



A NEWS ORGAN OF THE KAREN NATIONAL MOVEMENT (BURMA).



KAREN NATIONAL UNION (K.N.U.) BULLETIN

No. 13

NOVEMBER 1987

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Singing and Dancing of Karen Youths at Tie-ing Hands Ceremony at Maela.



Karen Youths Singing at Traditional Tie-ing of Hands at Wankha.

The Building Of A Better Future.

The rule of one-party BSPP military dictatorship government led by U Ne Win and his cohorts is 25 years old in this year. Naturally, U Ne Win and company must have dreamt of staging a grand celebration for the silver jubilee of their rule, However, circumstances are such that they have, instead, to make every effort to hide their shame and to hold on to power.

At the beginning of 1987, the BSPP government had to apply for the Least Developed Country status at the U N. Then came the public admission of U Ne Win on August 10 implying disastrous failure of the BSPP policies. On September 1, the government had to decontrol rice, maize and seven kinds of beans and pulses to avert starvation. Then it had to demonetize 85% of the currency in circulation on September 5 to save itself from total bankruptcy. The demonetization touched off violent demonstrations led by college and university students in the cities of Rangoon, Mandalay, Maulmein, Bassein and some towns. These incidents showed the dire condition the country has been thrown in by the 25 years rule of U Ne Win's military dictatorship.

Until last year, the BSPP government boasted that in the Burmese socialist era changing revolution that would free the people from all problems of food, shelter and clothing, Burma was making a yearly 6% economic progress. Then, shamelessly it admitted failure when it became no longer possible to continue misleading world opinion by lies and pretences.

During the whole of the 25 years rule, the one-party military dictatorship has subjected the whole country to a blood-bath by the ruthless suppression of dissent and the escalation of the civil war. The country has been thrown into hardship it has never experienced before. As the direct consequences of the reactionary policies of the BSPP government, the country has been facing economic degeneration in the forms of serious shortage of food, scarcity of commodities, inflation and high cost of living.

History has shown that oppressive dictatorship and economic hardship produce rebellion and general uprising. During the 25 years of BSPP's fascist rule, the revolutionary forces opposing the regime have gained in strength and there is greater unity among them. In a similar manner, the general opposition of the people against the regime is bound to grow. Despite the dangers to their lives and limbs, the students dared to hold anti-BSPP government demonstrations on September 6, like in the days of the struggle for independence. Given the present situation, we can be sure that there will be more resistance by the people, and the BSPP military dictatorship will have no way to prevent it.

To day, the people from all walks of life such as students, Sangas, workers, peasants, intellectuals and etc. and nationalities are having more confidence in their collective power and the armed revolutionary forces are having more understanding and unity for effective resistance and for the building of a better future. Now is the time for all these forces to unite and overthrow the tyrannical BSPP military dictatorship and establish a federal union in conformity with the aspiration and interest of all the indigenous nationalities in the country.

An Analysis of U Ne Win's Move

The speech given by Chairman of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), U Ne Win, on August 10, 1987 to a meeting of the BSPP Central Executive Committee, the State Council and the representatives from governmental bodies generated quite an interest among the people of Burma who have suffered, for more than 2 decades, great miseries and hardships brought about by the insensible economic and political systems imposed on them by U Ne Win's military dictatorship. The speech generated interest, for U Ne Win had said that it was time changes were made. He did not say in what specific areas changes were needed. However, just the mention of the need for change stirred up hope in the mind of the people who have been longing for a change to happen for so long.-

U Ne Win began his speech with a remark that the meeting had "to be regarded as an uncommon one, as a similar kind had never been held before." It decidedly was uncommon in that U Ne Win had departed from the normal practice of separately holding a meeting of either the governmental bodies or party organizations. This, in a way, shows the gravity of the situation U Ne Win's military dictatorship is facing.

After usurping the state power by a coup d'état in 1962, the absolute dictator U Ne Win (then a general) and his military clique declared that they would build a socialist society free from want and misery by the "Burmese way to socialism". They proceeded to set up the Burmese socialist economic system in conformity with the Burmese Way to Socialism, rejecting both the free enterprise economic system (capitalist economic system) and the socialist economic system based on Marxism - Leninism, the two major economic systems of the world.

To have complete control on the economy, all means of production and distribution were nationalized forth-with, and military or ex-military men were installed in all positions of management and control. After ruthlessly crushing all oppositions within the effective range of their guns, U Ne Win, and his military clique set up the one and only party, the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP). After discarding his military garb for a civilian one, U Ne Win installed himself as chairman of this party and filled all positions of authority and leadership with his trusted military or ex-military men.

Burmese chauvinism, which is the underlying principle of the Burmese Way to Socialism, called for the imposition of Burmese hegemony on all the non-Burmese communities in the country. Thus, the communal riots against the Chinese and Muslim communities were not accidental happenings but the direct result of the racist policies of the BSPP. Those who get the greatest attention in the implementation of the racist policies of the BSPP, however, are the non-Burmese indigenous nationalities such as the Arakanese, Kachins, Karens, Mons and etc. who have to engage in an armed struggle for their national survival and liberation. To crush these national movements, U Ne Win has been building up the army and launching military offensives throughout the length and breadth of the areas of the non-Burmese indigenous nationalities. As a result, the yearly defence spendings have absorbed 40-60% of the national budget.

The second point notable in the speech is the urging of U Ne Win to the top leaders of the party and the government to "submit truthful reports without omitting anything." Again, he did not elaborate, but it was an admission that he has been receiving reports from his top leaders which are not all true. This is only a natural consequence of the despotic ways of U Ne Win and a political system that denies the basic democratic right of free and frank discussion even in the party and governmental organizations. From the very beginning U Ne Win's followers at all levels have falsified reports to hide failures, as they well know from experience that any attempt to be honest or truthful leads only to demotion or dismissal.

The most tantalizing part of U Ne Win's speech for the general public is his pronouncement that "changes must be made so that actions may be in consonant with time.. Even parts of the constitution will have to be changed without fear, if there is a good reason."

The end results of one-party dictatorship, state monopoly on the economy and the escalation of the civil war are economic disaster, political bankruptcy and social disorder causing great demoralization of the whole population. The situation of the country, which was once one of the richest countries in South East Asia, has deteriorated to such a point that, Burma government has to apply for the Poorest Nation Status at the UN.

Burma watchers are of the opinion that U Ne Win, who has trampled down all the democratic rights and freedom of the people and set up one of the most pervasive dictatorships in the world, has been shaken by the political upheavals caused by people's power in the Phillipines and South Korea. However, since U Ne Win and the BSPP have pulled the tigers tail, it would be very difficult for them to release it. In other words, they have become prisoners of a system from which it is very difficult for them to escape.

