

Burma: A Land Where Buddhist Monks Are Disrobed and Detained in Dungeons



Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma)
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Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma)

“Executive Summary”

In Burma, anyone can be detained for being involved in human rights advocacy, democratic activities or peaceful demonstrations. Thus, political activists are not the only stratum of society vulnerable to arrest by the military intelligence, Buddhist monks are also subject to the same fate. It is estimated that there are approximately 300 monks and novices in Burma’s prisons, whereas the number of political prisoners lingers at about 1400 to date.

Since the pro-democracy uprising occurred in 1988, the military regime has constantly attempted to crackdown on all strata of society including Buddhist monks who are assumed to be potentially significant revolutionary forces. During the demonstrations that occurred in August and September 1988, the regime killed masses of peaceful demonstrators including monks, students and civilians.

Although Buddhist monks have been involved in the movement by non-violent means, they have not been excluded from arrest and imprisonment. Since there is no rule of law but only ‘law and order’ in Burma, all arrests come without a warrant and the victims face brutal interrogations at military detention centers. Almost all the lawsuits concerning such arrests have been tried secretly without granting the accused any rights to seek legal counsel. Trials have been perfunctory; the so-called judges just read out the charges. While the accused is asked to plead guilty or not, the court announces its verdict which has invariably been one of guilt.

Most of the monks, including novices, that were arrested were charged under Section 5 (J) of the Emergency Provisions Act which is a widely worded law that has been used to suppress dissent even in the absence of a proclaimed ‘State of Emergency’. Some monks were charged under Article 295 of the Penal Code which describe the charge as ‘of offenses relating to religion’.

Aside from these Acts, Buddhist monks are vulnerable to arrest and charge under other Acts described in the Penal Code. In October 1990, immediately after the monks boycott of the regime began, the regime created ‘The Law Concerning the *Sangha* Organizations’ or *Sangha Organization Law*, an intrusion of the state in *Sangha* affairs. Subsequently, more than 200 monks and novices were found to be guilty of contravening these rules and regulations and were stripped of their monkhood that year.

Since the ‘*Sangha* Organization Law’ describes all nine *Sangha* Sects as members of the State *Sangha* Organization, every monk, or member of *Sangha*, has no alternative but to abide by all the rules and regulations pronounced by the regime. In brief, all the orders and decrees the

military regime has issued are designed to keep monks under tight control and thwart them from being involved in any social movements.

According to Buddhist principles, disrobing a monk forcibly cannot alter him into an ordinary laymen unless he himself chooses to be. Many monks who were arrested and imprisoned adhered to the principles of monkhood and never assumed that they had become laymen because they were disrobed. However, the authorities concerned in Burma, particularly those in military interrogation camps and inside prisons, treated the disrobed monks inhumanely as they considered the monks to be common criminals as they were no longer in their robes.

This report attempts to reveal some of the most offensive incidents perpetrated by a military regime, which is pretending to be the most pious government to ever rule in modern Burmese history. It should be noted that the data and information included in this report is only a sampling of incidents from a decade of arrests as the researchers faced difficulties in obtaining information from inside sources. However, the reliability of the information included in this report is unarguable. This report serves to voice previously unheard voices that have been suppressed since these episodes transpired in Burma. Through the publication of this report, we hope to provide an opportunity for these voices to be heard.



“Recommendations”

We, the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma), therefore make the following recommendations-

To the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC)

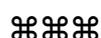
1. To immediately release all monks, novices and nuns who have been disrobed and imprisoned in Burma’s prisons;
2. To immediately cease perpetrating violations of fundamental human rights, especially arbitrary arrests, abuses in detention and summary executions committed by military personnel, police forces and authorities from prison department;
3. To respect fully their obligations under international humanitarian law, to protect all civilians, including children, women and persons belonging to ethnic or religious minorities, from violations of this law.

To the international community at large

1. To condemn the Burmese military regime for the continuing human rights violations occurring throughout Burma to all members of society;
2. To pressure the Burmese military regime to fulfill the recommendations that appears in the Commission on Human Rights Resolutions on the Situation of Human Rights in Burma;
3. To pressure UN agencies and international NGOs working inside Burma to publicly bear witness to the offenses committed by the SPDC against all civilians including monks;
4. To reiterate the demand for a peaceful political transition in the country according to people’s desire;
5. To urge the concerned international governments and organizations to withhold all forms of aid to the regime until Burma transforms to democracy.

To Sangha Organizations around the world

1. To demand the Burmese military regime release all monks, novices and nuns who have been disrobed and detained in Burma’s prisons;
2. To condemn the Burmese military regime for using religion as a tool for political purposes and for the State intrusion in *Sangha* affairs;
3. To boycott all religious conferences, seminars, exchanges, trips, etc. until the political situation in the country improves in an acceptable way.



“Introduction”

The vast majority of Burmese people are Buddhists, and as a result, the Burmese military regime has seen Buddhism as a useful state ideology for building up Burmese nationalism. Paradoxically, the *Sangha*, the Buddhist community of monks and nuns, was immediately seen as a threat to military rule, not only because the *Sangha* was so powerful and well-established, but also because it represents the Buddhist religion which in no circumstances allows the taking of life—making the whole idea of an army repugnant. Today, monks remain among the most active of Burma’s people in the struggle for the restoration of democracy.

In 1988, Burma emerged from a period of isolationist policy and has since pursued an active foreign policy. Currently, this policy stresses enhancing ties with neighbors like India, China, Thailand, Bangladesh and Laos. In addition, the military regime has been trying to develop tourism, especially religious tourism. At present, the military regime is preparing to host the forth World Buddhist Summit, a global meeting of Theravada Buddhists that is organized once every two years, at the end of the year. The first summit was held in Japan, the second in Thailand and the last one in Phnom Penh, Cambodia in 2002.

Some critics question the choice of the Burmese government to host the Summit in cooperation with the Japanese Nenbutsushu Buddhists. (At the time of writing this report, on November 1, 2004, the regime’s Ministry of Religious Affairs announced the withdrawal of the Japanese Buddhist Sect from co-hosting the summit, and its decision to continue holding the event on its own.) Many Burmese Buddhists have doubts that the Summit will bring benefits to Burma and Buddhism. Instead, many feel that this is the military government’s attempt to bring favor upon itself.

There is no doubt that there are many Buddhist monks still in prison for their conscience. The military authorities have accused monks who favor democracy of being bad people merely wearing monk robes and called them “bald-head” (ka done). Most Burmese democracy activists believe it necessary to ensure that religion is not used for political purposes. Some critics have pointed out that Lord Buddha praised the democratic system of Mhalla Kingdom, and Buddhist societies are based on values and principles of democracy. As a result, many believe that it is absurd for Burma, as one of the least democratic countries in the world, to hold the Buddhist Summit.

Nevertheless, the current military regime shows no intention to retreat from its decision and does not question its own democratic values or human rights standards. The military authorities have continuously denied the existence of political prisoners in Burma. Instead, they contend

that prisoners in Burma consist only of those who have committed criminal offences. Through all of their actions, the military authorities have indicated that the citizens of Burma are the ruled and only the ruled, while they, themselves, are the permanent rulers.

The recent arrest of 26 novices from the Kabaraye Tipitaka Mahar Ghandaryone Monastery once again illustrates the regime's lack of tolerance for anything and anyone that is inconsistent with its desire. As long as a country is ruled by an undemocratic and heinous government, there will never be a pleasant and desirable environment that enables both Buddhist monks and common people to work for peace and tranquility.

“Background History”

Buddhist Monks and Burmese society

In most of the world's tourism literature, Burma has been quoted as 'The Golden Land' or 'The Land of Pagodas'. This allegory reflects the once prosperous agrarian country with glittering paddy fields and gilded pagodas. In the old days, Burmese people did well in business and were thus able to give alms, offerings and donations which contributed to gilding the pagodas and the Buddha's images.

Traditional Burmese society cherished a monastery-based education system from the time of reign of the early kings. Most people lived in rural villages and the monastery was the axis for village life. In the early days, every Buddhist family would send their children to the monastery to learn to read and write. When a boy was old enough to read and write, the parents usually initiated him into the Buddhist order as a novice or *sama.nera*. When the boy became 20 years of age, he could ask the *bhikkhu* community for either full ordination or could remain a novice. He could also become a layperson again if he so wished.

Local people supported the monastery and the monks by giving merit, and in turn, the monks offered spiritual guidance and tended to the community's social, educational and health needs. Monks represented "the public conscience" and were sensitive to the joy as well as the suffering of local people. When local people suffered from heavy taxation, forced labor, rice quota extortion or forced relocation, monks did not ignore their plight. Since *sangha*, the Buddhist community of monks and nuns, is one of the Three Gems of Buddhism (Buddha, *Dharma* or the Law and the *sangha* or the Order), monks received not only the respect of the lay people but also the respect of kings.

There still remains a close relationship between the monks and the people, a factor that enables monks to have firsthand knowledge about the affairs of the country. Buddhist people usually go to monasteries when they are not engaged in their work. In particular, Buddhists go to monasteries on Sabbath days during the period of the Buddhist lent to observe the eight Buddhist precepts and to listen to religious sermons. Most people perform alms-giving ceremonies at least once every year after they have been able to save extra money. In performing all these matters, people need to keep in touch with Buddhist monks. There is a permanent correlation between the monks and the people because only if the country is in a state of peace and people are living under normal conditions are monks able to practice *Dharma*, the teachings of Buddha. If the country is in turmoil and the people are impoverished, monks face great difficulty surviving and promoting the three main aspects of *sasana**, Buddhist dispensation.

(**Sasana* is divided into three parts: (1) *Pariyatti Sasana*, the whole text of *Tipitaka*, three



Ven. U Ottama

baskets consisting of the words of the Buddha; (2) *Patipatti Sasana*, the actual practice in accordance with the teachings of the Buddha; (3) and *Pativedha Sasana*, the attainment of the Four Noble Truths achieved by the practice of the Dharma.)

During the colonial period, the majority of Burmese people became poorer. As the national spirit for freedom rose among the people, especially among intellectuals, monks also became involved in the national movement. The Burmese nationalists began founding civil societies with a specific foundation focused on religion. As monks were able to engage in everyday communication with the communities through religious services and the monasteries, they were called upon for consultation and assistance. In many ways, monks became involved in national politics through the desire of the people.



Ven. U Wisara

The most prominent monks involved in advocating nationalism were U Ottama and U Wisara. U Ottama, from Arakan State, was the first monk to be arrested for political activism. He had lived abroad but urged people in Burma to wear traditional clothes and use locally made goods, defying the message promoted by the British. He was arrested twice and imprisoned for seven years with hard labor. U Wisara was jailed by imperial authorities for political activities. He died in custody after a 166-day hunger strike. Both monks were influential but were viewed by many as "politicized" monks. While some abbots dismissed them as followers of the Mahayana Buddhist tradition, they were actually followers of Theravada Buddhism and inspired by Ghandi's strategy of non-violent political action and boycotts.

In 1942 after the Second World War broke out, the Japanese occupied and ruled Burma during which time the people endured harsh conditions and experiences. Although the Japanese soldiers were mostly Buddhist as well, they treated Burmese people in

an impious manner, particularly in rural areas. This treatment became one of the main reasons why the people vigorously supported the anti-fascist movement organized by the Burmese revolutionary forces in 1945. Due to the same nationalist sensation within society, the monks, also members of society, were involved in the movement in their own way.



The remaining off Ven. U Wisara

Buddhist Monks under the BSPP Regime

After the military generals seized state power in 1962, they continually attempted to crackdown on the most active strata of society including Buddhist monks as they were believed to be a potentially significant revolutionary force. As there was no democratic governance, people suffered a great degree of hardship under the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) military regime. Student demonstrations, labor strikes, and mass protests occurred throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

In 1965 in Hmawbi, Rangoon Division, monks refused to accept government rule over them. As a result, the BSPP regime arrested over seven hundred monks, some of whom were abused and imprisoned.

Following the death of U Thant, former UN Secretary General, thousands of people including students and monks protested against the military regime demanding an official burial site for the nationally and internationally respected statesman. U Thant passed away on November 25, 1974 and his remains were transferred to his native country, Burma, for a memorial service. The military generals, who always had a strong dislike of native intellectual figures, tried to reduce the ceremony to a minimum. On December 5, 1974, a large crowd of students seized the body in front of 50,000 mourners shortly before it was due to be buried at a public cemetery. The students viewed the military government's arrangement for the burial site as an insult to the dignity of the statesman. The students quickly built a new mausoleum at the place where the Student Union Building was located before it was blown up in 1962. As a result of the protests, several monks were bayoneted and six hundred were arrested. The total number of people arrested was over 5,000.

When it seized state power, the military regime established the sham 'Burmese Socialist Programme Party' and created a socialist government in 1974 that ruled the country until the nationwide pro-democracy uprising of August 1988. During the 26 years of the BSPP's reign, the military generals pretended to be the most nationalist and pious government that ever ruled in Burma. Taking advantage of the fact that the majority of Burmese people are Buddhists, they tried to convince the people that the government would never do wrong as it was a pious one. Using state power, the military authorities created the *Sangha* organization comprising it of the whole monk community.

Because monks, by tradition, hardly ever contradicted kings and remained consistent with *Vinaya*, the Buddhist discipline or code of conduct, venerable monks tolerated the regime's conduct. In addition, there were already the 10 precepts incumbent on a king from Buddha's teaching that the successive Burmese kings appreciated and followed. Some daring monks tactfully mentioned the 10 precepts when they gave religious speeches. It had once been a moral obligation of monks to teach kings when they tended toward injustice or immoral deeds.

In military-ruled Burma, some monks tried to meet the needs of the poverty-stricken lay people who could not afford basic necessities or the costs of educating their children. Monks founded small schools that gave shelter to and educate many orphans from war-torn areas and helpless children throughout the country. Under the military regime, the Minister for Religious Affairs provided some support to these schools but really very little.

As expanding global communication became vital for the social development of all countries, some monks tried to teach foreign languages, especially English. Because private language schools charged high tuition fees, the schools founded by the monks were very helpful to the poor people.

Through running charity schools as a supporting measure, monasteries reduced the gap in lay society between the rich and poor.

The authorities did not prohibit or interrupt the monks support to laymen or donors. Yet, at the same time, the military authorities did not provide any funds or support to facilitate these activities. Although the regime created honorable social awards for some businesspersons, it did not recognize the work of monks for society. The regime conferred reverential religious titles only to monks who passed the religious examinations and to some prominent venerable monks. It can be noted that the regime's intention was to keep the *sangha* permanently away from society, or rather, to keep the *sangha* away from the people. Yet, Buddhist *sasana* was an established part of society, and if there were no laymen to make religious offerings, there would be no Buddhist *sasana* at all. It is unquestionable that the perpetuation of Buddhist *sasana* could not be accomplished by neglecting the welfare of laymen or society.

Buddhists Monks under the SLORC regime



Monks are seen in this file photo taking part in 1988 nation-wide demonstrations

The mask came off in 1988 when people from all strata appeared on the streets to rally and protest against the military regime that had made Burma a Least Developed Country (LDC) during its reign. The regime sent armed troops to crackdown on the mass demonstrations. According to some estimates, 600 monks were killed during August and September 1988, while the total death toll was approximately 10,000 people that year.

As there was no ruling by the regime between August 25 and September 18 that year, monks took responsibility for the security of the people in some townships. The monasteries also delivered rice to the poor people to cover a shortage due to deteriorating communication. On August 27, with the intention to

create disorder, the military authorities released criminals from a central prison in Rangoon. Leaders of monk unions and student unions asked the criminals not to commit any crime during the demonstration period. The released criminals were fed and sent to their respective hometowns on the same day. The monks and students gave the criminals both money and recommendation letters to use on the way so that they would not be wrongly accused of being military intelligence spies.

A month later on September 18, 1988, the military generals staged a coup d'état. The newly formed State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) announced that they were going to hold a multi-party democratic election after



Monks gathered in a public ceremony held during 1988

which the military would return to their barracks. Although the National League for Democracy (NLD), the key pro-democracy party, won a landslide victory in the 1990 general election, the regime negated their promise. Unwilling to abandon power, the regime propagated that the August 8, 1988 people's uprising was not a mass demonstration demanding democracy but an anarchic turmoil conspired by the banned communist party and some followers of colonialism. In addition, the SLORC authorities arrested and imprisoned many activists including students and monks.

In June 1989, a young Mandalay monk, Ven. Koweinda, was arrested and sentenced to 10 years in prison. His sentence was extended to fifteen years in 1990 as he was accused of leading a Mandalay prison riot. He died there in October 1994, in his early thirties. Another monk, Ven. Kowainda, was arrested for his involvement in the 1988 protests. Accused of being a communist, he died in September 1991. It is suspected that both monks were tortured to death.



This unidentified wounded monk was treated after he was shot by the soldiers during 1988

Overturing the Bowls

On August 8, 1990, in commemoration of the second anniversary of the democracy uprising, more than 7,000 monks and novices walked through the streets of Mandalay, solemnly and peacefully accepting alms from the people. Soldiers confronted the monks and opened fire, killing two monks and two students and wounding seventeen others. One novice disappeared.

Following this massacre, the Monks' Union (*Sangha Samaggi*) of Mandalay, led by Ven. Yewata, declared *pattam nikkujjana kamma*, "overturing the bowl," against the military. A monk who was involved in the boycott and evaded arrest recalled the following:

"In Mandalay, the boycott was started in the compound of Phayargyi. My close friends, who lived in the Old Masoeyein Monastery, participated in this very early boycott ceremony. Around Phayargyi, there were many monasteries and nearly 5000 monks lived there. These monks unanimously mandated the boycott. Ten highly respected Ven. Monks recited selections from sacred Pali texts according to the ritual performed surrounded by 5000 monks. Then, they declared the boycott, *pattam nikkujjana kamma*. (Appendix 8)

"A boycott like this might not even occur once in a hundred years. After the declaration of the boycott, no monks accepted alms from the regime. The regime tested if the boycott was a real one or not. The army units cooked and placed meals at all junctions in Mandalay for monks. In Mandalay, there were about 40,000 monks then. Traditionally, there was a common donation for monks in Mandalay. Nevertheless, when the time passed, the offerings of the army units were left untouched. No monks accepted their alms, not even young novices. This showed the unity of monks. Some policemen pretended to be civil servants and tried to donate alms to monks; but when the monks found them out and returned their alms to them." (Appendix 8)

According to the rules of conduct for *Theravada* Buddhist monks as it is stated in the Commentary 5 of the *Thilawa Pali* and that in page 262 of the *Vinaya Pali*, a layperson who has committed any of eight offenses should be ostracized. These eight offenses are: striving for that which is not gain, striving for that which is not benefit, acting against a monastery, vilifying and making insidious comparisons about monks, inciting dissension among monks, defaming the Buddha, defaming the *Dharma*, and defaming the *Sangha*, the order of monks. If a layman acts in any of these ways, the *Sangha* should shun these persons through methods such as not accepting religious offerings from them, not helping them to perform any religious ceremonies, not going to them and relating to them in religious ways. The offenders can be boycotted until they make an apology.

This powerful religious boycott began in Mandalay and spread like wildfire across Burma, causing alarm and trauma to the ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). By October, the religious sanctions against the military families had reached Rangoon.

“The action of the venerable monks from Rangoon hit the bull’s eye. Ven. Insein Ywama U Tilawkarbiwuntha and Ven. Tipitaka U Thumingalar Linkara of Mahar Ghandaryone led the movement. Later, many venerable monks like Ven. Maydini, Ven. Tharkayta, Ven. Shwephonepwint and Ven. Meggin signed agreements for the boycott. Young monks could participate with confidence, saying, “Even highly respected venerable monks are participating in the boycott, so we should do more than them.” (Appendix 6)

Throughout the country, monks were refusing alms from military personnel and their families and refusing to attend religious services organized by the SLORC. Although the purpose of the boycott was a compassionate attempt to help the evildoers repent their deeds, to forsake their wrong ways, and to return to the true path, the military leaders did not accept the reproach. Saw Maung, the then Chairman of SLORC, and Tun Kyi, the then Commander of Mandalay Division Command, declared that their actions were completely justified and that they were not afraid of going to hell.

SLORC’s Response to the Monks’ Boycott



Ven. U Yewata

On October 18, 1990, the regime demanded that the senior monks end the boycott and the then chief of the military regime, Gen. Saw Maung, characterized his actions against the monks as similar to King Anawratha’s purification of Buddhism. However, the monks did not react to this. The sanctions had, by then, already spread to the capital Rangoon and all over the country; monks refused alms from, and refused to attend religious services organized by military personnel and their families. On October 15, leaders of the Committee of Monks in Mandalay called for General Saw Maung to apologize to monks on radio and television, to release all arrested monks and to not keep troops in religious buildings. The military authorities, in despair, began to invite Thai monks to receive their donations.

On October 19, Ven. Yewata, the most politically active Buddhist monk, was arrested, jailed and disrobed. On October 20, the SLORC regime issued Order 6/90 that banned all ‘unlawful’ *Sangha* organizations, except the nine sects, which had been declared legal in 1980 under General Ne Win’s purification of the *Sangha*. This order made action possible against political parties for the ‘misuse’ of religion for political purposes. Also, the regime

demanded revocation of the religious boycott against the military.

