



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



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

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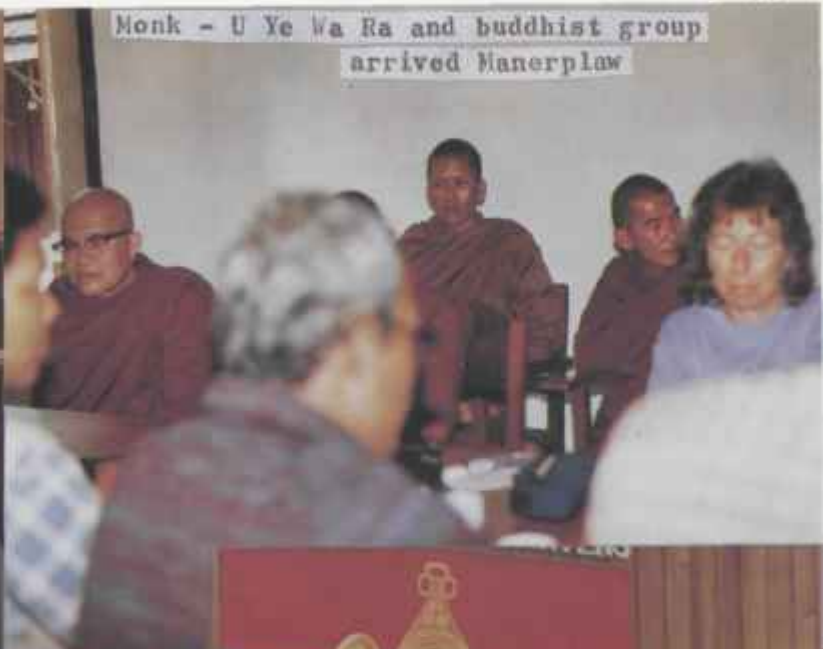
AUGUST, 1992

GENERAL HEAD QUARTERS



DAB chairman U Breng Zeng,
Gen. Saw Bo Mya and Naing Shwe Kyin

Monk - U Ye Wa Ra and buddhist group
arrived Manerplaw



Monk U Ye Wa Ra and group meet Gen. G Bo Mya.



Lawyers group from Japan, Phillipine,
Thailand and Dr. Win Naing
visit Manerplaw



The General Secretary Saw Ba Thin Ba Sein of the KNU giving Speech before delivering arms to the ABSDF.



Representatives attending the KNU Congress



KYO leaders with visiting guests.



KYO leaders with visiting guests.

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Dr. Kho Thaw and nurses at med. training closing day.

EDITORIALON THE NATIONAL CONVENTION CALLEDBY THE SLORC

The SLORC has now formed a committee of leading military members to coordinate a National Convention. This committee has already called three meetings with the leaders of political parties not yet banned, although allowing very little input from these leaders at the meetings.

At the end of the last meeting Maj. Gen. Myo Nyunt, Chairman of the committee and of all meetings, warned some of the delegates that their discussion of possibly inviting "underground" resistance groups was not legitimate or allowed. He announced that only if these resistance groups surrendered and gave up their armed struggle could they be represented at the National Convention. He said the SLORC would not allow the armed resistance to mount a dual attack together with the political parties. In a closing ceremony speech at a medical staff training course, SLORC first secretary Maj. Gen. Khin Nyunt gave similar hints about the SLORC's attitude toward all "underground" resistance.

At the National Convention, the SLORC will force the leaders of the unbanned political parties to accept a new constitution designed to their desires.

They will continue to oppress the prodemocracy movement. They will continue to increase their military offensives against the ethnic nationalities and prolong the civil war.

Meanwhile they will use the new constitution to prolong their hold on power. There will be no democracy in the nation, and the military junta will be able to intensify its repression of the people. Even though the whole population already appeals for democracy, the ethnic nationalities demand their rights and international pressure has mounted, the SLORC has still shown no willingness to change. They are addicted to the taste of military power and its economic benefits, and they will never transfer that power willingly, but only try to cling to it ever more tightly.

Therefore the oppressed people of all classes and nationalities in Burma cannot benefit in any way from the SLORC's National Convention. It cannot bring about internal peace, democracy, or a solution to ethnic nationality issues. To achieve these goals, we will continue to defy this military dictatorship in every way possible.



Dr. Kho Thaw and Dr. Po Thaw Da with donators.

KAREN NATIONAL UNION (KNU)
STATEMENT

Regarding: SLORC Maj. Gen. Maung Hla's order to halt the military offensive in Karen State.

On 28 April 1992, the SLORC's Chief of Military Operations Control Command, Major General Maung Hla, called together his LID (Light Infantry Division) Commanders to tell them that the military offensive in Karen State would be halted "to expedite attainment of amity among all national races for national unity with a view to strengthening national solidarity" (Working People's Daily, Rangoon). This statement was broadcast by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC)-controlled radio, television, and newspapers. The KNU wishes to expose the complete hypocrisy of this statement and the true nature of the SLORC's motives in making it.

Beginning in mid December 1991 and continuing through to the end of April 1992, the SLORC has carried on a large-scale military offensive against KNU bases, with Manerplaw and Kawmoora as their chief targets. It has deployed its ground troops, artillery units, commando units and air force to their utmost strength, determined to take and occupy these bases at all cost. This military offensive was code named "Operation Dragon King", and included a full-scale Scorched Earth policy in all Karen areas.

Karen civilians have been arbitrarily arrested, tortured, summarily executed, women pack-raped, villagers forcibly resettled at gunpoint, villages destroyed and crops burned, and property and livestock looted. Tens of thousands of civilians including pregnant women, the elderly, and children, have been press-ganged to do forced labour as army porters and human minesweepers. Throughout the 43-year civil war, such atrocities against all national races have been the standard practice of the Burma Army. It is thus completely illogical and hypocritical for Maj Gen. Maung Hla, who himself is an active participant in ordering all these atrocities, to make such a statement.

The SLORC has halted its military offensive in the Karen State for the following reasons:

- 1) The offensive has failed to meet each of its objectives. None of the deadline dates set by the SLORC to finish occupying the KNU bases have been met. The SLORC was even so bold as to publicly broadcast the claim that they would occupy Manerplaw (Victory Field) by 27 March 1992. It is now May, and they are still nowhere near achieving this.
- 2) Throughout the four-and-a-half month "Dragon King" offensive over 3,000 rank-and-file of the Burmese Army have been killed, wounded, or are missing. These casualty figures are much higher than the SLORC had planned for.
- 3) The morale of the rank-and-file among the Burmese soldiers has become extremely low. They have refused to obey orders to attack Karen positions. There have even been occasions when they have shot themselves or their own commanding officers to avoid following orders to go into battle.

