

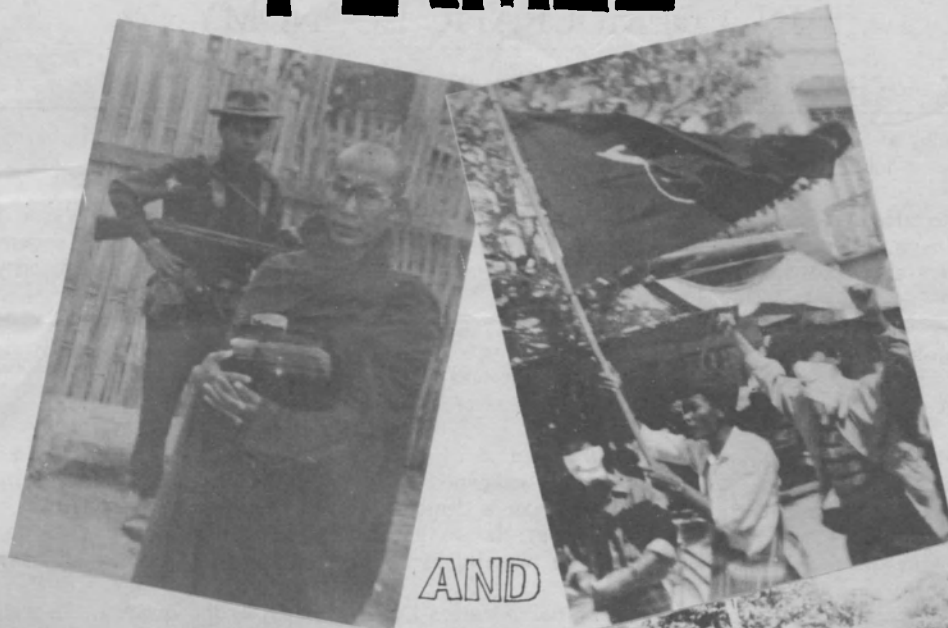
# DAWN

NEWS BULLETIN

APRIL 1990

Vol. 2 No. 7

## FLAMES



AND



## OPPRESSION



# DAWN

## NEWS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE  
ALL BURMA STUDENTS' DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Vol. 2 No. 7

April

1990

### IN A DEMOCRATIC ECONOMY

#### THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE COMES FIRST

In our thinking, a truly democratic economy is not based so much on free enterprise as it is based on economic justice for all the people.

In a free enterprise system, there is strong competition in which the few strongest win and the majority who do not have sufficient power become even more powerless. This is in contradiction to a democratic principle where all people have equal voice and equal rights, where decisions are based on majority approval.

Strangely, it seems that there is little discussion in the world today about the creation of a truly democratic economic system. With political trends moving more and more towards democratic reforms, why is not more thought given to democratic economic reforms as well?

There has been a strong reaction from Thailand against US Senator Moynihan's bill (S822) which, if passed, would ban the import of Burmese marine and wood products which have been produced in Thailand and elsewhere. The criticism is that, under a democratic system, a country or a private company should have the right to trade with whomever they choose, and no one should pressure them to do otherwise. Where is the democratic right of the majority in the concept suggested by this criticism?

Plodprasop Suraswadi, director general of the Thai Fisheries Department raises the question, "Does Mr. Moynihan ever think of the Thai people and the latter's reaction to the bill?" This is a valid question, and the Thai people should be queried about it. Perhaps they would not agree with their country's economic policies towards Burma.

At the same time, we feel compelled to ask Mr. Plodprasop, "Do you ever think of the Burmese people and their reaction to Thailand's investments in their country?" This too is a valid question, and if a truly democratic economic system is to be in practice here, a survey should be done and the people allowed to decide for or against these investments.

An economic system based on the right of a big company to invest in anyway they wish, with any dictator, and without the consent of the people, is not built on a foundation of democracy.

Democracy is not based on the rights of a minority, or the profits of a few, but must be built on political, economic and social justice for all of the people.

"Dawn". PO Box 1352, Bangkok 10500, Thailand

## MANDALAY SITUATION

On the 16th of Feb 1990, several hundred monks from Mandalay came out on the streets and marched in a long line during the early morning to receive donations of food from the people. Many people in Mandalay came out to donate food to monks in honor of the 17 martyrs who were killed by the military in Mandalay during 1988.

The military authorities in Mandalay took video tapes of the long line of the monks and the people who donated food to the monks. Later, some of the people who donated food to the monks, were arrested by the military without charge.

Many of the student activists, political leaders and members, and other people have been arrested, tortured and sentenced by military tribunals in Mandalay. Most of them were arrested, tortured and sentenced, but it is not because of violating the criminal law. They have been arrested only because of their activities in political groups, their movement against the military regime, or their activities to restore human rights in Burma. Whether violent or non-violent, they were arrested.

Sources in Mandalay say that the National Politic Front has been the biggest opposition political party in Upper Burma. Later the military regime charged that it was infiltrated by the Burma Communist Party and banned the NPF party on the 22nd of Nov 1989.

