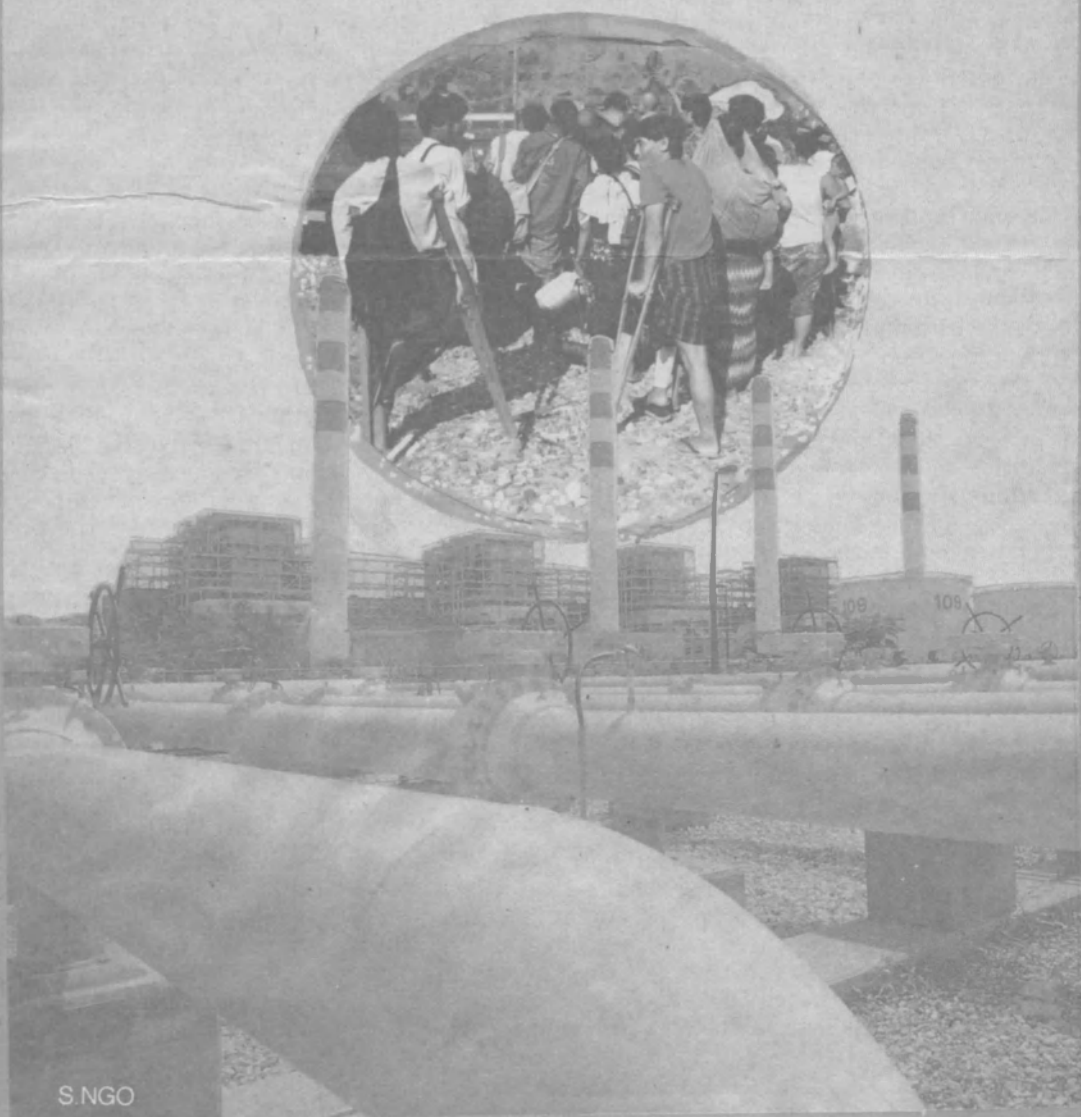


DAWN

NEWS BULLETIN

HUMANITARIAN QUESTION BEHIND
THE EXPLORATION OF GAS
IN MARTABAN GULF



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DAWN

NEWS BULLETIN

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WHAT'S THE ESSENCE OF SLORC'S NEW STRATEGY?

The Slorc has been attempting to gain legitimacy by holding a so-called National Convention. Many delegates to the convention were hand-picked by the Slorc. Representatives who were elected during the 1990 elections were allowed to participate in that convention but they only formed a minority and their discussion on making of the constitution were controlled by strict convention rules and regulations. Despite these measures, it has been reported that Slorc's self-imposed guideline to legitimise the leading role of Tatmadaw (armed forces) in the future politics of Burma was strongly resisted by some delegates. The national convention has been adjourned two times since its opening, indicating that Slorc's attempts to legitimise the military rule is not easily being accepted by genuine delegates.

At the same time, realising that military force alone can not end the resistance, the Slorc changed its civil war strategy against the ethnic minorities. Even though strongholds of the ethnic minorities can be overrun by the Slorc army, resistance by ethnic minorities will still continue in the form of guerrilla movement and that may further damage the stability of Slorc's inner circle. The Slorc is meanwhile hard pressed by the foreign investors whose projects are being hindered by the ongoing civil war in minority areas that are rich in untapped natural resources. During the dry season of 1993, there were only a few skirmishes between the ethnic armed forces and the Slorc army because the Slorc had separately been approaching each major ethnic group (the Karens, Karennis, Kachins and Mons) and trying to make them agree to the cease-fire term laid down by the Slorc. It was learned that offers made to allow the minorities to continue wielding weapons, to set up their own administrative power in areas under their control, and to receive border area development assistance, etc. The catch however is that that "political settlement" still allows the Slorc to reserve its right to a new, intensified round of military offensive.

Since the beginning of 1993, the Slorc has been concentrating on the recruitment of soldiers to boost the strength of its army to 500,000 and on its "Four Deprivations Strategy" (Deprivation of information, food, finances, and communications) which in part includes the forced relocation of villages to strategically placed areas under the army control. These newly settled hamlets, which can be termed as "concentration camps", are also the reservoirs of forced labour that the army can call upon any time to get porters to carry arms, ammunitions and food to the frontier, to build barracks and dig trenches for the army or to work in the Slorc's Border Area Development (BAD) projects.

The current attempts of the Slorc to legitimise its rule by means of a national convention and to reach a supposed cease-fire with the ethnic minorities based solely on Slorc's terms, will not be able to resolve the political problems that Burma faces today. It is essential to improve the human rights situation in Burma and to achieve a just "political settlement" through a process that is participated by all the parties concerned on basis of equality. The current stalemate in the political development of Burma urgently requires the international community to impose proper political and economic sanctions upon the military regime to timely prevent further terror and bloodshed.

SLORC ARRESTS THAIS

Five Thai villagers — Narong Raman, 24, and Thip Manowong, 34, from Ban Mae Tan village; Aroon, 24, and Tia, 23, of Mae Sot district; and Suthas of Phrae Province— and six Karen labourers were arrested by Slorc troops from Battalion No. 28 on April 28 after crossing into Burma from Tha Song Yang District. Slorc soldiers capture a small KNU outpost further north of Pa-an at the weekend and arrested 11 Thai workers at a mobile saw mill factory in Karen controlled areas.

It was reported that the 11 victims were last seen being tied up by the Slorc troops and their fate and whereabouts were still unknown.

SLORC LAUNCHES NEW OFFENSIVE ATTACKS

Slorc troops pounded a KNU (Karen National Union) Camp in Kyai Don area, on May 15/16 and prepared to overrun the stronghold. Slorc used Swiss-manufactured PC-7 turboprop aircraft to attack Kyai Don. Three days before the air raid, Slorc deployed more than 1,500 reinforcement near Azin, where about 2,000 Karen guerrillas and ABSDF students are based.

ABSDF ON THE MOVE

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING OF ABSDF HELD



The First Central Committee meeting of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) was held on 23 March 1993 at the Central Headquarters of the Front (Dawn Gwin). To that meeting, all the members to the Central Committee and Central Executive Committee, Alternate Central Committee members, and members of the Regional Committee in Southern, Southeastern and Eastern Region showed up. Chairman Dr Naing Aung presided over the ceremony and addressed to the gathering at the opening session.

Chairman stated, "During the term of the Central Committee which emerged in the Third Conference of the ABSDF, we can cultivate warm and friendly relations within the Front and can create an environment in which all the Central Committee members has consulted vigorously and implemented collectively."

Furthermore, Chairman added that the Central Committee meeting will focus on organising within the Front, organising process inside the country to extend the liberated areas, and united cooperation with allied organisations. To transmit the democratic changes as a whole, every organisation must accept the principles of such changes and should start within each organisation

Chairman also urged the gathering to concentrate on conceptual realities and organising plans, and to afford always to be an active, dynamic and united organisations.

"We must implement with firm stand on our belief to be models of the social environment and to extend the strength of the Front," said in conclusion of his speech.

During the sessions, reports of the Central

Executive Committee, Central Committee and Regional Committee were read out by responsible persons, and analysis on current situation was made. After that the Central Committee unanimously elected 5 persons for vacant seats — 2 to Central Executive Committee and 3 others to the Central Committee. It was reportedly known that the closing session was successfully ended on April 10.

ABSDF ON THE MOVE

ABSDF

REPRESENTATIVE PARTICIPATES INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The International Burma Conference, under the patronage of Prof Dr Rita Susmuth, President of the German Bundestag (Parliament) and Mr Wolfgang Thierse, Vice-Chairman of Social Democratic Party of Germany, was held in the Building of German Parliament from 16-18 April 1993.

At the invitation of Burma Project-Berlin to participate the Conference, the Central Committee of the ABSDF sent Mi Sue

Pwint, Member of the Information Department and Editor of Dawn-Oh-Wei magazine, as a female representative of the Front. She joined representatives of other democratic forces including Dr M Marta; Foreign Secretary of Karen National Union (KNU), U Win Khet; Vice-chairman of the National League for Democracy, Liberated Area (NLD, LA), Nai Pe Thein Zar, Foreign Secretary of the National Democratic Front (NDF), Ven Khae Mar Sara; Chairman of



All Burma Young Monks Union (ABYMU), Khai Saw Htun; Arakan Liberation Front (ALP), Ms Seng Raw; Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO) and representatives of the Burmese Community in the United States of America, United Kingdom and Czechoslovakia. It was reportedly known that more than 80 representatives from different countries participated the Conference.

prayed for the success of the conference.

Then Ms Larissa Gabriel from Geneva-based Center on Human Rights discussed about "Human Rights and Democracy in Burma and Democracy in Burma and German MP Dr Mahlo explained his views on "Approach to Peace in Burma"

On April 16, at 9:30 a.m., U Maung Yin, Chairman of Burma Project-Berlin, opened then ceremony by conveying greetings and Ven Khae Mar Sara

"The Way to Peace" was presented by Dr Marta, MS Seng Raw and Kyemon U Thaug from different angles, "The Way To Peace in Burma" by Khernsai Jaiyem;



representative of Shan State Restoration Council, "Burma Today and Tomorrow" by U Win Khet, "Human Rights and Democracy" by Nai Pe Thein Zar, paper on Burma Analysis was read out by United Front for Democracy and Human Rights in Burma Chairman U Thaung while "Role of Women in Burma" was highlighted by Mi Sue Pwint.

She categorised her presentation into (11) sets: Role of Female Students during 1988 Uprising, Women's Role in the aftermath of Military Coup, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Her Role, Women's Role in the ABSDF, Women in Burmese Society,

Women in Burma's Education Sector, Women Portage, Sexual Abuses, Abuses in the Name of Development, Refugees, Women Trafficking, HIV and AIDS.

On the second day, plenary discussion on Way to Peace, Human Rights & Democracy, Environment & Health, Role of Women in Burma and Religions & Minorities were made.

Final resolutions on these plenary discussions were adopted at the final session after being consulted in the Conference. The Conference ended with success on April 18 and followed by a press conference.

