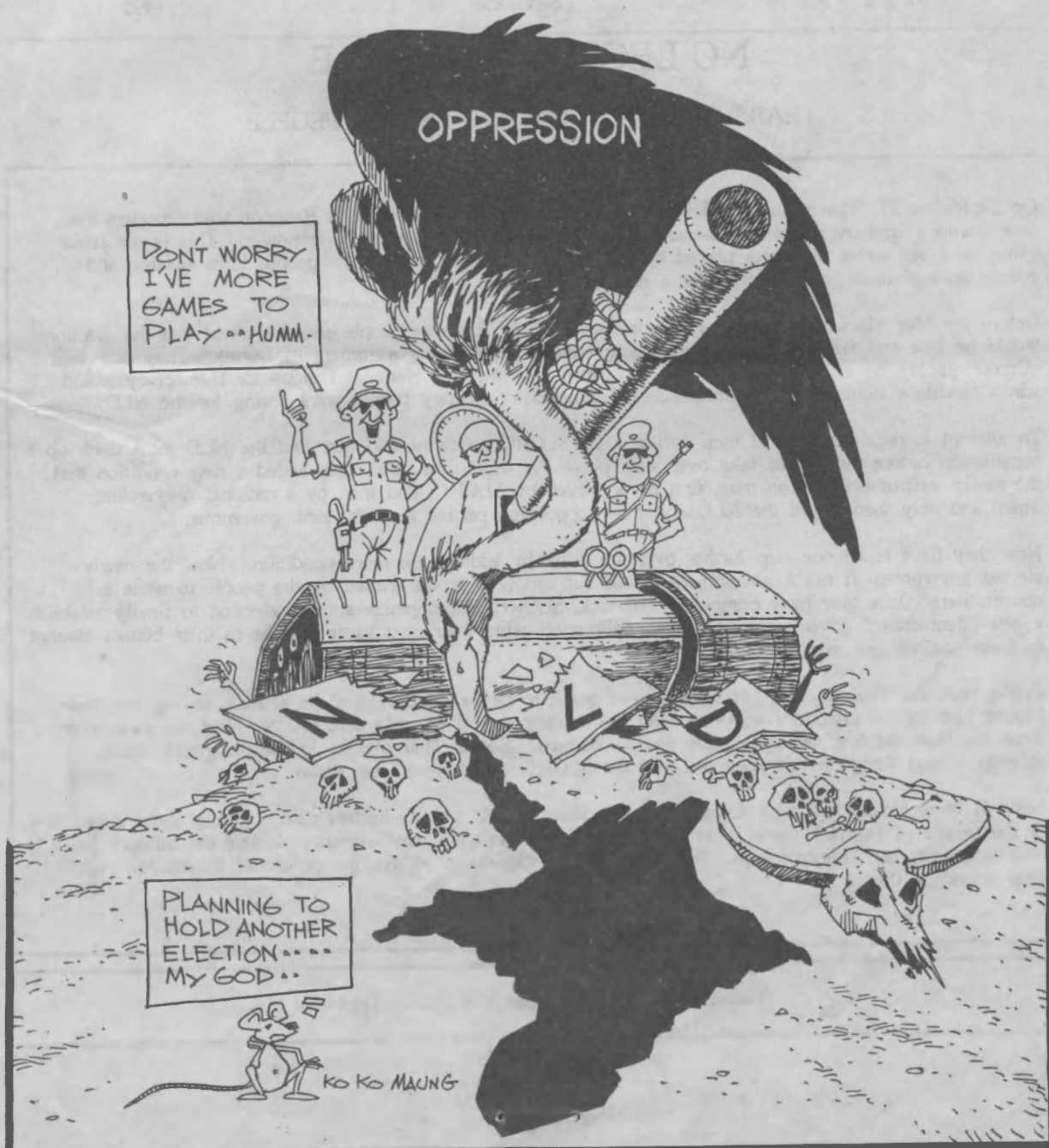


DAWN

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ALL BURMA STUDENTS' DEMOCRATIC FRONT

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NO LEGITIMATE RULE

FEARS THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE

MORE SLORC GAMES

On September 27, Thai military officials who returned from a short visit to Rangoon told reporters that now Burma's military rulers will demand a new election before handing over power. This is the latest game, in a sad series of games played by the military junta, to prevent the people from electing and setting up a civilian government under a democratic system.

Before the May elections, the military leaders assured the Burmese people and the world that the elections would be free and fair, and that whoever won would be the true government of Burma. They saw their mistake quickly on in the election when it became clear that the National League for Democracy would win a landslide victory. Even constituencies dominated by military people were voting for the NLD.

To attempt to regain a little of their lost ground, SLORC suddenly said that first the NLD must draw up a constitution before they could take over state power. A short time later, they added a new condition that the newly written constitution must first be approved by SLORC, and then by a national referendum. Then, and only then, could the NLD and other opposition parties form the new government.