If past records are to be a guide, all they will do will be making some changes to improve their position of power and opportunity for more self aggrandizement, without doing anything for the benefit of the people and the country. One thing they are bound to do is making maneuvers including some patch-up work to attract more foreign aid most of which will as usual, end up in their pockets.

If U Ne Win and the BSPP sincerely want to bring back peace, unity and prosperity to the country, the only sensible and realistic way for them to do it is to :-

1. Urgently find a political settlement to the civil war that has dragged on for nearly 40 years;
2. Restore the democratic rights and freedom to the people and respect human rights; and
3. Reinstate the right of self-determination of all the indigenous nationalities by establishing a genuine federal union.

Only a timely solution containing these basic points can save the country from complete ruin or disaster.

Is Burma Serious About Reform ?

By Josef Silverstein

Has Ne Win suddenly awakened like Rip Van Winkle from a 25-year slumber to discover he has failed to achieve his dream of a socialist Utopia in Burma?

For the first time, Ne Win has admitted to "failures and faults" in the management of the country's economy. At a special meeting of party and government leaders on August 10, he suggested that changes are necessary, "even in the constitution."

He pointed out that the country must adapt to evolving conditions and emphasized: "We should have neither fear nor feel any burden to deal with the matters." He ordered his listeners to reveal the truth " without any attempt to hide the facts. "

Why did Ne Win choose this moment to take such uncharacteristic action?

First among his considerations must have been the country's perilous economic line. Under Ne Win's military rule, the country has stagnated for a quarter century, and this year has been no different. The growing season started badly because of poor weather conditions. Farmers, who already were suffering from poor distribution and crop shortages in the previous year, began hoarding their stocks. Meanwhile, inflation was rising and consumer goods were in short supply, except on the black market.

These conditions combined to burst government-created myths about progress and rising standards of living. On Sept. 1, the government tried to relieve some of the strain by announcing that the Burmese would be free to buy, sell, transport and store basic foodstuffs without state interference. This marked a radical departure from the past and encouraged the embarrassing suggestion that citizens could perform these tasks better than the government.

Currency Withdrawn

Shortly after its announcement, the government abruptly withdrew three monetary notes from circulation. These included the 25, 35 and 75 kyat notes. The people were left with notes of much smaller denominations as the only legal tender, and they were given no instructions on how to redeem the demonitized bills for new ones.

Rumors circulated that the government move was aimed at heading off a black market in grain. But, in fact, those most affected by the action were local Burmese and tourists not illegal traders.

The confusion erupted into student protests, prompting the government to shut down the universities in the middle of the examination period. Tourists were bumped from Burma Airways flights and seats were commandeered on trains so the government could rush potential troublemakers out of Rangoon.

Another motive behind Ne Win's shift in policy appears to be linked to the annual meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, where Burma's application for the status of " least-developed nation " will be considered. The president is now forced to lift the veil on the country's self-deception and lay bare the grim statistics in support of the status application.

At the same time, Ne Win must know that the international organizations tied to the U.N. may insist upon economic changes. His reform policy can be seen somewhat as a preemptive move to avoid appearing coerced to compromise Burma's independent decision-making processes. Any changes can be presented as in line with the government's economic strategy, and the Burmese leaders can submit to them without any loss of face.

Ne Win also may have been prompted to change course by the realization that the army cannot win the civil war against the minorities. Since the last rainy season, the military has stepped up its campaigns in the south against the Mons, in the center against the Karens and the Karennis, and in the north against the communists and the Kachins.

Largest Attack

In almost every case, the military suffered setbacks. In its battles with the communists, however, it fared substantially better, inflicting heavy losses and seizing parts of the old Burma Road, the Burma-China border-crossing point, and territories east of Panghsai. In May, the army launched its largest attack against the Kachins, dispatching more than 10,000 troops backed by aircraft and new rocket launchers-believed to be Russian-made. The offensive resulted in the capture of the Kachin political and military headquarters at Na Hpaw and Pa Jau, but also prompted counterattacks throughout the Kachin state. The Kachin leader, Brang Seng, told this writer the counteroffensive would continue until the Burmese army was driven back.

The government's campaigns have been costly. The military eats up 30% of the state budget and consumes huge quantities of scarce resources, including oil, transport equipment and foreign exchange. Even the few aircraft of Burma Airways-the civilian airline-were pressed into service during the northern campaign.

A further casualty of the military maneuvers is the government's relationship with minorities living in the war zones. Human rights violations are a major cause of the widening rift. Human rights organizations, including Amnesty International, have begun investigating the abuses.

Ne Win faces increasing odds in his battle to subdue the minorities. Organized into the National Democratic Front, the minorities have bolstered their political strength. In addition, they are coalescing in their quest for democracy, equality and self-determination.

Even as the army was striking its heaviest blows in May and June, the 10-member National Democratic Front held its Second Congress at Manerplaw. A Karenni, Saw Maw Reh, was elected the new leader, and the party reaffirmed its belief that "true unity of all the nationalities and genuine peace can be gained only by solving political problems by political means and giving democratic freedom to the people."

General Bo Mya and Karen Prime Minister Ba Thin spoke at length to this writer about their ability to defend their territory and their willingness to bring an end to the war through negotiation. But they insisted that before any substantive negotiations could begin, the government must change the constitution to permit the formation of a genuine federal union.

THE RAPE OF BURMA

Burma, this fabled land, rich in teak, jade, oil, rubies and other precious stones and in minerals, once the rice bowl of Asia, now reduced to but a shadow of its former glory. Ne Win's "Burmese Way to Socialism" has proved to be the "Way to Economic Disaster". To the eternal shame of the citizens of Burma, Ne Win has appealed to the United Nations for Burma to be granted Poorest Nation Status. Under his leadership the economy has practically ground to a halt. The somewhat bizarre 75 Kyat note is worth about 46.87 Baht in the border markets. \$2.47 Australian, not even the price of a good quality longyi.

Burma foreign debt stands at U.S. \$3.5 billion. At a conservative estimate it would take at least twenty-five years to undo the damage done to the country by mismanagement and corruption under the present regime.

