimes have interesting ideas in them.
3. Whenever the people demonstrated, the army suppressed them.
4. People from urban areas may not know about life in the mountains.
5. Always do your homework properly, and you will not have to fix mistakes later!
6. The anniversary of your birth is called your birthday.
7. Sometimes you have to register if you want the government to let you do something.

B. Answers:
1. The first demonstrations after the military coup in 1962 were organized by D. students
2. The biggest problem with the opposition groups during the 1960s and 1970s was that B. they did not have one strong message.
3. Most people in Burma did not demonstrate against the military government because B. they were struggling for survival.
4. The military regime’s strategies for weakening the opposition movement included D. all of the above.

Discussion
Have a class discussion about the strategies used by the military regime and the opposition movements in the 1960s and 1970s. Are the opposition tactics to create change the same nowadays? Are the government’s suppression tactics the same? Could each group do anything differently?

Homework
 Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
1988 pro-democracy protests

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- the causes and aims of the 1988 protests
- the response of the military
- the State Law and Order Restoration Council
- assess the significance of the 1988 protests
- compare and contrast the 1962, 1974 and 1988 protests
- consider the perspective of the non-participating ethnic minority organizations
exercises

A. Answers:

1. The military regime is not a multi-party democracy; people do not elect leaders.
2. Even after U Ne Win resigned, he continued to be involved in the government.
3. The economic crisis was caused by demonetization and other government policies.
4. When there is a shortage of something, everyone wants it more.
5. When people feel panic, it can be dangerous, because they might do things they would not usually do.
6. There were a series of problems between the military and the civilians during 1988; the protesters demonstrated more than once.
7. If a house is not built well, then it might collapse.

B. Students answer these questions. They should use their own words, rather than copy exactly from the texts, where possible. You might ask students to close their modules and answer the questions without looking at the text.

Suggested answers:

1. Demonetization of currency notes.
2. The police killed a student who was involved in a small fight.
3. No, the demonstration continued.
4. Multi-party democracy and an end to the military regime.
5. He commanded the troops and police that killed thousands of demonstrators.
6. By carrying out a military coup and declaring martial law.
7. Organizations were formed, people became involved in the democracy movement, people started thinking about alternatives to military rule, and the regime became the focus of international dislike.

group work

A. In groups of four or five, students talk about the 1988 demonstrations. Some students might remember them - what were they doing at the time? When did they first hear about them? Do they know people who were involved in any ways? What was the reaction of the people around them— their friends and families? Tell the class some of the stories from the group.

B. In their groups, students list the similarities and differences between the 1962, 1974 and 1988 protests.

Suggestions:

Similarities - the military used strong measures to suppress the demonstrations
students played a major role in organizing the demonstrations
the government closed universities in 1974 and 1988
in 1962 and 1988 there was a military coup

Differences - there were more people from all parts of society involved in 1988
the 1988 protests got some international attention.

discussion

Discuss in class the positions of the ethnic minority organizations and the CPB. Why do students think they did not participate in the 1988 demonstrations? What might have been different if they had?

homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- the biography, character and beliefs of Aung San Suu Kyi
- her involvement in Burmese politics
- identify the writer’s point of view
- compare and contrast Burma’s struggle for democracy with its previous struggle for independence
A. Answers:
1. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi thought politics was everyone’s concern because no one should be indifferent to the problems that were happening in the country.
2. Academics write books and share ideas with each other.
3. Leaders often emerge in times of crisis and come out to help people.
4. House arrest is not as bad as prison, but not as good as freedom.
5. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi called for an interim government to rule until there could be elections.

B. Students decide if the statements are true, false, or not stated in the text.

Answers:
1. T
2. T
3. NS
4. NS
5. T
6. NS
7. F
8. T

In groups, students discuss the meaning of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s quote about the 1988 protests being a “second struggle for independence.” Students list the similarities and differences between the two struggles. Students can look back at the chapters on anti-colonial activities (page 26) and Section IV (pages 45 - 53).