Now they have taken one step further over the brink by adding one more condition. Now the newly elected government is not a government at all, but simply a group elected by the people to write a constitution. Once they have completed that task, SLORC will organize another election to finally establish a new "democratic" government. One can only guess what their next game will be in their blatant attempt to keep total control over state power.

In the past, the Thai military has always been quick to defend SLORC and its actions, saying that Saw Maung had serious intentions about moving the country slowly towards democracy. Now the tune, even from the Thai military, seems to have finally changed. Senior Thai officers in the delegation which recently visited Rangoon said they believed the SLORC would never step down.

Now, is there anyone left who actually believes that SLORC and its leaders care anything about democracy or the people of Burma? There is no more need for a "wait and see" attitude. Isolate the military junta both politically and economically. They must finally step down so that the people of Burma can regain their country's dignity.

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

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN BURMA

Some highlights from a report on a fact finding tour in India from 15 - 17 July 1990 to ascertain the prospects for peace in Burma by Prof. Dr. Per Fisher of Germany.

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Regardless of the change of government and other foreign policy issues, India's attitude towards Burma has been consistently clear since 1988. As a democratic state, India advocates rapid and full democratization in Burma; condemns human rights violations, in particular the military suppression of student demonstrations in the summer of 1988, and it has criticized the actions of the military leaders in Rangoon since then. The Voice of Burma, a program of national radio broadcast in Burmese, expresses this basic attitude. The Rangoon authorities have not succeeded with their protests in halting these plainly worded broadcasts.

Under these circumstances, the official stance towards the regime in Burma is to wait and see. In line with Western policy, high level contacts are kept to a minimum. The prospects of power being surrendered by the SLORC to a democratically elected government are viewed as poor: the pledges to this effect made by the present regime are considered implausible.

Some official observers attribute the introduction of free elections to a miscalculation of the outcome. SLORC is thus even less likely to make the same mistake when relinquishing power. As to the possibility of introducing the military-civilian power sharing model in Burma that has been gradually established over decades in ASEAN countries like Indonesia and Thailand, it is pointed out that unlike these nations the Burmese people are acquainted with genuine democracy. Such a protracted process is thus unacceptable for the newly legitimated political forces.

Since the military leaders in power are unlikely to be willing to accept such an arrangement of power-sharing, it is anticipated that they will attempt to split the victorious NLD into two factions, one amenable to the military government, and the other more radical consisting of politicians and students. For this purpose, it is argued, they will delay the first meeting of the newly elected national assembly and its empowerment with the drafting of the constitution as long as possible. They also need to win time as Ne Win does not wish to leave the

country and many observers are of the opinion that he would not agree to relinquish power in his lifetime.

To increase the chances of splitting the NLD, it is expected that Aung San Suu Kyi will continue to be kept under house arrest, possibly for years.

The chances of inducing a more conciliatory stance on the part of the SLORC in economic matters are estimated by the Indian contact persons to be quite good. It has been demonstrated that the Burmese population could be forced to accept a minimum standard of living for a long time, but this was in contravention of the SLORC's declared goal of improving the conditions of life of the people. More emphatically than in neighboring countries, the Indian contact persons underscored the vital importance of withholding development aid on the part of the donor countries and international financial institutions as long as the military regime in Burma does not fulfill its pledges to establish a multi-party democracy.

Industrial production is stagnating and inflation spiralling (at present at 75% with an expected doubling by the end of the year) and currency reserves diminishing again, so the country is in urgent, painful need of an influx of capital from abroad. The effect aimed at, however, can only be achieved if the donor countries adhere firmly to their refusal to provide financial aid.

Due to Thailand's vested interests in the interlocking politico-military economic community, its intervention potential is rated as low and that of Indonesia and Malaysia also, due to their Moslem tradition. China's influence over the members of SLORC is considered to be considerable, reflected in its backing of the anti-democratic forces. China's influence is also increasingly discernible in trade, though it is not a natural partner, owing to the large North-South distance.

PROTECTING OUR FORESTS

Karen May Ban Logging in Parts of Territory

A Karen military commander said yesterday the Karen National Union will be asked to impose a logging ban in certain parts of their territory opposite Kanchanaburi.

Col Oliver, commander of the KNU's 10th Battalion, said the proposal will soon be submitted by the committee of Tavoy and Mergui districts to the KNU headquarters in Manaplaw for final approval.

The decision came during a three day meeting of the committee, which ended yesterday at the 10th Battalion headquarters at Mae Tami Village, opposite Kanchanaburi.

Saw Taw Thi, a civilian leader in the KNU's 10th Battalion, said he made a proposal at the meeting that certain areas in Tavoy and Mergui be declared off-limits to logging. The proposal was approved at the meeting.

Saw Taw Thi said timber companies have built about 24 routes from the Thai border into Burma for transporting logs. Some of the routes are more than 50 km inside Karen territory. "Our forests have been destroyed and the wildlife will soon perish. It is now time we should ban logging in our territory," he said.

Col Oliver, who is also governor in charge

of the districts of Tavoy and Mergui, said the Karen people may not have places to hide from the enemy if unlimited logging is allowed to continue.

