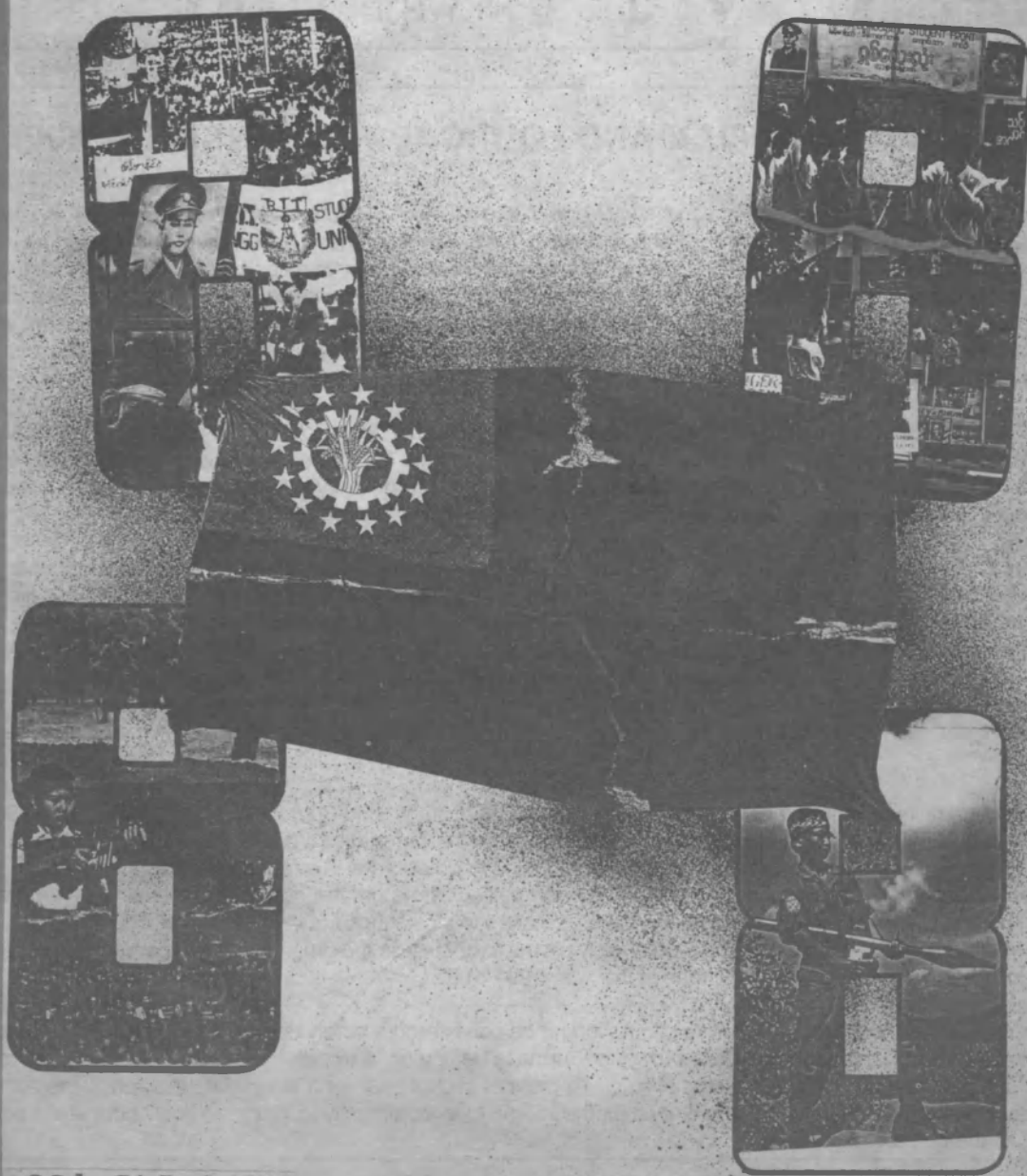


# DAWN

NEWS BULLETIN



92' OLD LADY



Vol.3 No.12

August, September 1992

## **TIME FOR HUMANITARIAN AND POLITICAL INTERVENTION IN BURMA.**

Burma today is a nation that is disintegrating. If unchecked, it could result in a total and irreparable break in the already badly damaged bonds between individual and society. The weakening of these bonds will in turn loose the others that bind individuals and society together. Current events in Somalia, Afghanistan and what used to be Yugoslavia and all bear witness to what happens when these bonds are unraveled. Previously, these countries all endured a long period of dictatorship, for which the people felt neither loyalty nor love. This is also the case in Burma where the people have twice, in 1988 and 1990, at great personal risk and cost in lives, very emphatically expressed their rejection of their rulers.

The military dictatorship under the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) is not able to resolve the problems in Burma. If allowed to continue, SLORC will only complete the process of national disintegration begun by General Ne Win in 1962. When that happens, the international community will have another human tragedy of catastrophic proportions on its hands. The early warning signs of things to come are already very much apparent.

Since the State Law and Order Restoration Council staged the military coup on 18 September 1988, thousands of students, Buddhist monks and political dissidents have been fleeing to the neighbouring countries to escape from arrest, torture and death. At the same time, SLORC has been intensifying military operations against the ethnic minorities who are demanding equality and self-determination. SLORC usually practice the havoc system in the course of 44 years long civil war. Grave human rights violations like arbitrary arrest, summary execution, torture, rape, forced labour and forced relocations are common in the border regions. Following Burmese army suppression, civilian villagers too have been fleeing increasing numbers up to 400,000 to date placing a great burden on the host countries.

The Burmese military regime has been rapidly increasing its military build-up from a force of 180,000 in 1988 to 300,000 today, trying to equip the army with modern weapons purchased from China, Poland, Pakistan and Singapore while the economic plight of its people continues to deteriorate. To replenish depleted national coffers with badly needed foreign currency, SLORC has been selling off its natural resources, resulting in large-scale alarming environmental damage. Meanwhile, reliable pointers to indications the involvement of SLORC in the drug trade are mounting. Even though SLORC ostensibly claims to champion the drug eradication campaign, production of opium actually increased to 2,400 tons in the year 1991-1992.

For these reasons, the situation in Burma can no longer be considered a purely domestic problem. Border clashes along the Thai and Bangladesh borders show that Burma is beginning to threaten the stability of the whole region and will become a source of international conflict. To prevent such a crisis and to alleviate the senseless suffering of the people in Burma, there is an urgent need for the international community to intervene now, both at the political as well as the humanitarian level.

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*Published By All Burma Students' Democratic Front*  
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## ABSDF CHAIRMAN DR. NAING AUNG PARTICIPATES IN SWISS CONFERENCE

At the invitation of the Moral Rearmament, ABSDF Chairman Dr Naing Aung participated in the Conference on "Region in Crisis, Region in Recovery", held August 12 to 18, 1992 in Switzerland. In the Asia Pacific Seminar of the Conference, Dr Naing Aung presented the present situations inside Burma and the movements of the democratic forces along the border. Moreover, the Chairman also led a discussion in the "Burmese Seminar", which was organised by people interested in Burma's affairs.

After that, the Chairman left for England where he held

discussions with the Patriotic Burmese from the All Burma Student Relief Fund (ABSRAF) and Burma Affairs Monitor. The Chairman also called on the Head Office of Amnesty International and clarified the situation concerning the 15 spies who received the death penalty in ABSDF-held Northern Burma. The Chairman presented to Prospect Burma about the Education Programme on the border, and in an interview with the BBC he outlined the ABSDF's stance on the SLORC's sham "National Convention" and reopening of the universities and colleges.

## BURMA CIVIC TRAINING PROGRAMME COURSE ON NEGOTIATION AND MEDIATION



The Burma Civic Training Programme Course on Negotiation and Mediation, organised by Norwegian Burma Council, was opened on June 5 at the Central Committee headquarters in Manerplaw. DAB Chairman Gen Saw Bo Mya and Trainer Mr Tord addressed the gathering.

The closing session of 10-day training addressed by DAB Chairman, supervisor to the training; Health Minister Dr San Aung and NDF General Secretary Khaing Soe Naing Aung. Participating in the training were leaders from NCGUB, NLD, ALP, KIO, KNU, ABYMU, ABSDF, DPNS and PPLO.



*Commencing the conference*

## CLOSING SESSION OF JOURNALIST TRAINING



*one trainer is delivering a speech*

The closing session of the Journalist Training was held at 10:00 a.m., on 19 August 1992, attended by Kyaw Kyaw, Vice-Chairman of ABSDF, Dr Thaung Htun, member of the Central Executive Committee (Foreign Affairs Department) as well as the trainers and trainees.

Kyaw Kyaw and Dr Thaung Htun addressed the gathering, urging the

trainees not to give up the struggle despite the hardships. He stresses the need for every trainee to be faithful to the democratic struggle. The one-month training organised by the Information Department of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front, was attended by 12 trainees, students from ABSDF and members of DAB including Democratic Party for New Society (DPNS).

## ASIAN BURMESE CAMPAIGN LAUNCHES

From August to September, the Asian Burmese Campaign is launching a series of actions on Burma. The campaign, organised by Asian Students Association (ASA), calls upon people's organisations in Asia to join an Asia-wide action on September 18, in support of the pro-democracy movement in Burma. That day marks the 4th anniversary of the seizure of power by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) military junta, since where ethnic minorities, the opposition forces and the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) have been continuously attacked by the military, creating tens

of thousands of refugees. Starvation is also widespread. More recent victims of these attacks included the Muslims, who have been forced to flee to safety in Bangladesh.

The focus of the September action is against economic investments in Burma. Most of these investments are in extraction of scarce natural resources. All the benefits of investments in Burma will flow directly to the military junta, as it has a monopoly over all investment contracts.

"Investment in Burma means More Blood-shed" will be one of the slogans in the campaign this September 18.

## APRC'S RESOLUTION ON BURMA

Meeting of Asia/Pacific Regional Committee (APRC) of International Transport Workers' Federation held on 26-28 March 1992 in Auckland adopted the following resolution on Burma:

Condemns the recent wave of brutality and killing by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), "Government" of the innocent people which has resulted in large scale migrations of refugees from Burma;  
Demands that Daw

Aung San Suu Kyi and her party who won the recent elections by an overwhelming majority should be immediately allowed to form a civilian government and to introduce full democratic, civil and trade union rights and

Calls upon the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) to use all its influence within the international community

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## NSSZ SOLIDARNOSC IN POLAND APPEALS TO HALT SELLING MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO BURMA

Burma's military junta has beefed up its arsenal with at least a dozen helicopter gunships or troop transporters from newly-democratic Poland. The aircraft were seen being transported through the streets of Rangoon on July 10 and are apparently intended for use in the military force's battle against insurgent groups.

Burma already has a number of Polish helicopters and used them as gunships and troop carriers in battle against ethnic Karen insurgents in the Southern Irrawaddy province last year. Those seen this month in Rangoon were either Russian-designed Mi-2s or more modern W-3 Sokols, an all-polish aircraft. (Nation)

In response to the request of the Federation of Trade Union of Burma (FTUB) to stop selling Polish Helicopters to Slorc, NSSZ Solidarnosc in Poland affiliated to International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) send an appeal letter to President Welesa on August 10. The letter said that *"Mr President, you know better than anyone else that people have the rights to have their rights respected: Human and Trade Unions rights, and that any attempt to use force against such aspirations should meet with an immediate reaction at world level. In all our actions so far, be it as a Trade Union leader, a national leader*

*as well as Nobel Peace Prize holder, you have never hesitated to give your support when this was necessary .... Therefore, we turn to you, in the present situation, Mr President, on behalf of NSSZ Solidarnosc, with an appeal that the delivery of military equipment destined for Burma be halted. We consider that after the changes which have taken place in our country, it is not fitting for our nation to bring its support to any kind of military regime. We very much count on your support, Mr President, and your reply in this connection."*

NSSZ Solidarnosc also send letter to Prime Minister. In this letter, it said, *"We believe that in assuming the function of the Republic of Poland you will not forget about the principles of international solidarity with movement for democracy and human rights. The agreement of your government to exporting military equipment which will support an autocratic regime is a clear violation of these principles and exposes our nation as one that follows policies of double standards."*

*We are confident that you will react to our request, using your good offices to ensure that military equipment is not exported to the military regime of Burma."*



At the invitation of Indian National Trade Union Congress the NCGUB delegation: U Hla Oo, Minister for Labour and U Maung Maung, Secretary of FTUB, on 21 August 1992 left for India. It was reportedly known that delegates were welcomed by Dr Tint Swe (NLD MP, representative for India), Soe Min (NLD Youth), Dr Zali Than (MP, Independent) and U Van Uk (MP, Chin National League for Democracy). At the

## SEMINAR ON THE MOVEMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN BURMA HELD

On 24 August 1992, delegates held a meeting with Mr P. Haradasin, South Asia Representative for ICFTU and Mr Gopeshwar, Secretary General of the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) which is the labour wing of the Congress I party, in which matters on the labour

Concerning the NCGUB:

1. We recognise the NCGUB which is composed solely of elected members of parliament
2. We believe that the Federal System is the best for future Burma.
3. We propose that the NCGUB cabinet extend with the MPs of the ethnic minorities.

