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BRIEFING: BLACK FRIDAY & THE CRACKDOWN ON THE NLD

- **Sr-Gen Than Shwe is responsible for the murderous ambush on NLD leaders Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Tin U, and their entourage and the ensuing crackdown on the democratic movement in Burma. Than Shwe perpetrated such criminal behavior because he was confident that Asean, India and China would help his regime weather criticism, and continue to supply him with weapons.**
- **Black Friday May 30 and the ensuing crackdown has been the most ruthless and bloodiest attack on the democracy movement in Burma since the 1988 massacre.**
- **Reports received over the past few months indicate the premeditated nature of the attack and crackdown. This includes the army's nationwide high alert a week before the attack, and a high-level meeting on the eve of Black Friday (see section below).**
- **500-1,000 of USDA members, police, men dressed as monks, armed soldiers, and prisoners ambushed hundreds of unarmed NLD supporters, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and the NLD team with lethal weapons: guns, sharpened bamboo stakes, catapults, and steel and iron pipes.**
- **Hundreds have been arrested, killed, and are missing. Reportedly, 65 bodies were secretly cremated in the Northwest Military Command compound. Scores of people, including NLD Deputy Chairman U Tin U, are missing.**
- **Universities are closed, NLD offices are padlocked and the SPDC is trying to terrorize the population to suffocate the widespread support for democracy by the people of Burma.**

This briefing is divided into the following sections:

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PREMEDITATED

The SPDC and their cohort organization the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) have been steadily increasing harassment of the NLD on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's tours throughout the country and threatening civilians to not go out and support them. The USDA is the pet project of Sen-Gen Than Shwe.

Months and weeks prior to the attack SPDC increased riot and weapons training and increased surveillance on NLD members.

Sr-Gen Than Shwe has recently promoted officials who have openly opposed dialogue, namely Lt-Gen Soe Win, Brig-Gen Kyaw Hsan and Brig-Gen Khin Ye who are believed to have orchestrated the attack.

Brig-Gen Than Tun, official NLD liaison denied the Thai Foreign Minister's assertion on May 26 that dialogue would occur soon. Than Tun was promoted in October 2002 – the month when communication between SPDC and NLD stopped.

6 days before the attack the War Office in Rangoon issued a directive putting all armed organizations in the country on a state of emergency.

4 days before the attack recruits were being collected to participate in the attacks.

May 29 - **Gen Soe Win** led a closed door meeting with **Saw Htun**, the Director-in-Charge of the USDA; **Khin Ye**, the Chief Inspector of Burma's Police Force; **Col Tin Hlaing**, Minister for Home Affairs; and **Brig-Gen Soe Naing**, the commander of the Northwest Regional Command.¹ **Maj-Gen Saw Tun** is also reported to be a key organizer of the attack. **Brig-Gen Kyaw Hsan**, a secretariat member of USDA and SPDC's Minister of Information was in Sagaing Division in third week of May.

Before his promotion in Sept 2002, **Gen Soe Win** was the Commander of the Northwest Command in Sagaing Division (where the attack took place). He is an honorary member of USDA. In recent months **Soe Win** has toured Sagaing, Pegu, and Irrawaddy Divisions to organize harassment and rally people.²

SPDC said Daw Suu and at least 18 other NLD members were taken into 'protective custody' to 'ensure her safety and for the sake of national security.'³

U.S. Embassy officials in Rangoon visited to scene of the attack and said, "Clearly, orders were given for a violent attack" and that the weapons were "clearly prepared before the fact." They believe far more people may have died than the SPDC reported.

A COUNTRY HELD HOSTAGE

SPDC Labor Minister Tin Win told reporters, "These incidents happened because Aung San Suu Kyi had taken advantage of her party organizational trip to campaign publicly, thereby making many people resent her actions."⁴ Despite harassment, threats, and obstacles crowds of up to 40,000 have been reported to turn out to support Daw Suu and the NLD team on their country tours.

Sr-Gen Than Shwe put off the Jun 1 quarterly meeting of the SPDC and ordered the SPDC regional commands to remain on high alert.⁵ Dozens of NLD members and supporters have been arrested since the attack.

¹ Kao Wao News (30 May – 10 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of the regime's ambush on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her entourage as recounted by some escapees

² DVB (28 Jan 03) No plan to talk to NLD and we are not afraid of USA - SPDC

³ Washington Post (10 Jun 03) Where Is She?

⁴ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation's military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down.

⁵ Kao Wao News (30 May – 10 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of the regime's ambush on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her entourage as recounted by some escapees

DAW AUNG SAN SUU KYI'S TRAVELS OUT OF RANGOON SINCE MAY 6, 2002

- Trip # 1 Jun 15, 02: Aung San Suu Kyi makes her first visit outside of Rangoon since being released from house arrest to Mon to meet with a highly revered monk, the Abbott of Thamanya.
- Trip #2 Jun 23-30, 02: Daw Suu and NLD team make a political trip to Mandalay. Daw Suu visited an SPDC hydroelectric power plant and bridge.
- Trip # 3 Jul 20-23, 02: Mon State tour.
- Trip # 4 Oct 14-17, 02: Pegu Division tour.
- Trip # 5 Nov 13-27, 02: Shan State tour. Daw Suu was subjected to constant, excessive surveillance and video taping by the military intelligence and restrictions were placed on civilian movement.⁶ Anti-NLD and vulgar comments about Daw Suu were distributed.
- Trip # 6 Dec 16-24, 02: Arakan State tour. On Dec 18, police, fire brigades and USDA members used batons and powerful fire engine hoses to disperse about 20,000 NLD supporters. Anti-NLD and vulgar comments about Daw Suu were distributed.
- Trip # 7 Apr 3-13, 03: Chin State tour. 35,000 to 40,000 people welcomed them. Anti-NLD and vulgar comments about Daw Suu were distributed. Pamphlets also surfaced in Sagaing and Tenasserim division.
- Trip # 8 May 6, 03: Daw Suu left for her 8th trip around the country to Kachin State

THE LEAD-UP TO MAY 6, 2003

Approximately 75 people supporting democracy were arrested between May 2002 – Mar 13, 2003.

- Early May Members of Pakkoku's SPDC sponsored People's Power Holders in Magwe (Magway) Division are being given trainings in handling catapults, ropes, bamboo spikes and assault techniques for 'maintaining local security' at No.9. State Primary School. 20 USDA members from each ward were forced to attend as trainees and each trainee is given 300 kyats per day.⁷

The SPDC equipped a militia-like organization known as Swan Arr Shin with bamboo clubs and slingshots reportedly to harass the work of pro-democracy supporters, especially the NLD.⁸
- May 4 SPDC arrested a retired army sergeant, Kyaw Kyaw, while staging a peaceful protest in Rangoon.⁹
- May 4 SPDC conditionally released 18 political prisoners, including Dr. Salai Than Tun, under Section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which states they will be re-incarcerated for the remainder of their sentences if found to be involved in politics.¹⁰
- Apr 24 SPDC Spokesman Col Hla Min said the NLD was responsible for deteriorating relations between the two sides.¹¹ The SPDC further said the NLD raising concern about the lack of progress is "very outdated... and should have been left behind in 1988."

⁶ Irrawaddy (26 Nov 02) Complaint over Harassment on Suu Kyi Trip

⁷ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

⁸ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Regime Organizes More NLD Attacks

⁹ Irrawaddy (9 May 03) Small Protests, Small Steps

¹⁰ Irrawaddy (5 May 03) Dr Salai Tun Than and Others Released; an AP article on May 9 said 21 prisoners

¹¹ BBC (24 Apr 03) Burma rejects opposition claims

- Apr 23 AUNG SAN SUU KYI SPEAKS OUT: Nearly a year since Daw Suu was released from house arrest. Daw Suu said, “We have been concerned with the lack of process. We should move on to a more advanced stage. We have been forced to question the integrity of the SPDC and their sincerity in achieving national reconciliation. I have come to the conclusion that the SPDC is not interested in national reconciliation.”¹²
- Apr 4 8 students from the People Students’ Oway Front were arrested and 1 fled into the British Embassy during a peaceful protest in Rangoon.¹³
- Apr Analysts reported that Sr-Gen Than Shwe is vigorously consolidating power and is the ‘big obstacle’ to any opening of dialogue. A western diplomat in Rangoon said that Than Shwe was “a one-man show.”¹⁴
- Mar 31 UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights Prof Paulo Pinheiro reported that the SPDC Home Minister only recognized 101 ‘detainees’ who are members of political parties.¹⁵ An estimated 1300 political prisoners remain in custody.
- Feb SPDC Information Minister and USDA secretariat member Kyaw Hsan said, “Internal and external elements are discouraging foreign investment, foreign assistance and tourists to the country and encourage economic sanctions. Destructive elements must be annihilated.”¹⁶
- Jan 21 SPDC Lt-Gen Soe Win openly opposed dialogue and said the SPDC has ‘no plan to talk to the NLD and would never hand over power to the NLD’ and they are not afraid of the U.S. Soe Win was then promoted to Sec-2, the 4th most powerful position in the SPDC.¹⁷
- Dec 2002 Regional military intelligence were instructed to compile information on relatives of SPDC employees that are active members of the NLD.
- Oct 2002 SPDC began riot control and small arms training for police and firemen in district capitals.¹⁸

