Military commanders at K.N.L.A. emergency meeting.

Newly elected Karen women Organisation (K.W.O) standing committee members were seen after the 2nd K.W.O congress.

Combined Young ethnic nationalities singing at N.Y.C.
Political trainees from Supreme Head Quarters.

Political trainees from ThaTon District.
LETTER TO GENERAL THAN SHWE (I)

DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

To,

Ref. No.: MDMK/N-1/0240
Date: 23 April 1993

General Than Shwe
Chairman
State Law and Order Restoration Council

Dear General,

Burma is a country rich in agricultural, forest, marine and mineral resources, and was once acknowledged as one of the most prosperous countries in Asia. Despite the fact that the country still possesses all of these assets, it has sadly descended to the point that today it is one of the world's poorest countries. Worse still are the lack of unity among the nationalities of the country, the lack of peace and stability, and the complete lack of security in the lives of people in every part of society.

The civil war throughout the country has now lasted well over forty years, and the resulting instability continues to grow worse and worse. The State Law and Order Restoration Council even finds that it must station large contingents of troops in cities like Rangoon and Mandalay simply to maintain security. Burma's main problems began as political problems, and they need to be solved by peaceful political means. However, those who have held power have ignored this and instead have consistently tried to solve things by military might alone; yet this approach has only further worsened and complicated the problems.

The ethnic nationals of Burma, the democratic political parties, Burmese people and patriots desire to solve these political problems through peaceful political means, by working to construct a peaceful, united, democratic and prosperous genuine federal republic.

But faced with this situation, the SLORC abolishes many political parties, detains thousands of political leaders, and persists in building up the armed forces. The SLORC uses various pressure tactics to gain ceasefires with some armed forces in Shan State, only to divert more troops to military attacks on other ethnic nationalities. SLORC representatives are even today meeting separately with certain members of the Democratic Alliance of Burma for the same reason. Such moves will not bring about lasting peace or national reconciliation, but only further divide the nation and worsen the problems. None of these actions are aimed in the right direction.

If the SLORC sincerely wants genuine and lasting national unity and peace and if it desires a lasting solution for the benefit of the country, then it should unwaveringly take the following three steps:...
THE SLORC BECOMES SO AFRAID

The present ruling military regime of Burma, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), has every reason to be afraid. Their wrong doings, their atrocities towards the civilians and their killings are so many that the spirits of the dead are haunting them all the time. They become so afraid that the present army is never enough to protect them. The army must be larger, stronger and better equipped. Their enemies, the people, are everywhere even at their door steps.

They cannot trust anyone, not even their own army. It is too dangerous to give the army a chance to become rebellious. Any army officer or soldier with any sign of disobedience is removed or severely punished. The army cannot be posted for a long period in a certain place or they become too acquainted with the people and fall under their influence. The army must be always on the move. They must be kept busy or they settle and become rebellious. The officers cannot be put in charge of a unit for a long time or the soldiers become too familiar with them and will not obey their senseless orders. The best way is to keep them busy fighting against anything, on any front, either against the ethnic national freedom fighters, the civilians, cows, pigs, chickens, mango trees, coconut trees, even pots and plates.

The SLORC, with a large army that is fully equipped and armed to the teeth, is afraid of a single lady who is without even a needle to be called a weapon. Their leader is so afraid that a whole battalion is required to guard him. The SLORC dare not walk among their own people alone or unarmed. They become so afraid that their food must be tasted before they ever eat it. They become demo-phobic. Thus they forcefully relocate villages and put them under heavy guard and keep those villagers so busy working for them that they do not even have enough time to work for their families. They keep them so busy that they do not have time to think of rebelling. They are seriously intimidated.

This phobia alone will determine their doomsday, which is very very close at hand. Time is running out for them and no magic power will be able to save them now.

They are,

1) Publicly announce an unconditional nationwide ceasefire,
2) Release all political prisoners unconditionally, and
3) Hold round table talks with all groups, based on freedom and equality of representation and discussion.

They Democratic Alliance of Burma, reflecting the desires of the ethnic nationals, democratic political parties, patriotic Burmese and people from all walks of life, is willing to solve the country’s problems through round table talks. Likewise, for the benefit of the country, the State Law and Order Restoration Council should be willing to sincerely seek solutions by participating in round table talks and observing the three points above. Only then can a proper solution benefitting all peoples in Burma be achieved.

Sd/
(General Saw Bo Mya)
Chairman
Democratic Alliance of Burma
LETTER TO GENERAL THAN SHWE (2)

DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Ref: Ma Da Ma Kha/Na-1/003
Date: August 17, 1993

General Than Shwe
Chairman
The State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC)
Rangoon

Dear Mr. Chairman,

1) An open letter bearing the date of April 23, 1993, was sent by me previously. I hope that it reached you in good order.

The letter was written so as to publicise and clarify the fact that the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) is:

a) Determined to continue bearing the responsibility of securing freedom and striving with the conviction that all patriotic political forces must serve the country and the people, with courage and sincerity;

b) Endeavouring actively, with genuine good-will, in the effort to save Burma from the sea of misery, in the least painful way; and

c) Attempting, in the most rational manner, to address the question of the realization of genuine peace, which is being yearned for by the people.

2) In my letter, I emphasized the need for declaring an unconditional, nation-wide cease-fire, unconditional release of all political prisoners and holding a national convention on the basis of freedom and equality, in the search for a political solution to the political problems of Burma. We stipulated these three conditions, because, as our numerous experiences have proven, any effort for peace without these three conditions failed to realize genuine peace and stable unity.

3) At present, the SLORC is attempting to address the problems of peace and unity in the country by shouting the slogan that "there is no need to lay down arms but just to forsake the way of arms." It is negotiating with some of the armed nationality groups individually and entering into cease-fire agreements with them. It allows some of the leaders of the groups it reached such agreements with to attend its national convention. However, these steps will never lead to genuine peace and stable unity. I would like to point out that these measures will further aggravate the deteriorating internal situation and endanger the neighbouring countries in consequence.

4) At present, Burma is in a plight worse than it has experienced at any time in its history. The country has reached such a disastrous situation because, previously, the Burma Socialist Program Party and now the SLORC have been using ever-increasing military force to solve political problems, instead of solving them by political means.