Regarding the sham Convention intends to be called

Therefore, the Slorc has no right to hold the National Convention, and we do not recognise this Sham Convention.

2. All the political parties and individuals who will attend the Sham Convention are neglecting the voice of the State shown at the 1990 election.

Those who do not face direct threat from the Slorc, do not do active



meeting with the ethnic MPs matters concerning stand of NCGUB regarding the ethnic MPs were discussed was discussed while the respective MP also presented about their security problems and stands regarding the NCGUB and the democratic movement. During the meeting on introduction and discussion with most of the students from the Indo-Burma border, New Delhi individuals and representatives of the pro-democratic forces in India, agreements on holding of a seminar, the date for closed door session for resolutions and venue were laid out.

activities and oppressions in Burma were discussed. Moreover, the delegates were received a warm welcome by Deputy Chief Minister of Mizoram at Mizoram house and was told that he would push the congress for more concrete help in Burma's democratic struggle.

After closed door session, the Seminar on the Movement of Democracy in Burma with the aim to bring together the democratic forces on the western border of Burma was held. The participants could reach to this aim with success and during the seminar the following resolutions were adopted.



by the Slorc:

1. According to any international Law and all Burmese Constitutional Law, after the results of the election and had been announced, the Slorc does not have any right to hold on the power.

politics inside Burma, but intend to attend the Sam National Convention by the Slorc are traitors.

Appeal to the Government of India and the International Community were:

1. to demand that the Slorc release

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all political prisoners; 2. To demand to the Slorc to transfer power immediately to the elected members of parliament.

3. On behalf of the people of Burma who wish for a genuine democratic government, we request the government of India to take the initiative in removing the military regime from Burma's seat at the upcoming United Nations General Assembly.

4. With regards to the increase in the drug production, the exodus of illegal refugees and the many unrevoked incursions into the neighbouring countries, we would like to request the Government of India to put up the Burma issue not only as Human Rights issue but as a regional security problem at the United Nations Security Council.

5. In order to stop the unrealistic growth of the Slorc army and the finance that is making it possible, we would like to request the Government of India to stop diplomatic connections and economic rela-

tions with Slorc.

6. As a concrete measure against the continuing oppression on the people, we would like to request the Government of India and the International Community to ask stop all foreign investments, stop all trade activities and impose an arms embargo.

The seminar is reported to have been conducted successfully with the help, support and coordination of the various individuals and groups who are striving for democracy in their own capacity. A press release was held on 27 August 1992 in New Delhi, India in which all the participants in the seminar assured their support on the demands presented by representatives of democratic forces.

Moreover, meetings of the MPs on the India side to discuss in detail their involvement and commitments towards the NCGUB and of the political officer of the Swedish Embassy are reported to have been held on 28 August 1992 with Minister of Labour, India representative and U Than Sein.

On the following day, the delegates left for Kathamandu, Nepal, and there they separately held discussion with Laxman Basnet, President of the Nepal Trade Union Congress and the Secretary General and Honourable K. P. Batrai, ex Prime Minister and

## MANERPLAW AGREEMENT SIGNED



On 31 July 1992, ceremony of signing the Manerplaw Agreement: the agreement to establish a future Federal Union, was held at the meeting hall in Manerplaw. Participants to that ceremony were Prime Minister Dr Sein Win and ministers of National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), Chairman Gen Saw Bo Mya led leaders of the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), General Secretary U Tin Aung led leaders of the National League for Democracy (NLD, Liberated Area) and Chairman Nai Shwe Kyin led leaders of the National Democratic Front (NDF).

It was known that Gen Saw Bo Mya chaired the ceremony while DAB General Secretary Dr Tu Ja functioned as the master of the ceremony. At the opening address given by the DAB Chairman, he pointed out that ethnic minorities' rights were abused under the one party dictatorial rule and he emphasized the essential on the establishment of the Federal Union in which all nationalities from all strata of life are composed. After the participants discussed the principles of establishment of the future Federal Union, the Manerplaw Agreement was signed by the ministers of the NCGUB and leaders of the DAB, NDF and NLD.

President of the ruling Nepal Congress Party. During the meeting with the ex Prime Minister, NCGUB was promised to gain support from the part of the party and also told about his information to the government.

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to seek the early removal of the Slorc, and specifically to press the United Nations to impose all the sanctions necessary to achieve that objectives.

## SITUATION IN KACHIN STATE



### SITUATION AROUND MANERPLAW

On 8 August 1992, at 12:00 hours, Slorc's regiment No. 60 and 30, under the Tactical Command No. 2, attacked the KNU positions "Mu-Kha-Lobu/ Saw-Ta-Ya-Kyo", while Regiment No. 8, under Tactical Command No. 3, attacked another KNU position at "Ku-day". Fighting stopped at 6:25 p.m. and the Slorc troops retreated from their offensive lines.

On 2 September, at 12:20 hr, the first two Regiments attacked again using 120mm, and 81mm mortars and 75 mm recoilless rifles. Fighting ended at 6:05 p.m., in which Slorc suffered 9 killed and 23 wounded. One porter who escaped from the Slorc died in the cross-fire, while one soldier was wounded on the KNU side.

On 3 September, at 5:02 a.m., Slorc Regiment No.

30 and 40 shelled the Mu-kha-lo-bu/ Saw-Ta-Ya-Kyo with 120mm, 81 mm, mortars and 75mm recoilless rifles till 3:15p.m. On the same day, at 9:30 a.m., Slorc regiment No. 48 and 57 also launched a ground force attack at the "Ku-Day", KNU position; after shelling the artillery fires, Slorc troops retreated at 11:30 a.m. The number of casualties was unknown.

In preparation for their forthcoming dry season offensive against Manerplaw, the Slorc troops are also repairing roads and bridges along their communication routes to initiate the offensive fresh troops from the No. 22 Light Infantry Division have replaced the troops positioned at various fronts facing Manerplaw.

(Source: Karen National Union, Foreign Affairs Department)

A new Division, 101 Division was established by Slorc in its Northern Command, in Kachin State, in August. This establishment brings the total of battalions in Kachin State 53, with the Slorc Air Force and Airborne Paratrooper Regiments also deployed there. During its July offensive against the KIO, the Slorc troops had begun relying

as much on air power as it on ground forces. According to substantiated reports, the Slorc troops have begun to use RPG (Rocket Propeller Grenade Launchers) or 40 mm Bazookas, as well as Chinese-made 60mm, 82mm, 120mm mortars, 75mm recoilless rifles and 103mm rockets.

(Source: Kachin Independence Organization; KIO)

### AUSTRALIA WANTS TO CHECK BUANA SLAVERY REPORTS

Australia has asked Burma's military government for permission to check reports that people were being recruited as slave labourers to build a railway, Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said on September 15.

Evans told parliament he was aware of reports alleging that workers on a railway being constructed from Loikaw to Aungban have been living and working in conditions of severe deprivation amounting to slavery, in Burma's north.

"Australia ambassador in Rangoon has requested permission from the authorities to visit the area to investigate these allegations," Evans said. He expressed concern about human rights record of the ruling Slorc. Although 408 political prisoners have been released since April this year, there are still about 2,000 remaining in custody including 38 elected representatives and, of course, Burma's most popular political leader, Daw Aung San Suu

Kyi, he said, and ethnic minorities continued to be subjected to oppressive measures, including forced resettlement and construction as porters.

Evans said that in order to maintain pressure on the Slorc to effect meaningful change, Australia would press the ASEAN countries for more substance in their "constructive engagement" with Burma. He also revealed about his discussion at some length the possibility of economic sanctions with the US Secretary of State.

He also expressed to hold an international conference on Burma at Griffith University before the end of this year, Australia will play an active role in supporting a strong resolution on human rights at the UN General Assembly. He said the additional steps are embargoes on aid, arms sales and defence contacts. (Source: Press Release of Australian Parliament: 15 September 1992, The Nation: 16. September. 1992)

## NCGUB JUSTICE MINISTER U THEIN OO LED DELEGATION ATTENDS MEETINGS IN EUROPE



Meeting on Burma's affairs organised by Association Suisse — Birmanie was held at in Geneva on August 15, attended by U Thein Oo, Justice Minister of the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB); Dr Marta, Foreign Affairs Department of Karen National Union (KNU) and U Kyaw Hla, the Muslim Liberation Organisation (MLO) as well as representatives of the Organisations which are working for Burma's affairs and members of the Association Suisse — Birmanie. At the meeting, they adopted a resolution:

To gain the resolution on human rights issues in the forthcoming session of UN Commission on Human Rights held in February

1993; to release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi before the meeting on the refugees and to release all political prisoners.

To achieve these objectives, they agreed to invite the Nobel Laureates and other prominent figures for staging a mass demonstration.

Meeting on Burma's affairs organised by Burma Projekte was held at BUNDESTANG in Berlin from August 29 to September 3, attended by Justice Minister U Thein Oo (NCGUB), Dr Marta (KNU), U Kyaw Hla (MLO), and U Win Khet; Vice Chairman of the National League for Democracy (NLD) as well as some German MPs, members of the Burma Projekte in Berlin and

representatives of the Overseas Burmese Organisation in Germany. At the meeting, they can consolidate the unity through their opinion, suggestion and advice.

Meeting on Burma's affairs organised by European

Burmese Association was held in Hamburg from September 4 to 7, attended by Justice Minister U Thein Oo, Dr Marta, U Kyaw Hla and U Win Khet. After the meeting, U Thein Oo, Dr Marta and U Kyaw Hla left for Frankfurt on the same day

## ABSRF FUND RAISING EFFORTS HELD

Burmese Food Fair and Photo Exhibition, All Burma Students Relief Fund (ABSRF)'s first fund raising event, was held on Sunday, 5th July 1992 at Swiss Cottage Community Centre in London. This event was in aid of displaced Burmese students in the Burma border areas who were desperately in need of financial help for their survival, food, health, and education.

More than 300 people turned up to enjoy a variety of exotic Burmese food from stalls bearing the names of student camps e.g. "THAN LWIN" MONHINGHA, "MINTHA MEE" COCONUT RICE AND CHICKEN CURRY, "LINYONE" TOHU THOKE etc. There were altogether 12 different food stalls and

a Burmese souvenirs stall, all of which were very popular with the guests.

Photo Exhibition highlighted the real life conditions and suffering of the students in the Thai-Burma border area, which stunned many guests and prompted a lot of questions. The photo-graphs were taken at various student camps and at Dr. Cynthia, Vice-Chairman of the liberated area-based Burma Medical Association (BMA), clinic during ABSRF's visit in December 1991.

At the end of a very successful day, ABSRF raised of £ 2,224.39, out of which 2,000 was immediately sent to the ABSDF and Dr Cynthia's Clinic.





## BMA TRAINING OPENED



A Medical Training course, organised by the Burma Medical Association (BMA), was opened at Pawpa Hta Camp on August 13 at 11:00 p.m. Attending the opening session were such leading figures as U Tun Oo, Labour and Social Welfare Minister of NCGUB; Maj-Gen Maung Maung, KNU; Maj Victor, No. 7th Brigade Adjutant of KNU; Dr Nick J. White, Director of Wellcome Mahidol University, Oxford Tropical Research Programme in Bangkok; Dr Francois Nosten of the Malaria Research Unit in Shoklo Hospital; Dr Paskal, M.S.F;

Dr H. M. Singh, Chairman of BMA; Dr Cynthia, Vice-Chairman of BMA; Dr Myint Cho, General secretary of BMA and member of the Central Executive Committee of ABSDF, as well as other BMA members and village elders. Fifty students, 12 men and 38 women, from various organisations and ethnic groups attended the training, which will last for 5 to 6 months. The training in which Dr Cynthia is the Principal, will include courses on Public Health Care, Nursing Care, First Aid, Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics, Dental and Paediatrics.

## COMMEMORATION ON 8888 WAS HELD

The 4th anniversary to commemorate of 8888 was held in the Training Hall of Manerplaw on 8 August 1992, attended by NCGUB Prime Minister Dr Sein Win and ministers; leaders and representatives from DAB, NDF ABYMU, DPNS and NLD. U Maung Maung Aye, Trade Minister of the NCGUB, read out the greetings sent by the Chairman of DAB and then Prime Minister Dr Sein Win

addressed the opening speech to the gathering. ABSDF Vice Chairman Kyaw Kyaw, Thu Rein and DPNS Charman Myint Zaw then addressed the ceremony and all the facilitation messages sent by various student camps were read out. The dosing session of the ceremony was accompanied by chanting of slogans. An exhibition of photos and wall posters was also held at the ceremony.



