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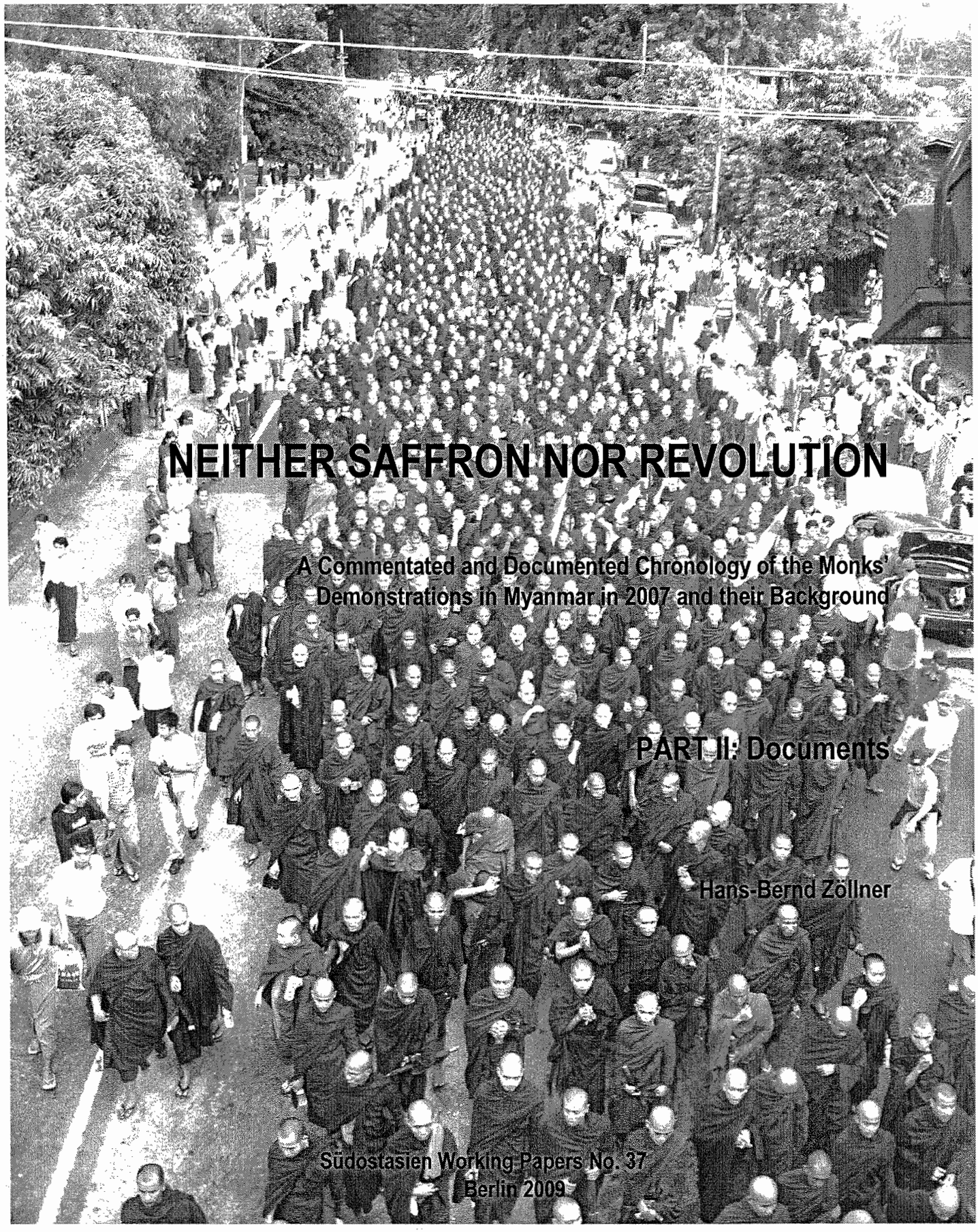

NEITHER SAFFRON NOR REVOLUTION

A Commentated and Documented Chronology of the Monks' Demonstrations in Myanmar in 2007 and their Background

PART II: Documents

Hans-Bernd Zöllner

Südostasien Working Papers No. 37
Berlin 2009

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FOREWORD

This second volume of "Neither Saffron nor Revolution" contains some documents that might be helpful in understanding what happened in Myanmar between August and October 2007. The main purpose of this collection is to put the reader in the position to check the analysis of the events given in volume 1 and to form an independent opinion about the interpretation of the events.

The material is drawn from the Internet and thus some of it may not be available after some time. The printed version, therefore, preserves some of the primary sources related to the monks' demonstrations in their local as well as global contexts. This attempt to preserve primary sources is partly motivated by the lack of availability of primary sources for a detailed narrative and interpretation of the events of 1988 even though such material could be found.[1] This deficit has likely contributed to simplistic misinterpretations of what happened in 1988 by all parties involved, and this then heavily influences the readings of the events of 2007.

Of course, the following documentation is not complete and, therefore, can by no means be regarded as the whole picture. This selection only contains the material that was pragmatically regarded as helpful to write a chronology of the events. As elaborated in chapter 5, an attempt was made to present information from both inside and outside Myanmar.

The order of the documents follows their appearance in the footnotes of volume 1. Document 1.1 thus refers to the first (and only) text referenced in chapter 1 (introduction), while document 6.4 refers to the fourth one of chapter 6 (The Monks' Demonstrations - September 18 to September 25).

It is very much hoped that this documentation will help to achieve its purpose and save some memories of the emotional and tragic events they are recording.

April 2009

[1] The World Wide Web was not yet established at that time. But the Burmese press that was reporting very freely as well as some international media could be consulted.

Document 1.1

The Times, September 24, 2007

NUNS JOIN MONKS IN BURMA'S SAFFRON REVOLUTION

Richard Lloyd Parry, Asia Editor

Buddhist nuns join monks and members of the public in Rangoon in the biggest protest against the government since the bloody suppression of the first democracy movement in 1988.
(EPA/Democratic Voice of Burma)

Twenty thousand people, including nuns, monks and ordinary Burmese, marched through the streets of Rangoon yesterday demanding freedom for Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel laureate, in a dramatic escalation of the country's Buddhist-led "Saffron Revolution".

Ten thousand monks, joined by about the same number of ordinary supporters, marched from the gold-covered Shwedagon Pagoda through the centre of Burma's largest city in the biggest anti-government demonstration since the bloody suppression of the first democracy movement in 1988.

After heavy-handed efforts to put down demonstrations earlier in the month, the junta has recently been more restrained, even allowing a large group of monks to march past the house of the detained Ms Suu Kyi and pray with her on Saturday.

But the rapidly growing scale of the demonstrations — from a few thousand a week ago to tens of thousands over the weekend — inevitably raises fears of another crackdown by a dictatorship that usually tolerates no challenge whatsoever to its authority. Bystanders cheered the monks as they walked by yesterday, and presented them with flowers and drinking water and balm for their bare feet.

For the first time, they were joined by about a hundred Buddhist nuns in pale pink robes.

Men who appeared to be plainclothes police, some of them armed with shotguns, followed the marchers or watched them pass by.

"We want the people to join us," the monks chanted. One leader shouted through a megaphone: "We want national reconciliation, we want dialogue with the military, we want freedom for Aung San Sun Kyi and other political prisoners."

The marchers responded by raising their hands in the air, and shouting: "Our God!" The All Burma Monks Alliance, based in the country's second city, the monastic centre of Mandalay, issued a statement urging ordinary people "to struggle peacefully against the evil military dictatorship till its complete downfall and to banish the common enemy evil regime from Burmese soil forever".

Expert View

Lives of the monks and supporters depend on whether the regime can remain deaf to the rest of the world

Richard Lloyd Parry

During yesterday's march, one chanted through a megaphone: "Our uprising must succeed."

Foreign human rights activists supporting the Burmese democracy movement have begun tentatively referring to the prospect of a "Saffron Revolution", after the "colour revolutions" of the former Soviet republics.

Saffron is the traditional colour of monastic robes in South-East Asia although in Burma monks wear a much darker, ox-blood colour.

The brief public emergence on Saturday of the 62-year-old Ms Suu Kyi was a remarkable and unexpected development that imparts intense symbolism to an already emotional situation. Since taking on the leadership of the democracy movement during the 1988 demonstrations, she has spent 12 years in detention.

Since 2003 she has been under house arrest at her home in central Rangoon, Burma's largest city and former capital, tended to by a maid and forbidden from receiving mail or holding meetings, apart from occasional visits from a doctor.

The road leading to her house is blocked off but on Saturday its guards allowed some 2,000 monks to enter.

According to witnesses quoted in news agency reports, Ms Suu Kyi emerged from the house with two other women, wearing an orange blouse and a light-brown longyi, a traditional skirt, and with her hands pressed together in prayer. With tears in her eyes, she saluted the monks as they walked past her compound at a distance of a few feet.

"Long life and health for Aung San Suu Kyi, may she have freedom soon," the monks chanted beneath the rain, in Rangoon's wettest day for 39 years.

"May we be completely free from all danger, may we be completely free from all grief, may we be completely free from poverty, may we have peace in heart and mind." It is not clear whether the concession was a calculated one by the Government, intended to defuse popular anger with a gesture of conciliation, or whether it was decision made on the spot by the lower-ranking commanders guarding Ms Suu Kyi's street.

"The monks told the guards that they just wanted to go to pray for Aung San Suu Kyi, because we are Buddhists," one witness told Agence France-Presse.

There was no repeat of the incident yesterday when the barricades were back in place, as well as riot police and a fire engine. About 400 people, bearing a banner with the words "Love and kindness must win over all", approached but dispersed after unsuccessfully attempting to negotiate their way through the barbed wire.

Yesterday, the secretary-general of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, one of the few multinational bodies to accept Burma as a member, expressed hope for a peaceful outcome to the tension.

"I hope the relevant authorities in Myanmar \ will not take any strong action and turn the protests into a big confrontation," Ong Keng Yong told the Associated Press.

Growing dissent

August 19 Hundreds protest against fuel costs after cuts in subsidies bring five-fold increases. At least 150 are arrested

August 28 Several hundred Buddhist monks take to the streets of Sittwe in support of protesters

September 5 Pro-government militia attacks monks in Pakokku after they ignore warning shots

September 6 Pakokku monks take 20 government officials hostage in their monastery for up to six hours

September 18 Thousands of people join monks on the streets of cities and towns across the country in the first of continuing daily protests

September 22 2,000 people pray at the home of Aung San Suu Kyi, who is allowed to greet them

September 23 Monks ask public to join nationwide prayer vigils

Sources: Burma Campaign UK; Open Democracy; Amnesty International; Times archives

Document 2.1

ASIA TIMES, January 25, 2007[1]

MYANMAR'S 88 GENERATION COMES OF AGE

By Bertil Lintner

Myanmar's military government may have narrowly escaped United Nations Security Council sanction, but it is facing an unprecedented political challenge at home, not by the crippled opposition National League for Democracy (NLD) but by an emerging network of dissidents who refer to themselves as the 88 Generation Students' Group.

Unlike the NLD, the 88 Generation is not a political party, but rather a movement comprising a generation of students who were active during the 1988 pro-democracy uprising. The military crushed that movement and later sentenced many of the demonstrators to prison for various anti-state crimes. Nearly two decades later, many of those activists are now coming of age and in recent months they have launched a series of civil-disobedience campaigns that have openly challenged the ruling junta.

The pro-democracy veterans started to meet and discuss politics in Yangon teashops about two years ago. Many of them had spent long years in prison and were "plucked from their families, from their studies", according to one foreign observer who recently met with the network's members. "At last free, they still live in a kind of captivity, locked out from the universities and colleges which once offered them the promise of relatively rewarding academic careers," he said.

Last August, the 88 Generation informal network was established. Not surprisingly, the group's most prominent leaders were arrested the following month, but in October other members launched a nationwide petition calling for the release of the estimated 1,100 political prisoners - including the detained leaders of the group - and a start to a genuine national-reconciliation process. Dressed symbolically in white, the group's members traveled around the country and by October 23 had collected 535,580 signatures, which were subsequently sent to the ruling State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), as well as various UN organizations.

In November, the 88 Generation initiated a mass multi-religious prayer campaign. Participants were urged to wear white clothing and hold candlelight vigils in Buddhist, Christian, Hindu and Muslim places of worship. Tens of thousands heeded the network's call and offered prayers for a peaceful resolution to Myanmar's political impasse, freedom for all political prisoners, and help for victims of floods that at the time had devastated many areas of the country.

On January 4, Myanmar's Independence Day, the 88 Generation network launched yet another audacious campaign dubbed "Open Heart", entailing a letter-writing campaign encouraging Myanmar citizens across the country to write about their everyday complaints and grievances with military rule. The organizers have said that by February 4, the campaign's scheduled last day, they expect more then 25,000 letters to be sent to SPDC chairman Senior General Than Shwe.

The SPDC has no doubt been taken aback by these massive, but entirely peaceful, expressions of dissent. The junta has released the five 88 Generation leaders who were arrested in September, an unprecedented response to political dissidence from the historically heavy-handed junta.

Some political analysts read the move as a concession to the movement, but more likely the junta's decision was influenced by an upcoming Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) meeting, where the junta was keen not to further alienate the grouping's member states with the UN resolution already on the table. Certain

[1] http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/IA25Ae04.html.

ASEAN member states have expressed their concerns about the ruling junta's lack of progress toward a democratic solution to its political crisis, and have privately lamented the frequent international embarrassment Myanmar has caused the grouping since its admission in 1997.

Yet the reason for the reclusive junta's so-far-tepid response to the 88 Generation's activities is still difficult to gauge. One prevailing theory is that the generals sense the new group's moral authority among the public as former longtime political prisoners and fear a popular backlash if they move too aggressively against its senior members. Another interpretation is that the generals are concentrated on building facilities around their new capital at Naypyidaw and as a result have neglected security measures for the old capital, Yangon.

Recent travelers to Yangon suggest that control mechanisms for the old capital appear less effective since the move to Naypyidaw in November 2005. Whatever the case, the dramatic rise of the 88 Generation is bound to complicate the junta's plans to move toward so-called "military democracy", as there is now a credible, albeit amorphous, civilian alternative to the generals' rule.

Moral alternative

The most prominent 88 Generation member is Paw Oo Tun, alias Min Ko Naing, a *nom de guerre* that translates from the Burmese into "Conqueror of Kings". In August 1988, he was a 26-year-old zoology student who was eloquently addressing tens of thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators on the streets of Yangon, or Rangoon as it was then known (the junta officially renamed the capital and the country in 1989). After the military cracked down bloodily on the demonstrations and rounded up prominent speakers at the rallies, Min Ko Naing went underground on September 18, 1988.

In March 1989, he was tracked down and arrested by military intelligence and spent nearly 16 years in solitary confinement. When Min Ko Naing was released in November 2004, the once-youthful demonstrator was middle-aged and the years in abysmal prison conditions had left harsh marks on the 42-year-old's body and face. Nonetheless, the long years in detention have clearly failed to extinguish the pro-democracy activist's fighting spirit.

"The people of Myanmar must have the courage to say no to injustice and yes to the truth," he said at the first 88 Generation meeting last August. "They must also work to correct their own wrongdoing that hurt society."

Min Ko Naing was among those arrested in September and then released this month. So, too, was Ko Ko Gyi, another former student leader who in March 2005 was the first of the 88 Generation to be set free after nearly 14 years in detention. A third member of the 88 Generation who was released this month after serving a long prison term was Min Zeya, a law student who was a prominent figure in the 1988 pro-democracy movement. Two other prominent network members are Pyone Cho and Htay Kywe, who were among the five who were rounded up last September. Together, they represent the core of the network's leadership.

With estimated thousands of followers, the 88 Generation is an entirely new phenomenon in Myanmar, and one that clearly has the junta unnerved. Many other Asian countries have certain "generations" that fought against military rule and sacrificed themselves for democracy. In South Korea, for instance, the term "386 Generation" was coined in the 1990s to describe students born in the 1960s who fought for democracy throughout the 1980s. Now in their 40s, many of them are university lecturers, lawyers, newspaper columnists, and even government ministers. In short, they are the country's new political elite, widely admired by the general public for their past sacrifices in pushing the country toward more democracy.

In Thailand, too, people often refer to the "1970s Generation" of pro-democracy activists who took to the streets in October 1973 and forced the military government then led by Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn into exile. Three years later, Thanom and some of his associates returned to Thailand - which caused a new wave of student-led protests. These, however, were crushed by the military, and thousands of students, teachers and labor activists took to the jungle, where they joined the Chinese-backed insurgent Communist Party of Thailand (CPT).

Few of them were actually communists, and before long they had fallen out with the CPT's diehard doctrinaire leadership. After a

general amnesty in 1980, almost all of them returned to Bangkok and provincial cities, where they too went on to become prominent politicians and literary figures. Nowadays, to have been with the CPT in the 1970s bears no stigma and many from the generation are widely respected because of the hardships they endured in their struggle for democracy.

Now Myanmar's 88 Generation has come of age, and its recent rise significantly comes at a time when the erstwhile pro-democracy NLD political party has accomplished little more than its mere survival. Back in 1988, the NLD was a mass movement, and it won a landslide victory in the May 1990 election, a result the military soon annulled. After years of military harassment of its members, the NLD is now only a shadow of its late-1980s and early-1990s self.

Most if its young members have been arrested, forced into exile or cowed into submission, and all its top leaders - including Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi and former party chairman Tin Oo - are incarcerated, either under house arrest or in prison. Only a handful of mostly elderly spokespeople remain, and none of them has the strength and charisma to carry the party forward. That serves the interests of the junta since the NLD increasingly appears to the outside world a less viable alternative to the present military order.

The 88 Generation, on the other hand, has suddenly become a force to be reckoned with, although at the moment it has no proper leadership or organizational structure. And with the junta's still-strict restrictions on freedom of association and assembly, it probably won't morph into a full-blown political movement any time soon. But therein, perhaps, lies the nascent movement's strength: the junta has shown it is easy to squash a political party, but it will be considerably more difficult to crush an entire generation.

Bertil Lintner is a former correspondent with the Far Eastern Economic Review and the author of several books on Myanmar's politics, including Outrage: Burma's Struggle for Democracy. *He is currently a writer with Asia-Pacific Media Services.*

Document 2.2

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE OPEN HEART CAMPAIGN[1]

January 15, 2007
In our country today, the living standard of the people is deteriorating and very low. Each person from every family is suffering from difficulties and problems in various fields like; socio-economic, health, education e.t.c. in their daily lives.
SPDC, as the present ruling government, is responsible to undertake the necessary reformations to solve all these problems and difficulties of its subjects.
Likewise, the people themselves and the forces or groups wishing to help the people are also responsible to reveal all these problems and difficulties.
Complaining by the people about their sufferings and the bitter consequences of the deteriorating condition of the country could not be regarded or seen as committing a crime under the present laws, rules and regulations. As we are not committing any crime, no one has the right to stop, oppress, or take legal action against us. Actually, this is the legal right of all the citizens.
Therefore, all the people from the various strata should write and complaint about their daily difficulties and problems. (For example, inflation, continuously rising prices of the basic commodities, insufficient income, expensive health-care facilities, deteriorating education system. In addition, the insufficient income of the military personnel, police and pensioners to cover their daily expenses and the insufficient or inadequate electricity supply and its consequences e.g. inadequate water supply for drinking and daily usage, CNG or Compressed Natural Gas used transport system deterioration, problems in the home based industries e.t.c.)
We, the 88 Generation Students group hereby advice and appeal the people to open your hearts.
It is your own right to request in order to get your rights for yourself.
Until and unless the earth (world) hears your groaning voices, you could not escape your difficulties and problems.
It is the time to tell the truth. Open up your heart bravely.
88 Generation Students group

Sample letter - - - - - - -

Dated:....

To
Senior General Than Shwe
Chairman
SPDC

(To be posted via the 8888 Generation Students Group)

Reference: Appealing my problems and difficulties with the open heart

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

To sign:
Name = _____
Address = _____

[1] Burmadigest, January 15.

EMPOWERING PEACEFUL DISSENT
MIN KO NAING

April 30, 2007

Former student leader Min Ko Naing and his 88 Generation Students group have created a movement which gives ordinary Burmese a political voice. The celebrated social and political activist, who spent 15 years in prison for his leadership during the nationwide pro-democracy uprising in 1988, now heads a peaceful activist organization. The Irrawaddy speaks to Min Ko Naing about his group and its role in promoting democratic reform in the military-led country

Question: *The 88 Generation Students' "Open Heart Campaign" has inspired ordinary Burmese to express their views about the country openly. What is the current status of the campaign and what has it accomplished?*

Answer: The aim of the campaign is to encourage the people to exercise freedom of expression, which is their basic right. We have seen the people become increasingly aware after launching the campaign. Some citizens wrote their opinions on paper and hung them on the fence of their homes. We have received a huge amount of letters from across the country and can draw the whole picture of the Burmese people's desires. We have categorized the letters according to social, health and economic issues, and we are preparing a research report. After that, we will announce the result to the world.

Q: *You and other leaders of your group were arrested last year on the charge that your efforts might lead to civil unrest. Do you feel that the current climate in Burma could become violent?*

A: I think that depends on both the regime and the democratic forces. First, we all have to avoid acting out of emotion. When we publicly express our opinions and attitudes, we always take care to avoid violence. on the other side, there should be those who have the ability to listen to us. It is crucial [for the regime] not to approach everything with doubt. If they translate the situation simply into an attempt to overthrow their power, it will end up in a great tragedy. What's more important is the people have to exercise that right to express their desires peacefully and with nonviolent means. on the other hand, the authorities should approach them in a positive manner and choose the best way to improve the situation. If they view our activities as a threat to their power and respond violently, our future does not look good.

Q: *Do you think the road to national reconciliation remains open?*

A: Actually, the doors are on both sides—one on our side and another on the government's side. Our door remains open. While we are the oppressed who have been struggling against injustice in the country, we continue to open our door because we usually find the answer to a problem is based on the

principle of national reconciliation. The issue is the status of the government's door. We will continue to knock so that we can give them the message that we need to work together in making a nation instead of annihilating each other.

Q: *The military government has taken a one-sided approach to national reconciliation—one that excludes [opposition leader] Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy. Are you prepared to accept such an approach to reform?*

A: We never focus simply on the view of an individual or a party. But we can't accept a one-sided solution, which has forcibly distorted the results of the 1990 election. If we did, how could the people believe in any future election? An election can't guarantee anything. We have chosen nonviolent means by which people of all walks of life can participate. A government alone cannot shape a country's future. The consent of all citizens is the most important prerequisite for governing.

Q: *How can the Burmese people participate in politics under the current military regime, and what role is your group playing to establish democracy?*

A: Our efforts, such as the signature campaign, white campaign and the open heart campaign, have given the people access to political actions. After we [the group leaders] were released from detention, we stood together and chose a path that the people could follow. They are so oppressed and weak that we have had to be patient in organizing them for political action. While we have chosen nonviolent means, we have encountered various kinds of oppression from the authorities. It is difficult for us to work under these conditions.

Even though we are ready to serve the cause of democracy both physically and mentally, we have to consider the circumstances of many people in Burma and move forward only when they are prepared to follow. Our future campaigns aim to be more effective and broader in scope and will use only methods that reflect the true desire of our people. We will systematically organize their participation, which will eventually lead to a turning point in our history.

Q: *How do you feel about regional countries that conduct business with Burma's regime rather than support the democratization of the country?*

A: An individual or a country usually acts on the basis of self-interest. But that doesn't mean that actions should lack ethical or moral motives. If their efforts are balanced, then they should be considered. But a state-to-state relationship is narrow. For the long-term interest of Burma, it should be, I believe, a citizen-to-citizen relationship. We welcome good relations built on ethics and morality. Even the world powers who voted against the resolution on Burma in the UN Security Council acknowledged our country has problems. So these countries should consider the interest of the Burmese people if they want to deal with the country openly and honestly. The state-to-state relationship is just temporary and historically weak.

Document 2.4

The New Light of Myanmar, Friday February 23, 2007

Group of so-called ex-NLD members including Htin Kyaw (a) Kyaw Htin stirs up riot and gathers crowd on Maha Bandoola Street in Yangon

Walking in procession and shouting rowdily along busy road incite riot, action may be taken according to law

NAY PYI TAW, 22 Feb — A group of so-called ex-NLD members including Htin Kyaw (a) Kyaw Htin from the Myanmar Progress Committee, an illegal association, carrying placards chanted rowdily and walked along Maha Bandoola Street from Rahanta Ordination Hall on Maha Bandoola Street in Pabedan Township, here, at about 3.30 pm today.

Many bystanders then flocked to the group, thus gathering a crowd of people there.

It was followed by a panic of nearby vendors, buyers and passers-by and then a riot. Members of Yangon City Development Committee Police Force rushed to the site and stopped the group verbally. Then, the group dispersed at the top of 32nd Street in Kyauktada Township about 3.55 pm.

Regarding the incident, there was a widespread criticism among the people that members of the group, which incited a gathering crowd through a protest violated the existing law, illegally formed a group with the intention of rising against the government, got involved in an act of lawlessness and walked in procession shouting along a busy road, and their purposeful movement stirred up a riot; that their shouting and carrying placards designed to incite a public demonstration made the public dislike and disrespect the government; and that action might be taken against the group according to law.

Similarly, some people made a comment that they got involved in the willful campaign with the intention that if they were arrested under the existing law, they would be well-known locally and internationally; their attempt was aimed at instigating external anti-government groups and foreign media to fabricate news about Myanmar, and thus expecting medals or cash awards from abroad.

Similar incidents happened in the past, and there are still some persons who are trying to incite such incidents.

There has also been a widespread public criticism that the attempt of the protesters, whose motive was only to win popularity among the people and seek self-interest, caused public annoyance and panic harming the desire of the people to lead a peaceful life in the land and that such a deliberate attempt was totally against the law and action might be taken against the protesters.

MNA

Document 3.1

New Light of Myanmar, August 22, 2007

The sub-para 4 (a) of para 6 "With regard to the judicial matter, Yangon Region High Court is the

matter, Yangon Region High Court is the high court of the courts situated in Yangon City and

para 4 (a) of para 6 "With regard to the judicial

(See page 4)

Agitators taken into custody for undermining stability and security of the nation, attempting to disrupt National Convention

NAY PYI TAW, 21 Aug — The government is striving for the emergence of a peaceful, modern, developed and discipline-flourishing democratic nation and proper evaluation of the market-oriented economic system desired by the entire people.

The National Convention, the first and foremost important for the success of the seven-step Road Map of the State, will be complete soon as it has been drawing fundamental principles and detailed basic principles. At a time when the NC is nearing completion with success, a constitution (draft) will be drawn and then a referendum held so as to successfully realize the seven-step Road Map.

Furthermore, all-round development tasks are being carried out in education, health, economic and transport sectors of the nation that are basic needs in building the peaceful, modern, developed and discipline-flourishing democratic nation. At present, progress can be witnessed in these sectors.

Information was received in advance that with the ill-intention of grabbing power, internal and external destructive elements who do not wish to see the endeavours of the government are plotting to oust the government by resorting to three strategies — to disrupt the National Convention, to cause civil unrest similar to the '88' disturbances and to commit various acts within the framework of law.

Taking advantage of the increase in fuel prices, internal and external destructive elements have provoked the people since 15 August to ensure their three strategies meet with success.

