

DAWN

NEWS BULLETIN

IN THE
MIDST OF
THE STORM
OF THE
REVOLUTION

IT IS NOT THE TIME
TO LAY A POWER BASE TO ESTABLISH
A POLITICAL PARTY IN THE FUTURE

FIVE YEARS AFTER 8.8.88

It has been five years since the time of nationwide democratic uprising of 8-8-88. Yet, it is obvious that the spirit of 8-8-88 is still alive and well even in the midst of oppression and violence by the military regime against its own people.

It was the spirit of 8-8-88 that made the people vote overwhelmingly for the National League for Democracy led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi — the party which led the struggle against the military dictatorship. The NLD's landslide victory must be attributed to the courage of the people who dared to express their will despite the dirty elections tricks of the military regime. Even a large portion of soldiers within the Burmese Army voted with the people. It was a true victory for the people's struggle.

But it not just the lay people who were resisting the dictatorship. In commemoration of the 2nd anniversary of the 8-8-88 uprising, the monks in 1990 invoked the "pattanakekuzana kan" against the military. Buddhist monks from Mandalay declared that they would boycott all military personnel and demanded for the recognition of the election results and the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

On December 10, 1991, when the Nobel Peace Award Ceremony was held for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, students demonstrated calling for the release of Nobel Peace Prize laureate. Sporadic protests against the sham national convention were also held in December 1992, and recently student demonstrations organised by the "7th July Students Movement," were held in commemoration of the killing of the students in 1962.

The military regime like to claim that it is the saviour of the country. Yet, after 8-8-88, the country is in a chaos. The economy today, branded as "Market Economy" by the military regime, is actually military monopolised command economy in essence. The establishment of a 1,000 billion kyats Myanmar Holding Company Limited owned by *Tatmadaw* (military), and the complete control over foreign currency exchange by the Myanmar Foreign Trade Bank are clear evidence of military domination of the Burmese economy.

While the Military top brass and their relatives live in luxury and enjoy the fruits of the military-run economy, the common peoples suffered under skyrocketing prices and shortage of the basic commodities, finding it difficult even to meet daily sustenance needs. The country has been devastated by a 30% inflation rate and a foreign debt of \$ 4.8 billion. The country has become the major exporter of heroin producing 2,600 tons of opium in 1993, while the number of drug addicts grows everyday. As the country situation worsened, a vast number of people have illegally emigrated into Thailand to look for job. Today, about 40,000 Burmese women have become the victims of Thai flesh trade. Drugs addiction and prostitution have also fueled the spread of AIDS and there are 300,000-400,000 HIV positive cases in Burma today.

Sensing the desperation of the bankrupt military regime, over 100 foreign companies have flocked to Burma like vultures, holding to reap major gains through limited investments. These investments, however small they may be, have become the major source of foreign exchange for the military regime which needs to buy war weapons to continue its rule and perpetrate the civil war. With these finds, the regime has built the 180,000-strong army in 1988 into a 350,000-strong force today. The lure of a steady work and pay in the army is irresistible to the jobless thousands.

In rural areas, the reinforced army have been coercing people to work as forced labour in the military campaigns. Many people in these areas are leaving the country through different routes. Force relocation of villages under the scheme of "Four Deprivations" strategy and army persecution of the people, particularly in the remote ethnic minority areas, have also forced the villagers to flee to neighbouring countries in increasing numbers. The numbers of refugees at borders total 300,000 today.

Since the military regime is the key culprit behind the hardships in the country, it must be removed if the country is get rid of its woes. As long as the military dictatorship and its bureaucratic machinery survive, people are bound to face economic crises and social problems. On this auspicious occasion of the fifth anniversary of 8-8-88 popular uprising, the ABSDF calls on the oppressed people of all strata to unite among themselves and speed up the democratic struggle by upholding the noble spirit of 8-8-88.

ABSDF ON THE MOVE

July 12 (Dawn Gwin)

The Emergency Conference within the scheduled Third Conference term of the All Burma Students Democratic Front (ABSDF) was held from 2-12 July 1993 at the Meeting Hall of the Central Headquarters of the ABSDF (Dawn Gwin). Altogether 58 representatives of different students camps under the leadership of the Central Committee of the ABSDF attended the Conference at which future political, organising and other working plans were unanimously adopted. On July 12, the new Central Committee to the ABSDF was elected by secret ballots which is in line with the existing Constitution and Election Law of the Front. Thirty Seven members of the ABSDF were elected to the Central Committee to head the Front until the regular term of the Third Conference is ended.



Chairman Dr Naing Aung addresses to the gathering

ABSDF EMERGENCY CONFERENCE HELD

Representatives present at the Conference



ABSDF ON THE MOVE

COMMEMORATION OF 7 JULY HELD

July 8 (Dawn Gwin)

Ceremony to mark the 31th anniversary of 7th July was held at 9:00 am at the Meeting Hall of the Central Headquarters of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front. ABSDF Chairman Dr Naing Aung presided over the ceremony and delivered a speech to the gathering. Then Secretary (1) Aung Htoo and Central Committee Win Naing shared their views regarding the students-spearheaded struggles in 1962 and today. Among 162 participants present to the ceremony were all the Central Committee members, all the representatives to the Emergency conference and members of ABSDF from Thay Baw Boe, Salween, Saw Hta, Thay Law Hta and Moekae.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONY HELD

July 19 Manerplaw

On 19 July, at 7:00 am, National League for Democracy (Liberated Area) held a religious ceremony in Manerplaw to mark the 46th anniversary of Martyrs' Day and the 4th year of NLD General Secretary Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's detention. NLD (LA) offered alms to the Buddhist monks and all the people at the ceremony paid homage to the monks and heard the Holy Sermons of Lord Buddha. To that ceremony, responsible persons from NLD (LA) and alliance organisations, and ABSDF members led by Secretary (1) Aung Htoo showed up.

DONATION TO THE FRONT

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization (AFL-CIO) on 16 July 1993 donated a COMPAQ PROLINEA 4/33 Computer to the Central Committee of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front.

Ken & Visakha Kawasaki from Burma-Relief Centre-Japan on July 26 1993 donated a sewing machine to the Rehabilitation Centre for War Victims (RCW) of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF).

The RCW was founded in early 1992 in line with the decision adopted in the Third Conference of the ABSDF, held in August 1991, in order to take care the students inside Burma who were brutally tortured by either physical or psychological mean and then escaped to student camps on the borders. This Centre is under the management of the Health Department of the ABSDF, and is providing some vocational training such as sewing, agriculture, animal husbandry and carpentry.



ANTI-SLORC PROTEST BREAKS OUT

July 7, Rangoon

On 7 July 1993, the students from Rangoon University (Hlaing Campus) and other campus staged a new round of demonstration against the military junta in Burma to mark the 31st anniversary of the July Uprising - massacre of students and demolition of historic Students' Union building. It was reported that students there hoisted the flag of "Fighting Peacock", Burma's traditional symbol of defiance, and marched around the campus.

While the demonstration was going on, they were arrested by the MIs in plain clothes assisted by one tutor, namely, U Soe Min. Maung Nyan Lin (2nd Year student majoring in Economics), who handled the flag-pole was arrested and immediately forced to get in the Registrar U Tin Shwe's car. (The car number is Nya/ 6540). On the way, U Tin Shwe handed over him to the MIs. Other 40 students were also arrested in the demonstration.

In a statement, ABSDF expressed its full support on that just demonstration. It stressed, "We are very much concerned about the fate of arrested students regarding Slorc's grave human rights records."

The statement concluded by appeal the international community to pressure on the Slorc to respect the rights of freedom of expression and freedom of assembly which are the basic human rights and to take appropriate action urgently.

DELEGATES TO CONVENTION

ARRESTED

Slorc, military junta in Burma, arrested two opposition members -- Dr Aung Khin Sint, an elected people's representative from the National League for Democracy (NLD) and a delegate to Slorc's national convention, and his assistant, Than Min -- for criticising its rule and distributing anti-Slorc material to fellow delegates to the convention.

Dr Aung Khin Saint was allegedly arrested on August 4 for writing letters criticising Slorc and Than Min was responsible for distributing illegal docu-

ments.

Most of the NLD's more outspoken members were jailed, hounded into exile, or killed by the military regime since the party was founded in 1988.

Dr Aung Khin Sint was born on 1 January 1935 and his parents are U Maung Galay and Daw Thi Hla. He studied at Pakokku Buddhist school and in Rangoon University, and graduated with the degree of M.B.B.S. He got the degrees of M.Sc (Comm; Med) and M.I.H.E in Manchester and F.R.S.H in London. He served as a team leader of Tuberculosis Investigation Team of Dekhina Division and Assistant Director of Medical Department till 1988. He won world medical scholarship for (3) terms, and as a writer he was awarded the National Literary Prize in 1972. During the 8888 uprising, he was the Chairman of Union of Health Servants and Secretary of Burma Medical Association and actively took part in the demonstrations.

On 10 August 1988, the army flooded into the compound of Rangoon General Hospital, where there was a medical centre for the people and for those who got wounded in the demonstrations, and opened fire at the crowd at which four medical servants -- Ma Sein Sein Yee (nurse), Ma Thauung Khin (nurse), Ma San San Aye (special nurse) and Maung Myo Thant (nurse trainee) -- and 2 people were massacred. Dr Aung Khin Sint, on behalf of Burma Medical Association, signed a protest letter which expressed their deep sorrow on the event and appealed responsible persons to prevent from further occurrence of such event.



MOVING TOWARD DEMOCRACY

US-BURMA STRATEGY MEETING HELD

May 19 Washington

US-Burma Strategy Meeting sponsored by Freedom House Chairperson Mrs Bette Bao Lord, was held from June 5-7, 1993 at Freedom House, Washington DC. Lt-Col Aye Myint, Adviser to the Military Commission of the ABSDF and Principal of the Training attended that meeting. About 200 Burmese from Canada and USA were also present and Gen Saw Bo Mya (Chairman of DAB - Democratic Alliance of Burma) addressed a speech to the gathering. After that staffs from State Department, Senate, House, National Security Council and Congressional delivered the speeches. Burmese participants applauded and fully endorsed President Clinton's statement which strongly urged the military dictatorship in Rangoon to release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and political prisoners, to respect the results of May 1990 elections and to commit itself to genuine democratic reforms and reaffirmed the absolute universality of human rights.

The gathering rejected Slorc's



claim that it needed more time to revive the economy before instituting genuine democratic reform, and reasserted its lack of faith in Slorc's commitment to democracy and its competency, given its continued gross violation of human rights and its mismanagement of the nation for past 31 years.

They urged the US government to play a leading role within the international community in the struggle for democracy in Burma, and to adopt and implement a coherent Burma policy that will bring about

the objectives President Clinton outlined. The participants also suggested that US policy to include an equitable solution to the long-standing civil war.

The participants recommended urgent action of the US government to reduce Slorc's perceived internal and external legitimacy, to prevent the civil war from escalating, to limit Slorc's ability to purchase more arms, and to reduce the opium and heroin trafficking.

RELEASE OF PRESTIGIOUS LEADER DEMANDED

May 22, Japan

Burmese Relief Center-Japan and International Network for Burma Relief, support groups for the promotion and protection of Human Rights for the people of Burma and campaign groups for the release of the 1991 Noble Peace Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who has been under detention since July 1989, on 22 May 1993 held a Burmese fund raising dinner at St. Mary's Cathedral Church in Chuo Ku of Osaka.

The military regime tried to cover that massacre through their mouthpiece TV and radio programmes by forcing Chairman Dr Tin Oo and Secretary Dr Aung Khin Sint on 17 August 1988 to sign a paper that concealed the reality. The regime's attempt failed because all members to the Central Executive Committee of Burma Medical Association clarified the event by a declaration to all people throughout the country, on which all of them guaranteed by their signatures. Moreover, as the doctors

themselves explained the reality in the mass meeting and denounced the perpetrators, the military generals were unhappy with them since 8888 uprising.

When the NLD was founded, he became a member to the Central Committee. He contested May 1990 general election from Mingalar Taung Nyunt Constituency (1) of Rangoon Division and got elected. He got 21,648 ballots of favour (82.95% of all ballots) against his rival.

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These organisations transferred 3 million Yen in 1992 and intend to transfer another 2 million Yen this year. Over 70 guests from 15 countries, including Burma, were performed with Burmese traditional songs and dance while having Burmese dinner. By selling handicrafts from Burma and oriental countries the BRC-Japan and INBR could raise more than 400,000 Yen as net profit.

With the intention to immediate release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, all guests who joined the event made 1408 Japan traditional cranes, representing numbers of the days Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was under detention, and 50 numbers of butterfly which represented freedom and peace in Burma. On May 27, the 3rd anniversary of the election day in Burma, 150 letters demanded for the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was sent to Slorc embassy in Tokyo.. (Source: ISDBA)/

NCGUB'S POSITION ON SLORC'S ACTIVITIES

June 27, Manerplaw

According to reliable sources, 80% of the delegates stood firm on two principle points- the formation of a legislature or, parliament consisting only of elected representatives of a general and direct elec-

tion; and the election of an executive and judiciary bodies by the parliament- proposed by the NLD.

In a statement of the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB) disseminated on June 27, it stated, "Such information is at variance with Slorc's claim on June 23 that the majority of the delegates agreed to having an executive presidency." The statement stressed further contradicts the military's desire for a leading role in the future politics of Burma.

NCGUB also added that the delegates, including those of the ethnic nationalities, asked the international community to urge Slorc for a truly transparent and free forum, where the delegates were not subjected to intimidation and manipulation.

Regarding Slorc's attempt to negotiate with Jimmy Carter to enlist his assistance in monitoring a possible referendum of the state constitution drawn under its control, and the subsequent election for a president and a legislative body, the NCGUB said in its statement that in an attempt to bring peace, justice and democracy in Burma, leaders of the democratic forces - Chairman Nai Shwe Kyin (National Democratic Front, NDF), Chairman Gen Saw Bo Mya

(Democratic Alliance of Burma; DAB) and Prime Minister Dr. Sein Win of NCGUB- had already approached Carter to enlist his help.

The statement concluded by pointing out most political analysts' opinion that unless Slorc invites Carter to monitor the constitutional drafting process itself, the move is simply one calculated to gain international respect and credibility.

FTUB: TRAINING FOR YOUTH OPENS

July 5, Bangkok

A series of class for trainers-level training in 'Democracy and Trade Union Rights' for the trade union members and youth of the 1988 democratic movement was opened in Bangkok, on 5 July 1993 and lectures were instructed by Mr Preecher, Secretary of Bangkok Deputy Mayor, Mr Somboom; member of the Federation of Co-operatives Labour Union, Mr Somsak; President of the State Railways Workers Union and Mr John V. Osolnick; regional director of the Asian-American Free Labour Institutes.

With the objective to deter the undesirable dictatorship and establish genuine democracy in Burma, and to encourage their knowledge, the Youth Section of the FTUB with the sponsorship of the AAFLI initiated these classes. Youth Section hope that the outcoming trainers will be able to initiate the morality of the people so that they will be aware of the promotion for concepts of human rights and democracy.

Altogether (20) interested persons representing different organisations - FTUB Youth Section, Seafarers' Union of Burma, All Burma Mining Union, FTUB Women Section, Overseas National Students Organisation of Burma, Organisation of Peace and



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National Development of Burma, Mon Students Union, Mon Young Monks Union — attended the class.

After the training, trainees would set up a programme for travelling border villages to share the perception of democracy and trade union rights.

It was reported that Youth Section will afford for further training to upgrade the youth to be able to initiate the democratic movement, and to pave the way for the participation of youth as a significant role in future political activities of Burma.

(Reported by Soe Lwin, Secretary of Youth Section, FTUB)

NOBLE LAUREATE IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF UNDER DETENTION

July 20

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, 1991 Noble Laureate and the General Secretary of the National League for Democracy which swept more than 80% of the seats in Parliament in the 1990 May election, has been put under detention because of her conscience and peaceful movement against the State Law and Order Restoration Council (Slorc) which came to power by staging a military coup in September 1988. In a statement issued by the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), it said that her continued detention "clearly shows that there is totally no democratic rights or basic human rights in Burma under Slorc. Regarding regime's position the statement said, "it does not respect the will of the people of Burma, the United Nations and the international community who are asking for the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other political prisoners, and the respect of the 1990 general election results."

