

# State Law and Order Restoration Council Chairman General Saw Maung's Statement

*The following is the translation of the speech delivered by Chairman of the State Law and Order Restoration Council General Saw Maung on 5 July 1989.*

U Kyaw Sunn:—Now the State Law and Order Restoration Council Chairman General Saw Maung is going to explain to the journalists present matters relating to the political parties which are carrying out organizational activities, the indigenous working people and the various aspects of the situation of the State. May I request the General to address the gathering? Chairman:— I am meeting with you journalists because I have some aims. What are these; aims? One is to explain the various aspects of the situation of the Myanmar Naing-Ngan today. At the same time it is also my belief that the party organizations which were formed within the Myanmar Naing-Ngan and which got themselves registered with the Commission will come to have a correct outlook towards us and that the work carried out in future will be smooth by my telling them from where what ought, to be told. Moreover, foreign correspondents and journalists by making the witnesses, I am going to present to the people of the country the matters they ought to know so that they would get a true picture. I am going to present matters they ought to know such as how is our nation to be built up and what are to be thought out. Another important point is that we have made ready documents of this present period, those of the former period and the former government and I am speaking now with the intention of getting you journalists have a clear picture of what has happened in our nation and how our Tatmadaw has got involved in it by your studying

these documents. By telling this it will come to be known what is happening in our country, what ought to be done, who will carry out such and such things and what we, on our part, shall do. The true situation will come to be known and then all will be able to carry out things after reviewing them. Why I am saying this is that U Tin Oo and Daw Myint Myint Khin and group from the National League for Democracy came to the Commission on 3 July 1989 and said that the talk held in Pabedan that day came to an end without any disturbances, that they would like to thank those concerned and they would continue to do the same in future. What they also told the Commission was that they had formed alliances and consulted among themselves, that after the consultations they selected Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as the representative of the alliances and that she would like to discuss with the State Law and Order Restoration Council in the evening. It was at a few moments after 3 pm that Secretary (1) Brig-Gen Khin Nyunt reported the matter to me. So I considered the matter. What I considered was the matter of how should this matter be handled. There are many many parties that want to discuss with us. We have to think whether we should meet with them or not. All this we had to take into consideration. Should we allow such a few parties to meet with us? How large is the what they call alliance? I thought that I must solve this matter in one way or another. I shall also

deal with this matter in the latter part of my address. I spent the whole of the other night thinking about this matter. Yesterday I invited the State Law and Order Restoration Council. I thought that I would invite the journalists, that we should show them what ought to be shown, that I would address them and it would also amount to telling all the parties, and that in the same way the people would also come to know facts. I also thought that we would explain the matters to the journalists and by doing so what ought to be known would come to be known not only within the country but also in foreign countries, and thus three tasks would be accomplished at one stroke and thinking so, I discussed with our Council yesterday. What I say today may contain names of persons and names of party organizations, In saying so I have no enmity and no prejudice at all. I am saying this with sincerity for the good of the future of our State, with good intentions. I would like to ask in advance to forgive me if I mention names when I talk about matters relating to persons and organizations because I am saying all these with *Cetana* and for the sake of the State. As a matter of fact I am not a good speaker. I am also very reluctant to make a speech. I am also afraid of making mistakes in the speech I make. I would like you to understand that we have taken over this duty because it could not be avoided. First of all, I will tell you the various aspects of the situation. The State Law and Order Restoration Council is the Tatmadaw. We

have been doing our duties and there is one thing I believe in myself... that is that I have not done anything without consulting the laws. I joined the Tatmadaw only after Burma had regained its independence. I joined the Tatmadaw in 1949. Now it is 1989. During the 40 years of service I have not infringed any military disciplinary rules or the laws. That's how I have lived. Don't think that I am polishing up my image just because I am saying this. Since I have been living that way, I am also carrying out the duties within the framework of law. Then, the situation as regards the change in our country is great. The tempo has become great. The change was also rapid. When we look at the tempo, what we see is that some of the people of the country as well as some organizations can get confused. The situation is such that if they do not know fully the truth and facts, they may get confused. How much do we know? We know a little more than ordinary people and citizens because we have proofs, documents, and we have had our research department always study foreign broadcasts, foreign newspapers, books and their writings about our nation. I have got them to study them and note them down. We are more in touch with these in comparison with ordinary people. We are a little more up to date. And, if we were confused, then the speed is rapid and the momentum is great and I have the responsibility to explain things. This is my concept. For this I have my own reasons. It is five days now. There are some small matters in a few days'

