"We were so close to democracy. We were so close that we could taste it. Then the military came back and once again started killing everyone. I can not help but be bitter and angry! They killed us in cold-blood, and now they just want us to forget everything and come back to live under their hateful rule."

(From an interview with a participant of the 8-8-88 demonstrations for justice.)

This month is the anniversay of the 8-8-88 general strike in Burma. Included this month is a special, four-page report on this general strike and a brief background to the struggle of the Burmese people.
Civil War

The monsoon season has started in Burma since the middle of May and heavy rains together with the rough topography have become major obstacles for the transportation of the junta’s infantry forces. Therefore, the military’s heavy “dry season offensives” have ended, especially in the eastern regions of the Kachin, Shan, Karen and Mon states. However, heavy exchanges of fire and guerrilla warfare still continues in the regions. Moreover, malaria and a shortage of food are also pushing down the morale of the junta’s soldiers.

During the dry season offensive of the junta, the priority was to occupy Manerplaw, the headquarters of all political dissidents of the country, but heavy casualties caused the troops of the military to pull back.

Currently, the junta’s objective seems to be to maintain their transportation routes throughout the monsoon season for use in their dry season offensive starting mid-October or November of this year. Subsequently, the recent surrender of some guerrillas in the Shan state is a big advantage for the military and most of its forces from the Shan state have been able to move to the Kachin and Karen state.

One of the great tragedies of the civil war in Burma is that most of the privates in the junta’s army are about 17 years old and come from poor families. They are sacrificing their lives only to protect the power of Burma’s top military leaders.

According to the KIA, the Burmese military has been forcefully relocating the Kachin indigenous people to government controlled areas in order to keep Kachin civilians away from the KIA. Following the Burmese military operations in KIA areas, about eighty six villages, comprising 395 families, have been relocated. There are totally 27,538 Kachin refugees near the Sino-Burma border. Currently, 1,052 students are living in the liberated area of the KIA which is providing for their daily welfare, food, clothes, blankets and medical care.

During 1990, clashes between the KIA and the junta’s troops about 487 junta soldiers were reportedly killed, 487 wounded, 41 captured by the KIA, and another 41 surrender to the KIA while 39 were missing in Kachin State. At the same time, 87 members of the KIA were killed, 305 were wounded and 2 were captured by the junta’s troops.

Karen State (Southern Burma)

One of the civilized guerrilla groups, the Karen National Liberation Front (KNLA) is becoming one of the main targets of the military which is transferring a lot of troops from other areas into the Karen State. Politically, almost all of the dissident groups under the umbrella organization of the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) set up their headquarters in Manerplaw and this is obviously getting the attention of the military. The junta is determined to try to solve the political problems of the country by (continued on page 5)
On July 22 - 24 the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) met in Kuala Lumpur to discuss regional issues among their major trading partners - Australia, Canada, The European Community (EC), Japan, New Zealand, the United States and South Korea. The sad state of human rights in Burma and environmental destruction of the country were two major issues which occupied much of the meeting time. These discussions came at an extremely important time for the human rights struggle in Burma when many countries including the EC, Canada and the USA have begun putting strong pressure on the Burmese military to release political prisoners and turn over power to the elected government. This pressure has long been sought by opposition groups in Burma to help create a process for peacefully ending the long civil war in the country.

At the ASEAN meeting, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Barbara McDougall, called for the military regime in Burma to release all political prisoners, to convene the national assembly at an early date, and to proceed promptly to end the systematic and forced oppression of the Burmese people. US Undersecretary of State, Robert Zoellick, stated, "Without our efforts, the people of Burma will suffer longer. Undeveloped and undemocratic Burma will poison the region with narcotics. It will remain a cancer of instability." He further added, "Even the Buddhist clergy has suffered at the hands of the military. Thousands of political prisoners remain in cells or under house arrest." The US statement, presented to the ASEAN meeting, came shortly after President George Bush signed into effect a trade sanctions bill which would prevent the renewing of a textile agreement with Burma among other sanctions. In 1990, textiles accounted for just over US$9 million of the total Burmese exports to the US of US$22 million. The US will also oppose loans to Burma by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other international financial institutions. The sanctions bill effectively blocks the sale of arms to Burma from the US, and also calls on other countries to follow the same example. The European Community recently imposed an arms embargo on Burma as well. Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans joined his voice with others to seek ASEAN cooperation to push the Burmese military to honor human rights. He said that the SLORC has "manifestly repressed the clear wish of its people for democratic change," producing a new source of potential instability in the region.

