

## **Legacies of Indian Connection in Myanmar**

Kausik Bandyopadhyay

### **Introduction**

From time immemorial, India has had strong historical and cultural ties with Myanmar. The spread of Buddhism has been the most enduring legacy of Indian connection in Myanmar (Burma)<sup>1</sup>. Buddhism came to Burma from India in the Asokan era, and since then has permeated every aspect of Burmese life. It was a philosophy that enabled the Burmese to meet the challenges of the outside world with supreme confidence, yet at the same time breeding a strong indifference to the outside world. The subjugation of Burma and the end of Burmese monarchy after the Third Anglo-Burmese War provided a traumatic experience for the Burmese and an unprecedented break with the past. However, under British imperialism, both the countries suffered the same pain of suppression and economic exploitation, and their sentiments also ran together to get liberated from the yoke of foreign rule. The Indians played a very significant role in the economic life of colonial Burma. They were prominent in transport, industry, labour, road construction, banking, insurance and exchange business, wholesale and retail trade. Moreover, trade was the vital aspect of Indo-Burmese economic relations in colonial period. Geographical proximity, joint administration and complementary character of the economy between India and Burma, contributed to a large extent to the development of their trading links. The Indian nationalist movement, on the other hand, was instrumental in setting the pattern of direct challenge to British imperial rule in Burma, as it not only provided the Burmese people with the basic objectives of constitutional reforms but it also gave them the message of non-violent struggle and boycott methods which they later employed in their fight for freedom from colonial exploitation. Thus on the cultural, economic and political planes, India and Burma had close ideological and methodological exchanges, which proved beneficial to both. As

Swapna Bhattacharya rightly says, “If the governments and people of India and Myanmar want to improve their relations, the fulcrum of the past would definitely provide a good foundation.”<sup>2</sup> It is on this premise that I look to revisit the legacies of Indian connection in Myanmar, emphasizing mainly the reciprocity in economic and nationalist movements between the two neighbours and outlining the prospects of a culturally viable economic relation between them.

### **Indians in Colonial Burma: Immigration, Economy and Politics<sup>3</sup>**

The British governed Burma first from Calcutta and then from Delhi. Till 1937 it remained a province of British India. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries labour and administrative personnel were inducted from India into Burma to support British rule. Before the Second World War, Indians numbered one million out of a total population of 16 million in the country. Forty percent of Rangoon’s population was Indian. This large immigrant community played a major role in the economic, social and political life of colonial Burma. The direct domination of the rich Irrawaddy plain and delta by the British was necessary for the empire, and Rangoon, the main protected port, became the main centre of colonial Burma, relegating Mandalay to the ranks of historic city. Once the region was pacified in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the British controlled the entire country and its approximately 8 million inhabitants, with close to 3000 British soldiers, 4000 sepoy, 10000 military police (for the most part Indians, except for the officers) and 7000 civil police (also mostly Indians but also Karens, Kachins and Chins).<sup>4</sup> Besides, in 1852 the British started organizing a massive migration of Indian labour to Burma from Assam (by road) or Madras and Calcutta (by sea) to ensure their control over the country. The knowledge of the English language as well as the colonial British legal and administrative system facilitated the influx of educated Indian migrants. Thus a class of minor Indian officials (in the colonial administration, justice system, armed forces and police, as well as educational system), attracted by higher wages than those prevailing in India, soon settled down in Burma, first around Rangoon, then in the

entire country. Small traders also began to move into Lower Burma and the Mandalay region to take advantage of the colonial-type economic organization that the British had set up there.<sup>5</sup>

