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A JUST SOCIETY

IS BUILT ON JUST ACTIONS

THE ROOTS OF A JUST SOCIETY

The Burmese people have suffered much during the past 28 years under the Ne Win form of dictatorship which he has misleadingly called the "*Burmese Way to Socialism*".

During these 28 years, the people of Burma, both in the urban and the rural areas, have learned to expect sudden arrests, imprisonment without trial, execution, loss of property etc. A knock on the door at night is a cause for fear.

Many people who have raised a voice in protest against the military government's policies have suddenly found themselves in detention and facing torture. The most famous political prisoner today is Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who is still under house arrest because she dared speak the truth to the people about the realities in Ne Win's Burma.

A long list of names can be provided of people who were arrested and executed by the military for crimes which the convicted had no chance to defend themselves against.

This is the reality in Burma today: and this is what the people of Burma are demanding an end to. The people are demanding a system in which power to detain people, execute them, or take away their possessions, does not lie in the hands of a few powerful people.

In order to build a new Burma which provides justice to the people, we must begin by building justice into our struggle. If there is not justice in our struggle, we can never hope to achieve a new and just Burma. The seeds we plant today determine the harvest we will reap in the future.

All of us who seek a new society must work together to make justice an integral part of our present life. We are, indeed, the roots of the future Burma. The way we support and nurture the emerging democracy is more important than the way we fight against the present dictatorship.

Together we can build a better Burma and a better world. Together we can seek that which makes for peace and justice, and we can mold it into our new future.

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

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

Chronology of Events (October)

Oct 1; The British Broadcasting Corporation announces that some Democracy Party members were arrested for questioning by the military junta during the past week.

Oct 2; The Ambassador of the United States to the Union of Burma, Mr. Frederick Vreeland calls on the International Community to organize economic sanctions against the Saw Maung military regime for its failure to transfer the power to the elected government and for continuing to detain political leaders and students, at the East Asia and Pacific Regional Meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate in New York.

Oct 3; A Pagan convoy of the Five Stars Shipping Company arrives in Rangoon from Singapore carrying 30 Cargo-Containers and 1,472 tons of general goods of governmental departments, co-operative shops and privates import companies.

Over 700 monks of Ngar Htat Gyi and Chauk Htat Gyi monasteries in Rangoon, march to the Shwedegon pagoda to hold the Thedinkyout ceremony (Buddhist religious ceremony). Over 300 students from various Universities and schools in Rangoon, surround the monks while they march. Many monks and students are arrested by the military regime.

Oct 5; The Nation Newspaper in Bangkok says "Burma has surged to the forefront of world heroin production as its military rulers, preoccupied with suppressing political dissent, "live and let live" with drug warlords, Western narcotics officials say."

The SLORC held the 105th press conference. The SLORC withdraws the nomination of the US Ambassador, Frederick Vreeland to the Union of Burma.

Oct 6; The Minister for Fisheries & Livestock Breeding, Agricultural and Forestry, Lt-Gen Chit Swe receives the Ambassador, Commercial Counsellor and Economic Counsellor of the People's Republic of China to the Union of Burma.

Oct 7; The Secretary-1 of the SLORC, Maj-Gen Khin Nyunt, presents a 'KUNLIN' color television

set to Pyay Man Aung Tawya Kyaung Sayadaw U Vijjabala in Pegu Division.

Gen Chavalit, a former Deputy-primer of Thailand says he would visit Rangoon soon to try to secure the release of opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi.

A special military tribunal in Rangoon sentences four people to life imprisonment for smuggling a large amount of rubies to Thailand (Working People's Daily).

Oct 8; Burma's delegation leaves Rangoon for Singapore to attend the 'Business Opportunity in Myanmar' meeting sponsored by the Singapore Trade Development Board. Another delegation who will attend the "Environmental Protection and Development of Asia and Pacific Region" in Bangkok.

The BBS announces the authorities arrested U Maung Maung, Yaenangyaung township NLD organizer, on 6th September 1990.

Six exiled Burmese monks in Bangkok demand UN assistance to restore democracy and peace in Burma, and urge the world body to expel the junta's representatives from the ongoing General Assembly.

Oct 9; The Burma foodstuff Industries of the Ministry of Industry-1 and the Singapore United Tobacco (Pte) Ltd sign an agreement on setting up Burma- Singapore United Tobacco Co.Ltd to engaging in producing cigarettes and in the sale of tobacco products on domestic and foreign markets.

The NLD proposes a 68 member committee for seeking dialogue with the SLORC, during the two-day conference of senior officials of the NLD.

