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RECOGNIZE THE TRUE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA

ELECTED LEGALLY BY THE PEOPLE

"The SLORC and the Defence Forces are not bound by any constitution. The SLORC is ruling the country with martial law. It is known to all that the SLORC is a military government, not that it is a government recognized by countries of the world and the UN."

The above statement (and many others similarly depressing) were expressed by Maj-Gen Khin Nyunt, Secretary 1 of SLORC on July 27. Two very important conclusions can be drawn from his speech which is printed in part in this issue of DAWN.

The first conclusion is that SLORC is ruling the country as a dictatorship, and they readily accept this position. SLORC was not elected to rule the country, and it does not have the support of the people. That is why they can announce that they are not bound by any constitution.

They rule the country and the people as a military dictatorship, passing whatever rules and laws they deem important to protect their power. Under this non-constitution government, the people of Burma have suffered arrests, tortures, executions and an economy that has deteriorated to such a low level that most of the people find it extremely difficult to survive.

The second conclusion is that the SLORC justifies its rule as legitimate because they are recognized by countries around the world as well as the UN. Political and economic recognition of a brutal military regime is one way of giving that regime the right to stay in power and use oppressive measures to stifle any opposition.

The people of Burma have already elected the people they wish to represent them as the legal government. SLORC refuses to hand over power to this legal government. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that all countries of the world withdraw their recognition of the SLORC and voice their support for a government elected by the people. The Burmese seat in the UN should also be left vacant until the elected government has full powers and can place someone in that seat who truly represents the people of Burma.

All governments around the world, and all companies which are investing in Burma must be aware that their dealings with SLORC, either politically or economically, simply gives legitimacy to a totally illegal government which has no right to hold power or rule the country of Burma.

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

ACTIONS FROM FRIENDS

Australia will contribute A\$75,000 to assist displaced people on the Thai-Burma border, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Neal Blewett, announced on 13 June, 1990.

An estimated 40,000 people have sought sanctuary in the border region as a result of the intensified campaign by the military regime in Burma against the country's ethnic minorities. There are also approximately 2,500 Burmese students who have taken refuge in Thailand following the suppression of the pro-democracy movement in 1988.

"The Australian funds will help provide urgent medical and food aid assistance," the Acting Minister said. "They will contribute to the cost of sending an Australian volunteer surgeon to help in two medical clinics operating on the Thai side of the border. Assistance will also be provided for the purchase of emergency supplies and shelter equipment."

"The Australian Government hopes that the recent elections in Burma will lead to national reconciliation so that those who have sought refuge outside Burma can return home," Dr. Blewett said.

Min Sun Min, a school teacher who fled to the Thai/Burma border in 1988, has suddenly found himself in the United States. However, he has never forgotten the struggle for freedom in his motherland. Now, every Saturday, Min Sun Min stands in lonely vigil across the street from the Burmese Consulate in New York. During his day-long protest, he neither eats nor drinks. He holds two posters which read: "Hand over the power to the voters" and "Release all political prisoners."

Perhaps few people pay attention to Min Sun Min. That is not so surprising, since few people pay attention to Burma these days. But his protest is symbolic. Like thousands of other students, peasants and professionals, both inside Burma and outside, Min Sun Min stands as a David against the Goliath of the Burmese military which has ruled Burma so long and so ruthlessly. It is this determination, and this commitment, which will finally bring an end to military rule in Burma, and the dawn of a new democratic future.

US SANCTIONS AGAINST BURMA

(a) In General -- If, prior to October 1, 1990, the President does not certify to Congress that Burma has met all of the conditions listed in subsection (b), then the President --

(1) shall impose such economic sanctions upon Burma as the President determines to be appropriate, including any sanctions appropriate under the Narcotics Control Trade Act of 1986. and

(2) should confer with other industrialized democracies in order to reach cooperative agreements to impose sanctions against Burma.

(b) Conditions Which Burma Must Meet. -- The conditions referred to in subsection (a) are as follows:

(1) Burma meets the certification requirements listed in section 802(b) of the Narcotics Control Trade Act of 1986.

(2) The National governmental legal authority in Burma has been transferred to a civilian government.

(3) Martial law has been lifted in Burma.

(4) Prisoners held for political reasons in Burma have been released.

(c) Imposition of Sanctions. -- In applying subsection (a)(1), the President shall give primary consideration to the imposition of sanctions on those products which constitute major imports from Burma, including fish, tropical timber, and aquatic animals, unless the President determines that sanctions against such products would have a significant adverse effect on the economic interests of the United States.

(Congressional Record, Monday, July 30, 1990)

On August 17, 1990, MMA Financo Inc of the United States, signed a joint venture with Burma for production, processing and marketing of offshore fish and marine products. What does it all mean?

TOURISM

On the 11th of April 1990, a contract between Burma Hotels and Tourism Services of the Ministry of Trade and the Union Farm Engineering Company Ltd of the Kingdom of Thailand was signed to build, operate and transfer the "THAHTAY KYUN RESORT HOTEL", near Kawthaung area, Taninthary division in Burma.