Another decree, SLORC Order 7/90, was passed the following day, which authorized army commanders to bring monks before military tribunals for 'activities inconsistent with and detrimental to Buddhism.' These tribunals imposed punishments ranging from three years imprisonment to death, and military commanders were empowered under martial law to disrobe and imprison monks for boycotts or protests. Finally, on October 30, a code of conduct was issued for Buddhist monks to observe, with penalties attached for its violation.

In November, the regime clamped down on the *Sangha*. Monasteries were surrounded by armed troops, and monks were trapped inside. Electricity, water, and communication lines were cut, and monks were prevented from going on their daily alms rounds. After maintaining the blockade for one week, armed troops entered the monasteries and arrested the leaders. People living near some of the monasteries were also forced to move, and their homes were destroyed. More than 350 monasteries were raided, while 20 were seized and expropriated. Moreover, more than 3,000 monks and novices were arrested.

The monks were mostly accused of possessing anti-SLORC literature, including articles by the NLD. Three young monks were arrested for allegedly having written inflammatory poems in their diaries and notebooks. In a crude attempt to smear the *Sangha Samaggi* movement, some monks were accused of breaking the *Vinaya* and charged with gambling, illegally possessing jade or heroin, and were even accused of rape. Announcements on the radio, however, only accused the monks of working with the defunct Communist Party of Burma.

Many monks were punished for their role in the boycott. Ven. Thumingalar Linkara, a highly respected monk who was abbot of a monastery at Kaba Aye in Rangoon, was arrested after he refused to condemn the boycott on legal grounds. He was disrobed and sent into internal exile in Kachin State, but continued to observe the *Vinaya* as best he could. After his release in 1995, he returned to Rangoon where he managed to resume his monastic life. The arrest of the 26 monks who denied the regime's alms giving in November 2003 took place at his monastery.

Apart from the arrests of monks connected to boycotts, there are many monks who were arrested and imprisoned under various other charges. In 1990, Ven. Warsawa Pandit, also known as the Ven. Meggin, was arrested because he was found to be the translator of an article published in *Time*, the international magazine, entitled 'Burma under The Boots'. Although he translated the article into Burmese following the request of his students, he was sentenced for 7 years in prison under Section 5(J) of the Emergency Provisions Act and under Article 17 (20) of the Printers and Publishers' Registration Law.

Disrobing

The persecution of monks as well as the desecration of monasteries and pagodas has continued unabated throughout Burma. There have been reliable reports of the torturing of monks in prison, and those released have reported seeing stacks of hundreds of monks' robes in prisons, offering clear evidence that many monks have been disrobed.

A monk who was imprisoned in Insein prison in 1989 for participating in *pattam nikkujjana kamma* recounted, on condition of anonymity, his experience of being disrobed at the police station:

"I was veiled when I was arrested and I met four other monks in the police lock-up. I saw a pile of robes and realized many monks were forced to disrobe prior to my arrest. I was also forced to disrobe by the Police Intelligence. They gave me some clothes and said, 'Put these on and remove your robe.' When I asked what they would do if I did not change clothes, they threatened, 'If you don't dress in these clothes, we will have to disrobe you by force.' Six monks including me were forced to disrobe. We were put in lock-up cells in the evening.

"Policemen did not recognize us as monks because we were put in lock-up after disrobing. They hit our heads and kicked us. It was December, the coldest month of the year, but we weren't given anything [to use for warmth] in the lock-up." (Appendix 6)

Another similar account, recalled by a former political prisoner, illustrates how the authorities concerned treated monks improperly.

"First, they were in robes. Soon after, they were ordered to disrobe by the authorities, but they refused. Therefore, they were reportedly beaten with bludgeons and forced to disrobe by the prison authorities. They were then given prisoner uniforms to put on. First, no monks put on the prisoner uniforms, but later they had to put them on because otherwise they were naked. They were beaten severely, which resulted in bleeding. Some were only novices. Many monks had bleeding wounds when they arrived in Myitkyina prison." (Appendix 9)

Torture and Abuses in Prison and Prison Labor Camp



Seen in this file photo are the prisoners who were working in a labor camp.

In Burma, the Military Intelligence (MI) directly controls the arrest and interrogation of people believed to be political activists. The Police Department and Prison Department (Correctional Department as the regime renamed recently) have to comply with the MI's orders. The MI also controls the prisons where political prisoners or prisoners of conscience are kept. Moreover, political prisoners are intentionally transferred to remote prisons far from their families to create greater difficulties for them to regularly receive visits from their loved ones. By doing so, prisoners are cut off from communication with the outside world. At the same time, the international community cannot easily scrutinize the conditions and treatment of political prisoners. All imprisoned persons in Burma have to work inside prisons as according to their sentences. Ven. Kuumuda who was imprisoned and sent to labor camps recalled;

"I resented being imprisoned for participating in democratic movements. I suffered severe beatings at the hands of the policemen. That lasted for two fortnights [four weeks]. I did not know who beat me and kicked me from behind. I was beaten once every three days. Drunken policemen would beat me without reason

at night. During that time, I prayed that the evening wouldn't come. Policemen who disliked activist monks were more cruel and harmful." (Appendix 7)

Below is the experience of the same monks tortured by military intelligence illustrating how the authorities from the Police Department and Prison Department were obligated to follow instructions from the MI.

"The MI ordered me to stand in stress positions. I had to stand with my arms stretched up and out at my sides, so that my arms resembled the wings of an airplane. They forced me to stand on the toes of one foot and to stretch out my arms. They placed very sharp needles in the arch of the foot I stood on.

"Sometimes, my hands were tied behind my back and I was then kicked and beaten from both in front and behind while being veiled with a plastic bag. They shouted at me. "Why didn't you live peacefully and luxuriously as a monk? Why did you participate in political movements? That's none of your business.

"They swore at me in all ways. We were harassed more severely than any others because we were monks. They thought we did not live peacefully as monks, but they did not see what they had done wrong to the people. We stood on the side of the people and opposed the unjust regime for the sake of our country. They did not understand our good wishes, our intentions." (Appendix 7)

In prisons, the prison wardens treat not only the common law and political prisoners cruelly, but also the monks. One former political prisoner, who stayed together with Ven. Meggin, the 73 years old Abbot, in Thayet prison, recalled how the prison warders treated the much venerated old monks with great brutality:

"As usual, he was punished for teaching English to students. One day during solitary confinement in cellblock No.3, prison authorities took us out from our cells and beat us brutally. The main reason was the prison authorities' hatred for us. They said, 'Political prisoner students are arrogant and very proud of themselves.' A group of wardens frantically beat us. Some victims' wounds were severe and did not heal for a quite long time.

"The Ven. Meggin, over the age of 70, was also beaten without reason. Students were very angry and shouted during the beatings, 'Hey, you are very rude. Aren't you Buddhists? Don't you know he is a highly respected monk?' The Ven. was so worried about students being beaten more. He told students not to shout, saying 'Don't yell my sons. Let them beat me if they want.' He swallowed the pain without making a sound." (Appendix 18)

Since monks who have been imprisoned under the criminal code were not members of student unions or political parties, they have been subjected to treatment like criminals and sent to prison labor camps. Only monks who have been charged and imprisoned under Section 5 (J) of the Emergency Provisions Act are exempted from being forced to work in labor camps. A former political prisoner met with imprisoned monks, who were sent back to prison from a labor camp due to deteriorating health, and recalled the story of their experiences in a labor camp.

"The monks were transferred to a forced labor camp near Shangor on the east bank of the Irrawaddy River in August or September 1992. At the Shangor road site, forced laborers were shot dead and dropped off into the canyon by Infantry

Battalion 37 if they could not work any more. The monks recalled that no monks were shot dead, but they were forced to work by beatings. At that time, the NDA-K (National Democratic Army-Kachin) insurgent group and the SPDC had a cease-fire agreement and the road was being paved in the NDA-K controlled area.

"A monk and a novice died and were buried there. I do not remember their names and titles. Even prison authorities died because of heavy rain and malaria. When the death rate was so high, forced laborers who were in bad health were sent back to the Myitkyina hospital for health care. Many forced laborers, including monks, suffered severely as the hospital was over crowded. Many forced laborers and monks died in the hospital. They all were buried together in a big hole near the mortuary of the Myitkyina Hospital, as the monks who returned from the hospital tragically recalled." (Appendix 9)

The Regime's Image as a Pious Ruler



Chief of SPDC offering to senior monks as aired on State-run television

Co-opting the symbols of the nation and Buddhism has become part of the SPDC regime's strategy. The regime completed renovations to the Shwedagon Pagoda - Burma's holiest Buddhist site and an important national

site as well - in 1999. A ceremony held at the site was intended to demonstrate the strength of the regime.

In Burma, all newspapers, radio stations and TV stations are controlled by the regime. The state-controlled media always presents images of the military authorities going to pagodas and monasteries as well as making offerings and donations to monks. Their donations have included items such as televisions, video players, satellite dishes and even luxury cars. Yet, these luxurious donations only go to members of the SMNC, the State Monk Coordination Committee, and some well-known venerable monks. A monk, on condition of anonymity in a radio interview, gave his commentary concerning such kinds of donations:

"Only people who have good relations with the generals are wealthy. There was an article about a donation in yesterday's newspaper. An abbot was given a donation of 10 million kyats by the daughter of Zaykabar U Khin Shwe and the son of the Lt. Gen. Thura Shwe Man. People like them can donate like that. Mainly, school monasteries and highly respected venerable monks, who are members of the State Monk Coordination Committee (the SMNC), are given donations. The rest of the monks who do not have good relations with them are not given donations." (Appendix 14)

There are only a few wealthy people in Burma who engage in business relations with the military generals. There is no transparency in their activities. The generals are included in the wealthy few. For common Burmese, it is almost impossible to save extra money in amounts as much as 10,000 Kyats (approximately US\$10) each month, as the average income of a family can hardly meet their costs of living. Yet, common people are forced to provide the items that the military uses for donations. These donations are not made in the people's names. A monk who is aware of such a case noted his comments in a radio interview:

"Most donations are collected forcefully from the poor. The army units make small bags, distribute them to people, and order them to donate rice in these bags. Later, the army units take these small bags and donate them to the monks. Some monks also lure the regime to come and donate. Some monks have made up with the regime. That's no good. This is not in accordance with the rules of Buddha, *Vinaya*. The Lord Buddha prohibits that in *Vinaya Pali*." (Appendix 14)

Thus, the SPDC has been operating under a well-prepared strategy to try to make people believe that they are pious rulers who would never do wrong or engage in unlawful actions.

Recent Arrests of Monks in 2003 for "Overturning the Bowl"

In October 2003, a small religious riot occurred in Kyaukse, a small township in upper Burma, that transformed into a public protest due to dissatisfaction with the authorities' handling of the riot. The local authorities invited five monks from Mandalay to discuss the situation and were told to put an end to the riot. Later, however, these five monks were also arrested, accused of not stopping the Kyaukse riot as they were instructed by the authorities. All the five monks were sentenced to 25 years imprisonment: 7 years under Section 5(J) of the Emergency Provisions Act, 2 years under Article 295 of the Penal Code, and 14 years under Article 17 (20) of the Printers and Publishers' Registration Law.

Days after the incident, a religious discourse by Ven. Wiseitta Biwuntha, alias Wirathu, in Mandalay was banned by the authorities. Later the monk was invited to a meal in the old palace compound of the Mandalay Division Command where he was arrested upon his arrival. Hearing the news about the arrest of Ven. Wirathu, about 600 monks followed him and inquired about the incident. The military troops blocked the monks and suppressed them by using tear gas and firing guns. Three monks died on the spot, many were wounded and about 20 monks were arrested and imprisoned. When some monks tried to visit the imprisoned monks, they were also arrested by the authorities, without evidence of any offense. In addition, about 2000 monks from Mandalay Monasteries were sent back to their respective hometowns.

The next day, the regime held an alms-giving ceremony at Masoeyein Monastery which all the military authorities attended. The military authorities then published news and photos of the ceremony in the state-run newspaper, attempting to hide the incident that had transpired in Kyaukse. The regime's lack of response provoked small-scale riots in Myingyan, Meiktilar, Taungdwingyi and Pakokku townships.

The regime has often accused the NLD for recent religious riots but NLD party leaders deny that its members have had any involvement. According to some eyewitnesses, some of the monks who took part in the riots at Meikhtila in November wore trousers beneath their robes, implying that they were fake monks. Most of the people believe that the military authorities deliberately created the religious riots to divert people's attention from the dire political and economic



The entrance of Insein Ywarma monastery

monks, taking photographs and video footage that was published in newspapers and broadcasted on television as daily headline news.

On November 2, 2003, at Insein Ywarma Monastery, the MI forced the monastery gates to be kept closed. The MI claimed that monks from Mandalay and Kyaukse monasteries were being moved to Insein Ywarma Monastery and thus this measure was to prevent unnecessary affairs such as demonstrations or rallies. Some monks who were dissatisfied with the order complained to their teachers and the situation grew close to riot conditions. The monastery was immediately closed down and monks were sent back to their hometowns.

On November 4, 2003, the military intelligence service led offerings of robes and food for monks of Kabaraye Tipitaka Mahar Ghandaryone Teaching Monastery, in Rangoon. They invited 10 senior monks to the Armed Forces Dharma Hall for offerings. The other monks were to receive offerings at the monastery itself. However, the entire group of *samanera*, the third-level student monks, refused to accept the alms.

At the time of the young monks' protest, the abbot of the monastery, Ven. Thumingala, was at the Armed Forces Dharma Hall. When informed about the situation by phone, he left, but did not come directly back to his own monastery. He went to a nearby monastery to obtain details of what had taken place. It was reported that he ordered a list of the offending *samanera* to be drawn up and gave instructions to the authorities to arrest the *samanera* on the list.

When the authorities entered the monastery, they ordered the closure of studies, and for all attending student monks to return to their original monasteries in different parts of the country. As soon as the concerned families of the monks heard the news, they went to the monastery to fetch their related monks and novices, but the MI prohibited the monks from leaving. Instead, the MI brought vehicles to take the monks away without delay. They then separated out the *samanera* who had conducted the protest, put them in separate vehicles and took them directly to Insein Prison. Some lucky novices managed to evade arrest. Those who were to be sent to prisons were disrobed and given the choice to join the army or be imprisoned. Most of the *samanera* were

situation of the country.

As news of the cruel actions of the authorities spread throughout the country, the sentiment of dissatisfaction with the regime grew among both the monks and the people. The regime did not make an official announcement about the incident nor did they make any legal examination into the incident. Instead, the military authorities continued visiting famous monasteries, where they made donations to the venerable



The entrance of Mahar Ghandaryone Monastery

around 18 and 19 years old. Among the group was just one old monk; the rest were *samanera*. A tribunal in Insein Prison sentenced the monks to 18 years each on 19 January 2004, under article 295(A) of the Panel Code and Article 5 (D & J) of the Emergency Provisions Act.

After the young novices engage in “overturning the bowl”, the military regime issued a curfew order via the state-founded *Sangha* Coordination Committees. The order, which remains in effect today, indicates that monks are not allowed to go outside their respective monasteries starting from 7 pm until 4 am the next morning. At the same time, the regime gave instructions to all Division, District, and Township Peace and Development Councils in phases, to inspect for strangers residing in monasteries. The instructions include prohibiting relatives of the monks to stay at the monastery compounds as visitors; allowing only parents of monks to stay who come for medical treatment and have no companion to look after them; and prohibiting any lay attendants to stay overnight at the monastery. At the same time, military troops, police forces, MI personnel and local Peace and Development Council members were placed near various monasteries.

Monks who were found outside the monasteries after 7 pm were immediately arrested by military personnel without any examination. It was reported that over 100 monks were arrested in Rangoon alone for ‘violating the curfew’. Most monks were sojourners and students from far away areas and were temporarily staying at the monasteries. Yet, the authorities considered all monks they found after 7 pm to be ‘fake monks’. Most of the monks were arrested while they were coming back to their monasteries by foot as there was no special transportation for them. Some were arrested while they were outside to procure items such as medicine, stationery etc. Some monks were even beaten when they were arrested.

Those who were arrested were brought to the military headquarters for initial questioning and then transferred to an interrogation center where they were disrobed and sent to Insein Prison. It has been reported that only those who could obtain a recommendation letter from the Division Sangha Coordination Committee were released on bail.

At the moment, it is difficult to confirm the exact number of monks who have been disrobed and who remain in prison today. Some human rights organizations estimate that approximately 300 monks remained in prison at the beginning of 2004. One reason for the difficulty in verifying this figure is that disrobed monks are often kept together with convicts. In addition, they are often transferred to remote prisons and prison labor camps. The fate of disrobed and imprisoned monks still remains critical. Moreover, as long as Burma remains under a military dictatorship and without democracy, Buddhist monks in Burma also remain facing a dilemma of whether to live abiding by the rules, regulations, orders and decrees of the military government or to live according to the *Vinaya*, Buddhist’s rule.



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- Appendix 3** - BLC Analysis of the SPDC’s Sangha Organization Law
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- Appendix 10-** Radio Interview with the Abbot of New Masoeyein Monastery, Mandalay
- Appendix 11-** Radio Interview with a Buddhist Monk Regarding the Arrests of Monks
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- Appendix 13-** A Monk’s Account of the Mahar Ghandaryone Monk Boycott
- Appendix 14-** Relationship between Monks and the SPDC - *An Excerpt from a radio interview with some monks inside Burma*
- Appendix 15-** (Article) *Sons of Buddha in prison* By Naing Kyaw
- Appendix 16-** (Article) *Imprisoned Monks-I* by Win Naing Oo
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Appendix: 1-a

“Photos of 26 monks who were arrested from Mahar Ghandaryone Monastery in 2003 for ‘Overturning the Bowl’”



Kaundala, Novice



Khaymar Sarra, Novice



Kuthala, Novice



Mannala, Novice



Maydiya, Novice



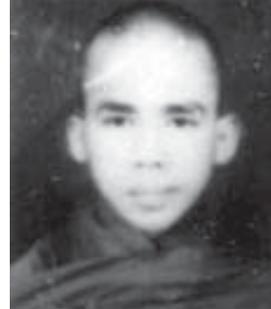
Nanda Thiri, Novice



Nandiya, Novice



Nyarneinda, Novice



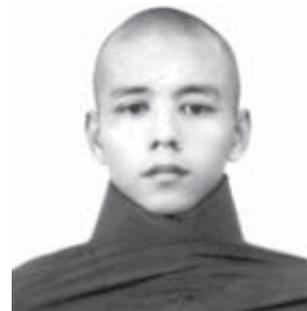
Ponyarnanda, Novice



Pynnyar Thiha, Novice



Pynnyar Wira, Novice



Sandarwara, Novice



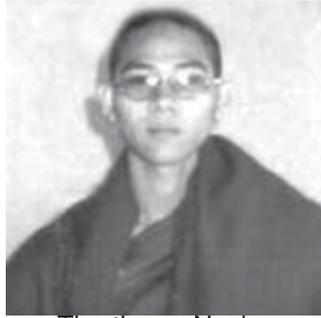
Sandarzawti, Monk

Appendix: 1-a

“Photos of 26 monks who were arrested from Mahar Ghandaryone Monastery in 2003 for ‘Overturning the Bowl (contd.)”



