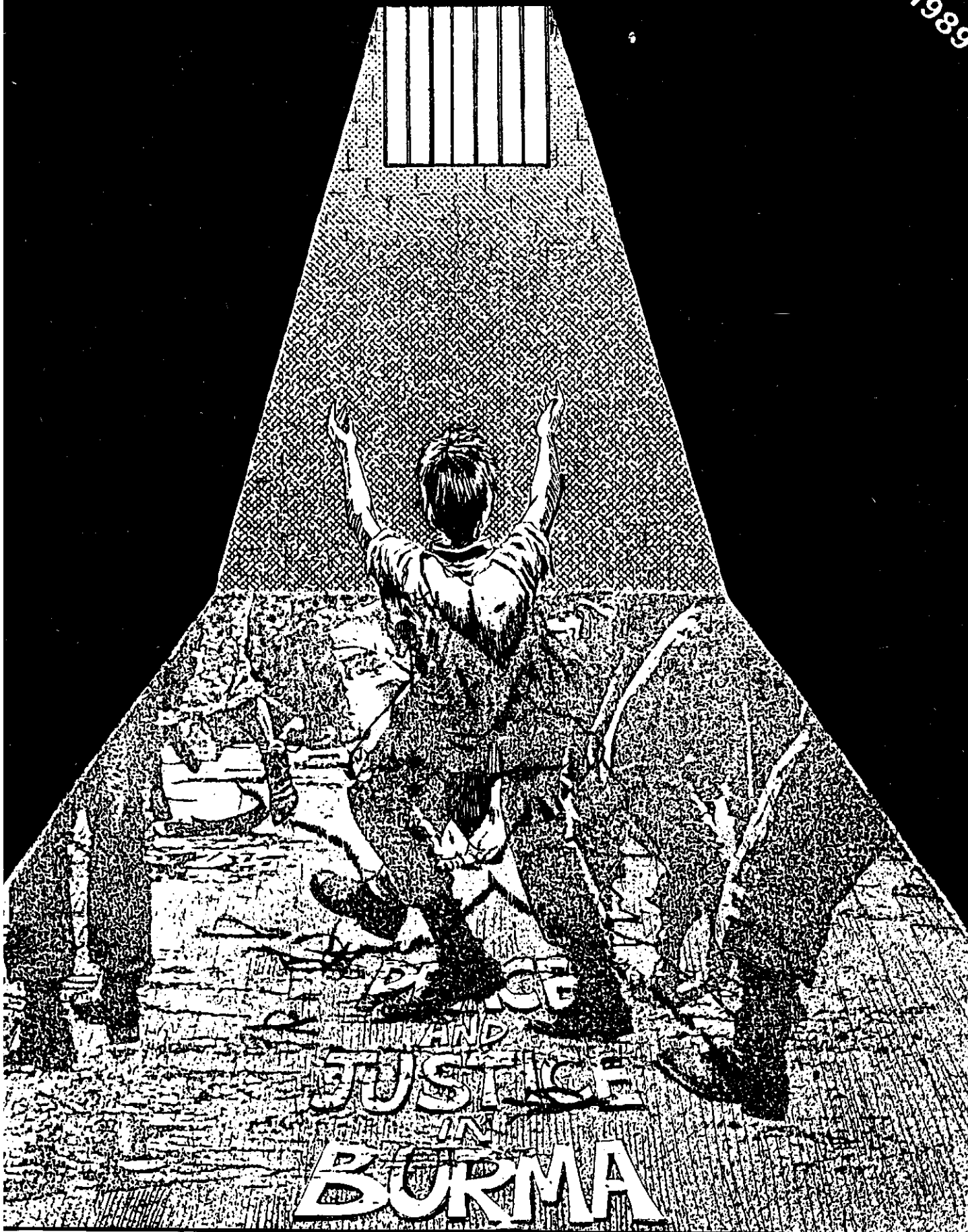
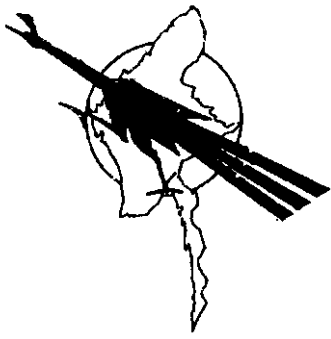


ST 1989





DAWN

NEWS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE
ALL BURMA STUDENTS' DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Vol. (1) No. 16

August

1989

THE POWER FOR TRANSFORMATION LIES WITHIN EACH OF US

"The transfer of power from the hands of the oppressor to those of the oppressed is not easily accomplished at one fell swoop. Part of the difficulty lies in the "culture of silence" that has been inculcated into the people's consciousness by centuries of domination. By slow degrees, the oppressed have internalized a subservient mentality that is reinforced by their daily experience. They find it difficult to see their liberation in terms of their own strength, and look instead outside themselves to an external force to come and save them. The oppressed cannot imagine that the power they await lies within them, and therefore, they lapse into a state of passivity awaiting liberation from heaven, the hills or a messianic leader."

OUR STRENGTH - OUR VICTORY

It has not been easy living in the jungles during these past 9 months. We have faced many difficulties, and many of our friends have died from malaria and artillery shells fired by the Burmese military.

However, our determination has not wavered. We still believe our demands for democracy are just, and we still believe that we shall achieve this dream.