THE KACHIN STATE TOUR & RELATED EVENTS (MAY 6 –30, 2003) **NOTE: MAP ATTACHED**

NLD Spokesman U Lwin said, “The two sides were going to meet after her [Daw Suu’s] return from Kachin State.”¹⁹

- May 6 Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Tin Oo, and 12 NLD male youth members left Rangoon on May 6 for Daw Suu’s 8th trip around the country since May 2002.²⁰ Stayed overnight in Mandalay²¹
- May 6/7 Officials from the Kachin State National Congress for Democracy (KNCD) welcomed her visit. The Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) was eager to meet with the NLD team, but its status as a cease-fire group makes such a meeting risky. Political analysts in Kachin State say that the regime has reportedly prohibited the KIO from talking with NLD members.²²

¹² AFP (23 Apr 03) Myanmar’s Aung San Suu Kyi complains for first time of stalled talks

¹³ AFP (6 May 03) Eight students arrested over embassy protest in Myanmar, exiled group says

¹⁴ AFP (10 Apr 03) Senior General Than Shwe, sole helmsman of Myanmar

¹⁵ UN Commission on Human Rights (31 Mar 03) Statement by Mr. Paulo Sergio Pinheiro, Special

¹⁶ AP (14 Feb 03) Myanmar’s ruling junta attacks opposition

¹⁷ DVB (28 Jan 03) No plan to talk to NLD and we are not afraid of USA-SPDC & AP (3 Feb 03) Myanmar reshuffles cabinet

¹⁸ DVB (4 Oct 02) Police, Firemen given riot control training as commodity prices soar

¹⁹ Bangkok Post (3 Jun 03) Suu Kyi detention points to widening military split – Larry Jagan

²⁰ AFP (6 May 03) Myanmar’s Suu Kyi begins month-long political trip on freedom anniversary

²¹ AFP (6 May 03) Myanmar’s Suu Kyi begins month-long political trip on freedom anniversary

²² Irrawaddy (7 May 03) Suu Kyi Sets off for Kachin State

May 8 Traveled to Shwebo from Mandalay, where Daw Suu was blocked from visiting in Sept 2000, prior to her arrest. She also visited Khin Oo (Kin U) and Kantbalu in Sagaing Division.²³

In Shwebo, 4,000-6,000 turned out even though they were warned by the authorities not to form a big crowd.²⁴ Many people came from the eastern side of Sagaing Bridge over the Irrawaddy River and Hlataw village.

USDA member Ko Soe Myint harassed the people in Shwebo. The local authority would not give them permission to open the NLD office in Shwebo because the office site is said to be on arable farmland.²⁵

At Khin Oo, they opened the local NLD youth office. In Kantbalu they met with the local NLD organizing committee but did not open the office.²⁶ Authorities were very forceful and intrusive in photographing them, even at nighttime.²⁷

May 8/9 Headed to Zeegone (Zigon).²⁸

May 9 Set off for Kawlin, Wuntho, Katha, Indaw (Sagaing Division) and reported harassment, especially in Indaw and Katha.²⁹

The local authority chairman threatened the Momeik NLD's chairman, U Myint We and in the evening, members of the USDA smashed and destroyed wooden sticks prepared for holding up the NLD office signboard.³⁰

SPDC statement released in Rangoon, said the NLD and other political groups "have unparalleled freedom to conduct their activities and (political) prisoners are being released at a steady pace." The SPDC said it has been "reforming its own internal procedures and practices through human rights programs - run by outside humanitarian groups - that have been going on for more than two years."³¹

May 10 Traveled to the capital of Kachin State, Myitkyina and Monyin.³²

In Rangoon, SPDC Brig-Gen Than Tun, official NLD liaison, said that for the sake of 'security and stability' they have told the supporters to refrain from coming out in large numbers and shouting and carrying posters to welcome her to town.³³

May 13 U Htay Aung, USDA Secretary of Katha District gave the people who took part in the May 9 harassment a dinner party as celebration.³⁴

May 13/14 NLD team traveled to Phakant and Lone Khing Area, Kachin State. Daw Suu gave speeches in Phakant and Lone Khing Area, opened the NLD Phakant Township office. In Lone Khing about 10,000 people welcomed them.³⁵

May 14 NLD traveled to Tanaing.

NLD Tanaing chairman, U Kason Sinwa Naw was warned by the local authority chairman not to welcome Daw Suu with brass bands and not to use amplifiers.³⁶

²³ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

²⁴ AFP (8 May 03) Crowds flock to see Myanmar's Aung San Suu Kyi despite warnings

²⁵ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

²⁶ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

²⁷ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

²⁸ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

²⁹ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

³⁰ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

³¹ AP (9 May 03) Myanmar junta says it is serious about improving human rights

³² DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

³³ DVB (10 May 03) Government spokesman admits preventing supporters from welcoming Suu Kyi

³⁴ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

³⁵ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

Commander and members of No. 8 Intelligence Base arrived at Tanaing to orchestrate the harassment of the NLD team.

Members of the USDA reported to be visiting every village in Momeik to prevent villagers from welcoming the NLD team and preparing for harassments at places where Daw Suu might deliver speeches.³⁷

Reported that 4 trucks of USDA members were being organized in Myitkyina.³⁸

Reported that local authorities are limiting the NLD's use of telephones.³⁹

May 16 Returned to the capital of Kachin State, Myitkyina.

Harassment increased substantially as more than 300 USDA members were carrying catapults, bicycle nuts, and other items that could be used as weapons. They attempted to block the NLD crossing the bridge, but no one was assaulted.⁴⁰

May 19 The team went to Waingmaw, opened the township's NLD office and returned to Myitkyina. At Waingmaw about 100 USDA members protested against them when they arrived and when they opened the NLD township office.⁴¹

The SPDC authorities warned the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) leaders not to welcome the NLD team.⁴² Daw Suu and KIO leaders had arranged for her to speak in the KIO controlled town, Hlaingza, but the SPDC denied the NLD permission to enter.⁴³ Sergeant Soe Nyunt of No.21, Military Intelligence summoned Dr. Tuja, the General Secretary of DKO (a Kachin organization) and warned him not to welcome Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team.⁴⁴

May 20 NLD team arrived at Bhamaw (Bhamo), Kachin State.⁴⁵ Approximately 20,000 people attended the opening of the NLD office.

After being warned not to welcome Daw Suu, the KIO provided 'extraordinary security arrangements' to protect the NLD team at some areas on their way to Bhamaw.⁴⁶ At Bhamaw more than 300 USDA members, some armed with sticks and machetes, shouted slogans, videotaped and photographed the team. The NLD videotaped and photographed the scene and the USDA tried to take their cameras. The car U Tin Oo rode in was targeted and punched, although the windows were not broken.⁴⁷ Reported that USDA members in some towns were instructed not to wear their uniforms.⁴⁸

A Rangoon court sentenced 7 NLD members for alleged anti-government activities including trying to stir unrest, distribute anti-government leaflets and carry out attacks. 2 were sentenced to life imprisonment, 1 to 13 years and 4 others to 5 years each, according to NLD officials.⁴⁹

Thai Foreign Minister, Surakiart said "I have been informed that within only the next few weeks, there will be another political dialogue between the leadership of the SPDC

³⁶ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

³⁷ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

³⁸ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

³⁹ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

⁴⁰ AFP (16 May 03) Myanmar's Suu Kyi encounters "most serious" protest

⁴¹ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team at Bhamaw, Kachin State

⁴² DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team at Bhamaw, Kachin State

⁴³ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team at Bhamaw, Kachin State

⁴⁴ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team at Bhamaw, Kachin State

⁴⁵ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team at Bhamaw, Kachin State

⁴⁶ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team left Bhamaw for Shwegu

⁴⁷ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team left Bhamaw for Shwegu

⁴⁸ DVB (22 May 03) "Whole town" welcomes touring Burmese democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

⁴⁹ AP (26 May 03) Myanmar pro-democracy activists sentenced to prison, Suu Kyi's party reports harassment

and Aung San Suu Kyi.” U Lwin replied, “Other ministers of Thailand said the same thing before. It didn’t happen as they said. It became a tradition.”⁵⁰

May 21 NLD team arrived at Mabein and set off to Mogok and Momeik (Mong Mit).⁵¹

Mabein Police Commander Win Htay and local authority U Sai Myint Thein reportedly ordered all boats at Shweli-Mabein jetty to dismantle the engines to prevent the use of boats to travel to Mabein. Shan state-and township-level executives wanted to use the boats to go to Mabein.⁵²

May 22 NLD team arrived in  Mok.⁵³ Almost everybody in the town came out to welcome them.⁵⁴

In Sagaing division, 3 NLD members, including 1 MP, Win Myint Maung, Win Maung and Tin Hlaing, were jailed and given 2 year sentences for saying publicly that “dictatorship does not exist in democracy.” They were charged under a law that prohibits making a statement “likely to cause fear or alarm to the public.”⁵⁵

May 24 **War Office in Rangoon issued a directive putting all armed organizations in the country on a state of emergency.**⁵⁶

May 25 In Kyidauk Pauk village, USDA members threatened civilians waiting to see the NLD team. U Lwin reported the USDA shouted, “Run for your lives or you will have to pick up your own corpses.”⁵⁷

More than 100 USDA members wielded sticks, knives, and catapults. A brick was thrown at Daw Suu’s car and 1 NLD member was injured in the head, apparently hit by something fired from a slingshot.⁵⁸

Prisoners were taken from Mandalay Prison by the Northwest Military Command based in Monywa and reportedly promised 300,000 kyat and their freedom if they assisted in attacks on the NLD.⁵⁹

May 26 SPDC Brig-Gen Than Tun, official NLD liaison, said, “It could be an exaggeration by the media. I don’t think the General [Khin Nyunt] himself would have said that,” in response to the Thai Foreign Minister’s assertion that dialogue would occur soon. NLD Spokesman U Lwin, said Brig-Gen Than Tun stopped contacting the NLD in Oct 2002.⁶⁰

Local authorities began collecting recruits, mainly criminal elements. Each recruit was promised 500 Kyat/day and meals to participate in the protests against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD. At least 3,000 recruits were gathered at the Army’s Northwest Regional Command headquarters compound.⁶¹

May 27 The NLD marked 13 years since the 1990 democratic election, which the SPDC refuses to honor.⁶²

⁵⁰ AFP (21 May 03) Myanmar government, Aung San Suu Kyi may hold talks within weeks & DVB (21 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the generals to talk?