## ABSDF'S REFRESHER TRAINING ON MEDICINES



On 12 July 1992, Refresher Training on Medicines was opened at Paw Pa Hta Hospital with Dr Myint Cho, member of the Central Executive Committee, in charge of training, and 17 student medics from ABSDF student camps. In the closing session, held on 8 August 1992, Dr Myint

Cho urged them to strive to serve the people and continue the struggle for democracy. Outstanding medics were awarded prizes; first prize going to Tin Win (Wan Kha Camp), while second prize was awarded to Htun Htun Oo (Thay Baw Boe) and the third Prize went to Myo Min Soe (Ye Kyaw Camp).

Patriotic Overseas Burmese and friends of Burma in London commemorated the 4th anniversary of 8888 by holding a demonstration at the Slorc embassy at which one of the members from Burma Action Group (UK) named John Jackson read out a short speech: "On 8888 thousands of students, monks and other demonstrators were gunned down by the army in Rangoon and other cities across Burma. Today we remember those people and the thousands more

held in Burma's jails, but estimates suggest that it may be as many as 10,000. In 1989 alone diplomats estimated that over 3,000 students, civil servants, monks and others were arrested. In 1990, more than 300 monks were arrested whilst conducting a peaceful "strike" in protest at the death of 4 monks in Mandalay on 8 August 1990, and the failure of the Slorc to transfer power. In the same year, over 80 MPs were arrested. In October 1991, an estimated 2,000 Karens were rounded up in



## COMMEMORATION OF THE 4TH ANNIVERSARY OF 8888 HELD AROUND THE WORLD



prisoners are freed including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

— unless there is a transfer of power to a democratic government

— unless there is a negotiated end to the civil war.

Today, we, friends of Burma and of peace, call on the Slorc to act for the good of all the peoples of Burma and pave the way for true democracy and human rights in Burma."

Then Aung Naing read out a list of prisoners and while he was doing this, participants at the ceremony laid red flowers on the pavement in front of the embassy. The embassy gave their usual response — a very firmly closed door, and some attempts to photograph the participants there from inside the building.

The policemen guarding the embassy were very friendly and took the flowers

who have died in the four years since the Slorc have come to power. We also remember the thousands of political prisoners in Burma, held in in-human conditions, often the victims of cruel torture.

On the 23rd April 1992, the Slorc announced that it would be releasing political prisoners. SO far it has released over 270 people. It is not known how many political prisoners are still

a "mopping up" operation in the Irrawaddy delta. These Karens are still held in appalling conditions and many believed to have died in jail. In December 1991, another 900 students were arrested following protests at Rangoon University calling for the release of Nobel Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

There can be no real change in Burma

— unless all political



## 'SOB OF BURMA' been come out

'SOB OF BURMA', a video produced by Burmese Students Art Group (BSA) has been released. The story is based on the Burmese people struggle for democracy and human rights since 1962. It presents how military dictators suppress on the Burmese people and what the people genuine feeling is. All the casts are Burmese pro-democracy students taking refuge in Thailand after the bloody coup of 1988 in Burma. Contact address is BSA, P.O.Box 24, Uruphong, Bangkok, 10405, Thailand.



*In India*

*In England*



and laid them right on the doorstep. The participants also posted the above-mentioned through letter box.

### IN GERMANY

The anniversary to commemorate 8888 was also held by staging a demonstration at the Slorc Embassy in Bonn at which they demanded: to release all political prisoners immediately and unconditionally; to transfer the power to the elected MPs who won the 1990 general election; to restore democracy and human rights in Burma and to lift the Martial Law. The anniversary was attended by the patriotic Burmese in Germany as well as some

Germans, to which U Nwe Aung and Mrs Thea Bock, MP from Hamburg, addressed the speech. Then, they sang the national anthem. Mrs Thea Bock prayed for the restoration of democracy in which Burmese people happily sing the national anthem. Moreover, the religious ceremony for the students who sacrificed their lives during the 8888 and September coup was also held. The participants staged a hunger strike from August 6 to 8 and the closing session was held on August at 8:00 p.m.

### IN INDIA

The demonstration to mark the fourth anniversary of 8888 was also held in front of Burmese Embassy in

New Delhi India, organized by Burma Students League. The aim of this demonstration is to pressure Slorc to unconditionally release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who has been detained since July, 1989. The demonstrators demanded to the international Governments, community and people to give the physical and moral assistance to the democracy movement in Burma

and stop all connections with Slorc except the essential.

During the demonstration commemorating to the fourth anniversary of historic 8888, the demonstrators were holding the placards, flags of fighting peacock and chanting slogans denouncing to the Slorc. The participants also sang the national anthem and some other revolutionary songs.



## NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF BURMA OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

Analysis of the Lifting of Curfew by the SLORC (Sept 22, 1992)

1. The lifting of night-time curfew on Sept 11, which had been imposed on the country for nearly 4 years, is simply another cunning and pre-emptive move by the SLORC:-

(a) To make it appear as a positive sign before the arrival of Mr. Yozo Yokota, the UN Special Rapporteur, who is scheduled to come to Burma in October to investigate the human rights condition by the resolution of the UN Human Rights Commission;

(b) To avert the condemnation of it at this year's UNGA because of wide-spread violations of human rights committed by it and its refusal to hand over power to the people's representatives who were duly elected in 1990 general election;

(c) To deceive the people in the country and the democratic forces of the World.

2. As a way of prediction, we may safely say that, as further move to deceive, the SLORC will release more political detainees who have been reduced in prison to ineffectiveness by threats and torture, soon before the sham National Convention to be held by it.

3. We, the NCGUB, would like to urge the international community not to be misled by the SLORC, which has been resorting to low-down tricks, bare-faced lies and cunning deceptions to prolong its hold on power. It is still adamantly refusing to accede to the demand of the entire people of Burma and the international democratic forces for;

- \* The unconditional release of all political prisoners, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi;
- \* The lifting of martial law and the abrogation of unjust and repressive decrees and orders;
- \* The cessation of the civil war; and
- \* The total recognition and immediate transfer of power to the people's representatives elected in the 1990 general election (which the SLORC itself had supervised and openly admitted to be free and fair).

For these reasons, for the emergence of a truly democratic government, peace, unity and justice, we, the NCGUB, on behalf of the entire people of Burma, would like to call upon the international community to continue applying pressure on the SLORC by employing more effective measures and action.





## **NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF BURMA**

### **OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER**

#### **NCGUB position statement on the readmittance of Burma as a Member of the Non - Aligned Movement - 1st Sep., 1992.**

The National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma is disappointed that the Non-Aligned Movement has agreed to readmit Burma as a member. The decision, made at the NAM Foreign Affairs ministerial meeting held on the 1st of August, was totally unexpected in view of Burma's past involvement with the NAM. In 1954, leaders of newly independent Burma had actively participated in the historic Bandung Conference which led to NAM's formation. Burmese leaders also helped with the formation of NAM's key aims of promoting political and economic cooperation amongst those developing countries recently liberated from colonialism and maintaining world peace during the period of the cold war era when the super powers were obsessively involved in an increasingly dangerous nuclear arms race.

The NCGUB had anticipated that the present leaders of the Non - Aligned Movement still held those ideals and would thus be morally opposed to Burma's readmittance to the NAM while the SLORC continued to wage war on the Burmese people and threatening regional peace. Yesterday's decision leaves us pondering the criteria on which the decision to readmit Burma to the NAM was made.

The SLORC, which claims to be the government of Burma is both illegitimate and unrepresentative of the people of Burma. In addition, the SLORC is closely linked with the generals from the BSPP era who, in line with their isolationist foreign policy decided to resign from the NAM after the Havana meeting in 1979. It is clear that the SLORC approached the NAM not because of its genuine belief in the NAM policy, but because of its intention to seek refuge in the NAM at a time when other members of the international community are placing increasing pressure on regimes such as the SLORC which commit widespread human rights violations while ignoring international laws and commitments.

Because of the oppressive policies of the SLORC, hundreds of thousands of Burmese citizens have fled their homeland in order to seek asylum in

neighboring countries, an exodus which has placed great pressure on those countries' resources. In addition hundreds of thousands of people are being forcibly relocated by the SLORC to strategic townships which lack sufficient services and food. There they are forced to provide free labor for military and infrastructure projects.

Mounting tensions caused by the SLORC's disregard for the sanctity of Burma's borders with Thailand and Bangladesh, particularly during the SLORC's last dry season offensive has alarmed the international community due to the fact that the intensifying civil war in Burma is increasingly spilling over into neighboring countries and threatening regional peace and stability. NAM leaders would be taking a great risk if they turned a blind eye towards the SLORC's increasingly dangerous militarism.

The National League for Democracy which overwhelmingly won the 1990 general election, clearly stated in its policy on foreign affairs that once in power:

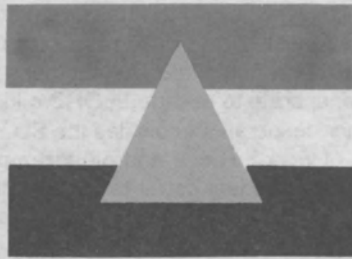
- (1) it will practice a genuinely active and independent foreign policy and endeavor to nurture politically friendly relationships. It will reject isolationism and firmly stand on democratic principles in its international dealings,
- (2) it will promote cooperation in exploration of mutually beneficial economic fields and will especially cooperate with regional organizations and projects in order to benefit the region.

Meanwhile the true will of the Burmese people continues to be disregarded by the SLORC and Burmese people continue to struggle for the restoration of democracy and human rights. The NCGUB looks forward to the day that a democratic Burma can once again take on the responsibilities and duties that membership in the Non - Aligned Movement should entail. NAM leaders, should in the meantime review their position on Burma, which is controlled at the moment by the SLORC, a regime whose attitudes and aims are vastly contradictory with those of the Non - Aligned Movement.



U Bo Hla Tint

Minister for Construction, Mining and Energy Resources  
Officer in charge of the Prime Minister's Office



# DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

### **POSITION OF ASEAN'S "CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT" POLICY TOWARDS THE SLORC**

August 14, 1992

At the recent ASEAN foreign ministers' meeting, there was a great deal of discussion regarding ASEAN's policy towards the SLORC regime in Burma. While most ASEAN ministers, particularly Thailand, claimed that their "constructive engagement" policy promoting trade and recognition of the SLORC is leading to Burmese reform and advocated welcoming the SLORC dictators to the ASEAN fold in future, western nations advocated strong sanctions as the only way to move this seemingly immovable regime. Both sides claimed credit for the SLORC's April 1992 "concessions". The DAB has previously made clear that these concessions were cosmetic and meaningless, yet the question of why the SLORC even felt obliged to pretend it was reforming still remains.

When the concessions were announced in April, international pressure was at its peak. Burma was drawing worldwide attention and outrage. Refugees were flooding across all borders, and the United Nations secretary-general had even sent a personal envoy to pressure the SLORC in Rangoon. The regime was facing imminent international and United Nations action, and therefore presented to change only to avert this.

However, advocates of "constructive engagement" claim that it was an increase in trade and political recognition that motivated the SLORC. The facts of the situation contradict this idea, as shown by the SLORC's relationship with their closest "constructive engagement" partner, Thailand. In April, the SLORC's forestry minister had already made the sudden announcement that Thai logging contracts should not be renewed once they expire, giving no reason. The SLORC's had also suddenly closed the border to all other trade in March, and it remained closed till the middle of July. For several months, the SLORC army had even been attacking Thai army at several points along the border where they refuse to recognize Thai sovereignty. Overall, this relationship can hardly be seen as "constructive". Yet these are typical fruits of constructive engagement with a regime that has proven itself incapable of acting responsibly. The SLORC regime is a clique military officers with no popular support whatsoever. It only maintains power with armed might, and this might can only be built up and maintained with foreign currency. Constructive engagement is welcomed by the SLORC as a lucrative source of such currency which demands no reform on their part. It is largely "constructive engagement" money which has allowed the SLORC to announce a US\$ 200 million increase in "defense" spending for 1992-93, bringing the coming year's military budget to a staggering US\$ 1.26 billion, or 35% of the nation's entire budget. Only when constructive engagement begins attaching firm and specific conditions linking increased trade and political recognition to serious reforms can it have any hope of working. No such conditions yet exist.

In the short term ASEAN countries make financial gains from the current arrangement, but in the longer term it only harms their interests. While Thailand tries to restrict prostitution and controls AIDS, Burma is exporting thousands of prostitutes. The sale of Burmese and Karen women into Thai brothel slavery only remains a lucrative business because so many young women are so desperate to escape SLORC rule that they will believe any false promise of foreign employment. Thousands of other desperate people flee the SLORC to become illegal workers in ASEAN countries, leaving ASEAN nationals out of work. These and other rampant problems, such as smuggling and corruption in inter-governmental dealings, would be far easier to control with a responsible democratic government in Rangoon.