NCGUB also made a four-point

demand to Slorc: unconditional release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all political prisoners, immediate stopping of brutal atrocities being committed on its nationalities, respect of the will of the people as expressed in the 1990 election results and transfer of power to the elected people's representatives and the back of Slorc to the barracks as it pledged officially to the international community.

The statement concluded with its calling upon the people of Burma, the expatriates, the UN and all the democratic countries to join and support the democratic struggle in order to fulfill its demands and restoration of democracy and peace in Burma.

INDIA: On July 19 and 20 students and democratic forces in India gathered in Janakpuri and held the 46th Anniversary of Martyrs' Day and ceremony to mark the fourth year of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's detention respectively. At the ceremony the participants denounced Slorc's ruthless activities. It was reported that Ver. U Thi Ha, Chairman of All Burma Young Monks Union (Arakan), came from New Delhi and delivered a speech and then a religious ceremony for the martyrs was held. It was known that Burmese students and members from the NLD who sheltering in Delhi also joined the ceremony.

(Reported by Ko Nyo, Burma Students League)

JAPAN: The International Network for Burma Relief led a demonstration in front of UN building in Tokyo to mark the 4th year of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's house arrest. At the ceremony, an affiliation letter sent by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in 1988 to the democratic protesters there was read out. Wearing the mask of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and holding pictures, posters and photographs of UN late Secretary General U Thant, the protesters staged a quiet demonstration. After that a copy of letter signed by all protesters which sent to UN Secretary-General Butros Butros Garli was handed over to in charge of Slorc Embassy in Tokyo. In that letter, they asked the UN pressure on Slorc for the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other political prisoners, to hand over power to the winning party, and if Slorc refuses to abide, to practice arms embargo, economic sanctions and not to accept Slorc representing Burma at the UN. It was reported that copies of that letter were widely distributed. (ISBDA)

USA: Press conference, demonstration and protest rally to mark Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's 4th anniversary of under detention organised by Burmese Students were also held in Washington DC. Press Conference at Capitol house was attended by Dana Rohrabacher, Eric D. Fingerhut, Max Baucus and representatives of International Center, Non-Violence Action, US Committee for



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refugee and Asia Watch. Then they processsed to White House and marched around there before delivering an open letter to President Clinton. The event ended with a protest in front of Slorc embassy.

SLORC DELEGATION DENOUNCED

29 July, Washington

Slorc's five-member delegation to lobby abroad for more investment in Burma faced denouncing demonstrations in the United States. Overseas Burmese and foreign businessmen were invited to join a series of dinner party held by that economic delegation in California and New York, aiming to persuade them dealing with Slorc or invest in Burma. All their dinners were faced with denouncing demonstrations organised by the Burmese students and expatriates there. One dinner party held at Slorc's embassy in New York on July 9 was faced with a group of demonstrators wearing masks of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and distributed leaflets asking people not to deal with Slorc. These demonstrators called for the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and disinvestment in Burma till democracy and human rights prevail.

SLORC DELEGATION GREETED BY EGGS

August 7, Australia

Five-member delegation of Slorc who started seven-day visit in Australia was greeted by eggs from the Burmese Community on July 29 at the arrival of Perth international airport, Western Australia.

Burmese community carried flags, placards and banners condemning the delegates as "murders, rapists, and fascists dogs" and staged a demonstration at the airport. On that event, one protester was reportedly arrested by the police there.

Among the delegates were Maj Ngwe Tun from the notorious military intelligence unit, one from foreign affairs department one Slorc economist and 2 academics. Sydney-based Burma Support Group condemned the Australian government for allowing the MIs into Australia.

At the arrival of Canberra on August 6, wearing masks of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and using loudspeakers to denounce the Slorc, the Burmese community called on Foreign Minister Gareth Evans not to shake hands with "those whose hands were stained with the blood of the Burmese people"

Slorc delegation was told by the Foreign Minister that its reforms process risked being perceived as just a propaganda exercise. FM Evans also forcefully put Australia's position, including its demand that the regime release jailed opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi. Moreover Mr Evens told the delegation if the regime was serious about reform it needed to resume dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi and other opposition members. He also told them the relaxation of some of the martial law provisions was not enough to convince Australia and the international community that the Slorc was serious about reform.

Because of these protests, Slorc's attempts to improve its image in order to defend its actions in suppressing the democratic forces and to encourage Australian-based Burmese to return and re-invest in Burma was failed.

(Reported by All Young Burmese League, Australia)

INTL SUPPORT

AUST PARLIAMENT FRIENDS OF BURMA ESTABLISHED

May 26, Australia

On 26 May 1993, the Australia Parliamentary Friends of Burma (APFB), chaired by Senator Stephen Loosely with the aim "To promote the support of the cause of liberty and democracy for the people of Burma," was established. Senator Vicki Bourne is secretary and Senator Margaret Reid, Senator Christabel Chamarette and Senator David Brownhill act as deputy-chairpersons in the Executive Committee.

The immediate agendas -- To resolve the diplomatic barriers that prevent cross border assistance to non-Burma ethnic nationalities and political exiles who were denied access to the most basic human rights, to consult with the Hon Gareth Evans regarding the closure if the Austrade office in Rangoon, to circulate a petition to both hoses of Parliament to be presented to the Secretary General of the UNGA by Senator Michael Baume and Senator David Simmons, demanding that the Slorc release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and allow the process of democracy to take place, and to host a reception at Parliament House in an attempt to raise public and parliamentary awareness regarding the crisis in Burma -- were agreed.

With its belief that coordinated efforts by all parliamentarians committed to change in Burma is far more affective, APFB has arranged a meeting between parliamentarians on 12 September 12 1993 to establish an International Parliamentary Committee for Burma.

(Source: Media release of APFB)

US SENATE PASSES RESOLUTION ON BURMA

The US Senate on May 27 unanimously passed a resolution on Burma sponsored by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan which called for the immediate release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from arrest and the transfer of power to the winning party of the 1990 May elections. It also called President Clinton to encourage the adoption by the UN Security Council of an arms embargo and other sanctions against the Slorc.

The resolution cosponsored by Senators Paul Simon, Claiborne Pell, Joe Biden, James Jeffords, Mark Hatfield and John Kerry of Democrat and Senators Jesse Helms, Mitch McConnell and Alfonse D'Amato of Republican was passed on May 27, to mark the 1990 election victory in Burma.

Regarding the passage of the resolution, senator Moynihan said, "the Slorc is quite simple a collection of criminals. They are the jailers of the people of Burma, and the duly elected leadership of the Burmese people." He also said, "the struggle of the Burmese people is

not forgotten by the United States, nor is the election of 1990 which repudiated the Slorc. We in the Senate repudiate them also."

"We ask the President to take action. And we also ask that the UN Security Council heed the words of the Human Rights Commission. It is past time to impose sanctions on the Slorc. An arms embargo is needed. The President has the support of the Senate on this matter, and we hope that he will pursue it," said the powerful New York senator.

At the press conference, Senator Moynihan was joined by the Nobel laureates and said "the silence of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is screaming out to us. Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee Senator Claiborne Pell said, "The United States Department of State classified Burma as having one of the worst human rights records in the world. The renegade activities of the military regime in Burma have been horrifying."

(Reported by Aung Myo Min)

June 19

LONDON: To mark the birth of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Amnesty International, Burma Action group, International Pen and Burmese community there, wearing marks of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, staged a protest and proceeded to Slorc embassy from Berkeley park. In front of embassy, U Uttara delivered a speech which demand the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the rest of the political prisoners. Then, all demonstrators silenced for one minute and the entire gathering sang "Happy Birthday" to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

8600 signatures of a petition for the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi were collected and after being read out to the gathering, Mr Andrew Smith (Oxford MP) and Mr Jeremy Corbyn (Labour Party MP) handed it to Slorc ambassador to forward to his chairman Gen Than Shwe. Moreover, Mr Jeremy Corbyn said he would raise this issue at House of Commons. The gathering then proceeded to Convent Garden they were joined by 50 people who were waiting for the celebration of birthday party. Miss Soe Paing sang a song, namely, "RIVER" that had specially composed for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Sebastain Michael and John Hegley read extracts from poems - "The Years that We Did not See the Sun" and "Open the Door" - composed by U Tin Moe, a famous poet and essayist in Burma who was arrested in December 1991. The whole event ended by praying for the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all political prisoners and releasing the balloons on which name of political prisoners in Burma were written.

VIENNA: A ceremony to mark Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's birthday was jointly organised by the Amnesty International and the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) in Vienna. At

NOBEL LAUREATE'S BIRTHDAY



INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE



2:00 pm, over 500 representatives of NGOs from different countries gathered in front of Austria Centre, where World Conference on Human Rights was held, and Mr Ed Gacia from Amnesty International and representative of ABSDF made a short speech. On behalf of the democratic forces in Burma, ABSDF representative urged the gathering, "As Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's release not only pave the way for the promotion and protection of human rights in Burma but also could reflect the South East Asia region and then globally, I would like to ask all of you to pressure the Slorc for her immediate and unconditional release."

WASHINGTON DC: To commemorate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's birthday and for the release, a gathering sponsored by the Congressional Human Rights Caucus was held in front of Capitol Hill in Washington DC on June 17. Birthday wishes and press release were given by Congressmen Tom Lantos (Chairman of CHRC), Ben Gilman (NY), Lincoln Diaz-Balart (Republican--Florida), Dana Rohrabacher (Republican--California) and John Porter (Co-Chairman CHRC), Ms Astralita (Amnesty International) Mr Mike J (Asia Watch) and Mrs Tom Lantos. After that, the gathering joined the Burmese students-organised demonstration in front of Slorc embassy. Students read out birthday wishes to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and called for her release. The birthday boutique and a petition

signed by over 40 congressmen and women was handed by Mrs Lantos to Slorc embassy staff.

INTL COMMUNITY CALLS FOR RELEASE OF SUU KYI SLORC URGED TO INITIATE A DIALOGUE WITH ALL POLITICAL FIGURES

20 July 1993

AUSTRALIA: The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs Senator Gareth Evans on July 20 called for the immediate and unconditional release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and all the remaining political prisoners in Burma.

"Today marks the fourth anniversary of Aung San Suu Kyi's house arrest in Rangoon. ... There are no clear indication that the Slorc is any closer to transferring power to a civil administration," Senator Evans said.

Senator Evans called on the Slorc to initiate a dialogue with all leading Burmese political figures, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, in order to encourage democratisation and reconciliation in Burma.

He said the 1993 report by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights Special Rapporteur, Prof Yozo Yokota, and the visit to Bangkok by eight Nobel laureate in February this year to protest against the continued detention of Aung San Suu Kyi, highlighted the seriousness of the human rights

situation in Burma.

E.C: The European Community and its 12 member states on June 20 called for Slorc "to lift all restrictions imposed on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi immediately and thus enable her to participate in the political process." In their statement, EC nations said that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's release could open the way to "national reconciliation in Burma and for the rapid formation of a democratically elected civilian government."

U.S.A: During a meeting with ASEAN ministers, Australian Minister Gareth Evans and US Secretary of State Warren Christopher called on the ASEAN to help secure the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. "We must continue to press the Burmese military regime to heed the democratic aspirations of its people, to adopt fundamental political reforms and to respect human rights, including the unconditional release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi," Mr Christopher said.

He stressed that so long as the Burmese dictatorship resisted genuine democratic reform, it would continue to be a source of instability and tension for all its neighbours as it is the region's largest generator of refugees and the source of the majority of the world's heroin.

In the statement of President Bill Clinton released in July 20 stated that, "Today I renew my call to Burma's military rulers to release unconditionally Aung San Suu Kyi and all other prisoners of conscience, to respect the result of the 1990 elections and to undertake genuine democratic reforms. History is on the side of freedom throughout the world, and I remain confident that the aspiration of all Burmese people for basic human rights and representative government will ultimately be fulfilled."

IN THE MIDST OF THE STORM OF THE REVOLUTION

By Daw Aung San Suu Kyi



There are many distressing, disgusting, apprehensive, furious, and unimaginable things happening all over Burma today. Overwhelming the situation, however, is the conviction among the people that their demand for full human rights, which arose spontaneously because of an intolerably oppressive situation, will succeed without fail. For 26 years, the right to think freely or to express creativity was denied, preventing the Burmese from growing individually. However, from the events of the past days, we can see quite clearly that in times of urgent need the Burmese people can be very active and decisive in their work.

Under conditions where the entire government infrastructure had already collapsed, and when even the police could no longer offer security, ward security units were formed all across the nation, mainly by the monks and the students. Unions and organisations of all sorts kept in touch with one another to coordinate the democratisation effort.

It was only last month that the people could rid themselves of the restrictions imposed against the forming of associations or organisations. But I note with pride and amazement that the people could achieve unity and form organisations in such short notice. Since the administrative infrastructure had stopped functioning, there were transportation difficulties, food shortages and commodity price rises. Not only have the people been resolving these issues collectively, they have also been tackling the problem of medicinal shortages.

The latest example of the people's discipline and unity is the mass rally attended by more than 1,000,000 people on September 8. It was a great success, and not a single untoward incident was reported.

The mass media under the present government reports only the lootings, arson, and other destructive acts. Today, we are finding out that these events are being deliberately created by a certain branch of the present government. I am indeed astonished and disgusted by the fact that a certain government branch is trying to create anarchy in the country, while the people are striving to establish peace and unity.

The only reason the situation has not worsened is because the people who have been demanding democracy are behaving honourably and sensibly. Quite contrary to all rationale, some members of the present government are stubbornly opposing the will of the people. It appears that they are mainly working to cause anarchy in the country and to hurt the people who are staging the protests.

It is obvious that not everybody in the government is involved in or is supporting such barbaric acts. It has been found that these subversive activities usually dissipate after the initial stages. It must be concluded that only a small group of people are frantically doing everything they can until the very last minute, purely to preserve their power.

Perhaps they may want to know who are the people behind the drive for democracy. I must say that they are the very people who have suffered under the social, political and economic oppression of the Ma-

Sa-La' government. It must be said that the ruthless oppression and the lack of economic know-how of the Ma-Sa-La have unexpectedly become a strong source of inspiration for the people to rise up in unity. It goes without saying that those who still remain loyal to the Ma-Sa-La today are people who fear to lose not only their positions but also their lives. That in itself is an example of the big difference between the ruling Ma-Sa-La party and the people under its rule. On the people's side, the majority seek only a just and lenient solution, and it is only a very few people who want revenge.

The Burma Army plays a very significant role. The Army was in fact founded by my father, General Aung San. My father repeatedly warned against the Defence Services becoming dictatorial oppressors through the use of force. The majority of the people believe that the Burma Army has become a puppet and is being misused by a group of power-crazed dictators.

The position, power and the special privileges that the small group of people enjoy depend on the survival of their one-party system. It is becoming more obvious every day that many Defence Services personnel are unhappy that the things being forced upon them by the present government have ruined their reputation.

Every sensible person fears the disintegration of the Defence Services. Only when a political system that the people long for is put into place quickly and peacefully can the Defence Services be able to carry out, in a dignified manner, tasks genuinely aimed at helping the people.

Quite a number of people have asked me how I came to be in this nationwide movement for democracy. Being the daughter of the man called "the Father of Modern Burma," I have always been aware of political trends in this country. Since my youthful days, I have

been interested in the struggle for independence and the sociopolitical changes in Burma.

I never really knew my father well because he passed away when I was two. I only knew him as a kind, loving and doting father who, through his own integrity, chose to place the interests of the country before his own.

As an adult, I conducted research on the life and accomplishments of my father and learned more about the kind of person he was and what he had accomplished in his 32 years of life. Only then did I begin to respect and take pride in him as a patriot and a faithful leader of the country. I also discovered that many of my personal beliefs are identical to my father's. I felt I knew him very intimately. Since my thoughts closely resemble my father's, the profound desire to work for the good of my country arose in me.

The majority of the people believe that the Burma Army has become a puppet and is being misused by a group of power-crazed dictators.

