

# DAWN

NEWS BULLETIN

OCTOBER 1990

Vol. 2 No. 20





# DAWN

## NEWS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE  
ALL BURMA STUDENTS' DEMOCRATIC FRONT

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### UNITY

#### The Necessary Ingredient for Every Successful Struggle

Strength does not lie in money or weapons. If that were the case, the dictatorships of the world would remain in power for ever. The strength of the powerless lies with their unity. Against unity, the oppressors have no power and no control, and against unity dictatorships fall.

The military regime of Burma has been arming itself at an alarming rate during the past two years in a desperate attempt to keep its iron-fisted rule over the people. Ship loads of ammunition, guns, tanks and other weapons have been streaming in from China. Jet bombers have been ordered and pilots are in training. More and more opposition voices have been silenced. All of this is a demonstration of the fear the military has of the unity of the people of Burma.

We also need the unity of friends around the world. It is not enough that you are supporting the struggle, but your support must be unified so that together we do have the power to upset the dictatorship.

Often we have called on our international friends to boycott all companies which are investing in Burma. Uniting on this effort can put tremendous pressure on the military, and push them towards the negotiating table. All of these investments simply feed the war machine, and it must be severed in order to end the strife in our country.

We also call for a unified effort to call on the United Nations to put the military regime out of the UN seat and leave it vacant until a true representative of the people of Burma can occupy it. The military regime admits that it is not a true government of Burma and that it does not rule the country with the consent of the people. Then why can it be allowed to occupy the UN seat? Every country should help raise this issue in the UN, and it is the responsibility of the citizens of each country to encourage their UN representative to do just that.

Become united with us in this struggle for democracy and justice in Burma. Let your voice sound out where it can be most effective. Commit yourselves to identifying the companies in your country which are involved in Burma. Begin letter-writing campaigns and boycotts against those countries. Commit yourselves to writing your UN ambassador regularly to call for UN action against the military regime in Burma.

In unity we can bring about change.

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

## SUPPORT FROM FRIENDS

A group of Japanese and foreign residents of Japan who have organized the Association for Burmese Issues in Kansai (ABIK), issued a press released in Kyoto, Japan on the 27th October 1990. Following is some of the text of the press release.

"It has been exactly five months since the National League for Democracy (NLD) overwhelmingly won the general election in Burma. In that Saw Maung's military regime suffered complete defeat at the polls, the junta is now clearly illegitimate. The Asia-Pacific Students Association (ASA) has called for marches, rallies, and protests on October 26 and 27 throughout the region to support Burmese democracy. These expressions of cooperation and support outside Burma are crucial since there has been absolutely no move by the military junta towards a peaceful transfer of power to the NLD.

"Rather than admit defeat and relinquish power to the representatives the people courageously voted for, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) continues to detain all major opposition leaders. Within the last few days, the SLORC has hardened its opposition, by issuing increasingly strident threats and escalating its violence against duly-elected NLD representatives, high school students, and Buddhist monks. Many more NLD leaders and monks have been arrested.

The Association for Burmese issues in Kansai, a group of Japanese and foreign residents of Japan who share a concern about Burma, is taking this occasion to express their wholehearted support for the All Burma Student's Democratic Front (ABSDF) and for the struggle for Democracy in Burma against a ruthless military regime.

Specifically, ABIK urges the following:

1. the immediate release of U Tin Oo, chairman of the NLD party who was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment with hard labor; Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, General-Secretary of the NLD party who has been put under house arrest since July 20, 1989; U Nu, 84, former Prime Minister and patron of League for Democracy Party; Min Ko Naing, chairman of the ABSFU who was arrested on 24 March; and all other political prisoners held by the junta;

2. an immediately end to the current persecution of Buddhist monks, 3. the immediate transfer of power

to the NLD,

4. the immediate return to the barracks of the Burmese army 5. the granting of asylum status by the UNHCR to those Burmese who are unable to return,

6. stop deportation of these refugees by Thai Government,

7. the immediate international condemnation of the Burmese military government for its failure to transfer of power, its violence against unarmed citizens and monks, its policies of forced relocations, its continued aggression against all ethnic minorities, and its economically and environmentally disastrous sale of Burma's natural wealth;

8. the immediate cessation of all debt relief (Japan granted 21 million dollars in 1988, and another 22.8 million dollars this year.) and foreign aid to the Burmese military junta, including UNDP, UNFDAC, and UNESCO grants,

9. the immediate imposition of economic sanctions on Burma and a ban on all major imports from Burma, including timber, fish, gems, and minerals re-exported through Thailand.

"We applaud the US Congress in this regard, and call on other governments, especially Japan's, to follow with similar action.

(Signed)

Association for Burmese Issues in Kansai

Representatives:

Soichiro Tanaka

Ken Kawasaki

(Editor's note: The Association for Burmese Issues in Kansai was formed in March 1990 by Japanese students and residents in Kansai. Their main activities are the publication of Japanese translations of Dawn, ABSDF's news bulletin, and fund-raising for ABSDF. They have provided essential medicines and basic food-stuffs for our Burmese students who are struggling for freedom, human rights and democracy in Burma. Their support for us, both moral and financial, is very helpful for our struggle. We, the ABSDF, are also in solidarity with the Japanese students.)