- 4) Their ammunition supply has been seriously depleted since the beginning of the offensive.
- 5) The international pressure on the SLORC has increased daily. This puts the SLORC in a tight political situation as it struggles to redeem its international image and maintain international support.
- 6) While their military objectives have not been accomplished, the rainy season is fast approaching, which will make transportation and supply difficult to impossible as roads and footpaths become impassable.
- 7) Cut off from all logistical support in the rainy season, SLORC troops could be trapped and wiped out by the Karen army.
- 8) The internal conflicts among SLORC members and military officers have heightened, threatening to destroy the SLORC from within.

These are the true reasons the SLORC has announced that it is putting a halt to its current military offensive in Karen State. The SLORC has clearly proven by its actions during and previous to this offensive that it has absolutely no interest in "expediting amity among national races" or "national solidarity".

Further, while fighting has continued as before even since Maung Hla's announcement, SLORC Operations Control Command has given orders to its front line troops to build strong defences in positions they have occupied during the dry season offensive. It is clear that the SLORC troops are merely digging in for the rainy season, hoping to reorganise and stockpile arms and ammunition in preparation to launch another major offensive later this year, when rainy season has finished.

Major General Maung Hla does not want "to expedite amity among national races and strengthen national solidarity". He has no intention of ceasing his regime's attacks on the Karen people for any reason. His motives in suspending "Operation Dragon King" are:

- 1) To give a rest to SLORC's troops, reorganise them and try to increase their morale;
- 2) To stockpile enough arms and ammunition to support next season's offensive;
- 3) To mislead the international and internal communities into believing that the SLORC desires national unity and peace;
- 4) To publicly justify stopping an operation which has been a failure in every aspect.

Executive Committee
Karen National Union (KNU)
Supreme Headquarters
Manerplaw, Kawthoolei

Dated: May 6, 1992

KNU STATEMENT
ON THE SUCCESSFUL DEFENCE OF HEADQUARTERS AT MANERPLAW
AGAINST THE SLORC OFFENSIVE

Before the SLORC began its annual dry season offensive, messengers were sent to the leaders of the KNU three times to propose a ceasefire. The proposal, however, stated that as the SLORC are only military rulers, they would not under any circumstances be willing to discuss any political problems. It also threatened the leaders that should they refuse to accept, the SLORC would launch a fierce offensive and crush the KNU.

The KNU replied that the Karen National question is a political problem which must be addressed, preferably by political means, if there is to be any lasting peace or national unity. We also stated that any negotiation should take place in an appropriate neutral country, and that United Nations observers should be allowed to attend.

Rather than respond to the KNU statement, the SLORC launched an all out dry season offensive against KNU Headquarters at Manerplaw. The offensive ran from December 12, 1991 to April 30, 1992, the first stage code named "Operation Dragon King" and the second stage Operation Dagger". They employed No. 88, 66, and 33 Light Infantry Divisions, forces from South Eastern Command and Central Command, and artillery units, supported by air power. They used 105mm howitzer field guns, 76mm field guns, 84mm rocket launchers, 120mm, 81mm, 82-mm and 60mm mortars, 75mm and 57mm recoilless guns, No. 2, No. 5 and No. 7 RPG (Rocket Propelled Grenades), freely and unreservedly, shelling our positions and civilian villages daily with incendiary phosphorus shells, anti-personnel shells and air bursting anti-personnel shells. The Pilatus PC Turboprop planes and G4 Super Galeb jets of their air force conducted regular attacks on Karen positions and civilian villages using 40-pound TNT bombs, rockets and 15mm rapid fire machine guns.

Manerplaw is Headquarters to the Karen National Union and the resolute struggle of the Karen people for equal rights, self-determination and the establishment of a genuine Federal Union. We share this struggle with the democratic forces of the National Democratic Front (NDF), Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF), All Burma Young Monks Union (ABYMU), and National League for Democracy (NLD Liberated Area) among others, who have made Manerplaw the Headquarters of the entire struggle for freedom in Burma.

In the defence of Manerplaw, the ABSDF, NMSP (New Mon State Party) and Karenni united forces have fought actively and unitedly in support of the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA). Although the Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO), Overseas Burmese Liberation Front (OBLF), Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Burma (CRDB), People's Liberation Front (PLF), Overseas Karen Organisation (OKO), All Burma Muslim Union (ABMU), and Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) were not able to provide forces to help in defending the area, all gave moral or financial support as far as they could. The members of the NDF, DAB, National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), NLD Liberated Area, and Democratic Party for a New Society (DPNS) formed a Supporting Committee for the security and defence of Manerplaw and helped with transportation and public relations services. Behind the defence lines, KNU students, the Karen Youth Organisation (KYO), Karen Women's Organisation (KWO), and the broad masses also took active roles in preparing, transporting, and supplying the daily required rations and other needs of soldiers at the front line. Everyone in all

organisations acted unitedly in stopping the fierce offensive of the SLORC.

Against this united effort, the SLORC had no chance of celebrating Armed Forces Day in an occupied Manerplaw on March 27th, as they had repeatedly publicly proclaimed they would do. Instead, Armed Forces Day saw their offensive reeling under casualty figures that were increasing daily while the morale of their troops was plummeting.

Although their foot soldiers and heavy guns were steadily supplied with ammunition and fully backed up by air power, the SLORC army could not occupy their objectives, and many senior officers were severely punished throughout the offensive. Conflicts developed between the high command and the Strategic Command, and also among their combat forces on the ground. Disobeying orders at the battle front became common, as did self-inflicted wounds and suicide. Soldiers often shot back at their officers. Meanwhile, in one airbase accident the Air Force Managed to wipe out more of its own personnel and equipment than the cumulative damage all its raids had inflicted.

The SLORC military rulers refused to discuss political problems, thinking that they could crush all opposition by military force alone. But backed by an army fighting only for a salary against a united opposition fighting for its life, its beliefs, and its freedom, they met nothing but complete failure. Thus, on 28th April 1992, SLORC Major General Maung Hla had to declare that the SLORC felt compelled to suspend its operation in Karen State. In a desperate attempt to save face and quell international opinion, he tried to claim this was for the sake of "national unity".

There is a saying that "Unity is Strength, Unity is Victory". The SLORC should take this statement to heart, and see in it the reason for the complete failure of their offensive. While their forces had nothing to unite them and fell into disarray as the fighting intensified, the KNU and its allies only became more united, joining together in the fight so that today, we can all declare that we have unitedly and successfully repulsed the SLORC offensive and defended Manerplaw.

Standing Committee
Karen National Union
Kawthoolei

Dated: May 7, 1992,



The DAB Military Secretary Major General Saw Maung Maung delivering arms to the ABSDF.

STATEMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA REGARDING THE
NATIONAL CONVENTION TO BE CONVENED BY THE STATE LAW
AND ORDER RESTORATION COUNCIL

1. The State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), by its order No. 1/90, refused to transfer state power to the elected Members of Parliament who won the May 27, 1990 elections.
2. Instead, the SLORC has only continued its campaigns of flagrant human rights violations, arresting and torturing elected MPs and other dissidents, and raping, torturing, murdering and enslaving thousands of civilians. Tens of thousands more are being forcibly relocated by SLORC troops attempting to stifle the population's support for the opposition as they escalate the civil war on all fronts.
3. To quell the mounting international pressure caused by their actions, the SLORC has launched an attempt to mislead the international community and divide their opposition by issuing Announcement 11/92, stating their intention to hold a National Convention.
4. In Announcement 35/92, the SLORC restricted the function of the National Convention to the writing of a constitution acceptable to the SLORC. According to the announcement, the meeting they have scheduled with representatives from political parties for June 23 will be held strictly within this framework. Thus, the representatives will not have the right to free and open discussion and the meetings will be a complete sham.
5. The SLORC itself is only the continuation of the Revolution Council, which came into existence with General Ne Win's coup on 2 March 1962. This Council evolved into the one-party military dictatorship which, during and after the 8/8/88 uprisings, was responsible for massacring thousands of university students, monks, and people from all walks of life, and in the process transformed itself into the SLORC. No "National Convention" convened by such a military clique could be acceptable to the people of Burma, including the Democratic Alliance of Burma, no matter what disguise the SLORC presents it in.
6. If the SLORC is sincere in its stated aims for the Convention and truly wants to work for the future prosperity of the country, it should include the following in its immediate initiatives:
 - a) release all political prisoners unconditionally, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.
 - b) rescind all oppressive laws and orders.
 - c) announce a nationwide cessation of all military operations against the people.
 - d) transfer state power to the elected parliamentary representatives who won the 1990 general election.
 - e) rescind all past orders declaring various political parties and movements illegal.Furthermore, only a genuine democratic government made up of representatives having a mandate from the people has the legal right to convene such a National Convention.
7. Therefore, the Democratic Alliance of Burma declares that any National Convention conducted in the absence of the above conditions is illegitimate and illegal.

June 22, 1992

Central Executive Committee
Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB)

THE SLORC ESCALATES ITS WAR ON VILLAGERS

This year has seen a great increase in the SLORC's genocidal attacks on villages and villagers of all races. For many years now, they have followed a scorched earth policy in all ethnic areas, including their well-known Four Cuts policy proclaimed and enacted since the 1960's (cut off all sources of food, funds, recruits, and the heads of all opponents; that is, annihilate all ethnic villages and villagers). But this year their campaign of genocide against villagers has been stepped up to unprecedented levels. In the process of mounting their mass offensive on Karen areas, they have been utterly devastating entire regions and driving villagers destitute throughout all of Burma.

Even ethnic Burman villagers are often the victims of their attacks. Escaped Burman porters and farmers driven by starvation to Karen areas have been telling of the confiscation of their entire crops. U Shwe Gyi, a 65-year-old farmer who escaped to the Manerplaw area after 3 months as a porter, says "We have to sell our quota of rice to the army at a very low price every year, good year or bad. In a good year this quota is a lot of our crop. In a bad year it's more than we can grow". Many rice farmers are forced to buy rice at much higher black market prices just to fill their quota and feed their families. That is, if they can; spiralling poverty and inflation have already left most of them on the brink of destitution, while groups of soldiers continue to demand "porter fees" from villagers ever more frequently. U Shwe Gyi says "This used to happen every month or two, but recently they've started coming around 3 times a month. We're poor, and there's no way we can pay them every time". An unpaid "porter fee" or an unfilled quota have similar results: family members are imprisoned or taken as frontline porters. In many cases they are never seen again.

Karen villagers, and those in areas where the SLORC army is on the offensive, are suffering the worst. Many are being forced to do unpaid labour building army posts. Naw Htoo,

a 33-year-old Karen widow and mother of three, said this has become so regular in Kyauk Kyi Township that the villagers can hardly spend half their time at home anymore. In her village, "each house, without exception, had to send at least one person to work for 3 days without pay, and we had to take all our own food". This was only one of a series of weekly assignments announced at meetings every Sunday, and usually "1 day" became three, or "3 days" became six. This time, building Paw Daw Moo camp, it was only through the pleading of village elders after 6 days that they were allowed to go home to their families - on the condition that they returned to do rotating 3-day shifts of unpaid hard labour indefinitely from then on.

They labour dawn to dusk, sleep on the ground under guard, and must urinate where they sleep. To keep them subdued, they are subjected to constant intimidation, terror tactics such as soldiers firing guns and mortars into the air at night, and interrogations about the activities of everyone in the village. When Naw Htoo Paw went in for one interrogation by a SLORC sergeant, "He told me he'd already tied up 2 villagers and killed them." He threatened giving her to his soldiers to be gang raped and killed, then tied her up and raped her several times himself. Other villagers later told her it was not unusual from him. But for Naw Htoo Paw, especially after the sergeant ordered her to become a spy for him, it was too much. She was driven into fleeing her village.

To make way for the army, particularly in Mergui and Tavoy districts, the SLORC has been relocating tens of thousands of villagers at gunpoint. They are given almost no advance notice, and are generally only allowed whatever belongings they can carry on their backs. Crops already planted must be left behind to the army. Along the forced marches, many young women are raped by soldiers in full view of their families and other villagers.

On arrival at the "new settlements",

the villagers generally find a wasteland that resembles a concentration camp more than a village. There is no adequate water supply for the thousands of newcomers, and no available food. Guards patrol the perimeter, sometimes along barbed wire fences, and any villagers found outside are shot on sight. Only a handful have managed to escape or bribe their way out: they consistently tell of the malnutrition and starvation that sets in as soon as the villagers finish whatever food they brought with them. The lack of water, sanitation and medicine mean dysentery, hepatitis, and malaria quickly become epidemic. Escapees report that 6 to 10 children and adults are dying each day in many of these concentration camp settlements.

The SLORC army seems to have such a desperate fear of the civilian population that they have declared complete, systematic war on them. As part of this war, they have continued their policy of launching military attacks against Karen villages to retaliate for any setbacks they suffer, however caused. In one recent incident, a SLORC army truck loaded with rations was destroyed when it drove over an old landmine which they themselves had laid. As a result, SLORC Divisional Command ordered the local army commander to burn and destroy the nearest Karen village, and to demand a total of 300,000 Kyat "compensation" for the truck and rations from the people of the other villages in the area, under pain of extermination.

Escaped porters have described the destruction when SLORC troops enter a village: the looting, burning of houses and crops, and shooting of all livestock. In most cases the villagers had fled before they arrived. But all too often, particularly for the old, the sick, and the women and children, there is no such chance. Karen villagers unable to flee the SLORC troops face fates almost too horrible to describe. Entire families are murdered, women raped, men and adolescents taken as porters. Naw Kler Moe, a 50-year-old mother of six, was too slow in running when the troops entered Wa Mu Loe village in Pa Pun district. They grabbed her and her husband, then shot her husband dead in front of her. A gang of soldiers then knocked Naw Kler Moe to the ground with a rifle butt to the jaw, slashed her across the chest 3

times with bayonets, shot her in both arms and back raped her. She was left laying in a pool of her own blood. Only later, when the troops had left, could the other villagers return and try to carry the still-living Naw Kler Moe to help. But she died before they got there.

