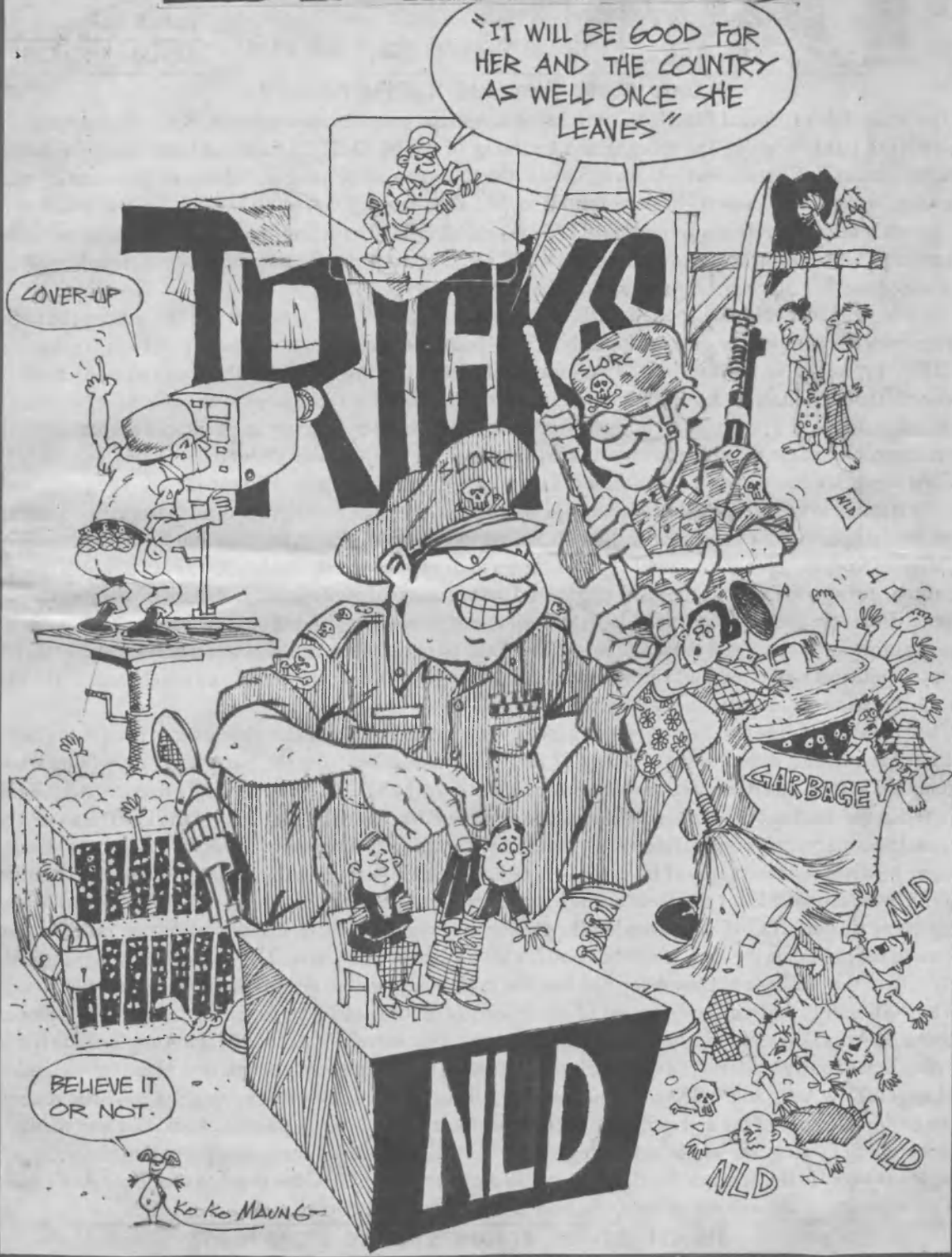


DAWN



"IT WILL BE GOOD FOR
HER AND THE COUNTRY
AS WELL ONCE SHE
LEAVES"

COVER-UP

TRICKS

GARBAGE

BELIEVE IT
OR NOT.

NLD

KO KO MAUNG



NEWS BULLETIN

Vol. 3 No. 2
APRIL 1991

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi Removed?

The Multi-Party General Election Commission issued a statement announced by Radio Rangoon on April 23, 1991. In this statement, the reorganized hierarchy of the NLD CEC (National League for Democracy - Central Executive Committee) -- U Aung Shwe as the chairman of the League, U Lwin as the secretary and the names of 8 others new leaders -- was submitted to the Commission; Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was omitted from the party General Secretary nomination. Through this, SLORC (State Law and Order Restoration Council) has created a dissension between the League, which has support from the great majority of people, and U Tin and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Chairman and General Secretary.

Since SLORC unavoidably opened up the multi-party system after its takeover in 1988, among the political parties which consequently emerged, the NLD has been the main target of assault and oppression by the SLORC. From the very outset, NLD members including the founding members of the party have been harassed, threatened, arrested and tried by military tribunals and in the prisons also, some have been brutally tortured to death. U Tin Oo, NLD party chairman has been tried by military tribunal and sentenced to three years imprisonment with hard labour and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has been under house arrest since July 1989.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and The National League for Democracy cannot be separated. The party and the people stand firm united under her leadership. When Daw Aung San Suu Kyi exposed the injustice and human rights violations to the entire people, SLORC piled its anger on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and attempted to remove her from the eyes of the people by putting her under house arrest. The SLORC must have believed that the absence of a good leader in the party might lead to the League downfall and give them less support from the people. However, the outcome of the 1990 May elections proved that its notion was absolutely wrong and was a heavy blow for the regime; the NLD won 82% of the parliamentary seats. It was a powerful display of the peoples' political awareness and animosity towards the regime. These are the factors which caused SLORC to harbour resentment towards Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

The SLORC not only has done everything it can to defame the honourable character of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi but has pressured the present leaders of the NLD to oust her from the party as an individual who has committed a crime. On their part, the leaders could not defy the SLORC coercion and pressure and this finally resulted in the ousting of U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from the positions of the Chairman and party General Secretary respectively. It is certain that SLORC expects to hang on to power for quite sometime as the League receives reduced support from the people and breaks itself up automatically. There is no doubt that SLORC was responsible for the eventual ousting of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi since it clearly does not want her presence in Burma. SLORC has given her the chance to leave the country, if she so wishes. It has even made it known to the public saying that "it will be good for her and the country as well once she leaves." Unfortunately for SLORC, the presence of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma poses a constant threat to the military.

The National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma and The National League for Democracy (Liberated Area) have issued statements concerning the removal of U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from the positions of party leaders. The statement also affirmed their continued recognition of the two as leaders of the League. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the only daughter of our national leader Gen Aung San, has been redeemed as the national leader of the democratic movement of Burma by the entire people. No matter how wicked and treacherous SLORC is, the whole nation regards her as the national leader and believes that she will lead the people to victory in this struggle for democracy. No matter what SLORC has done to oust Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from the Party, she will not be removed from the hearts of the people.

THE ALL BURMA STUDENTS' DEMOCRATIC FRONT
"Dawn" P.O. Box. 1352, Bangkok 10500, Thailand.

EXTAR-JUDICIAL

EXECUTIONS

IN

RANGOON

On March 17, a patrol unit of seven soldiers led by a sergeant came to a place near No-3 Rangoon University (Kemmendine campus) about 12 pm. Saying that they wanted to check the visitor lists in the ward, they asked Maung Myint Naing, who was a volunteer of the local fire brigade unit and a member of the National League for Democracy, and his younger brother to accompany them.

Normally in Burma, visitors who stay overnight must report to local authorities, and can therefore be watched by military or police personnel. As the two came out into the street, the soldiers started to beat up Maung Myint Naing. Seeing this, the terrified younger brother escaped back into the house.

In addition to the beating, Maung Myint Naing was bayoneted and then told to come to the Neiban rice mill in the morning. About 6 o'clock the following morning,

Maung Myint Naing died from the bayonet wounds and injuries sustained in the beating.

The funeral on March 19 was attended by a large crowd. According to those who attended it, a large number of troops were seen in the streets of the ward, apparently to quell any disturbances. Many secret police (Military Intelligence) were also said to be positioned in Kyandaw cemetery where the burial took place.

When frustrated members of local fire brigade unit and the Ward Law and Order Restoration Council reported the matter to the police, the police took several pictures of the dead body and filed the case, with signatures of 14 civilian residents of the ward under Criminal Act 302 of homicide.

