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FREEDOM'S WAY
1988 VOL.5 SPECIAL ISSUE



ရှင်ပပ်လူင် T R C ရှမ်းလင်းဂွမ်းလိုင်ရှမ်းလူမ်းတူင်.တက်.လမ်လုံဂခမ်တင်းရှင်ပပ် K N U လွမ်းသိုက်လူင်
ပူင်,မျူ.။

*Sao Korn Zerng, President of the TRC greeting Gen. Bo Mya.
The hosts - Sao Korn Zerng, Sao Khun Sa and honoured guests*



လွမ်းပွင်လိုင်,လေး လွမ်းပွင်သိုက်,ဖိတ်,မွက်,ကပ် လွမ်းသိုက်လူင်ပူင်,မျူ.လေး,ဂွမ်းလိုင်လမ်းတင်တူင် K N U ခပ်
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*Gen. Bo Mya and his counterparts are toasting for the health
and success of their comrades.*

Freedom's way

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earnest request to our readers



EDITORIAL

'THE FREEDOM'S WAY' will be published as a magazine presenting the truth about the Shan State.

The contents will be in the form of short stories, poems, lyrics essays etc. versions of assorted nature.

We invite any interested persons to contribute articles related to Mong Tai (Shan State) affairs.

We earnestly request commentaries opinions, candid criticisms for the betterment of this newly born periodical (in English) will be immensely appreciated.

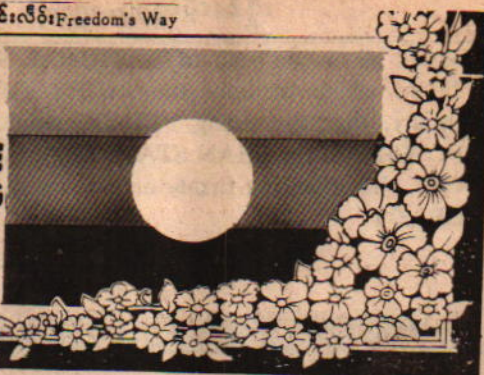
The participants in this magazine are not talented writers. In fact, no highly qualified professionals or well experienced personnels. Nevertheless they make a great attempt to present the bare facts and figures available from the sufferers who otherwise could not be brought to the notice of the public at large. We, therefore, earnestly request for an impartial verdict and sympathy.

*Editor,
The Freedom's Way.*



THE SHAN STATE NATIONAL FLAG

Jerng Liew



The Shan national flag is a tricolor of equal horizontal bands with a WHITE CIRCLE in the middle representing the FULL MOON signifying love of PEACE & FREEDOM, & as well, DEVOTION to RELIGIOUS PERCEPTS & PRACTICE.

The top mose band is yellow denoting Gold, or the vast wealth and resources of Shan homeland & people.

Next, the GREEN band representing the EVERGREEN hills and mountains, the lush valleys, & verdant fields, expressing deep and genuine love of Shan for their homes, their villages, and the land bequeathed to them by their forefathers.

Finally, the RED stripe denoting COURAGE & NATIONAL UNITY the ONENESS OF THE SHAN NATION tempered by the fires of history and sacrifices on the fields of wars.

It was adopted as NATIONAL FLAG in 1946 by Shan leaders and princes at the first NATIONWIDE conference at PANGLONG. Hitherto the Shan State had, under British control, been divided into 26 isolated & insulated entities, each ruled by one of the 3 categories of princes, namely, Chao fa (Sawbwa, in Burmese), Chao Mong (Myoza), and (Ngwekhunmu). Shan leaders at PANGLONG in 1946 further resolved that with the end of British presence, SHAN STATE had become a SOVEREIGN & INDEPENDENT entity; that should Shan State JOIN WITH any country, it

လွတ်လပ်: Freedom's Way

would be on the basis of NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION which includes the RIGHT OF SECESSION; and finally, that the ruling PRINCE would surrender all their POWERS to the SHAN STATE GOVERNMENT at TAUNG-GYI, thus planting firmly on Shan soil the seeds of DEMOCRACY.

Jerng Liew



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No to you, too

Demonstrators demanding
democracy ignore new leader

Far Eastern Economic
REVIEW

1 September 1988



Excerpts From the President's speech

Excerpts from the speeches of Gen Korn Jerng **Revolution and problems**

If we are struggling for national freedom, we are bound to encounter all kinds of difficulties and obstacles. We should not have taken up the banner of revolution in the first place if we keep ourselves worrying about this and that all the time.

Unity : talk and action

We should not talk much about anything else if we really want **unity**. Neither should we give much weight to other matters. Just work hard to achieve **unity** with all your heart and soul.

Bound by historic duty

Whether or not the struggle for national freedom will be an easy task or not depends on our abilities, perseverance and diligence. The more hardships we are faced with, the harder we must exert ourselves. You say you want to free your country, but if you don't have faith in it, then it is best for that you give up doing it.

Discipline and System

Mass movement must adhere to discipline and orderly procedures, and must be easy to direct. In this way a few can do much with effective results. The superiors also will not overexhaust themselves. It will also uplift the abilities of our personnel.

Don't be suspicious

There should not be a shadow or doubt among ourselves. We should not feel uneasy about pointing out each other's mistakes. Neither should we weigh ourselves down with fear of doing mistakes. Only then will our struggle make progress. Don't hesitate if you think it is going to be beneficial for the cause. If you have done mistakes, just admit, correct and overcome them.

Don't confuse 'nation' and 'class'

We have taken up arms to oppose foreign aggression and absorption of our nation. Consequently, all our thoughts, speeches and actions must aim at promoting the strength of the nation. How will it benefit your nation, when you are thinking, talking and doing things in terms of class struggle while your cardinal aim is the achievement of national freedom?

Good and bad, right and wrong

Everything we do in each given period and situation has its rights and wrongs. Right and Wrong are inseparable partners: When right leads the way, wrong will follow. On the other hand, when wrong is leading the way, right will be right on its back, inspecting and supervising.

On self-reliance

If you want to rely on yourself, you must teach yourself and train your-self in the proper way first and foremost until you are able to do so. That is how you make progress. You must develop yourself on the right path before you can rely on yourself.

**Burma crisis
'may lead to
civil war'**

Excerpts From Gen. KHUN SAR'S Speech



The blessing of Unity

Owing to the achievement of national Unity, those of us who come from the SURA, SOUTHERN SSA, SUA and the people of the Shan State are the happiest. The most disappointed and saddened are the DEA, BSPP and BCP.

Work with heart and soul

Our cause will last long if our lips can speak in accordance with what we think. We must work with heart and soul even if we do not receive help and support.

We and others

Crédulity only invites outsiders to come and destroy us.

Politics is transitory

In politics, there no lifelong friends and lifelong foes. It changes according to the political gains and lossess.

Time to realize

Throughout the revolutionary war, all our frustrations and weariness have been caused by the Black Burmese, Red Burmese and the White Chinese. They have given us each a short cane only to use it in hitting each other. It would be the best for us, if we could shake off all of their wedgings, leg-trippings, and smoke-screenings, and join hands with each other.

The Fundamentals

If a soldier wants to gain rank but is afraid to fight a battle; If a farmer wants to have rice but is lazy to work in the field; If a trader wants to get rich but does not learn the trade; Then we can stop wanting our country back.

each other's mistakes. Comrades and couples must be able to talk to each other to correct mistakes.

Don't be negligent

These days, whoever may be smiling and laughing, whoever else may be moody and brooding, the point is we must be able to extract lessons and wisdom from our experiences.

Fighting the enemy

When we say we fight our enemy, it means we are fighting against his way of thinking, his political line and his activities. So, when he gives up his stand and joins us, we must welcome him with open arms.

Genuine leader

A leader must not be an actor on the stage. He must be the director of the show.

The Difference

Serving a cup of plain tea for our own farmer friend is more appreciable than serving a cup of sweet tea for a white-faced westerner.

Correct yourself

There are two things to consider. The first thing is to know what error one has done and courageously correct it. The second thing is to know what we, the people of the Shan State, have erred.

Let's learn

If you don't know what and if you don't know how, then don't pretend that you do. Know how to ask and learn what's good from the others.

Know the advantage

Even if we have been fighting each other yesterday, we must become good friends if there is advantage to do so.

Nationalism of the Shan State

Today's Shans should no longer be yesterday's Shans. Whether he is Palaung, Lisaw, Akha or Lahu, he must enjoy the right to become the leader of the Shan State.

To become something you must act like one. A leader must know how to be a leader.

Political Power

Political power is a sharp sword. It should not be placed near an evil man. On the contrary, it should be kept for the use of a noble and wise man. In this manner, we should be able to avoid falling victim to the law of the lawless.

Use your head

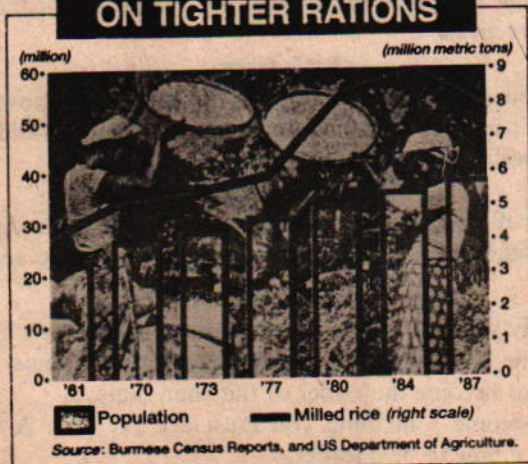
Manuals must be read and learned. But the essence of learning is not to have the manuals make use of your head, but to have your head make use of them.

Join forces

Join forces to make your government strong; Join forces to improve your people's economy; Join forces to modernize education, health, agriculture and industries; Join forces to achieve equal rights of the races; Join forces to promote all religions.

Free the economy and bring back democracy

ON TIGHTER RATINGS



'Though the Governor's Executive Council will be augmented as agreed above, it will not operate in respect of the Frontier Areas in any manner which would deprive any portion of these areas of the autonomy which it now enjoys in internal administration. Full autonomy in internal administration for the Frontier Areas is accepted in principle.'

(the Panglong Agreement, signed on February 12th, 1947 by Aung San and representatives of the Shan, the Chin and the Kachin peoples.)

'The Frontier Areas may or may not join the Union of Burma. There is no force and no compulsion. It is for you to make the decision freely and frankly'.

(Aung San, founder of modern Burma, addressing the frontier peoples in the opening session of the April-September 1947 Constituent Assembly.)



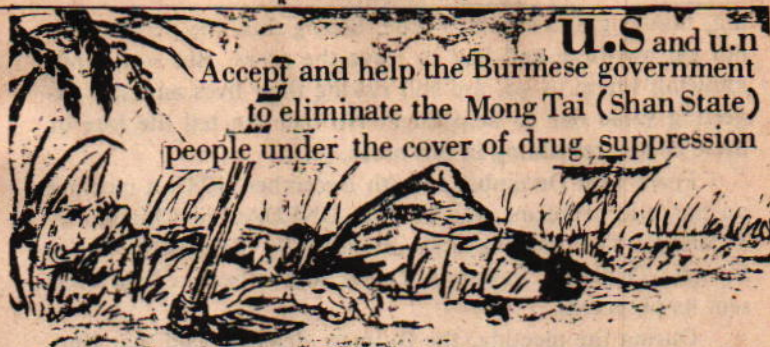
In 1946, General Aung San come up to the Shan State to meet the Shan chiefs and leaders from the Shan State People's Freedom League (SSPFL) in Taunggyi, and persuade them to join Burma in demanding Independence from the British.

The followiy are excerpts from the speech he delivered at Taunggyi soccer ground at noon on 25 Dec. 1946:

'The land of the Shan people is very scenic, and the climate here is so agreeable that it just lures one to stay. The British, the Japanese and the Americans, had they seen it in this Cherry blossom season, would most certainly like it.' (Which implied that the Burmese liked it even better than the nations he mentioned.)

'Burma is going to be Independent soon, and so is the Shan State if you join us in the struggle. If you decide to do it alone, no one knows when you will achieve your aim. It may last perhaps ten years or even a hundred years. But if you join us, you will undoubtedly achieve independence on the same day with us. Are you going to join us or not? What is your opinion? It's up to you to decide.

SHORTAGE OF COMFORTS (Production of consumer goods)		
		
Items	1975/76 targets	1966/67 actual
Sugar	76,000 tons	58,600 tons
Salt	227,000 tons	318,000 tons
Cotton yarn	13,000 tons	14,222 tons
Longyis	18,900,000	7,420,000
Blankets	1,380,000	1,567,000
Umbrellas	19,114,000	346,000
Soap	46,000 tons	36,510 tons
Matches	263,000 boxes	90,000 boxes
Bicycles	15,000	11,400
Water pumps	12,700	4,920
Cigarettes	2,095 million	1,106 million
Shirting	18,607,000 yards	15,830,000 yards
Batteries	35,800,000	14,222,000
Mosquito netting	8,547,000 yards	2,383,000 yards
Cement	330,000 tons	451,500 tons



This year (1987-88) even earlier than the last season, the Burmese started spraying 2,4-D herbicide all over what they presume are opium farms in the eastern Mong Tai (Shan State). Last season they started in the month of February (1987), but this season they started in December (1987). Since the opium plants have not yet grown big enough to be distinguished from other vegetations, everything looks green from the aircrafts has been sprayed.

