FROM ABSDF UNITY TO NATIONAL UNITY, FROM NATIONAL UNITY TO FINAL VICTORY

The ABSDF has been able to reclaim the unity lost for five years. This was largely due to the desire of the grassroots members of the organization and partly because of the demands of the situation. Credit for the success of the Reunification Congress must also go to various members of the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB) and to our friends in the international community who supported our endeavor.

The successful conclusion of the congress did however not come about easily. We had to rid ourselves of antagonism and suspicion while addressing our differences and rectifying mistakes that had been made in the past. A series of seemingly never-ending meetings had to be held prior to the Reunification Congress.

While undertaking the various steps to Unity, the leadership of the Front realized the importance of forging greater unity among the democratic and ethnic-based organizations working to achieve democracy and human rights in the country. At the same time, it was convinced that a consensus-orientated approach was more pragmatic than basing decision making power on the relative strength of various organizations. Another realization that helped put the organization back on the right track was that better decisions were made if they were based on principle rather than on membership of particular factions within the organization.

In order to preserve the long term unity of the Front, the leadership agreed to solve the problems within the organization based on a unity of outlook, of work, of means towards our ends, and a unity of discipline.

The ABSDF strongly believes that its participation in the democratic movement will facilitate greater unity among the various organizations. For this reason, we have adopted the slogan ‘From ABSDF Unity to National Unity, From National Unity to Final Victory’ in the strong conviction that we can continue the momentum gained from our unification.

The ABSDF strongly believes that what SLORC fears most is solidarity among all of the various forces struggling against them. This undoubtedly is also the key to the achievement of democracy and human rights in Burma. We will therefore strive for unity between the democratic forces inside and outside the country, unity between the democratic forces and ethnic nationality groups, and unity between the ceasefire groups and those who continue to openly battle against the military dictatorship in Burma.

Unity is imperative. If we wish to achieve it, our desire to do so must be very strong. It requires courage and maturity, but most important of all, we must learn to compromise and sacrifice in the name of freedom, democracy and peace.
Memorandum of Understanding for the ABSDF Re-unification Conference

Introduction

The All Burma Students Democratic Front (ABSDF) was born with a noble intention to remove the military dictatorship and establish a democratic federal union in Burma in the wake of 1988 popular Democracy Uprising.

Since its inception, the ABSDF has adopted the 'National Political Trend' as its main political program. The Front aims are to work for the people from all walks of life in Burma regardless of race, religion, ism or class.

It aims to realize the following objectives;
1) to liberate all the peoples of Burma from the military dictatorship,
2) to achieve democracy and human rights,
3) to achieve internal peace,
4) to forge a genuine federal union.

No matter how noble the aims of the ABSDF are, it split into two groups owing to organizational and personal differences in 1991, when it was three years old.

After seriously analyzing the break-up, we discovered our ways of error. They are:
1) immature political experiences,
2) Lack of preparation for long term organizational build-up,
3) Factionalism,
4) improper practice of democratic principles within the organization,
5) ScORC's destructive infiltration into the organization.

Political agreements

1) As the ABSDF is a political organization which must organize all the people regardless of race, class and religion, there must be full freedom of thought, belief, religion, and so on within the grouping. Therefore, the Front’s news releases and other publications must be in accordance with its policy.

2) There must be no segregation of its members by the Central Committee and concerned commanders.

3) The Front must carry out its functions with an aim not to fall back into disintegration in the face of hardship and problems after the re-unification.

4) The Front has adopted a principle of negotiation and persuasion in the work of organizing, finance, foreign affairs, supply and information in the name of long term unity.

5) For further unity, we have agreed not to make the same mistakes as before which led to break-up of the ABSDF. Also, we should learn to express forgiveness and understanding whenever we bring up the subject of past experiences.

6) The leadership of the Front should prepare well-planned programs for the role of ABSDF in the rebuilding of the future Union of Burma.

7) The ABSDF should commence preparations for the long term political and national work

Continued on page 6
Press Statement of the ABSDF Reunification Congress

"From ABSDF Unity to National Unity, From National Unity to Final Victory"

ABSDF Reunification Congress

1) The ABSDF Reunification Congress was successfully held from September 5 to 16. Sixty representatives from all fighting forces from various regions under the ABSDF participated in the Congress. Bearing in mind the unity of the Front, the Congress adopted political programs, constitutions, laws and future work plans with full support of the participants. It also democratically elected a new Central Committee to lead the Front.

2) The Congress resolved to continue its military struggle under the guidance of political activities in order to realize the four objectives of the Front. It also laid down the ‘principles’ on organizing the various democratic forces and armed ethnic nationalities organizations into ‘national political force’ so as to launch offensives from different fronts. At the same time, the Congress adopted a policy to continue with its political offensives as long as the SLORC ignores our calls to solve political problems through political means.

3) The ABSDF came into being on November 1, 1988 after the uprising that year. It has since then adopted the ‘National Political Trend’ and has been struggling against the military dictatorship on behalf of ethnic minorities and down-trodden people of Burma.

4) The ABSDF split into two groups during the Third Congress in 1991. Although ABSDF was born with lofty aims, we, members of the ABSDF reassessed that it lost the unity owing to immature political experience, improper practice of democratic principles, factionalism and lack of preparation for the long term organizational build-up. We are also convinced that we had not been vigilant enough to pay attention to SLORC’s infiltration into the organization and other disturbances aimed at disintegrating ABSDF. For this and afore mentioned factors, we had not been able to carry out the historical task that was handed down to us.

5) During the time of disunity, although there were shortcomings to an extent, we believe that there was also a considerable amount of progress made for the good of the Front as a whole. Bearing in mind the desire of the people and grassroots members of the ABSDF, overcoming all the difficulties and reviewing the current political situation, we have been able to reclaim that lost unity. We have now been able to grasp the unity that will last eternally.

6) Now is the time democratic movement is experiencing greater hardships and restraints. We have resolved during the Congress to gain victory with the strength of unity by overcoming all adversaries; we have resolved not to fall back into disunity again.

7) We acknowledge our warm and sincere thanks to all the members of the ABSDF, the ABSDF Re-unification Commission of the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), individuals, patriotic forces inside Burma and overseas, and all other alliance organizations.