To be continued on Page 9
INTRODUCTION - BURMA'S TWO MAJOR STRUGGLES

I will begin by reading out a quotation from page 11 of the 1992 Annual Report of the Burma Rights Movement for Action. It reads as follows: "In a meeting earlier this year, a Burmese military officer is quoted as saying, 'We will completely wipe out the Karen insurgents. In the future, if anyone wants to know who the Karen were, they will have to go to a museum.'" I can assure you that this was not an isolated statement. Many such statements by SLORC leaders and senior military officers have been recorded before. It may not be found in the printed syllabus of the Burma Military Academy, but all graduates, whether from the Academy or from basic training, are sent out to the battlefields indoctrinated with this idea that the Karen and other ethnic nationalities of the country are a nuisance and that they should be completely wiped out.

In trying to find "The Way to Peace" for Burma, it is imperative to clearly understand Burmese politics. In Burma, there are today two completely different, but inseparable and interrelated, struggles. One is the general democracy movement which is mainly urban in nature. This surfaced into the spotlight in 1988, although it had existed in various forms and at various times since the first military coup in 1962. The other is the struggle of non-Burman ethnic nationalities for national equality and their right to self-determination. This had its beginning even before the country was granted independence in 1948. Until and unless these two issues are given equal priority when considering possible solutions for Burma, there definitely cannot be any working solution to the country's problems. A mere change of government in Rangoon will not bring peace or true democracy to the country. In fact, Burma had "democratic" governments from 1948 up until 1962, and it was these governments that precipitated the civil war that still continues throughout Burma today.

THE SOLUTION - GENUINE FEDERATION

Burma has had two Constitutions, one in 1947 and one in 1974. Neither of them worked. The 1947 Constitution was semi-federal in nature, but those who assumed power in 1948 warped it to create a completely unitary state in practice. The 1974 Constitution was entirely unitary with all power focussed in one central party, the Burma Socialist Programme Party.

Today, the State Law and Order Restoration Council or SLORC is studying the Constitutions of other military-controlled countries such as Indonesia. It plans to legalise military control of the government, the economy, and all aspects of society through such a Constitution.
However, such a Constitution is guaranteed to ignore all the root problems of the country, and to assume that all of these problems can be crushed by brute repressive military force. Such an approach can only result in continued oppression of the people and civil war for the foreseeable future. In particular, it does not address the ethnic issue, the resolution of which is of paramount importance if there is ever to be peace and prosperity in Burma. The term "minority" is often used to diminish the importance of this issue. However, in reality the combined minorities make up what is probably a majority of the population of Burma.

The military regime should leave the writing of the Constitution to the people. A genuine federal Constitution based upon national equality and the right to self-determination of all ethnic nationalities who share the territory of Burma is the solution, and it must be written by the people themselves, through their true representatives. With this firm belief and after four years of research, drafting and debate, the Karen National Union completed its version of a proposal for a federal Constitution for Burma in May 1988. Now the Democratic Alliance of Burma, which brings together all major ethnic nationalities including Burma and multiracial religious organisations and students, is continuing work on its revised third draft of a similar federal Constitution proposal, reflecting the increasing unity of views on solutions to major issues.

THE MANERPLAW AGREEMENT AND THE NCBU

The successive post-independence governments of Burma have misled the people into believing that federalism means fragmentation of the country. They have fabricated propaganda that the ethnic peoples fighting against them want to tear Burma apart, and their propaganda has been quite successful because of their complete control of all education and information sources in the country. It was the students who escaped the 1988 military massacres and sought the sanctuary of their ethnic brethren in the Revolutionary Areas who were among the first Burmans to see how false all the government's propaganda had always been. They found out for themselves that the ethnic nationals, whom they had been taught from birth were their enemies and the enemies of the country, were in fact only fighting for national equality, human rights and the fight to self-determination, and that we also desire to live peacefully within a unified and prosperous country.

Burman politicians who escaped to the Revolutionary Areas to seek similar sanctuary, including members of parliament elected in the 1990 general elections who later formed the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), learned the same truth already learned by the students. As a result, the Agreement to Establish a Federal Union of Burma, also known as the Manerplaw Agreement, was signed on 31 July 1992. The signatories on behalf of the ethnic Burmans were Dr. Sein Win, Prime Minister of the NCGUB, and U Tin Aung, Chairman of the National League for Democracy in the Liberated Areas. Signatories on behalf of the non-Burman ethnic nationalities were General Saw Bo Mya, Chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), and Nai Shwe Kyin, Chairman of the National Democratic Front (NDF). A portion of the agreement reads: "We will build a Federal Union where all indigenous nationalities enjoy equality, rights to self-determination, democracy and basic human rights to the fullest extent."
Further reflecting the increased understanding and cooperation between all of Burma's ethnic nationalities, the National Council of the Union of Burma or NCUB, was formed on 5 August 1992. The NCUB brings together all democratic forces, national liberation movements, and political organisations under a single legislative body.

Much work still needs to be done toward achieving full understanding and agreement among all the nationalities in Burma, but the Manerplaw Agreement and the formation of the NCUB lay a firm foundation for accomplishing this. Meanwhile, the SLORC persists in its sham National Convention and false reforms, believing it can fool the international community while achieving its own version of "unity", which involves crushing all the non-Burma nationalities militarily while keeping the Burmans silent through brutal oppression.

No constitutional device however sophisticated its content, no territorial division however appropriate from a technical point of view, no sharing of powers however liberal and well-intended, can guarantee to save societies from conflict if the parties do not want to behave responsibly and rationally toward each other. But 45 years of conflict and civil war and 31 years of living in constant fear under military dictatorship have already been more than enough for the people of Burma. They want a peaceful resolution, and most significantly they want a chance to work out the issues facing their country in peace and in the absence of fear. They realise it will not be an easy process, but they also realise that nothing could be worse than the situation they face right now under the SLORC. They will need international sympathy and help.

SUGGESTIONS FOR GERMAN AND EC POLICY ON BURMA

If all the peoples of Burma are ever to have the chance of achieving true and lasting peace, negotiation for settling their differences and establishing a government which represents the will of the people and respects their rights, it is imperative that the international community begin to put actions behind its words and stop supporting the SLORC militarily, financially, and diplomatically.

