

DAWN

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Nobel Peace Prize should not merely be symbolic.

The people of Burma are proud of their leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi for being the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate of 1991. She is the symbol of hope, freedom from oppression and fear for the Burmese, who have been suffering for three decades, under the iron rule of the military tyrants. We also feel that the award of the Nobel Peace Prize was not only for the recognition of her fearless and relentless efforts, but also to give encouragement to the entire Burmese people, who had sacrificed a lot in terms of lives, and sufferings at the hands of a totalitarian regime, in their struggle for the achievement of democracy and human rights.

The people all over the the world had demonstrated their support for the fight for democracy and freedom in Burma, by organizing demonstrations, torch-light processions, prayer meetings, etc., on the 10th. of December, 1991, the day the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded in a ceremony at Oslo. These were organized by human rights and peace organizations, solidarity groups, and expatriates in various parts of the world.

The international call for the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other political prisoners led by the United Nations Secretary General Mr. Perres de Queller, went unheeded by the SLORC, the self appointed State Law and Order Restoration Council, that is ruling Burma, illegitimately. The United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution on Burma, by consensus during the last week of November which called for the release of the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, and other political prisoners, and to let the people of Burma participate in governing the country, was ignored as well. This resolution of the UN was sponsored by Sweden in coordination with EC and East European countries, as well as third world countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

On the very same day the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded in Oslo, students of the Rangoon University demonstrated in the campus of their university, demanding the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and other political prisoners. These demonstrations were peaceful and quiet, and continued for the next two days. The reaction of the military rulers was to sent in the infamous Lon Htein (Riot Police) into the campus and hundreds of students were brutally beaten up and arrested, while soldiers cordoned off the university. Approximately 900 students were arrested and were subjected to torture by the military intelligence personnel.

This clearly demonstrated the mentality of the military dictators which never hesitated to crush any movement of the opposition using excessive force and brutality. The call of the international community was unheeded. On December 24, 1991, General Khin Nyunt, the Secretary of the SLORC, in his speech clearly vowed not to release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, or to accept her as the leader who won the elections held in May 1990, or to transfer power to the NLD or any of the political parties. Unless the international community is willing to take strong action, the SLORC will never give up their power and the Burmese people will have to go on suffering. Now is the time to exert total economic sanction and arms embargo, and withdraw the seat of the SLORC at the United Nations as legal representatives of Burma. The countries that have diplomatic relations with Burma should recall their diplomatic missions or reduce it to a lower status as a protest against the military regime. Nobel Peace Prize should not merely be a symbolic support for the people of Burma in their struggle for democracy, but should be followed by more practical and effective measures.

NOBEL PEACE AWARD

10th December 1991;
Oslo

" She would say that this prize belongs not to her but to all those men, women and children who, even as I speak, continue to sacrifice their well being, their freedom and their lives in pursuit of a democratic Burma", said Myint San Aung (a) Alexander, eldest son of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who made the thanksgiving speech at the Nobel Peace Prize Ceremony, referring to his mother who won this year Nobel Peace Prize but was not able to attend the ceremony as she has been under house arrest since July 1989. He had to stop his speech several times as the crowd applauded.

Mr. Francies Sejersted, chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee awarded the medal and the certificate to her sons Myint San Aung and Htein Lin Aung (a) Kim, as their father, Dr. Michael Aris set by watching.

Guests

Among the present at the ceremony were HRH Harald and Queen Sonja of Norway, the Prime Minister and her Cabinet members and previous Peace Prize winners. President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica and South Africa's Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu who have attended the occasion as it was the Nobel Prize's 90th Anniversary, at City Hall on 10th December 1991. More than 100 Burmese from different parts of the

world and members of the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCQUB), Dr. Sein Win, Prime Minister, U Peter Linbim, Foreign Minister and U Win Ko, Finance Minister were also present.

Orchestras and Harp

Two Norwegian Orchestras and two Burmese, a traditional harpist and a singer have performed for the audience.

Torch March

Oslo's main pedestrian street was crowded with hundreds of Torch Marchers dedicated to both the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Human Rights in Burma. The first torch was lighted by Kim who wished for peace and freedom for all in Burma. Peace songs and freedom slogans decorated the Oslo's evening sky while hundreds sent their greetings to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's family which appeared on the balcony of the Grand Hotel where they were staying. The Peace March was arranged by Amnesty International as the day coincided with the 43rd anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

History

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the winner of Peace Prize for 1991 is the 8th woman to have been awarded this award in the 90th anniversary of the Nobel Prize.



Michael Aris, Alexander and Kem attending the Nobel Peace Prize Award ceremony in Oslo on behalf of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.



*Torch-lit procession led by Premier Gro Harlem Brundtland, center
Freedom from fear and other writings on sale at the Book Store in Oslo*



Altogether 68 men and 15 organizations have received the Peace Prize since 1901.

Human Rights Campaign

While Amnesty International launched its campaign for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi with a postcard and letter campaign, Dabladet- a Norwegian newspaper set up a campaign for the same purpose by printing daily issues about Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Burma. It asked its readers to write to Burma's military junta for the immediate release of

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Prominent figures such as the Dalai Lama, Ellie Wiesel, Paul Newsman, Audrey Hepburn and others have sent letters to General Saw Maung, the head of the junta. "...There is no choice, dear General, but to let her go to Oslo to receive the prize without the risk of being exiled. Your dictatorial regime has already hurt your citizens more than enough" wrote Audery Hepburn.

Talks

There have been a long

series of lectures, discussions and table talks by academics, journalists and politicians carried out in Oslo before and after the Peace Prize ceremony.

Some of the main issues discussed were Human Rights abuses, ethnic reconciliation and illegal opium traders in Burma.

A topic of the future democratic form of Burma had also been discussed.

Freedom from fear

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's

latest book, "Freedom from fear" was appeared on the shelves in the Oslo book shops in both English and Norwegian version a day before the ceremony. The article "freedom from fear" was smuggled out from her besieged house. The book with the forward by Vaclav Havel was published by Penguin and edited by her husband Dr. Michael Aris.

(Reported by the All Burma Students' Democratic Front Information Office-Sweden)

Meeting in Amsterdam on January, the General Secretaries of the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) and of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), representing more than 100 million workers worldwide

CONDEMN- the recent wave of arrests Buddhist monks, and of other opposition personalities, including U Thumingala, as well as the arrest and detention of Kyi Maung, acting chairman of the National League for Democracy (NLD) and of other leading NLD personalities last September.

DEMAND- the unconditional release of political detainees and the lifting of the house arrest imposed on Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi and on General Tin Oo;

DEMAND- that the de- facto government of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) immediately convene the assembly elected more than seven months ago and restore all democratic rights including trade union rights in terms of the relevant ILO Conventions in particular Conventions Nrs. 87, 98, 141 and 151;

CALL UPON- the governments of the neighboring countries, and in particular that of Thailand, not to force political refugees to return to Burma, where widespread torture and assassination of political prisoners has been documented;

PROTEST- against recent arms sales by the People Republic of China and Yugoslavia to the Burmese military and call upon all governments to cease supplying arms to Burma;

CALL UPON- the government of Thailand to cease all economic and political collaboration with the SLORC;

CALL UPON- the governments of the United States, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany and Australia to increase the pressure they have exercised for the restoration of democratic rights and to use their influence in international organizations and institutions to ensure that such pressure is multiplied through these channels;

CALL UPON- the United Nations and the European Communities to impose comprehensive sanctions on Burma until representative government and the exercise of democratic rights is restored;

CALL UPON- companies with investments in Burma, notably Yukong, Anglo- Dutch Shell, Indemitsu, Petro- Canada, Amoco, Unocal, Broken Hill, Croft Exploration, Kirkland Resources, Premier Oil, Coca- cola, Pepsi-cola, Fritz Werner Industrieausrustungen and companies with fishing and teak logging operations in Thailand to suspend investments and operations in Burma until democratic rights are restored.

STATEMENT RELEASED BY NINE NOBEL LAUREATE

The military government of Burma, in power since 1962, has engaged in massive violations of human rights, particularly during the past forty years. Burma today is a totalitarian state. The military rules by force and terror. Not even a semblance of respect for political and civil rights exists. In May 1990 elections, despite strict controls on campaigning and despite leaders of the opposition National League for Democracy (NLD) being placed under house arrest ten months earlier, NLD candidates won 392 out of 485 seats in parliament. The pro-military National Unity Party won 10 seats.

The military prevented democratically elected leaders from taking office. Eighty of the elected NLD candidates were imprisoned, and three have died in detention. Many others are in hiding or exile. Two years earlier in 1988, when students led nationwide demonstrations for democracy, the military reacted with armed force, killing thousands of protesters. Political dissidents are routinely imprisoned and tortured. During the second half of 1989 alone, Amnesty International estimated that more than 3,000 persons were imprisoned for political reasons and also identified (19) detention centers where torture was regularly practiced.

During January and February of 1990, as many as 500,000 Burmese were forcibly expelled from their homes and relocated in new areas. Communities identified as particularly supportive of the opposition NLD were target of these relocation programs which are described by military authorities as beautification projects. In 1991 government civil servants were required to respond a questionnaire their loyalty to the military regime. Thousands of government employees who failed to respond correctly were purged from their jobs.

Over the years, many thou

sands of Burmese have been pressed into forced labor to work for the military. The regime has routinely rounded up people from cinemas, tea shops, and homes and forced them to transport supplies and to act as human mine-sweepers in support of military operations. Buddhist monks have been special targets of military repression. In October of 1990, the military ordered dissolution of all monastic orders except for the government-controlled Sangha Supreme Council, numbers of monks were killed and wounded in military attacks on monasteries, and an estimated 300-400 monks are currently being detained.