8) The ABSDF reunification has set a valuable example not only for the ABSDF but also for the Democratic Movement as a whole. It has also laid down a milestone as a model of unity in the modern history of Burma. We whole-heartedly believe that it is also the first foundation for the bright future of new democratic Burma.
At The Reunification Congress

Naing Luu Aung

Incessant creaks from the bamboo floor, followed by shouts from those who were getting up and grumbles from those who were still wanting to doze a few more minutes in bed, marked another day of discussions and brainstorming during the ABSDF Reunification Congress.

Fried rice, the invariable breakfast, was served before the programs began at nine. Some reps spent time at the tea-shop before the congress got underway each morning. Chinese tea served as an essential lubricant, without which it would have been difficult to get the dry curryless morning meal down our throats.

The congress was a marathon undertaking. Despite meeting for seven hours a day, it still took us eleven days to work through all of the issues; five years of separation had left us with so much to talk about - political campaigns, military activities, the constitution, future plans and elections, etc.

The discussions were free and open, but remained friendly. The jokes were political but entertaining. Thoughts were provoking but showed a wealth of experience. Elections were free and fair. A secret ballot was used to elect the new leadership. The outcome was predictable for we had known for years who had the outstanding but necessary abilities to lead the Front. It was indeed a surprise for many people to realize how mature the organization has become.

The meeting provided a rare opportunity for friends who had not seen each other since the break-up, to get back in touch. We also benefitted from the various insights and experiences of ethnic and democratic leaders from other groups when they came to visit us.

Throughout the meeting, because of continuous rain we were forced to wade through the mud to get from the barracks to the steam and mess hall located in a nearby jungle clearing. Cracking a joke, someone suggested that we should invent mud sledges to slide down a steep shortcut to the stream.

Despite the damp weather, the little tea shop on the way to the stream did a thriving business. The lively atmosphere brought us back to our days at university, reminding us of the tea-shop culture which is so deeply-rooted within our veins. Those who had not been selected to take part in the evening workshops whiled away there free time there sipping Chinese tea and munching on ‘Laphet’, the Burmese pickled tea-leaf salad.

Others like Ko Moe Thee, Ko Naing Aung, Ko Thu Rein would crowd around Woo Chin, Pa Hta Marn, Saepya Sead and two other guitarists in the hall in the evenings when there was no workshop. The rain was unable to deter their candle-lit jam sessions.

There, Ko Thu Rein sang his regular, while Ko Moe Thee constantly asked for his turn to sing. Booing from the audience did not stop him from his persistent demand to show off his ‘musical talents’.

At the times when the audience finally gave in, he would insist on singing ‘Always Somewhere’ by the Scorpions - not an easy song even for a skilled vocalist.

Although Ko Naing Aung is not unfamiliar with the guitar, he chose not to sing in front of a large group.

Those who preferred staying in the barracks had their own entertainment. The two philosophi
cal wizards of ABSDF, Ko Tate and Dr. Papa Gyi, enlivened many hours of free time and often captivated the fun-seeking audience with their witty debate. Ko Tate, whose beliefs in life are the complete opposite of Papa Gyi’s admitted later that he ‘respected’ the latter for his daring and unconventional wisdom.

The few hours of sunshine we saw was a relief for those of us who wished to play volleyball after the discussions. There, Ko Moe Thee, reverting to his clown mentality outside the meetings, would refuse to leave the playground unless he was allowed to join the game, although no one wanted him on their team. It was both frustrating and yet greatly entertaining every time he failed to save the ball. The blunder itself raised one laugh and his remark that followed never failed to raise another. The audience came to watch as much for the jokes as they did for the volleyball.

The arrival of uninvited guests in the area in the middle of the congress had us worried although we are not strangers to battles. Our kind and tolerant hosts were busy preparing to counter any offensive, aimed at disturbing the peaceful gathering. From then on we often saw KNU soldiers walking about, fully armed.

The singing of ‘Moment of Truth’ saw the Congress’s successful closing, which was followed by a press conference and a somewhat (by our standard) lavish lunch. The evening of the closing day also saw a high-spirited displays of student talents previously unknown to most of us, which took place in small gatherings in the barracks, at the tea-shop, and the mess hall.

The most memorable of all was the dance by Mandalayan Dr. Aung Kyaw Oo, who despite his chubby build, moved like a professional. His performance reminded us of the prima ballerina from Papa Lay’s Theatrical Troupe at the Independence Day celebrations at Daw Suu’s house for which Papa Lay and his colleague were sentenced to 7 years each with hard labor.

It was a noisy and boisterous evening, as one would expect when tensions and pressure are finally relieved. We thanked our KNU friends for their patience and understanding and for not intervening the ‘happy celebrations’ despite strict rules of the camp.

There are many others who should not be omitted here, due to a limitation of space, I will name but a few. Ko Maung Maung Gyi, with his loud blaring voice, often engulfed the hall when he made a point in the discussion, but at other times had us all in rolling with laughter. There is Ko Dee in whom a strong spirit of resistance to the dictatorship was instilled by his parents, who at one time fought against the military government. There is Ko Win Min, the most hard-working member of the ABSDF, Dr. Myint Cho who keeps us all in line, Ko Kyaw Htin, a small guy with a big brain, and finally Ko Sunny who hopes to become the first ABSDF military attache.

All in all, it was a intense but enjoyable experience, and a significant step forward.

Continued from page 19

People died in the Slorc forced-relocation sites everyday from the suffer of starvitation. Addition to the death of hunger, many refugees who tried to escape from the camps were shot death by the Slorc army. “My wife and three daughters died from malnutrition at Shadaw. My younger brother was also shot death in the jungle by Slorc soldiers from LIB (307). Only from my village, 20 villagers have been killed by the Slorc army. Slorc military regime is real butcher.” said Ko Boorel from Dawkalawdu village.
INTERNATIONAL FAST FOR FREE BURMA

More than 500 university and high school and other activists gave up their daily meals for Oct. 7-9 International fast for Free Burma Campaign in what they believed as a concerted effort to draw attention to the democracy movement in Burma.