1. Arms Embargo

Burma currently faces no outside military threats, but with its ongoing arms purchases and planned expansion of its Army to half a million men, Burma is beginning to pose a very real threat to its neighbours. Arms in Burma are not used for defense, but to annihilate indigenous peoples and to suppress all those who live under SLORC rule. The European Community should very strongly call upon China, Singapore, South Korea, Pakistan, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Japan, among others, to stop supplying arms and military equipment to the SLORC. The EC should also take action to ensure that Portugal does not continue to flaunt the existing EC arms embargo against the SLORC, and should adopt whatever measures are necessary to stop EC-based companies from supplying arms and military equipment to SLORC by trans-shipping them through Pakistan, Singapore, or other intermediaries. Companies should also be prevented from supplying aircraft, parts, and other equipment which is clearly for military use, even if the company claims it is "commercial equipment".

As the Burmese Army is already causing instability in the region and the SLORC still plans to increase its strength by another 200,000 men to a total of half a million, pressure should be brought on the UN Security Council to declare the SLORC a regional threat and impose a full arms embargo.
China, Thailand, and other neighbours of Burma should be encouraged to form a Good Offices group to persuade SLORC to open negotiations with the real leadership of the democratic groups and ethnic nationalities in order to begin solving the country's problems peacefully.

2. Trade, Investment and Aid Sanctions

All aspects of society and the economy are tightly controlled by the SLORC in territory which they control, and an estimated 60 percent or more of the national budget goes to the military. In this environment, the benefits of all foreign trade, aid and investment are directed so that they only go toward the personal fortunes of SLORC officials or toward further expansion and arming of the Armed Forces. Therefore, all such foreign financial activity in Burma only prolongs and worsens the civil war and SLORC oppression of the people, and must be considered as military support for SLORC.

Germany and its EC partners should call upon the United Nations to impose trade, investment and aid sanctions against Burma. It is true that any economic measures which lack Chinese and Thai support can only have limited effectiveness, but even so such action will withdraw part of the SLORC's financial base, and it is a necessary first step in pressuring China and the ASEAN nations to reduce their support of SLORC. The ASEAN nations currently use the lack of any UN or other foreign sanctions to deflect all criticism of their "constructive engagement" policy, arguing quite logically that they can hardly be expected to reduce trade when requested to by countries which refuse to do so themselves. Germany and the EC should therefore take the first step themselves, then seek cooperation from China, Thailand and other ASEAN countries in implementing more effective trade, investment and aid sanctions, preferably via the United Nations. The EC and foreign countries should also be outspoken in calling upon their businesses to voluntarily halt investments in Burma until there is significant political change.

3. Remove Burma's Status as a Least Developed Countries (LDC)

Burma was recognised as a Least Developed Country (LDC) by the UN in 1987, based on falsified statistics provided to the UN by the Ne Win dictatorship. Ne Win did this in order to get LDC debt relief from the enormous debts his government had incurred through arms buying. His purpose was achieved, and the debt relief he obtained freed him to increase his arms purchases once again. Burma still does not legally qualify to be an LDC, yet its continued inclusion on the LDC list is still used by the SLORC to ease its foreign debt so it can further increase its arms purchases. Combined with the fact that as an LDC Burma is not held accountable for how it spends its money. The effect of the LDC designation has only been to allow a massive accumulation of weaponry for use in attacking the people of Burma. The United Nations should be pressured to remove Burma's status as an LDC, thereby making the SLORC accountable for its debts and decreasing its ability to buy massive supplies of arms.

4. Pressure the UN Agencies to Stop Supporting SLORC

While virtually all foreign aid stopped when the SLORC came to power in 1988, several UN Agencies continued to support the junta. Some others stopped, but are now resuming funding. Agencies such as UNDP, UNICEF, UNDCP, IFAD, FAO, UNCDF, the World Bank, the Asia Development Bank, and others currently providing or considering aid to the SLORC, should be made to bring their activities in line with UN policy and resolutions. The UN General Assembly and the Human Rights Commission have repeatedly condemned the SLORC, and have insisted on a speedy transfer of power and an end to the SLORC's military operations in the border areas. Yet these UN Agencies continue to propose increased aid with no attached conditions for reform, openly state their support for SLORC activities in the border areas, and talk about long-term commitments to SLORC.
In line with the existing UN Resolutions, the UN Agencies should be prevented from contributing any further to prolonging SLORC rule. The best way they can benefit the people is to suspend their activities until real reforms occur, and to consider instead the possibility of helping refugees and internally displaced people, who receive no UN aid and are now starving in the Revolutionary Areas after being deliberately driven from their homes by the SLORC.

5. The UN Security Council
The SLORC's continued gross violations of human rights in spite of existing UN resolutions, the persistent escalation of the civil war, the almost 500,000 refugees already in neighbouring countries, the 3 to 4 million internally displaced people who may flee to become refugees soon, the ongoing massive SLORC military build-up combined with their frequent military intrusions into Thailand, China, India and Bangladesh, and the ever-increasing production of opium and heroin in SLORC-controlled areas, all pose threats to regional stability. The situation in Burma should be taken up by the UN Security Council, and along with a full arms embargo and comprehensive sanctions, a humanitarian intervention could also be considered.

6. Remove the SLORC Delegate from Burma's Seat at the UN
SLORC's legitimacy literally comes "from the barrel of the gun" and not from the people, yet the SLORC is constantly promoting the idea that its legitimacy comes from United Nations recognition. SLORC propaganda publications and television are constantly smeared with images of foreign diplomats and UN officials meeting SLORC Generals or SLORC delegations attending UN functions. If the international community withdraws its approval of this illegal junta or even debates the credentials of its delegation, the SLORC would be seen as what it is: an army holding the nation hostage. Such a debate could well undermine the junta's credibility even within the Burma Army, which is constantly told that the world approves its rule. The debate would also give weight to the resolutions already passed by the UN, which up until now have been
laughed at by the SLORC, safe in the knowledge that no meaningful action is likely to follow.