time. I am timely telling you this matter so that the matter of such and such things should be done or not on the basis of what I say may be looked at through a wider scope. The Tatmadaw took over power on 18 September 1988. Since one and all know about this, I shall not repeat it. I shall tell you a little about it. The role of the Tatmadaw changed on 18 September 1988. This I am saying because this is a point which may be confusing. The role of our Tatmadaw in that situation was that it was one that do not represent any party or any organization. We do not represent any party or organization. That is a little important. We are not under control of any person. I would like to say that the Tatmadaw became the Pyithu Tatmadaw that shouldered the duties of the people (Pyithu Wundan). One might ask: On which date did it become such a Tatmadaw? The then President Dr Maung Maung issued a directive at the fourth session of the Pyithu Hluttaw on 11 September 1988. This was carried by the newspapers. It is mentioned in the newspapers that the Tatmadaw shall not be under the authority, and control of person or organization and, the service personnel shall not be under the authority and control of any person or organization as well. There is evidence for it. Later, we shall look at it in detail. I do not do things in a slipshod ways. I shall show you reference. At that time Dr Maung Maung was the chairman of the Burma Socialist Programme Party. He was also the President of the State. He was the Chairman of th Council of State as well.

At that time Dr Maung Maung said that from one-party system he would hold multi-party election. That was announced. After making the announcement, he said things in connection with us. It also concerns Government servants. The Tatmadaw must be Pyithu Tatmadaw means the Tatmadaw must owe its allegiance to the State, must defend the people and must not be the lackey of any party. If we say this, in fact, if the Tatmadaw says that, it is the order of the President. Quite clear.

If we study these in connection with today's conditions, I think, they were in the papers of those days. Those were lost track of. So, what I mean to say is, before that time, there were things said about us. How is it? Is the military training given by Bogyoke to kill people. What? Are you simply watching what the people are asking in protest? What were we to do? We are those who had sworn our allegiance to the nation. We are to stay within the law. These need to be understood. Why do we have to stay within the law? When the people were cursing us out, saying what they liked, I was neutral. Became neutral. Neutral when the President gave his orders. What did you do before that? I kept to the Constitution. What is prescribed in Article 11 of the 1974 Constitution? I stood by that. I upheld the Constitution. I said I was afraid candidly. Only after the President gave orders, I intervened. I was to act only in accordance with the Constitution before the President gave orders. What were we to do otherwise? Well, I want to say a little here.

Dr Maung Maung said it there and then. It might be asked why I am recounting the past.

Ask again. I will tell you. I am recounting that because the situation of our country was then beginning to deteriorate. Was beginning to deteriorate. I think some of the Government servants went on strike, some of the organizations went on strike, the newspapers did not get here and there, when radio and TV went on, there was clanging of tins and iron bars. People did not take it seriously. The declarations may or may not have been known. There may be those who knew. Those who had to listen quietly might know. This is a point which cannot be denied. There will be those who listened. The newspapers could not be circulated. Right? If you want to peruse what the newspapers were writing at the time, peruse there if you want to. I am recounting it because it happened that way. What was said then, I will recount, was that elections would be held, held within three months. I will tell you what happened then, I'll have to make it short. Tell it short. At that time, it was a foreign news broadcast. I still have it in my head. I also have evidence. At that time, in fact, there was no political party. One foreign news organization and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who is today Secretary of NLD. At that time there was no (NLD) party yet. So, what she say when she went on interview was that it would not be possible to hold election in three months, it would take at least two years. I have evidence. If you don't believe, took afterward. Remember those words also. So, it happened like this. After that what happened was that it began. It began. Anarchism began. It came ins. What happened after

anarchism came in was that destruction came in, started destroying factories, head - cutting started. What then happened was that after anarchism came in, there appeared strike camps. It happened like that. Then, there emerged another demand. All will know the demand in that periods All will remember.

Right? What was done was that an investigation commission or something like that headed by U Tin Aung Hein was set up. Something like that was done. Next, the Election Commission was formed. I'll tell you what happened while those were being done. A demand was made for an interim coalition government. By the time the interim coalition government was demanded, there had sprung up many strike camps.