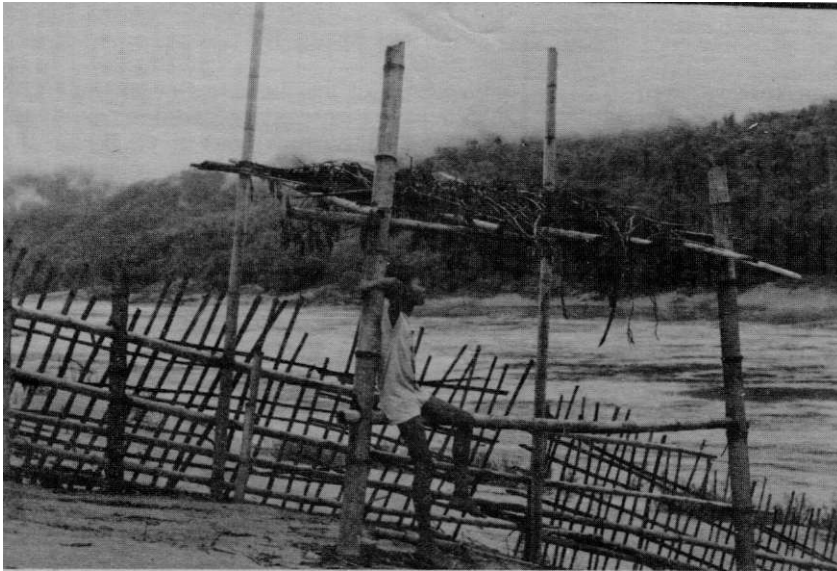
Various kinds of support have been offered to us by people from many countries. We appreciate this support for it encourages us and urges us on in our struggle.

However, we are becoming more and more aware that the struggle belongs to us, and that this help from outside friends will not bring us victory. We must look into our own spirits to find the strength and the resources we need to continue to struggle for human rights and justice in Burma.

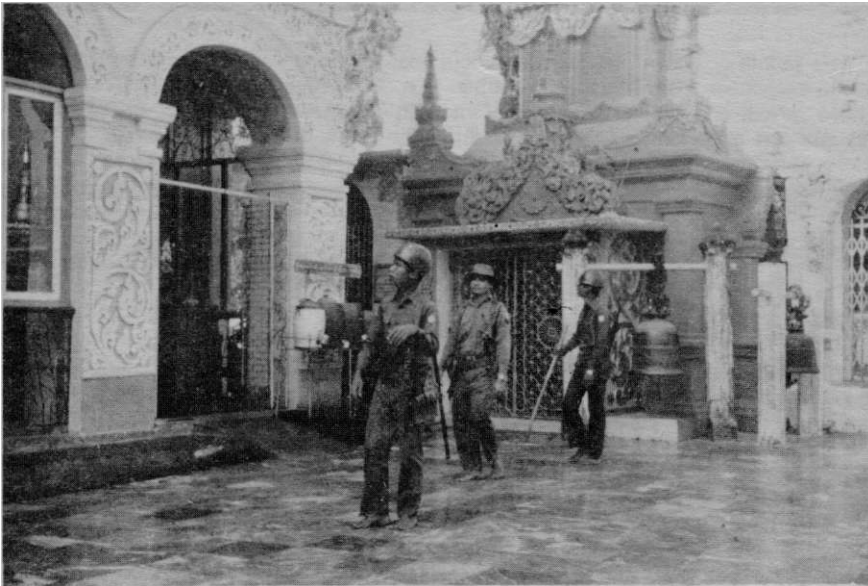
We do have the inner power to complete our task. Whether or not we finally have victory depends on us. We have taken responsibility for this struggle, and we will never give it up.

"Dawn", P.O. Box 1352, GPO, Bangkok 10500, Thailand

OUR COUNTRY IN TWO PICTURES



Thirteen year old Kyaw Swar Aung spends a few quiet moments thinking of his home and family. He now lives in a student camp deep in the jungles of Burma, separated from those he loves by a military government which is driving the country into civil war. Although homesick, he refuses to return home.



One of the reasons he will not return home is because the military still controls every aspect of life, even the sacred sanctuary of the Buddhist temples. Liberation from this bondage is a dream of all the Burmese people. Peace is not just the absence of demonstrations in the streets (which is what the military regime strives for). It is the freedom to be treated with human dignity and respect.

NEWS FROM INSIDE BURMA

A poor family in Thakayta, near Rangoon, was facing a very difficult time finding food for their three children. Finally the parents took the few valuable things they had to the nearby pawn shop. With the money they could collect there, they went to the market to buy the best food they could afford. The wife prepared this food, and then they mixed insecticide in it. Together the family sat down to their last meal together.

Poverty does terrible things to people, and this could have been avoided if the government only cared about the welfare of the people instead of only taking care of themselves.

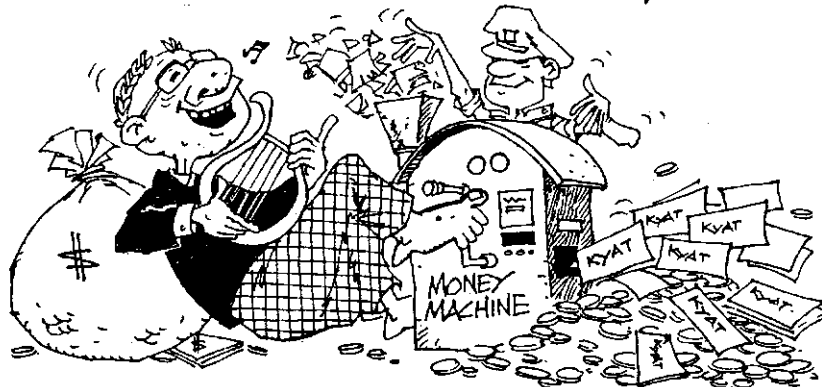
PRINTING MORE KYATS

Employees of the Burmese Government's printing press at Wazi have been working overtime recently, producing millions of new bank notes at the behest of the military regime headed by Saw Maung, according to intelligence sources. With this new money, the authorities have financed a 200-300% salary increase for civil servants, which was introduced earlier this year. In addition, government agents have been buying up badly needed foreign exchange in the black market in Rangoon, pushing up the rate from Kyats 40-50 to the US dollar a few months ago to 55-62 today (the official rate remains static at Kyats 6.55). A special envoy, identified as Ne Oke, has also made several trips to Ranong and Bangkok in Thailand where he has changed several hundred million kyats into baht. As a result of all this, inflation has soared to 50% with prices of daily commodities rising rapidly. Petrol fetches Kyats 70-80 per gallon in Rangoon and as much as Kyats 200 upcountry; the official price is Kyats 16 per gallon. Currently, rice costs Kyats 25-28 per pyi (2.13 kg), compared to Kyats 10 in January.