Suggestions:

**Similarities** - both movements were trying to change the ruling regime
a lot of ethnic organizations were not involved in either movement
both movements used demonstrations and strikes as strategies

**Differences** - 1988 involved street demonstrations, the independence movement
the independence movement negotiated with the British, the 1988 demonstrators didn’t (or were not able to)
the independence struggle succeeded, the democracy struggle hasn’t (yet)

Discuss what the students think is the module writer’s personal opinion of Aung San Suu Kyi. Why?

**Suggested answer:**
The writer probably admires Aung San Suu Kyi, because she uses many positive descriptive phrases such as “inspiring,” “strong leadership” and “courage.” She also emphasizes how Aung San Suu Kyi is admired around the world.

Have students heard negative things about Aung San Suu Kyi?

**Suggestions:**
Some people feel she could do more to promote the rights of ethnic minority groups around the country.

What do your students think of her strategies?

**Homework**

A. Students write the events from this section on their timelines.

B. Students write a paragraph about the “second struggle for independence.”
1990 Elections

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- the election process
- the National League for Democracy
- the regime’s response to the results
- analyze the validity of the results
- evaluate the short and longer term effects of the election
A. Answers:
1. You should not assume anything until you are sure that it is really true.
2. Monks get their food by asking for alms from Buddhists.
3. The generation of Burmese students who grew up during the 1980s saw the 1988 demonstrations.
4. It is difficult to campaign if you are under house arrest, but U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi won the election anyway.
5. If you delay doing something you have to do, you will still have to do it tomorrow.
6. The military regime has not honored the wishes of the people who voted in the 1990 election.
7. Some people think the military regime does not have legitimacy, because they were not elected.

B. Students answer these questions. They should use their own words, rather than copy exactly from the texts, where possible. You might like to make students close their modules, and answer the questions without looking at the text.

Example answers:
1. Because they thought voters would be divided, and they had arrested some leaders they didn't like and reduced their campaigning. They also thought the NUP was more popular than it actually was.
2. It included people from many different groups, and campaigned through all of Burma.
3. She wore their traditional clothes.
4. They told people she was a bad leader because she was married to a foreigner. They then tried to assassinate her and then put her under house arrest.
5. The NLD won 385 seats, the Shan National League for Democracy won 23, the Arakan National League for Democracy won 11, and the NUP won 10.
6. They did not hand over power.
7. The democracy movement was more organized. The NLD got international support, and Aung San Suu Kyi won the Nobel Peace Prize. More people in Burma wanted political change.

C. Students identify the main point, and supporting points of the last paragraph in the text.

Answers:
Main idea: Although people didn’t get democracy, there were some good results from the 1990 election.
Supporting point 1: The NLD gained legitimacy with the international community.
Supporting point 2: The pro-democracy movement was more organized.
Supporting point 3: A new generation in Burma worked for political change.

Group work
Have a group discussion on whether or not the results of the 1990 elections are still valid and whether the NLD be allowed to take power. If not, what should happen? Should Burma hold new elections? Write down your groups’ ideas in a polite letter to the military regime, suggesting what they should do.

Homework
A. Students write the events from this section on their timelines.

B. Students write letters, similar to the group activity, using their own ideas about how to deal with the 1990 election results and move forward. They can choose to address these letters to either the military regime, the NLD or a newspaper. If you like and you can get the addresses or emails, they can send their letters—they might not want to use their real names.
Post-1988 resistance and inter-ethnic cooperation/conflict

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- resistance movements on Burma’s borders
- cooperation and conflict between ethnic and political groups
- identify and discuss obstacles to unity among resistance groups
- evaluate strategies used by resistance groups today
A. Answers:
1. When people do not speak the same language, they will have many misunderstandings.
2. We all have prejudices about people who are different from us, but if we think carefully about our feelings, we might change our minds.
3. For several years, ethnic groups and pro-democracy groups have been asking for tripartite dialogue with the military regime.
4. An umbrella group can unite groups that are working for the same reasons.
5. If people can overcome their disagreements, then they will be able to focus on their common goals.
6. Cooperation with other groups is not easy, but it is more likely to succeed than fighting with other groups.

