If people want to live in peace, they can. There need be no trouble. Treat all people alike; give them all the same law; give them all an even chance to live and grow. You might as well expect the riv- ers to run backward as that any person born free should be contented when penned up and denied liberty to go where he or she pleases.
ECONOMIC ROAD TO WHERE?

"IMF-World Bank structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) are designed to reduce consumption in developing countries and to redirect resources to manufacturing exports for the repayment of debt...the greatest failure of these programmes is to be seen in their impact on the people....it has been estimated that at least six million children under five years of age have died each year since 1982 in Africa, Asia and Latin America because of the anti-people, even genocidal, focus of IMF-World Bank SAPs. And that is just the tip of the iceberg....some 1.2 billion people in the Third World now live in absolute poverty (almost twice the number 10 years ago)....On the environmental side, millions of indigenous people have been driven out of their ancestral homelands by large commercial ranchers and timber loggers...It is now generally recognised that the environmental impact of the IMF-World Bank on the South has been as devastating as the social and economic impact on peoples and societies." Davison Budhoo, IMF economist who resigned in disgust in 1988

By N. Chan

Burma’s economy is on the move, but it remains unclear where it is actually going. Despite serious efforts by organizations around the world to highlight human rights abuses carried out by the Burmese military against the peoples of Burma, international corporations continue to make potential profits the priority in investment decision within the country. Foreign investments are on the increase. As of May 31, 1996, Burma’s Ministry of National Planning & Economic Development listed ten investment sectors in the country in which foreign countries had already invested US$3.34 billion. By early November, the military announced that foreign investments had reached the US$5 billion mark.

While the military regime claims that "The agricultural sector being the mainstay of the Myanmar [sic] economy with about 38 per cent of the total GDP and about 40 per cent of foreign exchange earnings is accorded priority," foreign investments in agriculture are minimal. For the moment, at least, foreign investors are more interested in exploiting Burma’s natural resources rather than helping the country develop a strong rural agricultural base which could give it more independence and strength in the coming global economic age.

The weakening of Burma’s rural-based agricultural economy, linked with a growing external debt, makes it a prime target for becoming another one of the world’s SAP (structural adjustment program) countries. The Central Statistical Organization, while highlighting over 400 pages of statistics covering almost every conceivable area, seems to have overlooked the external debt. According to a July 1996 report issued by the U.S. Embassy in Rangoon, Burma’s external debt is now around US$5.5 billion and is steadily growing. The report states, "this (figure) appears to exclude substantial debt financing of military imports, which may have been the fastest-growing category of GOB (Government of Burma) external debt since 1989."

Presently Burma has not been allowed to apply for assistance from either the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund due to objections of countries such as the USA, so does not qualify for structural adjustment which would help ease the debt burden. However, some observers suggest that if and when Burma becomes a member of ASEAN, it will have opportunity for membership in these organizations. They are already a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Foreign investments presently focus on export-oriented sectors. The military regime has also been emphasizing exports, especially of rice, resulting in shortages of basic food supplies throughout the country. These exports may be bringing some foreign cash into the country, but seem not to benefit the general population. Even "the real incomes of many urban Burmese, including government employees, have declined." (U.S. Embassy report)

The military regime of Burma, and indeed the opposition government, (continued on next page)
HUMAN RIGHTS

REFUGEE VOICES

Karenni refugee camp 02 in the Thai province of Mae Hong Son, has recently been growing as more and more Karenni and Shan villagers flee Sloc's forced relocation program in the Sha Daw area of Burma. They trek over mountain paths through the monsoon rains for up to 10 days in the hopes of finding a safe haven in Thailand. On September 18 of this year, a new group of 175 refugees arrived at the camp. The following interview was made on that day with a 33-year-old Shan/Kayah woman. She is the mother of four children; the youngest born while fleeing to the border.

by N. Chan

As soon as our village received the Sloc (State Law and Order Restoration Council) relocation order to move to Sha Daw, we left our cattle, barns, houses and farms and moved within one week.

When we arrived at Sha Daw, we stayed on the ground under the house of one of the local villagers. We tried to cook our food with wet fire wood which created so much thick smoke that the house owner got angry and doused our fires with water. We were never able to finish cooking a meal there for two weeks. My children got sick one after the other and my husband and I could do nothing about it. We became very depressed.

The Sloc authorities forced each family to cut and collect 50 large bamboo trees, 20 wood piles, and then we had to build houses. I saw many prisoners being forced to work in the house construction. The houses were about 12 feet square with very bad roofs. When it rained, we would all get wet because the roofs could not keep out the water. The houses were all in the north of Sha Daw near the cemetery. In our site, there were 150 houses. A fence surrounded the houses and also there were trap mines to keep us from leaving.