Burma receives massive foreign aid which it uses to prop up its sagging economy, and to finance the war of attrition the Burmese Army is waging against the minority groups. The members of this ill disciplined army go around burning down the houses of innocent villagers, torturing, raping, beating, and murdering. The population of entire villages have been deported to so called strategic hamlets, they are unable to till the distant fields because they have to be back before dark, and there is never enough food as a result. Other villagers have been press ganged into service as porters for the Burmese Army. These porters are made to carry excessively heavy loads, receive no pay, and are often underfed. Any body that complains or is unable to carry their loads gets beaten. They are frequently forced to go into combat areas, where many become casualties. There are also well documented cases of villagers being forced at gun point to act as human mine clearing machines resulting in death or severe injury.

Looting, and confiscation of crops and livestock are common. There have also been cases of desecration of holy places and holy books.

Burma also receives military aid from the United States of America, Israel, and others.

Many of the Burmans were pro-Japanese during the Second World War unlike the Karens and Kachins who fought alongside the British and American Forces. In the light of this, it is ironic that the United States is giving assistance to the Marxist regime in Burma, which it uses against the former allies of the United States and many of whom are Christians having been evangelised by American Missionaries, and many of whom are also anti-Communist.

All the members of the minority groups desire, is the right to self determination, freedom of worship, and the right to speak their own language, and follow their own culture.

The Government of Burma has broken every article governing human and minority rights laid down in the United Nations Charter, to which Burma is a signatory. It is high time the whole world was "made aware of what is really happening in this forgotten corner of the world we hear so little about these days because the Government of Burma does not often make press releases, particularly about the war that has been going on for nearly forty years now.

Visitors to Burma are only allowed a seven day visa and are restricted to certain areas of the country. Newspaper reporters are discouraged and the writer went into areas normally out of bounds to foreigners to get material for this article. I interviewed many people who had fled from areas under Burmese control among them were Buddhists Anamists, Muslims and Christians of various denominations. They came from different ethnic backgrounds. The majority of them had one thing in common, they all had terrible stories to tell of the brutality of the Burmese soldiers. The Burmese do not often reveal their casualty figures, and tend to play them down. They never talk about the considerable number of desertions. Morale is low in front line Burmese units, and relations between officers and men are not very good. Many cases have been reported of soldiers refusing to obey orders.

Burmans do not have a very good reputation as soldiers unlike the Karens and Kachins whose qualities as soldiers were much admired by their British and American allies during the Second World War. Even when the Burmese forces outnumber their opponents by as much as ten to one it is not uncommon for the Burmese to come off second best, suffering heavier casualties.

The Burmese launched an attack against the Kachins in May 1987 along four fronts involving a total of 23 Burma Army Regiments. Using fighter bombers, they bombed the Kachin Headquarters and also used artillery. The Kachins withdrew from their Headquarters, but counter attacked in another direction inflicting heavy casualties on the Burmese.

The Burmese Army went on a rampage through Kachin villages burning down hundreds of houses and raping, beating and killing the villagers. They conscripted 13,000 villagers to carry their ammunition and supplies for this operation.

At last report the Kachins were attacking Burmese positions and inflicting casualties on the Burmese. The Burmese will never be able to defeat the hill tribes and it is time that the Government in Rangoon made a genuine effort to come to the conference table and discuss a peaceful solution to the problem. Ideally the conference should take place on neutral ground under the auspices of the United Nations. Any settlement should be based on the right of self determination, freedom of worship, and the right to speak their own language and follow their own culture for the various groups.

All the ethnic groups should have a certain amount of autonomy and could form part of a federal union, with a central government, in which each group would be represented. It would be naive of anyone to think that an agreement of this nature will be arrived at easily, or that any agreement would solve the problems that exist in a short time. There are many long standing and deep divisions between the ethnic groups involved, and it will take many years to heal the wounds caused by this long war. The country's economic problems

too will take a long time to solve, but one thing is sure, they will never be solved as long as the war goes on.

BURMESE DAZE

Within the next couple of decades, Rangoon will probably fall down. An artificial city, grafted by the British onto a seaport in the Irrawaddy Delta, it's oddly reminiscent of parts of Glasgow or Liverpool. But with a difference: it's virtually gutted. In drawing rooms where bourgeois Indians once drank tea, Burmese peasants now boil food on dirt floors. Outside, men in shallow hats stand in open sewers, their heads peeking above street-level. Now and again the heads bob down, as they shovel excrement into the piles of black sludge that punctuate the capital's streets. The rain is now the best sewage system Rangoon has.

It's a running joke here that almost every western article written about Burma is a "peeling-paint piece." It's not hard to see why. In 25 years the military regime has condemned one of Southeast Asia's richest countries to what seems like terminal decline. Take Rangoon University, formerly the most prestigious of the region's colleges and the cradle for Burma's once-resilient middle class: its elegant buildings now stand open to the air. In the strike of 1936, the student union produced the leaders who dragged Burma from Britain in 1948, making the university a shrine to the hopes of independence. Now there's an open space where the union building used to be. In 1962, during the coup that ended 14 years of parliamentary democracy, the army razed it. Soldiers killed 114 students at the time. Twelve years later, in campus protests during the funeral of U.N. General Secretary U Thant, crowds of students were fired on by troops with automatic rifles. Burmese exiles recall truckloads of bodies being driven across campus. Hundreds of prisoners, some of them as young as 17 when they were detained, are still locked up.

Since 1962 the military government has pursued what it calls the Burmese Path to Socialism, a program of austere isolation from the outside world. For foreigners, this means a maximum of seven days' stay in Burma. For the Burmese, leaving the country is virtually impossible; if you get your passport, you're allowed a maximum of five dollars foreign exchange to take with you. The program also entails stifling state control of the economy and society, with calamitous results. Despite enormously fertile and mineral-rich land, and freedom from external wars, Burma's GNP is just struggling ahead of Vietnam's and is one sixth of its naturally poorer neighbor, Thailand. Once the world's largest rice exporter, Burma is now applying for Least Developed Country status at the U.N. In 1985 it was designated the seventh-poorest nation in the world.

The surprise, though, is that the decline is deliberate. The black market has been tolerated since 1967, out of necessity, but elsewhere private entrepreneurship is quashed in favor of pervasive-and incompetent-military control. Last year, for example, the government suddenly made private tourist and bureaucracy guides illegal, replacing them with hapless officials. But there are other priorities, including racism. Ethnic Burmese have trading and business privileges, while Indians and Chinese, long the most dynamic contributors to Burma's economy, are denied full citizenship and find it nearly impossible to get clerical jobs or a place in medical college. In any case, not many are left: about 200,000 were expelled in the early 1960s.

Political control is maintained by the army and the secret police. The presence of informers can be felt everywhere. Within 30 minutes of visiting Rangoon University, word was passed to me that I would have to leave. There had been too much rowdiness in recent months for a Westerner to be allowed to stay. A student hurriedly explained it was the "system," and asked me not to speak to him anymore.