As my mother was Burma's ambassador to India, I was a high school student in that country when the present government staged the coup in Burma in 1962. I have never had trouble-free relations with this government. Some people in the government circle were loyal to and loved my father, and they treated us very cordially and with respect. But in the military there was also a group of people who have persistently been making use of my father's name while completely ignoring the national construction tasks that he had laid down. In this group are people who remain envious of our family and view us as a threat to them.

When I came to Burma for a brief visit in 1974, they discreetly asked me if I was going to engage in

activities against the government. I told them that if I wished to do that I would not remain overseas, and that if I wanted to be politically active, I would do so in my country. Because I had been away from home for some years, I learned to view various problems Burma faced from a broader international perspective. Since I had also been visiting the country frequently, I was in touch with all the developments at home. It was quite obvious that the condition of the nation had deteriorated under the Ma-Sa-La party. Despite the situation, it was only when I returned home in April that massive support for an opposition movement by the majority became evident.

I saw that people had changed greatly in their way of thinking and that the time had drawn closer for a popular uprising against the government. The ruthless massacre in August of people who were demonstrating peacefully gave an impetus to the opposition movement, and it also helped me make my decision to stand together with the people. I made that decision because I wanted to prevent blood from again being shed, and because as my father's daughter I am duty-bound to serve my country.

To be honest, there are several veteran politicians of various political leanings helping me out. I accepted their support only after a certain condition was agreed to by them. The condition is that their efforts must be directed only toward achieving democracy, and that these efforts must not be for their personal benefit or for a political advantage in the future.

I am strongly against placing one's ideology, one's party, or one's political programme above the interests of the nation.

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A MILESTONE IN THE DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE: EVER BURN BRIGHT SPIRIT OF 8-8-88

On the night of August 25, 1988

A Nissan pick-up approached the corner of Phonegyi Street in the heart of Rangoon. When the youths responsible for security tried to stop the car to check its passengers, the driver speeded up and drove away. Although the students tried to follow, they missed it as it was already far away.

The students rang up and informed other security check-points. As young security volunteers at 29th and 30th Streets blocked the road, the driver of the pick-up had to stop the car reluctantly.

All 6 passengers in the vehicle looked very distinguished. They said that they were simply going around the city to observe what was happening.

When the students discovered a package in the car, they opened it to find that it contained statements which condemned Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to hell. On the papers were also found some crudely drawn caricatures.

Seeing the contents of the package, the gathering crowd became angry at the people in the pick-up and jeered them. When the students further searched the car and conducted body checks, they found grenades and pistols used by the army of the then BSPP. When the people tied them up and conducted an interrogation, they confessed the truth. Those accused did not dare deny the truth because a merchant came forward to testify that he was familiar with one of them, namely, Maj Nyan Lin, when he was on duty to send rations to the Military Intelligence Unit.

The accused were Maj. Nyan Lin, Capt. Si Thu, Capt. Thet Tin Sein, Sgt. Aye Kyu, Corporal San Lwin and Pvt. Soe Naing. They confessed that all of them were MI's sent by Sanda Win, daughter of U Ne Win, to disseminate statements and to assassinate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi while she was delivering a

speech to the gathering at the West entrance of the Shwedagon Pagoda. Three of the officers were widely travelled and had undergone intelligence training courses overseas. At this time, although high ranking MI officers, they were obviously nervous and frightened because they were scheming to deceive the people and to create a major incident.

Even though the security youth volunteers captured these MI officers with irrefutable evidence, they did not execute them. Instead they handed them over to



"The present crisis is the concern of the entire nation. I could not, as my father's daughter, remain indifferent to all that was going on. This national crisis could, in fact, be called the second struggle for national independence."

the monks of Thayet Taw Monastery for legal action. After Saw Maung-led generals staged a coup in September, it was clearly reported that those accused officers reassumed their former posts, even arresting some of the students who had spared their lives in the above-mentioned case, subjecting them to torture and even executing some.

Had those MI's not been arrested on that day, what would have been the fate of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the over 600,000 people who attended the meeting to hear her speak? It is impossible to speculate.

Slorc blatantly lied about the realities of the 8-8-88 popular uprising, repeatedly alleging the demonstrations were incited by the CPB (Communist Party of Burma), or instigated by the ethnic revolutionary organizations, or provoked by Britain, U.S.A, India and other countries. As a matter of fact, the 8-8-88 popular uprising was spearheaded by the students as was invariably the case in modern Burmese history. The roots of the rebellion were in the decades of suffering and oppression the people had endured under the BSPP. This massive, spontaneous uprising involved Burmese from all walks of life. Although the people did not have any systematic plan or schedule for the uprising, the military regime had methodically prepared for all contingencies. U Ne Win, U Sein Lwin and other butchers with their cunning, deceitful skill and ruthlessness had various schemes prepared.

At first they brought Sein Lwin to the front of the stage, only to gun down thousands throughout Burma when the people refused to give up their fight for democracy and rose up en masse against him. Because Sein Lwin didn't meet the needs of the regime, he was dethroned on 12 August 1988.

The military regime spent the following week discussing possible climaxes of the 8-8-88 uprising. They calculated and based their predictions on information received from different parts of the country. Then they placed Dr. Maung Maung on the throne. Maung Maung attempted to deceive the people with his apparently flexible utterances. As a second step, the military regime pasted up slogan boards reading, "We support one-party rule," in front of every government office in order to prevent civil servants from joining the demonstrations calling for the restoration of a "Multi-Party System." These slogans were counter-productive, however, as civil servants who morally supported the uprising at the beginning flocked to the demonstrations with vigor. The civil servants tore the slogan boards to shreds and actively joined in the demonstrations. The general strike became more spirited day by day as artists, lawyers, doctors and nurses reinforced earlier demonstrators. The back-bone of the BSPP regime, including members from Defence Service and others from the head offices of BSPP's different departments, entered the demonstrations.

Although Dr. Maung Maung acted as president, the whole machinery of the regime was virtually paralyzed because even the police and civil servants from Special Bureau of Intelligence (SBI) had joined the general strike.

From small rural villages to the largest cities, the people of Burma governed themselves. This reality was a thorn in Dr. Maung Maung's side; he could not even govern



Windermere Quarter. BSPP ministers and other top military brass gathered at the new office of BSPP, located at Gone Myint Thar Yar, while their wives and families sought shelter at Inya Lake Hotel, turning the second largest hotel in Burma into a BSPP refugee camp.

However, the armed forces, including the Military Intelligence Unit, were still under the control of U Ne Win and his minions. As many patriotic officers at all levels of the armed forces joined the general strike, the top brass were very worried about the situation and kept a close watch on developments. The Burma Broadcasting Service (BBS) was under the control of Light Infantry Division No. 33. At this point the regime drew up a vicious plot to crack down on the mass demonstrations. No sooner had the scheme been formulated than Slorc put it into practice.

As the first stage, they simultaneously opened the jails in Insein, Tharawaddy, Thayet and other cities, releasing nearly 9,000 criminals at one time in order to create confusion and chaos. To mask the truth, however, Dr. Maung Maung's Gone Myint Thar Yar regime announced that prisoners had broken out of jail and escaped.

Ample evidence revealed the involvement of the regime in this counter-demonstration scheme.

Insein Prison covers 102 acres and is surrounded by a 23-foot-high crammed brick wall. At the top of the wall there are many sentry-posts where well-equipped soldiers were in position, ready to shoot.

The Insein prison riot broke out after several prisoners poured petrol into the wards and set it on fire. It was impossible to bring petrol inside Insein prison. (Prisoners were even forbidden to have gas lighters. After breakfast, prisoners could smoke only when a warden lit their cheroots.) Therefore, there was no doubt that the gallons of petrol inside Insein prison were the ploy of BSPP authorities. All the wards were on fire and some prisoners were burned alive.

Some prison walls collapsed so that many of the prisoners escaped the flames and ran for their lives. At that time, soldiers and prison guards machine-gunned prisoners from their positions. Hundreds of prisoners died in the fire, while others were gunned down. Most of these victims were political prisoners.



During the confusion, the main door of the prison was opened, and thousands of prisoners escaped. Most of those who escaped were ordinary criminals. That main door was open because someone had unlocked it.

In 1950 when the Karen Revolutionary troops occupied Insein, the prisoners escaped only when the guard in charge of the prison himself opened the prison. Prisons all over Burma simultaneously opened on August 25. It was the same day on which Maj. Nyan Lin, Capt. Si Thu and the others had been ordered to assassinate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and those attending the mass gathering. Could even the leaders of the military claim that these incidents were mere coincidence?

There was also another significant "coincidence": several days before the prisons were opened, BSPP Joint General Secretary MI chief Brig-Gen Tin Oo, Home and Religious Affairs Minister U Bo Ni, who had been tried and sentenced by the BSPP regime in 1983 for corruption, and Kin Min Chu, a North Korean prisoner who had been sentenced for the assassination of the South Korean Cabinet in 1982 at the Martyrs' Mausoleum, were moved to another

place.

The BSPP regime then sent their men, including released inmates, to poison drinking water ponds in Rangoon. These perpetrators were offered a few clumsily printed counterfeit Burmese bills. Before going on their mission, they were intoxicated with a concoction of psycho-stimulant drugs in alcohol.

One of the most craven attempts to create havoc occurred on 5 September 1988 when the Slorc commanded their henchmen to poison the water tank at the Children's Hospital on Helpin street, Rangoon. While a group of trouble-makers including a woman moved aimlessly around the hospital, one of them climbed up the water tank which was the main water resource for the whole hospital. Unexpectedly spotted by a hospital orderly who shouted a warning, the man was arrested with a package of poison sufficient to have killed everyone in the hospital including hundreds of children, infants, and newborns. By this willingness to massacre innocent children, the Burmese fascist regime revealed its singular cold-blooded brutality.

While the people were carrying

out a proper interrogation of the accused, one man wielding a sword rushed forward from the crowd and slashed him. Nobody could determine whether the assailant had acted from outrage or whether he was acting as a agent of the Military Intelligence to assassinate the culprit before he could confess and place the blame on the real instigators.

The military regime also sent MI Captain Thein Lwin to Planning Quarter in South Okkalapa Township to provoke disputes among the people living there. He forced some youths there to drink drugs-mixed liquor and incited them to pillage some nearby factories. When the gang of youths were confronted by students who were responsible for local security a near riot broke out. The drunken youths attacked the students and monks with *Gingali* (sharpened iron pieces launched by a catapult) which had been made at BSPP's Weaponry Plant and brought by Capt Thein Lwin. The situation soon became out of control, with Thein Lwin escaping by crossing Ngamoeyeik Stream in a small boat.

Another major event was the BSPP troops opening the Custom Department's stores on Seikkan Street, carrying off twenty truck-loads of valuable items themselves and departing with the door wide open. When the poor people entered and attempted to carry away valuables that remained, some soldiers returned, turned their guns on the people, opened fire and then left again. Many other stores in Rangoon were similarly left open only so that soldiers could return to fire on the poor people trapped inside.

On the night of 8-8-88 many people who staged peaceful demonstrations in front of the City Hall in the heart of Rangoon were gunned down with G3, G4 and other automatic assault rifles.

Thousands of people, including

many high school children wearing white shirts and green longyi (Burmese sarongs) were also brutally slaughtered on 9 August 1988. These massacres took place in many places, including North Okkalapa, South Okkalapa, Thinggangyun, Tharketa, Pazundaung, Kemmedaung and Insein Townships on the outskirts of Rangoon; and Theinbyu Street, Bahan traffic intersection and Shwegondaing in the heart of Rangoon. In Sagaing, Upper Burma, 317 people were shot dead. Many more martyrs sacrificed their lives on August 10, 11, 12, (the day Sein Lwin, "the Butcher," was ousted). In September there were massacres during and immediately after the military coup. Near Kyaik Toke Pagoda in Moulmein, capital of Mon State, 54 people were slaughtered. There were also killings of unarmed demonstrators in Pegu, Prome and Taunggyi. Gen. Saw Maung barefacedly announced that only 15 people were killed during the 8-8-88 uprising. Brig-Gen. Khin Nyunt supported this lie. Burma's notorious thugs, led by U Ne Win, U Sein Lwin and Dr. Maung Maung, applauded what their henchmen said.

The military regime has attempted to conceal its monstrous crimes of killing thousands of people and of putting down the popular uprising. The junta repeatedly denigrated the pro-democracy uprising in their speeches, their articles and their broadcasts on state radio and TV, saying, "We don't even want to hear the name of 8-8-88."

We believe that this historic 8-8-88 uprising will be remembered until the end of time. That uprising toppled the fascist regimes of U Ne Win and U Sein Lwin, which tried to impose the power of the gun, declaring, "Nobody can challenge our rule." The

uprising even ended U Maung Maung's regime, the "Gone Myint Thar Yar Government." The 8-8-88 uprising lit the light of democracy for people from all walks of life who had endured three decades of grim, hopeless stagnation. The uprising also made the international community aware of the suffering of the people in Burma under the tyranny of Ne Wm.

Out of that 8-8-88 uprising was born the spirit which led to the formation of Burmese revolutionary organizations like ABSDF, NLD, DAB and NCGUB which are continuing the struggle for democracy for the people of Burma. These organizations have been able to build a bridge between the ethnic minorities and the Burmans, all of whom have suffered under the harsh boot of the military regime. Because of the 8-8-88 uprising all the peoples of the country have greater understanding and unity than ever before. The elections in May 1990 proved that the spirit of 8-8-88 was still potent.

Moreover, the spirit of the 8-8-88 uprising is still burning brightly and will continue burning in the years ahead. That spirit will remain alive long after the military regime and its machinery are completely uprooted, the rights of all ethnic minorities are fully guaranteed according to democratic principles, and a peaceful, developed and modern State is established.

By Tint Zaw

(In commemoration of the 8-8-88 popular uprising, this article, which appeared in Burmese text in *Dawn-Oh-Wai* (Voice of the Peacock), Vol 3, No 1, November 1991, has been translated by the Board of Editors for DAWN NEWS BULLETIN).



ON-GOING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

To save its tarnished image as much criticised and pressured by the international community due to its gave human rights records since it came to power by a military coup in 1988, Slorc halted its annual dry season offensives against the Democratic Forces, including the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF). Although no major clash with the Democratic Forces broke out, the people inside the country are still ruled at gunpoint and power is still pushing from the barrel of the gun. Forced labour, Forced Relocation, Forced Recruitment, Arbitrary Execution and Torture against the people in Burma are still widespread under Slorc 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 Shan, Mon, Karen and Karenni States and Pegu and Tenasserim Divisions. (The Editor)

food with them

Some prisoners were seen breaking down and crying out for food and water. They were so underfed and maltreated that many of them died during a three-four day of construction period in and around Loikaw, Karenni State. Their families did not know of their deaths. One prisoner, after completing his whole term constructing the rail road, was turned loose in Loikaw with only a rail ticket home to central Burma proper and nothing else. The irony

was that although the rail road was opened in Loikaw on March 27, there had been no train in sight yet. As a result, the prisoner was reduced to begging -- begging for food and enough money for home trip by car.

The aged and young from rural and urban areas contributing as forced labour. They had to work from early in the morning till sunset. Every family had to send a family member to work there or pay a sum of 100 Kyats. If a family failed to meet either of them, action was taken against him or her under the 1940 Town law. A woman who was suffering from anaemia after child delivery, was not spared from contributing labour. They were forced to crack



FORCED LABOUR

23 March 1993

Long term and short-term Prisoners being ferried to the job site. Not all of them were criminals. Some were serving sentence for their political beliefs. All prisoners were shackled, and it was a pitiful sight to see them shuffling and struggling under the heavy weight of the rail lines and rail slippers. It was plainly visible that the prisoners were under fed. They were provided with neither food nor water for the whole day. The prison authorities did not allow sympathetic people to share their



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the stones into required size of 6", and later 4". Each quarter or village was allotted 2-3 truckload of stones. It was very hard and difficult for them as they had no experience or equipment for such kind of job. Many people hurt themselves. As there was no shady tree along the rail lines, the labourers had to work in the scorching sun of March, summer in Burma. Aiming to open the rail lines on March 27, their so-called Armed Forces Day (Originally known as Revolutionary Day), Slorc forced the labourers to work like slaves without even a short break for lunch.