## POLITICAL PRISONERS

Name.....Aung Soe  
Age.....15  
Education.....8th Standard  
Father.....U Thein Hlaing  
Address.....Chew Dwin Kone, Duban street,  
Mayankone Township, Rangoon Date of arrest...14 or  
15 August 1990  
Charge.....Sentenced to 7 years imprisonment for  
throwing a stone at A SLORC banner.

### Short biography:

Aung Soe is in the 8th standard of an unknown high school in Mayankone township. He and some of his friends went to visit another high school on Yekusawet street in Mayankone township on the 12th of August 1990.

Their group entered the school compound and called their friends in the school. They shouted anti-government slogans, waved the student's flag and sang the State Union song.

Aung Soe then threw some stones at a banner which said: "Our Duties and 3 tasks" which was hanging inside the school compound. Shortly after that, the military troops arrived and the students ran away.

One day later, the military intelligence agents and members of the township law and order restoration council arrived at Aung Soe's house and asked about him. But, he was not in the house at that time. The MI agents and SLORC members ordered his parents to inform them when he came back to his house. He came back on that same day and his parents told the SLORC members.

He was taken to Insein prison on the 14 or 15 of August 1990 by MI agents. Three or four of his friends were also taken into custody for questioning 2 or 3 days. Aung Soe was charged with instigating unrest. He was examined in the Mayankone township's court. At the end of Sept,

he was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment by the Mayankone township court (Civil court). His parents appealed to the court.

"They made me sit on a bench, feet and hands tied up. They fixed electric wires to my thumbs and to the big toes of my feet and turned the handle of the generator. I shocked. They gave me a series of maybe ten electric shocks, asking a question after each shock. Each time my whole body shocked. The electricity flashed into my brain and I almost suffocated because the nerves and muscles of my chest contracted. I said that I was innocent and I did not know anything about the rebels...They did not believe me and tried to make me confess by burning my body with cheroots (cigars) and a candle. I was burnt around the neck several times, on the chest and abdomen with cheroots. They dropped hot wax on my body, burnt me with flames and even set my hair on fire."

(The testimony of a Mon cultural activist who was arrested and tortured by the Burmese military.)

*Amnesty International says, "Torture by Burma's security forces is widespread and anyone suspected of even criticizing the government is at risk. Amnesty International has identified more than 300 prisoners of conscience arrested since the military coup of September 1988; the total number may be in the thousands. Also since that coup many hundreds of political prisoners have been detained; some are held incommunicado for months."*

The International Secretariat of Amnesty International in London has decided that human rights violations have reached a level in Burma which calls for a worldwide campaign, to be launched with the release of a major report on November 7, 1990. AI sections in 26 countries will participate.

Contact your local Amnesty International organization for details.



# INVESTMENTS IN OIL OR BLOOD?

The following are the 14 geological basins and plains with petroleum and gas potential in Burma.

In the North;

1. Hukong basin
2. Chindwinn basin
3. Shwebo-Monywa plains
4. Salin basin\*
5. Bago Yoma basin
6. Pyay embankment\*
7. Sittaung basin
8. Hsipaw basin
9. Nan Myaw basin and
10. Kalaw basin in Shan

State.

In the South;

1. Mawlamyine basin and
2. Mepale basin.

On the West coast;

1. Rakhine region\* and
2. Ayeyarwady basin.\*#

In the 14 geological basins and plains, the Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise has been drilling and producing petroleum and gas in the Salin Basin where Yenanchaung, Chauk, Mann and Htaukshabin oil fields are located, the Pyay Embankment where Pyay and Myanaung oil fields are located and the Delta Basin where Payagon gas field is located.

Burma Oil Corporation has chosen 7 blocks for offshore oil exploration in the offshore area of Rakhine Coast and another 18 blocks in Moattama and Tanintharyi offshore areas. In some of these blocks, Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise (MOGE) has been prospecting for oil, alone or with foreign oil companies since 1972.

10 financial supporters of barbaric military regime, SLORC

After the military and the, the State Law and Order Restoration Council, seized power on the 18th of Sept 1988, blocks between the Shan Yoma and Rakhine Yoma, although outside the working area of MOGE, were made available for Production Sharing Contracts with foreign oil companies. Foreign oil firms were invited to participate, and ten companies have signed contracts for nine onshore oil explorations and two offshore oil explorations. The contracts are in accord with internationally accepted rules, according to SLORC, but there have been some agreements between the SLORC and the Foreign Oil Companies out of the rule since they began searching for oil.

Seven foreign countries with 10 Oil Companies are

now operating in Burma.

Two American oil companies

1. AMOCO..onshore Block B and
2. UNOCAL..onshore Block F

The Canadian Oil company

3. PETRO CANADA..onshore Block E

The Netherlands Oil company

4. SHELL OIL COMPANY of/onshore Block G

The Australia Oil company

5. Broken Hill Petroleum...onshore Block H

A Japan Oil company

6. IDEMITSU...onshore Block D.

The Republic of Korea

7. YUKONG..onshore Block C.

Three British oil companies

8. CROFT..onshore Block I and
9. KIRKALAND onshore Block J
10. PREMIER..offshore Block M-13 and M- 14.

Who is the law maker?

The contracts have been signed in keeping with the Foreign Investment Law of Burma and the State Economic Enterprise Law. Both laws were promulgated by the illegitimate regime of Burma, the SLORC.

Areas of Blocks and Design of Contract

The areas of each Block range from 1,390 sq miles to 15,172 sq miles. The exploration period is set at three years. If the oil companies wish to extend the time and if the SLORC agrees with them, it can be extended one year at a time for two times.