THE REAL MYSTERY is why there has been no mass revolt against this suffocation. Political fatalism inheres in even the most educated and alert, making Burma at times a country of literally pathetic gentility. I met an economics graduate near the massive Shwe Dagon pagoda in Rangoon. (In Burma, even economics students know how to pray.) He was an expert in computers, a listener to the BBC, fluent in English. Yet his country had six computers to name, and for all practical purposes wouldn't allow him to leave. But he was far from bitter. Only eventually did he confide: "Yes, I am fed up. We are all fed up. But there is no possibility at the moment for change." He continued to pray.

Buddhism undoubtedly enhances the apathy. Burma, on a par with Tibet or Nepal, is a profoundly religious country-and its pure branch of Theravada Buddhism is radically at odds with both political action and individual rights. Its attempt to overcome the individual ego and to meet materialism with indifference cuts against the Western doctrines of both superpowers. Buddhism doesn't look to renounce the world, as in Protestantism; nor to sanctify it, as in Catholicism. Rather it seeks a moderation toward the material-and the temporal-that can render them merely irrelevant. In a city where poverty is soaring, Rangoon's major construction project is now Socialist Program Party Chairman Ne Win's pagoda (an irony revealingly lost on the Burmese). It will be covered in gold and gilt. Yet this extravagance is probably the most popular action of Ne Win's rule. At bottom, it seems, the Burmese just don't care about politics. Or if they do, they know that they shouldn't. It's hardly a recipe for revolution.

This indifference to the West-both spiritually and politically-is a tough nut for "democracy" to crack. Late British attempts in a short 62 years of direct rule to decentralize self-government soon degenerated into civil war. U Nu's democracy from 1948 to 1962 only just managed to move beyond an elected one-party state: by the late 1950s divisions within the ruling party spilled over into contested elections, and the instability created by this uncommon outbreak of popular choice was the pretext for the army's intervention.

Ethnic and regional conflict-simmering on and off since the 12th century-remains the wild card in Burma's political future. The current civil war has lasted 40 years, with annual casualties in the thousands and, according to Amnesty International, flagrant human rights abuses against minorities by the Rangoon army. Around 16,000 troops of minority tribes have used guerrilla warfare to force a military stalemate on Rangoon. Added to them are some 10,000 maverick communists, financed by the opium trade, with few ties to Beijing and fewer to Moscow. Together they control around a third of the country. But the pressure on Ne Win is unfocused: The tribes have been fighting for regional secession rather than political change, and the communists' aims have little popular support.

The complexity of the war also makes intervention by the superpowers a risk not worth taking. As a result, Burma's torpid isolation continues. Those anti-communist

Burmese opposed to separatism and hostile to Rangoon are being squeezed into irrelevance. They are, after all, fighting for something uninteresting to either superpower, and inimical to much of Burmese culture: their freedom.

THERE ARE signs, though, that this paralysis cannot hold for much longer. The momentum of other moves to democracy in the region, the succession struggle to the 76-year-old Ne Win, and the now accelerating economic collapse have finally made change thinkable in Rangoon. The two recent air crashes on the notoriously incompetent state-run Burma Airways, killing a total of 59 Westerners, have further undermined the government's credibility. But what makes real change feasible is the emergence, for the first time, of a coherent, militarized opposition. Military successes for Rangoon in the last two years have had the ironic effect of forcing a newly unified command among the tribes and a firmer defensive pact between them and the communists. The minorities' organization, the National Democratic Front, has now also developed a Washington link, a pro-Western exile grouping called the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Burma. This July the NDF and the exiles held a congress in a small hut in East Burma to set new terms for negotiating a transition to democracy. The minorities dropped their calls for secession, asking instead for an semi-autonomous position within a federal Burma. For the first time, ethnic majority Burmese were included in the peace plan. Meanwhile the communists have muted their ideology. They now recognize that a military victory is an impossibility, and that a Western wing for their allies could prove useful as a lever against the regime.

In mid-August, in an unprecedented speech, Ne Win admitted that there had been mistakes over the last 25 years, and promised Gorbachev-style reform: "The entire truth should be submitted without any attempt to hide the facts." Within the last month, the reasons for such a political concession became clear. In a sign of near-panic, the government introduced radical measures to counter the sudden economic slide, given extra impetus by a disastrous rice harvest. On September 5 it announced an end to the first ordinance it had enacted 25 years ago. It freed all controls on the internal exchange of food. At the same time it withdrew all notes worth more than ten American cents to dampen the burst of inflation, undercut the rebels by invalidating their currency, and helped move foodstuffs to avoid famine. With barter restored, it seems even the feudal economy is more efficient than the socialist one.

THE RESULT, though, was chaos. Hundreds of students, finally shaken out of apathy by signs of government panic, stoned buses, taxis, and soldiers. This time, the troops held their fire, and merely closed all educational institutions indefinitely. The reason for such forbearance was that even the army was cracking: the same week, there were unconfirmed reports that the regime called in all commanding officers to a conference to quell any incipient insubordination. An opposition document recently smuggled out of the country suggests why. Written by a military officer, it called for a Philippines-like alliance between the military and "people power" for a democratic-and free market-break-through. It's prospect Ne Win has begun to take seriously.

But whatever the immediate outcome of the present crisis, there is another, more troubling question to be asked about Burma's future: What if democracy succeeds? And

what meaning can capitalise democracy have anyway for a Buddhist country with a history of monarchy, colonialism, and military socialism? Ne Win's regime, for all its brutal stupidity, survived for a quarter century on one popular premise: antipathy to modernity, of which democracy is perhaps the most alien part. "Socialism" was an inspired device to freeze the meaning of premodern life in modern terms. The bureaucracy sustained what looked increasingly like an old-style Burmese monarchy; the isolation fed the powerful strain of Burmese xenophobia; the declining economy enhanced a spirituality that remained, as in Eastern Europe, the only unbreakable barrier against the lies of the state. The result was a fragile experience of spirituality and coherence, which the Burmese, especially outside the cities, found bearable despite the brutality. As they greet the painful prospect of a Bangkok-style liberalization, it is an experience they may find hard to forget.

ANDREW SULLIVAN



Pipi Emma on her 83rd, Birthday with President and Mrs. Gen. Bo Mya.

STATEMENT OF KAREN NATIONAL UNION (KNU) ON THE CALLOUS ACTS OF BURMA SOCIALIST PROGRAMME PARTY (BSPP) MILITARY REGIME

On September 5, 1987, the BSPP military government promulgated a decree demonetizing currency notes of the 25, 35 and 75-kyat denominations which had been the most popular notes in inflation plagued Burma.