A number of people from Free Burma Campaign, an internet-based grassroots movement, joined the fast with separated activities in USA, Canada, Japan, South Africa, Australia, India and Thailand. The fast sent a very clear message to the SLORC that the world is not going to sit by idly when atrocities and serious human rights crimes are being committed against 45 million Burmese people. “The fact that hundreds of students and activists in eight countries and four continents are willing to give up their daily meals for 48 hours in protest of SLORC’s thuggish behavior indicates that Burma has become a South Africa of the 90s” said Zarni, one of the fast organizers.

The organizers said they hope to draw attention to the situation in Burma with this international fast and related activities. The action aimed to get world leaders’ responses happened in South Africa where apartheid had led effective multilateral sanctions in the 80s. In her taped message to the fast, Burmese opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi mentioned “The Free Burma fast will help to focus attention on the essentially peaceful nature in Burma. The fast followed weeks of recent political crackdowns in Rangoon ahead of opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s planned party congress. Nearly 800 democracy supporters and activists were rounded up in the military nationwide swoop as it blocked access to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s house.

Continued from page 18

members to the gathering. There were so many cars and thousands of people flocking on the road to the temple, that the USDA were unsure of whether Daw Aung Suu Kyi was there or not. They phoned Rangoon for instructions, and were ordered to cancel the mission as Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was still at her home. A further demonstration of SLORC’s manipulation and control is indicated by the fact that none of the three monks showed up.

On the Burma New Year Day in April in year, the road in front of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her NLD’s headquarters was blocked by the police and soldiers in order to halt the planned religious ceremony organized by the NLD women’s section. The road was empty except security personnel and members of the Union Solidarity and Development Association armed with surreptitious batons, with which they had been instructed to beat any members of the NLD who penetrated the barricades.

Continued from page 2

because they cannot function as students throughout their life.

8) The ABSDF will recognize and honor the students who have sacrificed their lives during the democratic struggle, and continue to recognize the students who have been honored by both groups.

Human Rights Agreements

The ABSDF will respect and comply with the contents proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Continued from page 23

arrived to Kawye island and killed another 80 people including infant children and women. People were rounded up from their houses on the island and shot without any questioning or reasons. These brutalities were taken place during the recent mass relocation order in the region.
Selected Purchasing Law campaign increases

Apple Computer Inc said on October 4, it has ended its business dealing in Slorc-run Burma to avoid sanction under a new Massachusetts state law. “Apple has suspended business dealing with Burma to comply with the Massachusetts legislation,” spokeswoman Nancy Keith Kelly said from Cupertino, California where Apple is based.

The Massachusetts law is relatively tough, defining “business” as encompassing franchise and licensing agreements, distribution arrangements, and contracts to provide goods or services to the Slorc of Burma.

On June 25, Massachusetts became the first US state to outlaw contracts by the state or its agencies with companies that do business in Burma. Massachusetts state Representative Byron Rushing who sponsored the sanctions, estimated US and foreign companies linked to Burma would be denied opportunities to bid on $40 million in state contracts as well as quasi-governmental contracts whose value has not yet been calculated. Similar Selective Purchasing Law on Burma were passed in some cities in the States such as City of Berkeley, California State (November 28, 1995), Ann Arbor, Michigan State (April 15, 1996) and San Francisco, California State (April 22, 1996). The law has been introduced in Oakland, California, New York City and Takoma Park, Maryland State.

The latest city is The Carrboro, North Carolina State. The Board of Aldermen voted unanimously on October 8 to be the first in the state to pass a resolution barring Carrboro from doing business with companies operating in Burma and companies conducting business in Burma.

In Europe, British Home Stores (BHS), facing a boycott in Britain for the sale of clothing made in Burma, have also announced plans to stop sourcing in that country. Norway’s PM urges international sanction on Burma. Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, on October 7, during her visit to Thailand urged international sanctions as a means of effecting positive change in Burma.

“We have not up to now seen a general agreement in the international society about carrying out a sanction policy. It is only when you have broad agreements on a certain policy that it works,” she said in the interview in Thailand.

The Norwegian PM was critical of ASEAN states “constructive engagement” policy with Slorc and said “The so-called constructive engagement policy is not sufficient.” referring to ASEAN’s stance in promoting trade and contact with Burma without interference in its internal affairs. “We are impatient about the lack of results so far,” she said. She also took note of the “dialogue” underway between the seven State of ASEAN on their “constructive engagement” with Burma.

Aquino shows support to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

Former Philippines President Corazon Aquino said on October 1, 1996 that Burma’s pro-democracy opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi should be fully supported because of her sacrifices on behalf of the Burmese people in attempting to bring about democracy and respect for human rights.

In an interview held during her five-day visit to Thailand, she expressed her calling for a dialogue between the Burmese military regime and the opposition to address common problems through peaceful means.
The new central committee body of ABSDF formed on 15 September, 1996 in Badauk Myaing village of KNU 6th Brigade area.

1. Dr. Naing Aung - Chairman
2. Moe Thee Zun - Vice-Chairman
3. Aung Thu Nyein - General Secretary
4. Sai Myint Thu - Secretary (1)
5. Myo Win - Secretary (2)
6. Htay Aung - CEC member
7. Kyaw Kyaw - CEC member
8. Win Min - CEC member
9. Khin Maung Win - CEC member
10. Aung Naing Oo - CEC member
11. Khin Maung Thein - CEC member
12. Aung Naing - CEC member
13. Aung Khaing - CEC member

Participants and leaders from other organizations after the conference
We believe this congress is a unifying process. It is a challenge and a political offensive against Slorc. It also indicates that it support the idea of national reconciliation that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has been calling for all along.

Dr. Naing Aung

Paying salute for the heroes of 1988 democracy struggle.

We would like to inform the people of Burma that despite the hardships we have endured and the adversities we have faced over the past eight years, we are determined to continue with our struggle.

Moe Thee Zun

From ABSDF's unity to final victory express the views and achieve the solution
The process of unity must now be fortified. Unity must be first and foremost in your (ABSDF’s) if you are succeed in your endeavour to overthrow the military dictatorship.