In fact, the Karen in Mergui and Tavoy do not want to grant logging concessions to timber companies, but in practice timber traders contact the KNU headquarters directly and they forward the matter to the 10th Battalion for consideration.

In another development, KNU general secretary, Saw Ba Thin denied a news report the Karen people are killing elephants and selling skins to get money to buy arms and munitions.

He said the KNU's forestry department has rules which state clearly that shooting rhinoceros, bison, tapir, elephants, gibbons and hornbills is strictly prohibited, and action will be taken against offenders.

Even catching fish is not allowed during the breeding season. Shooting elephants in the KNU area is out of the question.

No one buys elephant hides along the border area and there are few elephants in Karen territory.

Saw Ba Thin announced the KNU would like to welcome a fact-finding team to see the real situation.
(Bangkok Post, August 26, 1990)

BURMA BUYS CHINESE JET FIGHTERS

Burma's military junta has bought jet fighters, patrol boats and other military supplies from Beijing, and sent army officers for training in China, the latest issue of the Far Eastern Economic Review says.

It said several groups of Burmese officers have gone to China for training over the past year, while at home the strengthening of the armed forces has increased from 186,000 before the pro-democracy uprising in 1988 to at least 230,000 at present.

ECONOMIC NEWS

DEAD-END AID

By Shinichi Asabe
Mainichi Shimbun

The ferry I was on left Yangon port and passed by several new gray steel war-ships, bristling with weapons. Most of the other craft, for passengers and cargo, were old and wooden. On the deck of the ferry, a vendor in a rattan peasant's hat was peddling a publication of the National League for Democracy, which had just won a landslide victory in the election.

A young uniformed soldier stared intently at the large picture of Aung San Suu Kyi on the front page. After sailing southeast for about an hour, the ferry passed a bridge being built by the Chinese and arrived in Syriam.

Sixty percent of all foreign aid is concentrated in Syriam. The state oil refinery there, begun in 1981, was completed with an 11 billion yen loan from Japanese government and loans from OECD for an additional 8 billion yen.

Perhaps I was asking too much, as I tried to get some good shots of the refinery through my telephoto lens. "If the soldier catch us photographing,..." whispered the driver, who was visibly scared. Colorful birds flew around the huge structures, and goats cavorted near the fence.

Mr.A, a newly elected NLD candidate, used to be a manager at the refinery and he spoke candidly about it. "Although the plant should be turning out 26 thousands barrels a day, "he explained, "it is production only three thousand. The government doesn't have enough foreign exchange to buy crude oil to bring the refinery up to full capacity. This modern complex was constructed by Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, and can be run by as few as two hundred engineers, but Yangon is inundated by tens of thousands of men out of work. This is another example of gross miscalculation in economic planning by the ignorant military," Mr.A pointed out.

"It's a vicious cycle here in Myanmar," he emphasized. "Other factories run short of materials and power because of this refinery's stoppages and low output. Since those factories can't produce enough, the whole country depends on import for

even the most basic daily necessities, so there are no foreign exchange reserves."

"Even after losing the war, Japan was able to rebuild the economy and prosper because you had a lot of talented men," Mr.A continued. "But we are losing our best talent. University students and graduates are leaving the country in droves every day. Soon there will be no one with any brain left! Of course, foreign assistance will be necessary at first, but as soon as possible, we have to recreate an independent and peaceful country where everyone can work freely and productively!" As he said this, Mr.A gave a deep sigh.

Japan provides 80 percent of the foreign aid Myanmar receives, so Japan is the power the government listens to first.

Some notes from the country presentation of the SLORC to the United Nations Conference on the Least Develop Countries

.....
-...the growth rate of the forestry sector is expected to increase significantly during 1988/89. Apart from rice, teak is the major foreign exchange earner.

-The total debt burden stood at \$US4.3 billion in 1987.

-The Federal Republic of Germany, which is the second biggest donor to Myanmar, is understood to have agreed already to cancel all Myanmar's debt, while Denmark and Finland are also understood to be taking steps for such cancellation.

-Japan, the biggest donor, let it be known that the current Japanese laws do not allow debt cancellation. The Japanese Government, however, has agreed to give debt relief to Myanmar by getting around this constraint. Arrangements have been made to reimburse Myanmar for debt-servicing payments through a debt relief grant.

REFLECTIONS FROM THE JUNGLE

LIVES THAT PAVE THE WAY

The definition of the word "democracy" may be simple to understand in political text books, but for the daily life of the people of Burma it carries a wide variety of meanings - oppression, suffering, hatred, poverty, tears, blood, life.....

The people of Burma have already paid an extremely high price throughout their struggle for democracy in their mother land. Yet the rugged route leading to their destination is still only half-realized. While those in the cities, under the constant and dangerous threat of the army, pay their utmost price, those in the border risk of their very lives. Among those at the border are the dissident students who, along with the people, make their greatest effort in opening the way to democracy. After leaving their classrooms, their families, and their future behind in the old environment, their strong aspirations give them the courage to sacrifice their lives and to live where hardships becomes a minor annoyance.