In an interview on Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB) on 17 and 18 August, Htin Kyaw (a) Kyaw Htin of Myanmar Development Committee (MDC), which had already been abolished as it was formed illegally, said protests would be held across the country as from 22 August citing fuel price hike and provoked the people into unrest.

Similarly, so-called '88' generation students Min Ko Naing, Ko Ko Gyi, Mya Aye, Amt Bwe Kyaw, Jimmy and Kyaw Kyaw Htway held talks at the house of Ko Ko Gyi in Thingangyun Township from 6.30 am to 7.40 am on 19 August and they discussed cooperation of political groups to stage political movement, to create confrontation with the government by so-called '88' generation students, organizing university students to participate in the movement and cooperation of members of National League for Democracy (NLD), members of Students' Union and '88' generation old students.

Afterwards, they attended the 3rd memorial anniversary of late U Kyi Maung, former Vice-Chairman of the NLD, at his house on Shwetaunggya-1 Street in Bahan Township from 10.30 am to 11.30 am. Afterwards, some people led by Min Ko Naing, Ko Ko Gyi, Pyone Cho, Jimmy, Htay Kywe, Mya Aye, Panneik Tun and Kyaw Kyaw Htway went on a protest walk from the house of U Kyi Maung to Tamway Market on Thamainbayan Road in Tamway Township moving along Kaba Aye Pagoda Road and through Shwegondine traffic lights citing an increase in fuel prices. They held the protest to undermine the stability and security of the State, to disrupt and hinder the process of the National Convention.

Min Ko Naing, Ko Ko Gyi and their group members on 19 August issued a declaration saying a mass movement would be launched in front of Yangon City Hall at 1 pm on 23 August. The declaration also urged the people to participate in the movement by wearing white shirts.

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The agitation to cause civil unrest was aimed at undermining peace and security of the State and disrupting the ongoing National Convention. And it also amounted to breaking the law guarding against acts undermining the efforts to successfully carry out peaceful transfer of State power and facilitate the proceedings of the National Convention.

Daw Soe Soe Aung of ' Next, the minister

Agitators taken into custody for undermining stability...

(from page 16)

Likewise, at 11 am today, a group of people led by Nyan Lin, a so-called '88' generation student, staged a protest by walking along the route from Tamway Plaza in Tamway Township to Shwegondine Road.

All in all, their agitation to cause civil unrest was aimed at undermining peace and security of the State and disrupting the ongoing National Convention. And it also **amounted to breaking the law guarding against acts undermining the efforts to successfully carry out peaceful transfer of State power and facilitate the proceedings of the National Convention.**

Tonight, authorities concerned have taken into custody and are interrogating the so-called '88' generation students Min Ko Naing, Ko Ko Gyi, Pyone Cho (a) Htay Win Aung, Min Zeya, Mya Aye (a) Thura, Kyaw Min Yu (a) Jimmy, Zeya (a) Kalama, Kyaw Kyaw Htwe (a) Markee, Arnt Bwe Kyaw, Panneik Tun, Zaw Zaw Min, Thet Zaw and Nyan Lin Tun for their acts may undermine the efforts for ensuring peace and security of the State, the success of the National Convention and the seven-step Road Map and peaceful transfer of the State power.

MNA

Document 3.2

The New Light of Myanmar, August 28, 2007

Today's world and the problem of fuel prices

Kyaw Swar Myo Htet

If fuel trading is put into the hands of the private sector, fuel prices will go up more sharply than now according to the global market, for private entrepreneurs cannot bear selling their products at a loss. Knowing the fact, the government sold its fuel at a loss for many years for the convenience of the public consumers.

Production of petroleum products cannot fulfill the needs of the present local consumption. Therefore, the government imports petroleum and its products at great expense. The government is also making efforts for boosting production of fuel oil to meet local consumption.

Here, I would like to say that wrong economic sanctions imposed by some western big nations on our country affected oil production. So the government imported more fuel.

These days, commodity prices in our country have increased more than ever because of some unscrupulous businessmen taking advantage of fuel price hike. Again, by making a political profit from the situation, some anti-government groups are resorting to various ways to tarnish the image of the government.

Authorities in the nation had to inevitably increase prices of petrol, diesel and natural gas beginning 15-8-2007. Actually, the government already knows that prices of general commodities including basic food would rise if fuel prices necessary for goods transportation, road transportation and industrial production were to be increased. Unbearable to sell fuel at a loss in the long run, the State had to unavoidably increase the prices.

If one knows in detail the economic system our country is practising and the situation of global oil market, one can assess the issue in a fair and just way.

It is common knowledge that our country has transformed the socialist economic system into the open market economic system as desired by the people. Naturally, it is not easy to control commodity prices in market economic system. It is businesslike and in anticipation of making profits. But here, prices cannot be raised as much as one likes in order to make great profit. Any person or organization cannot control the prices so as to make profit. It is because commodity prices are associated with supply and demand.

Generally speaking, prices usually go up if demand outstrips supply. And prices go down if supply outstrips demand. World nations' oil markets are interrelated as a product like fuel is internationally traded. Likewise, fuel prices of a nation are related with those of the global market.

That means if fuel trading is put into the hands of the private sector, fuel prices will go up more sharply than now according to the global market, for private entrepreneurs cannot bear selling their products at a loss. Knowing the fact, the government sold its fuel at a loss for many years for the convenience of the public consumers. Not only that, the government had to spend a huge amount of money derived from the State budgets on social, health, education, transport and agricultural sectors for many years.

In the world today the problem of oil prices has come to a head. Almost all the nations have to try their best to ensure oil prices are not to increase more.

If we thoroughly assess the world's economic recession in the late 20th Century, the issue is found to be associated with global oil crisis. We have seen five global oil crises — the first in 1973, the second in 1979, the third in 1900, the fourth in April 2003 before and after American invasion of Iraq and the fifth from April 2003 to date. As demand outstrips supply very much, global oil prices are skyrocketing.

In 1972 in the world market a barrel of crude oil was less than 20 US dollars. It rose to 20.83 dollars in 1973 and 31 dollars in 2003. It gradually rose to 40, 50 and 60 dollars in May 2004. At the end of August 2005 it reached 70 dollars. Now the present price of a barrel of crude oil is over 71 dollars.

The first reason of oil price hike was that demand increased sharply in late 2003. The second reason was that supply was unable to fulfill the increasing demand completely. Now oil production in the world has reached its peak. Experts have estimated that oil production will gradually fall in the coming five or ten years.

The volume of world oil was 1,189 billion barrels at the end of 2004. If we continue to use oil reserve at the present rate, it can be produced only for another 40 years. If we use average 44 billion barrels of crude oil a year, the oil will be sufficient for next 25 years only.

This is why the nations of the world are exploring petroleum plus natural gas and coal. Petroleum, natural gas and coal are not energy resources that can be used in an unlimited way. All fossil fuels are finite. The present energy has existed in the world from the fossils of animals and trees for millions of years. If such resources are used up, new resources will not emerge soon.

This is why the nations of the world are exploring and using hydro-electric, wind-powered electricity, solar energy, tidal energy, hydrogen energy and bio-energy obtained from physic nut, sugarcane, maize, soya bean

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Today's world and the problem of fuel prices

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and tapioca after conducting research. These are renewable energy. The volume of unexplored deposit of oil is 1,429 million barrels and potential deposit of oil in Myanmar is 1,771 million barrels. The experts estimate that there will be about 3,200 million barrels in on shore and off-shore regions in Myanmar.

Annual consumption of oil in Myanmar is about 7.5 million barrels. It is estimated that this volume can be used for over 190 years. Oil refineries in Myanmar produce over 170 million gallons of petrol and diesel yearly and petrol and diesel are sold in the country.

Production of petroleum products cannot fulfill the needs of the present local consumption. Therefore, the government imports petroleum and its products at great expense. The government is also making efforts for boosting production of fuel oil to meet local consumption. In order to do so, the government needs a great deal of investment and is also conducting joint venture oil exploration in cooperation with foreign oil companies.

Here, I would like to say that wrong economic sanctions imposed by some western big nations on our country affected oil production. So the government imported more fuel.

Most of the countries increased local fuel prices as oil prices are high in various parts of the world. It is said that the fuel prices have been increased twelve times in four years since 2003 in China, our neighbouring country.

In Thailand, our neighbouring country, a gallon of petrol was 136 baht (3.5 dollars) and a gallon of diesel was 118 baht (3.1 dollars) in July this year.

The price of one gallon of petrol in England on 15-8-2007 was 4.3 pounds (8.3 dollars), and that of one gallon of diesel was 4.4 pounds (8.5 dollars). And the price of one gallon of petrol in France on 21-8-2007 was 7.8 dollars and that of one gallon of diesel was 6.7 dollars. Even in USA in which the price of fuel was thought to be fair the price of one gallon of petrol on 20-8-2007 was 3.3 dollars and that of one gallon of diesel was 3.5 dollars.

Here are facts stated from some countries, and one can see different fuel prices of the global nations on the Internet. **The fuel price of our country is still cheaper than that of those nations when compared with them. Moreover, one can realize that the government is still selling petrol and diesel at a loss up to date when compared with the world's fuel price.**

Not only that, it is obvious that the government is making all-out efforts day in, day out for the emergence of political, social and economic infrastructures that are indispensable for a democratic nation aspired by the people.

The government built a network of roads and bridges for better transport and a large number of dams and reservoirs for development of the agricultural sector. In the industrial sector, it has established industrial zones in different regions while it has opened universities and degree colleges to bring about harmonious development the length and breadth of the nation. In the health sector also, it has opened major hospitals in the states and divisions including border areas to keep pace with Yangon and Mandalay in terms of medical treatment.

The national people should understand how the government had to unavoidably raise the fuel prices as there was a great impact of the international fuel prices on the nation. As the government had to do so the amount of funds spent on fuel prices could be reduced, and more funds could be utilized in other development sectors. One can realize if one ponders in a constructive way.

As there can be good and bad in whatever phenomenon one is required to view and assess the actual development and the goodwill of the State in a pragmatic way rather than holding negative views. In the meantime, the people themselves are not to exploit one another over the rising fuel prices in the nation.

To put it in a nutshell, if each and everyone is rational, fair and kind towards one another in a wiser sense it is sure that they will be able to create a peaceful and tranquil world that could bring them mutual benefits.

Translation: ST+TS

(Myanma Alin+ Kyemon: 27-8-2007)

Most of the countries increased local fuel prices as oil prices are high in various parts of the world. It is said that the fuel prices have been increased twelve times in four years since 2003 in China, our neighbouring country.

Here are facts stated from some countries, and one can see different fuel prices of the global nations on the Internet. The fuel price of our country is still cheaper than that of those nations when compared with them. Moreover, one can realize that the government is still selling petrol and diesel at a loss up to date when compared with the world's fuel price.

It is obvious that the government is making all-out efforts day in, day out for the emergence of political, social and economic infrastructures that are indispensable for a democratic nation aspired by the people.

Document 3.3

Mizzima News, August 31, 2007

I WANT TO SAY THIS TO PEOPLE IN BURMA.. - SUU SUU NWAY

Our democratic icon and leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi stands firmly with the people and has made tremendous sacrifices. She has been under house arrest for many years for the sake of the people and her country. She has fought silently for restoration of democracy and human rights in beleaguered Burma under a repressive and brutal military regime.

So did our 88 generation brothers and sisters who made sacrifices in their young lives in notorious prisons. When they were released, they found our beloved country was fast going downhill. Even though they made many sacrifices for the people and the country, recently, they launched another struggle peacefully for the people to overcome the crisis the people are facing with the firm belief that 'we must do something now'.

But unfortunately, the military regime does not view the situation in the same light. They arrested the student leaders and charged them with various criminal offences and under various sections of various laws. Moreover it is extremely painful to see the regime- backed and regime-sponsored so-called 'people' going by the name of 'Swan Ah Shin' and USDA members assaulting and arresting peaceful demonstrators in an atmosphere of violence.

If the regime could view the current situation in the correct perspective and sit across the table with the detained democratic icon Daw Suu, 88 generation students and politicians to resolve the political impasse peacefully, Burma would emerge as a glorious country. Otherwise our country's history will be tainted with a black brush in contemporary world history. If they continue the arbitrary arrests and detention of political prisoners, our country will lose face and our image will be tarnished. The people will not be able to hold their heads high. The regime should consider and spare the people if they really wish our country to prosper.

I want to tell our people that they must understand what is wrong and what is right, what is the cause and what is the effect, what is good and what is bad, what is meritorious and what is evil, what is just and what is unjust, oppression and freedom at a time of massive hike in fuel and essential commodity prices and the consequent hardship in daily life.

I would like to say to the people, that they should get ready to choose what should be done and what should not be, to aspire for a situation where our wishes and our lives are identical.

Document 4.1

Democratic Voice of Burm,[1]

SOLDIERS FIRE WARNING ROUNDS AT PAKOKKU MONKS

Sep 05, 2007 (DVB)—Armed Burmese soldiers fired warning shots into the air in Pakokku this morning in a violent bid to stop 600 Buddhist monks staging a protest over the poor economic conditions in the country.

The monks had started a protest march from a monastery on the west side of Pakokku. As they walked through the town, they were reportedly cheered on by more than 1,000 bystanders who had turned out to watch the demonstration.

"They were just walking in a line with four or five monks walking side by side at a time, which is the way they usually travel when they are collecting alms," one eyewitness said.

"They were chanting metta and wishing for everyone to be free from the oppression of others," the eyewitness said.

A monk who participated in the protest told *DVB* that members of his monastery were struggling financially with many unable to afford the 50-kyat razors they needed to keep their heads shaved.

"We can't sit back and watch the people who sponsor us sink into poverty. Their poverty is our poverty as well," the monk said.

As the large group of monks reached Pakokku's Middle School (3), they were confronted by two Burmese military platoons and two unmarked vehicles. In an attempt to disperse the monks, the soldiers fired warning shots into the air.

"The fired about 10 or 15 bullets before they started to drag away the monks and beat up bystanders with bamboos sticks," one bystander said.

"The soldiers were in full uniforms . . . Now they are clearing up slippers left by monks when they fled the scene in dismay," the bystander said.

The incident marks the first time since the recent wave of protests started in Burma that uniformed soldiers have fired rounds in response.

Reporting by Aye Naing

[1] http://english.dvb.no/news.php?id=410 [April 17, 2009].

Document 4.2

Democratic Voice of Burma[1]

PAKOKKU MONKS RELEASE DETAINED OFFICIALS

Sep 06, 2007 (DVB)—Monks from Pakokku's Maavithutarama monastery have released a group of about 20 government officials held hostage since this morning, eyewitnesses told *DVB*.

The government officials, including Magwe division's religious affairs representative and the chairman of the Magwe Peace and Development Council, were taken hostage early this morning as the monks retaliated against the military's brutal crackdown on a protest march yesterday.

Eyewitnesses standing outside the monastery said that the officials were released at about 4pm this afternoon.

"The head monk from the monastery who has hypertension asked the younger monks to show forgiveness and release the officials. They were let out the back door of the monastery as there was a huge crowd of people waiting out the front," one eyewitness said.

Four of the six cars the officials drove to the monastery in had been destroyed by midday after being set on fire by the monks. Since early this afternoon more than 1000 people and a military battalion have been stationed outside the monastery, desperately trying to find out what was going on inside.

The civilians camped outside the monastery were reportedly cheering the monks on and one bystander told *DVB* he thought that it was time the government was taught a lesson.

"Hopefully this will also teach a lesson to those Union Solidarity and Development Association and Swan Arr Shin members not to be so harsh on people. Some of them have already fled their homes and some are in hiding," the bystander said.

Reporting by Aye Naing

[1] http://english.dvb.no/news.php?id=413 [April 17, 2009].

Document 4.3

Irrawaddy online edition (http://www.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art_id=8524 [April 17, 2009])[1]

MONKS TAKE OFFICIALS HOSTAGE FOR HOURS IN UPPER BURMA STANDOFF

By Shah Paung
September 6, 2007
More than 10 high ranking officials and military officers were held hostage for about six hours on Thursday by monks at a monastery in Pakokku township in Upper Burma. The captors demanded the release of about 10 fellow monks arrested in a peaceful demonstration that was violently broken up by the authorities on Wednesday.

An artist's impression of the violent break-up of the Pakokku protests

The monks captured their hostages during a standoff in which four official cars were set on fire. The hostages included the chairman of the District Peace and Development Council in Pakokku, a regional center about 370 miles north of Rangoon with a sizable community of monks. The hostages were freed at around 4 p.m. but it was unclear how the two sides solved the standoff.

The hostages were held at the town's Maha Visutarama Monastery, known as Ah Le Tiak, an eyewitness told *The Irrawaddy* by phone. It is one of dozens of monasteries in Pakokku, all of which also have teaching institutes for young monks.

The monastery has about 700 monks, some several hundreds of whom participated in Wednesday's demonstration. The monks called for a repeal of recent fuel price increases and the release of protesters arrested in the demonstrations that are continuing throughout the country.

"Three monks were tied to an electric pole and were beaten with rifle butts and bludgeons..."

Wednesday's demonstration by the Pakokku monks was brutally suppressed by police, troops and pro-government paramilitary thugs. Troops fired warning shots.

A Phaungdawoo pagoda trustee who witnessed the scene said: "Three monks were tied to an electric pole and were beaten with rifle butts and bludgeons...one monk, named U Sandima, sustained head injuries." Rumor has it that one injured monk died.

Eyewitnesses said soldiers and police were joined by members of the pro-junta Union Solidarity and Development Association and the paramilitary group Swan Arr Shin in breaking up the demonstration.

They said Abbot Tay Zaw Batha, chairman of the regime-appointed supervisory religious body *Pakokku Sangha Maha Nayaka*, took part in the suppression of the protest. He has now gone into hiding, the sources said.

One senior monk in Pakokku said that tension would continue to be very high in coming days.

Historically, monks have played a major role in political demonstrations, notably in the 1988 popular uprising and in the 1990 anti-government protests.

During the 1988 unrest, the military regime launched a heavy crackdown on the demonstrators. More than 3,000 demonstrators are believed to have been killed, including many monks and novices.

Monks across Burma refused to accept alms from military leaders following the crackdown on monasteries. Hundreds of monks and young novices who participated in the movement were later arrested and given lengthy prison terms.

The demonstrations against the rise in fuel and commodity prices have been going on since August 19, led by the 88 Generation Students group and some members of the opposition National League for Democracy. At least 120 demonstrators are reported to have been arrested so far.

[1] The picture was not included in the September 6 article but added later fort he Irrawaddy's review of the year 2007. The year end review says that two monks were beaten up, not three as in the report of September 6.

Document 4.4

Democratic Voice of Burma (http://english.dvb.no/news.php?id=417 [April 17, 2009])

MONKS VANDALISE PROPERTY IN PAKOKKU

Sep 07, 2007 (DVB)—Two houses belonging to government supporters were vandalised last night by monks in Pakokku in response to the arrests and beating of three monks on September 5 following fuel protests.

At about 10pm last night, a group of monks visited the house of Khin Maung Win, an alleged Swan Arr Shin member, according to an unnamed monk.

"A few monks went to Khin Maung Win's house last night to have a talk with him and teach him some Buddhist manners but he wasn't at home so they destroyed a few things from his house to teach him a lesson instead," said the monk.

The monks considered arresting him and taking him back to the monastery but did not do so.

Nay Natt Thar, an electronic hardware store owned by township Union Solidarity and Development Association secretary Hla Win Naing was next to be targeted. Hla Win Naing was not in the shop at the time, and is rumoured to be hiding at the military headquarters.

There has been no official response so far to the events.

This follows yesterday's standoff at Mahavithutarama monastery in which about 20 government officials were held hostage by monks. According to the unnamed monk, the officials had not gone to the monastery to apologise to the monks but to give them a warning. The monks did not intend to harm the officials, but were calling for the release of other monks.

"The monks weren't really trying to incite terror, they were just disappointed by the soldiers who treated them like civilians and beat them up," said the monk, noting that the officials were released unharmed.

Reporting by Naw Say Phaw

Document 4.5

New Light of Myanmar September 7, 2007

10th Waning of Wagaung 1369 ME The NEW LIGHT OF MYANMAR Friday, 7 September, 2007

entation ceremony of the | Competitions of Monywa | contestants. —*MNA* | casting of fertilizers on | mander heard the reports | *MNA*

So-called '88' generation students and NLD released announcement the protest was a non-violent one

Their activities were inconsistent with their words as they committed destructive acts

Any attempts to incite "88" unrest-like situation absolutely unacceptable to people

External anti-government groups giving directives and providing assistance to internal anti-government groups to stir up mass demonstrations and instability

People will not accept any activities to destabilize the nation and harm their interests and are willing to prevent such destructive acts

NAY PYI TAW, 6 Sept — Following a tip-off that some members of the Sangha (Buddhist monks) from some monasteries in Pakokku, Magway Division, were to stage a protest, authorities rushed to the scene and requested them to stop their protest at 2 pm yesterday. However, the monks refused the request and insisted on demonstration calling for the release of the detainees and the fall of commodity prices by holding placards featuring the words of Sangha Samaggi along Bogyoke Street. Although the authorities concerned and Township Sangha Nayaka Committee Chairman U Tejobhasa made a request again, the monk demonstrators pushed the chairman Sayadaw over and continued their protest. As danger might fall to the Sayadaw and the public passers-by, the authorities fired small weapons three times in the air to disperse the crowd of about 100 monks.

In order to stop another incident like one that happened yesterday, the secretary of Magway Division Peace and Development Council, the head of the Division Religious Affairs Department and officials, township level authorities and responsible persons from the religious field together with the members of the board of trustees of Ashetaik Monastery called on Presiding Sayadaw U Vepolla and 13 members of the Sangha at the monastery at 9 am today and supplicated on religious matters. From there they went to Bawdimandine monastery and supplicated on religious matters to the Presiding Sayadaw U Indiya and six members of the Sangha. They supplicated on religious affairs to four Sayadaws including Presiding Sayadaw U Sumangala at Alekyaungtaik monastery

(See page 11)

So-called '88' generation students and NLD released announcement the protest was a non-violent ...

(from page 16)

and Chairman of Township Sangha Nayaka Committee Sayadaw U Tejobhasa at the monastery at about 9.50 am. At the time, about 50 monks threw stones at four departmental cars that were parked outside the monastery and tried to overturn the vehicles. Windscreens and window glasses of the cars were broken. The monks stopped throwing stones at about 10.35 am thanks to the request of Presiding Sayadaw U Sumangala at Alekyaungtaik monastery. The protestors demanded officials to bring out Sayadaw U Tejobhasa and hand over their GSM phones to them. Although officials entrusted their phones to the protesters, the latter demanded the former again to bring out Sayadaw U Tejobhasa and pounded and torched the cars they had already overturned. The protesters dispersed at about 1.30 pm.

The people who had heard or witnessed the destruction and burning of cars said that officials supplicated on religious matters to the Sayadaws to prevent the outbreak of similar incidents occurred yesterday, undermining of peace and stability and occurrence of unnecessary problems; and that the response should be through peaceful means; that the protesters should not perpetrate any destructive acts including setting automobiles on fire; that they perceived that so-called '88' generation students and NLD claimed by releasing announcements, expressing words, and informing foreign media that the protest staged on the pretext of fuel price hikes was a non-violent one, however, their activities in practice were inconsistent with their words as they came to commit destructive acts; that their activities were designed to create public outrage in order to intentionally incite a mass protest like "88" unrest; that they did not like high fuel prices and wished consumer prices to be brought down; that any attempts to incite "88" unrest-like situation were absolutely unacceptable to them; and that they wished a fall in commodity prices but would have to prevent any forms of activities designed to create a situation under the pretext of high commodity prices in which unrest and anarchism were to break out nationwide like "88" unrest.

The government has got information that external anti-government groups are giving directives and providing various sorts of assistance to internal anti-government groups to stir up mass demonstrations and instability. And it is learnt that the people will not accept any acts to destabilize the nation and harm their interests and are willing to prevent such destructive acts.—*MNA*

Document 4.6

Radio Free Asia September 7, 2007[1]

BURMESE MONKS END STANDOFF AFTER ARMED CRACKDOWN

BANGKOK—A standoff between Burmese authorities and hundreds of Buddhist monks in the central city of Pakokku has ended with the release of 13 officials taken hostage by the monks after government forces violently suppressed an earlier demonstration.

Monks angry at being beaten with truncheons in the crackdown took 13 local officials captive in a compound before burning a number of government vehicles in front of thousands of onlookers, witnesses said.

"The monks told them [onlookers] not to join in, as they didn't want to get people into trouble, but some of the people helped them turn the cars upside down before they burned them," one resident said.

Witnesses said 500 monks marched peacefully through the town ahead of the military intervention, chanting prayers and holding placards, with local people offering them bottles of water.

It was broken up by government troops and hired thugs of pro-government groups, who blocked the monks' way, pointing guns at the unarmed protesters and firing shots into the air, before setting upon them with truncheons and rifle butts, residents said.

When the monks ran, their attackers rounded them up using rope lassos, one monk told RFA. At least one young monk was severely injured. "They were throwing ropes to catch the monks like cowboys. Two monks who got caught with a rope round their neck and later were released now have injuries on their neck and cannot eat because of the pain," one monk said.

"Two monks were tied to a lamppost with rope and beaten," he added.

The monks took reprisals overnight by destroying the electronics store owned by Hla Win Naing, secretary of the township branch of the pro-junta USDA group that helped organize the crackdown on Wednesday, residents said.

Monks retaliate

Monks mostly from the city's East Monastery also marched to and destroyed the house of Khin Maung Win, also a USDA member, they said.

U Tay Zaw, the head of the local Sangha Monastic Council who initiated the crackdown under intense political pressures, had fled his monastery and was believed to be in hiding, they added.

The inclusion of the monks in the [1988] protest gave people a huge amount of courage. It showed a general population-wide support for the movement, and it gave it a real anchor in the society in general.

Brian Joseph, National Endowment for Democracy

The protest was the largest gathering of monks since anti-government protests erupted after a sharp rise in fuel prices in mid-August.

In 1988, said Brian Joseph, director for South and Southeast Asia at the National Endowment for Democracy, monks played a critical role. They are credited with helping to rally popular support for the uprising, which was put down with deadly force, killing hundreds and perhaps thousands of people.

[1] (http://www.rfa.org/english/burma/burma_fuelprotest-20070907.html [April 17, 2009]).

"The inclusion of the monks in the [1988] protest gave people a huge amount of courage," Joseph said. "It showed a general population-wide support for the movement, and it gave it a real anchor in the society in general."

Pakokku, a seat of Buddhist learning is home to an estimated 10,000 young monks studying in more than 80 monasteries. The vast majority of the population in Burma is Buddhist.

Junta aims blame

Government-run Rangoon TV Myanmar meanwhile criticized the monks for resorting to violence. "They should not have engaged in violence by destroying and setting fire to cars," it said, accusing overseas dissident groups of inciting people to oppose the government.

In opposition to what they have said, they have now engaged in violent acts. It seems that they are intentionally trying to incite the people in order to create unrest like in 1988.

Burmese government television

"Under the pretext of protesting against a rise in fuel price, members of the so-called 'the 88 generation' and the National League for Democracy party said in their statements and verbal communication and through foreign media that their protests are nonviolent and peaceful in nature," the report said.

"In opposition to what they have said, they have now engaged in violent acts. It seems that they are intentionally trying to incite the people in order to create unrest like in 1988."

The junta also took aim at foreign players for what it described as incitement.