ABFSU COMMENDS NOBEL PEACE LAUREATES

On March 10, the All Burma Federation of Student Union (ABFSU) sent an open letter to the Nobel Peace laureates. In the letter ABFSU conveyed its thanks to them for their activities on Burma — forwarding Burma issue to the UN Security Council to suspend Slorc's seat for its grave human rights records, pressuring Slorc for the immediate and unconditional release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Tin Oo, Min Ko Naing and all other political prisoners, urging Slorc to restore full democratic rights for the people in Burma and to transfer power to the elected people's representatives immediately, calling the international community to isolate Slorc if it continues human rights violations, to halt political, economic and military assistance, and decision to organise international community to gain support for the democratic forces which are struggling for the restoration of democracy.

ABFSU also applauded Nobel Laureates' humanity, their support for truth and spirit against injustice deeds.

The letter concluded by urging the Laureates to continue their efforts until it brings achievement and vowing that ABFSU will also fight against the regime unflaggingly until democracy is flourished in Burma.

(Sources: Burmese Text of the ABFSU issued on March 10)

ABFSU CALLS FOR APPROPRIATE MEASURES ON SLORC

The Central Executive Committee of the All Burma Federation of Student Union (ABFSU) on March 12 sent a letter to Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The letter said that ABFSU opposed Slorc's self-imposed so-called national convention and its paving way for "the military to be able to participate in the national political leadership role of the future state". And it demanded Slorc for the immediate and unconditional release of Nobel Peace Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Tin Oo, Min Ko Naing and all the political prisoners, to hold the National Assembly which is attended by the MPs who were elected in the 1990 election and to hand over power immediately.

It also said, "Slorc not only ignores the will of the people but also has been committed religious persecution — gunsdown the Buddhist monks, sentences to different terms of imprisonment, tortures and forcibly disrobes them. Other religions are not better off. Workers, civil servants, intellectuals are suspended from their jobs, transferred to the frontier areas, dismissed and put in prisons. Peasants are forced to sell their crops at the bottom price and contribute labour at gun point. Youth throughout the country have been forced to serve the military service. Those who want to be spare from such forced services have to pay the money — at the rate fixed by Slorc — as a ransom. Civil war is still waging on. Pressed-gang into portage and forced ransom are common. Razing the village, robbery,

looting, rape and massacre are also ubiquitous. Moreover, top Slorc military brass, in collusion with drug lords and mafia lords, are involved in business. They own houses, lands, cars, and precious stones and valuable things. In the economic sector, they also invested under different names by various means."

"As the people inside the country has been plunged into the social and economic chaos, forced to live under fear and unsecured situations as if they are in a dark cell, to prevent superfluous blood-shed, losses and paranoid upheaval resulted from general crises created by Slorc which attempts to obscure the restoration of democracy and human rights for the peoples of Burma, and to vanish the 1990 election results, the ABFSU urged the Security Council and the General Assembly to take appropriate measures on Slorc military regime," the letter said.

The letter concluded that it was appreciated with the efforts of the Nobel Peace Laureates, resolutions of the UN Commission on Human Rights and other international Human Rights organisations.

(Sources: Burmese Text of the ABFSU issued on March 12)

PRESIDENT CLINTON CALLS FOR RELEASE OF DAW AUNG SAN SUU KYI

President Bill Clinton called on the Slorc on May 19 to free pro-democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and 1990 election results.

"I strongly urged the Burmese government to release pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi and political prisoners, to respect the May 1990 elections and to commit itself to genuine democratic reforms," said the

President after meeting a group of Nobel Peace Prize Laureates to discuss human rights abuses in Burma. The group who met with the President included the most Reverend Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Betty Williams of Northern Ireland and Kara Newell, executive director of the American Friends Service Committee. At that meeting they urged the President

to take a strong stand on Burma and to push for an international arms embargo against Rangoon.

"The Burmese people should know that America stands with them and with others in the international community in the struggle for freedom in Burma," added the President.

LARGE SWEDISH GRANT FOR OPPOSITION RADIO

The Radio Station "Democratic Voice of Burma" which is broadcasting from Oslo to Burma everyday, has received SEK 900,000, or approximately USD 120,000 from a Swedish source through the Plof Palmes International Centre. For 1993, the Radio Station has also received USD 75,000 from the US National Endowment for Democracy, in addition to grant the Norwegian Burma Council and the SOROS Foundation.

With material collected largely in Burma, the radio service began on 19 July 1992 with a memorial to nationalist leader Aung San, Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu

Kyi's father, who was assassinated on that day 45 years ago. The radio broadcast daily news, educational and cultural material as well as ethnic-language programmes.

The broadcasts from "Democratic Voice of Burma" are edited by a group of Burmese in Oslo, based on material received from world media and from Manerplaw, the area controlled by the liberation movement. A jungle-studio has been set up, and training courses held to teach the Burmese freedom fighters the basics of broadcasting.

Although the military regime in Rangoon is trying to jam the broadcasts, the voice from Norway can be heard throughout Burma, despite occasional interferences.

With these funds from Sweden, Norway and USA, the message of democracy and freedom will continue in 1993.

(Source: The Norwegian Burma Council)

BRITISH GOVT URGED TO TAKE STRONG ACTION

Chingford MP Iain Duncan-Smith on March 30 called on the British Government to take strong action against Burma's tyrannical military rulers in an adjournment debate in the House of Common.

Mr Duncan-Smith outlined the case of one of his constituent's brothers who was severely beaten and killed by soldiers loyal to the military regime, State Law and Order Restoration Council, to highlight the brutal and despotic regime the Burmese people live under.

"Mohamed Ilyas Maung Nyo, a Muslim party worker in Burma, was arrested then severely beaten by the soldiers, eventually so severely that he died on 23 June 1992. His family were forced to bury him at gun point and the military have returned regularly to make sure that the body stays where it is — no relatives are allowed to tend the grave," Mr Duncan-Smith told his colleges.

"The case I have just spoken about is only a microcosm of what is going on in Burma. The most well known example of the Burmese authorities total abuse of human rights is the continuing house arrest of Aung San Suu Kyi, the democratically elected leader of Burma."

He told Members that the list of human rights abuses in the country was endless and needed firm action to tackle it.

Mr Duncan-Smith called on the British Government to put pressure on China who has supplied 1.5 billion pounds worth of arms to Burma since 1989 and offers great protection to Burma at the United Nations. "Surely it is time we highlighted China's persistent support for this regime particularly as they are clearly embarrassed to some extent by the Burmese activities."

"To pay for the arms Burma is busy exporting heroine to the United Kingdom and United States and the rest of Europe. To such an extend that of the

amount of heroine in the United Kingdom, the United States and Europe more than 50% comes from Burma. So not only is this appalling regime hell-bent on destroying its own people, but we in Britain are catching the back-wash through their sale of drugs which so desperately attack our young."

UNDP ADMIN AGREES NOT TO RECOMMEND PROGRAMME

The UNDP Governing Council in 1992 did not approve the UNDP's US\$93 million programme for Slorc's Border Area Development (BAD) program. The UNDP was told to concentrate on grass-roots oriented projects and seek approval for assistance to Burma on a project-by-project basis.

Earlier the UNDP has done an evaluation of its programme in Burma and was planning to approach the UNDP Governing Council in June 1993 to get US\$40 million of the US\$93 million released for Slorc's BAD programme.

According to US Congressional sources, the UNDP Administration has agreed not to recommend the US\$40 million programme. This was in response to the threat from the US Congress to legislate a US withdrawal from the funding of the UNDP.

The US Congress plans to pass legislation specifying that the US will contribute to the UNDP only if it is not used in Burma.

(Source; Harn Yawnfhwe, ADDB, Canada)

NEWS

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS CONTINUE UNDER THE BRUTAL AND RUTHLESS REIGN OF SLORC

To save its tarnished image as opposed and pressured by the international community due to its human rights records since it came to power by a military coup Slorc halted its annual dry season offensives against the Democratic Forces, including the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF). Although no attacks to the Democratic forces broke out, the people inside the country are still ruled at the gun point and power is still gushing from the barrel of the gun. Torture against the people in Burma are still widespread under its reign which goes against the Article (5) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that clearly states: "No one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." This can be clearly revealed by Slorc's brutal and atrocious deeds which have been done to the people living in Central Burma. (The Editor)

PEGU DIVISION

In 1992, Ma Khin Moe, 17, (daughter of U Phoe Thauang and Daw Aye Myint) from Nyaung Thone Khwa village was raped and killed by Pvt Aung Shwe from Infantry Battalion 57 while she was searching for gold near Thaika Taw Gold mine in Shwe Kyin township. Her gold earring was also snatched away.

Maung Win Naing, son of U Thauang Shwe was also harassed to give money and then killed. The responsible persons from Slorc Battalion 57 announced that the accused Aung Shwe would be shot to death in the presence of the public. Later on, he was transferred to the frontline by saying that they will never exchange the life of a soldiers for 10 ordinary people.

In December 1992, 10 porters summoned a gun point from Don Za Yit village by the order of Col Hla Myint, Chairman of Shwe Kyin township, were sent to Kyauk Gyi along with troops from Battalion No. 57. Out of these porters, Ko Gu Lu (son of U Ahparnar and Daw Chee Lu) from Don Za Yit was accused of not able to carry the loads, and his head was stroke with knives and abandoned in the jungle as Slorc soldiers took into consider that he was dead. Fortunately, the wounded victim was

found by the hunters, and alive after treated for many days.

In Pegu Division, Slorc is making recruitment of 2 soldiers from each village to extend its military might. Each local and township level Law and Order Restoration Council is responsible for supporting the financial assistance of 1,000 Kyats per recruit. If they could not provide the needed numbers for recruitment, they were fined at the rate of 10,000 Kyats and 25 Pyas (100 Pyas = 1 Kyats) for each. Parents who prevented their sons from joining the military service are harassed and threatened to be punished.

Battalion 57 has already set up a interrogation cell called "Shwe Pyi Nyein" in their Battalion Headquarters in Shwe Kyin and there they tortured all the arrested suspected persons. If one household member joined the democratic forces, the remaining members were arrested and

tortured at that cell. Many people are now in that cell. On 11 May 1992, Naw Dah Lu from Ma-U-Bin was arrested for her son and Tin Htay (East Don Za Yint) was arrested for her daughter.

In early 1993, one person from each household in Htan Taw Gyi and Zaung To village in Daik-U township was forced to contribute labour for Dam construction. When the villagers did not perform their duty which was assigned by authorities, they were sent back to the village and fined at the rate of 120-300 Kyats.

On 18 February 1993, at 11:00 a.m., Ko San Tin, a cattle trader, was arrested at the entrance of Htin Gone village by Corporal Maung Oo, Pvt Than Aung and another soldier, brought to the house where they encamped, beaten, and taken 48,000 Kyats in cash.

On 21 February 1993, at 4:30 p.m., Win Bo, 25, from eastern Don-Za-Yint village was arrested and tortured by Company commander Myat Soe led troops from Battalion No. 57 while he was bathing his cows. Because of this torture, he was severely wounded.

Two soldiers from a military column led by

2nd Battalion Commander Maung Maung Oo of Battalion 57 crossed to the west bank of the river, got into Maung Naing's house and looted all the properties and money.

VIOLATION IN KYAYK GYI TOWNSHIP

In 1992 December, Slorc ban on logging farm in Mee Taing village of Kyauk Gyi township, and Mone township in Pegu Division which have already been approved and issued licenses from the Forestry Department. Slorc asked 50,000 kyats for a logging farm for their continued business. Villagers from nearby villages who used wood and bamboos for fuel were also forced to give money as a ransom to Slorc. All the villagers in that town were being faced with difficulties. When the villagers attempted to migrate to another village, their remaining family members would face various kinds of harassment. Four villagers from Nga Htwe parish were arrested on the charge of having collaboration with democratic forces. Villagers were also forced to give 10 per cent of their corps.

Seven villagers from Pauk village, Kyauk Gyi

township were arrested, and forced to contribute labour in cutting the logs and digging the bankers and trenches.