CONCLUSION

The SLORC is currently holding a sham National Convention to deflect foreign criticism, win international support and restore foreign assistance. The majority of the delegates were hand-picked by the SLORC. Yet even so, some delegates have tried to speak of a genuine federation of states as the solution to Burma's conflicts. Khun Mar Ko Pan, an elected Member of Parliament and delegate to the National Convention, defected to Manerplaw in March 1993. He stated, "It was known or believed from the beginning by most of the Burmese people that this would be a sham Convention. Out of 702 delegates, close to 600 are people they have selected according to their desires."

He also displayed the book of Rules and Regulations given to all delegates by the SLORC, which states clearly that one of the Convention's main aims is "To establish a participatory and leadership role for the Armed Forces in the future national politics of Burma." It goes on to forbid delegates from discussing any topic which has not been approved in advance, criticising the military, or bringing in any unauthorised written materials, and threatens action against any who violate the rules.

Peace in Burma can be restored only when the military comes to understand that they are not an elite group or a ruling aristocracy, but an integrated part of the community, paid to serve that community. The military cannot be above the law nor above the country's politics.

The people of Burma want peace, democracy and justice. They believe in national equality, the right to self-determination of ethnic nationalities and the establishment of a genuine federal union of states. No military dictatorship lasts forever, and this one must end if the people of Burma are to have a chance to find peace and establish a proper government. We look forward to the full understanding and support of the international community, both morally and materially, so that we may bring this about as soon as possible.

from Page 3

5) In conclusion, I would like to say that all the patriotic forces must employ just means in working for the benefit of the country and must bear these responsibilities with courage and sincerity. Accordingly, I would like to urge you once again to publicly express your position on the matters contained in this letter.

Cordially,

(Gen. Saw Bo Mya)
Chairman
Democratic Alliance of Burma
The 46th Anniversary of the Karen National Day was celebrated on the 11th of February 1993 in Manerplaw. The ceremony was attended by representatives from the NDF, DAB, NLD, leaders of the KNU, KYO, KWO and people from the surrounding areas, altogether numbering about 2,000.

This year, the ceremony assumed the form of a mass meeting and the following resolutions were duly adopted.

Resolution No. (1)

In 1947, the Karen people from all walks of life, aspiring to establish a state of their own, started their movement for a Karen State with a justly determined land area. On the 11th of February 1948, peaceful demonstrations were held in towns and cities to show that this was the true will of the entire Karen people. In keeping with this and as current political developments, Karen people yearn to establish a genuine federation of states, together with the various peoples of Burma. The Karen people will continue to struggle until these objectives are attained.

On this occasion of the anniversary of Karen National Day, we the Karen leadership firmly resolve to support the struggle of the Karen people by performing all the duties entrusted to us.

Resolution No. (2)

Nowadays, the SLORC, the successor of the BSPP, in order to perpetuate its hold on power, to enhance the personal benefits gained by its military clique, to continue oppressing the indigenous peoples in accordance with racial chauvinism and to impose its tyrannical rule by a unitary system of state, has convened a so-called national convention and is controlling it both directly and through various pressure tactics. As there are no legitimately elected representatives of the Karen people in the convention, we, the KNU, totally repudiate and condemn it. On the occasion of this anniversary, we firmly resolve to oppose the sham national convention.

Resolution No. (3)

The entire Karen people has been racially and economically oppressed and exploited by the system of racial chauvinism. This has become worse under the rule of SLORC, and the Karens are subjected to a genocidal form of war, characterised by indiscriminate arrest, torture, execution, rape, destruction and looting of property. The other indigenous nationalities are also subjected to similar attacks.

Accordingly, we, the revolutionaries, firmly resolve to stand on the side of the people and oppose all those who are perpetrating crimes and atrocities.

Resolution No. (4)

The World has perceived that the SLORC military clique, after seizing state power by brutal force, has been committing wide-spread violations of democratic, human and indigenous rights with its military machine. We know for a fact that some foreign countries have been supplying war weapons to the SLORC military clique in order to prolong its life.

On behalf of the suffering Karen people, brother nationalities and the entire people of Burma, we firmly resolve, on this occasion of the anniversary of Karen National Day, to urge the United Nations to intervene at the earliest possible date and address these problems.
Dear Indigenous peoples,

The events of today's world are quite different from those of the past. The eras of feudalism, imperialism, and colonialism are over. Today's struggles take place within nations between indigenous races who have been deprived of their rights and chauvinistic ruling classes, whose sole motivation is thirst for power.

Due to this, some nationalities have not had equal rights with other races. Those who were economically exploited and realized their true situation began to struggle against the rulers. Those groups that did not want to continue living under oppressive circumstances fought for their self-determination. The rulers have often answered with severe retributions, and many serious conflicts have broken out all over the world, notably in such states as the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union. It is our duty as indigenous peoples to support these struggles all over the world; they have broken out because of repression and atrocities, based on a lack of equal rights.

Despite the righteousness of our struggles, some communist countries labeled our actions as narrow-minded nationalism, even though their own rhetoric stated that they, the communist parties, were the champions of the liberation of oppressed nationalities. Instead of acting upon their own words, they displayed ill will towards many liberation movements.

As the international situation changed in the 1950’s, many colonized people began calling for independence. The United Nations firmly affirmed the right of oppressed peoples to be free from colonialism. Through recent events, specifically the successful struggles for democracy in Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War, it has become apparent that people have rejected the communist system and one-party dictatorship.

Throughout their existence, communist countries have supported repressive regimes in order to further their own interests. The Chinese government has been a major sponsor of the Burmese junta, causing the Burmese chauvinists to rely heavily on outside assistance to survive, while the Karens have had to seek help from friendly groups from other countries, who would stand by the Karens in their time of need.

Applying the global situation to the Union of Burma, we conclude that the revolution of the various ethnic groups were caused by the nefarious oppression of the successive regimes of Burman chauvinists, including the present so-called "State Law and Order Restoration Council" (SLORC) military regime. In light of the geography of Burma and the size of the indigenous peoples, the most suitable solution for our country is the establishment of a genuine federal union based on self-determination. Only then can all nationalities reconcile their differences and enjoy peace and prosperity.

APOLOGY

Dear Readers,

I would like to apologise to all the readers and patrons who continuously support KNU Bulletin and Tha Nu Htoo Journal for delaying a few months to publish.

Due to financial problems our Journals had to stop publishing for a few months, even though we would like to fulfill the desire of readers and patrons.