According to subsequent reports, the military authorities concerned tried to appease the people by saying that two soldiers who were responsible for the death had been put under arrest and a tribunal presided over by high-ranking officials from the Public Relations and Psycho-Warfare Department had been formed to try the case and that the matter would be announced over radio and television.

Contrary to these reports, however, SLORC military authorities attempted to prevent the spread of the news. To the personnel in the Armed, Naval and Air Forces, they announced in a bulletin that Maung Myint Naing had been killed for being a law-breaker and behaving in an unruly manner, and warned them to hand over the

culprits to police in order that such incidents do not occur in the future.

According to reliable sources, the people in the ward are prepared and determined to resist any attempt by the military personnel to check visitor lists in the future. When they tried to send the news to the foreign press through the embassies, they found that secret police were stationed around the area.

Since the NLD won a landslide victory and the military-backed National Unity Party was defeated in the May 1990 elections, the military junta, SLORC, has been systematically and brutally suppressing the opposition with intimidation, arrest and imprisonment. Intimidation normally involves terrorizing the population by taking individuals for questioning, many of whom are never heard of again, beatings in public places and random shootings.

Once under arrest, torture is used on political suspects with increasing severity. Apart from beatings, cruel methods of torture such as plucking out finger nails, driving pins into the finger tips, burning with cigarette stubs, electric shocks, psychological torture etc. are used to extract confessions.

Most political suspects are sent to prisons for unlimited time, without trial. Any attempt to complain or resist authorities in prison is met with the most brutal suppression and torture. Many become mentally deranged or die because of prison brutality.

(Continued on Page 17)

A Brief History Of Students' Movements In Burma

(Continued from next month)

From the year 1962 to 1988

In 1962 after Ne Win took over the country, he formed the revolutionary Council and declared that Socialism would be adopted as a guiding principle for the country. Even in the period soon after the coup, many students started to show their resistance against him.

Although Ne Win professed to tread the path of socialism, in fact he is a fascist. Therefore, on the 7th of July, 1962, Ne Win not only demolished the students' Union Building, which played a distinguished role during the struggle for Burma's independence, claiming it to be the stronghold of the communists, but also shot and killed hundreds of students, and crushed the demonstrations that resisted his dictatorial regime. There were many demonstrations and uprisings after the military coup, by the people and the students. Significant student demonstrations:

- 1962 7th. July Revolution.
- 1963 Peace and Cessation War Demonstrations.
- 1967 Sittway Rice Riots/ Sino-Burmese Conflicts.
- 1969 South-East Asian Games Demonstrations.
- 1970 Moulmein University Students strike.
- 1974 U Thant's Funeral Riots.
- 1986 The Centenary of Thakin Ko Daw Hmaing's uprisings

(The Centenary of the Anti-Colonial Poet)

- 1987 Demonstrations against demonetization of the currency.
- 1988 March Uprising of the students.
- 1988 June Uprisings of the students.
- 1988 August 8, the "8888" pro-democracy demonstration.

The root causes of these demonstrations were political repression, nonexistence of human rights and democracy, economic restrictions and general recession of the economy.

Although U Ne Win proclaimed that he would reconstruct the

MOBILIZING

country using socialism, at the time of usurping power, the reality was that the Burmese Socialist Program Party and its senior military and ex-military personnel controlled the rein of power, and manipulated all three branches of the government, viz., the legislative, the executive, and the judicial powers. Besides, in a one-party system, where no opposition existed, they dominated the political sphere, and the economy was completely in their hands.

They have mismanaged and squandered the economy to such an extent, while feathering their nests that, Burma, the richest country in the post-war South-

East Asia became a Least Developed Country (LDC), after various short and long-term plans failed due to corruption, and embezzlements by them. The educational, social, and economic status of the country plunged to its lowest, and human rights abuse rose to its highest.

The "8888 General Uprising"

The uprising of the people took place on August 8, 1988, on an unprecedented scale. The name was derived from the date of the uprising, because it occurred on the 8th day of the 8th month of the year 88 in the twentieth century. It was one of the biggest demonstrations in the contemporary world, where people from all walks of life in the whole country participated and fought against the military dictatorship, demanding democracy and human rights. The tragedy is that due to almost thirty years of oppression and suffering in the country, about 20,000 people have sacrificed their lives, of whom over 8,000 were students.

The student uprising at the Rangoon Institute of Technology (RIT) on March 13 preceded this historic event, and acted as its fore-runner-- the spark that caused the great fire. On the 13th. of March, a group of students from RIT clashed with the local people at a tea-shop near the institute. The action taken by the authorities on this matter was unjust, as the government held a

grudge against the RIT student, for trying to stage a demonstration against the demonetizations of the currency in circulation, by the government in 1987.

Thus, a small social problem that occurred between the students and the local populace became an excuse to repress the students and brand them as destructive elements belonging to the BCP (Burma Communist Party), and its underground movements. They tried to play the local youths off against the students, and the students were angry with the one-sided propaganda apparatus of the military government, and this led to the students' demonstrations.

The brutal crushing of the demonstrations by the army, the police and the Lon-Htein, the riot-control police, with excessive use of force, alienated the students. During the night, the shooting to death of two RIT students, had turned the demonstrations into a strike.

On March 16, three thousand students of the main campus of the Rangoon University took a decision to support the strike movement of the RIT students. They marched in a procession, shouting and chanting anti-government slogans. Soon after leaving the campus, the Lon-Htein crushed the demonstrators, using all the brutal and barbaric means at their disposal, near the banks of the Inya Lake.

More than 300 students died, including girls. Some were forcefully drowned to death in the Lake. The military arrested hundreds of

students and transported them in unventilated meat-wagons, and as a consequence, over 60 had died of suffocation on arrival at the jail. Inside the jail the soldiers gang-raped about 40 of the female students. The BSPP closed down the universities for two months from March to May.

When the universities reopened in June, the demonstrations took place again. These were peaceful demonstrations by the students demanding the following:

- release of the arrested students.
- building of a memorial to commemorate the assassinated students.
- taking action against the persons who were responsible for the killings, and
- the right to form a Student Union.

Not only did the government refuse all of our just demands, but used animal brutality, and illegal arrests, to suppress the students. The students did not give in and continued their peaceful struggle. All the universities participated in the demonstrations of the Rangoon University, and the student unrest spread to other campuses throughout the country. The

strength of the students alarmed the military rulers. On June 21, 1988, the students of the Middle

and High Schools marched in processions, to join their elder brothers at the Rangoon University. The government used military trucks, and drove them into these processions, killing many young students, some of whom were still in their teens. This was their attempt to bring down the uprisings.

It was too cruel a scene for the citizens who were on-lookers, lining the street to bear, and they started attacking the military and police vehicles with whatever weapons they could get. As a result, over 60 soldiers and police died. The 21st. of June was the day the people started their participation in the students' struggle. The government closed down all the schools and universities throughout the country for an indefinite period and Section 144 came into force (the law forbidding the congregation of more than four individuals in public places), on that day as well.

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Inside the jail
the soldiers gangraped
about 40 of
female students.

The demonstrations by the people were ubiquitous throughout the country. The prevailing situation in the country, which was on the brink of turmoil, led to the convening of the Extraordinary Conference of the BSPP by Ne Win on the July 24, 1988. His speech given at this conference came over the radio and television stations of the country. In this speech, he threatened the

people by saying "When the army shoots, they shoot straight to kill, and not into the air overhead."

The reaction of the people to this intimidation was to pour into the streets in defiance, and demanded the abolishment of the one-party system, and the re-establishment of democracy and human rights. The demonstration gained momentum and grew in the strength and

reached national

proportions. "when the army shoots , they shoot straight to kill,

People from all

classes and strata

participated, and as

a result, Ne Win

had to resign from the chairmanship of the BSPP. His prodigy, the notorious and infamous Sein Lwin, better known as the "Butcher", was his successor, and the situation worsened.

The use of more brutal force and oppression occurred, to which the people reacted courageously. Indiscriminate killings and shootings took place in various parts of the country, that provoked the "8888 Uprising" which the students led on August 8, 1988.

The concerted efforts of the people, in their show of strength through peaceful unarmed demonstrations led to the resignation of Sein Lwin as president on August 12, 1988. This was the shortest lived government in the history of modern Burma.