⁵¹ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team left Bhamaw for Shwegu

⁵² DVB (22 May 03) “Whole town” welcomes touring Burmese democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

⁵³ DVB (22 May 03) “Whole town” welcomes touring Burmese democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

⁵⁴ DVB (22 May 03) “Whole town” welcomes touring Burmese democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

⁵⁵ AFP (24 May 03) Myanmar jails three democracy activists & AP (26 May 03) Myanmar pro-democracy activists sentenced to prison, Suu Kyi’s party reports harassment

⁵⁶ DVB (26 May 03) Burma War office places all armed organizations on state of emergency

⁵⁷ AP (26 May 03) Myanmar pro-democracy activists sentenced to prison, Suu Kyi’s party reports harassment

⁵⁸ AP (26 May 03) Myanmar pro-democracy activists sentenced to prison, Suu Kyi’s party reports harassment

⁵⁹ DVB (4 Jun 03) Criminals were used to attack the NLD

⁶⁰ Irrawaddy (27 May 03) Leaders Say No Talks with Suu Kyi

⁶¹ Kao Wao News (30 May – 10 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of the regime’s ambush on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her entourage as recounted by some escapees:

⁶² Irrawaddy (27 May 03) Leaders Say No Talks with Suu Kyi

In Daw Suu's speech she said, "To ignore the result of the 1990 elections is to have total disrespect for the people and is also an insult to the people...They [SPDC] have broken the legally binding promise undertaken by them. It is not for the NLD to be repeatedly asking for parliament to be convened...The political, economic and social problems facing the nation today can best be solved by convening and working through the People's Parliament. We are prepared to speedily set in motion a meaningful political dialogue."⁶³

SPDC admitted violent clashes had occurred between the NLD and 'non-supporters' during her tour of Kachin State, but dismissed them by saying the NLD must accept that some people do not support them. They told the NLD to be 'broad-minded about this and act accordingly' and warned that the NLD must not 'destabilize peace.'⁶⁴

May 28 Chairman of the All Burma Students Democratic Front Ko Than Khe, commented on the increasing food insecurity in Burma, "once Burma was the rice bowl of Asia. Now Burmese people are craving rice. They don't have anything to eat."⁶⁵ It is often said that rice security is an important factor in monitoring political risk in Burma.

May 29 NLD team arrived in Monywa.

Thousands of people greeted them, including dozens of Buddhist monks who 'protected' Daw Suu.⁶⁶

In Daw Suu's speech she urged the people to work for sustained democracy. "The rule of law means a system that provides security for the country and the people where everybody is equally protected within the framework of the law. But we must try hard to obtain democracy. Remember, nothing is free and nothing is easy. Democracy is not only your rights but there is also responsibility. Economics and politics are inseparable. A bad political system contributes to a bad economic system."⁶⁷

SPDC Gen Soe Win had a closed door meeting with Saw Htun, the Director-in-Charge of the USDA; Khin Ye, the Chief Inspector of Burma's Police Force; Colonel Tin Hlaing, Minister for Home Affairs; and Brigadier General Soe Naing, the commander of the Northwest Regional Command.⁶⁸ Maj-Gen Saw Tun is also reported to be a key organizer of the attack. Brig-Gen Kyaw Hsan, a secretariat member of USDA and SPDC's Minister of Information was in Sagaing Division in third week of May⁶⁹

ANATOMY OF THE ATTACK

May 30 NLD team left Monywa. NLD team arrived in Butalin (Budalin) Township.⁷⁰

6:30pm USDA vehicles followed Daw Suu and the NLD team as they left Butalin for Depayin (Dipeyin or Tabayin) Township.⁷¹

A group of motorcyclist supporters who tried to follow Aung San Suu Kyi's car were stopped between Butalin and Monywa, and about 100 police beat them. The bodies of a young monk and a student killed in the clash were taken by the police.⁷²

⁶³ AP (28 May 03) Junta accuses Suu Kyi supporters of attacking 'peaceful' opponents

⁶⁴ AFP (27 May 03) Myanmar's military junta tells opposition to accept protest

⁶⁵ Wall Street Journal (28 May 03) Fear in Burma

⁶⁶ Reuters (30 May 03) Myanmar junta says Suu Kyi causing "commotion"

⁶⁷ DVB (1 Jun 03) Suu Kyi Urges Sustained Democracy in Monywa Rally Speech

⁶⁸ Kao Wao News (30 May – 10 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of the regime's ambush on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her entourage as recounted by some escapees

⁶⁹ Irrawaddy (9 Jun 03) Military Leaders Behind Black Friday

⁷⁰ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁷¹ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁷² Radio Free Asia (3 Jun 03) Witness Account Contradicts Junta's Reports

When they arrived at Zidawgon village located near the Northwest Military Command headquarters, a convoy of military trucks tried to block the road.⁷³

8:30pm- 12am After the team passed through Depayin, it came to a halt at Kyi (Kyi Ywa or Phaya Htwet Gan village) village, about 3 miles from Depayin, just before Ye-u because the road was blocked by huge logs. They used an alternate route through the forested area just beside the road.⁷⁴

Villagers came out to welcome them and a monk asked Daw Suu to give a speech. When told it was too late, the monk insisted. Htun Zaw Zaw, a close aide to Daw Suu, got out of the car to talk to the monk and the USDA members who were following the convoy began to attack the villagers who were standing nearby.⁷⁵

Trucks loaded with 500-1,000 of USDA members, police, men dressed as monks, armed soldiers, and prisoners from Mandalay Prison continued to arrive. They attacked hundreds of unarmed NLD supporters, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and the NLD team's 20 cars and 25 motorcycles with gun fire, sharpened bamboo stakes between two and three feet long, catapults, steel and iron pipes⁷⁶

Students who had been following the NLD team began collecting bricks and rocks from the side of the road to defend themselves. NLD leaders called on the supporters not to react.⁷⁷

They attacked and beat the NLD members in their cars and supporters who were trying to protect them. The windows were broken on the car Daw Suu was riding in and they attacked her with sticks before her driver was able to drive the car off towards Depayin.⁷⁸

NLD Vice Chairman U Tin Oo was reportedly beaten up.

Some people, including female NLD members were stripped and left naked.⁷⁹ USDA members shouted insults like "Are you protecting the wife of *Kala*?" (A derogatory term for South Asians, Indians and Muslims in Burma and an insult for Westerners.)⁸⁰

Some NLD members ran towards Depayin, but more USDA members were waiting for them in town.⁸¹ Nails were planted on the road and tires were shot to prevent people from following the NLD members.

The people of Depayin came out and chanted, "Long Live Daw Aung San Suu Kyi." USDA issued a curfew and military and local army units confronted the villagers.⁸²

The situation remained 'volatile' for hours.

⁷³ NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

⁷⁴ NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

⁷⁵ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁷⁶ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation's military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down. & NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