Any how, we would try our best to publish our KNU Bulletin and Tha Nu Htoo Journal in the future.

With best wishes

( Editor)
Historically, the Burmese governments have ignored the pleas of the nationalities presented within a legal framework, for a truly federal union. Instead, the chauvinist regimes persecuted the ethnic groups and committed unprovoked atrocities. However, over 40 years of civil war proved that the revolutions of the nationalities cannot be suppressed by the government. SLORC tried to solve the issue of the nationalities by calling a national convention dominated by the sycophants of their regime. But at the same time the SLORC is preparing for war and launching an offensive against the ethnic groups. But we believe that in spite of its attempts to perpetuate its rule, the SLORC must soon fall. The SLORC seems unable to solve the issues that have been raised by the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Burma. The Karens are willing to talk to any Burmese government about obtaining the best solution to these problems. We believe in the following principles:

- Chauvinists who perpetrate atrocities will fall
- The SLORC will fall
- The struggle for democracy and Human Rights will be victorious.

CENTRAL ORGANIZING DEPARTMENT MEETING

With an aim of reviewing and analysing the work of the department, which carried out its work plan before, the 1st central organizing department since the 10th KNU congress was successfully held from 18th of March until 24th of March 1993 Manerplaw.

This meeting was attended by the specially invited leaders from the supreme headquarters, heads of the organizing departments from districts and townships, representatives of the Karen Youth Organisation (KYO), representatives of the Karen Women Organization (KWO) and military commanders from various military zones.

In this meeting two resolutions that were among the most vital were passed. One, called on all revolutionaries to avoid practices that run against the will of the people. With an aim of broadening the department's organizational work. The second referred to the need to gain information on enemy atrocities and to inform the Supreme H.Q, as soon as possible, so that immediate action can be taken by the relevant groups.
From the Political Defiance Committee of the NCUB.

Human Rights Reporting has improved dramatically over the past few years.

One of our concerns is the ever increasing problem of empathy fatigue by Burmese supporters and even those inside Burma. Empathy fatigue happens to people when they are repeatedly month after month told (or shown on TV) about terrible events. People are no longer able to get upset anymore. Despite being good people they become distant from the pain. It is just too overwhelming.

Another aspect of this bombardment of bad news is the despair that it causes, particularly for the people inside Burma. The Burma people are indeed the innocent victims that we tell about. However, there is another side to human rights reporting that can be helpful.

Instead of focusing on the death of the poor man who was killed by Tatmadaw behind his house, focus on his life; focus on his refusal to let them rape his daughter, focus on his refusal to let his family suffer, report on his courage, and his heroic stand for that which he believed in. As you can see, this information can be reported in two ways. This heroic reporting is important, particularly for inspiring the people of Burma.

We are hoping to record detailed reports of resistance even among "victims". Even running away can be heroic if it is a way to non-cooperate with the opponent.

We would like to repeat that this memo is motivated because of the vastly improved and impressive quality and quantity of human rights reporting or our movement.

My name is Naw Thwe Htoo. I am a Karen woman from Kawthoolei in Burma. I live a good life with my husband and 4 children. We plant rice, and have a coconut grove that we survive on with our fellow villagers.

Last year the war came to my village. Men with guns came and talked to the village headman, and then went away. A few days later, they came back. The headman came to me and demanded rice for those men.

I am poor. I do not have much, but I gave what I could. I did not expect any money..and I did not get any.

A time later after my youngest came down with malaria, the men with guns...
came back walked into my house with their boots on. They pointed the guns at myself, my husband and 2 children who were helping me cook a meal. They demanded that we come with them. We said no. They grabbed me and tied me up. My husband was beaten with a rifle. My children were terrified, holding on to my clothes and crying out "Mommy, what are they doing to you?"

I demanded that the soldiers leave my children behind. The soldiers said no. I quickly told my children in the Karen language to run and hide until I get back. And that I would not forget them.

When the soldiers went to another house. My children ran after me giving me a quick hug. My husband was unconscious on the ground. I went to him and tried to comfort him, but I had no medicines and my hands were tied. 20 people in the village were taken. We were all tied up in ropes. My children were left behind. I feared for their lives, but they were safer there. Only my neighbor’s mother was left behind.

We knew why the soldiers came. Last year, my cousin came to tell me that she was raped by soldiers who forced her to be a human porter for two months in the jungle. She eventually escaped to the Thai border area and then returned home after assistance from people far away.

We were angry. We refused to talk to the soldiers. We walked as slowly as possible and they would curse us. They made us carry ammunition. This was so heavy that I could hardly walk. All of us kept talking to each other trying to keep up hope. We believed we could survive if we stuck together.

On the second day, we started talking to the soldiers. "Why are you doing this to us." The soldiers told us to shut up and beat me across the face. We kept asking over the next few days, and gradually they began to talk to us. They said "We don’t want to hurt you, but we are ordered to do this by our officers."

On the third day, I slipped and fell down. One of the meanest soldiers came and kicked me to get up. He kicked me really hard in the stomach so that I could not breathe. I felt like giving up but I kept on going.

On the fourth day, we talked to each other about escape. One of the men had managed to find a way to secretly untie himself. We knew that if we stuck together, we might be able to save ourselves from a death of either malaria, exhaustion or execution by the soldiers.

It was now the fifth day, and I still did not know where my husband was. I am worried. He was badly hurt when I left.

On the 10th day, we were feeling weak because we were only fed a tiny quantity of rice every day. Yesterday, the rains came. And we came upon 2 dead people, clearly porters who were shot in the head. I overheard a conversation among soldiers that these two people refused to carry the heavy load, and that the officer in charge shot them himself with a pistol in front of the other porters.

1. DOWN WITH THE SLORC.
2. ELIMINATE THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP.
The days were hot, the jungle roads slippery and my muscles ached, but most of all I missed my children and my home. Suddenly, shooting started after a few weeks, (we all lost track of time). This was what we were waiting for. The man in our group, freed himself in the confusion, and then freed a whole group of us. There were 7 of us. We ran away from the shooting and escaped.

I am alive today only because of the great courage of my fellow Karen people. Together the 7 of us worked together, resisted and survived.