25 March 1993



A remaining body of convict labourer who died on March 23. Ten people were treated brutally on that day and out of them six died in the evening due to injuries sustained. Of them, one was found a lacerated wound at the head, the second victim's skin torn off until his shinbone was plainly uncovered while third person's jaw was crushed. All the victim's were found blood clot in their mouths, noses and ears.

(Source: Information transmitted from inside Burma)

May 15, Dike-U (Pegu Division)

Kawliya stream in Dike-U township has become swollen with sand

one year after another so that the whole township has been flooded every year. This year, Slorc forced local people to dig the sand, and each household is allotted to 16 pitch of sand which is 70-85 feet long, 5-6 feet wide and 3 feet deep. Those who could not contribute labour had to pay 100-120 Kyats to Slorc authorities as a ransom. This cause people facing with difficulties.

All local people in Pegu division, excepted those living in 8 quarters in Dike-U who were forced to pay 120 Kyats per family to local Slorc authorities and another 60 Kyats to Slorc at township level, were forced to contribute labour

for dam construction to get electrical power at Htan Taw Gyi Aung Too, located at the foothill of central mountain range near Phaya Gyi, 10 miles from Pegu. As people could not deny the order, they have to contribute labour against their will. Many were died of malaria. They were kept an eye on by well-equipped guards as if they were criminals.

In Pegu Division, each village in rural areas was ordered to collect 5 people for army's recruitment programme while each quarter in the cities was responsible for 2 recruits. If they could afford to collect, men had to choose the proposed number by voting. Lo-

cal people have to provide certain amount of money to the families which have someone in the military services.

Even though most of them are relying on odd-jobs, they have been forced to give over 100 Kyats for regular and emergency fees, security fee, taxation, so many kinds of donations at gun point. Their priority, therefore, is to afford for the fee first and only after it they can manage for their living with the remaining amount of money. Everyone can imagine these people's difficult livelihood when one basket of rice costs 45-50 Kyats.

Due to these situations, all the peasants, workers and odd-jobs employees are facing with various kinds of crises. The rich become more wealthy one day after while the poor are oppressed day by day. Nobody can believe on hearing that peasants have to buy rice because they have to sell or pay their products according to the rate and priced fixed by the Slorc so that no more rice remain for them in order to feed their families and cultivate next year. Peasants who cultivate rice and odd-jobs employees are falling deeply in the circle of starvation.

(Reported by Ne Pwint Aung)

(Following are personal account and realities are revealed by the victims of forced labour who were used in Karen State from March to June 1993. These accounts are revealed at interview with members of ABSDF.)

Name	Maung Nyan Pwa
Age	24
Parents	U Aung Thein & Daw Ma Yee
Address	Zeya 2nd street, Zeya Thiri Satellite town, Moulmein
Civil status	Married
Spouse	Ma Khaing Khaing Soe
Occupation	Blacksmith/

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Selling knives
Date of arrest 3:00pm on
 10 January 1993
Perpetrators Infantry Battalion
 No. 97

Case: The victim and his father, U Aung Thein, were arrested together with about 100 men on Zabu Aye vessel, in the middle of Jine river, Kawkareik township. Every five-men was tied up together. Among them were Maung Maung, Aung Soe and Maung Soe. They were brought to Light Infantry Battalion No. 201 based in Pa-an. Four days later, they were transferred to Light Infantry Battalion No. 210 in Hlaing Bwe and had to sleep there for one night. Starting from Hlaing Bwe, they were forced to carry baskets of rice, chilies, onions and beans. Each basket weighted 50 kilos. When they could no longer carry, they were beaten and not fed at all as a punishment. Their meals were rice soup or a hankaw-cover of rice. There was no medical treatment for the sick. He was beaten with bamboo sticks and his right eyeball and eyelid smashed. His father was beaten to death with rifle butt by pvt Maung Zaw while he stepped on a stake. Ko Aung Soe from Yebaw Gone, Moulmein, was recaptured and beaten to death with bamboo stick in front of the other victims. He fled on June 11 from Khaleday outpost. (Interviewed by San Lwin on June 13)

Name Aye Win
Age 32
Religion Buddhist
Parents U Mya Thein &
 Daw Aye Ngwe
Address Myoma street,
 Shwegun town,
 Karen State
Civil status Married
Occupation Odd-job labour
 at jetty
Date of arrest 12 March 1993
Perpetrators Local Slorc
 chairman

Name Maung Aye Lwin
Age 20
Religion Buddhist
Parents U Kyu &
 Daw Yi Yee
Address Kyinyo street,
 Shwegun
Civil status Married
Occupation Odd-jobs
Date of arrest 12 March 1993
Perpetrators Local Slorc
 chairman

Name U Sook Koo
Age 43
Religion Islam
Parents U Bar Dee &
 Daw Aye Kyin
Address 750th quarter,
 Shwegun
Civil status Married
Occupation Fishery
Date of arrest 12 March 1993
Perpetrators Local Slorc
 chairman

Case: Every month, 90 people from Shwegun are under the rotation of forced labour and these three victims were forced to serve as porters by the order of local Slorc chairman Phoe Aw. They were then brought by Light Infantry Battalion No. 339 in Shwegun and transferred to Light Infantry Battalion No. 204 in Pa-an. In fear of porters' escape, Slorc soldiers put them in jail before the military column moved. Of them, needed numbers were used when it was necessary. Above-mentioned victims were along with a military column from the latter Infantry Battalion which proceeded to Tar Li. On the way, they were forced to carry loads without weight limit. U Sook Koo was forced to carry boxes of army rum. When they could no longer carry they were scolded by the soldiers. They were sick because of heavy weight. Proper medical treatment was very rare.

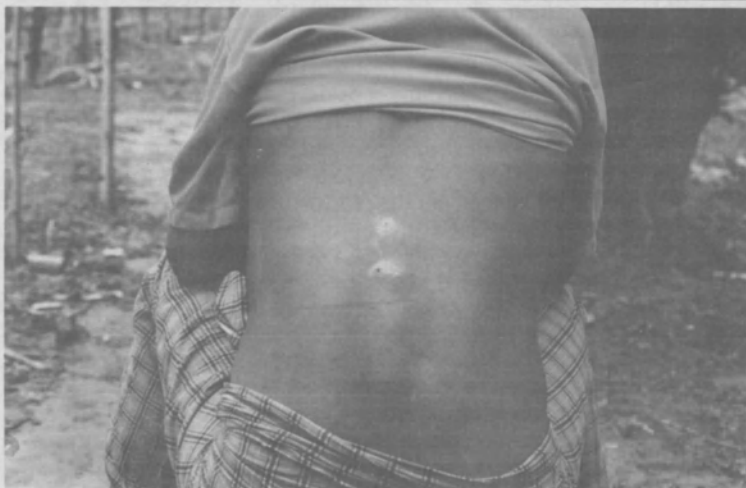
Daily meals were fed up with salt. They witnessed that most of the porters from urban area were subjected to beatings. U Sook Koo

testified that Slorc soldiers from Infantry Battalion No. 203 loaded their rifles at auto and opened fired at 3 porters from Martaban who left their loads and jumped into the depth near Kalarma waterfall. One was killed on the spot. Fortunately, two escaped. Although commander from Infantry Battalion No. 204 knew about the incident, he did not take any proper action against the perpetrators with the reason that No. 203 was not under his command. The victims could manage to escape in Tar Li. At the arrival of Mae Tan, they were again arrested by Thai soldiers. They were released after being subjected to work there for one month. They got 500 Baht each for transportation charges. They escaped to the liberated area on June 18.

Name Thein Zan
Age 26
Religion Buddhist
Parents U San Tun &
 Daw Aye Myint
Address Nyaung Bin Seik
 village,
 Kyaikmaraw
 township,
 Mon State
Civil status Married
Occupation Fishery
Date of arrest In the third week
 of March 1993
Perpetrators Local Slorc
 authorities and
 soldiers from
 Infantry Battalion
 No. 343

Case: At 8:00 am, after spreading out fishing net in the river, local and township Slorc authorities and soldiers from Infantry Battalion No. 343 arrested him while he was having breakfast in a canoe. Altogether 6 fishermen were arrested. They were handed over to the police, and then to Kyaikmaraw police station. Slorc Infantry Battalion No. 210 in Kyaikmaraw brought them to new Shan Village and then Khaleday outpost. On the way he was forced to carry rice

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for the troops. When the porters could no longer carry the loads, they were beaten and kicked. He could manage to escape while he was forced to fetch water. (Interviewed by Thaung Htike on June 18)

Name	Myo	Myint
(Kersin)		
Age	32	
Ethnicity	Burmese	
Religion	Islam	
Parents	UGani & Daw Bibi	
Address	Musa ward, Taton township, Mon State	
Occupation	Driver	
Date of arrest	April 1993	
Perpetrators	Local Slorc authorities	

"I was lured by local Slorc authorities to contribute labour and then sent to the police station. Then I was transferred to Light Infantry Battalion No. 209 in Hlaing Bwe by Hino truck. It was in the second week of April. Altogether 10 trucks left Thaton and in each truck, there were about 10 porters. We reached Hlaing Bwe at 1:00 pm and took rest for a while in a monastery there. Then, the trucks proceeded to new Shan village and arrived at 1:00 am. We had to sleep there. From that village I was forced to be along with Company (4) and lasted about one month to reach Khaleday outpost. Along the way, most of the

porters were forced to carry parts of heavy weapons and ammunition. I was forced to carry 6-81mm mortar shells. Then I was sent to Nyaungbinlay outpost where about 100 soldiers from Slorc Infantry Battalion No. 209 and 50 porters stationed. There, I lasted about two months and was forced to carry bamboo and wood, and fence the outpost. At 2:00 am, I fled from that outpost along with 2 others -- one Mon and one Karen, 35, from Moulmein -- and had to pass 2 mountains. After walking for another 30 minutes, we reached on the river bank of Moei river. At that time, only two of us remained as one was missing along the way. The man swam across to the other side of the river. I don't know how to swim so that I had to wait for the boats travelling in the river."

(Interviewed by Tin Shwe)

PEOPLE FORCED TO COLLECT RICE AT GUN POINT

February 5, Ho Pone (Shan State)

At present Slorc have been forcing people throughout the country to collect rice for their servants and to take responsibility for them. In Hoe Pone township, Southern Shan State, on 5 February 1993, Township law and order restora-

tion council chairman U Win Aung issued an order addressed to all the people, village headmen and education committee. In this order, township chairman forced all of them to collect 25 baskets of rice for each educational servant for this year. A basket of rice at current price is 50 kyat. It was also reported that, those who do not abide by the order or absent to collect will be lessened the rice ration which they can buy from Slorc.

As the people there do not have enough rice to meet the demand, they have to purchase in central Burma. The deadline for reply was on February 9.

(Source: Aung Hum Rai Camp, ABSDF)

LURE TO JOIN THE ARMY

February 9, Mong Pwan

Slorc Light Infantry Battalion No. 517 in Mong Pwan on 9 February 1993 issued an order for recruitment to all parishes and villages in Mong Pwan township. Each parish was responsible for 3 recruits and every village was responsible for 2 recruits. In that order, Slorc lured the youth with following privileges:

- Army will feed those recruits after being selected.
- During the training period, each recruit will be provided 350 Kyats of monthly salary plus mosquito net, blanket, plate, mug and uniform.
- After 6 month training, each recruit will be provided 450 Kyats of salary and ration
- Will get proper leave; and if he got married, army will arrange for his family's living
- Can retire after serving for five years
- If he is sick during the service, he will get medical treatment at clinic in battalion or military hospitals

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- If uniforms and equipment are torn, these things will be changed every 6 month
- If someone is promoted to a lance corporal, he will get 600-700 Kyats of salary, and if he becomes a corporal, he will get 700-800 Kyats of salary.
- After serving 5 years in military service and if he is not older than 32, he can sit examination for official training.

Village headmen were also instructed to take care that those recruits are faithful to the army and anyone of them is not rebel nor their relatives. Moreover, the commander warned the headmen to clarify their privileges in organising them.

(Reported by Aung Hum Rai Camp, ABSDF)

SEXUAL ABUSES

on 6 February 1993, Mi Hla Win, 25, a Mon woman from Dai Done village of Sangkhlaburi District in Kanchana Province was abducted by three armed-Thais workers from national park being built in that area.

The victim described her experi-

ence: "Three of them who were drunk and holding with arms came to my hut and threatened me to follow them. At that time, my husband and my child were also at home. As my child started crying, I was allowed to take my child. I was raped behind the bushes, about 300 metres from the village, by two of them while the remaining one was standing for guard. I was beaten during the process because I continuously refused to cooperate with them."

On February 7, the victim went to Sangkhlaburi police station and asked fair trial for the case. Her appeal was not only denied by the police but also she was fined 1,500 baht for so-called compensation because of asking for trial as an illegal immigrant.

May 19; Thanbyuzayat

On 18 April 1993, Mi Htaw, 25, from Win Pa Toke village in Thanbyuzayat township was repeatedly raped by soldiers from Slorc Infantry Battalion No. 31 in front of her husband at their outpost near the village.

Case: She went to the outpost for the release of Nai Sein Aung Kyi,

her husband, who was allegedly arrested by Slorc troops for having contacts with the New Mon State Party (NMSP). When she arrived there, she was repeatedly raped before her husband. Nai Sein Aung Kyi was also subjected to torture which led his left hand broken. After their release, they no longer dared to stay at that village anymore and moved to Karoppi village.

RANSOMS/ ROBBERY

On March 5, Min Ah Kha Yit, 17, from Win Pa Toke village in Thanbyuzayat township was arrested by Slorc soldiers from Infantry Battalion No. 31 with the accusation of having contacts with NMSP. On March 10, his parents Nai Zeya and Mi Zet Taw had to pay 5,000 Kyats to Slorc soldiers for their son's release. The victim was recaptured by Slorc soldiers. On March 15, he eyewitnessed Slorc troops' robbery of a Thanbyuzayat-Ye passenger car between Pein Ne Taw and We Kha Mi village. The perpetrators took away all the properties found from the passengers. Loss estimated 30000 Kyats at current price. (Source: New Mon State Party)

FORCED RELOCATION/ VILLAGE BURNT DOWN/ RANSOM

May 15, Concentration Camps in Phruso & Demoso

Eight thousand six hundred and twenty people of 1452 families in Phruso and Demoso strategic camps are now facing with problems of insufficient shelters, lack of clean water, and over exposure to heat, cold and rain. They are suffering from diseases such as malaria, diarrhoea, dysentery, skin rashes and malnutrition due to lack of health care, of proper sanitation, shortage of medicines and adequate food. Even though they are facing with these hardships, they are left without any positive response from Slorc authorities. Some of them are also subjected to mental torture committed by the



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Slorc. Provision of seeds, farming tools and allocation of farming plot are totally ignored. As a result, many families returned to their respective villages since October 1992 hoping that they could rebuild their houses and plant crops for their survival. They are now living in fear of Slorc's possibility for reaction and unpredictable situation. Men have to hide in the jungle all the time to escape from Slorc troops who could endanger their safety of lives -- torture and shot to death.

As they could not either cultivate crops or store enough rice for more than one year, they have to rely on the relief contributed by churches, and vegetables, roots whatever available in the jungle. Five adults and more number of children died from starvation. On 29 March 1993, villagers in Domokho faced with double blow from Slorc as all houses there were razed to the ground which left 150 people homeless.

(Source: Information transmitted from inside Burma)

March 23

All the people living in southern part of Moulmein and other townships in Mon state were forced to give financial assistance to Slorc to repair motorway which will later be joined with Thailand. In Ye township, every household in each village were forced to give 1,000 Kyats aside from regular porter fees, so-call security fees and fees to support militia.

As an enforcement to fulfill above-mentioned demand, including to sell rubber earlier and to levy taxes, on 18 March 1993, about 300 Slorc troops from Infantry Battalion No. 31, 32 and 62 arrived Dae Htaung and other villages in Kya Inn Seik Gyi township and harassed the people there.