Burma's military force has expanded in size from 185,000 troops in 1988 to nearly 280,000 today. In order to both to finance increased military spending and to enrich the officer corps, the regime has despoiled natural and human resources. It permits the wholesale of thousands of square miles of ancient forests of teak. At this rate, Burma's vast teak forests- containing 80% of the world's teak- will be destroyed in a few years. The regime participates in and profits from the growth of processing of opium and its export as heroin to the outside world. It also countenances the sale into forced prostitution in Thailand of tens of thousands of Burmese juveniles, many 12 years of age and under.

We, therefore, call for action. We call on the military government to refrain from further violations of human rights and to transfer power to democratically elected representatives. Until the Burmese regime takes such steps, we call on other government to take the following action:

- Sales of military equipment to Burma should be prohibited.
- Programs of economic assistance to Burma should be halted.
- Sanctions on trade with and investment in Burma should be imposed.

CUT OFF DIPLOMATIC

RELATIONS WITH

BURMA

International Campaign on 10 December

To mark International Human Rights day and the ceremony in Oslo, Norway, when the Nobel Peace Prize was handed over to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's family in her absence, groups throughout Europe held demonstrations and vigils.

In *Oslo*, there was a mass torch-lit procession in the city center with Amnesty International and other groups. Many Expatriate Burmese and others had joined this rally.

In *London*, Amnesty International groups and then Burma Action Group held a torch-lit procession to and vigil outside the Burmese Embassy. They were joined by Buddhist monks, Burmese expatriates and VIPs.

In *Paris*, Amnesty International held a torch-lit demonstration.

In *Amsterdam*, Amnesty International held a torch-lit vigil outside the General Station during the evening rush-hour to reach a maximum number of comers.

In *Hamburg*, Burmese groups held a vigil outside the Burmese Embassy.

In *Italy*, too Amnesty International groups held a demonstration.

Similar events also took place in *America, Australia and Japan*.

BURMA ACTION COMMITTEE IN WASHINGTON D.C.

On Friday, 15 November 1991, at 12:00 o'clock Burma Action Meeting was held in Washington D. C. At that meeting, four issues - Human Rights by Janelle Diller, Economics by David Steinberg, Environment by Pam Weller, Legislation by legislative aide - were presented. During that meeting, Action Task Force (TFs) meeting on environment- rain forest, resources, oceans. Human Rights- ethnic people, students, refugees, monks, restoration of Democracy, torture, political prisoners and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi etc.; and Economic action - foreign investment, military purchases, ASEAN, opium, foreign aid were also held. Moreover, they discussed legislations and their theme on past, present and future possibilities and to extend their role as the nucleus for continuing action.

Dr. Sein Win, PM of NCGUB, attended and gave a speech to the gathering while lunching dinner. A video tape of "40 million Hostages" that exposes the present life of the Burmese people, slides from Kachin, Shan and Mon areas and from across the border into China were also showed.

On the following day, 16 November 1991, Congressman Neil Abercrombie (Hawaii) addressed at the evening program.

Finally, the meeting reached the planning for post- SLORC Burma. According to the decision of that meeting, all participants came to agree unanimously to stage various campaigns for Burma throughout the world. For its first step, they are going to campaign on 10 December, 1991 under the name of " Free Burma, Free Suu Kyi" that will be principally managed by the International Burmese Campaign (IBC).

The supporting organizations to the meeting were : International Burma Campaign, Amnesty International USA, Burma Peace Foundation, Karuna Center, Buddhist Peace Fellowship, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Pax Christi, Synapses, Canadian Friends of Burma, International Human Rights Law Group, Nonviolence International, International Center (Washington D. C.), Institute for Asia Democracy, Burma Review, United methodists for the UN, Committee for the restoration of Democracy in Burma, Congressional Human Rights Foundation, Campaign for Peace and Democracy, Baptist Peace Fellowship, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom USA, Burmese Relief Center- Japan, Buddhist Relief Mission, International Net Work of Engaged Buddhists- Japan, International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Episcopal Peace Fellowship and Burma Action Group- U.K.

Letter to General Saw Maung and members of Slorc by (9) Nobel Laureate

Dear General Saw Maung and members of the State Law and Order Restoration Council,

As Nobel Peace Prize Laureates we writing to you to voice out concern for our fellow Novelist, Aung San Suu Kyi, and for the people of your country. As the lack of human rights and democracy in your country has caused much suffering and distress, we urged you to enter into dialogue with those leaders you have detained and so take a step in bringing peace to your troubled land.

In times of crisis and tension, nothing restrains the destructive forces of war and violence and halts the downward spiral of hatred and bitterness as does open, honest and genuine dialogue between parties to the conflict. By opening up your country to free political debate, by engaging in discussions with your political opponents, you would not only advance the cause of peace, but you would also be holding true to the honorable Buddhist qualities of humility, understanding, compassion and tolerance. We hope that these praiseworthy principles will guide you in your decision- making.

One tame honored Buddhist teaching is that of showing respect for all living things and not intentionally harming any living creature. We ask that you honor your country's noble spiritual tradition by upholding all those rights which safeguard the sanctity and value of human life.

Our deepest wish is that through the restoration of human rights and the establishment of democracy the people of your country come to know a genuine peace and develop a new future. We pledge to help in this process by all ethical means at our disposal.

That letter was signed by, Bishop Desmond Tutu (1984), Dr. Elle Wiesel (1986), Dr. Willy Brandt (1971), Mrs. Malread Magulre (1976), The Dalai Lama (1989), Dr. Linus Pauling (1962) Dr. Oscar Arias (1987), Dr. Bernard Lown (1985) (International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War), Ma. Mavis Robertson (1910) (International Peace Bureau).

General Assembly



A/C.3/46/L.43
25 November 1991

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Forty-sixth session
Third Committee
Agenda item 98 (c)

HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS: HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS AND REPORTS OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEURS AND REPRESENTATIVES

Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Norway, Panama/Poland, Romania, Sweden; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America : draft resolution

Bhutan, India, Malta, Samoa, Chile, Bulgaria, Mauritius extra co-sponsors

Situation in Myanmar

The General Assembly,

Reaffirming that all Members States have an obligation to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms stated in the Charter of the United Nations and elaborated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1/ and the International Covenants on Human Rights 2/ and other applicable human rights instruments.

Aware that, in accordance with the Charter, the Organization promotes and encourages respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, and that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government"

1. Resolution 217A(!!!)
2. See resolution 2200 A (XXI)

A/ C. 3/46/ L.43
ENGLISH
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Recalling that the Government of Myanmar has assured the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies of its intention to take all necessary steps towards democracy in the light of the elections held in 1990,

Nothing with concern substantive available information indicating a grave human rights situation in Myanmar,

Welcoming the Secretary-General's statement on the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Aung San Suu Kyi and his repeated appeals for her early release from house arrest,

1. Takes note of the assurances of the Government of Myanmar to take firm steps towards the establishment of a democratic State and looks forward to the early implementation of this commitment;
2. Expresses its concern at the information on the grave human rights situation and stresses the need for an early improvement of this situation
3. Expresses its concern also at the continued deprivation of liberty of a number of democratically elected political leaders and urges the Government of Myanmar to allow all citizens to participate freely in the political process in accordance with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
4. decides to continue its consideration of this question at its forty-seventh session.

BURMA ISOLATED AT THE UN

The military rulers of Myanmar (better known as Burma) suffered a major diplomatic defeat at the United Nations in New York today. When a resolution highly critical of the human rights situation in Burma was adopted by consensus. The resolution also supported the UN Secretary General's appeal for the release of the current Nobel Peace Laureate, Aung San Suu Kyi, who is in her 3rd year of house arrest in Rangoon.

The resolution covered two main themes: the failure of the military to respect the principle that the "will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of the government " and " the grave human rights situation in Myanmar

The resolution's welcome to "the Secretary General's statement on the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Aung San Suu Kyi and his repeated appeals for her early appeal from house arrest " clearly encapsulates both themes, since Aung San Suu Kyi is the Burmese people's chosen leader (witness the results of the 1990 General elections) as well as being an individual human being suffering violation of a wide range of human rights. Implied in the whole resolution is the international community's deep concern about all the democratically elected political leaders in detention in Burma, who symbolize the suffering of a whole people under a brutal regime.

In the debate, the Myanmar permanent representative in New York, Ambassador Kyaw Min, objected strongly to the resolution, and defended his country's human rights record and progress towards democracy. With a degree of linguistic skill, he succeeded in speaking about Aung San Suu Kyi without mentioning her name, referring to her as " a person referred to in the text " (of the resolution), and " that person He said it was totally inappropriate that there should be a country-specific resolution on Burma at this time, but, aware that all other countries had agreed not to oppose the resolution, he did not call for a vote.

In a speech after the adop-

tion of the resolution, the Japanese Ambassador Mr. Katsumi Sezaki, said that " this resolution demonstrates the concern of the International community on the human rights situation in Myanmar" and that" much still remains to be done to improve the situation in that country.

Diplomats commented afterwards that the adoption of the resolution was a clear message of censure to the Burmese military government from the whole of the international community. What was especially significant, they said, was that the ASEAN countries had taken the unprecedented step of agreeing to a resolution critical of a country in their region.

"THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE
SHALL BE THE BASIS
OF THE AUTHORITY
OF THE GOVERNMENT

Others noted that that with the possible exception of South Africa, this was the first time a country-specific resolution had been passed by consensus at the General Assembly the first time it was introduced.