My husband was not so lucky. When I reached home, I found out that my husband had been killed. I knew why. He had great pride in his family and his people. And while he would never hurt anyone, he would not let honor be compromised. I am sure he refused to help them, and he paid for it with his life.

So my life goes on. I have my children still, and my land. Soon my children will go to school. Everything is the same..but everything is different. My husband is gone. I know that his life was not in vain. Someday, this killing will stop in Burma, because the people like him will not stand for it.

Editors Note:
Human rights abuses are wide-spread in Karen regions today. We hear about abuses because every day, every week cruel acts by tens of thousands of SLORC troops continue. What is often not reported is the tremendous courage of the Karen to continue to resist, often nonviolently, to save their families, communities and most of all their integrity.

The Karen are not alone. There are 40 million people of all races in Burma who have to face the same physical and mental miseries of extreme proportion.

Lt Gen Hla Htoo and K.Y.O. leaders attending the 2nd K.W.O. congress.

Some K.W.O. leaders at K.W.O. 2nd congress.
THIRD NCUB MEETING HELD IN MANERPLAW

The third meeting of the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB) was held in Manerplaw from the 30th of August 1993 to the 7th of September 1993. Those present at the meeting were the members of NCUB, which includes representatives from the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), the National League for Democracy (NLD-LA) and the National Democratic Front (NDF), and invited guests.

In order to effectively and systematically implement the future work program a decision was made to form 8 committees. These are the Foreign Affairs committee, the Human Rights and Indigenous Affairs committee, the Defence Committee, the Press and Information Committee, the Finance Committee, the Legal Committee, the Audit and Inspectorate committee, and the Health, Relief, Education and Culture committee. Following is a list of the Individual members of the committee mentioned above.

(A) The Foreign Affairs Committee

1) Dr. Em Mar Ta - Secretary
2) Naing Pe Thin Zar - members
3) U Aung Saw Oo -
4) U Kyaw Hla -

(B) The Human Rights and Indigenous Affairs Committee

1) Naing Pe Thin Zar - Secretary
2) U Myint Aung - members
3) U M Nan Gan -
4) Khun Mar Ko Ban -

(C) The Defence Committee

1) Maj. Gen. Maung Maung - Secretary
2) U Sein Mya - member
3) Col. Khun Oo Ka -

(D) The Press and Information Committee

1) U Aye Hsaung - Secretary
2) U Aung Sein Tha - member
3) U Aung San Oo -

(E) The Finance Committee

1) U Tin Maung Thet - Secretary
2) Ma Ha Hsan - member

(F) The Legal Affairs Committee

1) U Gam Hsun - Secretary
2) U Maung Maung Lat - member
3) Col. Khun Oak Ka -
(G) The Audit and Inspectorate Committee

1) U Kyaw Hla - Secretary

(H) The Health, Relief, Education and Culture Committee

1) U Maung Maung Lat - Secretary (NCGUB)
2) U Myint Aung - Member (NLD-LA)
3) Mai Tin Maung - (DAB)
4) Col. Khun Oak Ka - (NDF)

In addition, the following were elected to be new members of the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB)

1) Mr. Roger (NDF)
2) Khun Oak Ka (NDF)
3) Khun Mar Ko Ban (NCGUB)
4) U Sein Mya (NLD-LA)

FIRST CONGRESS OF THE DAB

The 1st congress of the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) was successfully held in Manerplaw from the 13th of July until the 29th of July 1993. The organizations present were All Burma Muslim Union (ABMU), All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF), All Burma Young Monk Union (ABYMU), Arakan Liberation Party (ALP), Chin National Front (CNF), Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Burma (CRDB), Democratic Party for New Society (DPNS), Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO), Karen National Union (KNU), Lahu National Organisation (LNO), Muslim Liberation Organisation (MLO), New Mon State Party (NMSP), National United Front of Arakan (NUFA), Overseas Burmese Liberation Front (OBLF), People's Liberation Front (PLF), People's Patriotic Party (PPP), Wa National Organisation (WNO). In addition, the leaders of the allies of the DAB, the National League for Democracy (Liberated Area) and the Shan National People's Liberation Organization (SNPLO) attended the congress as observers.

The congress unanimously decided to form a committee which will try to reunite the separate groups of the ABSDF.
Urgent Request

To the parents, mentors, monks, sons and daughter, and wives concerned:--

Thousands of innocent villagers in the Karen State have been suffering untold miseries and indignity. If any of the officers mentioned below are related to you in one way or another, kindly use all your powers to persuade them to repent and to nurture a compassionate heart for fellow human beings.

1) Tactical Commander Lt. Col. Thiha Thura Sit Maung, commanding Burma Army Infantry Battalion (BAIB) # 31, 32, 62
2) Lt. Col. Khin Maung Soe BAIB 62
3) Maj. Han Tint BAIB 32
4) Capt. Khin Maung Soe BAIB 62
5) Maj. Myo Myint BAIB 350
6) Capt. Hla Myint BAIB 350
7) Capt. Khin Maung, Win BAIB 48
8) Maj. Ba Chit BAIB 48
9) Capt. Kyaw Win BAIB 264
10) Maj. Aung Khin BAIB 34
11) Capt. Tun Aung BAIB 48
12) Capt. Htun Aye Light Infantry Battalion (LIB) 264
13) Lt. Aung Kyi LIB 351
14) Lt. Pe Thin LIB 306
15) Ko Shaut Nant LIB 307
16) Lt. Hla Khin IB 38
17) Lt. Than Zaw IB 307
18) Lt. Tin Nyunt IB 307 Company # 2
19) Lt. Myo Myint Aung IB 308
20) Lt. Moe Myint Aung IB 307
21) Lt. Than Maung IB 307
22) Lt. Myint Aung IB 307
23) Myint Aye LIB 96
24) Pyu Than Hla LIB 96 Company # 5
25) Aung Naing LIB 96 Anti-Insurgent Unit (AIU)
26) Lt Col Zaw Win Myint Infantry Bn 231
27) Cap Kyaw Thu Rat

Guardian Angel

Election committee at 2nd KWO congress.
To,

Senior General Than Shwe  
Chairman  
State Law and Order Restoration Council  
Rangoon  

Dear General,

It is learnt that the speeches of Lt Gen. Khin Nyunt made in Loikaw town of Kayah State, Ye town of Mon State and Pa-an town of Karen State, in the month of November 1993, indicated a desire to hold negotiation with jungle-based armed organizations for the establishment of peace and development of the country. The Democratic Alliance of Burma welcomes the official position of the State Law and Order Restoration Council voiced through Lt Gen. Khin Nyunt.