April 6; Ye

At noon on March 18, Slorc troops

from Light Infantry Battalion No. 408 arrived Tamao Karai village and forced all villagers to leave. All the things left were set on fire by Slorc troops. All 236 houses were reduced to ashes and the villagers had to run for their lives. Loss estimated more than 4,000, 000 Kyats.

April 8, Thanbyuzayat

In April 1993, Slorc troops forced 500 households from 7 villages -- Win Pa Toke, Bel Pa Do, Hmook Tai, Wel Te, Zet Khani, Payaw Hel and Khalok Ann -- in Thanbyuzayat township. Most of the villagers were forced to move to Karoppi, Wel Gloung, Wel Khata, Win Rai, and only monastery there was left. Villages where the democratic forces stayed were fined by Slorc troops at the rate fixed by them. Altogether 150,000 kyats were fined for Aung Htaw (45,000 Kyats), Wel Gloung (45,000 Kyats), Kow Lao (20,000 Kyats) and other villages.

Tavoy

On May 27, Slorc troops from Light Infantry Battalion No. 408 issued an eviction notice to the villagers in Ah Mae village, Ye Phyu township, which forced to move over 80 households to Kywe Thone Kaung village. All of them have to shelter outside Ah Mae village.

Villagers from Ahlae Sakhan of the same township were also ordered to move to Loh Jai village by June 3 at the latest. Slorc commander Shwe Lwin instructed the villagers that if they want to stay put they must afford to get 4 automatic rifles from the Mon National Liberation Army (MNLA) or pay a bribe of 400,000 Kyats. As the villagers raised the money in order to be able to stay put, they are not moved at present.

March 30

On February 10, at 2:00 am, Nai

Sit Tha's family and other 3 families fled from Ye Pu village, Yephyu township because of suppression of Slorc. Slorc troops there forced local people to fence the battalion without giving any food. Working hour was from 6-10 am and from 1-6 pm. Those refused to work were put in a well (about 22 feet in depth) for 5-6 days and tortured. They were allowed to climb up once a day and subjected to torture every day. Village headmen were also forced at gunpoint to select some people to torture those victims. It has been happening since last year. Whenever Slorc troops heard the sound of guns, they put all the villagers into a hole located in the school compound of the village. This caused the school to be closed down for the time being.

ARBITRARY EXECUTION/ TORTURE/RANSOM

February 9; Moulmein

Nai Aung Hla, 23, from Htin Khwa village in Kya Inn Seik Gyi township was shot dead by Slorc troops from Infantry Battalion (32).

Case: He was arrested outside the village by the soldiers while he was managing to run for his life. In fear of their safety, they arrested and tied up him for one night. On the following day, even though his parents came and gave 3,000 kyats for his release, Slorc troops did not allow him to go. While his parents were trying to get more money for their son's release, he was shot dead and his body was left there.

March 11, Ye Phyu

On March 11, about 40 soldiers from Company (2) of Slorc Light Infantry Battalion 343 got to near Ahle Sakhan village in Ye Phyu township and killed 2 villagers who stayed away from Phone Taw village in fear of serving military services. One who was hit at the

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head died on the spot.

A group of villagers from Pha Oak village, Mudon township, returned after working in Thailand were found on the way outside Ahle Sakhan village and shot by Slorc troops in an attempt to capture them. Among them, one was seriously wounded, and of their properties, one video, 8 tuckle of gold and cash were taken away by Slorc troops. Moreover, as told by a porter, 22, from Ye Ta Kun village in Ye Phyu township who escaped from Slorc troops, "soldiers captured a small engine of sawmill belong to the villager from nearby village."

March 19, Kya Inn Seik Gyi

Slorc troops from Infantry Battalion No. 32 arrested U Koo and other 6 people from Taung Bauk village, Kya Inn Seik Gyi township, to serve as porters in the front line. They were spared from forced labour after giving 700 Kyats per person to the Slorc troops. On the same day, Slorc troops arrested more 30 villagers again and asked ransom from the victims. The villagers were released after giving certain amount of ransom to the Slorc troops.

Kya Inn Seik Gyi

On March 23, A military column led by Maj Zaw Win and Capt Taw Taropened fire into Bo Ga Daw village in Kya Inn Seik Gyi township. Mi Shwe U, 82, was hit at the head, one eye crushed and died. Min Thein Win, 17, was hit at the leg while Min Pu Le, 18, seriously got wounded at his ribs (right ribs) because of splinters of motar shells. Slorc troops looted 5,000 Kyats in cash, 25 tuckle of gold, ear rings and other valuable things belong to Mi Shwe U.

Case: As the military column was approaching the village, the people there fled away in fear of their safety. On that situation, the troops

opened fire into the crowd and took all the properties remained in the houses. They robbed 6,000 Kyats in cash from Nai Ni's store, 50 tackle of gold and 5,000 Kyats in cash from Mi Shwe Mi's store and 5,000 Kyats worth properties from Nai Shein. Estimated loss for all is more than 150,000 at current price.

March 30, Ye

As two drunk patrols from Slorc Infantry Battalion No. 61 opened fire, two innocent villagers -- Nai Thein and Nai Aung -- were seriously injured, and died on the same day at Ye township hospital.

Case: While these two victims were travelling on a motorcycle along Ye-Tavoy mortorway, they were interrupted and interrogated by 2 perpetrators at milestone no. 5. To be able to proceed their journey, they had to pay 1,000 Kyats to the perpetrators. They were fired with G3 rifles from the rear while they were leaving. They were hit at the back and motorcycle collapsed. The motorcycle was captured by soldiers and had to pay 3,000 Kyats for it return.

April 5, Ye Phyu

Nai Aung Nyein, 57, a victim who was forced to serve as a porter, from Kywe Tha Lin village in Ye Phyu township, Tenasserim Division, was found dead on March 31 near a waterfall. The villagers said about 150 Slorc troops from Infantry Battalion No. 104 led by Maj Thura Zaw Win and Capt Aung Kyaw arrested the victim at Ye Pu village and forced him to carry ammunitions and ration for the troops. As the load was too heavy for him to carry when could not afford to lift it, and was beaten to death.

April 7, Tavoy

On March 2, at 10:00 am, Slorc troops from Infantry Battalion No.

343 suddenly arrived Yaung Roe village, Ye township, and arrested Min Aung Soe, 11, son of Nai Toe Win and Mi Maw. He was aimed as a target for firing squad and shot dead under the monastery of the village.

June 15

On June 6, a column of Slorc troops from Infantry Battalion No. 61 who are stationing near Kyauk Taing village in Ye township get there and forced Nai Nyunt Maung, 27, to follow them. He was shot dead outside the village and the body was left there. The villagers had to bury the remaining body.

Nai Ah Pha, the victim's friend, was also forced to go along with the troops who later shot him. Slorc soldiers thought he had already died and left him there. Fortunately, he did not die and now take the treatment at a safe area.

Both of them were gardeners but were accused by Slorc troops of serving as guides for the democratic forces. (Source: New Mon State Party)

**FREE
AUNG
SAN
SUU
KYYI
NOW**

DAMN THE DAM PROJECTS! SAVE THE SALWEEN RIVER



Ecologists, environmental and human rights activists were shocked when Gen David Abel of the Slorc agreed to a proposal by Thai authorities to cooperate in developing the 6,400-megawatt (MW) Salween hydro-power project for the mutual benefit of the two neighbouring states. Apart from the supplying electricity, the project would divert about 30 per cent of the water resources through a 20-Km canal to the Ping river, one of the four tributaries of the Chao Phya River, to supplement its decreasing water flow, which is needed for agricultural purposes in the central plain of Thailand.

EGAT, Thailand's sole power supplier, has been looking to neighbouring countries for new

sites of hydro-power projects, as it currently faces strong opposition against the construction of new large multipurpose dams in Thailand. Along with the country's National Energy Administration (NEA), EGAT in past decades has conducted preliminary sketch studies and feasibility reports of possible dam sites in both Laos and Burma.

The concept for developing hydro-power projects along the border rivers was started in earnest in April 1988. It was Gen Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, during his tenure as Thai army commander, who proposed the seven hydro-power projects as drafted by NEA on the rivers bordering the two countries to the Burmese Ministry of En-

ergy. It was agreed that both countries would consider establishing agencies to deal with the matter and both have regularly held discussions on this issue since then. In June 1989, Prapath Premmani, then NEA secretary general, led an official Thai delegation to Rangoon, where he pursued project talks with Burmese officials. In the meeting, both sides agreed to first develop the 25-MW Nam Maesai Project and the 40 MW Klongkraburi Project and to establish a joint working group to coordinate the development of the seven proposed hydro-power schemes with priority given to the first two. The working group formed was to meet every three months to hold regular talks on the hydro-power projects.

Location and status of the eight Thai-Myanmar border projects now being investigated

Nam Mae sai Project

Location On Mai Sai river, Tachilek Township, Kengtung District, Eastern Shan State
Installed capacity (MW) 12.5
Annual energy production (GWh) 70
Status: Feasibility study completed in 1991 by EPDC

Klong Kra Project

Location Approximately 36 Km upstream from Amphoe Kra Buri, Ranong Province
Installed capacity (MW) 130
Annual energy production (GWh) 238
Status: Prefeasibility study completed in 1991 by Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT)

Upper Salween Project

Location Approximately 76 Km upstream from the confluence of the Salween and Moei rivers
Installed capacity (MW) 4540
Annual energy production (GWh) 29 271
Status: Preliminary study completed in 1992 by EPDC

Lower Salween Project

Location Approximately 30 Km upstream from the confluence of the Salween and Moei rivers
Installed capacity (MW) 792
Annual energy production (GWh) 5422
Status: preliminary study completed in 1992 by EPDC

Nam Moei 1 Project

Location On Moei river approximately 30 Km upstream from Tak Province
Installed Capacity (MW) 110
Annual energy production (GWh) 244
Status: Preliminary study completed in 1992 by EPDC

Nam Moei 2 Project

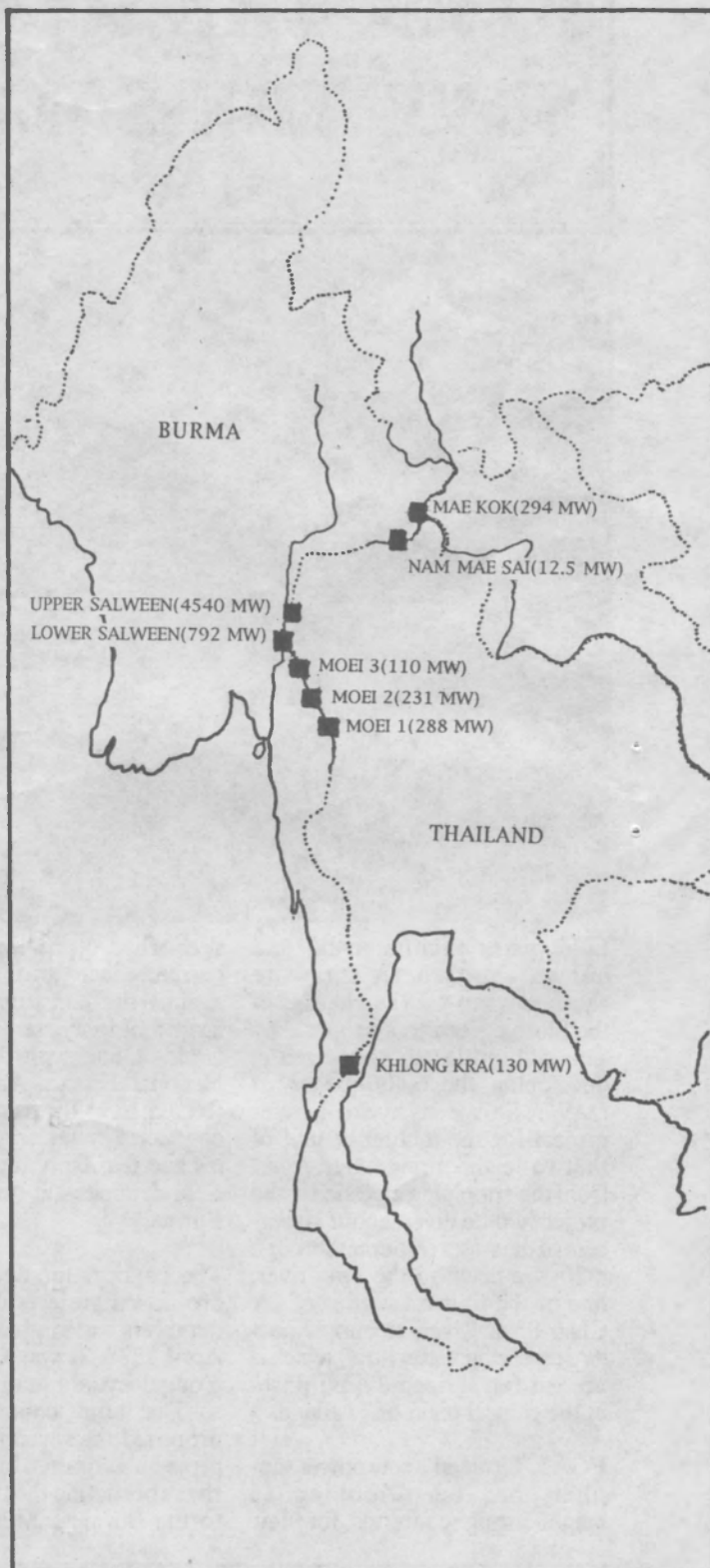
Location On Moei river approximately downstream from Amphoe Mae Ra-mad, Tak Province
Installed capacity (MW) 231
Annual energy production (GWh) 523
Status: Preliminary study completed in 1992 by EPDC

Nam Moei 3 Project

Location 8 Km upstream from the confluence of Salween and Yuam rivers, Tak Province
Installed Capacity (MW) 288
Annual energy production (GWh) 631
Status: Preliminary Study completed in 1992 by EPDC

Mae Kok Project

Location Amphoe Mae Ai, Chaigmai Province on Kok river
Installed capacity (MW) 294
Annual energy production (GWh) 637
Status: Preliminary study completed in March 1992 by EPDC



Features of the eightn Thai-Myanmar projects now under investigation.

Description	Upper Salawin	Lower Salawin	Nam Moei 1	Nam Moei 2	Nam Moei 3	Mae Kok	Klong Kra	Mae Sai
<i>Streamflow</i>								
Catchment area (km ²)	293100	294500	1810	6420	8710	2980	756	940
Average annual runoff (10 ⁶ m ³)	118627	119200	1360	4810	8590	2230	1394	457
<i>Reservoir</i>								
Annual inflow (10 ⁶ m ³)	119200	119149	1360	4810	8590	2230	1849	487
High water level (el.)	220	85	300	180	120	570	65	470
Low water level (el.)	163	73	285	170	110	550	45	431.5
Gross storage capacity (10 ⁶ m ³)	21000	245	2940	968	980	4650	1527	120
Effective storage capacity (10 ⁶ m ³)	15800	167	1440	638	505	1650	1076	100
Reservoir regulation ratio (per cent)	13.3	0.1	105.9	13.3	5.9	74	-	-
<i>Dam</i>								
Type	Gravity	Gravity	Rockfil	Rockfil	Gravity	Gravity	Rockfil	Rockfil
Height (m)	166	49	195	1	65	140	1	1
Crest Length (m)	570	379	780	55	330	425	65	82.5
				365			528	534
<i>Transmission line</i>								
Voltage (kV)	500	230	230	230	230	230	115	66
Circuit	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Route	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Length (km)	500	270	220	110	110	60	43	60
<i>Power generation</i>								
Reated band (m)	116.8	20.9	72.1	44.8	34	111.7	50	60.7
Maximum discharge (m ³ /s)	4400	4400	178.8	600	990	300	304	24
Installed capacity (MW)	4540	792	110	231	288	294	130	12.5
Type of turbine	Francis	Kaplan	Francis	Kaplan	Kaplan	Francis	Francis	Francis
Number of units	10	10	2	3	4	2	2	2
Firm peak power (MW)	2140	477	110	60	62	285	21	4
Average annual energy (GWh)	29271	5422	244	523	631	637	238	70
Firm energy (GWh/year)	18744	4175	163	110	91	432	182	36
Plant factor (per cent)	73.6	78.2	25.3	25.8	25	24.7	21	83.9

At the first meeting, held in Bangkok in November 1989, it was decided that, of seven proposed hydro-power projects on the Thailand-Burma border, Thailand would immediately start the pre-feasibility study of the Klong Kra project, the southern most site of the seven projects, and Burma would do the same for the Nam Mae Sai project which was the northernmost site.