The development and production period is 20 years for each commercial discovery. At the end of the exploration period of three years the foreign oil companies have to relinquish all the areas except where oil or gas is found, so that the SLORC can sign with other oil companies for another contract. If the company gets a one year extension, it will have to relinquish 25 per cent of the block.

Is it internationally accepted law?

When a Production Sharing Contract is signed, the foreign oil companies have to pay signature

bonuses. Ten percent of the production will be paid to the SLORC as royalty. Ten foreign oil companies have given US \$ 50 million to the SLORC as signature bonuses.

#### Profit

Since every oil company has to commit a minimum expenditure for the initial three-year term, the ten oil companies will have to invest at least US \$ 321 million. Oil exploration being a risk venture, cost recovery will be possible only when oil and gas are produced. But, if a portion of the minimum expenditure committed for investment is not spent during the exploration period, the remaining foreign currencies will be given to Myanmar.

#### Production and Sharing

For a production of 50,000 Barrels of Oil Per Day (BOPD) the SLORC will enjoy 70 percent whereas the contractor will enjoy 30 per cent.

From 50,001 to 100,000 BOPD, SLORC will get 80 per cent and the foreign oil company 20 per cent.

From 100,001 to 150,000 BOPD, 85 per cent to SLORC and the company 15 per cent. In excess of 150,000 BOPD, 90 per cent goes to SLORC with the foreign oil company receiving 10 per cent.

For natural gas production of 300 Million Cubic Feet per Day (MMCFD), SLORC will receive 70 per cent and the oil company 30 per cent;

from 301 to 600 MMCFD, SLORC will get 80 per cent and the contractor 20 per cent;

from 601 to 900 MMCFD SLORC will receive 85 per cent the oil firm 15 per cent;

in excess of the 900 MMCFD SLORC will enjoy 90 per cent and the foreign oil company 10 per cent.

The foreign oil companies will also give a production bonus to the SLORC.

When the production of oil reaches 10,000; 30,000; 50,000; 100,000 and 200,000 BOPD, a production bonus of US \$ 2 million, 3 million, 4 million, 5 million and 10 million will go to the SLORC.

The contract signed includes a portion which mentions that the domestic oil consumption need must be replenished at a reasonable price. It also includes agreement reached for conducting training courses and for carrying out research on oil and natural gas with investments to be made by the foreign oil companies. At present, the oil companies are carrying out seismic surveys and will be able to begin the drilling of test-wells at the end of this year, 1990. Helicopter operated rigs will be used at

the Amoco, Yukong and Idemitsu block areas.

The present daily output of crude oil is 15,000 barrels and natural gas with a volume equal to about 15,000 barrels is produced daily. The total daily output is about 30,000 barrels. If used with care it will be quite sufficient for domestic consumption.

The SLORC held the 104th press conference on the 12th of September, 1990. At the press conference, the Director-General of the Energy Planning Department of the Ministry of Energy, U Tin Tun, gave an explanation to the future plan of oil exploration.

The present daily output of crude oil is 15,000 barrels and natural gas with a volume equal to about 15,000 barrels is also produced daily. Arrangements are being made for signing more contracts for onshore and off-shore blocks. Measures are being taken to be able to begin drilling about November and December and it is estimated that it will take about 60 to 90 days. The tests for oil and natural gas must be continued. Basically it is a risk venture. According to the geological condition there are good prospects of finding oil and hence oil companies invested huge sums. There are not only pipe lines laid for oil and natural gas, but feasibility studies have been made for laying pipe lines to the Rakhine coastal area where there is an oil jetty. Regarding the arrangements for stepping up oil production with the assistance from foreign countries, coordinations are being made and intimations are being sent. Regarding the matter of importing oil from Australia, it was done to supply the projects being implemented with assistance provided by the world Bank. Oil is now sold to the companies in foreign currencies.

(Editor's note..What ever they say, in the current situation, the people are faced with the high price of commodities. One of the reasons is the high price of petrol. One gallon is 16 Kyats (US \$2.3) in the government shop and 180 Kyats (US \$25.71) in the black market. There are many restrictions for car owners and they can buy a quota of only 4 gallons of petrol once a week. The inflation in the country is 70%. It is very clear what the SLORC is doing for the country after they sold the fish, log and oil. The only result of the selling of fish, logs and oil is the rising price of the fish, charcoal and petrol for the local people. Everything SLORC does is for the purpose of ruling the country with martial law as long as they can. For example, constructing the fly over bridges is for shooting people and taking pictures from the clear view if there is a demonstration. Moving the people from the city is for easy control of the people, and easy infiltration by the MI agents among the people. Making parks in the city is for ease in hiding large numbers of soldiers at strategic military points.)