⁷⁷ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

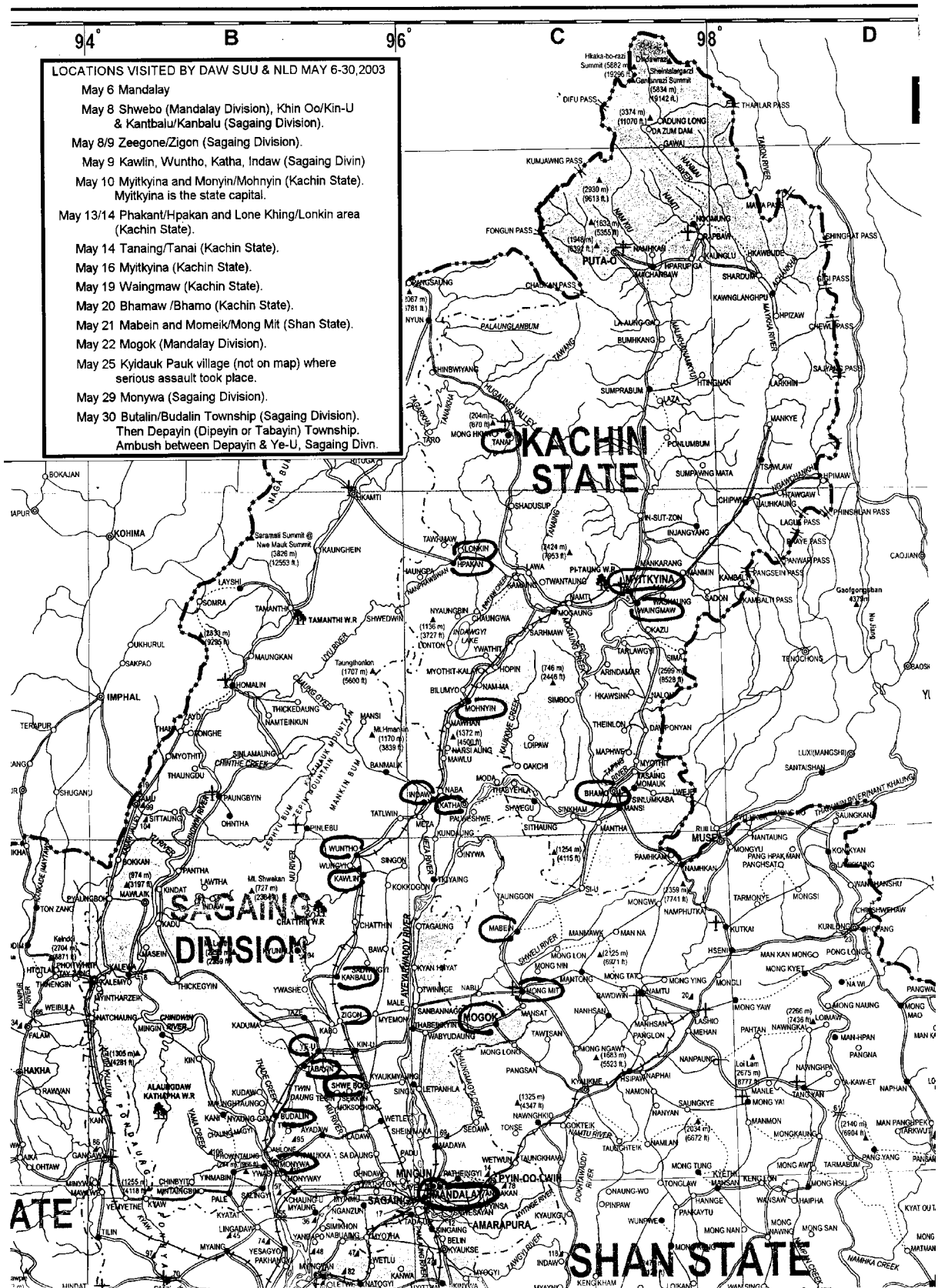
⁷⁸ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁷⁹ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁸⁰ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁸¹ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁸² Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday



THE AFTERMATH

SPDC said Daw Suu and at least 18 other NLD members were taken into ‘protective custody’ to ‘ensure her safety and for the sake of national security.’⁸³

SPDC Labor Minister Tin Win told reporters, “These incidents happened because Aung San Suu Kyi had taken advantage of her party organizational trip to campaign publicly, thereby making many people resent her actions.”⁸⁴

Sr-Gen Than Shwe put off the Jun 1 quarterly meeting of the SPDC and ordered the SPDC regional commands to remain on high alert.⁸⁵

Jun 1 – The state-run newspaper rationalized the events as the NLD “made attempts to organize people to come out in crowds and made political speeches at every opportunity.” And that “Their acts violated traffic rules.”⁸⁶ On Jun 3 it said, “If they went straight to party branch offices, met township party members at different levels and put up party signboards there would be no problem.”⁸⁷

The SPDC reported that it was the NLD’s fault that 4 people were killed and 50 injured.⁸⁸

CASUALTIES:

NCGUB reported that an estimated 70 people were killed and 200 injured.⁸⁹ Reported that most of the casualties were students. A Buddhist abbot from Monywa is reported dead and an NLD photographer was shot.⁹⁰

May 31 - Citizens from Monywa Mared to the USDA office and were brutally beaten by the Army, USDA, police, and members of other services. Reverend U Panna Thiri, while trying to mediate, was killed along with a student. Another student was seriously injured and later died. The SPDC and USDA officials took the bodies of the students.⁹¹

May 31 - Sources in the Northwest Military Command said 65 bodies were secretly cremated in the compound.⁹²

The Northwest Military Command to Prison Service said 32 prisoners died while ‘carrying out their duty.’ (attacking the NLD and their supporters)⁹³

MISSING:

More than 150 NLD members and supporters are missing. Amnesty International reported 45 names of NLD members reported missing (15 are youth members) and at least 55 others whose names are not known are presumed missing as well.⁹⁴ It is believed that most were arrested and taken to the Northwest Military Command Headquarters in Monywa.⁹⁵

⁸³ Washington Post (10 Jun 03) Where Is She?

⁸⁴ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation’s military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down.

⁸⁵ Kao Wao News (30 May – 10 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of the regime’s ambush on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her entourage as recounted by some escapees

⁸⁶ Washington Post (3 Jun 03) Crackdown in Burma

⁸⁷ New Light of Myanmar (3 Jun 03) Do not nip fruits of democracy in the bud

⁸⁸ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation’s military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down.

⁸⁹ NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

⁹⁰ Irrawaddy (2 Jun 03) NLD Members Missing

⁹¹ NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

⁹² NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

⁹³ DVB (4 Jun 03) Criminals were used to attack the NLD

⁹⁴ Amnesty International (Jun 2003) Myanmar: End Crackdown Now

⁹⁵ NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

ARRESTED

May 30 - Tin Aung Aung NLD MP-elect for Mandalay Northwest constituency-1, Mandalay Division.⁹⁶

May 31 - Thet Htun Oo (from Laeway, an NLD MP), Aung Soe (from the NLD's Mandalay Division Organizing Committee) and Hla Oo (from Amarapura, Mandalay).⁹⁷

May 31 - The Buddhist abbot of Phone Daw Pwint Pagoda in Karenni State U Andastiya was arrested by Lieutenant Colonel Htin Kyaw and U Myo Aung with the charge of having contact with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.⁹⁸

May 31 - About 60 NLD members who had hid from the attackers returned to the site of the clash and regrouped after sunrise. Army, police and local officials arrived and took most of them away in a truck.⁹⁹

Jun 3 - 3 elected members of Parliament that joined the Committee Representing People's Parliament (CRPP) in December 2002 were arrested by the Military Intelligence. U Hla Maung, chairman of Patriotic Old Comrades League and U Soe Win, chairman of Party for National Democracy.¹⁰⁰ Thein Oo, PND MP-elect for Oak Twin constituency-1, Pegu Division.¹⁰¹

Jun 3 - 3 NLD leaders, chairman, the vice-chairman and another chairman from Mogoke, who acted as master of ceremony at signboard raising ceremonies were arrested.¹⁰²

Jun 3 - Myint Kyi, NLD MP-elect for Ka Thar constituency, Sagaing Division.¹⁰³

Jun 4 - Paw Khin, NLD MP-elect for Myin Gyan constituency-1, Mandalay Division.¹⁰⁴

Jun 5 - Authorities have arrested at least 6 of 50 protestors for staging two protests in Bassein, Irrawaddy Division.¹⁰⁵

Jun 8 - 128 of the political prisoners arrested were transferred to Insein Prison in Rangoon from Mandalay, Sagaing, Shwebo, and Monywa Prisons.¹⁰⁶

Jun 9 - At least 10 youth, including NLD members were arrested in Kawthaung by military intelligence.¹⁰⁷

Sagaing Division NLD Secretary U Kyaw Thaung was arrested by military intelligence personnel.¹⁰⁸

Win Mya Mya, an NLD member from Mandalay, was arrested by local army officer Capt Aung Naing.¹⁰⁹

⁹⁶ Members of Parliament Union (9 Jun 03) More arrest of MPs-elect

⁹⁷ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁹⁸ DVB (4 Jun 03) More NLD members arrested

⁹⁹ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

¹⁰⁰ DVB (6 Jun 03) Two members of the CRPP arrested

¹⁰¹ Members of Parliament Union (9 Jun 03) More arrest of MPs-elect

¹⁰² DVB (4 Jun 03) More NLD members arrested

¹⁰³ Members of Parliament Union (9 Jun 03) More arrest of MPs-elect

¹⁰⁴ Members of Parliament Union (9 Jun 03) More arrest of MPs-elect

¹⁰⁵ DVB (7 Jun 03) Pro-Daw Aung San Suu Kyi protest in Bassein

¹⁰⁶ DVB (9 Jun 03) AAPP announced the names of the wounded and the dead

¹⁰⁷ DVB (9 Jun 03) AAPP announced the names of the wounded and the dead

¹⁰⁸ DVB (7 Jun 03) Sagaing Division NLD secretary arrested

¹⁰⁹ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

U Marit Hla Seng, the chief organiser of Kachin State NLD, the secretary U Naing Zaw Win and U Mran Paukla were arrested. Mandalay Division NLD chairman U Bo San was also arrested.¹¹⁰

Most of the NLD officials in the Myitkyina, have reportedly been arrested by the Northern Command.¹¹¹

House arrest: U Aung Shwe, NLD Chairman, U Lwin, U Than Tun, U Nyunt Wai, U Lun Tin, U Hla Pe, and U Soe Myint.¹¹²

DETAINED:

At least 17 NLD members are being detained at Khamti Prison which is in a remote location in northern Burma. Thet Htun; Bo Thaw; Thiha; Myo Zaw Aung; Htun Zaw Zaw; Myint Kyaw; Min Lwin; Toe Lwin; Than Tun (from Mandalay); Tun Myint; Zaw Win Htun; Aung Kyaw Myint; Myo Min; Kyaw Soe Lin; Myo Nyunt; Myint Ngwe; Than Tun (from Rangoon); Aung Kyaw Kyaw Oo.¹¹³