In January 1993, 4 villagers from Kaw Byin village, Mone Township, were accused of owning fire arms and 3 of them were arrested by Slorc troops from Infantry Battalion No. 60 while one was away. For their release, they had to pay 25,000 Kyats as a ransom to that Battalion. Another villager, Ko Maung Maung from Shan Pine 4th quarter, was shot dead on the accusation of having contacts with the democratic forces. Villagers dared not submit this case to higher authorities as they were afraid of being faced with many difficulties resulted from it. Moreover, soldiers from that battalion arrested every villager, male or female, who passed through near their outpost and asked for 500 to 3,000 Kyats as a ransom. Those who could not give the ransom were accused of having collaboration with the democratic forces and pressed-gang into portorage or shot dead. Women from that village are not spare from contributing labour at gun point. Rice, salt, dry cell batteries and medicines are allowed to

carry only up to Mone, and for the go-ahead to the area controlled by the democratic forces was prohibited.

Villagers who wanted to travel from one place to another need to get traveling document from the village headman. The charge for such kind of document costs one kyat.

Ko Soe Lwin, 28, from Shwe Kyin and another person from Hmaw Kan Quarter, Pegu, were arrested by Slorc troops on 26 December 1992 in front of a cinema hall in Pegu while they were selling oranges. And they were forced to serve as porters in Htee Moo Khee frontline. They escaped to the liberated area called Nwa Lay Kho while the clash broke out.

Each household in Nyaung Bin Thar village was forced to send one basket of rice to Battalion No. 48. On 18 January 1993, 3 women — Ma Nyo, Ma The and Ma Khin Swe — were arrested by Slorc troops there without giving any reason. Their release came after giving 12,000 Kyats to Slorc troops as a ransom.

In Taungoo, each quarter was forced to collect 2 persons for recruitment in the military service. Those who want to spare

from conscription of military service had to pay 10,000 Kyats of ransom. Moreover, the villagers were forced to give information of the military men who fled from their duty, and were also threatened to be punished on its absence to inform. All one-story houses on the main road were forced to renovate as the 2-story with zinc plate roofing. Those who did not obey Slorc's self-imposed order were forced to move out.

(Reported by Aung Kyaw and members of the ABSDF)

ATROCITIES AND OPPRESSION IN KAREN STATE

VILLAGERS FORCED AS HUMAN MINESWEEPERS

Slorc Battalions under the command of Light Infantry Division No. 99 which are preparing for the offensives against the democratic forces are now transporting the arms, ammunitions and food supply along the motorway in the west bank of Don Thami River, in Pa-An Township. Local people near that River were forced to use as human minesweepers.

As soon as the dawn breaks, the villagers were forced to clear the way and walk ahead of their convoys, and sometimes they were forced to be along with the soldiers. When the convoys landed on mines, Slorc troops opened fire at

nearby villages and each village was fined at least 20,000 Kyats as compensation for the destroyed conveys. It was reportedly known that such events are still going on.

FORCED RELOCATION

Since October 1992 Slorc has forced over 2,200 population of 396 households in (15) villages from Hatta Lite, Mee Pon, Bawtha Byu, Phalan Taung, Talai Kayin, Mae Tae Gyi, Le Seik and Kyon Sein parishes along Don Thami River, in Pa-An township, Karen State, to the herded, noisome concentration camps under the command of Slorc's LID 77 and 99 which station near that camps. They were not only forced to abandon

their houses and farms that they possessed for generations but also had to pay 2,000 Kyats as a ransom to Slorc commanders to get a plot.

SEXUAL ABUSE

Naw Cha from Whi Thakaw village, Than-kaung Phao parish, Pa-an Township, was arrested on 11 January 1993 and raped by a group of Slorc soldiers from Infantry Battalion 84 under the command of LID 99. After raped as she was grasped at the neck, tied up with rope, beaten and tortured, she became nearly dumb, reported by the villagers there.

On January 20, Ma Ye Thu, 26, from Pha Lan Taung village of Hatta Lite parish was threatened to come down from her house when she was left alone as other villagers were forced to gather in a certain place in the village by the order of Slorc soldiers. She was also harassed to be pulled down and killed. After she came down in the dark, she was raped on the main road of the village.

Both of them were not only married for a long time but also mothers who were responsibilities to look after their children. After these cases, they fled the

Thai-Burma border area.

VILLAGERS THREATENED, HARASSED AND ROBBED

Slorc troops from Infantry Battalion 84 under the command of LID 99 which stationed near Hatta Lite, Baw Tha Byu and Thankoung Phao villages forced the villagers to leave their homes by opening fire with various weapons into the villages. After firing, they conducted house-to-house search and took away all the valuable things and even basic commodities belonged to the villagers. Sometimes, they blatantly robbed the properties and even set the houses on fire.

In the evening on January 20 and one week later, Battalion commander Maj San Lin led Slorc troops from Infantry Battalion 84 fired into Phalan Taung village and forced the villager to gather in a certain place. Then they robbed and destroyed all the valuable properties belonged to the people of 40 households. The loss of the villagers was equivalent to over 364,000 kyats in cash. In this village alone, Slorc soldiers killed more than 16 numbers of cows. All the properties that they

robbed were resold to the people from surrounding villages at lower price — 5 Kyats for a shirt, 15 kyats for a pan and 20 kyats for a sarong.

On January 16 Slorc troops brought 510 baskets of paddy without giving any compensation, burnt down another 210 baskets and shot dead Saw Htaw Khae from Ko Wee Do

village in Papun township. In Kaw Paw Do village, 17 houses were razed to the ground, 9 buffaloes (each worth 5,000 Baht) were killed and 14 pans, 13 pair of clothes, 60 plates and dishes were taken away. Fifteen buffaloes in Pan Hike village were also killed by them.

VILLAGERS MASSACRED

Many villages on the eastern bank of Don Thami river and western bank of Yun Salin river in Pa-an township were forced to relocate by the order of Slorc troops under the command of LID 99. When the troops entered and suddenly opened fire into the villages, the villagers

were afraid of being executed and run away. Those who attempted to escape and recaptured were tortured to death by Slorc troops. Villagers from Hatta Lite, Than-koung Phao and Baw Tha Byu parishes were suffered most of these atrocious massacre committed and sponsored by Slorc Infantry Battalion 84. Villagers who were killed are:

Name	Age	Parents	Address	Case
Saw Para	30	U Bi Ki Daw Naw Lakaw	Kyon Sein village Hatta Lite paris	Arrested in December 1992 and was tortured by crushing his hands and legs, and then was subjected to death.
Maung Hla Thein	34	U Khin Toe Ko Daw Kyi Aye	Phalan Taung village Hatta Lite parish	Was arrested and killed somewhere in the jungle.
Saw Htwe	20	U Aung Dwe Daw Htay	Phalan Taung village Hatta Lite parish	
Maung San Aye	17	U Pu Daw Pe Lat	Kyaw Kawkhee village Baw Tha Byu parish	
Maung Tin Win	20	U Bo Tin Daw Pe Hpoe	Phalan Taung village Hatta Lite parish	
Phar Ke Mar	26	U Than Pe Daw Ngwe Chit	Baw Tha Byu village Baw Tha Byu parish	
Ko Ba Htun	27		Baw Tha Byu village (Son-in-Law of U Than Pe & Daw Ngwe Chit)	
Du Phao	26	U Dake Ye	Baw Tha Byu village	
Ko Myat San	29	U Shwe Khaing	Baw Tha Byu village	
Maung Pha Koh	23	U Tum Aye	Noe Khar Tae village	
Charbel Taloh	18	U Kaw Lar Daw Tin Moe	Naw Aw Lar village	
Maung Kyaw	30	U Ohn Shwe	Kar Hpeh village	Was arrested on the motor way on the western bank of Don Tha Mi river and killed
Hpo Saw Kae	41	U Hme Kae Daw Naw Kae	Htee Net Toe village	
Moh Phu Pwa			Ye Aye village	
Maung Ngwe Thein			Ye Aye village	
U Pha Lu			Ye Aye village	
Maung Hla Htwe	22	U Chit Tin Daw Mu Pu	Htee Kyon village	

They were killed by stabbing at the chest or crushing arms and legs while some were shot dead. From 19 September 1992 to 19 February 1993, more than 2 villagers were brutally killed a couple week.

Battalion Commander of Slorc Battalion 84 claimed, "At least one rebel will be killed, if 100 villagers are massacred."

OPEN FIRE INTO THE VILLAGE AND ASK RANSOMS

On 17 February 1993, at about 8:00 a.m., Slorc troops from Infantry Battalion 84 stormed 4 artillery shells into Kyon Sein village, Hatta Lite parish. These shells landed and exploded in the village, and suffered Maung Hla Shwe, 37, son of U Pha Lake and Daw Aye, severely hit the splinters and died on the spot while Mee Thu Mae, 75, and her niece Naw Kaw Kyo, 9, were hit at both sides of their legs and seriously wounded. Ten minutes later, as they entered the village and opened fire with small weapons at the villagers, all the villagers, including the monks there, had to flee for their lives. Because of this fire, 2 cows in the village were killed. As the soldiers forced the

responsible persons in the village to give a ransom of 25,000 Kyats at once, they had to pay at 3:00 p.m., on the same day.

On the following day, at about 7:00 a.m., as this Slorc troops opened fire into the village again and forced the villagers to send them 20 viss of pork, the elder women and headwoman of the village had to follow the order immediately.

On February 19, at 10:00 a.m., as these Slorc soldiers fired 3 artillery shells into Naw Aw Lar village, Naw Pho La Pye, 16, daughter of U Tha Ra Phaw, was hit at the left chest and hand, and seriously wounded. Two buffaloes belonged to U Ba Tae and a cow owned by Naw Phoe Kae were killed. That evening, the villagers were threatened and forced to give 25,000 Kyats as a ransom.

The villagers on the eastern bank of Don Tha Mi river dared not live in their villages any longer and were hiding out in the nearest jungle. Young men in that areas have been killed and women have been gang-raped by soldiers from Slorc Infantry Battalion No 84 almost everyday. (Reported by Thein Htike Oo)

KARENNI STATE

ROBBERY

In November 1992, a Nissan passenger car which was on its way from Loikaw to Loi Lem was stopped at White Bridge, one mile far away from Loikaw, by three armed strangers. Out of them one was with Carbine. The passengers were robbed and their loss was more than 100,000 Kyats. The White Bridge where the event took place was only 15 minutes walk from the outpost of Campany (5) of Slorc Infantry Battalion No. (54).

SUMMARY EXECUTION

Victims: U Re Peh and
U Hto Reh
Date: 9 January 1993
Time: 10:00 a.m.
Place: Ru Phel Khu
Quarter, Demoso

Case

A platoon of Slorc soldiers led by Corporal Ba Taw from Infantry Battalion No. 427 which stationed in Ngwe Taung village, Demoso, arrived the village at 10:00 a.m and asked U Re Peh, 60,

a retired military man, son of U Nga Reh and Daw Mi Mya, to borrow 2 pans for cooking. Then he continued fencing a pigsty. After cooking, other soldiers except Ba Taw and a private left. Ba Taw asked, " Give me some liquor." When U Re Peh told him that he had no liquor, strolled near the ladder where U Hto Reh (another retired military man) and other people who were playing chequers and watching the game. Ba Taw followed him and said rudely, "How about what I'm asking you?" Although U Re Peh explained again that he did not have, Ba Taw could not accept what he replied and aimed his loaded Chinese-manufactured Uzi sub-machine gun at U Re Peh's chest from the front to fire. As U Re Peh pushed the barrel down, the bullet hit at his thigh and fell down. Although Ba Taw aimed at the victim's chest for the second attempt to shoot, as U Hto Reh snatched his machine gun, U Re Peh was spare but hospitalised in serious condition in Loikaw hospital.

On hearing the sounds of the gun, soldiers and officials rushed into the village from different direction. Before the officials Ba Taw accused 2 victims of snatching away his gun. His allegation was defeated by the villagers who witnessed the events and revealed the reality of the case which could spare 2 victims' lives from being shot dead.