Internal peace and national unity are the principal key to hauling the country out of the pit of poverty and make it develop in a similar manner as the other countries. As internal peace and national unity are a political question, the DAB has publicly announced its views and position, as necessary, to resolve it by political means.

Accordingly, the Democratic Alliance of Burma is willing to officially hold negotiation for internal peace and the development of the country, in accordance with the invitation as announced by the State Law and Order Restoration Council. Therefore, the State Law and Order Restoration Council is urged to make a response for a clearer understanding of its position.

Cordially,

(Gen. Saw Bo Mya)  
Chairman  
Democratic Alliance of Burma  
Manerplaw  

cc:  
All revolutionary organizations;  
Office copy;
The Atrocities and Human rights abuses committed by the SLORC Army

3rd Brigade Area

The displaced villages are as follows.

On 10.8.91 Per Nar Ner village was displaced to Mar Taw Ku village.
18.3.92 Plaw Law Ble to TetHto.
23.4.92 Ma Pi Doh to Him Tha We
23.4.92 Kyo Kyi to Kaw Tha Say
27.4.92 Nho Nya Thu and Kyah Plaw to Noh Nya Thu Thay Po Klah village.

SLORC troops captured Swe Day villagers by the names of Naw Gay Gay, Naw Tha Lay Di and Naw Htee Mu on their way to sell something at Meko village and detained them at Baw Kah Hta village.

On 3-9-92 7 villages of Tar Khot Bwar village were forced to be porters and if they failed to do so they must be fined (4000) Kyats each respectively. They threatened the villagers and forced them to give them money chicken, duck, pig for their food. They took by force different kind of things from the villager's shops valued about (3000) Kyats without paying any price. The villagers within Mone township were forced to be porters. The rations kept together at a place were not issued. On 2-10-92, after the clashes between SLORC's troop and Karen troop in Shwe Htaw village, SLORC's soldiers took away 3 men's longyies, 2 jackets, 1 touch light of U Thein Mg. 2 pairs of slippers, of Daw Nyunt Tin, 2 gold bracelets, a pair of gold earring, 3 men's longyies, 2 jackets of Daw Pyon Vi, 8 men's longyies, 9 jackets, 2 sweaters, 2 towels, 1 pack of clothing, 1 torch light, a jacket of U Tin Shwe, 1 piece of clothing, 1 torch light, a jacket of U Tin Shwe, 1 piece of cloths, 1 woman's longyi of Kyi Win, (1000) Kyats, 7 men's longyies, 5 blankets, 4 jackets, 1 mosquito net, 10 exercise books, 2 face towels, 3 trousers of Ko Tin Nyein, 1 mosquito net, 1 pack, 1 umbrella, 3 clothing of Mg. Mg. Win.

On 3-11-92 the fighting occurred at Mu The village. Two houses, 1 barn 1 straw heap of the village were burnt down by SLORC's troop. After the fighting at In Net Out Pine village on 5-11-92, SLORC's troop robbed domestic animals, such as ducks, chickens pigs moreover they took whatever they saw in the houses. Such as cooking pots, spoons, plates etc.

On 1-12-92 combined forces of LIB(351 and 264) captured the villagers of Bway...
Khaw Htee village, Mone township and forced to give them 1000 kyats each villager respectively. On 8-12-93 SLORC’s troop captured (5) Burmese villagers of Dah Ker Lah village. On 10-12-92 LIB (351) Battalion commander, Myo Myint ordered his soldiers to surround the headman’s house without capturing any one and on 13-12-92 Myo Myint soldiers captured a woman and the headman’s daughter, named Ma Aye and took them to Myo Myint. They gave 8000 Kyats for their release. They were also raped by them. They captured 200 villagers of Mu Daing Taw villagers of Mu Daing Taw village group and forced them to pay (100000) Kyats for their release. Bwah Ey Sti, Naw Taro, Nyaung Bin Tha villages were forced to pay (30000) Kyats each village respectively. Tha Yet Pin villager U Tin Mg. was fined 3000 Kyats. Those who were not able to give them money had to eat bamboo, wood to rebuild their dwelling places. If it was against their will they beat them to death. The Battalion Commander Ba Chit ordered his troop to find and capture the villagers in the fields. The troop fired the fleeing villagers. On 17-1-93, Ba Chit again ordered his soldier to Nyaung Bin Tha village and asked the villagers to give them 1 tin of rice each house and 60 tins of rice from Meh Pa Lah village group.

On 18-1-93, they captured females villagers of Nyaung Bin Tha village named, Ma Nyunt, Ma Me, Ma Khin Swe, Ma Twe Mi and asked 300 Kyats each for their release.

On the same day they captured Ko Kyi, Kyaw Shwe, Ah Me Gon, Ag. Kyi Win, Kalah, Kyin Sein, Po Lwin, Saw Sein Mg. and his wife Ma Kyi and detained them at Mone police station after paying 3000 kyats each as demanded. The villagers were released. Those who could not pay the money were beaten everyday and some villagers were beaten till they lost their senses. Such as Ag. Kyi Win. They used a very cunning trick to persuade the young people to go to May Myo for mining Gems. Jade. Some stupid young peoples of Way Swe and Ta Kaut Bwah villages believed it and went to May Myo. They were caught and sent to the training camp at once.

On 4-2-93 they displaced Thaw Pu and Way Daw Kho villages to Nat Than Gwin village, and Thu Ka Bee village to Khler Kho village. SLORC forced the villagers west of Prelo Klo river to give one recruit each village group respectively if they failed to do so they must pay (30000) Kyats each village group.