B. Students match the summaries with the paragraphs in the text.
Answers:
A. Paragraph 3
B. Paragraph 4
C. Paragraph 2
D. Paragraph 1

C. Students identify whether these statements are facts or opinions.
Answers:
1. O
2. F
3. F
4. O
5. F
6. O

In groups of four or five, students list examples of inter-ethnic cooperation or cooperation between ethnic and pro-democracy groups. These might be military actions, conferences, joint statements in the media, forming umbrella groups, collaborating to write a report, or anything. They then think of examples where ethnic groups have not cooperated with each other or with democracy groups. Groups present their list to the class. Have a class discussion about these situations. Why do students think cooperation is possible sometimes and not at other times? What can groups do to make cooperation easier?

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Ceasefire agreements

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- ceasefire agreements between the regime and resistance groups
- conditions of ceasefire, conditions in ceasefire areas
- analyze the positive and negative effects of ceasefires
- case studies: Kachin Independence Organization and New Mon State Party
- summarize the reasons insurgent groups might make ceasefire agreements
- interpret a cartoon about conditions in Kachin State
exercises

Answers:
1. If you are in a bad mood, you might cry or get angry with your friends.
2. There is a trend away from armed struggle in Burma.
3. The transition period between military rule and democracy in Burma might be difficult.
4. Ceasefire agreements made by the KIO and NMSP tried to end the bloodshed that had been happening in Kachin and Mon areas.
5. Sometimes you need to make a sacrifice in order to get the things you want.
6. Bitter conflicts can gain momentum quickly and sweep across a nation so that they are everywhere and involve all people.
7. If the people withdraw their support for the politicians, the party will fail.

group work

A. In groups of four or five, students summarize the reasons the KIO and NMSP gave for making ceasefire agreements.

Example answers:
**KIO** - Burma is in a transition period; now the trend is towards dialogue. The KIO has had enough bloodshed. They want to have good relations with other ethnic groups and wants to work with them to achieve peace and democracy.

**NMSP** - The Mon have sacrificed a lot to try to reach their goals. The worldwide trend is towards dialogue rather than armed struggle, so the NMSP have decided to use this method.

B. Groups write a list of similarities and differences between the KIO and NMSP reasons for ceasefire.

Answers:
**Similarities** - They both believe the trend is away from armed struggle and towards dialogue. They both have sacrificed a lot in the armed resistance. They both believe negotiation and dialogue will solve their problems.

**Differences** - The KIO thinks Burma is in a period of transition, and many parties and ethnic groups are coming together.

C. Groups discuss the meaning of “a trend in world events” and “a new mood,” and decide on definitions.

Answers: “A trend in world events” means worldwide; it is fashionable to behave this way. “A new mood” means people feel differently.

D. Groups discuss whether these are good reasons for ceasefires, and discuss their ideas with the class.

E. Groups look at the cartoon and decide on its message and who the people are.

Answers: The soldier at the top of the state is the SPDC, and the two below are the ceasefire groups KIO and the NDAK. They are all pulling at Kachin state trying to get what they want, which is harming the state. The people on the left are ordinary people from Kachin State. They are watching and looking concerned but don’t have any participation.

discussion

If time allows, discuss the changes that have taken place since 2004 and where the KNU stands today. How do the students feel about the transitions that have taken place since then and what do they predict for the future?

homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Refugees and exiles on Burma’s borders

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- how refugees and exiles came to Burma’s border and living conditions there
- changes in policies of the Thai and Indian governments
- causes and effects of life in exile
- compare and contrast different exile groups; refugees, IDPs, migrant workers
exercises

Answers:
1. Many economic migrants from Burma work on farms and in clothing factories in Thailand.
2. If you get asylum status in the USA, you can stay there safely.
3. Internally displaced people sometimes decide to cross the border into Thailand and become refugees if the fighting is bad enough.
4. Burmese exiles who have left Burma live in third countries such as England, Japan, Australia, and the USA.
5. The law says illegal immigrants cannot stay in the country, but many live here unofficially and officials do not bother them.
6. Burmese people who come to work in Thailand are sometimes repatriated back to Burma.

group work

In groups of four or five, students make a list of the choices people have when they have to leave their home—how do they decide where to go and what to do?