Gen. Saw Bo Mya

Ballot for the new CEC members of ABSDF

Participants seen at the closing ceremony of reunification
BEHIND THE SMILING FACES

According to Lonely Planet’s “Southeast Asia on a Shoestring” travel guide, “Burma is one of the countries least influenced by the west in the world—even China has Coke today. (Unfortunately, Pepsi is now in Burma, and so is Unocal and a handful of other multinational corporations). For the visitor, Burma is a fascinating glimpse of a culturally unique country which has managed to get itself economically right off the rails. (indeed, but it is desperately seeking ways of improving its economic record—of course, at the expense of its people). Although a visit to Burma involves a fair bit of red tape, the effort is well worthwhile. This is a country which every visitor enjoys. (Think again, friend. It’s a military regime they have there. But if it gives you pleasure to see the misery and pain of a people living under a dictatorship, go for it.)

In deed, Burma (or Myanmar as the military regime has renamed it in 1989) has a lot to offer—from magnificent temples like Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon and Maha Myatmuni pagoda in Mandalay to the beautiful lakes, beaches and monasteries in Pagan, Kalaw and Pindaya and Sandoway.

This is what the State Law and Order Restoration Council (Slorc) military regime is capitalizing on when it announced “Visit Myanmar Year” in January 1996. Set to officially open in November 1996 (but has been promoted as such since January 1), “Visit Myanmar Year” hopes to draw hordes of tourists into Burma.

To promote “Visit Myanmar Year”, the Slorc military regime has introduced many “change”.

It relaxed visa regulations. Tourists were no longer restricted to one week visas, but can now travel around the country for up to one month. Foreigners can also get good-for-one-month-visa upon arrival. Visa fees were greatly reduced (from $18 to $10) as hotel room rates also dropped by as much as 50% owing to the construction of new hotels by investors from Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and Japan.

As well, to give an illusion of peace, a fragile cease-fire agreement was worked out between Slorc and a number of Burma’s ethnic opposition groups. This has allowed the military regime to open new and unexplored area and offer them to tourists who wants to see unspoiled destinations.

In the Name of Beautification

The Slorc is well known for its track record in human rights violations. For over eight years now (it seized power through a bloody coup in 1988), it has been arresting, detaining, torturing, killing and conscripting into slave labor the Burmese people. But it is desperate to make “Visit Myanmar Year” a success. It hopes to generate enough income to boost a failed economy from the tourists and foreign investors who have poured in $ one billion to hotel construction. And more importantly, it hopes to project a “good image” internationally.

But visitors should be aware of the sacrifices Burmese people are making for “Visit Myanmar Year.” In preparing the country, the Slorc launched a massive “Beautification” drive to restore the landmarks, tourist area and upgrade the railways. An estimated two million Burmese including women and children were used as slave laborers for this campaign. These slave laborers were not paid and had to bring their own tools, blankets, mats, firewood and cooking implements and food. And as they worked, armed soldiers were around to guard them.
In another instance, troops moved in and took over large tracts of land to be used for a resort in a village called Chaungtha (a village of poor farmers) near Irrawaddy delta. Coconut plantations adjacent to the beach were confiscated. Owners were promised a compensation of 1,000 kyats ($1 = 5.83 kyats) per coconut tree, but were in fact paid only 30 kyats. Vegetables farms behind the coconut plantation were also confiscated but their owners were not compensated. Houses located near the beach or town center were ordered to pay a minimum of 15,000 kyats or face eviction. And for those who were evicted, they were relocated to a forest plantation where there are no roads, no electricity or even portable water.

There and many other disturbing testimonies of people’s sacrifice for “Visit Myanmar Year” are facts that visitors should aware of.

Moral Decision

The Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) - one of the world’s largest tourism organization - had their annual meeting in Thailand. One of the themes of their conference was to promote the six Mekong countries (Burma, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia and Yunnan Province) as “Asia’s last tourism frontier. “PATA delegates have generally praised Burmese efforts in opening up the once hermit nation.

They praised Burmese authorities for improving customs and immigration procedures, construction quality hotels and opening up large area of the country once off-limited to foreigners. And of course, not a single word was spoken on the social costs and impact of “Visit Myanmar Year”. For them money is more important than human rights.

A Boycott “Visit Myanmar Year” campaign has been initiated by human rights organizations in Europe and America together with Burmese groups living in exiles around the world and by other Burmese support organizations. The boycott urges tourists, travel agencies and tour operators to boycott Burma until it is free and a system that respects human rights and dignity has been established in the country.

We urge you not to be misled by the loosening of restrictions towards tourists in Burma or by the smiling faces and hospitality of Burmese people. Behind their smiling faces is fear and the untold misery they are enduring in the hands of the Solorc military regime. It is unlikely that the Burmese people will speak freely about the suffering. Burma is still a police state holding 45 million prisoners in their own country. The recent massive arrest of NLD members and its supporters is only one of the human rights violations of Solorc. As a tourist, you will be luckier than the Burmese people for while you are free to travel around their country, they are not.

The preparations for “Visit Myanmar Year” has brought added suffering to the Burmese people. Thousands of Burmese people - many of them children have been forced to render unpaid labor to tourist construction projects. Hundreds have died from disease and malnutrition as they have been compelled to work away from their home yet received no wages for food and even medicine.

Come and visit when it’s free.
Forced to buy the USDA's cassette tapes

Since May, 1996, people who go and collect sailor application forms for their sailor jobs at the Seaman Service Office in Rangoon, have been forced to buy cassette tapes by the office authorities. These cassette tapes were released by the Slorc's USDA (Union Solidarity Development Association) and the tapes include USDA's propaganda songs. In the previous time, everybody who wanted to get these sort of sailor application forms were free of charge.

At the moment in some townships in Rangoon, every family is forced to buy the USDA's tape for the fund raising of USDA. And besides, some USDA members are assigned as government level servants to collect money for electricity charges, municipal charges, etc.

Fake FFC

On May 9, 1996, a FEC (Foreign Exchange Currency) broker named Nyan Lin was arrested in Rangoon for allegedly selling fake FEC dollars. At present, the FEC brokers are selling fake FEC dollars in front of the MFTB (Myanmar Foreign Trade Bank) office. According to the Slorc exchange rate, one FEC dollar is equal one US dollar.