When the SLORC army entered Htee Pa Nar village in Shwegun Township, Naw Mya Thaung was there, hiding under the monastery with the other women and children. But in the process of looting the village, the soldiers found them and called them out of their trench. First they beat up one of the monks. Then "they started calling all the women, one by one, down into the trench with them. When each woman went down there, they would accuse her of hiding money and gold in her clothes and force her to strip. Then they searched her clothes for anything valuable, and took turns raping her. Not one woman was spared, whether young, old, married, or unmarried. Even though I was holding my baby son at the time, when my turn came I had to go into the trench like the others, or the soldiers would have killed me. In this way, every woman in the village was gang raped."

That was only the beginning. The troops stayed in the village for a week. They wouldn't let the villagers leave. "Many women were raped again and again. The soldiers murdered a village man, Pah Ngwe Kawt, in front of all of us. They stole or killed all of our animals cattle, buffalo, pigs, chickens, and goats - saying that we kept the animals to feed the rebels. They entered the houses and took all the valuables, clothes, everything. They even broke our pots and pans."

After a full week of horror, they finally left - burning houses and crops as they went. "They left us absolutely destitute, with no food to eat, no belongings, absolutely nothing but the clothes on our backs. So we all had to flee our own village, our own birthplace."

Sadly, what happened in Htee Pa Nar village is far from an isolated incident, only one of the few cases to be documented. The SLORC army's atrocities have proven to be anything but wanton; they are consistent, systematic, a reflection of the SLORC's

policy of holding power by sheer repression and brutality. In their dedication and tenacity, one could only feel admiration and solidarity with the accelerating their undeclared, Cause. unprovoked war on innocent villagers. But this policy is accomplishing nothing other than spreading hatred of the SLORC to every village, every villager in all of Burma. The SLORC is only rushing to sign its own death warrant.

IF I EVER RETURN

As a Burma-watcher, I had read and heard stories of the Karens' 40-plus year quest for autonomy.

Some of the stories, such as "Grandfather Longlegs" by Ian Morrison and friends' accounts of their experiences during the battle of Insein, go back to the so-called beginning. During visits to Rangoon (the last in 1987), I heard horrific tales of "savagely Karen insurgents" blowing up trains and terrorizing the populace (and maybe eating babies). Knowing that stories take on the coloring of the tellers' particular biases, I was eager to visit Manerplaw, meet the "real" counterparts of the stories' characters, and see for myself.

The opportunity came in June of 1991. During the constant rains. With the river high and brown. Although there was no sign of battle during that visit- we heard shooting one night far in the distance- I was greatly impressed by the pervasive sense of readiness at all times. The discipline and seriousness of purpose were plain to see. It was impressive to see the full participation of men, women and

No ethnic group should ever be lost to or subsumed by a dominant group, as the loss to one is a loss to all. One could cite the sorry examples of the Indians of North and South Americas, Aborigines of Australia, the Penan of Sarawak currently struggling for their existence and even, by extension, the loss of Neapolitan and Venetian dialect poetry to "standard television Italian" language in Europe. Homogeneity means loss. It is not progress. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said, in 1988, "...it is important for every people to work for the preservation of their culture and religion. At the same time it must be remembered that a progressive nation should move with the times and avoid bigoted and narrow-minded attitudes."

One hopes for an eventual democratic Burma with ethnic groups autonomy protected and respected within a cooperative whole. The task of putting Burma back together and bringing her up to world speed is one of unimaginable enormity. It will need the cooperation of all and the contributions of all. One hopes that future generations of Karens might have their autonomy secured and be able to concentrate their efforts and resources on things other than defense of homeland and culture. Finding a cure for cancer, perhaps.

I remain grateful for the brief glimpse of the situation and the gracious and warm hospitality received

News of Burma is rare enough. News of Kawthoolei is almost nonexistent. A



Some of KNLA troops before leaving for the front line.

Karen friend in the Irrawaddy delta wrote in October and November of '91 about the battles there and atrocities committed against Karens and suspected Karens. On 12 January, '92, the New York Times reported repulsed attacks on Manerplaw itself. How have my new-found friends been affected? Has this dry season been worse than previous ones? If I am allowed to return, will I see the same smiling faces? Hear the same sweet voices singing hymns?

Mimi Forsyth
Santa Fe, N.M.
87504 U.S.A

THE SLORC CANNOT BE TRUSTED

Hugh Wood



General Secretary of the GNU delivering arms to the ABSDF

Announcements made by the State Law and Order Restoration Council in Burma since General Than Shwe took over from General Saw Maung are largely rhetoric. Those who have been released from custody, including former Prime Minister U Nu who is an old man, represent no threat to the illegal regime. The junta declared it would take back those Muslim refugees who could prove that they were residents of Burma. Many of those who have sought refuge in Bangladesh will not want to go back because a similar campaign of oppression drove them to seek refuge in Bangladesh in 1978. Suspending the offensive against the Karens can hardly be regarded as a genuine measure of goodwill, because the Burmese Army has failed in its attempt to take Manerplaw, and has suffered very heavy casualties. The Monsoon is due soon, and operations would have come to a halt then anyway.

Burma has one of the worst records of human rights violations in the region, and the SLORC would hardly be likely to suddenly become concerned about human rights, just because it has

a new Chairman.

The people belonging to all the ethnic groups indigenous to Burma must be given the right of self determination, the right to freedom of worship, and the right to speak and teach their own languages, and to follow their own culture.

If the SLORC is really sincere, then it must show it by suspending the offensive against the Kachins, Mons, Karennis, and other groups as well as the Karens. Aung San Suu Kyi, and all other political detainees must be released, and the junta must hand over power to a civilian caretaker government who will draft a new constitution in consultation with members of all the political groups, including representatives from groups represented in the Democratic Alliance of Burma, the National Democratic Front, and the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma. Talks to formulate plans to implement constitutional reforms, should be held in a neutral country, preferably under the Auspices of the United Nations.

We are very grateful to the readers who have responded with contribution, advice and encouragement. We look forward to enjoying the same support and good-will of our readers in the future as well.

We accept a voluntary contribution of US \$1 or an equivalent amount in any currency for a copy of GNU Bulletin. Readers living farther away than Thailand usually double that amount.

Once again, readers of the GNU bulletin who want to make contribution towards the cost of publication and cost of mailing, are requested to kindly send their money orders or cheques to the Editor, GNU Bulletin, P.O Box 22, Maesod, Tak Province, Thailand.

LIKE BEASTS OF BURDEN

Khine Khine Soe had brought her two young children from Arakan State to visit her ailing mother near Kyaikto. She and her elder sister, six months pregnant at the time, were just cooking a meal, sharing a joke, when the gang of SLORC soldiers burst into the house. "Come with us", they ordered the two young women. When Khine Khine Soe refused, they were dragged out of the house at gunpoint, leaving their mother and children crying behind, and force-marched toward the army camp. But before they even got there they were both dragged into the bushes, and the soldiers took turns raping them.