ASEAN is particularly suffering from the ever-increasing flow of heroin and opium from the Golden Triangle, both from its devastating social effects and the international disgrace it brings to the region. The secretary-general of Thailand's Narcotic Control Board recently acknowledged that the lack of cooperation from Burma is a major obstacle to stemming this flow, now estimated to be half the world's production. This means lack of cooperation from the SLORC, as most of the narcotics producing areas and drug routes are under SLORC control. In those areas, the SLORC is widely acknowledged to be involved in the narcotics trade, while in others it has made agreements with local drug-running armies. All past aid given the SLORC and their predecessors for drug eradication has been redirected to their military operations, while they continually expand the drug trade. US Drug Enforcement Agency (USDEA) and the United Nations Drug Control Program (UNDCP) statistics confirm this expansion.

To support its military, the SLORC is also raping resources at unprecedented rates. Although this is generating short-term profits for foreign companies, it could seriously damage the environmental balances of the region in the long-term. Thailand has already seen the effects of uncontrolled deforestation to the point where it has banned logging. This year's devastating drought in northeastern Thailand was brought on by deforestation. Should Burma continue to suffer the world's highest deforestation rate, it may not be long before similar droughts become the pattern in western Thailand as well.

Short-term profit must be weighed against the long-term benefits of doing business in a stable democratic country. Trade is now severely impaired by the nationwide civil war, which will never end as long as the SLORC is in power. Foreign companies are also subject to the whims of Burmese generals, and must continually pay huge bribes simply to conduct business. Wiping out such corruption, and managing resources for the sustainable long-term benefit of all concerned will only be possible once a democratic government takes power. Before the advent of dictatorship, Rangoon was a modern trade center. Now Burma has become a least-developed country of grinding poverty and starvation, a basket case for foreign aid.

Meanwhile, the generals only use constructive engagement to prop them up while they become increasingly close to China. While the Thai border was closed this year, trade over the Chinese border was flourishing like never before, in resources, narcotics and arms. The SLORC is becoming more and more dependent on China as its strongest ally, while China is consolidating its influence over the Burmese economy and the regime itself. Should ASEAN continue to prop up the SLORC in the near term, it may later find itself shut out of a Burma which has effectively become an economic and political province of China.

Today people throughout Asia and the world are demanding an end to military dictatorship. It is only a matter of time before any military dictatorship falls, especially one as widely hated as the SLORC. The people of Burma only ask that other nations respect their aspirations by not actively supporting the SLORC. Everyday since its formation the SLORC has proven that it has no conscience, no vision of a future Burma, and no ideology except power. It cannot be motivated to change through the subtle inducements of constructive engagement.

It buys arms with foreign trade profits to crush its own people, and uses recognition in international fora such as the UN and ASEAN only as a false mandate to oppress them. It is impervious to reason in this fora. Refugees continue to stream across the borders, upsetting regional stability. Narcotics stream out of SLORC areas of Shan State, resources are depleted and irreplaceable, and the country sinks further into poverty while the civil war rages on. Constructive engagement does not solve any of these problems, but only exacerbates to the long-term harm of all ASEAN nations while tarnishing ASEAN's image internationally. As long as the SLORC stays in power, the civil war cannot end and none of these problems can be solved. The only way to help Burma become a productive member of southeast Asia is to disengage the SLORC and let the people have their way. The people of Burma would greatly appreciate such a show of solidarity from their ASEAN neighbours.



**CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD LEAGUE FOR  
FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY HELD IN  
HUNGARY**

The 24th Conference of the World League for Freedom and Democracy under the slogan "Uniting to Expand the Frontier of Freedom and Democracy" was held from 8 to 13 August 1992 in Budapest Margitsziget, Hungary. At this Conference, Parliament Speaker of Indonesia Government Dr H. J. Naro proposed, "Our concern about militarism, which could crash democracy was proven in Myanmar. In a general election, Mrs Aung San Suu Kyi's victory was rejected by the military group and the State is now run by a junta; the election winner was detained and later on held under house arrest up to now for about 3 years. The arbitrariness was further displayed by the military group to the free world by rejecting to grant Mrs Aung San Suu Kyi the opportunity to received the Nobel Prize. This Myanmar case should attract our organisation's attention.

**COMMUNIQUE ADOPTED BY THE  
CONFERENCE**

The World League for Freedom and Democracy is gravely concerned about the situation in Burma, where the democratically elected government has been prevented from taking office and human rights are being ruthlessly violated in Burma. All members of the League expressed their support for the United Nations resolution dealing with the Burma situation.



**ASIAN PACIFIC LEAGUE FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY  
AND  
WORLD LEAGUE FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY**



9 August 1992  
24th World League for Freedom and Democracy

Budapest  
Republic of Hungary

Honourable Delegates;

On behalf of all Freedom Fighters in Burma, I strongly request to the 24th WLFD conference to support based upon the attached Kachinland Chapter report as follows: —

1. To release all political prisoners including the Nobel Peace Prize Winner Daw Aung San Suu Kyi;
2. To recognise for the 1990 election and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people;
3. To introduce an international arms embargo on Burma and to mobilise concerted action for appropriate resolutions in United Nations Fora.

I fervently hope that the leaders of world freedom fighters who come to join at the sake of peace in Burma and Southeast Asia region.

Sincerely Yours

A handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read "Jen Lomethong". The signature is fluid and cursive.

Jen Lomethong  
Chairman

SUPPORT FROM INDIA MYANMAR FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY

INDIA MYANMAR FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY

G-11, Nightingale Apartments  
Vikas Puri, New Delhi—12

Ref: IMSF/IBR/77/92

Dated: 12.08.92

To

Shri R. L. Bhatia  
State Minister for External Affairs  
Ministry of External Affairs  
Union Govt. of India  
South Block  
New Delhi.

Dear Shri R. Bhatia,

We understand that a delegation from Myanmar, headed by U Aye, Director General (Political) in the Foreign Office, is now in New Delhi on a four day visit.

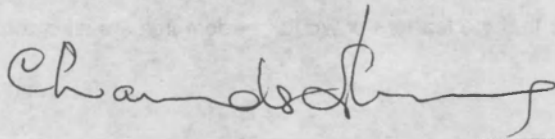
While we welcome any initiative intended to strengthen the aspiration of the 41 million of Myanmar, we could not appreciate this delegation's intention that it is here to try and persuade India to tone down its anti-Myanmar stance. India had never been anti-Myanmar. In fact, permanently Pro-Myanmar as 860 million people of India fully supports the cause of Burmese people, the Government of India is bound to respond accordingly.

We are confident that Govt. of India on its part will impress on the Government of Myanmar the imperative need to accept to accelerate the transfer of power to an elected, responsible and civilian government, to release all political prisoners, including the celebrated Aung San Suu Kyi, as well as to project India's strategic and security concerns. India should take effective actions against the SLORC since the situation faced by Burma now is no longer the internal affairs of a country.

We request the authorities concerned to deal the situation firmly and help 41 million of Burma in the true tradition of our country.

We would like to meet you personally and meet you personally to express our views on these matters kindly give us some time at the earliest during the Myanmar team's stay in capital.

With regards,



(C.P PRABHAKAR)  
(General Secretary)

India Myanmar Friendship Society  
G-11, Nightingale Apartments  
Vikas Puri, New Delhi 110 018  
Tele: 5504169

## **GANG-PRESSED PORTERS**

Lt Naing Win led Slorc company from Battalion No. 89, stationed in Tamu, supervised and implemented in setting up of a new satellite town named Aung Zay Ya, located north of Tamu and 2 Kilometre from Indo-Burma border. They propagandised over 600 people from Mying Gyan and Pakukku townships by deceiving them of giving a plot, a house, 5000 kyats in currency and a herd of cows.

In belief of that the people who signed the agreement with the Slorc were the whole families into gang-pressed portage. Because of shortage of food and of facing hardships, 79 persons were hospitalised at Tha Mu Township. As there was no food for in the hospital, they were fed up with the rice packs collected from the people in Ta Mu. Over 40 other villagers faced death because of forced labour.

We would like to  
inform our friends  
that the ABSDF

(Europe Office) is moving to its new address. The new address is as follows:

**Mr. Aye Chan Naing  
ABSDF (Europe Office)**

**P.O.Box 6720**

**St. Olavs Plass**

**0130, Oslo, Norway.**

**Temporary telephone and fax No. 47-2-522487**

## **SLAVE LABOUR CAMP**

In April 1991, a slave labour camp was set up near Wet Shu village in Tamu township, Sagaing Division located near the Indo-Burma Border. In the camp, there were a toll of 350 prisoners who were sentenced for the long prison term. They had to clear the 700 acre-wide jungle into situation of can be used in cultivation because the Slorc intended to fulfill its boast in declaration of the 1992 as the plantation year. The porters were put in the makeshift tents and the camp was fenced with the barbed wire, guarded by armed riot police and a platoon of military men. They were chained at the legs while working: uprooting the roots of the trees and smashing the rock. Moreover, 18 feet long and one and a half feet in diameter (the smallest one) logs were carried by the prisoners instead of pulling with the buffaloes. About 40 prisoners died because they were fed up only a small meal which caused them suffering malnutrition, hardships and bad weather which caused cholera, malaria and other disease. The porters who suffered any kind of disease were never given the treatment. Prisoners used to flee and in the first week of June 1991, 22

prisoners died as the Slorc troops gunned down those who afford to flee. On 25 August 1991, about 50 prisoners faced death because of cholera. The remaining patients were sent back to Mandalay prison and replaced by the new prisoners from Monywa and Mandalay prisons. On 2 September 1992, Slorc General Secretary Khin Nyunt accompanied by U Zaw Win, Director General of the Prisons Directorate inspected the camp.

In September, out of 3 prisoners attempted to flee, one was recaptured by the Slorc troops and his hands and legs were crushed, and was tied up at a tree and treated without giving any food nor water. Eight days later, he faced death and his body was buried near Naung Kan village in Manipur State, India.

On 14 December 1991, 5 prisoners fled from the camp and escaped into India. Up to December 1991, about 30 prisoners were gunned down by the troops. In December, the prisoners there were sent back to their origin prisons and were replaced by 4 truck-full new prisoners.

The French oil giant Total has signed an accord with Burma to develop natural gas in the Martaban gulf which Thailand intends to establish a long term source for natural gas supply. The production sharing contract concluded recently involves two offshore blocks M5 and M6 covering a total area of 26,140 square kilometers, located about 250 kilometer south west of the city of Rangoon.

TOTAL and MOGE agreement now pave the way for the PTTEP, to negotiate a partnership in the gas development project with TOTAL and MOGE.

PTTEP and MOGE have already reached a basic agreement under which PTTEP will take a 30% stake in the Martaban Gas Project PTT has also been working on the plan to lay a pipe line to transport the Martaban gas to Thailand via the western border to meet the increasing demand of Thailand especially for power generation. Mr. Pratin, deputy governor said that the most likely route was Martaban gulf to three pagoda pass, which would be economically viable. Field development and gas pipe line, more than 350 meter in length, were estimated to cost over US\$ 2 billion. Natural gas reserves at Martaban blocks were estimated at 2.4 trillion cubic feet. PTT hopes that Martaban gas would start flowing to Thailand at the initial rate of 250 million cubic feet per day (MMcfd) in 1998.

According to this plan supposed gas line will pass through the area of Mon

## MARTABAN GULF GAS CONNECTION



ethnic minorities which have been fighting against the Burmese military regime for more than 40 years. It is heard that military regime has been planning to construct a car road and and railway line in parallel with gas pipe line in order to strengthen its military control in this area. Burmese military regime proposed a rail link along the route of 'Death Railway' \* that Japan built during World War II, to State Railway of Thailand. According to the proposal, Bangkok would construct a new railway line along the original route of the death

railway, which winds through mountainous and jungle terrain in Kanchanaburi to the three pagodas pass border point to link up with Burma, southern rail route at Thanbyuzayat township. Three Pagoda Pass was the headquarter of the New Mon State Party which was occupied by the SLORC's army in early 1990 after it was attacked from the rear. At that time, Khun Siahuk, a logging contractor with Pathumthani, a logging company was first involved with the SLORC when his trucks carried Burmese troops. ( Dawn, Vol: 3 Nr.6)

Meanwhile, it was known that Mon villagers have been fleeing to Thai territory because of killing, torture, rape and forced labour committed by the Burmese army. The number of refugees living in 4 Mon refugees camps ( Loh Loe, Pa Yaw, Pa Mark and Pra Chaub) increased up to 11928. Construction of gas pipe line, rail way and car road through this civil war ridden area will surely lead to further human rights violations, force relocation and force labour. Will Mon people have to face the misery of "Death Rail Way" again!