In Rangoon, some local people who want to install telephones in their residences and office have to pay dollars to Myanmar Telecommunication Authorities. Therefore, people have to buy FEC instead of US dollars from FEC brokers in the black market. After selling FEC dollars, the brokers gave their copy of ID cards to the customers as a guarantee. However, Myama Telecommunication Authorities replied when these people complained for delaying to set up telephones at their home that these FEC dollars were fake. Later all these people who gave deposits FEC dollars to MTA were investigated. After that seven FEC brokers including three ex-army majors have been arrested but the three ex-army majors were later released. According to the sources in Rangoon, this is not the first time of deposit fake FEC dollars to MTA for installing telephones.

A young tycoon charged with prostitution law

In the first week of June, 1996, a young tycoon named Saw Yan Naing (a) Mr. Shum, a very close friend of General Khin Nyunt was arrested and charged with prostitution law. Saw Yan Naing, the first businessman who has set up a huge night club in Burma, is one of the four sons of ex-army Major. Saw Yan Naing stayed in Kualalumpur previously and graduated Ph.D of Business from Kualalumpur University. He had entered business society in Malaysia and became successful. Later he had planned to move and invest part of his business in Burma and he has started to invest in Rangoon since 1991.

The night club named "Lime Light" was first founded in Golden Valley, a special area of Rangoon high class society and later that night club was sold to a Chinese businessman in 1995. Saw Yan Naing has published a song album “JV 1500” sung by a current popular singer Aye Chan May as her second single. It has been successful and he donated all the profit money from that album to the Slorc through General Khin Nyunt for 1996 Visit Myanmar Year. At the same time, another songs production group as "Maha", in Burma being backed by a military intelligence group led by Major Mya Than San and Major Tin Than Oo who are personally loyal to General Maung Aye and General Tin Oo has started to terminate Saw Yan Naing’s business.

Later Saw Yan Naing was informed by some of his
friends from army rings that he will be arrested by the MIS soon. Finally, Saw Yan Naing has tried to flee to Malaysia by plane through Mingaladon airport in Rangoon. Unfortunately, he was arrested when he was about to board the plane and sent to MIS interrogation cell. Later he faced summary charge in Bahan township court for breaching Prostitution Law and spoiling the national culture and sentenced to 4-year imprisonment with hard labor. But, this news was not announced in state-run newspaper and radio.

**Unauthorized Satellite Dishes Dismantled**

For the last few days unauthorized satellite dishes in Rangoon have been dismantled on orders from the State Law and Order Restoration Council (Slorc). Security forces including police, members of Township Law and Order Restoration Council (TLORC) and personnel from the Ministry of Communication have been assigned responsibility for carrying out this task. The dishes had been installed illegally by bribing the officials of the Ministry of Communication. This crackdown is aimed at preventing people from watching the Burmese news broadcast by foreign and cable networks, during the present period of high tension between the Slorc and the democratic movement.

Police patrols the Suburban Areas. Recently, a new police units have been formed known as “Nae Myay Ye Kin”. These units which are attached to Ya Wa Ta (The Law and Order Restoration Council) offices in suburban areas of Rangoon. Local residents suspect that the purpose of these units is to facilitate closer monitoring of the civilians in these areas in order to identify those who are most active in the democratic movement, who are regulars at the Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s weekly meetings, or who are regular listeners of the BBC (British Broadcasting Cooperation), VOA (Voice of America) and DVB (Democratic Voice of Burma in Oslo) ect. These units submit the information they collect to the special political branch. The Local Lorc are also sent to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s weekend meetings so as to identify those from their area who attend regularly.

**Schools and Teachers**

It has been reported that the Slorc has begun to give stipends to students whose parents are teachers. With the testimonial from the school headmaster, a primary student is paid 500 kyat monthly, a middle school students 700, and high school students 1200 kyat. School text books are becoming increasingly rare. one set of text books currently costs between 500 and 2000 kyat for one year. Those who cannot afford to buy the text books are able to borrow them at varying costs on a monthly or yearly basis from other.

Corruption among those in the teaching profession is on increase. One of the ways which teachers make extra money is to accept bribe from well-to-do parents who wish to send their children to good and well-known schools which are not in their area. Parents who wish to send his son to Dagon No.1 State High School has to pay a bribe of up to 80,000 kyat to the teacher who facilitates their child’s entry to the school. Teachers has rights to admit two students every years so that chance to receive 12,000 Kyat as legal bribe per year. To gain entry to a high school attached to a Teacher Training College (TTC) which are reputed to be of a high standard, parents will have to pay up to 100,000 kyat. Similarly Saint Paul (SHS.6 Botataung) costs about 50,000 kyat and Latha SHS No.1 and No.2 cost about 60,000 kyat. But they ask it as voluntary con-
Distribution to the teachers and school instead of bribe. Basic education program is not now free system, students have to pay different amount of contribution to different issue of the school activities such as music band, dancing groups, computer lab and yearly students’ sport festival. It becomes a big burden for the families.

Another problem relates to the tuition that the teachers give to the students in their spare time. Often students who can afford to pay for this tuition will receive “favors” from their teachers during the exams.

Many young people, particularly male student cannot continue to attend the university and find to get jobs because of increasing price. So there are more girls and women in the university and very little number of male students. Some go out for work in the day time and study in the night time like Workers’ Colleges and Distance University program.

There are many private tuition and students need to pay this tuition fees which became much more expensive than the amount cost in those days before 1988. Even at the medical students attend the private tuition now. In the State High Schools, students take two or three tuitions for the subjects.

**Slorc’s Infiltration into Art field**

At present, Slorc military regime has started to control art field, for instance songs and music field in Rangoon since the beginning of this year. Under the supervising of U Khin Myo Aung, son of Lt.Gen Sein Aung, Slorc attempts to control the song media by establishing the “Ma Har” Art Media Square Institution. “Ma Har” means Great. Ma Har studio was organized in this program. First activity of this studio was production of a album of Zaw Win Htut, known as Burma Rock Star. The title song of this album is also Ma Har. The songs in the album are written by Major Mya Than San of Psychological Welfare and Public Relation Department of the DDSI (Directorate Defence Services of Intelligence) of the Slorc. People opposes this album by not buying the album. Slorc wants to get public support or success for this album. Slorc distributed free of charge to Township Law and Order Restoration Council officers and forcibly sell to tea shops and other shops in respective townships by 200 baht per tape. Almost all the shops were not dare to play this because many youths and students will not come to their teashops as opposition to the tape.