When the regime demonetized 20, 50 and 100-kyat notes in 1964 and, again 20, 50 and 100-kyat notes in 1985, the people were permitted, within a limited time, to exchange their worthless notes for the new legal tender. However, due to the time limit and the various rules and conditions imposed, the people lost billions of kyats of their hardearned money on the two occasions. This time, the people were denied the chance of getting back any amount of their money. It is variously estimated that the people lost from 800 million to 1.5 billion, in terms of US dollars, as a result.

On the evening of the day the promulgation was made, anti-government demonstrations and riots by thousands of people led by university students and monks in Rangoon, Mandalay, Moulmein and Bassein broke out. The next day, all the schools, colleges, universities and other institutes of learning were closed and students from the provinces were immediately sent home. It would not take an expert to predict that these are precursors for more turbulent times.

At the time of seizing power in 1962, the regime declared to the world that it was going to build a socialist society free from poverty and want, the Burmese Way. Since then it has followed the counterproductive policy of state monopoly over all economic activities in the country. The results of this are a nose-dive in the production of all kinds of goods and commodities, the burgeoning of black-market trade, chronic deficit in the balance of payments in foreign trade, a growing debt-service ratio that has reached the point of 80 or 90% on a debt of three billion US dollars and a ranging inflation. All these combined to plunge Burma into a deep economic crisis and forced the BSPP military government to apply for the Least Developed Country Status at the United Nations. In the political field, its monopoly on power has shattered national unity and plunged the country the ever greater violence of the civil war.

To cover up its blunders, the BSPP military government resorts to cunning as before by spreading rumors that it had to demonetize the larger currency notes in order to deprive the black marketeers of their black money and deflect the danger from the people caused by counterfeit notes printed by the insurgents.

The only course for escaping from this disastrous situation is to stop the civil war, return the democratic rights to the people and secure peace by establishing a genuine federal union based on equality, democracy and social progress. As KNU and the National Democratic Front (NDF) have stated in their policy declarations, immediate peace can be realized only through the solution of the problem of the civil war by political means. Only when there is internal peace can all the problems befalling the country be resolved.

The KNU fully supports the students, monks and people from all walks of life who have opposed by demonstrations the criminal and heinous acts of the BSPP military government. Victory is for those who dare to fight. Accordingly, we must fight on with courage and determination until victory. For greater success and achievement in the struggle against the BSPP military government, we urge the people from all walks of life to come and join forces with the KNU or any member organization of the NDF.

September 9, 1987
The Year of 1349, 2nd day
of the waning moon of Tawthalin

CENTRAL STANDING COMMITTEE
The Karen National Union



16th SSPP (Shan State Progress Party) Party Day at Party HQ.



Some SSA (Shan State Army) Troops Saluting SSPP flag on 16th Party Anniversary Day Ceremony.

Statement Of National Democratic Front (NDF)

On the Speech of U Ne Win and Subsequent Development

On August 10, 1987 Chairman of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), U Ne Win, convened an extraordinary meeting of high ranking officials of the party and the government.

In his speech to the meeting, U Ne Win admitted that mistakes had been made during the 25 years rule of the BSPP military government. Then he went on to say that he had been kept in the dark as to the true situation of the country. He urged the officials to submit truthful reports in the future without hiding anything. Mistakes found must be corrected and even points in the constitution must be changed if necessary, he added. In conclusion he said conditions always changed and, accordingly, things must be done in a way to be consonant with the changed situation.

U Ne Win's speech made observers inside and outside of the country to come out with different opinions, some opined that U Ne Win had undergone a change in view and there might be a ray of hope for the country, but most of them see it as another trick of U Ne Win, a move just to mislead public opinion. One point all of them agreed upon was that something drastic was on the way.

U Ne Win was throwing his credibility to the wind when he said that he was not aware of the true situation of the country, for he had been running the government with direct orders, as an absolute dictator. By his clever move, U Ne Win was apparently attempting to put on an aura of innocence and find scapegoats to put all the blame on, after plunging the country into shame and disgrace. For the people in general, they had to take what U Ne Win said as a big joke and laughed in order not to cry.

U Ne Win's next move, most shocking and damaging to the people, was not long in coming. On September 5, 80% of the currency in circulation was made worthless by demonetization of 25, 35 and 75-kyat notes. Unlike on the previous two occasions, the people were not allowed to exchange any amount of their worthless paper money for the new legal tender. The demonetization, like in the previous instances, severely affected 90% of the population who could barely maintain a hand to mouth existence under the Burmese Way socialist economic system. It was a blatant robbery of the poor. This callous and loathsome act aroused hatred and anger in the hearts of the people. In anger and desperation thousands of people led by monks and students took to the street in violent demonstrations on the 6th of September. Foreign tourists burned their worthless notes in the open in disgust. As usual, U Ne Win's reaction to the public protest was arbitrary and irresponsible. All schools and institutes of learning were immediately closed and the futility of the struggle for justice under Ne Win's rule, came over to join forces with the NDF.

According to reliable information reaching here, the commodity prices shot up out of sight after demonetization. The people who suffered most were the poor. Most people refused to accept the new notes issued in the 45 and 90-kyat denominations. There was a growing mistrust of even the 5 and 10-kyat denominations.

In spite of a fertile land and the abundance in human and natural resources, the people are going hungry. The country, neck deep in foreign debt, has acquired the disgraceful title of one of the poorest countries in the world.

It is plain for all concerned to see that the principal culprits of all these troubles are U Ne Win and BSPP leaders under him who have been misusing the wealth of the country and foreign aid for their personal enrichment and on the genocidal war against the non-Burmese indigenous nationalities who are fighting for their inalienable birth-rights, the democratic freedom and self-determination.

If U Ne Win sincerely desires to receive effective and competent advice for the rehabilitation of the country, he shall have, first of all, to institute freedom of the Press and meet with the leaders of the opposition forces to address the question of the civil war, because his hirelings, the BSPP leaders under him, shall never be able together the courage needed to give him any constructive advice.

In the judgement of NDF, the most mortal mistakes U Ne Win and his followers have committed are:-

1. The institution of one-party military dictatorship rule, instead of a democratic form of government based on popular sovereignty;
2. Escalation of the civil war, instead of finding a solution to it through political means, and
3. Establishment of a faked union, instead of a genuine federal union of nationality states having equality and self-determination.