U Anwarn, 56-year old monk, starts a protest fast at the Burma Embassy to draw attention to the cause of oppressed people in Burma.

Oct 10; The SLORC reduces the curfew by one hour. Burma Inspection and Testing Services Ltd is formed. The Burmese delegation led by U Ohn Gyaw gives a speech at the 45th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, on 9 October 1990.

The BBC announces that the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights appointed Professor Sadako Ogata, an independent expert, to investigate the human rights situation in Burma.

Oct 11; The SLORC announces order No.5/90, which expels patron U Nu and 6 members of the central executive committee from the League for Democracy & Peace (LDP).

Oct 12; The People's Police Force Director Ngwe Soe Tun of the Narcotics Division, leaves Rangoon for China to attend the 15th meeting of Heads and National Law Enforcement Agencies, Asia and Pacific.

Oct 13; The Nation Newspaper reports that Arthur Holcombe, Deputy-Regional Director for Asia, says at the UN environmental conference, "all UN agencies are non-political. We do not try to Judge the character of the governments...we only want to improve the quality of the life of the people."

Oct 14; The BBC announces that 'the Grafto Human Rights Award' has been given to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi for 1990 by the Thon Nolf Grafto Memorial Human Rights Organization.

Oct 15; The secretary-1 of SLORC, Maj-Gen Khin Nyunt, visits Jeigao Market on the China-Burma border near the town of Muse and is welcomed by responsible personnel from Yunnan Province, Dehong Prefecture and Ruili Country.

STATEMENT BY JAPANESE FOREIGN
MINISTRY SPOKESMAN MR. TAIZO
WATANABE (26 OCTOBER 1990)

1. The Government of Japan has taken every opportunity to express its hope that the SLORC (the Myanmar Government) makes due efforts in the realization of a prompt and smooth transfer of power in light of the outcome of the last general elections. The environment for such a transfer of power, however, seems more and more precarious. The SLORC has announced no concrete steps, yet, to be taken in the process leading to the transfer of power, such as dialogue with the NLD, the leading party as a result of the general elections, the convocation of the parliament, etc. In addition, it was recently reported that a number of remaining leaders of the NLD had been detained.

2. Under these circumstances, Japan is increasingly concerned about the present situation and expresses once again its strong desire that the SLORC fully respects the general elections and will take a sincere attitude toward the realization of the prompt transfer of power so that democracy will be restored in the country.

(Editor's Note: Mr Michio Watanabe, a member of the House of Representatives of Japan, donated US \$5,000 to the Myanmar Naing- Ngan Red Cross Society, reported in the 8 Sept 1990 Working People's Daily. The Japanese delegation led by Mr Michio Watanabe, 67, popular leader of the Japanese ruling Liberal Democratic Party had arrived in Rangoon on the 30th of August 1990. Mr Watanabe and group had discussed over two hours with the chairman of the State Law and Order

Restoration Council, Gen Saw Maung, Vice-chairman Gen Than Shwe, Secretary-1, Maj-Gen Khin Nyunt and Ministers on the 31st of August 1990 during his three- day visit. Mr Watanabe urged Gen Saw Maung to transfer the power to the elected representatives and release NLD's leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been put under house arrest since 21 of July 1989. But reliable sources in Rangoon said Mr Watanabe's demands were not agreed on by the SLORC. On the 6th of Sept 1990, Mr Watanabe said in the Nation Newspaper that he was told by Gen Saw Maung in Rangoon that the opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi could be released if she decides to leave for Britain or takes up writing. The attitudes of SLORC are very clear. The SLORC has never allowed any person to live freely in the country if that person receives massive support from the people and is able to overwhelm the military. These kinds of people are placed in incommunicado or sent abroad. We, the ABSDF, are proud of Mr Michio Watanabe's efforts for our struggle for democracy in Burma. History repeats itself. Mr Watanabe said to the Japan Time newspaper on 28th October 1990, that Japan would continue its stance of not extending any new aid to the Southeast Asian country, while continuing to carry out aid projects pledged in the past. The newspaper reported that Japan has been the largest donor of aid to Myanmar, having disbursed some \$260 million worth in 1988. Japan aid accounted for 71.5 percent of all economic assistance received by Rangoon in 1987. Japan suspended its aid in concert with other major donor nations in the fall of 1988 but unilaterally resumed work on existing aid projects in March 1988.)

PEACE BEFORE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

On 3 October 1990, the British Broadcasting Corporation discussed the paper, "Politics Before Economic Reform: Burma Looks to the Future," written by Mr. Josef Sliverstine. He emphasized the necessity of political reform before economic reform in the process of reconstruction in Burma.