Far Eastern Economic Review
September 7, 1989

During the past months, "Dawn" has written about many human rights abuses in Burma. "Dawn" is always open to responses from others. We offer Gen. Saw Maung a chance to respond to the issues we have raised, and will provide some space in this news bulletin for his answers. Only through dialogue can true democracy, built on truth, be built.

♪ THEY SAY.. MONEY NEVER GROW ON TREES .. ✓
BUT MONEY IN BURMA CAN BE MADE FREE ..
RECOGNITION NOWHERE .. THE INFLATION I DON'T CARE ..
✓ MY NEED IS WHAT I'M ALWAYS AWARE .. ♪



HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

On July 20, 1989, two top opposition leaders, Daw Aung San Su Kyi and U Tin Oo were placed under house arrest by Saw Maung's regime for a period of one year. Both leaders have been charged with "sowing dissension in the military and nurturing hatred for the armed forces among the populace". On August 11, 1989, "Asia Watch" reported that, "since her arrest, Aung San Su Kyi has undergone a hunger strike and she was reportedly hospitalized on Aug 4".

On the 4th of August, the state-run "Working People's Daily" announced that "17,657 criminals from all over the country had been released as part of a general amnesty". Diplomatic sources suspect that the real purpose of the amnesty is to clear prisons to make room for the thousands of political activists who have been arrested over the past month, according to reports in the "Far Eastern Economic Review" on 7 Sept 1989.

The military arrested 7 central executive committee members of the National League for Democracy party. They are Daw Myint Myint Khin (Lawyer), Maung Moe Thu (Playwright & poet), U Win Tin (Journalist), U Aung Lwin (Famous Actor), U Tun Tin (politician), and at least two others. They have been charged with having a connection with the communists. As many as 1500 members of the NLD have been detained following Aung San Su Kyi's arrest. Ma Thien Gyi and Myint Shwe, close associate with Aung San Su Kyi, were arrested on or after 20 July. Forty three students who were staying at the home of Aung San Su Kyi (which had functioned as the headquarters of the NLD) have been arrested for failing to register their place of residence with the authorities, according to the "Working People's Daily" on 8 Aug 1989. On July 27, the government sentenced to death three student leaders of the NLD from the Syrian division. Than Zaw, Nyi Nyi Oo and Moe Kyaw Thu were accused of involvement in the July 7 bombing of the Syrian Oil Refinery near Rangoon. The military regime said the main culprit has not been caught yet. His name is Moe Thi Ha. During the 1st week of August, Moe Thi Ha told AP. "The government made the charge against him and the other organizers to use them as a scapegoat to attack the party". (The government has recently changed their story concerning this case. They now say that the KNU was behind the explosion.) "DAWN" briefly mentioned this case in issue number 15. "DAWN", ABSDF and the Burmese people call for action from the international community to apply pressure before the military government kills these student leaders.

Many other opposition party members have been arrested such as, U Aye Lwin, the chairman of the Revolutionary Party which is a legally registered political party, on July 20; U Zaw Win, the chairman of the National Politic Front and his CEC members, U

Naing Myint, Dr Nay Win, U Tin Aye Kyu and Taw Phay Lay U Aung Zay; Moe Hein and Kyaw Zay Ya, leaders of the New Society Party; Thakin Khin Aung, CEC member of the League for Democracy and Peace; and Khin Maung Myint, the chairman of the People's Progressive Party and his CEC members, Hla Shwe and U Nyo Win, who have been charged as communists or having connection with the communist. They are also a legally registered party, according to the "Working People's Daily" newspaper of 7 & 8 Aug.

On July 7, three students, Myan Thin Kyaw, Kyaw Htay Oo and Toe Kyaw Hlaing (3rd MB, IM 1.Rng), were arrested. On that day, the students and the people were commemorating those killed on the same day in 1962 when the Burmese Army killed scores of young people at the university and exploded the Rangoon University Student's Union building.

The military tribunal in Shwebo, 420 miles (700km) North of Rangoon, has sentenced 11 people to death. These 11 people have been charged with attacking a police station and beheading four policeman during last year's uprising, the official Rangoon radio said reported on 2nd Sept. Fourteen others received sentences ranging from life imprisonment to five years of hard labor. They have been charged with the attack on the police station at Taze in northern Burma.

On July 28, Military Tribunal No.2 sentenced seven persons to five years at hard labor for their involvement in a peaceful protest organized by the monks at the Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon. They include San Maung, Zaw Win Aung, Kyaw Win Moe, Htay Lwin, Khin Maung Tin, That Naing and Kyaw Lwin Nyunt. They have been charged with "disturbing the peace, affecting restoration of law and order and undermining the well-being of the general public or a group of people" by demonstrating and shouting slogans reported Asia Watch 11 Aug, 1989

On 23 March, 1989, the prominent student leader Min Ko Naing and 15 other members of opposition parties were arrested for "organizing and inciting disturbances" in connection with demonstrations marking Armed Forces Day. The 2 student leaders from the Rangoon Students' Union, Nyo Tun and Zaw Zaw Aung were arrested on June 27 and Aung Din in late April.

Now, Western diplomats estimate that up to 3,000 people have been arrested on political charges since 20 July.

"DAWN", ABSDF and the students believe that *most* of those arrested have been tortured and sent to the frontier area as porters. We call on the Saw Maung regime to release all of the political prisoners and students and to the international community to boycott the Saw Maung Regime politically and economically.

POTERS

Report from a student who escaped from the Burmese military where he had been forced to work as a porter.