To put it frankly, the Government at that time had become defunct. Become defunct. The Prime Minister and Ministers were spending nights at the Cabinet Office. It was just that. The functioning of the State machinery had stopped. However, who knew the true situation? I knew. The reason was, we had Tatmadaw organizations all over the country. What was happening where. What was happening where. Those I just mentioned. The VOA Myanmar news broadcast at 1800 hours on Sunday 11 September 1988 included the following points such as A, B, C, D and it was reported that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi said that the formation of opposition parties could take up to two years. I have it with me also. We have a monitoring section. I'll put it frankly. We have it in Defence. The Voice of Myanmar has a monitoring section.

Our Research has a monitoring section which is being used for research. We are able to know the situation all over the world. The Tatmadaw must know it. Because we must know, we ask that to be done and the situation reports are sent up to me everyday. Those are like that. Good. So, there, this demand was made. Right? That's the monitoring I have with me; Right? Make a tally if you don't believe. That happened with us. Well, good. So, what was happening at the time was that the situation was getting very bad, the people were scared. Right? The disintegration of the Tatmadaw needs no mention, needs no mention. The bid for destruction of the Tatmadaw came on 11, September, I think; Right? Declarations were issued on 11 September aimed at destruction of the Tatmadaw. The signatures of the then Vice-Chief of Staff (Navy) and the then Vice-Chief of Staff (Air) were put on the paper. After the signatures were put, well, we have that paper with us. Roughly, power was to be transferred on such and such a date, or else force would be used. Roughly, Kaba Aye Road on this side, going around to Mayangon on the other side, this whole sector would be shelled. The Navy would shell it. The Navy would shell it. If need be, the Air Force would bomb it. Right? At that time, the North-West Command, Mandalay, told us. Told us this is happening in our place. What happened? The Air Force would bomb the palace grounds. The nation did not know this. We knew it. At that time news could not be disseminated.

Could not be. The Voice of Myanmar had it. Government servants, some employees went one way, the newspapers did it. We have the documents. It happened that way. Connect it to all that Connect that to what we said at some of the news conferences, with some of the articles written, connect them with the articles in the Loktha. Right? Connect it with interim government thing and with the meeting of Mr Solarz and Dr Maung Maung. Connect them all and the whole thing will be exposed. We do not harbour any malice against anyone. We don't even have it today. Yesterday, we sent felicitations to American President Bush on Independence Day. We are dutybound as friends should, to do so. We deal intimately. I have that idea. Only if you connect them all together you get a composite picture. So, don't just view the internal affairs of our country. Since external doings get mixed up, well, the worst happen, not only in Yangon. It happened at the police stations. It's time to say these, I should say, what with, threats of upcoming days, 7 July and 19 July.

I'll tell you of the attack and capture in Sagaing Division. In Sagaing, it was 10,000-strong, casualties included 41 demonstrators dead, 61 injured, one security personnel, loss of arms and ammunition. Once in Ywathitkyi, and like that in Taze it was 10,000-strong attacking the police station, six security personnel dead, lost 45 arms and 500,000 kyats. At that time, our means of communication was cut, but we knew it. We knew it. Even the Government might not have known it. Even if it

was reported, the Government, could not do anything. As I told you earlier, it was defunct. So, those things happened. There was trouble in the prisons. Plenty. Right? Convicts released, jailbreaks and demands after having prisons in siege. Yangon Jail, right? These things were numerous. Documents. No end to telling. Let that be. Yangon jail, Sittwe jail, then it also happened in Patheingyi, Patheingyi jail uprising was uncontrollable, there was jailbreak. If we did not come in and control the situation then, who would. Who would? It was the same here in Yangon. The case of the Trade Ministry that we so often spoke about. 17 September. That platoon we had there on 17 September was no ordinary platoon. It was not a low-grade platoon. Well-equipped, full fire-power. I know it was full fire-power because it was armed not with an ordinary platoon's armaments, but with an infantry platoon's fire-power. It was equipped with medium machine-guns. It was thus equipped. With 40 mm launchers. With 60 mm mortar. They were under siege, bullied. I gave the order not to fire. I told them to sacrifice. The platoon stayed as I ordered, whatever was happening at that time. The President was still in office. The Prime Minister was there. I was the Defence Minister, but I had to control it that way. My troops told me. I told them to stay where they could not be seen. To hide. To secure the place which needed security. In the building, factory, workshop where security has to be provided, maintain control whatever they may say to you. If you don't want to see, and stay where you cannot see. That event U Hla Htway knows. I think so.