FORCED RECRUITMENT

On February 2, in Loikaw, Slorc is forcibly gathering 15 people for recruitment from each quarter in Loikaw. Local people appeal to spare them and will give the money up to the amount they asked. Every household which was beyond the demands and spare from serving the military service was again forced to give 500 kyats as a ransom. Although Slorc attempted to deceive local people by telling that recruits will get pension after serving 3 years in the military, people denied their cunning proposal.

Slorc troops issued orders and forced local people in Loi Lin Lay

village to join the military service. When they summoned the villagers, the villagers run for their lives. One of the victims, Ko Myint Htoo, on February 14 escaped to the liberated area and told that soldiers from 261 which stationed 3 miles from Loikaw came and forced the villagers to join the defence service. Although Slorc soldiers reduced the numbers from 9 to 5, nobody wanted to join them and run away. He attempted to escape after leaving his wife and child. According to him, in Loikaw, the lowest price for 8 tins (condensed milk tin) of rice cost 38 kyats and a viss of cooking oil was 140 kyats. As daily income for one laborer was no more than 50 kyats, it could not meet the demands and people there were facing with various kind of difficulties. He was much worried about his household's living.

Following is a translation of Slorc's forced recruiting order in Karenni State to boost the strength of its army. Such kinds of forced recruitments are ubiquitous throughout the country.

Township Law and
Order Restoration
Council
Loikaw
No. 100/1-9/ (TLORC)
(173)
Date. 4 February 1993

To,

Chairman
Local/Parish Law and
Order Restoration Council

Subject: Recruitment for
military service

Ref: (1) No. 32/1-8/
(SLORC) (216) of State
Law and Order Restoration
Council issued
on 28 January 1993

(2) No. 11/2-1/
(DLORC) (253) of
District Law and Order
Restoration Council
issued on 2 February
1993

1. Battalions and troops
will organise youths who
are age between 18 and
25 to serve for the
defence service.

2. Kayah State Law and
Order Restoration
Council forwarded the
order as mentioned in
Reference No. 1, Local/
Parish Law and Order
Restoration Councils
must vigorously help the
battalions and troops
which are undertaking
for the recruitment, and

must give approval and
guarantee for those
recruits, after conducting
proper investigation to
them, that they are not
affiliated to any armed
groups.

3. To meet the needed
numbers as expressed on
attached papers, therefore, Local/ Parish Law
and Order Restoration
Councils must help
organise the battalions
and troops which are
undertaking for the
recruitment and must
send report on every
Saturday in order to
present the situation to
District Law and Order
Restoration Council as
mentioned in Reference
(2).

Chairman

Copies to

- State Law and Order
Restoration Council,
Loikaw

- District Law and Order
Restoration Council,
Loikaw

- Commanders of
Infantry Battalion No.
258, 261, 72, 54, No.
(077) Artillery corps and
No. (722) Supply corps

- Office copy

Populations in Loikaw township who are older than 18 and numbers of needed recruits to be organised

No.	Battalion	Quarter/ Parish	Youth older 18 years	Needed Numbers	Remarks
1	IB. 250	Dao No Ku Quarter	575	15	110 recruits for IB.250
		Min Su Quarter	876	22	
		Chi Kel Parish	1861	48	
		Hey Thama	428	10	
		Dan Saw Bee	215	5	
		Dan Cal Khu	199	5	
		Dan Mu Kalar	79	3	
		Old Pa Kyel village	132	3	
		Pa Kyel Sanpya	89	3	
		Nar Kut	274	7	
		Dan Tacha	212	6	
		Phartimar	137	3	
		Lwe Tamu Gone	98	3	
		Htee Se Kha Parish	810	25	
		Htee Se Kha	99	3	
		Nam Hu	53	2	
		Kyine Ton	40	1	
		Lin Phon Gyi	80	3	
		Wan Pan	42	1	
		Kone Taung	15	1	
		Dan Saw Wel	44	1	
		Kon Nar (Ywama)	100	4	
		Dan Thel	29	1	
		Kon Nar Gone	48	1	
		Dan Ta Hay (Lower)	41	1	
		Mike Tin Sone	27	1	
		Nar Kwe	42	1	
		Wan Khaing	48	1	
		Dan Ta Hay (Upper)	46	1	
		Yekan	23	1	
		New Kyine Ton	25	1	
2.	IB 261	Nwa La Poe Parish	1202	31	110 recruits for IB. 261
		Nwa La Poe	118	3	
		Kyauk Kyi	36	1	
		Aung Tha Pyay Gone	79	2	
		Kayan Thar Yar (South)	76	2	
		Kayan Thar Yar (Norht)	45	1	
		Hti Ri	61	1	
		Ma Dah Nyay	123	3	
		Lel Kwe (Upper)	89	2	
		Lel Kwe (Lower)	89	2	

Kayan Kya Khu	19	1
Pa Kyal San Pya	21	1
Htee Thu Ku	42	1
Pya Ka Ne	13	1
Myay Ne Gone	17	1
Htay Pa Law Khu	71	2
Dan Khaw Khu	43	1
Lin Phon (Lower)	131	4
Lin Phon (Upper)	89	2
Kone Thar Parish	970	25
Kone Thar	184	5
New Wa Saung village	138	3
Tha Yet Pin	91	2
Old Kone Thar village	143	4
Taung Moh (East)	34	1
Ye Kan	69	2
Wari Kaw Khu	264	7
Taung Moh (West)	47	1
Dan Paw Ka Leh Parish	531	13
Dan Paw Ka Leh	36	1
Dan Paw Ka Leh (Small)	44	1
Dan Saw Lee	36	1
Phaya Ni	108	3
Bar Do	121	3
Htay Nga Hla	186	4
Loi Lin Lay parish	991	25
Loi Lin Lay	381	9
Pain Chain	177	4
Hti Ri	43	1
Dan Tha Naw	42	1
Kone Sut	103	2
Kyaung Gone Lay	26	1
Kyauk Gyi (North)	17	1
Ike Sant village	45	1
Wan Kone village	44	1
Bar Yu	44	1
Nan Nauk	37	1
Khu Ti Yaw	16	1
Naung Lon	18	1
Tee Lon Parish	616	16
Tee Lon	61	1
Nar Awn Kwe	71	2
Dan Par Pa	116	3
Dan Khu Li	26	1
Mae Phyan	29	1
Wan Ngwa (East)	69	2
Wan Ngwa (West)	106	3
Lon Pu	24	1
Dan Se	52	1
Tar Wa	52	1

3.	IB. 72	Dan Law Kale	5	-	110 recruits for IB. 72
		Dan U Khu Quarter	1136	29	
		Ma Htaw Khu Parish	422	11	
		Ma Htaw Khu (Upper)	45	1	
		Ma Htaw Khu (Lower)	38	1	
		Thata Pa Lyan	67	2	
		Zayat Phyu	57	1	
		Poe Zar Chan	38	1	
		Wan Kon	71	2	
		Law Lar Li	32	1	
		Lwe Phee	19	1	
		Ye Ni Kan	55	1	
		Law Pi Ta Parish	1969	51	
		Law Pi Ta	134	3	
		Mike Kan	80	2	
		So La Lwe	107	3	
		Shan village	265	7	
		Dan Beh	19	1	
		Kyauk Taung	61	2	
		Law Ka Htoo	115	3	
		Law Da Lay (11)	42	1	
		Law Da Lay (12)	130	3	
		Law Da Lay (13)	211	5	
		Law Da Lay (14)	69	2	
		Law Da Lay (15)	144	4	
		Law Da Lay (16)	141	4	
		Law Pi Ta (10) miles	51	1	
		Law Pi Ta (Upper)	246	6	
		Law Pi Ta (Lower)	98	3	
		Kan Ni	56	1	
		Par Laung Parish	327	8	
		Par Laung	68	1	
		Dan Se	37	1	
		Dan Khaw Khu	45	1	
		Su Phae Law	77	2	
		Kant Hi (a) Lay Ein Su	8	1	
		Dan Hta Yoe	92	2	
		Noe Koe Parish	448	11	
		Noe Koe San Pya	36	1	
		Noe Koe Ywama	92	2	
		Dan Se	24	1	
		La Khae Nyae Khu	52	1	
		Dan Saw Leh	45	1	
		Ye Ho	46	1	
		Law Khi Dan	74	2	
		Dan Lao Shay	79	2	
4.	Artillery Corp	Naung Yah (A)	1277	30	30 recruits
	No. (077)				
5.	Supply Corp	Dhamma Yone Quarter	333	8	30 recruits
	No. (722)	Mingala Quarter	959	22	

6.	IB. 54	Dan Ta Ma Quarter	629	16	110 recruits
		Dan Mwe Quarter	600	15	for IB. 54
		Mine Lone Quarter	843	22	
		Zay Pine	215	6	
		Shwe Taung Quarter	387	10	
		Shan Su Quarter	401	10	
		Naung Yah (B) Quarter	220	6	
		Pan Kan Parish	985	25	
		Pan kan	170	4	
		Ywa Tan Shay	116	3	
		Plantation (3)	90	2	
		Nam Baw Wan (Shan)	112	3	
		Sam Bon	36	1	
		Acre (500)	110	3	
		Htu Du Wun Tha	109	3	
		Mon Pyar	92	2	
		Nam Baw Wan (Golka)	151	4	

ABUSES TO THE WOMEN

On 8 February 1993, Ma Shan from Htee Sa Kha village in Loikaw township, Karenni State was abducted and forced to marry a private from Company (5) of Infantry Battalion No. 54. On hearing this news, her parents and relatives disagreed and attempted to bring her home. But she was fatally shot dead.

On February 20, Htwe Htwe, a trader from Loikaw was raped by Capt Maung Maung Oo from Company (5) of Battalion 54.

(Reported by Myo Myat Khaing, Aung Kyaw)

REALITIES REVEALED BY PRISONERS FROM CONVICT LABOUR CAMP

Personal accounts of the victims

Name Khin Maung Myint
Age 31
Sex Male
Parents U Mauk and Daw Pauk Sa
Religion Buddhist
Electricity Burman
Occupation Farmer
Address Sah Pin village, Magwe Division

Electricity Arakanese

Occupation Farmer

Address Myint Thauk village, Ponna Gyun township

Following realities were told at an interview with above-mentioned 2 prisoners who recently escaped from Naung Yoe Convict Labour Camp in Pinlaung township, Southern Shan State.

Name Aung Tha Htoo
Age 37
Sex Male
Parents U Tun Aung Thar and Daw Tun Sein
Religion Buddhist

"In that camp, there are about 200 prisoners who are forced to contribute labour in smashing the rocks and in the construction of rail road which is against their will. Moreover, each 2 of us are forced to carry 50 gallon of oil. When we could no longer carry, we are beaten. We we fed only a cup (3 inch diameter

and 2 inch height) of rice and boiled leaves which is found in the jungle. About 30 prisoners died from this camp and when the corpse were done post mortem examinations, the doctors found bruise and wounds. On that situation disputes were broke out between the doctors and authorities from the police station. In Nel Kya Convict Labour Camp of the same township, about 400 prisoners died of bad weather.

Nam Ki, 19, Shan ethnicity was beaten and her earring was looted at Saung Pyaung village, near Naung Yoe Camp, by soldiers from Company (2) of Slorc Infantry Battalion 336. Another women was gang-raped by soldiers from the same company while she was contributing labour at gun point in the construction of rail road."