These Indians, often of low castes, came to Burma not as conquerors, but as servants of the British Empire. Telegu Chettiars (moneylenders), Marwari bankers, Parsis as well as some Tamil and Gujarati merchant castes soon began to control the region's financial and commercial business. Furthermore, large estates grew around some Bihari zamindar families, particularly in Irrawaddy fluvial plain. In 1938, 25 percent of the country's fertile land belonged to Indian capitalist landlords. Agricultural labour, mainly seasonal (November to April), was also imported to work in Burmese rice fields, in particular from eastern India (Bihari and Andhra population), as well as a number of 'coolies' (porters) in Burmese ports. The city's rickshaws long remained the monopoly of Tamil Madrasis. The Indian population thus played an important role in the newly annexed province. In 1890, five years after Mandalay was annexed, 38 percent of the population of Bhamo, close to the Chinese province of Yunnan on the Irrawaddy River, was Indian and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, close to half of Rangoon's population was of Indian origin.<sup>6</sup> A number of Indian migrants did marry Burmese women. Children of Hindu fathers and Burmese mothers (Buddhist), raised according to Buddhist precepts (while children of Muslim fathers and Buddhist mothers were raised according to the Muslim religion), were an important part of the urban population at the beginning of the century. The period between 1890 and 1920 was a time of massive economic growth and political stability in colonial Burma. However, its economic prosperity only benefited those who were involved in the colonial trade. Close to 80 percent of Burmese products (particularly rice) were exported to India, while the rest were sent to China. Besides, the Chinese maintained a considerable presence in Burma.<sup>7</sup>

As I have already mentioned, the Indians played a very significant role in the economic life of colonial Burma. They were prominent transport, industry, labour, road construction, banking, insurance and exchange business, wholesale and retail trade.

Moreover, trade was the vital aspect of Indo-Burmese economic relations in colonial period. Geographical proximity, joint administration and complementary character of the economy between India and Burma, contributed to a large extent to the development of their trading links. The presence of a large number of Indian trading community of Chettairs was an important factor in the augmentation of trade between the two countries.

Contemporary studies and documents including the riot enquiry committee reports suggest that there existed a serious apprehension in the minds of many Burmese that the Indian immigration was largely responsible for unemployment in Myanmar. This was but natural in a society where immigrants played a crucial role. It was also recommended that in the interests of both the countries some vigorous efforts should be made to ascertain the extent of conflict of interests between Indians and Burmese and to formulate policies to remove the causes of the existing conflict “without injustice to each community and recognizing the rights of both.”<sup>8</sup>

Despite the criticality of the issue of Indian immigration in colonial Burma and the kind of impact it had on mid-twentieth century India-Burma relations, it is important to revisit India’s contribution to the making of modern Myanmar. To the extent Indian business groups played a positive role in the country should be accorded due recognition. As Bhattacharya has shown, Indian labour and money played a crucial role in building the city of Rangoon.<sup>9</sup> Many Indians, who served as public servants in Burma, “loved the country, learnt the language and came close to the Burmese people. They also enjoyed high respect in society.”<sup>10</sup> In Bhattacharya’s words: “During the British period a large number of active Indians adapted themselves so spontaneously to their new life in Burma and worked hard to make really a melting point, a multi-ethnic multi-religious tolerant liberal city.”<sup>11</sup> More importantly, as Nihar Ranjan Ray once remarked: “Sino-Burmese relations are older than Indo-Burmese, yet when India appeared on the Burmese scene, she seemed to have made an important and abiding impression. This is not merely limited to the field of religion but goes very much deeper into the very basis of material

life.”<sup>12</sup> One must not therefore forget the close mental bond the Indians cultivated towards their adopted country and the identification of both the Burmese and the Indians with Burma as *their* country. This can inspire the people of the two countries to build up a solid prosperous relationship. And the complementarity between the two countries at the political level needs to be analyzed in this context.