According to the information available; starting from 12.12.87 to 29.12.87, opium and other vegetable farms in Keng Tung areas such as Mong Khorn, Nam Kak, Nam Inn, Mong Lu, Palio, Keng Larb, Mong Kok, Mong Lung and also in Mong Sat and Mongtung areas, have been sprayed and destroyed. They also use some other kind of chemicals. In accordance with the information, when they sprayed in Palio and Keng Larb areas, they used on kind of chemical (4200) gallons and the other (4536) gallons. The chemicals used this season are even stronger than the last. The worst thing is, when the planes happened to fly over other areas villages, the spraying did not stop.

The herbicide aerial spraying affects not only the opium farms, other vegetables and livestock are also destroyed. It already claims some human lives & affects the health of the people living in those areas. The symptoms are mostly: vomit-

ing, fainting and stomach-ache. Seeing this, the people dare not eat anything and had to leave the areas. But some, not knowing where to go, are still risking their lives and still expecting some one to help them. No one can tell the fate of these people remaining in this areas.

From 14th December to 19th December, 1987, a meeting on narcotic problems was held by UNFDAC in Chiangmai, Thailand. The meeting was attended by delegations from Burma, Thailand, Pakistan, U.S.A and others. China even sent its observers.

During the meeting, the Burmese delegate said that Burma would continue aerial spraying of United states supplied herbicide to eradicate opium poppies in remote areas heavily infested by insurgents, called 'black - areas'. This was supported by Rangoon-based UNFDAC senior field adviser Mr. Odd Halhjem, by saying that this is a practice necessary in remote growing areas inaccessible to Burmese authorities.

The United States supplies the chemicals to Burma. The Burma government uses it and causes disaster among the Mong Tai (Shan State) people, and the UNFDAC supports this. Who is to blame for this disaster after the Burma government? The people of Mong Tai (Shan State) see no one other than the United States and the United Nations.

In reality, the people of the world know that these chemicals are harmful to human beings. And the U.S. and U.N. officials even know better. Why do the U.S. and U.N. keep encouraging the Burma government to continue this disastrous act? Can the Burma government prove that the spraying areas are only full of Freedom Fighters (insurgents) without any innocent civilians living within; what is the real aim of spraying to destroy the livelihood of an oppressed people and murder the people of Mong Tai (Shan State) into oblivion? Where is the U.N's stand for Human Rights in Mong Tai (Shan State)? Are Mong Tai (Shan State) people not human beings of the world or do the U.S. and U.N. accept and help the Burma government to eliminate the Mong Tai (Shan

State) people under the cover of drug suppression which in reality is the slaughtering of innocent people.

However, the people of Mong Tai (Shan State) still have something to hope. Honest people in the world who love justice will see the truth. Wicked people will soon be blamed and overthrown.

*Public Relation Department,
Tailand Revolutionary Council,
Mong Tai (Shan State).
January 9, 1988.*



JOINT COMMUNIQUE



**Gen. Mya, President of the Karen National Union (KNU)
and
Gen. Khun Sa,**

Vice - President of the Tai Revolutionary Council (TRC).

On December 6-7, 1987, a general discussion was held between the Karen National Union (KNU) and the Tai Revolutionary Council (TRC) led respectively by Gen. Mya and Gen. Khun Sa on the present internal and external situation.

After serious attention, focused on the Golden Triangle's narcotic drugs which is dangerously affecting the whole world, the following agreement was reached by both sides.

Any nation or organization that sincerely wishes to see the end of opium drug production and trade should take into serious consideration the following factors:-

ကိုင်းလင်း Freedom's Way

1. Financial aid from nations or organizations is needed in order to totally eradicate the production and trade of opium drug.

2. With such aids, the narcotic drug problem will gradually be settled within the period of SIX to EIGHT years.

Thus, we sincerely invite all nations organizations that desire to eradicate and end the drug problem to get in touch with us for further discussion.

Sd.-

Gen. Mya

President,

Karen National Union,

Kawthoolei.

Sd.-

Gen. Khun Sa

Vice-President

Tai Revolutionary Council

Mong Tai

Dated the December 7, 1987.

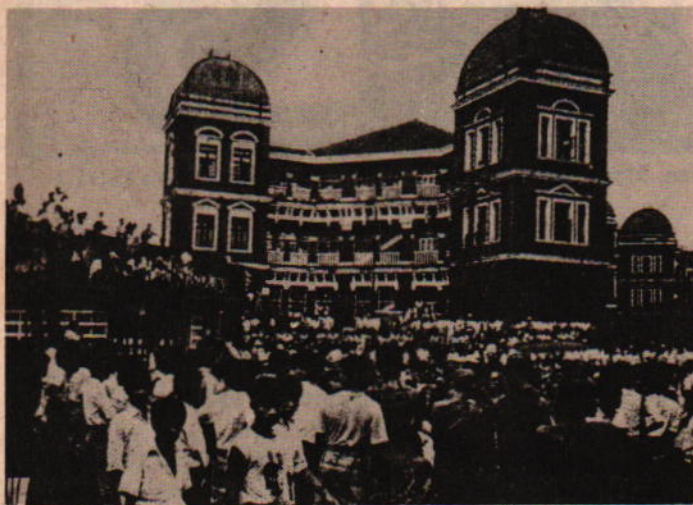


Photo Smucker

Rangoon General Hospital, Aug. 18: "Democracy"

A speech Given by the representative from Mongkarn at the 19th Graduation Ceremony Venerable monks, ladies and gentlemen and comrade-in- arms.

On this auspicious occasion, thanks to the executive committee, to have given me the opportunity of a brief talk.

With my due respect to all of you, I will express my frank opinion about our movement.

According to the Mong Tai (Shan State) government Manual and other historical references - Mong Tai has been in existence from time immemorial.

The Tais (Shans) are a distinct race of its own living within the bounds of Burma. They enjoyed freedom even during the times of the Burmese kings as vassal states.

During the British regime the local autonomy was granted to Sao Phas to govern its own people. Thereby, freedom was enjoyed all along.

After the British had relinquished their power in 1948, the Power Vacuum Mong Tai was over-run by the communist-



minded Burmese multi-color troops; played havoc all over the Mong Tai up to this day. A good spell and span of 39 years is not a small measure.

The people of the Mong Tai have no other choice but fled to the hills for survival.

The Patriots of the Mong Tai have no other alternative but to resist the oppressors by force of arms. Since then, leaders of the Mong Tai have been building up strength to regain their home-land.

That is why, how happy I am to see our gallant soldiers parading. Well disciplined, smart, courageous & fully equipped. When the time is ripe, if negotiation failed, we shall inevitably, have to wage war against the tyrants to the bitter end.

Please 'be prepared' is our watch word - our motto. Ready for action at all times when call upon - dear comrades-in-arms.

In the same manner I humbly request to non-combatant fellow-brothers and sisters of all ages - young and old to take part in our revolutionary movement in whichever way you possibly can. Show your pluck and don't flinch an inch if we were to survive as the true sons and daughters of Taisoil.

Pray may everyone of us be free from slavery and shake off the yoke of Burmese tyrants-sooner or later.

Thanks for listening patiently to my brief talk.

Nang Kham Nyo. (5.12.87)

continued violent protests
demanding democracy





People might be wondering as to what brand of political creed we are adhering. We would therefore like to express that we stand by and for NATIONALISM. As to further questions such as, what type of nationalism? Is it capitalist-oriented or revolutionary and progressive? (What they really want to know seems to be whether we are rightist or leftist or 'pink'), we wish to declare that we incline neither to the left nor to the right. We don't adhere to any colored creed. Neither do we embrace any partisan-and-parasitic political faiths.

Some critics are apt to sneer at our Nationalism, and brand us as opportunists, acting in a haphazard way without a definite goal.

We totally reject this accusation. The Shan State nationalist movement has its roots in the Burmese government's occupation and political oppression of the Shan State. Our economy and culture are being absorbed and devoured by force of military strength. Thus, unless and until we achieve freedom there is no chance of building our nation again.

This nationalist uprising is not specifically a Tai uprising. It is a Shan State nationalities revolution, i.e. a combination of all nationalities living in the Shan State regardless of race, class, creed and color. Anyone who lives in and loves the

Shan State, is a loyal citizen of the Shan State, and cherishes the freedom of the Shan State is to be reckoned as a true son or daughter of the Shan soil. So it should be quite clear that ours is not a narrow racist cause. It is for the freedom of all people living in the Shan State. All should have equal rights in all aspects of life -- no one should interfere with one another in private affairs, and all should live in harmony, working unitedly for the progress and prosperity of the Shan State within the fold of democracy.

This is the form of nationalism we are trying to establish for the good of one and all. It is the Nationalism of the combined ethnic groups in the Shan State.

Our aims are:

1. Independence
2. National Unity
3. Democracy
4. General Welfare
5. Peace

To realize these aims we must take into possession the following seven might or 'talismans'.

1. Chitta-samaggi - the unity or might of the minds;
2. Nana-samaggi - the unity or might of talents;
3. Mitta-samaggi - the unity or might of fellowship and alliance;
4. Puggala-samaggi - the unity or might of personnel;
5. Bhoga-samaggi - the unity or might of provisions;
6. Dhana-samaggi - the unity or might of funds and resources;
7. Awudha-samaggi - the unity or might of arms.

Once we are liberated, the following policies should be carried out:

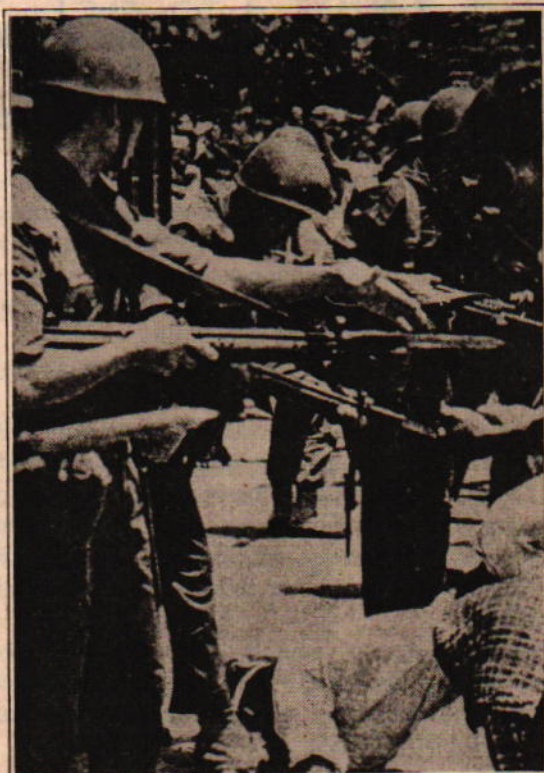
1. The formation of a stable and strong government;
2. The promotion of people's welfare;
3. The modernization of the health services, educational system, agriculture and industries;
4. The preservation of equal rights for all the indigenous races;

5. The propagation of religious faiths.

These are the aims, principles and policies of the Shan State National Resistance.

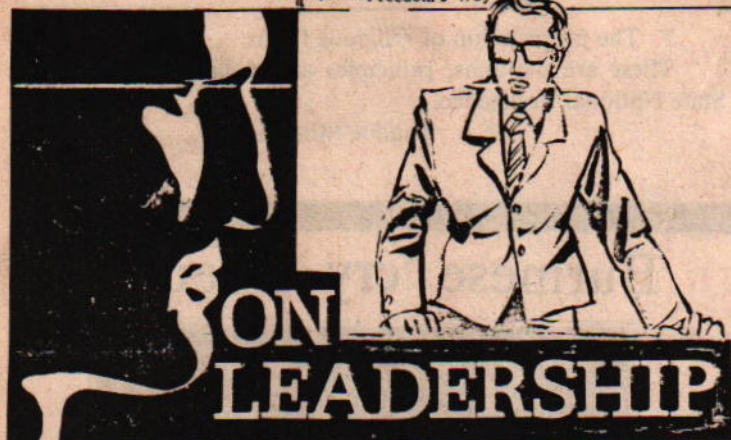
Thadde Minphya

Burmese 'cry freedom'



Protesting students forced back by troops.

RYO TAKEDA



Political upheavals in almost any country have two aspects to them. One is the struggle to achieve or preserve its independence, and the other, the struggle to build up and maintain its progress and prosperity. Both aspects can either come in stages or simultaneously. In the other condition when both aspects come simultaneously, one may take up the major role and the other the minor role.

Whichever it is, it is undeniable that success depend largely on leadership.

The type of leadership which is most imperative during the period of the struggle for independence is heroic leadership. The ideal must possess heroism, the quality to sacrifice his personal interests for those of the nation. He must 'dare to fight, dare to die, and dare to win'. Many leaders in the same mold can be produced by the adoption of this type of leadership.

After victory, a rehabilitation program needs to be chalked out on democratic lines. This will permit contenders to initiate competitive measures to work in constructive ways in all spheres of life.

Without progress and prosperity, there can be no peace. Therefore, to attain peace all will have to co-operate to work hard together.

In short, winning freedom is our priority, after which we must up a systematic program to build up peace and prosperity. It is to this end that we are following our leader.