# THE SUFFERING OF THE MONKS

## MONKS WHO WERE WOUNDED ON 8-8-90

1. Shin Ah Sein Na  
Age. 17 years  
Mingyi building, Moe Gaung Monastery  
Wounded on left shoulder with punctured lung and shattered shoulder.
2. U San Di Mar  
Phayahyi Monastery  
Wounded on right Knee
3. Shin Zawana  
Phayagi Monastery  
Wounded on right shoulder
4. U Tay Za Ni Ya  
Age, 26 years  
Pitakat Building, Taung Ta Man Monastery  
Gunshot wound on head, Beaten on shin-three stitches
5. Shin Kay Tha Wa  
Age. 18  
Father's name...U Lun Kyi  
Mother's name...Daw Hla May  
Kyan Ginn Building, Taung Ta Man Monastery  
Superficial gunshot wound below knee-three stitches
6. U Thuriya  
Kyaung Thit Building, Pagan Monastery  
Superficial gunshot wound on skin
7. No name given  
Naung Kan Monastery
8. Shin Thuriya  
Pagan Monastery  
Gunshot wound on arm
9. No name given  
Phayagyi Monastery  
Alms Bowl broken by bullet
10. Shin Thondara  
South Htilin Monastery  
Gunshot wound on arm, arrested but later released.

## Those Beaten

1. Shin Wizaya  
Nandi Thaynar Rama Monastery  
Beaten on shins and calves
2. U Kawithara  
Phayagyi Monastery  
Arms and head
3. U Pyin Nya Wera  
Phayagyi Monastery  
Hit on right cheek by gas canister, beaten and arrested
4. Shin Sarana

PURIFICATION, PE  
AND PERSECUT  
SASANA



Phayagyi Monastery  
Serious injuries on arms and head, still not recovered from  
head wound

5. Shin Theik Kha  
Phayagyi Monastery  
Beaten while on the ground, after being hit by tear gas canister. Seriously injured.

6. U Zanaka  
Tayoke Tan Building, Gway Cho Monastery  
Beaten

7. Shin Egga  
Yatana Thiri Building, Nyaung Kan Monastery  
Beaten

8. U Kay Thaya  
New Ma Soe Yein Monastery  
Beaten

9. U Nan Taw Batha  
New Ma Soe Yein Monastery  
Beaten twice on cheek

10. Shin Pyin Nya Thiri  
Beaten on head, just behind the ears

11. U Kokkhana  
New Ma Soe Yein Monastery  
Beaten on left arm

12. U Thiri Kinzana  
Mya Taung Building, Padetha Monastery  
Beaten on head-Five stitches

13. No name Given  
Myin Wun Monastery  
Beaten on Arms

14. U Kuthala  
New Ma Soe Yein Monastery  
Knead on chest and stamped with boots

Those who were arrested

1. Shin Wiseiktha  
Pall Nayu Padetha Building, Old Ma Soe Yein Monastery

2. Shin Yarzeinda  
Pall Nayu Padetha Building, Old Ma Soe Yein Monastery

3. U Kokkana  
Dhama Waytagu Building, New Ma Soe Yein Monastery

4. U Pyin Nya Wuntha  
U Zatila Building, West Hillin Monastery

5. Shin Thondara  
South Hillin Monastery



KO KO MAUNG



## BBC REPORT

22 October 1990, Monday

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC, 8.45am)

The diplomatic community in Rangoon said it does not yet know how the monks have responded to the military pressure on them to revoke a boycott of religious ceremonies for soldiers and their families. At the end of last week, the military junta banned 3 Buddhist monks' organizations and gave power to the military Commanders to take effective action against the protesting monks. After that, the military junta announced that many monks revoked their protest.

The monks' protest started after security unit members killed at least 2 monks and 2 students in Mandalay on 8-8-90. The protest then spread to Rangoon. At the end of last week, before the military issued their announcement, over 13,000 monks from 166 monasteries in Rangoon, joined the protest and approximately 20,000 monks in Mandalay were involved. After the monks ignored the last date given by the military junta, the military took action. As Burma is a very religious country, the monk's boycott of the army makes the army both angry and worried. Some radical groups inside the country think that the military junta has taken action with the purpose to create another public uprising so the military has the excuse to arrest more people.

Two NLD leaders in Mandalay Division were recently sentenced to 7 years imprisonment by the SLORC. After SLORC's attempt to destroy the forces of the opposition groups, they have now tried to dissolve the protest of the monks' community and the Buddhist religious bodies. The authorities announced that some monks in Mandalay revoked their protest. According to the list of the authority's announcement, about 200 monks in Rangoon revoked their protest. Diplomats in Rangoon said some leading monks in Rangoon might revoke the protest because the degree of the monks who signed the letter which was submitted to SLORC and the degree of the monks who were in the revoked list announced by SLORC, are the same. But there is nothing to suggest that the other monks would agree to revoke their protest, said diplomats in Rangoon.

In the whole country, there are about 800,000 monks and they are in various organizations and not under one command. The

diplomats said it is clear that all monks in Mandalay have not revoked their boycott against the army, because the security unit members are still surrounding the monasteries in Mandalay since the end of last week.

23 October 1990, Tuesday British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC, 8.45am)

The following report is sent by BBC's reporter, Mr Nill Cally from Bangkok.

Residents in Rangoon reached by phone from Bangkok, said some people in Rangoon saw that monks were refusing to take food from the soldiers during their morning alms gathering. This is a sign showing protest against the army for not transferring power to the NLD party, which won 80% of the seats in parliament. The Sangha has refused to attend weddings, funerals and other traditional ceremonies of the soldiers and their families. They said that although the government's newspapers had mentioned about actions taken against the monks in detail, there was no news about whether the monks had ended their protest or not.

The newspapers also mentioned that the security unit members seized letters, documents and booklets published by the BCP (Burma Communist Party). The Burmese military rulers have frequently accused the opposition leaders with having links with the Burmese Communist Party, which is an illegal party. At the end of last week, the military was given special power so that they can sentence monks to 3 years imprisonment or death by military tribunals.