Dr. Maung Maung, a civilian intellectual opportunist, and a one-man dog of Ne Win, succeeded him. In the mean time, the people carried on with their demands for:

- abolishment of the one-party system, and
- establishment of an interim government.

The general strike of the people on a nation-wide scale brought the administrative machinery to a standstill. The Students' Union led the takeover of the administration, except the armed forces, and governed the country

and not into the air over head."

for 28 days. The severance of communications to the capital, participation of government servants and the workers in the general strike, the wooing of the soldiers by the people to switch sides and join the student-led general strike, were very successful.

Leading executives from the BSPP went into hiding, and during September the dissolution of BSPP occurred. On September 18, General Saw Maung led a military coup, and took over power and continued to squash the demonstrations and the strike. He promised to hold a general election for a multi-party system.

The Situation After The Coup

The military junta that took over the country formed a State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), successfully controlled the pro-democracy movement and started repressing the people on an unprecedented

scale. Then it arrested the students and political leaders, tortured them, and protected the leaders of the unpopular BSPP party. Nearly 15,000 students and other dissidents had to flee the country to escape arrest and torture.

They joined the various ethnic groups on the borders, who are fighting the government and par-

ticipated in the

armed struggle

against the

S L O R C .

Meanwhile, inside

Burma registra-

tions of the politi-

cal parties started for the elections. The well known opposition party, which has the greatest following, is the National League for Democracy, led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who distinguished herself during the pro-democracy movement, and who is the only daughter of General Aung San, the beloved national hero of Burma.

The students who reached the border formed the All Burma Students' Democratic Front, and having exhausted all peaceful means of restoring democracy, had no alternative but to resort to armed struggle. Ne Win continued to hold the reins of the government from behind the scenes, through Saw Maung and his gang, and exercised his tyrannical rule.

Ne Win gave a new name to his unpopular BSPP Party, and called it the National Unity Party (NUP), or Ta-Sa-Nya, and contested in the elections, in May

(Continued on Page. 13)

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT (NDF)

Upon The Cease - Fire Agreement Made Between Some Of

The Pa-O National Army (PNA)

Members Led By U Aung Kham Hti And The SLORC

It has already been over 40 years of civil war being waged in Burma since its independence from British Colonial rule. Instead of solving the basic political problems of civil war by reasonable political means, the successive Burmese ruling regimes had adopted the wrong policies of

- to annihilate all revolutionary forces,
- to lay down arms for democracy, and
- giving up armed insurrection unconditionally.

Such policies and practises are still in force against the armed revolutionary forces.

We have historical facts experiment and encountered with undesirable losses among our forces whenever separate negotiations were made with the ruling regimes. The very recent agreement made by the leaders of PAN led by U Aung Kham Hti with the SLORC was an act of treason towards its own Pa-O's national, own Pa-O revolution and oppressed peoples. It was also an act of violation to the principle of NDF concerning negotiation with the common enemy.

As such actions done by U Aung Kham Hti was barely a surrender to the enemy, the NDF is intensely despised it. Accordingly, U Aung Kham Hti and U Htun Yee are also discharged from the NDF Central Presidium Committee members, and NDF agreed that U Aung Kham Hti and his followers are no longer a part of NDF, as well.

But to those who decided on duty in allied areas with strong dislikes towards the wrong doings of U Aung Kham Hti's determination to carry on the revolution will be recognized by the NDF as an official member party under the name of "Revolutionary Committee of the Pa-O National organization".

The present military junta (SLORC) is losing its image and prestige in international arena and facing with economic sanctions and trade embargoes im-

posed by some foreign countries. To get out of those difficulties SLORC is now trying by every available craftily tactical means.

SLORC is also getting worried about NDF's credibility in the international fields. Thus exerts its wicked tricks by both politically and militarily to split the unity amongst the NDF forces.

In such circumstances

- the NDF members should take care with preliminary preparations so as not to fall in the trap of the SLORC and to expel its cunning actions instead. Whenever SLORC's craftily separate approach to each of our forces occurs, all NDF member organizations should go against it with united efforts. If any negotiation overture is made by the enemy the NDF member should abide by the already adopted principle of,

- to meet only with the selected delegates of the NDF,
- to allow foreign observers during the negotiation talks, and
- to let known the world about the process and outcome of the talks.

The NDF solemnly declare that the consequence of the negotiation made by some of the (PAN) members led by U Aung Kham Hti are nothing less than to cease resistance movement and join in hands with the enemy. So, such treacherous actions are not beneficial for the oppressed people, democratic revolutionary forces, and national liberation movements.

Central Executive Committee
National Democratic Front (NDF), (BURMA)

Dated. 19 April, 1991

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF BURMA

The Burma Broadcasting Service on April 23, 1991 at 1100 hours broadcast that, some of the few remaining members of the Central Executive Committee members of the National League for Democracy (NLD), who are not under the detention of the dictatorial government of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), had formed a new Central Executive Committee leaving out (excluding) the Chairman U Tin Oo and General Secretary Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Regarding this matter, the following is the declaration of the stand taken by the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB).

1. It is strongly believed that, the reconstituting of the Central Executive Committee of the National League for Democracy is an unscrupulous and treacherous act of the SLORC government to remove the Chairman, U Tin Oo and the General Secretary Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, from the list of national leaders and the Central Executive Committee of the National League for Democracy, by using unlawful authority, repression, and intimidation.

2. The National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma strongly condemns the SLORC government who shamelessly and in an undignified manner,

tried to remove the national leaders who are respected and have the support of the people of Burma.

3. This newly reconstituted Central Executive Committee of the National League for Democracy is carried out neither according to the constitution of the NLD party nor represent the wishes of its members and the people of Burma. Therefore, the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma does not recognize the new Central Executive Committee of the NLD.

4. The National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma declares that it will continue the recognition of U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, as both the Chairman and General Secretary of the National League for Democracy, and as national leaders of Burma.

Dated: April 25, 1991.

Sd:

Dr. Sein Win
Prime Minister
National Coalition Government
(Union Of Burma)

SENATOR VICKI BOURNE

NO AUSTRALIAN AID TO BURMA'S DICTATORS

During Question Time in the Senate today the Australian Democrats obtained a commitment from the Government that aid and technical assistance to Burma would not resume.

Senator Vicki Bourne, Foreign Affairs Spokesperson for the Democrats said "the military regime controlling Burma is remorselessly brutal in its abuse of democratic and human rights. It is absolutely inappropriate for any Australian overseas aid to go to the military dictators who

retained power after the 1990 election".

"Numerous aid organizations and groups concerned with the restoration of democracy in Burma have made representations to me about the persistent reports that aid would resume", Senator Bourne said.

In the national election of May 27, 1990 the opposition National League for Democracy (NLD) won 80% of the seats. Ms Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the NLD, has been under house arrest for

almost two years.

Senator Bourne said, "this is not the time to restore aid. It is reported that at least one-quarter of the politicians elected last year are now in jail or have disappeared."

"I am relieved by Senator Evans' statement today because it is completely inappropriate for the Australian Government to provide the brutal Burmese military junta with tools for tightening its grip on power.



National League For Democracy (Liberated Area)

On Attempt Of The SLORC To Remove U Tin Oo And Daw Aung San Suu Kyi From The NLD Leadership

(1) According to a report in the Working People's Daily, U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi were removed from the positions of chairman and general secretary of the National League for Democracy (NLD) in late April, and the Central Executive Committee (CEC) of the League was reorganized with U Aung Shwe as chairman, U Lwin as secretary and eight others as ordinary CEC members.

(2) The emergency meeting of the central organizing committee of the NLD (LA), after deliberating upon this development which has resulted from coercion, terrorism and intimidation by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) military junta, unanimously adopted the following position and decisions.

(3) At the time of the founding of NLD, the founding leaders selected the appropriate individuals as their representatives, and the central committee and CEC were formed in accordance with the principle of centralism. Neither the CC nor the CEC have legitimate power to remove the founding leaders.

Consequently, the removal of U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from the position of leadership of the NLD is totally illegitimate.

(4) At the first joint coordinating meeting of the NLD CC and elected NLD representatives held on July 28-29, 1991, all the CC members and the elected representatives, including members of the present supposedly reorganized CEC, have firmly adopted and publicly declared the resolution to continue to

accept the leadership of U Tin Oo and General Secretary Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

(5) This joint resolution only is the true "voice" of the NLD leaders and the elected representatives.