### **Nationalist Movement in Colonial Burma: Revisiting the Indian Connection<sup>13</sup>**

In the pre-British period, nationalism in Burma had always gone along with a strong devotion to Buddhism and an allegiance to the royalty. When the British came, the traditional Burmese institutions were abolished or strictly controlled, revealing an intellectual vacuum. As British rulers and their Indian servants mastered the Burmese political sphere, the Burmese intellectual and political leadership was merely non-existent. Despite this, a strong nationalist feeling began to develop from the 1920s. In this process, the Burmese were strongly influenced by the intellectual and political developments taking place in India. The rise in power of the Indian National Congress with its branch in Rangoon, the widespread distribution of its nationalist press right up to Burma, the visits of Indian national leaders like Gandhi, Tilak and Subhas Bose to the province and the participation of Burmese leaders in the central assembly in Delhi strongly influenced the initial nationalist debates in Burma. “If Burma (Myanmar) had been politically isolated from India”, Albert D. Moscotti writes, “its progress towards self-rule would have been slow and more uncertain.”<sup>14</sup> At the initial stage of its nationalist movement Burma suffered from lack of leadership. As Aung San once remarked:

We are fully prepared to follow men who are able and willing to be leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru and Tilak of India; ... Let anybody appear who can be like such a leader, who dares to be like such a leader. We are waiting.<sup>15</sup>

However, while admiring and copying the Congress model, some Burmese leaders tried to define a distinct identity, different from the national one developed in India.<sup>16</sup>

At various stages the Indian nationalists set the pace for reform in Burma and demonstrated methods of political action aimed at gaining freedom from foreign rule. The boycott, the *hartal* and the legislative walk-out were the techniques of political agitations which spread to Burma from India.<sup>17</sup> Moreover opposition to a common enemy strengthened the bond of cooperation between the nationalist movements of both the countries. The movement which the Burmese leaders launched followed more or less the lines of the non-cooperation movement started by Gandhi in the 1920s to attain complete independence from the British rule. Burma also had a branch of the Indian National Congress, the membership of which was confined mostly to Indians settled there. A number of prominent Burmese nationalists too were members of the Provincial Committee of the Indian National Congress and attended its sessions. U Ottama, a political monk and the leader of the 'Home Rule' agitation, who was also in touch with the Bengal revolutionaries, and U Chit Hlaing, the President of the General Council of Burmese Associations (GCBA), were the two most prominent figures among them.

Indian National Congress and the GCBA worked in tandem during the whole Non-cooperation Movement and even beyond that. Whenever the occasion came each of them supported the other in its course of freedom struggle against the rule. In one of its half-yearly conferences at Pakokku in 1925, the GCBA took the following resolution:

As Burma and India are both desirous of independence, and as the Indian National Congress and the Burmese General Council thinks and acts along similar principles, it is to be placed on record that the GCBA will give all support to Congress organizations in India and Burma.<sup>18</sup>

Burmese leaders never doubted the wise intention of the Indian National Congress in their course of struggle against foreign rule and whenever the occasion came both of them cooperated with each other against their common enemy – British imperialism.

Most of the Indian political, religious and even the sectional and caste organizations such as the Khilafat, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, the Khalsas and the Akalis, Arya Samaj and the Nattukottai Chettiars had their branches in Burma which invited political leaders and religious preachers from India. Gandhi, Nehru, Subhas Bose and Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta paid visits to Burma and influenced not only the Indians but also the Burmese public opinion. As in other colonized countries, Gandhi remained an icon in Burmese political life throughout its struggle for national independence. From the 1930s, as in India, national movement in Burma began to get radicalized under the impact of Thakins who formed the Dobhama Asiayone or 'We Burmese Society'. Aung San and U Nu were its noted leaders. The close links between the nationalist movements of two countries get vividly reflected in the comments of Gandhi and Ba Maw. Gandhi, during his visit to Burma in March 1929 said, "In India it is a common saying that the way to Swaraj is through Mandalay."<sup>19</sup> Ba Maw, on the other hand, recalls in his *Memoirs of Revolution*:

