Karen refugees looking for some relief from war

As Sloc talks about a national convention to write a new constitution, and tries to convince the world that they are serious about bringing democracy to Burma, they also continue to build up their forces in preparation to launch a new dry season offensive against the ethnic minority groups. Few of the villagers in the minority areas expect that this dry season will be a peaceful one for them.
CIVIL WAR

Dialogue or Deception

For the ethnic minority groups and other opposition parties which make up the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), any peace talks with Slorc must be done with the full participation of all DAB members as one unified group. This kind of unity is something Slorc has long tried to break apart for they know they can only win the political struggle if they can divide the opposition. For this reason, there is much suspicion that Slorc’s recent hints at peace talks with the ethnic groups is not a serious attempt by Slorc to bring an end to the long civil war which it has been waging against the ethnic minorities of the country, but rather a delaying tactic as they prepare for the ends of the rains and the beginning of a new dry season offensive.

On the 28 of April, Maj- Gen Maung Hla, Chief of the Military Operation Control Command of Burma held a military operations coordinating meeting in the military operation hall at Hpa-An, capital of Karen State. During his speech, he tried to clarify why Slorc has temporarily stopped its offensive against only the Karen National Union. Maung Hla stated, “baking Slorc’s ofs- fensives in only the Karen State is to expedite attainment of amity among all national races for national unity with a view to strengthening national solidarity.”

Following this unprecedented announcement which suggested Slorc was ready for dialogue, the Voice of Myanmar (VOM), the state run radio station, began broadcasting articles from the Working People’s Daily newspaper by various authors who were hinting for dialogue with minorities groups. For the first time in many of these articles, they referred to the chairman of the KNU as General Bo Mya. In early years, the Burmese military never put the military rank of general before the Karen leader Bo Mya’s name.

Subsequently the DAB began looking for signs of Slorc’s full-fledged sincerity to dialogue. One such positive sign would be the release of all political prisoners including one of Burma’s key leaders, Daw Aung San Su Kyi who is the recent winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and who has been detained for three years already. Other signs the DAB is seeking include: the dissolution of all repressive laws, a total cease fire over the entire country and dissolution of announcements claiming revolutionary groups and some political parties are unlawful.

The opposition, however, became suspicious when Slorc limited release of political prisoners to only those deemed not a serious threat to the military regime. DAB then issued an official announcement, suggesting doubts about Slorc’s sincerity in calls for dialogue with DAB.

Another suspicion that Slorc was not serious about peace talks came when serious fighting erupted between ethnic Kachin guerrillas and Slorc soldiers on the India-Burma border. The Burmese military launched these clandestine offensives into the ethnic Kachin areas very soon after their hints at wanting dialogue with the ethnic minorities. They overran several outposts in the Kachin area. According to the KIA (Kachin Independence Army), Slorc has a plan to occupy the most strategic areas which are now under KIA’s control. Subsequently, the KIA promptly launched counter offensives recapturing the two strategic towns of Pang Su and Nam Yung on Burma’s frontier with India. Slorc also sent a message for dialogue with the NMSD through a Thai logging merchant who has become quite infamous for his logging practices in the Mon State. After receipt of the message, Mon guerrillas stated officially that they would not accept any dialogue with Slorc without the participation of all other members of DAB. They view Slorc’s hints at dialogue as only a “divide and rule” tactic which has long been a practice of Slorc. Slorc effectively used this “dialogue with a single group” tactic with some of the other minority groups in the Shan State in 1989. After Slorc met with these various groups individually Slorc was able to get the cooperation of several of them who then left the opposition movement. Through these tactics, Slorc was able to move many of their troops out of the Shan State and into the campaign against DAB in the south eastern part of Karen State.

On June 30th, the second day of the above mentioned coordinating meeting between Slorc and selected representatives, Dr. Hmuh Thang, a candidate from the ethnic Chin State raised a proposal calling for the participation of all opposition groups in the jungle and also members of the dissolved BSPP (Burma Socialist Program Party) in further discussions. Maj- Gen Myo Nyunt, leader of the 15 member Slorc team, immediately responded, "any unlawful groups in the jungle have to totally abandon their armed struggle first." He did not say anything regarding the participation of the ex-BSPP. It is very likely Slorc has once again withdrawn their suggestions of conducting dialogue with opposition groups on the Thai-Burma border.