The contract was signed between U Thaw-Da Sein, managing director of Burma Hotel and Tourism Service and Mr. Rerkchai Sanasen, managing Director of Union Farm Engineering Co.Ltd on 11 April 1990.

In the contract, the Union Farm shall build a deluxe 200 room international class hotel with recreation and facilities and then operate and manage for 30 years. At the end of 30 years, Union Farm shall transfer the whole assets, including the Resort itself, to B.H.T.S.

The THAHTAY RESORT will include the following:

1. a luxurious and exquisite building suitable for international conferences, trade exhibitions, banquets,

dances.

2. other first class entertainment facilities, including mini theater, game room, snooker parlor within the legal framework of the Union of Burma.

3. a large assortment of variously styled bungalows and VIP lodges. 4. other outdoor sporting facilities, including a large swimming pool, tennis court with night lighting, jogging courses, golf course, sailing clubs and yachting ect.

5. a well-equipped health club with sauna, steam room, fitness and massage facilities.

6. delightful special restaurants, bars, lounges and a lively entertainment complex, and souvenir shop.

The payment schedule of the Resort for the lease of land;

For first ten years	:US\$0.5 million yearly
For second ten years	:US 1.25 million yearly
For third ten years	:US\$1.5 million yearly

Total amount of payment for 30 years will be 32.5 million US dollars. Commencement of payment shall be effective from 1st April 1992.

During April and May 1990, about 100 houses from Pagan were evicted from their old places. They were evicted to 3 Km away south of their old place. In June, another 900 houses were evicted also. The people did not get any compensation. Beside, they had to paid an amount of money to get a small piece of land in the new place. Altogether, 5,000 people were forced to leave from their old homes by the current military regime in Burma.

It was reported that one man who lived near the Maha-myat-mu-nig pagoda organized some people in Pagan and tried to oppose the military order. After that, the man was arrested by the military authorities. All of the houses, including his house, were demolished and the military has plans to build new hotels on this spot to attract tourists. One tourists who recently came back from Pagan said, "I have been to Pagan several times. Then it made me feel relaxed and healthy. But this time, I felt sick!"

There are no house left, only the ancient pagodas and many new constriction projects. Even though the military regime says that they have to maintain historical records and write the true history of

Burma, Their actions in Pagan contradict this. They are obviously destroying the most important historical records of Burma.

The people in Pagan were forced to move to 2 wards, Anoryathar and Kyansittha. The main water supply for that village is only a small pipe line from Pagan. Only the people who can build their houses with brick, can get the place near the road with electric and water. The other people have to build their houses far from the road, without electricity and no water supply. They have to walk 1 or 2 km to reach the river.

All most all of the people in Pagan used to earn some money for their survival from tourists and from their traditional crafts. Now, they have nothing to do to earn money.

We feel that the source of this problem is not only come from the military regime, but also from some foreign hotel businesses. One Australian hotel company has contracted with the Burmese military regime to build hotels in Rangoon, Mandalay and Pagan.

MIN KO NAING

They took "Min Ko Naing" into custody in March of 1989.

Our brilliant friend was unfairly arrested under the so-called "laws and regulations" imposed on Burma by a group of individuals not elected into power by the people of Burma. They accused him of violating the law by delivering anti-government speeches and of agitating unrest.

They may try to make their voices heard, but the questions still remain unanswered. What are the laws that Min Ko Naing was said to have violated? What sort of a government was he speaking out against? Why was he agitating an uprising?

The answers to these questions can be found by looking closely at what sort of character Min Ko Naing has.

Actually, Min Ko Naing is no more than a name. It was a name that awakened our people from the deep slumber their lives had sunk into after living through so much suffering and pain. The name Min Ko Naing, (meaning defeater of kings), was born together with the advent of "a thunderous roar of demands for a new nation" by our people.

Paw Oo Tun, alias Min Ko Naing, is a university student. In June and July of 1988, papers voicing opposition to the oppressive rule and indiscriminate killings of the BSPP regime were distributed throughout Rangoon. These papers called for the people to liberate themselves from a life of falsehood created by a military dictator. The author of these papers was Min Ko Naing.

Min Ko Naing was a person who represented the pain that had taken root in the hearts of the people. The lack of trust in, and the hate that the people had for, the BSPP regime were spontaneously expressed in almost a frightening way by the people on August 8, 1988. Students laid down their lives to bring into the open the aspirations and the suffering of the people. The motive of the students in making self-sacrifices was so virtuous that it had a profound effect upon the people who then started to unite with the student masses.

A student congress was held on August 28, 1988. During the congress, a committee for the legalization

of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions, and the Provisional Rangoon University Students' Union were formed. Min Ko Naing became the chairman.

Min Ko Naing tried consolidating the student masses under the umbrella organization of the ABFSU. However, since food shortage problems arose in Rangoon, and communications cut, the ABFSU began concentrating more on the distribution of rice to the poor people.