However, there may be certain groups of people who are not in favour of our movement, especially our enemies, who try to undermine the movement by calling it a gang plagued by Warlordism, Fascism, Dictatorship and the likes.

We must be careful of such kinds of subversive rumours, and turn a deaf ear to such gossip.

Such remarks are coined with the aim of splitting our unity. We must not let ourselves be misled by them. Should there be anyone who is lacking in conviction among our group, it is our duty to clarify the facts and defend our policy.

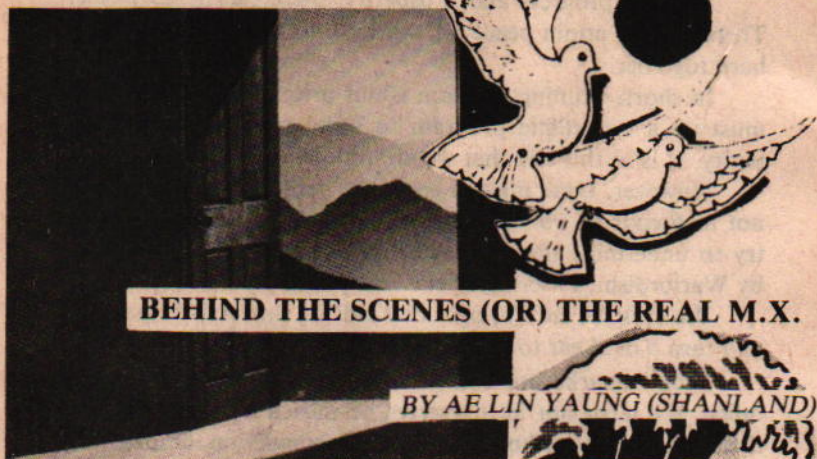
It is to be remembered that there are two distinct types of people: ideologists and pragmatists. None can be both an ideologist and a pragmatist. For instance, Alexander the Great and Aristotle; each was an expert in his way, and neither could act in place of the other.

In the same way, there have been various types of leaders in the world, such as Fedel Castro of Cuba, Dr. Sun Yat Sen of China, Dr. Rizal of the Philippines, etc. All these men possessed qualities needed to lead their respective countries.

Likewise, a Shan State leader needs particular qualities, and the most important quality is the ability to lead the Shan State people to freedom.

New Blood

This article is presented here as a 'mind fodder' and do not necessarily represent the official view.



BEHIND THE SCENES (OR) THE REAL M.X.

BY AE LIN YAUNG (SHANLAND)

What fascinate the foreign globe-trotting tourists who visit the otherwise Godforsaken Burma are not the tens of thousands of pagodas sprawling in Pagan. The fine arts of Burma, truly graceful as they are, are not captivating enough either. Neither is the Meittila Textile Factory, however imposing it looks. What really bind them like a witch-spell are said to be the booming so-called blackmarkets.

The name 'black', which connotes **dark, sinister, clandestine, and wicked**, seems to be out of place with these open-to-all marketplaces. Most of the commodities there are imported - no doubby through improper channels - from the neighboring Thailand.

Inquiring further, the curious foreign snooper is all the more appalled by what he finds out. He discovers, for instance, that the open blackmarket in Taunggyi was initially opened by some township council members' wives near the former Y.M.C.A. stadium. Later on, when it was decided that the place was ideal for putting up the Aung San statue, the blackmarketeers, presumably was ideal for putting up the Aung San statue, the blackmarketeers, presumably afraid to

embarrass the fallen martyr's eyes, moved to the party members' quarters. After serving the families of party members, it finally settled down in the new Sao Sarm Htun Market, thriving better than it ever was. And it was only one of the thousands of towns and cities in the Socialist Burma, which had supposedly freed itself from the yoke of decadent capitalism more than two and a half decades ago.

The obvious fact is that The Burmese Government is in a state of economic bankruptcy. To satisfy their people's needs, they must either have the means or adequate foreign currency. And their obvious trouble is they are shockingly short of both.

The happy people of Burma, prospering under socialism, need every import item from a cap down to a pair of slippers. Yes, even headache tablets, dry cells for their radios and torchlights, toothpastes, lipsticks and even underwears.

And what do the Burmese people have in exchange in order to buy these things without any hard foreign cash? No, the Thais don't want to have the lowgrade Burmese rice for their meals. No, sir, they are also not interested in trying out the Meittila tetoron fabrics. And of course, why should they wish to ride the Maung Bama bicycles?

The only viable mediums of exchange for the cross-border transactions at the present are cattle, antiques, jade and, inevitably, opium.

Cattle exports, however, do not constitute as a major medium of exchange for the under-industrialised nation, which for the greaterpart still has to rely on these beasts of burden for their faming.

Likewise, antiques cannot be sold out without becoming antiques first. Unlike toyota motor vehicles, mass production of antiques is unthinkable. The likelihood of antiques becoming an important M.X., hence, is very slim indeed.

In like manner, jade and jewel exports are also limited by state monopoly and the infeasibility of obtaining them through cultivation.

Only opium, produced 500-600 tons yearly and gaining increasing demands from every corner of the world, enjoys

the status of being Burma's chief M.X.

The Socialist Party and government of Burma feel truly grateful to opium and its worldwide addiction problem. And why not? Haven't they succeeded in gaining otherwise hard-earned foreign aids through it? And, come to think of it, haven't they also succeeded in smokescreening their continuous war against - to use the old handle the frontier peoples as a classic cop v.s. gangster warfare?

Moreover, the Burmese government is endlessly faced with the conflict between the people's rising aspirations for better life and its own downgoing socialist economy. Without some outlets, uprisings from the people are inevitable.

But thanks to the narcotics problem, the Burmese government can still breathe easy at least from time to time.

Therefore the Socialist Party and government of Burma really love and adore opium, so much so that they must have been praying and reciting charms all the time to prevent it from drawing its last breath.

Hence the BSPP's battlecry against opium is no more reassuring than that of a fish to dry out the lake it dwells.



Burma at breaking point





Burmese farmers
applauded Nay Win's Partial reform of paddy by **RANGOONITE**

The farmers were restive since 1962-military-coup owing to restraints imposed upon them. The co-operative bought all the produce at the fixed rate and hardly left even for their own consumption, has to be purchased at a black-market rate outside. This awfully taxed the pockets of 220,000 farmers out of 38,000,000 population.

As mentioned a farmer from Let-pa-dan-Taung Shwe owned a piece of land of 10 acres has to pay only 40 baskets as revenue now which is a great relief for household.

Though this relaxation is a boon to all the farmers the quota for export might have been reduced owing to a rush in purchase by private enterprises.

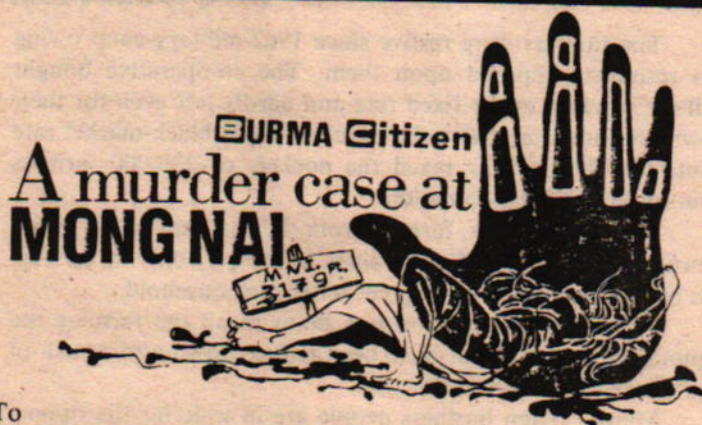
Many foreign business people are in wait for the opportunity of doing bussiness in Jade, fishery, ruby, timber etc. However, it is rather ambiguous as to when the change even in business well take place or change of mood of the strong-man - Ne Win. It seemed that the leader of the country did not imagine that the 'Open Door Policy' wouldn't be much benefit to the country. Therefore, he wouldn't budge an inch for his closed Door policy.

There also exist acute shortage of gasoline all over the country. The old wells in Burma have not been attended to, perhaps, for want of spare parts or alternatively utilization of expertise from abroad also is not desired

As a consequence, the extension renovation work to upgrade to international standard air port has been hampered for lack of gasoline which cripple the trucks and tractors into motion. Thus the aid from Japan 200 millions has also been kept pending. However, Ne Win would manage to import necessary oil and implement stop-gap measures without opening its economy to the world.

Rangoonite. (BURMA)

Dated, Rangoon, the 13 May, '88.



To
The Commanding Officer,
Bde. No. 275, Mong Tai Army.
Dated, Mongnai, March 30, 1988.

Subject:-

A murder case at Mongnai.

I beg to request to inform you to take necessary action for the above mentioned case.

The two said persons, Aung Win and Nang Myint Thein were in mad-lock. Seeing these, jealousy aroused and fanatically made an end to the couple - dated the Oct. 19, '87 at 7 p.m.

It was a very queer incident indeed. Though seemed trivial, it would become a precedent in the future and would repeat if no actions be taken over such a pathetic case.

စိုင်းလိင်း Freedom's Way

Our Mongnai people are afraid that if Mong Tai people (Shan State people) will suffer similarly it would be the most pathetic case.

If possible - such unruly troops be withdrawn from our locality it would be normalized.

Yours truly,
Mongnainite.

Copy to -

The Administration Dept., TRC
and
The Editor, THE FREEDOM'S WAY
for favour of information.

To

The Editor,
The Freedom's Way.

Dated, April 8, 1988.

Dear Sir,

Of recent, UNO has considered Burma as one of the least development countries in the world and had approved of the application of Rangoon government in the last week of Feb., '88.

Having so recognized by UNO, the ADB also plausibly granted 73 millions dollars as an aid to Burma.

It seemed that UNO, perhaps, focuses on Burma's foreign debt. She owes three thousand million dollars or more to many foreign countries particularly West Germany and her old enemy Japan. UNO probably speculate liquidation, relaxation or prolongation to the debtors in case Burma's financial-stand be not up to the mark as expected. It also can mean that UNO deemed it as a duty to help so that the successors of Burma also will find accessibility to loan easily in future. It's indeed a far-sighted view of the UNO.

Nonetheless, it is up to the elites of Rangoon to make the best use of this capital in the best interest of the country.

Burma, on the brink of bankruptcy, failures in tentative projects, heavy budget on defence, miscalculated programs

had already ruined the economy of the country. When this poverty-stricken Burma will convalescent is dubious. Whatever may be the consequences the Proud Burma has rest-fallen. The de facto Dictator and his galaxy reluctantly grovel. How and who will save the image of Burma? Once as proud as a peacock is down and out now. A mingled feeling of sadness and sorrow runs cold through one's spine, when one seriously think of future Burma.

Humiliated, degraded, down-trodden are the people owing to the inefficiency - incompetency of the VIPS.

It's the fact that they make use of the Mass as their spring-board. Unless and until the scape-goats are doomed survival of Burma is at stake.

BURMA citizen.



Philip Smucker

Wounded youth: Few supplies

Japan

to

the

rescue?

Peoples' outcry

Dear Editor,

AS a native of Mongnai, I would like to report a cold-blooded murder of Aung Win and Nang Myint Thein on March 19, 1987, at 7 p.m.

It was very queer that they have been shot dead by those Burmese tommies without rhyme and reason.

Such an act of atrocity will be neglected or action will be taken by the authorities concerned is very ambiguous.

Similar cases of this nature is very common in Mong Tai (Shan State) and has been ignored by high-handed Burmese authorities.

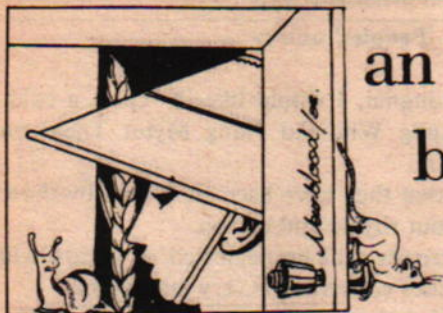
It's quite a natural course of life to detest the Burmese dominating over the Shan State peoples. Unless, we over-



throw the dictatorial government, there will be over life-long agony; not only at present but would be generations to come.

P.S: - The details of this story is attached.

Mongnainite.



an increased burden for farmers

China is now practising an Open Door trade policy, and likewise Russia and Vietnam are now trying to open their doors to foreign investors.

Only Burma, despite calling itself a socialist country, is not daring to follow the lead of other socialist governments. It seems ironic that while even the mightiest and most media-exposed leftist countries are ready to experiment with adapting their policies to allow free enterprise and private ownership, such a poverty-stricken and underdeveloped country as Burma, with nothing to lose, is reluctant to try relaxing its tightly controlled economy. The reason, however, is very clear. The dictator Ne Win and his government do not dare open their doors for fear of exposing the true extent of their cruel and oppressive stranglehold over ^{every} aspect of life in Burma. It is this oppression that has plunged the once-prosperous country into economic ruin. Foremost to suffer are Burma's farmers. They are choking under the yoke of the government's policy of land nationalization. The constant threat that the military will confiscate their fields has drained them of all incentive to improve their yields.

The farmers in Burma have no sophisticated technology. They plough with cows and harvest with sickles. The government has not even the means to provide them with simple, cheap, insecticide sprays. And yet the government expects the farmers to produce yields that will bring profits on the world market.