"They're trying to blame it on the outside, on the exile community, because it is a typical Burmese trait to resent external influence on their affairs," former U.S. charge d'affaires in Burma Priscilla Clapp said. "For the regime to be blaming external influence on the monks is quite absurd. And of course nobody believes that."

Original reporting by Ko Ko Aung and Sein Kyaw Hlaing for RFA's Burmese service. Additional reporting by Richard Finney in Washington. Service director: Nancy Shwe. Executive producer: Susan Lavery. Written for the Web in English by Luisetta Mudie. Edited by Khin May Zaw and Sarah Jackson-Han.

Document 4.7

New Light of Myanmar, September 8, 2007

11th Waning of Wagaung 1369 ME The NEW LIGHT OF MYANMAR Saturday, 8 September, 2007

[p.16 (last page)]

Thaiktugan Model Vil- | ment Council Com- | Kunhein Township Peo- | patients and the staff. | local people at Nampan | (See page 13)

Foreign broadcasting stations exaggerating news reports on demonstrations involving only one or two persons

Interviewing with NLD members and so-called '88' generation students with intent to mislead the public

Exaggerating protests of Pakokku members of Sangha hand in glove with Pakokku NLD

People understand the government's carefully addressing the situation with magnanimity, showing its respect for members of the Sangha

Such violent acts somewhat harm public interests, so lay disciples concerned should hold discussions and make reviews with the monk on whom they regularly call, in order that similar incidents will not take place again

The majority of members of the Sangha who uphold the religious code of conduct do not accept any forms of subversive acts and want to discharge religious duties in peace for flourishing of the Sasana

NAY PYI TAW, 7 Sept — Internal and external destructive elements are inciting a period of civil unrest like the one in 1988, taking advantage of some protests that broke out in the country beginning 19 August on the pretext of the increase in fuel prices. It is also found that foreign broadcasting stations are launching political propaganda exaggerating even news reports on demonstrations involving only one or two persons and interviewing with NLD members and so-called '88' gaeneration students with intent to mislead the public.

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neighbouring country for Japan on 5 September to meet with members of the National Coalition ways and means to underline national peace and stability and prevalence of law and order in cohort with give an immediate tip-off about suspected destructionists. —*MNA*

Foreign broadcasting stations...

(from page 16)

Likewise, those foreign broadcasting stations hand in glove with Pakokku NLD are exaggerating the protests and setting fire to cars that happened in Pakokku, Magway Division, on 5 and 6 September.

At about 2 pm on 5 September, some members of the Sangha (Buddhist monks) organized a protest walk along Bogyoke Street holding placards featuring the words of Sangha Samaggi calling for the release of the detainees and the fall of commodity prices. Although authorities concerned and Township Sangha Nayaka Committee Chairman U Tejobhasa made a request, the monk demonstrators pushed the Chairman Sayadaw and continued their protest. Fearing that the life of the Sayadaw might be in danger, the authorities concerned had to open fire small weapons three times in the air to disperse the crowd.

As Pakokku NLD sent false news on the incident that happened on 5 September to foreign broadcasting stations, BBC, VOA and RFA aired the exaggerated reports that the authorities fired weapons over the monks' heads about ten times, that the monks were arrested and tortured, three others were tied to a lamp-post and tortured, and that one died of the injury and some were seriously injured. Besides, the internal destructive elements are exaggerating the incident on phone or in a secret way saying that there was bloodshed of the members of the Sangha in the country and that some were arrested, some seriously injured and some killed. In reality, there was no monk who was injured or died as any was not arrested and tortured, and only small weapons were fired in the air three times in order to disperse the crowd of protesters and save the life of the Sayadaw.

On 6 September also, a group comprising 20 authorities concerned went to Ahletaik Kyaungtaik in Pakokku and supplicated to Sayadaws in order that such incident may not occur again. At that time, about 50 monks pounded and set fire to four vehicles of the departmental officials parked outside the monastery. The monks let 20 departmental officials who were comeredin the monastery go at only 4 pm. The authorities concerned did not arrest those involved in the incident but they just monitored the situation in order not to go from bad to worse.

At 9.40 pm on 6 September some 40 monks destroyed the house of U Khin Maung Win in Ward 3, Pakokku. And then, they destroyed the Nay Nat Tha Store of U Hla Win Naing in Ward 1. Consequently, electronics, electrical appliances, Telephone Hand Sets, fluorescent lamps, VCDs and TV sets worth K 35 million in the store were destroyed. At 11.20 pm, about 60 monks were in front of the store and some 60 monks were on Shwechaung Bridge. Those monks dispersed at about 1 am on 7 September.

It is learnt that the Pakokku NLD and RFA in collusion aired fabricated news to the effect that U Khin Maung Win and U Hla Win Naing were included in those who dispersed the monks who staged a protest walk on 5 September. In retaliation, the monks destroyed the house of U Khin Maung Win and the store of U Hla Win Naing. In that incident, the Pakokku NLD incited the monks to get involved in the anti-government activities as its attempts to organize people to do so met with failure. Besides, it sent fabricated news to foreign broadcasting stations.

The people who witnessed and heard the incident are making comments that they understand the government's carefully addressing the situations with magnanimity, showing its respect for members of the Sangha; that such violent acts somewhat harm the public interests; that lay disciples concerned should hold discussions and make reviews with the monks on whom they regularly call, in order that similar incidents will not take place again; and they believe that senior monks in the respective monasteries will deal with the situation to prevent such violent activities. And it is learnt that the majority of members of the Sangha who uphold the religious code of conduct set for members of a religious order do not accept any forms of subversive acts and want to discharge religious duties in peace for flourishing of the Sasana. — *MNA*

Regional development tasks...

(from page 16)

account of progress of cultivating monsoon paddy, edible oil crops and physic nut for the 2007-2008 fiscal year. He attended to the needs.

The commander donated K 500,000 to Kunhein Township Basic Education High School (1) and publications, and well-wishers from Kunhein Township, cash, sewing machines, TV sets and video cassette players to the community learning centre.

In meeting with members of Kunhein Township Union Solidarity and Development Association, he explained regional development tasks and provided uniforms for them.

He visited Taungbilar monastery of the township and offered alms to the abbot.

The commander addressed the ceremony to grow physic nut saplings in the township, and presented cash awards to the wards that have grown physic nut most in the township.—*MNA*

Yangon Division WAO organizes cash and kind donation to nunnery

YANGON, 7 Sept—The Cultural Sub-Working Group of Yangon Division and Township WAOs presented provisions worth K 826,400 and cash to nuns.

Document 4.8

Source:Burmanet September 10, 2007[1]

Announcement of All Burma Monks Alliance:

12th Waning Day of Wagaung, 1369 BE, Sunday, Letter No. (1/2007)

The local authorities under SPDC military regime brutally cracked down, arrested and tortured the monks and people demonstrators who were protesting over the current fuel price hike in Burma. They did such a brutal crackdown in Pakkoku where the peaceful monk demonstrators protested over the fuel price hike by reciting Metta Sutra, by lassoing them and tied them at the lamp post, and slap them, kicked them and beat them up in public by the SPDC thugs of USDA and Swan Ah Shin.

One of the monks died of these brutal treatments. Thus it becomes the cause of Theravada Buddhism and the whole monks residing in Burma.

We, 'All Burma Young Monks Union', 'Federation of All Burma Monks Union', 'Young Monks Union (Rangoon)', 'Monk Duta' and all Monks Unions in different States and Divisions joined hands together and establishing this Monks Alliance Group representing all monks living in Burma, today make and announce the following demands to SPDC.

1. The SPDC must apologise to the monks until they satisfy and can forgive and pardon them.

2. Reduce all commodity prices, fuel prices, rice and cooking oil prices immediately

3. Release all political prisoners including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and all detainees arrested in ongoing demonstrations over fuel price hike.

4. Enter dialogue with democratic forces for national reconciliation immediately to resolve the crises and difficulties facing and suffering by the people.

Unless SPDC give in and comply with our demand on or before the deadline of 17th September 2007 (the 6th waxing day of Tawthalin), we hereby announce that this Monks Alliance Group will boycott SPDC until our demands are met.

All Burma Monks Alliance Group

[1] http://www.burmanet.org/news/2007/09/10/announcement-of-all-burma-monks-alliance-12th-waning-day-of-wagaung-1369-be-sunday-letter-no-12007/ [January 12, 2008].

Document 4.9

New Light of Myanmar, September 9, 2007

12th Waning of Wagaung 1369 ME — The NEW LIGHT OF MYANMAR — Sunday, 9 September, 2007

Insurgents who are in contact with the so-called "88" generation students caused the death of many citizens when they carried out a bomb attack in Maha Pathana Cave

Pyi Thit Nyunt Wai of FTUB, members of BVSW and ABSDF held a secret meeting, decided to continue terrorist destructionist acts in many parts of Myanmar

Government of the Union of Myanmar to take preventive measures against terrorist destructive acts by internal and external terrorist groups

NAY PYI TAW, 8 Sept— *The Information Committee of the State Peace and Development Council today issued Announcement No. 1/2007. The following is the full text of the announcement.*

State Peace and Development Council Information Committee
Announcement No. 1/2007
Nay Pyi Taw, September 8

It has already been made known to the people through the news released in the newspapers of 25 August that the authorities concerned had taken into custody for questioning (13) persons claiming to be the (88) generation students, namely Min Ko Naing, Ko Ko Gyi, Pyone Cho (a) Htay Win Aung, Min Zeya, Mya Aye (a) Thura, Kyaw Min Yu (a) Jimmy, Zeya (a) Kalama, Kyaw Kyaw Htwe (a) Marky, Arnt Bwe Kyaw, Paneit Htun, Zaw Zaw Min, Thet Zaw, and Nyan Lin, who were sabotaging the National Convention and trying to create the dialogue they wanted and to contact foreign-based terrorist organizations in order to carry out terrorist destructive acts.

On 25th of August Ma Sanda Min (a) Shwee, and on 27th of August Kyee Than (a) Than Tin who had led actions which tried to sabotage the National Convention and disturb the peace and stability of the country, were called into custody for questioning. Htay Kywe is still at large as he had been hidden at a secure place by an embassy of a powerful country.

While 15 persons including Min Ko Naing were being taken into custody the responsible officials searched their homes and seized as evidence some mobile phones, computers with over (500) CDs, and a large amount of documents.

If we look at the background of the so-called "88" generation students group, since the Armed Forces assumed the responsibilities of State to take the situation under control on 18 September 1988, the Ba Ka Tha formed and headed by Min Ko Naing, Ko Ko Gyi, and Moe Thee Zon laid down and carried out three plans of action, namely (1) to continue and carry out semi-subversive underground activities; (2) to form and act as a legal political party; (3) to fight through armed resistance, and in order to do so they formed the ABSDF terrorist organization which was then headed by Htun Aung Kyaw and Naing Aung. Likewise, the Democratic People for a New Society (DPNS) party was formed under the leadership of Moe Thee Zun to carry out overt political activities. In the same way Min Ko Naing, Ko Ko Gyi and Aung Din agitated through semi-subversive acts to create riots disturbances since that time. Therefore in 1989 Min Ko Naing, Ko Ko Gyi and Aung Din were arrested in accordance with the law. As Moe Thee Zun and his DPNS party were acting in conjunction with the BCP underground and contacting terrorist insurgents in accordance with their three plans of action, they were deregistered as a legal political party from 6-12-1991 onwards. At that time, some members of the DPNS went underground to continue resistance against the Government and formed the DPNS as an armed insurgent organization at the border areas on 25-5-1994.

Aung Din who was imprisoned together with Min Ko Naing and Ko Ko Gyi was released on 7-7-1993 and put up a petition to be allowed to continue his studies. As the responsible authorities concurred, he gained his B.E (Mechanical) in 1994. After that as he put up and additional petition to be allowed to go to work in Singapore, the responsible officials magnanimously gave permission to do so.

(See page 11)

Foreign broadcasting stations airing fabricated interviews in collaboration with internal destructive elements

Regarding the riot of some members of the Sangha of some monasteries in Pakokku which occurred on 5 and 6 September, foreign broadcasting stations are airing fabricated interviews in collaboration with internal destructive elements in order to cause unrest and violence and to mislead the people. The foreign broadcasting stations aired the exaggerated report that the authorities fired weapons over the monks' heads about ten times, that the monks were arrested and tortured, three others were tied to a lamp-post and tortured and that one died of the injury and 13 members of the Sangha were seriously injured. The true story is that authorities concerned did not arrest or torture the monks. So there was no monk who was injured or died in the 5 September incident. The chairman of Township Sangha Nayaka Committee requested the monk protesters but the Sayadaw was pushed over by them. In order to disperse the crowd of protesters and save the life of the Sayadaw, the authorities concerned had to open fire small weapons three times in the air.

Document 4.10

Democratic Voice of Burma (http://english.dvb.no/news.php?id=422 [April 17, 2009])

MONKS OFFERED COMPENSATION BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Tue 11 Sep 2007

Senior monks in Pakokku, Magwe division, were called to a meeting with high-level government officials on Sunday and offered money as compensation for monks who were beaten and disrobed in last week's protest over poor economic conditions.

A Pakokku monk told DVB yesterday that the officials included the ruling State Peace and Development Council's Military Affairs Security Chief Lt-Gen Ye Myint and Minister of Religious Affairs Brig-Gen Thura Myint Maung. Fifteen senior monks from four monasteries in Pakokku were summoned to the meeting and offered 30,000 Kyat as compensation for each monk who was beaten up and disrobed during the soldiers' crackdown on last week's monk-led protest.

Some senior monks refused to attend the meeting as a mark of their disappointment with the authorities' ill-treatment of monks. Those who attended were disappointed to be offered money by the officials but no apology.

"They can't expect forgiveness from monks just by offering them money as compensation after brutally beating them," said the monk.

An abbot who was present at the meeting reportedly criticised the way the government had lied about the protests in public broadcasts.

"They said in the newspapers that they didn't mistreat the monks, but now they are admitting their guilt by offering them money," said the monk.

Document 5.1

BBC NEWS, September 23 and 25, 2007

BURMA MARCH LARGEST IN 20 YEARS

Burma's largest anti-government protest in nearly two decades has taken place in the former capital Rangoon, led by Buddhist monks and nuns. Up to 20,000 people took to the streets on the seventh day of protests calling for an end to the "evil dictatorship". Unlike a day earlier, police barred a group of monks from entering the road that leads to the home of detained opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi. The rallies began last month when the government doubled fuel prices. BBC South East Asia correspondent Jonathan Head says every day the protests are growing in size - the campaign the monks began just six days ago is now openly challenging the military, urging all citizens to join in.

Barricades

A huge column of demonstrators made its way through the heart of the city, following an identical route to that used during the failed anti-military uprising in 1988. There are no exact figures but the rally was estimated to be 20,000 strong. Ms Suu Kyi can be seen behind the police greeting protesters Our correspondent says the mood was relaxed, even euphoric, with thousands of civilians joining Buddhist monks and nuns, and chanting the key demands of this campaign - reconciliation with the opposition, the release of political prisoners and lower prices. Apparently unsure what to do, the security forces appear to be standing back for the moment and the next act in the drama is impossible to predict, says our correspondent. Speaking on the sidelines of a UN meeting, US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said America was "watching very carefully" the protests and denounced Burma's "brutal regime". "The Burmese people deserve better. They deserve the right to be able to live in freedom, just as everyone does." The head of regional grouping Asean, Ong Keng Yong said he hoped the Burmese authorities would not take any strong action "and turn the protests into a big confrontation". Ms Suu Kyi emerged tearfully on Saturday from the home where she has been under house arrest since 2003 to pray with the monks, after they were allowed through a roadblock. But on Sunday the barricades were firmly back in place and there was a heavy security presence near the democracy icon's home to prevent a repeat protest march past.

Prayer vigils

Witnesses said the crowds formed a protective human chain, as the monks and nuns set off from Burma's most famous landmark, the revered Shwedagon Pagoda. Some demonstrators chanted "Release Suu Kyi" as they continued to the nearby Sule Pagoda, before passing the US embassy. Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Ms Suu Kyi has spent 11 of the last 18 years in detention. In 1990 her party won national elections, but these were annulled by the army and she was never allowed to take office. On Friday, the Alliance of All Burmese Buddhist Monks, which is leading the demonstrations, vowed to continue until they had "wiped the military dictatorship from the land". The monks have urged the Burmese people to hold prayer vigils in their doorways for 15 minutes at 2000 (1330 GMT) on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. Scores of nuns joined more than 2,000 monks in prayer on Sunday at the Shwedagon Pagoda, before marching to the centre of Rangoon.

Comments:
I am not sure where these protests are going to, but I am sure that it's not at all a good sign. Many people are expecting that there will be a great change coming soon. I am not sure if the monks will be joined by students or workers or even soldiers. This situation is very vague because we don't know what the government is planning to do. There is some news in the government-controlled newspapers that fake monks are trying to agitate the public. This can be a big excuse for them when they start attacking the monks. I really want some changes in Burma but I am not sure where that may lead us. I hope there won't be any bloodbath this time like in 1988.
Soe Soe, Mandalay

We need a little reason to combine all opposition resources to lead a mass movement. This reason must be a political issue. The current situation can lead to a civil war because hardliners of junta still hold their role in constitution and the opposition may raise the tempo of movement under these conditions to form an armed struggle. We want a smooth change, not civil war. If there is no way to avoid the armed struggle, the people will choose it and it may take the poor country to a worse condition. International pressure is very important for the future of Burma - including from China and Russia.
Mg Thin Khar, Rangoon

I'm not with the monks, but one of the monks who took part in the protests came to us and told us his experiences. We're very proud of them, because we are afraid to take risks. We admire our monks who care for us, and we wish and pray for them not to get harmed. Even though we are very concerned about them, he said, "We are not afraid, we have not committed any crime - we just said prayers and took part in the protests. We didn't accept any money from onlookers, although they offered us a lot. We only accept water.'." The monk seemed very happy, excited and proud. But I'm worried about them.
Mya, Rangoon

Yes, I followed the monks. Very impressive and we are very motivated and encouraged to see them. We are ready to join them - and have done so. Today there were about 1,000 monks in our group, but I heard there are other groups as well. Wherever the monks pass by, people come out and support them and some follow on. It is amazing and I haven't experienced anything like that in my whole life.
Kyaw Min, Rangoon

Are you in Burma? Have you witnessed the protests? What is the mood like in the country? Send us your comments and experiences.

You can send pictures and video to: yourpics@bbc.co.uk or to send via MMS please dial +447725100100.
If you have a large file you can upload here. Read the terms and conditions

At no time should you endanger yourself or others, take any unnecessary risks or infringe any laws.

Name

Your E-mail address

Town & Country

Phone number (optional):

Comments:

Send Clear

Comments[1]

I'm a University student from Mandalay. I think Mandalay needs a leader as people are very afraid. But they want to get freedom. Now I saw 10,000 monks and a number of other people. Juee, Mandalay

I witnessed the big protests in Rangoon today. I am really sorry for our country and our people because we are under the control of the wicked junta. We haven't got arms, we wish for peace, a better future and democracy. We are hoping that the UN security council will put a pressure on the junta.

Kyi Kyi, Rangoon

I saw more than 100,000 monks march to 8 -mile junction, from south to north, I'm not sure where they lead to. This situation could be worse more if junta couldn't control softly. We want some changes in Burma, but we want these changes leading to good ways. I can say surely that killing the monks is insulting the Buddhism religious. *Sun, Rangoon*

I saw about 40,000 to 50,000 people, including monks, nuns and ordinary people, marching along Prome road. That was at around 3:30pm. The protests will grow bigger day by day and I hope that they are not going to start killing people. We need help to save our people. *Mr Tun, Rangoon*

It is astounding to see such a great mass of people on both sides of the roads, some clapping and some crying, but all demonstrating their support for the monks and those chanting prayers. It's for sure that all these people showing their support are willing to be part of the mass protest. They do not trust the government though and think that they could be crushed, just like it happened in 1988. But if we are just bystanders, today's rare and momentous events might not lead to the fall of the regime. *Kyaw, Rangoon*

We need a little reason to combine all opposition resources into one mass movement. This reason must be a political issue. The current situation can lead to a civil war because hardline junta still holds the power and the opposition might use this opportunity to form an armed struggle. After 1988, many activists, including students, ran to the border and took up the arms against the government. This time we want things to change peacefully, not through a civil war. But if there's no way to avoid the arms struggle, the people will choose it and the conditions in our poor country may become worse. The international pressure, including from China and Russia, is very important for the future of Burma at this moment.

Mg Khar, Rangoon

One of the monks who took part in the protests came to us and told us about his experiences. He said: "We are not afraid, we haven't committed a crime, we just say prayers and take part in the protests. We haven't accepted money from onlookers although they offered us a lot. We just accept water. People clapped, smiled and cheered us." The monk seemed very happy, excited and proud. But I'm worried for them. They care for us and we pray for them not to get harmed.

Mya, Rangoon

Story from BBC NEWS: http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/asia-pacific/7011607.stm

Published: 2007/09/25 02:13:07 GMT

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[1] September 25, 2007 following an article entitled: „US to impose new Burma sanctions". http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/7011607.stm.

Reports about the Role of the Media in Myanmar

Irrawaddy, September 17

Burmese turn to foreign radios for latest news - Violet Cho[1]

The people of Burma are turning ever more to outside broadcasts and the media in exile to learn the latest news about the continuing protests against recent price hikes.

With state media strictly censored and most Internet news sites blocked, people in increasing numbers are tuning in to the shortwave broadcasts of such international radio stations as the BBC, the Voice of America and Radio Free Asia.

Although the regime blocks most Internet news sites and keeps users under surveillance, those with the know-how are still able to access online services provided by The Irrawaddy, Mizzima and NewEra.

According to an Open Net Initiative survey, 85 percent of email service provider sites are subject to a high level of filtering in Burma. Of sites with content judged to be sensitive to the Burmese state, 84 percent are blocked. They include nearly all political opposition and pro-democracy sites.

More than 50 phone services, mostly mobile phones used by members of the opposition National League for Democracy and other activists, were cut off last week in another regime move to prevent the spread of free and accurate information.

Media censorship by the Burmese military regime severely restricts access to unbiased information. State-monopoly radio and television closely control all broadcast media, and the junta's Press Scrutiny Board orders articles even slightly critical of the regime to be inked over or torn from offending issues.

In its own coverage of the continuing demonstrations, the regime media invariably blame protesters, activists and NLD members for the violence that results when the authorities and pro-regime thugs crack down on the protests.

One Rangoon woman spoke for many when she told The Irrawaddy: "We rely on Burmese media in exile a lot now; they are the main source of news about what is currently happening in our community and areas around us."

Another Rangoon resident said he and others he knew had stopped reading the local press for news of current affairs.

[1] http://www.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art_id=8627.

Civilian journalists and media in the 2007 Burma uprising - Christopher Smith[1]

The dramatic wave of demonstrations inside Burma in 1988 (popularly known as the "8888 Uprising") took place amidst a virtual media vacuum. The dearth of real-time historical documentation of events clearly attests to this fact. The stories of those who fell in the face of bullets were left largely to be told at a later date. Still today, there is no accurate information on the number killed or disappeared as a result of the government's heavy handed reaction.

Less than a year after the 1988 uprisings in Burma, Lhasa, Tibet, witnessed the largest demonstrations against Chinese rule since occupation by Chinese forces in 1959. An estimated 40,000 inhabitants of the ancient city were forcefully relocated in the wake of the three-day long mass uprising. By any account, a gross violation of human rights. Try finding real-time media accounts of this important period of Tibetan history.

The Emergence of Civilian Journalists and "Digital Democracy"

Yet the current protests in Burma that began on August 19th, though on a drastically smaller scale than those of 1988, are subject to a relentless barrage of media exposure - owing largely to the empowerment of the civilian population and small, independent media and information organizations taking advantage of technological advances. For instance, the Assistance Association of Political Prisoners (Burma) daily updates the profiles and fates of those detained by the regime in ongoing crackdowns on protestors and dissidents. And if demonstrations were to wreak havoc in Lhasa, a similar phenomenon would likely manifest itself.

In a nutshell, this is precisely why Time Magazine awarded its "2006 Person of the Year Award" to "you'". The award acknowledged the empowerment of the individual as a result of advances in technology, specifically those of a digital nature.

"It's about the many wresting power from the few and helping one another for nothing and how that will not only change the world, but also change the way the world changes," reads an excerpt from Time's lead article explaining the selection.

The fact that "civilian journalists" and independent media are coming to prominence in the coverage of the 2007 Burma protests is not proof of an exceptionally dynamic Burmese population, rather it is evidence of the lack of mainstream media options effectively servicing the ostracized country. The Burmese population, in conjunction with media outlets operating largely outside the country, is but playing its role alongside the global consumer, a role made possible largely as a result of the great strides in technological innovation.

Through the advent of "digital democracy," local knowledge has become global knowledge.

And it is accurately coined a form of democracy, no less so than the mechanical routine of casting a vote in a ballot box. Each time an individual takes advantage of media technology they are capturing the world in which they live, the way they want to capture it. By electing to capture a flawed image, they can also be construed as casting a vote for change. The message is also one of here and now, and thus much more tangible to a 21st century world enamored with the present.

[1] http://www.bma-online.org/BMW_2007_Jul_Sep.html. This site contains all articles collected by Burma Media Watch on Myanmar in September 2007.

"They're [communications technologies] anti-authoritarian, because authoritarians control societies by their ability to control access to information," responded Professor Francis Fukuyama to a question regarding the democratizing influence of information technology during a Closer to Truth panel discussion.

"So if people can get information on their own simply by dialing up a computer, then we have ways of getting around hierarchies. The Internet helps to spread power out rather than concentrating it," continued Fukuyama.

Every computer in the offices of Naypyidaw is not only a cog in the wheels of repression, but also a reminder to the generals of the democratizing influence of technology.

This, then, brings into serious question the proposed "disciplined democracy" of which the Burmese generals speak. Not as a matter of whether it is the best means forward or not, but whether it is structurally feasible or not in this day and age.

In Southeast Asia, and most of Asia for that matter, their remains a staunch refusal to diverge from honoring the stated ideal of national integrity. Countries are routinely apprehensive to insert themselves into the affairs of other countries. It is a sentiment ascribed to even by the regional stalwart of democracy: India. But again, the advent of the media revolution has made such a position ever more tenuous.

Take for example Ukraine's Orange Revolution of 2004/2005, though neighboring countries, most notably Russia, had little interest in meeting the demands of those demonstrating in the aftermath of elections, the ability to collect and disseminate information and images globally provided that the West, regardless of how their intentions are interpreted, was able to insert itself as an influential player throughout the course of the protests and successfully internationalize the proceedings. In short, the notion of noninterference in national sovereignty was effectively curtailed, if not altogether circumvented.

Coverage of events inside Burma is also drawing the attention and reaction of a global audience, even if certain regional players may otherwise prefer to turn a blind eye. A quick You Tube search recently yielded 43 hits for "Burma protests." Meanwhile, at the height of protests over the most recent price hikes, Mizzima, reporting in real-time on the events occurring inside Burma by means of linking with citizens inside the country, experienced a 15 fold increase in online readership.

Though the Internet is often awarded center stage in discussions of media innovations, it is by no means the only media sphere in which vast strides have been realized in the past few decades. Advances have been made in projecting sound and video, as a greater number of Burmese gain access to alternative news sources inside the country, as well as breakthroughs in telephony which have greatly facilitated the enhancement of information transmission.