We did not have enough water near by, so we had to walk to a well nearly two miles away and carry the water back. At night soldiers guarded our houses to prevent us from escaping.

One day we were told that the authorities would give 48 kilos (about 100 pounds) of rice to each family. So we lined up to get these rations. As we picked up our rice ration, the authorities filmed us with a video camera. As soon as they finished filming their documentary, we were ordered to return all of the rice to the warehouse and we returned empty handed to our houses.

About one week after that incident, I received 6 kilos of rice for my family of five. This was suppose to be our ration for three weeks. It was not enough. I finally had to sell my old clothing for a little money to buy more rice from the Sloc authorities.

There was a small dispensary in the area, but the nurses were not always there to take care of the sick. The medicines were also scarce. I saw villagers die almost every day. Some died of malaria, diarrhoea and coughing, but most of them died from the cold and lack of food.

The Catholic priest nearby told us not to take medicines which had already expired. Almost all of the medicines that the Sloc gave to us had already expired and this caused many villagers to suffer even more after they took the medicines. One day I saw a nurse ignore a sick child in the clinic. The child was very sick, and because the nurse did not give medical attention to him, he died.

Within the first two months that we were in Sha Daw, at least 270 villagers died. I became very worried for my family, so we asked for permission to return to our old village to get some rice. Finally Sloc agreed to let us go for two days only.

However, as soon as we got to our old village, we just kept walking. We walked for two days, hiding in the jungle at night. The Sloc authorities had warned that they would kill anyone they found in the area as it is now a free fire zone. Finally on September 9 we were able to cross the Salween river and took refuge in an old abandoned village with about 150 other people who had fled. On the 11th, I gave birth to my fourth son with the help of some of the other refugees.

Source:
Karenni Social Welfare Committee, 960919

(continued from previous page)

needs to look very carefully at the consequences of allowing the country to build up a huge external debt while emphasizing industrial rather than agricultural development. Burma could well become another one of the world's SAP countries and the common people would end up suffering tremendously even if the civil war were to end. Burma has the opportu

nity to learn from the economic development experiences of neighbouring countries, such as Philippines, and should take this opportunity seriously in order to seek out some new economic structures which might help it avoid becoming another cog in the economic globalization machine.

Sources:
BP 961114,

"Economic Development of Myanmar" June, 1996,
"Third World Resurgence" Issue No 74, 1996,
"Burma Debate: Vol. III, No. 4, 1996"
EMPTY WORDS?

"I have heard talk and talk, but nothing is done. Good words do not last long unless they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country. They do not protect my fathers grave. Good words will not give me back my children. Good words will not give my people good health and stop them from dying. I am tired of talk that comes to nothing. It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises."

(Native American Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce tribe in a speech in Washington D.C., 1879, urging the US government to live up to its promises concerning the ancestral homelands of the Nez Perce.)

by N. Chan

History, as the old adage goes, repeats itself. The human community has yet to make use of the experiences of history to begin building a more just society based on sincerity and respect of the rights of all human beings in order to avoid the terrible mistakes of the past. Looking at events of the past and present all too often seems like watching a series of movies, all with virtually the same plot but with different scenery and actors. Similar sad events, broken promises, and chauvinism which nearly brought about the destruction of the Native American peoples, is unfortunately being repeated throughout Burma. Unless the international community takes decisive supportive action, these indigenous groups may not have the space they need to preserve their identities.

A delegation of Karen National Union (KNU) representatives has once again, at the invitation of the Burmese military regime, made the trip to Rangoon to sit down at the cease fire negotiation table. Among the people living in the Karen State, there is a desire that something positive will come out of these talks as they are tired of the decades of war they have lived under. But they hesitate to voice these hopes as they too have heard far too many words and experienced far too many broken promises to feel that peace is near at hand.

Their fears are further heightened by the fact that, as the Burmese military calls for cease fire talks, it is also gearing up for a major offensive against a large portion of the Karen State. In recent months it has moved some fifteen regiments into an area which stretches from the Total/Unocal gas pipeline south for about 50 miles. The number of troops totals more than 6,000, including 2 Infantry Regiments, 12 Light Infantry Regiments, and 1 Artillery Regiment. Attached units include a Supply Company, Artillery Company, Signal Company, Medical Company, Intelligence Unit, and a Maintenance Regiment.