FORCED RELOCATION UNDER THE REIGN OF SLORC

Numbers of villages that were destroyed and populace which were relocated from the year 1989-90 are:

Nos of Village/ houses destroyed	populace	Township	State/ Division	Duration
324 villages(Kachin)	81,000	Kutkhaing	Shan	
5 houses (Karenni)	1,250	Loikaw	Karenni	Feb, 1991
140 houses(Palaung)	82,700	Moemeik	Shan	Feb, 1991
8 villages(Kachin)	2,000	Bamo	Kachin	April, 1991
8 villages(Karen)	5,000		Tenasserim	July, 1991
17 villages	22,000	Thayetchaung	Tenasserim	Sept, 1991
33 villages (Shan)	3,144	Tant Yan	Shan	Sept, 1991
9 villages (Karen)	3,150	Bogale	Irrawaddy	Oct, 1991
2 villages (Karen)	400	Thaton	Mon	Oct, 1991
1 village(Karenni)	200	Phruso	Karenni	Oct, 1991
1 village (Shan)	200	Mong Nei	Shan	Oct, 1991
56 villages(Shan)	13,000	Muse	Shan	Jan—Dec, 1992
5 villages(Karen)	1,159		Tenasserim	
50 villages(Karenni)	5,000	Hoya	Karenni	
1 village (Kachin)	250	Shwegu	Kachin	
22 villages(Karen)	7,600	Hlaingbwe	Karen	
11 villages(Karen)	2,750	Myawaddy	Karen	
76 villages(Karenni)	20,000	Phruso	Karenni	
22 villages(Karen)	8,325	Nyaunglebin	Pegu	
3 villages(Karen)	600	Thaton	Mon	
villages(Karen)	1,500	Taungoo	Pegu	
8 villages(Karen)	3,150	Taungoo	Pegu	
17 villages(Karen)	5,315	Nyaunglebin	Pegu	
(Karen)	6,000	Mudraw	Karen	
(Karen)	10,000	Pa-An	Karen	
(Karen)	1,600	Thaton	Mon	
(Karen)	18,500	Taungoo	Pegu	
(Karen)	5,917	Htweepawigyo	Karen	
(Karen)	101	Nagakhee	Karen	
(Karen)	350	Moulmein	Mon	
5 villages (Karen)	1,000	Nyaunglebin	Pegu	

(Shan)	8,333	Mong Yu	Shan
9 villages(Karen)	1,650	Kawluda	Karen
1 village (Karen)	100	Saw Hta	Karen
12 villages(Karen)	4,360	Hteemukhee	Karen
41 villages(Karen)	8,200	Pa-An	Karen
24 villages(Karen)	4,800	Papun	Karen
53 villages(Karen)	13,435	Thaton	Mon

EMERGENCY RESOLUTION ON BURMA

At the 22nd Congress of the International Union of Food, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Association (IUF) Congress held in May 1993, it adopted a resolution on Burma to maintain its pressure on Slorc. On that resolution it recalled the recent condemnation of the military dictatorship in Burma by the EC and the Nordic Council and considered that foreign investment in Burma continues to sustain the Slorc dictatorship. Moreover, it also called upon its affiliated organisations to campaign for the cessation of all foreign investment in Burma and for an effective arms embargo, trade sanctions, and the diplomatic isolation of the Slorc regime, to render active support to the democratic opposition and the independent trade unions organised in the FTUB, and to campaign for the release of all political prisoners, the transfer of power to a democratically-elected civilian government and the restoration of full democratic and trade union rights in Burma.

(Source: FTUB)

MAY DAY: FTUB CALLS WORKERS FOR STANDING STIMULATEOUSLY

On the auspicious occasion of May Day, Free Trade Union of Burma (FTUB) issued a statement which reflects the current affairs related to Burma.

It said, despite cruel suppression and extreme abuses of trade union rights in Burma by the military regime since, the free trade union movement has been able to survive, motivate and organise inside the country with the help of the international free trade unions.

"In our struggle for Democracy, Human Rights and Trade Union Rights in Burma, the biggest obstacle is the foreign exchange from the investments by the multi-national firms and the flagship firms that are propping-up the military regime," the statement also said.

FTUB harshly condemned the investments being done in Burma and said that such activities are in disregard of the consensus resolutions passed at the United Nations General Assembly, the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the European Parliament, the International Confederation of Free

Trade Unions and the Internatinal Trade Sectretariets.

Moreover, it also pointed out more tragic collaborations between the regime, the flagship companies and some government- (French, Thai) owned companies which are forcing the ethnic nationalities into the hands of the regime, ruining the livelihoods of the local people and ruining the environment in Burma.

In conclusion, it called upon the workers in Burma and the international free trade union to access the present Burma political situation, to show its dedication to the democratic struggle by stimulateously standing, and stated that final solution of removing the regime will be done by itself.

(Source:FTUB)

WHAT ECONOMICS CANNOT PROVIDE: LIGHT FOR A TROUBLE WORLD

By. Aung San Suu Kyi



Following written speech was written by 1991 Nobel Peace Laureate and the General Secretary of the National League for Democracy (NLD) which swept a landslide victory in the 1990 general election. Because of her civil courage in the fight for democracy and human rights against the dictatorial military regime so-called Slorc, she was put under house arrest on 20 July 1989. This statement was delivered by Dr Michael Aris on behalf of her at Oxford University on 19th May. As a prominent figure in the fight for democracy and as her speech reveal the life of every human being in the universe and could reflect the way to peace and reconciliation in Burma, we hereby express the whole text of her statement. (The Editor)

The end of the cold war has been represented as a signal for shifting the emphasis of national and international concern from ideology and politics to economics and trade. But it is open to debate whether policies heavily, if not wholly, influenced by economic considerations will make of the much bruited "New World Order" the era of progress and harmony longed for by peoples and nations weary of conflict and suffering.

The great threats to global security today come out from the economic deficiencies of the poorest nations but from religious, racial (or tribal) and political dissensions raging in those regions where principles and practices which could reconcile the diverse instincts and aspirations of man kind have been ignored, repressed and distorted.

Only policies which place equal importance on both will make a truly richer world, one in which we can enjoy well-being of the body and of the mind.

During the cold war the iniquities of ruthless government and armed groups were condoned for ideological reasons. The results have been far from happy. Today, while there is greater emphasis on justice and human rights, there are still ardent advocates in favour of giving priority to political and economic expediency-increasing the latter.

Only policies which place equal importance on both will make a truly richer world, one in which we can

Peace, unity and stability can not be bought or coerced; they have to be nurtured by promoting a sensitivity to human needs and respect for the rights and opinions of others.

enjoy well-being of the body and of the mind. The drive for economic progress needs to be tempered by an awareness of the dangers of greed and selfishness which so easily lead to narrowness and inhumanity.

Developed and developing countries alike suffer as a result of policies removed from a framework of values which upholds minimum standard of justice and tolerance. The rapidity with which the old Soviet Union splintered into new states, many of them stamped with a fierce racial assertiveness, illustrates that decades of authoritarian rules may have achieved uniformity and obedience but could not achieved long term harmony or stability.

Nor did the material benefits enjoyed under the relatively success post totalitarian state of Yugoslavia succeed in dissipating the psychological impress of brooding historical experiences which have now led to some of the worst religious and ethnic violence in Balkans has never

witnessed.

Peace, unity and stability cannot be bought or coerced: they have to be nurtured by promoting a sensitivity to human needs and respect for the rights and opinions of others. Diversity and dissidents need not inhabit the emergence of strong, stable societies, but inflexibility, narrowness and unadulterated materialism can prevent healthy growth.

And when attitudes have been allowed to harden to the point that otherness becomes a sufficient reason for nullifying a person's calm to be treated as a fellow human being, the trappings of modern civilisation crumble with frightening speed.

As the twentieth century draws to a close, it has become obvious that material yardsticks alone cannot serve as an adequate measure of human well-being. Even as basic an issue as poverty has to be re-examined to take into account the psychological sense of deprivation that makes people feel poor.

These seems to be an underlying assumption that an amelioration in material conditions would eventually bring in its wake an improvement in social attitudes, philosophical values and ethnical standards. But such axioms are hardly a faithful reflection of what actually goes on in human society.

While it is undeniable that many have been driven to immortality and crime by the needs to survive, it is equally evident that the possession of a significant surplus of material goods has never been a guarantee against covetousness, rapacity and infinite variety of vice and pain that spring from such passions.

Indeed it could be argued that the unrelenting compulsion of those who already have much to acquire even more generated greater injustice, immortality and wretchedness than the cumulative effect of the struggle of the severely underprivileged to better their lot.

A narrowly focused

materialism that seeks to block out all considerations apparently irrelevant to one's own well-being finally blocks out what is in fact most relevant discussing the "culture of contentment" which pose a challenge to the social and economic future of the United States, Professor John Kenneth Galbrath has pointed out that the fortunate and the favour are so preoccupied with immediate comfort and contentment that have ceased to contemplate or respond to their own longer term well-being.

If the instinct to opt for narrows, short term benefits can present a significant threat to the continued prosperity and stability of a rich, industrialised state shored up strongly established democratic institutions show much more a threat might it be to nations which have but recently embarked, rather unsteadily, on the grand adventure of free market economies and democratic policies?

In newly emerged democracies many who have been disappointed in their expectation of

Even as basic an issue as poverty has to be reexamined to take into account the psychological sense of deprivation that makes people feel poor.

To Page (24)

*By Khon Mar Ko Ban,
Elected Member of Parliament
for Pay Khon Township, Shan State.*

Regarding so-called National Convention convened and adjourned 2 times by Slorc itself, in order to know convention-related realities, we reveal the whole text of the personal statement of Khon Mar Ko Ban who just recently walked out that convention and joined the NCGUB (National Coliation Government of the Union of Burma) which is a legitimated government composed of people elected MPs, emerged from the general election held in May, 1990, at which Daw Aung San Suu Kyi led National League for Democracy (NLD) won a landslide victory. (The Editor)

PERSONAL STATEMENT REGARDING THE SLORC' NATIONAL COVENTION

*By Khon Mar Ko Ban, Elected Member of Parliament
for Pay Khon Township, Shan State.*



April 5, 1993

(Khon Mar Ko Ban is a member of the Democratic Organisation for Kayan National Unity (DOKNU), and was elected in the 1990 General Elections. He was a delegate to the first session of Slorc's National Convention in January 1993 but fled to Manerplaw rather than return for the second session in February. Following is his personal statement.)

In 1962, a military junta under the leadership of General Ne Win stole and held state power from a publicly elected government. Since then, this junta has ruled continuously over the Burmese people in various disguises. Throughout its long rule, this notorious regime has robbed and repressed Burma and its nationals in many different ways by many different means. AT the same time, it has always worked hard to paint a fair face to present to the international community. These facts are already well known to almost everyone in Burma and many in the outside world as well.

Although it was a very clear fact that the National Convention being organised and led by such a notorious military junta could only be a deception,

as a publicly elected representative I felt that it was my personal responsibility to attend and observe the Convention. So I attended the so-called National Convention meetings held in Rangoon from January 9 to January 11, 1993.

It was known or believed from the beginning by most of the Burmese people and even people from the international community, that this would be a sham convention. I would therefore like to contribute my personal views, statements, and documentary evidence in front of the international news media and representatives from various political parties in order to confirm that from my point of view as a delegate, their belief that the National Convention at Rangoon would be a fraud was quite right.

The Slorc selected 702 representatives to attend the Convention but it never even published or publicised a list of names of these representatives. Instead, the Slorc divided us into (8) group, and only provided lists of names credentials within each group. Anyone who studied the composition of all (8) groups and considered their credentials would see clearly that this Convention is nothing but a show and a fraud.

A) The Slorc's choices of representatives from political parties

Firstly, I would like to explain the situation for the UNLD (United Nationalities League for Democracy) coalition. The UNLD includes and represents the 7 ethnic states, as well as the 23 other political parties which represent the ethnic nationalities, including my party. The aim and objectives of the UNLD is to work toward a Constitution which will allow the the establishment of a federal union with equality and full rights of self-determination for all its peoples.

The UNLD is a coalition which represents all of the ethnic nationalities political parties, but the Slorc is determined not to give equality or self-determination to the ethnic nationalities, so it has rejected and banned this coalition from the very beginning.

- g) Intellectuals' and Technicians' Representatives
(5) members
- h) Other elite representatives
(5) members

Chapter 3 - Meeting Places and Times

Fifty percent attendance is sufficient for each meeting to be declared a legal one.

Chapter 4 - Rules for Discussions

(Section 24)

- a) Representatives must not use any words that may damage loyalty to the state.
- b) Representatives must not use any words which contribute to subversion of the Union, disrupt unity of the ethnic peoples or subvert National Sovereignty.
- c) Nothing should be said or discussed which is in the interests of people or organisations which are not within the law.