Damage control:

Jun 1 – Universities declared closed indefinitely.¹¹⁴

Jun 2 - All colleges under the Education Ministry and the Science and Technology Ministry were covered by the order to close but those under the Health and Transportation Ministries were not.¹¹⁵

Jun 2 – Reported that the scheduled reopening of primary and high schools, which was earlier delayed is postponed until Jul 1 instead of Jun 16.¹¹⁶

Jun 3 - Brig-Gen Than Tun, said “the dialogue process would not be affected by the latest incidents.”¹¹⁷

Jun 3 - Reported that SPDC Deputy Foreign Minister Khin Maung Wing told diplomats that Daw Suu “was not hurt at all.”¹¹⁸ He blamed NLD members for ‘provoking’ the violence that led to their detention, but declared the SPDC remained committed to political reconciliation.¹¹⁹

Jun 4 - Diplomats confirmed that Daw Suu suffered a facial wound and an injured shoulder and is being held at Yemon military camp about 25 miles outside of Rangoon.¹²⁰

Jun 5 – SPDC Ambassador to Britain Kyaw Win said, “There is no evidence we are worried about sanctions. Not that we want them, but we are not afraid of them either because we have lived for 26 years on our own before, and we have very good neighbors around us and we can simply trade and exchange relations with our close, good neighbors.”¹²¹

¹¹⁰ DVB (9 Jun 03) AAPP announced the names of the wounded and the dead

¹¹¹ Irrawaddy (5 Jun 03) Crackdown Escalates

¹¹² AAPPB (3 Jun 03) Urgent Release

¹¹³ Network for Democracy and Development (4 Jun 03) The NDD calls for immediate intervention to prevent another massacre in Burma & AAPPB (3 Jun 03) Urgent Release

¹¹⁴ VOA (2 Jun 03) Burma Closes Universities and Opposition Offices

¹¹⁵ Nation (3 Jun 03) Suu Kyi seriously hurt: report

¹¹⁶ AP (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Suspends University Classes

¹¹⁷ Bangkok Post (3 Jun 03) Suu Kyi detention points to widening military split The ruling junta is said to be divided over how to deal with Aung San Suu Kyi, and so the hard-liners have decided to up the ante. – Larry Jagan

¹¹⁸ Independent (4 Jun 03) Burma refuses to release Suu Kyi

¹¹⁹ AP (3 Jun 03) Myanmar Says Suu Kyi Is Safe in Custody & Washington Post (5 Jun 03) Suu Kyi Injured, Diplomats Confirm Clash on Friday Left Burmese Activist With Face and Shoulder Wounds

¹²⁰ Washington Post (5 Jun 03) Suu Kyi Injured, Diplomats Confirm Clash on Friday Left Burmese Activist With Face and Shoulder Wounds

¹²¹ Scoop Media (6 Jun 03) Burma Sanctions Effort Blunted By China, India

Jun 4 & 6 – Local authorities summoned people in Rangoon and Dagon Siekkan townships, and told them to prepare for protests against the NLD when necessary.¹²²

Jun 10 – Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs U Khin Maung Win hailed the SPDC's cooperation with Razali and told diplomats that the "safe custody measures instituted are temporary and that they will be lifted as soon as the situation returns to normal." He said an investigation is being done by the Police Department under the Ministry of Home Affairs. He said the NLD incited the violence by "attempting to plow through the crowd that was blocking the road." He said, "categorically that allegations that the attack was premeditated are unfounded."¹²³

The SPDC has cut the phone lines of residents near where the incident occurred and the phones of NLD members.¹²⁴ Vehicles are still being prevented from passing through Monywa and Depayin.¹²⁵

Most NLD offices throughout the country have been closed.¹²⁶ Brig-Gen Than Tun said the NLD headquarters would remain closed "until the present problem is solved."¹²⁷

SPDC has dramatically increased military presence in Rangoon. "The military intelligence agents and their informers are spreading everywhere."¹²⁸ Locals report that soldiers are stationed of the main roads in Rangoon in readiness for any protests that may occur.

THE INVESTIGATION

Jun 5 - 2 US Embassy staff returned from a visit to the scene of the attack. They found signs of 'great violence' and found considerable debris along the road, including numerous pieces of torn and bloody clothing and numerous weapons and smashed headlights and mirrors. They believe the attack was premeditated. "Clearly, orders were given for a violent attack" and that the weapons were "clearly prepared before the fact." They believe far more people may have died than the SPDC reported.¹²⁹

RAZALI VISIT (June 6-10)

UN Special Envoy Razali Ismail visited Rangoon June 6 –10 and was unable to fulfil his mandate to facilitate political dialogue. This was because the SPDC successfully hijacked the agenda so that Mr Razali's efforts were mainly focused on obtaining a meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The drama and suspense was no longer about whether Daw Suu and her entourage would be released, but whether Razali would meet the Lady.

Mr Razali's snatched 30 minutes with the NLD leader at a military location under close military supervision was far from satisfactory. He refused to engaged in a condemnation of the SPDC's murderous ambush and crackdown but merely insisted that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was unhurt. According to the BBC and the Irrawaddy, Razali had not directly asked Daw Suu whether she had been harmed in the incident – he simply said she was unhurt because he saw no obvious signs of injury. The UN Envoy also supported the SPDC line that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi needed to be in protective custody.

Mr Razali was able to spend an hour each with SPDC Deputy Chair General Maung Aye and Secretary-1 General Khin Nyunt, who gave him the same old assurances that they supported reforms and wanted to release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Sen-Gen Than Shwe merely snubbed Razali by going to a seaside resort in Arakan State.

¹²² Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Regime Organizes More NLD Attacks

¹²³ Myanmar Information Committee (10 Jun 03) Press Conference

¹²⁴ Radio Free Asia (3 Jun 03) Witness Account Contradicts Junta's Reports

¹²⁵ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

¹²⁶ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation's military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down.

¹²⁷ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation's military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down

¹²⁸ AFP (8 Jun 03) Outrage over Suu Kyi but Myanmar people too beaten down to protest

¹²⁹ AP (5 Jun 03) Clash between followers of Myanmar opposition leader, pro-government supporters appears premeditated: U.S. official & Bangkok Post (8 Jun 03) Attack on Burmese Activist Seen as Work of Military

While Mr Razali obviously needs to play a diplomatic game in order to maintain his standing with the SPDC, the immediate outcomes of his visit have not been decisive. Rather, it merely established that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi remains in detention and that Sen-Gen Than Shwe, who holds all the cards, has not interest in the engagement with the UN process.

Than Shwe is ultimately responsible for the murderous ambush on NLD leaders Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Tin U, and their entourage and the ensuing crackdown. He did this because he was confident that Asean, India and China would help his regime weather criticism, and continue to supply him with weapons.

Essentially, while Mr Razali was running around Rangoon trying to meet Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Sen-Gen Than Shwe was at the beach, thumbing his nose at the international community.

INTERNATIONAL OUTCRY

GOVERNMENTS

U.S. – Has led the international condemnation of the SPDC. The U.S. State Department called the NLD members detention in isolation “outrageous and unacceptable” and called for the SPDC to “provide a full accounting of the dead, injured, and missing.”¹³⁰ President Bush said he was “deeply concerned” about the detention of NLD members and closure of their offices.¹³¹ U.S. envoys in at least 11 countries have sought to encourage governments to pressure the SPDC to release Daw Suu, especially China and Thailand.¹³² Tough new legislation for new trade sanctions and travel restrictions and asset freeze on SPDC and USDA members is widely supported and is being pushed by Congressman Lantos and Senator McConnell. Senator McCain called the SPDC’s action “An assault on freedom” and called for “forceful condemnation and concrete sanctions.”¹³³

U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell said, “Despite initial statements last year, the junta -- which shamelessly calls itself the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) -- has now refused his efforts and betrayed its own promises.” He called for action saying, “Our response must be equally clear if the thugs who now rule Burma are to understand that their failure to restore democracy will only bring more and more pressure against them and their supporters...we should further limit commerce with Burma which enriches the junta's generals.”¹³⁴

JAPAN – The government said they are following the events with “concern” and “hopes that the government of Myanmar...will swiftly normalize the situation, including ensuring freedom of political activities.”¹³⁵

INDIA - Navtej Sarna, spokesman for the Ministry of External Affairs, said, “India believes that the solution to internal problems must come from within and that external pressure can be counter-productive.”¹³⁶

EU – High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana said, “Harassment and intimidation of political opponents are totally inconsistent with the Government’s earlier promises to move towards dialogue with the opposition.” He said it will “most certainly” result in EU applying further sanctions.¹³⁷ EU Parliament condemned the NLD detentions and “demands that the SDC immediately cease its practice of perpetrating extrajudicial killings, systemic rape and political intimidation against the Burmese people, and calls for the first credible steps towards the restoration of democracy in Burma to be taken.” Calls on the EU Council to immediately extend

¹³⁰ U.S. Department of State (5 Jun 03) Statement by Philip T. Reeker, Deputy Spokesman

¹³¹ The White House (2 Jun 03) Statement by the President on Burma

¹³² Washington Post Foreign Service (9 Jun 03) U.S. Presses for Suu Kyi’s Release