Sources from Mandalay say that many of the people who control the business in Mandalay are Chinese and some of them do not even speak Burmese. They also have no identity cards. Most of them get money from smuggling drugs and jade. They have a lot of money but they cannot use the money easily, because they got it through illegal ways. These sources say that, after the coup on 18th Sept, 1988, the military allowed everybody to do business in Mandalay if they can pay the tax. So, many Chinese came to Mandalay and bought identity cards from the Mandalay SLORC and land from residents in Mandalay. At that time their money became legal and they can do business and compete with local businessmen easily.

At the beginning of this year, the military issued an order that all people have to pay tax before the 31st April 1990. If they have not yet paid their tax, they have to give 25% of their money to SLORC and they do not need to explain how they got the money. One of the businessmen said that the price of land in Mandalay has gone up about 20 times

now. For example, land which was once 200,000 Kyats, is now about 4,000,000 Kyats. He added that about half of the Chinese businessman in Mandalay are holding the Chinese currency because they don't trust the military regime or its currency.

The price of basic goods are also going up day by day. The price of one Pyi of ordinary rice was 38 Kyats in Feb '90. In 1989, it was about 30 kyats. The price of oil is 100 kyats for 1.6 kilo. Last year it was 70 kyats. The price of prawns is 200 kyats for 1.6 kilo for middle size and 250 kyats for bigger size.

Several hundred houses, one market "Kyet Tan" and one mosque were evicted by the military forces in Mandalay during their so called "plan for a clean city."

On the 13th of March 1990, several hundred monks and students went on the streets shouting slogans against the fascist military regime. The demonstrators were surrounded by the riot police who were responsible for beating and killing several hundred demonstrators in 1988.

The students covered their faces with handkerchiefs and shouted slogans. When the riot police surrounded the demonstrators, several hundred monks, students and civilians surrounded the riot police called out for the right to hold the demonstration. At that time, the military arrived and surrounded the second group of demonstrators.

Sources from the students in Mandalay said that at that time, the situation was tense and demonstrators were very angry. The mob was in a big circle. At the center of the crowd were monks and students surrounded by police who were surrounded by a second group of monks and students. These, in turn, were surrounded by the military. The situation was at a very critical point.

However, after discussions between the leaders of the monks and students and the military, the soldiers started to move away from the crowd and the monks and students were able to march around Mandalay.

On that day, the entire demonstration was put on VDO by the military intelligence agents. The military did not open fire, but later, at night, many of the leaders of the monks and students were arrested by the military forces.

## THE PLIGHT OF THE FARMERS

Although the peasants are the backbone of the country, they are often ill-treated and seriously exploited. Even though they grow all of the food which the country needs, many of them are hungry, and their children suffer from malnutrition. They toil extremely long and hard hours under the hot sun with only the hopes of feeding their families enough. They are simple and honest people, and can not understand why military officers and government officials are so cruel and corrupt. Following are some reports from villages which tell the sad plight of these rural people.

Farmers from Taw-Koo-Gyi village in Kungyungone township, Pegu division were summoned to a meeting held at the village primary school on the 23rd of Jan 1990. They were forced to sell 15 baskets of paddy each to the government.

Moreover Capt. Than Shwe from Light Infantry Division 77 cursed and swore rudely at the elderly farmers and threatened them that the armed forces had a license to kill anyone.

Similar events frequently happened from then on and the farmers have become increasingly frightened by them.

At 11:00 am, on the 27th of Jan 1990, Maj Aung San Tin, Chairman of the township SLORC, summoned farmers to the Phayagyi monastery compound in In-ga-lu village, Pegu division and forced them to sell 15 baskets of paddy each. He told them that if they refused to sell that amount, they would be beaten. If they failed to sell it within three days, all would face death. He also said that during marshal law period, the armed forces could do whatever they liked. Anyone who was not satisfied with this, could go and complain about it to the SLORC. He also rudely cursed and swore, not only at the villagers, but also at the monks

A similar event happened in A-Zat-Cote village track in Hmawbi village in Kungyungone township. When U Thaung and U Chit Tee, members of the village SLORC, requested that the demand be reconsidered for farmers whose fields did not yield much crop,

the army people accused them of arguing with the boss then kicked them with army boots and beat them with sticks. As a result, they had to stay in bed for three days because of the injuries.

Another similar event happened in Day-Da-Naw village and when a peasant named U Maung Myint stated his difficulties why he could not sell the compulsory paddy, he was beaten and accused of arguing with the boss.

On the 2nd of Feb 1990, in Ma-Ngay-Htein-Gone village in Twante township, Rangoon division, farmers who had not been able to sell 15 baskets of compulsory paddy to the government were forced to sit under the heat of the sun. Only after their family members came and gave the 15 baskets of paddy, were they released. Those who could not give the compulsory paddy are still under detention.

It is impossible to make things better even if we put up the above matters to the SLORC. We request your kind help to do something for our helpless lives in which we have no right to make explanations and suffer all kinds of torture under the barrel of the gun.