No representatives should exaggerate his own importance or that of his organisation by saying things detrimental to the dignity of other individuals or organisations.

(Section 29)

- b) Representatives must submit a written account of their planned discussions to their respective Chairman.
- c) Subjects for the agenda within each group can be discussed within that group.
- d) No subject which has not been agreed upon within a group can be presented to the National Convention.
- j) A representative to the National Convention should read only his written discussions which have been sent in advance to the group Chairman for approval. He should not discuss any matter which has not been included in his paper. Should he do so, his discussions will not be recorded.

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- k) Walkouts, individually or in groups and any other shows of protests are not allowed.

Chapter 5 - Prohibitions

- a) To lobby or influence other representatives is prohibited.
- b) No one should disturb either the representatives

or the security guards in exercising their duties.
c) Wearing badges of any kind or trying to distribute leaflets or propaganda in any disguise are prohibited.

Chapter 6 — Suspension of National Convention representatives

All Laws, orders and directives of the State and of the National Convention must be upheld. Any representative failing to do so shall be suspended from the meeting.

If a representative fails to attend a meeting for two consecutive days, the committee will decide whether he should be ousted from the meeting.

Delegates, thereby forbidding them from making any statement which could be called criticism of the military or threat to national security.

All of these rules, restrictions, and conditions present at the Slorc National Convention make it very obvious that the Convention is a fraud which has been arranged by the Slorc only to perpetuate their brutally inhuman, illegal and dictatorial rule in Burma, and for nothing else.

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Even the smallest light can not be extinguished by all the darkness in the world because darkness is merely an absence of light.

immediate material problems which lie at the root of social and economic difficulties and a lack of resolve in grappling with them. betterment have sought to work out their frustration by subscribing to outmoded and obscure conspiracy theories that foster prejudice, paranoia and violence.

The search for scape-goats is essentially and abnegations of responsibility: it indicates an inability to assess honestly and intelligently the true nature of the

In a world which no longer accept that "common" germs and diseases should be let unchecked to take their tool on the weak and defenseless, more attention should be paid to correcting "common" attitudes and values that poses a far more lethal

We, the pro-democracy elected representatives will clearly have to eliminate Ne Win's fascist military regime from its very root in order to establish a genuine Union based on the principles of democracy.

A Federal Union with ethnic nationality states should be established with rights of self-determination and equality. These facts were widely recognised and accepted by the public at the time of the election, and they voted accordingly. It is now time for those of us whom they elected as their representatives to clearly declare our stand.

I myself have no wish to participate in the Slorc's National Convention and to be remembered by history as a traitor. I also do not want to have any part in drafting a constitution which will only provide fuel to keep a fascist military junta in power in our country. I have therefore come here to join hands with the other elected representatives who have formed the Natinal Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB) in order to help our people get rid of the yoke of fascist militarism. I hereby appeal most earnestly to all my brother representatives not to be the criminals and traitors of history, but rather to come and join hands with us. threat to human kind.

The dream of society ruled by loving kindness, reason and justice is a dream as old as civilised man. Does it have to be impossible dream? Kari Popper, explaining his abiding optimism in so troubled a world as ours, said that the darkness had always been there, but light was new.

Because it is new it haas to be tended with care and diligence. Even the smallest light cannot be

extinguished by all the darkness in the world because darkness is merely an absence of light.

But a small light cannot dispel acres of encircling gloom. It needs to grow stronger, and people need to accustom their eyes to the light to see it as benediction rather than pain. We are so much in need of a brighter world which will offer adequate refuge to all its inhabitants.

If one is able to look behind any suceesful man in Burma, one is sure to find a wise, efficient, socially skilled women standing behind him.

As dictatorship have fallen around the world, the question arises of accountability: how should those responsible for human rights abuse such as torture and massacre be dealt with after the overthrow of the old regime? This accountability is an issue which revolutionary groups must contemplate. Having witnessed, experienced, documented a horrendous history of abuse, the oppressed citizens of Burma need to consider their post-liberation options in advance. At one extreme is vengeance, at the other forgiveness; and perhaps a middle ground exists between the two as well.

The most famous example of a dictatorship being called to account for its abuse is the Nuremberg war crimes trial in post-World War II Germany. This trial

established that "only following orders" is not a legal justification for crimes against humanity such as those committed by Nazis. In 1990, NLD spokesman Kyi Maung mentioned the Nuremberg trial and commented, "of course people such as Khin Nyunt [chief of intelligence for Burma's SLORC junta] might reasonably feel themselves pretty insecure" about the SLORC being replaced by a democratic government. This inspired an article in

might be accused of crimes. Subsequently, Kyi Maung was imprisoned by the SLORC.

In some countries,

In other countries, such as Iran after the Shah was deposed, and Romania in 1989, swift revenge was brought down on the old regime in the form of executions. This, however, led to charges that the new governments were themselves abusive in not providing proper trials, and set a bad example for their own democratic development. In historic revolts such as the French and Russian revolutions, a cathartic effect was felt from the killing of the monarchs, but that was followed by a "reign of terror" in which human rights were ignored as suspected supporters of the old regime were hunted down. The bloodbath basically ended in the installation of just another repressive regime.

the regimes newspaper which insisted that Burma's soldiers must follow their orders, whether or not they

following a return to democracy, the military which ran the old regime remains powerful and threatening. In Chile and Argentina, for instance, efforts by new civilian governments to try military officers for massive human rights abuse were thwarted by threats of military takeover; the result has been an amnesty for the torturers and killers from the deposed regime in exchange for the peace of the new government.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Those in favour of retribution for the crimes of a dictatorship argue that without it, depots will continue to do as they please, fearing nobody. Those in favour of making a fresh start without bringing up the past say that violence is no way to start a civilized government. An interesting middle path has been taken in Brazil. Although a military dictatorship was replaced by democracy, it seemed impossible to try those who had committed torture and other abuse. Therefore the alternative of publishing documentation of the abuse was chosen. The names of the tortures were published with accounts of exactly what had been done, in a book called "Brazil: Never Again". A Brazilian human rights lawyer said, "The truth, together with being a measure of vindication to the victims, it's also a measure of punishment, although not too great, because it brings to light the deeds of those who committed the abuses and prevent them from happening again."

The on-going documentation and publicity of human rights violations in Burma is a measure in that direction. The specific details of what the SLORC's military

dose to the people to Burma are being amassed in what will be for Burma's future generations a sorrowful legacy, but a necessary one. At this time, in another revolutionary zone which has only recently won a degree of liberation after several decades of struggle, Kurdistan in Iraq, Efforts are being made to amass information on the Iraqi regime's campaigns of genocide against the Kurds. Records in which Iraqi government officials gave orders of extermination have been discovered by the Kurdish resistance, and hundreds of boxes of such incriminating materials are being sorted and examined by international experts, so that the international human rights organisation Middle East Watch (related to Asia Watch) can use it to present the first genocide case ever to be brought before the international Court of Justice. Iraqi videotapes of torture, rape and executions have also been found, and anthropologists are able to examine Kurdish victims who were buried in mass graves, for the details of their abuse.

In Burma, as in Iraq, human rights abuse has not been sporadic, it has been consistent, and it

has come from policies of the military government for suppressing dissent and rebellion. There is some question as to where the responsibility for Burma's abuse lies. Is it only the top strongmen—Ne Win, Saw Maung, Than Shwe, Khin Nyunt—who are accountable? Or does accountability extend down the chain of command to local officers, colonels, sergeants, who order their troops to burn villages, massacre, rape, torture, and use slave labour? And does it also apply to the individual soldiers who commit the rapes and murders and handle the instruments of torture? Some observers insist that the lower ranking soldiers are so indoctrinated and confused by their training, and threatened by their officers, that they do not know what they are doing. And yet those low ranking soldiers are human beings with some sense of right and wrong, and must be capable of sensing the pain of a rape or torture victims, a fellow human.

Military leaders in Burma have kept control of officers and troops by giving them collective guilt in human rights abuses (as well as privileges in economic corruption, slave-built "

development projects", and narcotics trafficking). If the soldiers have participated in crimes, it is presumed that they will fight to protect themselves from eventual prosecution. However, this control can be broken if the soldiers see that they themselves can effect change, by defection or mutiny, and thus at one for their own crimes. This is greatly feared by the SLORC and frequent speeches are given to army officers to raise military morale and encourage unthinking obedience. Low-level defections are frequent, but there has been no mutiny as yet, and the SLORC is successful in maintaining a massive army so disciplined that it rapes on command and oversees a vast economic system of slave labour plantations and mines for the benefit of Burma's military rulers.

An American movie about the Vietnam War, "Casualties of War", told the true story of a group of American soldiers who kidnapped, raped and killed a Vietnamese farm-girl. One American soldier tried to help the girl, instead, and then told military authorities about

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THE WOMEN OF BURMA: HOLDING UP TWO-THIRDS OF THE SKY

By Eugene Thaike Yawnghtwe

The women of Burma are definitely superior to men in organisinal skills. This is evident from the fact that in most Burmese families, it is the woman who manages and determines the family's destiny, although they are careful to give the impression, due to age-old cultural norms, that a woman is the "hind leg of the elephant", faithfully following her man wherever he may lead. The image of a woman, according to tradition, is that of a weak and shaky reed who, as a wife and mother, live solely to serve the needs and comforts of her lord-and-master and his male heirs.

However, facts belie this image. In a Burmese family, it is the mother whom the children, especially the sons, look up to. It is the mother who organises the family's needs and activities. It is she who

manages the budget, and as well, supplements or stretches the family's income. It is the mother who weaves a wide network of kins and friends, cultivate a patron-client network (so vital to survival and success), not only for the advancement of the family as a whole, but also of her husband's career and/or business. It is the head woman of the family who plots and scheme, and implements plans for the sons and daughters, seeing to it that they get hitched to the right stars or land in the right circle.

If one is able to look behind any successful man in Burma, one is sure to find a wise, efficient, socially skilled woman standing behind him. In almost all of such cases, one will find that when the man was a zero, eating dust and getting nowhere fast, it was his wife who not only kept

the family afloat, but fortified him, and as well, got him started by opening doors and avenues that led to his success.

It needs to grow stronger, and people need to accustom their eyes to the light to see it as benediction rather than a pain.

Undoubtedly, the women of Burma more than, as goes an old Chinese saying, "Holding up one half of the sky". They, in fact, hold up two-thirds of it. And the vital role of women in the social, economic, and other spheres of life, is acknowledged, albeit silently, by even the most chauvinistic Burmese male. As a rule, even the most macho of them seldom make important decisions without consulting his wife, or his mother (rarely his father, because father-son relation in Burmese society is somewhat

distant).

However, despite the fact that the women in Burma are the engines that dynamise society. They have been excluded from politics. In the realm of politics, where social and management skills, wisdom, foresight, and brain-power are most crucial, those most gifted with these very skills have been most conspicuous by their absence (in modern times), until the appearance on the political stage of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in 1988.

The reasons for this sad omission are many, but the male-oriented and male-dominated Burmese cultural tradition must largely share the blame. In Burmese culture, women are viewed as inferior because they are, among other things, viewed as capable of polluting the "Phone" (power-aura) of men. Additionally, they are, contrary to irrefutable facts, looked upon as treacherous, full of deceitful wiles, mentally underdeveloped, flighty, helpless, easily duped, over-emotional, etc.

It means that we must not be ashamed to serve under woman leaders. It also means that we must welcome them, and encourage them to participate in politics....

To reinforce the highly subordinated status of women, they are, moreover, brain-washed from very early on, by their elders, and unfortunately, by their grannies, mothers, aunts, etc. They are constantly told that they must sit in the back row in things concerning the public sphere, that politics is the monopoly of men-folks, and that it is too noble a calling for women.

To further exacerbate matters, Burmese men find it very difficult to accept women as their superiors, especially where politics is concerned. It is not uncommon to hear snide remarks made by men about politically active women. Until recently, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has been dismissed as a freak accident. Only after she won the Nobel Peace Prize, have Burmese men come to accept her unconditionally as a national leader.

It is now the time of Burmese women to come forward to clean up the mess created by men and save them from their own infantile foolishness.

