



Marginalia

Intelligence vs. Renaissance vs. Renaissance

Student Strikes for Education Reform, 1920-2015

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Abstract

There have been many student strikes and demands during the last century of student activism in Myanmar. Students contributed to the abolishment of British colonialism, to the gaining of independence, to the maintenance and development of democracy, and then the long, ongoing struggle against military rule. Four major student strikes have focused on demanding education reform. These are: the original student strike of 1920, the 1936 student strike, the 1938 student movement and then the 2015 student strike. This article, written in 2016, describes these strikes chronologically from the point of view of a student activist who had a leading role in the All Burma Federation of Student Unions before the military coup of 1962.

Introduction

If we analyze the history of Myanmar's student movements, we see that they have all been based on at least one of three core struggles: education reform, the improvement of educational conditions, and national duty. The first two struggles mentioned have not changed much until today, but the third is contingent on the needs of the nation at the time.

Student unions have endured many different political situations. They contributed to ending British colonialism and gaining the independence of the nation state (1920-1948), to the end of the civil war and peace within the union (1948-1958), to reinstating general elections and the transfer of power back to an elected civilian government (1958-1960), and to ending military dictatorship and developing and institutionalizing democracy, a long struggle from 1962 until today. At the time of writing in 2016 it has been 96 years since the first major student

movement in Myanmar's modern history started in 1920, demanding education reform. Three other major student movements and strikes have focused on this same goal in Myanmar's modern history. This article describes them chronologically, in order for the reader to draw their own conclusions.

The 1920 Student Strike

Rangoon College students initiated the 1920 strike in response to the British colonial government's proposed University of Rangoon Act, 1920, which was to raise the status of Rangoon College to a university. There was no university before 1920 in Burma, but there were colleges: Rangoon College, which was technically under the Calcutta University of India, was opened at the corner of Bogyoke and Shwedagon streets (currently the campus of Basic Education High School [BEHS] 1, Latha Township) in 1894. The college offered first-year and second-year undergraduate classes. Fifteen years later, in 1909, the American Baptist Mission opened Judson College, which was under Calcutta University at Ahlone Ward, Cusion Missionary High School (currently BEHS 4, Ahlone Township).¹ The college also offered only first-year and second-year undergraduate classes.

In 1909, the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA), which was the leading non-colonial political group in Burma at that time, led the people's demand for the establishment of a university in Burma. The British colonial government demurred and said there were still not enough students in Burma to warrant a university. But after continuous work by the YMBA and the people, the British government started preparing to open a university in Rangoon.

Reginald Craddock, then the Governor of Burma, formed a drafting committee for the University of Rangoon Act, consisting of 30 members, and led by Matthew Hunter, the

¹ ရန်ကုန်တက္ကသိုလ်သမိုင်းပြုစုရေးသားရေးအဖွဲ့။ ၁၉၉၅။ ၈၁-၂-၃။

Director of Public Instruction. Only six of the 30 committee members were Burmese people. The public found three parts of the initially proposed University Act unacceptable: first, the requirement that Rangoon University be the only university in Burma; second, the requirement for all students to be boarding students and not day students; and third, that the first year of university be a pre-course year, where students would be observed and only allowed to attend the university proper the following year, after passing the probation period. The students who joined the pre-course would have uncertain futures and all the costs involved in attending a full year of courses could be wasted as students had to pay for this whole extra year of 'probation'. Basically, the colonial government's University of Rangoon Act was intended only for the children of the rich and government officials. It barred children from middle-class and poor families from higher education.

Even though the YMBA and public opposed the proposed act, the drafting committee approved it on 28 August 1920 and the Governor approved it on 26 September. On 24 October, the Viceroy of India signed it into law and the University of Rangoon Act was fully enacted. It was announced that the opening ceremony of Rangoon University would be held on 7 December 1920.

Because of this unilateral pushing through of the act without public input, student Ko Ba Oo secretly led a group of ten students from Rangoon College to discuss a strike at the Saturday Corner of Shwedagon Pagoda on 3 December 1920. They decided to have a student meeting at U Ariya Monastery, Bahan Township, on the evening of 4 December, to inform more students about the strike. A strike committee of 26 students was formed, consisting of 20 students from Rangoon College and six from Judson College. Ko Ba Oo took the chairman role in the strike committee.