Sekkeinda, Novice



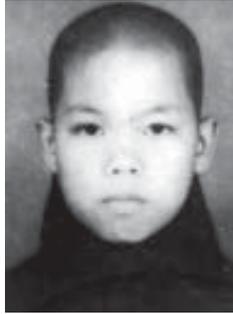
Tharthana, Novice



Thilar Sara, Novice



Thunanda (Khin Oo), Novice



Thuriya, Novice



Waiponla, Novice



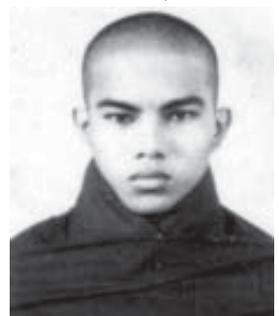
Waratharmi, Novice



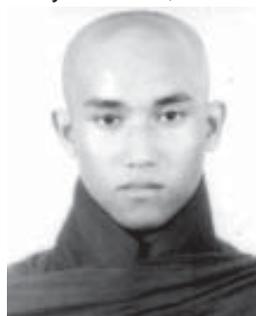
Waryameinda, Novice



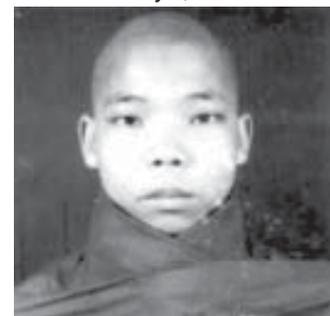
Wirazaya, Novice



Wiseitta Tharra, Novice



Wizarrainda, Novice



Yewata, Novice



Yugandara, Novice

Appendix: 1-a**“List of 26 monks who were arrested from Mahar Ghandaryone Monastery in 2003 for Overturning the Bowl”**

Name (Title)	Father's Name	Charge	Sentence	Occupation	Whereabout	Address	Date Sentenced
Kaundala (aka) Kyaw Myint	U Tun	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Natnan, Wetlet Tsp. Sagaing	19-Jan-04
Khaymarsarra (aka) Aung Naing Win	U San Hla	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Kyaukhtu, Yaw Tsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04
Kuthala (aka) Ko Ko Win	U Soe Win	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Shwelinban, Hlaingtharyar Tsp. Rgn	19-Jan-04
Mandala (aka) Myat Maw	U Soe Tint	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Moulmein, Mon	19-Jan-04
Maydiya (aka) Myo Myint	U Pyone	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Pyinsatine, Aung Lan Tsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04
Nanda Thiri (aka) Htein Lin	U Pe Maung	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Ywarthitkyi, Sagaing	19-Jan-04
Nandiya (aka) Zaw Moe Tun	U Aung Lay	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Karboe, Ye-U Tsp. Sagaing	19-Jan-04
Nyarneinda (aka) Maung Toe	U Sein Mauk	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Minywa, Gangaw Tsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04
Ponnyar Nand (aka) Min Moe	U Nyunt Htay	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Sinnin, Wetlet Tsp. Sagaing	19-Jan-04
Pyinnyathiha (aka) Ko Naing	U Nyo Thwin	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Alone, Monywa Tsp. Sagaing	19-Jan-04
Pyinnyawira (aka) Myint Hlaing	U Ohn Kyine	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Tinteinkar, Thazi Tsp. Mdy	19-Jan-04
Sandar Zawti (aka) Nyan Lin	U Nyunt Shein	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Monk	Insein	Nyaungpinkan, Myinmu Tsp. Sagaing	19-Jan-04
Sandara Wara (aka) San Win Htut	U Shwe Htun	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Kanhla, Hlaingtharyar Tsp. Rgn	19-Jan-04

**“List of 26 monks who were arrested from Mahar Ghandaryone Monastery in 2003 for Overturning the Bowl”
(Contd.)”**

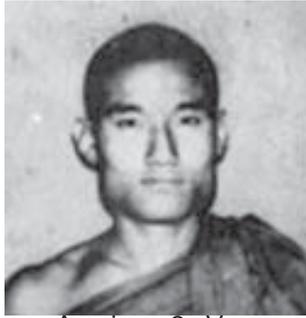
Name (Title)	Father's Name	Charge	Sentence	Occupation	Whereabout	Address	Date Sentenced
Sekkeinda (aka) Myint Thu	U Myint	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Kyutawchaung, Kunchangon Tsp. Rgn	19-Jan-04
Tharthana (aka) Thuyin	U Thaung Myint	295(A).5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Kyayni, SaleTsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04
Thilarsarra (aka) Bo Tint	U Paw Chein	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	NyaungHla, Natmauk Tsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04
Thunanda (aka) Maung Swe	U Ba Shein	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Kyaukmyaung, Khin Oo Tsp. Sagaing	19-Jan-04
Thuriya (aka) Zaw Lin	U Tun Ngwe	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Sardwingyi, Kantbalu Tsp. Sagaing	19-Jan-04
Wanna Tharmi (aka) Win Saung	U Nyo Thein	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Kaebbar, Ayadaw Tsp. Sagaing	19-Jan-04
Waryameinda (aka) Win Bo	U Aung Htwe	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Mhanthar, Depayin Tsp. Sagaing	19-Jan-04
Waypoulla (aka) Hla Than Hteik	U San Lwin	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Donwun, Bilin Tsp., Mon	19-Jan-04
Wirazayyar (aka) Chit Myo	U Shwe	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Ywartaw, Pyawbwe Tsp. Mdy	19-Jan-04
Wisarreinda (aka) Hlaine Moe	U Kyaw Myint	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Gwaygone, Thazi Tsp. Mandalay(Mdy)	19-Jan-04
Wiseitathara (aka) Kyaw Nhin Oo	U Kyaw Win	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Male, Myinmu Tsp. Sagaing	19-Jan-04
Yaywata (aka) Yin Htwe	U Kyin Hlaing	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Nyaungdo, Yesagyo Tsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04
Yukandara (aka) Win Tun	U Nyo	295 (A), 5(D, J)	18	Novice	Insein	Magheeton, Wetlet Tsp. Sagaing	19-Jan-04

Appendix: 1-b

“Photos of monks who have been released”



Arseinna, Ven.



Arseinna-2, Ven.



Awba, Ven.



Awbatha, Ven.



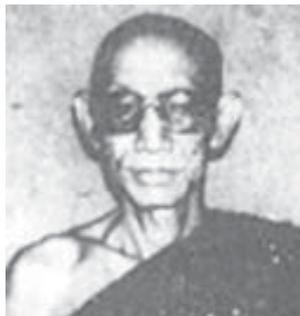
Awbatha-2, Ven.



Awthadatharra, Ven.



Dhamawara, Ven.



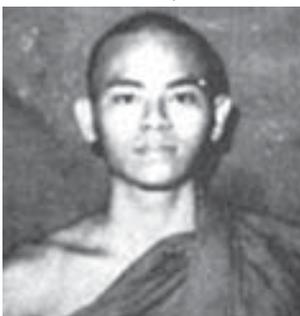
Eindaka, Ven.



Eindaka-2, Ven.



Eindasara, Ven.



Gunawara, Ven.



Kamarra, Ven.



Kawinda, Ven.



Kawthanla, Ven.



Kawwida, Ven.

Appendix: 1-b

“Photos of monks who have been released (Contd.)”



Kawwida-2, Ven.



Kawwida Biwuntha, Ven.



Kawlartha, Ven.



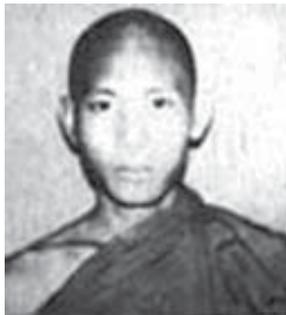
Kaylartha-2, Ven.



Khema Nanda, Ven.



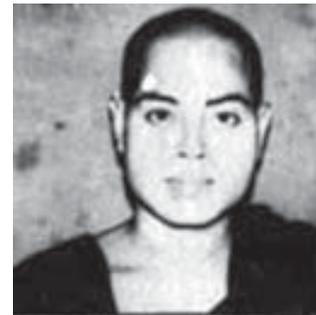
Kheminda, Ven.



Khissayana, Ven.



Kotinnya, Ven.



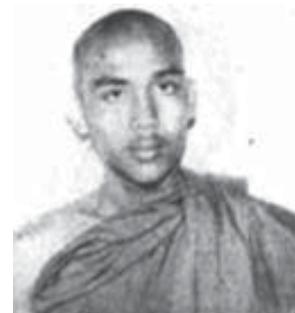
Kusala, Ven.



Kusala-2, Ven.



Kuumuda, Ven.



Marnita, Ven.



Nagawuntha, Ven.



Nandasara, Ven.



Nandawbasa, Ven.

Appendix: 1-b

“Photos of monks who have been released (Contd.)”



Nandawbasa-2, Ven.



Nandima, Ven.



Naymeinda, Ven.



Nyanita, Ven.



Pandisa, Ven.



Pandisa-2, Ven.



Pandisa-3, Ven.



Pandisa-4, Ven.



Pandita, Ven.



Pannawa, Ven.



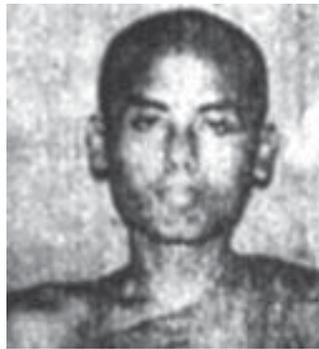
Pynnyabala, Ven.



Pynnyasami, Ven.



Pynnyasekka, Ven.



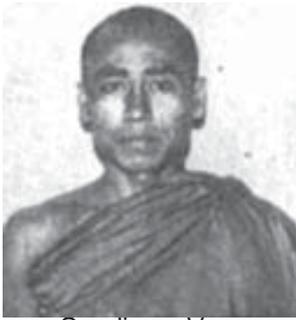
Pynnyeinda, Ven.



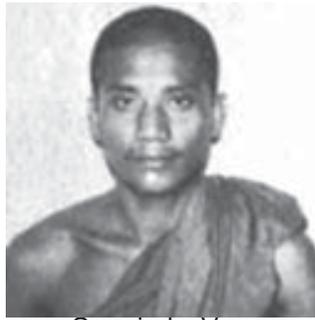
Sandama, Ven.

Appendix: 1-b

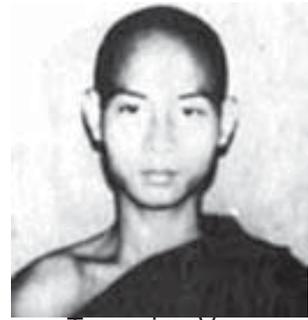
“Photos of monks who have been released (Contd.)”



Sandimar, Ven.



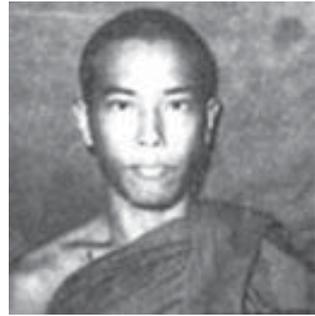
Serreinda, Ven.



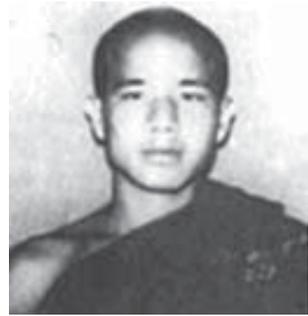
Tayzaniya, Ven.



Tayzeinda, Ven.



Thagara, Ven.



Tharthana, Ven.



Thawara, Ven.



Thawbana, Ven.



Thilarsara, Ven.



Thirimingala, Ven.



Thithtila, Ven.



Thumana, Ven.



Thuriya, Ven.



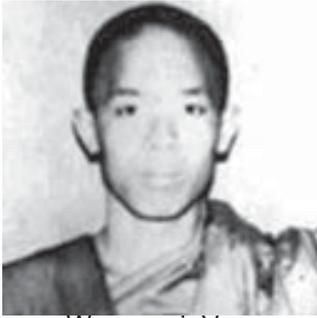
Tilawkar, Ven.



Waiponla, Ven.

Appendix: 1-b

“Photos of monks who have been released (Contd.)”



Warasami, Ven.



Wilatha, Ven.



Wimala, Ven.



Wimala-2, Ven.



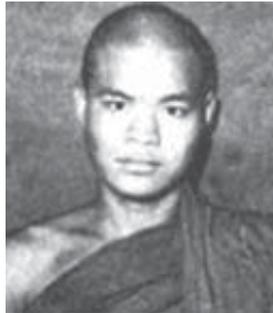
Wiseitta, Ven.



Withudda, Ven.



Withuta, Ven.



Withuta-2, Ven.



Yazanya, Ven.



Yerzeinsa, Ven.



Zatita, Ven.



Zawana, Ven.



Zawtika, Ven.



Zawtika-2, Ven.



Zawtika-3, Ven.

Appendix 2: Sangha Organization Law

“Sangha Organization Law”

State LORC Law No. 20/90 of 31 October, 1990

Chapter I - Title and Definition

1. This law shall be called the Law Relating to the Sangha Organization.
2. The following expression contained in this law shall have the meanings given hereunder:-
 - (a) “Sangha” means all monks who have attained the noble monkhood by the Natticatutthaupasampada Kammavaca and who have the same religious vows and precepts;
 - (b) “Basic Regulation” means the Union of Myanmar Sangha Organization Basic Regulation approved and prescribed by the Congregation of the Sangha of All Orders for purification, perpetuation and propagation of the Sarsana;
 - (c) “Sangha Organization” means the different levels of Sangha Organization formed in accordance with the Basic Regulation.
 - (d) “Theravada” means the Pitaka such as Pali, Atthakatha and Tika which have been submitted to and reviewed by the Six Buddhist Councils commencing from the First Buddhist Council to the Sixth Buddhist Council.

Chapter II - Stipulations

3. There shall be only one Sangha Organization in the Union of Myanmar, comprising all Orders of the Sangha prescribed under the Basic Regulations.
4. All Sangha from the respective Theravada Sangha Sects in the Union of Myanmar are members of the Union of Myanmar Sangha Organization.
5. The following nine Sects of Sangha approved by the Basic Regulation within the Sangha Organization have the right to abide by the code of discipline of their respective Sects:-
 - (a) Sudhamma Sect;
 - (b) Shwekyin Sect;
 - (c) Dhammanudhamma Mahadvara Nikaya Sect;
 - (d) Dhammavinayanuloma Muladvara Nikaya Sect;

- (e) Ah-nauk-Chaung Dvara Sect;
 - (f) Veluvana Nikaya Sect;
 - (g) Catubhummika Mahasatipatthana Nget-twin Sect;
 - (h) Ganavimut Kudo Sect;
 - (i) Dhammayutti Nikaya Ma-har-yin Sect.
6. The Sangha Pavarana Sects existing in the respective localities are included in the Sangha Sects contained in Section 5.
 7. The Sangha Sects contained in Section 5 have the right to amalgamate with agreed Sects.

Chapter III - Prohibitions

8. No new Sects other than the Sangha Sects mentioned in section 5 shall be formed separately.
9. No Sangha Organization which is not subject to the supervision of the respective Sangha Nayaka Committee, other than such organization under the supervision of the respective Sangha Nayaka Committee as Ovadacariya Sangha Organizations, Nayaka Sangha Organizations of Buddhist Association, Sangha Organizations convening the Theravada Pariyatti Oral or Written Examinations shall be formed.
10. No one shall organize, agitate, deliver speeches or distribute writings in order to disintegrate the Sangha Organizations at different levels.
11. When any monk or novice is admonished by the Sangha Organization at different levels in accordance with the Basic Regulation of Sangha Organization or the Procedures, such monk or novice shall abide by such admonition.

Chapter IV - Penalties

12. Any monk or novice who violates the provision of section 8 or section 9 shall, on conviction, be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend from a minimum of 6 months to a maximum of 3 years.
13. Whoever violates the provision of section 10 shall, on conviction, be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend from a minimum of 6 months to a maximum of 3 years.
14. Any monk or novice who violates the provision of section 11 shall, on conviction, be punished with imprisonment for a term of 6 months.

Chapter V - Miscellaneous

15. On being informed by any Sangha Organization or any State Organization that it is necessary to institute legal proceedings under section 12 or section 13 of this Law, the Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs shall institute legal proceedings.
16. On being informed by any Sangha Organization or any State Organization that it is necessary to institute legal proceedings under section 14 of this Law, the Director General of the Department of Religious Affairs or any person delegated by the Director General for this purpose shall make a direct complaint to the relevant court.

17. No suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings shall lie against any public servant in respect of anything which is in good faith done under this Law.
18. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Law, the Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs may, in consultation with the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee issue orders and directives as may be necessary.

(Sd.) Saw Maung
Senior General,
Chairman,
The State Law and Order Restoration Council



Appendix 3: Analysis on SPDC's Sangha Organization Law by Burma Lawyers' Council

The Sangha Law

In a move to further consolidate such actions against the Sangha, SLORC Law 20/90, also called the Law Concerning Sangha Organizations or *Sangha Law*, was put into force on 31 October 1990. This law is clearly an intrusion of the state in Sangha affairs. Subsequently, more than 200 monks and novices were found to be guilty of contravening these rules and regulations and were stripped of their monkhood. Here the 18 articles of the Sangha Law are given together with some remarks.

Article 1 of the Sangha Law gives its full name in Burmese: "Tangha Ah-pwe Aseewe Sainya Upedeih" (Law Concerning Sangha Organizations).

Article 2 of the Sangha Law explains the terms Theravada and Sangha, and sees the regulations of the Sangha as laid down by the General Assembly of the Sangha.

Article 3 of the Sangha Law says, "There shall be only one Sangha organization, embracing all the Buddhist sects [sic] according to the rules". Some remarks: In each of the seven states and seven divisions of Burma, a group of 120 Sayadaws choose the eventual members of the Sammuti Sangha Council that consists of 1,400 monks. This Council, also called the General Assembly, represents the entire Sangha of Burma. From this Council, 300 monks are chosen by means of consensus, and from among them, the 47 members of the Sangha Maha Nayaka State Council are elected. The Supreme Patriarch of Burma is the chairman of this state council. This is considered Burma's highest advisory committee for religious affairs. The Burmese Sangha consists of nine Nikayas (branches), of which the Thudhamma and the Shwegyin Nikaya are the largest. The others are the Weiluwn Nikaya, Dhammanudhamma Mahadwaya Nikaya, Dhammavinayanuloma Muladwaya Nikaya, Dhammayuttika Nikaya Mahayin, Catubhummika Mahasatipatthana Hngettwin, Ganavimut Gado and the Anaukchaung Dwaya. Article 3 of the Sangha Law uses the word "sects"; however this is not the most appropriate term for the Nikayas since the existence of different Nikayas has not resulted in the development of separate doctrines. The Supreme Patriarch of the Sangha, the highest ranking monk in Burma, may come from any of these Nikayas.

Article 3 of the Sangha Law is not the first attempt of the government to interfere with the Nikayas. In 1886, the British confirmed power of jurisdiction to the Nayaka Council in Mandalay, thereby formalizing the power of the Supreme Patriarch. The Nayaka Council, not the Nikayas, got the authority to take up civil cases against monks, e.g. cases of inheritance. But in 1935, the High Court in Rangoon moved away all legal power from both the Nayaka Council and the Supreme Patriarch: even religious matters would have to be settled by a civil court. Burma's religious

jurisdiction was thus deprived of its remaining importance, because the High Court did not recognize the authority of the Supreme Patriarch on the grounds that his office was not mentioned in the Vinaya. In 1950, an act was passed giving power to a Buddhist Tribunal to deal with civil cases again. All members of this tribunal had to be monks, who could come from any Nikaya. Law No. 1 of 1965, passed by the Revolutionary Council, withdrew all the powers given to the Sangha by the previous acts. The Revolutionary Council found it not reasonable to base laws on Buddhist tenets. Law No. 3 of 1980 added to this that all decisions by the Sangha Maha Nayaka State Council must be submitted to Court for enforcement. Notification Letter No. 1 of 1984, issued by the military government, mentioned the Nikayas as the associations within the Sangha that should be disbanded, because "...they are politically active. Monks should not be politically active". In comparison, Article 3 of the Sangha Law is rather vague with the statement "according to the rules", leaving the question unanswered whether the existence of the nine Nikayas is ruled out or not.

Article 4 of the Sangha Law says, "All monks are members of this Sangha, the Union of Burma Sangha". Some remarks: There are no other options. Article 4 makes it easy for the military government to disband the various associations of monks that are suspected of being politically active.

Article 5 of the Sangha Law says that the nine Nikayas "...are not allowed to be separate groups unless their own rules are subject to the central body of the Sangha. The nine Nikayas according to their admissions can follow the regulations subject to the regulations as laid down by the central body of the Sangha". Some remarks: This brings the various groups within the Sangha under tight government control, creating a small next step for the military government to abolish the Nikayas completely.

Article 6 of the Sangha Law says, "Any local organizations shall be within the Nikayas mentioned in Article 5". Some remarks: This means that the government says that a tenth Nikaya cannot be set up. Although according to the Vinaya there should be no attempts to create division in the Sangha, there is to a certain extent the possibility to create schools within the Sangha, when the monks consider this necessary by joint unanimous vote. The Buddhist monastic order has a long history of basing major decisions on collective discourse. As for democracy as a procedure of decision making, we find in the Buddhist tradition a strong recognition of the need for consensus. The Dalai Lama said, "The Vinaya rules of discipline that govern the behavior and life of the Buddhist monastic community are in keeping with democratic traditions. In theory at least, even the teachings of the Buddha can be altered under certain circumstances by a congregation of a certain number of ordained monks". The rules of organization of the Sangha create a system of democracy. On the occasion of the fortnightly Uposatha ceremony, Sangha affairs were settled initially by the joint unanimous vote of all monks and towards the later part of the life of the Buddha by majority vote. If a matter was exceedingly complicated and the discussion deviated from the point, the question could be referred to a smaller committee. If that committee was unable to reach a decision, it would hand the matter back to the Sangha assembly to be settled by the majority vote. Unanimous consensus or majority vote of the Sangha assembly also settled the course of action to be taken on monks who violated its regulations. Resolutions were moved and procedure decided usually by the eldest monk, but if he did not know what to do, this task would be performed by the next most learned and competent one. In this sense the monastic regulations of the Vinaya made the seating hierarchy within the Sangha dependent upon the length of service only. Decisions concerning the organization of the Sangha should be made by the Sangha, based on the Vinaya and not on laws issued by the government.

Article 7 of the Sangha Law says that the 'sects', mentioned in Article 5, have got the liberty to unite among themselves by 'consent'. Some remarks: The word 'consent' refers to giving agreement or permission. The law does not say to whom the matter should be referred in order to get permission. The word 'consensus' should have been used instead. But in spite of the fact that this is important in the Vinaya, there is no word in Burmese for 'consensus'.

Article 8 of the Sangha Law states that "...except for the sects mentioned in Article 5, no new sect shall be formed". This Article is not repeating Article 6, as that is specifically referring to the local level. Article 8 is referring to the national level.