Suggested answer:

It depends on who they know and where they are living. If they have family connections to people in refugee camps, they might go there. If they meet someone who says they can get them work on a factory/farm/fishing boat, they might go there. If they are a member of an organization, they might know members of that organization living outside Burma.

Groups discuss which choice is safest. You might like to bring up these points:
- The safest choice is where you have help and support like friends or family.
- Migrant workers in Thailand can register and be legal if they (or their employer) can pay 4000 baht (in 2006). This means they are legally allowed to work in Thailand, although they are still harassed by police. Many can’t get this money.
- It can sometimes be difficult to get into a refugee camp in Thailand—the authorities restrict people entering them. If you don’t have friends and family there, it might be hard to get in.
- Urban asylum seekers in Thailand have problems registering with the UNHCR. They often have to wait years before the Thai government gives official recognition and allows them to start the process of applying to third countries. In the meantime, they need to find a way to support themselves and their families.
- In India, there is little available support for urban exiles. It is very hard to find work, as there are many Indian people who are willing to do low-paid jobs. Also, it is difficult to move from India to a third country. However, there are few security problems, and the Indian government doesn’t mind Burmese exiles living in Delhi.
- In China, Burmese people are sometimes arrested and repatriated. There are a few opportunities to make a living. There are serious drug and human trafficking problems on the Burma/China border.

homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines.
Human rights abuses

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- define human rights
- human rights abuses by the military and other groups
- analyze the causes and effects of human rights violations
- political prisoners
- abuses against particularly vulnerable groups; rape, child soldier recruitment, human trafficking
- the response of local and international organizations
- evaluate the effectiveness of this response
Answers:

1. If soldiers do not want to carry their things, they make civilians do portering for them.
2. Forced labor is common in Burma; many buildings and other projects have been built using it.
3. Even though everyone is supposed to have human rights, governments do not always respect these rights.
4. Soldiers have committed terrible abuses against the people; but the soldiers are also suffering, especially if they are very young.
5. Everyone should have liveable conditions, including food, water, and a place to live.
6. Many people are injured while minesweeping, because landmines blow up and hurt them.
7. Human trafficking is a problem because people are moved across borders and sometimes end up in prostitution.
8. Prisoners often suffer when they are interrogated by police.
9. If we document human rights abuses, then people all over the world will know what is happening.
10. Vulnerable people, such as women, children, and elderly people, can have problems surviving in difficult circumstances.
11. When people are relocated by soldiers, they have to leave behind their homes.
12. Survivors of human rights abuses sometimes tell their stories to reach out to others who have had similar experiences.

Discussion

Have a class discussion on strategies for the international community to deal with human rights abuses.

Homework

Add the events you learned about in this lesson to your timeline.
Section VII: Recent Changes (2007—Present)

Protest and Disaster

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- Analyze the government’s actions in relation to the Saffron Revolution and Cyclone Nargis
- Make connections between the causes and effects of protest and disaster in Myanmar
- Reflect on individuals’ experiences of both incidents
exercises

A.  
1. Monks wearing saffron robes chanted the Metta Sutta in their demonstration. 
2. A cyclone is an example of a natural disaster involving rain and wind. 
3. Subsidies kept fuel prices low, but removing them caused economic hardship. 
4. The UN offers humanitarian assistance to people who have lost their homes and livestock. 
5. Protestors feared a violent crackdown by the military. 

B.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The government removed fuel subsidies</td>
<td>The UN criticized Burma's government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyclone Nargis hit the Irrawaddy Delta</td>
<td>The government cracked down on the protests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thousands of monks marched in the streets</td>
<td>Over 100,000 estimated deaths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma's government didn't allow</td>
<td>Monks began a peaceful protect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international aid workers to enter the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>country</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

group work

Students get into small groups and discuss how these incidents did or did not influence the military’s actions. Each group should make a list of three pieces of evidence to support their argument and present it to the class.