A short time later, a confrontation developed between the people and the army in front of the War Office. People from all over the city gathered near the War Office, and the tension grew. The people, angry from suffering for so long under the rule of the military, were ready to give up their lives in order to force the military to repent from their wrongful deeds. Blood shed was eminent.

Min Ko Naing then arrived on the scene.

He pleaded with the people to be patient. He said, "I can not let you lose your treasured lives in a confrontation with those who know nothing about the truth, but only about blindly obeying orders. A path where blood flows is not the path that we people must choose. Rather our noble desires must be brought forth through peaceful means. Try to restrain your anger and your hate."

Then the enraged mobs, restraining their anger, departed from the War Office chanting slogans for democracy. An incident that could have resulted in regrettable consequences, was averted.

A gun shot from atop the Trade Department headquarters, sparked another confrontation between the people and the military. The people were told to control their anger, to show forbearance, and not to commit any excesses.

The people and the army had another confrontation at the funeral of the wife of Bogyoke Aung San. The people were so sad, hurt and resentful that they did not even want to look at the soldiers. Under such conditions, any "battle cry" could have provoked the people into rushing at the soldiers regardless of the consequences.

What did Min Ko Naing do then?

He told the army, "You can see for yourselves how bitter the people are because of the ruthless acts you have committed. We can defeat you now but we will not do it. Today, we will show you that the people are not the sort to take advantage of every available opportunity. Please make way for the people if you want to avoid bloodshed at this funeral for the mother of our country. Please let the people express their grief freely."

That was what Min Ko Naing was made of. It was a gesture worth of the name -- Min Ko Naing. And that was the Min Ko Naing that the military arrested.

Why did they arrest Min Ko Naing?

The history of our country has been tarnished and cheapened by the military regime. The power that should emanate from the people has been blocked. Instead it comes from the mouth of a military general. The BSPP party only served as a camouflage to conceal the true facts, and the people were duped. This deceit, however, became glaringly evident for all to see in 1988. Today, we have entered a new era, an era of overt lies and blatant obstinacy by the military.

With a gun in its hand, the immoral government believes that power, the state, and the law are its own personal property while the people are left only with the option of showing absolute obedience to the "absolute" orders. Refusing to do so would result either in being shot or in going through unnecessarily long prison terms.

The military order was to ensure a subdued calm in the mills and factories, in the classrooms, and in the farms and plantations. Our people remained uncannily reticent and subdued for almost 30 years.

They came to accept a life devoid of politics, nationalism and individual aspirations. They naively began to accept that civil rights are something that must be received with gratitude when given by the government, and not something you should have a right to as a human being. They worry that the government might begrudge them even when they only ask for a mere pittance. Their hearts were gripped with fear, yet the people were haunted by a life of discontentment. That was how a superficial calm was imposed upon the country. The world did not notice what was going on. In fact, the BSPP was so successful in covering up the true Burma, that Burma became a non-entity in the global scene.

The BSPP government was a semi-feudal and semi-bureaucratic administration disguised under the cloak

of socialism. The key objective of the BSPP line was to promote the interests of the party and those of the privileged government leaders and their offspring.

As the years went by, people began to feel suffocated within the confines of a system that had neglected their interests. After experiencing incidents of repression and denigration at the hands of the BSPP, they instinctively began to understand what justice truly is. They looked for, and found, the truth that was concealed from public eyes. That was when they could no longer stay patient.

In March of 1988, making use of the civil rights granted under every state constitution, the people began to demonstrate peacefully and to express their loss of faith in the BSPP government. The BSPP responded monstrously, killing hundreds of people. The act, however, could not stamp out the resonating chants and slogans of "Human rights. Right now!", "Democracy, our cause!", "Abolish the dictatorship!", and "Down with genocide!" The BSPP then prodded General Saw Maung and his army to brazenly crush the emerging people's power. The consequences were history-making. On September 18, 1988, the military entered rural and urban communities, shooting indiscriminately in the manner of terrorists, insurgents and bandits. These were scenes not unlike those we had so often seen in the movies. To crush truth and justice, and to protect the leaders of the BSPP clique, the military, which disguises itself as the People's Defense Services, shot and killed hundreds of people, made arbitrary arrests and tortured many people. Atrocities were committed lawlessly and excessively. They even seized young girls in downtown Rangoon and publicly embarrassed them by making them shout, "People's soldiers are our husbands."

What did the military government say about the "law" at this time? Nothing! They only keep repeating "shoot on sight" orders.

The September massacre and the September coup were plots hatched by the BSPP and a clique of military dictators. It was simply an endeavor to safeguard the interests of the BSPP, and nothing more. This is what all the people bitterly know.

In order to secure some privileges through means no self-respecting person would stoop so low to do, the military played the role of a conspirator and a henchman in a crime that will go down in history.

The fact is, the people are not anarchists who rebel against all governments and the ruling power. Was it not the people who, time and time again, asked for the formation of an interim government in order

to prevent anarchy, correct the deteriorating administrative situation, and to hold free and fair elections? The people, still considering the Defense Services as a true friend, relied on it to protect them and to assist their interim government.