A diplomat in Rangoon said the authorities need to arrest several thousand monks to end the protest. In Mandalay division alone, there are over 10,000 monks who have joined the protest.

A diplomat added that he has no doubts that the army will kill the monks if the soldiers receive the order to shoot.

BBC's reporter, U Ba La Zay Ya, interviewed Dr U Yaewaret, who has the Damarsariya degree from Burma and M.B and Phd degree from Universities in India.

U Ba La Zay Ya presented the Sayadaw to explain

the meaning of the pali words "damadan" and "patinikawzana" which are used by the Sangha Thamegee monk group in Mandalay. The "damadan" is used to punish the person or persons who not follow the rules and speech of Gawdama Buddha. The "criteria of the patinikawzana" is that the Sanghas have to protest against any persons or groups who do not obey God, religion and the Sangha, and who act against the Buddhist religion. Gawdama also said that the Sangha should protest against these persons. So, the Sanghas have protested against the current military regime, because the military junta have all the criteria of Patinikawzana.

U Ba La Zay Ya asked in his interview if the monks have the right to protest and such a protest does not violate the Buddhist law. Dr. U Yaewaret commented that, according to the Sayadaw, the monks must protest in order to protect the religious teachings.

Concerning this case, the Gawdama gave a speech in detail. The Gawdama allowed monks to protest against the persons or groups who tortured the monks and who made splits among the monks.

U Ba La presented the Sayadaw to make a comment on the killing of 2 monks in Mandalay by the military regime. Concerning with that case, Burma has 40 million people and 85% of them are Buddhists. So, the news that the Buddhist government killed the Buddhist monks in a Buddhist country, is very shameful to the world.

U Ba La said that now the military are surrounding over 130 monasteries in Mandalay, have raided some monasteries and taken action against the monks.

Dr U Yaewaret said the news that the military has surrounded the monasteries and raided some of them has spread to foreign countries. It is very shameful news. Actually, the majority of the current military government and most of the people are Buddhists. Burma is a country which is very loyal to the Buddhist monks. If the government did not use force and violent ways to suppress the monks, the problem could be solved peacefully and can save the country and religion.

24 October 1990 Wednesday  
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC. 8:45pm)

The United States government condemned the Burmese military regime for the arrest of monks. The United States government's spokeswoman, Ms. Margaret said, "The United States sees that it is one more proof of the regimes disregard for human

rights. The regime oppresses even small opposition. The United States strongly condemns the Burmese government for their oppression of the monks. The United States urges the Burmese government to respect human rights, immediately transfer the power to the civilian government and release all political prisoners."

The following report is sent by BRC's reporter. Pen O Tool.

The Burmese government raided the 2 main Buddhist monasteries in Mandalay yesterday. Last Monday, the military regime also raided 133 monasteries in Mandalay. The government said they have seized many letters, documents and the monks have links with the BCP. Many of the monasteries in Mandalay are surrounded by the military.

They freely allowed the monks to go outside. But, the monks are still refusing to take the food given by the soldiers. The government said the majority of the monks revoked their boycott and only a remaining few monks are still protesting.

Actually, many monks are still boycotting religious ceremonies for army. Some 400 monasteries in Insein township in Rangoon Division have still refused to take offerings from the soldiers, although their leader, Sayadaw, had signed to revoke the protest. If the monks are still refusing to take offerings from the soldiers, they will be sentenced to 6 months to 5 years imprisonment, said Burmese sources in Mandalay. Diplomats in Rangoon said one monk from one of the unlawful monk groups and some other monks were taken in custody for questioning. The government has attacked both monasteries and the NLD at the same time. On Tuesday, 12 NLD offices, including the headquarters, were raided by the security unit members and they took away some papers, documents and letters from the NLD offices. Two NLD CEC members and 15 members were also taken for questioning. The military regime ordered the NLD leaders to avoid to meet the diplomats or representatives of the news agencies. The NLD leaders were given orders to came to the National Intelligence Bureau and sign an agreement of SLORC's announcement 1/90.

The diplomats said if they do not do it, the respective parties will be removed from the registration list of legal political parties. The NLD party was faced with severe attacks from the regime. There was no response from the government side on the decision of the last meeting of the NLD. After the security unit members took some letters and documents from the NLD offices, the government may say that they have proof that the NLD has made plans with monks to instigate

unrest inside the country, said diplomats in Rangoon. At the same time, more pressure has been put on the government to transfer the power to the NLD. Over 100 letters of parliament members from some foreign countries have been sent to the military junta urging them to release political prisoners, respect human rights and transfer the power to the civilian government. The United Nations human rights' representative may go to Rangoon on 5 November. To welcome this representative the government has cleaned up the insides of the prisons.

On 31 October 1990, Wednesday

\*The State Law and Order Restoration Council decreed law No. 20/90 of the Sanghas committees, dated on 31 October 1990.

The Law No.20/90 mentions about the criteria and meaning of the Sanghas and meaning of the Sangha Committees. The law allowed only one Sangha Committee in the Union of Burma. All of the Sanghas of various Sangha Committees in Burma must be members of the Union of Burma Sangha Committee. The 9 Sangha Committees shall be allowed to exercise on their committees' basic rules.