Recently, information indicates that about 100 convoys of Burmese soldiers have departed Kauk Ka Raik, a Garrison town in the Karen State, and have been dispersed to various areas in other parts of the Karen State. According to an escaped merchant, troops are rounding up porters from villages along the highways and off of ships and trains. Slorc is actively preparing for their next "Dry Season Offensive".

Sources:
WPD: 29/4/92.
WPD: 1/7/92.
WPD: 29/5/92.
KIO: 21/7/92.
The Month of July in Burmese History

In Burma the month of July is said to be the most miserable month of the year. It was on July 19, 1947, when their much admired national leader, General Aung San, was assassinated by a group of military and political men. Fifteen years later, on July 7, 1962, more than 100 university students were killed inside their own campus at Rangoon University. This time the killer was General Ne Win, who had taken over power just four months earlier through a military coup. Nine more years later, in July of 1971, eight young men died inside the Coco Island prison camp where they were participating in a hunger strike to protest the atrocities of the military regime led by Ne Win.

Most people have heard how General Aung San and eight of his ministers were assassinated in an office of the secretariat yard right in the heart of Rangoon. The killers were apprehended within a few days, put on trial and punished according to the law.

Although the case appeared to have been settled long ago, a controversial theory surfaced a few years ago. The theory suggests a remote link between Galon U Saw, the leader of the assassins, and General Ne Win, military leader of Burma. It was printed in a French magazine a few years ago. To the people who have been living on the west bank of Inya Lake (near General Ne Win's home), for a long time the theory has proven to be very interesting and plausible. To them it was not a secret that U Ne Win had supplied the family of U Saw with six Datsun pickups, all of which were registered with a successful passenger transport company.

The massacre of students in 1962 was so outrageous that such a seasoned man as U Ne Win did not forget to plead innocent in his farewell speech given at the BSPP special conference in 1968. On July 7, 1962, Rangoon University students assembled at the assembly hall of the historic Rangoon University Students' Union (RUSU) building. The meeting commenced at 1300 Burma standard time and two or three resolutions were passed, all of which were meant to protest the decrees and orders hastily issued by the military regime following their coup. After the meeting the students, led by the Union Chairman Ba Swe Lay, demonstrated peacefully inside the university campus for about half an hour.

A few minutes later a strong police force surprised the students who were still inside the RUSU building. Dozens of students, among them some leaders including Ba Swe Lay, were abducted by the police instigating an encounter between the students and the police. After about an hour of fierce struggle the police withdrew to be replaced by troops armed with freshly acquired G-3 assault rifles. At about 1730 the soldiers fired into the crowd of thousands of students at point blank range. More than 100 students were killed with hundreds wounded. Early the next morning the RUSU building which was a rare historical landmark of Burma, was demolished by an enormous blast. An unknown number of students who remained in the building during the night were killed in the blast.

"I was misinformed," said U Ne Win on July 23, 1988. "I didn't give the order to demolish the building. I just told them (the soldiers) to use recoilless rifles." Expressed in his parting speech to the BSPP, this can only be seen as an attempt by Ne Win to exonerate himself from this terrible page in Burmese history.

On February 12, 1969, which is Union Day in Burma, the military authorities, while observing the Union Day celebrations throughout the country, sent 233 political detainees to Coco Island, more than 400 kilometers away from Rangoon. About one fourth of them were students. After two years of arduous struggle to survive in this desolate island prison, the detainees decided to launch a hunger strike, the fourth and the longest of all such strikes staged by the political detainees in the prison. The demands were to be given sufficient food rations, to receive proper medical treatment and to be permitted to write to families.

The strike began in May. On the 35th day of the strike, a middle aged man named Ko Thein Kyi, a civil servant, passed away. Four days later another young man named Ohn Maw, an army corporal turned dissident, died. The authorities didn't try to negotiate. Another six young men, Ko Chit Swe (a student from Prome), Ko Maung Maung Soe (a Mandalay University student), Ko Tun Myint (a civil servant), Ko Sein Chin (a port laborer), Ko Lay Maung (a Mandalay University student and also a well known poet) and Ko Tun Win (an air force soldier imprisoned for his contact with disidents) died one after another. More than twenty others fell unconscious. Only then did the authorities inform the participants in the strike that U Ne Win's cabinet in Rangoon had decided to abandon the Coco Island prison camp project. The detainees, victorious after sacrificing so much, decided to terminate the strike. Four months later all the remaining detainees were sent back to Insein prison, about 10 kilometers north of Rangoon.