The changed voice of the NLD CEC and CC is merely an anomalistic voice caused by the evil machination of the SLORC, which has intensified its oppression upon the NLD by increasing arrests, torture, coercion and intimidation, by various means, and, thus, it is completely illegitimate.

Just as the NLD has never been obliterated in spite of all the numerous attempts by the SLORC military clique, the NLD will never be annihilated however much the SLORC is endeavouring by wicked schemes to splinter the leadership of NLD.

(6) We, the central organizing committee of the NLD (LA), will never abandon the policy and programme of the struggle for democracy, initiated and affirmed by our great leaders, U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. We earnestly urge the entire people of Burma to join forces with us and our fraternal allies, and fight on for the speedy overthrow of the blood-thirsty SLORC, which has been perfidiously working for the self-interest of its own clique of a handful of militarists, at the cost of ruining the whole country.

April 25, 1991

Central Organizing Committee
National League for Democracy (LA)

*** Release All Political Prisoners Including U Tin Oo And Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.**

*** We Have Resolved To Continue To Accept The Leadership Of U Tin Oo And Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.**

HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN KAYAH STATE

The following reports were addressed to Ms Sadako Ogata, the human rights expert of the UN who investigated the human rights situation in Burma, now the UN High Commissioner of Refugees, from an individual from Loikaw in Kayah State.

(I) Date - 27 June, 1989

Location - 54th Light Infantry Regiment, Loikaw, Kayah State.

About 19:45 hours on 27th of June, out of the porters locked up for the night in the infantry barracks, some from the middle of three barracks broke open the walls and attempted to escape. The sentry opened fire and 3 porters were killed and 4 others were wounded. The following people were sent to the Loikaw hospital.

(1) Ko Mya Thein (30 years) -- wife Ma Nge [Mynelone Quarter, Loikaw]

(2) Ko Khin Lwin (21 years) -- mother Daw Khin Nyunt [Dawtama Quarter, Loikaw]

(3) Kar Myay Lae (19 years) -- mother Mi Kay Lae [Dawnoku Quarter, Loikaw]

(4) U Li Kha No (40 years) -- wife Ja Ra Mi Na [Mahtawkhu village, Lawpita Village Track]

Ko Mya Thein was wounded in one thigh and has severe paralysis in that leg.

Over 350 porters were locked up in the barracks designed to hold not more than 120 people. They were also prevented from going

outside for urination, and were underfed, said an escapee.

(II) Date - First Week of December, 1990

Location - Loikaw, Kayah State

U Hla Htun, a government servant of the Motion Picture Cooperation, who worked in the Thiri Movie Theatre in Loikaw, lived in Minsu Quarter of the town. He was forcibly taken as a porter for the military operations because he had many children and could not afford the porter fee (effectively a payment to be exempt from conscription). The troops and the SLORC authorities from his quarter sent him to the operational zones with the troops. On his way back home, he died in Bawlakhe Town in the Kayah State.

(III) Date - August, 1990

Location - Sin Taung village, Nant Fae Khone Village Track,

Di Maw Soe Township, Kayah State.

U Saw Daniel, an employee of the RTC (Road and Transport Cooperation), and father of Saw Samuel from Sin Taung village, was forcibly taken by soldiers from Regiment 72 of SLORC and was asked the whereabouts of armed ethnic minorities. The troops killed U Saw Daniel after they encountered a resistance group. Normally, the resistance

fighters in Kayah State operate movements outside the towns. In another report, a man called Moy from Kupha village was also killed by the soldiers, sources said.

(IV) Date - 12 October, 1990

Location - OK village, Di Maw Soe Township

Soldiers from Regiment 72, accusing Han Maung from OK village and Marri from Myoma Padaung new village of feeding the rebels arrested them and took them to Ban Plo village, one days walk from Nant Fae Khone village. Throughout the journey their hands were tied behind their backs and their heads masked with jute sacks. Nobody knew what became of them.

(V) Date - 14 October, 1990

Location - Khaw Plaw village, Di Maw Soe Township, Kayah State

The house of U Nae Nel (30) and wife Ma Lee was rounded up by the soldiers from Regiment 102. Villagers in the house, thinking that they were being rounded up for portage, tried to escape. But the soldiers shot U Nae Nel in his thigh and arrested Kalosu. Kalosu was beaten up by the soldiers, had his head cracked open and his arm fractured.

Location - Downtown, Loikaw, Kayah State

In the compound of the Independence Monument a stage performance was given during the inauguration ceremony of a clock tower in Loikaw. The people returning from the celebration were stopped at the several junctions of the town and taken by the Armed Forces to carry supplies for the military operations. About 150 people were conscripted and transported in military trucks along the Maw Chee Highway. Before they were sent to the military zones, they were locked up in different places. It is known that out of 22 porters who were confined in the Volunteer Fire Brigade Unit, four were released upon payment of money.

SLORC's Human Rights Abuses

It was in the middle of 1990 that SLORC's troops changed the name of a former Karen stronghold from "Pha Luu" to "Min Lett Pann". The change was in line with their policy to "change foreign or ethnic names to Burmese".

Not long after the opening ceremony, the signboard bearing the new name was smashed down by a villager. To the anger of the soldiers, the offender could not be identified nor could the villagers be made to confess the person responsible. The soldiers therefore forced them to assemble on the main road in the middle of the village.

It was about 11 o'clock in the morning and burning hot in the sunshine. The sergeant ordered

SLORC Human Rights Violation In The Palaung Area

The SLORC (State Law and Order Restoration Council) committed appalling human rights violations in the Palaung area from January to March 1991. It destroyed and burnt down 21 villages which consisted of 2342 houses and 12 monasteries. 17 monks including 6 abbots were arrested and beaten up by SLORC troops. 194 civilians were tortured and 7 teachers were raped by the troops. Out of them, 19 died of torture and the remaining 2 had to be hospitalized.

Because of the ruthless killing of the people, burning of the villages and raping of the innocent women, about 100,000 civilians had to forsake their homes and flee to the jungle and take refuge there. The SLORC troops looted 50 million kyats (approx. US\$7.1 million) worth of possessions from the people.

They destroyed houses of the Palaung people estimated at about 168,000 kyats and the other materials about 223,000 kyats. The losses of the Palaung people totalled 90 million kyats (US\$13 million).

The military junta forced Palaung State Liberation Party to lay down their arms by using the tactics of coercing, arresting, torturing, and killing the Palaung people.

the villagers to make wooden stocks to be locked up in. Approximately 50 villagers suffered the heat and degradation for the rest of the day.

Teak Logs Stolen From Thai Company by SLORC Captain

At the same time, Tin Maung Win, a SLORC captain from Pha Luu fortification has been stealing logs from logging sites already sold to a Thai logging firm. He has been helped by a Mon man called U Kyaing. The logs are cut into 6 feet sections and sold once a week to Thai citizens. With his profits U Kyaing has bought luxurious items such as watches, cassettes, jackets, liquor, etc from Maesot. The soldier who help in the theft are also rewarded with luxury goods. This practise has been going on since the middle of 1990.

A Pa-O Faction Vows To Fight Back The Military Junta

A Pa-O faction led by Lt. Col. Khum Okker vows to struggle against the military regime, said a statement released by the border committee of the Pa-O National Revolutionary Council on 19 April after a agreement reached by the Pa-O National Organization.

After an announcement by SLORC that PNO president U Aug Khan Hti had agreed to a cease-fire, a border committee was formed with seven members under the leadership of Lt. Col. Khun Okker and issued a statement confirming that they would continue the national liberation movement. The statement also confirmed that ABSDF students from the Pa-O area, caught in the conflict, had arrived safely at the Thai-Burma border in the Kareni State.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Of the important words that have swarmed over the political circle of Burma after the 1988 uprising, the "National Convention" is not only high-sounding but conveys the essence of great importance. It is brought to the political stage by both the military clique which perverts the true nature of it and the democracy-loving people.

During the uprising, although the whole country demanded the "multi-party democratic system", SLORC, as guided by Ne Win, shattered the identity of it so as to prolong its grip on power. Now the words, "National Convention" of pro-democracy people, is blatantly abused in SLORC's ring -- this does nothing but spoil the kernel of it.

The National Convention is inevitable in the future political process of Burma. SLORC knows that it is of central importance, and has abused the words in such a way that it is misunderstood by the public. For this reason, we, the people of Burma, who demand democracy and human rights, without endorsing the SLORC-created National Convention, can only accept a National Convention that will solve the national crisis in accordance with the meaning of the words.