No one ever asked for the dissolution of the Defense Services, which were in fact considered the "gem of the nation" and "the bulwark of the state."

The BSPP, and several high-ranking military officers, pretended not to know about the demand for an interim government, dragged the crisis on, deceived the people, and ultimately staged the coup. They claimed, and continue to claim, that the coup was necessary due to beheading and the deterioration of the administration.

Although Defense Services personnel did not know, or pretended not to know, that the coup was secretly plotted by the top leaders of the BSPP and several high-ranking military officials, all the people knew well the truth, for they had evidence which they could not ignore.

The military government tried to strengthen its position with the lure of a general elections and by pointing to the beheading that took place as acts of anarchy. The people, however, know that the military government was born through the killings of thousands of innocent people. The government did not emerge by popular demand because it was not wanted by the people. Consequently, it fears and distrusts the people. The government is also worried that its lies might be exposed with its own Defense Services.

Power must come down from the people. Only then will there be guarantees for peace, freedom, happiness, development and prosperity. Violation of this rule will bring about unrest. This is a historical truth, proven many times in the past.

A government is but an agent of the power emanating from the people. As an agent, it exercises the power, with the consent of the people, and in accordance with the state constitution. The government is not power, but an agent that acts on behalf of that power.

To destroy the truth that "power emanates from the people" is to destroy the people. At the same time, it also ruins peace, freedom, happiness, development, and prosperity.

The prestige and the caliber of a government, whether it is good or bad, is judged by the yardstick of how systematic and correct it exercises the three powers -- administrative, legislative, and

judicial. What type of government is SLORC then?

The military government (SLORC) is the administrator that wields power. It is the law, and it commands the judiciary process.

The power that is in the hands of the military government is not to help realize the hopes and aspiration of the people, nor to safeguard the happiness and freedom of the people. It is a tool to fulfill its personal aspirations and to protect its self-interests. The law has become a barbed wire fence that provides security for the military government. The military is also there as a bastion of safeguard the government.

When soldiers confront the people, the fate of the people does not depend on the law, but on the prevailing mood of those soldiers. This is what the government had also hoped to achieve. In the provinces, the situation is such that soldiers even have the liberty to slap civilians whenever they feel like it. Civilians have been shot and killed in disputes with soldiers and these cases simply disappeared with the culprits going free. Have you heard about such a rule of law before? Well, that is the true situation in Burma.

The military has repeatedly blamed "a group of disturbance makers" for every little incident. If it was truly only a group of people who want to create disturbances without any just cause on their side, why are the Defense Services being asked to provide a tight security cordon around the military regime?

If that group alone is responsible for all the propaganda and instigation in the country, why then is the military regime, that has total control over the press, radio and television as well as the administrative machinery, so concerned? Is the regime which has kept the truth hidden for so long, afraid that the rank and file in the Defense Services might see the light? Are they afraid that the truth about the people being ready to explode will become open knowledge?

The reason that military trucks, bren carriers, and black marias patrol the cities is not to prevent the outbreak of "disturbances". The people know that the military regime has thrown down the gauntlet to see if anyone dares to defy the government. How can we call those who are being made to live under such repressive conditions as people? They can merely be called convicts and yoked slaves.

Every single act of the military regime reminds us of the BSPP. Every morning, monumental lies in big bold letters jump right out of the newspaper pages.

The radio blares out news of jail terms being handed out to people under various charges. Automatic weapons are being aimed at our people whenever they walk out onto the streets.

Even then, they call themselves "arbitrators" and at times "an interim government" that is "preventing the disintegration of the Union". They also point to the danger from "insurgents" and the "threat from imperialists." To the people, these threats are a joke. The lies of the military are bar for anyone to see.

We ask for "justice" and they give us "bullets and shackles." Well, what sort of a government is the SLORC then?

This is the government that has arrested Min Ko Naing as well as so many others.

Why was he arrested? They say he broke the law, that he spoke out against the government, and that he created disturbances.

The fact is, Min Ko Naing was arrested because, on behalf of the people, he exposed the true features of the military regime, the actual life of the people who are being persecuted and trampled upon by bloodied military boots. He was arrested because he asked for justice, fairness, human dignity, and sufficient guarantees for the freedom that will come in the future for the people.

He could not have been someone to instigate disturbances because he has persistently been exposing the true source of what is causing disturbances. He is a peace advocate who has constantly been seeking out ways to prevent disturbances. Min Ko Naing points out that the only way we can establish people land tranquillity is to eliminate the source of disturbances.

The arrest of Min Ko Naing by the militarists was an insult and a challenge to all the student masses and the people. It amounted to a denial of the very justice and human rights that we all are hoping for. Such an irresponsible act fans the flames of rage within us, and makes us want to resort to non-peaceful means. For this alone, the military regime should be placed in custody!