It had always been like that; Burma had followed India politically from as far as the First World War, which may be said to mark the beginning of our new political consciousness. The great wave of the future, as it was hopefully called, which that war set free reached us through India. That country's example largely guided us through the inter-war years. Some of the current words and techniques of the communist and socialist wing of the Indian National Congress began to be employed by our more restless youths in the years before the Second World War, and such a phenomenon further increased due to Indian impact.<sup>20</sup>

But an important feature of the nationalism of Burma was its anti-foreignism directed against the British but at times against the immigrants from India as well. Presence of a large number of Indians in Burma, their economic position, their transitory character, the appearance of the moneylenders and the growth of aggressive nationalism in Burma created bitterness against Indians in the minds of certain sections of the Burmese people. This should again be understood in terms of a global historical experience of immigrant societies.

It is also important to note that the Indian revolutionaries abroad came to forge a close nexus with the Burmese political movement in the early twentieth century. The role of Indian revolutionaries in the context of complementarity of political-nationalist movements of India and Burma is immortally personified in Sabyasachi, the hero of Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay's celebrated novel *Pather Dabi*. In fact, the impact of Indian revolutionaries of Burma on the Bengali youth was quite inspirational. That the Bengal-Burma contact remained a constant source of concern for the British becomes evident from the continuous proscription of *Pather Dabi* till Sarat Chandra's death.<sup>21</sup>

As we all know, Burma was separated from India in 1937. The relations between the two nations, however, by no means deteriorated. To promote mutual cooperation and understanding Nehru visited Burma two months after separation. In Burma, he addressed several meetings and met many important nationalist leaders of Burma. He appealed for wider cooperation and preservation of friendly spirit between Indians and Burmese.<sup>22</sup> Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President in 1938, appealed; "We cherish feelings of friendship, cordiality and esteem for Burma and her culture and civilization, with which so much in common. We also feel that Burma must have her freedom just as India must. (But we expect our Burmese friends to do justice to the Indian minority.)"<sup>23</sup> After 1938, the Indian National Congress became a great source of inspiration to the young Thakins of Burma who by now had become quite popular in their country. They started sending delegates to the annual meetings of the Indian National Congress. This gave them an opportunity to come in contact with Nehru, the Congress leader and Jayprakash Narayan, the socialist and also with many Indian communists who operated within the congress Socialist ranks. The proclamations and methods of the Indian National Congress were studied and often copied by the Thakin nationalists. In March 1940, Aung San led a Thakin delegation to the Ramgarh session of the Indian National Congress. The delegation met important Congress leaders as well as many politically sensitive places. At Ahmedabad, on 7 April 1940 Aung San addressed a meeting of students with the followings words: "If a struggle is started in India, it will have its

repercussions in Burma and it is just possible that the struggle may be started simultaneously in Burma and India. If Mahatma Gandhi's experiments in non-violence succeed it will give a new light to the world and we are watching it sympathetically."<sup>24</sup>

A significant development during the period of Japanese occupation of Burma was the liaison between Bose and some important Burmese leaders including Ba Maw. Bose's 'Sovereign State of Azad Hind' established at Singapore in October 1943 later shifted its headquarters to Rangoon in January 1944. The cooperation between Bose, Japan and Burma had obvious impact on Indo-Burmese relations. India never forgot the interests of her Asian neighbours during the critical days of the Second World War. In 1942 when the AICC gave a call for Quite India Movement it did not confine its demands for freedom to India alone. Rather it demanded freedom to entire Asia including Burma.<sup>25</sup> Nehru too reiterated that the Congress party "want to see not only India free but also Burma, Malaya and the rest of Asia now under the Japanese."<sup>26</sup> It was this concern for Burma and other Southeast Asian countries that motivated the AICC in June 1935 to instruct the Congress participants in the Shimla conference to make it clear that upon the conclusion of the war the Indian Govt. should not "support any policy aimed at the continuation of imperialist control of any one of the countries of south East Asia", nor shall it "allow the use of Indian resources for the deprivation of freedom of any of these countries."<sup>27</sup>