In recent weeks, as cease fire talks neared, the military began re-deploying some of its troops. To the south, troops moved towards the Thai border, setting up a defense line which could deprive the KNU of access to food supplies and would also limit withdrawal routes. Along the gas pipeline route, more troops were deployed, creating a "release point" from which artillery barrages could be fired against Karen bases and from which Light Infantry Regiments could launch coordinated lightning attacks against Karen strongholds.

Should the Burmese military launch this coordinated attack, the Karen would need to decide on making a tactical withdrawal or in breaking up into small guerilla units to harass the Burmese units and attempt to cut off their supplies.

A military campaign of this sort would also have devastating effects on the civilian populations living in the area. Thousands of villagers living behind the "release points" would be conscripted as forced porters to help keep the forward units supplied with food and ammunition. Those living in front of the "release points" would face forced relocation as large areas of land would be declared "free fire zones" by the military. Villagers who do not escape in time would face severe human rights abuses as the military systematically clears the people out to deprive them of making any contact with the KNU.

Villagers would have several choices. They could try to escape into Thailand. This would probably be done at one of two main points; opposite the gas pipeline, and further south in an area opposite the Thai village of Bong Ti. Other villagers could escape deep into the jungles where they would hide out and survive by scavenging food from the jungle until they find a safe haven. A third group could move south, out of the path of the military campaign and seek refuge behind KNU lines where they will have to re-establish gardens and fields for survival. While the total number of civilians who would be affected by this campaign is not known, it would be in the tens of thousands.

Is the Burmese military truly sincere about wanting to carry out cease fire talks with the KNU at this time, or will this just be more words and broken promises, leaving the local people displaced, hungry, sick, and discouraged? History should help predict the answer.

Source:
Field Reports
Saw Thu (Burma) War

November, 1996
INVESTMENT ACTIVITY DURING THE PAST MONTH

The Burmese government has confirmed that the Yadana gas field's reserves are 9.6 trillion cubic feet, a sharp increase from the earlier predicted amount of 5.7 trillion cubic feet. Thailand is currently the only user of the Yadana gas with a commitment to buy 525 million cubic feet per day for 30 years, starting in 1998. The extra find will allow Thailand to negotiate to buy more gas from the field. The Petroleum Authority of Thailand (PTT) will also be able to wield more bargaining power in negotiations to buy gas from the developers of the Natuna field in Indonesia. Thailand has also signed a memorandum of understanding for gas from the Yetagun field which will involve the construction of an additional pipeline. TN961030

Chinese authorities are actively promoting an alternative overland route that will connect China's southern Yunnan province with Thailand's Mae Sai district of Chiang Rai via Burma's northeastern Shan plateau. The new route would pass through Shan State's Mong Yawng, Mong Hpayak, and Tachilek and will shorten the current route by nearly 80 km. Since 1992 the Asian Development Bank has designated the 245 km Daluo-Tachilek route as one of the priority road infrastructure projects for MFK. Khun Sa's surrender made the route viable and Chinese authorities are actively promoting an alternative overland route that will connect China's southern Yunnan province with Thailand's Mae Sai district of Chiang Rai via Burma's northeastern Shan plateau. TN961030

Black market prices of petrol jumped again to 320 kyat per gallon (US$50 at government exchange rates) amid rumours that the Slorc was unable to find new suppliers of crude oil. Black market supplies come from rations sold by civil servants seeking to boost their meagre wages. Such transactions are illegal, but the Slorc turns a blind eye. The junta allows private car owners to buy only 2 gallons at 25 kyat per gallon each week. An official from the Ministry of Energy indicated that the junta had invited 5 suppliers, mostly Japanese, to negotiate contracts. Burma's domestic crude production is down to 12,000 barrels per day from the 35,000 barrels a day that were produced in 1982. TN961108

Air Mandalay has secured a concession from Burma's immigration dept. to offer visas on arrival to all of its passengers. Unfortunately it's not a clear-cut visa. Immigration still insists that visitors pay the $10 fee and supply details such as name, passport number, and nationality to the airline at the time of booking. The airline forwards the information to Rangoon three days prior to the flight. The visas are valid for 28 days. Travel agents who work with Rangoon say the Slorc is toying with the idea of true visas-on-arrival in an attempt to salvage its Visit Myanmar Year forecasts. Air Mandalay, with only two flights outside the country, is the only airline that can offer such visas that are seen as more of a cosmetic gesture. BP961116

After signing a memorandum between Thailand and Burma, Italian-Thai will begin construction of a five billion baht deep sea port at Ta-
TOURISM

TOURISM IMPlosion

Pristine beaches, virgin forests, and 890 year old Pagodas have withstood the test of time, but will they be able to survive the "Visit Myanmar Year" campaign?

By C.E.K.