**Development projects in agricultural field**

Slorc is claiming the slogan “The transition to the modern industrial agricultural program” and forcing the farmers to produce more rice and other crops. Farmers are forced to sign the contract with respective regional Slorc authorities. If not, farmers have to pay the firm back to the Government. Government fix the kinds of crop to grow. Rice seeds and project crop seeds selected by the Slorc’s authorities were cultivated forcibly. In this program, farmers have to cooperate with joint-venture companies of the Slorc. All products have to be sold back to this joint-venture companies who paid seeds to the farmers. If the farmers could not pay the product back, they will be arrested and their firms would be confiscated. The labor of the farmers were exploited by this way.

Summer rice cultivation also make the farmers to face more hardship. Slorc forced the farmers to cultivate the rice during the summer time with inadequate assistance. Generators for pumping water were hired by the Slorc, but due to the high price of gasoline, farmers could not use it. They also lost their opportunity to do other profitable job due to this order to
grow summer rice without fail.

As Slorc always announces and regards that all firms and land in the State are owned by State, farmers has to pay tax by rice. It is something like the military feudalism, said farmers. Quota for selling to authorities is 12 baskets per acre. The price in the real market is 300 kyat while the price for selling back to Slorc is 70 kyat. Slorc fixes that 60 baskets of rice must be produced per acre. In reality, the production is not more than 40 baskets per acre. There is very little profits which can only help to buy the rice seeds for next rainy season rice program. As most of the family members can no long tolerate, their sons and daughters leave for cities to find the better jobs.

If the farmers cannot sell the fixed amount of rice to the Slorc, they will be arrested. Last year, many farmers from Irrawaddy Division particularly from Kyatlatt township, Daydeye township, Pyapon township and Maubin township were massively arrested for failing to sell the fixed amount of rice to the authorities. As there was no more space for arrested farmers in detention rooms and jail of these townships, they were detained at schools and police station and garage in the government office. They had to buy the rice from market and give it to authorities for their release. Some had to sell their cows and buffaloes because they had no money to purchase the paddy from the market price. Farmers who could not give the quota rice were sentenced to jail terms.

Business and job in Burma

In Rangoon, the military regime recently turned down the proposal of some foreign companies particularly from Singapore to increase the salary of their workers. The Singaporean businessmen discussed with Bandula U Shwe (owner of Bandula Co.Lt). U Shwe suggested that they should consult with the Slorc’s Ministry of Labor. One Singaporean Company held discussion with MOL, but the proposal was rejected by the Labor Minister Lt. Gen Aung Thaung. He subsequently warned businessmen at a seminar not to increase the salaries of their employees. The Slorc fears that the disparity between civil servants and workers of foreign companies will widen.

An unskilled worker in Burma earns between 1500-3000 kyat while a skilled worker receives about 6000 at a private company. An unskilled civil servant earns between 400-600 while a skilled worker received 700-1500. People who passed the LCCI training can earn over 10,000 kyat at any private company. People working at department stores have to work from 9:00 am to 9:00 pm in Rangoon. People have to bring lunch boxes for their lunch. Most of these jobs are quickly filled up with newly (female) graduate who work as salesgirls despite the fact that their salaries - 850 to 1200 kyat barely cover their expenses. There are many Mini marts and department stores under construction. Salesmen at cassette shops and waiters earn about 1200 kyat each.

Children between 7-15 year-old find jobs in tea shop and other small restaurants. Their working hours is between 5:00 am to 10:00 pm. They earn between 300-500 kyat per month. In some cases, children do not get paid, but are given food and shelter in exchange for their service. The practice has become more common in towns and cities across Burma. Some children are as young as seven. The root of child labor rests with the migration of large number of people from rural area where their livelihood has been destroyed in some way or another. The children come to towns with their impoverished parents and seek jobs because their parents cannot support them.
Is USDA Burma’s Nazi Brown Shirt?

Slorc appears to be investing considerable efforts in the growth and development of the USDA (Union Solidarity and Development Association). On various occasions the USDA has blatantly been used to serve the political interests of the regime. Recently their activities appear to be aimed at disrupting the work of the NLD and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. It appears likely that the regime are hoping to create a situation which will test NLD’s patience and force it into a violent confrontation which will then provide them with an excuse for another repressive crack-down on the NLD.

The following incidents are the example of Slorc attempts to use the USDA to discredit Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and NLD:

On Feb 14, 1996 at the first anniversary of U Nu’s (the late democratically elected Prime Minister) memorial service, Slorc sent staunch USDA members in plain cloth (USDA members are required to wear USDA uniforms for their gatherings) to disrupt the meeting. The USDA member wore red rubber bands around their right arms in order to identify each other in the crowd. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was supposed to give a speech after the ceremony in front of monastery where the service was held. The Slorc used MI (Military Intelligence) vehicles to supply these USDA supporters with tomatoes, which they encouraged them to throw at Daw Aung San Suu Kyi when she made her speech. However, when the USDA members learned of the plot, they refused to participate and left the gathering. Clearly part of the reason that the plot was thwarted, lay in the fact that the USDA members were in minority among crowd that was there to listen to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. However, incident was caught on film by the NLD members.

On February 26, a rumor spread around that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi would visit celebrations of the Centenial of famous temple called “Taung Thon Lone” near Pegu. Three of the most revered monks in the country, Thamanya Taung Sayadaw, Shwe Paw Kyun Sayada and Ko Lone Sayadaw were also supposed to visit the temple to conduct religious rites. Slorc sent a number of USDA members to disrupt the meeting.