Japan decided in late 1941 that it needed a land route to supply its forces in Burma. What was a link between the railroad in isolated Burma and the Asian rail network that ended in neighbouring Thailand. Construction of the 416 kilometers link from Nong Plaaduk, Thailand to Thanbyuzayat, Burma, began in June 1942, using some 88,000 Allied prisoners of war and 330,000 Asian slave labours under the direction of the Imperial Japanese Army. Working from both end toward the middle under brutal conditions, they met at Konkuita, Thailand, in October 1943. By the time the late spike was driven, some 16,000 PoWs and 100,000 Asian laborers had died through starvation, disease and ill treatment.

(Source: Bangkok Post , Nation, Report of the Mon National Relief Committee)



## **INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH ASSOCIATION**

### **PRESS RELEASE**

**16 September 1992**

International Enforcement of the Geneva Convention crucial to Burma's future.

The International Committee of the Red Cross is now in a position of crucial importance to the future of Burma according to visiting Australian academic, Dr Alan Smith. Dr Smith said in Bangkok on Sunday that the accession by Burma's ruling junta (the State Law and Order Restoration Council or SLORC) to the four Geneva Conventions concerning the amelioration of suffering in war must be seen as a significant challenge to the international community. The SLORC has an abysmal record of human rights violations. Its signing of the Geneva conventions presents the ICRC, as custodian of the conventions, with a dilemma. It can accept the SLORC's statement concerning its future adherence to the conventions at its face value — and risk bringing the validity of the conventions into disrepute or it can demand to see an immediate improvement in the human rights situation in Burma.

Astonishingly, despite the internationally recognised facts concerning the SLORC's human rights records, in its announcement of accession to the Geneva Convention last Wednesday, the SLORC claimed that the humanitarian principles embodied in the conventions had been cherished by Burma's military forces for years past.

Burma's recent history under the SLORC is characterised by:

- illegal imprisonment and torture of political prisoners including legally elected representatives;
- Continuing complete control and censorship of all Burmese media;— massive re-location and detention of villagers in military controlled townships;
- large scale conscription of slave labours on war related and so-called infrastructure projects; massive conscription of so-called porters to act not only as carriers, but also as human minefield clearers and human shields for the Burmese army;
- the brutal abuse of its conscripted porters and slave labourers.

All of those have led to a growing number of displaced persons inside Burma and a continuing stream of refugees into the countries adjoining Burma.

Dr Smith stated that unless organisations like ICRC become more involved in placing pressure on the SLORC, the current situation will deteriorate even further. He added that the ICRC must recognise its obligation to closely and comprehensively examine, monitor and report to the international community on the human rights situation inside Burma.

The ICRC must also accept responsibility to demand recognition by the SLORC of the need for a total national ceasefire in the war it is waging against national minorities and democratic opposition groups of the Democratic Alliance of Burma.

Dr Smith who teaches in a peace and conflict studies programme at the university of Queensland visited Thailand for the past month after taking part in the International Conflicts Commission and presenting a paper concerning ethnic conflict and self-determination at a conference of the International Peace Research Association in Kyoto, Japan. He returned to Bangkok last Friday from the Thai-Burma border region where he acted as consultant on federalism as a path to self-determination. He was also involved with discussions with the committee chaired by the DAB with drafting a new federal constitution for a future democratic, Federal Union of Burma.

In his Kyoto paper, Dr Smith argued for the need to explore a wide range of forms, including federalism, through which the aspirations of ethnic groups for self-determination could be met. For this reason he was particularly interested to participate in the DAB's federal constitution drafting which aims to provide Burma's national minorities with autonomy and self-determination within Burma.

Dr Smith said that he was impressed with what he had seen of the constitution drafting process. The drafting group has drawn on the experience and constitutions of many countries and has made use of a wide range of all legal and political advisers. The most recent round of its discussions involved the participation also of representatives of the NCGUB (National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma) and NLD-LA (National League for Democracy—Liberated Area) reflecting the 2nd August Manerplaw Agreement.

The Manerplaw Agreement signifies recognition by the major opposition groups of federalism based on nationality states and multi-party democracy as the basis for a peaceful future in Burma. Dr Smith said that the committee had adopted the procedure of talking through problems to an ultimate consensus. He added that he believed the newly revised 3rd draft represented a sound basis for future peace, democracy and self-determination for all of the national groups of Burma.

Dr Smith acknowledged that the Burmese opposition groups still had problems to solve. The draft constitution which provides for national states, multi-national states as well as autonomous regions and territories within states reflects a careful division of power between central and state governments. According to Dr Smith, however, the drafting team have still to develop mechanisms for continuing consultative processes between the federal and state government.

Dr Smith said also that he hoped the new constitution would provide a useful basis for guiding the coalition of opposition groups in their dealings with one another. Such a basis could be used as a provisional structure during the eventual transition to democracy in Burma, and a solid starting point for a future national constitutional convention.

Implementation of such a process, however, obviously requires:

- a complete national ceasefire and
  - a complete restoration of political freedoms,
- both of which would have to be guaranteed by the presence of international observers.

Dr Smith said he hoped that the ICRC would accept responsibility to monitor the situation inside Burma and utilise its prestige and influence to bring about a ceasefire in Burma. Failing that, he said, it is to be hoped that the international community strengthens its resolver to have the Slorc officially recognised as a pariah regime and implement a total arms embargo and effective trade and investment sanctions.

Dr Smith added that he believed the world community had greatly under-estimated the magnitude of the human tragedy unfolding in Burma which is now quickly approaching crisis point.

The 1988 demonstrations, the 1990 elections and the subsequent Slorc crackdowns has led to the emergence of a cohesive coalition of opposition democratic and national minority groups in Manerplaw in the Karen State. This has led in turn to a huge military buildup by the Slorc and a vast escalation of its efforts to control the civilian population to deny support to the opposition forces. This has caused widespread disruption of village life and the proliferation of strategic hamlet style concentration camps inside Slorc-controlled areas inside Burma what the Slorc refers to as 'white areas').

The Slorc's attempts to control the population in 'brown' or disputed areas, and to conscript porters and slave labourers has also caused thousands of displaced persons to flee into the forests and mountains. As their food supplies run out, many make their way into the opposition controlled areas (What the Slorc refers to as 'black areas' or across the border into Thailand.

Dr Smith noted that at the recent Kyoto IPRA conference there had been a strong focus on the need for 'early warnings' and preventive diplomacy as means of averting disasters. He said that the early warnings on the situation in Burma had been largely ignored and it was now extremely urgent for international organisations including the ICRC and the UN to act to avert disaster. An internationally arranged and monitored ceasefire must be recognised as the prerequisite for the delivery of humanitarian assistance so desperately needed inside Burma.

# RECOGNIZE BURMA'S DEMOCRATS

BY JOSEF SILVERSTEIN

**If, Burma continues its repression and military rule, the time has come for the UN to consider withdrawing recognition from the Slorc regime and seating instead the democratic opposition.**

When the United Nations General Assembly reconvenes next month, it will consider two strong resolutions condemning Burma. Together, the resolutions present a challenge to the ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council's right to claim that it represents Burma.

If, as has happened in the past, Burma ignores the resolutions and continues its policies of repression and military rule, the time has come for the UN to consider withdrawing recognition from the Slorc regime and seating instead the democratic opposition.

Slorc has not changed, although it has recognized the world's growing impatience with its stalling tactics. It has also conceded that it cannot defeat the Karens in an all-out military effort. So, beginning in April, Slorc shifted from a military to a political strategy, releasing 277 political prisoners and beginning the process of writing a new constitution.

Slorc sees no contradiction between its dictatorship and its plans to transform Burma into a democracy. The constitution, as Slorc envisages it, will pass through several stages. First, a national "pre-convention", which was held in July recommended delegates for the national convention. That convention, to be convened at year's end, is expected to formulate basic constitutional principles. Sometime in 1993, or later, the elected national assembly will be convened as the constituent assembly. After the constitution is ratified, a new election will be held. Only then will there be a transfer of power.

On paper, it is a slow but sure plan. But the pre-convention was neither democratic in spirit nor in content and augurs a constitution that is pure

Slorc. Slorc's 15-member steering committee, Under Brig-Gen Myo Nyunt, told the 28 civilian members what they were to do. There was no debate; each of the delegations spoke to the steering committee but not to each other.

## Limited Discussion

At the end, Slorc's control could be measured by the way U Aung Shwe, the present leader of the National League for Democracy — followed Slorc's plan. (He took over the leadership only after Nobel laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other NLD leaders were jailed: he later had them expelled from the party.) Mr Shwe neither questioned the legitimacy of Slorc's rule nor its failure to allow the elected parliament to assemble.

It remained for U Yan Kyin Maw, leader of Kokang Democratic Party, to suggest a couple of independent ideas: calling for amnesty for "all persons against whom action has been taken for political reasons," and a halt on all fronts in the civil war. Hmuh Thang, an independent, asked if it would be possible for the Karen National Union and Kachin Independence Organization — the two most prominent groups in revolt — to take part in the National Convention. To this, Maj-Gen Myo Nyunt suggested that, if the KNU and KIO would abandon their armed struggle — that is, surrender — and return to the "legal" fold they could take part.

Finally, U Khun Tun Oo, the leader of the Shan NLD, tested the limits of discussion by inquiring about political rights: Would members of the future National Convention be able to discuss and publish without fear of being sued, investigated or

harassed?

Maj-Gen Myo Nyunt reproached the delegates for having "overstepped the bounds and discussed international issues" by suggesting something could be learned from current events in Yugoslavia and the former U.S.S.R. He reminded the delegates that if lessons were to be learned, there were enough from Burma's own 1988 experience, when the government shot down thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators. In short, the pre-convention considered no important questions and the Slorc-picked delegates took no decisions: instead, the steering committee sent its report to Slorc which will decide the next step. According to Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw, Slorc sees itself as "above politics", free to do whatever it chooses, with the intention of governing "until the time a strong government can be formed". In August 1991, its spokesman said that Slorc might hold power for 10 more years. To expect a democratic constitution to emerge from such a tainted process is impossible.

As the pre-convention drew to its pre-ordained close, the rival Democratic Alliance of Burma moved quietly toward concluding its own version of a new basic law which it hopes someday to present to a truly democratic constituent assembly. How Slorc and DAB approached the task of writing a constitution tells much about what separates them.

The DAB-21 minority and Burman groups with their headquarters at the Karen capital, Manerplaw, on the Burma-Thai border — does not regard Slorc as the legitimate

government of Burma and has no intention of accepting its terms. Instead, it recognizes the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma — people elected in the May 1990 ballot who took refuge at DAB headquarters after Slorc refused to hand over power — as the provisional government until they are able to form the government until they are able to form the government. There is no middle ground for compromise between Slorc and DAB. And, in this new, political phrase of the struggle, each approaches the writing of a new basic law with different assumptions and seeks different ends.

The DAB's approach grew out of the realization that it had to be ready for the day when Burma had a free constituent assembly. Beginning in 1990 under the leadership of Dr Tu Ja, the DAB constitutional committee studied Burma's 1947 and 1974 constitutions to figure out why they failed, then studied other countries' federal systems. The constitution they drew up emphasized human rights and federalism. The draft included the rights recognized by the UN Declaration of Human Rights and placed them at the head of the document.

The committee prepared three successive drafts and, in June 1992, felt confident enough to invite international experts to meet with its members. The conference began with a discussion about the future form of government. The unanimous position of the minorities has been that Burma must be federal in order to protect their cultures, traditions and lands. However, many Burmans

favour some form of unitary government with local autonomy. This issue has been divisive and even at the conference it kept the two groups apart until U Thein Oo, minister of justice in the National Coalition Government, said that the coalition stood for a federal government. His remarks made it possible for the meeting to go forward.

The Asean ministers who met in Manila in July might not have been so quick to defend Slorc against criticism if they had listened to their own countrymen who participated in the DAB meeting. Experts from Thailand spoke of the political crisis in their country, and offered advice and caution, while an expert from the Philippines enriched the discussion with comments about "people power", military coups and his country's experience with autonomous regions in Mindanao. Experts from Europe and America stressed human rights and federalism. After the 10-days of wide-ranging discussions, the committee members returned to their tasks, to review what they had written.

### Political Maturity

In 1990, the Slorc promised the UN to transfer power to the people of Burma. In 1991, the UN adopted a resolution that asked Burma to take steps toward the transfer of power. Slorc has not done so, and has shown no real sign of changing. The DAB, meanwhile, has shown a striking political maturity and commitment to democratic principles.

It is time for the UN to withdraw its recognition of Slorc and to seat the DAB, backed and popularly elected members of the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma. Unseating the Slorc will be the catalyst for real political change in Burma.