On the 10th there was commotion here. I could not even work in my office. They were hurling invectives you wouldn't dare hear. On the 16th and 17th.

Minn Theinkha ..he is known by all around here ...known by all around

here. He said such and such things indiscriminately. We did not do anything to him. All my yebaws were so angry that they were trembling. They came to me and complained of that. But I stopped them. You just stay away from them. Refrain from confrontation. This is the area of the War Office.

Pardon me. Young girls of 13 or 14 years of age lifted their *htamein* and said; "Fire me! Shoot me! Be patient if I'm rather vulgar. Sometime, I feel

uneasy. Regarding the matter of Trade Ministry if I had given my command to open fire, people would have died by the thousands. If you are interested in the firing power of a platoon, I will sponsor a demonstration. If you journalists are interested and I will sponsor a demonstration on the firing power of a platoon. But it is not needed I say this incidentally.

Without any particular intention. If a sixteen minute fire is done, especially if the firing of G3 and G4 is done, how about the fate of the large crowd? So, I restrain myself. The crowd came up the Ministry of Trade. I had

been reported that the mob in the ground floor ...then on the first floor... then on the second floor. My men retreated floor by floor. They just held the arms. They never used it. At that moment two persons arrived. I don't want to mention their names. They delivered

speeches. We have once written this case in our articles. You may find and look at them. But they could have got control of the unsavoury mob. Do you think who had saved my men (yebaws)? They were saved by the monks (sayadaws). They had to abandon the place by themselves alone. They had had to leave their weapons. The acquiring of those weapons... Ah! The seizing of weapons had been videoed, isn't it? But we could not have done so. But foreigners had been able to video that incident.

All such things had happened so. So, I want to say... Some of them ... some yebaws of that place were sent to Bank; some, sent to the City Hall. I think, among them was a sergeant... maybe a CQ.

The CQ was demanded to be handed over. He had been demanded only when he been sent to a safe place. And we had acceded to their demand. How do you think where the CQ had been taken away to?

He was taken away to the Bar Council. Hearing the news, my yebaws could not tolerate it. One or two of my men, being unable to tolerate it, went to the Bar Council and opened fire one or two shots using the 4 mm gun. They stuck a letter of warning to release that CQ. They also declared that they would no longer tolerate their acts. I

had not been reported at that moment. I only knew that case later. The situation then was as such. It is no good. The situations might become worse and worse. I would say more about that. I have many experiences. I am a ranker. Since I had joined the Army from the rank of a private

soldier, I know very well about the BCP tactics. I have fought many a great battle. I have fought for myself. I have fought by standing on my own feet. I know very well what is that. That is nothing but the tactics of the BCP. What then is BCP? That tactics may be called the annihilation of platoon. They would say they had annihilated a platoon. For them, it was a victory ... a victory. What comes after the annihilation of platoon? After that comes the annihilation of company. Then comes the annihilation of column. You journalists know this. Because you were once explained such tactics of the BCP. I think it is at the Bago Yoma. After they had applied such and such tactics, they would come to the City Hall or Bank and undergo annihilation of company and then annihilation of column. And then they would even come to our headquarters. How about the fate of the country? What will happen to our country? We have unavoidably taken over the State power. We had consulted among ourselves. We had no other intention. I'll say unambiguously. We are suspected as yet.