The farmers are thus caught in a vicious circle.

They are forced to grow what the government orders, because otherwise they will have their fields confiscated, and yet they have neither the incentive nor the proper technology to produce a satisfactory harvest.

The government is now taxing the farmers over ten times more than in the pre-coup days of parliamentary rule. In the past, an acre was usually taxed a mere 5 kyats a year. Now each acre is taxed 2 baskets of paddy, which fetches 18 kyats at the government rate, and 25 kyats on the black market. Farmers are also taxed on every crop they grow, so they may be taxed 2 or 3 times a year, and this does not include a new water and irrigation tax that has recently been introduced.

Thus, the recent, much publicized "relaxing of restrictions on rice-trading", that is supposed to have helped the farmers, is only a propagandatrick to disguise the fact that the farmers are now being even more heavily taxed than before.

The official exchange rate is such that foreign countries are unwilling to trade with Burma. The black market value of Burmese currency is one sixth of the official value. Thus the government has had to lean more heavily on the poor, bruised shoulders of the farmers to provide rice to pay its debts.

When freedom's train carried a nation's spirit





A word of 'URGE' to the BCP, Burma.

It was known to us that Tha-khin-Ba Thein Tin, there of, the President of BCP entertained the ideology of Chinese Communist Party Program; converted the BCP of Burma in the wake of Chinese in 1964.

He quoted saying that the Chinese-CCP guide-lines were so befitting with the people that the momentum of progress and prosperity brought about China to the peak of power - world power.

Realizing and basing on this principles he wanted to build BCP on the same pattern.

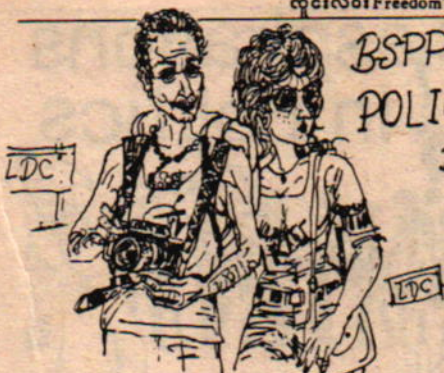
However, at present Burma's condition has turned into a poverty-stricken country. As such, Burma is considered, by the world figures, as one of the poorest countries in the world.

Thus, an appeal was made to U.N.O. by the authority concerned, to kindly classify Burma in the category of the least development country.

This being the actual state of affairs, it is futile for BCP to keep on fighting against the Burma Government forces or any other forces in Burma. It's sheer waste of time, money, and men. As a matter of fact, not worth-while at all. Instead, the BCP whatever may be the consequences, should join hands with CCP for the sake of future prospect.

With my honourable intention to BCP.

Hidden-Valley-Taiawn.



BSPP's

POLICIES CRIPPLE DEVELOPMENT

Many foreign business people are waiting for the opportunity of doing business with Burma in jade, fisheries, rubies, timber etc. However, it is by no means clear when the mood of the strongman will change and the trade restrictions will be relaxed. It seems that the leader of the country does not imagine that an 'Open Door Policy' would be of much benefit to the country. Therefore, he is refusing to budge an inch from his 'Closed Door Policy'.

There also exists an acute shortage of gasoline all over the country. The old oil wells in Burma have been neglected, both for want of spare parts and because of a reluctance to utilize expertise from abroad.

As a consequence, extensive renovation work to upgrade Mingaladon Airport to international standards has been hampered for lack of gasoline, which has immobilized trucks and tractors. Thus, the aid from Japan worth 200 million yen has also been kept pending. As things are, Ne Win appears to prefer to import necessary oil and implement stop-gap measures rather than open Burma's economy to the world.

Human Rights! Why?

Zero For the Shan State people



Whether Leftist or Rightist - there should be definite guidelines and clear cut policy as to what we are heading for or what is our goal and how can it be achieved must be properly planned before any specific scheme is launched.

Leaving aside of what the B.S.P.P are doing, we should endeavour to co-operate among the dissidents. Unless we abandon the ideologies of both B.S.P.P. and B.C.P. we will never be able to accomplish the goal we are heading for.

If we adopt and adapt ourselves the way they proclaimed, it means that we are supporting them through fear. Once our strength become strong enough we can launch a counter-attack.

This is the only way how we can free ourselves from the rule of tyrants and regain our home-land.

First of all one must carefully study the propaganda launched by B.S.P.P. The Rangoon Government emphasizes on one Unitary Burma - to foster family spirit, to follow the socialist path explicitly without a shadow of doubt-etc.

All these facts should be closely scrutinized-analysed and see for yourself as to how far is compatible with its words and deeds. There fore, we must be aware of the fact that we won't be swayed either to the left or to the right.

We should realize now that we had been caught in their trap for the last 30-40 years

Hoping against hope at last we become a prey to them and treated us as such. If we keep on begging for an autonomy or separate state they will stick to their ideology-Unitary Burma and will never give up the states.

In fact, there's no need for soliciting. Shan State is our own home-land and the Burmans had usurped from us and made it their own.

The Rangoon Government tried to run down us by exaggerating about the surrender personnel. Actually it was only one or two defectors or quislings. But the Rangoon Government makes a mountain out of a mole and big ceremonies are made just to raise the morale of their troops whose death toll and casualties are awfully higher than ours.

Sai Namkhone (24.12.87)

PEACE AND STABILITY IN Burma AND Shan State



In any country, whether communist or socialist, or otherwise, PEACE and STABILITY are most important for the well-being of the country and its people.

In Burma and Shan State, however, war has been raging for 24 to 30 years with no end in sight. Because the war has been raging for so long, one cannot help but wonder if the people of Burma are not all raving lunatics - the most serious cases holding the reins of power in Rangoon, and the lesser ones commanding various rebel armies.

Rangoon says the war is on because the rebels, either feudal or leftist extremists, and as well as narcotics traffickers, are opposed to national unity and progress.

On the other hand, rebels claim that Rangoon is oppressive, racist, dictatorial, and lawless as well - a bunch of robber barons and Hitlerites.

In this war, Rangoon has an upper hand because it is able to obtain funds and assistance from various governments, multinational organizations, international agencies, the World Bank - among others - with which to pay its officers, soldiers, buy weapons, and other logistic and military requirements. It is doing its best to portray itself as a force of civilization, law and order, the force of light and reason etc -- blaming everything bad ranging from drought to flood, from economic regression and collapse, breakdown of social cohesion etc to narcotics, on the rebels.

In short, Rangoon's main theme all these years had been: **'We are not responsible for anything which is going on because we cannot control the country due to rebels who are causing all the problems. If you want us to take care of the problem also afflicting us, i.e. narcotics especially, you had better help us defeat the rebels.'**

One wonder what Washington's reaction would be if such a sorry statement was put by an elected government, or by and other but Rangoon.

Most startling is Washington's acceptance of Rangoon's contentions especially so when American diplomats are virtual prisoners, and blind and deaf as well.

Support of one government by other governments is one of the first rules of diplomacy, but where Rangoon is concerned viz a viz Washington, it is carrying this rule to the extreme, especially when it is known that there are legitimate grievances on the part of some rebels -- for example, the minorities (who comprise 45% of the total population, and their respective homelands covering 60% of the total land area).

The crux of the matter therefore -- given Rangoon's contention that its total military victory is imperative for peace and stability -- involves the principle of government. That is, what is to be the mainstay of any government -- the use of force and military might or the use of reasons and intellect?

That is to say, Washington and other governments must first of all tackle the question of how dependent is Rangoon on the use of force. Is its reliance on force to the exclusion of other means as well?

Rangoon's present and hitherto policy of closing all doors and windows and its refusal to let anyone travel freely in Burma is, or should be, extremely puzzling for governments and individuals who like to think of Rangoon as a force of good.

As leader of the civilized and democratic world, Washington should, if it desires to play a constructive role in Burma and help solve the Burmese narcotics problem, foremostly insist on freedom of movement for American diplomats and UN officers in Burma, and as well, research teams into opium growing areas, and establishment of UN run and managed antinarcotics projects and programmes in these areas.

An enlightened and reasonable government in Rangoon is the key not only to Burmese narcotics but also to Burmese peace and stability -- not American dollars and Burmese bayonets!

Masses in revolt against stifling authoritarian grip



It was reported in the Thai dailies that a party of U.S. lawmakers led by Ms. PAULA HARKINS of FLORIDA visited the opium producing GOLDEN TRIANGLE area in THAILAND prior to talks in Rangoon on Burmese drives against narcotics with U MIN GAUNG, Burmese Home & Religious Affairs Minister, and Foreign Minister, U CHIT HLAING.



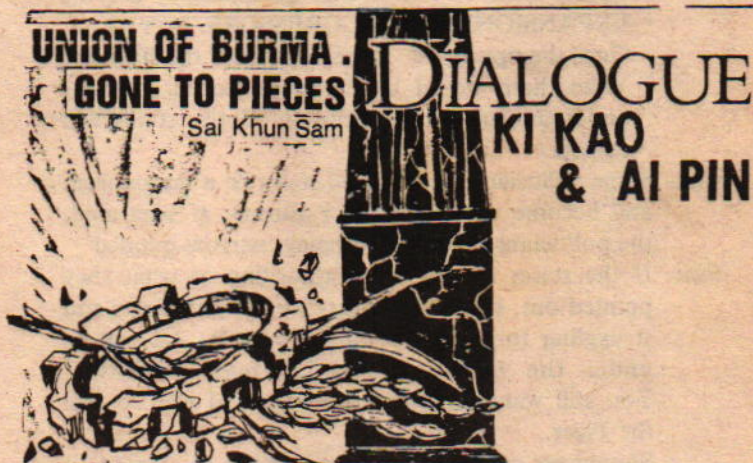
Good work, but one wonders if LAWMAKERS saw any opium in the so-called GOLDEN TRIANGLE. According to the popular local definition it is where the borders of Thailand, Laos, and Shan State of Burma meets, and this is where all tourists are talking about to -- the U.S. Lawmakers too, no doubt, What one sees there are the swirling muddy waters of the MAEKHONG and MAEKOK rivers, some mud and sand, and reeds. Hardly any poppy fields. The lawmakers from faraway must be puzzled as to how this desolate patch of earth produces 400 to 600 tons of opium annually.

This little confusion as to what is the GOLDEN TRIANGLE underlines the incredible ignorance of insofar as opium is concerned.

In fact, very little is known about the area where opium is grown - the real GOLDEN TRIANGLE - which incidentally refers to Burma's Shan State: triangular in shape, covering about 60,000 square of high valleys and rugged mountains.

Undoubtedly, distinguished American lawmakers will have to make do with just the tourist brochure GOLDEN TRIANGLE because the real thing is out of bounds. Rangoon does not like anyone snooping around. Definitely, visiting lawmakers from the faraway and blind-folded America will see what Rangoon wants them to see, and come away much impressed. Never mind that they did not see, the real thing. Reality, after all, tends to be quite tacky and untidy, anyway.

Khun loom fah



Ai Pin:- Hullo friend, "Wouldn't you like to go to the 41st Union Day celebration?"

Ki Kao:- Yes, I am dying to go. In fact, more than you.

Pin:- Why is it so?

Kao:- Oh! you don't know. The Burmese beauties will be dressed in different national costumes and will be posed as multi-races of Burma. It would be fantastic to look at.

Pin:- I have asked you jokingly and wanted to know how crazy you are for women. There is no more 'Union of Burma'. It has already gone to pieces.

Kao:- What did you say about it?

Pin:- Oh! you Humty-Dumty fellow! What you've to know is:-

- The BSPP tried to uphold the word 'UNION' by supporting poles and planks. But, wonder if the 'Union' can withstand the all round forces of the ethnics.
- Well-These minority groups will create separate states of their own. If so, then, where is Union of Burma?
- Since the Burmans have waged war against the various races of Burma they automatically become EXPANSIONISTS or AGGRESSORS. Isn't it?
- Once the oppressed - races shook off the Burmese Yoke there would be no more Burma - Proper under the rule of the Burman. Entity states will emerge.

Kao:- Some politicians view that all states be a malgamated and become one 'UNITARY-Burma. If separated, the politicians described as being 'narrow-minded'

Pin:- If the states should agree according to what they pointed out, then, the efforts we are putting in and struggling for freedom will be in vain. All will be under the thumb of the Burmans - Slaves. You still want to dance to the tune of Mg Po and the Tiger.

Should we complied with the version of 'Union' it means you are supporting Ne Win's military coup of 1962. The world also will regard the states as sub-ordinate states of the Burmans. If then, what difference does it make? It will be as before or can be worse still. There's no need for us to fight any more.

Ki Kao:- I don't mean this. Every ethnic group is fighting in in its own way.

Ai Pin:- Yes, I wanted this answer. The so-called Union of Burma was established from the day 12-2-47 the treaty agreed upon with the provision made to secede

from Burma after 10 years if not desirable to remain in the Union. The up-rising started in 1949 by the Karens first Tais waited to see what the Burmans would do with the Mong Tai. The politics of Mong Tai drifted away like a dried log. A.F.P.F.L. - the cunning Burman politician treacherously repealed the constitution made by themselves and handed over the reins of the Govt. to the military on the pretext of rift in party-politics. Thus Pang Long Treaty has been automatically liquidated. The Burmese chauvinism started, then. The Burmans regard all the other races of Burma as their vassal states. Where as the states claimed equality in all aspects. In this way, a forced Union-or a discontented Union or a Pseudo-Union was made by force of military strength.