(Editor's note: We received this report recently from inside Burma and we put it in this issue of "Dawn". These kinds of events happen all the time in every place in Burma. We ask you to help these people who are living where there are no human rights and justice. They have already suffered enough.)

The photos on the cover of this issue of "Dawn" are from recent demonstrations in Mandalay. For details of this demonstration, see the article entitled "Situation in Mandalay" in this issue.



## ELECTION NEWS

**"The Cabinet cannot be formed just after the election. .. The Cabinet is to be formed in consonance with the constitution. Only when the constitution is apt and appropriate will it be able to form a strong government. And only when a strong government comes to power will it be able to lead the state." Maj. Gen Khin Nyunt, Burma's Chief of Intelligence**

On April 12, the last flickering hope for any semblance of democratic elections in Burma was shattered by Khin Nyunt, a man who is only second to Gen Ne Win in power. According to Khin Nyunt, the military which is now ruling the country under the State Law and Order Restoration Commission (SLORC) will not turn power over to an elected government until after an apt and appropriate constitution is drawn up. This could take even years, and who will have the power and authority to decide when the new constitution is apt and appropriate?

The SLORC has been trying to convince foreign powers that they have no interest in holding on to power, but are simply a care-taker government, filling in until free and fair elections can be arranged. They claim that they support the democratic process, and want to turn power over quickly to a new government elected by the people. Now, suddenly, they make an about face.

The drawing up of a constitution will be a long and tedious task. The policies regulating this process are not clear. The constitution which Ne Win established in 1974 was effectively cancelled during the military coup on September 18, 1988. Until now, no one knew how a new constitution would be promulgated, or who would control the process. Now it is clear that the SLORC will control the process since the newly elected representatives of the people will have no power or authority. All power will continue to rest in the hands of the military. It will be the SLORC, and SLORC alone who will decide when the constitution is apt and appropriate.

Why did the military suddenly decide that they wanted to hold on to power? Possibly because their

intelligence reports indicate that, even with the manipulation they are presently using, the opposition parties will win a majority of the votes. If the opposition wins a majority, even a very small majority, they can form the new government, and the military would be on the side lines. By hanging on to power until after the constitution is "apt and appropriate" they can manipulate the process for a long time period.

Since there is now no constitution in the country, it is not clear how voting on a new constitution will be organized. However, if a two thirds majority vote of the elected representatives is needed to promulgate the new constitution, SLORC can effectively block the vote even if they do not control a majority of the votes. By preventing the new constitution from being passed, they can postpone the transfer of power indefinitely. Thus, even if the opposition parties can manage to win a majority of the votes in the May elections, they would be a powerless group, unable to receive a transfer of power.

Through this action, SLORC has set up a process in which they can allow a little more freedom in the voting in order to placate international criticism, while at the same time ensuring that they will be able to hang on to the reins of power for as long as they like.

The elections to be held in May of this year are no longer a farce, they have ceased to even exist as a process. We can laugh at a farce, but we can not laugh at a total manipulation of a process which is suppose to revolve power to the people.

"SLORC is truly afraid of the elections. They know that once people have had a tasted of freedom, even a very small taste, the people will no longer be silent about the oppression. SLORC wants power, and the only way they can keep it is by total control over the freedoms of the people. A free and fair election would end that control. That is why they are organizing this unfree and farce election."

## POLITICAL HARRASSMENT

Some of the harassments of the military during NLD campaigns in the rural areas (recent information)

Sources from the members of the ABSDF in Mon territory said that the NLD organisers from the Kan Pauk village, Mon State, U Myint, U Ohn Lwin, U Maung Htwe, U Tin Aung, U Aung Lwin, Daw Ohn Myain and Youth NLD organisers Ma Me Ngy, Ma Myint M., Ma Tu Gyi and Ma San San Aye were taken by military battalion no.55 to Ye township. The military officer from battalion no.55 accused these NLD organisers of illegally meeting New Mon State Army leaders during their campaign in Moung Daw village, Mon State. Actually these NLD organisers had already informed military officers from the Light Infantry Division no.104 that they met the NMSA leader and that military leader agreed because the NLD organizers had to

enter the Mon territory.

In a different situation in Mon State, Yae Phu township, 3 NLD leaders were arrested by the military after Aung San Su Kyi's campaign trip to Yae township during Feb 1989. They are U Zaw Win (Chairman of NLD in Yae township), U Aung San Tin (Secretary of NLD in Yae township) and U Thein Kyi (member of finance committee of NLD in Yae township). They were charged by section 5(j) of Emergency provision act of 1950 and they were sentenced to one year imprisonment.

They were released during March 1990 (instead of Feb 1990) after the registration of the names of candidates from political parties to run in the election was closed.

## SUPPORT FROM FRIENDS

On April 23, 1990, 9 Thai peace and human rights groups sent the following letter to US Senator Daniel Moynihan:

"We, for the organizations undersigned, would like to express our strong support for a bill which will ban the import of fish and wood products originating in Burma into the United States.