The initial plan was to launch the strike at the opening ceremony of the new Rangoon University, with the governor in attendance. When the governor announced the opening of the university, the university students would leave the opening

ceremony, declare a strike and begin shouting their slogans. However, this plan was crippled by an informant student at the meeting who reported it to the school principal. The students got wind of this and moved the strike to 5 December (which was 10 days after the Tazaungmone full moon day). The next day, all the high schools in Rangoon went on strike in support, and after that, the high schools in Mandalay joined as well. The strike spread across Burma and people all over the country overwhelmingly supported it.

The college authorities ignored the 16 demands made by the strike committee and gave an ultimatum to students to come back to study before 23 December 1920.² Later, they postponed the date to 5 January 1921. As the 16 points demanded by the students were not even considered until 19 December, the striking students submitted an application to leave the college with a date of 21 December in order to avoid being expelled.

On 24 December, the student strike council released a 'National Education' statement. According to the statement, a national university was to be established in Bahan Township, Rangoon, and national schools were to be established in almost all cities around Burma with the support of the public. At that time, there were not more than 50 public schools in Burma. With the support of the public, the number of national schools increased to 145 schools nationwide within three years from 1920.

Prior to the student strike, YMBA political leader groups gathered and reformed as the General Council of Burmese Associations (GCBA) on 29 October 1920. GCBA leaders and students from the strike jointly formed the 'National Schools' Governing Body'. GCBA leader U Maung Gyi took charge as the group chairman.

While national schools were developing rapidly in Burma in 1922, the British colonial government prepared to pass reforms in January 1923 granting British India a dyarchy constitution, and therefore, some limited self-rule to Burma. Previously, the

² For the details of the 16 demands, see

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Governor's Council (cabinet) was composed of individuals appointed directly by the Governor. There were no publicly elected representatives in the cabinet. In the dyarchy administration, the Governor's Council consisted of a mix of appointees and elected members of parliament. The administrative power of the state was divided between the governor and the people.

The majority of Burmese people wanted self-administration, so-called 'Home Rule', rather than dyarchy administration. The government planned an election for members of parliament on 21 November 1920. During that time, the GCBA was divided into two groups. One group accepted participating in the election for the dyarchy administration, to join the government body and work for the country. The other group refused and demanded more self-governance. Following the split of the GCBA, the National Schools' Governing Body was divided into two groups. The 26 members of the student strike council were also split in two. U Maung Gyi, who took charge as group chairman, joined the GCBA group that participated in the election, and he was elected as a member of parliament. When the Governor's Council was formed, U Maung Gyi took charge as the Minister of Education.

Even though the 16 student demands were ignored by the Governor and university authorities from the start of the strike on 5 December 1920 right up to the election of the dyarchy administration, after U Maung Gyi became Minister of Education, he amended some elements of the University of Rangoon Act with the 'Law Amending the University of Rangoon Act, 1924'.

In the amended act, the article stipulating that there be only one university in Burma was corrected. Thereafter, two more colleges were allowed to open in Rangoon. They were the Medical College and the Teacher Training College. For upper Burma, an intermediate college was permitted to open in Mandalay. An intermediate college is a university-level college that teaches first and second-year courses. The next amendment was that students were allowed to attend the first year of university directly without a one-year pre-course probation period. So, it would only take four years to achieve a Bachelor of Arts, for

example. The other amendment was to allow students to attend university as day students. Students from middle-class families who could not afford to stay at a dormitory would be able to attend university. Another important amendment allowed a graduate representative of the Rangoon University alumni to join the Rangoon University Council. Since there was no student union at that time, students' wishes were reported to the university authorities through this graduate representative. The Law Amending the University of Rangoon Act, 1924 did not address all 16 student demands, but some of the more crucial ones were addressed, improving upon the 1920 University of Rangoon Act.

The 1936 Student Strike

Rangoon University had no significant student movements for 15 years after the 1920 strike. Students who participated in the 1920 strike with strong national spirit did so voluntarily, but later students were less politically active and thought that the strikes of earlier students had only interrupted their education.

During the period without strikes, university authorities discriminated against university students. Sycophantic students received opportunities; the rest were oppressed. Even after graduation, when university staff wrote recommendation letters for students, they distinguished between two types. Sycophants were provided with a full endorsement facilitating entrance into the Indian Civil Service, police, or Burmah Oil Company, while others received a less flattering letter, not even useful for getting a job teaching in a small town. Students who refused to suck up to the British colonizers found it difficult to maintain momentum in their early careers.