These 9 Sangha Committees shall be allowed to join together. Except for these 9 Sangha Committees, no other Sangha Committees shall be allowed to form. All monks are prohibited from giving speeches, organizing, instigating, or distribution letters for the purpose of destroying the unity of different levels of the Sangha Committee. All monks must follow the punishment of the Sangha Committee.

Any monk who violates any of these laws, must be punished with a minimum 6 months imprisonment and a maximum of 3 years imprisonment. Any monk who violates these laws can be tried by the Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs.

The law is signed by Senior General Saw Maung, chairman of the State Law and Order Restoration Council.

The chairman of the Mandalay Division LORC and Central Command Commander, Maj- Gen Tun Kyi inspected the identities of the Buddhist monks in Mandalay Division along with the Immigration Department and the teachers of Mandalay University, yesterday. The chairman, Maj-Gen Tun Kyi and

responsible personnel arrived at Myatoung monastery in South-East Mandalay Division. First, Maj-Gen Tun Kyi with the Sayadaw, or head of the Myatoung monastery. He said that according to the desire of the Sayadaw to clean up the religion, the SLORC has taken the identities and records of all the religious order members.

He said they must make a clean and nice compound for the monasteries. SLORC will also support to the head of the monastery Sayadaws to have full power in the monasteries. The monks who are recommended by the Sayadaw, will be allowed to stay as monks. The monks who are preserving the literature, records and the history of the Buddhist religion and propagating the Buddhist religion, will be supported with their basic needs. Democracy is opposite of anarchy, he went on to say. Democracy can exist in countries which have proper rules and regulations and where the people have discipline.

Security unit members seized the belongings of Dr.U Yeawarda, chairman of the Sangha Sameegi committee of the lay-pyi-lay-yet from Naytha monastery in Mandalay, on 27 October 1990.

The chief of the police force, Ngwe Soe Tun, joint-secretary of the Drug Eradication Committee, received the 2nd Secretary of the Laos Embassy in Burma, on the 31st of October 1990. They discussed the coordination work on drug eradication.

The Companies' Registration Department of the Trade and Finance Ministry, in accordance with the Burma Registration Act of the Companies and Act of the Joint-Venture Companies, allowed to register 53 Ltd Companies, 8 branch-offices of the Foreign Companies and 23 partnership firms, during October 1990. So, up to October 1990, 535 Ltd Companies, 73 branch-offices of the Foreign Companies and 503 partnership firms have been allowed to register by the Companies' Registration Department of the Trade and Finance Ministry.

The Trade Ministry of the Union of Burma Government, in accordance with the 1950, Article 7 of the Import and Export Enterprises Registration Law and 1989, 2/89 of the Import Enterprises Registration Law, reported that 119 exporters, 90 importers and 43 business representatives, were allowed to register during October 1990. So, up to October 1990, 1,448 exporters, 612 importers and 410 business representatives have been registered at the Trade Ministry.

## A CALL FOR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

### UNITED NATIONS AND ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON BURMA

On Wednesday, April 25, 1990 the US Senate unanimously voted through a "Mini- Trade Bill" that among other measures would increase sweeping import sanctions on all products originating in Burma. It also included timber, fish, gems and minerals re-exported through Thailand.

On 30 July, the US Congress called on President George Bush to "impose such economic sanctions on Burma as he determines appropriate" if by 1st October, the SLORC had not transferred power to the elected government, lifted martial law and released political prisoners.

On 12 September, the European Parliament adopted a similar resolution and called on SLORC to transfer power, without farther delay, to the elected representatives in the Constituent Assembly, and called on the Japanese and Thai Governments to do all in their power to dissuade their nationals from continuing to destroy the Burmese tropical forests; and on the Thai government to ban the export of arms to Burma, call on the commission to impose a temporary ban on the import of Burmese hardwoods, including hardwood products processed in Thailand and commission to establish contacts with the newly elected government of Burma as soon as it has been established.

But, on 5 October 1990, when the SLORC held the 105th press conference, Brig- Gen Abel, minister for Planning & Finance and Trade, said that the Trade Ministry of the Union of Myanmar, has allowed to register 1,329 exporters, 522 importers, 367 business representatives, 480 partnership firms, 456 Myanmar companies, 63 Foreign Companies, 23 joint Venture companies and 4 Associations and organizations which makes a total of 3,244 economic organizations registered from Sept 1988 to the end of August 1990.

At the same press conference, Brig-Gen Abel said "border trade was begun with the People's Republic of China on 6 December 1988. Similarly, arrangements have been made with Bangladesh and Thailand. We have signed a treaty with China." Most of the foreign investments in Burma come from China, Thailand, Singapore, South Korea and Japan, not from Western Countries.

On 11 Oct, the Far Eastern Economic Review reported that "Most of Burma's foreign trade is carried out through China and Peking is unlikely to join any Western boycott of the SLORC. Total two-way border trade between Burma and China is conservatively estimated at US \$1.5 billion a year. China exports everything from textiles, beer and bicycles to petrol and heavy machinery to Burma, which officially pays for these commodities with timber, jade and precious stones, and increasingly-but unofficially-with opium. Given China's backing, the SLORC could easily survive Western diplomatic, as well as economic, sanctions."

"Some analysts point out that even if the US's 'Mini-trade Bill' is implemented, these moves should be seen as symbolic gestures. With direct trade amounting to only US \$17 million a year, US leverage in Burma is minimal" reported the same article.