At the second joint meeting, held in Bangkok in August 1990, it was concluded that the preliminary study would proceed as soon as possible for the remaining five projects on the border rivers of Salween, Moei and Maekok.

At the third meeting, held in Rangoon in March 1991, it was agreed that NEA should request the Electric Power Development Company (EPDC) of Japan to undertake the preliminary studies, without the financial input of the clients except for counterpart assistance. Following the meeting, EPDC was requested by NEA to carry out the preliminary study for the five remaining projects, and EPDC dispatched a five-member

survey team to Thailand for site reconnaissance in May 1991. This study was completed in March, 1992. Financial assistance of Bt 35 million was provided by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) for a feasibility of the Klong Kra plan, which was not covered by the EPDC study.

After the EPDC investigation of the remaining five projects, it was concluded, in the preliminary study, that the total number of the bordering hydro-power projects should be increased to eight, including Klong Kra and Nam Mae Sai which had already reached the prefeasibility and feasibility level by Thailand and Burma respectively. These eight projects (Fig. 1) are described briefly in the tables.

The largest of the projects would be the upper Salween project, to be located 76Km upstream from the confluence of the Salween and Moei rivers. It would have a capacity of 4540 MW. The next largest would be the Lower Salween project, with a capacity of 792 MW. The total capacity of the eight stations would be 6397.5 MW, requiring a total investment

of some US \$ 5.12 billion.

An adviser to Gen David Abel said that the whole project could be privately financed either by establishing a joint Thai-Burmese company or by selling of shares and bonds to third countries. Part of the funds could come from bank loans and at the moment "eight of the largest banks in the world" have agreed to provide such loans pending the final decision by governments of the two nations", he said.

While the Thai authorities are making agreements with the Slorc and hurrying to implement the projects, the will of the Karen ethnic people who for centuries have inhabited the land around the proposed dam sites has been totally neglected. Karen in that area live in harmony with forests. They depend for their livelihood on food growing naturally in the forest. They build their homes with bamboo, wood, thatch roofs, and tree-leaves taken from the forest. They dye their traditional sarongs and *thindine* (gowns) with colours made from the bark of trees. The massive flooding caused by

Salween dam project now threatens to destroy the living pattern of Karen hill tribes which is harmony with nature and drown the teak forests.

Do the Slorc or Thai authorities have the right to exploit the Salween river without the consent of the local inhabitants who will suffer the ecological effect of big multipurpose dams? A war zone cannot be transformed into an economic zone without first solving the root political problems which caused the conflict. For the Burmese people, peace and national reconciliation are infinitely more important than electricity for Thailand.

By Maung Nyein Chan

Source: Water Power & Dam Construction, October 1992
Business Post, June 23, 1992.
The Nation, October 26, 1991.
The Nation, October 13, 1992.

We would like to request the readers to send protest letters to following addresses:

Asian Development Bank
P.O.Box 789
Manila 1099, Philippines
Tel: (63-2) 711-3851
Fax: (63-2) 741-7961
(63-2) 631-7961
(63-2) 632-6816
(63-2) 631-6816

Electric Power Development Corporation
6-15-1 Ginza, Chuo-ku
Tokyo 104, Japan
Tel: (81-3) 3546-2211
Fax: (81-3) 3544-0247



Wel Gyi refugee village located near upper Salween Dam Project Site

What will be the future of these poor women and children taking refuge in Wel Gyi village



**NO MORE MILITARY INTERFERENCE
IN CIVILIAN RULE**

A JOURNEY TO KENG TUNG

APRIL, 1993

Formalities

Foreigners (non-Thais) wishing to enter Burma must first go to the Mae Sai Immigration Office, with photocopies of the relevant pages of their passports. There the pleasant and efficient staff issues, free of charge, a white sheet of paper called something like "In-Out Area Permit for Foreigners". One surrenders one's passport at the immigration check point on the Thai side of the bridge, and is given the "In-Out" permit. For a day trip to Tachilek, one surrenders the Thai permit at the Burmese checkpoint at the other end of the bridge, pays 10 dollars US, and is given a blue sheet of paper (no photo required). Here too the officers are friendly and efficient. For a 3 or 4 day trip to Kengtung, one goes to the newly-built immigration office below the bridge, to the left. There one is issued a pink card, to which one of the three required photos is attached. The work, which takes a little more time, is done by the staff of Tourist Burma. The fee is 18 dollars US. Inside Burma, the pink card is kept by the Tourist Burma guide, who takes care of the formalities at the Kengtung Hotel. At no point en route were we required to show the permit. On return, the process occurs in reverse: one surrenders the blue or pink permit to the Burmese in return for the white Thai permit; on the Thai side one exchanges the Thai permit for one's passport. Foreigners must return by 5 pm, Thai by 6.

Some other officials fees: \$US 100 if one takes one's own car; \$30 single, \$36 double for a room without hot water at the Kengtung Hotel. \$38 single; \$42 double for



a room with hot water (but the distinction is academic if the water heater is electric -- see below). One may arrange for a vehicle from Tourist Burma on the Burmese side, or arrange the whole trip for a flat fee from the Wang Tong Hotel or Ananda Tours in Mae Sai.

The Road to Kengtung

At the Burmese end of the bridge a sign announces "Tourist are Welcome"; just beyond, in a roundabout planted with flowers, a sign says "The City of Golden Triangle". Not far beyond the outskirts of Tachilek, the road turns into a dusty red dirt strip. A few kilometres from Tarlay a big gas station in the international style is under construction. The gas pumps announce that it belongs to Shell; inside the building is a bright yellow telephone bearing the Shell logo. (There is also a station of one of the Thai oil companies just beyond Tachilek, but I didn't not details.) Somewhat further, where the hills grow steeper, we met 3 or 4 big crane earth movers and a number of other heavy machines, hard at work. The equipment belongs to Mae Sai Contractors, and the drivers are Thai.

The higher hills between Tarlay and the mid-way point of Mong Hpayak, and again between the latter and Kengtung, are sparsely populated. Here and there are hill-tribe villages: Muser, Lahu, Akha, and so on. Otherwise, right beside the road, there are prisoners' camps: a sign-board, several small huts (presumably for the guards), and a thatched longhouse for the prisoners, all surrounded by a slat fence. A sign in front of at least one such camp is purported to convey the cherry message "We will pay for our mistakes with our sweat". There are probably three camps between Tarlay and Mong Hpayak, and three between the latter and Upper Pan Lot. At intervals along the road are neat stacks of medium-sized rocks, placed there by the prisoners. At a camp by the hair-pin curve between Mong Hpayak and Upper Pan Lot, we saw lines of prisoners passing rocks from the river up the steep bank; elsewhere we saw groups of prisoners working by the side of the road, 10 or 20 to a group, with one or two guards. They wear white longyi and shirts; a few have manacles on their ankles. Some are very young. On the return trip we stopped on two occasions and passed out cheroots. The prisoners could not stop working, and did not speak to us. We were told that many are students; some are certainly very young (teenagers). We were told, "For peddling Heroin you get 2 or 4 years, for political activity life." We were told that they are incommunicado; that their parents think they are dead. The whole region in this season is under heavy haze, and is extremely hot and dusty. It is hard to believe that there are no deaths; in the rainy season there must be Malaria.

Religion

There is one mosque in Tachilek, and about 100 Muslim families. There are two mosques in Kengtung: a small one as one enters the city, to the left of the road, and a large in the town proper, between Pa Daeng Gate and Wat Pa Daeng. At the latter mosque a custodian, a haji of 2nd (?) generation Indian (Kathiawar) origin, invited me in, but I did not have the time. He said there are about 1,500 Muslims: Indo-Burmese, Shan, Sino-Burmese. All Muslims I spoke to (in English and in Hindustani) said there were no problems for Muslims in Tachilek or Kengtung. When asked about Arakan, they were vague: both a Shan and a Kathiawari said "we hear things, but cannot see for ourselves what is true". In both places there are numbers of Muslim shops: restaurants, noodle stalls-etc. In Tachilek I spoke to a gem-trader from Mandalay, traveling the Shan state. It seems true that there is open tension or oppression at present.

There are churches in Tachilek and in a number of hill-tribe villages along the road. We stopped at one Baptist village. At Mong Hpayak there are signs to a Catholic Centre and a Catholic Church; in Kengtung there is a big Catholic church and area. Some of the Chinese merchants in Tachilek and Kengtung are Catholics. I did not engage any Christians in conversations. In the area visited there are Burmese, Tai Yai, and Thai Khun temples. On the whole they are well-maintained. The Khun monks in particular are openly anti-government, as well as anti-Burmese.

Health

There is a big military hospital to the left of the road as one enters Kengtung. We were told that it is for the army only; an air-force pensioner said even pensioners like himself cannot use it. A doctor told us there are just over 20 doctors in Kengtung, and a severe lack of medicines. He said that 40% of the population has Tuberculosis (!), which had infected one of his three daughters. In the rainy season there is Malaria. He also mentioned Meningitis.

Environment

In the hills between Tachilek and Mong Hpayak and the latter and Upper Pan Lot there are some forested areas, but on the whole the area is deforested. As one descends from Upper Pan Lot to the Kengtung valley, there is only scrub and sparse young trees. The latter are energetically cut down by soldiers, who are seen along the road side. The trees -- barely 6 inches in girth -- are cut into short logs, and piled at intervals along the roadside, for dozens of miles. They are later picked up in trucks and taken to the army camps to be used as fuel. Along the foothills of both Mong Hpayak (also very barren) and Kengtung

are big army camps with long and substantial barracks and other buildings. The hills of the inner Kengtung valley are bare and bald. Such big army camps, with (often new) buildings of brick and wood, must have a considerable impact on natural resources, not only in Kengtung but throughout the country.

Tachilek does a roaring trade in wildlife products. We saw at least a dozen large Tiger skins, and numerous skins of Leopards, Tiger cats, Flying Squirrels, Pangolins, and other animals I cannot identify. Otherwise: Tiger claws, fangs, and penises; Elephant tusks; horns and heads of wild Buffalo, Deer of various size; skulls; and jars containing mysterious concoctions to be drunk as tonics. A tiger skin was quoted at 35,000 baht, a Leopard cat at a mere 500, a pair of tusks at 35,000. There are also several vendor's carts heaped high with Peacock fans and feathers. In the Kengtung market I saw only one large spotted skin, quoted at 37,000 Kyat. The Tachilek merchants assured me that there would be no problems with either Burmese or Thai customs; the three times that I returned to Thailand — twice on foot and once by jeep — neither side even glanced at me.

Miscellaneous

- During the two nights in Kengtung, we had electricity for less than an hour. In Tachilek, in the day-time at least, there was no electricity. The Kengtung market was well stocked with meat, vegetables, and fruit, and the customer goods of Thailand and China.
- I did not investigate prices or buying power. To pensioner — retired mechanics or engineers with the air-force — said they received a monthly pension of 200 Kyat. Along the road we saw numerous livestock: Pigs, Chickens, Buffaloes, Cows. Traffic in Kengtung consists largely of bicycles, motorcycles, and occasional army vehicles. For long distance there are small pick-ups or medium-sized trucks, crammed with goods and people. A monk told me that in central Kengtung the soldiers sometimes seize motorcycles and take them for their own use, without compensation. A government official from Tachilek, whose parents are also government officials, said their house in town was taken from them because the army wanted the land; all they received in compensation was a poor plot of land outside of town.

Conclusion

In the *WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY* of Sunday, 4 April, one Maha Thamun noted that: "a road only about a furlong would not be completed even in a decade in the past, but today roads are being extended and expanded and construction works are being accomplished with astonishing rapidity." It is not astonishing when one considers that free and

expendable prison labour, the sweat and blood of a lost generation, is doing the work. I was told that the road to China and other projects in the Kengtung valley are also being done with prison labour. On the night of 6th April, a convoy of ten Thai vehicles arrived at the Kengtung Hotel. They were to be the trail-blazers if the China road, going to Chiang Rung in Sipsong Panna, Yunnan, and back. There are plans to open the road to China in the near future. This may explain the opening of Kengtung to foreign visitors: the gentle pressure of Burma's dear friends Thailand and China, who would very much like to see this trade route opened. When we arrived back in Mae Sai, the road leading to the Thai side of the bridge was fringed by big fluttering banners bearing the BMW logo, announcing a sales exhibition. I find it hard to believe the campaign was directed only at the people of the small border town on the Thai side.

The overall impression is that the peoples are helpless: passive observers of the fate of their lives and homes. There is no local participation in decision-making, and no chance of even a murmur of protest. Tourist development of this sort will be most destructive to the local tradition and of the environment. A good example: about a year ago the army razed the Sawbwa's palace, supposedly to build a hotel for tourists. Local monks said it was razed to "destroy (the symbol of) the Khun people" (*in Thai, Tamlai chaat*).

Dashiell Foscoe, Bangkok.



THAI-SLORC RELATIONS: PLOT BEHIND LOGGING ISSUE

By Nyein Han



Slorc announced on 19 February 1993 it would not renew any logging concessions to Thai firms when they expire at the end of 1993 in retaliation for Thailand's having allegedly aided the democratic forces in their fight against the military junta in Rangoon. On 28 June, 1993, Slorc confirmed its decision to end the 47 timber concessions along the Thai-Burma border on 31 December, 1993. No announcement was made concerning Malaysian and Singaporean concessions. Slorc has repeatedly announced that it will no longer grant logging concessions, stating that it granted concessions in the past because it thought that such deals would reduce contact between Thai businessmen and the democratic forces.

The Thai Ambassador to Rangoon told Col Aduldej Chakrabandhu, the managing director of Thai's state-run Forestry Industry Or-

ganization (FIO), that Thailand could buy timber from Slorc-manipulated Burmese firms, but that, in order to prevent contact between Thai and democratic forces as accused by Slorc, it would not be permitted to transport the timber through the 20 Thai checkpoints along the border. Products would be sold to Thai timber companies by sea through ports in Rangoon. The ambassador also said that the 47 timber companies could form joint ventures with Slorc to invest in sawmills or plywood factories. There are 84 Slorc sawmills and five plywood factories already operating in Burma.

Due to pressure from the federation of the 47 Thai logging firms, on June 21 Minister Suthep said he planned to visit Rangoon in August to attempt to persuade Slorc to extend the logging concessions for Thai merchants.

Thailand imported more than 700,000 cubic meters of timber from the concessions in 1992 to meet its annual need for three million cubic meters following the logging ban imposed in early 1989. Since then Thailand has relied on imported timber from Burma and other neighboring countries. Only 10% of Burmese timber imported to Thailand was used by furniture companies while the rest was used by the real estate industry.

In 1988, shortly after assuming power in a coup, as an emergency measure to earn much needed foreign currency, Slorc granted concessions to 47 Thai firms to fell 50,000 tonnes of timber, including 10,000 tonnes of teak, on some 40 plots along the 2-3-kilometer Thai-Burma border. In the first year, those concessions fetched US\$29.58 million. That jumped to US\$49.34 million in 1989-90, despite international protests that Burma was depleting its forests.

Fifty to sixty per cent of the logs cut by Santi Forestry Co, which won a five-year logging concession, were sold to Thai furniture factories. The rest was used in that company's three teak furniture factories. The first year SFC's concessions yielded 60,000-70,000 cubic meters, but that subsequently fell to only 20,000-30,000 cubic meters.

Two weeks after the logging statement, Slorc dealt another blow to the private sector by announcing its intention to cancel fishery rights granted to Thai fishing firms. Slorc said that it was disadvantaged by the contracts signed with Thai fishing firms. It also claimed it was difficult to control Thai vessels entering Burmese waters for fishing. Measures imposed by Slorc also reduced the fishing period from 41 days to 25 days per trip for each license, while the license fee was increased. At that point, the Fishery Association of Thailand (FAT) planned to discuss solutions to the problem.