Experts claimed that the resolution broke the new ground in procedural terms also: the Myanmar Ambassador had argued that since his country was already being examined by the Commission on Human Rights under a confidential procedure, the General Assembly would prejudice this examination by considering the draft resolution. But the international community is apparently so irritated by the activities of the Burmese junta that it was willing to over-ride such consideration, in the interests of taking effective action. And by establishing this precedent, it increases the flexibility of international human rights machinery.

Diplomats also stressed the increase in international concern about Burma over the last year - at the 1990 session of the General Assembly there

was not sufficient support for a resolution on Burma, also to move from that position to a consensus resolution is, in UN terms, a mighty leap.

One important aspect of the proceedings was that the resolution was co-sponsored by a wide range of countries- all the Third World blocs - Africa, Asia and Latin America- were represented, as were Western and Eastern Europe and North America.

The country which the co-sponsors had chosen to lead the negotiations on the resolution was Sweden, and the Swedish diplomat who did the most of the work acknowledged the importance of Dr. Sein Win and his colleagues from the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB) in lobbying for the resolution among the New York diplomats. He said that he had received very favorable comments about Dr. Sein Win's delegation from the various country missions they had visited. It should be heartening to the Burmese people that their chosen leaders are able to be effective diplomatically, even though the Burmese military have so far refused to transfer power.

The (NCGUB) is the "Government in Exile " of the democratic forces in Burma, being composed of members of parliament elected in the general elections of 1990, when the National League for Democracy, whose General Secretary Aung San Suu Kyi was even then under house arrest, won a landslide victory. The military, however, went back on their promise to transfer power to the elected representatives, and rather than asking them to form the government of the country, started arresting them (there are now an estimated 70 elected members of parliament, and hundreds of their party workers in jail in Burma; some have died there, at least one as a result of torture). In the face of this repression, the elected parliamentarians decided to send some of their members to a safe place to form a provisional government, and Dr. Sein Win, a cousin of Aung San Suu Kyi, was chosen to

(Continued on Page, 11)

BEWARE OF DEMAGOGUES, AND

Politics in a democratic environment is not a pretty sight, as anyone following the antics of politicians in the news media can attest to. But then, democracy is not for people who view the world through black-and-white lenses, nor is it for those who yearn for "heroic" saviors or permanent solutions to deep-seated problems. Democracy is certainly not for those who view politics as beyond the concerns of ordinary men and women. It cannot survive or grow in a world populated by such people.

In a democracy, politics is not a specialized arena. It is a free and open space, a place where all are free to enter, any *po-thon-nya*, con-man, demagogue, or charlatan can participate in almost any race for leadership or for seats in representative bodies. Politics in a democracy takes place in a free and open, and unity political market-place wherein all sort of aspiring leaders peddle their wares-- most of which are admittedly not worth, for example, even the paper on which the current Ne Win - SLORC kyatnotes are printed on.

A free and open political market-place is the price we have to pay for democracy and freedom, and if freedom and democracy are what we desire, we must learn to operate in such an environment. Operating in a free and open political market-place requires from us all certain attitudes and sophistication, precisely because such a market-place is both complex and complicated. As in all kinds of market-place, there are, essentially, in democratic politics two sets of players - those who sell political products and those who buy them.

Those who sell are politicians, leaders-in-waiting, and leaders who aspire to attain and maintain power for

as long as possible. What they sell are solutions to problems, dreams of "national glory" or "national unity", message of salvation and/or hatred (of "foreigners", "traitors", etc.), or promises of deliverance from various "dangers" and "threats", imagined or real. Like all sellers, politicians often to create demands for their wares. For example, they have to conjure up pseudo-histories of past glory, myths of present and future greatness, exaggerate prevailing problems and possible dangers. Further, politicians, and and etc., like sellers in any market place, must belittle their rivals and the wares touted by the competition. The buyers, those who buy in the political market-place, are the public, i.e., the ordinary men and women. They are the constituency to whom leaders address themselves. In a democratic political market-place, ultimate power, as in any free and open market-place, lies with the buyers. It is the buyers who give shape to the kind of leadership and the contours of politics.

Inside Burma, however, there is no democracy, Who shall shape Burma's destiny, who will rule, who will prosper and who shall not- they are determined by bullets and bayonets. Gangster-bosses in uniform have made themselves rulers, and they have divided the country into private estates and fiefdoms, and are doing whatever pleases them with Burma's resources. They have, hence, enriched themselves through plunder and rape of the land.

Democracy is not for those who yearn for "heroic" saviors

Nonetheless, the aspiration in Burma for freedom and democracy is alive, and it will never be extinguished because democracy is the wave of the future. Moreover, the people will never forget the many patriotic thousands gunned down on the streets of Rangoon and other towns. They will never forget that Ne Win and SLORC bosses are common robbers, men without pon or theika, whose presence at the helm is a disgrace and an insult to Burma. The people will never forget that they are human beings and have the right to live in freedom. Even though the people are now enslaved, they know that one day, they will reassert their dignity as free men and women, and they are convinced that those who have chained them will be swept away into the dustbin of history.

Inside Burma, and especially in the border areas, there are millions of Karen, Mon, Shan, Kachin, Chin, Arakanese, Burman, etc., who are bravely fighting against the Ne Win - SLORC warlords. And overseas, there are thousands of Burman-borns, all well-educated and endowed with skills and knowledge which have enabled them to live comfortably in new lands. It is these people - those courageously resisting medieval warlord despotism, and those who have lived overseas as proud and free individuals - who will most probably free Burma from the clutches of the SLORC criminals and restore democracy.

It is along the Burma-borns living overseas that the seeds of Burmese democracy will germinate. There are now about sixty overseas Burmese groups spread all over the globe, each informing the world about Burma's tragedy and aspirations, and each attempting to weave together a cohesive front for democracy. However, because the movement for democracy has been democratic,

there have been complaints about the disunity of the democratic forces, the squabbles and muck- raking among aspiring leaders, divisive factions and groups, and so on. There has also been some yearning for a single and strong leader, and for some form of monolithic unity which, it is imagined, will sweep the SLORC gang from power and restore to Burma and its people, a great and bright future. Though understandable, such complaints and yearnings are symptomatic of the prevailing misconception and miscomprehension of democratic politics. The fact of the matter is, democracy is not about the " masses" or the country (or the nation) being led by leaders and movements towards goals chosen by "the leader", or "the party". If we really desire democracy, such a fascists approach to politics must be junked.

Closely linked to the notion of great leader" is the ideal of the fascist leadership is the ideal of the great leader". Consequently, there have appeared aspiring leaders posing as the only person capable of saving Burma. Such persons have claimed, by virtue of his/ her contacts with " influential circles" in the United States, Great Britain, Europe or whatever, that he/she is the sole representative - leader of the whole democratic movement. Some have attempted to monopolize all links between the outside world and the pro - democracy movement, and have regularly slandered all those they view as potential rivals. Such

and- only " savior - hero" of Burma, are only, in the final analysis, sellers in the political market- place. Ambitious demagogue, bad- egg politicians, and disagreements and diversity are the price we pay for freedom and democracy. Competition, disputes, and debates are at the heart of democratic politics. Most relevant in a democracy is the fact that the most crucial element in politics is not the politicians or leaders (the sellers of political wares) Rather, it is the general public, the buyers, that hold the key and shape the contours of politics. It is the buyers, not the sellers, who are in charge,

Hence, in a democratic political market - place, the only way by which democracy can be preserved and sustained, good leaders can emerge, demagogues can be got rid of, and working unity thus achieved, is through the discriminating judgments of the buyers of political wares, and the ability to assert themselves as the constituency to which leaders are accountable to.

This in effect means that we, in our role as the public, i.e., the constituency of politics, must also acquire and cultivate the habits of free and rational individuals. For example, we must dare to freely speak our minds, dare to contradict those in position of authority, dare to question long accepted myths and pseudo - histories (and even statistical figures and official- sounding reports), dare to be indivi-

son/ daughter of some distinguished so- and- so, is " rich and famous", or is a friend of a friend of a friend, or because he/ she is intimidating or awesome (or charming and charismatic) More importantly, one should not allow oneself to be led simply because one does not understand what is going on. To do so, i.e., being non- rational and irresponsible (or head- like), is to be responsible for the death of democracy and for the end of freedom.

In actuality, there is no magic in politics, Politics, like economics, is shaped by rationality, a rationality that is often distorted by manipulation, i.e., the manipulation of history, of statistics and reports, of facts, of emotions (such as greed, fear, envy, self- delusions), and so on, by the sellers of political wares. In our everyday economic life, we are too confronted with similar manipulations through newspaper advertisements, commercials on radio and television, articles in trade papers and magazines, etc. Nonetheless, we practice the essence of democracy when we, for example, buy food, rent or buy a

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ambitious and demagogic characters have even attempted to discredit the legally elected and legitimate representatives of the people - the MPs who have had the courage to raise the banner of freedom overseas.

However, demagogic and ambitious characters who aspire to be the one-

dualistic (i.e., take pride in being different and independent - minded). And, in choosing or supporting leaders and programs (wares touted by aspiring leaders), one must be careful not to assent because the aspiring leader in question has " powerful connections" or is influential in certain important circles, nor because he/ she is the

house (or a car), and when we go to a doctor or a lawyer That is, we do not engage in a certain economic transaction merely because we are so commanded by an armed thug, nor solely because the seller is attractive or superior. One acts because one chooses to do so (for good and sound, rational and well- informed reasons, more or less)

We should assert ourselves in a similar way in politics. There is no reasons why we, as rational and thinking individuals, should not act rationally in the political market- place as well. It is time that we also extend into the realm of politics the rationality and responsibility, and the conscious awareness of the large picture, which

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we routinely exercise in our everyday non- political transactions and decisions.