The European Community said its future ties with ASEAN would have to address the issues of human rights and the environment. These statements of support, although welcomed by opposition groups in Burma, were immediately blocked by the ASEAN foreign ministers who said that no group should impose its standards of human rights and environmental issues on others or try to make them conditions for trade and investment. Malaysian Foreign Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, on behalf of ASEAN said, "Attempts to impose the standard of one side on the other or interpreting it in a selective or narrow manner would disrupt the traditional goodwill and cooperation and tread upon the sovereignty of nations."

ASEAN has suggested that they will pursue a course of "constructive engagement" with SLORC which includes working closely together with the military leaders of Burma and encouraging more investments. Through capitalist investments in Burma, ASEAN feels that they can encourage democratic reforms without having to raise the issues of political prisoners or the transfer of power to the democratically elected government of the country. The question of the right of a military elite to maintain complete control over the people also can thus be avoided. ASEAN made it clear to their trade partners that human rights and the environment could not be a condition for economic involvement.

To pursue this course of "constructive engagement" ASEAN will send Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus to visit Burma for direct talks with the military government. Apparently Raul Manglapus has a longstanding invitation from the military leaders of Burma to make such a visit. This invitation demonstrates how comfortable SLORC is in their relationship with ASEAN. Recently SLORC turned down a request by a United Nations representative to visit Burma and look at the human rights situation there. Burma is a member of the United Nations, but is not a member of ASEAN.

As ASEAN plays a strong defensive role for the Burmese military junta, arrests of opposition leaders, military attacks on defenseless villages, and forced labor as porters and mine sweepers by the military continues throughout the country. Opposition leaders have condemned the ASEAN position saying that as long as ASEAN protects the military leaders of Burma, there can be no end to the civil war, or to the intense suffering of the people. As suggested by Robert Zoellick and Gareth Evans, the civil war in Burma contributes to instability throughout the region. Without an end to the civil war in Burma, the country can not begin a process of rebuilding or of economic development. This in turn affects the entire region.

If the ASEAN countries truly want to involve themselves in "constructive engagement" with Burma, and want to see more regional stability, they should make it their priority to pressure the military regime of Burma to turn power over to the elected government and to release all political prisoners. This would allow Burma to begin making a positive contribution to the economic and social development of the region. At the same time, ASEAN is relating only to SLORC, and thus have limited their effectiveness in helping move Burma towards democratic reforms. "Constructive engagement" would suggest that they should make efforts to relate to all sides in the conflict in an equal way. Through such an action, ASEAN could gain international recognition for its role in mediation as well as gain the respect of the Burmese people.
Hope seems to be fading for Burma to pull itself out of its "least developed nation" status. The military's failing economic policies are driving inflation ever higher, pulling 80% of the 41.7 million people of Burma deeper into poverty. The sale of the country's natural resources to international companies has not improved the living standards in Burma, nor brought about a sense of economic development within the country. Profits earned from this trade have benefited the few top military leaders of the country, and made it possible for them to purchase a vast array of new weapons to upgrade its military strength. Since Burma does not face any external threat from its neighbors, this increased military might is aimed only at further control over the restive population. This trend in the country must change if Burma is ever to shake off the embarrassing status of "least developed nation".

The present economic crisis can be attributed to several significant issues:

1. High level military leaders are dictating the nations business policies despite total lack of skill and training in present unstable political situation discourages the nation's economic development.