Only when the BSPP military government finds solutions, through negotiation with the opposition parties, to correct the above-mentioned mistakes, peace and prosperity will return to Burma.

The aim and object of the NDF is establishment of a genuine federal union based on freedom, equality, social progress and self-determination, and compatible with the interest of all the indigenous nationalities, including the Burmese.

As the civil war in Burma has its roots in political problems, we have to find a political solution to it. It is the firm conviction of the NDF that only when the BSPP government establish peace by finding a political solution to the civil war, can the country be saved from the disaster it is facing now.

September 9, 1987

The year of 1349, 2nd day of the waning
moon of Tawthalin

Central Presidium
National Democratic Front

STATEMENT OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT (BURMA) ON DEMONETIZATION OF CURRENCY NOTES

On September 5, 1987, the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) military government promulgated the decree Number 1/87 demonetizing the legal tender in the 25, 35 and 75-kyat denominations, leaving only the 5, 10 and 15-kyat denominations in circulation. This act of the government turned most of the money in circulation into worthless paper and plunge the economy into chaos. When the regime demonitized 50 and 100-kyat notes in 1964 and, again, 20, 50 and 100-kyat notes in 1985, the people were allowed, within a limited time, to exchange their worthless notes for the new legal tender. However, due to the time limit and the various conditions imposed, the people lost billions of kyats of their hard-earned money. This time, the people were completely denied the chance of getting back any amount of their money. It is variously estimated that the people lost from 800 million to 1.5 billion in terms of US dollars, as a result.

In the 25 years rule starting from 1962, U Ne Win and his cohorts, the BSPP leaders, had vaunted that the economy was growing at an annual rate of 6%. Then at the beginning of this year, we learnt from the world press that the BSPP military government was quietly trying to get a recognition at the United Nations as the Least Developed Country.

The industrial as well as the farm sector is reported to have been facing the problem of falling production over the last few years. Last year, the income earning from export barely exceeded US\$ 400 million and the foreign exchange reserve dwindled to an all time low of US\$ 28 million. The per capita income was reduced from US\$ 200 to US\$ 180 which is less than the pay check of a private in the Phillipines Army.

Burma was once known for having rice, meat, fuel and timber in abundance. Now these have become scare commodities. The worsening situation has led the expert to make dire predictions of severe shortages and even probable starvation in the coming months. Finally, dictator U Ne Win has to admit failures and urge his cohorts to find out the mistakes and come up with truthful reports on the situation.

Most probably, dictator U Ne Win was referring to performances in the economic field when he urged his cohorts to look for causes of failures. Taking his past behaviour as a basis for judgement, it may not be far from the truth to conclude that he actually lacks a proper perception of the fundamental causes of his failures, that is, the wrong policies he has been pursuing for the last 25 years. These wrong policies may be briefly described as:-

1. Instead of establishing internal peace, U Ne Win and the BSPP top leaders have acquired wealth by escalating the civil war.
2. Instead of establishing a genuine federal union based on liberty, equality and the BSPP set up a faked union which in reality is a unitary state.
3. Instead of establishing a political system based on the will of all nationalities and democratic principles, U Ne Win and his cohorts set up one-party military dictatorship.

These are the three most basic errors U Ne Win and his cohorts have committed. If they sincerely want to make a change and rectify the situation, they shall have to remove firstly, the fundamental causes of all problems by correcting their political mistakes.

The first rational step for U Ne Win to take is to publicly own up all the mistakes he has made in the whole period of 25 years and apologise for leading the country to ruin.

The criminal acts of the BSPP military government led by Ne Win, which will always remain in the memory of the people are the massacre in 1962, of more than 100 of the demonstrating university students, the massacre of more than 200 of the Arakanese civilians who held peaceful demonstration for rice in August 1967, the diversion of the mob, which was initially demonstrating against it, to the Chinese community resulting in the death of hundreds of Chinese civilians in September 1967, the brutal suppression of the riots during the SEAP games in 1970, the massacre of hundreds of demonstrating workers in 1974 and the massacre of more than 200 students and civilians who were holding anti-BSPP meetings in connection with U Thant's funeral in 1975.

The history of 25 years rule of the BSPP military regime is a history of ruthless suppression of all the indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in the country. In the 25 years of its rule, the military dictatorship has soaked the country in blood and swamped it in a sea of misery and poverty.

Whenever it finds itself in crisis, the BSPP military government always resorts to perfidious means to get out of it. If its trickery provoked an uprising, it was brutally quelled. The present demonetization is but one of its popular tricks to defraud the people in order to refill its depleted coffer. However, it is important for the people not to be deceived by U Ne Win's imposture or misleading words.

The NDF, which is composed of the revolutionary organizations of the Arakanese, Kachin, Karen, Karenni, Lahu, Mon Palaung, Pa-O, Shan and Wa peoples, is fighting for national freedom, national liberation, democracy and social progress of all the peoples in the country including ethnic Burmese. Accordingly, the NDF resolutely supports the struggle of the people in the form of demonstrations led by the students and monks, on September 5, 1987, in connection with the demonetization made by the BSPP military regime.

It is imperative for all the people to go on heightening the tempo of the struggle. For greater effectiveness and success, we strongly urge from all walks of life to join hands with the NDF and carry on the revolutionary struggle until victory.

- BSPP military regime shall definitely fall
- The just struggle of the people shall triumph!
- Genuine federal union shall definitely emerge!

September 9, 1987

Presidium
National Democratic Front (Bur)

WORLD COUNCIL OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES
Pacific-Asia Empowerment Conference
Manoa Campus, University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii June 23 to 27, 1987

The Pacific-Asia Empowerment Conference, organized through the cooperation of the Pacific Regional Council of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) and the Vice President of the WCIP responsible for the international advocacy of indigenous peoples, having met from June 23 to 27, 1987 at the East West Center and at the William S. Richardson School of Law both on the Manoa Campus of the University of Hawaii; and,

Whereas, the Conference was attended by delegates of indigenous organizations from a wide geographical area including India, Burma, Japan, Australia, Guam, and Hawaii, guests from as far away as Greece and Northern Quebec, Canada, and numerous observers from a multitude of places; and,

Whereas, the Conference has deliberated on a wide range of topics including but not limited to evolving international standards of indigenous peoples rights, examination of specific indigenous conditions, and summary review of instances of regional concerns; and,

Whereas, the Kachin, Karen, and Karenni peoples of Burma are distinctively indigenous peoples, their cultures and languages reflecting such definite distinctiveness; and,

Whereas, the Kachin, Karen and Karenni peoples have been governed by the Burmese majority without their consent to be governed for several decades; and,

Whereas, the Kachin, Karen and Karenni peoples have been denied their rights to self determination in their political, economic, social, cultural and sometimes religious life.