Though still lagging far behind other countries, the estimated number of people inside Burma using cell phones has mushroomed from 3,000 in the year 2000 to some 200,000 users in 2006. With the black market providing the necessary technical components that may otherwise be unavailable, each of these handsets is, at least theoretically, a link with the international community and a valuable source of information.

Absent the orchestrated sensationalism and structure of traditional media sources, alternative sources of information may very well carry more authority in the minds and analysis of people around the world engaged in similar acts of expression and dissemination.

Repressive means on one hand

The threats posed as a result of the technological actions of "civilian journalists" and media outlets perceived as hostile to the Burmese regime have been increasingly realized by oppressive governments throughout the world. In early 2006 the Nepalese monarchy attempted to block cell phone service in a desperate attempt to obstruct real-time communication in a social crisis quickly spiraling out of control. Thail-

and banned You Tube service for most of 2007 purportedly due to the content of videos and information hostile to the monarchy and government.

Now the Burmese junta has proceeded to expand upon similar measures, including disconnecting the phone lines of politicians, political activists and prominent contacts for media sources, disrupting cell phone coverage, and disabling blog and Internet sites. Already, prior to the most recent protests, it was a criminal offence simply to own a computer or a fax machine without government registration.

However technology can almost always be countered with technology, and voices from inside Burma, citizens by default covering daily events throughout the country, continue to find their way to a wider international audience. And in this way the plight of the Burmese population is less easily forgotten in a world where there is always something else to watch, something more to entertain.

A cautionary word on the other

But there are cautionary notes to sound with regard to this avant-garde of digital democracy. For starters, real-time news is often just that obsessed with the present. It is then occasionally too convenient to perceive the happenings as occurring in isolation, as opposed to what they are, singular events along a historical stream. And certainly the new means of dissemination can just as easily be used by those of opposing view, as the Burmese regime is increasingly trying to do and as outfits such as Al-Qaeda, through their media arm Al-Sahab, have proven effective.

Further, dialogue and reconciliation, often spoken of as key components in addressing change inside Burma, are centered on human relationships. The over reliance on technology to deliver messages could prove counterproductive. So, while President Bush could be confident that his harsh words regarding the Burmese junta at the APEC summit in Australia were almost immediately heard in Naypyidaw, the reliance on technology to deliver the message is a poor substitute for personal interaction.

Yet, in the end, why was Time's annual award given to the general population at large? Quite possibly without even being aware of the fact, masses in the age of "digital democracy" are said to toil pro bono at the helm of an unstoppable force: the technological devolution of power. Though the burgeoning community of independent media may not necessarily work pro bono, they do take advantage of technology and a lower operating cost to effectively deliver information to a global audience.

While it may not necessarily spell the end of the hierarchical nation-state, the evolving channels of information procurement and transmission will at least go some distance in assuring that Burmese voices are heard, if not necessarily domestically, at least internationally. And for the citizens of Burma, this is at least one good bit of news.

September 24, Associated Press[1]

Exile Myanmar radio station sends news to pro-democracy activists at home - Doug Mellgren

From a warehouse-like building in Norway's capital, a tiny broadcast network called the Democratic Voice of Burma is struggling to provide news and encouragement to countrymen rising up against the military dictatorship at home.

Secret recordings of red-clad monks and other protesters marching Monday in the pouring rain in Myanmar's biggest city, Yangon, flashed across computer screens at the network's plain but tidy office.

[1] http://www.bma-online.org/BMW_2007_Jul_Sep.html.

Chief Editor Aye Chan Naing said strict control of the news media in Myanmar, also known as Burma, means the first news its citizens often get of what is going on in their own country comes through the station's shortwave radio, satellite TV and Internet services.

"There is no other way for the people of Burma to get news," he told The Associated Press on Monday, claiming that broadcasts reach as many as 5 million people in the Southeast Asian nation of 54 million.

Exiled pro-democracy student activists, including Naing, founded the radio station in 1992, a year after Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi won the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo for her peaceful pro-democracy campaign.

Suu Kyi's party won a 1990 general election, but was not allowed to take office by the military, which has been in power since 1962. She has been detained for about 12 of the past 18 years.

The pro-democracy radio station, funded by grants from government and free speech groups from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and the United States, was founded in Oslo because of Suu Kyi's Nobel Prize, Naing said.

To support the growing protests at home, the station's staff of 10 activists have doubled their shortwave radio broadcasts to seven hours per day, and have stepped up TV transmissions. But Naing said they are quickly running out of money.

"We're almost broke," said Naing. "We lost some cameras in Burma. Some were confiscated by the authorities." He said other cameras and equipment were damaged.

Just the same, he expressed determination. "Depending what happens in Burma, we may extend to 24 hours," he said.

Norwegian Aid Minister Erik Solheim this weekend said he would promptly consider any application for additional funding. Naing said he plans to apply as soon as possible.

The network sends news, appeals from leading opposition figures and information about planned protests, said Naing.

He said the media is so strictly controlled in Myanmar that almost anything they transmit is news to the people there. Last year, the network transmitted TV footage of Suu Kyi's 1991 Nobel Prize awards ceremony, which she did not attend for fear of being barred from returning home.

"It was a 15-year-old story, but it was still news in Burma," Naing said at the downtown office, decorated with pictures of Suu Kyi and lapel buttons saying "Free Suu."

The station's reporters in Burma, often using tiny hidden cameras, provide the world an often unique glimpse of what is going on there.

"We have 30-40 people on the ground, all undercover journalists," he said. "All of the journalists shooting now were brought to a secret location in Thailand for training."

He declined to say how they get images and news out of Myanmar, although he said, despite strict military restrictions, the Internet is crucial. Sometimes, TV footage is sent one frame at a time to get it through.

Working openly, he said, brings the risk of arrest, or confiscation of cameras and equipment.

Naing, 42, was a dentistry student when he fled Myanmar in 1988, spending three years in Thailand, learning journalism there. After stops in Germany and Sweden, he ended up in Oslo in 1992.

He said he hopes someday to return to a democratic Myanmar, with the freedom to criticize whatever government is in power.

September 29, 2007

Bloggers dodge net barriers to smuggle the message out[1]

SAVVY young bloggers in Burma are breaking through the military junta's tight internet controls to post photos and videos of swelling anti-Government protests.

The junta blocks almost every website that carries information about the country, and bars access to email websites.

But an army of young techies in Rangoon works around the clock to circumvent the censors, posting pictures and videos on blogs almost as soon as the protests happen.

Many of these images have been picked up by mainstream news organisations because bloggers have managed to capture images that no one else can get.

When Burma's detained democracy leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, stepped outside her home in Rangoon to greet marching monks and supporters last week, the only pictures of the landmark moment were posted on blogs.

The bloggers are mainly university students in Rangoon who have made it their mission to post messages and pictures since the rallies broke out. The blog messages have applauded Buddhist monks, who have led the protest movement.

The *Mandalay Gazette,* a Burmese-oriented newspaper in California, said young people in Rangoon were supplying pictures on the protests. "It's encouraging to see messages of support coming as far as from Russia, and some messages said monks were correcting the junta's 'wrongdoing'," said a US editor, who declined to be named.

A Burmese reporter in Thailand from the Democratic Voice of Burma, a broadcaster in Norway, said it had received video clips and photos from "many volunteers" in Rangoon.

"The quality of pictures from Rangoon is very good. Many young people were helping us and the junta cannot control our freedom of information," the reporter, who operates anonymously for safety reasons, said.

In Paris, Reporters Without Borders has called Burma a "paradise for censors" and listed the military-ruled nation as one of the world's most restrictive of the press.

Burma's generals appeared to have cut public internet access yesterday, with the closure of internet cafes in the capital.

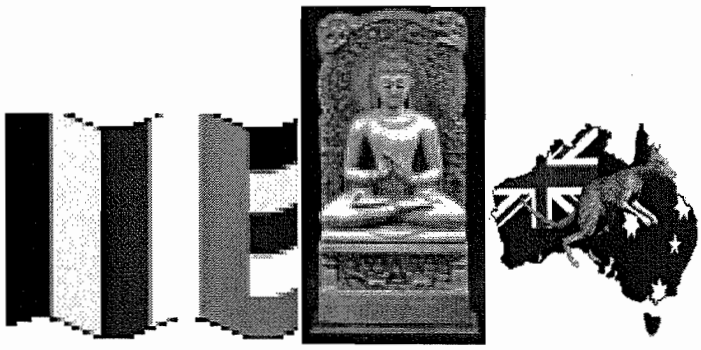
Since the protests, the regime has cut off the mobile phones of prominent democracy supporters and of some journalists representing foreign media.

No foreign journalist has obtained a visa to enter Burma since the start of the anti-junta rallies.

AFP; Reuters

[1] http://www.smh.com.au/news/world/bloggers-dodge-net-barriers-to-smuggle-the-message-out/2007/09/28/1190486567054.html

Australia's Buddhism



A Contribution to the Buddhist Community by Graeme Lyall

There is no such thing as a "Human Being" - there is only a "Human Becoming"

Everything is subject to change

Killing in the name of a religion is NOT A RELIGIOUS ACT - It carries serious Karmic consequences.

Throughout its history of more than 2500 years, not one drop of blood has been spilt in propagating Buddhism.

Buddhism does not have terrorists but it does have Theravadins.

The Weapons of Mass Destruction are Greed, Anger and a Deluded Mind - Find them and Destroy them Now!

Living in a Grateful World --- Be grateful to those who have hurt or harmed you, for they have enforced your determination -

Be grateful to those who have deceived you, for they have deepened your insight. -

Be grateful to those who have hit you, for they have reduced your karmic obstacles. -

Be grateful to those who have abandoned you, for they have taught you to be independent. -

[1] http://www.buddhismaustralia.org/.

Be grateful to those who have made you stumble, for they have strengthened your ability. -

Be grateful to those who have denounced you, for they have increased your wisdom and concentration. ---

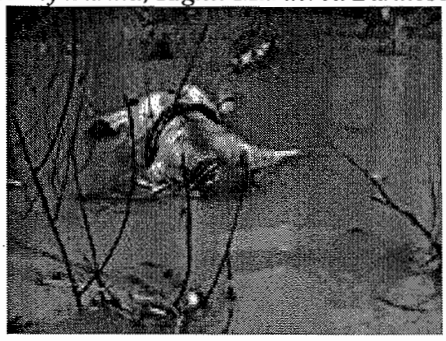
Be grateful to those who have made you firm and resolute and helped in your achievement

---From Ven. Master Chin Kung

Support the Struggle of the Buddhist Monks and People of Burma

May all beings be free

Left: Nagai Kenji, a 50-year-old Japanese photojournalist, being murdered by a Burmese soldier, Centre: Than Shwe - Brutal Dictator of Burma, Right: Murdered Burmese monk



Don't visit Burma until the Military Dictators are removed and democracy prevails

Document 6.1

Excommunicative Boycott Decree [1]

According to several sources, the presumably decree, composed by the ABMA, was recited at a number of monasteries and religious sites on September 18, bringing the religious decree into effect. A translation of the excommunication decree states:

Reverend Fathers, may you lend your ears to me! The evil, sadistic, and pitiless military rulers who are robbing the nation's finances and indeed are large-scale thieves have murdered a monk in the City of Pakokku. They also apprehended the reverend monks by lassoing. They beat up and tortured, swore at, and terrorized the monks. Provided that monks be bestowed with four deserving attributes, they ought to boycott the evil, sadistic, pitiless, and immensely thieving military rulers. The monks ought not to associate with the tyrants, not to accept four material things donated by them, and not to preach to them. This much is informing, recommending, or proposing.

Reverend Fathers, may you lend your ears to me! The evil, sadistic, and pitiless military rulers who are robbing the nation's finances and indeed are large-scale thieves have murdered a monk in the City of Pakokku. They also apprehended the revered monks by lassoing. They beat up and tortured, swore at, and terrorized the monks. Provided that monks be bestowed with four deserving attributes, they ought to boycott the evil, sadistic, pitiless, and immensely thieving military rulers. The monks ought not to associate with the tyrants, not to accept four material things donated by them and not to preach to them. If the reverend consent to boycotting the military despots, disassociating from them, rejecting their donations of four material things, and abstaining from preaching to them, please keep the silence, and [if] not, please voice objections [now], Fathers…

[Silence follows, signifying consent]

The clergy boycotts the evil, sadistic, pitiless, and immensely thieving military rulers! Excommunication together with rejection of their donations of four material things[2] and abstaining of preaching to them has come into effect![64].

Political Defiance Committee, "Pattaneikkuzana (Excommunicative Boycott) Recital by Monks Successfully Accomplished Today," Burma Update 181, September 18, 2007; "The Alms Bowl and the Duty to Defy," Asian Human Rights Commission,

September 19, 2007. Human Rights Watch has obtained a voice recording of the decree being read at a religious site in Rangoon, as well as the Burmese text of the decree.

[1] Human Rights Watch pp. 34-35.

[2] The "four material things" traditionally given to monks are robes, medicine, shelter (monastery), and noble rice, considered the items essential for the monks' survival. All donations to monks must be "clean" – for instance, a monk cannot accept stolen items as donations.

Document 6.2

Burma Protests: the Situation on September 18[1]

Sittwe, Arakan State; around noon—Security forces fired tear gas to break up a demonstration by several hundred monks and civilian protesters in Sittwe on Tuesday, according to a local eyewitness. He said hundreds of local people had joined in the demonstration by local monks, including some Muslim residents of the town. Reuters news agency reported that three or four monks were arrested as the crowd scatted and were hit and slapped.

Pegu, Pegu Division—At least 1,500 monks took part in a peaceful demonstration in Pegu, 80 km north of Rangoon on Tuesday. One witness in Pegu told *The Irrawaddy* that thousands of people followed the monks and offered fresh water to them. The monks began from several different monasteries and marched to Pegu's historical pagoda, Shwemawdaw, reciting the *"Paritta Sutta"* (a prayer for protection from evil or harm). The monks did not allow people to take photographs; two persons who had taken pictures had their cameras confiscated by the monks. The witness said that the Burmese authorities had not cracked down on the demonstration although security forces had appeared before the march carrying bamboo sticks and slingshots. The witness confirmed that the security guards had disappeared soon after and that Pegu was quiet as the market and shops had closed for the day.

Botataung Township, Rangoon; Noon—About 150 monks have marched from several monasteries in Theinphu Street, Rangoon to Sule Pagoda. The total number of monks reached about 600 by the time they had arrived at the pagoda, which was closed at noon by the authorities. The monks continued their protest to Botataung Pagoda, Botataung Township and chanted *"metta sutta"* (the Buddha's words on kindness) during the demonstration. Hundreds of layman supporters followed the monks throughout the march, which ended at about 3:00 p.m.

Pakokku, Magwe Division; 1:00 p.m.—About 1,000 monks from three different monasteries in the town of Pakokku held a peaceful demonstration around the town at about 1:00 p.m. on Tuesday. According to monks from two monasteries in Pakokku, the demonstrating monks organized themselves into groups of four and marched around the city reciting the *"Paritta Sutta"* (a prayer for protection from evil or harm). The monks then headed to Thihoshin Pagoda, one of the most famous pagodas in Pakokku. The demonstration was closely watched by police and security guards; however, no crackdown by the Burmese authorities has been reported.

Tharrawaddy, Pegu Division—About 200 monks from the town of Gyobinguak in Tharrawaddy, Pegu Division took part in a demonstration on Monday from 9 p.m. to about 10:30 p.m., according to a resident in Zigon town who spoke to a resident of Gyobinguak by telephone. The demonstrating monks recited the *"Paritta Sutta"* (a prayer for protection from evil or harm) and marched around the town. The authorities had followed the monks but they later withdrew. Gyobinguak is about 7 miles from Zigon.

Aunglan Township, Magwe Division; Tuesday dawn—About 90 monks in Aunglan Township, Magwe Division, have staged a protest by marching around the town and reciting *"metta sutta"* (the Buddha's words on kindness) on Tuesday at dawn, according to a witness in the area. Local authorities, including the Township State Peace and Development Council, the pro-junta paramilitary group Swan Ah Shin and police officers followed the group of monks on motorbikes and watched them closely during the march. The witness said that there had not been any disturbance.

[1] Source: Irrawaddy from Mikado, Myanmar News, September 18, 2007

Bahan, Rangoon; 2:00 p.m.—Several hundred monks have peacefully marched from monasteries in Bahan to Sule Pagoda in downtown Rangoon, according to witnesses. Vehicles belonging to state authorities followed the protesting monks, a witness said. As of 2:30 pm, there were no reports that the march had been broken up by the authorities.

Rangoon, Rangoon Division—More than 400 monks, chanting prayers and walking in rows of two and three, marched peacefully in Rangoon on Tuesday morning, according to a report by the Associated Press news agency. Witnesses said that the monks were briefly stopped by plainclothes officers as they headed toward the country's landmark, the Shwedagon Pagoda. The monks were then allowed to continue their march, the report said.

Meanwhile Burmese authorities have positioned more security forces around monasteries in Rangoon that it believes may stage protest demonstrations, according to a senior monk at *Koetakgyi* monastery in the former capital. The monk said many army trucks loaded with troops are positioned around the monasteries locally known as *Ngartakgyi*, *Chauktakgyi* and *Koetakgyi*. He said that an unidentified colonel who came to his monastery said troops are there to provide security. Senior monks have been told to control junior monks and not to stage demonstrations, the monk said. The regime has also beefed up security in downtown Rangoon.

South Okkalapa, Rangoon; 3:00 a.m.—More than 30 young monks from various monasteries near Kyaikkasan Pagoda in Rangoon's South Okkalapa Township participated in a peaceful demonstration between 3 a.m. and 4:30 a.m., according to monks in Rangoon. The demonstrating monks marched around South Okkalapa Township and recited the *Paritta Sutta* (protection from evil or harm). No crackdown by the Burmese authorities has been reported. Since last month, the Military Operations Command # 4 has been organizing security in Rangoon, including some personnel in plainclothes.

Kyaukpadaung, Mandalay Division; 8 a.m.—About 100 monks in Seikta Parlagu Monastery in Kyaunkpadaung in Mandalay Division marched in a peaceful demonstration from 8 a.m. to about 9 a.m. on Tuesday, a monk from Kay Mar Thi Wun Monastery told *The Irrawaddy*. In the demonstration, the monks carried their alms bowls upside down as they marched around the city. Authorities followed the demonstration, taking photographs of the monks, but it was allowed to continue peacefully. Two other monasteries, including Kay Mar Thi Wun Monastery, have also begun "*patam nikkujjana kamma*," a refusal to accept alms from the military regime and its supporters, the source said. The two monasteries have a total of more than 500 monks.

Second Statement of ABMA from 21.09.2007[1]

The current general crisis of the people is caused by the evil military dictatorship which is oppressing and terrorizing the entire masses of the people. Therefore we pronounce the evil military despotism, which is impoverishing and pauperizing our people of all walks including the Clergy, as the "Common Enemy" of all our citizens. Therefore, in order to banish the common enemy evil regime from Burmese soil forever, united masses of people need to join hands with the united Clergy forces. Hence, to swiftly establish a disciplined and united "People's Alliance," we the All Burma Monks Alliance will take the initiative and set up the Alliance step by step under the following agenda. We solemnly and specifically urge all people and monks to follow us with full unity and trust.

Step 1. To boost the force of Metta (love) in this country which is experiencing very low level of Metta between each other, and achieve peace, residences of every household and every monastery should come out to the doorsteps or balconies on 2007 September 23 at 20:00 hours and recite in unison two clauses of Metta radiation prayers, "Away with bullying of men by men! Let our Metta energy encompass and bring peace to the world!" for 15 minutes till 20:15 hours.

People's Alliance Formation Committee
All Burma Monks Alliance
File No. 1.5/2007

[1] http://annaardin.blogspot.com/2007/09/mettarevolotion-i-burma-imorgon.html [29. April 2008].

Document 6.4

All Burma Monks Alliance and 88 Generation Students: Joint Statement of ABMA and 88 Students (Unofficial translation)[1]

Tue 25 Sep 2007

1. The entire people led by monks are staging peaceful protest to be freed from general crises of politics, economic and social by reciting Metta Sutra.

2. The ongoing protest is being joined by monks, nuns, Member of Parliaments, students, ethnics, artistes, intelligentsia and the people from all walks of life which is the biggest unity seen in last 20 years.

3. In this demonstration, we need to show we are deserved democracy by upholding the following 3 slogans adopted in consensus by the monks and endorsed by the entire people.

(a) Economic well-being

(b) Releasing political prisoners

(c) National Reconciliation

4. The entire people must aware the danger of government's anti-strike counter- measure and violent crush by drawing lessons and experiences from 88 uprising, need to form the Mass Movement Committee and Anti-Violence Committee to prevent from such a violent crackdown.

5. The monks and students will not hesitate and not be deterred from any form of intimidation and violent crackdown will join hands with all the people and continue our struggle bravely and resolutely step by step for our beloved country.

Signed by

All Burma Monks Alliance

(1) U Aw Bar Tha (2) U Gambiya (3) U Khe Mein Da (4) U Pakata

88 Generation Students

(1) Htay Kywe (2) Tun Myint Naung (3) Hla Myo Naung (4) Aung Thu

[1] http://www.burmanet.org/news/2007/09/25/all-burma-monks-alliance-and-88-generation-students-joint-statement-of-abma-and-88-students-unofficial-translation/

Document 6.5[2]

New Light of Myanmar, September 25, 2007

Established 1914

The NEW LIGHT OF MYANMAR

Volume XV, Number 162 | 14th Waxing of Tawthalin 1369 ME | Tuesday, 25 September, 2007

Four political objectives

* Stability of the State, community peace and tranquillity, prevalence of law and order
* National reconsolidation
* Emergence of a new enduring State Constitution
* Building of a new modern developed nation in accord with the new State Constitution

Four economic objectives

* Development of agriculture as the base and all-round development of other sectors of the economy as well
* Proper evolution of the market-oriented economic system
* Development of the economy inviting participation in terms of technical know-how and investments from sources inside the country and abroad
* The initiative to shape the national economy must be kept in the hands of the State and the national peoples

Four social objectives

* Uplift of the morale and morality of the entire nation
* Uplift of national prestige and integrity and preservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage and national character
* Uplift of dynamism of patriotic spirit
* Uplift of health, fitness and education standards of the entire nation

State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee has duty to reinforce and observe basic principles and rules and regulations and implement religious matters

The directives state all the rules and regulations for the monks prohibiting them from participating in secular affairs

YANGON, 24 Sept — *The Directive (93) signed by Chairman of the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee Mogway Sayadaw Abhidhaja Maha Rattha Guru Abhi Dhaja Agga Maha Saddhamma Jotika Bhaddanta Kumara and Secretary of the committee Nyaungdon Sayadaw Abhidhaja Maha Rattha Guru Abhidhaja Agga Maha Saddhamma Jotika Bhaddanta Osadhabhivamsa was issued today. The directive has called for the state/division/township/ward Sangha Nayaka Committees to supervise the Buddhist monks and novices so that they are to practise only Pariyatti and Patipatti. Following is the full text of the directive.*

Letter No 300/15(Sar-Vi) Sar-Mahana
Date: 13th waxing of Tawthalin 1369
24 September 2007

Directive (93)

Subject: State/Division, Township and Ward Sangha Nayaka Committees to supervise members of the Sangha to practise Patiyatti and Patipatti

1. The First All Ganas Sangha Meeting for purification, perpetuation and propagation of the Sasana was held in May 1980 with the participation of 1218 Sayadaws representing over 100,000 members of the Sangha of the whole country. The meeting passed resolutions concerning basic principles, rules and regulations, Vinaya problems.
2. State Central Working Committee of the Sangha, State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee, State Ovadacariya and state/division/township/ward/village

(See page 6)

Sayadaws of monasteries are requested to give ovada to their disciples to stay away from forming, joining or supporting any illegal Sangha organization

YANGON, 24 Sept — *The directives (81), (83), (85) and (65) issued by Chairman of the first State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee Abhidhaja Maha Rattha Guru Bago Myoma Sayadaw and Secretary Sayadaw Bhaddanta Vicittasarabhivamsa Tipitakadhara Dhamma Bandagarika Abhidhaja Maha Rattha Guru are as follows:*

Letter No 212/4/Sar-Mahana
Date: 4th waning of Tazaungmone 1352
5th November 1990

Directive (81)

Subject: The directive for perpetuation of Sangha organizations at all levels

1. The First All Ganas Sangha Meeting for purification, perpetuation and propagation of the Sasana passed and enacted basic principles for Sangha organizations. The Sangha organizations have been formed at all levels and they are implementing the task of purification, perpetuation and propagation of the Sangha.
2. All members of the Sangha residing in Myanmar shall be under the supervision and administration of a certain Sangha organization formed in accord with the basic principles for Sangha organizations.
3. Abbot Sayadaws and Patron Sayadaws of monasteries are requested to give Ovada to their disciple monks to stay away from forming, joining or supporting any illegal Sangha organization that does not accept supervision and administration of Sangha organizations at different levels.

Sd
Bhaddanta Indacara
Abhidhaja Maha Rattha Guru
Chairman Sayadaw

Sd
Bhaddanta Vicittasarabhivamsa
Tipitakadhara Dhamma Bandagarika Abhidhaja Maha Rattha Guru
Secretary Sayadaw

Emergence of the State Constitution is the duty of all citizens of Myanmar Naing-Ngan.

[2] Pages 1, 6 and 7, reproducing the Directives of the Committee are repruduced first. Then follow pages 16, 8 and 9 explaning the "root cause" of the problem.

State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee has duty...

Directive (93)

(from page 1)

Sangha Nayaka Committees have been formed in accord with the principles.

3. State Central Working Committee of the Sangha has been assigned the task of purification, perpetuation and propagation of the Sasana. State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee and Sangha organizations at all levels are implementing the said task. Hence, the task of curbing adhamma, purifying the Sasana, holding religious examinations and launching missionary services in remote border areas and hill regions in the nation and abroad is gaining success.

4. State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee has the duty to reinforce and observe basic principles and rules and regulations and implement religious matters in accord with the wish of all the members of the Sangha in the entire nation. In other words, it is promoting Pariyatti and Patipatti.

The directives (81), (83), (85) and (65) issued by Chairman of the first State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru Bago Myoma Sayadaw and Secretary Sayadaw Bhaddanta Vicittasara Bhivamsa Tipitaka Bhara Dhamma Bandagarika Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru state all the rules and regulations for the monks prohibiting them from participating in secular affairs. Sangha organizations at all levels are urged to supervise monks to practise only the Pariyatti and Paripatti.

Bhaddanta Kumara
Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru
Chairman Sayadaw

Bhaddanta Osadabhivamsa
Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru
Abhidhaja Maha Saddhamma Jotika
Secretary Sayadaw

Circulation

- Chairman Sayadaw, State/Division Sangha Nayaka Committees
- Chairman Sayadaw, Township Sangha Nayaka Committees
- Chairman Sayadaw, Ward/Village Sangha Nayaka Committees
- Minister, Ministry of Religious Affairs
- State and Division Peace and Development Councils
- District Peace and Development Councils
- Township Peace and Development Councils
- Director-General, Department of Religious Affairs
- Director-General, Department for Promotion and Propagation of the Sasana
- Pro-Rector, (Admin), International Theravada Buddhist Missionary University
- State and Division Head of Religious Affairs
- District Head of Religious Affairs
- Township Head of Religious Affairs

Letter No: 212/4/Sar-Mahana
Date: 13 July 1991

Directive No (83)

Subject: The directive for members of the Sangha not to get involved in party politics.