2. Lack of skill and training
Since 1962, when Burma began its trek down the road to total militarization, military leaders have been placed at the highest levels in all the civil departments, displacing those civilians who are trained and capable to better run these departments. The military leaders need some way of creating jobs for disabled war veterans and retired military officials, so they place them in these positions creating serious problems between military officials and civil servants as well as hardships for the general population.

For example, in the agriculture sector, farmers are forced to sell a certain quota of their crops to the military at a very low official price. The same time, essential fertilizers are insufficient. The junta leaders tend to purchase cheap fertilizers from foreign countries. These fertilizers are cheap because they are dangerous to the health of the people and thus are often banned in the producing country. Agriculture is, therefore, steadily decreasing. To counter this, the military is trying to expand arable land in the country by 20.19 million acres per year. This policy is also failing as farmers find it more and more difficult to survive and are migrating to the urban centers to seek jobs. Whereas about 80% of the population lived and worked in the rural areas in 1970, the number has now dropped to 70%, indicating a serious urban growth for which no suitable plan has been worked out.

3. Corruption
The official exchange rate for the Burmese kyat is US$1 to 6.844 kyats. However, foreign companies are selling their products in Burma based on the illegal exchange rate of US$1 to about 80 kyats. The average farmers or worker can not afford to buy anything at this rate. Most of the trading in the country, including the import and sale of necessities such as soap, toothpaste etc., is done through the illegal underground market. This illegal business accounts for 40% of the total economy in the country and is becoming the main business of high ranking civil servants and military officials. For example, one commander from the Northern Command, Lt. Gen. Kyaw Ba, owns a 70 million kyat (about US$10 million) house in the central Burma town of Mandalay, as well as several jade mines in the Kachin State. High ranking military officials are allowed to purchase extra quotas of fuel as well as very cheap household goods and electronic supplies from State subsidized shops. They then sell these items back to the people at extremely high prices, since the general market is in such short supply.

4. The Expense of the Civil War
According to some observers, the junta is using up to 60% of the state budget to continue their civil war against the ethnic minorities and opposition politicians. In past year, the junta claimed that only 24% of the state budget was used for these wars. Following the 1988 nation-wide unarmed uprising, thousands of people fled to areas controlled by the ethnic groups and joined in their armed struggle. The civil war has thus intensified as has the junta’s expenditures to keep feeding it. To find the ever increasing funds needed to maintain and build up the military, the junta has been giving more and more investment contracts to foreign companies as well as the indigenous private sector. In 1990, the junta invested 10 billion kyats (about US$130 million) to set up a private investment company through which they can control almost all domestic business.

- The Unstable Political Situation

Military harassment towards civilians as well as all opposition groups is creating an atmosphere of fear in the country resulting in many skilled technical people and academics leaving for jobs in foreign countries. It is estimated that about 700 people are leaving monthly to seek employment elsewhere. The education system in the country has further deteriorated. Not only were the universities and colleges closed for almost three years, but a large number of the lecturers have either fled the country or been dismissed from their duties. They have been replaced by unqualified, and often untrained teachers. People also do not have confidence in the local currency which the military has, in the past, tended to demonetize without warning and with compensation. Even the military does not want to keep kyat notes in their possession and have been forcing the owners of gold shops to sell gold to the junta.

Lack of security has also negatively affected the transport of goods from one part of the country to another. Oil prices on the illegal market have skyrocketed. Presently, one gallon of gas is about 130 kyats (about US$18 at the legal exchange rate which is what the people have to pay). Most reserves of fuel are kept by the military to carry on their civil war, and this makes a scarcity for the people. However, military officials sell the reserves to the public at this exorbitant rate. Having no other choice, people have to purchase it at this price. The price of all necessary goods transported throughout the country are therefore becoming more and more expensive as well. This instability is not conducive to any positive economic growth in the country.