During the post-World War period, British policy towards Burma was influenced to a very great extent by the developments that had taken place in India. In 1942, the Indians had waged the Quite India Movement against the British. The cry of nationalism had spread throughout the country. It gradually became evident that the Indians were going to achieve independence in the near future. In such a situation the British had to keep in mind India while formulating a policy for Burma and vice versa. They knew that "Burma's post-war status would inevitably influence and be influenced by what happened in India."<sup>28</sup> The growing pressure of Burmese demands for freedom compelled the British Govt. to issue a policy statement called the White Paper on Burma on 17

May 1945. It envisaged Governor's personal rule for the country for another three years, at the end of which elections were to be held and Burma was to attain self-rule.<sup>29</sup> This White Paper was denounced not only by the people of Burma but also by the Indian leaders. The Burmese saw it as an instrument deliberately devised to withhold the independence of the country. Nehru also described this Paper to be unsatisfactory document and declared that if the British Government desired to meet the demands of the Burmese people it would have to revise its policy towards Burma.<sup>30</sup>

During the last stage of India's struggle for independence, Indians expressed concern over the independence of other countries of the region including Burma, which were under colonial rule. The Indian National Congress expressed its deep anxiety over the attempts being made to "maintain the political and economic subjection of Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia."<sup>31</sup> In a resolution of 23 September 1945, the AICC declared:

To continue imperialist domination over these countries, under whatever name or guise, would be a denial and repudiation of the professions made by the United Nations during wartime and sow the seeds of future wars. ... A free India will inevitably seek the close and friendly associations with her neighbour countries, and would especially seek to develop common policies for defence, trade and economic and cultural development with China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon.<sup>32</sup>

This AICC resolution on Asia's freedom had its echo abroad. At New York on 24 September 1945, Vijaylakshmi Pandit emphasized that "India's freedom can have no meaning unless Burma, Malaya and other colonial possessions are also free."<sup>33</sup>

The developments that took place in Burma during this period always drew attention of the Indians. On the eve of the formation of the Burmese Interim Govt., Nehru sent a warm message to the people of Burma on 27 Sept. 1946 in which he said "I expect this will rapidly lead to the freedom and independence of Burma and also to close relations between our two countries."<sup>34</sup> J.B. Kripalini, the Congress President, also pleaded for close and friendly relations between India and Burma. On 23 Sept. he

said: “Indian nationals in Burma must identify themselves with the people of Burma and mix with them as sugar does with milk. Knit together in a common friendly relationship, India, Burma and Ceylon will be in a position to fulfill their historical mission in the creation of a federation of Asiatic nations that would constitute a powerful bulwark against imperialism and exploitation, whether of the Western or the Eastern type.”<sup>35</sup>

It was not only that the Indians supported the Burmese struggle. The Burmese nationalists reciprocated similar sentiments of sympathy towards India’s struggle for independence. On 24 July 1946 Aung San expressed his deep concern for India in the following terms:

Our policy towards India ... in Burma is one of the broadest conception and generosity ... We have no axe to grind, we nurture no ... racial bitterness and ill will ... We stand for more than friendly relations with our neighbours. We want to be not merely good neighbours, but good brothers even ... We stand for immediate mutual understanding and joint action, wherever and whenever possible, from now for our mutual interests and for the freedom of India, Burma and indeed all Asia. We stand for these and we trust Indian national leaders in India implicitly.<sup>36</sup>

U Saw, another nationalist leader and ex-premier of Burma expressed his confidence that ““An independent India as a united nation will be a source of strength to Asia strategically, politically and economically.”<sup>37</sup>

Naturally, when India and Burma became independent respectively in 1947 and 1948, despite the hardening issue of immigration to be settled by the respective governments shortly, both looked towards a prospective future relation of sustainable cooperation and mutual understanding. Given Burma’s geo-strategic importance to India’s northeast frontier, a solid political and economic relation complemented by cultural exchanges became the most viable policy option for India. The international posture of the new democratic Burmese government under U Nu, particularly adopting the Nehruvian diplomatic approach of non-alignment, raised hope for such an enduring

relationship between the two countries. But the rise of military Burma under the leadership of General Ne Win in 1962 by staging a coup d'état and the continued domination of the junta till date in the backdrop of increasing Chinese influence in the country, that hope has been under serious stress for the last four and half decades. The recent political and cultural exchanges between the two nations at both official and private levels have once again raised some hope for improved relations and future cooperation on a serious and long-term note.