At the beginning of July, about 500 prisoners, most of whom were students, were taken from the prisons in Rangoon and sent by train to Mandalay. From Mandalay, they were taken by army truck to Lashow where they were forced by the 99th Infantry Division to carry ammunition, weapons, rice and other military equipment into the battle field where the Burmese army was fighting with the Kachin Independence Army. The porters were not allowed to wear slippers, and were never given enough food and water. If they could not carry the heavy loads given to them by the soldiers, they were tortured severely. Every day, due to the extremely difficult conditions along the trail and the beatings by the military, two or three of the student prisoners would die.

During the trek through the jungles, the porters were tied together with ropes around their waists and ankles.

The porters were certain that when the fighting was over, they would not be allowed to return to their homes but would all be killed.

One student managed to escape from the battle field and ran to a Kachin Independence Army border camp. He said that before he escaped from the Burmese military camp, he saw the bodies of about 90 young porters who had already been killed.

On the 5th of August, a military spokesperson. Lt-Col Than Tun made a report concerning the fighting between the Burmese army and the Kachin Independence Army. He never made any mention about the army's use of the 500 porters, or the number of them killed and wounded.

July 5 press conference of Aung San Su Kyi and U Tin Oo.

In May 1989 about 8,000 to 10,000 people were arrested and forced to serve as porters in the Kachin State and the Saging Division. Aung San Su Kyi reported that some members of the National League for Democracy Party were also arrested. Some of those forced to serve as porters were children, youth and pregnant women. When the people were arrested, the military told them, "You want democracy, so we arrest you!" Aung San Su Kyi reported further that the SLORC officers in the area made no attempt to stop the arrests or the inhuman treatment of the porters, and seemed to encourage this business in human beings. People forced to serve as porters must pay 3,000 to 5,000 kyats in order to get released.

In one case, a young man was arrested and taken off as a porter as he and his new wife were going to their home following their wedding ceremony.

Report from Loikaw, Kayah State.

A man from this village who requested that his name not be used for the protection of himself and his family reported how the military rampaged through the area catching every male they could find between the ages of 16 to 20. In order to carry out a military campaign near the Thai border, the military needed 1500 porters.

Treatment of those arrested to serve as porters was far worse than the treatment of common prisoners

Whenever there was a military operation, the military forced the porters to serve as point men. The loads the porters had to carry were extremely heavy and sometimes the soldiers let the porters starve.

If the porters were killed, there was no compensation of any kind, or any other assistance given to the family. Many were never seen again.

NEWS FROM THE JUNGLE

DECLARATION (2) FROM THAY BAW BOE CAMP

During the struggle for democracy and human rights in Burma, the students, workers and peasants attempted to bring about change through non-violent means.

Just as we felt our efforts to be successful, Saw Maung staged a military coup on September 18, 1989 and violently destroyed the dreams of the people. Thousands of unarmed demonstrators were killed.

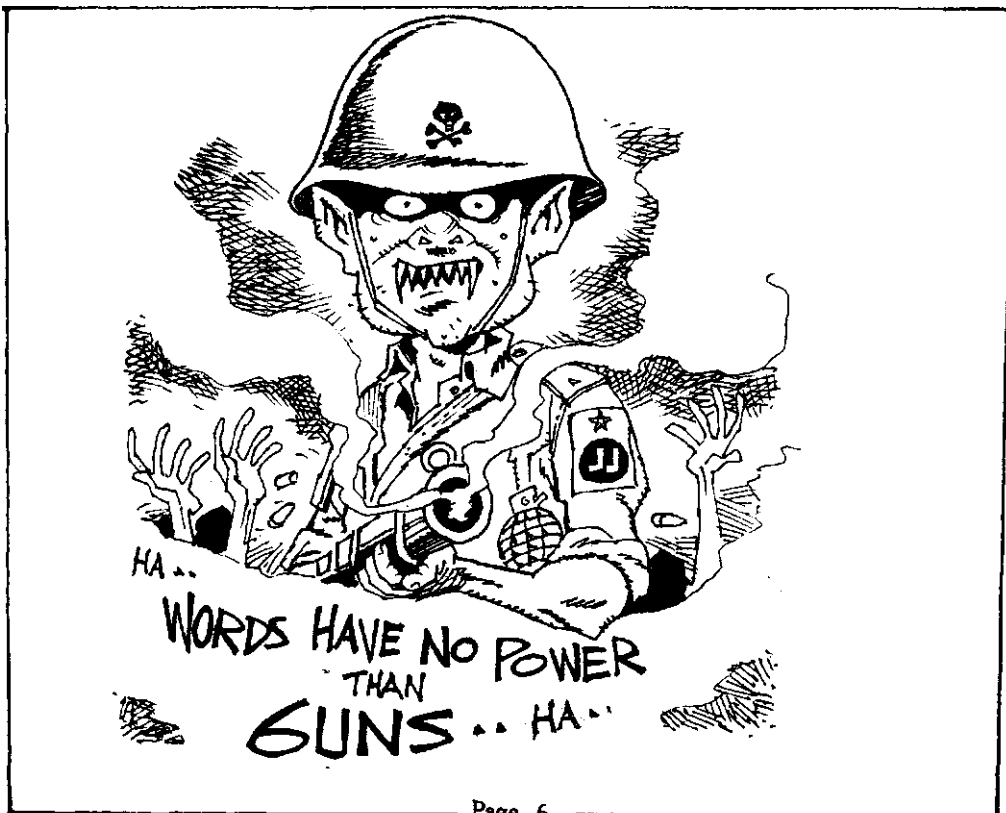
For thousands of us, the dream of a non-violent approach to change was shattered.

We moved to the jungle to take up arms, for we saw this as the only alternative for saving our beloved motherland.

As students, peasants and workers living in Thay Baw Boe camp, we have committed ourselves to the rebuilding of our country.

Once the struggle to end the military dictatorial hold over us is achieved we will return to our homes.