Continued from page 23

Maj. Thura Sein Win. The insufficient pay and supplies to the ordinary soldiers led this unethical act of the soldiers in the army. In October, 1994, Myint Pe from Kwin Seik village in Shwe Kyin township was arrested for illegally buying bullets from the soldiers. He was rounded up and tortured by Thura Sein Win to admit the others involving in the smuggling rings. He was burnt with candle light, drown in the water and hung up side down for hours during the interrogation. Later Myint Pe disclosed that he had bought different bullets from over fifty ranks and files soldiers from the battalions including Capt. Tin Win, Sergeant Aung Myaing, Sergeant Aung Lin and Corporal Shwe Win. It was very difficult to take action against the soldiers from the battalions because of large numbers involved in the smuggling rings. Later Maj. Sein Win warned the soldiers not to do it again. Myint Pe was released after paying 30,000 kyats, said Myint Pe who recently fled to Thai-Burmese border due to his fear to be arrested and interrogated again related to the recent arrest of smuggling ammunition.
**Human Rights Violations**

**Forced relocation by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (Slorc) in Karen State**

Since last September, 1996, the Slorc troops Light Infantry Battalion (LIB) No.(232) led by Battalion Commander Major Ohn Myint and Deputy Battalion Commander Major Kyi Myint have ordered the people from village groups of Shinmataung, Minlantaung and Kothittaung which are situated on the east bank of Sittaung river in Thandaung district, in the Karen State to relocate to Thitpopepin village or Slorc's so-called concentration village.

People from that area did not want to abandon their cardamom farms and native villages because of the picking season of cardamom seeds, but LIB No.(232) ordered them to leave and villagers were not allowed to pick the cardamom seeds. So people got dissatisfied and angry with Slorc troops for facing difficulties of living in unfamiliar new place and no income.

When they arrived to the force relocation sites, people have been threatened by the lack of food, insufficient medical care and having no assistance from the camp authorities. "There were 6 villagers died of sickness only in September and many infectious diseases are spreading in the camps. So, people are very worried and want to move back to their former villages", the villagers said.

**Karenni refugees flee from Shadow Concentration village**

During October 10-12, approximately 1200 Karenni villagers including over 300 children, 200 elders and numbers of pregnant women fled from fear of persecution by the Slorc army to Karenni refugee camp No.(2) located in Thai-Burmese border near Mae Hong Son province, Thailand. Pheme, a 20 years old Karenni girl who has five-month pregnancy and wife of Palurel from Dawmiku village, died from abortion caused by hitting violently of the boat body to her bally while they were crossing Salween river.

In order to avoid the Slorc troops checking on the way, although the trip normally takes two days to get to Thai-Burma border, it took nearly one month. Lack of medicines and food, their past history of forced labor and infectious diseases and no rights to work freely in the

**Thousands of people die in Kayah state**

On October 17, while State Law and Order Restoration Council (Slorc) was holding ceremony of World Food Day at Hmawbi near Rangoon, approximately 1000 people in Kayah state died of starvation, malnutrition and other complications of diseases and persecution by the Slorc troops.

The deaths of the people have been started since July when people from all villages in Kayah state were forced to relocate to the fixed sites by the Slorc military regime. Forced relocation sites or so-called refugee camps by the Slorc set up at the places called Shadow, Mawchee, Ywathit, Parlaung, Dawdamagyi and Punchaungdadar. At the moment, there are about 100,000 refugees in these concentration camps receiving insufficient amount of food.

The refugees receive only rice and salt without other essential food such as cooking oil, fish-paste and bean. The rice portion for an adult is only 3 Pyi (approximately 9.375 Kg) per month.

"The rate of refugees who died only in Shadow site is over 400 and there are many refugees who died in other sites such as Mawchee, Ywathit and etc." said villagers who fled from aforementioned camps.

**Continued on page 20**
**HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS**

Slorc troops arrest people to serve as porter in Thandaung

In September 1996, villagers and traders from the villages called Padauk Gon, Gwe The, Kywe In Gon and Hton Bo, east bank of Sittaung river, Thandaung township, Karen State, have been arrested by the Slorc troops Infantry Battalion (IB) No. (232), (D) company led by Company Commander Captain Nyunt Ko Ko. If people pay money to the Slorc troops, they will be immediately released.

It seems the arrest of people to serve as porters in dry season offensives in Karen State, is quite normal. Actually, Captain Nyunt Ko Ko and officers are making money by arresting people. If people who got arrested are able to pay money in thousands kyat or if they do not have money they can exchange with the goods such as rice, betel nut, betel leaves and cardamom seeds then they get released. Now the Slorc troops is making money by a sort of kidnapping the villagers. If there is someone who can not pay money will be tortured.

Local villagers said that they have often seen some clashes and quarrels among the officers and other-ranked army personnel because of disputes over the share the goods and cashes robbed from the people.

Sale of ammunition by Slorc soldiers on Thai-Burma border

On the Thai-Burmese border near Mae Aw village, Mae Hong Son province, northern part of Thailand, State Law and Order Restoration Council (Slorc) soldiers from L.I.B. No.(306) and L.I.B. No.(307), under the Command of Division 99, which was substituted the Khun Sa’s former M.T.A troops controlled outposts, selling 40mm launcher shells, ammunition of Carbine and G-3 to purchase food because of the lack of supply.

The value of Burmese currency note which Slorc soldiers have is terribly declining and hardly able to exchange into Thai baht. The rate of exchange in Burmese 100 kyat is approximately Thai 10 baht only. There are news occurring about counterfeit banknotes of Burmese one hundred kyat notes and traders do not dare to accept the Burmese kyat in some border towns so people are facing difficulties to purchase things by using Burmese kyat.

"In terms of difficult transporta-

Continued from page 19

area finally forced them to flee from Shadaw Concentration camp.

Since the beginning of June, refugees have started to flee from Karenni area to Thai-Burmese border. The number of the refugees in Karenni refugee camp No.(2) were 5,125 from June to 20th of September and now it increasing up to 6,344 by the 1,219 of new comers in this month. According to the information from camp No.(2) commanders, the conditions of the refugees in the camp are seriously harsh because of lack of food, medicines and insufficient shelter for the mass exodus. "The refugees urgently
Coastal Cleansing Operation launched

An order was issued by Brig General Thura Thiha Thura Sit Maung, commander of the newly established Coastal Region Military Command, to kill all the supporters of opposition groups, and to put the torch any village in which supporters or sympathizers were found. The local Slorc troops then issued an order for all villagers in the area to move by 10:00 am May 26, 1996. According to the order, all villages where people refused to move would be burned down. The operation was carried out by Light Infantry Battalions (443), (265), (267), Infantry battalion (17) and naval unit (38).