What is it that? 600 million, isn't it? We took 600. We asked from the State and took it legally. I was not the one who robbed the bank. I saved petrol. I demanded it from U Tun Tin, the former Prime Minister and Minister for Planning & Finance. Ask him. I called the Controller of Military Accounts, who is a civilian and who is under my control, and told him that everything was defunct and the Prime Minister could not draw his salary, that if food was not provided

to Tatmadawmen, it was not appropriate and that it was also not appropriate if yebaws have no money to buy. Then I again called personnel from the CMA and BAG and inquired the cost for the whole Tatmadaw from them. I told them to calculate for six months, to make requisition and ask permission from the Prime Minister and to keep the money in our hand. Inspect it any time. Inspection can be made on me. If not so, what would we do. Tatmadawmen is an armed organization. I will send money to Tatmadawmen in the whole country without fail. If the Tatmadawmen rob for their food, the Tatmadaw will deteriorate. This is one point. Another point is about petrol. Petrol is needed in transferring units and regiments. I think I won't say. It must be said. How much the country deteriorated? I demanded for petrol. I demanded it from U Sein Tun, who was Minister then. The Minister told that he would give it. It cannot be given because there is a *thamagga*. The Minister cannot give an order. From where will it come. When the *thamagga* permits. This is like that. It's OK. The Minister said. The *thamagga* do not concern me. This is what I know. I have this. That Minister's statement. Demanded what I had given when I took over. Tell what do you want more. It is said that cannot be given. It can be given only when the *thamagga* permits. Then where we will go and tell.

I will reveal. The *thamagga* of these workers. Go and ask for it from Bogyoke U Tin Oo. Go. I exercised that much

patience: They said they'd give only with U Tin Oo's permission. Whose troops were there? Had they had their legs broken? If that be, go tell there, I said, and they did not meet U Tin Oo. Right? The one they met was Bogvoke Aung Shwe. He said give. Then only did we get our petrol. It wouldn't do without my having to tell you. Those things. Earlier, I read the Asiaweek and others. You might have seen that. I told the Asiaweek correspondent that I would tell it all accurately at the Hluttaw. See if you don't believe. I have compiled a whole lot concerning all those happenings. I am dutybound to present it up to date. I will not let it be that I did what I liked while I held State power. After the Hluttaw emerges when the elections have been held, I will present to it what I have done in good discipline, systematically. I have the duty to do so. How I study it all is by browsing what I need, I have to read. I have to note. What I found was the report on the work done by the Revolutionary Council. With the emergence of the Pyithu Hluttaw after elections, the Revolutionary Council had to report to it on the work it had done, in abbreviated form. A book appeared. Well, this was done before. If that was done, I also am dutybound. I must do it. I accepted it that way and observed and did it. No one tells me do this, do that. No one tells me what to do. In what I am saying today, one thing is important. It concerns General Ne Win. General Ne Win has retired from the Tatmadaw. No need to deny that.

When General Ne Win retired from the Tatmadaw he became U Ne Win. When the time comes, I will not be General Saw Maung. I may be General Saw Maung (Retired). We have a tradition in our forces. We can use it. I can use General Saw Maung. Must write retired within brackets. It is the tradition of our force, right? There are orders and directives. We can wear uniform when invited by the State's dignitaries, like the President, on auspicious occasions. The right to wear. That is our regulation. Coming to the Tatmadaw Day or Resistance Day, one can wear it as a retired military personnel. Can wear. There were various speculations made. I was not going to say it. Even yesterday I was not going to say it. However, it won't do if it isn't said. What is being said of us today. How is it? Well, good. He is not concerned with the State or politics. What did he say at the Extraordinary Party Congress at the Kyaikkasan Grounds? What did he say? Why can't you see straight? I want to ask. Why can't you see straight? I told Asiaweek, I said it simply. I have nothing to lie. For us to become like this, he taught us. Like a parent. Right. So, as a child to a parent, I still dare not talk to this day. I daren't say. I daren't go. The situation is quite clear. You journalists here remember well. Right? I have the papers. Why can't you see straight? Here is the newspaper. Read it. He said he has retired from politics. See. Do you think he's returning to it again today? Let me ask you, journalists. He just said one

word, and did as he said. There is evidence to it. Here it is in the papers. He not only said it at the Extraordinary Party Congress. You will also find other evidence. It is history. I have formed a committee to compile history. It will present the facts; I did not say what it must do. I did not say be biased on whom or put what. I have told you, while forming the group, I did not tell the history group what it should do. I just said write the truth. I have also requested those who have seen history in the making. Please look toward the future of the nation, not saving your honour. I have requested them like that. They can say it or choose not to say it. It does not concern me. If necessary, I'll make the request for the second time. We were young during the period of struggle for independence. We don't know about it. Those who want to say will say it. It will be necessary for those who have goodwill toward the country to tell the truth in order that mistakes of the past may not be repeated. I am taking it up while opportune. You can study these later. Why I recount it is that in the period I spoke about earlier, these things were broadcast. People didn't listen to the radio, didn't watch TV and newspapers did not reach the districts. They could hear only a onesided version. What they heard was two or three, say about two, or just VOA and BBC at the time going full swing. We are not saying we have bad feelings state to state. We quite understand. The BBC is not the broadcast service of the British

Government. I understand it has the right to broadcast freely. I don't go to that extent. I study that. It should be in practice. I believe that way. Let it be.