Civil War (continued from Page 2)

The alliance guerrillas are striving to drive out the junta posts which are located in their areas. During month of July, there were eleven clashes, including one heavy counter-offensive, between the KNLA and the military over a strategic mountain. Following the battles, the KNLA discovered 27 bodies of the soldiers including one captain, 19 seriously wounded soldiers as well as one POW who was a Lance Corporal. Two Karen civilians were wounded by the shooting of the junta’s troops. One of the Burmese soldiers and his wife defected to the KNLA and four KNLA members were wounded. Combined forces of the KNLA and students recaptured the very strategic Thawwa Bal Lu mountain from the junta troops on the 2nd of July.

Arakan State (Western Burma)

Four of the Rakhine minority groups have formed a leading group called NUFA (National United Front of Arakan) since about five years ago. It is based on the frontier of Bangladesh and Burma. Another 500 Muslims are preparing for guerrilla warfare in the dense jungles of the Bangladesh-Burma border. The Muslims are fighting against the junta for the freedom of the Islam religion.

Photo 2 Vendors selling pens and other small goods
Aung San Suu Kyi still under house arrest

Aung San Suu Kyi is still being held in her house incommunicado. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, personally appealed last December for her release. The SLORC of Burma showed no response. When UN Human Rights Commission investigator Sadako Ogata visited Burma in February last year, she requested the Burmese authorities for permission to see Aung San Suu Kyi. But the SLORC rejected the request.

In the first week of July the European Parliament formally awarded Aung San Suu Kyi the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought. Since she was not allowed to leave her house, Maung Htin Lin, her younger son, attended the ceremony to receive the prize.

Opposition

While the question of political oppression in Burma is discussed in ASEAN and other international government or non-governmental gatherings, the Burmese regime's ambassador to Bangkok seems to think there is no problem. In a recent interview he said, in totally seriousness, "There is not a single political prisoner in Burma."

In fact, there are over 10,000 political prisoners in Burma's prisons and most of these prisoners are being tortured everyday and night.

According to Slorc (State Law and order Restoration Council), currently 9 registered political parties have already been dissolved. Out of the 9 parties, one was automatically defunct after the election, 4 voluntarily dissolved themselves and the 4 others were unilaterally banned by the Slorc, accused of having relationships with revolutionary organizations. At the present time, there are 3 registered political parties in Burma of which 26 have at least one elected representative and the remaining parties have no one elected. The National League for Democracy (NLD) won 396 seats out of 485 and NLD's ethnic alliance parties won over 60 seats. However Slorc is still refusing to hand over power to the NLD. Instead they have arrested nearly all efficient leaders of the opposition parties and sentenced many of them to long prison sentences. Presently 65 of the legally elected representatives have been arrested and sentenced to at least 10-year prison sentences.

Various reasons are given by SLORC for these arrests and imprisonments. On July 11, Maj-Gen Myo Nyunt, who is commander of the Yangon Command Headquarters, said at a meeting, 'The State Law and Order Restoration Council is striving its best to ensure smooth and swift flow of goods and to bring down prices. Commodity prices are high today because the supply cannot cope with the demand and because of certain politicians' attempt to destabilize the economy. The State is taking necessary action against those who are making attempts to destabilize economy and the co-operation of the people is called for to help increase production.'

Since arrests of the people's representatives are almost always based on groundless charges such as this, it can be expected that SLORC will continue to arrest and imprison any elected member of Burma's parliament which dares to speak out openly, or to express any views contrary to what SLORC subscribes to.

Third Congress of the NDF

The NDF (National Democratic Front) is the coordinating body of the ethnic minorities which are fighting against the military government for a federal state structure in Burma. After the 1988 nationwide unarmed uprising, the political opposition groups, including the student activists, joined with NDF and formed the DAB (Democratic Alliance of Burma).

The Third Congress of the NDF was held at its headquarters from June 24 to July 9, 1991. The delegates from the following member organizations attended the congress:
1. Arakan Liberation Party (ALP)
2. Chin National Front (CNF)
3. Karen National Union (KNU)
6. Karenni National Union (KNU)
7. Laung National Organization (LNO)
8. New Mon State Party (NMSP)
9. Wain National Organization (WNO) and the representatives of the Pa-O Liberation Organization (PLO) and Palung National Organization Committee (PNOC) also attended the Congress.