Their bitter experiences during the pro-democracy movement crack- down by the army and the scenes of their friends bleeding profusely amid the loud retorts of assault rifles, continues to be an impact on their determination.

When the military staged a coup on 18th Sept 1988, these students fled to the border areas controlled by ethnic revolutionary groups where they constructed their camps and struggled under fatal malaria.

Three Pagoda Pass region, opposite Sankalaburi in Thailand, is a Mon area on the Thai-Burmese border where the All Burma Students' Democratic Front camp 101 and camp 102 were constructed.

In March 1990, students from these camps went to Ye township on an organizing trip along with Mon

troops. The students served the local people as best they could-educating village children in English and mathematics, providing medical care, helping the villagers in their housework, and holding discussions on their idea for future Burma. At the same time, the students provided protection against the Burmese army. Beatings, ill-treatment and being forced to serve as porters to carry heavy loads and to clear mine-fields by the army are common experiences to the villagers. So, the villagers warmly welcome and support the students.

In the early morning of August 26, about 200 army troops surrounded Ahrutaung village where the students and Mon troops had stayed for two nights. Severe fighting broke out at 6 am, and lasted for nearly five hours. In that fighting, six students and two Mon sacrificed their lives in the attempt to protect the local people.

Ko Toe.....	102
Ko Pein.....	102
Khin Soe.....	102
Nyan Lynn Aung.....	102
Kyaw Soe.....	101 Div. 2
Min Lu.....	101 Div. 2

Their names, their images and their aspirations will always remain deep in the hearts of village people and in the hearts of their comrades.

Few people know, and few people care that they were killed under the 40 year- old endless civil war waged by the oppressive military regime.

But we, the students, will stand in place of our fallen comrades and we will struggle for our country until we have no drop of blood left to shed.

Nynn Linn Shwe
Camp 102
Three Pagoda Pass

The people of Burma have already paid an extremely high price throughout their struggle for democracy in their mother land. Yet the rugged route leading to their destination is still only half- realized.

SLORC'S REPUTATION

Rangoon Robbery

Though the United Nations may fall short on full solutions for the Persian Gulf, there is an increasingly urgent project that free-world leaders might usefully take up a bit further east, in Burma. It is no more than 3 months since the Burmese people voted overwhelmingly to end the socialist repression that over the past 28 years has wrecked their once-thriving nation. But the military dictators in Rangoon have not budged. Instead, they have placed absurd preconditions on the seating of opposition winners in the legislature, and kept their security forces busy with tasks such as shooting to death at least four peaceful demonstrators on aug. 8 in Mandalay, according to Amnesty International.

The signs are that the ruling military junta, apparently led by General Khin Nyunt, miscalculated in allowing relatively fair polling in the May 27 elections. Although some of the opposition's strongest leaders were hampered in the campaign by being held in prison or under house arrest, voters delivered some 80% of the seats and 60% of the popular votes to the main opposition party, the National League for Democracy, which won 392 of the 485 legislative seats.

So far, the Rangoon junta, known as the State Law and Order Restoration Council or SLORC, has not even offered the winner office space. Instead, the SLORC rulers have adopted the crude strategy of sitting tight and continuing to persecute, torture, imprison and on occasion murder their opponents. The NLD's secretary, Aung San Suu Kyi, remains under house arrest imposed more than a year ago. The NLD's chairman, U Tin O-reportedly ailing-is still serving a three-years sentence of hard labor, imposed last December.

The junta continues along the wretched socialist(?) path set after the 1962 coup by dictator Ne Win, who officially stepped down when SLORC took over

to crush huge street protests in 1988. But Ne Win is widely believed to be keeping a hand in the policies of SLORC. These policies have recently included big resettlement programs, reminiscent of Khmer Rouge tactics in the 1970s in Cambodia, apparently aimed at breaking up pockets of political unrest. Tens of thousands of Burmese were moved from the cities to the countryside. One western diplomat based in Rangoon told us earlier this year that in some cases entire neighborhoods in the capital had been moved out. The resettlement areas are officially off-limits to outsiders, but reports have leaked out that many of these uprooted people have been suffering serious hunger.

If SLORC can somehow be forced to honor the opposition victory at the polls, Burma's example could yet help inspire an Eastern European-style sweep in Asia. It was the 1988 Burmese uprising, after all, that kicked off a world-wide rebellion against communism the following year. Asia's tragedy is that the revolts in China and Burma have rattled but not yet broken the chains.

It's hard to see precisely how the world might force Rangoon's robbers to surrender the power they've stolen from the Burmese people. Burma has already cut itself off from most aboveboard world commerce and aid. Even the not-always-finicky Asia Development Bank has virtually stopped lending to Rangoon's supremely corrupt and vicious regime.

It would be at least a good start, however, for the U.N. to take up the cause of a people whose U.N. "representative" serves a demonstrably illegitimate and despised government. If U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar wants to travel in the cause of freedom, this would be a fine moment to announce his interest in visiting members of the government-elect in Rangoon.