The early 1990s will welcome many challenges to Burma, among those economic growth is the most complicated. The people of Burma demanded democratic reforms prior to economic reform during the 1945-48 independence struggle.

The May 27, 1990, multi-party general elections obviously proved the desire of the people for change of the political leadership of the country.

During the 28 years under dictatorship, with poor administration by a group of people who took power in a 1962 coup d'etat which substituted a democratic system with military dictatorship, violations of human right were raised as an issue twice by the people in a 3 year period.

In 1988 people made peaceful demonstrations for political reform which were brutally crushed by the military regime: and in the recent multi-party election, again people voted for the main opposition party. Part of the refusal to follow the enthusiasm of the people by the military dictators is the fear to take responsibility for violations of human rights and the corruption by military officers in their attempts to put down the civil war and in opposing the people.

The Burmese people do not like vengeance, are slow to anger and quick at forgiving. They demand the release of the people's charismatic leaders and to let them lead the country. They also demand the immediate release of the political prisoners including the NLD leaders, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who is under house arrest and U Tin Oo, and U Nu and to stop the arrest of opposition leaders in order to establishment a new atmosphere for cooperation and mutual confidence on both sides.

No peace and development can come until the end of the internal war. Internal peace is the major issue of face Burma after handing power to the elected leaders. In some cases the internal war has last for 40 years. Most of the ethnic revolutionary groups showed their support for the 1947 constitution in the beginning. Through the negligence of the ethnic rights and oppression by the military regime, the ethnic revolutionary groups together with expatriate monks, soldiers and students, formed the

Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) in late 1988.

In 1962, Prime Minister U Nu tried negotiations to settle the ethnic problems but progress in these discussions for a federal union was destroyed by Ne Win's military coup. Though peace talks were made in 1963 and 1981-92, no positive result came about. Instead of mutual compromises, the military government only made their own demands a requirement for talks. the army carried out a heavy offensive against Karen, Kachin, Mon and Kaya revolutionary groups during the past year and a half, during which time they committed many violations of human rights and international Law. The leaders of the people who won the election, and the leaders of the parties banned from running in the elections by the military, should be allowed to solve the problems which have created division among the people in the past.

These major problems in Burma must be solved;

- 1) How to share the political power.
- 2) How to manage the power of police and military,
- 3) How to administer the tax authority between the State government and central government,
- 4) How to manage and protect private ownership and,
- 5) How the traditions of the ethnic minorities can be preserve.

The Ethnic minorities have to leave some of their rights to the central government and, at the same time, the central government has to protect the rights of the indigenous groups.

The size and duty of the armed forces would be a major issue at the present and in the future. Up to now the major duty of the armed forces is to end internal war. After the internal war is ended, the country must decide if it is important to maintain an armed force of 200,000.

Peace will be enjoyed in the country only when the internal war ends. The number of well-trained and skillful officers and soldiers could be reduced up to a certain limit. In case of emergency the present armed forces could be strengthened by a people's militia. The permanent army could train the people's militia to join with them. Details on the armed forces has to be discussed in the people's assembly and if the military dictators accept this reduction, it could ease the fear of the people over the military forces and provide evidence to the people that the existence of the armed forces is necessary and fair.

All of the Burmese people know about the deterioration of values, and that corruption among

the people has increased during the military rule in the past 30 years. While the socialist economic system failed to provide for basic needs and to create new jobs for the young, a new system was developed by the people for survival. The black market came into reality. The military regime had to ignore the illegal existence of a black market because it could not provide the basic needs for which the military was unable. People depended on the black market for their survival and this led to the deterioration of values in Burma.

As the people had to break the law and regulations in order to survive, they felt bad as the Burmese people are proud of honesty and clean lines. In order to survive, every one had to have second and third jobs. Government servants could not serve their primary duties full time and had to deal with outside labor for their families.

On the other hand, the military government, through their instruments of military intelligence and special police, managed to create suspicions and distrust among the people and to control the ideological unification of the people. While the people had to struggle for their survival, a small group of people

made up of military dictators lived in an atmosphere of wealth with special housing and privilege shops. Materials and goods from these privilege shops were sold by the officer's families on the black market for high profits. Common people had to buy at black market prices.

Military officers made frequent visits abroad and brought back a lot of foreign goods and sold these at the very high prices to the people with no need to worry about arrest and harassment by the police. Deterioration of values while struggling for survival is impossible to end in a short period. This can be dealt with by imposing new laws and regulations when the new government comes into power.