TACTICS BEHIND THE BLOWS

It is obvious that these blows do not mean that Slorc wants to stop Thai companies from doing business in Burma. Slorc's actual intention in terminating these deals is to force Thailand to exert pressure on the democratic forces in exchange for economic relations which benefit Thailand. Slorc's attempt to terminate the logging concessions is politically motivated rather than related to environmental problems. Slorc's threat to scrap logging concessions cannot be an attempt to conserve Burmese forests nor an attempt to provide opportunities for Burmese people to control the logging business. These excuses are pure deception. Slorc is thinking first and finally of its own survival. It is not concerned in the slightest with the welfare of the people of Burma. If Slorc can use the discussions to manipulate Thai policy toward the democratic forces along the border, there may well be reason to expect that the logging concessions, due to expire in December 1993, will be extended.

SLORC'S TREND: BUFFER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

It also seems that Slorc wants Thailand to be a buffer for its human rights policies which democratic countries are criticizing to the point of calling for an imposition of an arms embargo and economic sanctions. By threatening to cancel the concessions, Slorc clearly exposes Thailand's double-standard policy of economics first. Since Thailand is turning a blind eye to Slorc's grave human rights violations, the regime is hoping that the Kingdom will even advocate that other countries not impose the embargo and sanctions.

A PART OF CEASE-FIRE?

Slorc's termination of the logging concessions with Thailand may also be aimed at dividing the oppo-

sition groups on the border. Promising "freedom of economic development," Slorc hopes to reach ceasefire agreements with individual groups. Thailand can be used to put pressure on those groups to agree to Slorc's terms. It is certain, however, that, even though the defected splinter group might have some freedom in felling logs, the contract for any concessions will be controlled by Slorc. This becomes obvious when we examine Slorc's repeated announcement: "After we have resolved the border conflicts with the minority groups, we will allow the Burmese people to conduct business *with advice from Slorc*."

Slorc's statement that it would grant logging concessions along the Thai-Burma border again in the future when the situation and security in the area improves fully proves that Slorc is attempting to eliminate all the democratic forces or trying to reach a ceasefire agreement with some groups with the help of Thai authorities. Slorc seems to be saying that, if Thai can persuade any group to accept these terms, it will allow concessions between Thailand and the defecting group. If Thailand fails to apply pressure, Slorc will halt logging for some time and launch an offensive against the democratic forces. In this case, Thailand should remember that every time Slorc has launched such an offensive, there has been a border dispute with Thailand, and the Thai people along the border have been seriously affected.

Another reason for Slorc's move may be a desire to become a member of ASEAN, of which Thailand is Chairman for one year. No sooner had Foreign Minister Soonsri become Chairman, than he announced that Thailand would invite Slorc to join the next ASEAN ministerial meeting.

At the same time, Slorc wants to improve its ties with Thailand because it needs the support of outsiders in order to show the interna-

tional community that the regime is stable enough to rule the country.

A LEADING ROLE IN THAI POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESS?

FM Prasong Soonsiri is planning to visit Burma in September to raise the issue of logging concessions since Thailand fears losing lucrative opportunities for investment and is afraid of competition with others - Singapore, Malaysia, S. Korea - in exploiting trade opportunities in Burma. FM predicted that logging concessions could soon be reopened if Slorc finds an effective way to control the logging business.

Thai Army Commander-In Chief Wimol Wongwanich led a military delegation to Rangoon on August 9 and resumed talks on border problems, including the recent arrest of 160 Thai fishermen by Slorc authorities, and the problem of Burma's ethnic minorities, which has been a thorny issue in relations between the two regimes.

MAXIMUM BENEFIT

To meet its urgent need for money to buy more weapons and to outfit its new recruits in order to suppress the people, Slorc has had to consider its options. Rangoon has apparently decided for the long term to start up wood-based industries producing finished and semi-finished goods. Slorc is now ready to launch its own logging business, for income which it would not have to share with outside parties.

"Slorc's want to seek cooperation with the minorities to set up logging companies with Slorc authorities as joint shareholders so that they can learn step by step how to produce and export processed wood instead of exporting

timber only." This indicates the Slorc aim of deceiving the minorities who are still fighting in order to end their solidarity with the democratic forces. If that were to happen the timber operations would benefit only Slorc leaders and their sycophants and will not serve the interests of the people inside the country. From forming such joint ventures, positive results for the country as a whole could not be expected.

Another factor to be considered is Slorc's hope to establish manipulated joint-ventures as propaganda for the international community by pretending that it can implement development in the economic sector for the sake of the people.

THAILAND'S ACTIONS

Aiming to exploit Burmese forests, Thailand has been struggling to continue logging by whatever means necessary to satisfy Slorc. Thai authorities hunt for and harass immigrant laborers who have come for work because of the desperate economic chaos in Burma and also Burmese students who have sought shelter and asylum in Thailand because of political oppression at home. Thai police have conducted house-to-house searches in Bangkok and those provinces bordering Burma. There have been numerous documented reports of arrested students, in particular, being mistreated by police.

Bangkok

On July 1, immigration officers rounded up 67 Burmese workers at Sap Somboon Villa Housing Estate in Ratburana, Bangkok, and charged them with illegally entering Thailand. Burmese workers in Bangkok were hired as masons, carpenters and unskilled workers at the housing project with daily wages of 60-100 Baht. Other cases included work in sugar cane plantations in Ratchaburi, Suphan

Buri and Kanchanaburi on the extremely low wage of 35-40 baht per day.

Students seeking shelter in Bangkok are frequently hounded by police who demand payoffs from them in order to avoid arrest. On a regular basis, they are rounded up and sent to the Immigration Detention Centre where bribes are demanded for their release. A total of 516 Burmese students living in Bangkok were given the deadline on November 30, 1992 to report to the Interior Ministry to enter the so-called safe camp in Ban Manee Loi, Ratchaburi or face arrest on charges of illegal entry. Thirty-eight students who staged a protest against Slorc's sham national convention in front of its embassy were arrested on January 10 and 13 respectively. Twenty-four of them were forced to enter the camp on July 1 bringing the number of students there to about 120.

BORDER PROVINCES

In early April 1993, Thai soldiers entered several refugee camps along the Burmese border where nearly 70,000 Burmese refugees were sheltering and ordered all those living there to vacate the camps within 15 minutes and return to Burma. Some camps were torched as the refugees scrambled away. (For details see *Dawn* Vol. 4 No. 3)

Tak: On July 6, 131 Burmese, including 9 women and 6 children, staying at several rented houses in Mae Ramat District, Tak province, were arrested and sent to a holding centre at Ban Dong Pa Kiat. After that the Thai authorities worked out measures to round up more than 1,000 Burmese. In that province, Burmese entering Thailand were usually hired as workers by Thai logging companies or worked on farms. There are estimates of more than 20,000 Burmese working in Tak province. Pol Lt Col Kriangyuth said his officers arrested 600 Burmese

in June and immediately deported them to Burma. Prisons within police stations in Tak's border districts were packed with Burmese. Some were so crowded detainees had to stand to sleep as there was not enough space on the floor.

On July 22, Immigration and border police rounded up some 200 Burmese sheltering in Mae Sot. The police searched all targeted houses around the town. The Mae sot immigration officer, Lt Col Kriangyuth Ritthisakchonket, said Burmese citizens would be handed over to Slorc officials in Myawaddy.

Mae Hong Son: In Mae Hong Son Province, Northern Thailand, from the steady influx of Burmese entering Thailand, 100 to 200 are arrested every month. Burmese crossing the border at Mae Hong Son work as cheap laborers receiving about 40-60 baht per day.

Fifteen thousand Karenni refugees staying on Thai soil have been ordered to move back to Burma by August 19. A total of 319 families have been told to move to an unsafe area within three hours walk of Slorc outpost where three hundred Slorc troops are stationed. Those concerned with refugee education have indicated that this forced move will adversely disrupt the studies of 200 children enrolled in the camp primary school. An urgent problem is shelter since construction during the monsoon is very difficult. The refugees must rely on the forest for materials, and bamboo is only in its shoot stage during rainy season. If these Karenni refugees are forcibly moved, they will be without shelter, exposed to the rains, and thus extremely susceptible to malaria and dysentery.

In sum, Slorc's termination of logging concessions is intended to get improved leverage for political bargaining with Thailand and the

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BORDER TENSION

(With its strength of 350,000 troops which is doubled within four years, equipped with billions of dollar worth military hardware purchased from People's Republic of China (PRC) and other countries, Slorc has been threatening the stability and security of the region. Since it came to power in 1988, Slorc troops have frequently intruded into its neighbouring countries including Thailand which practises ASEAN's ineffective so-called "Constructive Engagement" policy towards Burma with the reason that only such policy could change the situations -- restoration of democracy and human rights -- in Burma. Following fresh violations are committed by Slorc troops which invaded into neighbouring countries' territorial sovereignty. Up to now, the problems are still remained unsolved and the situations is tense. The Editor)

SLORC TROOPS OPEN FIRE AT THAI VILLAGERS

Mae Sot, July 29

A Thai man was shot dead and four others were seriously injured by small arms fire when 10 Slorc soldiers of Light Infantry Battalion No. 357 from Phalu camp opened fire at about 30 Thai villagers who were sawing wood on the Thai side of the Moei river in the morning of July 29.

After that attack, Slorc troops swam across the river and arrested a Thai villager, Pak Nawieng, who could manage to escape later. According to him, Slorc seized three electric chainsaws, a motor-cycle and a long-tail boat engine.

A border security force -- composed of Border Patrol Police, provincial police and village militia -- of 100 men supported by two armoured personnel carriers were rushed to Ban Mae Kon Ken village where the incident took place. These troops were greeted by a mortar round fired from the Slorc.

On the following day, local Thai authorities there sent a letter of protest in which Slorc troops were demanded compensations for the dead and the wounded. It was known that this protest letter was handed over to Col Myint Thein Swe, deputy commander of Slorc's Light Infantry Division (LID) 22, by Col Suwich Maenmuan, chairman of the local Thai-Burmese Border Committee.

The problem is still remained unsolved and it was reportedly known that Thai and Slorc will hold a meeting on that issue on August 6.

DEPLOYS TROOPS ON BANGLADESH BORDER

On July 8, Slorc deployed troops along its western part of Burma, bordering with Bangladesh as tension rose over the detention for five alleged Burmese smugglers

who were arrested on June 30. When about 150 Slorc troops took positions at Garjankhil, northeast of Bangladesh's coastal island of Shahpur, nearly 200 Bangladesh paramilitary troops had been stationed there. This incident took place following Slorc's failure in a meeting between guards on July 5 to persuade Bangladesh authorities for their release. Bangladesh authorities announced that these suspects will remain in custody until an investigation is completed. In early morning of July 10, Bangladesh security officials in Cox's Bazar said Slorc border guards intruded into Bangladeshi water of Naaf River, which demarcated the two countries, and arrested 10 Bangladeshi fishermen at gun point in retaliation to the arrest of Burmese by Bangladeshi. Other 8 Bangladeshi wood cutters from Naikhonchari district were also illegally seized at gun point by Slorc guards on July 12. The situation there also remained tense as both sides have not pulled out their troops yet, and certain people are still in detention.

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Thai's harassment of Burmese working or seeking asylum in Thailand is designed to get further favors on concessions. At home, Slorc is trying to guarantee the leading role for itself in Burma's future politics and the ability to interfere with civilian rule through a tailor-made constitution. At the same time, Slorc is seeking to manipulate Thailand's foreign policy to suit itself. Thailand should look to its real long term interests and not seek for a short-term resolution in order to get renewed terms for concessions.

HEALTH AND BURMA

By Dr. Myint Cho

Political and Health Situation in Burma (1948-1988)

Soon after independence of Burma in 1948, there were very few medical professionals because of the oppressive British education system during colonial periods. Majority of the Burmese

people mainly depended on traditional medicine at that time. But some medical doctors were hired from India. About 30-40 doctors could be trained mostly Indians and Chinese in between 1948 to 1960. Students from very rich families could only attend the medical courses at the

medical college in Rangoon, capital of Burma, during parliamentary democracy period.

On March 2, 1962, General Ne Win staged coup d'etat, dissolved the Parliament and formed "the Burmese Socialist Programme Party (BSPP)" which ruled the country by one-party dictatorship. Although students admitted to the medical college gradually increased up to 550 and about 330 graduated yearly, only 5-6 percent of the total national budget was used for the health sectors as they mostly used for empowerment of their army. They abused country budget to escalate the civil war, to annihilate the ethnic minority resistant groups who have been demanding for autonomy since 1948. They adopted erratic political and economic

system so that health care and education had also deteriorated because of mismanagement and corruption at all levels of government body.

Obviously, they could not establish proper health care structure even in urban areas and could not provide essential medicines and medical facilities to civilian hospitals. But they had fully equipped the military hospitals where soldiers and their families can take free medical care. Most of the male doctors graduated from medical colleges were forced to join in army as military doctors to take care only military personnel. Only medical professionals descended from military families were given special privileges such as promotion and further study in abroad as they were very obedient to the dictatorial regime.



Almost all the civilian doctors and other medical sectors were suppressed by fear so that they were not dare to criticise the mismanagement and corruption of ruling BSPP regime led by President Gen Ne Win. Some medical professionals who criticise the ruling regime were arrested and tortured in many detention centers near Rangoon. Moreover, their families were living under the threat by military intelligence service men.

Under the totalitarian rule of BSPP regime, country's economy had declined very rapidly and finally declared by United Nations as one of the "Least Developed Countries (LDC)" in 1987.

Due to frequent close down of the universities including medical colleges, to prevent students strikes, the educational level of the

country became lower than the past years.

Some medical students who took part in students strikes were not allowed to continue their study at the medical college, at the same time, some of them were arrested again and sent to interrogation and detention centers. They have no chance to become a doctor even after release from those centers. Over half of the qualified doctor had not been employed by ruling government until 1988. Moreover, in many civilian hospitals, there were lack of doctors, nurses, technicians as well as medical facilities therefore patients admitted to those hospitals must buy medicines needed by themselves.

Even surgical patients, who urgently need emergency operation for their live-saving measure, must buy the necessary medicines and others like cotton, blade,

methylated spirit, prior to operation.

There were many unexplained desperate situations not only at the township hospitals in various regions but also at the general hospitals in Rangoon, Mandalay and Moulmein. Due to very low income for medical professionals and skyrocketing-commodity prices, corruptions and bribery were very common place in health structure at every level. Most of the local BSPP authorities always interfere the administration of health departments, without knowing any medical knowledge. Because of the economic crisis, people become poorer and poorer so that they could not buy medicines prescribed by physicians and finally died of curable diseases which inevitably lead to high morbidity and mortality rate. Life expectancy became shorter than previous years.

BSPP regime produced some amount of medicines from the "Burma Pharmaceutical Industry (BPI)", but which were mainly used for military personnel and their families. These medicines were not enough for them so that they abused some medicines donated by UNICEF in order to use for civilians and children especially in remote areas of Burma.

On August 8, 1988, all walks of life throughout the country took to the streets and demonstrated to change the one-party rule but thousand pro-democracy activists were shot-dead and many people including medical professionals were arrested and tortured.

President General San Yu had resigned and notorious Brigadier Sein Lwin, well-known as the "Butcher" for his killing many students during recent demonstration,



became new President in August 1988. But 17 days later, he was replaced by an opportunistic lawyer Dr Maung Maung who was loyal to Ne Win like Gen San Yu and Sein Lwin. People did not accept his leadership and therefore demanded to form interim government instead of BSPP regime.

On September 18, 1988 General Saw Maung, faithful follower of Ne Win, finally seized country power by bloody military coup and formed the "State Law and Order Restoration Council (Slorc)." He ordered the troops to gun down the unarmed demonstrators and to arrest the supporters of democracy movements.

Approximately over 8,000 peaceful protesters were shot-dead and many thousands including medical professionals were arrested and imprisoned without trials. Even some medical professionals were beaten and threatened by the troops for their kind treatment to the injured demonstrators during uprisings.