At the camp, they joined a group of 40 other women. Khine Khine Soe and her sister were saddled with 20-kilo loads of Swedish 84mm rockets, and forced to march into the mountains with a column of troops. Day after day they hauled their heavy loads up mountains on only a handful-sized ration of smelly rice, a bayonet always ready to prod them in the back if they slowed down. The sick and weak were beaten or left to die. At the end of each day's march, Khine Khine Soe and her sister collapsed with starvation and exhaustion - only to be grabbed by the soldiers and passed around all night long. The next morning, they would have to shoulder their loads again.

Even Khine Khine Soe's sister, 6 months pregnant, wasn't spared the endless cycle of forced marches and pack rape by the soldiers. She quickly got weak and sick, and after 10 days, says Khine Khine Soe, "I came back to the group after a brief absence and she was gone. The soldiers wouldn't tell me what happened to her, and I still don't know". Only after 3 endless weeks, when "living or dying didn't matter anymore", did she risk running away, and was lucky to find a group of Karen soldiers. But now, sure that she's pregnant herself, she has to face the possibility of raising a child who will always serve as a reminder of the living hell she's been through.

The most horrifying aspect of Khine Khine Soe's story is how common it is. In this season's offensive against

Manerplaw alone, as many as 20,000 innocent Karen and Burmese villagers have been dragged from their homes, rounded up in cinemas or train stations, pulled off of trains, kidnapped from their fields or kicked awake in fishing prows at midnight, to suffer fates similar to Khine Khine Soe and her sister. They are taken at a ratio of at least one per soldier, because as escaped porter U Aung Myint says, "We had to carry everything for the soldiers, even their personal packs. They only carried their guns". Most of the porters are men and boys aged from 12 to as old as 70, who are saddled with 30 kilograms or more of RPG's, mortar shells, rockets, bullets, rice and rations, soldiers' packs and often even their boots. But some battalions, like #1 and #14 Battalions of #66 Division, have gone out of their way to grab hundreds of women porters aged 15 to 60. Although they can't carry loads quite as heavy as the men's, the soldiers like to brutalize them for their nightly entertainment - as Naw Wah Wah found out. A tiny 17-year-old Karen girl, she said "I had to carry four heavy 81mm mortar shells, even though I am very small. They were so heavy I almost couldn't hold them on my back, but the soldiers made me carry them over high mountains". Because she's young and single, she was sure of being raped by several soldiers every night. "This went on day after day, and I just couldn't bear it any longer ... I was so hungry and thirsty, tired and weak from carrying shells and being raped that I was crying all the time. I never stopped crying ..."

More recently, faced with large numbers of porters trying to escape or dead, and launching a fresh attack on Manerplaw from the south, the SLORC dragged 6,000 to 10,000 convicts from prisons throughout the country to go to the frontline as porters. But with their first sight of the light of day, these convicts have proven even quicker to attempt escape than the conscripted villagers. 150 have already arrived near Manerplaw. Still in prison uniform, they tell of sentences for

crimes ranging from curfew violations to murder. Many were serving 2 year sentences simply for being out after curfew. One man said he was serving 7 years just for throwing a rock at a government truck.

But the vast majority of porters are still innocent villagers. They are treated worse than pack animals and given absolutely nothing in return for their suffering. If they're lucky, once every 24 hours they get a cup of plain rice soup, or a handful of cooked rice. But Daw Aye Hla, a 32-year-old woman, said "The rice was usually rotten and if we passed a stream many porters would try to rinse their rice in the water so it wouldn't smell so bad and they could eat it." Hundreds of porters who were with SLORC battalions that were encircled by Karen troops suddenly found even their miniscule rice ration cut off. For weeks they had to survive only on roots and boiled banana tree stems.

"All this time the soldiers were eating the special rations we had to carry for them: they had beans, tinned beef, milk and biscuits along with their rice". The porters all describe the soldiers burning and looting every village they came to, killing and eating all the villagers' livestock. But they testify without exception that "We never got any of this." The SLORC troops burned food rather than give it to the porters, making it clear that starving them is a deliberate policy, aimed at keeping them too weak to fight, rebel, or escape. "We were starving to death. I saw 7 porters die simply from exhaustion and starvation", says U Aung Myint, a 50-year old farmer from Thayawaddy. Even water is usually refused them; the soldiers insist it will slow them down.

During the offensive, in cold season, nightly temperatures in the hills always drop well below 10 degrees Celsius. Yet the porters, dressed only in the tattered T-shirts and longyis (sarongs) they were wearing when arrested, are forced to rest in a pile on the bare ground, surrounded by soldiers. But sleep is hard to get in the near-freezing temperatures, never being told how long they will stop for, surrounded by armed guards who kick and beat them for offenses such as coughing or speaking, and in some cases tied together by loops of rope around their necks. "We had no blankets, only worn

and torn clothes, and they wouldn't let us light a fire to keep warm. It was hard to sleep in the cold, and many of us got sick", says U Win Myint, a 43-year-old farmer. Usually the only chance to defecate was where they slept, and most who'd been porters for 2 or 3 months had never even been allowed a bath.

But there is no sympathy for the sick. "All the sick porters still had to carry their loads and there was no medicine for them. They were beaten a lot because they were slow", says U Win Myint. Anyone who can't keep up is beaten, often with rifle butts. Any who can't haul their loads any further are killed or left to die. The hundreds who have escaped the SLORC army's bondage tell countless stories of horrific brutality. U Mya from Kyaikto remembers watching his younger brother collapse under his load on a mountainside. He stood helpless while the soldiers began kicking his brother in the chest with their jungle boots. They didn't stop until frothy blood was pouring from his nose and mouth. "Then I had to watch my brother die." U Daw Hla, a 60-year-old labourer, was kicked in the face when he was too weak to carry a wounded soldier, sending him tumbling down a mountainside unconscious. "Only a clump of bamboo stopped my fall and saved my life". Maung Soe Aung watched a soldier throw a knife into the back of his young friend, just because some bones he'd scavenged in a village fell off his load on the path.

The stories go on and on. Exhausted porters being stabbed to death, kicked to death, knocked off steep mountainsides, beaten with rifle butts and left behind to die. They tell of corpses from other groups lining the paths, or buried with hands or feet still sticking out of the ground. Only the soldiers get deep graves. The porters have to dig them.

Several groups arriving in Karen camps could only look down and shake their heads as they recounted one of 66 Division's most barbaric tactics. U Aung Myint describes it: "Sometimes when a porter collapsed from exhaustion or sickness, the soldiers hit him with a rifle butt and then covered him with dead leaves as he lay on the ground. Some of these porters were half unconscious and some were wide awake, but all of them were still alive. Then

the soldiers set fire to the leaves. The porter always started screaming, and some managed to roll out from under the leaves. But others who were too weak just burned to death without moving. Any who survived this were just left there to die, badly burned and in agony, while we moved on." He remembers seeing this happen often. Another group of porters reported seeing the same thing 7 times.