Whether, or not, the democracy movement will take root and grow stronger, depends largely on the ability of the "Burmese people, especially those overseas", to operate in a democratic marketplace as wise and discriminate buyers. Faced with an active, assertive, well- informed, and discriminating constituency, leaders-in - waiting and political groups will be forced, like sellers in the economic sphere, not only to come up with better products and improved performances, but also to work together to improve the marketplace, i.e., the movement for democracy. Therein lies the seeds of victory and a democratic Burma.

(by Eygene Thaike Yawngnhe)



(Continued from Page 8)

lead it. He established his government at the end of 1990 in Manerplaw, in the territory of the Karen, one of the national minorities of Burma which have been fighting Rangoon since independence from the British in 1948. The NCGUB has come to an understanding with these national minorities on the outlines of a future Federal Structure for Burma, thus providing a good chance that when power is finally transferred to the elected parliamentarians, there can be a political solution to the 40-year old civil war.

David Arnott
29 November 1991

A BURMESE STUDENT INHUMANLY KILLED

On 4 November 1991, Ye Soe Aung (18), a member of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front came to Nat Ein Daung, the Burmese name for a village on the Thai side of the country's border with Burma, from camp (102) of ABSDF to buy supplies together with other members.

At around 8:00 p.m., three students reportedly became involved in a fight at a Nat Ein Daung Restaurant with a number of Thai, possibly including police officers in civilian dress. The students fled, but at about 9:00 p.m.,

The next morning, members of the ABSDF and KNU approached the police to ask for Ye Soe Aung's release. The police were alleged initially to have said he had already been released on the same day. The ABSDF and KNU are understood also to have made inquiries about Ye Soe Aung's whereabouts with other Thai authorities, including the village headman, local militia leaders, regular Thai army officers, military intelligence officers and the Border Patrol Police, who allegedly denied Ye Soe Aung was in their custody but said he had been released. However, the ABSDF and KNU have been unable to locate him after they had searched for him within two days.

On 10 December 1991, Ye Soe Aung's body was discovered abandoned at about 4 kilometer North West of Nat Ein Daung. His head and the entire body was stained with blood and showed signs of serious injury. Examination of his body showed two gunshot wounds: one at his head entered the left cheek and penetrated through the right Occiput and the other on the right abdomen, bruises and haematoma and deep cutting by sharp knife on his chest, abdomen, arms and leg and loss of teeth. That provided strong proof that he died of severe head injuries inflicted while in the custody of the police who arrested him at Nat Ein Daung village of Kaanjanaburii province and of gunshot. Four police officers had involved in tortured on the night of his arrest.

The Amnesty had appealed to the Premier, Interior Minister and the governor of Kaanjanaburii Province for an immediate and impartial investigation to be launched to determine what had happened and how he died, and that any authorities who may be responsible be brought to justice according to Thai law.

ACTION! ACTION! ACTION! ACTION! ACTION!

While there was a volleyball tournament in Rangoon University (RU) campus on 9th December, some students distributed leaflets demanding for the release of 1991 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other political prisoners. In that evening, some students were arrested at their homes by Military Intelligence. Among them Bo Bo Htun, a final year student of Physics was badly tortured and it is believed that he will die soon.

On 10 December, thousands of student rallied in the Rangoon University Campus and chanted slogans which demanded for the immediate release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other political prisoners, and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. In that afternoon, students dispersed peacefully. During that evening, approximately, 150 students including 45 female students who had participated in demonstration were arbitrarily arrested at their homes.

At 10:00 a.m., on December 11, students gathered again in RU Campus and those from other three Rangoon colleges joined in support of demonstration in RU. Like the previous two days, students were again arrested on the streets, in tea-shops, at their homes and in Taungoo and Dagon students dormitories in RU campus. Sixty four students were arrested from that two dormitories.

Two students can be identified: Zaw Min Khing, final year student of Geology and Ba Htoo Maung, third year student of Botany were arrested at Taungoo and Dagon dormitories. May Thwe Oo (female), 2nd year student of Physics was arrested in the Campus and approximately 180 students from Geography were arrested in their classroom, including a female lecturer. The lecturer was under arrest because of asking the riot police and the soldiers not to arrest her students. At that day students were also arrested at their homes. Three students can be identified: Thuzar Myo Aung, Aye Aye Win (both female) from Rangoon University and Htun Aung Naing, third year RIT, another six students were arrested at their homes at the night of 11 December, and directly taken to the Insein jail in Rangoon. Htun Aung Naing fled to the Thai-Burma border after the military and then returned back to Burma on 20th September, 1988. It was known that students who fled to Thai-Burma border after the military coup and returned back to Burma, were also arrested on 10th and 11th December, even though they did not take part in demonstration.

At night of 13 December 1991, Mo Cho Thin (female), 2nd year student of Geology from Rangoon University (Hlaing Campus) was arrested at her home, on Mingyi Road of Insein Township.

On 18 December 1991, Aung Myo Htun and Soe Thu Ya Htun, final year of Geology students were arrested at their homes by the military intelligence.

Approximately, 900 students were arrested at their homes, tea-shops, dormitories and on the streets, and sent to the Insein jail and interrogation center. These detained students are prisoners of conscience who were arrested for their peaceful assembly and expression. We members of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front were greatly concerned with the suppression on peaceful demonstrations in Burma and demanded for the immediate release of detained students and other political prisoners.

We call on governments and people all over the world who admire democracy and human rights to condemn the brutal suppression of Rangoon military regime and exert effective political and economic pressure on them.

**Central Committee
All Burma Students' Democratic Front**

New Investment in Burma

South Korea's Dae Woo company and SLORC had set up a new joint-venture named Burma-Korean Timber Cooperation. The investment is US 3.2 million dollar and it intends to produce ply woods.

SLORC's Military Offensive in Nat Eing Daung

pushed the new influx of refugees

A fierce battle broke out between the KNU, student forces and the SLORC army at Nat Eing Daung six kilometers away from Thai-Burma border opposite Ban Etong in Tambon Pilok, Thong Phe Phum district. About 700 SLORC's troops with motors and heavy machine guns started to attack KNU and students hill-top outpost at about 10:00 am on 18th December. It was known that about 1000 civilians were rounded up and forced to serve as porters during this military offensive to Nat Eing Daung. As soon as the fighting broke out, SLORC forces bombarded the outpost with heavy artillery shells. Eight motor shells fired by the SLORC army smashed into Ban Hin Kong village of Thai side. During the course of fighting, about 50 SLORC soldiers crossed the border 300 meters into Thai territory to attack the outpost from the rear. The intruders lowered

a Thai flag from a flag pole near the Karen and students position. It was also known that fifty soldiers were carried from Three Pagoda Pass to Nat Eing Daung just prior to the fighting by trucks owned by Khun Siahuk, a logging contractor with Pathumthani Logging Company. Pe than and Chit Lwin from Student

soldiers sacrificed their lives in the course of defense. Soe Soe and Shu Kyi from Regt. (101) were captured by the SLORC army and had been killed by them. The outpost was overrun at 8:30 am on 19th December. A Karen village was burnt down by the SLORC army. About 300 Karen villagers fled to Thai side to seek refuge. Fifty Thai villagers were also forced to move from Ban Hin Kong village to escape from the motor shells fired by the SLORC army.

to attend a dinner in Sangkhlaburi, under the pretext of trying to resolve the conflict between the Mon and the logging company. Dinner was scheduled at the floating restaurant in Sanghla for 6: 00 p.m on 3rd December, 1991.

However, at 7:00 p.m. an officer from the Palad's office came to the restaurant and told the representatives that it would be better to meet at the district office. However, instead of going to the Palad's office, they were taken to the Police Station. Three of the New Mon State Party officers, Gen. Thaw Mon, General Secretary Nai Ro Sa, Reginald John O'Connell, and Khun Sa, were arrested and charged as illegal immigrants, even though they had been invited by Thai authorities to attend the meeting. It is believed that one of the detainees possess papers entitling him to stay in the Sangkhlaburi district but that these papers were ignored by the Palad's office. Mon sources have also reported that a local police officer said that the decision to arrest the NMSP leaders came from the Ministry of Interior and the Burmese Embassy.

It was known that three NMSP leaders whom mentioned above were sentenced to serve three months term imprisonment.

ARRESTED THREE MON LEADERS

khun Siahuk, a logging contractor with Pathumthani, a logging company was first involved with the SLORC when his trucks carried Burmese troops during the SLORC's successful offensive on Three Pagoda Pass early in 1990.

One of his truck was blown up later in the year when he refused to stop using sections of the Tharibyuzayat_Three Pagoda Pass road which had been declared "no-go" areas by the Karen and the Mon, because one of that road's primary functions is as a supply line for the SLORC. Following that incident, Mon health officers who had already been detained for three months as "illegal immigrants" were not released until a ransom of 1.4 million Baht was paid. Also at that time the ministry of the Interior tried to

stop relief organizations, including Medecins Sans Frontiers, from giving aid to the Mon National Relief Committee. That aid has since resumed.

During November this year, Another truck belonging to Khun Siahuk, was blown up by the Mon National Liberation Army, after he refused to pay the New Mon State Party the standard tax for logging in a Mon controlled area inside Burma. No logging employees were held or jailed.

Following this incident, the Palad (Assistant District Officer) of Sangkhlaburi invited the leadership of the New Mon State Party and the Mon National Relief Committee to come from their camps on the border

Freedom and

Democracy

for BURMA

within a year.

Advocate meets Myanmar leader

Rangoon (Kyodo) : Japanese independent human rights advocate Prof. Yozo Yokota met Friday with Myanmar junta leader Maj. Gen. Khin Nyunt at the state guest house.

The talks between Yokota and the secretary of the ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council were "frank and cordial," official sources said.

Yokota also visited the Insein Jail near Rangoon Friday afternoon, accompanied by Jacob Moller, a senior official of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

It was not clear whether the two were able to talk to prisoners. The Japanese rights leader arrived in Rangoon on Monday for a six-day visit to review human rights in Myanmar.

(Japan Times Sunday, October 27, 1991)

SOLIDARITY MEETING HELD IN TOKYO

Thirty people from six countries gathered November 16 - 17 at Takaradera, a temple in Tokyo Prefecture, to plan strategies for future action to support the struggle for Burmese democracy including activities for December 10, Human Rights Day when Nobel Peace Prize will be awarded to Aung San Suu Kyi. The meeting was organized and sponsored by Burma Relief Centre — Japan (Nara), International Network For Burma Relief (Nagoya), and Association for Burmese Issues in Kansai (Kyoto). This meeting was held simultaneously with a major international conference in Washington D. C. The results of the two conferences will be exchanged so that the groups involved will be able to work closely together on all future campaigns.

The participants unanimously condemned the illegitimate regime of the military junta, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), for brutally suppressing democracy. They agreed that the United Nations should recognize the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma as the legitimate government of Burma.

The group is initiating a campaign to urge the Foreign Ministry of Japan and Mr. Michio Watanabe, the new Foreign Minister, in particular, to co-sponsor the resolution currently under discussion by the United Nations General Assembly to condemn the SLORC. The group welcome and actively support the proposal by U. S. Senator Patrick Daniel Moynihan to extend to the UN the economic sanctions and the complete ban on sales of European Community.

Recognizing that eighty per cent of the foreign aid received by Burma is from Japan, the group adopted a resolution urging the Japanese Government to reconsider and to completely revise its Burma policy, so that it reflects the will of the Burmese and Japanese peoples. The group will also carry out campaigns aimed at companies currently doing business in Burma. They will point out to Idemitsu

Oil, Mitsubishi Cooperation, Mitsui and Company, Toshiba Cooperation and others that any investments in Burma at this time only lend support to SLORC.

In coordination with Amnesty International, Japanese Section, the group will continue calling for the immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience in Burma, including Aung San Suu Kyi. An information exchange is also being established to ensure the rapid transfer of materials in English, Japanese, Burmese.

A congratulatory statement was drafted to send to Dr. Naing Aung, newly elected chairman of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front, and others members of the new Central Committee. The participants resolved to continue raising funds to provide for essential support for Burmese students and refugees along the borders of Thailand and Bangladesh. Renewed support for the International Boycott of Thai Airways was pledged and further actions planned.

(International Network for Burma Relief
Burma Relief Center_Japan)

ARMS AND DRUGS CONSPIRACY BETWEEN CHINA AND BURMA

On 6 November in Mogawng in Kachin Independence Army (KIA) 11th Battalion operation area, KIA combined forces of Tactical 3, 4 and 11th Battalion have engaged the SLORC army 27th Regiment led by Capt. Win Chit which had resulted in, (3) death from their side and (1) reportedly killed in the fighting and (5) wounded (3 male, 2 female). From KIA side, (1) soldier was killed and (6) wounded. KIA has captured (2) assault rifles and various rounds of ammunition.

The SLORC delegation led by Divisional Commander Kyaw Thant met with the People's Republic of China (PRC) delegation led by senior Col. Shi Go Shwin at the Wanding Hotel in the Sino-Burma town of Wanding on September 24th. The following day Chinese trucks carrying covered loads arrived in Wanding. The Chinese set up heavy security along the cross border motorway. Burmese military trucks met the Chinese trucks and exchanged their loads. The radio message from the SLORC's army intercepted by KIA, confirmed the contents as military equipment. Also the local people of Wanding reported that those people living in that border crossing were asked to help in exchanging loads. The contents of the SLORC's trucks which were transferred to the Chinese trucks were not known. There has been a continuous flow of drugs to PRC and becomes a transit route for international drugs flow. In September, one ton of Burmese heroin was captured in Tibetan-Napalese border. The transportation route happened to be all along the Chinese motorway. Beijing has accepted US supplying them with sophisticated weaponry. It is questionable whether the Chinese authorities are really committed to drug eradication.

HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN KARENNI STATE

Location: Demoso Town, Karenni State

Date/Time: -2nd week January, 1991

On the Demoso bazaar day 2nd week of January, 1991 at 9:00a.m, Sie Reh (38 years) who lives in Dae Law Ku village met soldiers from (55) Division on the way. He fled away as he saw the soldiers. Unfortunately, he was captured by the military troops later He was illtreated and kicked at the body and crashed with butt. Because of these injuries he was sent to Demoso township hospital. A few days later, he was shifted to Loikaw township hospital was suffered from right eye blindness and left hand fractured.

Location : Fartima Village, Loikaw Township

Date/Time: 23.1. 1991 at 3:25 p.m.

On the 23rd January 1991, at about 3:25 p.m (4) teachers named U Shar Reh, U Joseph, Daw Pyu Pyu Myint, Daw Nyunt Nyunt Wai who came back from village primary school. When they arrived at Chit Kel village, Aung Zay Ya, Corporal of Pada Nyin Sadi troops from Mounted Artillery Regiment, asked them drunkenly " Do you know three of ours were killed? Didn't you hear any shooting? Did you see someone flee away from here? etc." Then they answered politely "we neither see someone nor hear any noise here, Sir. We are teachers from Fartima primary school". In the meanwhile, one of the soldiers pointed a gun to them and shouted "Must I shoot you?" in frequently. Then they kicked and boxed the teachers. At that time they saw two children and two adults on a bullock cart and ordered them to descend and tortured them.

A few moment later, another couple who returned from a monastery was also ill- treated by the soldiers. On the next day, the soldiers robbed 600 Kyats from U Lu Reh and another 500 Kyats from U Wee Reh who live in Pa Kyel village.

Location : Between Shar Daw and Pan Chyune High Way Road

Date/Time: 7. 2. 1991.

On the 7th of February 1991, a SLORC military troop was ambushed by opposition troops. In that ambush many were killed and wounded on the SLORC side. In hatred, soldiers burnt down totally nearby villages and houses and paddy barns from (5) villages named Daw Klaw Leh, Daw Ku Neht, Daw Ktaku, Daw TaYoe and Daw Pusi were also destroyed.

Location : Lae Htwet Village, Loikaw Township

Date/Time: 25. 2. 1991 in the evening

On 25 February 1991, (50) soldiers from No. (54) Infantry regiment of SLORC encamped in Lae Htwet village. In the meanwhile, Corporal Aung Thein (Arakanese) killed his superior officer Capt. Tin Maung Oo whose dead body was disfigured.

Then they sent his decay body to Loikaw Township Hospital at dusk. After doctors and nurses testified the circumstance they found the corpse was belong to Aung Thein<Arakanese nationality, 28 years and died in action. On the next day, they buried Capt. Tin Maung Oo secretly at the cemetery. The actual happening was reported to No. (54) Infantry Regiment Commander Lieut. Col. Nyunt Phe and Tactical Commander Col. Maung Kyi. But the report was disguised as CaptTin Maung Oo died in action and Corporal Aung Thein died of malaria. No one could not figure out either the Captain and the Corporal were killed in the combat field or Captain died in action and Corporal died of cerebral malaria which raises doubts.

Location : Loikaw

Date/Time : 6. 3.1991

On 6 March 1991, a porter who returned from Huay Pon Long and Sop Pai area told about his actual experiences. He testified that he was conscripted as a porter under No. (115) and No. (114) Light Infantry SLORC Regiment of No. (55) Division for a long time.

On 24 November 1990, at 7:00 a.m., (300) Yebet prisoners escorted by No. (214) Light Infantry Regiment of No.(11) Division to Loikaw. Then on 26 November 1990, they sent all prisoners to Huay Pon Long and Sop Pai area for a new road construction. They were given inadequate food and ill- treated. Due to lack of food, they were suffering from malnutrition and other contagious disease. Some porters were used as human mine- sweepers and (100) of prisoners died.

Location : Loikaw

Date/Time :2. 3.1991.

On the 2nd of March 1991, (200) Yebet prisoners were sent to Loikaw escorted by No. (101) Light Infantry SLORC Regiment. Some Yebet were sent to Huay Pon Long< Sop Pai area for a new road construction. In March 1991, someone saw (200) Yebet wearing white prisoners uniform in Sop Pai.

Location : Pheh Su village, boikaw township /

Date/ Time: February, 1991.

In the last week of February, 1991, soldiers from No. (55) Division accused (8) villagers as cattle smugglers of selling illegally to Thailand. The villagers had to pay them 9500 Kyats and reported to SLORC.

Location : Sie Bu village< Demoso Township

Date/Time: 18. 3. 1991

On 18 March 1991, Lieut. Aung Myint Aye from No. (54) Infantry SLORC Regiment was killed. He got three injuries in the head and other parts of the body. In the previous days villagers and some soldiers were constantly ill-treated under his command. He was also very notorious for complying with wanton women.

Location : Lawpita, Loikaw township

Date/Time : 17. 7. 1991, within 5:00 p.m. and 7: 00 p.m.

On 17 July 1991, (5) villagers___Khu Maung Nait (son of U Pha), Khu Theik Maung (son of U Maung Ba, Naung Yah A. Quarter), Laung Chue (son of U Pree), U Heik Mee (son of U Lin, 6-mile village) and Khu Paulu (son of U Tu Leik, Naung Yah A. Quarter)___were killed by soldiers from No. (72) Infantry SLORC Regiment. They were accused of suspicion under the act No. (17- A) and contact with rebels. Soldiers took away 100,000 Kyats from the victims.

Location : Lan Kaw village, Moe Byeh

Date/Time : 7-5-1991

On 7th May, 1991, No. (94) and No.(54) Infantry SLORC regiment burnt down the village. An 80 years old man died in the fire. Even they knew an man was left in the house, they did not have any pity upon the villagers.

Location: Daw Taw Koo village, Demoso Township

Date and time: July, 1991

In July, 1991, the military regime evicted the villagers from Daw Taw Koo village to another place by force. Then the troop seized took away all properties which remained in their houses without any compensation.

Location: Phruso Township

Date and time : 15-9-1991

On 15th September, No.(102) Infantry SLORC regiment came into Phruso and arrested U Pheh Tu, 25 years. Then he was killed by the troop.

Location : Tha Pho village, Demoso Township

Date and time : 4-9-1991 (4:00 pm)

On the 4th September, 1991, at 4:00 pm, No.(72) Infantry SLORC regimen came into the village and killed U Pheh Tu, 75 years. Then they took six cattle, one buffalo and a

pig belonging to U Pheh Tu. Meanwhile, 2 civilians are ill-treated by the military for under suspicion of connection with rebels.

Location : Law Kya village, Phruso Township

Date and time : 20-9-91

On the 20th September, 1991, No.(102) Infantry SLORC regimen reached Law Kya village and called Ko Nga Reh, 20 years. They took him outside the village and killed him there. They accused him of an agent of rebels who opposed to Rangoon military government.

Location - Htu Klu Daw village, Phruso Township

Date and time - 3-10-91

On the 3rd October, 1991, No.(102) Infantry SLORC regiment reached Htu Klu Daw village and called U Mee Reh, Liklaw Reh and other two villagers into the forest and killed them.

Location - Law Plar village, Phruso Township

Date and time-8-10-91

On 8th October, 1991, No. (4) company of No.(102) Infantry SLORC regiment reached Law Plar village. They arrested the headman, a pastor, and other 3 villagers. They tortured them and put the head of the headman in a plastic bag , poured down water and after that they released them.

Location : Daw Takeh village, Phruso Township

Date and time : 9-10- 91 at 11:00 pm

On the 9th of October, 1991, at about 11:00 pm, a company of No. (102) Infantry SLORC regiment came into the village and killed Ko Nyag Reh, 19 years without any reasons or interrogation.

Location : Daw Takeh village, Phruso Township

Date and time : 11-10-91, 12:00 noon

On the 11th of October, 1991, at noon, a company from No. (102) Infantry SLORC regiment reached Daw Takeh village and killed Lu Reh, 18 years without any causes. The SLORC forced the villagers to evict before 15th November, 1991.

We have all entered this struggle for democracy because we believe that we can win.

So also if someone were to ask me whether I believe we can win in our fight for democracy, I should reply honestly, "Yes, we can \and because I believe we can, I have chosen to take part

**Daw Aung San Suu Kyi
National Day of Burma,
3 December, 1988**

Human Rights Abuses in Karen state

Date 1.11. 1991

At about (4) p.m., on the 1st November ,1991, soldiers from Division (77) of SLORC army entered Kyauk Hpa village, Hlaing Bwae Township and opened fired into it. In that event, (2) female named Mi Maw (38) years and Naw Ni (14) years were injured. The first one got wounded at waist and the rest was at shin bone. After the wounds were bandaged, the soldiers ordered to bring them to the Kamamaung Hospital.

Date 1.11.1991

On 1st November, 1991, a company of soldiers from No. (77) Division arrived Tha Khau Koh village and ordered all female for gathering. After they had taken the villagers' properties, they left them blindfolded with water proof.

The victims in that event are listed below :

1. Ma Ki (35) years. Lost Burmese currency (4400) Kyats in cash, (100) vis of sugar-cane, clothes, (8) china plates, (10) dishes, (5) steel spoons, (2) man's shirt, (3) pans, (2) basket of rice, (8) bottle of petroleum
2. Ma Aye Lwin Moe (30) years. Lost (2) ear chains , (6) tickle of silver and a silver chain, some cloths, pans, plates, knives, steel spoons, some chickens and Burmese currency (50) Kyats in cash,
3. Pa Htaw Moe (44) years . Lost plates, spoons, blankets, various kinds of men and woman dress, (7) children's clothes, knives, some chickens, a saw and a pan.
4. Payaw Phoe Moe (80) years . Lost various kinds of dress, (6) pans, (10) steel spoons, iron plates, knives, cups, blankets and chickens.
5. Lar Phar Moe (55) years. Lost (9) blankets, clothes, (7) pans, steel spoons cups. Pillow covering cloth, a towel, a shirt, (5) knives and Burmese currency (50) Kyats in cash.
6. Ni Toe Moe (60) years. Lost pans, plates, iron box, clothes, towels, blankets, touch-light, rice, knives and (4) tickle of silver

The soldiers arrested (20) female including the victims mentioned above and forced them to guide the troops. When they arrived at Kyauk Kwin Village, the soldiers ordered some elder female at the gun point to come down from their house. Then the soldiers tortured some women who refused to give their properties. Children were also suffered the same with those women. The persons whom their properties were: (1) Ma Win Kyi, (2) Naw Pa Saw Moe (55) years, (3) Daw Nyunt Moe (60) years, (4) Karens Yin Moe (90) years, (5) Khin Kyi Moe (60) years, was beaten while she was trying to retake her child's clothes. (6) Holby Aye Par (63) years, (7) Naw Htoo Poe (42) years, (8) Ma Nyunt Kyi (38) years, (9) Khin Aye Kyi Moe (26) years, (10) Daw Tin Yee Moe (50) years, (11) U Phar Pe (45) years, (12) Daw Chit Thar Moe (40) years, (13) U Wai Htoo Moe (55) years, (14) U Po Loh (58) years, (15) Daw Khin Than Aye Moe (38) years, (16) U Aye Lwin Par (36) years, (17) Mya Win (28) years, (18) U Kyaw Htun Aye (40) years, (19) Naw Pha Kyaw (28) years, (20) U Khin Maung (40) years, (21) U Thar Aye Moe

(50) years (his son was beaten because of hiding inside the house), (22) Daw Thida Moe (75) years, was pointed with a gun and was kicked from her house. The soldiers took all of her properties and left her house painted with stool. (23) Naw Mya (40) years, (24) Daw Let Kya (68) years, was beaten 10 strokes. (25) Saw Pi Moe (32) years, (26) Htar Se Moe (42) years and (27) Ki Paley Moe (29) years.

The soldiers forced (20) female from that village to serve as porters for a week.

19 November 1991

At about 11:00 a.m., Col. Thein Dan, in charge of Ye Pu Camp, Pa Pun Township felt very angry when saw his soldiers reading the Voice of Peacock, a monthly magazine distributed by ABSDF, and scolded them.

A PHOTO-EXHIBITION IN FRENCH

A photo exhibition, in the honor of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, was held from 6 December 1991 to 13 December 1991 in Paris under the patronage of the Ministry of Culture and the Maison de Ecrivains (House of Writers). The vernissage was on 6 December and was attended by Mr. Jack Lang, Minister of Culture, Mme. Danielle Mitterand, President of France- Liberty (wife of the French President Mr. Mitterand, Mme. Evelyne Pisier, Director of Book and Reading, Mr. Bernard Pingaud, President of the house of writers and Mr. Stefan Collignon, President of Association France Birmanie. Mr. Bernard Kouchner, Secretary of State for Humanitarian Actions sent a cable, saying that he was sorry not to be there in person as he was in Czechoslovakia but he was there with us in spirit. The photo-exposition was on Burma, cultural, jungle camps and the ethnics. The room for the exposition was given by the Maison des Ecrivains and the cocktail for the people was given by the Ministry of Culture. At the opening ceremony of photo exhibition, Mr. Stefan Collignon delivered a speech on the current situation in Burma. In that speech, he stressed on the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and recognition of NOGUB. He also made appeal to all governments and all international organizations to either fill the seats of Burma in UN by NCGUB representatives or declared vacant until the elected civilian government hold on power.

FORCED EVICTION IN TAUNG PYAUK VILLAGE TRACT

THAI AIRWAYS BOYCOTT UNDERWAY

OSAKA - October 26

During the month of July 1991, about 5000 villagers from Taung Pyauk village were forced to resettle in a new place called Than Chaung Gyi which is 20 miles far away from Tharat Chaung Township in Tanasserim Division. It is the part of the strategy of SLORC which is called four cut policy (Cut off information, food, contact....) . This has been practiced by the SLORC army at the frontier region where they staged military offensive against the armed opposition forces. In order to accomplish their strategic aims, very often, many villages were forced to resettle in a new place which is under the tight control of the army.

About 1000 households from Yw Pu, Lae Su, Byat Wi Tha, Kyaw Chan, Kyauk Ai, Mae Kae, Ye Pyat, Taung Pyaut villages were ordered to move by the SLORC army without any compensation. Time limit was only three days. The new place, Than Chaung Gyi is 6 miles far away from Taung Pyauk Village Tract. As it was the time of rainy season, the road to Than Chaung Gyi was destroyed by heavy rain fall and it was not in the condition to use bullock-carts for transportation. Villagers had to carry their properties by scarce boats and some on foot.

So villagers lost alot of their properties, houses and domestic animals due to lack of transportation. Unmoveable farms, paddy fields and gardens were also left. The abandoned villages became the feeding ground for the SLORC soldiers. Hens, Pigs, Buffaloes, and oxen were killed and eaten by them.

Thirty Sanghas (Buddhist monks) from seven monasteries were also the victims of SLORC army resettlement programme. It was known that properties of the Kyauk Ai village monastery had been looted by the SLORC soldiers.

The situation of the new strategic village was terrible. Villagers had to live in make-shift bamboo tents built by themselves. Some of them had to live on the ground. Because of the lack of sanitation, safe and adequate water supply and harsh weather, dysentery, diarrhoea, measles and malaria were common. But there was no clinic or hospital for the health care of villagers. The nearest hospital in Tha Yat Chaung Township is 20 miles far away from Than Chaung Gyi. During the course of forced resettlement, 20 children were died of measles.

Five hundred children from seven primary schools in Taung Pyauk village were not able to continue the primary education. School teachers returned back their home after the forced resettlement programme. There was no school at the new place.

The villagers could not find any jobs for their earning at the new place. Lack of food is the problem, now they face. Instead of working for their own living, they were forced to serve for the army ..eg. digging trench and

(Continued on Page. 19)

A group of twelve people picked the office of Thai Airways in downtown Osaka this morning. They also distributed leaflets in both Japanese and in English, urging a boycott of Thai airways and condemning the Thai government's persecution of Burmese students and refugees who have fled to Thailand to escape oppression in Burma. This demonstration, sponsored by Burmese Relief Centre - Japan (BRC-J) and the Association for Burmese Issues in Kansai, marks the beginning of Japanese participation in a coordinated, worldwide campaign targeting Thai Airways as an international representative of Thailand. The demonstrators did not shout or chant any slogans, but they held colorful placards. One appealed simply to passers-by, "Don't Fly Thai". Another read, "Thailand is hell for Burmese Refugees". Written in Burmese script, another said simply, "We are all human beings. Be kind."

In submitting their statement inside the office, spokesman for the group condemned the Thai government policy of forcible repatriation of Burmese refugees as a clear violation of their basic human rights. They also demanded a proper investigation and trial of the Thai policeman who shot and killed a young Burmese students this summer. We are urging a boycott of Thai Airways because Chairman Kaset is a powerful member of the military junta now controlling Thailand", said K. Kawasaki, (45) representative of BRC-nj." Thai Airways boasts of its Thai hospitality, but the Thai government is showing nd hospitality or compassion to those vulnerable and desperate Burmese refugees who need it the most!"



Ms. Hashimoto, who was in charge of the office, had no comment on the boycott, but promised to deliver the statement to the director, Mr. Chaveng. She also accepted several copies of the leaflet to distribute to other Thai Airways personnel.

In displaying enlarged portraits of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, recent Nobel Prize winner, group member hoped to show the connection between oppression in Burma and abuse of Burmese refugees by Thai military. Future demonstration at Thai Airways office is being planned by groups in Nagoya and Tokyo.

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DAWN NEWS BULLETIN

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE DAMAGES AND LOSS OF LIVES SUFFERED BY
VILLAGERS IN THE DELTA AREA DURING FIGHTING WITH THE SLORC ARMY

After the fighting took place in Bogale area, then it spread to the nearby villages. The fighting began in Htee Hta village in Bogale area on the 3rd of October. It spread to Myapago, Kathamyae, Hsaphusu, Oonisu, Htawpai, Myinsaeto, Dawkyi, Kathapaw, etc., about 12 places. During that fighting, about eighty died and more than hundred were wounded on the Burmese side. They said that because of the Karen villagers were helping the Karen army, they captured the villagers, headmen of the villages and even pastors.

During that fighting, especially in Htee Hta and Kathamyae, Hsaphusu, the planes bombarded the villages, so lots of villagers died from it. At that time, 41 students in school died and many were wounded because the Regime's Airforce directly bombarded the school. Many teachers, village headmen and villagers were arrested and tortured by the SLORC. Some of the victims, we know for sure, are the Rev. James, Mr Pobae in Htee Hta village, Rev. Denial Htoo in Dawkyi village, teacher Renald in Klodoe village. Teacher Ah Play in Klopoo village and teacher Hsala, Kathamae village. There were many victims whose names we did not know. According to the information that we received in Bogale area, there were more than 200 civilians, teachers, pastors were tortured and killed.

The fighting spread to Myaungmya Province and to nearby villages such as Kanersogone, Ohpaysu, Thayla. In every village, where fightings occurred, people were arrested, tortured and killed. That took place especially in Ohpaysu village where was very heavy and more than a hundred of Burmese soldiers were killed. In an act of revenge, planes were sent to bombard that area and the whole village was destroyed and almost all the villagers were killed.

The other villagers were tortured and some of them were killed. These include pastors, village headmen and teachers. Mr James, the headman of Yadweyekan village escaped but his wife and children remained were killed. In the Lapuhta area, fightings took place in some villages and about fifty were killed and many were wounded on the Burmese side. The Burmese soldiers surrounded those villages and captured the villagers and killed them. Some villagers including young adults from Htaluphadoo, Kawlaylu, Pawbawlu, Htalupahtaw, Plawpahtaw villages were arrested, taken away and never heard about them. The teacher, Thawlar from Kawlaylu village was seriously beaten till loss of consciousness. The army took him to Lapuhta and nobody knows whether he is alive or dead.

In Ngaputaw area, fightings began on the 18th of October, 1991 and it spread to Lapuhta and nearby villages, such as Kaserhtoo, Paeaye and Htawnyokyi. During that fightings, at least 20 soldiers were killed and several wounded. In these areas, the teachers and headmen of the villages were arrested. At least fifty young adults were killed while the fighting was taken place in the

Bogale area. Some of the teachers who were arrested are ; Johnny Htoo (Hteemoolu village), Saw Kay (Kawkawmu village), Larba (Thetpolu village), Htoeset (Kahtahtoo village), Harry (Kyawtalo village), Haku (Laebo village), Hsar Ah Gay (Hsingugyi) and 13 others. Among the village headmen, teacher Michael (Kyawkawlu village), Eh Hser Htee (Baythayla village), Htahtaylay (Kyawtalo village) and Hsa Nae Htaw (Kyaw Hta village) were arrested and seriously tortured and Htahtaylay died. This information was given by a villager who has been in Ngaputaw area from the 3rd of October to the 23rd of November.

This information is only a part of the atrocities of the military regime. Over five hundred were killed, arrested and tortured, the soldiers have been arresting and torturing the villagers up to now. So we do not know how many more people will die. We have recently heard that thousands have been killed because of many Burmese soldiers were wounded and killed. The Burmese army accused the villagers of assisting the Karen army. The military regime took revenge on the villagers for their loss. Therefore, we cannot imagine the future for the villagers in the Delta area. They were faced overwhelming dangers and difficulties and this is a tragic disaster.

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bunkers, construction of bamboo fences around army outposts, sanctuary and very often, as porters for military columns.

Many villagers suspected of connection with the armed opposition forces were subjected to arrest and torture by the SLORC army. More than ten villagers were killed since July 1991. Six villagers could be identified.

- (1) U Shwe Htoo (Mae Kae Village) . He was beaten to death.
- (2) U Dinger (Kyauk Ai Village). Suicide by hanging after subjected to torture.
- (3) U Suu Oah (Kyauk Ai Village)
- (4) U Aung Myint (Kyauk Ai Village). Both of them were killed by spikes.
- (5) U Thein Nyunt (Taung Pyauk Village)
- (6) U Hla Myint (Taung Pyauk Village). Both of them were beaten to death and thrown into the river.

In order to escape from the suppression of the SLORC army, 60 villagers fled to the Thai-Burma border.

(report from our field reporter)

H. CON. RES. 221

Commending Aung San Suu Kyi on the occasion of her receiving the Nobel Peace Prize and requesting that the Speaker of the House invite her to address a joint meeting of the Congress.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OCTOBER 15, 1991

Mr. LANTOS (for himself and Mr. PORTER, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, and Mr. ROHRBACHER) submitting the flowing resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

RESOLUTION

Commending Aung San Suu Kyi on the occasion of her receiving the Nobel Peace Prize and requesting that the Speaker of the House invite her to address a joint meeting of the Congress.

Whereas Norwegian Nobel Committee has awarded the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize to Aung San Suu Kyi, citing her as "one of the most extraordinary examples of civil courage in Asia in recent decades" and "an important symbol in the struggle against oppression";

Whereas Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi had led the non-violent and democratic opposition against a military regime whose actions have been characterized by extreme brutality and violence;

Whereas Mrs. has refused to leave Burma and has been held under house arrest for over two years and has been incommunicado since July 1989; and

Whereas Aung San Suu Kyi has become the symbol of unflagging effort to all those who are striving for democracy, respect for human rights, and ethnic reconciliation by peaceful means; Now, therefore, be it resolved, by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), that the Congress:

- (1) commends and congratulates Aung San Suu Kyi on the occasion of her receiving the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize as a most appropriate and welcome recognition of her outstanding contribution to peace, respect for the principles of democracy and respect for human rights, both in Burma and throughout the world; and
- (2) calls on the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Majority Leader of the United States Senate to invite Aung San Suu Kyi to address a joint meeting of the Congress in respect to her and in recognition of her outstanding achievements for peace and human rights.

BURMA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION MEETING HELD IN MARNAPLAW

Executive Committee Meeting of the Burma Medical Association was held at 9:00 a.m., on the 22nd of November, 1991 in the Office of NLD (LA) in Manerplaw. That meeting was patronized by Dr. San Aung, Minister for Health and Patron of BMA, Dr. H. M. Singh, Chairman of BMA, and other CEC members of BMA, medical professionals and (15) representatives from KNU, KIO, KNPP, ABSDF, PLF, OKO, KNLP showed up and took part in the discussion. From that meeting, the decisions revealed below were reached.

(1) Adopted the constitution, rules and principles of the BMA.

(2) Adopted to draft the advisory issues of forming the National Health Committee.

(3) Adopted the future programs:

- To issue the BMA Guideline for Health Workers Text book.
- To cooperate and help in the health Affairs under the Health Ministry.
- To help and cooperate in the health departments and its related fields of other Revolutionary organizations.

(4) Decided to extend the rural health development programs including the medical trainings.

It was known that the meeting ended successfully on 30 November 1991.

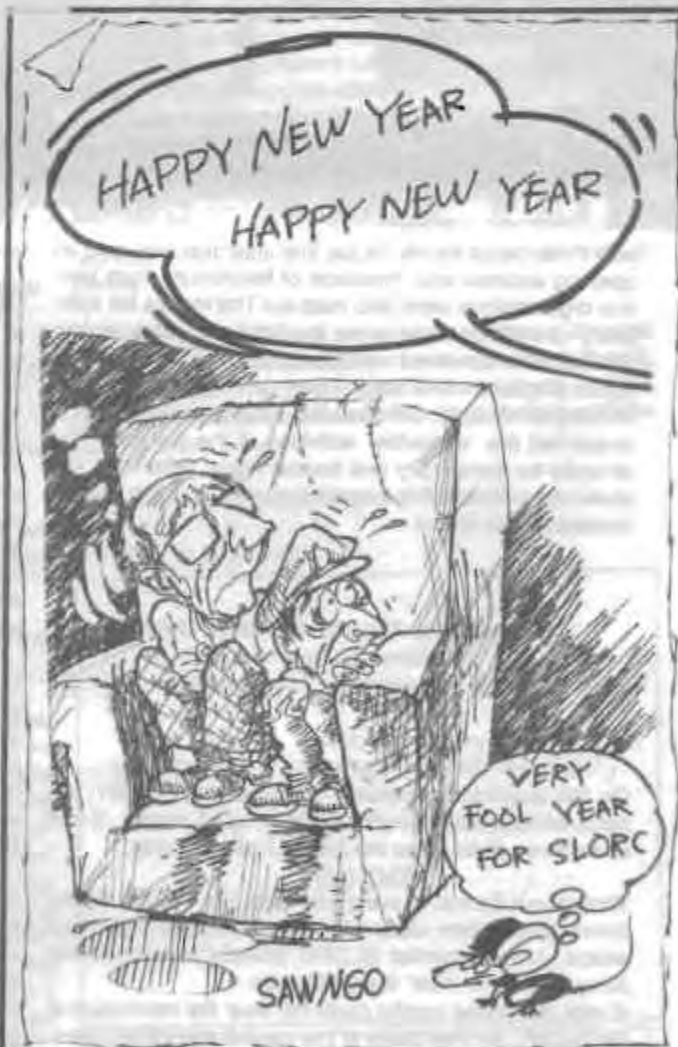
Human Rights Abuses

On 6 August 1991, while students from Moe Taung Camp, ABSDF were going on organizing mission in Ye Kan Or village, Kyun Su Township of Tenasserin Division, the SLORC army tried to crush them by opening fire with motor shells and small arms. Sixty soldiers from No. (224) SLORC Infantry Regiment led by Company Commander Capt. Soe Win

and Platoon Commander Capt., Myint Lwin involved in that operation and it lasted from 1.40 p.m. TO 3:50 p.m. As the SLORC army intentionally fired artillery shells into the village as a punishment to the villagers for accepting the students, a woman and a child were dead and other 10 villagers including two woman and a child, were wounded



A dying pregnant woman



Third Anniversary of ABYMU was Held in Manerplaw

The Third anniversary of the All Burma Young Monks' Union at Manerplaw Hall on 27 November 1991. It was chaired by Reverend Khe Mar Sara and Reverend Theik Kha was acting as the master of ceremony and (76) Sangha and leaders and members from different organization showed up. The opening secession was started

we have reorganized our union and continued our campaign for peace and democracy. Now the ABYMU is a member of the Democratic Alliance of Burma. We are able to work together towards common goals but use different means according to our different guiding principles, in (8) different camps our ABYMU members are now actively



with three folded Na Mo Ta Sa. The chairman delivered an opening address and message of felicitations from various organizations were also read out. The monks felt sympathy upon the people under the heel of military regime and issued a statement containing (3) objectives and (5) future programs of ABYMU. Then, U Thein Oo, Judiciary Minister of NCGUB, Col Zaw Sai, Vice Chairman of NDF presented the verifiable activities of the monks in the struggle for democracy and human rights. After that, the chairman addressed the closing speech and the closing secession was ended.

ALL BURMA YOUNG MONKS' UNION (Revolutionary Area) 3rd Anniversary Declaration

Dear reverent monks and guests,

On this auspicious occasion, 27th November 1991, the declaration is being made on behalf of all monks. It has been three years since the ABYMU was founded.

Throughout Burma, in every town and city, we, the monks demonstrated non-violent struggle for human rights and peace, but the nihilist SLORC brutally repressed our demonstrations. After the 1988 coup d'état, the young monks could not bear the repression of the SLORC, so they came to this revolutionary area. Here

working to achieve their goals.

Our main objectives are

- a. To establish human rights in Burma,
- b. To remove the military dictatorship,
- c. To establish internal peace.

To achieve our objectives, we should follow the teachings of Buddha. We have all concerned only with religious activities since the attainment of monk-hood but at present, our mother country and its people have been suffering so terribly that we cannot ignore it. That is why, we have participated in the campaign demanding human rights and democracy in Burma. We believe that this is our historical duty for our country.

In 1965, 1974, and 1978 the military dictators tried to suppress the monks. On such occasion, monks were killed and imprisoned. The suppression of the 1988 uprising and 1990 Mandalay Monks' Movement was even more ruthless. The situation became so bad that the monks were compelled to stage a religious boycott against SLORC and Their armed forces.

At this juncture, we want to convey our heart-felt thanks to the National Democratic Front and the Democratic Alliance of Burma, other revolutionary groups and we should not forget to thank those persons and organizations outside Burma who helped us after we arrived the liberated area. We are very grateful to the Nobel Peace

Prize Committee which awarded the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi but also to all those monks, students and people who continue to struggle for peace and democracy. We warmly welcomed the decision of the ABYMU (R. A.), the remaining part of the sangha union in Burma and we are still with the Burmese public. We would like to express our respect and honor to both the Burmese public and the world community.

The religious boycott which has been carried out against SLORC and army personnel gained the full support of the monks through out Burma. The ABYMU will continue this boycott against the SLORC within the country as well as overseas on a massive scale. Our union will continue the struggle in support of the international Buddhist community to attain human rights and real peace for the public.

Burma is a land where the majority of the population are Buddhists. Eighty percent of 300,000 monks in the country have been participating in the democracy movement. Although our movement in central Burma was brutally suppressed, it is still active and it is certain that the time is not far away when we would be able to accelerate our activities for the achievement of peace and democracy.

During the religious conference recently held in Katmandu, Nepal, twenty delegate representing sixteen countries, release a three- point declaration condemning SLORC. We are grateful for their concern and we feel that all the religious people in the world are supporting us.

Our future tasks are as follows:

- (a) To maintain the Buddhist religious boycott against the SLORC.
- (b) To oppose the religious education system which is only beneficial to the SLORC's elite
- (c) To oppose all activities which violate human rights and maintain the mechanism of SLORC's rule
- (d) To get rid of the military dictatorship in Burma, we will mobilize the people in order to overthrow the military regime by the strength of "people power"
- (e) We will extend our activities from the border to central Burma to liberate the entire Country

Up to now, the nihilist SLORC have been continuing their repression against politicians and their supporters, monks and students. Over a thousand monks, students and civilians including Nobel Peace Prize winner Daw Aung San Suu Kyi are still under detention. The SLORC, although possessing an army of more than 280,000 soldiers, continues to expand its military power. To pay for this huge military machinery, which consume 65% of the national budget, the SLORC are selling the country's natural resources at random. The economic system of the SLORC has brought Burma a debt of more than US \$ 5.3 billion. To fulfill the desperate need of hard currency, they

have been ignoring the interests of the people and widen the gap between the living standard of the people and those of the SLORC's elite.

They are now busy carrying out the three following programs.

1. To hold on power.
2. To split and scatter the political parties and their members.
3. To accelerate the civil war

Indeed, the SLORC is not the legal government of this country. They have illegally seized power and are the real criminals of this country. According to the international law, the government should be the elected members chosen by the public. It is shameful for the SLORC to call itself a government. In the election Act, Article No. 1, Section 2 A, which they themselves wrote, it says "Parliament means people's parliament which is the assembly of publicly elected persons". Operating against their own act, they have imprisoned the publicly elected members of parliament. It is a matter of deep sorrow for us, that the United Nations still retains a seat for SLORC in its chamber. In 1990, different UN agencies provided a total of US \$ 153 millions in the name of humanitarian aid which enhanced the survival of the SLORC. The ABYMU has made frequent appeals to the United Nations to expel the SLORC representative. Once again, we appeal to all the authorities concerned to oust the SLORC representative from the UN assembly and replace the seat with a legal representative from the publicly elected government of Burma.

We hereby, declare that we will not cease our struggle until democracy and peace has been achieved in Burma. In order to accomplish our aims and objectives, we will join hands with any government or organization and the people of the world.

May all men enjoy human rights and peace.

DATE: 27th Nov.: 1991

*With our Sweat and Blood,
we will Liberate
BURMA.*