So far, the Rangoon junta, known as the State Law and Order Restoration Council or SLORC, has not even offered the winner office space. Instead, the SLORC rulers have adopted the crude strategy of sitting tight and continuing to persecute, torture, imprison and on occasion murder their opponents.

VILLAGE LIFE



Top left: In the sea side village of Kabyarwa in Ye Township, a woman and her two sons swim and wash clothes. Although life here seems peaceful, the people live in constant fear of military attacks, or of being taken away as porters.

Bottom right: Women in a rural village of Burma work hard to feed their families. The soil is usually very productive, and Burma is filled with natural resources, but still the people are hungry. The military takes what they want and destroys the rest.





Top left: Students from a village middle high school return home after classes. Although the children crave a good education, few facilities are provided them by the military government. They must strive to learn on their own with the help of village teachers who teach with few books and other teaching aids.

Bottom right: What is the future for the children growing up in these villages? Will the military ever stop waging a war against them, and allow them to grow up in a peaceful and productive surrounding?



FROM THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

26 September 1990, Wednesday
The Nation

Another NLD member held (AFP)

Military authorities have arrested a senior member of a leading Burmese opposition party, charging him with possessing and publishing illegal material, BBS (Burma Broadcasting System) reported on Monday night.

U Khi Hla, 43, an executive committee member of the NLD was arrested last Thursday on charges of publishing illegal books, pamphlets and documents. He headed the party's information section, and was accused of allegedly attacking the current military government as well as criticizing former and present military leaders.

The arrest of Kyi Hla brought to seven the number of top NLD members arrested after the general election on May 27.

27 Sept 1990, Thursday
The Nation

SLORC to demand new polls before handing over power (Reuter)

Burma's military rulers, who have denied the opposition the fruits of its four month-old election landslide, will demand a fresh poll before handing over power, Thai military officials who visited Rangoon said yesterday.

After a constitution has been drafted the army will organize another election and after that will hand over power to elected members of parliament," said Lieutenant General Narudol Dejpradiyudh.

He was addressing a news conference after leading a Thai delegation to Burma last week. Senior Thai officers in the delegation said they believed the SLORC would never step down. "The SLORC said that the elected parliamentarians and political parties in Burma do not have the ability to run the country," one said.

He quoted Slorc member Maj-Gen Khin Nyunt as saying the army feared another coup if it handed over power to the NLD.

27 Sept 1990, Thursday
Bangkok Post

Letter to the Editor

SIR: With the whole world engrossed in the Middle East crisis exposing the double standards employed in implementing the United Nations' resolutions from its very inception--and the so-called upholders of freedom, democracy, champions of human rights and saviours of the UN Charter--are blind and tepid when such values are applied to Third World countries. And Burma is no exception.

The plight of the Burmese--over 25 years under the military boot; its legitimate leaders in prison or under house arrest; helpless people cowed by guns and yelling for justice in the wilderness, for freedom won at the May 27 elections...These people remain forgotten, possibly because their natural resources, such as teak, do not sway economic foundations of Western economic interests as much as oil.

The Overtly unyielding and oppressive military clique, which has no right whatsoever to dictate terms to the people, continue to cling to power.

M. Yoosuf A. Samadh

28 Sept 1990, Friday
Bangkok Post/The Nation

Burmese troops enter embassy compounds

Burma's troops have entered the compounds of the West German, British, US embassies, and its military government has detained Burmese employees of Western missions for interrogation, a Rangoon-based diplomat told AP yesterday.

Troops entered the West German Embassy compound 10 days ago and have taken similar action against the US and British Embassies a number of times previously.

The diplomat, who spoke at a news conference in Bangkok said, 'the situation on the human rights front is abysmal...An increasing number of governments view with horror what is going on in Burma.' "Basically, this is jackboot justice. They are just arresting anyone they want," he said. The diplomat said an oral protest over the embassy raids and human rights abuses was jointly presented to the

government last Friday by the 12 members of the European Community, Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States.

"The Statement is to make clear to the military council that we do not accept them as a legitimate regime", the diplomat said. The Statement was delivered to the military government by Italian Ambassador to Rangoon, whose country is EC chairman.

He said Burmese employees of the US, British and Australian embassies had been detained for questioning, sometimes for several days, Reuter reported.

The diplomat said the army had angered some foreign governments by breaking international laws. "We are living in Alice in Wonderland. The law is what they make it. There is no nonsense about democracy," he said. He said the international community wanted to show the Burmese people that it would continue to support their fight for democracy.

"We are not going to turn away. We are not simply going to look at the Middle East crisis and forget about Burma," he said.

He said there had been recent reports of almost daily anti-junta demonstrations in Mandalay, where students, their parents and headmasters had been detained or held for questioning.

"The schools are one very clear focus of political activity in Mandalay. The other major focus is monks," he said.

Several senior abbots in Mandalay have signed a letter saying they are turning down their (begging)

bowls--that is, not accepting alms from military families," he said.