Example answers:
- The reaction to the removal of fuel subsidies caused the people to call for a democracy. This made the government feel threatened, leading them to react violently to the demonstrations.
- The cyclone made the international community want to respond with aid and enter into the country. Because the government did not want foreign involvement, much aid was slowed or never reached the people it needed to.

homework

A. Encourage students to write freely on their personal experiences of how they were affected by the two incidents. If not, they can interview someone who remembers one of the two incidents well. If students feel comfortable doing so, they can share their reflections at the start of the following class.

B. Students write the events from this section on their timelines
The 2010 Elections

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- Judge the changes since the “Roadmap to Democracy” as effective or not
- Discuss different perspectives around the 2010 elections as being “free and fair”
exercises

1. Fact
2. Opinion
3. Opinion
4. Fact
5. Opinion

group work

Students get into small groups and list three pieces of evidence to support the claim that the elections were not “free and fair.” Then, they will list three counter arguments to support the claim that the elections were “free and fair.” After having listed the evidence, allow students time to discuss their overall opinion of the elections and share their claims with the class.

Example answers:

Was fair
- Parties other than the NLD felt the elections were fair enough to take part in it
- The NDF and various ethnic nationality parties won a percentage of the vote and were thus allowed seats in the government

Was not fair
- The NLD party felt strongly enough that the election would not be fair that they boycotted it altogether
- Aung San Suu Kyi was not allowed to participate

homework

A. If students have access to internet, encourage them to research more about “Roadmap to Democracy,” looking into the reasons for its implementation and whether or not it has been effective. If not, students can try interviewing people in their community that might be willing to share their thoughts on the “Roadmap” or access other materials/books on the subject if they are available.

B. Students write the events from this section on their timelines
Political Development since the 2010 Elections

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- Reflect on political/social changes between 2010 and 2015
- Discuss whether the positive changes have outweighed the things that have stayed the same (or vice versa)
- Make connections between recent political developments and the actual impacts at the community level
exercises

1. Sanctions restrict the amount of money coming in from abroad, but foreign aid increases it.
2. Arresting people for their political beliefs is an example of repression.
3. If a seat is vacant, you may sit there.
4. Any country that has made the transition to democracy has faced many challenges in the process.

group work

In pairs or small groups, students make a list of the things that changed and the things that stayed the same between 2010 and 2015. In groups, they reflect on what things have had the greatest impact on their individual communities - the things that have changed or the things that have stayed the same. Everyone can discuss their opinions and experiences as a class.

You might like to ask prompt questions to get students started:
- What economic changes have taken place? Who have they benefited?
- What social changes? Are they all good or bad?
- What has changed about ethnic conflicts in the country? Minority rights?

homework

A. If students have access to internet, encourage them to conduct research on the international community’s reactions (both positive and negative) to Myanmar’s political changes between 2010 and 2015. If not, they can try to find other sources of information or interview members of the community to get a better picture of the international stance toward Myanmar during this period.

B. Students write the events from this section on their timelines
Ongoing Conflicts and New Challenges

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- Make inferences about recent armed conflict and communal violence
- Discuss the options for insurgent groups in light of recent ceasefires and the BGF
- Argue for or against the Interfaith Marriage Law with clear reasoning
exercises

1. What inference could you make based on paragraph 2?  
   c. The government has not yet succeeded in addressing the causes of civil war.

2. What inference could you make based on paragraph 3?  
   a. People both within and outside Burma disagree about the causes of communal conflict.

discussion

1. In pairs or small groups, students discuss the options for the insurgent groups and what they should do moving forward. Everyone can share their opinions as a class.

2. First, encourage students to think on their own and provide reasons for either supporting or not supporting the Interfaith Marriage Law. Students can then discuss in groups and as a class.