Many have also reported being forced to march ahead of the soldiers where landmines are suspected, and being positioned as human shields against ambush. In battle, the porters have to face just as much danger as the soldiers. Those carrying ammunition have to run around to wherever their loads are needed. "If we didn't, the soldiers said they would shoot us", recalls porter Maung Ni, who adds that he saw at least 7 porters in his group killed in battle because of this. Khine Khine Soe was called "84" because of the rockets she was carrying. "They always sent me to the very front of the fighting, the 'point'. It was terrifying..." Pe Than, a 28-year-old farmer from Kyaikto, was wounded in the foot by mortar shrapnel. He thought his wound might be his ticket home. "But I wasn't so lucky. After the battle the SLORC soldiers saw me, but they just left me lying there in pain. They didn't even give me a bandage or any medicine. I was no use to them anymore". He lay alone in the forest, in agony and barely able to move, for 2 weeks, just waiting to die. He would have, if a Karen patrol hadn't stumbled on him and rescued him. "Now", he says, "I just feel incredibly lucky to be -alive"

Despite the risks, battle is the porters' best chance for escape. Most don't succeed; the soldiers open fire on them, and many are killed or left wounded to die in the forest. Others step on landmines. Even those who get away don't know which way to run. "One time two porters appeared who had obviously escaped from another unit", says escaped porter U Shwe Gyi. "When the soldiers saw them they knew they were porters, but they shot them dead anyway." After a lifetime of propaganda claiming the Karen eat their own

children, porters also think they'll be killed even if they find the Karen.

Even so, thousands try to escape. After 2 or 3 months of the life of a porter, life and death just don't matter anymore. Most of them estimate that by the time they escaped, half of the other porters were already dead - implying an unreported death toll well into the thousands. Says U Pu, a 53-year-old farmer, "even the thought of being shot to death seemed better than dying slowly as porters". Of the thousands who have tried, several hundred have reached the Karen, bearing their broken bones, deep scars on their backs, the scars and bruises of beatings, and the suffering etched in their eyes as proof of the hell they've been through. Many arrive reeling from the effects of untreated malaria, dysentery, hepatitis, and starvation; shaking, terrified, spiritually shattered. Once they realise the KNU is going to help them, feed them and bring them back to health, their first thoughts are of the young children, wives, husbands, or parents they've left behind with no support, families which have surely written them off as dead.

But the women are further tortured by the thought that they're almost certainly pregnant with the child of an anonymous uniformed rapist. And one and all are aware that the vast majority of the other porters are still out there suffering, in a brutal cycle that will surely repeat next year as it has for so many years already.

U Shwe Gyi, a 65 year old farmer from Shwegun, brutalised for 3 long months as a porter, was eager to get back to his wife and grandchildren, despite the terrible risk of being recaptured on the long way home, and despite the fact that his wife already sacrificed all their belongings in unsuccessful attempts to buy his freedom. "I want to tell my story, so people will know the truth about SLORC", he says. "The teenage soldiers called me 'My f---ing son' all the time. They treated all of us like the enemy. I never thought it was possible for people to treat each other like the soldiers treated us. But it was obvious to us all that they simply didn't think of us as human beings."

ENEMY RELOCATION OF VILLAGES IN NYAUNGLEBIN DISTRICT**in April -May 1992**

Before and after the announcement made by Gen. Maung Hla on the suspension of the offensive against the Karen, the SLORC was busy relocating Karen villages in different districts. Following is a list of Karen villages relocated during April - May 1992 in Nyaunglebin District alone, which 22 villages and 8325 + people involved (each family estimated average 5 persons). They had to take all their rice to a certain SLORC camp whereas their villages relocated in another in opposite direction. Their movements strictly checked, allowed to go and get only 3 days of own rice at a time with a much less rationed than really consumed. They are not given any help in building their new temporary hut but threatened that their new houses be burnt if any fighting break out in the camp. As these people are all farmers, their lives are in extreme hardship.

These villages had paid the SLORC troops time after time so that they would not be relocated. But when their wealth all used up and could pay no more, they were anyhow forced to go to the relocation camps with very short notice and allowed only a few days to move. The time allowed was not even enough to move

their rice to the place named by the SLORC troop. All their household materials, domestic animals, clothing and other belongings were left behind only to be taken or destroyed by the SLORC army.

At present 3 villages, Koh Kar, Aw Palah Ywama and E'plah Dauk Kwait could ease the SLORC troop with a bribe of about 30,000 kyats, but their future still very uncertain.

On one occasion, a troop from 57th Regiment of the SLORC came into a village, drove all the villagers with them to a relocation camp, but while they were still on their way another patrolling SLORC troop got into the same village and fighting broke out. The troop with the villagers, learning about the fighting, got furious and they ordered all those villagers to leave them at once and be gone to their village. These people are so intimidated that they dare not do anything more than what they are told to do.

Anything seen in the village after relocation is regarded the materials of the rebels and any person seen, a rebel and shot on sight.



KYO leaders and the visiting guests.

VILLAGES RELOCATED IN NYAUNGLEBIN DISTRICT**in April - May 1992 by SLORC Troop**

No.	Names of villages	Houses moved	People involved	Place of Relocation	Enemy troop
1	Hintha Weh	250+	1250+	Kaw Tha Say	57 Regiment.
2	Kyun Gyi	90+	450+	"	"
3	Mar Pee Doh	70+	350+	Baw Ka Ta	"
4	Mar Pee Po	100+	500+	"	"
5	Noh Nya Thee	40	200	Thay Po Klah	"
6	Kya Paw	50	250	"	"
7	Nyaung Dan	50	250	Gyoke Gone	60 Regiment
8	Pa Nar Ner	50	250	"	"
9	Tha Ray Si Law	50	250	"	"
10	Inn Net	80	400	"	"
*11	Nga Lauk Tet	50	250	Letpaat Tonetoh	60 Regiment
*12	Po Thaung Su	50	250	"	"
*13	Ter Paw	80	400	"	"
*14	Myet Yeh	160	800	"	"
15	Yay Leh	150	750	Noh Ku	60 Regiment
16	Htwa Nee Gone	100	500	"	"
17	Pa Reh Si	60	300	"	"
18	Si Paw Paw	15	75	"	"
19	Noh Taw Tar	60	300	"	"
20	T'Maw Ma	50	250	"	"
21	Nyaung Aing	40	200	Waing Pyl Yay	57 Regiment
22	Aw P'lah Kwee	20	100	"	"
Total 22 villages		1565	8325		

Note: 1. * These villages are double relocated, first to Letpaat Tonetoh and next to Noh Ku
 2. The number of houses and people are estimated to the nearest

STATEMENT OF THE KAREN NATIONAL UNION
REGARDING THE NATIONAL CONVENTION PLANNED BY THE SLORC

Manerplaw -June 22, 1992

In Notification No. 11/92 of April 24, 1992, the SLORC declared that it would convene a National Convention to meet political representatives and draft a Constitution within six months. A Steering Committee of 15 SLORC functionaries under the chairmanship of Major-General Myo Nyunt was also created, and announced in Notification 35/92 of May 28, 1992. The position of the Karen National Union (KNU) regarding this SLORC initiative is as follows.