¹³³ Washington Post (3 Jun 03) Crackdown in Burma

¹³⁴ Wall Street Journal (12 Jun 03) It’s Time to Turn the Tables On Burma’s Thugs

¹³⁵ AFP (2 Jun 03) Japan calls on Myanmar to ensure political freedom after Suu Kyi detained

¹³⁶ Washington Post Foreign Service (9 Jun 03) **U.S. Presses for Suu Kyi’s Release**

¹³⁷ EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, urges the release of Aung San Suu Kyi

sanctions and to place the situation in Burma on the agenda of the next ASEM Foreign Ministers' meeting on 23-24 Jul.¹³⁸

GERMANY - Foreign Ministry spokesman Walter Lindner said Germany expects "the leadership in Myanmar to take all necessary steps toward restoring the unimpeded political work of the NLD, and to restore freedom of movement."¹³⁹

CHINA – Foreign Ministry spokesman Kong Quan said, "The Chinese side believes that what happened in Myanmar lately is an issue between the Myanmar government and its opposition parties. We believe the people of Myanmar are able to handle their own affairs well."¹⁴⁰

UK - British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said he is "deeply worried" and called for a 'thorough investigation...and those responsible are held to account.' He said that unless Razali was granted access and there were steps to free Daw Suu, the regime "must recognize that there will be consequences."¹⁴¹ Foreign Minister Mike O'Brien said he was "alarmed by persistent, credible reports that the UDSA, and other groups supported by the military regime, have been inciting local people into protests against the NLD" and called for their immediate release.¹⁴²

AUSTRALIA - Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer called on the SPDC to "step back from its regrettable actions...and commit itself to a genuine process of national reconciliation" beginning with Razali's visit.¹⁴³ Australia has agreed to suspend its 'absurd and costly' human rights training programs for low-level regime officials.¹⁴⁴

MALAYSIA – Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad said, "We have made our stand known that Aung San Suu Kyi is to be released immediately." He further said that this recent development in Myanmar might also have some effect on ASEAN.¹⁴⁵ Malaysian Foreign Minister Syed Hamid Albar said this week, "Whether we like it or not, it is an internal affair of Myanmar but it (Suu Kyi's detention) has implications for the region."¹⁴⁶

THAILAND – Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra said the "whole world is concerned, but I think the Myanmar government understands that. The Myanmar government will probably have to do something to bring everything back to normal as soon as possible."¹⁴⁷ Thaksin said a government member had talked with the SPDC to urge the immediate release of Daw Suu, "so that the process of national reconciliation could proceed."¹⁴⁸ Sihasak Phuangketkaew, spokesman for the Thai Foreign Ministry said, "We believe that talking with the regime, cooperation -- that's the best approach."¹⁴⁹

PHILIPPINES – Foreign Secretary Blas Ople said the situation in Burma is "very murky" and invited the SPDC ambassador to "clarify the situation." He said, "You can expect the foreign ministers of Myanmar will be subjected to intense questioning in the ASEAN ministerial meeting."¹⁵⁰

ITALY - Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs Margherita Boniver said the action was 'planned well beforehand' and said this was a 'dangerous setback' for Burma. She said the European Troika visit planned after Italy assumes the presidency on Jul 1 will probably be cancelled if the NLD members are not released.¹⁵¹

¹³⁸ European Parliament (5 Jun 03) European Parliament resolution on the arrest of Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma

¹³⁹ AP (2 Jun 03) Myanmar officials turn away university students after Suu Kyi detention

¹⁴⁰ Xinhua (10 Jun 03) China believes Myanmar can handle internal affairs well

¹⁴¹ FCO Press Office (5 Jun 03) Burma: Straw's Grave Concern & The Age (7 Jun 03) US demands access to Suu Kyi

¹⁴² SEAD Foreign and Commonwealth Office (1 Jun 03) O'Brien calls for immediate release of Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi

¹⁴³ Australia Foreign Affairs Media Release (5 Jun 03) Visit to Burma by UNSG Special Envoy

¹⁴⁴ The Age (7 Jun 03) Riot fallout plunges Burma deeper into crisis

¹⁴⁵ Bernama (10 Jun 03) MALAYSIAN PREMIER URGES IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF BURMA'S AUNG SAN SUU KYI

¹⁴⁶ Kyodo (12 Jun 03) ASEAN ministers to call for Suu Kyi's release

¹⁴⁷ AP (2 Jun 03) Thai leaders says 'whole world' concerned over Myanmar crackdown

¹⁴⁸ Nation (8 Jun 03) Thailand calls for release of Suu Kyi

¹⁴⁹ Washington Post (10 Jun 03) U.S. Asks Burma's Neighbors to Pressure Junta to Release Suu Kyi

¹⁵⁰ AFP (6 Jun 03) Gov't invites Myanmar envoy on Aung San Suu Kyi Arrest

¹⁵¹ Italian Foreign Ministry (2 Jun 03) Myanmar: A dangerous setback, a premeditated action that has jeopardized hopes for future dialogue, says Boniver

BANGLADESH - Foreign Minister M Morshed Khan said they don't want to interfere in other countries internal affairs, but he hoped Burma would find a better way to resolve their problems.¹⁵²

SOUTH KOREA – Government called for the immediate release of NLD members and an “early normalization of NLD activities.” They encouraged dialogue that will lead to a “peaceful and smooth transition to democracy.”¹⁵³

CANADA – Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Graham confronted the SPDC ambassador at a diplomatic gathering. He called the situation “completely unacceptable and worrisome.”¹⁵⁴

FRANCE – Called for the “immediate regain of her [Daw Suu's] full and entire freedom of movement, as well as the leaders of the National League for Democracy, detained or under house arrest.”¹⁵⁵

NEPAL – Congress demanded Daw Suu's release and said SPDC's actions were “illiberal, intolerant, and undemocratic.”¹⁵⁶

SWEDEN – Foreign Minister Anna Lindh said she was “dismayed and shocked” that Daw Suu was arrested by the SPDC and that it is “regrettable that hopes for a democratization process in Burma have come to nothing.”¹⁵⁷

ORGANIZATIONS & KEY INDIVIDUALS

UNITED NATIONS

United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan said, the arrest of Daw Suu Kyi was “not merely a question of law and order, but rather one that derives from the political aspirations of the Myanmar people.” He called on the international community to join in his appeal to “safeguard the process of national reconciliation and democratization in Myanmar.”¹⁵⁸

UN Special Envoy Razali Ismail said, “Virtually all countries are demanding that she [Daw Suu] be released and that her party and the government should go back on track for national reconciliation.”¹⁵⁹ “Suu Kyi must be released,” he said.¹⁶⁰ He urged ASEAN members to drop their policy of non-intervention. “ASEAN has to break through the strait-jacket and start dealing with this issue.”¹⁶¹

UN Special Rapporteur Prof Paulo Sergio Pinheiro – “I'm afraid if the [SPDC] choose this path, and I hope that they will not choose this path of keeping in prison the general secretary of NLD, it will be extremely difficult to try to continue supporting growing engagement instead of isolation.”¹⁶²

International Labor Organization – Juan Somavia called for the immediate release of Daw Suu during the ILO's conference. He said her detention has “cast a pall over deliberations” by the ILO committee on forced labor in Burma.¹⁶³

SOUTHEAST ASIA

¹⁵² Narinjara News (5 Jun 03) Bangladesh does not want to interfere in the internal affairs of Burma

¹⁵³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade – South Korea (4 Jun 03) Comments by MOFAT Spokesman on the Myanmar Government's Custody of Aung San Suu Kyi

¹⁵⁴ Toronto Star (7 Jun 03) Canada slams activist's arrest

¹⁵⁵ AFP (2 Jun 03) France reiterates call for release of Myanmar opposition leader

¹⁵⁶ Nepalnews.com (5 Jun 03) Nepali Congress Demands Release of Burma's Aung San Suu Kyi

¹⁵⁷ Sweden Foreign Ministry (31 May 03) Anna Lindh on Suu Kyi's imprisonment

¹⁵⁸ AFP (10 Jun 03) Annan calls on Myanmar junta to release democracy leader Suu Kyi

¹⁵⁹ Bernama (6 Jun 03) Razali Off To Myanmar In Bid To Get Suu Kyi Released

¹⁶⁰ Independent (5 Jun 03) Up to 70 died in swoop on Suu Kyi, claim supporters

¹⁶¹ Washington Post Foreign Service (9 Jun 03) U.S. Presses for Suu Kyi's Release

¹⁶² ABC News Online (4 Jun 03) UN warns Burma over Suu Kyi's detention

¹⁶³ ILO (9 Jun 03) ILO Calls for Release of Burma's Aung San Suu Kyi

ASEAN – Secretary General Ong Keng Yong (Singapore) said, “ASEAN countries should avoid interfering in the internal politics of member countries,” but that they are of course “concerned about the image that comes out from the latest developments in Myanmar, especially with regard to how ASEAN as an organization is seen with regard to international opinion.”¹⁶⁴

Forum-Asia (Thailand) – “Strongly condemns the harassment...and ongoing crackdown...by the SPDC.” They said the “euphoria of political progress in Burma has proved to be illusionary and short-lived” and that Thailand and ASEAN “should act now by giving up the tradition of noninterference and working together to restore peace and democracy in Burma.”¹⁶⁵