Slorc’s "Visit Myanmar Year 1996" campaign officially began on November 18 although the country has been preparing for the promised surge of tourists for more than two years. Foreign funded hotels have sprouted like weeds among the historic sights in Rangoon and Mandalay while a controversial beautification campaign has begun replacing the old with the new. The generals running the Ministry of Hotels and Tourism proudly open the newest glass and concrete luxury hotels designed to attract businesspeople and potential investors. The same drive has also attracted visitors from the opposite end of the spectrum: adventurous, culture savvy travellers hoping to experience historic sites, traditional architecture, and true Burmese culture before the generals casually sell it to anxious developers. "Visit Myanmar Year" promises to give Burma's historical cities, ancient ruins, and the environment a facelift, but how skilled are the surgeons?

Historic Cities

By 1995, foreigners, taking advantage of Burma's lenient development laws, had invested $565 million in the tourism industry. By allowing total foreign ownership of hotels, the Slorc has created an atmosphere highly conducive to haphazard and rapid construction. Foreign entrepreneurs, more interested in making a profit than conserving Rangoon's heritage, have already razed colonial-style housing to build modern, 20 story hotel complexes such as the French-owned Sofitel Hotel located roughly 100 meters beside the Sule Pagoda, Rangoon's ancient epicentre.

In Mandalay, the government tore down a charming wooden market and replaced it with concrete that suffers from poor ventilation during power failures and, unlike wood, retains the cold and dampness of the wet season. As the government implements plans to demolish old buildings in order to widen roads, many tourists leave Mandalay disappointed by the constant sound of construction that is also demolishing the city's appeal.

In their desire to unleash the juggernaut of tourism, Slorc appears to be emulating Thailand's liberal approach to development which has resulted in overdevelopment and "off-the-shelf" tourism. Soe Myint, a real-estate developer in Burma predicts that "In the next 10 years Rangoon will be like Bangkok." This foresight may be right on target considering that in Rangoon the military government profits from virtually every development project, and local efforts to lobby for Rangoon's historic preservation would be interpreted as a subversion of the general's plan to modernize the country.

Ancient Ruins

Without any laws to protect structures of historical significance, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) into resuming their work at Pagan, Burma's most prominent tourist attraction. The Ministry of Hotels and Tourism also plans to obtain World Heritage Site status for the pagoda spotted area. However, the "Visit Myanmar Year" campaign cannot afford to wait for the technical experts from the UN to return to Burma and continue their restoration work at Pagan. Instead the impatient generals have imposed their own style of restoration techniques — techniques that, according to BJ Lee, threaten to do "irreparable damage to ... one of Asia's great architectural wonders."

While UNESCO experts had drafted a master plan for the development and preservation of Pagan, Slorc officials who appear not to understand the accepted practices of restoration work and archaeology have undermined UNESCO by ordering unskilled labourers to implement changes according to an uneducated aesthetic. This "beautification" of Pagan can be viewed as comprising two segments: landscape altering and pagoda altering.

Centuries ago labourers deforested Pagan to provide wood necessary to bake the pagoda-building bricks. Without a forest canopy, Pagan shifted to an arid climate which has preserved the current monuments. Now the Slorc's aesthetic requires that Pagan appear like a greener paradise so trees and grasses have been planted.

Unocal has sold the Slorc $7 million worth of badly needed fertilizer on credit, to be repaid from the junta's profits from the gas pipeline. Unocal representative Carol Scott confirmed the agreement that deepens Unocal's involvement with the military. Local analysts say the 40,000 tons of urea fertilizer from a Unocal plant in Alaska cleared Rangoon's port in Sept. and Oct. Total official Herve Madeo told reporters earlier this week that the Slorc wouldn't reap any profits from the pipeline until sometime after 2001. BP961115

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around the Pagodas. Some pagodas have already been crumbled by vegetation, and an archaeologist in Pagan fears that "We are creating a jungle that might overtake the ancient stones in the future as in the case of Angkor Wat in Cambodia."

Restoration experts know that archaeological work must be conducted according specific records and methodical techniques. A UNESCO team took 13 years to repair a Pagoda damaged in a 1975 earthquake. A resident of Pagan described the foreign technicians as "very slow, very systematic ... they did one pagoda at time using high technology." Without the help of UNESCO, unskilled labourers, supervised by soldiers, remove old, pitted stones and replace them with smooth new ones. Murals are hastily painted over, often white, instead of using archival cleaners to remove the layers of dirt and reveal the original pigments. An archaeologist commented that in Burma "most people think restoration means building a new one, painting it white, and covering it with gold. But this is not restoration, this is destruction."