* Sources in this issue:  
  TN....The Nation (Thailand)  
  BP....Bangkok Post (Thailand)  
  WPD....Working People's Daily (Burma)  
  FEER....Far Eastern Economic Review

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HUMAN RIGHTS

Slavery

Toe Toe is the eldest of three children. Her father is Karen and her mother is Mon. Several years ago she fled to the Thai/Burma border to escape possible capture and rape by advancing Burmese soldiers. Her story reflects the sad situation of an increasing number of young ethnic women in Burma.

After living in a refugee camp near the border for several months, she went to Ranong port and city. One morning when she stepped outside to buy some food, she was arrested by a policeman and taken to the immigration jail where she was charged with illegal entry into Thailand.

After spending about 15 days in immigration jail, Toe Toe, along with a group of other illegal immigrants from Burma, was sent to a school and a demand for 1500 kyats per person was made in order to get their freedom.

Since Toe Toe and several other women did not have the money, they remained in the school/jail for several days until a woman from Southern Shan State (of Burma) came to bail them out. Her name was Sein Ma Ma and she promised to get the women jobs in Thailand. With absolutely no income possible at the time, Toe Toe and two women of the Ikaw tribe agreed.

When they entered the boat to make the short trip from Kawthoung to Ranong, they thought their economic woes might at last be over. However the boat did not go directly to the Ranong port. Instead it took them to a beach some distance from Ranong port and city. From the beach, the women had to walk about one hour before reaching a large house. They later found out that this house was actually a brothel called Nyein Gyan Ye (Peace 1) hotel.

Like a large number of women from Burma who are lured into the prostitution trade, Toe Toe and her friends had no idea what was going on. They were taken to a room to rest and shown a table full of makeup which they were encouraged to use. They did so, unaware that they were preparing themselves to be sold.

After a short rest, the owner of the hotel, who appears to be the husband of Sein Ma Ma, called Toe Toe and take her to another room in which a man was waiting. She was instructed to sleep with the man.

It was at this point that she suddenly realized what was going on. She tried to protest, but was threatened by the owner who was holding a gun. She finally relented, and sold her body for the benefit of the brothel owner.

Several times Toe Toe tried to escape, but since she had no money, she had no idea where she could go for help, or how she could get out of Ranong.

After working in the brothel for about three months, a team of Thai police raided the brothel and she, along with 31 other women were freed. Twenty-four of the women were sent back to Kawthoung where they fate remains unknown. Toe Toe refused to go back, fearing that the Burmese military would do harm to her. She was finally sent to an emergency home in Bangkok where she is now living.

More and more such stories are being heard regularly now. Local newspaper headlines illustrate the seriousness of the tragedy.

*66 girls rescued from brothels* BP 28/3/92

*42 rescued from brothel* TN 11/6/92

*Police save 79 Burmese women from five brothels* TN 9/7/92

Most of those freed in the above raids were women from Burma, and most were from ethnic minority groups.

Why are so many women from Burma now being found in Thai brothels? The answer may be twofold. First of all, many of the ethnic minority women are fleeing the military campaigns of the Burmese military. If they are caught by the military are they often forced to go along with the soldiers to work as porters, servants and bed mates. Even pregnant women do not escape this form of slavery.

In an attempt to escape being used by the Burmese military, they come to the Thai/Burma border to seek refuge. Here, being very unaware of the sex business, they are easy prey to agents working for brothels all over Thailand.

A second reason for women from Burma to end up in Thai brothels is related to the rapidly declining economy of Burma. According to the Burmese military regime's 1991-92 report on Burma's financial economic and social situation, the people of Burma are much poorer now than they were six years ago. (BP 20/6/92).

The report admits that the people's per capita income fell continuously from kyats 1,510 (US$232) in 1985-86 to kyats 1,225 (US$188 in 1991-92. Agricultural output, which is the main aspect of the Burmese economy, fell 11.2% since 1985.