However, we know that the struggle to rebuild our motherland is only beginning. We commit ourselves to this on-going task. We will give up family and education in order to work full time in reconstructing our shattered land, and in preserving the dreams of the people. We are willing to work in any part of the country where our strength and youth is needed. We will sacrifice our own families and education in order that future generations can live in peace and prosperity.



REFLECTIONS FROM THE JUNGLE

WHY DO WE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY?

(excerpts from a paper by the same title)

Since 1962, the government has told the people that the Burmese way of going to socialism is the best system. The people have been forced to accept this system without any opportunity to question it or offer alternatives. Since the Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP) is the only party, people are forced to join it. Those who speak out critically about the BSPP are detained, tortured and, in some cases, executed. The BSPP has formed the military, the police and the intelligence out of people they trust and can control to do their bidding. Therefore, their power is complete and assured.

The forty-year old civil war between the government and the ethnic minorities could be solved peacefully at the negotiating table, but the government knows that if the civil war were ended, there would no longer be a need for a military government. For this reason, they have no plan to stop the civil war, and have no interest in holding talks with the minorities. They, themselves, are responsible for creating and expanding the civil war.

The BSPP is very much afraid of the birth of a new political generation among the youth. It is for this reason that they so carefully control the educational system, and take such swift action against students who speak out, or indicate any independence in thought.

The educational standard is now much lower than it was at independence time. Under the present educational system, students are not free to choose the university they want to attend or the course they wish to study. In all schools throughout the country, there is a serious shortage of teachers, experts, books, laboratories, and buildings. For this reason, (lack of opportunity) our students are some of the worst in South East Asia.

Higher education is basically available only to the sons and daughters of those in BSPP high positions. The children of laborers are completely ignored in this system. To make matters worse, when a student completes university, he or she can not make use of the education they have gained.

Few jobs are available, so they must get jobs as daily laborers.

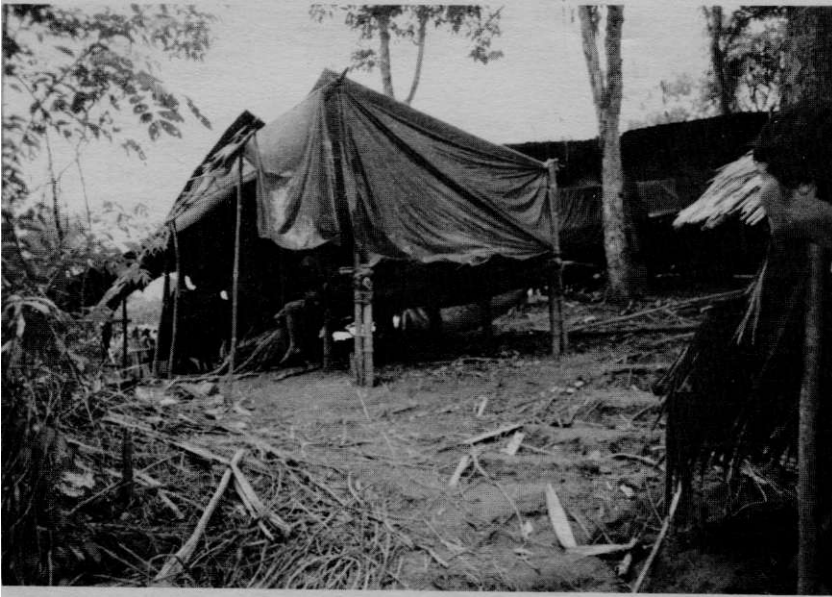
After thorough analysis of the socio-economic and political problems of Burma, the students tried their best to release the people from the yoke of the military regime. The struggle of the students against the military regime started in 1962 and continued during the 1973 funeral of U Thant, the 1974 Thakin Ko Daw Hmaing memorial, and the 1975 worker's strike. During all these struggles, the students were cruelly gunned down by the military and the struggle was not a total success.

Despite the brutal treatment the students experienced under the military, they never gave up their dreams for Burma. As true sons and daughters of the people, they keenly felt the sufferings of the people and continued to strike back in every way they could. Their goal to restore human rights to their beloved motherland has never faded from their minds.

Thus, in 1988, the students once again asked for democratic change and human rights through peaceful means. They requested that the government free all political prisoners, allow the students to once again form a legal student union, and for an interim government to arrange for free and fair elections to end the one party system and give birth to democracy. The response of the government to these peaceful demands is well documented throughout the world. The blood of the Burmese people covered the streets as more than 8000 innocent and unarmed students, monks, and workers died.

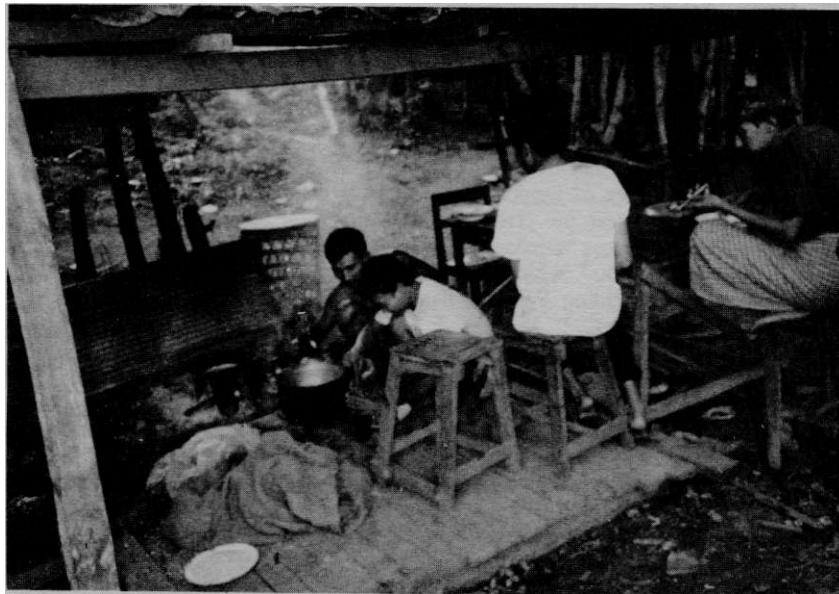
Though the students want to study peacefully, and thought they hate war and love peace, they have been pushed to the point where many of them believe that armed revolution is now the only way to restore democracy and human rights to Burma. In the hearts of all the students, they know that fighting and killing is not good and will bring much hardship to their country, but they can see no other way out.