In the early 1990s, a new society must emerge from the decayed society created by military rule.

Political reform in the system of administration is essential prior to the economic reconstruction in Burma. The Burmese people know that political reform is the only way to clean out all the corruption of the past and to establish the future union.



In Burma there is no peace. Without peace, there can be no economic development. This we believe firmly. All attempts by SLORC to make a show of development simply mean more suffering of the people. The first order of business is to bring about an end to the civil war and national reconciliation. Only then can the life of the people improve.

PHOTO STORY



Top: The gate to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house. For over two year she has been locked inside her house under the orders of SLORC. Her only crime was speaking out the truth.



Bottom: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house is well-guarded. Bunkers, like this one, are placed on either side of the gate, and heavily armed soldiers keep a 24-hour watch.

Top: One of the new towns to which urban people were forced to moved. Schools, clinics, and necessary facilities are lacking. Life for these people is difficult.



Bottom: During the wet season, the New Towns flood. The land is best used for growing rice, not raising a family. Malaria and other water-born diseases are common to these people, and there is little medical treatment provided for them.



ARREST OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

NEWS FROM THE BURMA BROADCASTING SERVICE (BBS)

On the 17th of Sept, the Burmese Broadcasting System announced that five former high school students; Kyaw Min Lwin, Khin Maung Thin, Myat Ko, Wai Tun Lin and Min Kyaw Zwa, who were expelled from their school last year, entered into the No. 3 High School in Mandalay South-West with knives during the first term examinations at 9:30 am.

They joined 7 trouble-making students from inside the school and threatened other students to join with them and make unrest. They threatened the headmaster, Daw May May Tin, and burned examination papers. When Security Unit members arrived, there were about 50 students inside and about 50 people watching.

Security Unit members told the students to disperse, but the students threw stones instead. Security Unit members threw 3 tear gas grenades to disperse the trouble-makers. Three Security Unit members received injuries after the stone throwing. To find the culprits, the authorities are questioning the trouble-makers.

21st of Sept., BBS announcement:

On the 12th of Sept., 1990, 2 Executive Committee members and one party member of the Democratic Party for New Society (DPNS) in Ka Yan township were arrested by the Ka Yan Law and Order Restoration Council for possession of anti-government leaflets instigating an uprising by the Burma Students' Youth Front. The Executive Committee members arrested are Kyi Win (31) son of U Lon Maung, and Win Naing (23) son of U Myint Swe. Also arrested was Lwin Oo (20) son of U Mya Win and a member of the DPNS.

On the 12th of Sept., the 3 members of the DPNS wrote, copied and attempted to distribute anti-government leaflets in Ka Yan high school. Three students; Zaw Moe Aung (8th Standard) son of U Mya Aung, Aung Myo aka Ahnegy Lay (9th Standard) son of U Tin Ohn, and San Oo (8th Standard) son of U Tin Pe, all from Ka Yan high school, had arranged to distribute the leaflets in their school on the 15th of Sept. 1990.

The 3 DPNS party members were arrested with 90 copies of the leaflets before they were distributed.

The leaflet was addressed to "our student brothers and sisters" and said the current situation demands the in-school struggle, and thus "our student brothers and sisters" have to prepare bravely and make the necessities ready. Officials said the three will be treated with strong action according to the Law.

(Note; On the 16th of August 1990, the Working People's Daily reported that "according to information to the effect that agitative pamphlets were illegally distributed and the basic education students Thamagga (union) was formed and students were being organized to cause unrest, the authorities concerned called in patrons of the Kayan township Democratic Party for New Society; U Sann Linn, 42, 9th standard high school students of Kayan high school, Ohn Than and Soe Moe Kyaw, on 3 August and questioned them.)

26th Sept BBS announcement

Three people arrested by authorities in Rangoon were charged with instigating misunderstanding against the army. The charges referred to the booklet "What happened again?" Those charged were Sein Hlaing (35), son of U Ba Pe arrested on 3 August; Wai Nyein (38), son of U Kya Ba Nyein arrested on 12 August, and Maung Kyaing aka Min Lwin (36), son of U Tha Du arrested on 13 August.