This was in effect excommunication, denying soldiers and their families the possibility of earning merit in keeping with Buddhist practice. Monks were also refusing to attend such crucial, major ceremonies as funerals or weddings for military families, he said. He added that the ex-communication movement was supported by most monks in Mandalay where the Buddhist clergy has a long history of political activism and had spread to Sagaing and at least two monasteries in Rangoon.

Several Mandalay monks had reportedly been arrested for publicly kneeling in front of soldiers, "a very major insult because it suggests that the military is regarding itself as the Buddha," the envoy said.

9 suspects seized with war weapons

Local police said on Wednesday the suspects confessed they had bought the weapons from Cambodia resistance guerrillas in Prachin Buri for sale to Burmese minority rebels along the Thai-Burmese border.

The Nation

Burma issues warning to monks and students (AFP)

Burmese officials have warned monks and students creating disturbances and instability in the country, saying that stern action will be taken against any who do, radio said on Wednesday. (Tin OO)

NEWS FROM THE BORDER VILLAGES

On September 15, 16 and 17, students from Minthamee Camp were visiting Pala Village and Tou Village in Palaw Township. When Burmese troops approached the villages, the students moved out while the villagers collected in the center of the village and shouted anti-military slogans.

In response, the military fired heavy weapons into the center of the village, wounding 10 of the villagers. In the fight which followed, five students were injured and one killed.

Following this incident, 55 men and 10 women from

the villages fled to the border area to avoid being taken as porters. They arrived in Minthamee on September 29.

It was also reported that 4 Buddha images in Leak U Thaung village of Palaw Township began swelling and developed cracks in the arms, waist, face and forehead. The people believe that this means the country will be destroyed by the military government.

NLD UPDATE

On the 27th and 28th of July 1990, the Central Executive Committee of the NLD called a meeting of all their elected Hluttaw representatives in Ghandi Hall, Bo Aung Kyaw Street in Rangoon. After 2 days of discussion, they issued the Ghandi Hall declaration and urged the SLORC to quickly transfer power to the people's elected government, release NLD's chairman U Tin Oo and secretary Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all other political detainees and to revoke all of the laws and orders issued by the SLORC that restrict the freedom of the people.

In their declaration, they urged the SLORC to convene parliament in Sept 1990.

On the 19th of August 1990, the NLD cemented an alliance with the second largest parliamentary grouping, the United Nationalities League for Democracy (UNLD), a mix of 19 ethnic-based parties. This is a coalition of nearly all winning parties in the elections, or about 50 of the 485 assembly seats. Both parties received nearly 95% of the total seats in parliament.

On 29th August, Mandalay's NLD division urged their party's leaders to defy the ruling military junta and convene the parliament by October at the latest.

"We call upon the NLD leadership to be courageous and do what ought to be done within the framework of law," they said.

On the 30th of August 1990, the National League for Democracy and the Union Nationalities League for Democracy issued a statement which said they will defy the military regime and set up parliament in September, next month. The two parties should then be allowed to form a government and they agreed that after convening the parliament, the NLD should form a democratic government in collaboration with the UNLD, the statement said.

On the 6th of Sept 1990, the Nation newspaper reported that opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi could be released if she decides to leave for Britain or takes up writing. Burmese junta leader Gen Saw Maung was quoted as having told a leading Japanese politician, Watanabe, 67, who is a leader of the Japanese ruling Liberal Democratic Party, during his three-day visit to Burma last week as part of an Asian tour. Watanabe is a former minister for finance, trade and industry, and is a prominent

candidate for the post of Japan's prime minister in the future.

"Aung San Suu Kyi has talent in literature, so if she would like to engage herself in activities like that or if she returns to the United Kingdom, I am prepared to release her," said Saw Maung.

Since the military has refused to transfer the power to the people's elected government after the elections, the NLD is preparing to mount an open challenge to the SLORC.

Tension between Burma's main political party and its ruling military junta is rapidly coming to a head, threatening to ruin the country's hesitant approach to democracy.

Few observers doubt the Slorc's ability or willingness to react strongly if the NLD decides to challenge it openly.

"Obviously, the anniversary (two-year anniversary of the September 18 military coup) creates tension," one analyst said. "But when you add the Sept deadline set by NLD and the Slorc's continued refusal to hand over power, you have a very explosive situation."

Early this week, the junta launched a scathing attack on the NLD, insisting that they were unprepared to take office and had no real policies on how to run the country.

"The more this continues, the more likely something is likely happen," one diplomat said. "Burma is a land of anniversaries and there are always fears when they come around that the lid will finally blow off."

Western diplomats and observers agree that the fuse has been lit.

Even in that sort of situation, the military junta arrested 6 leading NLD members on 9 Sept 1990. They are U Kyi Maung, chairman and spokesman for NLD's Central Executive Committee who was elected as hluttaw representative from Bahan township, constituency-2 in Rangoon division. U Chit Khaing, secretary of the NLD who was elected as hluttaw representative from Taungtha-1 constituency in Mandalay Division, U Ohn Khaing, an

elected Hluttaw representative from Mandalay South-East-2 constituency, U Thein Tan, U Ye Myint Aung and U Sein Hla Aung, NLD's leading members from Mandalay Division.