In their final statement the NDF made it clear that they firmly support the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), formed by the elected representatives of the people.

The Congress elected new leaders with Nai Shwe Kyin (NMSP) as chairman, Zaw Seng (KIO) as vice-chairman, Khine Soe Naing Aung (ALP) as general secretary and Sai Maung Mine (KNPP) as joint secretary.

Statement of the DAB concerning peace talks with SLORC

Following is a brief summary of the DAB statement regarding the DAB's stance on peace talks with the SLORC.

"Restoration of peace in Burma is the wish of all the people and DAB. The present situation is heading towards another uprising which will be greater than that in 1988. The basic political problem of present instability is created by the Ne Win-Saw Maung military regime. The most fundamental tasks we need to perform are:
1. To eliminate the militarization of the country
2. To achieve democratic rights and human rights
3. To establish a genuine federal union where the rights of the nationalties and the rights to self-determination are fully guaranteed.

To achieve these goals, a national convention should be called comprised of the representatives of all democratic forces and all armed forces."
Interview with young porters

My name is Maung Gyi and I am 19 years old. I live at Matabin, Ali Paung township in the Mon state. I worked as a manual laborer in the railway station carrying luggage for the passengers. I am very poor as my earnings were just sufficient for my survival.

One day while I was carrying loads in the railway station, a policeman named Thein Lwin arrested me for not having a platform ticket but I understood it was unnecessary for the laborers in the railway station to have such a ticket. The policeman kept me for two hours and I met the other laborers who were also kept by the police. Subsequently, the police handed us over to the headquarters of the Burmese Light Infantry Regiment No. 102. After that, the soldiers sent us to Belin, one of the cities of the Mon State, where we spent two nights. Later, they sent us to Myaing Ga Lay, one of the cities of the Karen State (Southeast Burma) where there is a Burmese military headquarters of the South Eastern Military Headquarters. But the soldiers kept us in the Buddhist monastery, called "Ohn Hnal Pin" monastery.

The next morning, we were carried by trucks to Myawaddy, a Burmese border town and frontier on the Thai-Burma border. We arrived there at midnight. We slept in one of the school buildings one night. The next morning, the army forced each person to carry two rice bags (the size is half of the normal rice bag) to Pa-Lu, the junta's stronghold (Pa-Lu was a Karen guerrilla’s defence post in 1989). We were very tired in the jungle because of the rough terrain and heavy load. We usually did not sleep well, and got only a little rice for our meals although we were carrying rice for the soldiers on the front line. Later, we got to the regiment headquarters which was on one of the mountains. Usually, after we delivered the rice bags to the soldiers on the front line, we got the chance to sleep in the regimental headquarters.

One day, one of the company commanders, Capt. Tin Oo from No.8 Burmese Infantry Regiment, ordered two of the boys my age to carry the rice back to one of the front lines. These two boys complained of fatigue, and were not able to walk. Subsequently, they were severely beaten with bamboo rods, hammered with gun butts and kicked with combat boot by the soldiers.

Along the way, the army did not give proper medical treatment and dress for us. Sometimes we only got one meal for one day. We were really tired and some of us suffered skin disease. One night, we broke the fence around the military camp and ran away from the regiment headquarters.

I immediately the soldiers chased us. Although we could not run so fast because of malnutrition, we ran as fast as we could in order to survive. Finally, we arrived at the revolutionary area."

My name is Ba Lay and I am 14 years old. I lived in Mataban City in the Mon State. I earned my living by selling local made rice cake at the Mataban railway station. One day, a policeman named Thein Lwin arrested me without any reason and sent me to the No.102 Burmese Army Light Infantry Regiment. Then I and some other prisoners were carried by trucks to Myaing Ga Lay in the Karen State. On the truck I met some young boys who also live in our village area.