Article 9 of the Sangha Law is repeating Articles 6 and 8, as it states, "Except organizations under the supervision of respective religious organizations, no other organization shall be formed [within the Sangha]" .

Article 10 of the Sangha Law is dangerously vague. It states, "Nobody shall do or cause to do, nor shall they speak or write, anything which destroys or disrupts religion".

Article 11 of the Sangha Law states, "When the Sangha undertakes action that causes breach of rules, regulations or practices, the agreed party shall abide by the decisions by the Sangha Council" (not necessarily the Sangha Maha Nayaka State Council). Some remarks: This Article speaks about "rules, regulations or practices" without specifying whether these are religious, military, or otherwise.

Article 12 of the Sangha Law states, "If breaches are committed under Articles 8 or 9, and clear case of offence is made out, the violator shall undergo imprisonment of minimum six months and maximum three years." Some remarks: This Article does not mention the fact that violations of the Vinaya are first considered within the monastery. Article 13 of the Sangha Law says, "If breaches are committed under Article 10, the violator shall be imprisoned for a minimum of six months and a maximum of three years" . (Punishment is the same as in Article 12, but the nature of offence is different).

Article 14 of the Sangha Law states, "In case of breach of Article 11, the punishment shall be six months imprisonment." Some remarks: Neither Article 11 nor Article 14 is specific when it comes to the findings of the (local) Sangha Council.

Article 15 of the Sangha Law states, "If under Articles 12 or 13 a case has to be filed; only the Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs shall file the case." Some remarks: This means that the prosecutor must be an official from the Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs. In this scenario, the prosecutor will of course be a military officer. Why are internal affairs and religion being put together in one ministry? It destroys the autonomy of the religious body. The Sangha Law makes the grip of the state on the Sangha very obvious: a military ministry controls the prosecution.

Article 16 of the Sangha Law states, "If under Article 14 a prosecution has to be made, the Director-General of the Department of Religious Affairs shall cause the delegated person to file a direct complaint." Some remarks: The Director-General of the Department of Religious Affairs is a military officer directly under the command of the Minister of Home and Religious Affairs. At the time the law was created, this was Lieutenant-General Khin Nyunt.

Article 17 of the Sangha Law is very dangerous. It states, "No action or prosecution shall be taken against a public servant who bona fide carries out his duties". Some remarks: In other Articles the provision for sanctions is given, but Article 17 constitutes a blank impunity order. According to this Article, the police can enter any monastery and arrest anyone. This Article not only places public servants above religion, but also above the law.

Article 18 of the Sangha Law states, "The Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs, in consultation with the Sangha Maha Nayaka State Council, may enact further rules and regulations, in order that the Revolution is carried out." Some remarks: The Ministry is in consultation with the Council, but the Ministry will enact the rules. That turns Article 18 into an ambiguous area, because what is meant with "in consultation"? It does not necessarily mean that the Council would agree with the Ministry.

*Source: Legal Issue on Burma Journal by Burma Lawyers Council, No. 8 Page 9,
Law and Religion in Burma by the author Peter Gutter, April 2001*



Appendix 4: Pattam Nikkujjana Kamma

Pattam Nikkujjana Kamma

According to *pattam nikkujjana kamma*, monks can boycott any persons engaging in the eight characters stated in Commentary 5 of the Thilawa Pali and on page 262 of Vinaya Pali. Monks can boycott by shunning these persons through methods such as not accepting religious offerings from them, not helping them to perform any religious ceremonies, not going to and relating to them in religious ways. These persons can be boycotted until they make an apology.

When a military unit came to a religious prayer ceremony held near 33rd and 84th streets in Mandalay on August 8, 1990, they forbade the ceremony from being held. The monks and students did not obey the order and continued performing the ceremony. A crackdown then ensued resulting in the deaths of monks, one male student, and two female students. Seventeen other people were seriously injured. This crackdown led to the boycott, observing the Pattam nikkujjana kamma. The boycott was started on August 27, 1990 by two thousand monks residing in seven cities and later spread out steadily all over the country.

Although the SLORC lead by Chief-General Saw Maung ordered the strike to be called off within three days, the monks replied that they would do so only when the SLORC admitted its wrongdoing and apologized. Therefore the military regime proceeded to arrest 3,115 monks on December 8, 1990. These monks were forced to disrobe, sent to hard labor camps and used as porters at the front-lines of the civil war in the ethnic border states. Despite this, the monks have continued the boycott until now.

From 'The Record Photos on the Struggle of the Burma's Buddhist Monks for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy', Page 173



Appendix 5: Entreaty to All Monks and People - by the Young Monks' League (Lower Burma) and the League of Monks' Union from 4 Sides (Mandalay)

ENTREATY TO ALL MONKS AND PEOPLE

Although there are many peaceful ways in this world, there have appeared various dilemmas and many undesirable troubles in our country because the military government has violently oppressed people and monks, killing, arresting, torturing and imprisoning them without using peaceful ways.

We suffered from various insults, such as being rudely abused, having our garb and bowls kicked, as well as having our blood shed. When the military regime violently cracked down on people making offerings and praying quietly and on monks accepting donations in Mandalay on 8.8.90, they were killed with guns and beaten with heavy sticks. This crackdown occurred during the memorial prayer meeting for the monks, students and people killed in the "8.8.88" uprising.

In addition, monks who have been arrested have been suffering from abuse and inhumane beating not only on the way to jail but also in jail. They also suffered various cruel illegal forms of torture in prison.

The monks declare that the military government should be responsible for such rude and illegal behavior.

In declaring this, the monks imitate the ancient operations allowed by the Buddha, himself. One operation was carried out against Ashin Dabamanlaputa and another one was carried out against the judge Maung Jaban because of his various insults to Shin Ottama Kyaw.

Monks, including high-ranking monks awarded the title "Avedhaza Edgamahapananita," monks belonging to the senior panel of the State's Sangha Association, monk representatives and presiding monks residing in Mandalay and Sagaing Divisions, have boycotted the military regime in accordance to their disciplines.

It is seriously needed for all monks to obey the "pattam nikkujjana kamma," or else they will be affected with guilt for violating the authority of the Buddha and ignoring the Sangha's rules.

According to Buddhism, the persons or organizations that are boycotted in such a way will be harmed because they cannot have any religious recognition from monks for any of their donations, their self-control and their religious efforts. Even on their death no monk will offer them refuge. For such a Buddhist, there will be no way to be free from this disastrous world. This means that their future beyond this life will be very dangerous.

We want to make the following serious entreaty:

[1] Saradawgyies

Please, avoid the “Armita Thanbawgha” and “Dhamma Thanbawgha” relations with the military government, its organizations holding weapons and any persons from such organizations until most monks call off the boycott. You are also respectfully invited, with the aim of giving respect to the disciplines drawn up by the Buddha, preserving the Sangha’s rules and conforming to the desires of most monks, to give the complete lecture about the “Pattam nikkujjana kamma” which is the rule of the boycott, to your pupil monks. If it is possible, please read “Nyatti Tatiya Kammawar” repeatedly.

[2] Daryakars and Daryikarmas

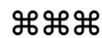
Please, wherever possible help this boycott to succeed without harm.

[3] The military government and its armed forces are the object of this historic boycott

We hereby pronounce with kindness that you should regret your guilty doings and avoid every action insulting the religion and monks.

Young Monks’ League (Lower Burma) and League of Monks’ Union from 4 Sides (Mandalay)

*From ‘The Record Photos on the Struggle of the Burma’s Buddhist Monks for
Peace, Human Rights and Democracy’, Page 177*



Appendix 6: Firsthand Account of a Monk Who Was Imprisoned for Involvement in the Monk Boycott

A first hand account of a monk imprisoned in Insein prison in 1989 for participating in pattam nikkujjana kamma, or "overturning the bowl", refusing to accept alms from members of the armed forces and their families.

This account illustrates the main motivation behind the pattam nikkujjana kamma, or "overturning the bowl," secret tribunals, torture, prison experiences, and the deaths of monks in forced labor camps. For security reasons, his monk title and the name of his monastery are not mentioned.

Movement of Monks

The main purpose of the boycott, *pattam nikkujjana kamma* or "overturning the bowl," was to punish members of the armed forces and their families because they have been brutally misruling the country. The punishment, refusing to accept alms from members of the armed forces and their families, was also used in the era of Buddha. The leading monks carefully evaluated the situation and made this decision. The Young Monk Union-Upper Burma was responsible for upper Burma and the Young Monk Union-Lower Burma was responsible for lower Burma. The boycott was to start first in Mandalay, but it actually started in Rangoon.

The action of the venerable monks from Rangoon hit the bull's eye. Rev. Insein Ywama U Tilawkarbiwuntha and Rev. Tipitaka U Thumingalar Linkara of Mahar Ghandaryone led the movement. Later, many venerable monks like Rev. Maydini, Rev. Tharkayta, Rev. Shwephonepwint and Rev. Meggin signed agreements for the boycott. Young monks could participate with confidence, saying, "Even highly respected venerable monks are participating in the boycott, so we should do more than them."

Venerable monks and young monks started organizing. A monk from my monastery also organized others to participate in the boycott. As he ordered, we young monks functioned as messengers. It was decided that *pattam nikkujjana kamma* was to start at 1 o'clock in the afternoon in the compound of Ngahtatkyi Pagoda on the full moon day of Thadingyut 1989.

Many monks attended the boycott ceremony. The Ven. Pandawuntha performed as the chairman and Ven. Pyinnyeinda as the master of the ceremony. Ven. Pyinnyeinda thoroughly explained the purpose of the *pattam nikkujjana kamma* and how to oppose the evil regime, saying, "We didn't make a careless decision. We cautiously decided to boycott the regime, in accordance with an event like that in the era of the lord Buddha." All attendees unanimously

agreed because all monks resented the evildoers, the brutal regime.

Over 1000 monks marched from Ngahtatkyi pagoda to Shwedagon pagoda. The line was very long. When the first monk arrived at Shwedagon, the last monk was still in the Ngahtatkyi pagoda compound. I was nearly at the end of the line. Monks returned to their monasteries from the Shwedagon pagoda at about half past eight in the evening.

The military regime ordered monks to end the boycott but no monks did. Therefore, the regime started to take video and pictures of boycotting monks and arrested them. Many monks were arrested in November and December 1989.

Arrest

Nearly 300 monks were arrested in Rangoon solely for participating in the boycott. Most of them were arrested between October 1989 and May 1991. I was arrested in December 1989. I was veiled when I was arrested and I met four other monks in the police lock-up. I saw a pile of robes and realized many monks were forced to disrobe prior to my arrest. I was also forced to disrobe by the Police Intelligence. They gave me some clothes and said, "Put these on and remove your robe." When I asked what they would do if I did not change clothes, they threatened, "If you don't dress in these clothes, we will have to disrobe you by force." Six monks including me were forced to disrobe. We were put in lock-up cells in the evening.

Policemen did not recognize us as monks because we were put in the lock-up after disrobing. They beat our heads and kicked us. It was December, the coldest month of the year, but we weren't given anything [for warmth] in the lock-up.

When in interrogation, I was questioned about my participation in the boycott. I refuted all their questions. When I refuted, they showed me a photo document of me at the boycott, so I had to admit to participating. The interrogation was not so long because they knew I had been involved. Two days later, I was sent to Insein prison.

Torture in Insein prison

As soon as I arrived in Insein prison, I was veiled and beaten by many wardens. They said, "There are no monks in prison; all are prisoners." But I spent my prison term as a monk through to my release.

When I was sent to prison, my hands were tied. Prison authorities knew we were monks. As soon as I was in prison, I was veiled with a smelly blanket and beaten. I did not know who beat me. Having been beaten, I was sent to a ward. On the way to the ward, I was ordered to bend, bow and even to crawl. I only saw my own feet because I was veiled. Finally, I was in a tiny cell.

If they had respected monks and treated us with kindness, there would have been no need to beat us. They should have known we were monks supporting Buddhism. I did not know whether the MI or the prison authorities gave orders to beat us or not, but they harassed and tortured us purposefully. There was a prison warden by the name of Myat Moe. He was so bad. As soon as I entered the main gate of the prison, someone started beating me and I thought he [Myat Moe] was the very person who beat me. Criminal prisoner thugs also beat me and insulted me by swearing and slapping my bald head.

I had to live in an 8 by 12 foot cell with four other monks for over nine months. I was

sandwiched in that tiny cell. We were not allowed to take baths for the first nine days. We were only allowed to go outside for fifteen minutes to throw away sewage.

Later we were put on trial. We had the opportunity to go outside when we were taken to trial. We were veiled and beaten again on the way back to our cell.

Trial

Nearly five months later, we were put on trial at the Military Tribunal near the main gate of Insein prison. We were charged under Article 5 (J). We had no lawful chances to retain our own lawyers to defend ourselves. We were not allowed to refute the State's arguments during the trial. We wanted to explain that our boycott, *pattam nikkujjana kamma*, was in accordance with the rules of Buddhism, *Vinaya*, and therefore, we were not guilty. When we tried to stand up to argue, we were forced to sit and remain quiet. There were no civil judges at our trial. All three of the trial judges were Lt. Colonels from the Infantry, Navy and Air Force. We did not know their names because they did not say their names and there were no names on their chairs. We were only asked, "Are you guilty or not?" Almost all of us answered "Not guilty." No matter what our answer was, we were sentenced to eight years in prison with labor. But they did not say "with hard labor." We were sentenced on May 22, 1991. Leaders were sentenced to 10-year imprisonments.

Experience in Insein prison

Dysentery was the disease prisoners suffered from most in prison. Many prisoners died from dysentery in prison. Family visits for monks were very hard. Very few families could visit monks. Only families who could afford it and lived near Rangoon could visit monks. Many families did not know that they could visit because they were not informed.

We were monks and we wanted to shave our heads as monks. Some superintendents allowed it, but there were some cases where a superintendent agreed but his subordinates did not.

There was a novice in Insein prison from Nyaunggone Pyathad Monastery, Pazundaung Tsp. Rangoon. I do not remember his title, but his civilian name was Tun Tun Win. When he was in prison and he was less than 13 years old. He was arrested with the venerable monks in his monastery because of his participation in the boycott in 1990. He was sentenced to three years in prison in 1991. We all took care of him because he was a young novice. Therefore, when he was released, he left the prison in good health.

There was also a venerable monk in prison from Shwephonepint Monastery. I do not remember his title but he was called U Dhana. He was arrested while he was in Zivitadharna Monk hospital being treated for hemorrhoids. He was also arrested for participating in the boycott. We took care of him in prison so that he was released alive. He was imprisoned in 1991 and released in 1993.

Death of Monks in Forced Labor Camps

Many monks were sent to forced labor camps. The Ven. Zana Theyna (about 45 years old), Ven. Nemeinda (about 35), and Ven. Neymira (about 25) were arrested in 1993. A week after they were imprisoned, they were taken to a forced labor camp. They were from the Abbot Thunaindriya's

Nandawun Pali Takthol Monastery, Kyeikkasan Road, Tamwe Tsp. Rangoon. They were arrested when this monastery was under surveillance. They actively participated in the boycott, *pattam nikkujjana kamma*, but they escaped that time. They resented the regime's crackdown, arrest and imprisonment of monks. One day, while they were having a conversation, some novices were playing Dozets [dominoes]. While they were playing, a group of policemen raided the monastery. The novices who were playing Dozets ran away. The monks did not run away because they weren't playing the game and thought they were safe in their monastery compound. Policemen ordered them, "Come with us for a moment." This was their story. These monks were disrobed and imprisoned at once. They were imprisoned under the Article 295, accused of playing Dozets in the monastery compound and disgracing Buddhism. They were put in Insein prison.

I didn't notice when Ven. Zana Theyna arrived in prison because I was cleaning my plates. I gave him my slippers, as he arrived in prison without flip-flops. If he needed something, he would ask me. The Ven. Neymira also asked but the Ven. Neymeinda did not because he had slippers. These three Revs were sent to a forced labor camp. They requested a reprieve from forced labor because of their bad health, but the prison authorities replied, "No excuses, this is the direct order of our superiors." Eventually, they were sent to a forced labor camp.

We heard of the death of the Ven. Zana Theyna before our release. I do not remember the name of the forced labor camp, Taung Sun or Boakpyin camp. Soon after, we heard about the death of the Ven. Neymeinda. They both passed away within a year after they were imprisoned.

The Ven. Neymira, who was sent to a forced labor camp with these two monks, was released from in early 1994. When he was released, the news about the deaths of Ven. Zana Theyna and Ven. Neymeinda was confirmed. The Ven. Neymira recalled how he himself buried them. They died due to lack of medicine, lack of food, and the general deficiency in the labor camp. The Ven. Zana Theyna had realized he would not make it because he had been very fat, had suffered from a hernia and hadn't been suitable for hard work.

There were many monks imprisoned under Article 295 because of their political activities. Many monks passed away in forced labor camps.

Being Released

The MI interrogated me again in 1993. They asked me why I boycotted them, and I explained about the *pattam nikkujjana kamma*. When we started the boycott, we thoroughly explained the meaning and history of the boycott, *pattam nikkujjana kamma* or "over turning the bowl." We could not remove the boycott now. And nobody has been able to remove the boycott up to now. There is only one way to remove the boycott. "If you want the boycott to be removed, get together all monks who participated in the beginning ceremony in an ordination hall, and also with the wishes of monks who cannot come to the ordination hall," I explained to the MI. The *pattam nikkujjana kamma* can only be removed by the unanimous wishes of all monks who participated in the beginning ceremony of the boycott.

Five months after that interrogation, I was released in 1994. I had to sign an agreement not to deal with political parties and not to become involved in political movements. As soon as I arrived at my monastery, I robed again.

If I have any chance in the future, I will sue the regime that cracked down on, tortured and imprisoned monks. Tin Tun, a police officer, was well known for persecuting and putting monks on

trial. Almost all imprisoned monks knew him very well. If the situation were in our hands, many monks would put him on trial.

Many monks who had been released at the same time as me have been rearrested and imprisoned again recently. They are Ven. Pyinnya Zawta, Ven. Sandar Thiri and so on. Their imprisonments are around twenty years.



Appendix 7: Firsthand Account of a Monk Who Was Imprisoned and sent to prison labor camp

Interview with a monk who was arrested for political involvement and later sent to prison labor camps

Name : Kyaw Win
Monk Title : Ven. Kuumuda
Place of Birth : Kyeekan Village, Singu Tsp., Magwe Division
Date of Birth : 1962
Father's name : U Tun Than
Mother's name : Daw Tin Yee
Education : 1. Basic Elementary Level Buddhist Studies, Thukha Thati Monastery, Kyauk Padaung Tsp., Mandalay Division (1980)
2. Elementary Level Buddhist Studies, Maha Dhammikaryone Pali Takathol Monastery, Magwe, (1984)
3. Middle Level Buddhist Studies, Maha Dhammikaryone Pali Takathol, Magwe, (1985)
4. Upper Level Buddhist Studies, Jautikaryone Pali Takathol Monastery, Prome, Pegu Division, (1988) (while learning)
Date arrested : 1989
Charge : 6 (B), 10/14 (D), 6 (A), (B), 5
Date Sentenced : January 22, 1991
Sentence : 11 years
Prisons (whereabouts) : Prome, Tharawaddy, Loikaw Hydro Electric Power Project (forced labor camp)
Date Released : 1994

The 1988 Democracy Uprising broke out while I was studying at Jautikaryone Pali Takathol Monastery in Prome, Pegu Division. At the very front of the demonstration I held a signboard with the slogan "No More Murderer Government." Soon after that uprising I gathered with some monks in Prome who were interested in democracy. In 1989, I was arrested and taken to the police station by a group of policemen led by a police officer from No. 2 Police Station, Prome.

I resented being imprisoned for participating in the democracy movement. I suffered severe beatings at the hands of the policemen. That lasted for two fortnights [four weeks]. I did not know who beat me and kicked me from behind. I was beaten once every three days. Drunken policemen would beat me without reason at night. During that time, I prayed that the evening wouldn't come. Policemen who disliked activist monks were more cruel and harmful.

Seven monks were arrested including me, but not all of the seven were imprisoned. Five monks were released later. I did not know when they were released because I was put in prison.

Defrocking

Prison authorities, prison staff and military intelligence personnel ordered me to defrock myself but policemen did not. I had to disrobe but would not defrock. Later, authorities told the venerable monks to defrock me. The venerable monks said, "We can do nothing; only the monk in prison can defrock himself." Later the authorities forced me to sign [an agreement] to defrock by myself. Eventually, I could do no more than nod my head. I did not know the condition of another monk who was arrested together with me because we were separated. The monk title of that monk was Pyinnya Sakka; we were not from the same monastery. I thought his monastery was Mula Takkathol Monastery in Prome, Pegu Divison.

During my first prison days, my friends who were also monks visited me. They informed me that venerable monks outside were angry because I had agreed to defrock.

Torture

I don't know if the group that beat me included MI personnel. They would come to me in the afternoon and question me and after that they left. In the evening, policemen interrogated me. Some of them were in uniforms but some were not. I would be beaten for a solid hour every so often. I was arrested with six other monks, but we were separated and sent to different police stations. We met again when we were in prison. The other monks were also imprisoned for their participation in the 1988 uprising. They told me that they were also tortured. We were interrogated with such questions as, "Which or what the Rev. Monks ordered you to do these things?"