U Kyi Maung and U Chit Khaing were charged with spying and handing over documents to "unauthorized persons" and the 4 NLD members from Mandalay were charged with instigating unrest in Mandalay on 8 August.

The remaining 8 NLD's CEC members have already decided to run their activities with collective leadership, without replacing those arrested, but they chose U Aung Shwe, a retired army officer, as the party's spokesman.

Our sources in Rangoon sent the report that the

remaining NLD leaders will continue the struggle same as before and join with the students, monks and people. They have already decided to continue the struggle even if the military arrests all their candidates.

On the 15th of Sept 1990, a newspaper in Bangkok quoted diplomats in Rangoon as saying that 2 leading NLD members were detained for questioning by the military on Thursday and released the next day.

They are U Khin Maung Swe, one of the Party's 8 remaining CEC members who was elected as hluttaw representative from Sangyoung township and U Sein Hla Oo, information officer who was elected from Insein township constituency-2 in Rangoon division in the multi-party general elections in May 1990.

Support from the International Community

On the 7th of September 1990, Australia's Foreign and Trade Minister, Gareth Evans, condemned the arrest of 6 of the NLD's leaders, saying the SLORC had "further discredited the military regime and made a "mockery" of the May elections." A statement from the Australian embassy in Bangkok said Evans also urged the regime to immediately release all political prisoners and accede to popular desire for democracy.

The US State Department criticized the arrest of the six opposition party leaders in Burma, calling it "a clear attempt by the military to stifle legitimate political activity."

The department, in a statement on 8 Sept, also called on Burma's military rulers to release all political prisoners and to allow the winners of last May's parliamentary elections to take office.

"We strongly deplore continued arrests by the Burmese military regime on political charges," State Department Spokesman Mark Dillen said Friday.

On the 12th of Sept 1990, The Bangkok Post newspaper reported that in Tokyo, the Japanese government yesterday criticized the Burmese military's latest arrests.

"This is an act against the expected move towards the transfer of power based on the general election held in Burma, and the government of Japan cannot but express deep concern about these arrests," Foreign Ministry spokesman Tazio Watanabe said.

"The government of Japan repeats its strong hope that the government of Burma, respecting the results of the last general elections, will take sincere steps towards the realization of a civilian government in

accordance with the will of the people."

He said Japan hopes for an early and smooth transfer of power.

However, in July, Japan announced a 3.5 billion yen (US \$25 million) grant for debt relief in Burma.

On the 13th of Sept 1990, the European Parliament urged Burma's military rulers to hand over power to the opposition NLD.

The parliament called for the hand over to civilian rule in a resolution which also condemned the killing of peaceful opposition demonstrators and demanded an independent investigation into reports of illegal executions.

The European Parliament demanded the release of all political prisoners in Burma, in particularly NLD leader Aung San Suu Kyi and party chairman U Tin Oo.

Expressing concern about the destruction of tropical forests in Burma, the assembly called for a temporary ban on the importation of Burmese hardwoods, including those processed in Thailand, until logging was properly regulated.

The resolution, which is not binding on the European Community authorities, also urged Japan and Thailand to stop their nationals from contributing to destruction of the forest.

Abel Matutes, the EC Commissioner responsible for relations with Burma, recalled that the Community had repeatedly asked for the election results to be respected.

U Kyi Maung,

13th July 1990, "Asia Week"

U Kyi Maung, 72 year-old, a retired colonel, became chief spokesman for the NLD after the NLD's chairman, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was put under house arrest on 20 July 1989. He had received military training in Japan and the United States while he was serving in the Burmese military. As a mediator between the party's older moderates and radical youths, he is likely to play a crucial role in determining whether Burma will make a successful transition to a democratic government. He also has close ties with Aung San Suu Kyi.

U Kyi Maung was born into an aristocratic family belonging to Burma's colonial elite. Friends say that as a student he was an ardent marxist but later became a staunch anti-communist. An independence fighter and a loyal soldier, he was a member of the Revolutionary Council in 1962 after Gen Ne Win overthrew the parliamentary democracy. He retired in 1963 at the age of 45. After that, he was put in jail three times under the BSPP government.

A fluent English speaker with an British accent, he is a confident and humorous man who puts reporters at ease and cracks jokes about the government that put him behind bars.

"In this country, if we didn't have any sense of humor we would have been long dead" he said. "It has been so restrictive and repressive, so there's a lot of kill joys here". When asked about what Suu

Kyi's release would mean, he reportedly said "what would the sons and daughters of a family say when their mother has recovered from serious illness? Won't they be happy to enjoy the food cooked by their mother? It's the same thing. People love her."

During SLORC's 100th news conference, Khin Nyunt, Secretary 1 of SLORC reportedly criticized U Kyi Maung's interview in an article in the 13th July issue of 'Aisaweek' magazine.