You might like to ask prompt questions to get students started:
   - What might be the negative impacts of this law of individuals? The positive impacts?
   - Who do you think the law is intended for and why?
   - What kind of change is the law trying to bring about, and do you agree with this aim?

homework

A. Reflecting on the class discussion, students should write a letter explaining their position on the Interfaith Marriage Law and give as much evidence/reasoning as possible.

B. Students write the events from this section on their timelines
Protests since the 2010 elections

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- Discuss the different reactions from the government to protests in Myanmar
- Analyze why reactions were different in the three scenarios
- Make links between the protests and their causes
# exercises

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>location</th>
<th>cause</th>
<th>effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lepadaung</td>
<td>Hydroelectric power plant</td>
<td>An investigation decides the government was right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letpadaun</td>
<td>Copper mine</td>
<td>Government stops the project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myitsone</td>
<td>National Education Law</td>
<td>100 protesters were arrested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# discussion

1. In pairs or small groups, students discuss the statement made by Minister of Education Daw Khin San Yi and consider what she meant. Everyone will share as a class.

   **Example answers:**
   - She is suggesting that she will not be able to give the students all of their demands on the National Education Law
   - She might be suggesting that the students are demanding too much; she is also highlighting the students’ young age by referring to them as children (i.e. immature)

2. Still in pairs or groups, students think about why Aung San Suu Kyi’s reaction was different to the Myitsone Dam and Letpadaung copper mine protests.

# homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines
Refugees: resettle, return, or stay?

OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:

- Discuss the recent reasons for refugees leaving Myanmar
- Explain the different opportunities and/or constraints the refugees face
- Reflect on the pros and cons of resettling, returning, or staying
exercises

1. F
2. T
3. F
4. T
5. F

group work

1. Divide the class into three groups. Each group takes on a different role of refugees that have either decided to resettle, return, or stay. Each group will try to defend their “decision” and persuade other groups to join them.

Suggestions: If time allows and resources are available, you can bring in additional testimonials or stories from different refugee communities explaining their reasons for resettling, returning, or staying. If students have been or are in the position of one of these three groups, they may also share their own personal experiences (if comfortable doing so).

homework

Students write the events from this section on their timelines
Current issues
OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- current issues related to Burma—topics can be student generated from the news. Some ideas include education, health, human trafficking, drugs, prostitution, AIDS, and political developments
- consider their relevance and importance to the present situation
- discuss these issues and compare their current status to the past

Students work in groups of four or five, and brainstorm a list of topical issues about Burma at the moment. A good starting point might be to think about what is in the media about Burma. Groups read their lists to the class.

Look at a few issues mentioned by a few groups. Discuss these issues with the class—make connections between the past, present and the future. For example:
- Burma was criticized recently for not doing enough to stop drug production. One of the main groups accused of drug smuggling is the United Wa State Army, a ceasefire group. When they signed a ceasefire, they were allowed to keep their weapons and control an area in Shan state. In the future, they might not be able to smuggle drugs as easily because Thailand and the international community are increasing their efforts to stop the drug trade.

Students choose an issue and research it. They should find some new information about their topic either from the media, books, and talking to people who have experience with their topic. They should show where they got their information from, e.g.:
- More Palaung farmers are growing opium due to the decline in the tea industry (from a report by the Palaung Women’s Organization, 2006)
- “Our soldiers sometimes catch drug smugglers near the border” (interview with KNLA commander)

Timeline review
OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:
- review the events studied in the module
- prioritize events in terms of relevance to student’s personal situation and experience
- compare the timelines students made at the beginning of the unit;

Students look over their timelines and compare them to the timelines they made at the beginning of this module. Students write a list of new things they have learned and that did not know before studying this module. In particular, what things did they learn about their own life and background? Students write short answers to the questions.

Students discuss their answers in groups.