The SLORC is merely the latest manifestation of the fascist military dictatorship formerly known as the Burma Socialist Programme Party. Through the past three decades, this military clique has been guilty of the massacres of tens of thousands of innocent ethnic civilians, political dissidents, and the thousands of innocent students and monks who were brutally mowed down as the SLORC was coming into being in 1988. After formally assuming power on September 18, 1988 and massacring thousands more, the SLORC promised a multiparty democratic election and repeatedly declared that it would transfer power to the party that won. Although the election was held in May 1990, to this day the SLORC has refused to transfer power to the landslide winners, the National League for Democracy (NLD). Instead, many NLD leaders, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo, were arrested and still remain behind bars. While some have been released others have been, and continue to be, tortured and killed in prison. Thousands of political prisoners are still detained and tortured in prisons throughout the country.

Since the 1990 election, the SLORC has banned many political parties and stopped them from functioning. The remaining ten parties have also been under extreme pressure to submit to the SLORC. Many legal party representatives and MPs have been officially disqualified by the SLORC by being charged with various political "offences". The remaining representatives are kept under constant pressure and they and their families are severely harrassed by Military Intelligence. The National League for Democracy inside Burma has even been forced to expel Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, its globally respected leader and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, and U Tin Oo, its chairman, from the party.

Furthermore, since September 18, 1988 various and severe forms of martial law have been imposed. There is no freedom of expression through speech or writing, freedom of opinion, freedom of association, freedom to gather with more than five people or to hold peaceful demonstrations. The country is in the iron fist of fascist rule, and a state of terror prevails. Under these conditions no political representative at a SLORC-run National Convention could be expected to voice a true opinion.

The SLORC has also recently increased the "defence" budget enormously and launched massive offensives against the ethnic nationalities. Tens of thousands of civilians, including women and children, have been used as forced labour, munitions porters, human minesweepers and human shields. In the process, they face starvation, regular gang rape, torture, and death. An estimated 7,000 convicts have also been hauled from the prisons for the same purposes. Many villagers throughout the country are senselessly arrested, tortured, and killed, while many more have their villages attacked, burned down and destroyed. Tens of thousands have been forced to relocate at gunpoint to facilitate the SLORC's military operations, taken to guarded camps where only starvation and disease await them.

Much of this has happened parallel to the SLORC's offensive on Manerplaw, headquarters of the Karen National Union and many other organisations struggling to free Burma. But when the SLORC Generals saw that their offensive was a failure and they were about to be bogged down by rainy season, they announced the suspension of the offensive in Karen State in the name of "national solidarity". However, since that announcement, they have fortified their offensive positions and escalated their campaign of mass relocations of Karen villagers to concentration camps, looting and burning many villages in the process. Many Karen villagers are still being arrested, tortured, and killed, and the SLORC is clearly preparing to launch a fresh offensive against the KNU and other nationality forces after the rainy season.

Given all the above circumstances, it is clear that the SLORC has no interest whatever in national unity, peace, or democracy, and their National Convention can bear absolutely no meaning.

The SLORC itself has repeatedly declared that it is only a military government, not a political one, and therefore cannot discuss political issues. Former SLORC chairman General Saw Maung repeatedly declared before 1990 that political power would be transferred to the party that won the election. In that election, the people elected the National League for Democracy as their Government, yet over two years later the SLORC still clings to power. Therefore the SLORC is a completely illegitimate government, and has no right to convene a National Convention nor even to participate in one. It is clear that the SLORC is only calling this National Convention as another tactic to prolong their hold on power by trying to mislead the people and ease foreign pressure.

The Karen National Union desires real unity through a genuine Federal Union. We desire real peace, true democracy, human rights and the right to self-determination. To bring about these objectives, the Karen National Union would like to participate in a true National Convention. But we believe that such a Convention can only be convened by a legitimate government chosen by the people, and only under the following circumstances:

- 1) The SLORC must first declare an unconditional nationwide ceasefire.
- 2) All political prisoners, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, must be released unconditionally.
- 3) All declarations making political parties and revolutionary organisations illegal must be rescinded.
- 4) Martial law must be unconditionally abolished.
- 5) Leaders of all representative organisations, such as the NLD, DAB (Democratic Alliance of Burma), NDF (National Democratic Front), and UNLD (United Nationalities League for Democracy), should be allowed to attend and participate in the National Convention.

The KNU solemnly declares any National Convention held without the above conditions to be illegitimate and illegal.

Central Committee
Karen National Union

June 22, 1992

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN BURMA

Of the many frightening and horrible things that happen all over the world, Racial Discrimination is the worst. These infect large countries as well as small countries, rich and poor, men, women and children of all ages, all races and religions. When this dominant for a long period of time, it leads to prolonged violences and human cruelty. It feeds and spreads hatred and fear among the races, and tears apart the entire nation, sets neighbour against neighbour, brother against brother. It destroys, kills and brings pain and prejudice.

Racial discrimination begins from the majority towards the minority groups. This discrimination happens in all forms; economic, social, cultural, religion persecution, racial extermination, cultural assimilation, resettlement, military suppression, human rights abuses and others.

Due to this discrimination, the 43 long years of fighting among the nationalities and majority Burmese in Burma, Tamil fighting Sinhalese in Srilanka, Black and white violence in South Africa, Croatian and Slovenian fighting against the Serbian in Yugoslavia, Kurds fighting against the Iraqi in Iraq for over 70 years, and in many other cases, are all brutal and unnecessary. These people all experience extreme hardships, untold miseries, hunger, deaths pains, tortures, grievances dreadful diseases and poverty.

The racial discrimination practiced by a handful of majority Burmese who are in power, towards the ethnic nationalities, brings forth inequality, loss of birth rights, freedom, democratic rights, culture, and finally racial prejudice that ultimately results in unnecessary prolonged wars, which the ethnic nationalities fighting against the Central government that is always dominated by the majority Burmese, for all those rights.

Because of this racial discrimination, the ethnic people suffer from severe persecution, causes million of internal displaced persons, tens of thousands of refugees, seeking refuge along borders of neighbouring countries, brings head aches to the neighbouring countries as well as friendly nations abroad. All forms of racial discrimination is being experienced by the ethnic people.

According to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights which says, "All people have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development". Should the majority Burmese abide by the International Covenants, abandon its path of racial discrimination, and give those people a chance of self-determination, all those unnecessary brutal wars will come to an end and Burma will be at peace, and a better place to live.



KNDO Reps. attending the KNU Congress.