PROF. JOSEF SILVERSTEIN

**Release Aung San Suu Kyi**



# CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND ATROCITIES GROWING IN PEGU DIVISION

## FORCED RELOCATION AND RANSOM

Over 400 villagers from Taungoo and Htantabin Township, Central Burma were press-ganged to serve as porters for the Slorc Infantry Battalions No. 39, 48 and 73 in just four days between 26 to 30 August 1992. Their relatives had to pay a ransom to Slorc for their release. If negotiated in Zayatgyi village, a person was released for 4,000 Kyats, or in Htantabin township, 6,000 Kyats. If the person got as far as Taungoo, where the Southern Military Command is located, the price was as high as 10,000 Kyats. As well as this extortion, in Htantabin Township, the military unit led by 2nd Lt Kyaw Soe Lwin from Company (2) of the Slorc Infantry Battalion (73) levied tax on businesses operating there. For a portable saw, the proprietor would have to pay 750 Kyats (this is a hard wood area). If a saw mill, the price was 1,000 Kyats while for forest products, 10% of the production value would have to be handed over.

Moreover, the Slorc troops, in an attempt to split up the Democratic forces, forced the people living in Kyauk Kyi Pauk, Saryepho, Zephyu Gone, village in Htantabin township to evacuate to Thapyay Nyunt Concentration Camp in Baryanathi village. The villagers had to raise a bribe of over 200,000 kyats in order to stay put. However, even though they bribed the Slorc troops, they were evicted anyway and they have been forced out to Soutma village near the Taungoo-Rangoon Highway, uprooting their livelihoods and throwing the entire social system into chaos.

In Kyauk Kyi and Htantabin Township, Pegu Division, the Slorc troops under the command of Infantry Battalions Nos. 26, 39, 48, 53, 60 and 73 destroyed the villages and forced the villagers into the concentration camp set up by the Slorc. As the Slorc evicted the villages, people living there are now facing severe economic and social hardships. In Kyauk Gyi township, 6,000 people — 1,139 households from 15 villages — were forced into a concentration camp, the so-called "Yan Myo Aung village" by the order of Captain Myo Myint from

Slorc Battalion No. 351. To stay in their old villages, the villagers had to pay the Slorc 200,000 Kyats in cash, 50 baskets (100 Tins) of Grade A rice, 5 tins of cooking oil, chickens and ducks. After delivery of all the demands, Capt. Myo Myint on 28 April 1992 reissued an eviction notice and forced them to move anyway. All the villagers, therefore, not only lost their money but their home as well. The villages involved were as follows:

Villages	Households
1. Myet Ye (Karen village)	78
2. Myet Ye (Burmese village)	80
3. Tai Pin	115
4. Phoe Thaug Su	60
5. Tha Htay Gone	76
6. Nga Lauk Tet	65
7. Mayan Sein Gyi	40
8. Mayan Sein Lay	75
9. Kat Gyi Seik	70
10. Laung Boke	110
11. Htwa Ni Gone	130
12. Ye Leh (Karen village)	130
13. Ye Leh (Burmese village)	80
14. Lay Paw Mu	40
15. Za Loke	20

All the houses and vegetable plantations remaining in the old villages were destroyed by the Slorc. In these villages, 11,950 acres of cultivable land was decreased to 7,590 acres as 4,360 acres had to be abandoned due to labour shortages caused by Slorc's forced eviction, press-ganging of villagers to be porters as well as the need for remaining villagers to concentrate on harvesting.

Moreover, the Slorc troops ordered the villagers to hand over hard wood, bamboo, chickens and durians according to the ratio of households in the villages in amounts fixed by the Slorc. Villagers unable to pay in goods had to raise the cash, some villages have to pay up to 10,000 Kyats to the Slorc troops.

Saw Pu The, 22, of Kayin Myat village, and Maung Win, 19, from Nga Htwe Soke village, Kyauk Gyi Township in Pegu Division were ambushed and killed on 14 July 1992 by Slorc troops led by Lt Thaug Sein, Company

(3) of Battalion (60). The two bodies were kicked into Sittang River. The troops did not offer any reason for why they did this.

### SEXUAL ABUSES

On 19 June 1992, four young girls from Yan Myo Aung concentration Camp in Kyauk Gyi Township, Pegu Division, were arbitrarily arrested and raped by Lt. Zaw Min Htwe from Company (3) of Slorc Battalion No. 264. On the same day, another young girl from Myet Ye (Burmese) village was also raped at the same outpost.

On 17 July 1992, Slorc Company Commander Zaw Min Htwe and troops arrived at Nyaung Pin Tha village in Kyauk Gyi Township, Pegu Division. There the commander summoned all the members of the Village Law and Order Restoration Council, ordered them to send him a young girl for "relaxation" as he was going to sleep for one night there. He also threatened them at gun point that unless they carried out his order, all the villagers would be punished. In fear they had no choice but to submit to the demand for a young girl.

On 29 July 1992, 3 young girls from Ohn Shik Khin village were arbitrarily arrested by Lt. Zaw Min Htwe and soldiers from Company (3) of Battalion No. 264. They were then gang-raped.

We, the All Burma Students' Democratic strongly denounce these brutal atrocities and request the international community to condemn these acts and take forceful action against the regime.

*(Source: NCGUB)  
Field Reporters of ABSDF*

### SLORC'S NEW TACTIC FOR RECRUITS

In some townships and villages in upper Burma the Slorc commanders put up unaquees and invited the people to attend the banquet. Of the people who attended such banquets, all youths older than 14 were forced to sign in the record book. Then, the Slorc commanders stuck up the paper with the signatures on it and read out "the facts" on it. It read "we, according to our will, wish to serve in the defence service as we love the country and desire to sacrifice our lives for it." The Slorc troops rounded up and forcibly arrested the youths who refused to join the service and those who appealed to the Slorc

### INNOCENT VILLAGERS KILLED

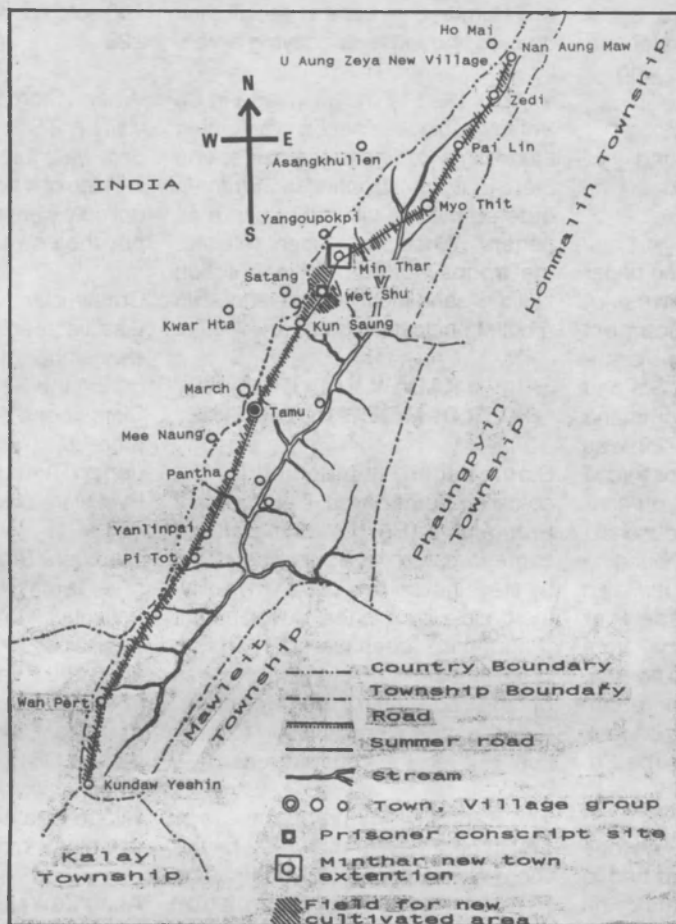
U Kyaw Han, 44, and his daughter Ma Ja Nan, 24, from Mine Gone village; U Yaw Nan, 44, from Khet Mar village and U La Ban (Gin To), 38, from Nan Ma Khaing village were in August brutally tortured to death by Lt-Col Bo Thant led military column, under the command of Slorc Infantry Battalion 236.

commanders to strike their names from the list. After that, the Slorc commander said, "The Armed forces will not give food to anybody who does not labour for it and anyone who has received food from us will never be released." Parents of the youths had to pay a high ransom for their sons' release. The remaining youths were sent to serve in the newly established Battalions.

Another tactic which the Slorc carried out in upper Burma was collecting the names of the unemployed, telling them that the Slorc could provide jobs and then sending them to other remote regions where they were forced to join the defence service against their will. One who refused to join was forced into portage and savagely tortured. As the people there were faced with economic hardships, of being press-ganged as porters and tortured, they finally had to serve in the armed forces against their will. To keep them under control, the Slorc commanders offer many "privileges" such as, looting, robbery and rape.

Such kinds of atrocities are being exercised by the Slorc's new battalions around the territories where Shwe Pyay Don camp, one of the student camps under the leadership of the Central Committee of ABSDF, is located. *(Source: Shwe Pyay Don Camp, ABSDF)*

# CONSCRIPT LABOUR, FORCED EVICTIONS, ARRESTS, MURDER AND TORTURE UNDER THE MASK OF BORDER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES



The military regime in Burma, Slorc, is now forcing many people into slave labour or pressed-ganging them to be porters to construct roads, bridges and dams against their will. People who had been living in the construction area for generations were forced to evacuate to a so-called concentration camp where there is no running water nor electricity.

Such suffering is taking place in every part of Burma. In this issue, we express the situation of the people in Monywa, Kalewa, Maw Like, Home Lin, Kham Thi, Hpaung Pyin Townships in Chindwin valley.

## 1. Monywa-Aung Chan Tha-Khamti Road

This road is being extended up to Khamti from the Monywa-Kalaywa

Road by Ministry of construction since 1984. Under Slorc, the villagers had been press-ganged into portage, each village to contribute 3 miles of construction, with soldiers deployed along the route. A so-called "public volunteer service", villagers were forced to build the road at their own expense. Any household which could not afford to comply was forced to pay 150 Kyats.

Construction camps were located at Thet Ke Gyin, 135 miles from Monywa; Taung Inn village, 45 miles from Thet Ke Gyin; Nyaung Wun village, 7 miles from Taung Inn village opposite Maw Like town. Riot suppression police were posted at Htaw Tha village, where there was an oil test well belong to Korean's Yukong Company. Food for the oil labourers and riot police was sent from Monywa

to Kya Inn village by boat, and from there to Htaw Tha village by porters working in shifts, day and night, women and children included, always under the armed guard of the riot police.

The road, completed from Ye U to Khamti has been dubbed "Gen Tin Oo Road."

## Maw Like — Pyung Boke Road

This road, intended as logging transportation road, was repaired and reconstructed on 28 May 1990 along the Maw Like to *Saw Bwa Ye Shin 55 mile logging camp*. Along the road there are 3 bridges and 8 running water pipe lines constructed by conscript labour.

## 3. Yazakyo (Kale Township)— Han

#### Kin (Tun Zan Township) Road

Slorc Infantry battalion No. 89 is in charge of constructing this road, supposedly using volunteers, but in reality it was certainly forced labour. This road is 38 miles long, with 7 villages located along it.

#### 4. Le Shi — Hta Man Thi Road Le Shi — Summara Road Lahe — Khamti Road

These roads were constructed under the Naga Hill (Khamti Township, Sagaing Division) Development Programme. Slorc troops were stationed at Summara and La Shi and another platoon under the command of Infantry Battalion No. 229 was posted in La He. These troops forced the local people in to work on construction of the road. Each household in every village had to work, bringing their own food covering their own expenses. The patrol troops even demanded a chicken as bribe from each household. As there is no transport from Summara to Home Lin, the journey takes three days on foot. Nagas used to the easier road to India and only infrequently go to Home Lin, as the Slorc troops used to check their identity cards. Anyone failing to produce an ID card had to pay a bribe of 100-150 Kyats or be beaten and detained.

In August 1990, the Slorc troops reduced some villagers between La He and Nam Yum township to ashes, press-ganging the local people to act as porters in their operations and patrolling the mountainous regions. In Khamti town, for example, when they needed 10 porters, they arrested about 30 people and then charged them 5,000 kyats to buy their way out. All those unable to pay were forced to serve as porters. Those forced into the mountains hardly ever came back as, dying on the way of malaria and the hardships. Porters who suffered malaria were never given treatment.

In 1991, the Slorc troops cordoned off a concert in Khamti, arrested all the people inside and forced them into portage. Meanwhile Chinese

nationalities of unknown origins are settling down, buying houses in the centre, and running shops, while the indigenous people — Shan, Naga and Burmese — have to sell off their houses and move to outlying areas.