On 7 January 1931, students officially established the Rangoon University Student Union (RUSU). The RUSU Constitution was modeled after the Oxford University Student Union, which had its activities limited by university authorities to only those regarding student welfare such as debating and inviting famous people to give speeches. Except for the first and second presidents of the RUSU, U Kyaw Khin and U Htun Sein, all following

four presidents were British sycophants. During the years they were each RUSU president, there were no activities except debates and lectures.

In the 1934–35 academic year, the incumbent RUSU Vice President resigned from his position and by-elections were held. Ko Nu became the new vice president. During the same 1934–35 academic year, D. J. Sloss, the university's principal, expelled two students for failing to respond "Sir" during roll call. RUSU Vice President Ko Nu objected to the expulsions. In December 1935 the principal expelled another 11 students for failing their exams. Again, RUSU Vice President Ko Nu was unsuccessful at stopping the expulsions.

Ko Nu, Ko Kyaw Nyein, and Ko Thein Pe invited Sir U Thwin, and other respected people and political leaders, to Shwedagon Pagoda in order to consult them. Ko Kyaw Nyein was given the task of explaining about the expulsions and the respected people and political leaders who attended came to understand the situation at the university. This event at Shwedagon Pagoda was the beginning of the first student movement since the 1920 student strike. As a result of the meeting, ten out of the 11 expulsions were reversed.

Soon after this event, but before the December 1935 holidays began, university authorities issued a statement saying there would be a new mock exam before the school holidays that had to be passed before students could take final exams. Nothing like this mock exam had happened before in Rangoon University's history. Therefore, the students held a meeting at the student union building. At the meeting, RUSU President Ko Poe Aye and two other executives were assigned to consult with the university principal about the mock exam and report back to the union and student body.

Ko Poe Aye deferred to the British and procrastinated from meeting the principal, so RUSU Vice President Ko Nu assigned another RUSU executive member, Ko Kyaw Nyein, to consult with the principal instead. When Ko Kyaw Nyein went to speak with him, he was treated rudely. Ko Nu and his friends consulted and decided to publish the rude words of the university

principal in the newspaper so the public would know about it. Following that, Ko Nu visited towns in the Ayeyarwady river delta to organize meetings with respectable people from those cities. Ko Thein Pe also went to the towns of upper Burma to do the same. The newspapers regularly updated readers about the outcomes of these meetings.

The RUSU finally decided to demand the resignation of the university principal. A day after Ko Nu and Ko Thein Pe returned to Rangoon, a city-wide meeting was held at Shwedagon Pagoda's Northwest Corner, and the public attendees also demanded the resignation of the school principal. The meeting was reported on by the media. The next day, the university administration called an emergency meeting and decided to cancel the mock exam.

In the election for the RUSU executive committee for the academic year 1935–36, Ko Nu won the position of chairman unopposed. Ko Nu's allies won the remaining executive positions. The pro-British students were defeated. After Ko Nu and his friends became executive members, the RUSU began to work not only on students' issues but also took an anti-colonial, pro-independence stance.

After Ko Nu became chairman of the RUSU, he took every opportunity during speeches, debates, and lectures, to call attention to the oppression of students by the school principal, D. J. Sloss, claiming that he was using divide and rule tactics against the student body. The school principal increasingly searched for a way to expel him from school. Then, in the annual RUSU Oway magazine, an article in English titled "Hell Hound At Large" was published. The university principal used the article to expel Ko Nu from the university on 21 February 1936. Authorities also expelled magazine editor Ko Aung San for not revealing the name of the author. Students went on strike after an RUSU meeting on 25 February to support Ko Nu. This was Burma's historic second student strike, led by RUSU Vice Chairman, Ko Raschid.

Since Ko Nu was expelled, he could not formally participate as a member of the strike committee. The strike committee made 10 demands. A key demand was to amend the Rangoon

University Act. Another was to revoke the principal's authority to expel students and to keep this power in the hands of the school administration. The government and university authorities ignored the demands and threatened to ban striking students from sitting their exams. But the students did not end their strike.

Over a month later, in April, the British colonial government appointed High Court Judge U Mya Bu as the chairman of a new committee to investigate the University Act. In May, the government and the striking students negotiated. Although not all of the demands were met, the strike committee agreed to end the strike, as some of the points were met. The strike ended on 10 May 1936. As a result of the strike, Burmese Professor U Pe Maung Tin was appointed as the school principal in place of D. J. Sloss.