To fund the ongoing "destruction" of Pagan, the government has taken private donations and some donors have even bought their own pagodas in an effort to make merit. The pagoda owners believe that they can make even more merit through giving their pagoda a make-up job which typically includes the replacement of exterior stones, the application of new coats of paint, and positioning of a htii (pagoda umbrella) on top.

Again, local residents who realize the harm of this beautification campaign in Pagan can only watch as their heritage and cultural pride slowly disappear.

The Environment

Twenty kilometres south of Mandalay a small bridge stands in the middle of a fertile plain where farmers could be seen planting rice and nuts. The old bridge offered shade to farmers and an untainted view of everyday Burmese life for the travellers who visited Taungthaman Lake. In the dry season the picturesque area attracted tourists who enjoyed the novelty of walking along the bottom of what would become a lake in the wet season.

Unfortunately, the generals valued Taungthaman Lake for different reasons than its current tourists and the farmers who had grown to depend on it. The "Visit Myanmar Year" campaign dammed the lake, stripped 30 villages of their livelihood, and will soon offer water skiing and several hotels to the next wave of tourists who will most likely be totally unaware of the Lake's previous history and appeal. As usual, military officials forgot to compensate any of the villagers for the sacrifice they had made for "Visit Myanmar Year".

Along Burma's southern coast developers have discovered that golf courses targeted at the domestic elite and wealthy foreigners are more profitable than the agricultural land they replace. Most villagers opt to move to areas lacking proper sanitation, electricity, and drinking water rather than resist the construction of the golf courses and face jail sentences. The average golf course in Burma consumes 6500 cubic meters of water daily which is equivalent to the requirements of 15,000 townspeople or 60,000 villagers. Villagers living near golf courses bear the burden of the negative environmental impact. In order to handle the resorts' increased demands for water and electricity, the government has imposed water and electricity rations on the Burmese people living in the vicinity of such tourist facilities.

Conclusion

Slore has encouraged widespread development as part of the "Visit Myanmar Year" effort. Ironically the campaign might also attract a number of educated, culturally-aware tourists who fear that the attempt to market Burma is really a mismanaged campaign that threatens to destroy the rich uniqueness Burma currently offers. As tourists continue to search for rare, one-of-a-kind destinations the Slore's "off-the-shelf" attempts to promote Burma may be injurious to the country's future tourism prospects. How much more "beautification" will it take to destroy Burma?

Sources:
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TN 950407 961018 961101
Global Anti-Golf Movement 950618

Will Pagan survive the "Visit Myanmar Year"?
NOVEMBER NEWS ITEMS

Members of the EU will remove Burma from the GSP within weeks unless it is allowed to investigate forced labour accusations against the Slorc. The action would seriously hurt the textile industry in Burma which relies heavily on EU countries. BP961111

Singapore has asked the Australian Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) to give evidence to back allegations of a connection between Singapore and the Burmese drug trade. The SBS aired a documentary entitled "Singapore Sling" that referred to investments made by the Government of Singapore Investment Corporation in the Myanmar Fund. The program said the fund had stakes in companies owned by Steven Law, a Burmese national who was alleged to be involved with his father Lo Hsing Han in the drug trade. BP961111

During Army Chief Chestha Thanajaro’s two-day visit to Burma, the Slorc restated its demand that the Moei River bank be returned to its natural state before construction work on the Thai-Burmese Friendship Bridge can resume. Gen Maung Aye will inspect the area in December to see if construction materials, rock filling, and all buildings on the river bank have been removed. In return, Thailand has asked Burma to stop planting stakes along the river. BP961108

After a six-month lull beginning in January when Khun Sa was arrested, the heroin business has stabilized with prices between 200,000 and 25,000 baht per kilo of #4 high-grade (90-99% heroin). There is a steady supply in northern Thailand that filters into Bangkok where prices are 50,000 to 100,000 baht higher. From March to May heroin prices skyrocketed to 775,000 baht per kilo in Bangkok. This was the first time Thailand faced a critical shortage of heroin; rehabilitation centres overflowed as 300,000 addicts were suddenly forced to quit and low quality #3 pink heroin began to appear. The quick recovery of the market has been attributed to the Slorc’s condoning of Khun Sa’s heroin trade. BP961103

The Slorc will not recognise the decision of the UNHCR made in 1992 and considers the recent appointment of a new UN special Human rights rapporteur as "intrusive" and "unwarranted interference" in the internal affairs of the country. The UNHRC appointed Judge Rajsoomer Lallah who the Slorc calls "unacceptable" along with Professor Yozo Yokota, the previous rapporteur who resigned to protest the Slorc’s constant interference with his work. TN961115

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