Students write history books. You may want to give a word count, e.g., this must be at least 300 or 500 words long. You may decide they must use English or their own language. Encourage students to do research, rather than just use information from the module, and reference any information to its source (see example above). When they have finished, they copy or type it onto folded paper, like a published book, and add illustrations if possible. Encourage students to read each other’s books, and/or maybe pass them on to a high school nearby.
**Burma's future**

**OBJECTIVES AND KEY CONCEPTS:**
- use knowledge about the past to predict the future
- consider strategies to shape the future and achieve positive outcomes

**exercises**

A. Students think of five important events that could happen in Burma within the next fifty years. These could be good or bad things, but they must be realistic. They should think about what has happened in the past, and use this information to decide what might happen in the future.

B. Students think of five more things they want to happen in Burma in the next 50 years. These do not have to be so realistic. They write these events on the timeline, too.

**group work**

In groups of four or five, students compare events they have written on their timelines. Are they similar or different? Students present the most common events to the class. Does the rest of the class have the same ideas? Make two class timelines—one of events that will probably happen and one of events students want to happen.

**discussion**

Have a class discussion on ways to try to make the ‘wish-list’ timeline happen. Think of effective strategies to try to make these events happen.

**review**

A. In groups, pairs or individually, students look though the photos and identify what is happening, and/or who the people are in each. For some pictures, they may need to guess. A short description of each picture is on the next page.

B. Students work in groups of four or five. Give each group a large piece of paper. Groups choose three of the pictures and find out more information about the people or events in them. They put their information on the paper, with illustrations if possible, and present their posters to the class. Put all the posters on the wall.
Answers:

1. U Win Tin, former editor of Hanthawaddy magazine, who has been in Insein prison since 1989. He was convicted of “subversion” and writing “anti-government propaganda.”
2. The flag of the Burma Socialist Programme Party, which ruled Burma until the 1988 uprising. The BSPP was mostly people with military connections.
3. Independence day, January 4, 1948. The British flag is being taken down, and the new flag of independent Burma is being raised.
4. Pro-democracy demonstration on the 8th of August, 1988 (8888). Soldiers are firing their guns at the demonstrators, who are running away.
6. British miners in Mogok in 1886. The British are in charge of the mine, the Burmese are the laborers.
8. A WW II postcard produced by the Japanese to encourage the Burmese to rebel against the British. It shows a huge demon wearing a British flag terrorizing innocent Burmese civilians.
9. Daw Aung Suu Kyi making a speech at her home in Rangoon. Behind her is a portrait of her father, General Aung San.
10. A report on conditions for Chin refugees in Mizoram State on the India-Burma border.
11. The badge of the Karen National Union.
12. Animist statues with offerings of food placed in front of them by worshippers.
13. A list of Revolutionary Council laws from the BSPP era.
14. A map showing the Japanese advance into Burma (thick arrows) and the Allied withdrawal (thin arrows) in 1942.
15. Ancient Pyu statues from the 5th century AD.
16. The flag of the National League for Democracy, which got 392 votes at the 1990 elections.
17. The Whyte Committee, including Dr. San C. Po (seated at the left).
18. A Burmese painting of King Thibaw being taken away by the British in 1886. The king and Queen were taken to exile in India and did not return to Burma.
19. The Konbaung king and queen being worshipped by courtiers and citizens.
20. An Arakan statue from the 16th century at Mrauk-U.
22. Mae La Oon refugee camp, Thailand in 2005
HISTORY OF BURMA

Teacher’s Book

The History of Burma is designed for Myanmar adult learners interested in varied perspectives of the country’s past, present and future. The book provides a chronological listing of major events from 2500 BC to the present as well as developments/changes and personalities who have helped shaped the country. Additionally, the closing section encourages students to apply knowledge gained throughout the book in analyzing current affairs and making predictions about future trends.

The book contains:
- Core readings broken down by time period (and sometimes grouped thematically)
- Key words and definitions
- Exercises, questions for group work or discussion, and homework

The rich diversity of Burma brings with it a range of viewpoints that are shaped by different religions, ethnicities and political beliefs. This book aims to provide a history of Burma that is inclusive and appreciative of these differences. Thus, instead of being taught to absorb information, the questions and exercises of History of Burma push students to consider the multiple perspectives of controversial issues and make connections between the country’s complex past and their own lives/communities.