### **Postscript**

While dealing with the question of building and strengthening a reciprocally viable friendly relationship between the two countries, it is important to emphasize the need to develop an open-ended approach by the academics/scholars of Myanmar. In colonial Myanmar, “the lack of an elite meant that there was little to guide and spur on the people to reach out for greater achievements.”<sup>38</sup> That is why in present Myanmar it is imperative that the intellectuals take the lead in inspiring the younger generation to become a part of global village of scholars. As Burmese society “still remains a society waiting for its true potential to be realized”<sup>39</sup>, academic open-endedness accompanied by regular scholarly and cultural exchanges with countries like India, which have a strong presence in the global academic map, especially in the humanities and social sciences, might open up a new horizon for Myanmar.

In the present scenario of building up a viable relationship between the two countries, cultural exchanges should play a pivotal role. As scholarly visits, academic presentations and conferences and joint research ventures form an integral part of such fruitful exchanges, both India and Myanmar should look forward to engage more and more in such programs. And India can be gateway of scholarly/academic exchange for students, teachers and scholars of Myanmar from various branches of humanities and social sciences. Returning scholars and involved academics might be able to do wonders with the output of their visits, projects and works by helping or showing the respective governments to devise workable policies towards a road not only to reciprocally viable

cultural relationship but to sustainable political relationship and integrated economic development.

More importantly, from a Burmese as well as Asian point of view, the developing countries along with their constant effort to develop economically need to flex their academic muscle to combat cultural imperialism of the west that is still looming large over us. It is only by keeping regular scholarly interactions with global academic coterie of scholars and making quality contributions (articles, books, projects) to international academia that the developing nations could make their presence felt internationally, which should be an important step towards recognition of a country's worth and strength as a nation state. India has done this in many branches of humanities and sciences in the last three decades, not to speak of its earlier contributions and achievements. Myanmar has also had immense potential to do that in the coming future. Especially, quality research on the history and culture of Myanmar would fill up an important gap in the modern and contemporary studies on South and Southeast Asia. Regular academic exchanges and collaboration with Indian universities and institutions can be a useful platform for Myanmar academics in this regard. In face of US sanctions, Myanmar can assert its national identity by cultural means, using academic input, performing arts or sports as cultural weapons and thereby drawing attention of the global media and the world opinion to its potential in the concerned fields. I would therefore conclude by putting prime emphasis on the point of gaining recognition for Burmese scholarship in global academia because this would help the political establishment to generate economic, social and cultural development.

**Acknowledgements:** I am grateful to Prof. Jayanta Kumar Ray and Dr. Swapna Bhattacharya for their constant inspiration and support in my humble effort to study Myanmar in historical perspective.