During this operation, on June 5, 1996, six villagers were arrested for allegedly being the supporters of ABSDF in Set Pu-Taung Kant Lant village, south-east of Mergui, and four of them were killed on the spot by LIB (265) led by Lieutenant Ohn Wai.

Since the operation started, Slorc troops have destroyed the total of 18 villages, consisting of 1750 households, with a population of approximately 10,000 villagers. Furthermore, the Slorc refused to let the evicted villagers register to stay anywhere else in Mergui or Tenessarim townships. These people were left wandering through the nearby forests.

Abuses continue in Karenni state

After an order issued by Regional Control Military Headquarters No.7, based in Loikaw to relocate all the villages in the area into the helmet area, human rights abuses are being widely practiced in the region. Soldiers move one village to village to check whether the villagers have been moved to the designated area or still there. The soldiers are authorized to kill anyone found in the village and who fails to comply the order. Many troops are also assigned on the way to the border in order to stop the escaping villagers into Thailand. Anyone found fleeing to the border are subjected to kill, according to the order given by the authorities.

In last July, two women from Nga Melososo village were burnt to death by troops from LIB 530 in their village. they were Pay Mo and Ko Mal and both of them were in their 50s. In the same month, one woman in her 60s was bayonet to death by Corporal from LIB 530.

On September 24, 1996 U Se Reiko, a 60-year-old Karenni blind man was also bayonet by the soldier from LIB 307. Another four villagers from Daw Kalaw Du village were also killed on October 2, 1996 after they were found hiding in the deserted village by soldiers from the military column LIB 307. They were killed for failing to obey the order.

Many abuses and killings have been reportedly occurred against the fleeing villagers from Shadaw relocation site to the border. People were shot without any questioning when they were found in the free-fire zone or on the way to the border. According to the recently arrived refugees to the border, many soldiers were deployed in the region to stop the massive exodus of the refugees. Only one day on October 5, a group of
200 refugees arrived to the border with many atrocities by the Slorc troop. Their group was ambushed by the troops from LIB 307 on the way to the border. Due to the shooting five villagers were killed and many of their members have been still missing. 9-year old girl died during the journey due to the hard journey.

Local people abused by the

**Forced recruiting and child soldiers**

Arresting children in rural area and even in cities are not a surprise in Burma. Orphans in the rural area are taken from their home village by the military for child soldiers. Street children are subjected to arrest by the authorities as criminals under the section 380 and 54, accusing them as thief and suspect. Then they are sent to Ye Nyunt military school for underage children in Hmawbe township near Rangoon. They are brainwashed and sent to military training when they get 13 years old. After three months training, they are sent to front line.

**Slorc troops and DKBA**

On October 3, three villagers while fishing in Salween river were shot without any concrete reason by the DKBA (Democratic Karen Buddhist Army) soldiers who coming back by boat from the border village, Tawle Hta located on the Thai side near Mae Sarieng, Mae Hong Son province. Two villagers, Saw Po Cho (25) and his younger brother Saw Shwe O (18) from Mae Kae Hta village in Thai side were shot dead and Ko Ngwe Thein (25) was seriously injured, said the sources from ABSDF (All Burma Students' Democratic Front).

Last month, 16 September, a boat owner from Kyauk Nyuat by the Salween river was forced to pay tax, 10 thousand Baht to the Slorc army No. (340) Regiment commanded by the column commander Than Win Oo. Before that event, the boat was seized by the Slorc army without any reason.

On September 24, a groups of youth were randomly shot by the LIB (97) led by Major Myint Aye. The youth were shot while they were taking care of the cows in Paepale Wakhee village, 10 miles north of Kawkareik township. Four youths, Saw Ye Hka, Saw Nyo Aye, Saw Thaw Kha and Saw Kyar Lu were killed on the spot and the two, Saw Phar Kyaw Hlaing and Saw Phar Lu were seriously wounded. The 42 cows were taken away by the troops after the shooting. In mid-September, Si Kalay, Tha Kyar, Tha Palaw and Lete villages were burnt down by the Slorc troop.

**Forced relocation orders in Palaw township**

Some villages in Palaw township, Tanassarim division, have been ordered to relocate to the area under the control of Infantry Battalion (101) by the end of September 1996. The order dated on September 3, 1996 was issued by Palaw township Law and Order Restoration Council to the villages in the township. The effected villages were Pyi Char, Nga Tat, Maw Kamar, Ye Pu, Hti Lu and Nagar Ai and all villages were ordered to relocate in Nandaw and Kyauk Taung villages under the control of Slorc army.
new army battalion established for gas-pipe project

The infamous “Four Cuts” campaign has been launched since the founding of newly-established Coastal Region Military Command in the region. The commander of Coastal Region Military Command, Brig-Gen. Thiha Thura Thura Sit Maung has designated as the operation area and many forms of human rights violations including forced relocation of the villages into helmet areas are being widely used.

Similar ordered have been issued in Mergui East township and Tanessarim township and local people have faced burning down the village, arbitrary arrest and extrajudicial killing by the army under the name of “Four Cuts” strategy. massacre on the islands

Altogether 26 people in one incident and another 80 people including women and children in separate incident were brutally massacred by the Slorc on July 20, 1996. A military column from LIB 358 arrived on the Yengangyi, Ywathit, Shwechaung islands and killed the 26 timber mill workers on the islands. They were accused of being insurgent.

The same column

Continued on page 6

Slorc soldiers smuggle out ammunition from army

Corporal Aung Naing and his wife Ma Myint Myint Maw from LIB 57 based in Shwe Kyin, Pegu Division were arrested by Military intelligence No (3) on October 4, 1996 along with ammunitions. The couple were round up on the bus from Madoke to Nyaunglaybin together with 40 mm launcher shells and rounds of carbine bullets. After the interrogation, they disclosed the entire ring of soldiers from the same battalion involving in the smuggling ammunition. Eight soldiers were arrested on the next day by the MI. The rest involved in the rings were in the front line for the time being the further action would be taken against them later, it was learnt.

Such kind of smuggling bullets and ammunition has been taken place before by the troops from LIB 57, commanded by