On 11-2-93 SLORC’s troops BR 46,39,34, came to Ma Lat with porters. One of the porters who could not walk anymore was killed near Zee Gon village. They took away the properties of Ma Lat villagers valued (8400) Kyats, 8 oxen, 6.5 tins of rice, 23 chickens, 1 home made gun ducks, blankets, clothing, pots, plates and whatever they saw. On 13-2-93 SLORC’s troop displaced Pa Deh Gaw village. On 21-2-93, they shot and killed two villagers of Kwin Seik village, one man, and one woman, a house was burnt down, 4 houses of Thayet Tha
Bin village also were burnt down. On 27-2-93, SLORC’s troops shot and killed one of a villager of Ma Pa village and one villager was injured. On 4-3-93 BR 53 conscripted after gathering three villages, Hin Tha We, Kyo Kyi, and Htoe Wah Set villages.

The SLORC’s troop gave trouble to only Karen villages. They displaced Kyo Kyi and Hin Tha villages to Lay Pay village. They demanded money from Swe Day, Shan Su, Doh Thay Pu villages. From Shan Su village (3700) Kyats each. They sent for U Nyi Lay, Ma Nyunt Than and Than Myint and demanded 10000 Kyats for supporting the rebels. On 9-4-93 LIB (357) entered Haw Kho Gaw village by might and captured 20 villagers and demanded 2000 Kyats each respectively for their release. After receiving money they released them. On 10-4-93 LIB 351 captured 20 women from Kyun Pin Seik village and took every earring, rings, wrist watch whatever they saw on their bodies. On 22-4-93, LIB (60) Battalion Commander Nyi Soe captured Pa Thaung villagers U San Thein, U Kyaw Hlaing and detained them at Kyauk Kyi up to now they are not released. On 8-5-93 BR (73) lead by Kyaw Soe Lwin fired at Ohn Chit Khin village for 25 minutes injuring the villagers, Naw Ka Ser Mo, Sah Mu He, Saw Poh Toe, Naw Soe Ka, and killing an ox a buffalo, and 2 pigs. On 21-5-93 SLORC’s troop shot and killed a Ma Pi Dow villager. They shot and killed Saw Thin Ag. 17 years and said that they shot and killed the wrong one. So they gave 2000 kyats as compensation. On 26-6-93 BR (60) Battalion Commander Nyi Soe captured U Kyaw Kin, U Chit Tin, U Tha Shwe, Daw Ma Thein, Daw Phone Cho, accusing them of making contact with KNU NLD and sent them to Than Bon Battalion headquarters. They demanded (50000) Kyats for the release of these people, though the money had been given as their demand, these six people have not been released yet.

On 26-6-93, BR (60) captured the wife of Say Htoo Wah, and the wife of Saw Mg. Wah, Naw Pah Lah, and sent them to Than Bon Battalion Headquarters. They are not released yet. On 7-7-93, LIB (60) captured Wet Lah Daw villagers, Saw Be He, Saw Be Wah Saw Be Kho, Dah Ka Lah headman U Hla Myaing, Mg. Aye Win, Kyaw Din altogether (10) people and detained them at Kyauk Kyi. On 8-7-93 BR (60) Commander Nyi Soe captured the villagers of Kyah Plaw village named, Chay Lay, Say Lah Wet Chan, and detained them at Than Bne battalion Headquarters, demanding (7000) Kyats for their release. Their demand had been met but these three men have not been released. On 20-7-93 LIB (264) officer Myint Ag. cap-
tured Lay Pay We villagers Myint Wai and Saw Chit. On 23-7-93, they captured again Kyi Pin Su villagers U Ag. Myint, U Naw Mi Kalah and sent them to Pain Za Lote Camp. On 2-8-93 BR (73) Capt. Ney Myo Win killed Taw Kyaw Pot villager, Tin Win. On 4-8-93, LIB (350) captured Shan Su villagers U Pone, U Nee Kwe, Khin Mg. Win, Kyaw Myint, Naw Paw Nay Mu, Chay Nay, Ba Khaw Mu, Saw Wah Ler. Ehte. On 4-8-93 BR (73) No. 5 Second Commander, Saw Win Naing, beat Ko Nee villagers Naw Lah and her daughter Naw Law Eh Htoo. Win Naing forced three year old, youngest daughter of Naw Lah to play with his penis. After playing for a while he kicked her severely. On 5-8-93 Win Naing sent for Gyo Pin Seik villagers and asked them to give him fish. Mg. Hla Win who could not give him fish was punished to jump frog jump and when he was too tired of jumping and could not jump anymore, Win Naing beat him to death. He demanded rice ten tins of rice from Pah Gaw Thay, 6 tins from Saw Bwe, 4 tins from Shwe Tha Htoo and took whatever useful for them in the houses. BR (35) Capt. Khin Mg. U stayed at Gyo Pin Seik, with his troops and gathered the SLORC's headmen of the villages and asked for the recruite. 2 persons from Gyo Pin Seik, 3 from Takot Bwar, 3 from Nyaung Bin Seik. He ordered them to go to the town and look for the persons for the recruite, who must be parentless Burmese. They would give them education in school after that they would conscript them into the army. On 18-8-93 BR (60) Second Column Commander Major Nyi Soe killed Saw Mg. U aged, 34, Saw Ah Lu 37 near Plaw Law Bler village. On the same day the same man Nyi Soe again killed Mg. Win Kyi 26, and Lay Day 27, near Ag. Net village. On 20-9-93 LIB 351 captured 6 villagers of Htee Tow Loh village. 4 of them were released and two of them named Saw Tah Ku Ne and Saw Paw Sa were killed. On 2-10-93 LIB 351 headed by Bo Tint Lwin came to Neh Sho village and shot dead two villagers, named Daw Thwe Pah and Saw Hsar Mu and took away 1 ring and 1 wrist watch. On 6-9-93 LIB (351) headed by Bo Khin Mg. U captured Saw Tha Na Htoo. After beating him severely sent him to Kyo Pin Seik. They forced some people of Pyu to be porters and sent them to Pa-an. On 15-10-93 LIB (351) Major Sein Kalah, killed Saw Ngah Ko the villager of Ta Khot Bwar.
Karen Don dance was presenting at the National Youth Convention held in Manerplaw.

Thra Toke Han (in charge of entertainment program) playing a keyboard.
Political trainees from No(7) Brigade.

Medical trainees from Health and Welfare department.
Representatives from various districts attending the emergency meeting of standing committee.

Youth representatives from various districts.

Karen Don dance at National Youth Convention.

Representatives of national races attending N.Y.C. meeting.

Some leaders attending K.N.D.O. day.