Accepting Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as a national leader is, however, only a very feeble step in the right direction. One women leader surely cannot undo all the wrongs committed over thirty years by the despot and his band of servile and faithful robbers.

If Burma is to win, and as well maintain and sustain its second independence, Burmese women who hold up two-thirds of the sky, who have faced the despot's bullets and bayonets with equal courage, and who have joined in the fight for democracy in jungle camps and overseas ... they must be given the place of honour they rightly deserve. It is time we re-think our thoughts about the political role of Burmese women. Too much is at stake to exclude the vital dynamisers of Burmese society from the realm of politics.

This means that we must treat women active in politics with genuine respect. It means that we must not be ashamed to serve under women leaders. It also means that we must welcome them, and encourage them to participate in politics ... not merely as clerks, cooks, or pretty faces, but as leaders, because they have, since time immemorial, proved that they abundantly possess the leadership and managerial skills which Burma desperately needs.

At the same time, the women of Burma too must themselves break the chains of political paralysis.

The age-old notion that men are the "fore legs of the elephants" is, in reality, an empty myth, a hollow boast. It is this imagined superiority of men and the imposed 'inferiority' of women which is keeping those really skilled in the art of social and political management from contributing fully to the reconstruction, prosperity, and unity of Burma. At the same time, the women of Burma too

must themselves break the chains of political paralysis which centuries of brain-washing have imposed on them and have thus, kept them from leadership roles in public and political life. They must realise that it is their exclusion from politics and public life, which has made it possible for men to make an unholy mess of everyone's life in Burma. It is now the time for Burmese women to come forward to clean up the mess created by men and save them from their own infantile foolishness.

The democracy movement would be greatly vitalised and become more organised and more cohesive with the infusion of more women leaders and the formation of women organisations. We now have several women leaders and activists within the democracy movement, working anonymously behind the scene. It would be a good idea for these women activists/leaders to band together

The mobilisation of the women of Burma, and the subsequent emergence of more women as national leaders, would go a long way and further invigorating and dynamising the democracy movement.

and mobilise the women of Burma.

The mobilisation of the women of Burma, and the subsequent emergence of more women as national leaders, would go a long way in further invigorating and dynamising the democracy movement. There is no doubt that the appearance of more women leaders and women organisations would greatly boost the morale of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. There is also no doubt that she does need, and would greatly appreciate the active support of her own gender.

**WOMAN IS NOT INDEPENDENT OF MAN,
NOR IS MAN INDEPENDENT OF WOMAN.
FOR AS WOMAN WAS MADE FROM MAN,
IN THE SAME WAY MAN IS BORN OF
WOMAN... (1 CORINTHIANS 11:11-12)
SO THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN
MEN AND WOMEN.
(GALATIANS 3:28)**

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the crime, which resulted in prison terms for the soldiers who committed the abuse. In one scene, the hero soldier who exposed the crime says about the troops, "Just because each of us might at any second be blown away, everybody's acting like we can do anything, and it don't matter what we do. But I'm thinking maybe it's the other way around. Maybe the main thing is just the opposite. Because we might be dead in the next split second, maybe we got to be extra careful. Because maybe it matters more." His idea that soldiers should not commit abuse was backed by religious ideas of accountability: the life after death of Christianity, Islam < Judaism; the reincarnation of Buddhism, Hinduism; the forces of nature of Animism. Accountability can also be emphasised in the here and now by an awareness of inevitable trials of publicity. One way or another, the SLORC soldiers must be made to understand that they will be held responsible for their actions. They must also be made aware that they have a way out: they can first acknowledge their crimes, and then put a stop to their crimes. This is what the SLORC's military must learn. Those who defect have taken these steps. Many more must follow, if there is any hope for Burma's future reconciliation.

Edith T. Mirante, Project Maje.



NEW TREND OF CHINA: FUELING DECADES OLD CIVIL WAR

By Nyein Han

Explosion of artillery shell launched from the patrol boat



After several disputes broke out because of the overlapping claims by China, the Philippines, Vietnam and Malaysia to a small cluster of atolls in the Sparty islands in the busy South China Sea, China, by using of its military might, has been targeting and stretching its presence in Andaman sea to fulfill its strategy of being a superpower who can access two oceans in the region and to control the Malacca Strait.

Agreements for three highways from the Sino-Burmese border to the Irrawaddy delta have already been signed and the construction process is being implemented.

FUELING THE CIVIL WAR

After cracking down the pro-democracy uprising in 1988, Slorc extends its relations with its giant neighbour and China has become the largest donor. Since then, China has been lending a hand on numerous infrastructure projects from border road and rail development to satellite telecommunications. Arms sales to Slorc since 1988 worth US\$ 1.4 billion. These includes:

A "Shanghai" or "Hainan" class patrol boat in Andaman sea.



- Auto-fired 12 barrels wheeled artillery
- F-6 jet fighters
- 12 F-7 jet fighters
- 4 "Shanghai" or "Hainan" class patrol boats
- Tanks — T69II's
- Armoured personal carriers which give plains-warfare capability
- AK-47 automatic rifles
- 37mm twin-barrel anti-aircraft guns
- 57mm twin-barrel anti-aircraft guns
- Rocket launchers
- Grounded based rader (proposed to be set up on Coco island)
- Ammunitions
- 20 T63 tanks plus spare parts
- 60 PT-76 Tanks
- 55,000 HN5 (Chinese version of Russia-manufactured SAM 7) shoulder-launched anti-aircraft missiles

Over the past years, Chinese technicians have been sighted at "a triangle of Burmese ports" — Irrawaddy port of Haing Gyi, Mergui port on the southern costal region (Tenasserim Division, west to the border with Thailand) as well and a deepwater port at Thilawa, also on the delta. A naval base is being built on Haing Gyi and similar activity is being done on Coco Island, which was rented to Chinese by 30-years old contracts, where a Rader Station is proposed to be set up within 2 years and was only 30 miles(50 kilometres) from India's Andaman Islands. China has been extending its technical assistance around that areas. Moreover, Chinese is helping Slorc with modernised bases in Akyab, near the Border with Bangladesh, and Mergui.

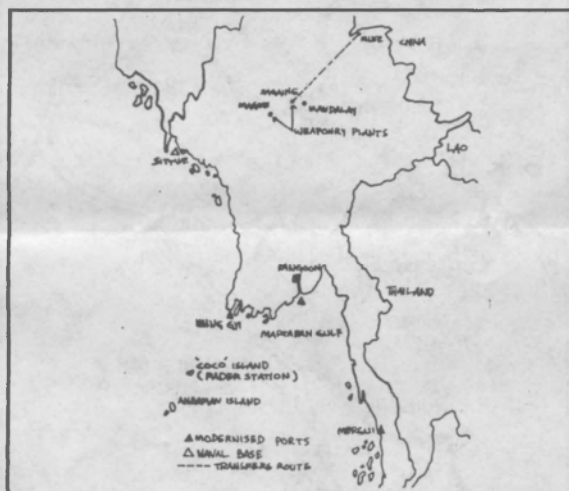
Slorc kowtowed Chinese by allowing such kind of

naval base because its lop-sided dependence since 1988 on China for military supplies as Slorc has nothing to offer aside from that. One of Slorc's most recent military inquisitions from China had been six Hinnan-class fast patrol boats to augment Slorc's 60-vessel patrol force. Out of them, two are in the Costal region, are aimed to use these boats in countering the democratic forces along the region and protecting the sizeable maritime oil and gas deposits it wants to exploit with foreign companies.

On January 13, delegates from Slorc and China held a series of discussion in Muse and Ruili regarding the transportation of military hardware to Burma. Slorc's side was represented by Commander Col Ye Myint of Northeastern Command, Managing Director Col Than Tin from Slorc's Embassy in China, Col Kyaw Thein from Central Military Intelligence and Maj Tin Yu from Infantry Battalion 542, and from China side was attended by Deputy military attache and a Captain from Supply Supply Battalion No. 30 in Chintu State and other senior military officials. Aside from military transfers, other plans and

issues to upgrade northern Burma's infrastructure, including construction of 3 new roads to link Yunnan province and Kachin State and a hydro-electric power station in the latter one, were also discussed. The road which was built during the World War II and link Lashio in northern Shan State and Yunnan province have already been repaired and upgraded with assistance from China

multiple rocket launchers, Cruise rockets, 82mm and 81mm mortars, 57mm and 75mm recoilless rifles, and small weapons. In the last rounds of transportation, more PT-76 tanks plus spare parts were included. Ordered weapons are included 57mm recoilless rifles and 20 130mm auto-fired 12 barrels wheeled artillery. Altogether 296 convoys have already arrived.



From 10 to 13 January, 62 convoys and on January 13, other 34 convoys with military hardware and spare parts were transferred from Ruili to Muse via a cross-border bridge which completed its construction in October 1992, and then to Mandalay. Among those were 100 122 and 130mm mortars, 40mm grenade launchers and 69mm bazookas, 130mm

As proposed by late Gen Saw Maung to set up a weaponry plant near Magwe when he visited China, incipient from 1991, Chinese engineers from Yunnan Province have been in Magwe for the construction of this plant to manufacture M21 semi-automatic rifles, M22 automatic assault rifles, M23 light machine-guns and its 7.62 rounds. Needed equipment for the last

phase construction of that plant, which will introduce its first production in 1993, was also included in the last rounds of transfers. Another weaponry plant was also proposed to set up near Sagaing.

On February 2, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen promised Slorc increasing military and financial aid to Slorc which plans to extend the strength of its forces from about 300,000 to 400,000 this year and said Peking would push for Slorc to join the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

In the long run, rapid military build up of the Slorc backed by China and Chinese military influence in Indian Ocean will damage the regional power balance and become a factor threatening regional peace and stability.

DOMINATION IN ECONOMIC SECTOR

Chinese inroads into Burma is also important and strategic for Peking gaining direct back-door access for economy, helping the development in Yunnan Province through Burmese ports to the Andaman Sea are now growing day by day.

Since Slorc came to power in 1988, the border with China has been opened for trade influx Burmese markets with cheap Chinese consumer goods including textiles, toys, cigarettes and Changlee beer and other steel products. Since then Slorc liberalise trade with its giant and give free rein to the Chinese entrepreneurs who dominate business in Burma. Slorc turns a blind eye to the more dubious business practices of the merchant so that thousands of Chinese businessmen have flocked to northern Burma.

Form that border trade route China can get its severely needed raw material — cultivation and forestry products, gems and jade — from Burma at bottom price and could export textiles, plastic, tinned beer, cigarettes, machine parts and medicine. China also invests in the repair and reconstruction of roads and bridges. Trading with China is estimated at US \$ 1 billion a year, excluding cross-border drug trafficking from notorious Golden Triangle to Yunnan.

Mandalay Division and Shan State were under the control of Kokang group which made a

ceasefire agreement with Slorc after the breakaway of the former Communist Party of Burma (CPB), and Chinese nationality. Kokangs are officially allowed to bring their arms, moving in the cities in these areas and manipulate the business sectors by using drug-money.

Kokang area is located in the frontier of Northern Shan State, oppo-

because they have already had close contacts with Chinese in Yunnan and are offered special privileges as well after ceasefire agreement has been come into term. Once notorious drugs warlords' forces were fortified by Slorc as defence corps. With their drug-money which they saved for years, they can build modernised houses in the heart of Mandalay city after giving millions

hundred square feet of plot costs 100,000 Kyats. Slorc issued order that building on such plot must be a 2-story ones which will cost one million. Although local people could not afford for that, Chinese who could give the contractor at the amount of one and a half million overnight own those houses.

In the jade mines in Phar Kant area, Kachin state, only people who give a lot of money for a license or working permission can run the business. Ordinary people could never approach these mines. People owned these mines were, therefore, undoubtedly Chinese. Local people are working as daily earning workers in those mines. Jade got from those mines were carried by elephants to China. To reach Yunnan it takes only 3 days.



site to China's Yunnan. Most of the people in that area speak Yunnan Chinese and also known as Kokang Chinese. They are the remaining members of the then exile units of Chiang-Kai-Sheik's Kuomintang (KMT) forces which invaded into Burma in 1951. It is opportunity for them when Slorc liberalise border trade relations with China

of money for a plot.