Though young, we have reacted with cool and calm. This is a fact well known to the people. We are proud that Min Ko Naing was arrested for his just beliefs. It is an honor for him and his work. How then do we pay our tribute to him?

Min Ko Naing would not be happy if we all decide to become targets for the militarists to shoot at. Min Ko Naing would feel very sad if that were to happen. So, what we should do is to show courage and continue flying the banner that Min Ko Naing has hoisted. In other words, we should rebuke the injustices being done by the military regime and contribute to the efforts towards censuring such injustices. Only through such efforts would we be honoring Min Ko Naing and serving the interests of the people.

What the military regime should know is that we are not on a blind campaign against it. What we are against are the injustices, the lies, the senseless rejection of guarantees for the people's future that the military regime represents.

What it should also understand is that justice cannot be kept obscured indefinitely. You can not imprison all the people and as long as there are people outside the prison walls, our cause for justice will remain alive and well.

One more thing that the military regime should know is that the historical tide can not be turned back with bullets, nor can the course of that tide be diverted with falsehoods. If you intend to pursue a frenzied course that is doomed to failure, despite the lessons history teaches us, you will not escape the people's wrath, even after death. They will go after you with a vengeance even if it means excavating your remains and putting them on trial. If the military regime truly believes that justice is on its side in arresting Min Ko Naing, then our comrade should be brought to trial and allowed to answer the charges publicly.

With the exception of the Nazis and the fascists regimes, this is what all reputable courts of the world do. If the military regime refuses to do that, it would amount to self-effacing the claim that it is just and fair.

Recently word was received that Min Ko Naing has been sentenced to 20 years with hard labor by a SLORC military tribunal. Many kinds of brutal torture have been used on him. According to one report, he was forced to stand in water for two weeks and now his left foot has no feeling. Some believe that it is already dead. His mother is also reported to be seriously ill.

ARRESTS

Date...10th August 1990

On the 10th of August 1990, in the early morning, over 200 illegal immigrants, 93 of them Burmese and mostly students in Bangkok, were arrested by the Thai immigration police. Twenty four of the students who were arrested today, have letters of concern issued by the UNHCR. The arrest of the illegal immigrants was ordered by the Bangkok Metro Police Commissioner who ordered the arrest of all illegal immigrants in Bangkok until 24 August.

Twenty Mon student who are living in Wat Pork Yannawa monastery were arrested by the police. They were arrested after police surrounded the monastery at 6:30 am and arrested the students inside the monastery. All of them have letters of concern issued by the UNHCR. One of them is working in the UNHCR as an interpreter.

All of the arrested illegal immigrants will be sent to the Immigration Detainee Center in Soi Sunn Phlu. Some of them are Aung Myo Min, Hope Shine, Aung Kyi Oo and Man Chein. Over 1,000 Burmese students are living in Bangkok. Most of them have letters of concern issued by the UNHCR. But, the UNHCR in Bangkok says it does not want to negotiate with the Thai authorities regarding the arrest of the students here. The UNHCR claims it can do nothing for the students who were arrested by the Thai police in Bangkok.

The approximate list of the arrested Burmese illegal immigrants in today is as follows:

Mon students.....	20
Burmese students.....	4
Unknown(students and Burmese people)..	69
Total.....	93

Total Burmese students in IDC;

The number of students who were arrested in June.....14 The number of students who were arrested today, at least..24
Total number of students in IDC.....38

Total Burmese people and students in IDC.....137

Nearly all of the 38 students in IDC have letters of concern issued by the UNHCR.

Meanwhile in Bangkok, about 35 monks and 10 students demonstrated in front of the Burmese embassy at 9:30 am today. They condemned the SLORC for the killing of 2 monks and 2 students in Mandalay, on 8 August. They did not received any problems from the Thai police.

In Rangoon, the students demonstrated against the killing of 2 monks and 2 students in Mandalay, on the 8th of August 1990. They called on SLORC to stop killing innocent people and immediately transfer power to the NLD. Military troops immediately attacked the demonstrators, and some of them were shot by SLORC's soldiers. We have not received any information about the number killed.

Some Predictions about Burma in the Near Future

The present internal situation is so serious that the SLORC is seeking ways to exit safely. It is certain that under the present conditions, the military junta dare not open the universities and colleges if they wish to continue ruling the country. Longterm closure of universities and colleges will make many problems for the country in the future.

Within a few months, the winning party, the NLD, will form a new government without first getting state power from the military. Probably the new government will demand the handover of power from SLORC before they

draft a new constitution and form the parliament. The SLORC will firmly stand against this transfer of state power before the constitution is approved, because they will try to get protection for themselves in the new constitution. If the SLORC thinks the new constitution ensures a safe future for themselves, they will transfer the state power step by step. If the conditions are not favorable to the SLORC, they will not handover power. Violent confrontation between SLORC and the people will burst out in this situation. If the conditions become worse, the SLORC will finally end with much bloodshed.