1. More than 300,000 members of the Sangha (Theravada Buddhist monks) are residing in the Union of Myanmar. After an All-gana Sangha Meeting had been held, nine ganas were formed to carry out religious duties.

2. With a view to ensuring the propagation of the Sasana, all the members of the Sangha are to live in accord with Vinaya as well as the Sangha rules and regulations and to avoid getting involved in party politics.

3. If members of the Sangha did party politics, political parties would approach and serve them as their mentors. Then the members of the Sangha would not be able to practise both Pariyatti and Paripatti, thereby contributing to harming the perpetuity of the Sasana as they would have to get involved in the affairs of their favoured political parties. Moreover, there would be disagreements between the members of the Sangha, the unity of the all ganas be weakened and all Sangha ganas be in ruin.

During the colonial rule, there were different political parties like Vinsanu and Diarchy in Myanmar. As some members of the Sangha engaged in party politics, there broke out dissension among the mass of members of the Sangha and emerged Vinsanu monks and Diarchy monks.

4. As the unity of various Sangha ganas could be consolidated, Sangha organizations at different levels were formed to perform religious duties in line with the policy of carrying out Sangha affairs by the members of the Sangha alone. And this produced a lot of benefits to Myanmar. Therefore, the onus is upon each and every member of the Sangha to ensure the unity of all Sangha ganas. If they failed the duty, the unity of the Sangha would break up, Sangha organizations would be in ruin and there would be no more chance to achieve unity.

5. Party politics is concerned only with lay persons. No matter which party comes to power, members of the Sangha are to try to maintain the perpetuation of the Buddha's Sasana under the administrative machinery of the new government of that party.

6. All in all, all the members of the Sangha residing in the Union of Myanmar are directed to avoid getting involved in party politics and instigation.

Bhaddanta Indacara
Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru
Chairman Sayadaw

Bhaddanta Vicittasara Bhivamsa
Tipitakadhara Dhamma Banda Garika
Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru
Secretary Sayadaw

Dated 8th Waxing of Tagu, 1357 ME
(26 March 1996)

Directive No 85

Subject: Action to be taken against members of the Sangha who commit acts that tarnish the prestige of the Sasana.

1. The State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee issued the directive No 24 regarding action to be taken against corrupt members of the Sangha, the directive No 30 regarding giving Ovada to members of the Sangha who enjoy festivities, the directive No 65 regarding members of the Sangha individually or in groups who violate Vinaya rules and laws enacted by the State, the directive No 72 regarding regulations to be observed by abbots and members of the Sangha residing in the monasteries in accord with Dhamma Vinaya and the directive No 75 regarding those who fail to follow the regulations in the directive No 72 and those who reside in the building that is not regarded as monastery or in forbidden building that is not to be constructed.

2. The Fourth All Gamas Sangha Meeting held at the Maha Pasana Cave in Kaba Aye Hill approved the rules and regulations to be observed by members of the Sangha in the Union of Myanmar in accord with Vinaya on 13th Waxing of Tabaung, 1356 ME (3 March, 1995).

3. Out of the 31 rules and regulations, the following are the points that tarnish the Buddha Sasana.

(a) going to towns and villages without wearing the Buddhist monk's robe in a proper manner (para-7)

(b) going to towns and villages in the afternoon without the permission of abbot or Presiding Nayaka (para-8)

(c) visiting festivals such as boat race and equestrian race, enjoying saing, pwes and marionette shows and gambling (para-25)

(d) going to the markets that are crowded with people including men and women (para-27)

(e) having meal in the afternoon in the presence of the people or in the restaurants, riding on the roof or at the rear of the car and soliciting donations at the station or bus terminals or restaurants (para-29)

4. In order to take effective action against the members of the Sangha who commit the acts that tarnish the Buddha Sasan, the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee has requested the State Law and Order Restoration Council through the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The State Law and Order Restoration Council sent instructions to State and Division Law and Order Restoration Councils to take action against the members of the Sangha who violate Para-7,8,25,27 and 29 of the rules and regulations in accord with para 11 of Chapter 3 and para 14 of Chapter 14 of the law on Sangha organizations (20/90) prescribed by State Law and Order Restoration Council.

5. Therefore, abbots and Presiding Nayaka Sayadaws are directed to give Ovada to the monks daily in order not to commit acts to tarnish the Sasana.

Sd
Bhaddanta Sobhita
Abhidhaja Maha Rattha Guru Abhidhaja
Agga Maha Saddhammajotika
Chairman Sayadaw

Sd
Bhaddanta
Abhidhaja Pandita
Secretary Sayadaw

Directive No 65

Matters concerning members of the Sangha violating individually or in groups Vinaya rules and laws prescribed by the government

(8, 8, 84) (12. 5. 46)

1. Regarding the matters concerning members of the Sangha who are violating individually or in groups Vinaya rules and laws prescribed by the government in Myanmar, the fifth session of the meeting of the State Central Working Committee of the Sangha held on 13th Waxing of Nayon 1346 Myanmar Era (11 June 1984) passed the following resolution.

Regarding the matters to take action against members of the Sangha who are violating individually or in groups Vinaya rules and laws prescribed by the government, a resolution is passed to give Ovada of the Minister for Home and Religious Affairs and directives to Sangha organizations at all levels to take action.

2. According to the resolution, Ovada has been given to the Minister for Home and Religious Affairs that taking due action against monks and novices who have violated rules, in proportion to the sins, some way constitutes propagating the Sasana.

3. Administrative bodies will soon take action, in accordance with the resolution mentioned in para (1), against the monks and novices who have violated rules. Therefore, Ovada is hereby given to respective Township Sangha Nayaka Committees to adhere to the following directives.

(a) To invite the abbots of the monasteries of the township to the Office of the Township Sangha Nayaka Committee concerned to instruct them to enforce rules on their subordinate monks and novices to ensure that no monk or novice commits Vinaya rules and laws prescribed by the government, and to instruct Sangha Nayaka monks of Ward/Village-tract Sangha Nayaka Committees for their information;

(b) Not to provide any protection to any monks and novices who, despite being instructed, violate any of the rules.

4. Some monks and novices are violating Vinaya rules and the Law. However, they may take advantage to commit offences again and again due to the fact that both Sangha Nayaka Committees at different levels and the government somewhat ignore their perpetration because the committees consider that the government will take action against them under the Law, while the government consider that the committees will do so. Therefore, Sangha Organizations at all levels are responsible for taking necessary measures in accordance with para (1) of the Resolution passed by the fifth session of the State Central Working Committee of the Sangha, for ensuring promotion and propagation of the Sasana.

Sd
Bhaddanta Vimala
(Agga Maha Pandita)
Vice-Chairman Sayadaw

Sd
Bhaddanta Khamavudha
(Agga Maha Pandita)
Joint-Secretary Sayadaw

All members of the Sangha to strictly follow directives articulated in Directive Nos 81, 83, 85 and 65, not to commit any activities that are not related to Gantha Dhura and Vipassana Dhura

Magway Sayadaw gives Ovada to members of the Sangha

YANGON, 24 Sept—*The following is the full text of Ovada of Chairman of the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee Magway Sayadaw Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru Abhidhaja Agga Maha Saddhammajotika Bhaddanta Kumara.*

The First All Ganas Meeting for Promotion and Propagation of the Sasana prescribed procedures to judge conflicts and disputes relating to vinayas and fundamental principles and procedures on Sangha organizations, and formed the State Central Working Committee of the Sangha and assigned duties to it to purify, promote and propagate the Sasana of the Lord Buddha.

Then, the State Central Working Committee of the Sangha assigned duties to the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee to promote and propagate the Sasana.

The State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee is responsible for discharging the duties assigned by the First All Ganas Meeting for Promotion and Propagation of the Sasana and the State Central Working Committee of the Sangha.

I hereby give Ovada (enforce rules and regulations) for all members of the Sangha to strictly follow the directives articulated in Directive Nos 81, 83, 85 and 65 prescribed by prominent and eminent Sayadaws including late Chairman of the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru Bago Myoma Sayadaw, and late Secretary of the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru Mingun Tipitakadhara Sayadaw, and not to commit any activities that are not related to Gantha Dhura (teaching and learning the Teachings of the Buddha) and Vipassana Dhura (meditation). — *MNA*

Chairman of State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee Magway Sayadaw Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru Abhidhaja Aggamaha Saddhamma Jotika Bhaddanta Kumara.

MNA

Root cause of problems is perpetration of internal and external destructionists, who are jealous of national development and stability

Some global powers in collusion with group of destructioninsts from inside the nation inciting disturbances

YANGON, 24 Sept— *The following is the supplication on religious affairs made by Minister for Religious Affairs Brig-Gen Thura Myint Maung.*

Currently, external and internal unscrupulous elements have been making constant and continuous political instigation. On 28 August 2007, about 140 monks started to stage a protest in Sittway holding placards demanding to bring down commodity prices.

A group of NLD political extremists on 5 and 6 September approached famous monasteries in Pakokku to instigate monks. The monks staged the so-called second protest walk through non-violent means in accord with the directive of some foreign radio stations. The monks recited parittas during the protest.

Due to continuous agitation of some NLD political extremists, BCP remnants and some foreign radio stations, monks staged protest walks, reciting parittas, in seven states and divisions including cities like Yangon, Mandalay, Hinthada and Monywa. The demands no more include fuel prices and commodity prices which are the original demands. Instead, the protestors are demanding a dialogue with NLD and even said prayers in front of the house of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who is under restriction order for security reason. They are trying to make the matter confused.

The root cause of the above-mentioned problems is the perpetration of internal and external

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Failure to observe or obey any stipulations, rules and regulations and the Dhamma order to be met with action

YANGON, 24 Sept— A ceremony to supplicate on religious matters to the Chairman of State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee and eminent Sayadaws was held at the meeting hall of the committee in Kaba Aye here this evening.

Present were Chairman of State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee Sayadaw Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru Abhidhaja Agga Maha Saddahamma Jotika Bhadanta Kumara, Secretary Nyaungdon Sayadaw Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru Abhidhaja Agga Maha Saddahamma Jotika Bhadanta Osadabhivamsa, the first 15 alternate members of the Committee and four invited member Sayadaws of the Committee.

Minister for Religious Affairs Brig-Gen Thura Myint Maung supplicated on religious matters.

(Supplication made by Minister Brig-Gen Thura Myint Maung is reported separately.)

Next, Chairman of State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee Magway Sayadaw Abhidhaja Maha Ratha Guru Abhidhaja Agga Maha Saddahamma Jotika Bhadanta Kumara gave an Ovada.

(The Ovada of the Sayadaw is reported separately.)

Next, the Sayadaws at the meeting said that they had no further suggestions. The minister in his additional supplications said that failure to observe or obey any stipulations, rules and regulations and the dhamma order will be met with action according to law or rules and regulations.

MNA

Minister Brig-Gen Thura Myint Maung supplicates matters related to religious affairs to Sayadaws led by Chairman of State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee.

MNA

Root cause of problems is perpetration...

(from page 16)

destructionists, who are jealous of national development and stability, to harm all the government's endeavours through various methods.

The government convened the National Convention for emergence of a Constitution that is as important as the life-blood of the people. Although they made various attempts, the saboteurs failed to jeopardize the National Convention. The Convention participated by various national races successfully concluded with the public support. They are trying to hinder the process of the seven-step Road Map.

Some global powers who practise hegemonism totally dislike the proposed Constitution as it contains stipulations assuring self-determination and prohibiting the stationing of foreign troops on Myanmar soil. Hence, those powers in collusion with a group of destructionists from inside the nation are stirring up disturbances.

Internal and external destructionists do not even spare the religion if it is in their interest.

The protest walk occurring in Myanmar is one of the plots systematically manipulated from abroad.

Internal and external destructionists do not even spare the religion if it is in their interest. They dare instigate young monks, who are trying hard in the religious studies, to stage street protests.

First, those internal and external saboteurs tried to penetrate and instigate students, workers and the public. The people who still remember the beheadings of persons of own race alive in crowded places during 1988 unrest due to their instigation are against unrest. Hence, the people are able to resist all agitations.

I would like to supplicate on an actual event regarding those instigators' threat to the monasteries where the Buddhist monks are residing in accord with the Vinaya rules. At about 2.30 pm on 24 September, some 350 monk demonstrators and 50 NLD members went to Kyakhatwaing Monastery in Bago and threw drinking water bottles at the monastery buildings. And as a result, the window panes were broken.

Since their instigation targeting the public did not work, they started agitating the young monks who have no knowledge of social and political affairs as they have devoted to the Buddha's teachings. Included in their agitated words were even exaggerating the government's minor weaknesses by describing themselves as saviours of the troubled people. In some cases, the agitators ployed various wicked means such as painting pictures of torturing the monks, acting themselves for the torture and posting the news events on the Internet, threatening the big monasteries by phone through their raised hardcores, threatening those who do not want to stage protests to be blacklisted on the Internet after collecting their names and those who dare not go outside will be sent Htamain (women's wear). Their instigation caused even some young monks and novices unwilling to be involved in the protests to take to the streets. Although the crowds of monks seemed big as they gathered together in a single place, the number of monks on the street was not as much as two percent of the total. Over 98 percent of monks want to perform their religious duties peacefully. Indeed, the instigators are organizing the young monks to express whatever they wish through the foreign media.

What's more, they persuaded some young monks not to follow the admonitions of their Sayadaws who provided them with all requisites with whom they have been living for years but to completely follow the orders of the internal and external destructive elements, BBC, VOA, RFA and DVB. As far as we know, the presiding Sayadaws and supervisor Sayadaws are feeling sorry for their pupil monks.

After their instigation and driving of the wedge, the worst thing is that there was lack of trust between the pupils and their Sayadaws and there was suspicion among the members of the Sangha at the monasteries. They are now facing unhappy situations.

Before such situation, the members of the Sangha, the government and the people have been preserving the Sasana. The government tried to flourish the Sasana beginning 1988. As a result, there are a great number of pagodas, Zayats, Tazaungs, monasteries and lakes nationwide. Though the young monks are claiming they say prayers and recite parittas, due to the instigation of internal and external destructive elements, disciples are very sad to see the scene of demonstration and protest. When they see a group of monk demonstrators in procession, they may not pay respects to the monks and they will feel that they are in the wrong. If they do so, it will amount to committing sin.

After the demonstration of the young monks, even disciples who are intimate with the members of the Sangha before will be hesitant to go to the monasteries. It is a negative sign for the members of the Sangha. The BCP communist UGs, ABSDF and other insurgent groups created situation that harms the interest of the disciples visiting the monastery. As a result of this, there is suspicion and fear between the members of the Sangha and the disciples.

Myanmar is a true Theravada Buddhist country and it is famous for keeping the teachings of the Buddha by members of the Sangha and disciples.

Persons from other countries who do not know about the admirable Myanmar monks with good morale

(See page 9)

Although the crowds of monks seemed big as they gathered together in a single place, the number of monks on the street was not as much as two percent of the total. Over 98 percent of monks want to perform their religious duties peacefully. Indeed, the instigators are organizing the young monks to express whatever they wish through the foreign media.

Myanmar is a true Theravada Buddhist country and it is famous for keeping the teachings of the Buddha by members of the Sangha and disciples

(from page 8)

may look down the Buddhism when they witness the monks' protest on the streets.

Some foreign media telecasting the protests aim to cause unrest in Myanmar. At the same time, they deliberately create a situation to tarnish the prestige of the members of the Sangha when the people from other countries see the protests of the monks.

The destructionists said that prices of fuel and commodities are high and the people are facing hard times. For the time being, there may be some difficulties because of the price hike. But the situation did not cause the public to panic.

The people do fear that they may experience the chaos or anarchistic situation like the 1988 disturbances.

The people are disappointed as trading slows down in some townships and wards where the protests take place. The people are worried so much that destructive elements and unscrupulous persons following the monk protesters are ready to rob property if there is a riot. Therefore shops are closed along the streets.

Local authorities are reluctant to stop the monk protesters who are hot-blooded due to the instigation of the unscrupulous persons. At the same time, they are responsible for protecting the lives and property of the people. Therefore they are trying to find the best way to tackle the issue.

The authorities concerned are handling the current situation with care and least mistakes. However, young monks are being compelled by a group of destructive elements within and without to break the law.

The authorities concerned have to handle the situation most softly to avoid incidents desired by destructive elements while protecting the people. It is U Khemasara, the so-called chairman of the young monks association who went into exile in 1988, has managed to manipulate young monks to march on the streets. He directed young monks over the phone to organize opposing groups; to slander the township/district/division/state Sangha Nayaka Committees in an attempt to jeopardize the current Sangha committees and not to obey the orders of chairmen of township Sangha Nayaka Committees, and has staged political movements on the pretext of managing the affairs of the Sangha. Moreover, so-called masters from the west group have instructed opposing groups in the country over the phone and BBC, VOA, RFA and DVB have aired fabricated news in an attempt to incite unrest in the country.

In a bid to slump the economy of the country, they also made efforts for imposing economic sanctions on Myanmar and for the shut down of factories invested by foreign countries to create jobless in Myanmar. They turned a blind eye to their acts and put the blame on the government when the country experienced instability of its economy.

Acts of internal and external elements have posed danger to tarnish the Sasana day by day. Therefore, I'd like to request Rev Sayadaws to give instructions for the sake of the country, the religion and the Sasana.—*MNA*

Some foreign media telecasting the protests aim to cause unrest in Myanmar. At the same time, they deliberately create a situation to tarnish the prestige of the members of the Sangha when the people from other countries see the protests of the monks.

Tasks of Myanmar Info-tech inspected

YANGON, 23 Sept —Minister for Communications, Posts and Telegraphs Brig-Gen Thein Zaw met with officials of the ministry and the experts of Myanmar Info-tech at the Expetite Mail Service (EMS) here today and they discussed video conferencing system and Voice Mail system.

The experts of Myanmar Info-tech briefed the minister on the tasks of Video Conferencing system and Voice Mail system. The Chief Engineers of the Myanmar Posts and Telecommunications and the experts of Myanmar Info-tech discussed the technical sectors. Next, the minister fulfilled the requirements of the tasks.

Afterwards, the officials of Myanmar Info-tech reported to the minister on e-Tourist Visa tasks and he fulfilled the needs.— *MNA*

OWC holds ceremony to donate medicines and cash

YANGON, 23 Sept — The Organizing Work Committee for International Day for Older Persons which falls on 1 October held a ceremony to donate medicines and cash at Hninzigon Home for the Aged this morning.

Present on the occasion were Chairman of Work Committee for Organizing International Day for Older Persons Director-General of Social Welfare Department U Sit Myaing and committee members, the chairman and executives of Hninzigon Home for the Aged, members of supervisory committees of respective homes, aged persons and guests.

Next, chairmen of respective homes and officials accepted cash and medicines donated by Director-General U Sit Myaing and Secretary U Sein Win of Work Committee. Afterwards, the chairman and officials of Hninzigon Home for the Aged presented prizes to essay winners aged persons. After that the chairman of the Home spoke words of thanks and donated 684 varieties of clothes for the Home and the director-general accepted the donations.

MNA

Progress of Bago River Bridge (Kawa), Sittoung Bridge (Moppalin) inspected

NAY PYI TAW, 23 Sept — Minister for Construction Maj-Gen Saw Tun, accompanied by officials of Public Works, arrived at Bago River Bridge (Kawa) construction project being implemented by Bridge Construction Special Group-1 yesterday morning.

Engineer in-charge U Win Min Htut reported to the minister on progress of construction tasks and future plan.

The minister in-structed officials to place emphasis on construction of the pile cap at pier P4 and culverts on the approach road.

Next, he inspected construction of the bridge.

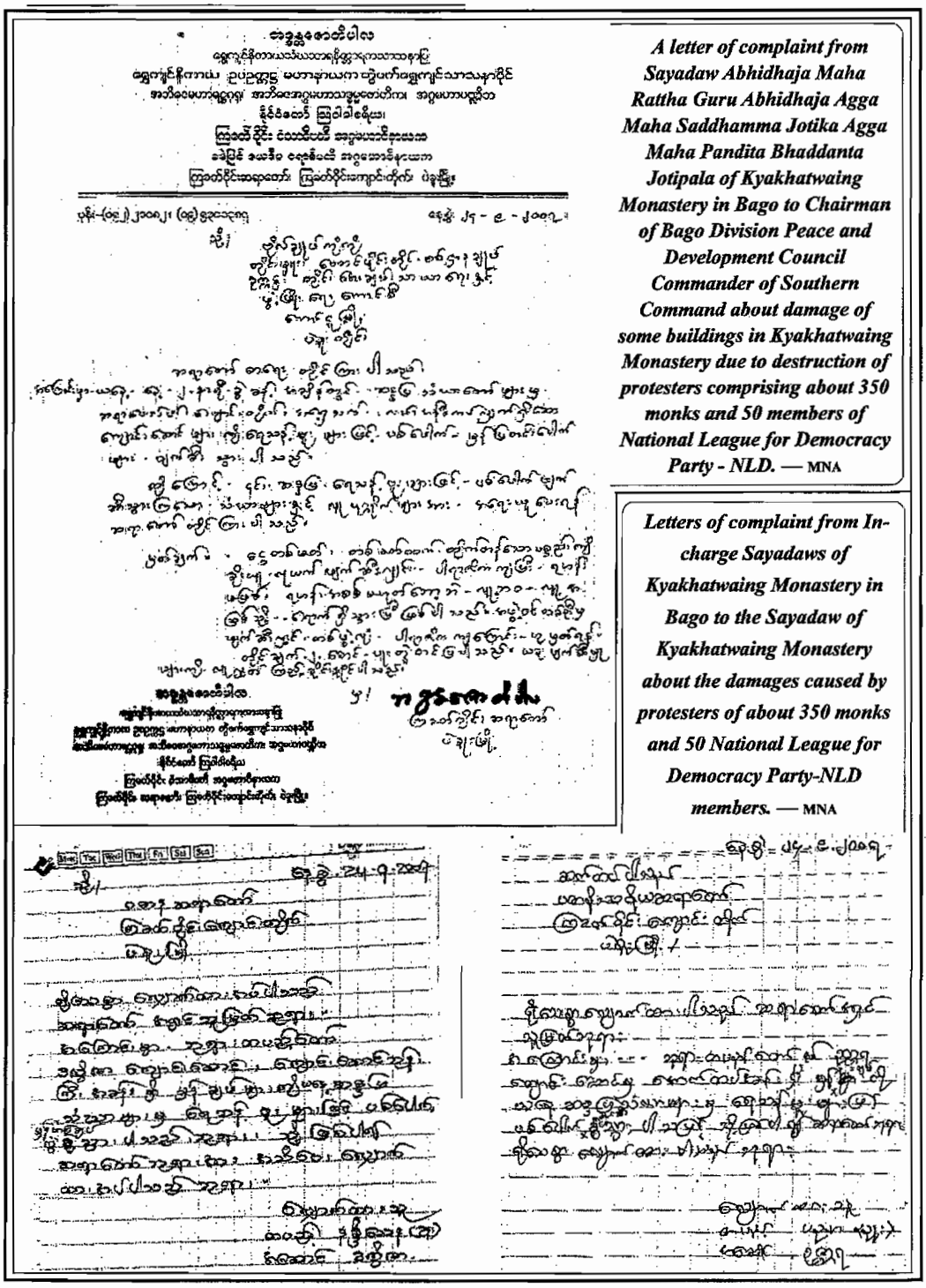
The lower structure of Bago River Bridge (Kawa) is of reinforced concrete foundation and the upper structure is the iron frame bailey type. The bridge will be 560 feet long and it can withstand 20-ton loads. On Mottama bank of Sittoung Bridge (Moppalin), the minister heard reports on cent per cent completion of construction work and progress of approach roads presented by Deputy Superintending Engineer U Kyaw Lin. Bago Division Superintending Engineer U Win Maung gave a supplementary report.

Speaking on the occasion, the minister instructed officials to construct approach roads and other meeting the set standards, and attended to the needs. Next, the minister inspected progress of approach roads on Waw bank.

The lower structure of Sittoung Bridge (Moppalin) is reinforced concrete type and the upper structure is steel frame and RC type. The bridge will be 2,391 feet long. The motorway will be 28 feet wide flanked by six feet wide pedestrian way. The bridge can withstand 60-ton loads.

MNA

Donate Blood



A letter of complaint from Sayadaw Abhidhaja Maha Ratta Guru Abhidhaja Agga Maha Saddhamma Jotika Agga Maha Pandita Bhaddanta Jotipala of Kyakhatwaing Monastery in Bago to Chairman of Bago Division Peace and Development Council Commander of Southern Command about damage of some buildings in Kyakhatwaing Monastery due to destruction of protesters comprising about 350 monks and 50 members of National League for Democracy Party - NLD. — MNA

Letters of complaint from In-charge Sayadaws of Kyakhatwaing Monastery in Bago to the Sayadaw of Kyakhatwaing Monastery about the damages caused by protesters of about 350 monks and 50 National League for Democracy Party-NLD members. — MNA

Document 6.6

13th Waning of Wagaung 1369 ME The NEW LIGHT OF MYANMAR Monday, 10 September, 2007

NLD took advantage of increased price of fuel, tried to exploit the situation to mount a political attack

So-called "88" generation student group in collusion with NLD brought about disturbances and demonstrations

NLD is blatantly instigating its members who have the objective of creating riots and disturbances and breaking existing laws

Some trying to disrupt prevailing peace, stability, law and order, momentum of development, to derail seven-step road map

Government will never tolerate such malicious acts and will take effective action against those committing such acts

NAY PYI TAW, 9 Sept— *The Information Committee of the State Peace and Development Council yesterday issued Announcement No 2/2007. The following is the full text of the announcement.*

State Peace and Development Council Information Committee
Announcement No 2/2007
Nay Pyi Taw, September 8

After assuming State power on 18 September 1988, the government defined its four main duties and has continuously striven to facilitate smooth and secure transportation and to ensure food, clothing and shelter for the people. In addition, it has transformed the socialist economic system to the market economy in accordance with the desires of the people. At the same time, the government is working night and day to construct with increasing momentum the political, economic and social infrastructures necessary to create a future democratic state.

Although profit should be given priority in changing over to the market system, for the benefit of the people the government has spent a large amount of funds at a loss on such sectors as social, health, education and transportation. Regarding fuel supply, for a long time the government has imported fuel from abroad and sold it internally at a subsidized price showing its constructive goodwill and to enable the people to buy it at a cheaper price.

However, the price of oil has been gradually increasing worldwide and these exorbitant prices have become a worldwide problem. Therefore, in other countries the domestic cost of oil has been raised in accordance with the prevailing international prices. In such a situation, Myanmar which sells imported oil at a loss for domestic consumption, had to gradually increase the subsidies on fuel. At the same time, the amount of money spent from the public funds on nation-building tasks has also become extremely high.

Therefore, the government, striking a balance to slightly reduce the amount of loss of State revenue on the one hand, and on the other hand to

(See page 10)

In connection with the protest that broke out in Pakokku, Magway Division, on 5 and 6 September, some foreign radio stations and anti-government organizations are spreading false propaganda in various forms and methods daily to instigate members of the Sangha to take part in unrest. Similarly, destructionists inside the country are exaggerating the matter and channeling the exaggerated information to the members of the Sangha of some monasteries in major towns through trunk calls to agitate Buddhist monks. They are also sending letters to the members of the Sangha requesting monks to solve the problem instead of ignoring it. Spoilers from inside and outside the nation failed to achieve success in attempting to cause unrest among workers and students. In addition, the people who wish peace and stability have never accepted their plots. So, they are trying to organize and agitate Buddhist monks. The saboteurs are constantly hatching evil plots and making wicked attempts to cause unrest and organize the members of the Sangha to participate in the unrest without fail.