On the 27th of July 1990, the SLORC issued Declaration No.1/90 which relates to the drafting of a firm constitution, process of the transfer of power to the elected government and the State power which allows SLORC to hold power without limitation. (see- Dawn, Vol.2, No.15) The declaration said that "only the SLORC can exercise the 3 State powers, Legislative, Executive and Judicial power. The SLORC is not an organization that observes any constitution; it is an organization that is governing the nation by Martial Law. It is common knowledge that the SLORC is governing the Nation as a military government and that it is a government that has been accepted as such by the United Nations and the respective nations of the world."

On 5 October, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Burma issued a press release concerning diplomatic relations between Burma and other countries. The press release said that "although the SLORC is by its nature not a de jure Government as it has not been constituted under an existing constitution, it is the de facto Government of the Union of Myanmar since its assumption of responsibilities on 18 September 1990."

On 9 October, U Ohn Gyaw, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs delivered a speech to the United Nations Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr.Javire Perze de Cuellar at the 46th session of the United



Nations General Assembly. U Ohn Gyaw said to the Secretary- General of the United Nations;

"Mr. President, On 27 May 1990, the first multi-party general elections in nearly three decades were successfully held in my country in response to the ardent wishes and aspirations of the Myanmar people. In a remarkably high turn out, 72.59% per cent of eligible voters went to the polls on the election day and exercised their right to one of the most fundamental human rights, to elect National Assembly representatives of their choice, without any let or hinderance. The SLORC will hand over power in due course to a strong and stable government that is to be formed in accordance with a new constitution to be drafted."

Slorc will not turn over power to an elected government until it is certain it can manipulate and control that government. That is why it has systematically arrested and imprisoned any opposition party member who dares speak out, and has urged intellectuals and student activists to leave the country.

Economic sanctions on SLORC are definitely needed. All democratic countries around the world should press the UN to place economic sanctions on SLORC in order to protest SLORC's violation of the human rights of the people and their ignoring the aspiration and desire of the people through general elections. Only the United Nations has a good chance to introduce democracy, peace and human rights in Burma. The United Nations should consider the aspiration and desire of the Burmese people which was expressed through the general elections rather than accepting the lies of SLORC.

#### Present economic situation:

Exporter.....	1,329 + 119 = 1,448
Importer.....	522 + 90 = 612
Business representatives.....	367 + 43 = 410
Partnership firms.....	480 + 23 = 503
Myanmar companies.....	456 + 53 = 509
Foreign Companies.....	63 + 8 = 71
Joint Venture companies.....	23 + - = 23
Associations and organization.....	4 + - = 4
Total.....	3,244

We urge all of our readers to take this call for economic sanctions seriously. Money entering Burma through foreign investments does not reach the people. It goes directly to the military and is used to build up the army and purchase ammunition and weapons from China and other countries which support dictatorship. It results in severe suffering to the people of Burma.

You can write letters! This is an urgent appeal to take action now. Past issues of DAWN have carried addresses of many of the companies now investing in Burma. Below are a few addresses of oil companies. Write to them and urge them to pull out of Burma until peace has been restored. Write to your governments and to the United Nations urging them to also take action. We depend on you.

1. Petro-Canada  
(see.Dawn, Vol.2, No.1)

Mr.Welsh  
Acting Director  
Asia Pacific South  
Relation Division  
Department of External Affairs  
Ottaw, Ontario, KIA OG2  
Canada

2. Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd (BHP)  
(see.Dawn, Vol.2, No.2)

Mr R. W. Volk  
General Manager  
Broken Proprietary Company Ltd(BHP)  
Petroleum International  
Melbourne, Australia

3. Amoco Corporation

Mr.Martin G.Pranga  
Director of Foreign Affairs  
Amoco Corporation  
200 East Randolph Drive  
P.O Box 87703, Chicago, Ill, 60680-0703  
Fax (312) 856-3155, Telex 25-3731  
Tel (312) 856-4976

## INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

On the 25th of September 1990, on Tuesday, Sweden's Ambassador in Bangkok and Rangoon, Olov Ternstrom, handed over a Swedish protest to the ruling military regime, expressing concern that the regime is still refusing to allow the national assembly to meet.

Sweden demands that power should be transferred without delay to a civilian government in accordance with the election results. Sweden also demands immediate release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, a leader of the NLD, as well as other opposition party leaders, and that fundamental human rights and freedoms should be respected.

On the 27th of September, the British Broadcasting Corporation announced that 18 Western Countries issued a Joint-Statement and condemned the harassments of the local Embassy's staffs by the Burmese military regime. The letter was signed by 12 EC countries including the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Sweden. The letter was handed over to acting Deputy Foreign Minister, U Ohn Gyaw at the Soviet Embassy during a party in the Embassy. The local Embassy staff of Britain, the United States and Australia were taken for interrogation by government intelligence agents but no one was charged by the law. They were questioned about the attitude of the their respective Ambassadors towards the military regime and the NLD.

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17 October, 1990

Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar  
Secretary-General  
United Nations  
New York  
N.Y. 10017  
USA

Dear Sir,

Following the General Election on May 27 in Burma (Myanmar), the military government announced that the National League for Democracy had won more than two thirds of the seats.

However, in spite of the welcome given by the world community for the fact the Burmese people have been able to express its desire by means of free elections for a democratic system to be

established in its country, Parliament has not yet been allowed to meet and the leaders of the democratic parties are still in detention.