SLORCISH FOR BEGINNERS

LET'S SPEAK SLORCISH

By U Shwe Yoe

The Burmese people may have an intellectual and literary tradition unsurpassed in Southeast Asia, but since the formation of the SLORC in September 1988 the only reading material available through so-called legal channels is the military's own, dreary newssheet, the Working People's Daily. When reading the verbose garbage it contains, it's almost impossible not to think of George Orwell's 1946 essay "Politics and the English Language" which maintains that bad political prose "contains less and less of words chosen for the sake of their meaning and more and more of phrases tacked together like the selection of a prefabricated hen-house...(it) consists in gumming together long strips of words which have already been set in order by someone else, and making their results presentable by sheer imagination". Following are a few examples from a recent book by a British schoolmaster who taught English in Mandalay at the time of the 1988 pro-democracy uprising and brought up-to-date by U Shwe Yoe.

according to the law...any illegal activity carried out in accordance with the rules set by the SLORC.

an affluent society...a society in which all wealth flows from the people to their self-appointed leaders, thus qualifying Burma as a "least Developed Country".

correct news.....news that we (see we) consider convenient for our purpose, whatever that may be.

crush....slaughter: e.g. "crush all destructive elements."

destructive acts....writing articles, showing solidarity and demonstrating for a better society

destructive elements....insurgents, university students, high school kids, their teachers and others who disagree with us (see we); not as in British English, natural phenomena such as floods, fires, etc.

drug eradication efforts....any one who dare compete with the SLORC's monopoly on the heroin trade in Burma has to be eradicated (see crush). The only ones who really believe that there is a genuine campaign against drugs in Burma are Angelo Saladino, Thus Coyne and others, obviously

demented (or paid-off), Rangoon-based agents of the US Drug Enforcement Agency (off-shoots of we).

eradicate....see crush

foreign interference....diplomats demarches, protests by Amnesty International and other human-rights organizations expressing concern over torture and imprisonment of schoolchildren, and summary executions of people opposed to us (see we).

free and fair multi-party general elections...these have to be ignored, otherwise they might challenge the absolute power of the legitimate government.

further.....meaningless euphemism intended to suggest that things are already quite satisfactory; e.g. "further raise", "further enhance" = raise, enhance.

indigenous people of Mvanmar...Burmese in particular, but more loosely everyone born in Burma except those of Chinese and India (especially India) ancestry.

just war....a maiming and killing of people in circumstances which we (see..we) approve.

legitimate government....an illegal body of usurpers of power such as the SLORC.

loss, wastage and looting....theft, especially by underpaid and hungry elements (mostly destructive elements).

Mvanmar literature...writings that are correct news.

necessary guidance....advice considered essential by SLORC and useless by the recipient; advice normally (and fortunately) ignored.

noble tradition of the tatmadaw (army)...massacres such as the killing of students in Rangoon on 7 July 1962, of workers and students in the mid-1970s..and of virtually everybody who demonstrated in Rangoon in 1988.

rally...large gathering of innocent people forced to attend a SLORC function and chant slogans at the end. More common during the days of the BSPP; a

large gathering of people these days can easily turn into destructive acts.

remote border areas....places such as the Syriam oil refinery, Rangoon City Hall and the monasteries of Mandalay where insurgent elements operate.

restoring law and order...acts such as detaining people without trial, sentencing innocent people to death in kangaroo-style courts and shooting anyone who dares demonstrate against us (see we)

righteous tasks...any task that protects the privileges of the few who benefit from the affluent society (see above)

rumors and disinformation....any reliable news reporting that does not fit into the category of correct news.

spirit of self help...realization that the SLORC can do nothing for you.

traitorous cohorts abroad....foreigners who care about blatant violations of human rights in Burma.

treasonous minions within the Myanmar naing-nan...law-abiding citizens who want to see their country democratic and prosperous.

voluntary service....compulsory labor often carried out by prisoners and other destructive elements. When these become too exhausted to render their voluntary service, they are usually executed.

we...(often phrased...."We Myanmars") a few of us top dogs in the Ministry of Defence in Rangoon who are going to keep thing as they are, whatever you (see you) want.

you....anyone other than we

SLORC English (and Burmese) is instantly recognizable as a variant of Stalinist propaganda but Burmese also has it own version of what Orwell might have called 'unnews'. For Example, the Working People's Daily often carries headlines such as "SLORC directive 3/90 explained in (name of town)." Anyone who reads this in hopes of finding out what it is all about will be disappointed. The newspaper will simply list the dignitaries (see we) attending the gatherings and end by saying that someone "explained the directive and then gave replies to the points raised." The reader is never told what points were raised and what replies were given, but the names and the titles of those officiating are always mentioned (and by what mode of transport they arrived and left: if it was by air, by river boat, by car or whatever). SLORC

English is pure Orwellian Animal Farm and 1984:

War is Peace,
Ignorance is Strength,
Freedom us Slavery.