This decline, especially in the agriculture sector, is due largely to military policies which tax farmers heavily on all their produce. This has discouraged farmers from trying to increase their yield which would simply mean higher taxes for them. It has also resulted in an increasing number of farmers appearing at refugee camps along the Thai Burma border. They claim that they can not make enough to survive by farming anymore due to the heavy taxes and frequent military raids by the Burmese army, so they come to the
refugee camps to await the end of the fighting.

In order to help family members who wish to remain on the farm, many young people from the ethnic minority groups, including a large number of young women, come to Thailand to seek employment. They are ready to accept low wages as they are in Thailand illegally, live very cheaply, and only want to earn some small money to send back home to help their family. Brokers along the Thai/Burma border meet this economic immigrants and promise them jobs. Young men are taken to plantations and construction sites where the brokers receive a good commission while the young men provide very cheap labor.

Young women, usually promised jobs as maids or in hotels, very often end up in brothels where they can not easily escape. It is rare that they can ever communicate with their families let alone send any money home to them.

An extremely high percentage of these women contact the HIV virus. According to Dr. Vicharn Vitiyasai of Chiang Mai University (Thailand), 70% of the women he tested who had been working as prostitutes for more than a year, were HIV positive! (FEER 26/2/92)

It has long been rumored that women returning to Burma who are known to be HIV positive, are unceremoniously disposed of by the Burmese military. Although this has not yet been proven beyond doubt, the rumors have been sufficient to convince Crime Suppression Division Deputy Commander Pol Col Bancha Jarujarett (Thailand) that women freed from brothels should not be sent back to Burma. He was informed that 25 such women who were recently sent back to Burma had disappeared, and were reported to have been injected with cyanide to prevent them from spreading the virus. (TN 2/4/92)

As long as the war being waged by the Burmese military against the people of Burma continues, there can be no reprieve for the poor of the country from these problems.

Story of a Burmese Soldier who Defected

Thirty three year old Tin Myint Oo joined the Burmese army in September of 1979. His story probably reflects the experience of many other Burmese soldiers.

"I did not join the military because of any political or social commitments. I only wanted adventure and the excitement of taking some risks. After passing basic training, I was appointed to the 25th Infantry Regiment based in the Karen State. While there, I served as a personal guard for several officers. I became quite familiar with their habits and actions.

One thing which shocked me the most was the abuse of villagers human rights by these officers. Many times I saw them execute villagers whom they suspected as being in contact with the insurgents. They also raped many of the young Karen village girls. First they would take the young girls out of the village saying they were needed for interrogation, but they raped them instead.

In 1981, one officer named Lt. Khaing Tun raped at least 27 Karen women. Maj. Hla Myint, commander of the 25th Infantry Regiment also raped several Karen women during this time.

In 1986 I was transferred to the 104th Infantry Regiment where I also witnessed executions and rapes. Every time I saw the officers rape a young Karen woman, I though of my own sisters and felt angry and sad.

When I had the chance, I finally escaped and took refuge with the opposition. I did this on July 1, 1992 with four privates from my squad."

* Source:
Report from Mergui/Tavoy District

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Thai Fishing Investments

Background to Thai Fishing in Burma

Since 1990 Thai Fishing Companies have been raping Burmese marine waters by using very sensitive nets which cause severe damage to marine species. Illegal entry into restricted Burmese coastal waters are gained by the Thai fishing boats by giving bribe money to the Burmese navy. This has created a scarcity of fish for local traditional fishermen who can not compete with the high-tech Thai fishing vessels. Consequently, Burmese fishermen have been forced into poverty and are increasingly entering Thailand illegally to seek jobs.

Concerning basic human rights, any economic deals the Thai fishing companies make with Slorc is fuelling the civil war as foreign currency into Burma benefits the Burmese military junta who purchase sophisticated weapons mainly from China which they then use in their military campaigns against the ethnic minorities and political dissidents.

The First Slorc/Thai Agreement

The first fishing agreement between Thailand and Slorc was a joint investment for one year of a possible ten year contract which was signed on April 13, 1990. In this agreement Slorc permitted 165 Thai vessels to operate legally in Burmese waters. The joint venture formed the Thai Myanmar Fisheries Co. (TMFC) and was comprised of members of the Thai Fisheries Association and the Myanmar Fishing Enterprise (MFE). Total investments were Bt 600 million (about US$24 million) at the official exchange rate (4.3 Kyat per dollar currently). Registration for vessels was US$50/vessel. Legal permission for fishing net mesh sizes was 2.5 inches for fish trawlers, 2 inches for shrimp trawlers and 1.5 inches for purse seines.