Before independence was declared from the British the Burmans persuaded all the states to join hands and fight the British constitutionally for Independence. Once the British has relinquished their power the Burmans take law into their own hands and acted at the sweet discretion of their own will. The ethnic tribes, law abiding citizens, thought that they will be treated in accordance with the law. The Burmans have turned democratic principles into socialist system over night. The leaders of ethnic groups put under detention. Any one that resisted were arrested, tortured and ultimately put to death by treacherous means. Outwardly they have created as if democracy was in action. Actually the Burmans have double-crossed and democracy was ousted and replaced by Socialism. Such a bold and glaring insult can't be hushed up. As there is a saying in Burmese 'Covering up a dead elephant with the goat's skin'.

Kao:- If that is so, why don't you try and form a rival Union?

Pin:- We can form separate viable states respectively. In that case, where is the necessity of secession of states. They automatically become entities of each own.

Kao:- Why?

Pin:- The right of secession remains with the Burmese themselves. If I were to tell you frankly, it would be fortunate for them if they released their power of prolongation. If not, who would guarantee that there might not appear terrorists retaliating as Kadaffi did.



BURMESE NARCOTICS - THE BLIND LEADING THE BLIND?

On December 15, 1983, the Thai narcotics body, ONCB, put to the torch 375 kilograms of heroin, 206 kgs of morphine, and 4,442 kgs of raw opium, which altogether adds up to about 10,000 kgs of raw opium.

A great achievement one would say if not for the fact-as officially accepted, that is - that Shan State or the Golden Triangle, produces 400,000 to 600,000 kgs of raw opium every year. In terms of the whole, the booty captured by narcotics lawmen constitute a mere 1.6 to 2.5% - and, if one takes into account the dollars and cents involved in capturing this amount, the price per kg would be quite substantial - perhaps several times the going price on the market.

Moreover, it is now official - there are no more heroin refineries in North Thailand. Good news. But the bad news is, refineries have shifted to South Thailand. No one knows where.

With all due respect and great admiration for the ONCB boys, and as well, DEA stalwarts, the question that has been begging on answer all these years is: how factual are the facts concerning Shan State?

The figure given on annual Shan opium production, for example, the much quoted 400 to 600 tons. On what is this figure based? Has there been an independent field survey in Shan State? Or is it based solely on Rangoon's handouts? Or merely an uneducated guess?

Another question: involvement of rebel bands in Shan State in opium trade? Any hard facts? And, Khun Sa, being king of the trade -- what are the facts? Is he a real king or just front-man, or mere scape goat?

It is credible that someone from Shan State - anyone - has the capability of heading a multi-million dollar industry girdling the globe with tentacles in every major cities of the world ?

Why do Shan and hilltribe peasants grow opium? Is it because they want to enrich themselves, and to hell with everyone? Or is it because they are being forced to at gunpoint by rebels as sometimes alleged by Rangoon? Or is it because of the total collapse of the economy under the weight of the Burmese Socialist Programme as claimed by the Shans? Opium has been cultivated in Shan State since the days of British power, perhaps even before that. The problem of opium cultivation, therefore, is a long-standing one made much worse and larger by the CHAOS and the ANARCHY of post-independence Burma and conflicts between the Burmese centre and the non-Burmese entities.

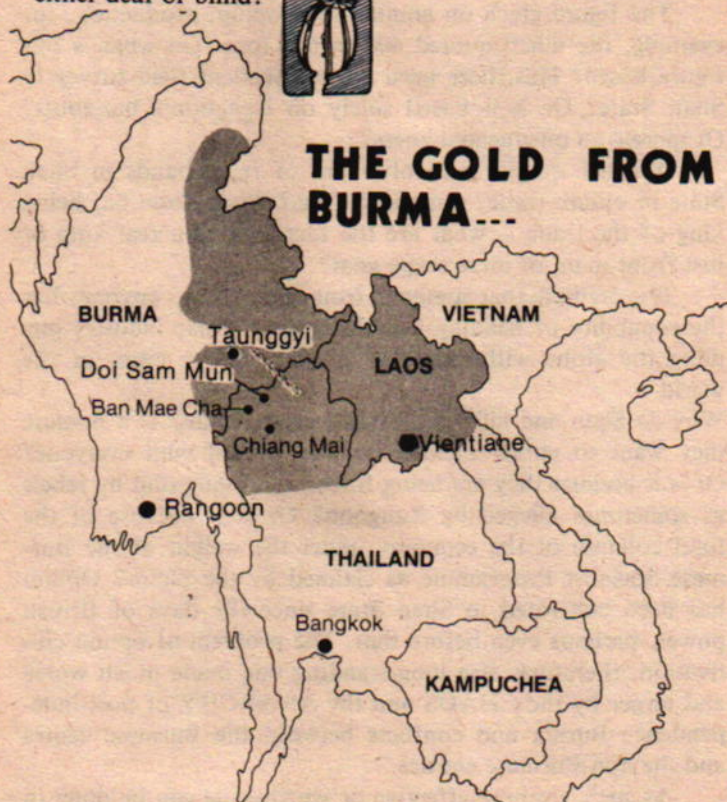
As such, nothing effective or worthwhile can be done to solve the problem of Burmese narcotics until a **thorough study** and **in-depth survey** of the socio-economic and political realities and climate of Shan State has been made.

All efforts to stamp out opium production in Shan State while ignoring this need and as well the gap in knowledge pertaining to be the socio-economic & political realities of Burma and Shan State, can be likened to the BLIND leading the BLIND.

How can music be sweet when the conductor as well as the violinist, pianist, saxophonist and trumpet players are all either deaf or blind?



THE GOLD FROM BURMA...



The Golden Triangle is where the borders of Thailand, Burma and Laos intersect. Yet another bumper crop is expected this year - 600 tons of which 500 will be harvested in the 'Burmese sector', i.e. Shan State.



MR.E.T. SHANS ARE happy with RANGOON.but..

Contrary to allegations by rebels & agents of imperialism, the people of Shan State are very happy with Rangoon's rule. According to an authoritative source in Rangoon, people there are joyous to be freed from feudal despotism of native feudal lords called SAWBWAS, & thankful to the Burma Army for liberating them.

This is evident from hundreds of villagers accompanying army units to the various battle fronts. They will not, it is reported, allow brave armymen carry heavy loads, and insist on going out in front where there are mine fields. They do not at all mind having their limbs torn and shattered by mines, or even killed. Frequently, Shan villagers are said to have shielded armymen with their bodies, making it impossible for rebels to fire.

Not only that, they happily uproot themselves when such is required by the army (to deny rebels access to the people), and move on their own into towns without asking for a single kyat as expense or compensation. Such uprooting & resettlement of villages - a classic counter insurgency measure - costing various governments millions of dollars did not cost Rangoon or the Burma Army one cent.

How much the Shan love the Burma Army can be seen from the fact that army commanders have yet to receive complaints of untowards incidents. The people are very understanding of the frustrations of Burmese soldiers, and thus forgive the boy's when they lose control and molest Shan womenfolks, burn villages, loot & kill, or shoot livestocks and poultry. Shan men who have been beaten & tortured by Burmese soldiers but shrug off the pain and humiliation with smiles -- boys will be boys, they seem to say.

It is however strange that despite such unconditional support of the Shan for the army, rebellion in Shan State is an ongoing business, and rebels increasing in numbers because vengeance is always sweet.

Mr. E.T

Solemn Prayer-Duty-bound

*Life is just a bubble, a surf on the sea.
But one and all cling to the last.
How precious it has been.
Don't deny that you don't love.
For love is everything
If you love democracy,
Essence of life can be seen.
Democracy-Democray man acclaimed,
Yet no one seems to esteem.
Only dedication to duty is true democracy.
May Democracy in-action crown our scheme.
By - Ms. 88's Sida.*

Solemn Prayer
duty-bound



Due to the fact that the problem of Burmese narcotics is closely intertwined with the politics, not only of Burma, but Thailand as well, the relation and interrelation between Rangoon and Washington - and Washington and Bangkok - and also Rangoon and Bangkok, it is very difficult to obtain a factual picture. This publication the FREEDOM'S WAY, as a public service, is therefore presenting some diagrams which will provide the general public and interested persons with an unemotional picture of the whole issue.

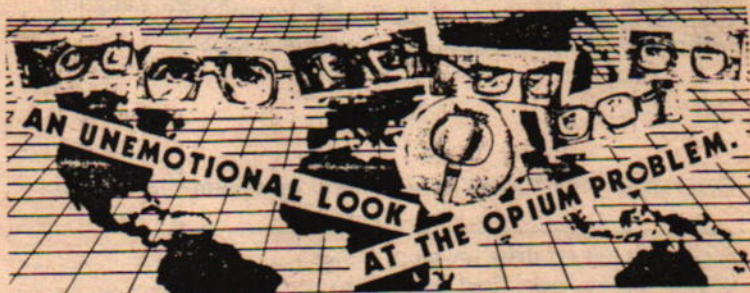


Diagram 1 : Blame apportioned for opium+heroin problem.



Diagram 2 : Real responsibility for opium+heroin problem.

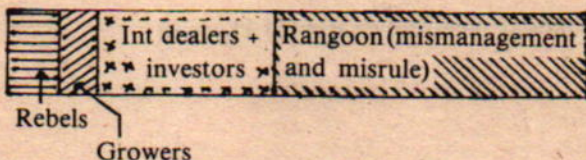


Diagram 3 : Attacks on opium and heroin 'offenders'.

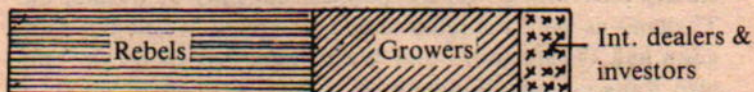


Diagram 4 : Benefits accruing from opium + heroin.

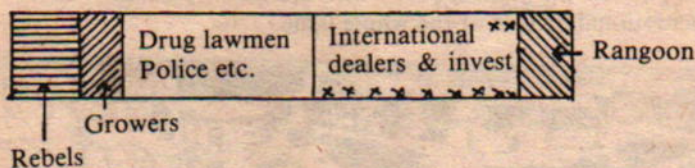


Diagram 5 : Tax-Payers' money spent on opium + heroin pro

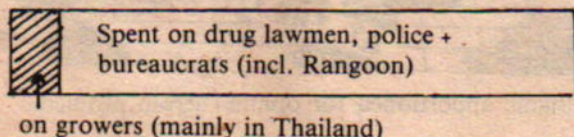
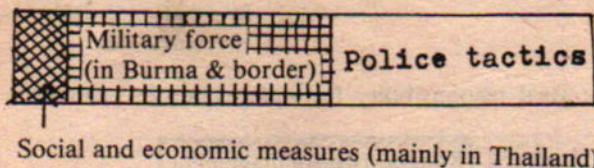


Diagram 6 : Methods in fighting opium + heroin.



TACHILEIK TO KENG TUNG- THE SOCIALIST WAY



SAI LERN MON

Tachileik is just across the border opposite Thailand's Maesai. It is a gateway into the GOLDEN TRIANGLE. From there a motorcar road winds into the green clad hills and towering mountains of Shan State and then reaches KENG TUNG -- a very old city built in the 13th century by a prince of Chiangmai. The people of KENG TUNG speaks the same Thai dialect as these of Chiangmai, Thailand, and the same



script as well. So also the inhabitants of SIPSONGPANNA PREFECTURE of Yunnan, China. But due to everchanging politics, the people of Chiangmai are Thai; those in Kengtung are Burmese; and the same kind of people in Sipsongpanna are Chinese. So much for the relevency of Logic in politics.

The distance from Tachileik to Kengtung is roughly 100 miles. Before there was a motor road in the 1920s, the journey on foot took about 5 days. In the bad old days of feudalism, the distance by car took 1 day. Now in the era of socialism, the time taken is 3 days in the dry season, and 5 to 8 days during the rain.

In some stretch, the mud is knee-deep, and is pitted continuously throughout with craters. Passengers frequently have to get down and push and pull the vehicle for long stretches in a display of socialist unity & spirit.

The chief mode of transportation is a modified World War II jeep and trailer -- a two wheeled contraption pulled by the jeep. Goods and luggages are piled on, made secure with ropes, and on top, the passengers. Each jeep & trailer carry about 20 people, all jammed, clawing & clinging as best as can. Luckily, it is impossible to drive at more than 3 miles per hour.

For a one-way trip, each pays about kyats 400 (about U.S. \$ 80.-, official exchange), plus a bit here and there to very vigilant peoples militias, and more substantially if one runs into robber bands. Considering that air travel cost ten times as much, sometimes over twenty-fold (if a seat is available, that is), travelling by car is a lot cheaper.

Sai Learn Fah





Bonny born baby-

While a squad of tommies patrolling around the south Loi-Chai village, Laikha township, they heard the crying of a newly born baby. One of them rushed up to see the baby. Asked the mother if the baby was a boy or a girl. The mother, exultantly answered, 'A bonny boy' - Oh! then we are getting one more porter.