I am certain Orwell would have revelled in dismantling the hen- house of SLORC prose----but any Burmese (see you) the SLORC's hokus-pokus language is a deep insult to the rich intellectual traditions of Burma.

S
LAUGHTERING
L
LEADERS
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OUNCIL



OUR COMRADES

TO OUR FALLEN COMRADES

During the 1988 peaceful uprising, the Burmese military killed thousands of unarmed students, monks and working people. They did this without hesitation. Thousands of students then fled to the border areas of Burma to escape this killing and the mass arrest of activists which the military continued to carry out.

Life at the border has not been easy for the students. The military continues to attack and kill whenever possible. Following is a partial list of our comrades who have been killed by the military in this jungle refuge. !!!-----

Four ABSDF students from camp 701 in Kachin territory were killed by LID 36 of the Burmese army at Namchi Maw (Jade mine) Mawan village in Kachin State. They are Zaw Htwe Oo, 21, 10th standard, Kyaw Kyaw Tun, 17, 9th standard, Soe Moe Oo, 9th standard, and Than Zaw Tun, 20, 8th standard. (Dawn Vol.2, No.4, February 1990)

Three students from Huey Zedi camp were killed by the Burmese military regime. They are Doe Beyar, 18 from Lwelyn who was killed in March, Dae Doe, 23 from Kayah State and Aung Than Lay, 18 from Moepay who were killed in April. (Dawn #19, Oct 1989)

On the 20th of November, 1989, Maung Ann, 21, died of a serious mine injury to his leg. He was from Hewzedi camp. (Dawn #22, Nov 1989).

On the 22nd of March 1990, in "Ye" township, the military regime killed 5 ABSDF members of 102 camp. They are Shwe Ba, an ex- military soldier Lance-Corporal, Tint Lwin, Kant Soe and Tin Tun high school students from Mu Don township, and Win Maw, an ex-air force soldier. (Dawn Vol.2, No.6, March 1990)

At the beginning of May 1990, 3 students from Sarim camp were killed by the Burmese army. They are Maung Myint Oo, Maung Soe and Than Tun. One student, Dr Min Thein was arrested and taken to Rangoon. He died there on the 11th of June 1990 after being tortured by the MI agents in Rangoon. (Dawn Vol.2, No.16, August 1990)

On the 26th of August 1990, in Arutaung village in

Mon State, the Burmese military soldiers killed 6 ABSDF students from Three Pagoda Pass Camp. They are Maung Paine, Khin Soe, Nynn Lin Aung, Min Lu, Kyaw Soe and Ko Toe. (Dawn Vol.2, No.16, August 1990)

This is a list of some of the ABSDF students who were killed by the Burmese army.

History repeats itself. Mirror of truth. Nobody can change the true history. Here, we mention only some of our students who were killed by the Burmese army. But, there are many students, monks, workers, doctors, teachers, lawyers and people who were killed by the brutal military regime since Maung Phone Maw's death, the first student who was killed during the 1988 pro-democracy movement. Nobody can say how many people were killed. Beside, there were many people who had been killed or exiled since Gen Ne Win seized power in 1962. Nobody can imagine, how many, how they were killed, when and so on. But, history repeats itself.

We salute all our comrades who sacrificed their lives for the struggle for freedom, human rights and democracy in Burma. Those martyrs are dutiful throughout their lives in the struggle for the democratic change which people of Burma aspire to the most. We believe that "it is a great loss for our country". We promise them that we are ready to sacrifice our lives anytime for our country.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND SLORC

THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW GROUP NEWS RELEASE

November 5, 1990

THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW GROUP CHARGES THAT THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF MYNMAR (BURMA) IS ILLEGITIMATE UNDER INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LAW

The International Human Rights Law Group (Law Group) accused the military Government of Myanmar (Burma) today of being illegitimate under international and national law. The charges were released in a report condemning the Government for its unconstitutional seizure of power and its failure to transfer power to the representatives of the National People's Assembly elected in May. The report calls upon the military government to immediately and unconditionally transfer power to the People's Assembly.

The Law group's analytic report refutes the military Government's reliance on the recognition given it by the United Nations and individual nations for its claim to legitimacy. The report contrasts diplomatic recognition with legitimacy: recognition is done as a matter of convenience among nations to work with a government in power but legitimacy is achieved only by presenting an authorized legal basis for exercise of power.