Slorc gave special consideration to the Thai investment because of the need for foreign currency, Thai experience in advanced fishing technology and also because this joint venture would create some new jobs for the jobless in Burma. After the agreement was signed, at least twice as many illegal Thai vessels compared to the number of legal vessels started operating along the restricted long coastal areas of Burma. Moreover, according to a local resident, restricted sensitive small mesh nets were used illegally by Thai vessels.

Expended Investments

A new Thai delegation led by former Deputy Agriculture Minister, Ajya Taulananda went to Rangoon for a three day visit from August 1 to 3 in 1991 and signed an agreement with Slorc to jointly invest in setting up a fish-meal factory, a canned tuna factory, as well as ice production and cold storage in Burma. After discussions, the joint venture was signed for another year from June 1, 1991 to May 30, 1992. The Thai side is composed of the TMFC, Thai Overseas Fishery Association and some canned tuna manufacturers and cold storage operators. The ownership structure between Slorc and Thailand has been changed from 51/49 per cent to 50/50 percent respectively.

On December 4, 1991, TMFC submitted a new draft proposal to Slorc to adjust the exchange rate to 30-40 Kyat per dollar. At that time, the Burmese currency exchange rate on the black market was 80-90 Kyats per US$ and the official exchange rate was set at 4.3 Kyat per dollar.

Recent New Proposals

A 13 member Thai delegation led by Mr Sawanit Kongsiri, Director General of the Department of Economic Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, arrived in Rangoon on the 29th of June. The delegation's purpose was to discuss an amended proposal of the fishing joint venture.

Finalization of the amended proposal was discussed between Slorc and the Thai delegation of Thailand on the 2nd of July.

The amended proposal is to cover Thai losses from discrepancies in the Burmese currency created by differences between official and black market exchange rates. Now the Burmese official currency exchange rate is about six Kyats to US$ but Thai partners use 70-80 Kyats to US$.

Appeal for Protest

Since the middle of August 1991, US Senator Patrick Moynihan has called for action to be taken against the high shrimp imports to the US from Thailand. Thailand's largest supply of shrimp comes from Burma. Another large market of Thai shrimp is Japan.

Although Senator Moynihan has been raising this issue in the US congress constantly since 1991, President Bush has still failed to take adequate action by placing sanctions on these imports. One dissident from Burma stated, "By importing sea foods from Thailand which are harvested in Burmese waters, the US, Japan and other marine foods importers are indirectly placing money in the pockets of Slorc, and are also supporting the severe exploitation of small local Burmese fishermen who can no longer make their living and must become refugees and illegal immigrants."

If action is not taken soon, Burmese coastal waters will be barren, all Burmese fishermen will be refugees, and the civil war will continue indefinitely.

Sources:

- TN (28/8/91)
- BP (6/8/91)
- TN (9/12/91)
- TN (16/7/92)
- WPD (3/7/92)
- WPD (30/6/92)
EDUCATION

The authorities of the military junta of Burma are now busy with their preparations to reopen the universities which were last closed eight months ago. The interruption of the academic term is not the first time under the military junta. It is the 13th of its kind since the seizure of power by the military under General Ne Win thirty years ago. Since then numerous problems related to politics, economics, education etc. have cropped up and remained unsolved to this day. It has been these unsolved problems which have, from time to time, escalated into violent eruptions.

Education has been the most volatile field where confrontation between students and military rulers frequently escalated thereby igniting a number of incidents of student unrest.

All the incidents began with peaceful demonstrations but each time the junta, instead of trying to find out the root causes of the people's indignation, used excessive force to quell the peaceful demonstrations. In every occasion hundreds, sometimes thousands, were arrested. Out of a total of 13 incidents where the students were involved, six ended up with a bloodbath.