CAMP LIFE IN PICTURES



The shelters are simple, but they keep the rain off. Although so different from our homes in the cities, and although we miss our families very much, we accept these new "homes", and have learned to live by our own abilities.

We share cooking responsibilities. Although friends supply us with some food, we often do not have enough. So we have learned to live off the jungle, gathering plants which can provide us nourishment, and occasionally catching a wild animal for meat. There is a good feeling in knowing that you can take care of yourself even in the most difficult situations.



The songs of birds calling us to a new day, rouse us from our sleep even before the sun breaks over the mountain tops. These songs of birds we can not even see are the songs of freedom for our country which we also can not see. But we know it is there, for we have faith in the singer of the song.

REFLECTIONS IN VERSE

SACRIFICE

*Let a drop of sweat fall down
From my forehead.
*Let a drop of blood be shed
From my heart.
Let my hands and legs be destroyed and torn away from my body.
*Let my life be lost and buried
Beneath the earth.
*For the sake of freedom and democracy,
I do not waver.
For the sake of the people,
I sacrifice my life.

Nan Lwin (Thay Baw Boe Camp)

BLOODY RECORD

* "Stop!
And go back to the past 26 years.
Walk on the road of blood
Till you reach the beginning
Of the bloody record."

* "Look!
And see if you can count
The dead bodies of innocent students.
Can you still hear the cries of the victims?
Can you see a rag among the bits of brick.
Stained with blood, which once was
The Mighty Fighting Peacock flag?"

* "Walk back again then.
And join yourself in the Hmine Centennial
Memorial Service,
In the workers' strike,
In U Thant's funeral strike,
Alas, so many tragedies you can behold."

* "Now you are in roaring 1988.
And saunter further throughout the year.
Alas, your eyes are filled with tears;
You are viewing the sorrowful sights
Of The "Red Bridge", of "Shwedagon

Pagoda", of the "Town Hall",
And of the streams of blood running in all
directions."

* "Now you have seen the blood of our
compatriots
On the Mighty flag.
On the roads,
On the sidewalks,
On the mountains,
In the ditches,
In the lakes,
And in the rivers?"

* "It is lengthy enough
And don't let it continue, And don't let the
blood of the people be shed any more.
This is your task to finish the "Bloody
Record".
And finish it, Boy!, for the generation to
come and yourself.

Naing Lu Aung (Thay Bow Boe Camp)
6.7.89

REFLECTIONS FROM A BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVE

PROBLEMS OF BUDDHIST MONKS UNDER THE SINGLE-PARTY SYSTEM OF NE WIN

(summary of statement)

For 26 years, following the ascension to power of Ne Win, the life of Buddhist monks has been stormy. Despite the fact that they sacrificed much in the struggle against the colonial power, the Burma Socialist Program Party carried out suppression against them. In fact, it often seemed that the BSPP was carrying out a policy to eliminate Buddhist monks who had social consciousness. Many were arrested, tortured, insulted and indirectly killed. Others were excommunicated by force for speaking out the truth.

Although the government has tried to tame Buddhist monks, and make them submissive, it has not been very successful. The monks have been directly involved in all of the people's movements. For example, during the 1974 funeral of U Thant, former General Secretary of the United Nations, students and working people rose up against the government to protest its dictatorial rule. Many monks joined in these demonstrations. The BSPP, fearing the influence of the Buddhist monks, quickly took action against them. Tension between the Buddhist monks and the BSPP grew rapidly and steadily.

Finally, in March 1988, a general uprising broke out all over Burma because of the serious economic and political problems. People were also unhappy because at least 65% of all foreign aid was being used by the government in its civil war against the ethnic minorities.

As the demonstrations grew, the BSPP tried to force Buddhist monks to disassociate themselves from the protests and go back to their monasteries. However, they could not carry out their plan. More and more monks joined the people in the streets. At least 1000 monks marched in the streets calling for an end to one-party rule and the establishment of democracy.

The demonstrations continued through August 18, 1988, when finally the military staged a coup and brutally took power back into their own hands. Immediately the BSPP arrested the monks who were respected by the public and secretly killed them.

At that time, students and monks were called to a

meeting to discuss stability in the country. Once again the tragic story was repeated. Many of these students and monks were executed near a warehouse by the Hlaing River. Their robes and clothing were removed, and their bodies tossed into the Hlaing River.

The life of the monks under Ne Win and Saw Maung is very ugly and very tragic. Therefore, many of the monks have gone underground to join the students in the jungles. Some have given up their monk's robes in order to join in the armed struggle.

Saw Maung and Ne Win have no dignity, and they have no desire to save the country.

(translated by Aung Chin Win Aung)

Central Executive Committee
The Union of Young Monks in the Revolutionary Area.
November 30, 1988



PROVIDING HEALTH CARE



Health care has always been an important concern for ABSDF. It has been difficult to supply adequate medical treatment to all the students due to a lack of fully trained staff, medical supplies and experience. However, good work has been done and progress made.

Many special medical needs face ABSDF. One serious one has been wounds caused by military attacks from the Burmese army. Students, such as this one wounded by an air attack, can easily be wounded by shrapnel. Some of these wounds require emergency surgery which the jungle medical staff can not handle. In these cases, the students must be rushed to a hospital, often inside Thailand. We appreciate the medical attention which these hospitals provide us.

Military attacks against the student camps is a cruel affair, reminiscent of the bloody attacks the Saw Maung government made against unarmed students and working people in the streets of the cities. It is clear that the military has not changed their policy of totally destroying the democratic movement in Burma, and that means that the promised elections are a total farce.