Chinese are living nearly the entire of Mandalay and are buying Burmese identity cards at the border. Nearly all new buildings and luxurious cars in Mandalay are own by Chinese.

In a new satellite town called Yadanarbon which is on the way from Mandalay to Maymyo, a

No body can deny that by these trading, Chinese in Yunnan become richer than before and once small and lifeless border towns and villages in China are now transformed into crowded and busy cities as well. China is also claiming that 40 years assistance to the CPB in the name of brotherhood of Communism not only suffered them losing their face but also a great

loss in general. But relation just (4) year with Slorc upgrade them to a higher living standard, and beyond. What they lost in the previous days has been already rescued because they can control upper Burma by peaceful means — by the way of economy, and politics.

But on the other side of the coin, local Burmese people in these areas are afraid of Burma, sooner or later, being a China's colony or so-called second Hong Kong.

PROPOSED NEW BUSINESS LINKS

Thailand's new proposal to upgrade the upper Mekong basin region of Thailand, Burma, Laos and China's southern Yunnan province into a growth quadrangle which will cover transportation, navigation, irrigation, agriculture, fisheries and livestock, and environmental aspects in addition to co-operative use of water resources is to be placed by the end of this year.

To run this proposal, a Thai team comprising officials from Foreign Ministry, economic and road engineering experts and local authorities in January and March 1993 surveyed two potential overland routes through the sea.

The route would provide for future exports of timber and minerals such as coal, marble, zinc, lead, iron, copper from Yunnan, Burma and Laos to Thailand. Unofficial border trade (Black-market economy) between Burma and China and Burma and Thailand was estimated to account for 50 per cent or more of total trade. The roads would be of particular benefit China by providing access to international sea routes from Yunnan via Thailand's eastern seaport of Laem Chabang — a short cut of 1,500 kilometres over present outlet. The project is seen as important to regional economics because it is expected to be extended to Yunnan in southern China, opening up a new land transport link from China to ASEAN countries.

A 225km long road proposal which is part of so-called Thailand's strategic plan to open the Golden Triangle for joint trade and tourism promotional purposes was recently discussed between Slorc commander Col Kyaw Win and Chiang Rai provincial governor Kamron Booncherd to link Thailand, Burma and China.

Slorc has sought Thailand's financing in terms of loans to purchases asphalt and construction equipment. The governor responded as offering for an exchange or contract for it by saying, "Although Burma is faced with money problems, it is still rich in natural resources." Thai government may extend low-interest loans amounting to 300 million baht with a five-year grace period, and a 10-year repayment period at 3% interest to Slorc.

Construction of the 450 kilometre or so of roads, at an estimated cost of more than Bt 1 billion. The first section is a 225 km stretch from Tachileik to Keng Tung, then to the Sino-Burmese border town of Ta Lua; the second runs for 198 kms, starting from Ban Houei Sai in Laos' Bokeo province to its northern province of Louang Namtha and the Sino-Laotian border at Moung Boten. Both routes were suggested by Slorc and Laos. Director-General of the Foreign Ministry's Economic Department Sawanit Kongsiri inspected the road links in February and March as proposed by Slorc and Laos.

The dusty and unpaved road will be upgraded as

a major tourism and trade route and proposed link will begin at Mae sai via Tachileik, run through Keng Tung and end near the Chinese border at Daluo in Xisuangbanna (or Sipsongpanna). Mr Chen Si Xiong, the Communist Part secretary-general in Xisuangbanna, confirmed Chinese support for the project and offered to help its construction. The 225-km road will wind through large plains and the rugged mountain terrain of eastern Burma.

Mae Hong Son-based Suk-Uah-Anant Co won an agreement in principle from Slorc to build-operate-transfer a 164 kilometre road linking Chiang Rai and Keng Tung, told by Anan Uahtrakul Chief of Mae Hong Son's province council and owner of the company. He said the most difficult part of building the asphalt road would be five 50-metre bridges along the route and that proposed road is expected to cost 326 million baht and take 18 months to complete.

Slorc and that company are negotiating the details of the concession period and the road toll revenue-sharing ratio. His proposal covered a 20-year

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Investors invaded into Burma recently shifted their interest from the inland oil exploration to the offshore site in Martaban Gulf because a number of oil companies have failed to obtain natural gas or oil from the inland. Today, only 2-3 investors remain, continuing operations in Burma, from a total of 11 international oil companies which participated in exploring petroleum site in the initial-stage. The 11 companies had put a combined investment of about US\$ 500 million to explore petroleum at the site.

Taxco's newly found gasfield, namely Yettagun Field, in the Andaman sea just off the Isthmus of Kra in December, 1992 is making the international money-grubbed economic first oil and gas companies reaccess their involvement regarding exploration possibilities, and the possibility of gas from this find could be transferred through another pipeline which would pass through Nat Ein Daung.

The Consortium of Unocal, Petro Canada and PTTEP, which received the rights to explore the Block F petroleum site, has also recently

decided to stop its exploration work, after injecting more than US\$ 40 million in the project.

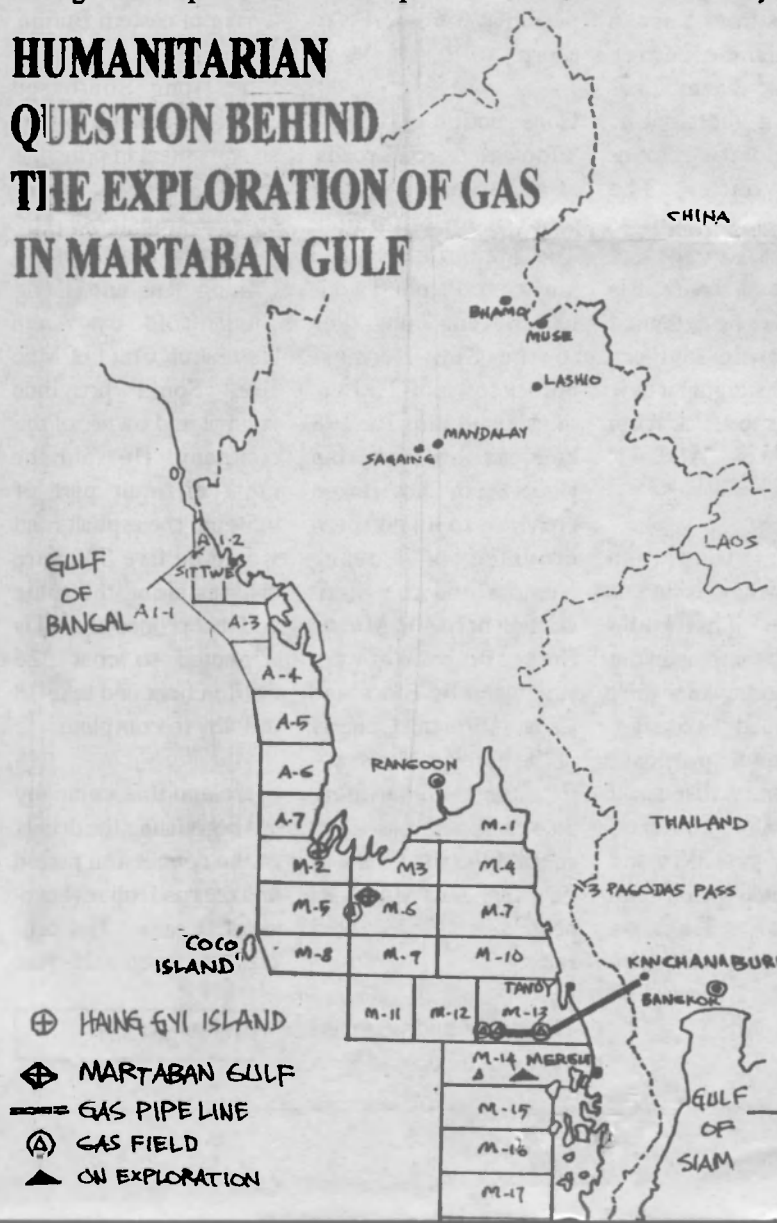
In the first week of April, senior officials from Petroleum Authority of Thailand (PTT) and Slorc's Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise Co negotiated the condition of the natural gas acquisition from the Martaban Gulf, including a pipeline to transfer it into Thailand. (For more details see DAWN NEWS BULLETIN Vol.3 No. 12) To that meeting staff from Total Exploration Co, which recently inked the contact with Slorc to explore the natural gas at the site, also attended

In the meantime, it was known that PTT is also negotiating with Total Exploration Co — a giant French oil company which signed an agreement with Slorc-owned Myanmar Oil & Gas Enterprise (Moge) in 1992 to develop two off-shore gas concession blocks (known as M5 and M6) and the pipeline — to hold some shares in the petroleum exploration site, which confirmed by experts of holding natural gas. At the same time, PTT recently began a serious talk with Petronas Co, the national oil company of Malaysia, to acquire natural gas from the latter.

Slorc has allowed the PTT Exploration and Production Public Company Ltd (PTTEP), an exploration arm of the PTT, to hold up 30 per cent shares and Total Exploration Co is holding 52.5 shares in the site while the remaining goes to Unocal. Slorc has an option to have 15 shares in the site.

To acquire the natural gas, PTTEP is also negotiating with Texaco

HUMANITARIAN QUESTION BEHIND THE EXPLORATION OF GAS IN MARTABAN GULF



Co which receives the right to explore the natural gas with British Premier Oil Company. Texaco will have to further explore above-mentioned site to confirm the amount of natural gas.

While multinational oil companies are paying attention only to get profit from the exploitation of natural gas, the plight of the Burmese refugees fleeing from the persecution of the Slorc become more and more gloomy. The following story exposed the first alarming sign for worse humanitarian consequences that will be directly resulted from these gas exploration projects.

Thai soldiers from 9th Division based in Kanchanaburi province on April 7 without giving any warning or reason, removed 2 Burmese Refugees villages— Democracy village and Aung Tha Pyay village — to ashes which were situated on Thai soil for at least two years, about one kilometre from the border in order to push them back into Burma. 323 people lived in Democracy village and other 222 people were in the latter one. Most of them were Tavoyans and Karens. Several refugee settlements in Kanchanaburi Province were also abandoned at gun pointed orders from the Thai military. Victims of the razed villages reported that the Thai soldiers were accompa-

nied by Slorc men who were in civilian clothes and Thai uniforms.

The most possibility of this move is to clear the way for proposed gas pipeline which could pass through at Nat-Ein Daung, 45 km from the Burmese coast and situated in more level terrain than Three Pagoda Pass. Regarding changing pipeline, related companies have already been discussed last three months ago. This new route will become into reality because of the security for the pipeline here is more safer than which was supposed to be done along the "Death Railway" supposed to pass through Three Pagoda Pass, and the transportation costs is cheaper as

the route from Texco's newly found gasfield is also shorter than the former one.

On April 22, junta mouth-piece so-called *Voice of Myanmar* declared two areas off southern coast in Andaman Sea off-limits to all ships. Two foreign oil companies — Total and British Primer — that have signed joint venture agreements with Slorc have scheduled to survey and explore in these areas within the first week of May and it would take about six weeks.

The PTT will take responsibility for building the pipeline on the Thai side, while in Burma, Slorc will join with Total to carry out the project.

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period with revenue-sharing ratios changing in each four-year period from 51:49, 60:40, 70:30, 80:20 and 90:10 for Slorc and Thai sides respectively.

If the improvement work for Mae Sai-Tachileik-Keng Tung road is completed, it will certainly boost travel in that area and would serve notorious tourism which earn Slorc much needed hard currency.

The meeting of officials at the level of director-general from Thailand, Laos, China and Slorc will be held on May 27-28 in Bangkok to consider the possibility of linking the highway systems of the four countries in the so-called Golden Square Highway Network.

The proposal to hold the meeting was formally put

forward to ambassadors to Thailand of there four nations about a month ago and China agreed to take part in.





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