THOSE WHO SUFFER THE MOST



Above: Many of the Karen villages inside Burma, have no rice to eat now. Last year, the Burmese troops destroyed all of the paddy the people had harvested, leaving them with nothing to eat. The military justified their destruction of the people's food by saying "If there is rice here, the rebels will be strong and active. If there is no food, the rebels will not be able to fight." In reality, the Karen soldiers will not suffer if the villagers have no rice. The soldiers can move from place to place and find other sources of food. It is only these poor villagers who suffer. Without rice, which is their staple food, they can also not buy oil, beans or meat, as they have nothing to sell at the market to earn a little money.

Here a mother and her child eat rice given by some of the ABSDF students who passed through the village. The mother said that they had not eaten rice for a long time, and could only eat some dry corn which they could still harvest. In this village, many of the children were suffering from malnutrition. There was no medicines to treat the sick.



Above: A Karen woman being treated by ABSDF students. She comes from Kapali village of Hlaing Bwe township. In June 1990, Burmese troops forced her to serve as a porter, and during a battle she was wounded in the chest. Many Karen women are forced by the Burmese military to serve as porters.

Below: A young Burmese soldier captured by the Karen soldiers. His name is Pho Zaw and he is only 17 years old. While walking through the jungle with his unit, he became sick and could no longer walk. His unit simply left him alone in the jungle after taking his rifle and other equipment.

He is typical of many young Burmese soldiers who come from very poor families. They join the army because they have no way to earn a living any more. It is the young, poor citizens of Burma who are sacrificing their lives to protect a small number of wealthy, powerful and selfish leaders. This is one of the terrible violations of human rights which the present military leadership is guilty of.



EVENTS ON 8-8-90

Date...9th August 1990

On the 8th of August 1990, at about 6:30 am, between 2 to 3,000 people, mostly monks, came out from the Maha-myat-muni pagoda in Mandalay. Some students also joined with the monks. It is believed that they were making the 2 year ceremony of the 8-8-88 incident. The monks walked around the city and the people donated food to the monks according to the Buddhist law. It means that the people and the monks are praying for the monks, students and the people, in their invisible afterlife, who were killed by the Burmese army on 8-8-88 and during the struggle for freedom in Burma.

According to the reports and announcements which we received last night from Voice of America, British Broadcasting Service and the report from people in Mandalay, the monks and the students were attacked by the army authorities in Mandalay on the morning of 8-8-90. Military troops violently tried to disperse the monks and the students. People became very angry and one of them hit an army officer with the tip of his pen. Then, military troops shot the monks and the students. Sadly, 2 monks and 2 students were shot to death by the ruthless military soldiers in Mandalay. Some of the monks and the students were also shot and seriously injured. Many were arrested by the army authorities in Mandalay.

Also on the 5th, 6th and 7th of August 1990, hundreds of monks and students held demonstrations in Mandalay and the military opened fire. Some of the demonstrators were injured and many of them were arrested by the army authorities.

In Rangoon, over 10,000 troops with full arms now control inside the city. They consist of soldiers from regiment no 22, one of the most barbaric regiments in the Burmese army. Yesterday, many of the armored cars and the army trucks loaded with the soldiers showed their forces and threatened the people in Rangoon with death or arrest if there was any movements for 8-8-88 and if there were any protests against SLORC. We have not received any information about bloodshed in Rangoon yesterday, but some students held the 2 years ceremony for 8-8-88 in front of the US embassy in Rangoon yesterday evening. Shortly after they demonstrated, the military forces arrived and arrested 7 of the students, eyewitnesses said over the phone. Most of the arrested students are only about 13 or 14 years-old. The relations between SLORC and the people are more and more tense every day following the election of 27th May 1990. Something serious is certain to happen in the near future.

MORE ARRESTS

The patron of the Kayan Township Democratic Party for New Society, U Sann Linn, 42, son of U Tin Aye, of No.148, Pyidawtha Road in Kayan township, was arrested by the authorities as reported in the 16th August Daily military newspaper. He was charged with instigating the students and forming an unlawful organization to cause unrest in schools.

He was arrested following the arrest of 2 students, Ohn Than, 9th standard and Soe Moe Kyaw, 9th standard of Kayan High School who were arrested

on 3 August 1990 by authorities who interrogated them severely.

The newspaper reported that because of information given by the 2 students, they arrested U Sann Linn. They have already sent back these 2 students to their homes.

NEWS 'FROM INSIDE

Interview with one Burmese from Prome
(07-29-90)

On the 19th of July, 1990, the 43rd anniversary of Martyr's Day, the students and the people came out on the streets of Rangoon, Mandalay, Monywa, Prome and other townships and clashed with the riot police and military soldiers and hundreds of students were arrested by the military.

In Prome, the township law and order restoration council has unofficially ordered that any groups of non-government servants will not salute nor lay a wreath at the Martyr's monument in Prome, on Martyr's Day, on 19th July 1990.