Some of the camps are deep in the jungles, far from roads and villages. Seriously sick patients must be transferred to hospitals by any means available. Sometimes they must be carried for miles before being placed in boats for a trip up river where they are transferred to a pickup truck to make the final stretch into the hospital.



The entire nation, and all the opposition parties are with us in our struggle, and support us.

We request that all people around the world who love justice and human rights, stand with us and support us in the following ways so that a peaceful solution can quickly be brought about:

- 1) Please understand that the Saw Maung regime did not come to power by the people's vote, and therefore it does not represent the people.
- 2) Help us by cutting all diplomatic and economic links to the Saw Maung military regime.
- 3) Give our struggle for democracy moral and economic support in any way you can.
- 4) Recognize the Central Committee of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front as the moths' organization of all the student camps, and work through this organization in order to coordinate assistance and help us build strong unity.
- 5) Remain beside us in this struggle until justice is once more a reality in our motherland.

Aung Than
ABSDF



Students in the jungle camps plant vegetables in order to assure food for their future use. Just as they have faith that these small seeds will grow into useful plants, so also they believe that the seeds of democracy which they are trying to plant will grow into a new Burma.

REFLECTIONS FROM THE JUNGLE

THE BLOODY MOEI RIVER

The Moed river, situated on the Thai-Burmese border was tainted with blood and surrounded by the smell of blood on the river banks. We saw many bodies of Saw Maung's soldiers floating in the river. They had died in the battles at Wankha, the KNU headquarters and a students' strong hold camp.

It was heart-wrenching to see these hundreds of corpses and I thought to myself, "Why have they sacrificed their lives? For Whom? For Ne Win? For Saw Maung? Whom have they tried to eliminate?"

"Why do you consider those who are your flesh and blood, your brothers and sisters, to be enemies of the country?"

The oppressed people are those who are trying to survive in the jungles, having left their beloved families and the comforts of home with the hope of restoring genuine democracy in the motherland.

Those who gave the orders are Ne Win, Saw Maung, Sein Lwin and their military puppets, living in luxury with their families and relatives.

Those who died are students and civilians, who just want freedom, as well as ordinary young soldiers. The mournful people are their close-relatives.

The aggressors are those who mask themselves as the people's soldiers. Who are you? The answer is clear. You are all born of the "people". But, do you ever stop and think where your guns are pointing and who your bullets are killing?

You are betraying the people aren't you? Do you think you can justify your crimes with the reason that you are obeying orders? Could you please stop and think using your own judgement? Are you fooling yourselves just to be sale?

Even teenage boys and girls in their green longyis dared to light for democracy in front of the gun barrels of the military.

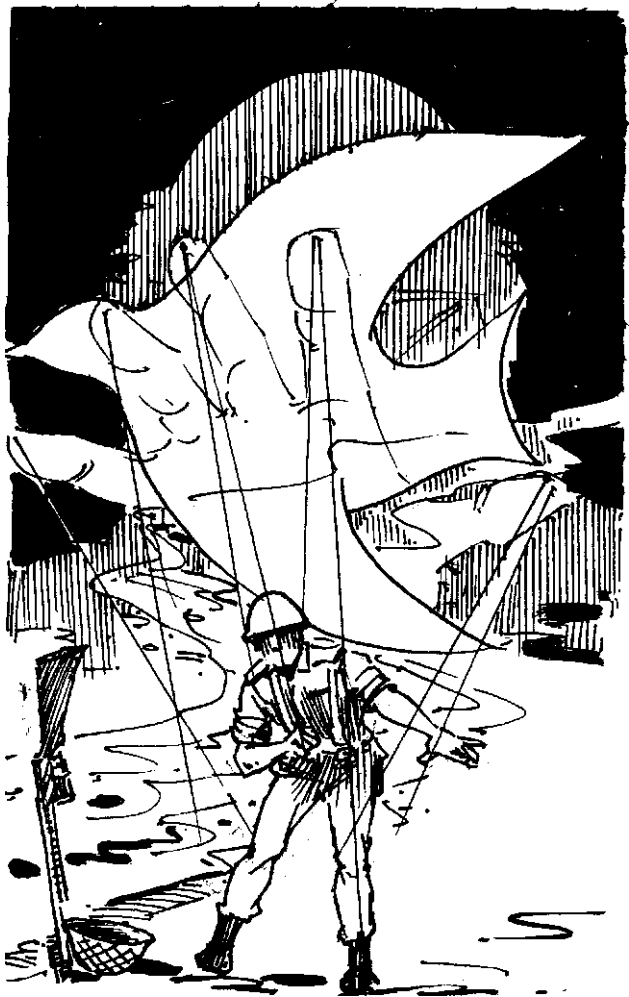
It is time that you, in your military uniforms with your various weapons, proclaiming to be noble gentlemen, think about what you should do.

The civil war will surely end and there will be peace if you just turn your gun barrels in the direction of the dictators.

Let us fight hand in hand for genuine democracy in our motherland, Burma.

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"Jonathan Liberation Review". June 18, 1989



REFLECTIONS FROM THE JUNGLE

WOUNDS FROM THE PAGES OF OUR HISTORY

(translated from a student poem written in Burmese)

Throughout our great history, we have had to toil hard under the hot sun, our shoulders nearly broken. Today we are not clear yet which road to walk, which door to open, and which system to practice. For the sake of my country, I am worried.

I have often heard of truth" but I can not find where it is. As a frog under a log and a fish in the net, I have struggled for freedom until my strength is gone, but I still have not found this truth". I have often lost the way, and sometimes perhaps I enter the wrong path. I fear the tiger so I pray to the king of the spirits for help, but the kind of the spirits is worse than the tiger. I have faced more problems and trials for this is the lot of human bangs.

It is a struggle of one against many, but when that one has a large knife, the many must give up. This is dictatorship. I have no respect or love for it.