Bonny Born Baby

A condensed milk-worth.

In an advancing column one of the porters must have dropped a tin of condensed milk. Looking for it high and low and was not found. The porters were walloped. One of the porters complained, saying, just for the sake of one puny little tin of c. milk we were beaten. 'This guy replied,' my condensed tin of milk is morevaluable than-you-you fellows.



A CONDENSED MILK-WORTH

DEPORTED: Edith Mirante, 34, activist American academic; and Terence White, 38, New Zealand photojournalist; from Thailand; for the second time, having been expelled in January 1987 for entering Burma illegally; in Bangkok June 2 & 4 respectively. They made several forays into Burma, partly to interview narcotics warlord Khun Sa, Mirante heads a U.S. group monitoring alleged human rights violations suffered by Burma's minorities. She was seeking evidence of ill effects from U.S. herbicide sprayed on hill tribe opium fields. Rangoon recently reiterated its longstanding request that Banekok prevent journalists from crossing into rebel areas.

ASIAWEEK

JUNE 17, 1988

Why?

Why?



Sao Tzang

In the presentday world where great strides in medicine has been made especially within the last 100 years -- not to mention the improvements in public healthcare even in most of the third world -- leprosy is, it can be said, on the wane, or at least under control. One would not think that in a region like SHAN STATE with its semi-temperate climate and situated, on the average, 2,000 feet above sea level, that leprosy would be rampant. But it is.

There are at least three households in each village (at least one member of each such family) suffering from leprosy in the following areas:

Muang Sawng-Nong Tao Village circle; Keng Tong-Keng Kham Village circle (the worst afflicted); Nong Lom village circle; Wan Haat Village circle; and Salong Village circle. These areas are along the strip south of Muang Yai bordered by the Salween to the East, and in the West by the Loikaw-Hopong-Loilem-Muang Kung-Kehsi Mansam motor road. As far as can be perceived, no attention is being paid to this serious health hazard by the Burmese government. Leprosy is according to the locals a curse of the gods. Victims are treated as outcasts and thus live separately, a few hundred metres from the main village, preferably upstreams -- from the belief that leprosy germs or carriers do not swim downstream. **This is the only leprosy prevention in force!**

But how effective this is can be judged from the increase in the number of victims. The locals of course know nothing, and cannot be blamed especially since they are, due to their ignorance, potential victims as well.

It is doubtful if Burmese authorities know how many leprosy victims there are in the areas mentioned, and most possibly, do not care.

Even if there are local headmen aware of the true nature of leprosy, or that it is curable, nothing can be done because there is absolutely no leprosy treatment or eradication programme in Shan State. Before 1962-63, there were missionaries dealing in leprosy in Panglong and Muang Nai, and slow progress was being made in keeping leprosy in check.

But since the expulsion of missionaries due to their connections, as alleged by Burmese authorities, with CIA and SEATO, absolutely nothing has been done in this direction. It is especially heart-breaking to see children of leper parents living with their families as outcasts, and in due course of time, themselves becoming lepers, and thus condemned forever to live outside the pale of their fellow men and women. Most tragic.

Who is to be blamed for this tragedy? Rangoon will most assuredly blame the rebels and give as excuse the on-going war in Shan State for the neglect of this grave social and medical problem. No doubt Washington and the rest of the international community will accept such excuses, and pat Rangoon on the back for being a good boy. Here again, Rangoon is using the facts of its miserable neglect to win international sympathy and assistance -- as if nothing can be done until all armed opposition to its rule is eliminated.

How valid is such a policy?

Hilltribes and other villagers in Shan State are neglected by the central government.

THE BURMESE

narcotics problem *By Sao Tsang*

Shan State of Burma is said to produce 400 to 600 tons of opium yearly, or 40 to 60 tons of heroin. Stupendous if this figure is true. In reality, rather difficult to say how much opium is produced, and how much of it refined into heroin. This is because there simply has been no ground survey as to acreage under opium cultivation, size of production unit, average yield, returns per acre, input factors and man hours



per one viss, distribution of opium crop in Shan State, amount used locally, how much exported and/or refined, etc., etc.

Nothing is known since there has been no study of the ways of opium growing & trade by experts or the U.N. with

Rangoon simply do not want anyone to look deeply into this problem.

Yet, funnily, everyone claims to be an expert on Shan State opium, trotting out figures and sums, saying that for so & so year, there has been an increase or decrease in Shan opium because of this and that, & so on and so forth...

What is more ridiculous is that these experts have all come up with a magic solution: **HELP RANGOON DEFEAT SHAN REBELS BECAUSE THEY ARE BEHIND THE OPIUM PROBLEM.**

Very mysterious how this was arrived at because the cardinal rule among governments concerning Burma has been **NON-INTERFERENCE & NON-INVOLVEMENT**. However, is not helping Rangoon fight **SHAN REBELS** a **CONTRAVENTION** of this cardinal rule ?

Rangoon's attitude has always been **DON'T PRY INTO MY INTERNAL PROBLEMS. I WILL DO THINGS MY WAY, BUT YOU MUST HELP ME DEFEAT MY ENEMIES BECAUSE THEY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR YOUR PROBLEMS AS WELL.'**

On the other hand, Shan rebels have always said: **OPIUM IS A SERIOUS INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM. WE NEED INTERNATIONAL HELP & PARTICIPATION. WE WELCOME EXPERTS INTO SHAN STATE. WE ARE WILLING TO CO-OPERATE WITH ALL, INCLUDING RANGOON, IN ERADICATING OPIUM.**

Yet, the international community, **WASHINGTON** especially, has branded **SHAN REBELS** as **UNREASONABLE** criminals, and terroristic, etc., and **RANGOON** in seen as being very resonable.

The linking of the solution of the Burmese narcotics problem to **MILITARY VICTORY** of **RANGOON** will not be in any way productive because the **KEY** to Burmese narcotics lies not in **ESCALATION OF FIGHTING IN BURMA**, but in bringing **PEACE**. Peace is essential if opium is to be eradicated and drug trafficking eliminatad.

The relevant question is how to bring about PEACE in Burma and Shan State. Is there no other alternative or ways except through warfare? DOES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY & THE UNITED STATES REALLY BELIEVE THAT PEACE IN BURMA AND THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF BURMESE NARGOTICS IS UN-ATTAINABLE EXCEPT THROUGH BURMESE COLD STEEL & BAYONET?

Mr. Elephant

Burmese protest at embassy



Burmese protesters hang posters on the wall of their embassy on Sathorn Road yesterday. The posters carry messages calling for democratic rule in their homeland. Top: A Thai police officer monitors the situation.

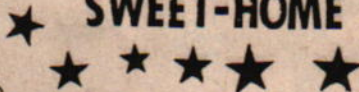
We were poor; yet we are happy
We toil from dawn to dusk
Whether rain or sunshine
Yet we don't grouse or groan
Just cause we are free.

Our make-shift-house - OUR PALACES.
Our bearth-earthern-ware pots on fire - OUR RESTAURANTS.
Our rustic dames smiling faces - OUR TELEVISION.
Our children's crying for food - OUR ORCHESTRA..
Nero fiddling when Rome was on fire.
We keep on whistling when the world in despair.
We care a hoot; this is our mood.
The cool bracing breeze, that creeps through.
The floor, door, hole, OUR - OUR AIRCONDITIONED.
How humble it may seem to others.
It's our heavenly on fair.
Sweet-home-nothing like a humble home.



The joy of FREEDOM

“SWEET-HOME”



by

AI SAI ORN

It's our own affair.

That's why we cherish FREEDOM forever.

By - Ai on
Hidden Valley



For outside observers of Burma, it is very difficult to gauge the effectiveness or strength of the BCP OR CPB (Communist Party of Burma). Reports are conflicting -- different source giving conflicting accounts, or even one source giving conflicting reports, as for example Rangoon. Accordingly the CPB/BCP is at the same time a grave threat, or is in disarray and only a minor nuisance. At onetime, Rangoon even hinted of BCP's Vietnam connection through VIEN-TAINNE. There were rumors saying that ex-Brigadier KYAW ZAW (formerly Burma Army but drummed out for communist connections in the late 50s

and in late 60s joined the BCP via Lashio, Shan State) & several hundred followers had broken with BA THEIN TIN, current BCP Chairman, and had set up a vietnam sponsored faction in the Shan-Laos border area. The problem with basing one's judgements of



CPB or

BCP MILITARY

SAI LOI SORM

Presence

the BCP's strength or otherwise on Rangoon's reports is that, like all governments with communist insurgency problem, it tends to cut the cloth to fit the needs of the moment, exaggerating when necessary, and vice versa.

Rangoon's politicking nonetheless, it is amply clear that the BCP is comfortably dug-in in the 60,000 square miles comprising Shan State, & as well, in KARENNI and KACHIN states.

In Shan State, BCP units move at will and, in platoon & company sized fire fights are able to bloody the much praised Burma Army. In fact, BCP fighters have but scant respect for the army's fighting ability and there is very little the army can do against swift and experienced communist jungle fighters. When the army moves in strength, not only do BCP forces disappear, but the army's practice of press-ganging villagers as coolies and indiscipline rampant among Burmese armymen further ALIENATES the local populace -- contributing to BCP's grassroot support.

In contrast, BCP troopers behave according to the rules laid down for the Eight Route Army by Mao, and the fact that they are local boys or non - Burmese tribesmen also helps a good deal.

What is most important is that the BCP's Voice of the people radio broadcasts in Shan and tribal languages daily. Admittedly most materials put forth are dull, dreary and uninspiring, but its LONG TERM EFFECTS on the millions of young Shan involved in a War SITUATION WITH RANGOON, and cut off from ALTERNATE SOURCES of knowledge, this could be formidable. Depending on changes in political circumstances -- the volatile interplay of interests and politics as between the big powers (China, United States, and Soviet Russia) and between them and Rangoon, - it is possible that sooner or later the BCP will come to constitute a strong politico - military force supported by millions firmly committed to the communist creed.

It's world, at any rate and by all means, will be foolish to dismiss the BCP as political lightweight lust because China has, it is widely believed, cut back aid to the BCP. What Peking takes away, gives, or does, is some thing which no one can dictate or predict with any certainty. There could be some unpleasant surprises ahead for those who assume that China has lost all interest in peoples war or revolutions, in particular Where Burma -- China's back door neighbor -- is concerned.



BURMESE NEO-FACIST'S ACTIVITIES DURING 1987S



- 1.1.87 - A troop from Light Infantry-16, Div. 55 shot dead
Zaleinda, age-45, (F)
Loong Sam Htoon (M) Ba
Pyu of Pha Lai village,
Pha Lai circle, Loilem
Township.
- 3.1.87 - A coy. from Infantry-64, strength-80 led by Lt. Tin
Aung, advanced and raided Gong Awn village,
Nawng Daw circle, Laikha Township. Then raped
seven women during the night.
- 12.1.87 - A troop from coy. 3, Infantry-64, strength-70,
seized the following villagers without rhyme and
reason. They are: (1) Hsung Naw, age-35 (2) Lung
Leinda, age-45 (3) Lung Htoon, age-40 (4) Hsung
Aw, age-45 (5) Hsung Su Ri Ya, age-35. Then
raided and robbed Hsung Sa Lein's belongings be-
sides three baskets of rice and one cycle.
On the same day - the troop as quoted above ad-

vancing Nawng Kar-wan Phy, Nawng Gyan circle, captured the villagers as follows:- Lung Ti, Lung Soi, Sai Sa, Mu Lein, Pan Sa, Te Sa La, Sai Noi, Gaw Ya, Lung Hid Leik, Sai Leng Aung, Sai Mart, Sai Awng, Gaw Wi, Pu Kham Leng Hsam, Lung Kyaung Lid, Pu Sai, Htoon Awng, Kyawng Saya.

- 14.1.87 - A Burman Unit from Ham Ngai outpost, Kesi Township, when to Pang Nawng village's Inn asking for a drink and food. Being refused to offer, the Inn was set a blaze. One tin of cooking oil and other belongings were a great loss.
- 22.1.87 - Company-I, Inf.-64, led by Lt. Tin Aung marched to Lone Hsaw, Laikha Township, raided and robbed 3 cattle belonging to Sai Wow Kham.
- 27.2.87 - Not being informed to the Black outpost, Sai Hsung Lum, Loi Moot, Sanen circle of Loilem Township, was captured by Lt. Than Htay, Lt. Inf.-14, Div.-55. Utensils, over-all beddings, one horse worth K. 3,000, rice also were robbed.
- On the same date-Sai Hsung Mun, age-30, was in articulate to be able to talk about insurgents. So he was shot dead on the spot without sufficient reason.
- 15.2.87 - Having obtained seven persons for porters out of fifteen, the Hai Seng council chairman, Lung Heing Maha, was tied up with a rope and was beaten harshly.
- 1.3.87 - One section of Burma army, Inf.-64, came to Nawng Taw, Laikha Township, and shot recklessly and killed the villager named Kham Awng and Za Lein and Ai Htoon were wounded.
- 17.3.87 - Another section from Inf.-64 came to Wan Te, Laikha Township, demanded porters. Not being available burnt Nan Daw's house.
- 3.5.87 - Div.-77, one coy. of strength-70, arrived at Hai Seng. Taken a tin of cooking oil, one tin of rice and one ox.