The MI officials ordered me to stand in stress positions. I had to stand with my arms stretched up and out at my sides, so that my arms resembled the wings of an airplane. They forced me to stand on the toes of one foot and to stretch out my arms. They placed very sharp needles in the arch of the foot I stood on.

Sometimes, my hands were tied behind my back and I was then kicked and beaten from both in front and behind while being veiled with a plastic bag. They shouted at me; "Why didn't you live peacefully and luxuriously as a monk? Why did you participate in political movements? That's none of your business."

They swore at me in all ways. We were harassed more severely than any others because we were monks. They thought we did not live peacefully as monks, but they did not see what they had done wrong to the people. We stood on the side of the people and opposed the unjust regime for the sake of our country. They did not understand our good wishes, our intentions.

I was imprisoned by a Military Tribunal on January 22, 1991. I was accused of organizing people to take part in political movements and was given a 10-year imprisonment and a fine of

50,000 kyats. Because I could not pay that fine, my imprisonment became 11 years. Two monks were imprisoned with me. One of them was Ven. Pyinnya Sakka.

Prison

I was transferred to Tharawaddy prison. There were other monks there as well. We weren't in the same ward and were not allowed to meet. I know some of them by name. They were Ven. Viriya, Ven. Vimala, Ven. Tayzaniya and Ven. Tayzainda. I came to know them because some wardens told me that they were ex-monks as well. There was one from Irrawaddy, one from Thayet, and two from Meiktila. They were accused of making speeches in public in 1989. I lived with them in that prison for over a year.

I had to live in Tharawaddy prison for only two weeks and was then transferred to a forced labor camp. I was assigned hard labor.

Forced Labor Camp

First of all, I had to dig rocks for the Hlegu Highway Project. After 15 days there, I was transferred to Ma Htaw Po forced labor camp under the control of the Prison Department, near Loikaw Tsp., Kayah State. There were also other ex-monks there such as Ven. Thaug, Ven. Pyinnya Sakka, Ven. Tayzaniya, and Ven. Tayzainda. We all worked for the Hydro Electric Power Project but at different sites. We had to work under the supervision of Japanese engineers. We had to work wearing iron-shackles at all times.

The Hydro Electric Power Project was started in 1991/92. Soon after it was started, I was transferred there. We had to live and work there all the time.

The Japanese engineers did not converse with us. They only communicated with the authorities. Each Japanese engineer was given two soldiers for security. They noticed us working with iron-shackles but they did not ask anything. There were seven or eight Japanese engineers and they lived with their own community. We lived and worked with them until the end of the project. They worked on technical jobs themselves. They ordered us to do hard labor through the Burmese engineers.

We worked from eight in the morning to half past eleven. After lunch break, we worked from one until four in the afternoon. After the day's work, we were taken back to the camp by trucks. For our everyday meals, we were offered rice and so-called bean soup as in prison. When it was very hot, our meals became rotten.

We were beaten when we couldn't work. We were beaten severely like cows. There was no way for us to rest. Even cows have time to rest, but we couldn't. Sometimes, camp authorities did not beat us themselves. They made prisoner thugs as prisoner in-charges and ordered them to beat us. Of course, both camp authorities and the thug prisoner in-charges didn't beat us in front of the Japanese engineers.

I had to work there from 1990 to 1993. General Tin Oo, the then secretary two of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, came and attended both the opening and closing ceremonies of the project. He ordered the release of all forced laborers at the camp because we all did our duties very well. I did not believe him even though I myself heard what he said. The superintendent Soe Win said, "He is the superior leader, the secretary two of the state and he wouldn't lie. You

have to do your duties very well." They released nearly 3000 forced laborers while over 50 forced laborers were left with prolonged sentences, including me.

Porter Duties

Over 50 forced laborers with prolonged sentences, myself included, were sent as porters for military operations. We were taken near Pha Sawng Tsp. From there, we were assigned to carry artillery and shells to Saw Hta and Htee Hta. We were sent as porters for a week. We stayed at Taung Hla the whole week. This was the name of a hill in Karen State near Pha Sawng. Having spent a week there, we were sent back. We thought we would be released but we were put in the lock-up of the Pha Sawng police station.

Soon after, we were sent as porters to the regime's Light Infantry Battalions 428 and 429. We had to go with these battalions for the containing operation near Saw Hta and Htee Hta areas. I had to carry a box of 1000 rounds. At last, I fell down and could not carry it any more because I carried it the whole time, both day and night. When I fell down, Maj. Ko Ko Latt gave me two pills. I tried my best to carry the box again after I had had these pills. Later, I told them to let me carry the bullets in a bag so it would be easier. They did not agree at first, reasoning that I might lose them. I insisted that I could not carry the box any more because of my back pain, and they agreed. I shared the bullets with other porters, 700 for each.

Many people in our group were killed as a result of landmines and starvation. Both soldiers and porters died from landmines. Many porters could not walk because of diarrhea and were shot to death by soldiers. Soldiers said, "If you can't walk and come along with us anymore, you will be caught and killed by KNU warriors. Therefore, we will kill you instead of the KNU." I myself witnessed one death like this. I even pleaded with the soldiers not to kill a porter, Zaw Tun, from Rangoon. I said, "Don't kill him. Leave him if he can't walk any more. If he stays alive, lucky him. If he is caught and killed by the KNU, this will be his luck."

There was one other monk among the porters, Ven. Pyinnya Sakka (a.k.a) Myint Shwe from Ma Kyay Ma village, Irrawaddy Division. I first met him on the front line. At first we agreed to escape together but he was left behind due to illness. There were over 200 porters. Over 50 were from the Hydro Electric Power Project and the rest were from prisons.

Others were beaten, kicked with boots and hit with gun-butts but I wasn't. When we were taken back to our forced labor camp, we informed the authorities about these beatings. The battalions would take an exact amount of porters from the Prison Department. When they sent us back to the camp, they had to hand us over with an exact list of porters, how many fled, how many died and how many were left and so on. In the list, military officers filed that some porters had fled but in fact these porters were beaten to death or left behind. Therefore, we told the camp authorities the exact names and ID numbers of soldiers who beat and killed porters. Later, a Prison Department officer complained about this to the military officer who took us back. "You have no authority to beat porters. You should not have beaten them. Don't do that again." I heard the camp officer protest to the military officer, but it didn't work.

The first porter operation lasted for only a week. But in the second porter operation, I escaped after three months. The battalion went around again and again in that frontline area. I was very afraid because many porters died and were killed in front of my eyes. This operation was to last for six months. In November 1994, I fled from Burma across the Salween River to Thailand. Prior to my escape, many porters fled, including my friends from Taungoo prison.

I had not known I would be imprisoned and sent to work as a porter until my death for organizing and standing on the side of the people. I could not stand doing nothing while people were suffering from troubles, and I tried my best to educate people about right and wrong. I did what I thought was right as much as I could for people, for democracy and human rights for our motherland, standing with people, standing on the side of the truth. I had nothing to say when the regime accused monks of participating in politics and trying to organize people into creating disorder.

When I arrived here, students from the All Burma Students Democratic Front (ABSDF), Battalion 209, re-ordained me. I lived as a monk for five years and in 2000 I gave up my monk hood.

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Appendix 8: Firsthand Account of a Monk Who Was Involved in the Monk Boycott and Evaded Arrest

The following is a first hand account of a monk who participated in the boycott, pattam nikkujjana kamma or "overturning the bowl", refusing to accept alms and religious offerings from members of the armed forces and their families, not helping them to perform any religious ceremonies, and not going to them or relating to them in any religious ways.

This account illustrates the main reason for the pattam nikkujjana kamma. For security reasons, his monk title and the name of his monastery are not mentioned.

I lived in a monastery in East Mandalay when the 1988 pro-democracy uprising broke out. And I was also in this monastery when the monks' boycott against the regime took place. Relating to the main purpose of the boycott, there was a question, "Why did the monks refuse to accept alms and religious offerings from members of the armed forces and their families?" The highly respected venerable monks thoroughly explained the purpose of the boycott, answering all questions. "According to Buddha's sayings and *Vinaya Pali*, monks can declare the boycott, *pattam nikkujjana kamma*, or 'overturning the bowl', refusing to accept alms and religious offerings from members of the armed forces and their families, not helping them to perform any religious ceremonies, not going to them and relating to them in religious ways, protesting against any regime or government which is not democratically elected by people's desire if this regime or government slaughters or tyrannizes its own people."

Because the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) seized state power and slaughtered the people, we, monks, had to stand on the side of the people and boycott against this oppressive regime. We refused to accept alms and religious offerings from members of the armed forces and their families, refused to help them to perform any religious ceremonies, refused going to them and relating to them in religious ways. We refused to go to any of their ceremonies, for either joy or grief. Joy ceremonies can be postponed, but grief ceremonies cannot be. Buddhists believe that if a Buddhist dies without receiving the Five Precepts of Buddha and taking refuge in the Three Gems to share the merit with the deceased from monks, his or her life after death will be bad.

Because of the boycott, we monks could not go to any ceremonies of the members of the armed forces, even if a soldier was my brother. This was in Buddha's *Vinaya Pali*. In this way, all monks led by the highly respected venerable monks protested against the military regime.

The boycott was against only the members of the armed forces like the Army and the Police; the regime's civil servants were not included. This boycott occurred not only in Mandalay but also

throughout the whole country. In lower Burma, the boycott was led by highly respected monks like the Ven. Tilawkarbiwuntha of Insein Ywama Monastery and Ven. Thumingalar Linkarra of Kabar Aye Maha Gandharyone Monastery, one of only five monks in modern Burma to have memorized the entire three repositories of Buddhist Scriptures.

In Mandalay, the boycott was started in the compound of Phayargyi. My close friends, who lived in the Old Masoeyein Monastery, participated in this very early boycott ceremony. Around Phayargyi, there were many monasteries and nearly 5000 monks lived there. These monks unanimously mandated the boycott. Ten highly respected Ven. Monks recited selections from sacred Pali texts according to the ritual performed surrounded by 5000 monks, and then, they declared the boycott, *pattam nikkujjana kamma*. Out of those ten venerable monks, some were arrested and some escaped. There is only one way to end the boycott now: anyone who wants the boycott lifted must meet with all the monks who participated in the beginning ceremony, and also obtain the wishes of monks who can not come. The *pattam nikkujjana kamma* can only be removed by the unanimous wishes of all monks who participated in the beginning ceremony of the boycott. There has yet to be such a consensus, and the boycott continues until today.

A boycott like this might not occur even once in a hundred years. After the declaration of the boycott, no monks accepted alms from the regime. The regime tested if the boycott was real or not. The army units cooked and placed meals at all junctions in Mandalay for monks. In Mandalay, there were about 40,000 monks then. Traditionally, there was a common donation for monks in Mandalay. But when the time passed, the offerings of the army units were left untouched. No monks accepted their alms, not even young novices. This showed the unity of monks. Some policemen pretended to be civil servants and tried to donate alms to monks; but when the monks found them out, they returned their alms to them.

Nearly 90% of the army members were Buddhists. Therefore, when no monks came to their religious ceremonies even funeral ceremonies for their loved ones, they felt very miserable. This was why their gun barrels were very likely to turn upon their superiors.

In Rangoon, the beginning ceremony of the boycott was started on the Shwedagon pagoda at the same day at the same time—one in the afternoon—as Mandalay. Both ceremonies of the boycott were completed successfully, contrary to the expectations of the regime. After the triumphant boycott ceremonies, no monks related to the families of the armed forces. The regime noticed that their soldiers were likely to rebel and seize their power. Therefore, the regime threatened the monks on strike, "Remove the boycott at once; if not, you monks will be arrested." But according to the Vinaya Pali, the boycott cannot be removed by force.

After the first four or five days of the boycott, the monasteries around Phayargyi, Mandalay were encircled by armored vehicles and troops. The regime dropped leaflets containing their ultimatums from helicopters. They had four ultimatums, including the elimination of the All Burma Young Monks Union, (ABYMU) which was set up during the 1988 pro-democracy uprising, and also the termination of the boycott. The highly respected venerable monks were forced to sign agreements to remove the boycott. The monasteries were surrounded by troops and nobody was allowed to go in.

The regime threatened they would shoot and arrest the monks if the boycott was not removed by midnight that night. The troops mainly surrounded the monasteries around Phayargyi, where there were nearly 5000 monks. As promised, the troops raided the monasteries and arrested monks after midnight. There were some monks who were detained for several months. Arrested monks were asked about 20 questions such as; "Did you participate in the boycott?" "What was

your performance?" "Where were you during the boycott ceremony?" Many monks were forced to disrobe and sent to prison after the Military Intelligence (MI) had received even a single piece of information about their participation in the boycott. Some monks were sent to forced labor camps.

Over 3000 monks were arrested in Mandalay and over 1600 monks were arrested in Rangoon. Most of them were student monks pursuing Buddhist studies. All arrested monks were sentenced to at least 3 years in prison and forced to disrobe. A monk who was found in the possession of a single letter against the regime was sentenced to a minimum of 3 years in prison. I just barely missed this fate. When I left Mandalay, I brought with me many anti-regime statements to distribute in the countryside. There was a checkpoint near Kyaukse where monks were thoroughly searched. Fortunately, though, while other monks in my bus were searched, I was not. If I had been searched, I would have been imprisoned for at least three years without any questions.

Imprisoned monks were purposefully tortured in prisons. A close friend of mine participated in the boycott and was imprisoned for 3 years. He suffered severely from torture in prison. I called him U Kay but I don't remember his real name.

It was alleged that many monks who were sent to forced labor camps passed away. I had no idea under which laws these monks were imprisoned and sent to forced labor camps, because the regime passed many laws and decrees at will. As far as I know, hundreds of monks passed away in forced labor camps in Kachin State. According to the state-owned media, the regime declared that only ten monks died in forced labor camps and prisons.

Monks were watched after their release. Their monasteries were under surveillance as well. My teacher, the Ven. Rarza of New Masoeyein Monastery was arrested and imprisoned. He was arrested in Monywa and put in Mandalay prison because of his participation in the boycott. Three out of the ten highly respected venerable monks who recited the selection from sacred Pali texts were imprisoned. The other seven escaped. The leader, Ven. Bhaddanta Yewata, suffered from many diseases in prison and passed away shortly after his release.

There were over ten monks arrested in connection with the Depayin Massacre. In November 2003, 26 monks and novices from Kabar Aye Mahar Ghandaryone Monastery were sentenced to at least 18 years in prison because of their refusing to accept alms from the regime.



Appendix 9: A Firsthand Experience of a Former Political Prisoner about Monks Who Were Taken to Myitkyina Prison and Forced Labor Camps

A firsthand experience of a former political prisoner about monks who were taken to Myitkyina prison in a remote state and forced labor camps

Naing Zaw Win, a member of the National League for Democracy, was put in Myitkyina prison twice. The first time was in 1990 and the second time was in 2003. During his prison term, he met many monks. He witnessed the hard lives of monks in prison, and monks being sent to forced labor camps for lengthy hard work. He also came to know how monks had to work hard in forced labor camps through their recollections. He recalled his experiences as follows:

I met 17 imprisoned monks in Myitkyina prison. As far as I remember, I met the Ven. Dhama Wara of Nanshae Khinmakan Monastery, Mandalay, the Ven. Panni, the general secretary of the Whole Mandalay Monk Union (*Laypyin Layyut Sangha Samaggi*), from Phayargyi Monastery, Ven. Vithoadda, Ven. Vithuta, Ven. Sandana and Ven. Sarsana.

Arrest

These monks joined with the whole of the Mandalay Monk Union to declare a boycott against the military regime, *pattam nikkujjana kamma*, or “overturning the bowl,” in which they refused alms from the regime and their families. Therefore, many monks were arrested. Some of them were transferred to Myitkyina prison in 1991. I was put in that prison in 1990.

During the boycott (in 1990), the troops raided the monasteries in Mandalay. Monks were beaten vigorously and taken away in military trucks. They were all put in Mandalay prison, the monks recalled.

First, they were in robes. Soon after, they were ordered to disrobe by the authorities, but they refused. Therefore, they were reportedly beaten with bludgeons and forced to disrobe by the prison authorities. They were then given prisoner uniforms to put on. First, no monks put on the prisoner uniforms, but later they had to put them on because otherwise they were naked. They were beaten severely, which resulted in bleeding. Some were only novices. Many monks had bleeding wounds when they arrived in Myitkyina prison.

Their sentences were not the same, some were sentenced to 7 years in prison and some were sentenced to 6, 5, 4 and so on under the Emergency Provisions Act, Section 5(J) and other articles. I do not remember exactly which monk was imprisoned for how many years.

The Conference of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions, ABFSU (Upper Burma), was held in the compound of the Myinwun Monastery, Mandalay, and I was present at the conference. I witnessed the monks in Mandalay fully supported the student conference. There were some monks in Myitkyina prison who had supported the conference as well. Therefore, I helped them in prison. First, ten monks arrived in prison and they were separated. In all, 17 monks arrived in Myitkyina prison. Their heads were shaved, and they wore white prisoner uniforms and prayer beads.

They even wore their prisoner uniforms as robes in the traditional monk style, and they did not have dinner in accordance with the rules of monks.

They were not initially sent to forced labor camps.

Forced Labor Camp

The monks were not beaten in Myitkyina prison, but they recalled they had been severely tortured and beaten in Mandalay prison. This was the reason for transferring them to forced labor camps. Normally, no political prisoners were sent to forced labor camps, even as the cruel regime was rigorously cracking down on activists and political movements. Only monks were purposefully sent to forced labor camps.

The monks were sent to a stone production project. They were assigned to break stones for the Nampaung Airport Construction Project in Myitkyina Tsp. The monks still did not have dinner then. They were taken out in the morning to break stones and sent back in the early evening after a whole day's work. Still, they were not treated poorly.

Myitkyina Market Construction Project

The monks participated in the Myitkyina Market Construction Project. My mother ran a shop in the market. She told me people in the market somewhat helped and supported these monks because they knew the imprisoned monks were being forced to do labor.

The market project was a little bit comfortable for them because the people in the market supported the monks and the National League for Democracy, (NLD), Myitkyina Branch, and thus provided for their daily meals. An anonymous kind prison officer managed to assign the monks to more comfortable work like the medical board, management board and so on since the officer knew these monks had suffered in the forced labor camp prior to the market project. Therefore, the monks did not have to do very hard work. The officer said he had to assign the monks to forced labor projects according to orders from above, but he would manage to assign them to as easy jobs as he possibly could.

Road Paving Forced Labor Camp

Later, the monks were sent to a road paving forced labor camp. Many laborers escaped from that camp because the camp was notorious for beatings and torture. Also, the weather was very cold there. Forced laborers had to pave a road through very deep wilderness. They had to cut the trees and break stones. Then, the Sadon-Kanbaiktee road in Kachin State in the student controlled area was very famous for malaria and the cold weather. Therefore, forced laborers could not stand the conditions and always tried to escape. We heard this from monks in bad health, who

were brought back to the prison from that camp.

Shangor Forced Labor Camp

The monks were transferred to a forced labor camp near Shangor on the east bank of the Irrawaddy River in August or September 1992. At the Shangor road site, forced laborers were shot dead and dropped off into the canyon by Light Infantry Battalion 37 if they could not work anymore. The monks recalled that no monks were shot dead, but they were forced to work by beatings. At that time, the NDA-K (National Democratic Army-Kachin) insurgent group and the SPDC had a cease-fire agreement and the road was being paved in the NDA-K controlled area.

A monk and a novice died and they were buried there. I do not remember their names and titles. Even prison authorities died because of heavy rain and malaria. When the death rate was so high, forced laborers who were in bad health were sent back to the Myitkyina hospital for health care. Many forced laborers, including monks, suffered severely as the hospital was over crowded. Many forced laborers and monks died in the hospital. They all were buried together in a big hole near the mortuary of the Myitkyina hospital, as the monks who returned from the hospital tragically recalled.

At that time, prison authorities treated monks the same as forced laborers. They treated them harshly. The monks had to eat both meals offered by the prison then because they suffered from malaria, diarrhea and general nutrition deficiencies. Medicine and support could only be obtained from people outside the prison. Many democracy activists from Myitkyina supported them. They also provided money for them before going to the forced labor camp. The monks had to pay bribes to prison authorities to avoid death in the camp and to be sent back to the prison.

Pyinhtaung Forced Labor Camp

At the time I was released, the monks were in Pyinhtaung forced labor camp. They had to cut trees to clear the forest in order to build a railway.

Death

As far as I know, 11 out of 17 monks died. A monk, by the title of Ven. Dhama Wara, was sent from Myitkyina prison to Pyinhtaung forced labor camp. He was sent to Mogaung Hospital because he suffered from malaria and earlier injuries. He passed away in the hospital. He was given a proper and respectful burial because activists in Mogaung had known about his hospitalization.

There were two monks, Ven. Vithoadda and Ven. Sandana, who were taken back from Shangor camp to Myitkyina prison. They both passed away in Myitkyina prison because of the suffering they had endured in the camp. Before they died, they had suffered from constant diarrhea, which I witnessed. The prison authorities tried to take care of them but they could not do anything because of the lack of medicine in the prison.