We parliamentarians of all parties and nationalities urge you to use all the influence which can be brought to bear at the United Nations to bering about a peaceful transition of power by supporting the views of elected candidates that a National Assembly should be convened without further delay and all political detainees should be promptly released.

Yours Sincerely,

Signed by 115 Senators and Members of the Australia Federal Parliament and petition to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar seeking his intervention to restore democracy to Myanmar.

### AUNG SAN SUU KYI AND BURMA'S UNFINISHED RENAISSANCE By Bertil Lintner

This book by Bertil Litner, is the first biography of the charismatic opposition leader in Burma, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who now is under house arrest in Rangoon. Despite being under house arrest, Daw Aung Suu Kyi led her NLD party to a tremendous success in the May 1990 elections. She is the leader the Burmese people have waited for for half a century.

The book is 34 pages long, and contains four pages of black and white pictures. The price: US \$2.50 plus postage and handling. Discounts for bulk orders can be arranged. The book is available at Asiabooks and DK Books in Bangkok or can be ordered from Kiscadale Publication, 23 Lauriston Garden, Edinburg EH3 9HH, Scotland, UK.

## REPORT FROM THE BBC

29 October, 1990, Monday  
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC, 8:45pm)

The following report was sent by BBC's reporter,  
Pen O' Tool.

Foreign diplomats in Rangoon said about 14 of NLD's leaders were arrested by the regime during the past week. The diplomats added that now over 30 NLD members are being detained. Those who have been detained include 5 CEC members, 9 elected Hluttaw Representatives, 10 Youth leaders, 6 division and township organizers and 3 members of the Information Department.

A foreign diplomat said that according to reliable sources, about half of the NLD's party leaders in each State and Division have been arrested by the military throughout the country.

Another diplomat said about 75% of the NLD's leaders in Mandalay Division have been arrested by the military.

By arresting many of the NLD's leaders, prohibiting the NLD members from meeting foreign reporters and foreign diplomats and by blackmailing the political parties to sign the announcement of SLORC which will lead to a delayed transfer of power to the elected representatives are effective ways through which SLORC controls the activities of the opposition, said diplomats.

Since the NLD members have been facing arrest, have their telephone lines tapped and are prohibited from contact with the outside world, the NLD has become isolated and lonely and can not do any activities, said diplomats. The NLD will find it very difficult to convene a meeting through which they could express their frustration and anger. But, the party is not totally demoralized. The NLD members who are not arrested have strong unity, even though those persons who are outside the city have great difficulty in entering the city to contact other friends.

According to some diplomats in Rangoon, the Shan National League for Democracy which won over 60 seats in parliament and UNLD which both represent the ethnic nationals, had already signed the military regime's announcement which means they agree to write the new constitution together with the

military. The Democracy Party which won one seat in parliament also signed the announcement. The diplomats said if the National Unity Party has not yet signed the announcement, they will sign it very soon. The diplomats added that only one party which is based on the students--the Democratic Party for A New Society Party--has refused to sign that military regime announcement. Only the NLD party has not decided yet to sign that announcement. A diplomat said the NLD has to make a decision before the deadline given by the military regime, whether they will sign that announcement, and lose the trust of the people or refuse to sign it and become an unlawful party with no chance to get the power.

The diplomats said after the military regime had taken action against the monks last week, they had also taken action against the NLD. Many diplomats said they did not receive any information concerning the group of persons who still refuse to follow the military order. But, according to reliable sources, the monks are still carrying out their boycott of the military in Mandalay.

30 October, 1990  
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC, 8:45pm)

The following report was sent by BBC's reporter,  
Pen O' Tool.

The number of detained NLD leaders rose to more than 47 during last week, one diplomat in Rangoon said. But, the detainee numbers still increase. Another diplomat said the number of detainee was at least 52 by Tuesday. The military junta also occupied more than 12 NLD offices. The junta has ordered local reporters to stop writing news about the activities of the political parties and write only about what the SLORC says.

The junta is trying to block all sources of news. The signing of the SLORC's announcement is not clear. One diplomat said the news that the Democratic party had signed the announcement is wrong. Only some alliance groups of the UNLD had signed the regime's announcement. The diplomats said some of NLD's leaders who were not arrested have been secretly taken for questioning by military intelligence.

A diplomat said the NLD told the SLORC that they

have not decided yet to sign the announcement. The regime also accepted it, he said. If the NLD refuses to sign the announcement, they will become an unlawful party.

The SLORC is still saying that they will transfer the power to the elected candidates. They have not refused to transfer the power on paper. But nearly all of the NLD party leaders were moved to other places by the government. All parties were pressured to sign the announcement which prolongs the time of the transfer of power. It is proof that there is no democracy.

General Saw Maung strongly refused the accusation that the military will not transfer power. In January he said, "We have already explained about the State Power. After the election, the winning party will get the power according to the law. The election

has been carried out to form this government. At that, forming the government according to the law not our duty. If they want to discuss with us, we will give advice toward the profit of the country, not for the profit of a party." While Senior Gen. Saw Maung met the foreigners for various reasons, he said the coalition government will be formed among the many political parties. But, after the election, the SLORC issued the announcement 1/9 in July and destroyed this promise. The new announcement prohibits the convening of the parliament by the NLD, and forces them to draft constitution first after which another election will held. Only a few parties agreed with the announcement.

The NLD has tried to convene the parliament. That is why, many of the NLD leader have been detained.

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ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED