

DAWN

NEWS BULLETIN



REPATRIATION QUESTION OF THE REFUGEES IN BANGLADESH BORDER

The 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of refugees, to which the United States was a signatory, defines a refugee as a person who:

owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such a fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

According to that definition, the refugees in Bangladesh-Burma border are of those persons and who are entitled to the Article (14) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights — everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries' asylum from persecution. Until and Unless the following basis minimums are guaranteed by the UNHCR, forced repatriation against their will will be unjustifiable and inhuman.

(1) Persons must be secure from threats to life or freedom based on religion, nationality, political opinion or group membership. (2) Persons must be secure from serious discrimination which affects their political or civil rights. (3) Persons must be secure from such excesses as torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, arbitrary arrest or imprisonment, denial of a fair trial, or an invasion of the home, even if these practices are used in the enforcement of otherwise just laws. (4) Persons must be able to find and hold employment which is capable of sustaining basic human needs (food, clothing, shelter) and must be able to hold employment reasonably commensurate with their training.

Viewing upon these factors, the displaced persons who are sheltering along the Bangladesh-Burma border are perfect for the definition of refugee status. Why does Bangladesh government attempt them to be forced repatriated? Why does the Bangladesh government disregard the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the Slorc is now doing?

Bangladesh government concentrates only on self-interest: viewing its crises affects from the weight of refugees' exodus, and if it affords forced repatriation, there will be like giving license to the Slorc to oppress the refugees and turning its face from this problem. If that so, the Bangladesh government will no longer be different from the brutal regime, the Slorc as forced repatriation is no more than death trap to the refugees.

The international community, therefore, should pressure both Bangladesh government and the Slorc to allow UN's monitor in the repatriation process; to give full guarantee of no occurrence of such exodus, persecution by both countries' authorities of putting them in a place where is like detention, restriction of fundamental freedom and basic human rights; and forced repatriation in the future.



National League For Democracy (Liberated Area)

Notification 4/92

Dated May 18, 1992

In accordance with the decision taken at the special session of the Central Organizing Committee held at Manerplaw from May 16 to 17, 1992, the following changes have been made to the Central Organising Committee:

1. U Win Khet, formerly Secretary of the Central Organising Committee, has been appointed Vice-Chairman of the Central Organising Committee of the NLD (LA).
2. U Tin Aung, Member of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Kachin State Organising Committee of the NLD, has been appointed as the Secretary of the Central Organising Committee of the NLD (LA).
3. U Win Ko, the Finance Minister of the NCGUB has been appointed as a Member of the Central Organising Committee of the NLD (LA).

(Dr. Sein Win)
Chairman
Central Organising Committee



National League For Democracy (Liberated Area)

Notification No 5/92

Dated May 18, 1992

In accordance with the decision taken at the special session of the Central Organising Committee held at Manerplaw from 16 to 17, 1992, the Central Organising Committee has been extended and restructured as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1. Dr. Sein Win | Chairman |
| 2. U Win Khet | Vice Chairman |
| 3. U Tin Aung | Secretary |
| 4. U Myint Aung | Member |
| 5. U Than Htut | " |
| 6. U Aung Saw Oo | " |
| 7. U Yan Aung | " |
| 8. U Win Ko | " |
| 9. U Thein Oo | " |
| 10. U Maung Maung Aye | " |
| 11. Dr. Sann Aung | " |

(Dr. Sein Win)
Chairman
Central Organising Committee

ABSDF chairman arrived back from Kachin State

In April 1992, ABSDF Chairman Dr Naing Aung left for Kachin State to meet members of ABSDF (Northern) and other organisations there. During his stay in Kachin State, he met leaders from ABSDF (Northern) and explained them ABSDF's political stand and activities after the Third Conference, Decisions of the Third Conference and future plans, changes in Constitution of ABSDF, current political issue and present planning. It was known that leaders from ABSDF (Northern) also submitted their activities and hardships in the area. During his trip, Chairman also opened a refresher



Chairman Dr Naing Aung and KIO Secretary U Zaung Khra

training for the student medics. Moreover, Dr Naing Aung met Secretary

General U Zaung Khra and other leaders from the Kachin Independence

Organization (KIO), members of NLD Organizing Committee (Liberated Area, Kachin State) and exchanged view of points on political activities.

Furthermore, Chairman also met U Einda Sara, leader of Young Monks' Union (Upper Burma), and other young monks and explained them the joint activities of ABSDF and All Burma Young Monks' Union in Karen territory. In the 3rd week of May after one month in Kachin State, ABSDF Chairman Dr Naing Aung arrived back the Central Committee Headquarters in Manerplaw.

Secretary (1) of ABSDF attends the International Conference for Democracy in Burma

On the invitation of the Burmese Youth Volunteer Association in Japan, according to the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the ABSDF to send Secretary (1), Ko Aung Htoo to represent the Front, Ko Aung Htoo along with U Hla Oo, Labour Minister of the National Coalition of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), U Win Khet, Vice Chairman of the National League for Democracy (Liberated Area) left for Japan on 21 May 1992 to attend the International Conference for Democracy in Burma.

The Burmese Youth Volunteer Association organized that Conference which was held from May 23 to 27 in the towns of Inatori and Atami, Japan and it was reportedly known that about 150 overseas Burmese and Burma expert and observers, included over 30 representatives of various Burmese ethnic and Opposition groups from Australia, Burma, England, Germany, India, Japan, Thailand and the United States and Japanese experts on Burma and representatives from the Japan Bar Association participated in the Conference.

On 26 May they unanimously adopted 12-point resolution concentrating on measures to pressure the Siorc, to yield to popular demand for democracy. Among these points:

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PRESS RELEASE

Political change in Burma

Political change in Burma needs a universal cease fire overlooked by international observers, the release of all political prisoners including Nobel Peace Prize winner Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and a new democratic constitution.

These are the conclusions of the conference "Towards a Democratic and Sustainable Burma" that took place on 30/31 May 1992 in Amsterdam. It was attended by leading representatives of the Burmese opposition, National Coalition Government of Union of Burma (NCGUB) Prime Minister Dr. Sein Win, Foreign Affairs spokesman o Karen National Union Dr.M. Marta, spokesmen of the Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO) U Virat Raweeratanakum and U Jesse G. langami and Dr. Thauang Htun of All Burma Students' Democratic Front.

The recent declaration by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) were considered insufficient. Only universal cease fire in the civil war monitored by international observers has a chance to bring peace. It might be best if ASEAN countries could fulfill that function.

The participants of this conference agreed with the SLORC that a new democratic constitution was required setting up a Federal State guaranteeing the equality and self-determination of the peoples of Burma and the respect of human rights. But they considered that a constitutional convention needs to be democratically legitimized. Only the representatives of the peoples of Burma have the mandate to sponsor the National Convention.

While these conditions are not met the conference came out in support of the "Lisbon Appeal" by the leaders of the Burmese democratic opposition delivered on the 27th of May 1992 to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament and to the Portuguese government chaired the E.C presidency and which has been forwarded to the United Nations Secretary General and heads of States and Governments of friendly nations.

The conference also called on the international community to:

1. bring forth a U.N Security Council sponsored international arms embargo and economic sanctions against the SLORC.
2. extend international aid to all refugees and democratic opposition groups in Burma.
3. exert pressure on the SLORC- particularly at the Rio Conference- to stop the excessive exploitation of natural resources and to prevent further environmental destruction in Burma.

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The Slorc is illegitimate and has no right to hold the National Convention at which a new National Constitution is to be drafted, only the democratic government formed by the elected representatives has the authority to such a Convention;

Strongly urges China, Japan and the ASEAN member countries to cease immediately the sales of arms and economic relations with the Burmese military junta;

Appeals the world to apply more pressure on Burma, and urged the UN General Assembly that is to be held in September to pass more far-reaching resolutions concerning Burma, and to take effective actions against the Slorc since the situation faced by Burma now is no longer the internal affairs of a country; and

Decides to form a "bona fide historical commission" to compile an authentic Burmese historical record, and to reestablish the famous Burmese Language newspaper **Kyemon** (The Mirror) for publication and worldwide distribution among overseas Burmese communities.

In a release from the Conference said the Slorc is still

attempting to deceive the international community. ... Slorc's diversion and deception are to cover up its violation of its obligations to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights and other applicable human rights instruments.

It also called for an unconditional release of all political prisoners and urged the governments of Japan and other countries as well as UN to apply pressure on Slorc to end the over 30-year-long brutal oppression of the Burmese people.

In this Conference, representatives who got elected for the Committee to make lobbying to the United Nations are:

- (1) U Nwe Aung (European Countries)
- (2) Dr Than Lwin (Australia)
- (3) U Tin Maung Win (United States of America)
- (4) Dr Win Naing (Japan)
- (5) Mr K. Sharma (India)
- (6) U Aung Htoo (Burma, representative of ABSDF)
- (7) U Kyaw Soe Moe (Japan)
- (8) Mr Coban Tun (United States of America)

It was reportedly known that the Conference ended with success on May 27.



ABSDF

ALL BURMA STUDENTS' DEMOCRATIC FRONT
CENTRAL COMMITTEE HEADQUARTERS

Press Release by the Chairman of the ABSDF concerning with the spies those arrested in Northern ABSDF

After visiting to Kachin State for one month, I have suffered bitterness of brutality of the dictatorial regime more than before. I read the sincere statements and listen the testimonies of those arrested in Northern State.

Especially, National Intelligence Bureau of Burma, the main oppressive machinery of the SLORC, is the main responsible for the turmoil and anarchist elements of the 8888 uprising. They have well-concrete planning to seek the confusion and disunity among the opposition to get upper hand. They use the people as informers and intelligence by inserting various means and pressure. Their main targets are prominent leaders and main opposition groups.

Part of their strategy, ABSDF became main target to be infiltrated, those spies are sent under the operation named "Water Wave". Their actions are:

- to create instability within the organization;
- to control the higher posts;
- to make misunderstanding with the allied organizations and support group;
- to have depression to surrender; and
- to assassinate their strong opponents.

The deadline for the target is the end of 1992 which will be the time convening the National Convention. Some groups have to surrender before the National Convention and they push hard the remaining group to surrender at General Amnesty which will be held in the aftermath of the National Convention.

(The spies' group leaders have already known the fact that National Convention will convene at the end 1992.) The remaining group after amnesty will be crashed down by intensive military offensive.

I have no more dispute about the righteousness to execute 15 spies. However, I myself, on behalf of the Central Committee, have the responsibilities for that even though there was no participation by the Central Committee on decision process. We would like to explain to the international community that we must have more intention to solve the future of remaining arrested spies in constructive ways.

Recently, I have discussed with the Northern Committee of ABSDF and leaders from Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) and decided the following resolution.

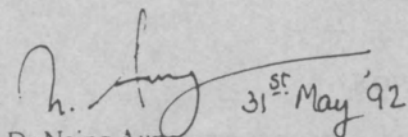
1. ABSDF is not going to give the death penalty to those remaining spies.
2. Those who change the attitude and stance towards our movements are to be accepted as ordinary members.
3. For the spies whom cannot be accepted by us will be transferred to the international organizations for their safe condition and future. For that, ABSDF has to appeal to the international organizations and democratic governments to accept those spies until Burma has democratic changes.
4. If there is no place nor condition to accept these spies outside Burma, they will be released after one year detainment with the guarantee of their parents or relatives.

Even we have the attitude to behave them as enemies; we accept that these persons are victims of the brutal dictatorial system. That is why we are looking forward for the long term benefits and humanitarian concepts. And we continue to elicit the detail documents and statements of the spies soon.

We, therefore, would like to appeal to the international organizations and governments to find the way for the future

settlement of these spies and give us cooperation based on understanding towards us.

With best regards,



Dr Naing Aung
Chairman
Central Committee
ABSDF.

STATEMENT ON THE RECENT POLITICAL PLOY BY THE SLORC

Date. May 11, 1992

(1) With total ignorance for the will of the people for a democratic government that was shown in the 1990 May election, disregarded to the call of the United Nations and the international community to transfer power to the elected members of parliament, the military regime announced on 24th April that they would be holding a National Convention.

(2) The regime made this announcement as a political ploy to decrease the political, diplomatic and economic pressures resulting from the momentum of the Burmese democratic movement and the international community. With this announcement, they intend to deceive the Burmese people and especially the international community in order to prolong their hold of power.

(3) A genuine National Convention which is the foundation for a stable and unified future Federation, can be held only under the auspicious of an elected parliament or a true democratic government. The regime which took power against the will of the people, because of their illegitimacy do not have the power neither to hold it nor what they try to do will be a legal one.

(4) In a pragmatic approach to the present political situation of Burma and in order to build up a future Federation in accordance with the people's wishes, the NCGUB strongly believes the followings are essential pre-requisites to the calling up of a National Convention,

a) All political prisoners, including the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi be released immediately.

b) All unfair and unlawful declarations, acts, laws, orders, including the martial law which has been declared and used as tools of suppression by the regime against the Burmese people be abolished.

c) Basic human rights and democratic rights be guaranteed.

d) Respecting the result of the election of May 27th, 1990, to immediately transfer power to the elected people's representatives.

e) Political differences to be solved through dialogue between all political leaders and revolutionary forces to achieve internal peace and an end to the civil war.

(5) The NCGUB states that we will uphold the above pre-requisites and together with all the pro-democratic forces will keep on fighting until peace and democracy is firmly established in Burma.



**CENTRAL COMMITTEE
KACHIN INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION**

**STATEMENT ON THE PROPOSED NATIONAL CONVENTION
AND THE DRAFTING OF A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR BURMA**

1. In 1948, Burma received its independence from the British colonial government. Because national unity could not be achieved, civil war broke out as a result of political inequality and a lack of true consensus even though the country had become a modern 'Nation State' at the time of independence.

2. At the expense of national solidarity, a myth created that all the country needed was powerful armed forces loyal to the state to maintain law and order and to secure the power of the state. Instead of trying to solve political differences through negotiations and political dialogue, the government resorted to the use of armed suppression causing an escalation of the war which resulted in more suffering and more deaths. Therefore, instead of peace and prosperity, because of increasing bitterness and hatred the nation was further torn apart as the civil war intensified and dragged on and the economic infrastructure of the nation was severely damaged and retarded.

3. On April 23, 1992, Gen Saw Maung retired and Gen Than Shwe took his place. The SLORC reversed its course and immediately halted their intense assault against Karen and DAB forces, began to release political prisoners, and allowed Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been under house-arrest, visitation by her husband and children. We welcome these events as positive signs and first steps towards bringing about national reconciliation and national unity and we are hopeful that the process will be successfully carried out to its final conclusion resulting in the much-longed for peace, freedom and prosperity of the country.

4. It is hoped that the new leadership in the SLORC will choose to de-emphasize the role of the armed forces and instead concentrate on the process of national solidarity. We believe that, further steps to NATIONAL RECONCILIATION and NATIONAL UNITY should include:

1. The release of ALL political prisoners.
2. The implementation of a publicly announced nationwide cease-fire and the release of all prisoners of war.
3. The holding of a pre-national convention meeting consisting of all elected representatives, leaders of the armed resistance, and leaders of all the democratic opposition both inside and outside of the country.
4. The convening of a fully representative national convention bringing together a broad consensus of representatives in the drafting of the constitution.

27 May 1992

SITUATION IN KACHIN STATE

4 May 1992

Presently, the Slorc Army offensive in Kachin State has been suspended. Although the major fighting has ceased, small skirmishes continue and the Slorc troops show no sign of withdrawing from the area.

The Slorc battalion units 15 and 19, stationed at the former KIO GHq at Na Hpaw area, continue sporadic shelling with both heavy and light artillery.

In the Hka La, Gng Dau and Ja Pu, the Slorc battalions 18 and 58 are reported to be gathering rations for the coming rainy season.

In KIO 2nd Brigade area, the Slorc Battalions 36, 27, 105, 145, 237, 238 and 239 are holding their positions along the Ledo Road and the railway.

A number of the Slorc Battalions involved in the April major offensive against KIO 3rd Brigade, have been recalled. They included 47, 309, 236, 38 and 56. Some of these

troops have been reassigned to KIO 2nd Brigade area.

In KIO 4th Brigade area, some Slorc soldiers have changed allegiance and have gone over to KIO. In the same area, no major fighting has been reported. However, from SLORC Division, Battalions 45, 6, 69 and 13th Kachin Rifles have remained stationing in the area.

In conclusion, although the offensive in Kachin State has been suspended and some SLORC troops have been reassigned, there has

been no change in the number of the Slorc troops within Kachin State. The most significant reassignment of the Slorc troops seems to have been to strengthen their control of motorways and railways within Kachin State.

REPORT CONCERNING CRIMES AGAINST KACHIN CIVILIANS

4 May 1992

Even as the Slorc officially suspended military offensive against the resistance forces, there is a marked increase in military (martial) crime and harassment against the civilians.

April-30 - A Slorc soldier from Battalion No. 273, robbed Mrs Kyang Nu of Blong Bum village, Bhamo District. The soldier got away with one gold necklace, 2 gold rings.

April-30 - In the same area, at a nearby village, Slorc troops shot and killed one cow and horse.

BATTLE IN KACHIN STATE

23 May 1992

On 10 May 1992, 30 Burmese troops from the 3rd Company of the Slorc Army 41 Regiment launched an operation against the KIA's 8th Battalion in Mung Mo township in KIA 4th Brigade area. From Slorc side; one Captain, one Company Commander and one foot soldier died in the clash. No casualties reported from the side of the KIA. KIA captured from the Slorc one Browning pistol, one carbine, one G4, one G3, one G2 and a total of 220 rounds of ammunitions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The All Burma Students' Democratic Front would like to convey our heart-felt thanks to all Non-government organisations, donor organisations and overseas patriotic Burmese organisations that aided financial assistance and morale support to the Central Committee of the ABSDF which is struggling with the objectives to restore democracy and human rights in Burma.

HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

To stop the spread of the virus in Burma, the military regime injected to death with cyanide to the Burmese girls who infected AIDS and were deported to Burma after caught up by Thai police as prostitutes in brothels in Thailand.

Many Burmese girls who crossed the Border to buy some items went missing while and later they were found in the brothels in Thailand. And nearly all the women were found to be infected with Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV).

After all the HIV-infected women were deported to Burma, they had gone missing from their villages. Later, it was known that they had been injected with cyanide to prevent them from spreading the virus. But he could not say who gave them the injections and did not know whether the girls had died. According to the anti-prostitution centre which had recently rescued 147 girls from three brothels in Bangkok, they found that 76 had AIDS. The rest had other sexually transmitted diseases.

These young Burmese girls are only victims the social evil system and thus, the international organisations should to pay attention on them for their safety and prevention from infected with HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BURMA

AND THE TATMADAW

The reconstruction of a country is a very serious business. It therefore requires much debate, discussion, and planning. Of all the issues involved in the task of national reconstruction, the most crucial one is that which concerns the question of who should or could lead the country and, more importantly, in what direction. The reconstruction of Burma cannot, in practice, be undertaken by the whole people because the term "the whole people" is a political cliché, which is devoid of meaning in practical reality.

Burma's reconstruction requires the involvement of organized bodies of men, or men and women organized as a body to perform certain tasks or oriented towards specific goals. Among these are bodies such as the government and its agencies, the legislature, political parties, local administrative bodies, trade unions, chambers of commerce, the news media, various think-tanks, and other non-governmental organisations or NGOs (both domestic and international), and etc. However, given Burma's tragic recent past, much serious thought must be focused on one important body of men, i.e., the Tatmadaw, and what would its role be in shaping the political contours of a new Burma.

Burma and its political system is, since 1988, in a shambles. The country is in a constitutional and legal limbo. The populace is being held hostage the SLORC warlords, whose hands have been stained with the blood of patriots, thanks to Burma's Lady Macbeth, Bo Shu Maung, his Tatyin-Le coattail jockeys. The promise made by the SLORC to restore a democratic,

constitutional order is dead, killed by the promise-givers themselves. All of this does not augur well for Burma.

The task of reconstructing a new Burma is certainly not an easy one. The misrule and despotism of Burma's Lady Macbeth (Bo Shu Maung) and the Tatyin-Le clique has destroyed not only all forms of cohesion (political, social, and economic) in Burma, but also the institutional framework and channels for interaction and political communication.

The major problem confronting Burma is: how are the aspirations of various segments in Burma to be mediated and reconciled so that Burma is harmoniously reunified. In a nutshell, there are three crucial aspirations or goals. They are:

(a) the restoration of democracy and an end to the monopolisation of power by warlords, a goal aspired to by "the people", (i.e., the sangha, students, the intelligentsia, urban dwellers, the business community, peasants, workers, and so on);

(b) national self-determination (within a federal framework), desired by ethnic groups and by democratic forces in Burma;

(c) the preservation and salvation of the Tatmadaw, desired by men and women in military uniforms.

In order to achieve these goals aspires to by various segments of the political spectrum, what is required is not only the reconciliation and mediation (or balancing) of these conflicting aspirations, but also the translation of raw arbitrary power into insti-

tutionalised authority ... the establishment of a political system and framework of politics acceptable to all its citizens.

A most relevant question in this regard is who should or can play a central and positive role in this process ... i.e., the role of a referee and guarantor of orderly transition?

One important candidate's is the Tatmadaw ... in particular, the genuinely patriotic and professional elements within it. Whether we like it or not, it is evident that the Tatmadaw, especially officers and men relatively untainted with the crimes of the despotic regime, have it within their power the capacity not only to prevent another bloodbath (perhaps causing Burma irreparable damage), but also to construct a new political order in which the military's special position and influence will be assured. It is definitely in the cooperate interest of the Tatmadaw to provide the country with a helping hand in the popularly desired transition toward democracy, rather than to prop up a mangy, and rotting dead lion, as is the case at present.

As a matter of fact, the Tatmadaw has no other alternatives, but to play an active role in constructing a new and democratic political order. This is especially true since it is clear that Bo Shu Maung's fascist order (where power is monopolised and exercised by one man and his toadies), which stands above society, and which monopolises and feeds on the country's resources, has not benefited the country in any way whatsoever. This fascist order has moreover badly decayed under the weight of its own ideological bankruptcy, gross deficiency in polit-

ical skills and managerial expertise, greed, fear, and popular rejection. It is obvious that such a decayed order, rooted in medieval myths and practices, cannot be reconstructed. And if reconstructed, it will serve no useful purpose other than to keep in parasitic comfort the handful of warlords and their charmed circle of family, kinfolk, clients, and hanger-ons.

In other words, the time has come for patriotic elements within the Tatmadaw to play an active role in the reconstruction of Burma. The Tatmadaw, which has in the past often claimed to have "save the country", must now prove that it can actually do so.

However, for the Tatmadaw to actually save the country, it must first of all prove to everyone that it is honourable and genuinely concerned with the welfare of the country and people. In this respect, it would be helpful for it to bear in mind some positive examples set by the Thai military. In 1957, for example, the Thai military ousted Field Marshal Pibul Songkran (regarded as one of the founders of the post-1932 modern Royal Thai Army), in the interest of the country as a whole; and again in 1973, it withheld support for the unpopular strongmen, Field Marshals Thanom and Praphat, when it was ordered to massacre unarmed and peaceful protesters.

It is evident from other countries that the military's role in politics need not be damaging and destructive. On the other hand, for the military to become a positive force, it must first become professional and rational. It must rid itself of criminal and predatory elements and irrational, medieval practices and ideas. In Burma, this means that the Tatmadaw must cleanse itself. It must have the courage to return to the ideals of Gen Aung San, ideals for which his brave daughter, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, is fighting for. It is also obvious that the Tatmadaw is in need of a new leader ... and, it is also as obvious that such a leader is not hard to find.

In fact, the leader who the Tatmadaw desperately needs is now in Rangoon. She is there to help the Tatmadaw regain its honour, integrity, professionalism, patriotism, self-respect, and courage. Gen Aung San's daughter is not the Tatmadaw's enemy. She is, in reality, its true friend and savior. The hard fact is that the Tatmadaw's real enemy are the parasites and maggots within itself. It is these narrowly selfish elements led by their supreme godfather who have destroyed the Tatmadaw. They have transformed it into a body of medieval armed retainers, a private army of quivering servants, bullied and terrorised by one man, and forced by this godfather and his court favourites to betray the country and the people of Burma.

It has been made abundantly clear by the May 1990 elections that the rank-and-file of the Tatmadaw do not support the SLORC. It is also clear that SLORC bosses are extremely suspicious of regional commanders and of officers in command of combat units, and that they do not trust nor respect the majority of armed forces personnel. As a matter of fact, SLORC bosses have nothing but contempt for the Tatmadaw officers and men, and regarded them as brainless and trembling po-thon-nya ('know-nothings') who can be easily manipulated.

In Burma, this means that the Tatmadaw must cleanse itself.

ed, like puppets on a string, to dance to the SLORC's symphony of fear and oppression.

It is time, therefore, for Tatmadaw men and women to face up to the hard reality of their undignified and dishonourable existence. They are at present not trusted by those who use and exploit them, and are, on the other hand, despised by the whole populace for servilely serving those who treat them with utter contempt. It is time for the men and women of the Tatmadaw to think seriously again of their duties as patriotic and honourable servants of the country.

The men and women of the Tatmadaw must do some serious searching. They must learn to think like human beings, and resist the fear of popular retribution which their bosses have played upon to turn them into terrorised, unthinking puppets. As a matter of fact, there is, rationally, no need for Tatmadaw members to fear democracy or to fear the people. They will not be punished for the crimes of the past and current regime because democracy is subject to the rule of law. In a democratic Burma, the cleansing of the Tatmadaw will moreover be carried out by the Tatmadaw itself, and all Tatmadaw members will be protected by the law of the land, and by the democratic process. Those Tatmadaw men and women who rise up to be proudly counted as Burma's true sons and daughters will, for sure, be protected by the people.

The men and women of Tatmadaw must realise that a strong wind of democracy is sweeping across the globe, and that the whole country cannot be held hostage by a group of uniformed gangster-bosses forever. And those of us who want democracy, we too must do our best to bring down the barriers of fear and suspicions which have not only separated Tatmadaw members from the people, but which have blinded them to a life and place of honour in a new and democratic Burma.

Eugene Thaiké Yawngghwe

VICTIMS OF NO RETURN

FROM VICTORIA HOTEL

Following is a story of young Burmese girls who were forced to work in a hotel in Thailand. There are many victims in the red light districts in each town in Thailand. Thanda was the leader of a group of girls who were in trouble at Victoria Hotel and attempted to escape from it.

We wrote down our bitter sufferings and pity you to help us. The owner of the Victoria Hotel was Taw Wi, a former Immigration police, and also the head of the brothel. We arrived that hotel because while we were facing with economic problems, we met Daw Aye who said the economic was booming in Kaw Thauang (Victoria Point) and also told us if we worked there, we could get 3-4 thousand Kyat per month. We believed her and left our houses after telling our parents we were going to work in the mines and would last only for one month. Daw Aye also promised that we have to serve only one month. Then, all of us were brought up from Rangoon to Moulmein via Martaban by train. We reached Kaw Thauang by boats after last-ed 3 days in the sea. As soon as we reached that town, we had to leave for the Thai soil by a small boat by the order of Daw Aye. While she mentioned about that at that time, we could not understand anymore. At last, we reached Victoria Hotel.

As soon as we entered into the hotel, we heard the sound of closing the entrance of the gate that felt us grief. When we reached the inner parts of the hotel, we saw many rooms where many girls were staying there. Out of them, some were cursing, some were drunkard and some were crying. When we asked about their situations they answered: they had been here for over three years and did not allow them back, did not give any a bit of their wages and fed only a small meal with watery curry. When we reached there, there were only 20 rooms in the hotel, but later increasing to the numbers of 56. We would like to appeal you for our failure to express where the hotel is situated because starting from the day we reached there we were not allowed to go outside.

During the first days, mother-in-law of the owner of the brothel cooked for us. But later, the woman left the brothel after quarreling with him. When she left, a woman named Daw Su cooked for us. But she fed us only a small meal and when we asked more, got nothing exception of scolding. The time for breakfast started from 8:00 a. m and then we had to sit in the room which was covered with glass from 10:00 a.m to 1:00 p.m. Dinner was at 7:00 p.m and after that we had to sit in the room again from 5:00 p.m till midnight. As the room was very small

and the numbers of the women sitting there were more, we were hardly to breathe and were very angry with Taw Wi who put us there like fish paste. As some women were fleeing, the numbers were decreased from 100 to 80. Some were back because of pregnancy. Some vomited even blood and they suffered from anemia. Out of them, many were those who arrived for more than two or three years ago and never got any permission to return home. When they asked to return home on hearing about their families' hardships and even members of family's death, they were beaten. Later, every girl dared not speak openly about returning home, whatever they heard about their families. As they dared not speak openly, they used drugs or drank to exhaust their feeling. Although they spent their own money, they were beaten again because using them. Because of such beating, two-third were suffered from anemia. While they were suffering from anemia, they were not treated regularly and systematically. Anti-virus treatments were not also given. We would like to appeal you to save us for our survival from such suffering.

Now, they owner is trying to sell other girls who were lack of jobs to another hotel in Pauk Khoung. Among those we are also included. Thus, we would like to appeal you to help

us before this event is occurred. When we left our families we have the intention to serve our households' burden. But now we not only could not serve such duty, but we had to eat only the remaining food of the non-Burman nationalities. As soon as we arrived here, we have asked for help to many other like you. But we could not get any response. Then, we met Than Htun and got a little response from him. We, therefore, asked for your help to save from such detention. If you cannot save us, our lives will be futureless and have no hope for meeting with our loving parents again.

When we are suffering from any disease, we had to let it as we have not enough money. When suffering is increasing ever more, the owner called those victims to a quiet place and then shot to death and thrown into the water. How lamentable life it is? We would like, therefore, asked you to help us. All we are those who were lied and forced to sell to that hotel and none of us came here with our own will. We will thank you and never forget your kindness. We will say our prayer at Lord Buddha daily before going to bed. Please, kind to us.

Yours sincerely,

A group of girls from Victoria Hotel where there is no return
3.12.91

**To: United Nations Secretary-General
Heads of State of ASEAN and EC countries, Australia,
Bangladesh, Canada, India, Japan, New Zealand, Norway,
Russia, Sweden, and the USA**

9th April 1992

We, the undersigned, represent Burma's pro- democracy movement. Our peoples have been victimized by over 40 years of successive military regimes; the most frequent manifestation being the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC).

Despite the overwhelming pro-democracy victory in the 1990 election, the Burmese people still await the transfer of power to elected officials. Instead, the SLORC has persecuted, arrested, imprisoned and even killed them. It has denied the most fundamental human rights and freedoms to all and mounted its largest military offensives ever against all of its opponent, offensives characterized by atrocities against innocent civilians on an unprecedented scale.

At this time thousands of Burmese Muslims have been forced to take refuge in Bangladesh as a direct result of Burmese military aggression. This has caused an acute refugee crisis which needs urgent international attention.

This is but the most recent and most publicized example of the Burmese Army's consistent and ruthless suppression of its peoples. For years, there have been increasing numbers of Naga, Kachin, Burman, Karen, Karenni, and Mon refugees spilling over into other neighbouring countries.

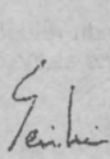
The continuing civil war within Burma and its struggle for human rights and democracy, can no longer be seen as purely domestic issues. Already, Burma is causing destabilization within the South East Asia. There have been clashes between Thai and Burmese troops along the border resulting in fatalities. There has also been increasing tension between the Bangladesh government and the SLORC over the Burmese Muslim refugees and SLORC cross-border aggression. The Indian government is finding it necessary to strengthen its border with Burma. These are but the early warnings of future international conflict and friction.

These recent events cannot be allowed to go unaddressed by the larger world community, nor can they be resolved without addressing the root problems inside Burma. It is essential that the refugees be allowed to return home with a viable guarantee for their safety. However, it is very doubtful that SLORC regime will have the capability or the will to provide such a guarantee. Only a democratic government of Burma with the cooperation of the United Nations and the neighbouring countries could solve this refugee problem peacefully and offer a long lasting solution.

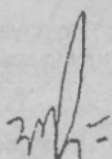
We therefore appeal to you to call for a meeting of the United Nations Security Council and to request the SLORC to comply with the following agenda:

- 1) Cease its attacks in territories controlled by democratic and ethnic forces immediately.
- 2) Release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all other prisoners of conscience unconditionally.
- 3) Allow the peoples of Burma to solve all political problems by discussion and political means.

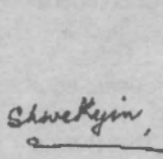
Unless the SLORC immediately complies with these points, strong and decisive action should be taken by the international community to reestablish human rights in Burma and prevent further instability within the region.



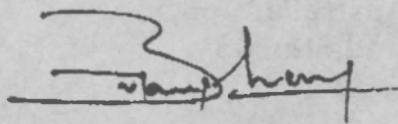
Dr Sein Win
Prime Minister, NCOUB



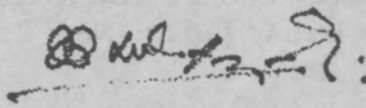
Saw Bo Mya
Chairman, DAB & KNU



Nai Shwe Kyin
Chairman, NDF & NMSP



Brang Seng
Vice Chairman, DAB & Chairman, KIO



Tin Maung Thet
Chairman, ABMU

Abbreviations:

NCGUB - National Coalition Government Union of Burma
DAB - Democratic Alliance of Burma
NDF - National Democratic Front
KNU - Karen National Union
NMSP - New Mon State Party
KIO - Kachin Independence Organization
ABMU - All Burma Muslim Union

Demands of the Burma Refugee Committee Rohingya Group

As the agreement of the Slorc and Bangladeshi government is impossible to accept for the refugees, they presented the conditions for returning home. The demands of the Burma Refugee Committee Rohingya Group are:

1. It is our demand that the leader of the National League for Democracy Party named Daw Onshan Suiki (Daw Aung San Suu Kyi) who won the last General Election of the Parliament of Burma, should be given the power.
2. What we mean by democracy really is the transfer of power to the elected party through process of democracy. We do not agree at the wishes of the Military Force.
3. Those Burma Rohingya Muslims and Hindu who have come into Bangladesh as refugees and others who live in Burma at Mungdo, Muchidong, Ruchidong, Aukub, Chouta area etc, should be given full democracy.
4. Burma should be changed into a country of democracy from Socialism.
5. The favourable environment with food, houses, education, religious physical and mental security along with certainty for return to the native land of the Burma Rohingya Muslims and Hindus should be ensured.
6. The exact loss of the Rohingya Muslims and Hindu

refugees should be estimated and they should be rehabilitated with exact value of the loss.

7. the Burma Rohingya Muslim refugees should be rehabilitated with their houses, graveyard, cultivatable land, pond and mosques occupied illegally with the help of the Government. The mosque for Juma prayers which were locked by the Government stopping their five times prayers, must be unlocked. Many Muslim women refugees are compelled to remain fasting and with much untold sufferings they are forced to do the job of labour. As a result many male and female Rohingya Muslims and children have been suffering from many fatal diseases. Many matured girls give birth to illegal babies. They must be given reasonable compensation and the Burma Government must take initiative to rehabilitate them in the society with proper dignity, on the basis of humanitarian grounds under the United Nations Organisation.
8. The Burma Rohingya refugees must be taken back after obtaining security from United Nations Organisation.
9. The Burma Rohingya Muslim and Hindu refugees must have the right to live in their native land as the citizens of Burma.
10. The bond must be obtained from the Burma Government containing the above demands to rehabilitate the Burma Rohingya Muslim and Hindu refugees executed by the United Nations.



NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF BURMA

STATEMENT ON THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE ELECTION DAY

Date. May 27, 1992

Today is the Second Anniversary of the Election Day in 1990. In that election, the National League for Democracy led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi swept a landslide victory of 392 on 485 seats.

On July 28 and 29 1990, the elected representatives of the NLD held a conference at the Gandhi Hall and demanded;

- 1) To convene the People Assembly in September 1990
- 2) To release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Tin Oo and all other political prisoners.
- 3) To allow the practice of democratic rights and to lift other restrictions upon the people.

The military regime disregarded the will of the people for a democratic government that was shown in the 1990 May election and the Gandhi Declaration, and still refusing to transfer power to the elected members of the parliament.

Up to now, they do not release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other forthright leaders who are stand on the side of people and fighting for democracy.

The release of a small number out of all the political prisoners who were detained in the aftermath of the coup in 1988 was only another deceive of the military regime.

Similarly, the declaration of the military regime, to hold the National Convention within 6 months and to meet and discuss with the leaders of elected parliament members from the parties which were granted for the registration within 2 months are hard to believe for us and one of the their political ploy.

The National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma does not believe that by means of these ploy, the political problems in Burma could no longer be solved.

if the SLORC has the real attitude for the real reconciliation and for the solutions to the political problems, they must exercise the following factors.

1. Release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all the political prisoners immediately and unconditionally.
2. Respect the result of the May Election 1990 and immediately hand over power to the elected representatives.
3. All unfair and unlawful Declarations, Acts, Laws, Orders including the Martial Law which has been declared and used as tools of the suppression by the Regime against the Burmese people must be lift.
4. Political differences to be solved through the dialogue between all the political leaders and revolutionary forces to achieve internal peace and end to the civil war.
5. Human rights and democracy rights must be fully guaranteed.

For the emergence the popular government and for the establishment of the Federal Union which will guarantee the self-determination and equal rights of the ethnic minorities, the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma will continue to struggle in the cooperation of the people throughout the country.

EVERYBODY CAN GO HOME: BUT THROUGH FORCED REPATRIATION

BY NYEIN HAN

The continuing flight to Bangladesh of the refugees

Causing a flood of refugees to neighbouring and has been streaming into Bangladesh for some months, alleging a systematic campaign of violence against them by Slorc troops. The influx of thousands of refugees into Bangladesh is not only a problem for Bangladesh, but also of the world.

Repatriation Pact

Bangladeshi Foreign Minister Mustafizur Rahman and his Slorc counterpart Ohn Gyaw on 27 April 1992 finalised an agreement on the repatriation of the refugees from Burma. Under accord signed on April 28, the Slorc has agreed to take back all the refugees within six months from the last week of May. The Slorc has clarified who would be considered as Burma's nationals and permanent residents: those who had nationality registration cards would be allowed back as 'first category returnees'. Those who had ration cards, any other identity cards or were on voters' lists would also be readmitted. Ohn Gyaw told reporters after signing the accord that if they can prove by legal documents, papers or references that they belong to Burma, the Slorc will take them back. This means that refugees who have lost their documents to prove that they are Burmese nationals might remain stranded in Bangladeshi refugee camps for a long time despite Slorc's decision to take back them.

Concern of the refugees

The refugees demanded that they be allowed to return to Burma only with full respect and assurance of regaining their houses, property and human rights. Because in 1974 and in 1978 the refugees back under a similar situation with United Nations help, but their fate did not change. Any solution was to be considered forced repatriation and would bring only brief credit to the Slorc and Bangladeshi government. The refugees call for a solution participating themselves and guarantees of citizenship as well as protection of civil and political rights for them. Without such a guarantee, any settlement would be futile because the refugees would not return to face further persecution. The refugees repeated atrocities by the Slorc forces had broken the economic backbone of them and also want compensation due to forcible eviction as well as the property.

The refugee inflow does not drop despite the agreement. The exodus is steadily growing; increasing by 2,000 a day and thousands of refugees who are already in Bangladesh are to be fleeing the camps for the forest to avoid being forced repatriated. If the military regime was not oppressing the people in Arakan State, then they would not have run away after the bilateral agreement.

On the point of view of the refugees, the agreement was a death trap and returning home was nothing more than humiliation and atrocities awaiting for them. Most of the refugees, therefore, do not want to go home. They are expecting an effective UN role in the process. Because they have experience of systematic campaign of torture, rape, murder, forced labour and religious persecution and who refused forced labour were shot dead. The Slorc has clearly embarked on a policy of ridding the country of the refugees by any possible means. No longer after the agreement, large numbers of Bangladeshi police deployed in 14 camps and several checkpoints on roads leading out of the area, to stop fleeing refugees to avoid repatriation.

Forced repatriation?

The Bangladeshi government and the Slorc signed another accord on May 7 confirming details of the repatriation, under which 5,000 refugees would leave Bangladesh every alternate day. They agreed to set up 10 transit camps in Bangladesh and five reception centres in Burma to facilitate the repatriation. The refugees will be received at those 5 border camps by the Slorc immigration officials and received a few days' rations.

UNHCR criticised the latter agreement: there are a number of aspects in this agreement which have caused some concern. The UNHCR was also concerned that there was no mechanism to ensure that repatriation was voluntary or to monitor refugees' safety upon their return. The repatriation pact offers no direct role for the UNHCR. The deadline for the repatriation was unrealistic and would not help restore a congenial atmosphere for their safe return. The agreement does not seem compatible with safeguards for voluntary return of the refugees it should have been flexible. The fragile agreement was just a deceptive political ploy and to exhaust the international pressure.

The refugees say they will not return because neither agreement provides guarantees they will be safe, their property returned and that there will be an end to the persecution that prompted them to flee. As the Slorc has refused to let UNHCR representatives onto its side of the border to oversee the repatriation, the refugees confirm that they will never agree to return without such

agency representatives in Burma. The return of the refugees must be safe, voluntary and with dignity and allowed participation of the UNHCR. And the agreement must give sufficient safety guarantees and measures for the return of the refugees to their homes are necessary for the sake of humanity and the international organisations to ensure their voluntary return and no one will be forcibly repatriated.

The continuing flow of refugees from Burma indicates that an atmosphere congenial for safe and voluntary repatriation had not been created.

If they return home who will give a guarantee for their safety, how can they live where there is hopelessness for their survival? Thousands of refugees who were in the refugee camps in Bangladesh might be fleeing these camps into the forest for fear of being forced repatriation. The new arrivals brought along the same old, long-hatred horror tales — rape, physical torture, kidnap and forced labour.

Protest against repatriation at the gun point

Several hundred refugees from Bangladeshi camps on May 12 poured out of the refugee camps near Cox's Bazar and staged protests against forced repatriation; demanding that the repatriation attempts be stopped because of the lack of safety guarantees and UN monitoring.

Despite the protest Bangladesh government inhumanely tried repatriated them on May 15 as scheduled. At that time Bangladesh authorities also claimed that all preparations to begin the repatriation on schedule have been completed.

The UNHCR on May 13 refused to take part in supervision of refugee repatriation on May 15 under the then situation. UNHCR announced that its decision as 2,000 refugees continue to flood daily will remain effective unless something changes. Refugees continued to demonstrate on May 13.

On May 14 while refugees gathered near the office of the camp-in-charge at Balukhali in Cox's Bazar to protest their repatriation, at least one person was killed and 20 other refugees got injured as Bangladeshi paramilitary troops fired on about 2,000 refugees. Following the occurrence of the shooting, the camps were tense and under heavy security guards. The refugees are again oppressed and prohibited from their democratic rights in Bangladesh again. Their lives are not safe both in Burma where there were atrocities and in Bangladesh where the Bangladeshi government attempts to force them home. Who will give a safety guarantee for them in both countries? Who will protect their human dignity and the right to live and other rights.

Because of the shooting, both the Slorc and the Bangladeshi government decided to postpone the

repatriation until May 17 when both sides would meet again. Tensions and uncertainties continued to grip in the 14 refugee camps along the border since then.

Refugees erected several roadblocks and marched peacefully on a highway on May 15 in Teknaf, Bangladesh, to show their opposition to the forced repatriation.

More restriction to the refugees

Police imposed tight security around the refugee camps in southeastern Bangladesh on May 17 before a meeting between officials of the two countries to decide a time-frame for their repatriation. Bangladesh officials ordered security forces to keep refugees confined to their straw-and-bamboo huts. Bangladesh and Slorc officials met again on May 17 in Teknaf to finalise a schedule for the repatriation.

Repatriation should not take place until it is safe for the refugees who have fled and still kept pouring a nightmare of continued persecution across the border into Bangladesh. To find solution to the problem is as a first step Bangladesh government should allow the refugees to stay temporarily. If Bangladesh government affords further attempts to send the refugees back their resistance will swell than before. Why does the Bangladesh government not tolerate any protests against the planned repatriation? The Bangladesh government should reconsider that if conditions are right in Burma why more people are leaving now?

Bangladesh on May 26 tightened security at refugee camps and banned unauthorized visits and free contact of the refugees with outsiders has also been restricted. Anyone desiring to see the refugees and talk to them in any camp would from now on be required to get permission from the government-appointed camp officials or police. Moreover, the police were ordered to be alert against attempts to further protests.

Bangladesh authorities marked the borders of the two camps — Balukhali 1 and 2, where anti-repatriation protests took place — with the red flags beyond which the refugees are not being permitted to go. Furthermore, Bangladesh officials no longer released any kind of information on the refugees.

Awaiting problems

More than 8,500 refugees are still without shelter, huddling by the roadside of the hillside forests. All 268,600 refugees' lives have been a nightmare. Rains and wind in the 3rd week of May have worsened conditions in straw-and-bamboo camps built for them. On May 27 as heavy rains pounded the Cox's Bazar area, camps conditions were precarious about 100 refugees died. Since January 896 refugees have died from dysentery, diarrhea and other intestinal diseases. Doctors have warned that the rains could spread disease, especially

Speech by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi accepting the Award of the International Human Rights Law Group to be delivered (delivered) by her son Alexander (Myint San Aung) in Washington on 14 May 1992.

To receive the Award of the International Human Rights Law Group on the same occasion as H. E. Patricio Aylwin is a great honour. It will help to focus attention on issues crucial to Burma at this point in time. The President of Chile is an exceptional leader widely respected for his role in helping to create a growing awareness of the strong link between truth and reconciliation.

Fears and suspicions generated by deception, injustice and lack of respect for human dignity cast long shadows across societies fractured by the violation of human rights. Healing the hurts of such societies is essentially a process of reconciliation which requires a genuine desire to place the happiness and well-being of the whole nation above the narrow interests of individuals and groups. It also requires an atmosphere of increasing trust.

The reestablishment of trust after a long period of bitter antagonism depends on a willingness by all to face the truth about deeds, emotions and attitudes which cause suffering and discord. Facing the truth can be a painful task which calls not only for courage but for faith — faith that in the long run sincerity and good will can overcome the lingering effects of duplicity and hatred.

The acceptance of the need to work towards the truth will open the door to true reconciliation which goes beyond token gestures of appeasement to become a meeting of hearts and minds united in efforts to find solutions to common problems.

Today the world is watching Burma (officially known as Myanmar) to see whether the rights of citizens to participate fully in the political process of their country will be conceded; whether the will of the people as expressed through free and fair elections will truly be respected; whether there will be serious moves to protect human rights by promoting the rule of law and by establishing an independent judiciary.

I have never doubted the ability of the people of my country to bring about these and other desirable changes once national reconciliation has been achieved. It is my sincere hope that this can be brought about soon through a concerted effort to place truth and understanding above manoeuvres aimed at consolidating vested interests.

Whenever I learn that I am the recipient of an award connected with human rights or democracy my thoughts immediately turn to gallant colleagues who have sacrificed so much for their beliefs. And of course I always have in mind all the people of my country who have struggled so hard to establish their right to shape their national destiny. It is in their name and in the name of my colleagues that I accept this award with sincere thanks.

And let me end by saying how very much I admire the work of the Group which has done signal honour to my country and to me in this way.

Aung San Suu Kyi
Rangoon
12.5.1992

Continued from page(17)

waterborne ones. Nearly 620 refugees, mostly children have died of malnutrition and disease.

In the light of approaching monsoon, help the refugees to save their lives. If the refugees would not get enough help before the monsoon fully starts which is in June their sufferings will know no bounds.

The persecution of the refugees will stop and the refugees can go home safely only after democracy is restored in Burma. It is indisputable that without restoration of democracy and human rights in Burma, safety and security of the human being cannot be guaranteed. Under these situations, numerous human rights violations will occur in the future. Therefore the international community should focus on the achieving of democracy and pressure the SLORC to free democracy-seeking people from the confinement of the junta in Burma.

NYEIN HAN

PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION ON BURMA

Following is the text of question without notice and answer given in the Senate on 27 May 1992.

Senator Schacht — My question is directed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade. Today is the second anniversary of the 1990 Elections held in Burma to elect a National Assembly in which the National League for Democracy, led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, swept to a landslide victory but has been prevented from taking office by the repressive Slorc regime. Can the minister advise whether the Slorc, under the new chairman, General Than Shwe, firstly is any closer to handing over power to a democratically elected National Assembly; secondly, is any closer to convening a National Convention in October this year; thirdly, has released more political prisoners; fourthly, has honoured the agreement for repatriation of Rohingyas refugees from Bangladesh; and, fifthly, has stop Burmese army attacks against the Karen National Union forces near the Thai-Burma border? Further, does the Minister have reports about the well being of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi following the recent visit by her husband, Michael Aris? Lastly, if there has not been any significant improvement in these matters by the Slorc, will the Australian Government impose economic sanctions against the Burmese regime.

Senator Gareth Evans — There have been a number of recent developments giving some cause for hope that we may be entering a new era but as yet those signs are still few, far between, insubstantial and incomplete. What has happened is that, first, there have been decisions made to convene a meeting of political parties by late next month and a National Convention by October. We will have to wait and see whether that happens according to that timetable but that, at last, is a healthy development.

To answer the second question, there are no indications that processes are under way or have commenced to bring about actual democratic reform.

As to the question of political prisoners, more have been released, with the current total standing at 110. While that is welcome and very much overdue, it has to be said that the pace of release is still extraordinarily sluggish, with possibly 2,000 or more political prisoners still awaiting release.

As to the repatriation of the Rohingya refugees, that regrettably, did not commence on 15 May as had been agreed and the suffering of those people continues. We understand that that is due to the failure of the

Burmese government to provide adequate preparations for the safe return of the refugees in question. On the eastern border, the cease-fire between the Burmese army and the Karen National Union forces does appear to be holding. We remain, however, cautious about the significance of that because, as I have previously stated, the onset of the monsoon could have been the key factor in that particular Burmese decision. As to the condition of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from public reporting of a statement recently issued by her husband, she is in good spirits and good health despite almost three years in detention.

The Australian Government has been keeping under review, obviously, the whole question of implementing economic sanctions against Burma. We are getting very close to the point at which we will have to make a decision whether to go further down that particular path on the assumption that what has happened is simply cosmetic and insubstantial or whether rather to accept what has happened as a series of steps in the right direction. It is just too early at the moment to make that decision.

We are in active consultation with a number of other countries around the world and in the region that have a close and intense interest in this. All I can undertake sensibly to do is not to set timetable or specific criteria but to say that we very much want to maintain the international pressure on Burma, we very much want this process that has apparently commenced to be made real and substantial and followed through, and we will do whatever we can to ensure that in the weeks and months ahead.

Senator Schacht — I ask the Minister a supplementary question.

In view of his comment that HE will keep under very close review the issue of whether economic sanctions can be laid against the Burmese regime, can the minister give me an indication of whether, by the end of June when the Senate is due to rise for this session of Parliament, HE will be able to indicate the senate whether it is an appropriate time to consider the question of economic sanctions.

Senator Gareth Evans — I certainly imagine that by then we will be in a better position to make a substantive judgment of the kind that is required. But obviously, I do not want to make any specific commitment or set any specific timetable. It is a matter of doing what is sensible in all the circumstances and that depends on the judgments we make as the events unfold.

it is with a mixture of cynicism and slight hope that we watch events unfolding in Burma. The unrelieved grimness of news coming out of that country for the past two years makes even the minor concessions and promises made recently by the Rangoon junta seem a reason to hope that things are finally turning out for the better. But what should not be forgotten is that the leaders of Burma's State Law and Order Restoration Council (Slorc) have proved time and again their duplicity and inability to keep their word.

It seems likely that the junta is only playing a more sophisticated game. The realization may have crept in among Burma's top brass that Slorc must take steps to ease international pressure against it if it is to survive. The danger here is that the international community, Asean in particular, will find it convenient to treat cosmetic changes as real reform. This would simply give the junta carte blanche to continue to do as it pleases inside the country and so condemn the Burmese people to further suffer and die.

Impossible conditions

It is surprising departure from Slorc's usually coarse tactics, the concessions announced over the last week, since the replacement of junta head Gen Saw Maung by Gen Than Shwe last Thursday, seem subtly designed to provide maximum effect internationally at minimum risk. Thirty-eight political prisoners have been released since Sunday, including former premier U Nu. Many of them, however, are elderly dissidents who pose little threat to the regime. Indeed, Slorc announced that no one would be released who posed a threat to 'national security'.

This group presumably would include opposition leader and Nobel Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been under house arrest since July 1989. Slorc did announce that she would be able to receive a visit from her husband and children. Some observers felt that the junta might be hoping that her

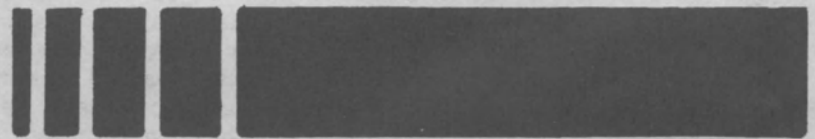
family would persuade her to leave Burma. Almost no one expected the charismatic opposition leader to be unconditionally released, however, as such a move would spell the end of Slorc's rule as certainly as Nelson Mandela's release brought an end to apartheid in South Africa.

Rangoon also announced that it would open talks with opposition parties and call a national convention later this year to put together a constitution. Although it had not been said so directly before, this was not really anything new — Slorc had said as much in the past and then reneged on its promises by attaching impossible conditions on the opposition. Anti-government forces note that even if Rangoon were to abide by its promises and stop its repression, a Slorc-backed convention could take years to come with a new constitution.

cover other anti-Rangoon ethnic groups such as Kachin, Karen and Mon. The outside world is much less familiar with these groups than they are with the Karen, so the move indicates again that Slorc may be choosing concessions that will have the greatest international impact.

But the concession that they may have the most dangerous implications involves problems on Burma's western border. Rangoon has reportedly agreed to take back most of the 225,000 Muslim refugees, known as Rohingyas, who have fled into Bangladesh over the past few months because of terrible persecution in Burma's western Arakan state. Although this is a remarkable departure from Rangoon's policy of just a few weeks ago, when it was claiming that the Rohingyas were illegal immigrants who had no place in

No Reason to trust the men in Rangoon



One move that did surprise almost everyone, however, came on Tuesday, when Rangoon announced that it was suspending its military offensive against the Karen army based along the Thai border, in the interest of 'national unity and good will'. Still it is yet unclear whether this is just a fanciful way of Rangoon wrapping up its fighting before the start of the rainy season or something more.

Karen leaders were not ready to give any credit to Rangoon. They pointed out that they had been fighting the central government for over 40 years, and had been deceived before. They also noted that the cessation of hostilities did not

Burma, there is no indication that the situation in Arakan has changed. The Rohingyas are understandably nervous, and are demanding a role for the UN in their repatriation. They certainly deserve it — with no international monitoring, they may be stepping into a killing field by returning home.

Unfortunately, there seems to be forces in the region that would love to see the Rohingya situation solved no matter what the result. For it was this issue more than anything that was beginning to push a reluctant Asean, spearheaded by Malaysia and Indonesia, away from its traditional policy of "constructive engagement" towards Burma. But

UPDATE DRUG ISSUE

In early April 1992, there have been talks that Slorc would hold another drug burning ceremony. The United Wa State Party (UWSP), the strongest of the various former BCP break away groups, had been repeatedly approached by the Slorc to participate in that ceremony. Although they have refused for many times in the past, after being pressured by the Chinese government, they have conceded to participate.

The Drug burning ceremony took place at a remote border town in eastern Kokang and Wa region. Slorc claimed that it has destroyed 120 million US dollar worth of heroin, opium, chemicals and refining equipment.

A local report said that heroin was purchased from local people at the price of 80,000 kyats per kilo. Slorc agreed to pay the sum within 3 months. In a somewhat humorous vein, the local people surreptitiously mixed the opium with the barks shavings from banana plant in an attempt to get maximum price for a minimum of opium.

RECENT STATISTIC OF OPIUM PRODUCTION AND HEROIN REFINERIES

REGION	FAMILIES	ACREAGE	REFINERIES
Kokang	6,000	12,720	52
Kun Lung, Hopung	306	735	
Gang Ming	1,200	2,000	-
Sinli	2,000	10,000	-
Wa (Mung Mau-Mung-San)	NA	25,000	NA

It is reported that within Shan State, 35 kilometres from Thai-Burma border, one can find significant numbers of opium fields. Of those areas that have cease fire agreement with the Slorc, former BCP 101 military zone, Kokang and Wa regions and 815 region are all presently involved in opium cultivation.

The grapevine has it that Khin Nyunt, the Slorc's Commander Kyaw Ba in Northern Commander and Commander Htun Kyi in Central Command are now famous as No. 4 entrepreneur, Jade entrepreneur and Gold entrepreneur.

Continued from page(20)-

with the Rohingyas back home and forgotten about, Asean may have less reason than ever to change this morally bankrupt position.

Convenient amnesia

Such convenient amnesia on the part of the countries of the region would be tragic. Without pressure from Asean and China, there will almost certainly be no change within Burma. On the other hand, the re-

cent concessions may indicate that there are elements pushing for reform within military circles in Rangoon, who need now more than ever a strong signal by Asian countries that their tolerance with Slorc has its limits.

Asean needs to find its collective spine and immediately demand the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all other political prisoners. And if this does not work, the only option

will be for the UN to move towards an arms embargo and strict economic sanctions against Rangoon. There is no other way. The long suffering people of Burma deserve no less.

(The Nation, 2 May 1992)

Political Analysis On Present Situation

As soon as the 1988 democracy uprising was brutally cracked down by the military regime, the Slorc perjured the people for the first time that was allowing the multi-party system and the promise to hold the Election. But behind the curtain, they plot many cunning sketches.

(1) They allowed the emergence of hundred of the political parties and created the people's confusion and perplexity. Over 300 political parties were emerged as the military regime allowed the coming forth of many Sub-pro-military parties which were set up by the former members of the BSPP and any political party can be formed if there were 15 persons.

(2) The Slorc also disturbed the organising tour of 6 political parties which got people's support. For example, in April 1989, in Danubyu, a Slorc captain tried to shoot Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, on her organizing tour. Meetings within any political party were prohibited from attending more than 50 persons but had to give the MIs permission of attending any meeting. Members of Organizing Committee of NLD were arrested under the allegation of shunning the Order 2/88 that prohibit of gathering more than 5 persons.

(3) All the civilian servants including military personnel were prohibited by the Slorc's issue of Order from the participation in any political party and forced into neutral stand. These Orders were issued by the Generals, including then Defence Minister Gen Saw Maung, who were former central committee members of the BSPP.

(3) The Slorc opened the discussions among the military personnel and their household families and at those meetings Gen Than Shwe plainly told them to consider whether to live as a slave or as a master before voted for. This means the National Unity Party was fully backed up by the Slorc and if NUP won in the Election, the military men can colonise the people as masters. If they voted for other opposition parties, they would be lived as slaves. The speech addressed by Gen Than Shwe in March 1990 revealed that the military personnel were not the country's servants but the masters of it.

(5) Through the media and patrol cars the Slorc announced from time to time as a

psychological warfare that the soldiers are sacrificing their lives for people's safety; only the soldiers love the country and serve for it.

But people are still suffering from the evil social system nearly 3 decades. So, they could no longer lie the people whom were deceived for many years and understand whatever they act. The people, therefore, voted only for NLD out of mushroomed political parties. On the other hand, the people avoided the trap of the Slorc and could seek for the right path. The winning party NLD swept 87.7 % of all ballots shows how high is the people's thinking in the political field.

The result of that election was a torn on the Slorc's side which was nailed by itself. It was like the saying of Stalin that 'West Berlin was like a torn which nailed into him.' But the Slorc as the persons who are lack of dignity, shameless and humanitarian obligation, disregarded their promises which were guaranteed by Gen Saw Maung in his speech on the Armed Forced Day in 1990. They forget their promise that is after the emergence of a government which is formed by the representatives who are elected by the people, the soldiers are to return to their barracks; only holding of the election is responsible for the military and in the aftermath of it will be responsible for the government that was emerged by way of the election.

While they pronounced that the election was free and fair, they are continuing disregard the elected representatives to convene the People's Assembly, refuse to release NLD chairman U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi but arrest the prominent elected representatives in the aftermath of the Gandhi Conference. Moreover, torture, killings and sentence to prison terms revealed that the election held by the Slorc means no more than a referendum.

The pressure of the international community demanding to respect the election results and to surrender power to the winning party, NLD, increased more than ever when Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who has been under house arrest nearly for (3) year was awarded the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize. At the same time the United Nations also paid more attention on Burma issue and many countries around the world exception of China, Cuba and ASEAN member countries which believed that econom-

ic sanction on Burma was an intervention of one country's domestic affairs, pressured on the Slorc:

- (1) to release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi immediately and unconditionally and
- (2) to turn over power to the winning party.

As Sanghas held the religious boycott to the Slorc following the death of (2) monks and (2) students who were shot dead by the military regime while they were peacefully and calmly offering the alms to the Sanghas celebrating the memorandum of the second anniversary of the 8888 democracy movement, many monks were arrested and sentenced to different terms for imprisonment and forced to be stripped of their robe against their will. These events are actually degraded and bitter to the Buddhist Sanghas and people. To divert their attention, the Slorc barefacedly invented a method: driven out the Muslims in Buthidaung and Maungdaw townships by force. That causes the exodus of all Muslims in Arakan State into Bangladesh. Then the Slorc attacked a Bangladeshi outpost which is on the border of Bangladesh's side and deployed its forces up to 20,000. The Slorc did that with (2) main purpose:

- (1) To cover their sins of oppressed the Buddhist monks and to display that the Slorc respects and safeguards Buddhism by creating misunderstandings among the extremist Buddhists and Muslims.

- (2) To prevent from forthcoming western resistance front of democratic forces: such driving out the Muslims cannot get objection even if there cannot get support from the Arakanese nationalities. On the other hand, the Slorc mobilised the patriotic Arakanese nationalities.

But for this time, the problem was not able to settle as it was in 1978 when the Muslims were driven out and later were accepted. This time the problem reached to the UNHCR office, became increasing day by day and the Slorc was denounced by the international community. The Burmese Muslims in Bangladesh were aided by UNHCR in setting up the refugee camps. The Slorc's activities were opposed even by the ASEAN countries — Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia — which then refused to exercise the economic sanctions to Burma and regarded the Slorc's activities as internal affairs. The international media also condemned their acts. These caused the Slorc to isolate from the international communi-

ty and to sink in the split.

To heal this the Slorc focused on the following factors. These factors are

- (1) the resignation of Saw Maung from all posts after suffering a nervous breakdown;
- (3) the release of U Nu and other 11 politicians from house arrest;
- (3) the announcement gave permission Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to meet her husband; and
- (4) the release of the second line leaders of NLD.

These are very dangerous and have many tricks. Everyone must see what is behind the curtain and then have to avoid from the dangerous path.

- (1) The resignation of saw Maung makes no changes as he was only a puppet; not the person who can work with his own idea.

- (2) The release of U Nu and his 11 followers was no longer a loss to the Slorc as U Nu became inactive and too old to participate in the political activities and he was not so popular among the populace and he cannot throw off the Slorc's stance.

- (3) Although we can say that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi becomes a prominent leader because of destiny, as a matter of fact she herself is skillful and she is the only one who can get the people's support. Thus, the Slorc did not take into account to release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as they did to U Nu. The permission given to meet her husband Michael Aris was intending to relax the increasing international pressure in a positive mean. . It is indisputable that Michael Aris had to agree a gag order from the Slorc before he was given permission to meet her. It is obvious that if any word which is beyond the Slorc's limit slipped out, it is certain the Slorc will make further restriction to meet her. We must learn on whether Michael Aris was how outspoken.

- (2) The release of U Chit Khaing and others who are only the second line leaders of NLD was not a great adventure to the Slorc because the relation between the people and NLD was nearly frozen. There are many linkages in reopening of GHq of NLD at U Aung Shwe's house by the forcible order of the Mis and the removal of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo as its the leaders. Moreover, township offices of NLD were also forced to be close by the MIs for six months ago.

Thus, the release cannot be said it was done by the Slorc's good attitude and with generosity. Why the Slorc did not release the people respective representatives? It is obvious that the Slorc will not release the people's representatives who will serve only for the people and refuse the control of the Slorc.

Thus, the real steps that the Slorc in-

tends to do are:

(1) Convening of the National Convention which was attended by the political parties and the drafting of the Constitution;

(2) To announce the amnesty for the students who are now in the jungle;

(3) To hold the next election; and

(4) To turn over power.

(1) When the National Convention is held in participating of many political parties, there may be tangle among them in drafting the Constitution and it will last for 4 or 5 years as it is disturbed by the Slorc agents. If the Slorc pours the fuel into the ethnic conflicts, the problems will never be solved and it will slip into the endless one. The Slorc may retard the time and if it becomes as mentioned above, holding the election is meaningless.

(2) If the Slorc plan for the return of the students who are now sheltering in the jungle, the Slorc's spies who could hold the higher posts within the organization will deceive their followers who believe whatever they do and then will return to the Slorc. By this way they will smash the Students' organization.

(3) After drafting the Constitution, the next step is certainly to hold another election. In that Constitution such Article: non-elected person can be the Premier or the President of the State will be promulgated. (For example: the appointment of General Suchinda Karaprayoon as the Primer of Thailand although he was non-elected person)

If the leaders of the military junta really love the country and have the real attitude for the establishment of a political system that benefit for the whole populace, they should

(1) Hand over power peacefully to the winning party, NLD, and to help the necessary assistance by positive ways and to respect each other between the leaders of NLD and the military;

(2) Release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all the political prisoners;

(3) Allow the free participation of the people, the military personnel and the civilian servants as their will in the political parties which they respect;

(4) Immediately allow the publication of private newspapers and to promulgate the law that guarantee free media;

(5) Immediately freeze the contracts signed between the Slorc and China, Thailand and Singapore for logging and fishery concession.

(6) Accept UN's monitor in the process of turning over power if there is any difficulty.

These are the only process that can really benefit for Burma.

Htun Aung Gyaw

**SELF-INTEREST AND INDIVIDUAL
SURVIVAL ROUTE
CANNOT AFFORD THE ESCAPE
FROM OPPRESSION.**

NLD (LA, Kachin State) was formed

It was reportedly known that National League for Democracy (Liberated Area, Kachin State) was formed on 5 February 1992 with the following members:

1. U Tin Aung (Former Chairman of NLD Organizing Committee, Kachin State) Chairman
2. U Kya Mya (Elected Representative, Mohnyin-2) Secretary
3. U Kyaw Maung (Elected Representative, Mohnyin-1) Member
4. U N Nan Gam (Elected Representative, Machanbaw) Member
5. U Yaw Hsi (Elected Representative, Putao) Member
6. U Maphang Hsin (Elected Representative, Khawbude) Member
7. U Yan Naung Myint (Member of Organizing Committee, Kachin State) Member
8. U Tha Nyunt (Member of Organizing Committee, Mogaung Township) Member
9. U Min Aung (Leader of NLD Youth, Mogaung Township) Member

On the same day it was known that NLD (LA, Kachin State) also issued a statement that expressed that they with the aims and objectives to overthrow the military regime, to restore internal peace, to achieve democracy and to establish a genuine democratic State, will join hands with the revolutionary groups, democratic political parties and the people until these objectives are fulfilled.

JUNTA CONTINUES HARASSMENT

2 MAY 1992 — Bangkok Post

Burma's rival government has accused the ruling junta of continuing to harass opponents despite its pledge to free political prisoners. The National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma said the junta ordered the families of five national assembly representatives out of their homes in northern Kachin State on Tuesday and confiscated their houses and belongings. The representatives managed to escape to an area controlled by the Kachin Independence Organization, said a statement from the rival government seen yesterday by Reuters here. It did not say when they fled to the ethnic rebel group and the report could not be independently confirmed. The incident showed the junta continued to abuse human rights despite a surprise move last week when it pledged to free all political prisoners not considered a threat to national security, the statement said. So far it has announced the release of 38.

Western diplomats and human rights groups say the junta has arrested thousands of opponents and forced many to flee since taking power in 1988 by brutally suppressing a pro-democracy uprising. The coalition government was formed by dissidents who fled to rebel-held areas after the junta refused to honour the result of a May 1990 election, which the opposition National League for Democracy won by a landslide. The statement dismissed the releases as a "propaganda ploy against increasing international pressure." It said the latest incident shows life was becoming more dangerous for elected opposition representatives and their families.

KAREN LEADER VOWS NOT TO GIVE UP ARMED STRUGGLE

3 MAY 1992 — Bangkok Post

The President of the Karen guerrillas vowed on Friday to continue fighting the Burmese army, saying it was not sincere about peace despite calling a halt to its offensive against his fighters. Bo Mya said the Rangoon junta's announcement on Tuesday that it was suspending one of the most ferocious offensive in its 43-year war against the Karen did not amount to a cease-fire. He said he was sure the government army would attack again in the next dry season. "The only good thing about the announcement is that we can rest for the time being, but as far as they are our enemy we will continue fighting" he told Reuters in an interview at the Karen headquarters of Manerplaw. It was his first interview since Rangoon's announcement.

Burmese troops began withdrawing from front lines near Manerplaw and the Karen's second base of Kaw Moo Ra to the south after Tuesday's announcement on official Rangoon Radio. They continued lobbing mortar bombs toward Karen positions after the announcement, apparently to cover their withdrawal, Karen officers said. "I had been expecting them to pull back before the rains come next month and I strongly believe that their offensive will resume after the end of the rainy season" Bo Mya said.

RANGOON GAG ORDER ON SUU KYI HUSBAND

4 MAY 1992 — Bangkok Post

Aung San Suu Kyi's husband Michael Aris had to agree to a "gag

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order" from Burma's military junta before he was given permission to visit her, sources in Rangoon said yesterday. Aris, visiting his detained wife for the first time in 2-2 1/2 years, is barred from making any unofficial contacts in Rangoon during his visit or issuing any political statements afterwards, the source said. If the English-born Harvard professor breaks any of the restrictions, he will be barred from further contact from Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been held under house arrest since July 1989. Aris flew into Rangoon from Bangkok on Saturday after carefully avoiding journalists in the Thai capital, then was driven directly to his wife's two-storey colonial house on University Avenue.