Aliran (Malaysia) – Condemned the attacks and questioned Razali’s effectiveness. They said, “The UN’s approach is indeed on very shaky ground” and called ASEAN’s ‘constructive engagement’ with Burma “a sham.” They called for “substantive sanctions.”¹⁶⁶

Burma Solidarity Group Malaysia – “Condemned the Burmese military junta for an alleged assassination attempt against the leader of Burma’s democracy movement” calling it the “most brutal crackdown in recent years.” They said that this event shows that “increased international pressure through sanctions and isolating the regime politically and economically is the only policy option we have to press for...”¹⁶⁷

National Justice Party (Malaysia) – Labeled the attack “most unjust” and called for those responsible to be brought to justice. They called on Mahathir to “take advantage” of his good relationship with the SPDC to “improve conditions and encourage dialogue.”¹⁶⁸

Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia (Singapore) – Criticized the ASEAN Secretary-General for his policy of “noninterference” and calls on ASEAN “to shake off its dastardly stance on Burma, and denounce the actions” of the SPDC.¹⁶⁹

Singapore Democratic Party – “Protests” against the arrest and detention of Daw Suu and NLD members. Called on Singapore as the current secretary general of ASEAN to “understand the responsibility it owes to the peoples of Southeast Asia to create a stable and democratic nation in Burma.”¹⁷⁰

INDIA¹⁷¹

Samata Party - Called on the Indian government to “use its influence to persuade the [SPDC] to end military rule and hand over power to the people of Myanmar.”

Congress Party – Is “concerned” about the whereabouts of Daw Suu and urged the SPDC to “ensure that no harm is done to her.”

Association of Peoples of Asia – Called the attack “a big blow to the movement for democracy.”

Communist Party of India – “Strongly condemns the [SPDC] for assaulting and detaining” Daw Suu and hundreds of NLD supporters.

Samajwadi Party – Call for the “immediate release and reopening of NLD offices.”

¹⁶⁴ Reuters (7 Jun 03) ASEAN says concerned about Myanmar Situation

¹⁶⁵ Forum Asia (2 Jun 03) Forum-Asia condemns the detention of Aung San Suu Kyi and the crackdown on NLD

¹⁶⁶ Aliran Executive Committee (5 Jun 03) Burma’s Dictators Not Serious About Reform

¹⁶⁷ Burma Solidarity Group Malaysia (4 Jun 03) Democracy and Human Rights Groups Call for the Immediate Release of Nobel Peace Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi

¹⁶⁸ National Justice Party (3 Jun 03) The world must strive to free Aung San Suu Kyi and improve conditions in Burma

¹⁶⁹ Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia (10 Jun 03) Open letter to Mr Ong Keng Yong Sec-Gen of ASEAN

¹⁷⁰ Singapore Democratic Party (4 Jun 03) SDP calls on Singapore government to condemn Burmese violence and arrest

¹⁷¹ Mizzima News (5 Jun 03) Responses from India on detention of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

Women's Initiative for Peace in South Asia – “We extend our heartfelt sympathies with the whole movement...she should be released as soon as possible and peace should prevail.”

USA

Free Burma Coalition – “Condemned an alleged assassination attempt” against Daw Suu. They said, “This is the regime’s most serious crackdown on democracy in years” and proves the SPDC has “lied to the international community...and Burmese people.” They called for “sanctions and isolating [the] regime politically and economically.”¹⁷²

EUROPE

Burma Campaign UK - “The regime is taking a gamble. It is gambling that the international community... will do nothing.” They criticized the EU saying, “I cannot believe it has taken the EU six days since the arrest of Aung San Suu Kyi to come up with such a limp response. Burma’s people are dying while the EU dithers.”¹⁷³

SOUTH KOREA

National League of Democracy Liberated Area (Korea Branch) & Korean NGOs Refuge PNAN and I & We – Said the “regime has shown its fascist nature” and calls on the international community to bring “those terrorists and their masterminds” responsible for the attacks to justice.¹⁷⁴

INTERNATIONAL

Human Rights Watch – “This looks like a deliberate attempt by the government to provoke violence to justify a crackdown. The government needs to stop persecuting its critics and start serious talks about making the transition to a rights-respecting member of the international community.” They called on the UN and international community to “make it clear that it will not be business as usual after these attacks.”¹⁷⁵

Amnesty International - “The organization is deeply concerned by this serious development. This is a completely unwarranted and harsh crackdown on political party members and others carrying out their legitimate activities. The harassment, arrest and detention of those acting peacefully to exercise these rights is a step in the wrong direction.”¹⁷⁶

International Movement of Catholic Students Asia Pacific – Identified the SPDC as behind the attacks. “We denounce those saboteurs who covertly instigated the violence, with the unsavory intent of curbing the freedom of movement and assembly of the leaders fighting for Democracy.”¹⁷⁷

Asian Human Rights Commission – “The situation in Burma demands urgent intervention by the Security Council.” Said the SPDC have shown that their “pretensions to human rights and political change are utterly fraudulent.”¹⁷⁸

Socialist International – “Strongly condemns” the SPDC’s latest actions to “undermine efforts towards a democratic opening in Burma.” Calls for the application of “strong pressure on the regime

¹⁷² Free Burma Coalition (31 May 03) After Alleged Assassination Attempt, Burmese Junta Re-Arrests Nobel Laureate, Several Reportedly Killed

¹⁷³ Burma Campaign UK (5 Jun 03) EU Response to Burma Crackdown “Pathetic”

¹⁷⁴ National League for Democracy (Liberated Areas) Korea Branch, I & We, Refuge PNAN (4 Jun 03) National League for Democracy (LA) Korea Branch and Korean NGOS Joint Statement on Condemnation of Burma Military Regime Unlawfully Attack on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s Organizing Trip

¹⁷⁵ Human Rights Watch (3 Jun 03) Burma: Release Aung San Suu Kyi, Investigate Attacks

¹⁷⁶ Amnesty International (2 Jun 03) Safety of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Her Party in Danger

¹⁷⁷ IMCS Asia Pacific (5 Jun 03) Press Statement in Solidarity with Democracy Campaigners in Burma

¹⁷⁸ Asian Tribune (6 Jun 03) Attack on democracy party in Burma demands uncompromising international response

until it...engages the democratic opposition in a formal and substantive dialogue leading to real political change.”¹⁷⁹

Friends of Burma Coalition – consisting of organizations from 12 countries protested on June 11 at the Indian Consulate in Thailand to demand India to end its support and exert pressure on the SPDC.¹⁸⁰

BURMA (THIS IS NOT AN EXHAUSTIVE LIST)

United Nationalities League for Democracy – Liberated Areas – The attack shows that the SPDC is “not interested in political change but [interested in] power.” They call on the Burmese people to resist the regime with “civil disobedience” and “Urge the UN to send a mediator with powerful mandate from Security Council, who can bring the regime to a dialogue table, by force---if necessary. We also call the international community and United Nations not only to condemn but also to take more effective action on military junta in Burma.”¹⁸¹

Members of Parliament Union – “It is the beginning of the deliberate and well-planned plot of the SPDC to crush the democracy movement.” They said the SPDC’s excuse of detaining them for “their own safety is absolutely non-sense and unacceptable.”¹⁸²

Justice for Human Rights in Burma – “These atrocities were committed with the knowledge of, and directly under the supervision” of high-level SPDC officials. They call for a “full and independent investigation” to bring those responsible to justice, and for the international community to address these “unjust acts committed against the oppressed people of Burma.”¹⁸³

Women’s League of Burma – They are “outraged at the violence instigated by Burma’s military regime” and call for immediate international action, including the “suspension of all forms of aid and investment to Burma.”¹⁸⁴

All Arakan Students’ and Youths’ Congress said the attacks were an “intentional creation by [the] SPDC” to show Razali “their real attitude.”¹⁸⁵

Network for Democracy and Development – “Calls for immediate intervention by the international community and the United Nations to prevent another massacre in Burma.” They called for further action by saying, “We trust that the ethnic leaders and the rest of the NLD leaders who remain outside will be able to lead the people to carry out further activities in order to maintain the momentum of the movement.”¹⁸⁶

National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma – “The popularity of the NLD among the people as witnessed by the tumultuous support given...has worried the generals who had thought they had the country under control. The generals are testing the waters to see if they can get away with the crackdown and world nations...must explicitly show...that these acts will not be tolerated.”¹⁸⁷ They said SPDC’s actions are “tantamount to a threat to the authority of the United Nations, and a threat to peace in the region” and calls for Burma to be brought to the Security Council.¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁹ Socialist International (3 Jun 03) Socialist International condemns the actions of the military regime in Burma against Aung San Suu Kyi and the democratic opposition

¹⁸⁰ Network for Democracy and Development (11 Jun 03) INDIA URGED TO STOP SUPPORTING SPDC

¹⁸¹ Chinland Guardian News (7 Jun 03) Current crisis in Burma

¹⁸² Members of Parliament Union (1 Jun 03) Concerted Action Urgently Needed to Counter Junta’s Crackdown

¹⁸³ Justice for Human Rights in Burma (7 Jun 03) Statement on the Depeyin-YaeOo Massacre

¹⁸⁴ Women’s League of Burma (2 Jun 03) Urgent Call for International Action Against Latest Acts of Repression by the Burmese Military Regime