In the morning, we were forced to carry condensed milk tin boxes to Pa-Lu strong hold of the army which is on the frontier of the Thai-Burma border. The next morning, after breakfast, we moved with heavy loads to the front lines where there were soldiers from Company No.3 and from Regiment No. 102. In the jungle, we were really exhausted by carrying the heavy loads over the high mountains. We had difficulty walking because we had no rest in the jungle. I especially could not walk, so I hid behind one of the rice bags but they found me and beat me badly. The next morning, as a punishment, they sent me to collect bamboo shoots for their meals in the jungle. That was a chance for my survival, and I took advantage of it. Subsequently, I ran away from the soldiers, and met one Thai who showed me the way to get to the Karen guerilla area."

August 1991
My name is Kyaw Oo and I am 15 years old. I live in Ah Paung Township. On the 26th of June of this year, I had sentry duty in my village. At midnight, one of the police patrol groups arrested me, and kept one night at the police station. The next day, they sent me to the No.8 Burmese Infantry Regiment in Beling township in Mon State. Subsequently, the army carried me and some other arrested people to Myawaddy opposite Maesod which is a Thai border town.

The next day, we had to carry heavy rice bags and artillery shells to the front line headquarters of No.9 Infantry regiment. We often had to carry rice bags and artillery shells from the front line headquarters to the soldiers on the other lines. I was really young and very tired to carry heavy loads in the jungle. When I could not walk fast like the other people, they beat me badly. One of my friends, named Maung Gyi, one day slipped down the mountainside with the heavy artillery shells on his shoulder. He was beaten by the soldiers for slipping. As a punishment, he was forced to carry heavy loads in the jungle for two consecutive days.

Finally, we came back to the front line headquarters where I broke through the fence, and ran away from the soldiers. I escaped, and got to the Karen guerrilla area."

Gang Rape of Karen Woman

An ethnic Karen woman from Burma named Ma Khin Win Kyaing, about 23 years old, works as a maid in Banon Ward (North house) in Maesod, on the Thai-Burma border. She was gang raped by five Thai men, two of them holding pistols.

The Thai government has been repatriating Burmese citizens living in Thailand to the Burma side since the first week of May. To avoid being repatriated, Ma Khin Win Kyaing was hiding in a tiny hut about 200 yards behind a local clinic which is a very well known in Maesod town. She was living with Ma Nan who is her house mate.

On the 13 of June 1991, about 10 pm, five Thai men came to her hut and two of them were holding pistols. The Thai gang first slapped, kicked and beat Ma Nan who was reportedly left unconscious in the hut. Then the Thai gang aimed their pistols at Ma Khin Win Kyaing, and drug her out through the rice fields.

After a short while, Ma Nan regained consciousness again and informed the people in the clinic about the event. About 15 people from the clinic tried to follow the Thai gang. At that time, Ma Khin Win Kyaing and the Thai gang were under one of the trees in the rice field. Although she heard the people calling her name in the dark, she could not shout for help as the Thai gang were pointing their guns at her head.

Finally, about 12 pm the people from the clinic came back, and called the Thai police on the phone. Although the Thai police said they would look for her, none of them came to the place. Meanwhile, the Thai gang took her into one of the huts nearby. They forcefully took off her dress and raped her there in the hut the whole night. Following the rape, they threatened to shoot her, but she pleaded with them to spare her life. Finally, the Thai men freed her and shouted to her to go away from them.

The woman who was gang-raped is:

Name: Ma Khin Win Kyaing
Nationality: Ethnic Karen
Age: about 23 years
Religion: Buddhist
Address: Dai Pya village, Hlaing-Bwe Township, Karen State
Status: Single

We asked friends to take whatever action is possible to pressure for legal action against the Thai gang. This woman is not the first Karen women in Thai territory to be harassed like this. Other women in Maesod are being given sexual harassment by Thai men but we can not give proof because traditionally the women of Burma are very ashamed of such humiliation, and will not talk about it.