- 10.5.87 - A village hamlet in the southern part of the village also was hit by a random shot by the Inf.-64, strength two platoons and taking away a sewing machine.
- 20.6.87 - The said these reckless fellows as quoted above arrived at Nam Ping, Laikha Township-raided and robbed the properties mentioned below: Pa Sa-cash K.300, Nang Khin - K.300, Pa Hein - K.300, Nai Munt - K.300, Nai Kya - K.450, Nai Seng - K.1050, Nang Ming - a beg worth K.40, one turban worth K.50 and three viss of fowl. On the same date, a coy. strength-80 from Div. 88 raided into Nammin and Sang Wan - beaten recklessly the three villagers by the name of:
- (1) Hsung Su, age-34 (F) Lung Su (M) Nai Yu.
 - (2) Hsung Ing Da, age-34 (F) Kung Sa (M) Nai Soi.
 - (3) Hsung Yong, age-30 (F) Saya Mu Ling (M) Nai Loi Kya.
- On the same day also, a coy. of Inf. 64 came to Nawng Hoi village the Palaung village taken all the villagers' belongings and set a blaze the village.
- 26.8.87 - Inf.64, Wan Yerng camp, led by Lt. Shwe Aye - popularly known as Bo Ho Hkai (Lt. Head - ache) demanded four oxen and on arrival at Wan Yerng market - hundred kyat as liquor tax. Over and above that not being satisfied asked OFFALS for taste. And also diesel and rice-bran to give weekly. This fellow doesn't buy beef and pork at the usual market rate is K. 30 and K. 40 respectively. Instead, paid only K. 15 for both.
- 30.6.87 - Six villagers had been cross-examined by the troops from Ham Ngai outpost. Not being satisfied, two of them were hospitalized.
- 8,7,87 - A squad of Police from Panglong led by Lt. Htay Myint encircled Lung Zanda Wine's house. Showered with bullets into his house Sai Kham, age-27, (F) Lung Awng Sa (M) Nang Kam succumbed to

death on the spot. And a camera from Lung Zanda Wine was taken away.

- 28.7.87 - A Burmese troop from outpost-Loi Hung Hone stationed in southwest of Laikha came to Nam Toke. They abducted and raped the girls namely: Nang Sam, Nang Nu, Nang Lu, Nang Sam Kham, Nang Htwe Kham at twilight in the evening. One of them suffered dislocation of hip joint. They were released next morning.

The beastly activities of these fellows made some girls had to be carried home.

- 11.8.87 - Soldiers from Sanin outpost in disguise of BCP robbed Mai Kor villagers.

K. 700 in cash belonged to Hsung Nu, age-18 was at a loss. When foundly K.8 on the victim - Hsung Kawn, he, not being in good faith beat him and threatened that he would lose his life if he hadn't any. Hsung Sin, Hsung Awng and Hsung Sai had been beaten.

- 19.8.87 - The villagers of Kon Kham, Laikha Township, had to line up and were whipped accept six persons by a company under the control of Div. 77.

No. 77 Div. - two coys. from Mongkung Township arrived at Wan Nawng village, Mong Lang circle, Hopong Township, one tommy threatened Pi Hsung Zingda to get a K. 1700 worth of his wrist-watch. If not complied with, will be taken as porter. And after awhile, set free on presentation of watch. On the same day, Sai Nanda Wow's laborer was taken as porter and released him when paid K. 600. There was a skirmish between BCP and BSPP on the same day. The BSPP got the upper hand and BCP had to flee BSPP personnel totally destroyed Hu Mi village and taken away what they could and killed two oxen - devoured all in the village.

- 24.8.87 - A coy. of the facists-like soldiers under the control of Div. 55 clashed with BCP near Nawng Woke

village. After the fighting, they had taken 31 tins of rice, cash K. 300 and three suits of dress as their reward.

- 11.9.87 - Div. 55, Sanin outpost forced labour on villagers. Had to make fencing, made pointed-sticks, made huts to guard the porters gathered from the village. Any one attempted to escape were fined. Slaughter and eaten the oxen on the pretext of negligence by the villagers while the gates were kept deliberately open for the cattle to go in easily. Finding fault for negligence they had killed eight oxen within four months.

The owners' name from Sanin.	No. of oxen.
1. Pa Weng	2
2. Pa Pein	2
3. Lung Mart	1
4. Hsung Htoon	1
5. Hsung Lern	1
6. Lung Nyan	1

- 12.10.87 - Black Burmese soldiers stationed in Mongkung came to Wan Sork. Persecuted the headman of the village. The injuries on head and faces were so severe that the victim hardly can move for days. On top of that, one ox was taken for their ration.

- 3.8.87 - A coy. of troops under Div. 77, stripped off all that they see in the village- Nawngpit, Hai Seng cirrcle, Laikha Township.

The list of property as follows were all lost.

1. An over coat worth	K. 1,200.-
2. Two shirts worth	K. 200.-
3. One trouser worth	K. 100.-
4. Two torch-light worth	K. 150.-
5. Five fowls worth	K. 150.-
6. Cash	K. 55.-
7. A pair of earing-half a tical	
8. Two rings	
9. One silver cup ten ticals	
10. One long-jacket worth	K. 900.-

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|----|---------|
| 11. | One thick shirt worth | K. | 120.- |
| 12. | One Shan-turban worth | K. | 80.- |
| | Totally worth | K. | 11855.- |
- 11.10.87 - King Heng Nanda as well as Sai Hpaw Ga, age-23, Pa Yin village, Wanti circle. Laikha Township was robbed on the surprise and tortured by the troop of Lt. Inf.-106 on their way to their out post, as a result made an end of them.
- 17.10.87 - A twelve-year-old girl name Nang Oo, daughter of Lung Hsung Munt-Pa Pan, Wan Toke village, Loilem Township even was raped without mercy. She injury sustained were so sever that her private part was swelling.
- 23.10.87 - Div. 77, Unit no. 106 went to enquire information about BCP which questioning a villager, Lone Daw Na, age-45, Nam Kok village, Tart Mawk circle, Laikha Township, satisfactory information was not available, in a fit of anger, harrassed him to such a degree that poor fellow expired after a month.
- 3.11.87 - A coy. of troops from Unit 55 entered Kun Hsai village Mong Nai Township, and tried to capture one villager. Being unable to seize him, the innocent baby of 5 years was taken, to drive mad to the mother-Nang Pwe. The baby was taken as a hostage.
- 6.12.87 - Div.55. Being suspected of in possession of a revolver, when it was not found poor Sai Wa Ling, age-34 (F) Puloi Saray Ingda (M) Nai Loi Htoon - Hai Seng circle, Laikha Township, was executed. He was probed with a scarlet-red-rod pouring with steaming water into his mouth. Rolling with an iron cylinder on his knee-cap. Dragged him with a loop round his neck. His pitiful death was met with such tortures. The house had been ransacked and took away whatever was there.
- The following properties were taken away.
1. Seven pairs of diamond earrings
 2. Two golden chains weighing half a tical

3. Three gold earrings
4. Old 60-rupee coins
5. One cassette
6. One Seiko-wrist-watch
7. One lady-wrist-watch
8. Currency notes K.850- including cloting, utensils, furniture etc:

9.12.87 - Div. 77 - two platoon - comdr. led by Capt. Maung Maung arrived Wan Sork, Mong Kung Township, tied the Headman up for three days. He was released only on payment of K.6000 on the 12.12.87.

N.B -As quoted above the oppressed news is just from four Townships, such as- Mong Kung, Laikha, Panglong and Loilem only.

From dawn to dusk, we trudge through thick and thin-uphill and down dalethrough gorges and narrow passes traversed without a note of complaint. Gallant soldiers we are living on scanty food and sketchy clothes but maintains strict discipline.

* Unity is the goal of all armed Resistance forces. Unity means strength. With strength only we can fight against the enemy to regain our land. Eventually, we can form our own Government. Only then, we can serve for the welfare of our people effectively.

* We Shan State peoples are sleeping on the golden cots yet we are reduced to the status of beggars. So I wish everyone of us to become LORDS of the

la

riots in Burma.....UNUNITED REBELS

A Wait-and-See Attitude ?

More rallies in Burma press for multi-party rule

MORE than 100,000 people rallied in the southern Burmese towns of Tavoy and Mergui over the weekend calling for a multi-party democratic system, Burmese students said yesterday.

The rallies followed demonstrations in the two towns earlier this month in which "hundreds" of protesters were shot dead, said the students, who have just arrived in Bangkok.

They said all government offices were closed and businesses were shut.

The students said protests and rallies have become a daily event at the two towns, and that government forces have not yet intervened. Some soldiers have joined the demonstrations, they said.

Several government buildings in the towns were set ablaze this month by protesters who outnumbered state security personnel.

The students said local members of the ruling Burmese Socialist Programme Party had helped coordinate demonstrations, providing facilities and food, and sometimes

removing national flags from flagpoles.

The students said people from all walks of life joined the protests, which were usually led by Buddhist monks.

The demonstrators also denounced the shooting of unarmed civilians in the two towns.

"We have no exact figure, but surely several hundred people were killed," one student said.

The students said the demonstrations were well-organised and led by their university counterparts in Rangoon who were natives of Tavoy and Mergui.

"Many people have joined in the protests because the government has presented distorted information about the happenings in our towns," one student said.

"The outside world knows very little about what is happening to us in the southern coastal towns. If we are killed by the Burmese security forces, nobody knows about us because we are far away from Rangoon," he said.



Demand for freedom and democracy
reverberates across Burma



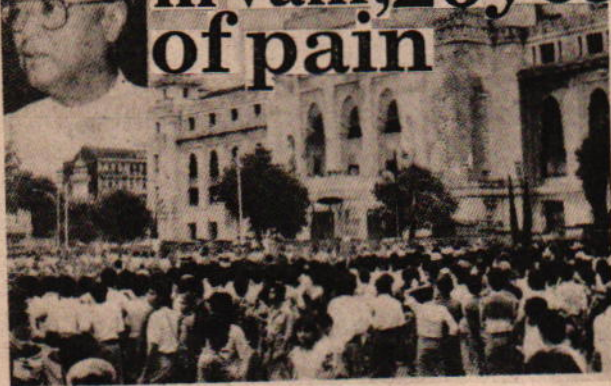


ANGER that could not be denied: Burmese students bearing a portrait of national hero Aung San make their demands for democracy heard throughout Rangoon on Friday.

'Haunted by the colonial yoke and foreign exploitation, and terrified of being drawn into Indochinese conflicts, Burma retreated into a hermit existence.'



**Twenty-six years
in vain, 26 years
of pain**





Burma's new leader is forced to resign after bloody street fighting claims up to 1,000 lives

Angry mobs gather after martial law is proclaimed: Anti-Sain Lwin, but proposing no alternatives

REALLY The situation in Burma change in Burma?

The BSPP monster must be slain



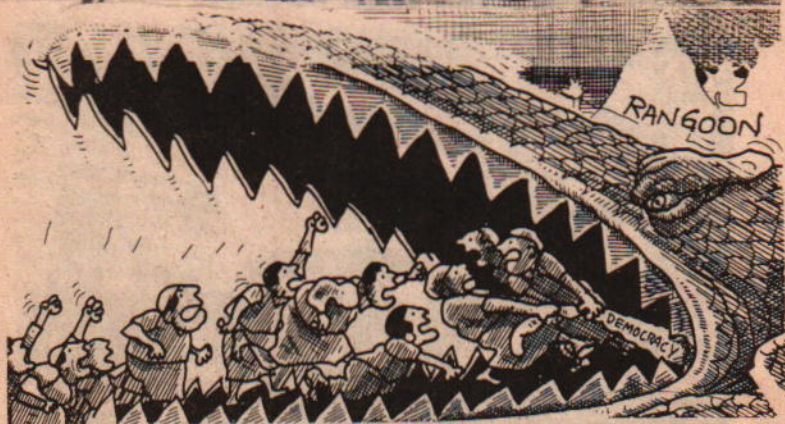
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ကိုင်းလိပ် Freedom's Way

Life goes on in Burma as people march for democracy

BURMESE students march in downtown Rangoon Thursday.

RANGOON — In the faded British colonial splendour of Rangoon's Strand Hotel, the niceties of protocol are observed even as people power takes to Burma's streets.



THE NATION/Thailand's English-language newspaper Tuesday, August 30, 1988

THE SHAN PEOPLE'S WAY TO THE NEW AGE

Basic Principles

1. National Independence
2. State Power Belonging to the People
3. Prosperous People and Strong Government
4. Equal Rights for all Citizens
5. Solidarity of all Indigenous Races
6. Peace and Stability

DEFINITION OF THE PRINCIPLES

THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

1. The people of all races within Shan State are entitled to live and seek their well being in a free and well-defined territory which rightly belongs to them.
2. They shall enjoy political and economic independence.
3. National sovereignty resides in the hands of the people.

THE PRINCIPLE OF STATE POWER BELONGING TO THE PEOPLE

1. The people possess the power to pursue the development of their housing, food and clothing standards.
2. The State Constitution shall come into force only when ratified by the people in a referendum.
3. The people shall exercise the power to elect and be elected for public offices.