¹⁸⁵ Narinjara News (10 Jun 03) Arakanese Opposition: on Friday Massacre

¹⁸⁶ Network for Democracy and Development (4 Jun 03) The NDD Calls for Immediate Intervention to Prevent Another Massacre in Burma

¹⁸⁷ NCGUB (31 May 03) NCGUB urges ‘effective action’ to counter SPDC’s ‘cowardly crackdown’

¹⁸⁸ NCGUB (5 Jun 03) Burma Forum: Keynote Speech of Dr. Sein Win, Prime Minister

The Arakan Independence Alliance demands the immediate release of all political leaders and welcomes the strong stand taken by the US in consideration of imposing further sanctions.¹⁸⁹

Federation of Trade Unions Burma – “Strongly condemns the criminal actions” of the SPDC and holds them “responsible for all that happened.” They call on the international community to “implement total sanctions, trade embargoes to stop all income to the junta and it’s cronies” to bring the SPDC to the negotiating table.¹⁹⁰

Nine indigenous people’s political parties from Burma condemned the attacks. The Mara Pyithu Party, the Zomi National Congress, the Mon National League for Democracy, the Chin National League for Democracy, the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy, the Karen National Democracy Congress, the Kayah State Peoples’ League for Democracy, the Kachin State Nationalities Democracy Conference, and the Kayan National Unity League for Democracy.¹⁹¹

National League for Democracy Liberated Area, All Burma Students’ Democratic Front, All Burma Students’ Democratic Organization, Burmese Women’s Union, International Burmese Students Conference Convening Committee and Collective Committee for Democracy in Burma (All Australia Branches) – Said the attack shows the SPDC has “stepped up on its systematic and deliberate plots against the democracy movement” and the SPDC has the “sole responsibility.” They called on the Australian government to “review its foreign policy towards Burma” as the attacks were carried out by the people the Australian government was “educating on the notion of human rights.”¹⁹²

Assistance Association for Political Prisoners Burma – Are “seriously concerned” about those effected by the attack. Compiling lists of those detained, missing, and killed.¹⁹³

A TIME FOR SERIOUS ACTION

NO MORE BUSINESS AS USUAL

The SPDC has blatantly violated international regulations and norms and the international community needs to hold them accountable for their rogue behavior.

It is appalling that despite the SPDC’s murderous attacks, on Jun 8 and 9, the ASEAN-Japan Committee on Comprehensive Economic Partnership was held in Burma.

US Senator McCain said US Secretary of State Colin Powell should condition his attendance at upcoming ASEAN meetings in Phnom Penh on an ASEAN agreement to place Burma at the top of its agenda.¹⁹⁴

UPCOMING EVENTS

Jun 2 –19 - International Labor Conference, which has a special committee examining developments in forced labor in Burma.¹⁹⁵

Jun 11 – Senior Officials Mtg on Transnational Crime (SOMTC+3 China, Korea & Japan) in Ha Noi

Jun 12 - SOMTC+1 (China) & SOMTC + US in Ha Noi. SOMTC + EU in Ha Noi

Jun 13-14 - High Level Task Force on ASEAN Economic Integration **in Rangoon.**

Jun 16-17 – ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Phnom Penh

Jun 17 - ASEAN+3 Directors General Meeting in Phnom Penh

¹⁸⁹ Narinjara News (10 Jun 03) Arakanese Opposition: on Friday Massacre

¹⁹⁰ FTUB (4 Jun 03) Statement on SPDC’s Attack on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and CALL for ACTION

¹⁹¹ Narinjara (8 Jun 03) Nine Indigenous People’s Political Parties speak out on the present political crisis in Burma

¹⁹² Burma Groups in Australia (31 May 03) Statement on Recent Military Junta Sponsored Violence and Killing on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s Organizing Trip

¹⁹³ AAPPB (3 Jun 03) Urgent Release

¹⁹⁴ VOA (9 Jun 03) Thailand Comes Under Criticism in US Congress Over Burma Policies

¹⁹⁵ ICFTU (6 Jun 03) ICFTU releases background report on Burma and more names of companies linked to the country

Jun 18 - ASEAN Regional Forum in Phnom Penh

Jun 19-20 Post Ministerial Conference in Phnom Penh

Jun 30 – Asian Development Bank Manila Board of Governors Meeting in Manila

Jul 5-6 - ASEM Finance Ministers Meeting in Denpasar

ASEAN

Substantial pressure must be placed upon ASEAN members by their international allies and civil society to take action on the situation in Burma. ASEAN's selective policy of 'non-interference' has hurt not just the people of Burma but of the region itself. This is echoed by US Senator McCain's statement that ASEAN "has been constructively engaging and abetting tyranny in Burma."¹⁹⁶ The political legitimacy and business dealings with Burma are assisting in the endurance of the SPDC's arrogance against genuine political dialogue.

Sanctions

The SPDC has repeatedly shown they are sensitive to international pressure and most responsive to strong, assertive positions from the international community Aung Din of the Free Burma Coalition said, "The people of Burma can't wait for more talk—we need action."¹⁹⁷ Wansai from the Shan Democratic Union said, "we need sanctions with teeth that bite."

Legislation for new U.S. sanctions has widespread, bipartisan support.¹⁹⁸ Deputy Secretary of State Richard L. Armitage said the administration intends to extend the visa restrictions to the managers and families of Burma's state-run enterprises and USDA members while seeking an asset freeze and a ban on U.S. travel to Burma.¹⁹⁹

Other countries such as the EU, Australia, Canada, Japan, India and Thailand should substantially increase or implement sanctions on Burma immediately.

Boycotts

Consumer boycotts and pressure from civil society have been successful in getting businesses to end ties with Burma, which has significantly reduced exports to the US. The ICFTU has updated their list of 375 multinationals that have business links in Burma, have been in direct contact with leaders of the regime and/or promote tourism in Burma. The list can be found at: <http://www.global-unions.org/burma>

Oil and gas is Burma's leading export, major sector for investment, and of main source of income for the SPDC. French multinational Total and US Unocal are one of the largest investors in Burma and have recently decided to develop new gas wells in Burma and will invest around US\$ 35 million. Thailand is the main recipient of Burma's exported gas for which it pays the SPDC about US\$850 million per year. There should be an immediate freeze on investment, production, and consumption of Burma's oil and gas until the SPDC makes irreversible steps towards democracy and reconciliation.

UNITED NATIONS

UN Special Envoy Razali Ismail's 'appeasing' approach with the SPDC has not been effective in bringing substantial progress towards democracy and reconciliation in Burma. During the visit he just completed, he was manipulated by the SPDC to downgrade his expectations and goals only to a meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Sen-Gen Than Shwe who is ultimately responsible for the situation in Burma, refused to meet Razali. Than Shwe has essentially thumbed his nose at the UN process..

¹⁹⁶ VOA (9 Jun 03) Thailand Comes Under Criticism in US Congress Over Burma Policies

¹⁹⁷ Irrawaddy (5 Jun 03) US and UN Get Tough on Burma

¹⁹⁸ Reuters (4 Jun 03) U.S. Lawmakers Urge Ban on Imports from Myanmar

¹⁹⁹ Washington Post (7 Jun 03) Visa Ban Expanded For Burma's Leaders

UN Security Council

It has long been argued that the case of Burma should be brought before the UNSC for being a threat to regional security, failure to hand over power to democratically elected leaders, extensive use of child soldiers, promoting a growing trend of forcing civilians to act as porters for the SPDC's army leading to and in conflicts, is a growing military power, enables a flourishing environment for narcotics production and trafficking, caused mass displacement of civilians in and out of Burma, rages civil war against ethnic nationalities, and commits systematic human rights violations.

The mandate of the Special Envoy should be under the UNSC, as it has an enforceable mechanism.

International Labor Organization

On May 28, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) filed a formal complaint to the Committee on Freedom of Association of the UN's ILO on Burma. It provides 'overwhelming evidence' that the SPDC systematically violates the Convention on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, which Burma has ratified.²⁰⁰

METHODS TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON SPDC

- Pressure ASEAN – its members and regional partners, particularly China, Japan and India.
- Export ban of items that can be used for internal repression or to develop weapons domestically. End all military cooperation and training with SPDC forces
- Oil and natural gas embargo – investment, imports and exports, ban on imports from Burma.
- Implement or strengthen investment bans. Boycott and divestment campaigns for companies associated with or operating in Burma
- Tourism embargo
- Comprehensive asset freeze of SPDC, NaSaKa, and USDA officials and state-run companies
- Suspend development and humanitarian aid that does not genuinely consult all stakeholders
- Prohibit funding from International Financial Institutions such as the ADB, including bans on “back door” funding through Greater Mekong Subregion projects that include Burma. Such an initiative should also cover loans made to neighboring countries that can be used for Burmese infrastructure development.
- Grant high-ranking elected NLD representatives observer status at international body meetings
- Bring Burma to the UN Security Council for failure to recognize 1990 elections and for regional security reasons
- UNGA and ILO should recommend and support multilateral sanctions against the SPDC including arms embargo, trade and financial sanctions
- International organisations, including the UN and ADB should suspend all agency meetings from being held in Burma
- More funding, support and protection for human rights defenders and groups
- More education and training programs for democratic opposition movement
- Lobby border countries, namely Thailand, Bangladesh and India to provide security for those escaping persecution

²⁰⁰ ICFTU (6 Jun 03) ICFTU releases background report on Burma and more names of companies linked to the country