Therefore Be It Resolved that the Burmese government respect the inherent and internationally recognized rights of the Kachin, Karen and Karenni peoples to self determination in their political, economic, social and cultural life.

Be It Further Resolved that the Pacific-Asia Council of Indigenous Peoples:

1. Urge an immediate, impartial, international investigation to collect further data on human rights violations and to document the military invasion and occupation of the territories of the indigenous peoples of Burma by the armed forces of the government of Burma, in particular the violation of the homelands of the Kachin, Karen and Karenni peoples, in order to further document the suppression of their freedoms. We call upon a United Nations sponsored team to carry out this research.

2. Urge that the United States government end the provision of helicopters to the Burmese government which are ostensibly provided for opium suppression activities but are instead used in military suppression operations against the indigenous peoples within the country known as Burma.

3. Urge an end to the provision by the U.S. government of the chemical 2-4-D herbicide for the ostensible destruction of opium poppy cultivation, as this chemical is used by the Burmese military in indigenous areas where lives and agricultural crops are poisoned with the resulting loss of life and economic livelihood based upon non-opium crops.

4. Urge that the relative organs of the United Nations delay the application of least developed country status to Burma in order to prevent that government from more readily attaining additional foreign credits ostensibly for purposes of economic development but which will be used to increase the military attacks against indigenous peoples such as the Kachin, Karen, Karenni and others by permitting stepped up foreign military equipment purchases. Until the 1960s, Burma was the "rice bowl" of Asia, a rich and prosperous land with a wealth of natural resources. The reasons for its economic decline are that the present government seized the power in 1962, and started the country on a path labeled "The Burmese Way to Socialism." This has turned out to be the Burmese way to economic disaster. Through the incompetence, corruption, and an insane desire for Burmanization, Ne Win's government has destroyed the economy and the social structure of the country. The problem is not the need for additional soft loans by the Burmese socialist government, but the imperative for restructuring the country with a just federal union of all nationalities to effectively harness the energies of all peoples through a fair, just and democratic political administrative system.



Female students Singing Praise and Thanks to their Teachers at Closing Ceremony of 1987 Pol. Trg. Course.

**LIST OF INNOCENT KAREN CIVILIANS IN BILIN TOWNSHIP OF THATON DISTRICT WHO WERE
KILLED BY BURMESE GOVERNMENT TROOPS BETWEEN APRIL 1986 AND MAY 1987**

Serial No.	Name of victim	Sex	Village	Burmese military Unit	Date	Remarks
1	Maung Tun	Male	Kyo Waing	No. 70 Buregt.	April '86	Shot and killed in the village.
2	Maung Thein	"	"	"	"	"
3	Pah Luc	"	Htee Pa Doh Hta	"	25/5/86	He was a Burmese appointed village headman. In the aftermath of a successful Karen military raid on the Burmese military base there, he was arrested together with some other villagers. They were tortured in many ways and put in a deep pit. He was finally taken out and killed.
4	Tee Kan Kaung	"	"	"	28/5/86	He also was a village elder who was arrested for the same reason, tortured and finally killed.
5	Saw Than Win	"	"	"	"	He was a villager arrested for the same reason, tortured and finally killed.
6	Nay Kaw Moh	Female	Mae Baw Khi	No. 81 Buregt.	13/6/86	The Burmese came upon them in their field hut and killed all three of them. The first two women were pregnant women.
7	Naw Hsar Moo	"	"	"	"	
8	Naw Aye Han	"	"	"	"	
9	Saw Pah Eh	Male	Noh Ka Neh	No. 75 Buregt.	9/8/86	The Burmese came upon them in their field hut, arrested them and killed them afterwards.
10	Saw Than Lein	"	"	"	"	
11	Bfa Baw	"	Ta Ut Nee	"	9/8/86	The Burmese arrested him, tortured and then killed him.
12	Saw Tu Tu	"	Noh Hkeh	No. 70 Buregt.	9/8/86	The Burmese found him at the outskirts of the village, took him captive and killed him on the way.
13	Saw Ohn Myint	"	Hkaw Htee Khi	"	9/8/86	
14	Maung Mya	"	Kya Pra Khi	No. 75 Buregt.	13/8/86	
15	Tun Tin	"	Ler Ka Ter	No. 75 Buregt.	13/8/86	The Burmese took them captives to Lay Kay where the unit is based and killed them.
16	Ku Ler	"	"	"	"	
17	Nyunt Maung	"	"	"	"	The Burmese found them in a field hut and killed all of them.
18	Naw Gaw	Female	La Kyo Kaw Ti	No. 81 Buregt.	August '86	
19	Naw Ma Say	"	"	"	"	
20	Ma Tin Aye	"	"	"	"	The Burmese came upon him on the road and shot and killed him.
21	Kya Ta Raw	Male	Tar Mae Khi	"	"	
22	Dah Lee	"	Nyar Po Khi	No. 75 Buregt.	Sept. '86	The Burmese arrested him and took him captive for a few days after which he was killed in Kwi Lay.
23	Ti Tu	"	Klaw Hta	"	19/10/86	The Burmese came upon them while they were in a fishing hut and shot and killed all of them on the pretext that they were Karen soldiers. In fact they were but innocent civilians.
24	Pah Lay	"	"	"	"	
25	Maung Nu	"	"	"	"	
26	Ti Taw	"	"	"	"	
27	Lu Ga Lay	"	"	"	"	
28	Hsar Ta Paw	Male	Ka War Hta	No. 81 Buregt.	27/10/86	He was arrested and severely tortured by the Burmese for 3 days after which he was killed.
29	Thay Muh Pah	"	Klaw Hta	No. 75 Buregt.	29/10/86	The Burmese came upon him in his field hut and shot and killed him.
30	San Thain	"	Tar Mae Khi	No. 81 Buregt.	29/10/86	Shot and killed in his field hut.