However, on 19 July, at 9:30 am, hundreds of students marched to the Martyr's monument at the center of the town of Prome and some were holding the wreaths. Many people came out from their houses and filled the street within a few minutes. Suddenly, army trucks loaded with soldiers appeared and blocked the street. After that, one army officer announced from the loudspeaker to disperse the students and the people within 5 minutes. Although some people went back to their houses, all students were standing on the street. After 5 minutes, the soldiers opened fire into the sky. But, all the students were still standing on the street. After the soldiers stopped shooting, the students continued to march to the Martyr's monument. The army officer announced from the loudspeaker again and asked the students to disperse within 5 minutes. The soldiers shot into the sky after another 5 minutes. But all students were still standing. After that, one army officer came and discussed with the students. One student leader said to the army officer, "If you want to kill us, you can kill. But, there will be new martyrs in Burma." At last, the military allowed the students to salute and lay the wreaths at the martyr's monument in Prome.

But, at night, about 30 of the students who were believed to be the leaders of the demonstration at the morning were arrested by the military authorities in Prome.

One of the well-known female social workers in Prome, nick named, Ma Tar, about 30 years-old, was also arrested by the military because she was suspected to be a leader of the demonstration.

We have also received reports of the arrest of students in Rangoon, Mandalay and Monywa, on the 19th of July 1990. However, we have not received detailed information.

Report from students in Rangoon

We have received the report from the students in Rangoon that 64 students from Insein prison (who were put in prison because of their political activities) were transferred to the Mandalay prison without giving information to their parents, on the 2nd of July 1990 by military authorities and DDSI. The students in Rangoon said they have not received information about the reason for the transferring of the students from Insein prison to Mandalay prison.

They mentioned, however, that 2 of the 64 students from Insein prison who were transferred to the Mandalay prison died on the way to the Mandalay prison after suffering from dysentery.

Many others students in prison are also suffering from dysentery because of poor sanitation in prisons.

The same report also mentioned the arrest of 2 students in Rangoon.

Aung Myo Tun, 3rd year geology student from RASU was arrested in his house in Rangoon by the MI agents on the 3rd of July 1990. He was blindfolded and carried somewhere in Rangoon by MI agents. He was put in one room and questioned by the MI agents continuously for 3 days. During these 3 days, he was blindfolded and tortured. He was not allowed to sleep. He was questioned for distributing pamphlets of the students in Rangoon. In the pamphlet, the students demanded to immediately transfer power to the NLD and to release Aung San Suu Kyi. He was released after he was put in the room for 10 days.

His friend, Maung Maung Than, a high school student in Rangoon was arrested on the same day in his house (Maung Maung Than's house) by MI agents for the same reason. He was tortured same as Aung Myo Tun. But both of them were not put in the same room and may be even not in the same place. Both of them were released on the same day.

SLORC'S PLAN TO HOLD POWER

The State Law and Order Restoration Council issued the following announcement No 1/90 on the 27th of July 1990.

(1) Burma became a fully independent and sovereign state on 4th January 1948.

(2) General conditions in the country deteriorated because of the events of 1988. In the interests of the people, the Defence Forces assumed complete responsibility for all state power in order to control the deteriorating conditions. The Defence Forces subsequently dissolved the state organs of power including the People's Assembly, and have been taking care of all state affairs after it formed the SLORC and declared that it would carry out the four major tasks.

(3) The SLORC has issued necessary laws, decrees, and announcements having the force of law to effectively maintain law and order and order and regional peace and tranquility.

(4) The SLORC abrogated laws obstructing operation of private, co-operative and joint venture concerns in order to ease the people's needs for food, clothing and shelter and has promulgated necessary laws, decrees, and directives having the force of law. Furthermore, it has been carrying out tasks in the long-term interests of the state.

(5) The SLORC has also been carrying out tasks to ensure secure and smooth transportation and communication throughout the country, and measures to improve it.

(6) The SLORC and the Defence Forces are not bound by any constitution. The SLORC is ruling the country with martial law. It is known to all that the SLORC is a military government and that it is a government recognized by countries of the world and the UN.

(7) In the international relations, the SLORC has announced that it would practice an independent and active foreign policy and is conducting friendly relations with countries. In order to promote diplomatic relations among the countries, it has so far not closed down any diplomatic missions in Burma and allows them to continue operating normally. Similarly, Burmese embassies abroad have

not been closed down. They are allowed to remain open and to conduct normal relations. A new (Burmese) embassy was opened in a country where there was no diplomatic representation previously.

(8) As a member of the UN, the Burmese embassy to the UN is strictly adhering to the foreign policy of Burma in world affairs and UN work. Burma follows the policy of peaceful coexistence in conducting its international relations. Furthermore, Burma is safeguarding its independence and is observing the UN Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention.

(9) In order to avoid any deterioration in diplomatic relations, Burma has been magnanimous in tolerating the violation of diplomatic norms by some diplomats by not disclosing the names of diplomats and countries concerned. It has repeatedly warned them not to interfere in our international affairs. Furthermore, it has informed the embassies concerned through diplomatic means. Because it has been able to avoid matters detrimental to relations between countries and governments, there has been no problem so far. It has been magnanimous in clearing through diplomatic means any misunderstanding about our government caused by the action of some diplomats.