Even if SLORC calls on the National Convention by force, we shall have to prevent it by every possible means. At the same time,

we must realize the essence of the National Convention and be prepared to struggle for the successful convening it.

The National Convention will attempt to find solutions to the political questions through political means based on mutual respect and open-mindedness among the nationalities of Burma. In the national convention, the rudimentary principles and guide lines for the drawing up of a new constitution--a process regarded as the most important and indispensable foundation for building a peaceful and democratic future--shall be discussed and defined in line with the needs of the people.

Once based on those principles and guide-lines, a new constitution shall be drafted and effected. In essence, national convention required by us is the same as the Constituent Assembly that Gen. Aung San presided over in 1947. In addition to that, the unsolved problems in the history of Burma

**Now the words, "National Convention" of
pro-democracy people,
is blatantly abused in SLORC's ring**

shall be discussed with open-mindedness and honesty.

The multifarious ethnic groups have for more than 40 years

been fighting the successive Burmese military governments for their identities and rights. Their

main demand is the formation of a union that guarantees the "Rights To Equality and Self-determination"-- the true participation and inclusion of nationalities in the infrastructure of the union.

Yet SLORC has ignored the desire of the entire people of Burma, and acted blatantly against their wishes, proclaiming that "Federalism is the disintegration of the country ..." and that, "... the military will not allow Burma to become 150 different states just because it has 150 nationalities".

It can be clearly seen that SLORC wants to draft a constitution similar to that drafted in 1947, so as to found, as a basic principle, a unitary state giving the military considerable influence on central government -- the military simply wants to conceal what it has done wrong throughout history and to maintain its hold on the country.

On one hand, SLORC will call a national convention to realize its own objectives. On the other, the people of Burma will call a national convention to realize their desire for human rights and democracy.

Who Will Be Qualified To Participate In The National Convention?

The national convention is not a legislature. The participants of

the national convention must be the individuals, not just the elected deputies of the May elections, who will truly realize the craving of the people. Those individuals must represent not only the winning political parties but also the respective organizations of pro-democracy. Therefore, the following individuals will qualify for participation in the national convention;

- (a) Elected representatives of the May Elections,
- (b) Representatives of the winning parties,
- (c) Representatives of the ethnic minorities (Chiefly the Democratic Alliance of Burma),
- (d) Individuals with political reputation who will truly help solve the political crisis, and
- (e) Academics who are expert in the fields of Economics, Politics, Law and Sociology.

Having promised to create the multi-party democratic system, SLORC, to an extent, has opened the channel to each political party. However SLORC has disregarded any commitment or support from the people the parties might have, for instance, without giving priority to the NLD, the winning party. The NLD is the strongest party and the military clique knows that it is the main opposition party and will not comply with SLORC's will. So

SLORC's intention is to confine the NLD's mobility by creating chances for countless political parties and thus reduce its stand-

ing.

what Is The Purpose Of The National Convention?

**the resolutions of
the national
covention will
determine the survival
of Burma**

The national convention will propose solutions to the political problems and will draft a new constitution. These will not be decided by ballots like resolving a Bill in a Legislative Assembly. Rather, they will be decided as a result of open dialogue.

The resolutions of the national convention will determine the survival of Burma -- only when the individuals who are qualified to represent the desires and aspirations of the people are allowed to participate in it, shall it make progress for the country. This progress means the founding of a union which practices human rights and democracy.

If the SLORC is able to convene the national convention, it will allow its cohorts to attend, discuss and decide as it dictates and therefore bring out a sham statement to the world, giving pseudo-democratic resolutions to regain its political reputation.

Suitable Time And Situation For The National Covention

SLORC has been attempting to assemble the national convention while it still has the grip on power

so that the process can be carried out as it chooses. So we, the entire people of Burma, must try to prevent the SLORC-guided national convention and to conduct it only when we are free from the evil hands of the SLORC. For this reason the calling of the national convention will come in the wake of overthrow of SLORC's domination and tyranny by the people of Burma.

The individuals and organizations qualified to convene the national convention must be free from military pressure so as not to spoil the essence of it.

Therefore, it is the vital task of the entire people of Burma to successfully convene the national convention to restore peace, democracy and human rights. ■

Bo Moke Seike (LAW)

(Continued from Page. 6)

1990. The military fully backed the NUP, and restricted the campaigning of other political parties. They barred the popular opposition leaders from the election, by accusing them as agents of the BCP and as its underground members, and arrested hundreds of them.

The Secretary-General Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the Chairman U Tin U, and most of the Central Committee members of the NLD were now under arrest. They could not contest in the general elections. They put Daw Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest in July 20 1990, where she remains to this day, and sentenced the Chairman, U Tin Oo of NLD to three years imprisonment with hard-labour (his jail term has just been increased to 14 years imprisonment). Moe Thee Zun

NEWSPAPER REPORT

UN Rights Report Condemns Burma's Junta

The Nation - 10 March

A confidential UN human rights report has criticized Burma's military junta for failing to turn over power to democratically elected civilian officials and for detaining opposition members.

The report, by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs Sadako Ogata, notes that she was not allowed to inspect Burma's prisons, so "numerous allegations of torture and other degrading treatment" of detainees could not be investigated. A climate of fear and suspicion prevails in Burma, she found. The report quotes a government minister as saying "criticism of the government was a violation of the law if that criticism was more than slight". Ogata urged the UN Human Rights Commission to continue working with Burma to help it improve its human rights situation.

The unusually strong report led the 43-nation UN Human Rights Commission to vote unanimously at a secret session Feb 26 in Geneva to condemn Burma's government.

Burmese military clique did not let Ogata meet with U Tin Oo, the imprisoned chairman of the National League for Democracy, or with the NLD's general secretary, Daw Aung San Su Kyi, who has been under house arrest since 1989.

Human rights organizations estimated that about 500 NLD members have been detained. Amnesty International says that many hundreds, perhaps thousands of suspected government opponents have been detained without charge or trial or have been jailed after unfair trials before military tribunals.

At least 100 people have been sentenced to death, although it is not known if any sentences have been carried out, said Amnesty International. The government has never investigated the orders to the troops to fire on the protesters. Torture and arbitrary executions by soldiers trying to put down insurgences have been widely reported, Amnesty International said.

Thai Army Warns Burma Warlords

The Nation - March 19

Maj Gen Pornprasert, a local Thai military commander has warned two warring Burmese ethnic forces, the Mong Tai Army of opium warlord Khun Sa and the rival United Wa State Army against staging battles inside Thailand.

Local villagers told The Nation that two forces fired on one another with heavy and small shells every hour after small intervals. Some of the shells spilled into Thailand and six houses were destroyed in the crossfire, they said.

Khun Sa "Forced" To Join Logging Deal

The Nation - Feb 16

Reputed opium warlord Khun Sa claims he is being forced to take part in a three-way government deal to destroy the last major teak forest in Southeast Asia, located in Burma's Shan State. A video tape sent to US President George Bush by Khun Sa shows miles and miles of teak forests, the last in the world, being cut down by Thai timber companies. Khun Sa Explained to Bush in the video that because of the deals Thai logging companies had signed with Rangoon military regime, the Shan people had no choice but to cooperate and allow the "rape" of their forests.

According to sources in the region, seven Thai timber companies are denuding surrounding forests of valuable teak logs. Profits are split three ways--the Burmese military junta, Khun Sa and the timber merchants.

Thailand Requests Burmese Authorities Not To Shoot Its Planes

The Nation - March 17

Thailand has asked Burmese authorities not to shoot Thai planes which accidentally fly over the border. The Burmese soldiers fired three rounds at an ART-6 passenger plane which accidentally flew across the border because of bad weather. The shots missed the aircraft which was able to fly back and land safely.

Stalemate At Border Meeting

The Nation - March 15

Thailand has demanded compensation of Bt 286,520 for damage caused since January by Burmese military fighting spilling over into Thai territory, resulting in the burning down of local villagers' houses. In a counter-demand, Burmese authorities have sought Bt 1 million compensation for the deaths of four Burmese and wounding of two others by Thai villagers on Jan 24.

The forum, which was open to the press and co-chaired by Thai and Burmese local commanders, was unable to settle the opposing claims.

Burma Ineligible for US Aid To Fight Drug War

Bangkok Post - March 3

President George Bush kept Burma, with Afghanistan, Iran and Syria, on the list of countries which can not receive US aid because they do not meet US drug-fighting policy standards.