No Prisoners of conscience were given to take medical treatment so that some of them died of treatable diseases in the prisons. No medical



professionals were allowed to take care of them and to do post mortem examination after death. Some medical professionals, mainly doctors were dismissed, forced to resign and shuffled to very distant peripheral regions. Some of medical professionals along with other pro-democracy activists, escaped to the border areas where they started to face a lot of health problems.

Health situation in rural region is very desperate since 1948. The people who suffer the most are those living in the civil war zones and border areas. There was no proper medical care from the very beginning of independence. They usually depend on traditional medicines which was existent many years ago. Two successive regimes had already neglected the health of those people and education and social

welfare too. Those regimes waged the national budget for military purposes therefore civil war was gradually escalated. Fighting in between regime troops and ethnic minority forces destroyed many villages and crops of villagers. Looting, raping, burning down of the villagers and forced labour usually took place by BSPP army in remote areas where the military column of the BSPP troops passed through.

Ethnic people who are living in those areas frequently flee to the deep forests and mountainous border regions to escape the atrocities of military. There were no shelters, clothing, foods, and medical care except bad weather and malaria so that they suffered from malaria, pneumonia, diarrhoea, dysentery, malnutrition and many infectious diseases which led to very high

morbidity and mortality rate especially children and pregnant women.

Ninety percent of the women become pregnant before the age of 18 and a large portion of them have more than 6 children. Family planning is not existent as they have very limited knowledge and under the influence of traditional belief.

There were high maternal and infant mortality rate for lack of health education about Prenatal and Postnatal care. Preventive medicine is also non-existent there.

Due to 40 years of long civil war, there were many war casualties who got injuries during fighting against BSPP troops. Moreover, innocent civilians including children and women, stepping on landmines planted near their villages by BSPP troops, remained handicapped and disabled.

the ethnic Kachin, Karen, Karenni and Mon resistant groups who are living in liberated areas have their own health structures and through these, the health care researches their local population. But due to lack of manpower, medical facilities and

supplies, the medical care is not sufficient in those areas.

The medical sectors from different organisations are working together on the border in order to meet the health needs of the local people as much as they can.

Health situation in border areas (1988-1990)

After nationwide pro-democracy movement was brutally cracked down by Slorc, some of the medical professionals along with other pro-democracy activists and fled to the border areas adjacent to Thailand, China, India and Bangladesh. We decided to carry on our democratic struggle with our ethnic brothers, at the same time, to look after the student activists displaced persons and local ethnic people. IN the very beginning, emergency medical teams were organised by the physicians, medical students and other health workers so that many lives of the people could be saved by effort of medical professionals and local people. Unfortunately, about hundred students died of malaria during late 1988 for lack of medical professionals and shortage of essential medicines in some camps. Although there were many difficulties, we have been trying to overcome all health problems by all possible means.

The Health Department of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) was formed by physicians, medical students, nurses, trained student-medics and trained student-nurseaids. On November 1, 1988 we had implemented not only to take care of students but also to promote the health standard of the people in cooperation with the health department of various organisations.

The major activities of our Health Department are as follows:

- (a) to provide essential drug to the clinics and hospitals,
- (b) to train health workers,
- (c) to train laboratory technicians,
- (d) to publish manuals and handbooks for the health workers,

(e) to establish the Rehabilitation Center for War Victims (RCW).

At present, there are five major health departments belonged to ethnic resistant organisations and ABSDF along the Thai-Burma and Sino-Burma border areas. They are well established and the majority of the medicines and medical facilities are supplied by the MSF, sympathetic groups and individuals donors. Unfortunately, our clinics and hospitals were burnt down by Slorc troops during 1989 offensives and medicines and medical equipments were also lost there.

We were forced to move to Thai-Burma border where we implemented again emergency health care for the displaced persons who fled from their villages burnt down by Slorc troops. They are also forced to flee with few personal belongings not more than what they can carry on their backs. For people with little money, crops and livestock for sustenance, sudden forced evacuation is devastating.

Clothes and blankets are scarce to combat very bad weather and as a result respiratory infections are very common. Decreased food availability both in amount and variety, lead to malnutrition. Inadequate and unsafe water supply and little knowledge of people personal hygiene lead to various gastrointestinal diseases such as diarrhoea, dysentery and worm infestations.

Moreover, everybody usually suffer from malaria every month as they are all living in malaria endemic area. Some of them died of cerebral malaria, black water fever, pneumonia and severe dysentery due to lack of medical supplies.

Nowadays, we built up some clinics and hospitals for the students and displaced persons but we urgently need more medical supplies as well as financial support to buy food for the sick and to evacuate seriously ill patients to the well-equipped hospitals in Thailand.

In conclusion, we, the medical professionals, vowed to carry on our democratic struggle, at the same time, we are trying to promote health standard of our people who are living along the border areas.

FLESH TRADE IS STILL CLOUDY IN THAILAND



On 14 July 1993, a 50 men special police task force from Bangkok and about 40 policemen from Ranong police station conducted a crackdown on three brothels - Wida, Victoria and Sontaya - located in Muang District in Ranong, 600 kilometres from Bangkok. On that raid, a total of 148 Burmese women were arrested and brought to the police station in Ranong.

They told that they were lured into prostitution in Ranong by the Thai and Burmese pimps. Horrible living conditions revealed by these women focused on miscarriages, detention in underground cells, brutal beatings and the lack of proper food and medicare.

According to women from Wida brothel, which is known as one of the most notorious, "We are locked up in the brothel and not allowed to go out. In addition, we do not receive even our payment. The brothel is surrounded with barbed-wire fences and under tight security, and those who try to escape are recaptured and severely beaten by pimps. A girl from Wida brothel is badly beaten by the pimps because of her refusal to have sex with clients."

A woman identified her as Ma Aye (Not real name), 15, told the Burma Information Group (BIG) that she was forced into prostitution after being brought by Than Soe, a pimp, who made her believe in getting a job in Mergui. Instead, she was lured and sold at

Wida brothel.

Forty-two of the women arrested were below 18 years old and the youngest among them was aged 15. At least 20 of them were pregnant.

According to them, they were fed up two meals a day and forced to work from 4:00 p.m. to 2:00 a.m. without being paid for sexual services they provided to numerous clients. Those who were in a state of pregnancy were, for everyday, forced to have sex with 2-5 clients under life-threatening conditions. Some pregnant women were beaten and forced to have a miscarriage.

Most of them have suffered from venereal diseases and some might be infected with HIV positive. When the NGO medical workers went there for their medicare, they did not reveal their disease.

On 17 July 1993, these women were charged with violating of Thailand's Immigration Law. On that charge, they might be deported to Kawthaung (Victoria Point) in Burma.

At present they are being detained in 2 small cells of Ranong police station. As 148 of them were put together in 2 small cells, it is not only crowded but also is very filthy and smelly for them. Most of them have to strip off their clothes as the temperature at night is very high in these cells. Some of them have



A young Burmese girl from Wida brothel who was beaten by the pimps

to stand to sleep as there is not enough space on the floor.

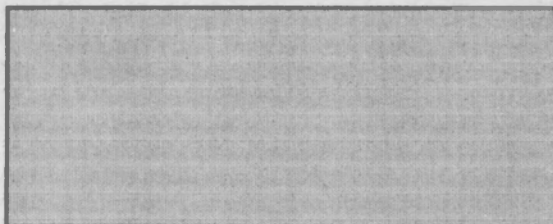
In a statement released on July 17 BIG said that these women should be brought to a safe and proper place in Thailand, instead of detained in the police custody where they were under inhuman and in terrible conditions.

The BIG is also much concerned about their medicare during their detention as they are suffering from venereal disease, even infected with HIV+.

It also stated that repatriation of these women should be according to procedure and under the arrangement of the Thai officials and NGOs. It also points out that as the pimps in Ranong and Kawthaung are in very good connections, they might be lured into prostitution in these brothels again if it is lack of these arrangements. It also concerns over their fate after being repatriated because of Slorc's grave Human rights records as described by the UN.

BIG also urges the international agencies and NGOs to conduct proper investigation on current situation.

Source: Burma Information Group (BIG)



ASSISTANCE IS INAPPROPRIATE FOR BURMA

Acknowledging AIDS to be a major problem, Slorc-run newspaper - so-called *the New Light of Myanmar* - on July 12 admitted that 47 full-blown cases and more than 5,100 HIV carriers were identified in Burma at the end of 1992.

The number of Burmese infected with HIV is estimated at between 300,000 and 400,000 said Daniel Tarantola, an AIDS specialist from the Harvard School of Public Health, who returned in the last week of July 1993 from Burma after ended his eight-day-investigation-trip there. The number is about the same as Thailand's one year ago and Burma could surpass the US in HIV infections in two years, he said.

He said that in Mandalay, one to two percent of new military recruits, about 9 per cent of sex workers and around 80 per cent of injected drug users have been found to be infected with HIV. HIV infection rates among pregnant women have reached 4 to 8 per cent in one area near the Thai border, and 2 to 7 per cent in another area in the South, he said.

The information on Slorc-run newspaper said that the Association Franco-Xavier Bangnoud agreed to give assistance to Slorc's AIDS prevention and anti-AIDS programmes.

The reason for aid given by Tarantola is, "By applying political pressure on the few the world is penalising the many."

We are very concerned about such kinds of assistance to Slorc because nearly all the assistance distributed by many International agencies have flooded into the pockets of military generals in Burma and fuel the on-waging civil war. Although it has been claiming for the promotion for health care of the people for the time being, they abused all the donations in the military-run hospitals even though certain donor organisation intend it for the public. Due to this, near all the hospitals in Burma are running out of vital medicines 12 months a year so that many people have died of mostly from readily preventable or curable diseases.

From Page (12)

I am strongly against placing one's ideology, one's party, or one's political programme above the interests of the nation. Every nation should have its own political and economic systems appropriate to its own conditions. Presently, the organisations working closely with me are completely apolitical, and the majority of them are students who want a democratic system that will give them full democratic rights.

When people asked me if I was going to form a political party, I answered that I do not wish to do so. However, if that becomes a requisite for the durability of the democratic system that we are striving to build, then, though I am loath to do so, I shall have to join politics.

Another question that has been posed to me is how long I intend

to stay in Burma. It has long been my plan to come and settle here one day, to open public libraries in every district and area, and to help provide scholarships to the students who do well in their studies. Once democracy returns to the country, regardless of whether or not I am in politics, I hope to realise this goal.

It is the time today to strive for national unity. It is not the time to lay a power base to establish a political party in the future.

Another question that is frequently asked is whether the popular movement for democracy will succeed. I can say with confidence and certainty that it will succeed. The thinking of those people who are divorced from the beliefs and desires of the Burmese people is absolutely wrong. I am completely convinced not only that the people will get democracy, but also that

they will successfully implement democratic norms and contribute to the betterment of the nation.

At this point, I cannot go without mentioning the admirable deeds of the students. All of them have been extremely dynamic and courageous in this nationwide movement. They have also shown magnanimity and a willingness to accept new ideas. It is with awe, respect and pride that I observe their enthusiasm as well as their collective planning and efforts. To know that they will one day shoulder the burden of leading our nation encourages me. I firmly believe that one day we can safely entrust them with the future of Burma.

--Translated from *Thadin Magazine* (News Magazine),
14 September, 1988

* The Burmese abbreviation which represents Burma Socialist Programme Party.

Since it came to power, Slorc which got much money from foreign investments, development assistance aided by UNDP and UNICEF and by selling shares of Slorc-run Holding Limited, did not concentrate on the welfare of the people. As a tactic for their new recruitment, Slorc not only neglect people's social welfare problem but also plunged them into economic chaos. Slorc has not encourage any training that promotes public health and that educate people how to prevent the diseases.

On the other side of the coin, Slorc has enough budget to feed its army which increased to 350,000 - doubled in 1988 - including the new members under Slorc's forced recruitment tactics and purchase weapons from foreign countries to equip the armed forces in order to suppress the people inside the country. At the same time, Slorc is also rich enough in encouraging the military training for military men at all-levels.

While the military top brasses become rich over night, people inside the country became poor and poor day by day. It is unbelievable when one heard that peasants have no rice for their families. It is the reality in Burma. Peasants have been forced to sell their crops at the rate and price fixed by the Slorc so that they had to look for odd-jobs in order to get

enough food for their family. On that situation, some women who are eager to feed their parents were brought to the border towns of Burma in believing getting a job that can provide enough money, they were procured to be prostitutes with the collusion of the police and military personnel in Burma and Thai border towns.

The 1991 Nobel Peace Laureate and the symbolic leader of the women, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, donated US \$ 10,000 to the present Thai government for the education programmes for these women. She knows well how effective will be her donation to the Thai government rather than the Slorc. Is there anybody, except the Slorc, who complain her for her management of donation to the Thai government, instead of the regime in Burma? Can anyone say that she does not love the people in Burma?

EC also adopted a resolution on 28 October 1992 to increase aid programmes for the training and employment for the Burmese women and through Thai government. As all the EC member states know the situations inside the country well, they can calculate where their donation will go if they hand over to the Slorc directly. They don't want their hands to be stained with the blood of innocent people in Burma.

A LIFELESS VILLAGE IN THE VALLEY

BY MAUNG TU

A small village is situated in the valley.

The main route to the village is by the side of a creek where clean and cool water is running. At the southern part of the village is densely growing betel plants on which branches of nuts were abundantly clung on. It seems coconut and betel branches cover the whole village like roofing. Moreover, some lemons, chitrons, and limes can be seen on the plants.

At the north of the village is a narrow plain strip on which paddy crops are founded while at the western and eastern parts are surrounded by mountain ranges. What strange is that all the 12 households in the village is lifeless, and the houses were ruined. Every barn and thresher is empty of even a grain of rice.

We, members of the ABSDF and KNU, under the name of DAB organising column No. (16), arrived that village during an organising campaign. When I asked about the village, a KNU soldier explained me that the village, that time, known as Tar Twee Khee of the ethnic Karens was in Per Hike parish, Papun township, Karen State.

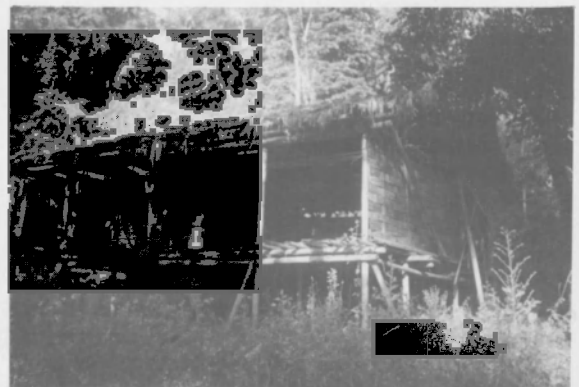
Slorc troops stationed near that village and frequently came to the village, forced the villagers to give food, money for military expenditure, and press-ganged them into portorage to subject back-breaking forced labour. Moreover, whenever Slorc troops patrolled nearby the village, from time to time they were committed abuses to young women,

including repeated rape, who were found working in the paddy fields, on the betel farms, fetching water and collecting dry wood to make fire. When the villagers could no longer bear such kinds of burden anymore, they abandoned their generation—possessed old village and run for their lives. He also added that people who were once from that village are now living poorly and insufficiently in a refugee camp, along with others who escaped from the ruthless and ceaseless civil war, on the Thai–Burma border area.

Furthermore, other reason is whenever fighting between Slorc troops and DAB army broke out near the village, unarmed villagers were always arrested by Slorc troops, and subjected to beatings and torture as a punishment of having collaboration with the DAB army as accused by Slorc. Ill-fated villagers were even shot dead.

No sooner had I seen such village which has fertile, pleasant land and good for living became sheer with destruction and no more than a grave, then the lives and destiny of people in Rangoon and other cities who were herded into cramped, noisome, so-called new satellite towns in Dagon Myothit, Hlaing Tharyar and etc., were occupied in my thought.

Note: We arrived that ruined village on 31 January 1993.



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**MOVE ON THE COMMEMORATION
OF THE 5TH YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF
8-8-88 DEMOCRATIC UPRISING**