Weather Forecast for 10-9-2007

Nay Pyi Taw and neighbouring areas
Isolated rain or thundershowers. Degree of certainty is (80%).

Yangon and neighbouring areas
Isolated rain or thundershowers. Degree of certainty is (80%).

Mandalay and neighbouring areas
Isolated rain or thundershowers. Degree of certainty is (80%).

AFF Women's Championship 2007

Indonesia	3 - 2	Philippines
Vietnam	9 - 0	Malaysia

NLD has made seditious declarations which are against the government and cause the people to lose respect for the government, has instigated public unrest, has also urged the international community to sanction Myanmar, in synchronicity with the so-called "88" generation students and the expatriate groups. Moreover, they had increased their activities at a time when the seven-step road map has to be implemented with momentum after the completion of the National Convention.

NLD took advantage of increased price...

(from page 16)

relieve the sufferings of the people due to increased fuel prices, has been compelled to increase the price of fuel to a certain extent. However, it can be seen that today's increased price of fuel is still less than half the price of fuel in other countries and in neighbouring countries. The increase in oil prices is not to make a profit for the State but to slightly reduce the burden of loss.

However, the NLD which has steadfastly pursued confrontation against the existing government, took advantage of the increased price of fuel by the State and tried to exploit the situation to mount a political attack. By accusing the government of causing an increase in general commodity prices due to the increased price of fuel, they agitated through various means to instigate riots and unrest among the people. The NLD conspired to create this situation to derail the national political process, in which the government and the people are working hand in hand, and to create their desired political agenda.

The National Convention, which is the first step of the seven-step road map policy, has successfully been completed. From attending the National Convention which started in 1993, in 1995 the NLD walked out from it through the sole decision of Daw Suu Kyi. The National Convention had to be temporally suspended in 1996 due to the NLD's walk-out. When it resumed in 2004, the government magnanimously invited the NLD to participate in the National Convention but the party unilaterally refused.

Since then, the NLD has been adrift from the path of national politics and has tried steadfastly to destroy the National Convention.

Moreover, the NLD is agitating for the fulfillment of their three demands namely (1) a politically meaningful dialogue, (2) the participation of Daw Suu Kyi in the discussion and (3) a dialogue through a parliament called and formed in accordance with the results of the 1990 election, and in this way they tried to gain a political role for their party.

In order to realize their three demands and to regain participation in the political process of Myanmar, they sent letters to international organizations, embassies and governments requesting assistance. Furthermore, within the country they cooperated with the so-called "88" generation student groups and exile groups to bring about demonstrations, riots and terrorist acts similar to 1988 so as to exert pressure on the government.

It can be seen that the NLD made a declaration on 23 February 2007 which urged the people to use their rights to freely express their problems of economic hardships. Afterwards, the NLD tried to get youth members and members who were expelled from the party to engage in attempts to mass demonstrations conducted by the so-called 88 generation student groups and other remaining opposition groups. The NLD made a declaration on 20 August 2007 mentioning that today the people's conditions were on the verge of explosion due to economic problems, and that the authorities would have to bear the sole responsibilities if the country went into turmoil. That declaration was made to synchronize with the plans for rioting and unrest made by the NLD in combination with above-ground and under-ground movements of the NLD and other opposition groups.

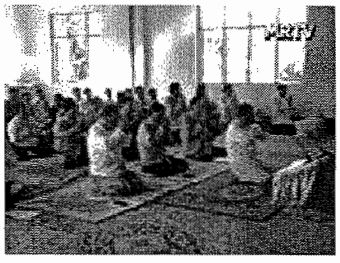
After making such press releases to instigate the public unrest, the so-called 88 generation student groups in collusion with the NLD staged disturbances and demonstrations. In doing so, the NLD and the so-called 88 generation student groups placed their cadres near the site of demonstration beforehand in order to create the impression that the people themselves had participated in these acts. They also used touts to attract and organize the people. Similarly, fake monks, students and workers permeated into monasteries, schools and factories to instigate public unrest. Furthermore, unemployed people form far away places were hired with money to become involved in demonstrations.

However the people, who only want stability, security, peace and the rule of law and who did not wish to witness the riots and disturbances of 1988 again, did not participate in those riots and disturbances. In addition, citizens who loved peace and stability themselves tried to prevent the demonstrators from causing unrest in their wards and townships.

(See page 11)

While the government has been implementing to bring about genuine, disciplined democracy by adopting the policy of seven-step road map, it has also laid down the necessary political, economic and social infrastructure for the future democratic state as well as the market oriented economic system.

MINISTER SUPPLICATES ON RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS TO STATE SANGHA MAHA NAYAKA COMMITTEE SAYADAWSA GROUP OF UNSCRUPULOUS DESTRUCTIVE ELEMENTS TRIED TO TAINT NOBLE CLEAR WATERS OF SASANA [1]



Yangon, 24 Oct - Minister for Religious Affairs Brig-Gen Thura Myint Maung supplicated on religious affairs to Sayadaws of State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee at the hall of committee on Kaba Aye Hill in Mayangon Township this evening.

Present on the occasion were Vice-Chairmen Sayadaws of the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee Bago Division (West) Pyay Town Jotikayon Pali University Kyaungtaik Sayadaw Agga Maha Pandita, Agga Maha Saddhamajotikadhaja Bhaddanta Kundalajoti, Shan State (North) Momeik Town Poatbayon Kyauktaik Sayadaw Agga Maha Pandita, Agga Maha Suddhajotikadhaja Bhaddanta Tezavana, Joint-Secretary Sayadaws Yangon Division Insein Township Ywama Pariyatti Sarthintaik Sayadaw Agga Maha Pandita Bhaddanta Tilawka Bhivamsa, Mon State Ye Town Phala Zaytawunkyaung Sayadaw Agga Maha Ganthavacaka Pandita Bhaddanta Indasiri and Sayadaws of State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee, Deputy Minister for Home Affairs Brig-Gen Phone Swe, Deputy Minister for Religious Affairs Brig-Gen Thura Aung Ko, Adviser U Arnt Maung, Director-General U Myat Ko of General Administration Department, Director-General U Myo Kyaw of Religious Affairs Department, Pro-Rector Dr Myint Kyi (Admin) of International Theravada Buddhist Missionary, Yangon Division General Administration Department Commissioner U Hla Soe, deputy commissioners and township commissioners, heads of RADs at division, district and township levels and officials.

First, the ceremony was opened with three-time recitations of Namo Tassa .

Next, Minister Brig-Gen Thura Myint Maung supplicated on religious affairs to Sayadaws. He said:

Reverend Sayadaws,

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to have the opportunity to pay respects to all the eminent Sayadaws of the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee all in good health.

Kindly permit me to explain to you the bogus monks who organized and incited the members of the Sangha during the protests that occurred in last August and September, their conspiracies and the root causes. In

[1] http://mission.itu.ch/MISSIONS/Myanmar/07nlm/n071025.htm (March 9, 2008)

reality, we do not wish to explain those true incidents that are concerned with the members of the Sangha. But as true Buddhists we with great reverence to Sasana have no choice but to present the matters that may tarnish the Sasana. We feel shy, sorry and disgrace to present the matters just with the aim of promoting, propagating and perpetuating the Sasana and in the interest of the Sasana.

Actually, religion is too noble and sublime to be compared with anything else is and like clean drops of water. Although the secular world is common with burning human desires laymen and laywomen find peace under the cool and clean drops of waters of the religion. A group of unscrupulous destructive elements tried to taint the noble clear waters with colour. Hence a small group of the members of the Sangha were in disgrace for a short time.

As the Sayadaws have already known, due to political agitation of unscrupulous persons from inside and outside the nation, who are always committing destructive acts, monks' protests broke out in August and September 2007. When we look into the entire problem we have found out that bogus monks who in reality are ex-convicts were making plots in advance with the intention of generating a monk protest.

All Myanmar Young Monks Union that initially led the monk's protest was founded with seven monks in June 2007. The member monks were U Pannajota (a) Natsaw of Maggin monastery in Thingangyun as chairman, U Visuddacara of Bago monastery in Mingalataungnyunt as secretary, and U Ottara (a) Naga of Nagayon monastery in Kaba Aye, U Candima (a) Apulay of Nyaungdon monastery in Pazundaung, U Gambhira (a) U Candobhasa (a) Hlaing Bwa (a) Nyi Nyi Lwin of Panditayama monastery in Mandalay, U Kesara (a) U Kay (investigation still under way to ascertain his monastery) and U Obhasa/U Pamokkha (investigation still under way to ascertain his monastery) as members. Names such as Natsaw, Naga and Apulay were their code names (nick names) they had dubbed each other during the time they were serving prisons terms. I will explain the matter in detail later. Due to the incitement of All Myanmar Young Monks Union, about 140 monks holding placards demanding for bringing down commodity prices staged a protest in Sittway on 28 August, and about 60 monks recited Parittas and dispensed Metta in procession, which in reality was a non-violence anti-government activity, in Pakokku on 5 and 6 September.

The so-called All Myanmar Monks United Front demanded the authorities to make a formal apology, to solve the public food, clothing and shelter problems, to release political prisoners including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and to initiate national reconciliation, with its discontentment to the security personnel for their handling of monks' protest walk in Pakokku as the reason. The group in making instigation in advance announced through some foreign media that monks would stage a general boycott on 18 September if the authorities failed to comply with the said four demands.

After the occurrence of monk protests in Sittway and Pakokku due to the incitement of All Myanmar Young Monks Union, other groups such as Sangha Samaggi in Mandalay and Sotujana Bikkhu in Pakokku came into being. All Myanmar Monks United Front was founded on 9-9-2007 to ensure a single command. The intention of forming the front was to organize all members of the Sangha to participate in its activities and to systematically control all activities. Sangha Representatives Steering Committee was formed with 15 monks. Of the 15, U Ghosita was assigned duty to Thingangyun area, U Kovida (Nan Oo monastery) to Mingala Taungnyunt area, U Nandasiri (Pwinbyu-Ngwekyayan monastery) to South Okkalapa area, and U Candasiri (a) Payit to Shwethein Dhamma Theingi monastery to start all Samgha protests at the same time. Investigation is under way to find out the assigned areas of U Adhipati, U Neminda and U Thavara. The ones who tied a white cloth around his arm or forearm is a leader of monk protests in Yangon Division. All the 15 monks have visited Maesot in Thailand and some of them have attended explosive courses and community organizer (CO) courses there.

The main instigators of the incident in Sittway were U Kovida of Takkasila Pariyatti monastery in Dagon Myothit (East) and U Komala (a) Kyaw Sein (a) Judo Kyaw Sein of Adithan monastery in Sittway. U Pannajota (a) Natsaw and U Gambhira (a) U Candobhasa (a) Hlaing Bwa (a) Nyi Nyi Lwin of All Myanmar Young Monks Union visited Mandalay and neighbouring areas in upper Myanmar to spread the disturbances to all parts of the nation. Secretary of the union U Visuddasara made contacts with monasteries inside and outside the country and media through telephone and e-mail. Hence, artless monks who were not familiar with secular affairs began to take part in the protests leading to the wrong road of even making demands that were not concerned with religion.

We have found that bogus monks who had already infiltrated the members of the Sangha toured various parts of the nation to incite the entire people to take part in the monks protest. Due to those instigative acts, there occurred monks' protest walks in Yangon and some states and divisions beginning 18 September with the excuse that the government failed to take any measures to respond to the demands of the front. The front assigned 15 representatives to supervise the Sangha movement to be staged on the platform of Shwedagon pagoda on 24 September. The front also set out the timetable and planned routes for the protest. It also formed the discipline group with the participation of 20 monks the next day to lead the protest.

The front also organized some artistes to take part in the protest with providing meals and other necessities for the monks as a reason. It even used means of intimidation in agitating the remaining monks and the people to take to the streets. According to the investigation we have found that U Indaka, U Gosita, Than Naing of NLD and Nga Mae (his real name not known yet) discussed the monk protests at Maggin Monastery at 9 am on 25-9-2007. Than Naing and Nga Mae requested the monks to stop in front of NLD HQ for ten minutes to dispense metta as NLD representatives-elect and members were waiting for the monks at NLD HQ, adding that arrangements had been made for the protester monks to give talks in front of the City Hall. When the protesters arrived at the Bronze Buddha Image Pagoda at the east archway of the Shwedagon at 11 am they discussed with the members of the steering group. The said schedule was agreed by all. NLD made a request saying that if the government did not agree to the demands of the monks till 26 and 27 for holding a dialogue; that NLD representatives would form an interim government on 28-9-2007 if the government failed to hold a dialogue; and that the monks and the people should be organized to support the interim government. In response to the NLD request, U Ghosita said that if the government did not accept the demand, a demonstration with the participation of the largest number of monks and people would be staged on 28.

Htay Kywe of the so-called 88 generation students issued an announcement to form a mass movement supervisory committee with the participation of nine groups ? All Myanmar Monks United Front, Sotujana Bikkhu, Sangha Samagga, 88 generation students group, 88 generation information union, artistes organization, writers and poets group, nationalities cooperation group and lawyers union ? in September. We are able to expose that in order to issue the said announcement, Htay Kywe was making phone contacts with U Gambhira, U Obhasa and U Pannajota every other day from the date protests broke out and till month end; and that he was closely controlling the protests. The glaring overall view is that All Myanmar Monks United Front was continuously inciting the public through the media in collusion with NLD and the so-called 88 generation student group.

The results of our questioning work show that Maggin monastery, Shwedaung monastery and Nyaungdon monastery ignited the monk activities in Yangon Division; that were U Pandavamsa (a) Pyi Kyaw and U Javana (a) Mokseik of Shwedaung monastery, U Visuddasara of Bago monastery, U Candima (a) Apulay of Nyaungdon monastery, U Indaka (a) Panama of Maggin monastery were acting from behind the scenes. The results also indicate that U Ghambira (a) Nyi Nyi Lwin was the main driving force in making contacts with Tun Myint Aung of the so-called 88 generation student group with the intention of organizing the so-

called 88 generation group to take part in the protest and generating monks' protests in Yangon and Mandalay in September.

We have found out that most of the members of the steering group of the All Myanmar Monks United Front are ex-convicts; and that they had met with and become closely associated with Min Ko Naing and Ko Ko Gyi who would later name themselves the so-called 88 generation students and other politicians in the prison. U Pandavamsa,U Indaka, U Pannajota, U Candasiri, U Vasava and U Ottara were imprisoned for their involvement in the formation of young monks union during the1988 unrest and monks strike in 1990. While serving prison terms, U Pannajota was dubbed Nat Saw; U Indaka, Panama; U Ottara, Naga; U Pandavamsa, Pyi Kyaw; and U Candasiri, Payit. After being released from prison in 1996, U Pandavamsa (a) Pyi Kyaw became a senior resident monk living in a separate building at Shwedaung monastery. U Candasiri (a) Payit was residing at his former Shwethein Dhamma Theingi monastery and U Pannajota (a) Nat Saw, at his former Alon Zawtanayama monastery. U Ottara became the abbot monk of Kaba Aye Nagayone monastery and U Vasava at Thingyangyun Maggin monastery. U Indaka (a) Panama became a lecturer monk at Maggin monastery.

In 1998, U Pannajota (a) Nat Saw and U Candasiri (a) Payit were arrested for the second time and sentenced to 14 years imprisonment for their attempts to form the young monks union for the second time. Thanks to amnesty they were released from prison in 2005. U Candasiri (a) Payit was allowed to reside at Shwethein Dhamma Theingi monastery in Thingangyun. U Pannajota (a) Nat Saw lived at the monastery where U Pandavamsa (a) Pyi Kyaw was residing. U Eindaka (a) Panama became the abbot monk of Thingangyun Maggin monastery when the abbot monk U Vasava passed away. U Pannajota (a) Nat Saw became a lecturer monk at the monastery. As I have already explained that most of the monks who hatched plots with intention of generating a monks protest are not real monks. They are ex-convicts and bogus monks.

Most of the members of the said steering group faced imprisonment for breaching the existing law. In addition, some of them have attended courses to generate disturbances and commit terrorist acts in Thailand recently. U Gambhira (a) Nyi Nyi Lwin arrived at Maesot together with another monk in July 2005. He met with AAPP in-charge Bo Kyi and also attended community organizer course (CO) there. He accompanied U Osatha of Chaukhtatgyi, U Issariya (a) Gyaung Gyaung of Maggin monastery, U Pakatha and U Obhasa of the monastery (name is not known yet) and an ex-GTC teacher monk whose monk name is not known yet of Htaukkyant Tawya monastery to Maesot in 2006 to attend CO. Clandestine supporters of U Gambhira were Ko Nyein Chan (chairman of political defiance committee), Min Naing (internal liaison in-charge of Forum for Democracy in Burma-FDB) and Kyaw Htet (vice-chairman of FDB). In addition to their direct assistance to U Gambhira, Ko Nyein Chan sent hundreds of thousands of kyats to him through his brother Aung Kyaw Kyaw. We have information saying that internal and external terrorists are making contacts with U Gambhira who is at large to send explosives and related equipment and communication equipment to blow up bombs inside the country.

The above-mentioned incident is a clear evidence that All Myanmar Monks United Front was making contacts with NLD inside the country, Min Ko Naing-led so-called 88 generation student group, Peer Group led by Phyu Phyu Thin, AAPP outside the nation, and FDB a coalition of six anti-government groups that are taking refuge at the border to cause unrest in various parts of the nation. We have found out that the front has been continuously making contacts with foreign radio stations such as BBC, VOA, RFA and DVB to use them as a harbinger and to incite the public.

Moreover, we have already released news reports saying that anti-government elements and their supporting groups failed to achieve their goal in making arrangements to blow up bombs during the time the Na-

tional Convention was in progress to cause political instability and undermine the National Convention. The government has been constantly watching their steps with security awareness as they are going to commit terrorist acts at every time they get the opportunity. When security personnel acting on information searched Nan Oo monastery, they found US$ 27, one yuan, 22 kinds of electronic equipment and one block of high explosive in U Kovida's suitcase. According to further information, we have come to know that Ashaygyi (a) Min Min living at the monastery carried the solid explosives to ChaungU town together with Phyu Tok of the town on 19-8-2007. Ashaygyi's father U Kyaw Htay buried the explosives in a one-foot deep hole under the ground. When the personnel concerned searched the compound of the house of U Kyaw Htay (61) son of U Ba Shein they found 47.5 blocks of TNT explosives weighing 3.525 viss that were hidden in a one-foot deep hole under the ground.

The TNT cartridges can kill people and they are high explosives made in a big nation. They are ready-to-use type in the battlefield. It is obvious that the plans are premeditated part of destruction. These are attempts of the anti-government groups with the assistance of FDB and NCGUB. It was regrettable that bogus monks were involved in such attempts.

Authorities concerned are questioning those who led or took part in or followed the recent protests. Some monks were questioned unavoidably. After being persuaded, the monks took part in the protests artlessly. However, they were released as soon as possible. Being the Buddhists ourselves, we handled the protests with utmost care and control for peace and stability of the people. As a result, no monk has passed away. Action will be taken against bogus monks who led the protests, those who involved in the destruction attempts and those who committed political and economic acts and those who violated social codes of conduct according to law.

Those bogus monks did not act in conformity with the rules of Sangha. U Pandavamsa (a) Pyi Kyaw went to the border area and smuggled in motorcycles and trafficked timber for one year. He was a bookie of chehti (three-digit gambling) and two-digit gambling. According to the confession of Ma Ei, 24, daughter of U Than Htay of Taungzun Village, Bilin Township, she had an affair with Pyi Kyaw. They lived together illegally. She became pregnant two times? in February and August 2005. Abortion was made under the arrangement of Pyi Kyaw. Hnin Hnin (a) Hnin Nwe Moe who did sundry matters of Ngwekyayan Monastery and U Tezinda (a) Toke Kyi were bookies of two-and three-digit and football gambling. They lived together. Thanda Kyaw, sister of Hnin Hnin, who lived with her, had an affairs with monk Maung Tint and she fell in love with monk Ngakhe.

U Zawana (a) Mokeseik drank liquor daily and gave some predictions about two- and three-digit gambling. He practised alchemy. He earned about K 100,000 a month as the winners of three-digit gambling donated cash to him. He used the money in practising alchemy. He had food at the tea shop without going round the town to accept offerings of food. In the evenings, he usually drank a mixture of liquor and honey. U Panñajota (a) Nat Saw made contact with Bo Kyi of Thailand-based AAPP group. He received a lot of money for U Indaka (a) Panama, U Issariya (a) Gyoung Gyoung, U Kovida and U Gambhira and their connections and distributed cash to them.

According to the investigation and information, a team comprising personnel of CID, SID and Religious Affairs Department together with some witnesses inspected and searched Ngwekyayan Pariyatti Sarthintaik on 28 and 29 September. In the rooms of the monks and boxes they seized anti-government documents, documents related to two and three-digit gambling, pornographic books and pictures, VCDs, condoms, knives, other things that are not concerned with the monks.

They also seized anti-government documents, pornographic VCDs, books and photos, condoms, tonic, contraceptive pills, women's wares, weapons such as jingali, catapults, iron rods, knives, scaber, foreign exchange, liquor bottles, vouchers of two and three-digit gambling and others that do not relate to the monks in Shwetaung monastery in Mingala Taungnyunt Township, Thirigandayon monastery, Yangon monastery, Pyinmana, Shwenyaungbin, Seiktathukha, Shwetaungmaw, Zatilayama and Dhammazeya monasteries in South Okkalapa Township, Kyauksardaw Ashay, Dhamma Waiponla and Zeyathukha monasteries in Thingangyun Township, Tekkathila and Maha Zeya Theikda Pahtan monasteries in Dagon East Township, Zeyathukha monastery in Thuwunna and Khemathiya monastery in Dagon South Township.

Most of the leading monks of the Front who organized the protests in August and September were ex-convicts, those who were married, drank liquor, did gambling, cooperated with anti-government organizations, accepted monetary assistance and went abroad and attended political courses.

So, it is clear that they were masterminds behind the recent protests, after committing acts that are against the Sasana, and re-entering the Religious Order.

I would also like to supplicate on some movements of monks in other countries. I have learnt that some monks from a few monasteries in the US, which is opposing Myanmar, are trying to meet with US President Bush to interfere in Myanmar's internal affairs. Moreover, I have learnt that the 80th birthday reception of monk U Panñavamsa residing in the US is due to be held in Los Angeles; that ex-convict U Kovida who used to reside in Masoeyein Monastery in Myanmar will organize some monks in the US and will attend the reception; that at the reception a Sangha organization under the name of Sangha Okshaung will be formed; and that a high-ranking official of the US will meet the organization to jointly attack Myanmar. However, the majority of the monks of the monasteries in the US do not get involved in the anti-Myanmar government movements and keep on carrying out religious duties.

As you know, some of the monks in the US are, indeed, absconders who fled the nation to other countries like Nat Saw, Panama, Naga and Nyi Nyi Lwin. Members of the steering committee of the Sangha who were behind the recent protests and then fled the nation may be in the US now. Some monks in the US are not true ones because they have violated the existing laws. Therefore, it has become apparent that such a handful of bogus monks do not represent the members of the Sangha in Myanmar who observe the Vinaya rules. And they are not the monks who deserve reverence of Myanmar people. Therefore, I would say, the organizations whether they are named Sangha Okshaung or Sangha Maggi made up of some bogus monks are not lawful.

In addition, Sangha Okshaung organization to be formed in the US will not represent the entire monks of Myanmar. In Myanmar, Sangha Ganas at all levels have been formed systematically under the leadership of the State Sangha Maha Nayak Committee in accord with the Vinaya rules, procedures, and rules and regulations. It is absolutely unacceptable that a US President is hatching plots to use a handful of monks in the propaganda campaign as if they represented the entire mass of members of the Sangha.

As I have supplicated, the attempts to instigate monk protests and manipulate the movements of bogus monks are designed to make the religious affairs associate with the political affairs, using the monks who are artless without much knowledge about secular affairs. Instead of working hard in religious affairs of Pariyatti and Patipatti, using their monasteries as bases, those bogus monks, in collusion with political parties and so-called, 88 generation students, are staging protests and distributing anti-government flyers and pamphlets, instigating movements and protests in complicity with foreign radio stations, receiving assistance from anti-government groups from other countries, and running illegal enterprises and bookies, leading a married life, and doing businesses, thereby tarnishing the image of the Sasana.

We are addressing the cases relevant to members of the Sangha with great care to minimize mistakes. It is heart-breaking for me to supplicate such cases and crimes that are designed to attack the government. However, I have to do so with a heavy heart with the belief that you eminent Sayadaws will give Ovada and sermons to young monks to avert any adverse effects to the Sasana if you have information about these cases. I would like you to understand and stand for the fact that we have to unavoidably take preventive measures because we cannot let any situations take place that harm the Sasana and the nation.

I pledge the government will carry out tasks for the flourishing of the Sasana. Therefore, monks who carry out religious duties for flourishing of the Sasana do not need to be worried about that. You are preserving the Sasana. So, you are kindly requested to give Ovadas and sermons for the sake of the Sasana if you have some.

Afterwards, Vice-Chairman of the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee Sayadaw Agga Maha Panditta Agga Maha Saddhamma Jotikadhaja Bhaddanta Kundala Joti of Jotikayon Monastery in Pyay, Bago Division (West), administered Ovadakatha. Next, Sayadaws and the congregation led by Minister for Religious Affairs Brig-Gen Thura Myint Maung recited ?Buddha Sasanam Ciram Titthattu? three times and a ceremony concluded at 4.15 pm.

Document 6.8

Irrawaddy, September 17[1]

NEWS

MORE THAN 600 MONKS MARCH IN PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS IN BURMA

By SHAH PAUNG Monday, September 17, 2007

More than 600 monks in the central and upper areas of Burma have taken part in peaceful demonstrations in preparation for refusing alms from the families of military personnel on Tuesday, September 18.

Buddhist monks make their daily rounds in Rangoon [Photo: AP]

A senior monk at Ledi Monastery in Chauk Township in Magwe Division told *The Irrawaddy* on Monday that about 300 monks had demonstrated peacefully in Chauk from 5:30 a.m. to around 7 a.m. that morning. The monks had marched around the city market and on to *Sasana Beikman*, the city's religious hall. The monks recited "paritta sutta" (a prayer for protection from evil or harm) during the demonstration.

However, the monks in Chauk have not enforced *"patam nikkujjana kamma"* (refusing alms) from the military regime and its supporters as they have not yet received an official letter from the "The Alliance of All Burmese Buddhist Monks", a senior monk said.

Meanwhile, a resident of Tharrawaddy in Pegu Division said that monks at Kyaikto Monastery in Tharrawaddy had begun refusing alms from military families since they had received a letter of authorization from "The Alliance of All Burmese Buddhist Monks".

Rangoon residents have said that the city has been quiet, while citizens of Pegu, about 80 km north of Rangoon, claimed that security has been beefed up in the town ahead of a large demonstration expected on Tuesday.

[1] http://www.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art_id=8632 [29. April 2008].