Under US law, the four countries are ineligible for US foreign aid, and the United States can block International and Development Bank loans to them. The presidents' decision was passed on to Congress with a country-by-country report scheduled to be made public.

Illegal Burmese Immigrants Arrested

Bangkok Post - March 16

Some 150 illegal aliens, mostly Burmese, were arrested in a crack down by Thai police which began last month. Police said some of the women worked in brothels. The Nation also reported that 13 Burmese youths, including 6 girls aged between 11 and 19 were arrested in a police raid on a frozen food factory in Chaing Mai, the northern Thai Province.

Thai FM Affirms Ties With Burma

Bangkok Post - March 20

Thailand's policy on Burma remains unchanged, even though their ties have been misunderstood by other countries. "We reaffirm that we will be friendly with every Burmese government" said Foreign Minister Mr. Arsa Sarasin.

Worldwide Pressure Planned Against SLORC

The Nation - March 2

A delegation of international social and human rights groups is planning a world wide campaign to pressure the Burmese junta to restore democracy in Burma and halt human rights abuses in the country.

Speaking after a trip to the Thai-Burma border, the 17 member team from seven countries--Bangladesh, Japan, Germany, Nepal, the Netherlands, Britain and the United States--pledged to

launch a "letterwriting campaign" aimed at world leaders and prominent politicians in their respective countries as well as the Burmese military regime.

Burmese Strongman Congratulates NPKC

Bangkok Post - March 2

Burmese ambassador U Nyunt Shwe paid a call on the NPKC (National Peace-Keeping Council) leader Gen Sunthorn to deliver a letter from Burmese military strongman Gen Saw Maung.

The ambassador told the Bangkok Post that Gen Saw Maung "sent his best wishes for the success of Gen Sunthorn and NPKC, and showed his appreciation towards Gen Sunthorn's performance for saving the situation in Thailand".

US Weighs Sanctions

The New York Times - March 7

The United States is considering imposing economic sanctions against Burma, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Solomon told the House East Asian and Pacific subcommittee. "We are currently considering what economic sanctions against Burma might be appropriate and will notify Congress promptly of the outcome of our assessment," Mr. Solomon said. "We remain extremely disappointed by the lack of progress towards the implementation of parliamentary democracy in Burma" said Mr. Solomon.

Burmese Students and Ethnic Minorities Mark Rights Day

Bangkok Post - March 15

About 500 students and Burmese opposing the Rangoon junta took part in Human Rights Day celebrations at Manerplaw camp in Burma, which were also in memory of two students leaders, Maung Phone Maw and Soe Naing, of the Rangoon Institute of Technology who were the first to be killed in 1988 uprising.

Five Given Death Terms For Raid Near Rangoon

Bangkok Post - March 9

Burmese military tribunal has sentenced five Burmese to death and 10 others to life imprisonment following a guerrilla attack earlier this year in the outskirts of Rangoon.

It was also the first time since 1989 that Burma's military junta has reported guerrilla action in the Rangoon area. According to Rangoon Radio, a rocket attack was launched during the night on a radio relay station. Those sentenced to death were listed as Htay Lwin, 26, Ba Min Thit, 27, Aung Than, 30, Myo Aung Htwe, 17, Khin Zaw, 36. They were the first instances of capital punishment in Burma this year.

Bombs Fired At Festival

Bangkok Post - March 12

Dissident students accused Burmese junta troops of firing mortar

bombs at a village festival, killing and wounding dozens of monks and villagers. The soldiers fired mortar bombs at Motpalin Township, about 320 km from the Thai border two weeks ago during a Buddhist holiday, Soe Lay of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front said. Eight bombs hit the temple crowded with people, he said. He said he saw at least 30 badly wounded monks in a hospital he visited. (Dawn News Bulletin -- March)

Goodwill Visit

The Nation - March 7

Singapore's Air Force Commander Michael Joe and his delegation arrived in Rangoon for an official visit to Burma as invited by his Burmese counterpart Lieutenant General Tin Htun.

Burma Fire

The Nation - March 7

A Major fire in a central Burmese township has left more than 1,100 people homeless and the damage was estimated at nearly US\$ 10 million.

Burmese Troops Robbed Thai Villagers, Take Hostages

The Nation - April 30

About 60 fully armed Burmese troops robbed Thai villagers of 6 trucks, a four wheel drive and a tractor and of food and supplies and held 18 Thai logging workers hostages in the area of Khun Yuam District, Thai military sources revealed.

Three of the 6 trucks were released with the 14 workers, the Thai military report stated.

Junta Terror Tactics Led To Suu Kyi's Fall

The Nation - April 29

The Burmese military used coercion and terror to engineer the ousting of top opposition leaders from their posts in the National League for Democracy, said a party member outside the military control. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo had been removed from the positions of the party general secretary and the chairman.

Unocal To Start Burmese Oil Drilling Project

Bangkok Post - April

Unocal Myanmar, a unit of Unocal Corp-US, is due to start a drilling programme next week at a tract in central Burma to evaluate the potential of crude oil for supply to Thailand. The Petroleum Authority of Thailand (PAT) believes Burma is an alternative source of oil and gas as the country still very much depends on imported petroleum despite increasing indigenous natural gas production.

Burmese Junta Warns Students

The Nation - April 3

Burma's military junta has warned that it will not tolerate student unrest after the opening of the country's universities,

which have been closed since student activists led nation-wide pro-democracy protests in 1988.

"If attempts are made to cause unrest, exploiting the callow youths, effective action will be taken against those concerned in the interest of the country." Major Gen Khin Nyunt said.

Twelve Burmese Politicians On The Run

The Nation - April 26

Official Rangoon Radio announced that 12 politicians including seven elected members of parliament have fled to the border area to help the provisional government of Dr. Sein Win and that they were declared absconders from the law.

ADG Granted Permission To Buy Burmese Gems

The Nation - April 25

ADG Gems, buying unit of the Thai Gems and Jewellery traders' Association has been permitted to buy gems from Burma. With a registered capital of Bt 1 million, ADG will find raw gem-stones to serve the demand of the Thai jewellery makers starting from February.

Inflation Increase

The Nation - April

The military government is offering anyone the chance to become a millionaire for the first time with a doubled prize in the national lottery. The prize value is

now 1 million kyats. This increase is seen as a response to rapid inflation that turned 1 million kyats from what was once a substantial fortune in Burma into a fairly modest amount, insufficient even to buy a new car.

Burmese Junta Afraid Of Outbreak Of Student Unrest

Burma's military regime remains fearful of another wave of student unrest while attempting to reopen the universities which have been closed for almost three years. "Now the political opposition has collapsed and only a rekindling of student activism will pose a major threat to the military junta which took over power in 1988", said Rangoon-based observers.

After the Taunggyi College protests in the Shan State capital which resulted in its immediate closure, Major Gen. Khin Nyunt warned that student unrest would not be tolerated once Burma's universities are reopened. In Mandalay, students from the Institute of Medicine staged a protest during an examination. The rector of the institute was held responsible and was forced to retire.

Reliable sources said that students returning from the border area will not be permitted to continue their studies and that every student must have his name, roll number, major and class attached to the chest so as to be easily identifiable.

(Continued from Page. 3)

Some opposition members who have died in prisons in the recent months as a direct result of torture are U Maung Ko, U Tin Maung Win, U Sein Win and Bo Set Yaung. It is said that there are many cases of death of political prisoners that go unreported because of cover-ups by the authorities and fear on the part of relatives and friends.

Foreign diplomats and observers in Rangoon are concerned over the continued detention of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the increased prison sentence, from 3 years to 14 years, of U Tin Oo and are aware that SLORC has warned civil servants and their families and the students to stay out of politics. Civil servants have been required to answer biased questionnaires which in effect attack leading opposition members.

This, together with the arrest of, and brutality against, even the lowest opposition members, like Maung Myint Naing, is indicative of the military junta's desire to undermine the opposition and of its intense feeling of insecurity.