In that matter, Dr Maung Maung had said he would hold elections within three months. In that connection, and in connection with Mr Solarz's coming, we have spoken at the news conferences obliquely. It is past. Thought it would be understood on such a hint. We said that much. Link up all these in your thoughts.

What I want to say is that while our Tatmadaw, meaning the Army, Navy and Air Force, is taking up duties of State, the Tatmadaw is not influenced by anyone. Does not accept the influence of any party. We are a truly neutral organization discharging our duties. Today, numerous accusations are being directed. I have to clarify the matter as I am dutybound. I don't want to say it. In saying it, I have no intention of hurting or gaining. If I intend to hurt, it is quite easy, Not difficult. We did not stand still up till today. I can't help it if the guilty were involved. We cannot help those who are guilty. If there are doubts on us even as we say it so much, what shall we do? What did we say when we took up our duty. Much was said. I will tell you. When Dr Maung Maung said he would hold elections, I studied it again. I televised again. If I pick up the past, the sequence may not be right. When Dr Maung Maung said he would bring in the multi-party system, I told Tatmadaw

what happened in the past, how we should proceed. When Dr Maung Maung said what he would do after the election, I commanded my men what attitude they should adopt to be free of bias. It had happened in the past when there was bias. Here is the directive issued by the Defence Service Chief of Staff to the people and supplication to the clergy. And directive to the troops. What we would do and what the commanders at different levels would do at election time, listing them numerically. From that time, we took this stand. That was before we took power. Right? We would go similarly hereafter. So, I'll tell you. We have not changed our attitude. The Tatmadaw has its traditions. Not degraded and bad. We were just going to give hints. There are cases of the people having become confused. We also found that when a new generation of youths emerged, they had no opportunity to study the situation. We gave hints. But they did not understand. I have to make this known. Such mistakes should not continue to be made. The present period is quite different from that in which the Revolutionary Council came into power in 1962. Journalists including U Sein Win experienced the period of the Revolutionary Council's taking over power in 1962. At that time most did not realize that power was taken over. Schools were open as usual. I am not sure if it was examination period. I was very young... only a captain. I was undergoing training. The power take-over took place while I was attending the School of

Land and Air Warfare at Hmawbi.. At that time everything was complete. Nothing was defunct nor complicated. All the service personnel were doing their work. Gold and cash were there. But my period... there was no methanol, no petroleum, no lubricating oil. There was crude oil only. Twenty million, (barrels of) crude oil. During the period when I took over power, the oil refinery was not operating. What was going to be done with the crude oil... that was the problem. To tell you the truth... oil production was only 1,500 (barrels) owing to destruction of the oil wells caused by *thamaggas*. (The production was) 1,500 barrels per day. Previously our normal oil production was about 18,000. When I took over power it was 1,500 barrels per day. What I did was that I asked the Commander (of the North-West Command) to go there and clean up the oil wells, to boost up production. I made workers of the oil refinery return to their work.

I had to run (the refinery). These are the facts. I have data available at any time. I keep them with graphs. For such difficulties there is no recognition by any one. (How about) the embassies... as you all know. What had the foreign radio stations broadcast? (They broadcast) that peaceful demonstrations were taking place in Myanmar. (They said) we crushed them. Really, it was very awkward. There were decapitations. Were these peaceful demonstrations? There were many people who were closely linked with the embassies. Why their families had left?

I asked only one question. If the demonstrations calling for democracy were peaceful, was it necessary for the diplomats and their families in this country to leave? They did not need to worry. Under such chaotic situation we gave them protection as much as we could. We did not forget them. Since they were living in our country we were responsible for protecting them. But I don't know what to say about their activities. They carried the wounded and sent them to places which could not be traced. Such instances were many and various. These took place in Yangon. We calculated (the situation).