We have stood up against this dictatorship, but with their guns they brutally killed us. Our blood flows like streams and rivers over our land. Can the cruel heart be painted white and clean?

I hate lies, so I can never give up the struggle for truth. If we give up because the dictator has guns, the cruelty will live on and the country will die. When our country disappears from the face of the earth, we must surely live in a man-made hell.

Do not bow down to a mad man! Under the banner of the peacock, we can and must continue forward until the dictatorship is ended. We must not retreat even one inch, we must never give in to evil and injustice!

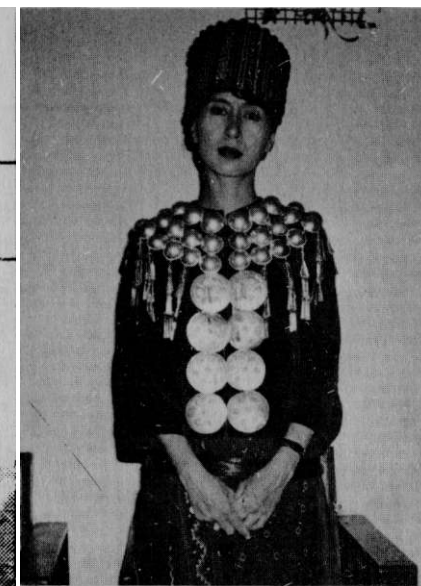
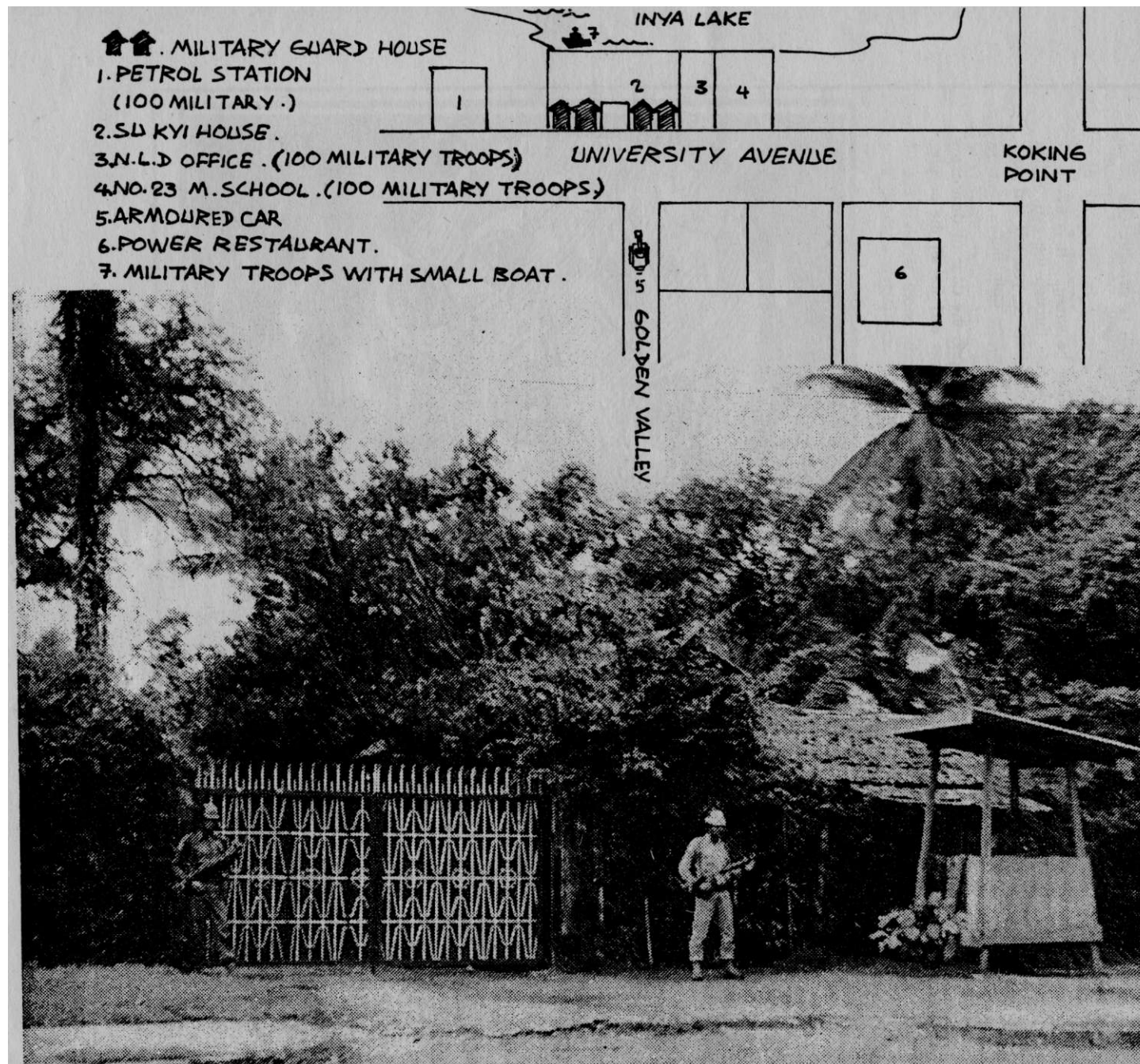
If we give in to men with guns, the pages of history will record it as a sad wound for all the world to see. Truth is strength. Our sweat of toil will never turn sour.

The truth can never be wrong. It is like a sharp knife which cuts through the evil of lies and dictatorship. Believe in yourself and your strength, for that is where truth lies.

Through the truth, open the door of democracy for the good of Burma and for all the people.

"Tin Moe





DAW AUNG SAN SU KYI WITH
 KACHIN UNIFORM

(PHOTO) IN FRONT OF THE
 AUNG SAN SU KYI HOUSE
 WAS SURROUNDED BY THE
 MILITARY TROOPS SINCE
 20th JULY 1989.