The car went straight into the compound, which is protect by a high security wall to stop people from seeing in. Outside, soldiers continued to stand guard, barring passers-by from lingering or taking photographs. All contact between the couple had been cut since July 1990. In a rare interview late last year, Aris admitted he was concerned for his wife's health. "I worry all the time" he said. Soldiers also patrol inside the compound. Reliable sources say guards were placed inside the house late last year as well, but were removed after the Nobel Peace Prize winner went on a hunger strike to protect their presence.

"After several days they withdrew, the junta realising she would fast to the bitter end" said one resident in the capital. The British ambassador in Rangoon said yesterday that he had no plans to meet Aris during his stay. "The British government considers it a totally private visit and will make no attempt to meet Mr Aris" ambassador Julian Hartland-Swann told AFP. News of the visit has been

reported by Rangoon's state-run radio and the Working people's Daily newspapers without comment.. Neither said how long Aris would stay.

In the past the junta has severely criticised Aung San Suu Kyi, 46, daughter of Burmese independence hero Aung San and symbol for Burma's pro-democracy movement, for marrying a foreigner. The newspaper has frequently carried cartoons ridiculing her and joking that she was not a true Burmese because of her marriage. The decision to allow Aris to visit Aung San Suu Kyi was part of a series of reforms announced in late April after the country's military head General Saw Maung was replaced.

NO NEW CHECKPOINTS WITH BURMA TO OPEN

5 May 1992 Bangkok Post

Interior Minister Anan Kalinta says he has no policy to open more crossing points on the Thai-Burmese border to allow the transport of logs. Instead, he signed an order to close one border crossing which he considers no longer necessary. ACM Anan declined to comment on a claim that a former interior minister once accepted a bribe in return for the opening of the border to allow a logging company to bring in logs from Burma. He said he had not been told about this.

LOGGING RACKET AT BURMA BORDER

MAY 6, 1992 — Bangkok Post

Tak- Police have uncovered an organized tree-felling racket along the Burmese border with the timber smuggled into Burma for processing before being brought back to Thailand for sale. Forestry Police 2nd Sub-division investigative inspector, Pol Lt-Col Chart Thirakarnanant, said the racket was discovered after police found a large number of teak trees had been cut down illegally in Mae Ramat National Park, Mae Ramat District. About 200 teak

logs were found lying in piles along the border, apparently awaiting shipment to Burma for processing into window and door frames.

Several makeshift buildings were also found on both sides of the Moei River which divides Thailand and Burma. The buildings on the Burmese side were mainly wood-processing factories linked to Thailand by a bridge where a generator was found to supply the buildings with electricity. Police said the wood processed in Burma was to be smuggled back into Thailand for sale. Po Lt-Col Chart said police thought the racket was financed by local merchants.

BURMESE OF FAKING STUDENT STATUS TO ENTER CAMP

(Bangkok Post 17.5.92)

The interior Ministry say that many Burmese who have applied for entry to the holding centre in Ratchaburi's Pak Tho District are not students and face legal action as illegal immigrants. The ministry has examined some 700 cases out of 1,200 who have registered but half have allegedly been found not to be students. Only students who fled their countries for political reasons are entitled to stay at the Burmese students' centre and receive temporary immigrant status. Burmese who have entered the country illegally were to register with the Interior Ministry between February 16 and May 15 for admission to the camp which is now about 70 per cent full and due to open in mid-June.

THAI-BURMA-CHINA ROAD PROJECT MIGHT STALL

(The Nation, 26.5.92)

A four-lane highway project from Chiang Mai to Chiang Rai aimed at eventually linking Thailand, Burma and China may be stalled or even halted due to political strife in Thailand. Chiang Mai governor Chanasak Yuvabul recently told the

Nation that the Interior Ministry and the Foreign Ministry sent official letters to both Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai administrations recommending further negotiations with Burma and China on the transportation link. Chanasak said the Foreign Ministry's letter suggested that the government would launch official negotiations. The provincial officials would not open direct contact with China because China's southern provinces are now in competition in promoting tourism.

An official in Chiang Mai's Chamber of Commerce said that the 160 kilo-road from Chiang Mai to Chiang Rai has to be upgraded into the four-lane highway. Currently the road is cramped with a large number of vehicles. Many accidents have occurred on the road's sharp curves and steep slopes. The official said Chiang Mai Chamber of Commerce has submitted ways to reconstruct the road, expanding parts of it to four lanes. Chiang Mai civil engineer Tavorn Rapeepat said that the Chiang Mai-Chiang Rai road has been recently listed as the highway. The reconstruction has been undertaken on the road from Chiang Mai to Doi Saket District which will be expanded to four lanes. The road from Doi Saket to Vieng Pa Pout District in Chiang Rai will be expanded only in areas of high slopes and sharp curves.

The remaining traffic lane that ends in Chiang Rai province will be reconstructed soon. A survey has been started, he said. The expansion of the traffic-surface of Chiang Mai-Chiang Rai road is part of a plan to have the international transportation-link from Chiang Mai-Chiang Rai via Burma to China. Previously, high-level provincial officials at Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai took made trips to discuss a possibility with Yunan's administration. Director of the Northern Development Centre, Pradit Daochai said the province can convince the government to continue to expand the road by emphasizing that good transport will encourage tourism. Chiang Rai can act as a coordinator because the issue involves relations

between Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai and Yunnan in China. The construction in Burma's area has been hindered by insufficient budget.

AIRCRAFT MAKER WOOS RANGOON

(Bangkok Post, 27.5.92)

AFP-Singapore-based Deutsche Aerospace showed its wares on Monday to senior Burmese officials, flying one of its ATR-72 passenger planes for them at Rangoon's Mingladon Airport, official Burmese Radio said. The air crew also took the Rangoon officials on a trial flight to Burma's central city of Mandalay and returned to the capital later, said Rangoon Radio, monitored in Bangkok. The air show was jointly organised by the Burmese Trade and Finance Ministry and the Singapore-based company. The aircraft was also test-flown by Burmese commercial and air force pilots, it said.

BURMESE STUDENTS PROTEST IN NEW DELHI

(The Nation, 28.5.92)

In New Delhi, some 30 Burmese students sang patriotic songs, chanted pro-democracy slogans and waved placards yesterday denouncing Burma's military government as they attempted to march on the Burmese embassy. Police stopped the peaceful demonstrators, who were marking the May 27, 1990 election victory by Suu Kyi and her National League for Democracy, about a mile from the embassy compound. However, they allowed seven of them to approach the embassy complex in the posh Chanakyapuri diplomatic enclave in an attempt to convey a petition to the ruling junta, officially called the State Law and Order Restoration Council (Slorc), which has refused to recognize the election results.

Embassy staff refused to accept the Burma Students' League petition, which demanded that the Slorc surrender power to the 'elected representatives of the people.' The

group dropped it through the gate and shouted pro-democracy slogans before being moved on by police. The petition also criticised recent moves by the new Slorc leaders to release some political prisoners as 'pitiful manoeuvres' and said the international community had seen through them as an 'exercise to hang onto power.' India has called for Suu Kyi's release and the transfer of power from the Slorc to the elected government, and is home to Than Than U, daughter of recently released opposition figure U Nu, as well as scores of Burmese refugees. Many of them are students.

BURMESE SCREENED BY MINISTRY

(Bangkok Post, 31 May 1992)

The Interior Ministry has completed questioning 1,000 of 1,233 Burmese illegal immigrants who have reported to the ministry. Only those identified as students will be sent to stay in a holding centre to be completed in Pak Tho District of Ratchaburi Province next month. The ministry will continue its screening until Thursday. Thai authorities claim only 40 percent of those registered at the ministry so far have been identified as students who qualify for the centre. The ministry will also allow all married students to stay in the camp. The other people came to work in Thailand, officials said. The students who report to the ministry form two groups—those who fled the country to conduct a peaceful struggle in Thailand and those who joined ethnic rebel groups in an armed struggle along the Thai-Burmese border. The centre can accommodate about 2,000 people but only 500 will be accepted initially.

ARMED BURMESE ARRESTED

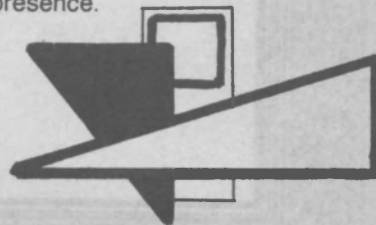
(The Nation, 30.5.92)

Police arrested a group of Burmese nationals and seized a large number of weapons as some 10,000 Muslim refugees crossed into Bangladesh

this week, state-run media said yesterday. The state-run Bengali daily *Dainik Bangla* said 10 Burmese nationals from Arakan state were arrested in a hotel in Ramu, near the Bangladesh frontier town of Cox's Bazar, several days ago. They were possibly sent by the Burmese junta to carry out terrorist activities in Bangladesh, the newspaper said. The seized weapons included machine guns, G-3 rifles, grenades, mines and explosives as well as ammunition.

Meanwhile, the official BSS news agency said in a report from Cox's Bazar that some 10,000 Burmese Muslim refugees, known as Rohingyas, had crossed into Bangladesh during the week. The exodus had continued despite assurances by the Rangoon government that it would not permit Rohingyas to leave their homes, the agency quoted officials as saying. The new arrivals brought the number of refugees in Bangladesh to around 268,600, many of whom have fallen ill following heavy downpours. At least 96 refugees died during the past five days, and 896 have died from dysentery, diarrhoea and other intestinal diseases since January, when the first camps were set up. Unofficial estimates have put the death toll at more than 1,000.

The Rohingyas were to be repatriated by May 15, but the situation has become uncertain following the reluctance of the refugees to go home and Rangoon's refusal to permit the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on its side of the border to monitor the process. The prestigious English weekly *Holiday* said yesterday that diplomats in Dhaka and abroad had questioned the Dhaka-Rangoon agreement on repatriation and stressed the need for a UNHCR presence.





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