REFLECTION FROM THE PRISON

Unwavering Oath

*I make an oath to the fallen martyrs
Who sacrificed for our national cause.
In this unfinished struggle,
If my blood is not red enough,
Spray yours over me to inspire my courage.*

*In this unfinished revolution,
If I have disgraced my brothers as a traitor
Without regard to my fellow countrymen,
As punishment crush me with the unyielding hand of the Peacock.*

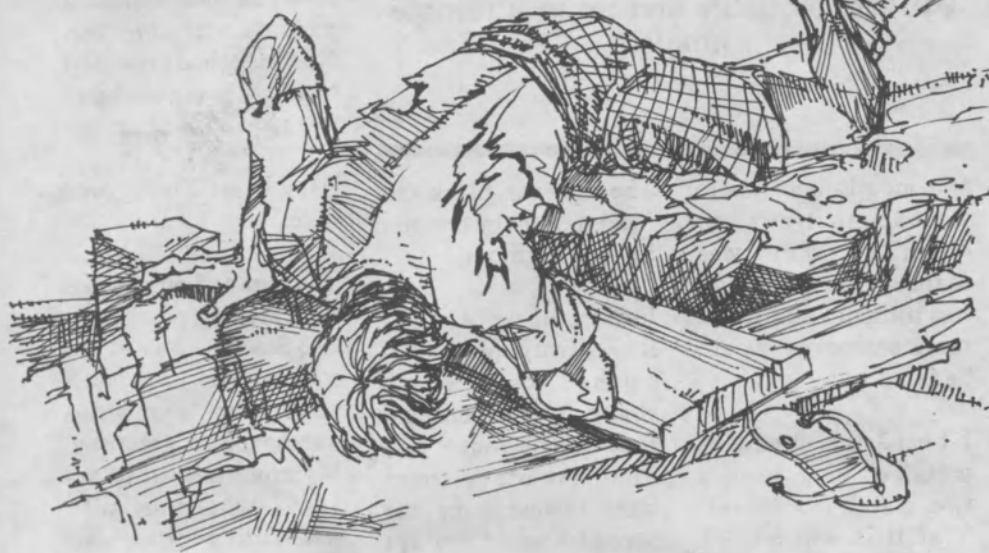
*In this unfinished task,
Even if my life has to be sacrificed only half way through
Do not be disheartened at my departure from this world of man,
Underst and that I have accomplished my duty,
My rejoicing soul will whirl off to you in the air,
Please welcome me with an open heart.*

Min Ko Naing



Note: Min Ko Naing was chairperson of the All Burma Students' Federation of Unions. He was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment with hard labour and has been severely tortured while in prison. He has had to endure long spells in a solitary confinement cell, no more than 3 feet square, with no light, unable to sit or lie down, with the cell at times filled to 2 or 3 feet with dirty, stagnant water. According to reports, the repeated torture has left him paralysed from the waist down.

BLAZING DAYS WITHOUT CUCKOO CALL



brutal and unsympathetic words, and drank from it deeply. But as my wound was bleeding profusely, I could barely hold on to the canteen, and I put it down beside me. My eyesight was becoming dim and weak and my head was throbbing unbearably. The mine had just been planted to hinder our advances and no fighting followed.

"Hey! Let's move on! Check your men!"

"A porter stepped on the mine and his leg's been blown off, sir."

"If that's so, just leave him."

I heard because I have ears--it was as though molten iron was being poured into my ears. They did not take me as a human being, My mouth was so dry. I wondered if it was my last moment. Before that last moment, my mind kept flashing from one thought to another.

(1)

"Bang!"

With an unexpected loud explosion I was lifted upward into the sky and felt as if my right shin was engulfed by a big flame of fire. I did not know where my military pack and 4-gallon cooking oil tin had been thrown to. But I noticed that I had stepped on a land mine.

Because of the explosion from the mine that I had stepped on, the whole military column which I was part of came to a stop and fell into disarray. I heard continuous shouts of porters and soldiers, commanders giving orders, soldiers running

and taking cover, and getting ready for the apparent assault.

"Take cover!"

My mouth was dry with thirst; I was totally dehydrated. Fatigued by the long trek and agonized by the wound in my leg, I felt no strength in my body. It took courage to look down at my wounded leg. It was gone; my shin right underneath the knee was blown away, the tissues frazzled and the bone jutting out. Because of the wound, my body from the waist to the legs was soaked with blood. And I knew that I had little chance of surviving.

"Water..Water...Give me water".

"Water..Water...Give me water".

I groaned again.

"You son of a bitch! Don't shout too much! If your mother's husbands hear you shouting, we'll be caught in the bullets. Here you are! Here's the water canteen. Drink it by yourself."

I heard because I have ears--it was as though molten iron was being poured into my ears.

With great difficulty, I reached out for the water canteen that was passed to me with such

It was already very late when the job was finished off that day--later than usual. But it did not matter. The more times I drove my

(2)

route during the Shwedagone Tabauing Festival the better. It meant I would not have to worry about money, particularly in this time of need--Hnin Nu was expecting again, and would be going into labour anytime now. Besides this, Htet Maung, my first son, was so sick that Saya Maung's red power medicine seemed to be no cure for him. He had been sent to a nearby clinic when he began having convulsions. The charge was 30 kyats, a day's earnings.

It was not at all easy to be born in the age of Saw Maung and Khin Nyunt. Each day we had to eat the same main curry - boiled morning glory leaves. And on top of all that they had forced us to move. Our whole quarter had been made to move to Hlaingthaya"

"Being taken as a porter means you are unlikely to return home or you will probably end up in a remote jungle."

two months ago. There we had no trees, no electricity; water was scarce, transportation was difficult, and in the rainy season we would be flooded.

I heard the sound of metal striking from a fire watcher's turret. "Oh! It is one o'clock now. Hnin Nu must be waiting for me," I thought to myself. Hnin Nu never had her meal until I came home. However late I was, she always ate the meal only when I got home. My son must already have gone to bed.

The night was black and I had to walk by the dim light of the moon.

From a distance, I saw four or five people. They seemed to be acting strangely. It was unusual to see anyone out at that hour. At other times when I came home, the street was always deserted. Sometimes, only the faint bark of a dog in the distance would prevail in the lonely night.

"What's up?"

My heart suddenly beat fast. As I got nearer, I saw some ten soldiers all in full uniforms standing

around and a TE-11 military truck with about 50 men on board parked under a big tree. No sooner had I realised what was going on then I was already too late.

"Hey, you! Come over here."

The curt and cross voice of a soldier pointing a G-3 machine gun at me sounded out. I was just 5 yards away from him--no chance to get away. My mind flashed to my home, where my wife was waiting for me and my son might be sleeping, rather than to the consciousness that I was being taken as a porter.

"Being taken as a porter means you are unlikely to return home and you will probably end up in a remote jungle"-- all of a sudden, the knowledge that I was being taken as a porter struck me and dominated my mind.

"Hey, you, get on the truck!"

"I am going home. What have I done wrong?" I asked him in my humblest tones, although I knew the real situation. "Don't be long-winded, you mongrel dog! We are the army. There is no democracy here. We only obey orders. Get on the truck!"



"Please don't take me away, elder brother. My wife is in labour and my son is ill. I am the one who feeds them, and if I am away, they will be in trouble. Please spare me. I beg you, elder brother. Please do not take me away."

"You long-winded brute! Take this!"

Suddenly, a rifle butt struck me and I fell down on the street. I was relieved that the blow only hit my flank - if it had been my head, it would have been cracked open. Another soldier pulled me by the collar and pushed me up onto the truck. In the back of the truck were about 70 people who had been treated in the same way I had been.

"Let's move! Get on the truck."

As the sergeant shouted to his men, all the soldiers got on board and the truck drove off.

(3)

"Wake up, you lazy dogs! Why are you sleeping so late? Do you regard it as your mother's husband's house?"

A soldier kicked my buttock and I woke up sud-

denly. I could hardly open my eyes. My hands had been tied with rope all night and were causing me great pain. The other porters must have been suffering in the same way. All the porters had been tied with rope as soon as darkness had fallen in case they ran away. Only

come blistered and cut. But I dared not say anything. If I had done, I would only have been struck and told, "What do you take yourself for?" And as well as the oil, I transported their packs. How inhuman they were!

Those soldiers must

kicked from behind by a combat boot. Yet the soldiers themselves carried nothing but their guns and munitions. They did not even want to bear their own packs. We had to help carry their packs even though we were already weighed under with our own loads.



when the day dawned, were the ropes unfastened.

It had been 12 days already since I was seized. In my group, there were 20 porters altogether. Under the command of a sergeant called Aung Chit, we had to carry not only supplies for their unit but also their belongings - two porters per soldier. Having to carry a tin that held 4 gallons of cooking oil, my shoulders had be-

have been the servants of Satan in their previous lives. I wondered if they had ever heard of love, kindness sympathy and of the sharing of happiness. And I wondered if we were back in the age of Spartacus.