As a Thai citizen as well as member of world community, we are deeply concerned on a huge ravages of Burma's rain forests by Thai companies. Eight organizations from student and non-government organizations on environment, peace and human rights, on an occasion of Earth Day 1990, have submitted protest letter to the Thai logging companies to withdraw its concessions in Burma. This is not only because of our realization on its nature impact that might be on Thailand and the world as a whole, but our intolerance to see a handful of Thai opportunists, private or non-private, taking advantage of its neighborhood country's internal instability, to exploit and senselessly destroy one of the world richest natural resources for the

sake of their own immediate benefits. With its cold heart that they use every means to get the concessions with knowledge that money paid will be spent for arms to kill innocent people.

We, therefore, would like to appeal to you and all the U.S. senators to take up this bill seriously and have it legislated as soon as possible to save this rain forest where contains the world's richest remaining teak. It is our hope that our tiny but strong voice could be heard by you all."

ABSDF is encouraged by this support for our call to boycott wood and fish products originating in Burma. We firmly believe that economic sanctions on the Saw Maung military dictatorship will help pressure them to give up their power and allow democratic reforms to take place.

We encourage all friends of the Burmese people to continue these campaigns. Continual pressure is required to finally break the chains of oppression which have grown so strong in Burma.

## ECONOMIC NEWS

SLORC continues their attempts to convince the world that they do not wish to hang on to power but want only to turn power over to an elected government as soon as possible so that they can return to their barracks. However, at the same time, they continue to implement economic projects and set up joint ventures which are long term. With the elections only a month away, should they not rather wait for the elected government to be installed so that a better, long-range development plan for the country? The fear that SLORC does not intend to turn over power to an elected government thus seems to be once again confirmed.

The latest such project is a joint US\$14 billion infrastructural development project with Japan's Daichi Group. This project will take 10 to 15 years to complete. The project includes the building of two new international airports, a telecommunications center and a huge increase in electrical power capacity. The signing of the contract took place around April 11. Daichi Group of Japan is a powerful group and is backed by at least 240 large Japanese companies.

The Rangoon government is also working with a company called G. Van Den Brink of Holland to export wild animals to companies around the world who use them for experimentation. In a recent letter to Stirling University, Physiological Primate Unit, Stirling FR9 4LA England, the G. Van Den Brink company said:

"Herewith we have pleasure in offering you a nice group of 16 males and 16 females RHESUS MONKEYS (Macaca mulatta), weighing between 2 to 3 kilograms each.

All animals were born at the Zoological Gardens of Rangoon, Burma and are between 2 to 3 years old.

These monkeys are presently located at our breeding farm in Burma which is situated some 45 kilometers from the Capital Rangoon.

Our relations with the Burmese authorities, as well as with the Rangoon Zoological Gardens, are excellent. We have been cooperating with them for a great many years now and thus distributed a large

number of Indian Elephants - originating from Burma - to Zoological Gardens all over the world."

The address of G. Van Den Brink is, Den Bliklaan 52A1, 3766 AV Soest, Holland. Their fax number in Holland is 2155-12184

In March of this year, SLORC passed THE STATE OWNED ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES LAW.

According to this law, only SLORC can carry out the following economic enterprises -- 1) extraction of teak and sale of the same in the country and abroad;

2) cultivation and conservation of forest plantation with the exception of village-owned fire-wood plantations cultivated by the villagers for their personal use;

3) exploration and extraction of pearls, jade and precious stones and export of the same;

4) breeding and production of fish and prawns in fisheries which have been reserved for research by the Government;

5) Postal and Telecommunications Service;

6) Air Transport Service and Railway Transport Service;

7) Banking Service and Insurance Service;

8) Broadcasting Service and Television Service;

9) exploration and extraction of metals and export of the same;

10) Electricity Generating Service other than those permitted by law to private and co-operative electricity generating service;

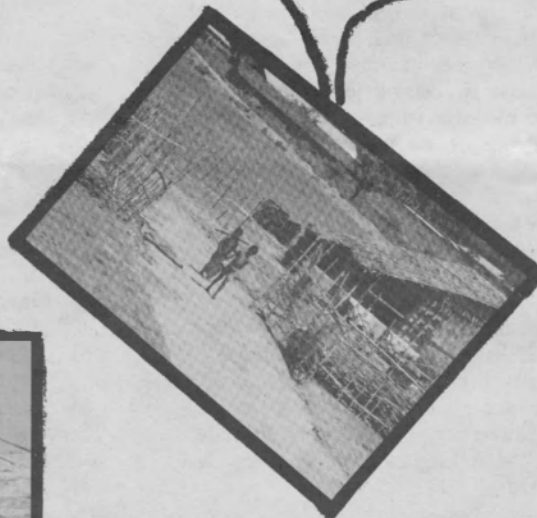
11) manufacture of products relating to security and defence which the Government has, from time to time, prescribed by notification.

# WHO BENEFITS FROM FOREIGN

Poverty in  
Burma.  
Where does all  
the foreign money  
go?



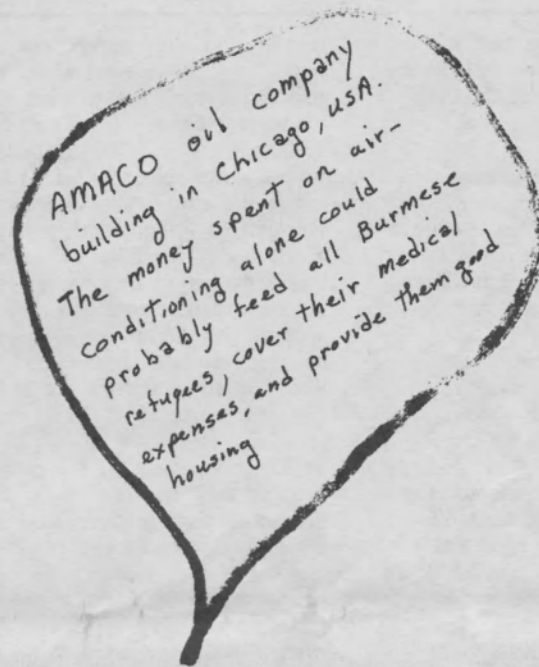
A New "Satellite Town"  
Near Rangoon.  
- No water  
- No electricity  
- No work  
- No medical care  
- No freedom  
- No hope



BOYCOTT ALL COMPANIES WHICH DO BUSINESS



# INVESTMENTS IN BURMA?



WITH THE SAW MAUNG MILITARY JUNTA!

## EVICCTIONS

Since the 18th Sept 1988 military coup, half a million people in Rangoon have been evicted by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) under their so called "satellite town" program.

Hundreds of thousands of houses in Rangoon division have been demolished by the military regime. Sources from Rangoon say at least some houses in every township of Rangoon division have been evicted. Those areas especially hard hit were Pha-Sa-Pa-La township, which is near the War Office in Mingalar Taung Nyunt Township, KyanDawe township behind the Burmese Broadcasting Service, areas east of Shwedegon pagoda near Yaekaesei, the area around Shwegondyi traffic point in Bahan township, Tar Mhwe circle near Tar Mhwe cemetery in Tar Mhwe township, the area near Kar Mar Yout traffic circle close to Hlay Dan market in Kar Mar Yout township, Man Yan Kone township at the corner of Prome road and Kyatmayoure road, Saw Bori Gyi Kone township, all of the houses situated between 10th mile on Prome road and Saw Bor Kyi Kone, the community in front of the Sin-Ma-Lyate market and Kyimyindyne township.

Since the beginning of this April 1990, many of the houses from Independence ward in Thinkantune Township have also been evicted. Some of the people from this area refused to move and they were arrested by the military authorities in Rangoon.

People were moved to one of four places outside of Rangoon. Those people who have worked in the government service for at least 10 years were moved to Dagon Myothit, beyond Thar-K-Ta which is 10 miles from Rangoon. Some houses in this satellite town were already constructed and the people received a one-room house for which they have to immediately pay 15,000 kyats (US\$214) to the military. The remainder of the house payment is cut from their salary each month. However, all government workers do not qualify for these houses since there are many criteria which they must meet.

Other people were moved to Hlaing Tar Yar which is beyond the Hlaing river, about 10 miles from Rangoon, Wai Bar Gyi which is beyond North Oaklapa and 12 miles from Rangoon and to Oak Pho which is near Hlaw Kar, 15 miles south of Rangoon. They have to pay 5,000 kyats (US\$728) to the military to get these new houses. Most of the

people who were moved out of the city, are very poor. They survive on a day to day basis. It is impossible for them to even save a small amount of money each day. How can they possibly give 15,000 kyats or 5,000 kyats to the military regime to get a new place? All of these people also work inside the city. After they were moved to the outskirts of Rangoon, they have to use at least 5 Kyats a day for their transportation to come to work inside the city. Daily workers get only about 15 or 20 kyats daily. How can they buy food, medicine as well as pay for these new homes? The price of all basic goods has skyrocketed, e.g one pyi of rice which is about enough for a family of five for one day now costs 15 to 25 kyats.

In Rangoon, some of the people had opened a small shop in their homes to earn the extra money they needed to pay for their food and other expenses. After they were moved out of their old houses, they lost the chance to earn this extra money. The houses from KarMarYout and Mar Yan Kone township are very expensive. You cannot buy one even if you have enough money to pay over 500,000 kyats (US\$72,857). These houses are legally registered houses.

The military regime gave people only few week's warning to move out of Rangoon to the new place. The people must dismantle their houses before the final date. After that, military trucks picked up their belongings and transported them to their new place. During the rainy season last June and July, many people had already destroyed their houses, but the military did not send trucks to pick up their belongings. So the people had to sleep on the roads by their old dismantled houses without any shelter. Also, when they finally they arrived at their new satellite towns, there was still rice growing in the paddy fields so they could not construct new houses. They had to sleep on the side of the paddy fields in the rain and hot sun.

Some of the older people died because of the cold and damp. Some of the people also died after suffering from malaria for which they were not given any treatment.

In these satellite towns, there is no pure water, no effective sanitation, no electricity and some of the place have no transportation facilities.

(Evictions...continued)

When the people were evicted from their Rangoon homes, the military did not give any compensation to them and they were not given a new home. Even though they lost their legally-owned homes and land, they still had to purchase a new plot of land from the government.

All of the people who were forcibly evicted from the city met with many problems. However the military regime did not take any responsibility for them. At the same time the people were given only a short warning to move. If the people did not move by the deadline given by the military, the military would enter their houses at night, carry the people outside the city and simply leave them in the open fields. After the deadline, if the people still had their property in their old houses, they cannot go back and claim it.

The military gave several reasons why they moved the people. They said it was necessary to evict the people in order to clean the city and to widen the roads. One resident from Rangoon reported to "Dawn" that the real reason for the eviction was to help the military "protect their power over the country". He added that if there are demonstrations against the government again, the people will not be able to gather or to hide easily and the military will be able to arrest the demonstrators with less trouble. Many of the houses near the monasteries were also moved. "Dawn's" Rangoon source said the reason for this is very clear. During the pro-democracy uprising in 1988, several thousand monks joined with the people. Therefore, the military regime wants to move the people who live near the monastery away to isolate them from the monks. Another person from Rangoon told "Dawn" that while the military forcibly moves the people from Rangoon, the military is occupying many empty houses in Rangoon. He said that during the 2nd week of December 1989, a student from Rangoon suddenly appeared on the road at the center of the city and gave a speech. Within only a few seconds military troops came out of the houses and filled the streets and the newly-built pedestrian bridge. He claimed that the military has built many pedestrian bridges in Rangoon so that they can shoot down into the streets if necessary.

All of these friends report that it is completely untrue that Rangoon is very clean, beautiful and quiet. That is only superficial. Many people are facing great problems for their survival and there is tension all over the city. People do not want to be evicted from their homes and their lives.

^ The relocation of houses in Burma is not only happening in Rangoon. In other divisions and states it has also taken place.

In Mandalay division, hundreds of houses, one mosque, one market (Kyet Tan), one muslim cemetery and one christian cemetery were evicted by the military authorities. The 2 cemeteries, which were on the C-road, were moved to May-U-Thauing which is 6 miles from Mandalay.

In Kawet Thauing, Victoria point, southern end of Burma, the military issued an order that every house in Kawet Thauing must put aluminum roofing on. If the people would not change, their houses would be moved out of the township.

During Feb 1990, hundreds of houses near the police compound had to move out. But if the people paid money to the police, the police did not force them to move. However, in April, the police issued the order again and the people had to move from their houses to an area 3 miles away from Kawet Thauing, Lin-Ma-Chen.

In Sit Twe, capital of the Arakan state, many of the houses near mosques and monasteries were evicted. The military also made a demarcation line between the Muslim houses and Buddhist houses. Every house which was on the demarcation line, had to move. Sources from Sit Twe said this was done because, during the demonstration, the Muslim and Buddhist communities had united against the military government. The military does not want unity between the Muslim and Buddhist people, because previously there were many problems between the Muslims and Buddhists and this was useful in the military's "divide and rule" policy.

Sources from Rangoon say Taung Gyi in San State, Molumine in Mon State, Mone Ywe in Mandalay division, Baseim in Irrawady division and Pegu in Pegu division, have also experienced evictions.

A question concerning the upcoming election also surfaces here. The people are still registered in their old village. They will not have time to change their registration, so it is not clear if they will be allowed to vote in the election, and if so, where. With all of these problems, the people do not have much interest in the elections, nor do they believe that the elections will bring democracy to Burma.

## PEPSI-COLA AND SAW MAUNG

Pepsi-Cola International Co has formed a joint venture in Burma to produce and distribute its products according to Pepsi vice president for Southeast Asia, Barry Shea. This comes only months after the Burma government press announced that the US-based Coca Cola company had signed a similar contract. A world-wide boycott of Coca Cola products was called by Burmese human rights organizations, and Coca Cola quickly denied having made any such agreements with the Burmese government.

Despite this indication that the Burmese people do not want foreign investments at this time, Pepsi-Cola has chosen to link hands with the Saw Maung military regime to sell drinks of sugar and caffeine to a people who do not have enough money to buy rice and curry.

The project is to cost around US\$2-3 million, with Pepsi holding a 35% share of the company.

When questioned about the issue of human rights in Burma, Barry Shea only commented, "Obviously we like to stay out of politics."

Mr. Shea surely can not be so naive as to believe that economic investments and politics can be so easily separated. These two aspects of a nation are very closely intertwined, and Pepsi-Cola's investment in Burma is a direct and obvious involvement in Burma's politics.

In order to make an investment such as this one, Pepsi-Cola must deal with the Burmese government, and that is a political issue. When Pepsi-Cola deals with the Burmese government, they help give legitimacy to that government, and that is a political issue. When they invest money in Burma they provide resources to the Burmese military regime to buy more weapons to use in their attempt to subjugate the Burmese people, and that is a political issue. When they sell a drink which has no nutritional value to a people who lack sufficient vitamins and proteins, that becomes a political issue. When they do not speak out against human

rights abuses by the Burmese government they give silent approval to such human rights abuses, and that is a political issue.

Pepsi-Cola's primary target group is the youth of a country. Their present slogan speaks of the "new generation". This "new generation" is the young people of the country who are growing up into the positions of responsibility. Now Pepsi-Cola has linked hands in Burma with Gen Saw Maung who came into power through a brutal suppression of that very generation, and his suppression resulted in at least 8000 young people dead. Is Pepsi-Cola becoming a part of the Burmese military's white-wash plan to cover up this truth from the world? It is impossible to be more involved in politics than this. The youth of the world, the "new generation" will not be blind to this glaring contradiction.

Mr. Shea and all other businessmen with an interest in investing in Burma today should have the courage to be honest about their intentions. The issue is not that they wish to stay out of politics. The issue is that they care more for profits than for the political rights and freedoms of the Burmese people. This is economic exploitation at its worst against a people who have been gunned into silence, and who have no right whatsoever to decide what they need or want for their country.

These investors should think more seriously about the consequences of their political involvement in Burma. The democratic movement in Burma will succeed one day. The people are watching now to see who is truly friend and who is foe. Those contracts which have been made against the wishes of the people will not be recognized, and the investments will be lost. Such investments may be extremely short-term.

ABSDF will aggressively call for a world-wide boycott of Pepsi-Cola products as well as to urge people inside Burma to refrain from buying these products. No investment made at the expense of a suffering people can long survive, for finally justice must prevail.

In Burma, the people are accustomed to talking together in hushed, secretive whispers.



## THE STORY OF NAY MIN'S ARREST

"Dawn" has already reported about lawyer Nay Min (a) Win Shwe several times in previous issues. His arrest by the military intelligence agents in Rangoon was reported on the 7th Nov 1988. After that he was sent to the military intelligence headquarters in Yae Kyi Aing and was badly tortured. When he asked for permission to be hospitalized, his demands were rejected by the military.

He was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment with rigorous hard labor under section 5(a)(j) of the Emergency Provisions act of 1950 by the military tribunal in Rangoon on the 6th of Oct 1989 according to the Working People's Daily. He was charged with sending false news and rumors to BBC during the pro-democracy movement in Burma during 1988.

Dawn's research shows that all of the information which Nay Min sent to the BBC is the truth. Communications between Nay Min and BBC staff were done secretly. Only some of the important BBC staff knew the secret connection with Nay Min. After that, we found out a high-ranking agent for the Military Intelligence Service(MIS) had been working for the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) in London for more than ten years, spying on his colleagues and the BBC. Following are the facts which our investigation uncovered.

During July 1988, Mr.Christopher Gunness, BBC reporter, arrived in Rangoon to collect information about the violations against the people by the Burmese army during the 1988 March and June affair. While he was in Rangoon, he met Nay Min. Before Mr. Christopher Gunness left Rangoon, he made an agreement with Nay Min to send the news from Rangoon to him by telephone regularly. After that Mr. Christopher Gunness went to Dhaka, Bangladesh. He was working in Bangladesh as a BBC reporter at that time. Nay Min sent the information to Mr. Christopher Gunness but he could not speak English fluently, so a male doctor who was in Bangladesh, Dr San Tha Pru helped Mr. Christopher Gunness as interpreter. At that time, the phone number of Ne Min and secret code were known to only three people, Mr. Christopher Gunness, Nay Min and San Tha Pru.

shortly after the 18th Sept 1988 military takeover, Mr Christopher Gunness went back to England and Mr.Peter Nettleship, BBC reporter was appointed in

the position of Mr. Christopher Gunness in Bangladesh. He continued to work with Nay Min and San Tha Pru. He also knew the phone number and code name. After 2 weeks, Mr.Peter Nettleship also had to move to England. So, after he moved to England, he gave the secret phone number and code name to the BBC's Eastern Service. U Aung Myint Tun and Daw Kyi Kyi May. The BBC Burmese service took over the contact with Nay Min on a daily basis.

The communications between Nay Min and the BBC staff members was smooth with no problems for Nay Min.

Unfortunately, one day in October, U Aung Myint Tun had to do something urgently, and Daw Kyi Kyi May was also tied up. So, on that fateful day, there were no Burmese speaking persons available to contact Nay Min. One Burmese male staff from BBC was asked to call Nay Min. He was given the secret phone number, time of placing the call to Rangoon and the code name. Two days later, San Tha Pru called to Nay Min only to learn that he had been taken by the military intelligence agents in Rangoon while he was waiting for the phone call from BBC.

The staff member's name is a Kyaw Zwa Thein. Dawn has also found some background information on this staff member.

His father, ex-Col Thein Doke, was a former Burmese defence attache in London. This effectively means that his father was a military intelligence agent. At that time Kyaw Zwa Thein was together with his father in London and later joined BBC, London. Now, his father is a CEC member of the Patriotic Old Comrades' League.