In Sagaing Division, two army trucks carrying around 300 armed soldiers had set up a roadblock at Thayet Bin Seik, a junction for all the monasteries in Sagaing, according to an anonymous activist who spoke to *The Irrawaddy* on Monday. Owners of passenger buses are apparently worried that either the military or the monks might commandeer their buses if tensions rise.

September 17 was the deadline for the Burmese military government to issue an apology to the monkhood after the authorities had violently cracked down on monks in Pakokku, Magwe Division during a peaceful demonstration on September 5, according to a recent statement by the "The Alliance of All Burmese Buddhist Monks". In its first statement the organization urged monks to refuse alms from military families and military supporters if the apology was not forthcoming. A second statement released on Saturday called for monks to begin refusing alms on Monday and called for demonstrations on Tuesday.

A senior monk at Bawdi Mandine Monastery told *The Irrawaddy* on Monday afternoon that the Burmese military government had yet to issue an apology to the monasteries in Pakokku. Several young monks and novices from Maha Visutarama Monastery, also known as "Ah Le Tiak", had returned to their homes, their families worried that they would get caught up in the demonstrations.

"If about 40 and 50 young monks go home that will not affect the demonstration at Ah Le Tiak as there are more than 700 young monks and novices there," the senior monk said, adding that his own monastery housed only 100 novices and young monks, but that they had not been allowed to go home as they would miss their lessons.

According to a senior monk at Kay Mar Thi Wun Monastery in Kyaukpadaung, a town in Mandalay Division, a peaceful demonstration was also held by more than 300 monks in Kyaukpadaung on Monday morning at 6 a.m. The group of monks had marched to Zaydi Gyi Pagoda and had been reciting *"metta sutta"* (the Buddha's words on kindness), dedicated to those who are suffering and who face daily challenges making a living. Further details regarding the conclusion of the demonstrations or any military crackdowns have not yet been verified as the phone line was cut during the interview between *The Irrawaddy* and the senior monk.

By Monday evening, there had not been any reports of a crackdown on demonstrations by the military government.

The state-run newspaper on Monday reported that families of the Burmese military government defense services had donated rice, cooking oil, salt, medicine and cash to 15 monasteries and a nunnery in Sanchaung Township, Rangoon on Sunday. Other similar donation ceremonies were also held in Rangoon's Thakayta and Dawbon Townships, the newspaper said.

Document 6.9

September 19, Mizzima News[1]

WHAT HAPPENED IN SITTWE YESTERDAY? - (AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT)

"There was chaos in Pathein market when the monks began marching. All cars, hand tractors and motor boats disappeared from the scene. The monks came from Strand Street. Then they proceeded to the main thoroughfare. There were about 250 to 300 monks approaching from Myitmagyi Street. Some monks were coming from Payargyi. The congregation had 500 monks. They marched along the Main Road. "

"The authorities first gathered at the State PDC office. USDA members were also present. They tried to disperse the protesting monks with fire hoses. The monks told them that if they use fire hoses they would retaliate by pelting stones. The local police then fired 10 tear gas shells."

"But the monks didn't disperse by themselves but continued their march along Nehru Road. The riot police stationed on the road tried to disperse them again. They also tried to beat up the monks. The onlookers were angry with the riot police. Bystanders and spectators got involved in the protest and beat up some of the riot policemen. The protesting monks turned back. The people put some tired and exhausted monks on rickshaws. Some rickshaws carried as many as four monks."

"Then the monks went round Sittwe again. At that time, there were only 200 monks left. But the crowd following the monks swelled to around 50,000 which went along with the monks to protect them. The authorities asked the monks what their demands were. The monks told them of their four-point charter of demands. Then another seven tear gas shells were fired. Some experienced persons picked up the smoking tear gas canisters and threw them back into the USDA office. One such smoking tear gas canister landed in the Town Hall. The remaining four exploded. The people were affected by the tear gas. Some women collapsed. The people dispersed."

"Now there are at least 200 bicycles and rickshaws, and many slippers, umbrellas, left by the people who dispersed. The first four monks who entered their office were arrested. We heard that three other monks were arrested along with six other people."

[1] http://www.burmanet.org/news/2007/09/19/mizzima-news-what-happened-in-sittwe-yesterday-an-eyewitness-account/

New Light of Myanmar, September 19

[Page 16:]

left instructions to the officials. The minister called for raising the income, expe- thansport of passengers.—MNA

Destructive elements inciting instigation to grab power through short cut

Foreign radio stations airing exaggerated news, trying to instigate public, launching propaganda campaigns

Due to exaggerations, tricks and instigation by bogus monks, violent demonstrations break out in Pakokku, some monks stage protest walk in Sittway

Some Buddhist monks also march in procession in Yangon

People oppose any attempt to destroy peace and stability, wish Sayadaws to guide monks to follow Vinaya rules in interest of people

Nay Pyi Taw, 18 Sept — Destructive elements from inside and outside the nation have been inciting instigation since 19 August with the intention of stirring up unrest as in 1988 to grab power through short cut and to make manipulations at will.

Internal and external saboteurs and foreign radio stations have been airing exaggerated news reports on the protests, trying to instigate the public and launching propaganda campaigns and making attempts to mislead the people by holding interviews with some NLD members and the so-called 88 generation students.

Due to exaggerations, tricks and instigation and the perpetration to organize the members of the Sangha by planting bogus monks, there broke out violent demonstrations in Pakokku on 5 and 6 September in which cars were burnt down. News about the violent demonstration had already been reported in the dailies.

With the intention of causing new protests and fueling them, internal and external saboteurs organized members of the Sangha to stage Pattanikkujjana campaign beginning 17 September (Monday) and monks in Yangon, Mandalay and states and divisions to stage protest walks towards famous pagodas on 18 September (Tuesday) through the so-called All Myanmar Sangha Sammaggi and Young Monks Samagga, issued announcements concerning their opinions about the detained so-called 88 generation students and the so-called announcement of the personnel of four departments, tried to trick the people by saying that the so-called Myanmar Saveguarding Association was urging the public to beat hollow tin containers or steel trays from 11 to 13 September and issued directives to be followed by terrorist expatriates abroad.

(See page 9)

VINAYA-PITAKA, KULLAVAGGA V.20[1]

1. Now at that time Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi was a friend of the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka1. Now Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi went up to the place where those Bhikkhus were, and on arriving there he said to them, 'My salutation to you, Sirs!' When he had thus spoken, the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka gave him no reply. And a second and a third time [he said the same words, and still received no reply].

'Wherein have I offended you, Sirs? Why do you give me no reply?'

'Therein, that you, friend, sit contented while we are being molested by Dabba the Mallian.'

'But what, Sirs, can I do?'

'If you wished it, friend, to-day even would the Blessed One expel Dabba the Mallian.'

'But what shall I do, Sirs? What is that it is in my power to do?'

'Come then, friend Va*ddh*a. Do you go up to the place where the Blessed One is, and when you have come there, say as follows: "This, Lord, is neither fit nor becoming that the very quarter of the heavens which ought to be safe, secure, and free from danger,

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that from that very quarter should arise danger, calamity, and distress--that where one ought to expect a calm, that just there one should meet a gale! Methinks the very water has taken fire! My wife has been defiled by Dabba the Mallian!"'

2. 'Very well, Sirs!' said Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, accepting the word of the followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka. And he went up to the Blessed One [and spake even as he had been directed].

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-sa*m*gha, and asked the venerable Dabba the Mallian:

'Are you conscious 1, Dabba, of having done such a thing as this Va*ddh*a says?'

'As my Lord, the Blessed One, knows.'

[And a second, and a third time, the Blessed One asked the same question, and received the same reply.]

'The Dabbas, O Dabba, do not thus repudiate. If you have done it, say so. If you have not done it, say you have not.'

'Since I was born, Lord, I cannot call to mind that I have practised sexual intercourse, even in a dream, much less when I was awake!'

3. Then the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Let then the Sa*m*gha, O Bhikkhus, turn the bowl down 2 in respect of Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi,

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[1] http://www.sacred-texts.com/bud/sbe20/sbe20035.htm. The text is taken from the "Internet Sacred Text Archive" (see http://www.sacred-texts.com/bud/index.htm) and is a reproduction of the translation from the Pali of Vinaya Texts (Part III) by T.W. Rhys Davids and Herman Oldenberg [1885] comprising The *K*ullavagga, IV-XII.

and make him incapable of granting an alms to the Sa*m*gha 1.

'There are eight things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise an Upâsaka, the bowl is to be turned down in respect of him;--when he goes about to bring loss of gifts on the Bhikkhus, when he goes about to bring harm to the Bhikkhus, when he goes about to cause the Bhikkhus to want a place of residence, when he reviles or slanders the Bhikkhus, when he causes divisions between Bhikkhus and Bhikkhus;--when he speaks in dispraise of the Buddha,;--when he speaks in dispraise of the Dhamma;--when he speaks in dispraise of the Sa*m*gha. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to turn down the bowl in respect of an Upâsaka who is characterised by these eight things 2.'

4. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is the bowl to be turned down. Some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to lay the matter before the Sa*m*gha, saying,

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'"Let the venerable Sa*m*gha hear me. Vaddha the Li*kkh*avi has brought a groundless charge against the venerable Dabba the Mallian of a breach of morality. If the time seems meet to the Sa*m*gha, let the Sa*m*gha turn down the bowl as respects Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, and make him as one who has no dealings with the Sa*m*gha.

'"This is the motion (*ñ*atti).

'"Vaddha the Li*kkh*avi has brought a groundless charge against Dabba the Mallian of a breach of morality. The Sa*m*gha turns down the bowl as respects Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, and makes him as one who has no dealings with the Sa*m*gha. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the bowl being turned down as regards Vaddha the Li*kkh*avi, and of making him as one who has no dealings with the Sa*m*gha, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

'"The bowl is turned down by the Sa*m*gha as regards Vaddha the Li*kkh*avi, he is as one who has no dealings with the Sa*m*gha. The Sa*m*gha approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand."'

5. Then the venerable Ânanda, having dressed himself early in the morning, went, duly bowled and robed, to the residence of Vaddha the Li*kkh*avi. And when he had come there he spake to Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, and said: 'The bowl, friend Va*ddh*a, has been turned down by the Sa*m*gha as regards you, and you are as one who has no dealings with the Sa*m*gha.' And Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, on hearing that saying, immediately 1 fainted and fell.

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'Then the friends and companions of Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, and his relatives of one blood with him, said to him: 'It is enough, friend Va*ddh*a. Weep not, neither lament. We will reconcile 1 the Blessed One to you, and the Order of Bhikkhus.'

And Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, with his wife and his children, and with his friends and companions, and with his relatives of one blood with him, went up, with wet garments and with streaming hair, to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, he cast himself down with his head at the feet of the Blessed One, and said: 'Sin has overcome me, Lord--even according to my weakness, according to my folly, according to my unrighteousness--in that without ground I brought a charge against Dabba the Mallian of a breach of morality. In respect thereof may my Lord the Blessed One accept the confession I make of my sin in its sinfulness 2, to the end that I may in future restrain myself therefrom 3.'

'Verily, O friend Va*ddh*a, sin hath overcome you--even according to your weakness, and according to your folly, and according to your unrighteousness--in that you brought without ground against Dabba the Mallian a charge of breach of morality. But since you, O friend Va*ddh*a, look upon your sin as sin, and make amends for it as is meet, we do accept at your hands your confession of it. For this, O friend Va*ddh*a, is the advantage of

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the discipline of the noble one, that he who looks upon his sin as sin, and makes amends for it as is meet, he becomes able in future to restrain himself therefrom 1.'

6. Then the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Let then the Sa*m*gha turn up the bowl again as regards Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, and make him as one who has dealings with the Sa*m*gha.

'There are eight things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise an Upâsaka the bowl should be turned up again as regards him;--when he goes not about to bring loss of gifts on the Bhikkhus, when he goes not about to bring harm to the Bhikkhus, when he goes not about to cause the Bhikkhus to want a place of residence, when he reviles or slanders not the Bhikkhus, when he causes not divisions between Bhikkhus and Bhikkhus;--when he speaks not in dispraise of the Buddha;--when he speaks not in dispraise of the Dhamma;--when he speaks not in dispraise of the Sa*m*gha.

7. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is the bowl to be turned up 2. That Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi should go before the Sa*m*gha, with his upper robe arranged over one shoulder 3, and squatting down, and raising

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his hands with the palms joined together, should speak as follows:

'"The bowl has been turned down against me, Sirs, by the Sa*m*gha, and I am become as one having no dealings with the Sa*m*gha. I am conducting myself, Sirs, aright in accordance thereto, and am broken in spirit 1, and I seek for release; and I request the Sa*m*gha for a turning up again of the bowl."

'And a second time he is to prefer the same request, and a third time he is to prefer the same request in the same words.

'Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu should lay the matter before the Sa*m*gha, saying,

'"Let the venerable Sa*m*gha hear me. The bowl has been turned down by the Sa*m*gha against Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, and he is conducting himself aright in accordance thereto, and is broken in spirit, and seeks for release, and requests the Sa*m*gha for a turning up again of the bowl. If the time seems meet to the Sa*m*gha, let the Sa*m*gha turn up the bowl again as regards Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, and make him as one who has dealings with the Sa*m*gha.

'"This is the motion (*ñ*atti).

'"Let the venerable Sa*m*gha hear me. The bowl has been turned down (&c., as before), and he is conducting himself (&c., as before), and he requests the Sa*m*gha (&c., as before). The Sa*m*gha turns up again the bowl as regards Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, and makes him as one who has dealings with the

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Sa*m*gha. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence; whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

'"The bowl is turned up again by the Sa*m*gha as regards Va*ddh*a the Li*kkh*avi, and he is as one who has dealings with the Sa*m*gha. The Sa*m*gha approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand."'

Footnotes

118:1 These are two of the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus; and the evil deeds of the followers form the subject of *K*ullavagga IV, 4, 5 and following sections. Our sections 1, 2 are nearly the same as g 8, 9 there.

119:1 See the note above on IV, 4, 9.

119:2 Patta*m* nikkuggatu. This phrase is used in the ordinary signification above, V, 9, 4. It is characteristic of the mildness of early Buddhism that this should be the only penalty imposed upon a layman. Compare H.O.'s re-

marks in his 'Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde,' pp. 391-393. The house of such a layman becomes then an ago*k*aro, 'an unlawful resort.' (*K*ullavagga VIII, 1, 2.)

120:1 Asambhoga*m* sa*m*ghena karotu. This phrase is used in regard to a Bhikkhu at *K*ullavagga I, 25, 1, as the distinctive mark of the Act of Suspension (Ukkhepaniya-kamma), and there means 'depriving him of his right to eat and dwell with the other Bhikkhus.' Sambhoge anâpatti at Mahâvagga I, 79, 2 (at the end), means that it is not an offence for the Bhikkhus to eat and dwell together with a guilty Bhikkhu under certain conditions there specified. As an Upâsaka never, under any circumstances, either eats or dwells together with the Bhikkhus (in Pâ*k*ittiya 5 the reference is to sâma*n*eras), the meaning here must be to make him one who has no dealings with the Sa*m*gha, to withdraw his privilege of providing food or lodging for the Sa*m*gha. The sabhogana*m* kula*m* in the 43rd Pâ*k*ittiya has probably nothing to do with this.

120:2 When a Bhikkhu behaves towards the laity in any one of the first five of these eight ways the Pa*t*isâra*n*iya-kamma is to be carried out against him--that is to say, he has to ask pardon of the layman against whom he has offended. See I, 20. The whole eight recur below, § 6.

121:1 Literally, 'on that very spot.'

122:1 This is precisely the expression made use of in the converse case, when a Bhikkhu has offended against the laity. See I, 22, 3.

122:2 A*kk*aya*m* a*kk*ayato pa*t*iga*n*hâtu. See the parallel passages in Mahâvagga IX, 1, 9; *K*ullavagga VII, 3, 6, &c.

122:3 Âyati*m* sa*m*varâya. So also above of an offending Bhikkhu, IV, 14, 30.

123:1 Sa*m*vara*m* âpaggati. Compare the use of vikappa*m* âpaggeyya in the 8th Nissaggiya.

123:2 The following paragraphs are precisely the same as those in which the revocation of the Ta*gg*aniya-kamma is described in the reverse case of a Bhikkhu, above, I, 8.

123:3 Eka*m*sa*m* uttarâsa*ṅ*ga*m* karitvâ. Unless these words have been introduced by mistake from the corresponding passage in I, 8 (which is not probable), they show that the uttarâsa*ṅ*ga (on which see the note on Mahâvagga VIII, 13, 4) was also worn by laymen. But this is the only passage known to p. 124 us in the earlier literature in which such a use of it is mentioned or implied. Compare Rh. D.'s note on the 'Book of the Great Decease,' VI, 26.

124:1 Loma*m* pâtemi. See the note on *K*ullavagga I, 6, 1.

Document 7.2

Cartoon from the Thai newspaper The Nation, October 31, 1990

Document 7.3

U Pyinya Zawta, Memoirs[1]

January, 31 2009

Burmese monks are known to have played an important role in their nation's politics throughout its history. While they did not partake in mundane political processes, they traditionally held positions of moral authority, and dispensed wisdom and guidance to past kings, rulers and governments in Burma. On some occasions, emissaries from the monasteries were dispatched on peace missions to avoid war with foreign powers.

Buddhist monks gave council to past monarchs, ranging from the first King Anawrahta of unified Burma in Bagan, to the last King Mindon and his son King Thibaw, guiding them on how to properly conduct themselves as responsible rulers. Burmese monks fulfilled their obligations toward their religion and the people in the past as royal advisers, and most importantly, as the guardians of sacred rights and responsibilities of all citizens.

Burmese monks continued to play an important role in national affairs even after Burma fell under British colonialism, in 1886. During the Colonial era, a monk leader U Ottama brought political enlightenment back to Burma and eventually helped lead the nation to independence from Britain. His lectures inspired generations of followers including Ko Aung San who later became the father of Burma's Independence. Another brave and defiant monk, U Wisara, died in prison after a166-day hunger strike in 1929, but still helped reawaken political consciousness in Burma, and with his final words, to "never forget," urged the people to persevere until independence was obtained from Britain.

After the 1948 independence, numerous political and social organizations proliferated in Burma. During this period Burmese monks formed the All Burma Young Monks' Union (ABYMU) to continue championing the causes of their people. But after the 1962 military coup, General Ne Win abolished all civil and political organizations in Burma, and the ABYMU was banned in 1964. Even though barred by the military, young Buddhist monks remained at the forefront of political movements from the 1974 U Thant crisis, to the 1975-1976 one hundred years' anniversary of labor unrests in Burma.

During the nationwide uprising in 1988 when one government faction after another failed to control the county, monks used their authority to prevent anarchy and chaos and provided sanctuary to the public. After the military took back power through another coup on September 18th, 1988, the All Burma Young Monks' Union was again established, as an Upper Burma branch in Mandalay and as a Lower Burma branch in Rangoon, and monks joined the people's protest against the return of the military dictatorship. In 1990, the National League for Democracy (NLD) members, student activists, and ordinary citizens made alms donation to the monks marching peacefully on Zay-Cho and 26-B roads in Mandalay, marking the two year anniversary of the '88 uprising. When the army forcibly tried to stop the procession, unrest broke out and many monks were brutally beaten. Since the authorities prevented the monks from alms collection by egregiously violating Buddha's Dharma, two monk leaders, U Raza Dama Bewitha and U Kovida Bewitha of the Upper Burma Young Monks' Union called for a religious boycott dubbed 'Overturning of the Alms Bowl,' against the SLORC government, for the first time.

Led by monks from major monastic academic institutions, the Young Monks Union in Rangoon joined the boycott movement, as prescribed under Buddha's Dharma laws, and they affirmed their pledge with obeisance toward the Shwe Dagon Pagoda,

[1] Source: Z Net - The Spirit Of Resistance Lives; [http://www.zmag.org/znet/viewArticle/20418 [08.02.2009]

on 3 October 1990, the Tha-din-kyut full moon day of Burmese year 1352, at the Ngar Htait Kyi Pagoda pavilion.

With prompting from U Ahnt Maung, a high ranking member of the government's religious affairs department, the military junta in panic arrested and sentenced to long prison terms senior monks from renowned monastic academies, members of the Rangoon Young Monks' Union, and monks from other Sangha academies. Tragically Ashin U Arsara from the Thayettaw monastery died in Thayet prison and Ashin U Zaw Tika from the Shwebon Pyint monastery died in Insein prison, both from torture and inhumane conditions. The fates of many other monks taken away by the government during the 1990 boycott protest remain unknown.

Finally, after almost two decades since many monks were arrested and imprisoned, the monks' resistance against military oppression in Burma seemed to have all but evaporated. But the Saffron Uprising in 2007 proved that the monks' resolve to defend the future of Burmese Buddhism and their people was growing only stronger, not weaker.

Before the leading monks' organization the 'All Burma Monks Alliance' was founded during the Saffron Revolution, many smaller monks' coalitions had already been established. As the first step, the All Burma Young Monks Union organized a central working committee with five leading monks from Rangoon and one from Mandalay, selected from many monks' organizations. At the same time various smaller local monks' organizations were being created, in Pegu, Pye, Magwe, Moulmein, and Arkan areas. The famous leading monk, Ashin U Gambira, who was arrested last year, and six other monks led the formation of the Rangoon Young Monks' Union to represent monks from the Rangoon area.

Monks from upper Burma in Mandalay formed the Federation of All Burma Monks' Union and helped organize monks' reading groups, libraries, and literary discussion groups, among other activities. Young Monks' Unions, like Students' Unions, were being formed all over Burma with the sole intention of ending the military dictatorship in Burma. During the mean time, Young Monks' Union members helped other monks' organizations to coordinate, consult and exchange ideas by helping them communicate with each other. When the regime became suspicious at times, new monks and civilians were used as dispatchers. And on occasion, meetings were cancelled in order to evade the junta's relentless assaults.

Since 2005, there was a growing realization that a mass movement to overthrow the Burmese dictatorship was becoming inevitable, and many activist groups began expanding their underground movements in anticipation.

When the military junta suddenly increased the price of fuel on August 15, 2007, impoverished people in Burma faced an unprecedented level of hardship. When small demonstrations broke out against the severe economic conditions, government thugs' organizations named, Swan Ahh-shin, Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA), and riot police were sent in to violently suppress the peaceful protests, and swiftly ended the public outcry.

In order to come to the rescue of frightened and battered citizens suffering under severe economic hardships, the monks took it upon themselves to unite all of the monks' unions and to create a larger monks' alliance at a meeting scheduled for September 9, 2007 at a monastery in Mandalay. By September 4 many monks had left their monasteries and were on the way to the meeting.

But on September 5 when the Pakokku monks came out to chant the peaceful prayers of the 'Metta Sutta,' - the sutra of loving kindness to radiate the spirit of love to all beings - in sympathy with the suffering public, the local government militia brutally attacked the monks and tied them to electric poles, beat them with rifle butts, and arrested them. News of these actions spread quickly, and the next day unrest broke out and cars were burnt in Pakokku.

Burmese monks from all over the country felt compelled to respond to such shocking violence against revered Buddhist monks who were marching peacefully. When the monks gathered on September 9 as previously agreed, the meeting was forced to move to a new location for fear of detection by the authorities. Finally, monks at the meeting unanimously decided to boycott the military if the government failed to comply with the following demands by a given deadline.

The monks demanded that the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC)

1. Apologize to the Pakokku monks, by midnight of September 17
2. Reduce the prices of fuel oil and basic commodities
3. Unconditionally release Aung San Suu Kyi and all other political prisoners
4. Hold dialogue with the democratic political opposition representatives in order to begin a national reconciliation process

The ensuing united monks' organization was named the 'All Burma Monks' Alliance' (ABMA) and the monks decided to proceed with boycotting the military on September 18, 2007 after the regime failed to meet the demands before the deadline.

Members of All Burma Monks' Alliance

1. All Burma Young Monks' Union
2. Federation of All Burma Monks' Union
3. Rangoon Young Monks' Union
4. Sangha Duta Council of Burma

The executive founding members of ABMA

1. U Pakada (Pannasara)
2. U Medhavi
3. U Kheminda
4. U Aww Ba Tha
5. U Tay Za
6. U Gambira

The announcement of the above formation of the ABMA was handwritten, photographed, and published via email media sent from a handheld camera, since computer communications were disrupted or unavailable.

During the Saffron uprising, generous provisions of food and essential services were donated to the monks by a caring public. There were exemplary unforgettable individuals like one outstanding patron who took diligent care of the monks.

On September 18, 2007 the ABMA effectively began the boycott against the SPDC regime, and the event became known as "the Saffron Revolution." The United Nations and the rest of the world were forced to acknowledge the Burmese people's struggle for freedom from brutal military dictatorship.

Much of the credit for the Saffron Revolution was since given to famous organizations or people, but the real contribution to the Saffron Revolution was made by the monks and people who genuinely shared the grievances of ordinary citizens, and who took unified and daring actions inside Burma.

Many Burmese people were aware of the 2007 Saffron Revolution and people from all over the world had also taken notice and became more interested in Burma, since 'The Golden Uprising' - as it was known in Burmese - eventually brought the UN Secretary General's special envoy, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, to Burma.

But the Saffron Revolution did not simply emerge without effort. The Saffron Revolution was born of the leadership of the All Burma Monks' Alliance - ABMA - the joint organization of four original monks' unions and the extraordinary courage of the member monks, and their ability to unite for the sake their people. The uprising took place precisely because of the determined leadership of the All Burma Monks' Alliance (ABMA).

The All Burma Monks' Alliance (ABMA) was founded on 9 September 2007. Numerically it lines up as 9-9-9, when 2 and 7 from the year 2007 are added and also when all numbers 9+9+2+7=27 are added, including the sum of 27; 2+7=9.

After the thugs hired by the junta government attacked a group of monks marching peacefully in Pakokku, on 5 September 2007, the ABMA made four demands to the Burmese military government, with 17 September 2007 as a deadline to respond. The ABMA announced via local media that if the military failed to accede to its demands, the monks would carry out a boycott against the government officials beginning on 18 September 2007. Numerically digits of the date 09 18 2007 also add up to numeral 9.

September 18, 2007 was the 19th anniversary of the military coup and therefore an important date for Burma's generals. It also became a symbolically significant day for the Burmese monks, as the severe moral rebuke by the monks against the army junta, called 'overturning of the alms bowls,' was to begin on that same day. As early as 5:00 AM on 18 September, reporters began calling the ABMA leaders about the monks' boycott against the military. The reporters continued calling every hour on that day, asking whether the monks' boycott – of refusing alms from military families, effectively denying them important religious merit -- would still be taking place. Early on, while events were still un-

folding, it was very difficult to predict the day ahead. But, at that moment it became evident that the honor and esteem of Burmese monks and their religion was terribly at stake. As the gravity of the risk we had taken became clearer, we anxiously continued reassuring the public that conditions were good and that monks were proceeding with a boycott against the Burmese military. Still, we were not able to give a real encouraging answer, yet. Till noon of that day we were not quite sure of the outcome of the decision we had made while we responded to the inquiries about the monks' boycott.

The dramatic event of the 18 September 2007 Saffron Revolution was similar to the '8-8-88' uprising in Burma. Even as news media were reporting the rising momentum for countrywide mass protests in 1988, no one dared predict the inevitability of 8-8-88 uprising with confidence. Even at 7:00 and 8:00 a.m. there was still no certainty that the uprising was to take place. Only at 9: a.m. on 8 August 1988, when marchers from labour and student movements joined and advanced together along the promenade could we let out a sigh of relief. In spite of heavy army roadblocks, the Burmese monks had also successfully staged a protest against the SLORC military government for the first time on 3 October 1990, the full moon day of the lunar month Thadingyut, (the end of Buddhist Lent), Burmese year 1352, at Rangoon's Ngar Htait Kyi Pagoda.