From daybreak to dusk, we struggled with our burdens on the mountain terrains, stopping only to have meals. If someone walked slowly from tiredness, he got

The meal times were the worst; just a small lidful of rice and a spoonful of soya bean curry was the ration for the morning meal and that of the evening was no different. It was like an elephant being fed a handful of sesamum. Nobody was allowed to eat more. But they had tinned meat and fruit as if they were going on a picnic. Even if we had a fever or were in pain, we were afraid to tell them. When U Loon Maung, an old (Continued on Page. 23)

WHAT ARE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

Some scholarly writings judge the following countries to be the best ten in the world.

1. Switzerland
2. Great Britain
3. Sweden
4. West Germany
5. Canada
6. United States of America
7. Denmark
8. Netherlands
9. Australia
10. Japan

The scholars arrived at this judgement, not from abstract judgement, but from a comparative study of politics. To say that these ten countries are the ten best-governed countries in the world is not to say that they are without any or all of the socio-economic problems that trouble the domestic and foreign politics of the contemporary world. At the present time, Japan especially plays a significant role in our country of Burma. We say this, not only because Japan is an advanced country technically and economically, but also because Japan and Burma have a long history of relating with each other. We do not know for certain if the present youth of Japan are aware of that long relationship between our two countries, but we are certain that the present leaders of the Japanese government have not forgotten.

During the second World War, while the people of Burma were

struggling for independence from the British rule, the comrades led by Thakin Aung San, sincerely asked for assistance from Japan, after their Burma Independence Army (BIA), together with the Japanese Army launched their attack, the British retreated to India, at that time, the Japanese military leaders failed to keep their promise to let the Burmese rule their own country independently. Consequently, from 1942 to 1945 the Japanese ruled Burma brutally and without mercy to the people.

Most of the patriotic Burmese who were suspected by the Japanese to be revolutionaries were detained, tortured and killed. Many young women and even married women were raped by the Japanese soldiers. The en-

AUNG HTOO

tire country of Burma was ravaged by the Japanese who took valuable things they could find, even the treasure and jewels from the Buddhist Pagodas. Many villages were burnt down, and people driven from their ancestral homes. This is the true history which nobody can deny.

So why do we raise these terrible memories at this time? We do not do so to blame the Japanese people for these atrocities. We

are convinced that the Japanese people are naturally polite, honourable and sympathetic. They do not want or like war. They want to live peacefully with all others. What we wish to emphasize is that this terrible history is not due to the nature of the Japanese people, but rather is the result of militarism. Ne Win, who learned everything he knows about militarism and dictatorship from the Japanese military leaders, has ruled Burma now for over 28 years.

So, now there is no longer militarism and military dictatorship in Japan, but the Japanese government is trying to prop up the military junta in Burma. Consequently, Burma has become one of the least developed countries in the world, and today most of the people in the world finally know that human rights violations in Burma is worse than any where else. Despite this, the Japanese government continues to support this military junta.

A Japanese friend told us that the Japanese foreign minister once explained why his government is aiding the military junta of Burma. According to the Japanese minister, SLORC is guiding the people in the drafting of a new constitution for Burma. After the constitution is finished, SLORC will transfer power to the elected people. We do not know whether the Japanese foreign minister said exactly this or not, but we can confirm that SLORC has no plan to transfer power to the elected representatives.

Actually, the drafting of a new constitution in Burma is no joke.

If the military junta sincerely wants to draft a new constitution, they must first try to establish internal peace by peaceful and political means. As long as SLORC continues to try to annihilate revolutionary groups through violent means, they will never be successful. Our past 42 years of history proves this. If we have no internal peace, we can not obtain the wishes of the leaders of the ethnic minority groups and other revolutionary groups. That being the case, a new constitution drafted by the military junta before the civil war is ended, can not be perfect and can not solve the problems in our country such as the question of the indigenous people's rights, democracy and human rights.

In reality, the military junta will never call for "peace talk" as long as they have the upper hand in battle. The more aid they get from foreign countries like Japan, the

longer they will be in power. After all, they themselves do not want to transfer power, because they are afraid of being tried and convicted by the people for all the crimes they have committed in the 1988 uprising. They also enjoy power. We can definitely conclude that the military junta will try to protect their power through whatever means they deem necessary.

Japan is no longer a country ruled by the military groups. It has become a democratic country, advanced and prosperous. Although it has many problems, most of the Japanese people can enjoy a free life. While the Japanese students are studying their subjects in classrooms at peaceful campuses, most of the Burmese students are struggling in the jungle, with much hardship, for their national liberation and for the restoration of democracy and human rights. The students who have remained inside the country have lost lives

under the military dictatorship. Thousands of students have been detained and many students have been killed. Some former students are seeking work simply to make a living. The future of the students in Burma is very bleak now.

Since militarism started in Burma under the Japanese in the second World War, our people have lived in trouble due to continued aid from the Japanese government to the military junta of Burma. For this reason, we would like to request the Japanese people, and especially the Japanese government, to impose an economic embargo on Burma and not have any economic relations with the military junta. Only when Burma is a free and democratic country, can this economic aid actually benefit the people of Burma.

Aung Htoo

(Continued from Page 21)

man from our group, got sick and could not even walk, they spared him no sympathy. And when we began the Elephant Mountain Trek, he was dragged along until, after a gun report, his torment was ended.

(4)

"We are now in the enemy's area. Porters from Saya (sergeant) Aung Chit, proceed and walk in front!" Hearing this order from the column commander, we were appalled.

So the international community's criticism "It is cruel and inhuman of the military regime to order porters to walk in front of their army column as human mine detectors" was true after all. Just as we started to arrive in the enemy's area, we were ordered to walk at the head of the army. We had no choice; "Disobey the order and be killed or perhaps, if lucky, we would escape death." Even though we obeyed the order, our minds were cramped both with the weight of the supplies on our

backs and shoulders, and with fear. But it couldn't be helped - whether we came out dead or alive.

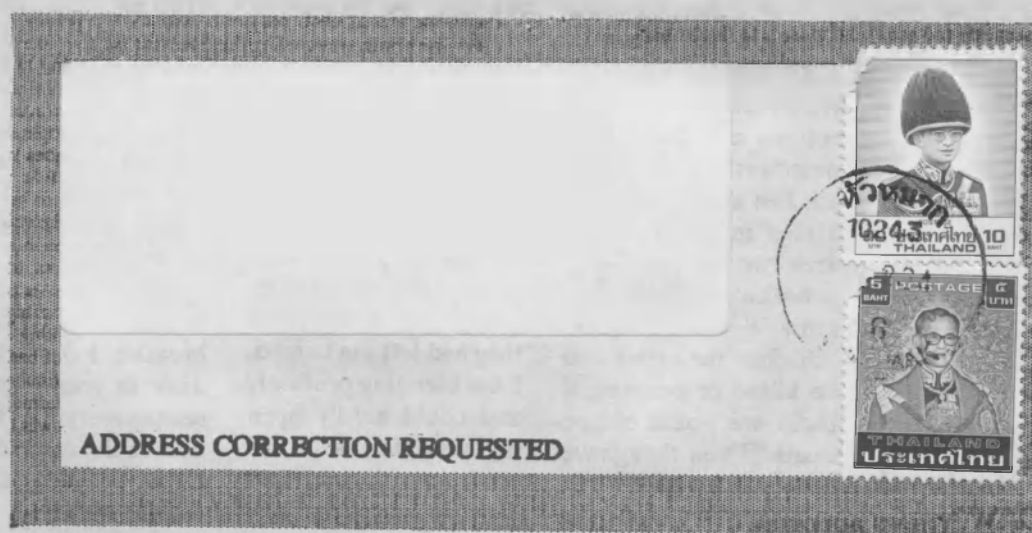
(5)

Before my last moment, my thoughts were confused. It was already about one hour since they had left me behind. I was bleeding profusely and could hardly open my eyes. It felt as if a nail was being driven into my head. In a matter of moments, I would have to abandon my beloved

Hnin Nu and my son. I wondered how many victims like me had passed out of their lives in this no man's land during the successive military governments. I thought that the doves, the symbols of Peace, would never be able to fly in Burma.

It was too difficult to breathe. I could barely draw in breath. I could see the eternity of blackness in the distance and felt myself being thrown up into the air.

Maung Doe



5 PRINTED MATTER

VIA AIR MAIL