In April 1992, Hin Kut village in Le Shi township was set on fire, forcing the victims to flee to the fields. The Slorc Battalion stationed in Summara ordered the fire victims to serve as porters. When the villagers refused, the troops resorted to intimidation tactics, send them each a letter with a bullet enclosed inside.

#### KABAW VALLEY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Slorc began implementing the so-called Border Area Development Programme (BAD) not long after it came to power in September 1988 by staging a military coup. In reality, the people living in the development programme areas were forced into slave labourers. The true objectives of the so-called "development" programmes were simply to gain control over the frontier areas.

The Kabaw valley programme was set up on 2 September 1992 by the Slorc Secretary Khin Nyunt. The Programme Implementation Committee, composed of armed personnel and pro-Slorc civilians, was chaired by Maj-Gen Kyaw Min, commander of Northwestern Command.

The programme includes plans to construct the Sedi, Wet Shu and Tone Kyaw Dam, Tanan — Tone He Road (Chindwin River) and to upgrade the Tamu—Mintha Road to all-weather use, to upgrade the Mintha village to town and to establish Aung Ze Ya village.

In upgrading Mintha town, as the Slorc extended the main road, 20 households located in the way were forced to evacuate without compensation. Then the villagers were forced into slave labour to clear the site and to construct barracks and other buildings for a Slorc company under Battalion No. 228.

Each household was forced to send 20 bamboos, 1 pillar and 100 sheets of roofing thatch. The construction process was supervised by about 100 soldiers of Infantry Battalion No. 228.

When Slorc Secretary Khin Nyunt visited on 2 September 1991, the villagers were forced to construct a landing strip of 4 helicopters landing. They not only were unpaid, but also had to buy their own food.

Construction of Tanan-Ton He Road was finished in March 1992 and it was along the old motor road used during the Second World War. The Slorc troops directed the construction process, to which the people living in upper Tamu township and Hpaung Pyin were press-ganged into labour.

The local Slorc authorities ordered one family member from each household to serve for the work, hire somebody else or pay off the Slorc with 200 Kyats.

At present, the Slorc have forced the people living there to work on the construction of Ton He — Ket Tha, a village located on the western bank of Chindwin river.

Aung Ze Ya village was established near Sedi village, 36 miles north of Tamu. One family member from each household in Tamu township had to work clearing the fields, constructing the roads and uprooting trees. To escape conscription meant paying someone else or paying a ransom of 200 Kyats to the Slorc.

Workers got no pay and had to find their own food. The villagers were also forced into the construction of military barracks. The elderly, women and children who could not afford to hire somebody else nor pay to ransom were beaten up by the guards and kicked with combat boots.

In Tamu, Slorc Battalion No. 89 used to patrol the town. People outside the houses were arrested and then forced into portage in construction of roads

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# SLORC'S PLOY BEHIND THE THEME BACK TO CLASS



The military regime in Burma, Slorc, have issued an announcement that universities and colleges throughout the country will re-open on 24 August 1992, the second such pronouncement since the military coup in 1988. To reach this step, the military dictators have tightened up restrictions including barring the students from taking part in political activities and setting out a variety of tactical measures over the past 8 months. Specifically, this announcement is also aimed at gaining acceptance from ASEAN, as well as at the forthcoming UN General Assembly. However, Malaysia, a member of ASEAN, rejected the application to grant Burma observer status at the ASEAN Summit held in the Philippines in late July. This rebuff left the Slorc regime's image tarnished at a time when it is trying to smooth relations with the ASEAN, as well as jeopardizing its hopes for the forthcoming UN General Assembly in September.

In 1988, students spearheaded democratic uprisings became

widespread, that leading to the closure of all universities, colleges, and schools on 21 June 1988. Later, Slorc, in an attempt to prevail its mounting political crises, took the steps of reopening schools up to high school level. But their hopes were dashed as the reality turned out radically different from their predictions.

On 19 June 1989, primary schools were reopened, with no untoward consequences. But on 14 August 1989, when the middle schools were reopened, students in Bahan, Dagon, Alone, San Chaung, Kemmendaing and Kamayut townships in Rangoon division stuck up political posters attacking the Slorc and urged the students to wear black on 18 September and the following days as a symbol of mourning.

On September 25, when high schools were reopened, the anti-military regime activities became more widespread. Most high schools in Rangoon Division, put up anti-Slorc posters and launched sporadic

demonstrations. In Sanchaung High school, the students hoisted the flag of fighting peacocks and chanted slogans; in Botataung High School, the students removed and destroyed photos of U Ne Win, and in some schools, the students formed Students' Unions at Basic Education Level. Some anti-Slorc leaflets read "All human beings belong to BCP, all dogs are Slorc."

All these protests revealed that the Slorc 3 year constructions of roads, bridges, parks and repolishment of old buildings could neither win the hearts and minds of the people, nor their enmity. On the contrary, 8888 spirit still burns deep in the students' hearts.

Then, hesitantly, Slorc reopened the universities and colleges. At that time, martial Law was still imposed, Slorc continued to disregard the results of the 1990 May elections or to turn over power to the winning political party, many opposition figures, including U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, were under arbitrary arrest against a background of skyrocketing prices of basic commodities and escalating political structures.

When Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, detained since July 1989, was awarded Nobel Peace Prize, it was a slap in the face to Slorc. This award raised international pressure on the Slorc, already abhorred by its own people throughout the country.

On 10 December 1991, the day the award ceremony was held in Oslo, Norway, students rallied in the Rangoon University campus, fearlessly staging demonstrations even although informers and MIs of the Slorc had infiltrated the campus. About 150 students were arrested, 45 of them on December 10. The following day, students from Botataung, Hlaing and Kemmendaing Campuses rallied, chanted slogans and then staged demonstrations in support of the Rangoon University students. As a result of these demonstrations, Slorc on December 12 issued the order to close down all

the universities and colleges which had re-opened only six months before.

On 27 January 1992, at the opening ceremony of the Special Refresher Training Course 1, Slorc secretary (1) Khin Nyunt accused Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as the source of turmoil that led to the demonstrations and crises the military regime was facing.

Slorc realised they would have to make some cosmetic changes, including reopening the universities and colleges so as not to be unseated at the forthcoming UN General Assembly. Although Slorc has to reopen the schools as international pressure mounts more than ever, the regime is also concerned about the recurrence of another round of demonstrations. After tightening up its oppressive measures all round, the Slorc announced on 26 July 1992 that all the universities and colleges would reopen on August 24.

To prevent the next series of massive demonstrations, the Slorc, before reopening the schools, managed to divide up some universities — Rangoon University, Rangoon Institute of Technology (RIT), Institute of Economics, Institute of Education and Rangoon University (Haling Campus) as they were seen as the roots of the demonstrations. The Slorc immediately upgraded one of Technical High School in Mandalay to Institute of Technology and another Institute of Economics was to be opened in Monywa while Institute of Education was to be opened in December. A new college in Hakha is now under construction. Another Degree College was planned for one of the new satellite towns, Dagon Myo Thit, in order to draw away most of the students from Central Rangoon. All these plans are Slorc's new strategies to split the democratic movement.

Moreover, fencing around all the classrooms and dormitories was reinforced ready to control the students should demonstrations occur. Furthermore, Slorc also deployed more informers and MIs within

the University campuses. Thus, Slorc Secretary (1), Khin Nyunt boldly guaranteed there would be no more uprisings within the university campuses.

At the same time, Slorc also invented so-called "Distance Universities" to break up the students. As all the universities and colleges were closed down for nearly four years, nearly 30,000 students who have passed their high school final examinations are ready to join the universities and colleges. Out these, some are working in the civil services and some are self-employed. Slorc seems to believe that as long as the students pass their examination yearly and get their degrees there will be no problem for the regime. In accordance with that belief, Slorc announced daily education programmes to be broadcasted on television and radio. In a situation where no student can afford to even buy a radio, as the prices of basic commodities are scaring, it clearly reveals that "Distance Universities Programme" is only another vain attempt by Slorc to prevent a further series of demonstrations.

Any government which implements a developmental education programme for its students, who are the leaders of the future, sets up universities in centralised locations. In Oxford and Harvard universities, for example, students can study medicines, economics, technology, law, and other subjects on both Arts and Science in the same university. As the teachers and student organise in one place, it is easy for them to exchange expertise and experience to further educational development.

Slorc, by contrast, concentrates only on how to hold on to power and how to protect itself from anti-military opposition. After two rounds of demonstrations occurred in U Thant's Funeral Ceremony in 1974 and at the Centenary of Takhin Ko Daw Hmaing's (Anti-colonial poet) uprising in 1976, the then regime — Burma Socialist Programme Party — also implemented extension of regional colleges in every State and Division

in Burma in order to to split the student movement. Slorc came saw the useful of this strategy and so brought it back for a second time.

In Khin Nyunt's speech on 27 January 1992 at the opening ceremony of the Special Refresher Training Course for teachers at university and college level, he falsely claimed that the recent demonstrations had occurred because of the failure of teachers to cooperate with Slorc. Therefore, the second programme introduces this kind of training with Slorc indoctrinating the students in Slorc's policies and values, with immediate implementing repercussions for the trainees should demonstrations occur.

Tutors, lecturers and even professors were forced to attend and be lectured at by the Slorc. 10,516 civil servants who participated in the 8888 uprisings were sentenced for their activities. Of these, 245 were from education section. Some were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment, some were dismissed from their jobs, while others were forced into early

retirement. Those who failed to attend the training course were branded as members of underground movement, and subjected to accusations and then detained. To that Refresher Training, 6,173 teachers were forced to attend against their will.

If we analyse the situation, the Slorc has mapped out a plan to tighten up their oppressive measures to bolster up their flagging political image in the international community. Two main intentions of the Slorc are: extending the universities and colleges to prevent the student movement in the political movement and to enforce Slorc principles and policy onto teachers to ensure their support in cracking down on the demonstrations.

Although the first programme may appear to be bearing fruit, in reality it is hard for Slorc to implement. Even if the Slorc manage to control the students by various ways and means, the anti-military spirit and the 8888 spirit will never be defeated. If the regime's attempts had triumphed, the historic students' movement, such

as the 8888 student-spearheaded uprising would never have occurred in the aftermath of the 1974/76 students' movements. As the country is plunged into the chaos of politics, economic and military upheaval, these schemes to prevent the recurrence of popular uprisings will never be overcome by the Slorc's irrational ways of thinking.

Slorc might be able to control some teachers who are unwilling to reveal Slorc's true nature for fear of losing their jobs and thus their livelihood. But not all.

In sum, Slorc's attempts to reopen the universities and colleges were no more than further cosmetic change, just like the release of some political prisoners and the calling of a sham national convention. All the above facts clearly reveal that Slorc's intentions in taking these steps have nothing to do with students' education but are merely a further attempt to prolong their tenuous cling to power.

*Maung Doe*

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## From Page - (28)

and Aung Ze Ya village. Moreover, people who were on their way to Morch, a town in India for trade were also arrested and forced to work as slave labourers for three days.

### FORCED RELOCATION

People living in Shwe Bo, Ye U and other cities were evicted to relocate to Aung Ze Ya and other villages, believing in Slorc's promises that they would give 2 cows, 5 acre of farm and farming implements and 1,000 Kyats in cash to each household. When they settled in the new place, they got none of the thing promised and instead faced only hardships. Some people died due to bad weather and malaria. Others suffered from lack of food and shelter. They had to rely on food sacks from Tamu.

In Tamu, the Slorc practised the new tactic of spreading disunity among the ethnic groups by forcing the ethnics Chins to migrate to villagers where ethnic Burmese were living and in return, moved the ethnic Burmese to where other ethnic groups are living.

In June 1991, 6 Karen mahouts near Min Tha village were arrested by the Slorc commander, tied up, accused of robbery and shot dead. A remaining mahout managed to escape because he had gone to fetch water. When he heard about the killings, he objected to Tamu Slorc chairman Maj Thein Win of Infantry Battalion No. 89.

The doctors, judges and remaining mahout inspected the bodies and then filed a report ready to take legal action. The Slorc response was to send back the commander to his Battalion and no legal action was

taken.

Slorc is also trying to gather new young recruits. On 5 August 1992, Slorc organised a propaganda shunt in Tamu High School targeting students between 7th and 10th grade with the Slogan: "If the students are eager to join the army, parents can no longer stop them against their will because it is our human right. Any students bored with studying can join the military service."

(Source: India-based Burma Students Democratic Front, BSDF)

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## INTERNATIONAL UNIONS OF FOOD AND ALLIED WORKERS' ASSOCIATION CALLS PEPSICO INVESTMENT IN BURMA BUSTING UNIONS

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The national Coalition Government of the Union of Burma, representing the parliament elected by a huge majority of voters in 1990 and subsequently forced underground, has repeatedly called for an end to foreign investment in the country pending democratic civilian rule. This call has been supported by the repressed Free Trade Union movement, organised in the Federation of Trade Unions of Burma (FTUB), and by every major international trade union organisation, including the International Trade Secretariats and the ICFTU.