I got the armed forces ready, stood by on every front. I directed the forces to group and to take special care on the BCP front. Solid grouping and reinforcements were planned. Mong Yang was attacked.

Ours were link-ups. The Mong Yang battle was not a minor one. It could decide the future of the country. Being military matters it could not be revealed at that time. We took care of the affair ourselves. At that time a strong and large force was in the north-east. (Their) principal objective was fine battle of Kyuhkok or to attack Pangsai. Once Mong Yang fell they would attack Kyuhkok. We knew it. I ordered all the forces to group. I gave orders how to defend Muse and Namhkam, (We would be) in trouble if the (enemy) artillery took up position on the Palaung range. I sent them. Fortunately ... no ... no ... it was not fortunately. We had to risk greatly in the battle. The battle was over. The casualty (on enemy side) was many.

Enemy casualty had been more than we had announced. Since we assumed power we have been telling what is true. There has been no false statement. No false statement was made in the past either. The Tatmadaw has no desire to make false statements. I like this way. Then there was the Methawaw battle, waged by the KNU. We were caught in the pincer movement. We put up strong resistance. There was great casualty on our side. I took care of my men. Some of them were dismissed, some discharged and some given awards. That was what we did. This was what happened in the country. At that time the KIA launched attacks on Mohnyin. They set fire to Namma. They also attacked Simbo camp and Plettu outpost. Simbo and Tarlawgyi were situated along the route frequented by the KIA insurgents. These could be seen all in picture. These are the facts. At the same time, rumours were widespread. There were fabricated news stories ... the town of Mogok fell ... so and so. Through articles we make known our position and stance. Our conviction is that we are service personnel. We are not politicians. We are engaged in the work of national cause. We are not doing party politics. Performing national defence duty as a Tatmadawman is doing national politics, this is national cause not party politics. And it is different from the Revolutionary Council.

You will all think it is the NUP. The NUP is the NUP. It transformed by itself. The Burma Socialist Programme Party is no more.

There are all sorts of saying about changing the law. If such changes are made all will be lost. The main point is what is mainly wanted? Socialist economy is not wanted. Repeal the Law Authorizing the Establishment of the Socialist Economic System. I can do that. Multi-party is wanted. Repeal things dealing with the one-party system. Things that I can do. When will these things come into existence? What period is the present one? This must be understood. None will understand. I am not blaming the country. What are the thoughts. In reality, from the time power was taken over by the Tatmadaw the period is under martial law. Martial law stemmed from that root. Did we do that?. Consider only that. I will not boast. Under martial law military code have to be used. That is before I did anything. Nothing was seen of this and a few days ago I said things which should not be said. Look here, if you act in this way martial law would have to be used. In fact, martial law is in practice from the time of the taking over of power. I did not want to do this but to form the shape for the country's future. The Chief Justice and judicial courts are formed. The Attorney-General was appointed and public justice was carried out with lawyers. This was the time of changing administration. I did not say so because I was not carrying out party politics. I am carrying out national politics. I do not work to have stability of power. These are my efforts. I will plainly reveal to what extent we had to work. Regarding the Myanmar Athan and the TV at that time we had to organize. I was

lenient. I will speak plainly and mention names in some cases. For example, Myint Maung. He was from the Tatmadaw. We spoke to Ko Wunna Gyi's group. Ask them. "Myint Maung, work well". We knew what was done. We knew. We knew the situation was not well. We at once gave duty to Major Than Htut, a technician, trained abroad. Do such and such without fail. Maintain this. I can do the utmost if I wish to. I am nearing pension age. There is much more. There are some giving pension. You rest. What more could be done by me? I can do nothing more. These are little things we carried out in such situations. Let me return to the above subject Regarding U Tin Oo and Daw Myint Myint Khin's approach to the Commission asking to meet with us. I thought over what they wish to do, what they would want Things asked for by the parties are known by the journalists. Some papers we know about. They asked for withdrawal of 1/88, withdrawal of 8/88. Is there right to organize? That was what they would ask for. That's all. Regarding 2/88 we had explained repeatedly. As for 8/88, do not strive to divide the Tatmadaw. If I continue to speak of this it may injure others. We can speak in political language. When we speak it is not only with political outlook, but also with a military outlook. As mentioned the BCP elements appeared during the times of the disturbances. It became evident that the deeds were those of the BCP. There were also those who honestly asked for democracy. I do not deny that. Those who honestly asked for democracy would not have written "Ya yin ya, Maya yin cha" at the Thamada Cinema, I think.