After the second incident, on November 15, 1963, the universities were closed for nearly one year. When they reopened in late 1964, a new system known as majoring system was introduced. Although that system resembled in appearance, the systems exercised in many developed nations, the hidden intention of the regime was to split up the existing centralized system so as to disperse student crowds. Thus the two existing universities were separated into a dozen separate institutions, with another half a dozen affiliated colleges under Rangoon and Mandalay arts-science universities. However hard the regime tried to publicize this move as a success, it proved to be a failure in that the educational standards of the country gradually declined.

In 1976, after four consecutive closure incidents within a period of less than two years, a new system was again introduced. The regime called it the "Regional System". More than a dozen new colleges were added making the total number of universities and colleges more than thirty. According to responsible authorities, "This is the latest model of education system in the world. The students no longer need to travel far for their studies. Field works are emphasized so that the new graduates would become experts in their respective trades."

Under this system the administration of the colleges were under the regional "People's Councils". Application for admission had to be endorsed by two basic Councils, one from the ward level and the other from the township. These councils, which were nominated by higher military authorities, were instructed by the military intelligence (MI) on who should be endorsed and who should not be. There also were many cases when the Ward Councils, most of whom were uneducated, refused to endorse an application, even without the instruction from the MI. Some students had to bribe them for acceptance into the educational institutes. Hence it was an era when admission to the institutions of higher education were completely controlled by uneducated people. More than one thousand potential students lost their right to further studies.

Hundreds of new teachers were appointed, most of them unqualified educationally, but qualified being relatives of the military bosses or party officials or administrative councils. Consequently the standard of education plunged to the lowest in the history of independent Burma. Anyhow the system fulfilled the junta's interest, because the students' activities were stilled for about a decade. But the dictators themselves experienced the impact of their own defective system through their children's poor academic standards.

Another faulty system emerged in 1982 but was reformed again three years later. That latest reform brought the university life in Burma back to near normal university life again and allowed more student activities where the new generation organized themselves to agitate the masses to participate in the struggle for democracy.

Then followed a series of successive movements which began as a protest demonstration in 1987, ousting three presidents within a couple of months, and is still going on with undiminished momentum in spite of suppression. There were repeated massacres and mass arrests by the SLORC. Thus all educational institutes were closed again in August 1988 to be reopened only three years later.

In December, 1991, the students gathered again in Rangoon University campus to honor Nobel Peace Prize laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. More than two thousand students turned up in the gathering, on Dec. 10, some giving speeches and others chanting slogans such as "free Aung San Suu Kyi and all political prisoners", "transfer power to the people's representatives" etc. The junta reacted by closing all higher education institutions and arresting hundreds.

"Our intention was to honor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi on the day when Nobel Prizes were being presented in Norway as well as to express our indignation with the SLORC," said a physics honors student who was one of the leading agitators during that gathering and narrowly escaped capture.

Once again the junta saw it differently. They accused politicians and political parties, revolutionary organizations, foreign organizations and broadcasting stations, of instigating the unrest. They blamed the teachers for not being able to prevent the disturbances. As a punishment more than 6000 professors and lecturers were forced to at...
tend a one-month re-education course where the soldiers taught them the subjects on 'human management', 'human control', 'discipline', 'leadership', 'basic military disciplines' etc. Even senior lecturers in their fifties were not spared this humiliation.

Satisfied with the training, the junta poured in millions of kyats to construct new walls inside the campuses with many easy-to-close doorways. Each teacher will now be assigned to control a particular group of students. Another remarkable invention of the military regime is the "University of Distant Learning" (correspondence school). They claim that this is a system popular in Thailand, India, Korea, Japan, Pakistan etc. By getting admission to this "long distance university", the students will be able to save much money. "You won't have to leave your family or your job," said an article in the Working People's Daily, the only newspaper in Burma. This indicates that SLORC is going to divert thousands of students into the correspondence courses to keep them out of the university campuses. The military authorities are obviously much afraid of large groups of students getting together in one location.

Without solving the political problems which are the root cause of all existing conflicts in the country, the junta's effort to suppress the students and the population in general will certainly be in vain.

STUDENT UNREST IN BURMA SINCE 1962

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<td>1962</td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>Nov. 15: Universities and colleges closed</td>
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<td>1969</td>
<td>Dec. 1: Rangoon and Mandalay Universities closed</td>
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<td>1970</td>
<td>Nov.: Universities and colleges closed</td>
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<td>1974</td>
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