PepsiCo, however, claims to know what is better for the people of Burma. In response to IUF queries concerning its investments in that country, the company's public affairs director, one Barry Holt, has now informed us that "immediate economic gain is rarely a consideration... or even a possibility... for

PepsiCo. In the case of Burma, our decision as a corporation is guided by our firm belief that trade is one of the best ways to build bridges of understanding between people — bridges which help open lines of communication, find common ground, stimulate dialogue, and thus bring people and their nations closer together and ultimately toward world peace."

We think otherwise. PepsiCo's proclaimed commitment to "building bridges" in Burma is of a piece with their union bashing in the UK, the Philippines, South Africa, and elsewhere. The rhetoric is a smokescreen for the corporation's relentless pursuit of profit, and for its contemptuous disregard for the legal and social environment in which it operates.

PepsiCo, with extensive operations in soft drinks, snacks, and fast foods, is a

major player in the international food processing and catering industries. Squeezed by global recession and increased competition, it has responded with the most primitive of corporate reflexes: attacking the unions, and investing in repressive regimes. Left unchecked, this behaviour can only spread to local managements which have previously enjoyed good industrial relations, and erode union-management relations throughout the sector. It has an equally corrosive effect on trade union efforts to enforce standards of corporate responsibility, which include, at a minimum, respect for human and democratic rights, for full trade union rights as set out in international Conventions, and for the environment.

"Dialogue" in Burma can only take place with the elected representatives of the people, not with a clique

of butchers purposed up by foreign investors and arms merchants. "Building Bridges" in industrial relations must likewise begin with the affirmation of basic trade union rights. For starters, corporate headquarters might insist that local managements abandon their strong arm tactics and take seriously the notion of collective bargaining in good faith.

The IUF won't be nominating PepsiCo for this year's Nobel Peace Prize. Rather we will be mobilising our members to ensure that responsible corporate conduct, rather than cynical public relations ploys, becomes PepsiCo policy throughout its worldwide operations.

(Exert from International Union of Food & Allied Workers' Association's News Bulletin: Vol.62, No. 5-6/1992)



## BURMA ARMY PORTERS SLIP INTO THAILAND

(The Nation:29 August 1992)

Reuter, Mae Sot — More than 200 young Burmese taken as porters by Burma's army have escaped to Thailand amid reports that Rangoon is ready to launch a major jungle offensive against ethnic rebels. A Thai military officer in Mae Sot said 46 Burmese men crossed the Moei River into this border town on Thursday evening and the rest were taking shelter on the Thai riverbank. Some of the refugees, mostly aged between 16 and 20, told Reuters that hundreds of people were rounded up on Thursday and more than two hundreds escaped during the night to Thailand.

The officer said the 46 Burmese rounded up in town would be send back to Burma on 28 August 1992 afternoon and the rest repatriated later. Thai military spokesman Lt-Gen

Anusorn Krisanaserrani said on Thursday that intelligence reports indicated the Burmese army was preparing a major offensive against the Karens. "As their negotiation failed to reach agreement, there are reports that the government troops plan to launch a major offensive against the Karens soon within this cold season," he said. Every year the Burmese army rounds up thousands of porters to transport ammunition and supplies. Numerous reports reaching international human rights groups say they are often brutally treated and sometimes killed by soldiers.

Earlier this week, the junta announced that it had acceded to the Geneva Convention, which governs behaviour in wartime, including the humane treatment of civilians.

### PALANG DHARMA PARTY: FOREIGN POLICY CLARIFIED

(Nation:24 August 1992)

In regards to Burma, Prasong said PDP would adopt an independent policy placing emphasis on humanitarian concerns and measures to encourage pluralism in the country's political scene without trying to interfere in its internal affairs. The PDP would also legalise border trade with Burma and take drastic action to curb drug trafficking in close

cooperation with anti-drug organisations as well as Rangoon. He said as Burma's neighbour, Thailand had the right to take initiatives and express its concern about the situation in Burma instead of following the international community. "There is no point in maintaining silence just to protect the interests of certain groups". He

## 49 BURMESE PUSHED BACK TO MYAWADDY

(Bangkok Post: 29 August 1992)

Tak— Forty nine Burmese nationals have been sent back across the Moei River into Burma in a new crackdown on the illegal entry of Burmese into the country. Thai officials became searching houses in Tha Ard village, Mae Sot District from 6 a.m. yesterday after receiving a report that since Thursday some two hundred Burmese had been arriving at the village from Myawaddy. The Thai authorities were told that most of the dissidents had sneaked back to Burma after learning of the imminent crackdown. The illegal immigrants are believed to be trying to escape recruitment as porters for the Burmese army for the carrying of arms and food to soldiers along the Burmese-Thai border.

anticipated the UN resolution on economic sanctions against Burma will be adopted in the near future if the repressive regime continues.

He said that what happened in Thailand last May had raised second thoughts about human rights in Burma. "The Burmese ruling junta — which is the same as Thailand's National Peace Keeping Council — has been in power for five years and shows no signs of unflexing its muscles", he said. To legalise border trade, PDP would open negotiation with Rangoon as well as ethnic minority groups residing along the Thai-Burmese border, and

## DAW AUNG SAN SUU KYI AWARDED FELLOWSHIP

(Bangkok Post: 27 August 1992)

Colombo (Reuter) — A Sri Lanka think tank said on 26 August detained Burmese opposition Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had accepted its offer of a professorial fellowship. The Law and Society Trust said the Nobel Peace Prize Winner had agreed that if release from house arrest, she would visit Sri Lanka and deliver a series of lectures and seminars. It said she conveyed her acceptance of the fellowship, affective for one year from next month, to her husband Dr Michael Aris who recently visited her in Rangoon. The Trust praised her moral courage and unwavering commitment to human rights and democratic values.

"The award is an acknowledgement of the contribution made by her to the study of the intellectual and cultural history of Burma, and to the understanding of the humanistic traditions within Theravada Buddhist thought," it said. Theravada Buddhism is a strict form practised in Sri Lanka and a few other countries.

Thai businessmen would not be allowed to trade without government approval. "This will eventually force Rangoon to open dialogue with the minority groups on the sharing of benefits and fees as trade routes mostly cut through the rebel zones to get to Rangoon and other parts of the country.

# REPRESSION OF CHRISTIANS IN BURMA ALLEGED

(The Nation:4 September 1992)

Rangoon (Reuter) — Catholics working secretly inside Burma say the ruling military junta is persecuting Christians as part of a policy of systematic repression of ethnic and religious minorities.

The Christians, especially Catholics, were being relocated to arid, barren wastelands and left for dead, the sources said. In Kayah State, bordering Thailand, 70,000 Catholics who are members of the Karen hill tribe were moved earlier this year from ancestral villages to a field without food or water, the sources said. According to one source close to foreign and Burmese Catholics inside Burma, the Kayah people were given less than 24 hours to move to the new site and build new

homes. A videotape made by a Burmese prelate who visited the area, and which has been seen by Reuters, showed rows of woven bamboo huts standing on stilts in a dry, grassless field.

The prelate made the video with a donated camera so it could be smuggled out of Burma and used in fund-raising efforts. There are about one million Christians in Burma. More than 60 per cent of Burma population of about 41 million are Buddhist, religious sources said. Burmese Christians are predominantly Catholic, Baptist and Methodist. All are subject to persecution by the ruling junta, the sources said. The military government has since earned a reputation as one of the world's most brutal regime. A foreign diplomat

in Rangoon said international Catholic groups had managed to get money and other aid to the displaced Karen. He said that since May, when the secret video was made, about \$ 40,000 had been channelled to Kayah State. Programmes to help the Karen become self-sufficient at the new settlement had also begun, including the building of wells, crop growing and cottage industries such as weaving. The Karen were slash-and-burn subsistence farmers before the government forced them to move.

The diplomat said the Karen Catholics were routinely abused by Burma's military, which accused them of collaborating with the Karen National Union rebels. 'The military government uses

the rebellion as an excuse to abuse the Karen," he said. "What the government really wants to do is wipe them out. So it dumps them in the middle of nowhere, hopes no one will notice and that they'll all die." The Karen were forced to sell most of their belongings to pay for their new homes because they were not given any compensation or assistance for the move, he said. A representative in Australia of Burma's government-in-exile, the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma, accused the junta of trying to exterminate all ethnic and religious minorities, who account for about half the population. "What is going on is tantamount to genocide," Amanda Zappia told Reuters by phone from Canberra.

## BURMESE PROTEST OUTSIDE EMBASSY

(Bangkok Post:9August 1992)

Washington (AFP) — Burmese dissidents staged a peaceful demonstration outside the Burmese embassy here on August 8 to mark the 4th anniversary of the an army crackdown in which hundreds of pro-democracy protesters died. The protest, organised by the Washington-based Committee for Restoration of Democracy in Burma drew about 35 dissidents and human

rights advocates who call on the ruling junta to free all political prisoners and cede power to an elected government. Demonstrators urged the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), which seized power in September 1988 after crushing a nationwide democracy movement, to release opposition National League for Democracy (NLD) leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

## BURMESE PLAN NEW ATTACK

(Bangkok Post:18 August 1992)

Mae Sot, Tak — Burmese authorities have conscripted porters to carry weapons into Thai-Burmese border areas in preparation for an attack on Karen National Union camps. The weapons are being taken close to KawMoora Camp opposite Mae Sot District and the Thay Baw Boe and Walley Camps

opposite Phopphra district, a field report said. The porters are mainly women. Men fled to avoid conscription. Those able to pay the equivalent of 690 to 920 Baht were exempt. Burmese authorities are expected to use the weapons to attack Karen camps along the border when the wet season ends in October.

## ABSDF MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE



Anti-colonial and anti-dictatorial activist General Thwin, key political leader in Burma's revolutionary history, died in Bangkok, Thailand on 18 August 1992 at the age of 74. At the time of his death, he was Chairman of People's Patriotic Party (PPP) and Vice-Chairman of Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB).

Gen Thwin went to the American Baptist School and Methodist High School in Rangoon. In December 1938, he was active in students' movement against the colonial education system. 20 December 1938, when students staged a demonstration in front of the Secretariat in which student leader, Bo Aung Gyaw, was beaten to death in a police baton charge was the date Gen Thwin enter Burma's political scene with all his heart and soul. In 1940, Gen Thwin studied at Rangoon University together with other well-known students such as Ko Ba

Hein and Ko Ba Swe, who were close associates. When the Second World War broke out, he took responsibility as a revolutionary leader in Taton District and joined Burma Independence Army (BIA), in which he vigorously took part in anti-colonial movements as one of Gen Aung San's close comrades. From 1943, he was involved in Anti-Fascist movements and was involved on 27 March 1945 when the Anti-Fascist Revolution broke out. During World War II, he got military training both from the British and Japanese.

When the Japanese surrendered, he took part in the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) in which he struggled for Burma's Independence from the British. In 1952, he was elected MP for the Kyaik Maraw Township Constituency in Moulmein District, and in 1956 he was reelected in Chaungzone Township of the same district. He contested both election for the AFPFL.

In 1957, Gen Thwin became Deputy Minister for the Public Works & Housing Ministry, Immigration & National Registration Ministry and Defence Ministry. From 1957 to 1962, he was General Secretary of Union Labour Organisation (ULO). In 1960, after the general election, he became Minister for Trade Development and Supplies in the U Nu administration.

When Gen Ne Win staged the military coup on 2 March 1962, Gen Thwin was detained in prison until 28 February 1968. During the entire prison term, he was allowed to meet his family only once. In the mounting political chaos in Burma, Gen Thwin in 1969, along with U Nu and Gen Letkyia, left for Thailand. In Thailand, the Parliament Democracy Party (PDP) and its armed wing, Patriotic Liberation Army (PLA), was formed, led by U Nu, Gen Letkyia, Gen Yan Naing, Gen T. Clit and Gen Saw Kya Doe. Then, the PDP along with Karen National Union (KNU) and New Mon State Party (NMSP) formed an umbrella organisation named National United Liberation Front (NULF) under which they united to attack the military regime.

In late 1980s, although some of his comrades surrendered to the military regime, Gen Thwin remained to lead the People Patriotic Party (PPP) and continued the struggle, joining hands with other ethnic minorities for the establishment of a future Federal Union.

As he died while serving the revolutionary cause, it is also a sad loss to us who are struggling for the restoration of democracy in Burma. We, the All Burma Students' Democratic Front, would like to convey our deep heart-felt condolences to the bereaved family. We will never forget him nor his struggles for democracy before his death. His dedication to the revolution and unceasing commitment to the course of righteousness will ever burn bright in the annals of our nation.