THE PRINCIPLE OF PROSPEROUS PEOPLE AND STRONG GOVERNMENT

1. Every citizen has the right to work for his livelihood.
2. Every citizen has the right to own property.
3. Every citizen has the right to engage in economic enterprises.
4. The State shall provide for the promotion of health service, education, welfare, religious faiths, literature, culture and adequate standards of living.
5. The State shall oversee that every citizen enjoys the right to earn a living and to seek social security during old age, or due to ill health or other disabilities.

6. The State shall ensure that a strong state economy is established.
7. Firm and stable government shall be the standing rule.
8. The government shall serve solely in the interests of the people.
9. Public servants shall be appointed only on the virtue of their competence.
10. Public servants shall receive remuneration adequate to lead a decent life.
11. The structure of government shall be precise, clear and comprehensive.

THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL RIGHTS FOR THE PEOPLE

1. All citizens, irrespective of race, social status, language, religion or sex, enjoy equal rights.
2. Every citizen has equal rights in the political, economic and social aspects.
3. Every citizen shall share equal duties to build up the nation, defend it and preserve the rights set out herein.

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INDIGENOUS RACES

1. All the indigenous races shall unitedly preserve the territorial integrity of the nation.
2. All the indigenous races shall unitedly accede to the single national flag.
3. All the indigenous races shall unitedly pledge to the single state power.
4. All the indigenous races shall conform to the single state law.

THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACE AND STABILITY

1. Judicial power shall extend throughout the whole extent of the nation.
2. The nation must enjoy freedom from intervention and oppression arising through political creeds, matters of state, armed forces and intrigues of any foreign power.
3. The judicial body must firmly adhere to state laws and enjoy full independence in conducting its affairs.
4. The state must guarantee a strong and modernized armed force to defend the nation.

POLICY ON RELIGION

1. All religions have the right to promote, encourage and propagate their faiths, and to be professed by the people.
2. All religions are equal in status.
3. No school of religion shall discriminate, offend, undermine or in any way violate another religion.
4. No religion shall enforce involuntary profession.
5. The state shall endeavor to equally encourage and promote every religion.

POLICY ON INDIGENOUS RACES

1. All races enjoy equal political, social and economic rights.
2. All races shall unitedly share the same territorial integrity and the same national flag.
3. Every race has the right to promote, preserve and encourage its own language, literature, customs and traditions.
4. Every race has the duty to develop and defend the nation.
5. No race shall violate, intimidate, oppress or discriminate against another race.

restore democracy



VARIOUS religious groups march in the streets of Rangoon Thursday demanding democracy. THE NATION September 10, 198

ความสัมพันธ์กับพี่น้องโดยของนายทหารชั้นผู้ใหญ่ของราชการ ซึ่งเป็นนักการเมืองในปัจจุบัน ได้กล่าวถึงในที่ประชุมเยาวชนไทยที่ ร.ร. อิมพิเรียล พ.ศ. 2530

พี่น้องชาวไทยใหญ่ที่เคารพครับ กระผมได้มีความผูกโยงสายสัมพันธ์กับ พี่น้องไทใหญ่มาตั้งแต่สมัยสงครามโลกครั้งที่สองโน้นแหละครับ หรือสมัยที่รัฐฉานเกิดขึ้นใหม่ ๆ ถ้าประเทศไทยก็คงเป็นสมัย จอมพล ป. พิบูลสงคราม เป็นนายกรัฐมนตรี ซึ่งในสมัยนั้นท่านก็ได้ตั้งแคว้นเชียงตุงขึ้น เข้ามาเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของประเทศไทยหรือเรียกว่า "สหรัฏฐไทยเดิม" ซึ่งมีเมืองยอง และเชียงตุงรวมอยู่ด้วย ในสมัยนั้นหาได้ลาดตระเวนไปถึงในพื้นที่เหล่านั้น ซึ่งได้มีการลั่นไกกับทหารที่มารุกไล่พื้นแผ่นดินแถบนั้น ผลสุดท้ายฝ่ายผู้รุกร้าเป็นผู้หยุดลั่นไกก่อน ปรากฏว่า ได้รวมเข้าในราชอาณาจักรไทยไว้ระยะหนึ่ง ผมเองจึงมาเกิดความเข้าใจที่ว่า พี่น้องในพื้นที่นั้นเป็นพี่น้องร่วมสายเลือดเดียวกันอย่างไม่ต้องสงสัย เพราะว่าอยู่ในพื้นที่นั้นประมาณสองปีกว่า ๆ จนกระทั่งสงครามยุติลง การที่ผมได้สัมผัสกับพี่น้องชาวไทยทางด้านทิศตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศไทยเรา ยิ่งทำให้ผมเกิดความรู้สึกว่า พี่น้องร่วมสายเลือดเดียวกันนั้นมีมากมายทีเดียว ระหว่างที่ผมลาดตระเวนทางด้าน รัฐเชียงตุงและเมืองยองอยู่นั้น ผมก็ลาดตระเวนไปเรื่อย ๆ จนกระทั่งถึงเมืองหลวง ซึ่ง "ในเขตยูนาน" (Yannun) และได้ข้ามไปฝั่งลาวอีก ในสมัยนั้นประเทศลาวก็เป็นประเทศหนึ่งที่อยู่ภายใต้การล่าอาณานิคมจากฝรั่งเศสเหมือนกันตอนนั้น ทหารไทยเรายังกระแจะขึ้นไป ยิ่งทำให้ผมกระจางใจเรื่องเผ่าไทยเราอย่างกว้างขวางมากขึ้น

ครั้งหนึ่งผมได้อ่านพบหนังสือเรื่องชนชาติไทยหรือโดยเรา และดินแดนที่อาศัยอยู่ของคนไทย ของ ด.ร. ดอด (Dr. W.C. Dodd) ผมพยายามติดตามเกี่ยวกับเรื่องนี้อย่างเต็มที่ และพยายามสืบเสาะหาพื้นที่ ซึ่งมีไทยหรือโดยเราอาศัยอยู่ จากประสบการณ์ในการศึกษา ติดตามแสวงหาพี่น้องไทยเรานั้นมันทำให้ผมเกิดความรู้สึกว่าพี่น้องร่วมสายเลือดเดียวกันนี้ ไม่เป็นปึกแผ่นเดียวกัน และเกิดการแตกแยก และแบ่งแยกกันว่าเราเป็นไทยอย่างนั้น เราเป็นไทยอย่างนี้ มันอาจเป็นเพราะคนไทยหรือโดยเรานี้ ขาดความสำนึกถึงพี่น้องสายเลือด หรืออาจเป็นเพราะว่าสาเหตุความสูงต่ำในด้านฐานะของประชาชนภายในประเทศ ความเจริญของประเทศไทย ความเจริญของประเทศและด้านการเมืองจนลืมไปว่า พี่น้องบ้านใกล้เรือนเคียงเรานั้น ได้รับความเดือดร้อนหรือไม่

เจตนารมณ์ผมมีอย่างนี้ ในสมัยก่อนนั้น ตั้งแต่สมัยจอมพล ป. พิบูลสงคราม หลวงวิจิตรวาทการ จอมพล สดกฤษ์ ธนะรัตน์ จอมพลถนอม กิตติขจร จอมพลประภาส จารุเสถียร ซึ่งผมเองก็ได้ร่วมอยู่ในรัฐบาลสมัยนั้นครับ

ในสมัยท่านเหล่านี้เป็นผู้บริหารรัฐบาลอยู่ ท่านมีความเอื้อเฟื้อเผื่อแผ่ต่อพี่น้องสายเลือดเดียวกัน อย่างไม่มีปัญหา ผมเองก็ทราบดีว่า เราจะต้องช่วยเหลือกันอย่างไร นะครับ ถ้าหากว่าเรามีอำนาจ และบทบาททางการเมืองมากๆ เราก็สามารถช่วยเหลือกัน อย่างภาคภูมิใจ แต่ทำอย่างไรได้ละ ในเมื่อเราแค่เป็นแม่ทัพเท่านั้น จะเอาอะไรไปขัดขวาง ในเมื่อรัฐบาลเขาเปลี่ยนนโยบาย ในเมื่อเป็นเช่นนั้น ผมเองจึงขอลาออกก่อน เกษียณ ผมเองมีความตั้งใจจริง และพอมีประสบการณ์บ้าง ที่อยากพูดอีกมากมาย นอก จากเรื่องความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพี่น้องไทยด้วยกัน แล้วยังอยากพูดถึงเรื่องภัยจากการรุกรานจากนอกประเทศอีก เพราะประเทศเล็กๆ แค่นี้จะอยู่เพียงลำพังโดดเดี่ยวเสียมิได้ เพราะในขณะนี้เราก็ได้รับปัญหาจากประเทศบ้านใกล้เรือนเคียงอยู่บ้างแล้ว ถ้าหากเรา ประมาท และไม่เห็นความสำคัญของปัญหาพวกนี้เสียมิได้ ฉะนั้นในการที่เราจะมีความ เอื้อเฟื้อเผื่อแผ่พี่น้องไทยด้วยกันแล้ว เราจะไปช่วยเหลือใครกัน และเราควรสามัคคีปอง ดองกันให้เป็นอันหนึ่งอันเดียวกันให้ได้อย่างมั่นคง นี่แหละครับความเห็นของเรา ซึ่ง เป็นอย่างนี้แหละครับ ถ้าหากว่าเรานั้นคิดเห็นว่าจะจะเป็นอะไรก็ตาม แต่ถ้าเรารู้จักสำนึก ว่าไทยเรานั้นยิ่งใหญ่ในแหลมทองแห่งนี้ ถ้าหากว่าเรามีความคิดเช่นนี้เราก็สามารถรักษา ความเป็นใหญ่ของพี่น้องเผ่าไทยเราไว้ได้ และก็ไม่มีชนชาติใดมาข่มขู่เรา และสามารถ รักษาตัวเราจากการถูกกลืนของชาติอื่นได้ ฉะนั้นเราควรมองเห็นความสำคัญของการ สามัคคีปองดองกัน เป็นน้ำหนึ่งใจเดียวกัน และให้ความเอื้อเฟื้อเผื่อแผ่ ไปยังคนไทย นอกประเทศ ทำอย่างไรละครับ ถ้าหากว่าเรามีอำนาจ เราก็สามารถพูดได้อย่างเต็มปาก เต็มเสียง แต่ตอนนี้เราไม่มีอำนาจในการปกครอง พูดไปมันก็แค่โน้�น ไปรดเห็นใจกันสักนิดชิ ครับ

พี่น้องชาวไทยใหญ่ครับ ผมอยากจะเรียนให้บรรดาพี่น้องทั้งหลายได้ทราบ ณ ที่ นี้ว่า ผมเองได้ผูกพัน และได้พยายามที่จะดำเนินการในเรื่องนี้มาตั้งแต่สมัยเป็นหนุ่มจน กระทั่งเดี๋ยวนี้อายุมากพอสมควรแล้วยังมีความหวังว่า มันคงจะสำเร็จตามความตั้งใจได้ สักวันหนึ่งเข้าจนได้ ถ้าหากไม่สามารถสำเร็จได้ในยุคนี้ เราจะต้องให้บรรดาคนที่จะมา

สืบต่อเจตนารมณ์ที่ดีนี้ ให้ประสบความสำเร็จ เพื่อที่จะให้พี่น้องชาวไทยเราจะมีควม
ยิ่งใหญ่เหนือศัตรู และคู่แข่งในภาคพื้นนี้คือ เขมร และพม่า เรื่องนี้ขอฝากเอาไว้ว่ามัน
จะสำเร็จลุล่วงได้หรือไม่มันขึ้นอยู่กับที่บรรดาพวกเรานั้นไม่ทอดทิ้งกัน และพยายาม
ที่จะให้มันเดินก้าวไปข้างหน้า และขยับขยายตลอดต่อไปทุกขณะ สวัสดิ์ครับ.

BANGKOK POST FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 9, 1988



Burmese protesters shout slogans at the embassy.



peaceful transition for Democracy

ခင်းတင်း 30 ပီ၊ လီလု၊ ခိုင်းလင်း၊ ခွပ်၊ ဂွင်းလက်၊ ယိုခင်း၊

ပံ၊ ဝိုခင်း၊ ပွံ၊ ကွံ၊ ပံ၊ ထွံ ဂွင်းလင်း၊ မင်ယူ၊ မိုင်း၊ မိုင်း၊

“ဂွင်းဂိုင်း၊ ဂွင်းဂိုင်း၊ ဂွင်းဂိုင်း၊ ဂွင်းဂိုင်း”

သိုပ်၊ သိုပ်၊ ယင်း၊ ပံ၊ ခပ်၊ ယံတမ်း၊ ဂင်း၊ လင်လင်းကွမ်၊ လွမ်။ — —

ဂွပ်၊ ယွမ်၊ သာခင်း၊

ပိုင်း၊ ဂင်း၊ ယွံ၊

တု၊ ပံ၊ ခင်း၊

ဂွင်းယိုင်း၊

သံ၊ တင်း၊ ခင်း၊

ယု၊ ယုတ်၊ ယုတ်၊ ယုတ်၊ ယုတ်၊ ယုတ်။