Kyaw Zwa Thein

(The Story of Nay Min's Arrest...continued)

Kyaw Zwa Thein has no journalist background. He had previously worked as a military intelligence agent in Lashio, northern Burma, to monitor the movement of insurgents in that area, especially the 4th Brigade of the Kachin Independence Army and also the Shan State Army and Burma Communist Party. He also received intelligence training in Israel and Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, the secret phone number of Nay Min, code name and time of calling are known only to Mr.Christopher Guinness, San Tha Pru. Mr.Peter

Nettleship, Mr. William Crawley, the BBC's Eastern Service, U Aung Myint Tun, Daw Kyi Kyi May, and Kyaw Zwa Thein. Only after Kyaw Zwa Thein had been given the secret phone number and code name, was Nay Min arrested.

In October 1989, when the 2 students hijacked the Burmese domestic plane to Bangkok, Kyaw Zwa Thein forcibly demanded that 2 Thai staff from BBC tell him how they got the information from Bangkok about the hijacking. He claimed that his boss wanted to know. The question is, which boss?

## A CRY FROM BURMA

A true story of house relocations

One of the students in Bangkok who has UNHCR refugee status, received a letter from his mother in Rangoon at the beginning of April 1990. The letter said

"My dear Son, are you well? We have a lot of problems, my son. We have to move from our old place. All things are getting so expensive here. We have to give 5,000 kyats if we want to move to a new place which is not such a bad area. If we cannot pay 5,000 kyats, we have to move to very bad areas which are very far from Rangoon.

My dear son, you know about our situation. How are we going to pay them 5,000 kyats? If you have no problems, please send some money for us.

I pray to God that you are well.

Your mother."

## ONE SIDE SMILES AND THE OTHER SIDE CRIES

There is usually a shrine  
Washed white with lime  
On each hillock  
And each hill top.

Seen from afar  
They stir the heart with joy  
And provide merit  
For that is the Buddhist custom.

From the other side  
Covered with the reddish earth  
Are the ramparts and bulwarks,  
The trenches and bunkers.

On each hillock  
And each hill top.

Toe Zann

## "DIVIDE AND RULE" BY SLORC

On the 3rd of March 1990, the Working People's Daily reported that on the 14th of February, three members of the ABSDF insurgents gave themselves up to a Tatmadaw column at Chaung-Nakwa village, Kyaikmaraw Township, Mon State, together with arms and ammunition. They were Khin Soe(20), San Aye(23) and Htwe Hlaing(24) from Kyaikmaraw Township, Mon State. The newspaper mentioned that on 13 February, they along with two other students from Rangoon fled the ABSDF camp in order to return to the legal fold. However, the insurgents came to know about it, gave chase and two of them were captured. According to the Working People's Daily, the insurgents killed the two captives.

This information is completely false. "Dawn" immediately checked with the students from the ABSDF camp when this information was seen in the Working People's Daily. According to student leaders from this camp, these 3 people are not students. Khin Soe(20) is a police officer from Mon State, San Aye is a Surgeon from Light Infantry Regiment No 62 and Htwe Hlaing is a Surgeon from Light Infantry Regiment No 32 under the Command of South-East Command areas. These three military men were sent into the ABSDF to

create a split among the ABSDF students, misunderstanding between the ABSDF and the people, and to discredit the ABSDF under the SLORC operation of "Pyaw Hlar" and "Min Yan Naing". (see DAWN issue number 3, volume 2 for an explanation of Min Yan Naing operation)

While they were in ABSDF student camps, the three urged other students to drink liquor, take opium and generally made problems between the students. When the students went on an organizing trip to villages along the border, the 3 military men robbed some of the villages. After the students found out about their background, they tried to capture them, but the 3 military men avoided arrest and shot at the student leaders before running back to their military base.

After the coup, on 18th Sept 1988, thousands of people fled to the Thai/Burma border. Many military intelligence agents and, military informers were infiltrated among the students with the purpose of splitting the students, discrediting the students, and for sending information back to the military.

The Burmese military has ruled the country for over 28 years by using these kinds of disgusting policies.

### LET THE CHILDREN SPEAK

"The future of Burma rests on the shoulders of these small children. They will have to find some way to heal the divisions created by the Ne Win military regime these past 27 years. We must start the process now by building up a society based on justice, equality and freedom. We can help them in this process. We must start now."



## GOOD NEWS!

On Wednesday, April 25, the US Senate unanimously voted through a "Mini-Trade Bill" that among other measures would increase sweeping import sanctions on all products originating in Burma.

Democrat Senator from New York Daniel Moynihan introduced the legislation last year to deny an important source of hard currency to the repressive military regime in Burma

Burma's current policies of forced relocations are likened by some human-rights activists here to those of the Pol Pot government in Cambodia, and government officials are alleged to be in league with narcotics traffickers who supply much of the US heroin market.

Annual imports from Burma, including teak products, fish, gems and textiles to the United States are estimated as worth \$17 million. Timber imported through Thailand in planks and finished products appears to account for much of the trade. (The Nation, April 27, 1990)

ABSDF applauds this show of support for the democratic struggle in Burma. We sincerely hope that other countries will take similar actions so that the war will end quickly and the people of Burma once again will be allowed to live in peace and prosperity.

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AIR MAIL