The 1938 Student Movement

The U Mya Bu committee launched its report on amending the Rangoon University Act in the first week of May 1937. Students did not accept it and a Burma-wide student union conference was held on 9 May 1937, forming the "University Act Amending Committee" with seven members. Lawyers, newspaper editors, a representative from the Dobama Association, the former chairman of the All Burma Students' Union (ABSU), Ko Raschid, and the new chairman of the ABSU, Ko Aung San, participated in the new committee. Ko Aung San took responsibility as an advocate. In today's world, we call an advocate a secretary.

The committee analyzed the U Mya Bu committee's report and distributed their conclusions to the Education Ministry and to all students nationwide, who met and discussed the report and the committee's analysis of it. Dr Ba Maw, the then-Premier, procrastinated amending the University Act, as it had been amended only just over a decade before in 1924.

In January 1938, there was a strike at the Syriam oil refinery. The strike spread to other refineries and then all refineries nationwide, and in December 1938, the oil refinery strike group

started marching to Rangoon. That city's Dobama Association leaders, as well as RUSU Chairman Ko Ba Hein and student leader Ko Ba Swe, went to Magway Town on 8 December to help with the march.

On the night of 12 December, they held a meeting at Me Tae monastery. At that meeting, Ko Ba Hein gave a speech. In his speech, he said, "At one strike of the horse's hoof, there will be burning fire". Because of that speech, Ko Ba Hein and Ko Ba Swe were charged and arrested under Section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code, for allegedly provoking the uprising and discrediting the colonial government.

The RUSU held a meeting to discuss the arrests at 7 p.m. on 13 December. RUSU Vice Chairman Ko Hla Shwe led as chairperson and RUSU executive member Ko Aye Kyaw was master of ceremonies (MC). Two demands were decided upon: first, to retract all the repressive laws that prevented the oil refinery strike groups from marching to Rangoon, and second, to release Ko Ba Hein and Ko Ba Swe as soon as possible. The next day, at 4 p.m., the ABSU and RUSU held a special meeting open to students from all schools at Shwedagon Pagoda.

On 15 December, at 4 p.m., another open meeting was held at Shwedagon Square. More than 10,000 people, including students, monks, women's associations, and others attended. Once more RUSU Vice Chairman Ko Hla Shwe took charge as chairperson and RUSU executive member Ko Aye Kyaw took responsibility as MC. They made five demands, similar to those from previous meetings. They also set a deadline for a response from the authorities: 19 December.

Since the government took no action by the deadline, a total of 8,000 students from universities and high schools demonstrated at the secretariat office, which was on Sparks Street (currently Bo Aung Kyaw Road). The protest was brutally suppressed by the government and mounted police. Student leader Aung Kyaw was killed, and many students were injured. On 24 December, the body of Aung Kyaw (now Bo, or 'General', Aung Kyaw) was carried from Rangoon Hospital to the student union building, and in the afternoon of 27 December, it was carried to

Kyandaw Cemetery for burial. Bo Aung Kyaw's funeral was attended by monks, students, the public, and people from different associations and political parties. Students went on strike in Rangoon after the death of Bo Aung Kyaw. They opened a strike camp at the City National School (known colloquially as the Myo Ma School and currently BEHS 2, Dagon) in downtown Rangoon.

In support of the Rangoon strike, several other strikes occurred around the country, including a strike camp at the Central National High School, Mandalay. On 8 February 1939, the British colonial government surrounded the Mandalay strike camp and arrested three student leaders. At the same time, two leaders of the Young Monk Alliance were arrested at their respective monasteries.

Because monks and student leaders were arrested, Young Monk Alliance members, students, students' parents, and the public from Mandalay held a city-wide meeting at the Mandalay Eain Taw Yar Pagoda's grand rest house, at 12 p.m. on 9 February 1939. The meeting decided to support the demands of the Rangoon students to march against Article 144 of the Penal Code. It was too late to march on that day, so they moved the time to 11 a.m. the next day.

That next morning more than 200,000 people, including monks, students, students' parents, and the general public, gathered at Eain Taw Yar Pagoda to march according to a plan developed by the Young Monk Alliance chairman. When the marchers arrived at 26 B street, south of the telegraph office, the British government opened fire and created 17 martyrs, including killing seven monks.

At around the same time, more than 1,000 students from the Rangoon City National School camp went on a hunger strike on the morning of 7 February 1939. People were shocked. When the parents of the students heard the news, they held an emergency meeting and appealed to the government to make concessions to the student demands. They also requested the students stop the hunger strike. The meeting decided that if the government did not make concessions, the parents themselves would fight on the front line.