In the article, Dominic Faulder described his interview with U Kyi Maung. Dominic Faulder asked whether the government worries about revenge by the people...U Kyi Maung answered that they have many problems which must be addressed. He asked in actual fact, how many brutal German Nazis stood trial at Nurenberg. When Dominic asked whether U Kyi Maung implied there would be a Nurenberg in Rangoon...U Kyi Maung answered that he did not believe the acreage Burmese would try to fight soldiers. He said it was a hugely exaggerated problem and that it is was nothing. He said, of course, people such as Khin Nyunt might reasonably feel themselves pretty insecure.

That statement made Khin Nyunt quite angry. It is a true statement. Khin Nyunt reportedly warned U Kyi Maung that he said anything worse he would be sued. On the 9th of Sept 1990, U Kyi Maung was arrested by the SLORC.

THERE IS NO CHANCE FOR FREEDOM UNDER SLORC

The notorious Burma Army's 22nd Division that killed so many unarmed demonstrators in 1988 has been called back to Rangoon. Moreover, the 11th, 33rd and 44th Divisions have been formed and have taken up positions at all strategic areas in the city. The freedom of movement of the people has thus been extremely restricted.

Obviously the military fears another pro-democracy uprising. Their desperate fear of the people is proof that they have no right to lead the country, or act as a government. The only dignified thing they can do now is step down and allow the people's elected representatives take over State power.

A CHRONOLOGY OF RECENT EVENTS

A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS FROM SEPTEMBER 16 - 23

16 Sept

The Muslim Liberation Organization of Burma (MLO) has urged all Muslims and other Burmese to join in fighting the military dictatorship in Rangoon.

17 Sept

Security unit members fired tear gas to disperse the students who demonstrated inside the high school compound in the North-West of Mandalay at 11:00 am and many of the students are taken into custody.

18 Sept

The anti-government demonstrations and the 2 years anniversary of the military coup break out in Rangoon, Mandalay and some other townships in Burma.

The opening ceremony of the exhibition and explanation of the history of Burma's politic toward Nationalism is held by the SLORC at the army hall.

The International Action Committee for Democracy (IACDB), the University Students Unions in Thailand, the Asia-Pacific Students Association, Solidarity Asia, as well as the Coordinating Group for Religious in Society, called on the international community to exert pressure against the regime, demanding "peace," social justice and democracy in Burma.

Seventy Burmese students in Bangkok donate their blood to the Thai Red Cross Society to mark the 1988 bloody coup.

19 Sept

57 Burmese sportsmen go to China for participation in the 11th Asia Games.

20 Sept

The BBC announced that the NLD wrote the letter to SLORC on 13 Sept that they agreed with SLORC to draft the new constitution and convene the National conference before transfer of power.

21 Sept

The BBS announces that the authorities in Kayan township arrested 2 EC and one party member of the Democratic Party for New Society on 12 Sept 1990.

23 Sept

Maj Myo Myint, a committee member of the exhibition of the history of Burma's politic toward nationalism said to the education officers and the teachers from Rangoon Division, that the group at the border which calls themselves students, (ABSDF) has published the "Dawn" newsletter bi-weekly and many other exiled anti-government groups have published many newsletters. When we read these newsletters, they report incorrect information and try to divide the army and the people.

26 Sept

Burmese military authorities arrest another senior member of the NLD. U Kyi Hla, 43, an executive committee member of the NLD is arrested on Thursday on charges of publishing illegal books, pamphlets and documents.

27 Sept

The ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council has demanded parties first draw up a constitution which would be approved by the military and then submitted to plebiscite.

After a constitution has been drafted the army will organise another election and after that will hand over power to elected members of parliament.

Senior Thai officers who visited Burma said that they believe the SLORC will never step down.

28 Sept

It is reported that Burmese troops have entered the compounds of the West German, British and US embassies, and its military government has detained Burmese employees of Western missions for interrogation.

A Western diplomat also reports that intimidation of dissidents is widespread and has become significantly worse in the past month.

The diplomat is quoted as saying, "The situation on the human rights front is abysmal....An increasing number of governments view with horror what is going on in Burma. Basically, this is a jackboot justice. They are just arresting anyone they want."

The 12 members of the European Community, Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States issue an oral protest over the embassy raids and human rights abuses. They say that the statement is to make clear to the military council that these countries do not accept them as a legitimate regime.

Several senior abbots in Mandalay have signed a letter saying they are turning down their begging bowls when approaching military families. This means that they will not accept alms from military men or their families. It is, in fact, an excommunication of the soldiers and their families from the Buddhist church.

29 Sept

Burmese political prisoners go on a hunger strike while sling-shot-wielding Buddhist monks fight daily skirmishes with government troops in central Burma.

The military steps up public intimidation tactics and brings more troops into the capital. Armoured vehicles patrol the town honking their horns while loudspeakers carry warnings against joining demonstrations.

Burmese Ambassador to Thailand U Nyunt Swe, rules out the possibility for the release in the near future of opposition party leader Aung Sann Su Kyi.

30 Sept

The military government dismisses as exaggerations reports about the detention and interrogation of Burmese staff of the Australian, US and British embassies.

The Burmese embassy in Bangkok asks Thailand to help them locate two forestry authorities reportedly gone missing after completing their duties in Thailand.

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