Released from the Camp

Ven. Sarsana, Ven. Vithuta and Ven. Panni were the last monks left in the market project. Two novices had been released. The three monks completed their prison terms and were released during the project.

There are some monks still living who completed their prison terms after performing hard labor in the camps. The Ven. Vithuta robed again in Myitkyina after his release. He is now at the Sutaungpyi Pagoda in Myitkyina. U Pe Sein, now vice chairman of the NLD, Mandalay Branch, reordained the Ven. U Sarsana. He is now in Mandalay. Before being imprisoned, the Ven. Sarsana had lived in the Dekkhinaryarma Monastery, Phayargyi Middle Building.

The released monks told me that the joint-secretary of the League of Monks' Union from 4 Sides (Mandalay) (*Laypyin Layyut Sangha Samaggi*), Ven. Panni, had managed to escape from the Shangor forced labor camp.

Food

First, the imprisoned monks had only one meal and did not have dinner. But later, they had to eat two meals because of the need. They were offered *Paunsan rice*, which is a prison term for a small set amount of rice that is not enough for everyone, and a vegetable soup called *Tarlapaw*, which is made with chopped sticks and leaves in a liquid that was like water. In prison, before we had rice, we had to put our rice into a bowl full of water because there were also sand and small stones mixed into it. In 1990, everyone in the prison was offered *Paunsan*. But when I was in Myitkyina prison again in 2003, there was no *Paunsan* anymore. Everyone in prison was allowed to have rice until they had enough. When the monks were in prison, there was only *Paunsan* rice. When the monks were sent to forced labor camps, they had food provided by politically active families in Myitkyina. If not, the monks would have eaten *Paunsan* in the prison.

They only had nutritious food if it was provided from outside the prison. Their families could not visit them. Their families did not know the monks' whereabouts. Later, the families learned where they were because activists outside the prison maintained contact between the monks and their families. The families could not afford frequent visits as most of the monks were from the countryside and had come to Mandalay for Buddhist studies. Later, some monks were assigned to the medical board in prison, and some eventually became in charge of the boards.

They were assigned to less intense labor only because of their bad health. There were many monks who fainted and collapsed while working.

Ven. Thumingala

Tipitaka Ven. Thumingalar Linkarra, a highly respected monk and one of only five monks in modern Burma to have memorized the entire three repositories of Buddhist Scriptures, was arrested in Rangoon and was taken to Myitkyina by air. The venerable monk was put in the lock up of the Infantry Battalion 37 for a month. Later, the venerable monk was sentenced to ten years in prison by the Myitkyina Military Tribunal.

Before the venerable monk was sent to prison, the prison authorities separated his cell with bricks. We knew that they even bricked in the window to make the room dark. We were moved from that cell a day before the venerable monk was put there.

We did not know who he was at that time. A month later, the bricks were removed from the windows. A prison officer informed me, "The Ven. does not eat pork and you also do not eat pork for you are a Muslim. So support the monk as much as you can." The monk had only one meal every day. And I provided for his everyday meals as much as I could. I offered the food I received

from my family to the monk. My family lived in Myitkyina so I had no difficulties with receiving support from them.

From the time the Ven. was arrested, his mother and the monks in his monastery had not known his whereabouts. Later, the monk asked me if it was possible to send a letter to his mother and the monastery. I replied that it was possible, and he then wrote a letter in *Pali*. I sent that letter to my men outside, passing it through a warden who was very close to me. My men sent that letter to the monk's mother. His mother and pupils then knew that he was in Myitkyina prison and came to visit him once a month.

Then, both the prison authorities and we prisoners came to know that the Ven. was the highly respected *Tipitaka* venerable monk. Later, the superintendent offered special food for the monk every day. He was treated as a special prisoner. There were two rooms in his cell, one was the bathroom and another was the bedroom. He stayed in this cell until his release. He was allowed to walk two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon.

The venerable monk was released under the general amnesty in 1993.

Monks and Myitkyina Prison in 2003

When I arrived again in Myitkyina prison, I heard that there were two or three monks in the prison. I was put in prison in connection with the Depayin case. I was separated and not allowed to meet with others. I was held under tight security. Nobody was allowed to talk to me. When anyone talked to me, that person would be put in iron shackles and solitary confinement at once.

The monks arrived in prison after I had been put in prison. Two monks were put in prison first and another one later. They were put together with ordinary prisoners. They were sent out as forced laborers while I was in prison. They were reportedly taken to Tanai and Putao. Also, the prison wardens said they were sent to the Taungoo area as porters for military operations.



Appendix 10: Radio Interview with the Abbot of New Masoeyein Monastery, Mandalay

It was reported that the abbot and a monk of Okkan Tawya Monastery in Monywa were beaten to death during the assaults by the SPDC thugs on the 30th of May 2003.

Moreover, the SPDC used fake monks to beat up Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her team. In order to find out the reactions of the Buddhist monks in Burma, the DVB interviewed Ven. Kawainda Biwuntha, the abbot of the New Masoeyein Monastery in Mandalay.

Ven. Kawainda Biwuntha: As usual, whenever there is a riot, the government never gives the true figure of the people killed. In this case, they said that 4 people were killed and they closed down all schools. I think more than 4 people were killed. More monks must have been killed too. We hadn't heard anything about it. They came to tell us about this. As a monk I believe that the acts of violence are very ugly and beastly.

DVB: We have heard that during the assaults, one abbot and a monk of Okkan Tawya Monastery in Monywa were killed. What do you have to say about that?

Ven. Kawainda Biwuntha: As for this, they [the military authorities] show that they have no mercy and they do not have respect for the religion.

DVB: We also heard that they used some fake monks to beat up the people. What do you have to say about that?

Ven. Kawainda Biwuntha: As for this, they are using religion for their political gains.

DVB: How could their abuses damage the religion?

Ven. Kawainda Biwuntha: They want to make the uneducated people misunderstand the monks like us here.

DVB: Whatever you say, the incident was an example of a well-armed group attacking unarmed civilians with force and number. What do you have to say about their acts of violence?

Ven. Kawainda Biwuntha: They have the same mentality used during the fight for independence in which they would use force to achieve their aims. What happened was the same in this incident. However, the people have nothing in their hands. They have no arms or weapons. People want power by legal and fair means. That's how I see it.

DVB: What kinds of murmurs do you hear among the monks about the incident?

Ven. Kawainda Biwuntha: They are saying that the people are suffering from unfairness, oppression and the like.

DVB: The role of monks is an important part of the history of Burma. What should the monks do to make the country peaceful again while the country is in a jittery state like this?

Ven. Kawainda Biwuntha: As for monks, I want to say that they should go on doing their duties with honesty. They must educate their acolytes on many matters. As the novices' knowledge or common sense increases, the support for the government will decrease considerably. Some monks do not say what they have to say after taking bribes [from the officials]. Then, their faithful followers will not increase their knowledge and they will be cheated all their lives.

DVB: The authorities say that the incident was the result of 'clashes' between anti and pro-NLD supporters, as if they [the authorities] are not responsible. What do you have to say about this?

Ven. Kawainda Biwuntha: At the moment, they are in power. So they own the news media of this country. They think that they can say anything they like. They have no modern communications in that region and news never arrives in time. How can you know the truth when they cut off the flow of news? As they say, people carry people's news, and the news emerges eventually. People now know that the 'clashes' occurred not because the NLD supporters started it and the like.

DVB: What do you have to say about the detention of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin Oo by the government?

Ven. Kawainda Biwuntha: If you really love your country, when problems arise like now, you have to discuss and co-ordinate with famous national leaders and experts; they will be a great help to the government and it will do a great deal of good for the country. If you keep on suppressing the opposition, it will delay the progress of the nation considerably.

DVB: In conclusion, we have heard that the people of Burma are very much shaken and anxious by what has happened. What do you want to say to them as words of comfort?

Ven. Kawainda Biwuntha: I want to tell them to be knowledgeable and have common sense. Do as is instructed and work for yourself and your country. Don't work for yourself only but also for all people including civil and religious servants. Work for the good of your nation without self-interest.

Source: Democratic Voice of Burma, Oslo, in Burmese 1430 gmt 11 June 03



Appendix 11: Radio Interview with a Buddhist Monk on the Arrests of Monks

On the 12th of August, Kyauksri Monastery in Pegu was raided by a local police force and two visiting monks were arrested under the charge of not staying in their own monastery during Buddhist lent. The raid and arrest created a clash between the resident monks and the local police force.

Since 1988, there have been frequent clashes between the monks and the authorities and monks are regularly arrested and detained and forced to sign agreements promising not to get involved in politics.

Why have there been frequent problems between monks and the authorities?

How are the monks enduring the treatment of the authorities?

DVB interviewed a teacher-monk of a monastery in Pegu Division inhabited by more than 100 monks and novices.

DVB: What are the rules set down by Lord Buddha for monks during lent?

Buddhist monk: Monks are not allowed to visit other places during lent except in the cases of the 'appointed' matters. If a monk is forced to attend to the appointed matters, he is allowed to be away from [his monastery] for seven days during lent. The appointed matters are those related to the three gems (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha), parents, teachers and those related to fellow monks in the monastery. Monks are allowed to travel under these conditions but they are allowed to be away for only seven days. If they need more time, they have to come back to the monastery to get further permission...

DVB: Is it suitable for a local police force to enter a monastery and check the guest list during lent?

Buddhist monk: They always check our monasteries with the excuse of checking the guest list. I even asked them what kind of guests they were looking for. In fact, they have no right to do that.

DVB: After the Depayin incident, we heard that monks in the countryside have been forced by local authorities to sign an agreement promising not to get involved in politics. What are your views on that?

Buddhist monk: I have heard about that but they did not do that in my monastery but 4 to 10 years ago, they forced me to sign a similar document. I refused and told them that I do not get involved in politics. As far as I understand, 'doing politics' is related to power. But if you are

doing things for your country, we call it working for the welfare of the country. I told them that I didn't 'do' politics in the past, in the present nor in the future but I will work for the betterment of my country. And, I refused to sign the document. To answer your question, the act of forcing monks to sign the confessional agreement is an unnecessary act . That is my view.

DVB: After 1988, there have been frequent problems between monks and local authorities. Why?

Buddhist monk: In my view, they result from grievances against the ruling government. To be precise, their grievances come out of injustices perpetrated against them by the government. People feel angry because of these injustices and they explode because of it. They [the authorities] have been arresting monks lawlessly, without notification to or the permission of the top religious organizations. If I have to say it straight, they are behaving lawlessly. Things will be like this if they are lawless.

DVB: Had there been problems between monks and kings in Burmese history?

Buddhist monk: Yes, there had been many problems between monks and rulers and kings, but things have never been as bad as they are now. Now, when it happens you have no time to think. The current situation leaves me speechless...We have heard that monks are being arrested and the like throughout the country. This is all true. We don't know where to go and how to solve the problems.

Source: DVB, August 18, 2003



Appendix 12: Interview with an Eyewitness about the Kyaukse Riot

On 19 October 2003, a religious riot transpired in Kyaukse Township. As the local people were not satisfied with the way in which the authorities concerned handled the incident, a protest rally ensued. The District authorities invited Ven. Zanitar Biwuntha, the abbot of Kyaukse Mingone Mahar Monastery, to preach and request that the people calm down saying otherwise they would be in deep trouble. The venerable monk did as they requested but the situation was so anarchic that nobody listened to him and finally he went back to his monastery. The riot broke out at about 6 o'clock in the evening and finished at about 9 o'clock in the evening. Below is an interview with a monk who was an eyewitness to the event.

"Some buildings were destroyed. The authorities invited the abbot again the next day saying, "We have something to discuss with you so please come to the community hall for religious ceremonies (Dharma hall)." In fact, when the Ven. Zanitar Biwuntha, the Ven. Thiha, the Ven. Khaymarsarra, the Ven. Thumana, and the Ven. Thila Wuntha went to the Dharma hall as they were invited, they were all arrested. Later, the Ven. Wisarreinda was allowed to visit the imprisoned monks to attend to their needs."

Q: Where are they for the time being?

A: They are all now in Ohbo prison in Mandalay.

Q: How many years were they sentenced for?

A: They were each sentenced to 25 years in prison including life sentences.

Q: Tell me about the incident of Masoeyein Monastery?

A: The sermon of the Ven. Wirathu at the Mya Yadanar community hall for religious ceremonies on 35th street between 91st and 92nd streets was banned by the authorities. Later, the authorities invited the Ven. Wiseitta Biwuntha (alias) Wirathu for a meal in the walled palace grounds in Mandalay on October 23, 2003. After the meal, the authorities arrested the Ven. Wirathu. Therefore, the monks in his monastery went and informed the presiding monk, in charge of administrating monks in their monastery, the Ven. Waryama, and asked if the Ven. Wirathu would come back or not. The Ven. Waryama first answered he would come back.

Q: We heard the news about some monks who went after the Ven. Wirathu were shot to death. Could you please tell me about this?

A: Yes. Three monks were shot to death. Many monks were wounded and hospitalized. Because of the crackdown by the troops, three monks were killed on the spot on 84th street between 35th and 36th streets. The military troops fired about 25 tear-gas bombs. There were about 600 monks at that time. Therefore, many monks were probably wounded.

Q: Is the Ven. Wirathu now in Ohbo prison?

A: Yes. He is now in Ohbo prison.

Q: Tell me about the current situation of Mandalay. Does the regime still suppress the monks? Can the sermons be assembled?

A: Now, some small sermons are allowed to convene. But, the sermon training center of the Ven. Oaktamakyaw at the East side of the South Phayargyi was banned.

Q: Could you please explain the situation of Buddhism in Burma, and whether Buddhism in Burma has flourished or diminished under the current regime?

A: The dedication to Buddhism for the whole of Burma is good. There are many monastery schools and many student monks studying there very well. If we say in percentage, fifty percent is good. However, as for the role of the regime, Buddhism in Burma is supported very little by the authorities.

Q: Does the regime have any influence on Buddhism now?

A: Yes, very much for the whole of Burma, like prohibiting the sermon training course of the Ven. Oaktamakyaw.

Q: Has Masoeyein Monastery been reopened?

A: Yes, it has been reopened. But only few monks out of all those who were expelled from the monastery have been able to come back.

Q: Have Buddhist studies increased or decreased?

A: Because of the regime, those engaged in Buddhist studies have decreased by nearly fifty percent. This is mostly due to the fact that after the religious riot, many students were driven out from their school monasteries. Many monks have not been able to come back to their monasteries because some student monks were imprisoned, and some gave up monkhood because of depression. Buddhism in Burma has become murky and weak.

Q: Please analyze the increase and decrease of Buddhism in Burma.

A: In the era of Royal Kings in Burma, monks were the teachers of the kings. But now, under the brutal military regime, monks play the role of pupils. Even the State Monk Coordination Committee (Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee or SMNC) is under the strict control of the regime. The SMNC is unable to engage in any effective activities for the prosperity of Buddhism in Burma. Therefore, it feels as though Buddhism is becoming more and more diminished in Burma. But there are also many monks working diligently for the promotion of Buddhism as much as they can. Therefore, it is very difficult to say whether Buddhism in Burma has increased or decreased.

Q: Why does the regime crackdown on some venerable monks, like the Ven. Wirathu, who did their best for the prosperity and well being of Buddhism in Burma?

A: The regime brutally cracks down on these monks because they mix the activities of monks with politics. In fact, the Ven. Wirathu has only love for the nation and the religion. He tried his best for Buddhism out of this love. But the regime seemed to assume the Ven. Wirathu's activities were political and rebellious. This is the reason why they arrested the Ven. Wirathu. And the charges against the Ven. Wirathu are political charges. Therefore, this case illustrates how the regime strictly controls and pressures Buddhism in Burma. *Source: AAPP, 2004*



Appendix 13: Account of a Monk Regarding the Mahar Ghandaryone Monk Boycott

A week before our monastery performed Kahtein, on May 12, 2003, we heard some news about monasteries in Nyaungdon. The monasteries in Nyaungdon had refused to accept alms from the members of the armed forces because of the regime's brutal crackdown on the monks in Kyaukse. The situation was very complicated - before our monastery boycotted the alms, a similar boycott had broken out in Insein Ywama Monastery. The venerable teacher monks could not say anything about these boycotts to the junior student monks, but the young monks had already heard about the news. Young monks would talk with each other about the situations that had occurred in other monasteries.

The other monasteries refused to accept alms from the armed forces but at that time my monastery still accepted alms and offerings. Therefore, our monastery and our monks were ostracized by the monk community. Although nobody pressured us, we knew what was right and what was wrong by ourselves.

The venerable chief monk gathered the venerable senior teacher monks the day before the Kahtein ceremony. The venerable senior monks did not tell anyone about this meeting, but we heard by hearsay that every monk who refused his order would be expelled. Despite this we still later refused to accept alms from the armed forces.

The venerable chief monk, who went to the SPDC ceremony, left three venerable senior teacher monks to preside over the junior monks. As junior monks, we decided to obey the majority desire - if the majority had decided to accept, we would have accepted. We waited and almost nobody accepted the alms from members of the armed forces. Only a few monks accepted the alms. Out of the three teacher monks, the venerable chief monk had handpicked Ven. Witayza Wuntha to inform him about the situation in his monastery. When the monks refused to accept alms and the monastery was in chaotic uprising, Ven. Witayza Wuntha informed the Ven. chief monk. The Ven. chief monk was very worried, and he immediately sent some other Ven. senior teacher monks back to the monastery. The Ven. chief monk came back later - in fact, after all, there was no serious uprising in the monastery. We as junior monks did nothing. We only said to the monks who accepted alms from the armed forces, "Do you want to be beggars?" There was only a verbal quarrel, that's all. When the Ven. teacher monks arrived, we were sleeping. The Ven. teacher monks were surprised to discover that the actual situation was very different from what they had heard.

Later, the teacher monks made a list of monks who had refused to accept alms. On the December 26, 2003, at 3pm in the afternoon, the Ven. Witayza Wuntha and MI personnel came into the monastery and announced that the monks who had refused to accept alms were to leave

the monastery by 3:15 pm; there was a lot of confusion. When they ordered us to leave the monastery, there were many army trucks, fire-engines and USDA members standing by outside of our monastery.

Nobody knew about the arrest in advance (possibly only the Ven. Witayza, who may have previously talked with officials). The rest of the teacher monks did not know anything beforehand. The third level student monks were put on a truck separately - we thought this was in preparation for us to be transferred to study to take an exam in Mawlamyine Gyunn the next month, but we were totally wrong. A teacher monk ordered these third level student monks to get on the truck. Later, he learned that he himself had put his students in prison - he was ordered from above by his superior.

Some student monks asked to take taxis by themselves but the MI refused and insisted that they would take all the monks. The Ven. chief monk, who was in Win Kasut Hill at the time of the arrests, did not seem to know where his third level student monks were going. He thought his students were returning to their home or taking a vacation. When he first investigated their whereabouts, he found out that 26 of his pupils were in Insein prison.

The regime arrested junior monks in my monastery only. The name of my monastery is Tipitaka Mahar Ghandaryone Monastery, Kabar Aye. There are many Mahar Ghandaryone monasteries but my teacher, the Ven. Chief Monk, is highly respected and one of only five monks in modern Burma to have memorized the entire three repositories of Buddhist scriptures (Tipitaka). As a result, his title is in front of the name of the monastery.

I was told that I would be replaced in that monastery in a fortnight. I am a middle level student monk in the monastery.

Source: AAPP Interview with a monk, 2004



Appendix 14: Relationship between Monks and the SPDC

An excerpt from a radio interview with some monks inside Burma

According to the list of religious organizations, there are over 400,000 monks in Burma, and 80% out of the population of 50 million people worship these monks. The SPDC generals are among the 80% but their alms-giving ceremonies are likely to be questioned. Although the state controlled media and newspapers always broadcast and illustrate the military generals going to pagodas and monasteries, and offering donations to monks, many monks criticize these acts. They contend that the military generals are not performing these rituals because they believe in Buddhism and monks, but because they are using religion as a propaganda tool. Furthermore, their donations are collected from the people by force and as a result, many monks reason that these donations should not be accepted.

An abbot in Magwe Division explained about the Waso-robe offering ceremonies.

“This year, people did not offer as many Waso-robos as last year because of the deteriorating economy. There is not a lot of good business. Like Zarganar, the famous comedian, said, “The army only increases; the rest of the people are still poor.” Some people who have very good relations with the generals are the few wealthy ones. There was an article about donations in yesterday’s newspaper. An abbot was given a donation of 10 million kyats by the daughter of Zaykabar U Khin Shwe and the son of the Lt. Gen. Thura Shwe Man. People like them can donate like that. Mainly, school monasteries and the highly respected venerable monks who are members of the State Monk Coordination Committee (the Sangha Mahar Naryaka Council) are given donations. The rest of the monks who do not have good relationships with them are not given donations.”

The Ven. Thawbar, who left Theravada University in Kabar Aye, Rangoon and is now in a monastery in Cologne, Germany, explained about whether or not donations to monks are separated by the regime in accordance with the rules of Buddha, Vinaya. In addition, he explained whether or not monks should accept donations like that.

“If monks can see that the donations are collected from people by force, the truth is clear. Most donations are collected forcefully from the poor. The army units make small bags, distribute them to people, and order them to donate rice in these bags. Later, the army units take these small bags and donate them to monks. Some monks also lure the regime to come and donate. Some monks have made up with the regime. That’s no good. This is not in accordance with the rules of Buddha, Vinaya. The Lord Buddha prohibits that in Vinaya Pali.

Three monks discussed the following questions: Do people like being forcefully ordered to

donate to monks? Will there be any lack of unity among monks caused by accepting the donations? Does the acceptance affect the current social system?

“The generals always donate to monks as a show because about 80% of the people in Burma are Buddhist. Monks are religious leaders, who are followed by the lay people who worship them. Controlling the leaders means controlling the followers. The regime realizes that. Therefore, people may think, “Our leaders even relate to the regime and so we can’t oppose the regime.” Therefore, monks should not accept and should encourage opposition to events like that. If the people don’t like the regime and if the monk they worship is for the regime, the people should ignore that monk. It’s very easy in Burma because there are over 400,000 monks and if you don’t like one, you can worship another monk. If the lay people boycott like this, no monks can continue to behave like that.”

“We have to be very careful not to misunderstand each other. Any monk is responsible for accepting all donations no matter who offers. In fact, the highly respected monks are also responsible for guiding the government on the right path. They have to provide sermons to the government to illustrate the way to rule fairly. The lay people may also understand the difficult situation of monks.”

“We monks accept donations because our monasteries are in need and the lay people are not able to donate for all our needs because of the deteriorating economy. Therefore, the lay people can only watch and do nothing. Nobody can help each other. The lay people don’t like what the regime is doing. However, they can only stand and watch because they can do nothing.”

Source: DVB, August 1, 2004



Appendix 15: Article

Sons of Buddha in Prison

By Naing Kyaw

In this article the author recalls his experience in prison.

The author is a former political prisoner and the secretary of the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners (Burma), AAPP. His real name is Tate Naing.

One

Burma has been a Buddhist country for thousands of years. People who believe in Buddhism adore Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, as they are three sacred treasures. They also revere Sangha (monks) as sons of Buddha.

The state-owned media, newspapers and TV stations always release news about how the reigning State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) builds and repairs pagodas and monasteries or how they donate alms and medicine to monks.

However, my own experience regarding the SPDC's brutal treatment of monks is completely different from the daily news released by the SPDC media.

I lived in the regime's prisons (Insein, Prome and Thayet) for nearly three years. This was a bitter time in my life. I could stand and struggle because I had expected and prepared for the worst. Yet, when I witnessed and experienced the daily life of imprisoned monks and the cruel treatment the prison authorities subjected them to, I felt indescribable emotions.

It's very hard for everyone to explain these experience and emotions in words, but I really want to tell everyone and to write it down.

Two

Most of the monks in prison were imprisoned on political charges. As soon as monks were imprisoned, they were forced to remove their sacred dress. Some monks were forced to disrobe in interrogation centers even before being imprisoned.

According to the rules of Buddha, *Vinaya Patimokkha*, any monk who has never committed four *Parajikas*, cannot be prohibited from being a monk without his own desire. Forced disrobing does not make a monk into an ordinary man.

There were no early morning meals for monks in prison. Despite this, the monks always tried to live in accordance with all the traditional principles of a Buddhist monk and had no dinner (Buddhist monks are not allowed to eat after noon). Sometimes, given the situation, political prisoners secretly held dinner rations in reserve for monks and served them early morning meals. When prison authorities found out about that, they severely punished both the monks and the political prisoners.

The monks faced many difficulties in prison as well. Even for bathing, they had to obey prison bathing positions. When the prisoner in charge of bathing ordered “draw”, “bath” and “stop”, the monks had to obey the orders. When the actions of the monks were not in accordance with the orders, they were cursed at rudely.

At mealtimes, the monks had to be in the queue holding plates waiting for the food from the prisoner in charge of the food. For bed time, the monks had to sleep next to the feet of the prisoner in-charge of the ward. The monks were not allowed to meditate in a sitting position.

The prison authorities called themselves “masters” and ordered the monks to demean themselves by calling the authorities “masters” also.

Three

During my time in the No. 5 Ward, Insein prison, I lived with Ven. Aubartha, Ven. Waryama, Ven. Zawtika and Ven. Kawthanla from Shwephonepawint Monastery in Rangoon. They participated in the monks’ boycott, *pattam nikkujjana kamma*, or “overturning the bowl”, refusing to accept alms from members of the armed forces and their families in October 1990. As a result, they were sentenced to three years in prison each with hard labor under the Emergency Provisions Act, Section 5(J), and Penal Code Article 295, which, ironically, prohibits insults directed at religion. While we were in this ward, over 50 prison authorities came into the ward and ordered all prisoners, except prisoner in-charges, the thugs, to sit in the emergency sitting position at about 3 o’clock in the morning on November 22, 1991. Then the prison authorities called the names of political prisoners on the list to be transferred one by one out of the ward. My name was on the list, so I made my bed and went out to the door. At the door, I risked standing and staring at the venerable monks because I wanted to pay obeisance to them for the last time before my transfer. What I saw was the venerable monks sitting with folded legs, touching the floor with their foreheads and stretching their arms forwards. This was called *paunsangyi* or emergency position in prison. I felt as if the venerable monks were doing obeisance to the prison authorities. Seeing that scene, I was in a total daze. I did not know how long it lasted—I regained awareness when I was hit on my back three or four times. Then, tears stole down my face. I realized the tears were not because of the pain from beatings.

One hundred political prisoners including six monks were transferred to the remote Thayet prison. Among us was the Ven. Meggin Sayardaw, who was over 74 years old at the time, but he was iron-shackled and transferred nonetheless. It took two hours for us by foot from Thayet quay [ferry boat across the Irrawaddy River] to Thayet prison. The prison authorities, policemen and soldiers were walking along side us and beat us with bludgeons and gun-butts all the way to the prison while we were walking. Our slippers had been taken away when we left Insein prison, and we had to walk with bare feet through thorns, bushes and wild grass the whole way. I saw the Ven. Meggin walking, holding the iron-shackle in one hand and his mattress in the other hand. When I carefully looked, the legs of the venerable monk were stained with blood. The authorities

treated monks like that. This was odious.

In October 1991, I think, there was a monk in the ward I lived in, Insein prison Ward No. 5, named Ven. Pyi Kyaw. He was once slapped many times by the ward in-charge Aung Htun for failing to bow as he passed him. The political prisoners at once went to the ward officer Saw Htun and protested about this. He replied that every prisoner had to obey prison rules. Aung Htun refused to apologize to the Ven. Pyi Kyaw. As a result, there was tension between the political prisoners and the thug in-charges (criminal gangsters who were appointed as prisoner officers by the prison authorities).

Some courts did not charge monks who participated in the boycott, *pattam nikkujjana kamma*, as political prisoners under the Emergency Provisions Act, Section 5(J). Instead, some monks were charged under Article 295 for insulting religion. These monks were sent to forced labor camps. A monk from Koehtutkyi Monastery, Rangoon, participated in the boycott and was sentenced to three years in prison with hard labor under the Article 295. This venerable monk was taken to a forced labor camp from No. 5 ward in October, 1991.

Four

The Ven. Zawtika from Shwephonepwint Monastery was nearly 60 years of age when he fell into bad health in December 1992. He was taken to Insein Prison Hospital but his health was deteriorating. After prison doctors had given up on treating him, he was sent to the guarded ward for prisoners in the basement of Rangoon General Hospital. He passed away soon after he had arrived in the hospital. The hobbled venerable monk was in a white prisoner uniform and four kilogram iron-shackles when he died.

The Ven. Arsara from Thayettaw Monastery in Rangoon was 35 years of age when he was sentenced to 10 years in prison under the Unlawful Associations Act. He suffered from jaundice and chronic fever in Thayet prison in January 1996. The prison authorities refused his request to be sent to an outside hospital. Only when he was dying was his request granted and he was sent to Thayet General Hospital. Due to the neglect of the prison authorities, he had to wait for his death whilst meditating. Two days after he was sent to the hospital, he passed away.

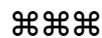
The Ven. Bhaddanta Yewata, 52 years old, was arrested on October 19, 1990 and was sentenced to 12 years in prison by a military tribunal because of his leading role in the monk movements opposing the regime. He was transferred from Mandalay prison to the new Ohbo prison. Due to sleeping on the wet floor in his cell, the lack of medicine and not having food on time, he suffered from kidney failure. He was released in mid-1998. He passed away in January 1999 from prison-related disease.

Five

Monks, sons of Buddha, are being tortured and cracked down upon in interrogation centers, in concentration camps, in prisons and in forced labor camps. Therefore, there are many questions such as: "Why are these things happening?" "Who is responsible for this?" "Who is guilty?" and so on. I can't believe and understand why a group of so-called Buddhists in a majority Buddhist country dare to commit these ultimate sins. Moreover, I don't understand where they get these evil minds to commit such atrocious religious violations.

Time after time, I realize these disastrous events occur because the behavior of the military dictators and the conditions of the country are the same, like mirror images of each other. When I realize this, I see that being a Buddhist is beside the point. Whether or not the oppressors are privileged in the power structure, capital sharing system or the social system also does not matter. The key point of the problem is that people's behavior of bullying and discrimination—above all, human rights violations—has become habitual in the society of Burma. (This is aside from the idea that power holders and capital dominators violate human rights to stay in power for a longer time.) Military despotism molds the people's behavior to accept human rights violations and bullying as part of tradition.

I have observed that this happens because people release their choked mentalities under the military dictatorship by oppressing and harassing each other. Nevertheless, we activists have to deeply consider how to eliminate not only the official despotism, but also these bad habits once and for all. I have decided and vowed to carry out this duty as well as I can.



Appendix 16: Imprisoned Monks I- Win Naing Oo

The saddest thing in prison was seeing monks in white prison uniforms. Even worse was knowing the monks in white prison uniforms were not only young monks but also venerable monks, abbots, and senior monks who have memorized one third or two thirds of the three repositories of Buddhist Scriptures.

They were venerable monks such as, Ven. Maydini, Ven. Maha Bawdi, Ven. Inghatha of Thakayta and Ven. Tilawkarbiwuntha of Ywama Pariyatti Monastery (school for monks to study the Buddhist Scriptures). Ven. Thumingala of Kabar Aye Mahar Ghandaryone Monastery, highly respected and one of only five monks in modern Burma to have memorized the entire three repositories of Buddhist scriptures, was also among those seen in white prison uniforms in Insein prison.

The Southeast Asian Information Network (SAIN) has obtained a reliable list of the Burmese monks who died in custody, most in labor camps under the suppressive regime. According to this list, Ven. Oketama, Mandalay, Vice-President of the Sangha Samaggi (monk union); Ven. Sandawara, Weyanbontai Monestary, Mandalay, Secretary of the Sangha Samaggi; and Ven. Vimala, Masoeyein Monastery, Nothern Mandalay, member of the Sangha Samaggi, all died at Sumprabum labor camp. Ven. Kawiya and Ven. Kalyana of Phayagyi Monastery, Mandalay were sentenced to death by the SLORC.

As a result, monks in Mandalay decided not to organize religious ceremonies for the regime, which oppressed the people and monks. They declared *pattam nikkujjana kamma*, or "overturning the bowl", refusing to accept alms from members of the armed forces and their families in 1990. The main purpose of the boycott was to help the evildoers to repent their misdeeds, to forsake their evil actions, and to return to the path of truth. Such a religious boycott has precedent in the history of Buddhism.

In 1921, a similar religious boycott occurred during the British Colonial period. When highly respected Ven. Oaktama was arrested by the governing British, monks refused to work with people who supported the British Colonial Government. Therefore, when a sister of the magistrate who imprisoned Ven. Oaktama died, monks refused the family's formal invitation to oversee the funeral. The family of the deceased later apologized to the monks, appealing for their assistance with the ceremony.

The SPDC regime did not refrain from cruel behavior, even though monks boycotted the military and their families by the *pattam nikkujjana kamma*, with the good intention of helping the evildoers to repent of their misdeeds, to forsake their evil actions, and to return to the true path. In 1990, more than 350 monasteries were raided by the military regime. Moreover, more

than 3000 monks were arrested, imprisoned, and forced to disrobe. Even during the British colonial rule, monks who shunned the British government were not arrested and imprisoned.

The nine senior patron venerable monks, including Ven. Thumingala of Kabar Aye Mahar Ghandaryone Monastery, were so saddened and upset by the regime's crackdown on monks that they supported the boycott. They released a statement, which said, "The monks' boycott against the military, *pattam nikkujjana kamma*: "overturning the bowls," is absolutely right." Therefore, the regime arrested the nine senior venerable monks and sentenced them to eight-year imprisonments. That is why we met these venerable monks in white prison uniforms with great sadness.

Imprisoned venerable monks, abbots, and monks demanded they be allowed to wear their monks' robes in prison but the regime refused. Instead, the regime forced them to disrobe and ordered monks to dress in white prison uniforms. Tears stole down the cheeks of some senior monks because they were forced to disrobe. Still, the monks were patient and wore white prison uniforms according to the orders of the prison authorities.

Even though they were in prison, the monks always tried to live in accordance with all the traditional principles of a Buddhist monk. They obeyed the teachings of Buddhism and performed their daily religious rituals.

There were no special places for the venerable monks to sleep in prison. They had to live and sleep in crowded cells with criminal prisoners. I did not think anybody could be happy seeing these venerable monks in white prison uniforms sleeping among criminals. Nevertheless, they put up with these poor conditions without complaint.

Prison authorities did not recognize the monks as monks. Instead, the authorities treated them like criminals. The authorities did not refer to them by their sacred monk titles. The authorities rudely used their given names. For example, the monk Meggin Sayadaw was over 70 years old and should be called "U Shwe Tha Aye" (U in Burmese is used in respect for elders). But the prison officer at the age of about 40 called Sayadaw "Hey Shwe Tha Aye" without "U," which is extremely disrespectful.

Translated from the book, "Minutes of a Youth, Without Document" (in Burmese): memoirs of prison life written by the author Win Naing Oo, a former political prisoner.



Appendix 17: Imprisoned Monks II- Win Naing Oo

Only student political prisoners felt sorry for the venerable monks - the students attended to them and treated them with kindness. The venerable monks would say to the students, "You university students are becoming more like monastery students," while laughing lovingly.

In 1991, Insein Prison held nearly 50 monks in each ward and nearly 200 monks in total. The difficult thing for the monks in prison was early morning meals. The monks had no dinner (Buddhist monks are not allowed to eat after noon). The prison opened at six or seven in the morning and nobody was allowed to get up, sit and or stand before then. Serving a proper six am breakfast to the monks was impossible.

To solve this problem, students held dinner rations in reserve for the monks. Students went to them and served early morning meals as soon as the prison was opened. The poor quality prison rice would sometimes become stale by morning.

Sometimes, prison authorities were very envious of our keeping rice for the monks' early morning meals. Sometimes, they ordered us, "Don't keep rice. Anyone who keeps rice will be punished." Early morning meals for monks were very difficult to arrange and students tried to offer snacks to the monks as much as they could.

In fact, prison authorities did not allow prisoners to pay obeisance (with palms raised together on the forehead) to monks. Prison authorities even ordered monks not to shave their heads. Students were unable to tolerate how SPDC and prison authorities did not recognize imprisoned monks and treated them as criminals. Therefore, students did not care about being punished; they paid obeisance wherever they met a monk in prison. Furthermore, students tried to listen to spiritual sermons from monks according to religious orders. For example, students would draw Buddha images on cell walls, and put together special ceremonies like on the full moon days of Waso and Kahtein, the offering of yellow robes to the members of the Buddhist Order.

Students would place good quality blankets and rugs in the good corner of a room, invite venerable monks and young monks over, offer food to them, pay obeisance to them, listen to their spiritual sermons, and express their wish to share good deeds and help others. The venerable monks also felt very happy and preached that hearing religious verses in a hell like prison was a very touching and emotional experience.

It is dumbfounding that prison authorities, who were Buddhists as well, were green with envy because of these rare religious ceremonies where we paid homage to the venerable monks.

One day, when students were about to situate the monks in the good place of the room, the authorities pressured students by ordering them to have ex-monks sit alongside the venerable monks and to pay homage to them as well. These monks, imprisoned for criminal acts such as raping, gambling, stealing and so on, had broken the traditional principles of Buddhism and were no longer monks. Students did not want these ex-monks to sit with the highly respected venerable monks. Prison authorities increased the pressure by informing the students that they would not allow the religious ceremony to ensue if these criminal ex-monks were not accepted along with political prisoner monks.

The demand caused tension between students and authorities. The venerable monks admonished the students saying, "Sons, let them [the ex-monks] sit with us if they dare to sit."

These criminal ex-monks were afraid to sit with the venerable monks. They went to the venerable monks in secret to apologize and said they did not dare to sit with them, but they were also afraid of the prison authorities and thugs who would beat them if they didn't do as they were told. The generous venerable monks forgave and allowed them to sit with them.

When the ceremony was started, the criminal monks were trembling and sweating. They paid homage to the highly respected venerable monks first and then sat beside them.

There was something special to say about the venerable monks. The followers of the venerable monks could not tolerate how the SLORC arrested monks, forced them to disrobe and treated them as criminals. After the monks were released, their followers re-ordained them as monks again and again in accordance with the tradition of Buddhism. Re-ordination happened not once but every week and every month by followers one after another.

As far as I know, weekly re-ordination of Ven. Thakayta U Inghatha had not yet finished after a year passed. The Ven. Monk thought the followers would get tired and asked them to stop, but the process still went on. The followers would say, "The SLORC arrested and tried to defrock the monks a single time, but we can re-ordain our monks many times."

Having been released, I visited and paid homage to Ven. Mahabawdi. Seeing the Ven. Monk wearing a maroon robe was very strange for me because I was used to seeing him in a white prison uniform. The Ven. Monk understood my feeling and smiled. He showed me some manuscripts he was writing for a Buddhist scripture. He wrote many scriptures because he always tried to spread the study of Buddhism.

When I paid homage to him before I left, he asked, "How about the health of students who are still in prison? How about the people who have been released?" He also said he was very appreciative of the students who had taken care of him during his prison term.

A cloud fell over his face as he seemed to be thinking about the prison.

Translated from the book, "Minutes of a Youth, Without Document" (in Burmese): memoirs of prison life written by the author Win Naing Oo, a former political prisoner.



Appendix 18: Imprisoned Monks III- Win Naing Oo

One day on Ward No.3, a thug prison gangster called out and demanded the venerable monks squat on the ground by the order of the authorities. The thug then threatened and insulted the monks while pacing back and forth in front of the squatting monks with clenched fists and a hostile demeanor. "I don't care if you're monks or not. I am now in prison because I committed murder. Anyone who wears a prison uniform is a prisoner and no longer a monk - and that prisoner must do prison work." In fact, he wanted the venerable monks to do hard labor, such as digging and carrying water.

The Ven. Tharkayta seemed to be saddened and resentful. Trembling and quivering, he said, "Okay, you don't recognize us as monks, so we won't talk as monks. We will talk as men. I'm not scared of you. You are a murderer and we aren't afraid to be murderers." After that the authorities' handpicked thug was silent.

In prison, young monks attended to the venerable monks and treated them with kindness. The venerable monks also taught the young monks the Buddhist scriptures. A very bright and wise young monk, a pupil of the Ven. Ywama U Tilawka, became mentally ill from the hellish prison conditions. The venerable monks asked the prison authorities to send that young monk to an outside hospital, but the authorities ignored their request. Instead, they took the young monk from his ward and put him into the "Mad Cell Block" in the prison hospital compound.

The young monk, who had only been suffering from slight mental illness, became totally insane living with maniacs on this cell block. The venerable monks could do nothing but feel sorry for him.

After his release, the Ven. Tharkayta would speak of prison sorrowfully to his followers and their eyes would fill with tears. "I don't think that hell would be worse than that," he said.

Another famous venerable monk in prison was the Ven. Meggin. He was then over 70 years old and sentenced to eight year imprisonment. He had been to many countries and could speak several languages. He had a BA from a university in India. While he was studying in India, he had been very close to the Indian writer Yahul Sankrityayar, who was well known in both India and Burma. The Ven. Monk talked about Yahul Sankrityayar to students and it was very interesting. The Ven. Monk learned Tibetan Buddhism by walking from India to Tibet.

During their prison terms, the thing students most wanted was to further their studies. They had to learn about history, politics, religion and English from learned elders because they were not allowed to read in prison. Prison authorities did not want to allow it, and they released an order stating, "Learning in prison is not allowed." Still, students who hungered to learn went

about their studies in secret.

The Ven. Meggin was fluent in English, so students asked him to teach them. The Ven. sympathized with and pitied the students. He taught them, maintaining that "sharing education is noble." Prison authorities banned the studying while accusing the political prisoners of trying to gather and organize. The authorities pretended not to see other activities and did not prohibit criminals from gathering to fight or to gamble.

Nevertheless, the Ven. kept on teaching. His goal was for students to know English and religion. Thanks to the Ven. Meggin, there were many students who came to know the First Discourse of the Buddha, namely the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*, commonly known as the Great Discourse on the Wheel of Dharma, and Buddhist verses consisting of the eleven prescribed *suttas* - in English, Pali and Burmese.