Likewise, the *thakin* leaders of the Dobama Association and the city's respected leaders also held a special meeting, condemning the government for the students' hunger strike, and requesting the students to stop it. In addition, parents tried to organize a meeting between what was then Ba Maw's interim government and the students, but the students refused to discuss anything with the government until Ba Maw resigned.

On 16 February 1939, some members of parliament submitted a motion of no confidence to overthrow Ba Maw's coalition government. There were 70 supporters and 37 opposed to the motion, and Ba Maw's government fell. U Pu became Premier. After U Pu became Premier, the U Pu government, representatives of the city's respected people, and student leaders started a tripartite discussion on 20 February. A week later, three people, including Premier U Pu, who was also Chairperson of the Rangoon City Council of Elders, Sir U Thwin, and Ko Hla Shwe from RUSU, signed a tripartite agreement, which included that the government would not act against the striking students and oil refinery workers, would release all arrested protesters, that exams should be taken three months' apart, and that an investigation committee would inquire into the events of 20 December 1938. Following the agreement, the student strike committee announced they would end the strike. In this way, the third student movement successfully ended.

After the third student strike finished, the U Pu government approved amending the University of Rangoon Act on 15 June 1939. Nevertheless, students did not agree with the chosen amendments and the government had to amend the act again. During the U Pu government, the University of Rangoon Act was announced as Act No. 13 of 1939 for the first amendment, and Act No. 20 of 1939 for the second.

After the 1938 student movement there were no major education-related student movements for a long time. During World War II and until the independence of Burma in 1948, student unions pushed for independence and cooperated with organizations including the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League but did not push for education reform.

Three months after independence in 1948, a civil war started in Burma. The national government had become 'The Rangoon Government', controlling little territory outside of the capital city. The government increased budget spending on the military in order to win the war and very little was spent on education. There was no time to establish an education system suitable for an independent country and the British colonial education system was still used, though in modified form.

As a result, student movements began pushing for education reforms, including increasing the budget, balancing teacher and student ratios, for better teaching materials, more and better school buildings, and an end to civil war. From 1948 to 1957 these movements percolated, but never reached the level of a full strike.

Then in June 1957, the Education Inquiry Committee (EIC) was formed by the government of Prime Minister U Nu. The EIC understood the importance of cooperation, advice, and help from the public, parents, teachers, and students in designing a new education system. The RUSU held an education seminar open to all students and requested the government assist with submitting suggestions from the seminar to the EIC. The government and student union talked for almost a year, and agreed to hold the Union of Burma Student Education Seminar from 9-13 August 1958 at Rangoon University's convocation hall.

All university and college student unions participated in the seminar, and 14 papers were written and submitted. They were formally handed over to Prime Minister U Nu by the Chairman of the Seminar Preparation Committee. Two months after that, on 28 October 1958, General Ne Win seized power and became prime minister of a military caretaker government. Documents from the education seminar disappeared.

From 1958 to 1960, student unions were unable to carry out any educational reform activities and could only work on national projects with the public, political parties, and associations, such as holding quick elections and restoring power to the civilian government. In the 1960 election, the Union Party won under the leadership of U Nu who became prime minister again.

The relationship between the government and student unions was at its best in that period. But just when the unions and the government were finally cooperating well on educational reform, General Ne Win seized power again, and on 2 March 1962, Prime Minister U Nu was detained. On 7 July 1962, the July 7 Student Uprising erupted and on the morning of 8 July the historic RUSU building was destroyed by a mine.

Military authoritarians, under different names, ruled the country for another 50 years, so student unions hid their official existence and worked with a low profile. Student movements mainly worked for national causes such as the restoration of democracy and there was no chance to work for education reform.

The 2015 Student Strike

When U Thein Sein, the general helming the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), a military proxy party filled with ex-military members, became president following the 2010 election, the USDP-led government announced to the country and the world that Myanmar was on the way to democracy. The government initiated some small and superficial changes to impress the international community, including some education reforms. Bills such as the National Education Bill were prepared. The bill was initiated in 2013 and published by state-owned media in September 2014 to inform the public and solicit suggestions. University teachers' associations, student unions, and the Network for National Education Reform (NNER) pointed out the flaws and gaps in the National Education Bill, including that it was too centralized. Letters of objection were published, and teacher associations and student unions made statements.