(10) Since its inception, the SLORC or the Defence Forces, has been firmly committed to the prevention of Union disintegration and the disintegration of national unity, and the perpetuation of our sovereignty. It is known to all how it has waged major military offensives and sacrificed many lives of soldiers in crushing the assorted armed insurgents.

As the Defence Forces are not a political organization, it has not held any political negotiations with insurgents. However, it welcomed those who have surrendered after giving up the policy of arms, and has formed a body for resettling them. As the SLORC is not a political organization, it has no reason to hold political talks with any armed insurgent organization.

(11) The SLORC-the Defence Forces-promulgated the Law on Commission for the Holding of Multi-party Democratic General Elections and formed the Elections in order to hold multi-party democratic general elections. It promulgated the Law on Registration of Political Parties in order to enable the registration of political parties. Furthermore, it promulgated the People's Assembly Elections Law in order to hold a free and fair multi-party democratic general election.

(12) Article 3 of the People's Assembly Elections Law states that the assembly be formed with representatives elected from constituencies according to this law. The SLORC shall help with the convening and formation of the People's Assembly according to this provision. The information committee has explained that the elected representatives are to coordinate with the Elections Commission on the convening of the People's Assembly and they are to make the necessary preparations to the Laws and by-Laws.

(13) After the holding of the multi-party democratic general elections, there has been the publication and distribution of journals, discussions, debates, guidance from foreign broadcasting stations, instigation and publication of illegal documents on the issues of convening the national assembly and transferring power.

(14) The issue of convening the assembly has been explained above. The issue of transfer of power has been explained by the Chairman of the SLORC during his meetings with regimental commanders, divisional commanders and chairman of the state and divisional law and order restoration council. The Secretary 1 of the SLORC has also given a detail explanation about this issue at the 100th news conference on 13th July 1990.

(15) It should not be necessary to explain that a political organization does not automatically obtain the 3 sovereign powers of legislative, administrative and judiciary powers by the emergence of a people's assembly. These powers can only be obtained through a constitution. It can be clearly seen from the legal point of view that the 1947 Constitution was accepted and approved by the constituent assembly on 24th January 1948, the day Burma was proclaimed an independent and sovereign state. There are two kinds of constitutions. One constitution is that which was written before gaining independence and another is that which was written after gaining independence. In the other countries of the world that have gained independence, it is customary to draft a constitution after convening a constituent assembly and only after gaining absolute power. But, in Burma, the constitution was drawn up in the constituent assembly and then

independence was declared. At that time, it was clear that the leaders of the country acted that way because they wanted independence quickly from the British in a peaceful manner.

(16) If the 1947 Constitution is reviewed, no one can deny that it was written after gaining independence and was promulgated by a national referendum.

(17) The 1947 Constitution was written before gaining independence and the 1974 Constitution was written after gaining independence. The difference between the two should be noted.

(18) It can be seen that the wish of the majority of political parties that contested in the multi-party democratic general elections is to draw up a new constitution. Regarding the affairs of the indigenous races in drawing up the 1947 constitution, discussions were held only with the Shan, Kachin and Chin races at the Panglong conference and it could be seen that no discussions were held with the Mon and Rakhine races. It is evidently clear that there is a need for a string constitution because in Burma today, there are many indigenous races that are politically active and their views and wishes should be attained accordingly.

(19) The SLORC is a military government, one that is governing with martial law. Accordingly, it is using the following three powers in governing Burma:

(a) Legislative power: Only the SLORC has the right to legislative power.

(b) administrative power: The SLORC has the right to administer, but that power has been delegated to the government and states and divisions, township zones, townships, wards and village tracts law and order restoration councils at different levels and administrative matters are solved by collective leadership. A system whereby service personnel can attend to their departmental work without becoming involved with political parties during the administration of the government that will emerge according to the constitution.

(c) Judicial power: Only the SLORC has judicial power. However, various levels of courts have been formed to handle ordinary criminal and civil cases in order to prepare them for a time when the constitution emerges.

(20) Therefore, under today's situation, the representatives elected by the people are responsible for drafting a constitution for the future democratic state.

(21) Drafting of an interim constitution to obtain state power and to form a government will not be accepted in any way and if is done effective action will be taken according to the law. During the interim period before the emergence of a government formed under a firm constitution, the SLORC-the Defence Forces- hereby announce it will give priority and safeguard its responsibilities towards:

(a) The three causes of preventing the disintegration of the Union, preventing the disintegration of national unity and the perpetuation of sovereignty.

(b) The three major tasks other than the task of holding the multi-party democratic general elections out of the four tasks contained in announcement No.

1/88 of the SLORC-prevalence of law and order and regional peace and tranquility; secure and smooth transport and communications; easing of people's need for food, clothing and shelter; and holding multi-party democratic general elections.

(c) Development of all national people in all Burma.

By the authority invested in me.

Signed: Maj-Gen Khin Nyunt, Secretary 1, the SLORC



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