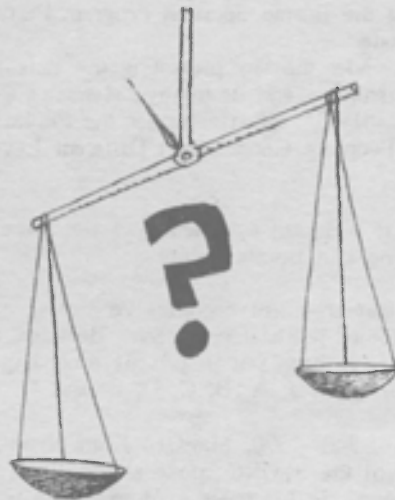
The Law Group report concludes as matter of international law that the People's Assembly-not the military government-holds the claim to legitimacy as the government in Myanmar. The conclusion are based on Myanmar's international obligations arising from the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other sources of international law. In particular, the report challenges the military government's authority because it is not based on the will of the people as required under international law. That will was clearly expressed in May when the National League for Democracy party won a landslide election victory. The report also charges the government with violating the internationally-recognized right to self-determination and the rule of law, a fundamental principle recognized by all civilized nations.

The Law Group conclusions further accuse the military government of lacking authority under the

national law of Myanmar. The military's deceleration of a state of emergency and martial Law orders have never been approved by the People's Assembly as required under the national constitution in effect when the junta came to power. The report also exposes the lack of authority of the current government to annul the national constitution, as it has attempted to do, or to prevent the People's Assembly from exercising its superior claim to sovereign government authority.

Based on its conclusions, the Law Group urges an immediate, unconditional transfer of power from the junta to the elected representatives. The organization calls upon the United Nations and other organizations to serve as mediators and observes in the transition process. The Law Group also appeals to national governments to suspend trade relations and end all programs that might aid the military government.

(Note: The International Human Rights Law Group is a public interest law center based in Washington, D.C. that seeks to promote and protect human rights and the rule of law around the world. The Law Group has Category II consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council.)



POLITICAL PRISONERS

The following article is translated from the NLD's biweekly news bulletin, issues 13/90 and written by a legal expert.

What is a political prisoner?

The people or the opposition politicians who actively took part in the political movements and were charged by laws, acts and put in prisons because of their activities in politics are called "political prisoners."

During the BSPP rule, on the 28th of May 1980, the state council had announced the order of amnesty. The 2nd paragraph of that order said, "If the people were convicted of political offenses before the day this order was announced, they will be giving Amnesty."

The People's Judge Committee had returned to ask the State Council to mention the meaning of the "Political Offenses". The State Council mentioned that the following offenses are concerned with the political offenses.

- (A) offenses under the Unlawful Associations Act,
- (B) offenses against the State under sections 121 to 130(b) in Chapter VI of the Penal Code
- (C) offenses under sections 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 151, 152, 153, 153(a) in Chapter VIII of the Penal Code: offenses Against Public Tranquility
- (D) offenses under the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act, such as, section 5(J) (E) offenses under the law protecting the Burma Socialist Program Party leading the state
- (F) offenses under the law protecting the state from Dangers of disruptive and destructive elements, sections 10(a),(b) (G) offenses under the Phithu Hluttaw and People's Councils act Different Levels Election Law

Today, there is a debate as whether or not there are political prisoners in Burma or not.

The case of that argument becomes very clear. There are a lot of political prisoners. Because, a lot of politicians have been put in prisons according to the list of the offenses, A, B, C, D, E, and G.

On the 13th of July 1990, Maj-Gen Khin Nyunt, Secretary (1) of the SLORC spoke at the 100th press conference. In his press conference, he

complained about that article. He said 'there is a topic 'What is the political prisoners' written by a legal expert. There are numerous well-known legal experts in the NLD. We assume that one of them wrote it."

He said, "It is true that the offenses were prescribed at that time. The Council of State prescribed them and this was done so under the Amnesty Order No 2/80. It is to be noted that they do not concern offenses in another book. The government at that time was that of the one-party Burma Socialist Program. The government in power today is the Tatmadaw (military) government. All should realize that the Tatmadaw government is not an organization bound by decrees and directives issued by the State Council at one time. We do not have to defend a political line connected with party politics.

The Emergency Powers Acts was enacted in 1950 by the AFPFL (Anti- Fascist People's Freedom League) government and the Law Safeguarding the State from Dangers of Destructive Elements was passed in 1875. All laws have their own objective and meaning. We cannot regard those against whom action has been taken under one of these laws under present circumstances as political prisoners. We have the Criminal Law enacted during the pre-independence era, and the law passed during the AFPFL government era, and the law enacted during the time of government of Socialist Program Party. These laws and their articles cannot be uniformly interpreted as applicable to political cases. Times and conditions have to be taken into consideration.