MILITARY ZONE	KMLA. ATTACKS	KMLA. LAND MINES	ENEMY CASUALTIES						ENEMY ARMS & AMMUNITION				REMARKS	
			IN BATTLES						LOSSES					
			KILLED	WOUNDED	MISSING	DECEASED	TOTAL	SMALL ARMS	HEAVY ARMS	AMMUNITION	HEAVY WEAPONS	SHRILL	BOMBS	
NO. 1	102	26	381	405	5	791	72	245	8600	1	87	8	(8) enemy soldiers were captured. In battle, (3) officers killed and (2) wounded. Our troops destroyed (35) military trucks, (1) bulldozer, (1) tractor, (2) trains and (2) bridges. Our troops suffered (17) killed and (19) wounded.	
NO. 2	21	7	42	36	-	78	6	38	2948	-	-	-	In battle, (1) enemy officer was killed and (2) wounded. Our troops destroyed (2) electrical line poles. Our troops suffered (1) killed and (1) wounded.	
NO. 3	105	27	140	124	4	268	48	105	2172	-	-	3	In battle, (2) enemy officers were killed. Our troops destroyed (1) alcohol distillery, (3) bridges and (2) military trucks. Our troops suffered (10) killed and (25) wounded.	
NO. 4	111	21	207	130	4	341	61	150	5334	-	-	13	(4) enemy officers were killed and (2) wounded. Our troops destroyed (3) electrical line poles and (1) electric generator. (8) enemy soldiers were captured. Our troops suffered (10) killed and (20) wounded.	
NO. 5	110	5	204	279	4	487	21	-	-	-	-	-	In battle, (13) enemy officers were killed. Our troops destroyed (2) military trucks. Our troops suffered (1) killed.	
NO. 6	36	4	251	434	6	691	20	95	6480	-	1	13	In battle, (8) enemy officers were killed and (1) wounded. Our troops destroyed (1) enemy rice barn and (2) enemy soldiers were captured. Our troops suffered (15) killed and (15) wounded.	
GB4	131	64	713	2359	1	3073	126	444	54996	3	317	30	In battle, (6) enemy officers were killed and (68) wounded. Our troops destroyed (18) military trucks and (15) enemy soldiers captured. Our troops suffered (131) killed and (587) wounded.	
20. 80.	125	230	324	836	-	4490	43	11	6877	1	53	16	In battle, (3) enemy officers were killed and (4) wounded. Our troops destroyed (18) military trucks and (12) enemy were soldiers captured. Our troops suffered (24) killed and (38) wounded.	
201 Ba.	49	82	193	395	1	589	53	232	18457	-	7	148	(7) enemy officers were killed and (5) wounded. Our troops destroyed (7) enemy trucks.	
Tachavath COLLIER	52	30	79	112	-	191	4	12	390	-	-	-	(2) enemy officers were killed. Our troops destroyed (4) enemy trucks. Of our troops, (7) were killed and (23) wounded.	
TOTAL	862	498	2534	5140	25	7979	454	1332	105864	5	465	231	In battle, (51) enemy officers were killed and (82) wounded. (45) enemy soldiers were captured. Our troops destroyed (63) enemy trucks, (2) bulldozers, (1) tractor, (2) trains, (5) bridges, (1) rice barn, (8) electrical line poles, (1) alcohol distillery and (1) electric generator. Of our troops, (215) were killed and (728) wounded.	

MANERPLAW AGREEMENT

AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH A FEDERAL UNION OF BURMA

Burma is a country where indigenous nationalities have lived together in adjacent territories for the last several millennia. It belongs to all indigenous nationalities.

Only when a true Federal Structure is established based on the desires and aspirations of all the indigenous nationalities will Burma stand united and stable. With this intention General Aung San and indigenous leaders signed the Pang Long Agreement on February 12, 1947. But that agreement was never enacted in practice.

Currently because of the chauvinistic behaviour of the fascist military dictatorship of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) and the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), the indigenous nationalities are deprived of their ethnic rights. Democracy and basic human rights of the people are also abused. National Unity has been destroyed and civil war is going on unabated.

Thus, indigenous nationalities and all the peoples must topple the military dictatorship and set up a true Federal Union where equality, right of self-determination, democracy and basic human rights are guaranteed.

To attain equality, freedom, unity, security, fraternity, trust and development in the Federal Union, the main tasks which are necessary are to topple the SLORC military dictatorship and to establish democracy, peace and true Federal Union. To achieve these aims, the:

- (1) National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB),
- (2) National League for Democracy, Liberated Area (NLD-LA),
- (3) Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), and
- (4) National Democratic Front (NDF)

have resolutely agreed to the following at Manerplaw on July 31, 1992.

- (1) We will struggle together to end Chauvinism and the fascist military dictatorship of the SLORC.
- (2) After ending the SLORC military dictatorship and when freedom and peace are attained, a true national convention involving all indigenous nationalities and all political parties will be convened.
- (3) We will draw up a true Federal Union constitution in accordance with the desires of indigenous nationalities and all peoples.
- (4) We will follow the principles that no nationality shall have special privileges and no restrictions will be imposed on the basic rights of any nationality or minority in the Union.
- (5) We will build a Federal Union where all indigenous nationalities enjoy equality, rights of self-determination, democracy and basic human rights to the fullest extent. In so doing;
 - (a) The Kachin, Karen, Karenni, Chin, Mon, Burman, Arakan and Shan peoples will have National States incorporated in a Federal Union of States.

- (b) The National States will assign certain powers to the Federal Union and the remaining powers will be exercised by the National States including legislative, administrative and judicial powers.
- (c) The Federal Union will consist of two houses of Parliament: the National Assembly (Upper House) and the People's Assembly (Lower House).
- (d) In accordance with the principle of civilian supremacy over the military the Federal Union and State armies will be put under the direct supervision of the elected Governments.
- (e) The legislative, administrative and judicial branches of the Federal Union Government will be checked and balanced in power, and the judiciary will be independent.
- (f) The Constitution will be designed to prevent any re-emergence of chauvinism and fascist dictatorship in the future.

Sd.

(Dr. Sein Win)

Prime Minister

NCGUB

Sd.

(U Tin Aung)

Secretary

NLD (LA)

Sd.

(Saw Bo Mya)

Chairman

DAB

Sd.

(Nai Shwe Kyin)

Chairman

NDF

2nd day of Waxing Moon of Wa Gone, 1353
July 31, 1992.



Leaders of the four groups after signing the Manerplaw Agreement
on July 31, 1992



Representatives from Mergui/Tavoy District attending the KNU Congress,



Representatives from Thaton District attending the KNU Congress.



Representatives from Mu Traw District at the KNU Congress.



Doo Pla Ya Reps, at the KNU Congress.



KNU Congress Hall,



President of the KNU General Saw Bo Mya giving speech at the KNU Congress.



Election Committee at the 10th KNU Congress



Election Committee at the 10th KNU Congress.