## Notes and References:-

- <sup>1</sup> Since Myanmar was historically known as Burma during the period of colonial rule, I have mostly used the term Burma throughout the essay.
- <sup>2</sup> Swapna Bhattacharya (Chakraborti), "Indian Diaspora in Myanmar", in S.D. Singh and Mahavir Singh, eds. *Indians Abroad*, London: Greenwich, 2003, p. 172.
- <sup>3</sup> An authoritative study of Indian immigration in Burma is: Nalini Ranjan Chakravarti, *The Indian Minority in Burma: The Rise and Decline of an Immigrant Community*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971. Another important contribution in this regard is: Usha Mahajani, *The Role of Indian Minorities in Burma and Malaya*, Bombay: Vora & Co., 1960.
- <sup>4</sup> Renaud Egroteau, *Wooing the Generals: India's New Burma Policy*, Delhi: Authors Press, 2003, pp. 13.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- <sup>8</sup> *Report of the Riot Enquiry Committee, (Final)*, Rangoon, 1939, n. 25, p. 295.
- <sup>9</sup> See Bhattacharya (Chakraborti), "Indian Diaspora in Myanmar", pp. 183-87.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>12</sup> Presidential address at a meeting at the Rangoon Ramakrishna Mission, 27 April 1954; cited in Bhattacharya (Chakraborti), "Indian Diaspora in Myanmar", p. 200.
- <sup>13</sup> S.K. Pradhan's work *New Dimensions in Indo-Burmese Relations* (New Delhi: Rajat Publications, 2000), especially chapter 1 (pp. 1-37) gives one a nice little background of the complementarity of nationalist movements of the two countries. This section of the article shares and resonates some of the points of that chapter.
- <sup>14</sup> Albert D. Moscotti, *British Policy and the Nationalist Movement in Burma: 1917-37*, Hawaii: The University Press, 1971, p. 20.
- <sup>15</sup> Aung San Suu Kyi, *Burma and India: Some Aspects of Intellectual Life under Colonialism*, Shimla: IAS & New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1990, p. 66.
- <sup>16</sup> Egroteau, *Wooing the Generals: India's New Burma Policy*, p. 18.

- <sup>17</sup> Moscotti, *British Policy and the Nationalist Movement in Burma*, p. 20.
- <sup>18</sup> U. Maung Maung, *From Sangha to Laity – Nationalist Movement of Burma, 1920-1940*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1980, p. 22.
- <sup>19</sup> D.G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma – Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. II (1920-29), Bornbay: Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri & D.G. Tendulkar, 1951, p. 467.
- <sup>20</sup> Ba Maw, *Breakthrough in Burma – Memoirs of a Revolution (1939-1946)*, New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1968, p. 45.
- <sup>21</sup> For an instructive discussion on how British imperialism and colonialism got represented and reflected in Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay's writings, see Swapna Bhattacharya (Chakraborti), *India-Myanmar Relations: 1886-1948*, Kolkata: K P Bagchi & Co., 2007, Chapter IV, pp. 159-204.
- <sup>22</sup> *The Indian Review* (Madras), 38.6 (June 1937), p. 376.
- <sup>23</sup> *The Indian Review*, 39.9 (Sept. 1938), p. 624.
- <sup>24</sup> *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta), 8 April 1940.
- <sup>25</sup> *Indian Annual Register*, 2 (July-August 1942), pp. 181, 201.
- <sup>26</sup> Cited in the *Modern Review*, 77.6 (June 1945), p. 258.
- <sup>27</sup> *The Indian Annual Register*, 1 (January-June 1945), p. 225.
- <sup>28</sup> John F. Cady, *A History of Modern Burma*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958, p. 487.
- <sup>29</sup> *Burma: Statement of Policy by His Majesty's Government*, London: H.M.S.O., 1945, pp. 9-11, referred to in Pradhan, *New Dimensions in Indo-Burmese Relations*, p. 33.
- <sup>30</sup> *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 26 June 1945.
- <sup>31</sup> Pradhan, *New Dimensions in Indo-Burmese Relations*, p. 34.
- <sup>32</sup> *The Indian Annual Register*, 112, p. 233.
- <sup>33</sup> *The Indian Annual Register*, 2 (July-December 1945), p. 17.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 288.
- <sup>36</sup> Joseph Silverstein, *The Political Legacy of Aung San*, Ithaca & New York: Cornell University, 1972, n. 104, p. 86.
- <sup>37</sup> Cited in Pradhan, *New Dimensions in Indo-Burmese Relations*, p. 36.
- <sup>38</sup> Suu Kyi, *Burma and India*, p. 74.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.