The most anxious moment on 18 September 2007 was at noon after our daily meal, as we watched the day's events with anticipation and saw nothing unusual. But after that moment many monks began gathering at Thingan-Kyun, Kyaikasan, and Shwedagon pagodas. The authorities moved to close down the monks' quarters at Kyaikasan Pagoda, and monks from the Thingan-Kyun monastery began arriving at the Kyauk-sar-daw historic pagoda of the Magin monastery. The government and its violent militia organizations, the USDA (Union Solidarity and Development Association) and Swan Ah Shin (SAS-force of violence) were sent into pandemonium. Meanwhile, the monks began to arrive and seated themselves with great dignity and grace on the ground of the Kyauksardaw Pagoda. And then there was only utter silence.

Until suddenly, when sounds came from the distance, we only listened, listened for the sounds. It was 1:30 PM on 18 September 2007, and the resounding murmurs of the monks' Metta Sutta prayers could now be heard from afar. The monks were praying and chanting to emphasize their rebukes against the military for violating Buddha's teaching.

Soon after, the phones began to ring constantly, and the news of monks chanting the Metta Sutta and marching to the Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon and to other pagodas and monasteries in Taunggote, Pakokku, and Kyaukpadaung began to reach us. Then phone calls from news media started to come in. And it was recorded that the All Burma Monks' Alliance had survived this great day. Followed by more dramatic days....

May freedom come to the people of Burma soon...

The writer is the founding member and Foreign Executive Director of the All Burma Monks' Alliance.

MIZZIMA NEWS: BLOODY SABBATH: OVER 100,000 PEOPLE IN RANGOON AND PARTS OF BURMA PROTEST[1]

Wed 26 Sep 2007

Protests in Rangoon

(Burmese Standard time)

6:00 p.m

Fully armed soldiers are seen forming a straight line and marching at the cross roads of Sule pagoda traffic point and Anawratha Street.

5:55 p.m

Protesters in Rangoon have dispersed for the day.

A doctor in Rangoon's general hospital confirmed that three injured monks have been admitted to the hospital after they were beaten up severely by the riot police at Shwedagon pagoda earlier today.

5:30 p.m

Woman protester injured in police firing

Besides warning shots into the air to disperse the protesting crowd, police took a shot at the crowd and injured a woman protester near Sule pagoda today. A woman of 45 years of age and a resident of Shwepyithar Township was injured by the gun shot and was bleeding profusely. Fellow protesters had to take her to the hospital, Mizzima sources said. She is the wife of Soe Aung.

5:00 p.m

Mizzima has learnt that the crackdown on monks-led protestors in Shwedagon was carried out on the orders of several junta officials including Brigadier General Kyaw San, Minister of Information, Colonel Tint San No. (3) Regional commander, and Major Ye Zaw Zaw, the temporary commander of LIR (16).

4:30 p.m

Soldiers despised by civilians

As the protesting crowd advanced soldiers and the three army trucks which stopped them on Bogyoke Street had to move back. Slowly the soldiers were forced out of the street until they reached under the Pansodan flyover. Another group of people watching the scene from the flyover threw their shoes and dirt on the soldiers, a practice reserved for those who are despised in the Burmese community.

4:05 p.m

Civilians snatch back monks from security forces

[1] *Mizzima News*, September 26, 2007 "Bloody Sabbath: Over 100,000 people in Rangoon and parts of Burma protest"

Security officials have had to back-off and release monks, as supporters hit back security men who are arresting and loading the monks onto trucks.

As Monks from Bakara, Uhyin, Shin Ottama, Zeyawaddy, and Aung Mingalar monasteries began marching, at about 1 p.m (local time) security forces at the corner of Bakara street in Sanchaung township blocked the road and arrested the monks and loaded them on to a vehicle. But the local people in Sanchuang enraged seeing monks being ill-treated retaliated forcing them to back off. After security forces backed-off, the road was clear and the monks could start marching again.

3:45 p.m

About 30 soldiers with yellow ribbons around their necks led by a commander are marching on Bogyoke Street towards the 36th street. The soldiers were followed by three army trucks. The soldiers have now reached the 36th street and the protesting crowd is also slowly marching and approaching the soldiers.

3:35 p.m

"In Bahan, police are being very rude. They kicked the monks, beat them on the head.. They stepped on monk who fell down on the streets," said a Rangoon resident to Mizzima talking about the crackdown on demonstrators near Shwedagon pagoda.

3:05 p.m

Soldiers fired warning gunshots at the protesters led by monks near the Sule pagoda. And eyewitnesses said at least 10 more truck loads of soldiers have been brought in as reinforcement.

3:00 p.m

Near the Sule pagoda in downtown Rangoon, protesting monks and civilians remained silent as soldiers confronted them. More onlookers joined the protesters.

2:56 p.m

Security forces have blocked the Kanna Street in downtown Rangoon. As the authorities reduced the speed of internet connections, most internet cafes in Rangoon today closed shop.

2:30 p.m

Security forces fired tear gas shells and gun shots in Rangoon to disperse protesting monks.

"I saw people running from Shwedagon because of the gun fire. They [authorities] have started shooting. Some people ran from Shwedagon to Maha Bandoola Street. At the moment the protesting monks and civilians number more than 10,000 and are departing from Shwedagon and heading towards Tharmwe Plaza," an eyewitness told Mizzima.

Mizzima Sources said, gun shots could be heard from the direction of Sule pagoda in downtown Rangoon. Two gun shots were heard from Bar Street and another two from City hall, near Sule pagoda.

Monks and civilians continue marching in protest and sing nationalist songs such as "Kabarmakyeabu", and shouted "people not to be slaughtered" as they moved along.

At least four monks were injured following the beatings by riot police in Shwedagon, according to people who fled.

2:25 p.m

Security forces fire teargas, beat up protesters

Security forces in Rangoon's Shwedagon pagoda fired four teargas shells into the protesting crowd led by monks and began beating up the protesters including monks. A protesters screamed "Killers, Killers" and ran away to escape the beatings, eyewitnesses said.

Security forces also beat a reporter along with other protesters.

11:58 a.m

Authorities have blocked the road from Myaynikone to Shwedagon pagoda.

Armed security personnel have been stationed at the corner of the link street near the office of the National League for Democracy

But eyewitnesses said, some people have gathered in front of the NLD office to continue the protest today.

11:10 a.m

More protests foreseen

The junta's ban on assembly of more than five people nothwithstanding activists said they would continue to protest. Sources said, groups of people are starting to gather in Rangoon to start demonstrations today.

More arrests

Authorities last night arrested famous Burmese comedian and critic, Zarganar from his residence. Police raided the house of the Burmese comedian at 10 p.m. last night and seized photographs and telephone besides arresting him. As Burma saw protests and crackdowns in what is another snowballing unrest, Thai government has planned to call back its embassy officials in Rangoon if the situation goes out of control. At least 150 riot police are seen taking up position near the office of the cabinet.

10: 45 a.m

Security tightened in Rangoon

As part of escalating security security measures a military truck has been placed at the eastern gate of the famous Shwedagon pagoda, and only a single man entry was open at the middle gate. At Kyethwon pagoda, about 100 riot police blocked the road. Police officials also ordered the roadside stalls near the area to be close-down. At Arzarnikone, two army trucks have been placed and at the end of the road near the nuns monastery there are about 40 policemen.

Though today is the full moon day of the month, on which Buddhists in Burma usually goes for prayers at pagodas, due to heavy security at the pagodas only a few people are seen going for prayers.

Meanwhile, at Mandalay, about 300 police and soldiers that has batches of Battalion 99, are seen taking up position near the Phayagyi pagoda.

Impacts

In Rangoon most of the private learning centres including tuitions and extra classes have been closed-down indefinitely. As today is the full moon day, all government schools are closed, but offices remained open. However, there have been orders that in case of emergency all the front doors should be immediately shut-down. While a few private companies closed their offices, many continue to operate. But in case of emergency, the employees have been instructed to leave the office early.

Junta's preparations

Sources said, the junta has envisaged that the protesting monks would continue despite their restrictions, and that the junta has plans to instigate violence among the demonstrators so as to project the demonstration is going out of control. If the information is true, as part of the junta's plan, government-backed thugs taking the form of pro-

testers would attack and destroy Tharmwe Township Peace and Development Council office, and as more people join the attack the army will open fire on protesters, on the pretext that it is protecting government properties.

10:37 a.m

Junta bans gathering, imposes curfew in Mandalay and Rangoon

In a desperate bid to put a stop to demonstrations the Burmese military junta has stepped up security to unprecedented levels after declaring curfew last night in two of its biggest cities – Mandalay and Rangoon.

The regime did not make the announcement through its state-owned medias. Local authorities did the rounds in their respective townships with large megaphones and announced the 9:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m. curfew. The announcement also includes banning of assemblies of more than five people

Document 9.1

New Light of Myanmar September 29, 2007

3rd Waning of Tawthalin 1369 ME The NEW LIGHT OF MYANMAR Saturday, 29 September, 2007

☆BBC and VOA airing skyful of lies

☆Beware of BBC and VOA saboteurs

People's Desire

☆ We favour stability.

☆ We favour peace.

☆ We oppose unrest and violence.

Peace and stability restored, traveling and marketing back to normal in Yangon

Nay Pyi Taw, 28 Sept—Most recently there have been protests staged by monks and violent acts launched by those bent on destructive acts.

To ensure peace and stability the security forces handled the situation with care using the least force. During the three-day incident 39 members of the security forces were injured while ten unidentified male protesters were dead and 12 men and two women injured.

Today, about 30 people desirous of inciting unrest staged protests in four different places in Yangon. Of them, seven were arrested and investigated by the authorities concerned.

The underground and above-ground destructive elements and the anti-government groups are spreading fabricated news among the people.

As such, the people are advised not to believe those fabricated news and to directly contact the Ministry of Information (Tel: 067-412031) for authentic news.

MNA

DEMOCRATIC VOICE OF BURMA: GOVERNMENT CLEANS UP DAMAGE TO RAIDED MONASTERY[1]

Sunday, 30 September 2007

Ngway Kyar Yan monastery, which was raided by government troops on Wednesday, was quickly cleaned up and restored by the Ministry of Religious Affairs in advance of United Nations Special Envoy Ibrahim Gambari's arrival in Burma yesterday, according to sources close to the monastery.

The monastery, located in Rangoon's South Okkalapa towhnship, was ransacked by government troops at midnight on Wednesday night during mass raids on monasteries in Rangoon. Photographs showing the damage to the monastery following the raids were widely disseminated soon afterwards.

"All the mess left during the army's raid in Ngway Kyar Yan monastery was cleaned up by officials from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The monastery was also renovated and now it looks like a new one," said a South Okkalapa resident who lives near the monastery.

The clean-up and renovation was carried out yesterday within a few hours, with soldiers on guard around the monastery while it took place. New monks have also been placed at the monastery following the arrests of large numbers of monks during the raid.

Local residents have assumed this action was an attempt to hide the evidence of the violence committed by soldiers during the raid in advance of Gambari's anticipated arrival yesterday afternoon, the resident told DVB. "They are just lying to try to hide the truth. They have lied this way many times in the past. They are still lying in the present. And they will keep lying in the future too," he said.

(BurmaNet News)

[1] http://english.dvb.no/news.php?id=487. Photo: bp1.blogger.com (from Google pictures).

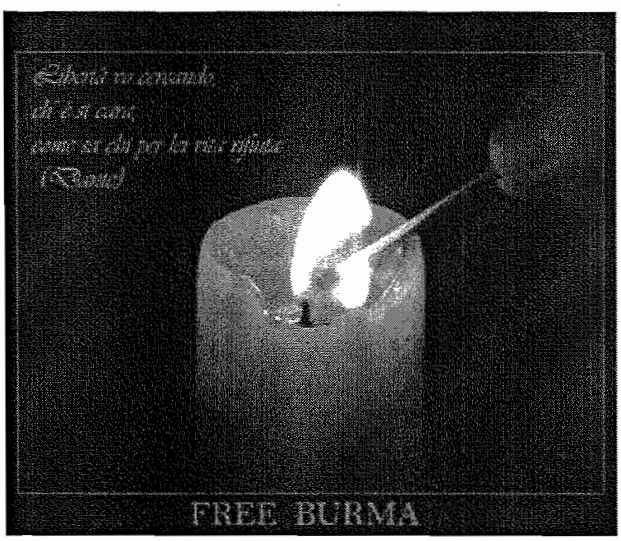
INTERNET OPEN IN BURMA

Today the government re-open internet access in curfew time only(10:00 pm to 4:00 am local time). So some of the offices and home users can use internet 6 hr/day. But Blogger and blogspot still banned in Myanmar. I hope Eccentric Ghost can online very soon and share his own experience from Burma. Also wishing for him and other bloggers' safe in blogging.

They can kill our people but our spirit still alive.

We won't stop blogging! We wont stop fighting!

Here, I wanna say thanks to all visitors and everyone who pray for us and left comments at blog.



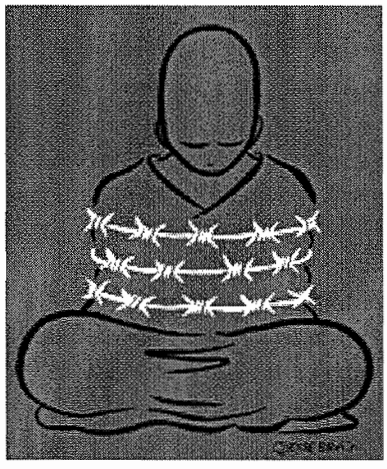
Light a candle for Free Burma

pic credit to fringuellina from Flickr.
Posted by Ancient Ghost at Friday, October 05, 2007

MONKS IN HELL[1]

By KYI WAI/ RANGOON Thursday, October 11, 2007

"Due to the lack of food and the extreme highs and lows of temperature, some monks and laypeople felt like they were suffocating. Others simply died.



"The conditions were terrible. We each had no more than a small patch of cell to sit on," lamented Burmese monk U Sandar Vaya, looking pale and weak and somewhat older than his 33 years.

U Sandar Vaya was arrested along with hundreds of other Buddhist monks at midnight on September 26. The Burmese military authorities had started arresting demonstrators that day, detained them in five locations around Rangoon—the Government Technology Institute (GTI) in Insein, the police quarters in Kyaikkasan, and police detention centers in Hmawbi, Thanlyin and Aung Thapyay, according to those people who were later released. One police official estimates that there would have been at least 1,000 monks and laypeople per detention center.

U Sandar Waya said he was incarcerated with 500 other monks and 200 civilians in one room of the GTI. The authorities gave them each only one bowl of drinking water in the first two days, later increasing the ration to three bowls. The guards didn't allow the detainees to wash and there was no toilet, only plastic bags for sanitation.

"The room was filthy and it stank," says U Sandar Waya.

Another Buddhist monk who was recently released confirmed that about 700 monks and laypeople were detained in a hall some 9m by 21m (30 ft x70 ft).

"Even though the room could be considered a rather wide area, we were so jam-packed that it was hard to breathe," he said.

The monk, who asked not to be identified, said the guards took each monk in turn from the room and forced him to take off his robe. They were made to put on laymen's clothes.

[1] http://www.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art_id=8981.

The authorities provided only one meal per day – a lunch at 2 p.m., which monks can't eat as their Buddhist vow allows them only to eat in the morning. On the concrete floor of the room the guards poured wet sand and, as a result, some detainees became weak and sick very quickly.

While in detention, some monks continued to protest against the regime, but many others became too weak to do so.

"More than a dozen monks and other people died," claimed a layman who was released on October 5. "And almost all the detainees got sick.

"It really was hell," he said. "I could do nothing for a young novice who was dying beside me. We asked for help from the security guards, but they didn't do anything until they came to take away his dead body."

A 30-year-old man who was released from Kyaikkasan detention center recounted his experience: "At midnight on September 28, the authorities cut off the electricity in the 20 ft by 40 ft (6m x 12m) room where about 200 people, including me, were detained.

"Suddenly, they started pumping water into the room while we were sleeping. We panicked. Then the police came running into the room and started beating us.

"Wearing wet clothes, we are all taken from the room one by one and interrogated three times—by the police, the Special Branch and the Military Intelligence."

The authorities started to release detainees on October 4 on the condition that they would never participate, encourage or even watch any future protest. The conditions for release had to be signed by their parents or guardians.

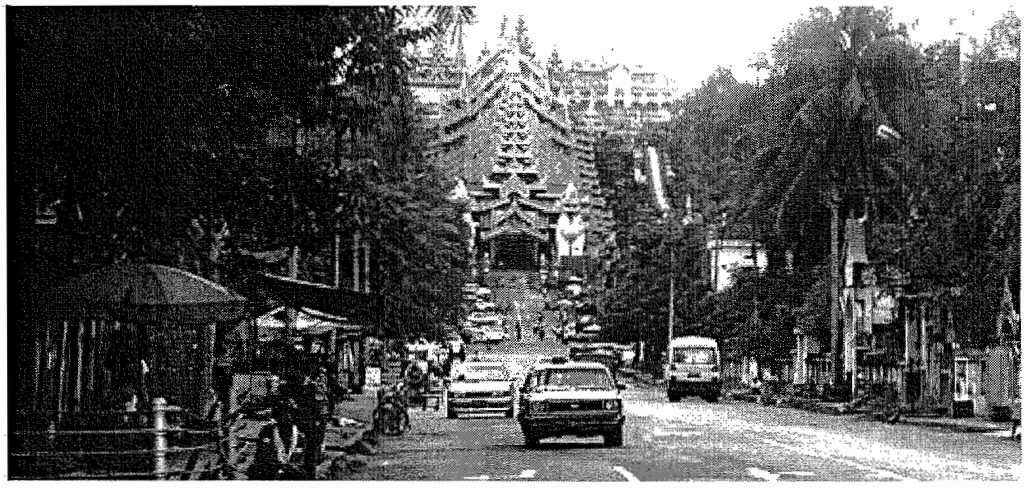
The authorities released those monks who signed the conditions or who weren't suspected of being involved in the protests, but not those monks who refused to sign. As a result, many Buddhist monks are still imprisoned.

After release, the monks are not allowed to leave their monasteries. Monks who got injured during the protests still haven't been afforded medical treatment. It is estimated that more than 3,000 monks and civilians were detained during the demonstrations, and at least 130 people were killed.

U Sandar Vaya was released from detention on October 5, but he remains defiant: "They took off my robe, but in my mind I resisted. I am always a monk, whatever they do to me."

HINTS OF A VAST, GRIM TOLL IN MYANMAR[1]

October 1, 2007, 9:46 am
By Mike Nizza



Yangon, Myanmar, was eerily subdued today. (Photo: Gabriel Mistral/European Pressphoto Agency)

Last Friday, when an Internet blackout in Myanmar made it even harder to estimate the brutality of the crackdown there, Prime Minister Gordon Brown of Britain said his government believed that "the loss of life is far greater than is being reported." The Burmese military junta said that nine people were killed in the unrest.

Now comes an unconfirmed report in The Daily Mail in Britain with a staggering claim of mass slaughter. The paper quotes Hla Win, described as a Burmese general who has deserted his post in protest of the regime's harsh tactics.

"Many more people have been killed in recent days than you've heard about," Hla Win said. "The bodies can be counted in several thousand."

Here is some additional detail from General Win, referred to in this passage by his title:

The 42-year-old chief of military intelligence in Rangoon's northern region added: "I decided to desert when I was ordered to raid two monasteries and force several hundred monks onto trucks.

"They were to be killed and their bodies dumped deep inside the jungle. I refused to participate in this."

The general is seeking political asylum in Norway, according to The Norway Post. A Norwegian freelance journalist told The Post that he met with General Win in a jungle hideout near the border with Thailand.

Norway has deep ties to the opposition movement in Myanmar, formerly called Burma, through the Democratic Voice of Burma, which runs a robust news operation out of Oslo. So far, it has posted no English-language reports of Mr. Win's reported defection, but it referred to him in an earlier piece as a "local commander" in Yangon.

Aside from the Burmese general's account, other reports seemed to suggest that we may now be watching the aftermath of a very bloody crackdown just a week after 100,000 protesters took to the streets. The Irrawaddy, one of the leading Burmese news sources, headlines its article today on the crackdown "Burma Erupts: Killing Field."

And Liselotte Agerlid, a Swedish diplomat who visited Burma on Sunday, left no room for hope in comments to the Daily Mail. "The Burma revolt is over," she said.

[1] http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/10/01/hints-of-a-vast-grim-toll-in-burma/

Document 9.6

New Light of Myanmar, October 5, 2007

Established 1914

The NEW LIGHT OF MYANMAR

Volume XV, Number 172 | 9th Waning of Tawthalin 1369 ME | Friday, 5 October, 2007

Four political objectives

- Stability of the State, community peace and tranquillity, prevalence of law and order
- National reconsolidation
- Emergence of a new enduring State Constitution
- Building of a new modern developed nation in accord with the new State Constitution

Four economic objectives

- Development of agriculture as the base and all-round development of other sectors of the economy as well
- Proper evolution of the market-oriented economic system
- Development of the economy inviting participation in terms of technical know-how and investments from sources inside the country and abroad
- The initiative to shape the national economy must be kept in the hands of the State and the national peoples

Four social objectives

- Uplift of the morale and morality of the entire nation
- Uplift of national prestige and integrity and preservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage and national character
- Uplift of dynamism of patriotic spirit
- Uplift of health, fitness and education standards of the entire nation

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi exerting efforts for Confrontation, Utter Devastation, and Imposing All Kinds of Sanctions including Economic Sanction against Myanmar

If she declares to give them up, the Senior General will personally meet her

NAY PYI TAW, 4 Oct — *The Government of the Union of Myanmar today issued the Announcement No. 1/2007. The following is the full text of the announcement.*

The Government of the Union of Myanmar
Announcement No. 1/2007
8th Waning Day of Tawthalin, 1369 ME
(4th October 2007)

1. In the Union of Myanmar, the Government and the people are striving hand in hand to build up a new democratic nation.

2. However, starting from 28th August 2007, there occurred demonstrations of some monks. The demands made by the demonstrators in the beginning were only to bring down commodity prices but later the demands made by them were nothing to do with monks and it was found to be the wishes of a political party and other organizations aspiring to create unrest. Unrests occurred due to the attempts of those who want to grab power through short-cut and that of some foreign nations to destabilize the nation.

(See page 8)

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi exerting efforts for...

(from page 1)

3. The unrests are now totally under control by authorities for ensuring stability and the rule of law, with the cooperation of Sanghas and people who do not want any unrest.

4. Due to lopsided broadcasts by some international media, some member nations of the United Nations Organization were worried about Myanmar's situation and the UN Secretary-General sent his Special Envoy Mr Ibrahim Agboola Gambari to Myanmar to make urgent investigation and submit a report.

5. Myanmar is grateful to some member nations of the UN for their understanding upon Myanmar's situation and their principled stances.

6. Mr Gambari arrived Myanmar on 29th September. He witnessed the situation has returned to normalcy and he had an opportunity to pay a courtesy call on State Peace and Development Council Chairman Senior General Than Shwe. Mr Gambari also had opportunities to meet with those worthy to be met for enquiring the situation.

7. At the courtesy call, State Peace and Development Council Chairman Senior General Than Shwe mentioned Mr Gambari that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has been exerting efforts for Confrontation, Utter Devastation, and Imposing All Kinds of Sanctions including Economic Sanction against Myanmar. If she declares to give them up, the Senior General will personally meet her.

8. At present, the people of various States and Divisions all over the country are convening mass rallies to support the National Convention and welcome the forthcoming Constitution as well as to denounce recent unrests.

9. Hence, the Government, with the support and in response to confidence and aspiration of the people, will continue to build up the nation into a discipline-flourishing genuine democratic one in accordance with the seven-step Road Map.

By order.

(Signed)
Thant Shin
Colonel
Secretary
The Government of the Union of Myanmar

Document 9.7

New Light of Myanmar, October 9, 2007

Established 1914

The NEW LIGHT OF MYANMAR

Volume XV, Number 176 | 13th Waning of Tawthalin 1369 ME | Tuesday, 9 October, 2007

Four political objectives

* Stability of the State, community peace and tranquillity, prevalence of law and order
* National reconsolidation
* Emergence of a new enduring State Constitution
* Building of a new modern developed nation in accord with the new State Constitution

Four economic objectives

* Development of agriculture as the base and all-round development of other sectors of the economy as well
* Proper evolution of the market-oriented economic system
* Development of the economy inviting participation in terms of technical know-how and investments from sources inside the country and abroad
* The initiative to shape the national economy must be kept in the hands of the State and the national peoples

Four social objectives

* Uplift of the morale and morality of the entire nation
* Uplift of national prestige and integrity and preservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage and national character
* Uplift of dynamism of patriotic spirit
* Uplift of health, fitness and education standards of the entire nation

Government issues Announcement No 2/2007

NAY PYI TAW, 8 Oct— The Government of the Union of Myanmar today issued Announcement No 2/2007 dated 8th October 2007 as follows:

The Government of the Union of Myanmar
Announcement No. 2/2007
12th Waning Day of Tawthalin, 1369 ME
(8th October 2007)

Subject: Assignment of duty of Minister for Relations

1. The United Nations Secretary-General's Special Envoy Mr Ibrahim A Gambari during his visit to Myanmar from 29th September to 2nd October 2007, recommended appointment of a liaison officer for relations with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.
2. In respect of Mr Ibrahim A Gambari's recommendation and in view of smooth relations with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Deputy Minister for Labour U Aung Kyi is assigned duty as Minister for Relations.

By order,

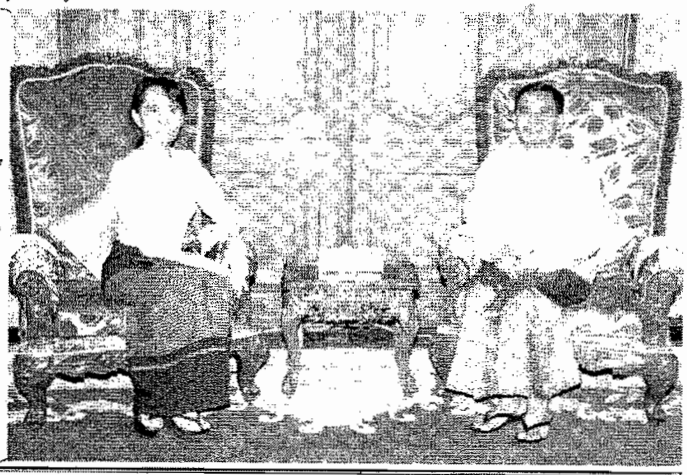
(Signed)
Thant Shin
Colonel
Secretary
The Government of the Union of Myanmar

350,801 acres of monsoon paddy out of 1,002,190 *(See page 7)*

standards of the entire nation

Minister for Relations meets with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

NAY PYI TAW, 25 Oct — Minister for Labour U Aung Kyi who was assigned duties as Minister for Relations to liaise with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi met with her at Seinle Kantha Guest House in Yangon from 2 pm to 3.15 pm today. — *MNA*



Minister for Relations U Aung Kyi meets Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at Seinle Kantha Guest House in Yangon.
MNA

titution is the duty of all citizens of Myanmar Naing-Ngan

NLM, October 26, p.1

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