On 12-13 November 2014 an emergency meeting of student representatives from across the country was held at the Free Funeral Service Society in North Dagon Township, Yangon. The attendees agreed to create the Democracy Education Movement Leadership Committee (DEMLC), with 15 constituent members. The committee made 11 demands regarding the National

Education Law and students protested across Yangon from 14-18 November.³

On the evening of 18 November, the DEMLC issued a press release and demanded that the cabinet, parliament, and the NNER meet the DEMLC and discuss the National Education Law, giving a deadline for a response of 60 days. They did not receive a response, so a strike was called, and students began marching from Mandalay to Yangon on 20 January 2015. The march received overwhelming support from people all along the road and became stronger. Eight days into the march, U Thein Sein agreed to the meeting.

The first day of the four parties' education seminar was held on 1 February 2015 at Yangon University's Diamond Jubilee Hall. The second day was scheduled for 3 February at the Ministry of Education Hall in the capital Nay Pyi Taw (though for various reasons, this did not go ahead), the third day was successfully held at the Yangon Region Government Office on 10 February, and the last meeting was held at the Nay Pyi Taw parliament building on 14 February.

The main outcome of the education seminar was that a bill of revisions, the Bill to Amend the National Education Law, prepared by the DEMLC and NNER, was agreed to by the other parties and submitted to the Amyotha Hluttaw by the Education Ministry. While the bill was undergoing parliamentary procedures, the government cracked down on student protesters in Letpadan Town on 10 March, and more than 70 students and strike supporters were arrested.

Following the crackdown, the Bill to Amend the National Education Law passed parliament. About 70 percent of the bill was cut throughout the process, even though it had been ostensibly approved by government representatives during the quadripartite education seminar. U Thein Sein's USDP government stifled the efforts of students and the public to reform the education system. All they did was arrest students and their supporters. However, the fact that students and stakeholders were able to

³ For details of the 11 demands, see National Network for Education Reform, 2015, pp. 8-9.

get at least some measures passed through the Bill to Amend the National Education Law, is noteworthy. For nearly 50 years of direct military rule from 1962-2010, the words “student unions” were not even allowed to be published in the media. Compared to that time, the achievements in 2015 constituted a success.

References

National Network for Education Reform. (2015)

အမျိုးသားပညာရေးဥပဒေကို ပြင်ဆင်သည့် ဥပဒေကြမ်း
ပေါ်ပေါက်လာရန် လှုပ်ရှားဆောင်ရွက်ခဲ့မှု မှတ်တမ်းများ၊ National
Network for Education Reform။

ဒီမိုကရေစီဖက်ဒရယ်ပညာရေးနှင့်အခြားပညာရေး စနစ်
ပြုပြင်ပြောင်းလဲရေးကျောင်းသားသမဂ္ဂအရေး ဆောင်းပါးများ၊ (၂၀၁၇)၊
ဧကရာဇ်စာပေ။

ကေညီပိတ်၊ (၂၀၁၄)၊ ၁၉၂၀ ကျောင်းသားသပိတ်ကိုယ်တွေ့ (ပထမအကြိမ်)၊
မလိခစာပေ။

ခင်မောင်လေး၊ ဗိုလ်၊ (၂၀၁၄)၊ ၁၉၃၆-၃၈ ကျောင်းသားသပိတ်နှင့်
တက္ကသိုလ်ကျောင်းသားသမဂ္ဂသမိုင်းအစ၊ ခေတ်ပြတိုက်စာပေ။

မြန်မာ့ဆိုရှယ်လစ်လမ်းစဉ်ပါတီ၊ (၁၉၇၀)၊ အမျိုးသားနေ့နှင့်အမျိုးသား
ပညာရေးလှုပ်ရှားမှုသမိုင်းအကျဉ်း၊ မြန်မာ့ဆိုရှယ်လစ် လမ်းစဉ်ပါတီ။

ရန်ကုန်တက္ကသိုလ်သမိုင်း ပြုစုရေးသားရေးအဖွဲ့၊ (၁၉၉၅)၊
ရန်ကုန်တက္က သိုလ်သမိုင်း ၁၉၂၀-၁၉၉၅၊ တက္ကသိုလ်များသမိုင်း
သုတေသနဌာန။

လေးမောင်၊ ဦး၊ (၂၀၁၂)၊ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံရေးသမိုင်း/နှစ်အုပ်တွဲ၊
စာပေလောကစာအုပ်တိုက်။