The Ven. Meggin was frequently put in solitary confinement because of he taught English to the students. The Ven. would go on teaching as soon as he completed his punishment. The Ven. had a steadfast saying, "When I'm punished and put into solitary confinement for teaching English to students, I will go on teaching in the cell." The Ven. was included when a hundred political prisoners, accused of being troublemakers, were transferred from Insein to Thayet prison.

I still remember a story about the Ven....

As soon as we arrived in Thayet prison, nine political prisoners, including me, were falsely accused of opposing prison authorities, put in iron-shackles, and placed in solitary confinement in No. 3 cell block.

Soon after, a political prisoner was put in our cell block as solitary confinement punishment. Of course, he was the Ven. Meggin. As usual, he was punished for teaching English to students. One day during solitary confinement in cell block No.3, prison authorities took us out of our cells and beat us brutally. The main reason was the prison authorities' hatred for us. They said, "Student political prisoners are arrogant and very proud of themselves." A group of wardens frantically beat us. Some victims' wounds were severe and did not heal for quite a long time.

The Ven. Meggin, over the age of 70, was also beaten without reason. Students were very angry and shouted during the beatings, "Hey, you are very rude. Aren't you Buddhists? Don't you know he is a highly respected monk?" The Ven. was so worried about the students receiving more beatings. He told students not to shout, saying "Don't yell my sons. Let them beat me if they want." He swallowed the pain without making a sound.

As I recall, when the demonstration in Insein occurred in September 1990, two monks from cell block No.4 (they were in robes at the time) were beaten unconscious by prison authorities. Even the Ven. Thumingala, highly respected and one of only five monks in modern Burma to have memorized the entire three repositories of Buddhist Scriptures, was sent to a forced labor camp. Before that, prison authorities had written a letter on behalf of the Ven., saying he had chosen to give up the monkhood. They attempted to force him to sign the letter.

After the Ven. stood up to them and refused to sign, saying "I'll give up my life but not my monkhood," the prison authorities stopped trying.

Translated from the book, "Minutes of a Youth, Without Document" (in Burmese): memoirs of prison life written by Win Naing Oo, a former political prisoner.



“Partial List of Monks Who Died in Prisons and Forced Labor Camps”

No	Name/Title	Position	Occupation	Address	Place of death
1	Arthapha	Monk		Phayargyi, Mahar Myatmuni, Mdy*	Mdy Prison
2	Dhamawara Seidhi	Monk			Hparkant, Mogaung
3	Kawvida	Monk		Bagan, Mdy	Myitkyina prison
4	Oaktama	Monk	Vice Chair of the Sangha Samaggi	Mandalay	Sumprabum
5	Pyinnya Thiri	Monk		Myataung, Mdy	Katha prison
6	Pyinnyarnanda	Monk		Maharnanditheyne, Phayargyi, Mdy	Myitkyina prison
7	Pyinnyeinda	Monk		Phayargyi, Mahar Myatmuni, Mdy	Mdy Prison
8	Sandarwara	Monk	Secretary of the Sangha Samaggi	Weyanbonthar, Mdy	Sumprabum
9	Teza	Monk		Saku, Mdy	Mogaung prison
10	Teza	Monk		Eindawyar, Mdy	Mogaung prison
11	Teza	Monk		Bagan, Mdy	Myitkyina prison
12	Tilawkar	Monk		Masoeyein, Mdy	Hparkant, Mogaung
13	Tilawkar	Abbot		Shwephonepwint, Rgn**	Insein
14	Vimala	Monk	Member of the Sangha Samaggi	Masoeyein, Mdy	Sumprabum
15	Wiyawdana	Monk		Hti Lin, Mdy	near Myitkyina
16	Yewata	Monk		Bagan, Mdy	Myitkyina prison
17	Zawana	Monk		Eindawyar, Mdy	Myitkyina prison
18	Zawana	Monk		Maharnanditheyne, Phayargyi, Mdy	Myitkyina prison
19	Zawtika	Monk		West Hti Lin, Mdy	Katha prison

* Mdy = Mandalay

** Rgn = Rangoon

“Partial List of Monks Who are currently in Prisons”

No.	Name	Father's Name	Section	Sentence	Occupation	Whereabout	Address	Date of Arrest
1	Bawanu		5(j)	40	Monk	Tharawaddy	Shwepyitha, Rgn	
2	Sandhimar			Death	Monk	Mandalay	Kyaukse, Mdy	Sept; 2003
3	Damathiri (aka)	Tun Myint Aung	5(j), 295	7	Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	Feb; 1998
4	Karwaida				Monk	Mandalay		
5	Kawiya		3	Death	Monk	Myingyan	Phayargyi, Mandalay	1988
6	Kawwi		17(1)		Monk	Mandalay		
7	Kaythara		5(j), 295	7	Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	Sep; 1998
8	Kaywara				Monk	Mandalay		
9	Kaythawa		5(j)	7	Monk	Tharawaddy	Magwe	1996
10	Mahawthada		5(j), 295	7	Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	Sep; 1998
11	Myo Min (aka)	Myitzuthaka Thara	5(j)	20	Monk	Moulmein		
12	Nandawantha				Monk	Myingyan		
13	Neinmala		5(j), 295	7	Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	Sep; 1998
14	Nemainda				Monk	Mandalay		
15	Nemainda (aka) Myo Min	U Shwe Maung	5(j), 17(1)	20	Monk	Moulmein	Thanatpin, Pegu	
16	Nibala				Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	
17	Nyarna Thiri (aka)	San Maung			Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	August, 1997
18	Nyannathiri		5(j), 295	7	Monk	Mandalay	Masoeyein, Mdy	Sep; 1998
19	Pyinnyar Dara		295, 420	5	Monk	Mandalay		
20	Pyinnyar Sakka (aka) Myo Wint Thu	U Tin Soe	5 (j)	21	Novice	Insein	Thingangyun, Rgn	Sept, 2003
21	Pyinnyar Thara		5(j), 295	7	Monk	Mandalay	Masoeyein, Mdy	Sep; 1998
22	Pyinnyar Zawta (aka) Myint Mg Mg	U Sar	5(j)	7	Monk	Tharawaddy	Alon, Rgn	22-4-1998

“Partial List of Monks Who are currently in Prisons (contd.)”

No.	Name	Father's Name	Section	Sentence	Occupation	Whereabout	Address	Date of Arrest
23	Sakka Pala (aka) Soe Myint		5(j),295	7	Monk	Mandalay	Masoeyein, Mdy	Sep; 1998
24	San Neinda		5(j), 17(1)	14	Monk	Mandalay	Thingangyun, Rgn	Feb; 1998
25	Sanda Thiri (aka) Myint Han		5(j), 17(1)	14	Monk	Kale	Thingangyun, Rgn	Feb; 1998
26	Sandaw Batha(aka)Kyaw Kyaw		5(j), 17(1), 122(1)	Life+7+2	Monk	Insein	Daik-U, Pegu	1993
27	Satkapala (aka) Soe Myint				Monk	Mandalay	Myingyan, Mdy	
28	Satt Ka				Monk	Mandalay	Myingyan, Mdy	
29	Sekka, U			7	Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	
30	Shauk Chain		5(j), 295	7	Monk	Mandalay	Pattamy Taik	Sep; 1998
31	Thanwara (aka) Than Win		5(j), 295	7	Monk	Mandalay	Masoeyein, Mdy	Sep; 1998
32	Thanwara,U		5(j)	7	Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	
33	Tharthana				Monk	Myitkyina		
34	Thawmana				Monk	Mandalay		
35	Thon, U		5(j), 17(1)	30	Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	
36	Thondara (aka) Than Aung				Monk	Myingyan	Yelei village, Nwa Hto Biyi Monastery	
37	Thudana		5(j)	7	Monk	Mandalay		
38	Thudathana (aka) Thein Hteik				Monk	Mandalay		
39	Thunandara		5(j), 295	7	Monk	Mandalay	Masoeyein, Mdy	Sep; 1998
40	Thuzata (aka) Thaug Htay				Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	
41	Waiponla (aka) Win Myint		5(j),17(1)(2)	45	Monk	Mandalay	Monywa,Sagaing	
42	Warathami		5(j), 17(1)(2), 21/D	45	Monk	Mandalay		
43	Wimala		5(j)	7	Monk	Mandalay		Sep; 1998
44	Winaya				Monk	Moulmein		

“Partial List of Monks Who are currently in Prisons (contd.)”

No.	Name	Father's Name	Section	Sentence	Occupation	Whereabout	Address	Date of Arrest
45	Winaya		5(j), 17(1)	20	Monk	Taungoo	Maymyo, Mdy	1991
46	Zade				Monk	Mandalay		
47	Zanayda				Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	
48	Zawana		5(j)	7	Monk	Mandalay	Masoeyein, Mdy	
49	Zawana (aka) Daik-Oo Soe Moe Thu		5(j), 17(1), 122(1)	Life+7+2	Monk(Poet)	Taungoo	Shwepyitha, Rgn	1993
50	Zawti Yama (aka) Zaw Min				Monk	Mandalay	Mandalay	
51	Zawtibala (aka) Aung Kyaw Myint		5(j), 17(1)	7	Monk	Mandalay	Pattamya Taik, Mdy	Sep; 1998
52	Zawtiyaza		5(j)		Monk	Mandalay		
53	Sandar Zawti (aka) Nyan Lin	U Nyunt Shein	5(j)	18	Monk	Insein	Nyaungpinkan, Myinmu Tsp. Saggaing	19-Jan-04
54	Yukandara (aka) Win Tun	U Nyo	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Mageeton, Wetlet Tsp. Saggaing	19-Jan-04
55	Wisarreinda (aka) Hlaine Moe	U Kyaw Myint	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Gwaygone, Thazi Tsp. Mandalay	19-Jan-04
56	Nanda Thiri (aka) Htein Lin	U Pe Maung	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Ywarthitkyi, Saggaing	19-Jan-04
57	Kuthala (aka) Ko Ko Win	U Soe Win	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Shwelinban, Hlaingthaya Tsp. Rgn	19-Jan-04
58	Waryameinda (aka) Win Bo	U Aung Htwe	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Mhanthar, Depayin Tsp. Saggaing	19-Jan-04
59	Wanna Tharmi (aka) Win Saung	U Nyo Thein	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Kaebar, Ayadaw Tsp. Saggaing	19-Jan-04
60	Tharthana (aka) Thuyin	U Thaug Myint	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Kyayni, Sale Tsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04

“Partial List of Monks Who are currently in Prisons (contd.)”

No.	Name	Father's Name	Section	Sentence	Occupation	Whereabout	Address	Date of Arrest
61	Sandara Wara (aka) San Win Htut	U Shwe Htun	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Kanhla, Hlaingthaya Tsp. Rgn	19-Jan-04
62	Ponnyar Nanda (aka) Min Moe	U Nyunt Htay	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Sinnin, Wetlet Tsp. Saggaing	19-Jan-04
63	Khaymarsarra (aka) Aung Naing Win	U San Hla	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Kyaukhtu, Yaw Tsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04
64	Thunanda (aka) Maung Swe	U Ba Shein	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Kyaukmyaung, Khin U Tsp., Saggaing	19-Jan-04
65	Yaywata (aka) Yin Htwe	U Kyin Hlaing	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Nyaungdo, Yesagyoe Tsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04
66	Nandiya (aka) Zaw Moe Tun	U Aung Lay	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Karboe, Ye-U Tsp. Saggaing	19-Jan-04
67	Thuriya (aka) Zaw Lin	U Tun Ngwe	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Sardwingyi, Kantbalu Tsp., Saggaing	19-Jan-04
68	Kaundala (aka) Kyaw Myint	U Tun	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Natnan, Wetlet Tsp. Saggaing	19-Jan-04
69	Wirazayya (aka) Chit Myo	U Shwe	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Ywartaw, Pyawbwe Tsp. Mdy	19-Jan-04
70	Waypoulla (aka) Hla Than Hteik	U San Lwin	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Donwun, Bilin Tsp., Mon	19-Jan-04
71	Pyinnyathiha (aka) Ko Naing	U Nyo Thwin	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Alone, Monywa Tsp. Saggaing	19-Jan-04
72	Sekkeinda (aka) Myint Thu	U Myint	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Kyutawchaung, Kunchankone Tsp.Rgn	19-Jan-04
73	Wiseitathara (aka) Kyaw Nhin Oo	U Kyaw Win	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Male, Myinmu Tsp. Saggaing	19-Jan-04
74	Thilarsarra (aka) Bo Tint	U Paw Chein	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Nyaunghla, Natmauk Tsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04

“Partial List of Monks Who are currently in Prisons (contd.)”

No.	Name	Father's Name	Section	Sentence	Occupation	Whereabout	Address	Date of Arrest
75	Mandala (aka) Myat Maw	U Soe Tint	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Moulmein, Mon	19-Jan-04
76	Nyarneinda (aka) Maung Toe	U Sein Mauk	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Minywa, Gangaw Tsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04
77	Pyinnyawira (aka) Myint Hlaing	U Ohn Kyine	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Tinteinkar, Thazi Tsp. Mdy	19-Jan-04
78	Maydiya (aka) Myo Myint	U Pyone	5(j)	18	Novice	Insein	Pyinsatine, Aung Lan Tsp. Magwe	19-Jan-04
79	N/A (Myint Zaw)				Monk	Shwebo	Yankin monestry, Monywa	after May 30,2003
80	N/A				Monk	Shwebo	Yankin monestry, Monywa	after May 30,2003
81	N/A				Monk	Shwebo	Yankin monestry, Monywa	after May 30,2003
82	N/A				Monk	Shwebo	Yankin monestry, Monywa	after May 30,2003
83	Nyannainda, Rev.				Monk	Shwebo	Yankin monestry, Monywa	after May 30,2003
84	Zawtika				Monk	Shwebo		after May 30,2003
85	Eindria				Monk	Disappeared	Monywa	after May 30,2003
86	Zawtika				Monk	Disappeared		after May 30,2003
87	Zawtika				Monk	Disappeared	Monywa	after May 30,2003
88	Wayama				Monk	Myingyan		
89	Kalyana			Death	Monk	Myingyan		
90	Zawtika			Death	Monk		Yeiei village, Nwa Hto Biyi Monastery	

“Partial List of Monks Who are currently in Prisons (contd.)”

No.	Name	Father's Name	Section	Sentence	Occupation	Whereabout	Address	Date of Arrest
91	Zawana		294, 295		Monk		Kyi, Depayin Tsp. Saggaing	July, 2004
92	Wimala		294, 295		Monk		Kyi, Depayin Tsp. Saggaing	July, 2004
93	Thumana (aka)Than Win Aung	U Thein Maung	17(1),13(1), 5 (O), 420, 768		Monk	Insein	Yamethin, Mandalay	16-Sep-03
94	Kargunika (aka) Khin Maung Than	U Theikkha Aung	5(j)		Monk	Insein	Pyine Cha Village, Arakan	21-Dec-00
95	Kaweinda (aka) Kyaw San Hlaing	U San Hla Phyu	5(j)		Monk	Insein	Aung Mingalar St., Yathaetaung	21-Dec-00
96	Wara Nyarna		295	1	Monk	Insein	Satu Boammika Monastery, Bahan, Rgn	26-Dec-03
97	Casemate of Wara Nyarna (anoy)		295,	2	Monk	Insein	Satu Boammika Monastery, Bahan, Rgn	26-Dec-03
98	Kawthitha (aka) Zaw Zaw		5(j)	7	Monk	Myingyan	Shwe Boanthar Monastery, Mdy	17-Nov-03
99	Kawthila				Monk	Insein	Moe Kaung Monastery, Yankin, Rgn	2-Nov-03
100	Agga				Monk	Insein	Ngwekyaryan Monastery, South Okkalapa, Rgn	22-Nov-03
101	Arnanda				Monk	Insein	Ngwekyaryan Monastery, South Okkalapa, Rgn	22-Nov-03
102	Nandiya				Monk	Insein	Ngwekyaryan Monastery, South Okkalapa, Rgn	22-Nov-03
103	Zatila				Monk	Insein	Ngwekyaryan Monastery, South Okkalapa, Rgn	22-Nov-03
104	Narrada				Monk	Insein	Ngwekyaryan Monastery, South Okkalapa, Rgn	22-Nov-03

“Partial List of Monks Who are currently in Prisons (contd.)”

No.	Name	Father's Name	Section	Sentence	Occupation	Whereabout	Address	Date of Arrest
105	Sandina		5(j)	12	Abbot	Myingyan	Mhansi Ywaoo Monastery, Yedashe Tsp. Pegu	2001-religious riot
106	Thura Theidi		5(j)	12	Monk	Myingyan	Kyar Inn village, Yedashe Tsp. Pegu	2001-religious riot
107	Nanda Marlar		5(j)	12	Monk	Myingyan	Mhansi Ywaoo Monastery, Yedashe Tsp. Pegu	2001-religious riot
108	Tayzawbartha		5(j)	12	Monk	Myingyan	Ywa oo, Monastery, Swa Tsp. Pegu	2001-religious riot
109	Zargara		5(j)	12	Monk	Myingyan	Aungmyay Zayyone Monastery, Taungoo, Pegu	2001-religious riot
110	Sanda		5(j)	12	Monk	Myingyan	Uyin Monastery, Swa Tsp. Pegu	2001-religious riot
111	Rekkhita				Monk	Insein	Ngwekyaryan Monastery, South Okkalapa, Rgn	22-Nov-03
112	Rekkhilar				Monk	Insein	Ngwekyaryan Monastery, South Okkalapa, Rgn	22-Nov-03
113	Panneitsa		5(j)	5	Monk	Taunggalay camp, near Paan	Seint San Myaing Tawya, Bilin Tsp., Mon State	August, 2003
114	Kaweinda			27	Monk	Insein	Mandalay	1989
115	Thawmana		5(j), 15(A)	13	Monk	Taungoo	Laymyetnhar monastery, quarter 54, South Dagonmyothit	1999
116	Zanitar Biwuntha		5(j), 259, 8(b), 17(20)	25	Abbot	Ohbo, Mandalay	Mingoan Mahar Monastery, Kyaukse Tsp.	23, Oct, 2003
117	Thiha		5(j), 259, 8(b), 17(20)	25	Monk	Ohbo, Mandalay	Mingoan Mahar Monastery, Kyaukse Tsp.	23, Oct, 2003
118	Khaymarsarra		5(j), 259, 8(b), 17(20)	25	Monk	Ohbo, Mandalay	Shwe Paukpin Monastery, Kyaukse Tsp.	23, Oct, 2003

“Partial List of Monks Who are currently in Prisons (contd.)”

No.	Name	Father's Name	Section	Sentence	Occupation	Whereabout	Address	Date of Arrest
119	Thila Wuntha		5(j), 259, 8(b), 17(20)	25	Monk	Ohbo, Mandalay	Shwe Paukpin Monastery, KyaukseTsp.	23, Oct, 2003
120	Thumana		5(j), 259, 8(b), 17(20)	25	Monk	Ohbo, Mandalay	Shwe Paukpin Monastery, Kyaukse Tsp.	23, Oct, 2003
121	Wiseitta Biwuntha (Wirathu)		5(j), 259, 8(b), 17(20)	25	Monk	Ohbo, Mandalay	New Masoeyein Monastery, Mdy	23, Oct, 2003
122	Ingula		5(j), 295	10	Monk	Insein		

Abbreviations

BSP	Burma Socialist Programme Party
NLD	National League for Democracy
MI	Military Intelligence
SLORC	State Law and Order Restoration Council
SMNC	<i>Sangha Mahar Naryaka Council</i> (State Monk Coordination Committee)
SPDC	State Peace and Development Council

Some Pali Glossary

<i>Bhikkhu</i>	a fully ordained monk
<i>Dharma</i>	the body of teachings expounded by the Buddha (the word is also used in Buddhist phenomenology as a term roughly equivalent to phenomenon, a basic unit of existence and/or experience.)
<i>Samanera</i>	A male novice monk, who, after a year or until the ripe age of twenty, will be considered for the higher Bhikkhu ordination
<i>Sangha</i>	the Buddhist community of monks and nuns, the order of monks
<i>Sangha Sammagi</i>	the Monks' Union
<i>Sasana</i>	dispensation of the Buddha (<i>Sasana</i> is divided into three parts, namely, (1) <i>Pariyatti Sasana</i> , the whole text of <i>Tipitaka</i> , three baskets consisting of the words of the Buddha; (2) <i>Patipatti Sasana</i> , the actual practice in accordance with the teachings of the Buddha; (3) and <i>Pativedha Sasana</i> , the attainment of the Four Noble Truths achieved by the practice of the Dhamma)
<i>Parajika</i>	four rules leading to expulsion from order if violated
<i>Ptimokkha</i>	code of 227 rules binding on <i>bhikkhus</i> (core of the <i>Vinaya</i>)
<i>Pattam Nikkujjana Kamma</i>	overturning the bowl
<i>Tipitaka</i>	the three "baskets" or collections of Buddhist scriptures
<i>Vinayapitaka</i>	the collection of monastic disciplines
<i>Suttapitaka</i>	the collection of the Buddha's discourses and sermons
<i>Abhidhammapitaka</i>	the collection of psycho-philosophical treatises
<i>Vinaya</i>	The monastic rules of discipline for Buddhist monks & nuns.

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