**LIST OF INNOCENT KAREN CIVILIANS IN BILIN TOWNSHIP OF THATON DISTRICT WHO WERE
KILLED BY BURMESE GOVERNMENT TROOPS BETWEEN APRIL 1986 AND MAY 1987**

Serial No.	Name of victim	Sex	Village	Burmese military Unit	Date	Remarks
31	Maung Shwe	"	Kwi Lay	No. 75 Buregt.	29/10/86	He was arrested and severely tortured. There were 6 bayonet wounds on his dead body.
32	Pah Toh	Male	Ka Wa Hta	No. 83 Buregt.	26/11/86	He was arrested and severely tortured. He was burned with fire and boiling water was poured into his mouth. He was finally taken to Htee Pa Doh Hta and killed.
33	Saw Aw Kaw	"	Mae Naw Ther Khi	No. 75 Buregt.	5/2/87	Arrested, taken captive and killed.
34	Maw Tu	"	Har Lay	No. 96 Buregt.	23/2/87	Arrested, taken to Peh Leh Noh
35	Paw Htoo	"	"	"	"	Burmese military base and killed.
36	Su Pa	"	Mar Kloo Htaw	No. 79 Buregt.	16/3/87	They were muslims. The Burmese
37	Dumeenar	"	"	"	"	arrested them and tortured them
38	Durasin	"	"	"	"	severely and killed them.
39	Tu Tu	"	Hti Hsi Baw Khi	"	23/3/87	The Burmese came upon them on the
40	Boh Nar	"	"	"	"	way and shot and killed them.
41	Pah Nu	"	Shwe Oke	No. 75 Buregt.	28/3/87	Shot and killed in the forest.
42	Tee Peh	"	"	"	"	"
43	Saw Kyay	"	Kaw Heh	No. 81 Buregt.	28/3/87	"
44	Cha Taik	"	"	"	"	"
45	Kyaw Aye	"	"	"	"	"
46	Tah Dee	"	Wa Hket Hta	"	5/5/87	The Burmese came upon him in the forest and shot and wounded him. He was left to die in the forest.
47	San Hla	"	Pet Wah Hta	"	5/5/87	Shot and killed in the forest.
48	Maung Shwe Thauung	"	Tar Ut Khi	No. 83 Buregt.	16/5/87	"
49	Pah Lu	"	War Tho Kia	No. 75 Buregt.	15/5/87	Shot and killed on the way.
50	Kway Bein	"	Saw Loh Kio	No. 96 Buregt.	17/5/87	He was arrested, taken to the Burmese base in Peh Leh Noh and killed.
51	Yar Nar	"	Kyo Waing	Burmese militia	24/5/87	"
52	Moe Aye	"	"	"	"	"
53	Pret Kaw	"	"	"	"	"
54	Maung Ne	"	Taw Klaw Khi	No. 75 Buregt.	29/5/87	Shot and killed on the road.
55	Pah Bo Tin	"	Thoo Ka Bi	"	"	"
56	Muraki	"	Maw Khi	No. 96 Buregt.	29/5/87	"
57	Pah Nya Po	"	Waw Lay	"	"	"
58	Pah Hkeh	"	"	"	"	Shot and killed.
59	Thein San	"	Waw Ka Ter	"	"	"
60	Hla Hla	"	Ler Po	"	"	"
61	Naw Ma Nu	Female	Mya Lay	No. 79 Buregt.	25/5/87	She was shot in her house and died.
62	Tee Ku Li	Male	Hkaw Po Pleh	No. 75 Buregt.	25/5/87	He was arrested and taken captive for many days after which the villagers found his dead body with a broken skull. He is believed to have been beaten to death by the Burmese.

SUMMARY REPORTS OF KNLA MILITARY ACTIVITIES FROM 1.6.1986 TO 31.5.87

Military Zone	Total Ene Attacks	Total KNLA Attacks	Total KNLA Mine Bombs	Ene Casualties				Ene Losses in Arms & Ammos							KNLA, Col				KNLA Losses in Arms & Ammos				REMARKS	
				Killed	Wounded	Surrender	Captured	Small Arms	Magazines	Ammos	Heavy Weapons	Shells	Hand Grenades	Bombs	Killed	Wounded	Surrender	captured	Small Arms	S/A Ammos	Heavy Weapons	Shells		Hand Grenades
No. 1	23	101	110	118	190	—	—	16	40	2348	—	5	4	—	29	11	8	7	73	56	5	—	—	(1) ene, officer killed. Destroyed (1) ene, truck, burnt down (3) ene, buildings.
No. 2	6	34	25	56	85	2	—	4	—	600	—	—	1	—	6	5	—	—	7	300	—	—	—	(7) ene, officers kid. Destroyed (4) bridges (2) go-downs, (1) tractor, (4) ene, ops killed.
No. 3	15	55	69	137	125	—	—	12	23	737	—	—	5	—	10	8	—	—	14	1115	—	—	—	(1) ene, officer kid, (1) officer wtd. Destroyed (4) trucks, (50) carts, (1) rice-mill burnt down with 25300 bullets badly.
No. 4	8	62	7	103	90	1	2	18	62	3656	2	—	1	—	33	15	7	9	28	900	2	5	1	(4) ene, officers (1) council member killed, (1) truck and (1) motor-launch destroyed.
No. 5	—	234	4	205	498	1	—	12	35	5022	2	172	10	6	26	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(2) ene, officers kid (2) wtd. Destroyed (4) motor-launch (1) electric light (2) fire-engines.
No. 6	0	57	92	130	420	—	1	37	41	20628	4	595	42	30	8	29	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	(7) ene, officers kid (6) wtd. Destroyed (1) bridge, (1) truck (2) carts.
101 Bn.	66	112	57	75	268	—	—	30	18	347	—	—	3	196	16	58	—	—	8	200	1	—	—	(3) ene, officers kid, (3) wtd. Destroyed (3) ene, trucks.
20 Bn.	2	147	104	113	309	—	—	28	—	15740	3	—	—	—	13	32	—	—	2	3	1	—	2	(1) ene, officer kid, (1) wtd. Captured large quantity of rice and other ration stores.
Totl DOWNS	7	93	19	121	172	—	—	—	—	1784	4	—	—	8	7	20	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—
GHQ	3	51	96	86	144	—	1	29	17	59930	8	1481	34	76	7	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(3) ene, officers kid (3) wtd. Destroyed (2) tractors, (4) trucks. Large quantity rice and stores captured.
Total	136	946	583	1104	2301	4	4	186	236	109803	23	2264	100	316	155	217	15	16	135	3023	10	5	5	(23) ene, officers kid (24) wtd, (6) bridges (14) trucks (2) motor-launch (1) rice mill destroyed.



Male students Presenting gifts to their Teachers at Closing Ceremony of 1987 Pol. Trg. Course.



Karen Traditional Tie-ing of Hands at Wankha.



Trainees of 1987 Central Political Training Course.



Karen Masses attending Traditional Tie-ing of Hands' Ceremony at Maela.



KNU Vice-President Saw Than Aung (standing) admonishing 1987 Political Trainees.



Teachers of 1987 Central Political Training Course.