Today is the time of the military government and we are acting according to our prescribed laws. The objective of taking action under these laws and articles of previous eras is to ensure law and order and peace and tranquility in the state and peaceful conduct of trade and livelihood of the majority of the public. It is to ensure security. We would like to state categorically that since the SLORC does not defend the political line of a party, the actions that have been taken are not for political offenses. So long as the old laws are not yet abrogated, we have the right to use them. We take action for security and law and order. Therefore, I would like to declare categorically that those against whom action has been taken at present for reasons of security and law and order cannot be regarded as political prisoners."

NON-VIOLENT ACTION

On the 8th of August 1990, 2 monks and 2 students were killed and many other monks were injured by the military authorities in Mandalay, while the monks were holding a peaceful ceremony in remembrance of August 8, 1988 (8-8-88) and collecting alms. The military has also arrested many monks and students. Burma is a very religious country and about 85% of its population is Buddhist. The total number of monks is about 800,000 in the whole country.

At the end of August, the Federation of Monks' Union of the Lay-pyin-Lay-Yet, (Four Corners of Mandalay) issued announcement No. 5/90 relating how the blood of the monks fell to the ground at the anniversary of 8-8-88. Following are some of the facts mentioned in this announcement.

1. The Federation of Monks Unions of the Four Corners in Mandalay staged a boycott by practicing Patta Naikkusina Kan (General Strike in Pali terms) to the military government and its armed forces in conformity with the Vinaya (Buddhist rules which relate to the conduct of monks) with effect from 27-8-90.
2. The Lord Buddha allowed us to boycott a person or a group of persons if he, or they, commit one of the following eight misconduct:
 - (a) an attempt to make monks lose their alms
 - (b) an attempt to spoil monks
 - (c) an attempt to make monks lose shelter
 - (d) use of abusive language and intimidation against monks
 - (e) making mischief to incite quarrels amongst monks
 - (f) speaking evil of the Lord Buddha
 - (g) speaking evil of the Buddhist teachings
 - (h) speaking evil of monks
3. Whoever commits any one of the above eight misconduct may be boycotted by the monks who should have organized the necessary number and it must be informed to other monasteries. This was prescribed by the Lord Buddha and our boycott is carried out in conformity with this provision.

4. Because of the shooting by the military government on the occasion of the Anniversary of Four Eights on 8th August 1990, the blood of the monks fell to the ground.

5. Moreover the armed soldiers rudely struck the monks with batons, abused the monks and kicked the alms-bowls and robes of the monks.

6. In addition to this, some arrested monks were inhumanely beaten and reviled at Black Marias as well as inside the jail. We monks believe that the military government is solely responsible for such cruel oppression and torture.

7. As arranged with the participation or with the blessing of the Sayadaws (Abbots) seven thousand monks unanimously staged a boycott assembling at five locations viz Phayagyi Complex, Myataung Complex, Sagu Complex, Taik Taw Complex, Ah Shay Byin Khin Magan Complex.

8. During the time of Gautama, with the blessing of the Lord Buddha, the monks staged a boycott by practicing Patta Naikkuzing Kan to protest the insult against Ashin Dubba Mulla Putta, (Sula.263)

9. Because of various insults made by Khon Daw Maung Kya Bun, he was also boycotted. (It was during the Kone Baung Dynasty, 1762- 1885)

10. All monks who take part in the boycott must avoid;

(a) receiving alms and other donations from and

(b) giving religious prayers and teachings to those whom they are boycotting. They must avoid going to their places however humbly they have come up to request them.

11. Although there are peaceful ways and means to solve any kind of problem, today's military government never uses these methods but tries to solve the problems by oppressively shooting at the people as well as the monks. As a result many difficulties and undesirable conditions have arisen in the country.

12. We monks cannot neglect all matters occurring in the country as though they did not concern us. Insults against the Buddhist Sarsana (religion) and monks which took place on 8-8-90 made Abidaza abbots of Mandalay shed tears and abbots of the Federation themselves found the incident has caused

great grief to the people. Hence, with the blessings of the abbots, we have staged this boycott.

13. The Federation would like to inform monks and laymen as follows;

(a) Since this Patta Naikkuzina boycott is based on one of the Lord Buddha's directives, we request all monks to give respect to it and to carry it out.

(b) All donors are requested to help monks in their successful implementation of the task.

(c) Armed responsible personnel of the military government are also informed that they should realized their mistakes and we hope they will be able to avoid sinful conducts as insulting the Sarsana and monks.



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