We asked that these be wiped out after we took over power. The letters were this big. There are somethings those honestly seeking democracy were saying. I saw the signboards. I was travelling about. They were demonstrating peacefully. What was behind that. BCP was not written on their foreheads. BCP is an unlawful association. It would not put up a signboard in this city, it could not do so. Could there be non-believers? Papers and pamphlets have been placed about. We know that. We knew this and when we took over power what did we do? Form parties. Parties which would appear for election. Parties were formed and what happened? The elements disappeared but the papers still appeared. Let us experiment. In seeking out the enemy what is the basic act. We must first locate the enemy. If we cannot locate we must open searching fire. We do not use the newspaper. We were taking small steps. That is all. I cannot go on saying words here. I do not practise politics and have no right to take up political debates. That is what I believe. That is why I will not speak. If I do not make political speech what do I have. I have only this newspaper. This newspaper would write as it wanted to. On the other hand it is owned by the State. There is the only *Loktha*. It is owned by the State. It is a State newspaper. The personnel are paid by the State. These are State machines, State papers. They have freedom. But write what we want written, search for what we wanted searched. If not only for search there need be no constraint. That's the way it is. These are military tactics, minor tactics. In

bigger formations there will be other things. These are basic tactics. We are armed personnel. BCPs could not stay in this city. I will speak plainly. At such a time some will cover them up. When parties are formed we did not up to now say who was what. That was why I said before that I fear speaking wrongly. However, we have records of the persons concerned. We know who has what kinds of ideas, outlooks, pasts. However, up to now we want no one. If someone is wanted I will call him and question him. I might try him if necessary. There will as yet be no dissolution. Up to today no party has been dissolved. I speak plainly. I do not speak about all parties at a single time. If things get worse I cannot do anything. Leave things on their own. Up to now we have no aims. As mentioned before—withdraw 2/88, withdraw 8/88, they ask, that is good. What can they ask for next? Hold elections. We have found. Some parties said leave things as they are, its good. Some parties asked for an advancement of the date. Hold elections earlier. As we had explained. At the Press Conferences we had to answer questions such as how power would be handed over according to the Election Law. When no answer could be given they do not wish to support. It will be handed over according to law. If a government could be formed with majority votes then hand over. I agree. At the recent press conference (former) Prime Minister U Nu said if a certain mark is reached it must be handed over to the government. This is true. I need not deny it. I must hand over here. Form, and if you can form, there

will be a hand-over. What constitution would be used? If there is a nation there will be a government. It will have a constitution. Which one will recognize? Will there be an amendment? These are things which must be thought out by the parties. It will not speak about them. But I will give some guidance. What thoughts will you have? If nations are studied we are not standing idle. We studied things which are needed to be studied. Democratic nations have been built up with a single House while others are built up with an Upper and a Lower House. To write a national constitution I am not a representative of the people. Why should I do so? Am I an accused? Don't do it that way. Should I write constitution to get votes for a party to obtain power, it might be said after 20 years that this constitution was written by Saw Maung and the LORC. It is useless, I beg your pardon. Is that not so? Think about that. That's why I said I do not wish to speak. If I do so I do not wish to keep anything back inside. What was said of us at a press conference would be remembered. Nobody recognize us. The government would last for only two weeks. It has only 8 million of money I remember that. We answered that no country in the world recognized us and though we did not know about that not one of the foreign missions in Myanmar has closed. The reaction was that we were rude and that we drove away diplomats. No one left. As for recognition or otherwise I asked them to say so. We sent no one away. As we have said no one left. What kind of interpretation is this? There is much more to say. When we took over duties what did we say. I will not speak.

again of the four main tasks to be performed by us. I will do so if you wish. That's all. Then I will hold the election. Draw the programme. The Commission told me. They came to co-ordinate the programme. We agreed. Then the Election Law was drawn up. The draft was given. It was co-ordinated with us. Some of course say The Election Law is not proper. compare it with others. We studied things a lot. We've made a lot of relaxations. It has been relaxed. We do not stay idle. Make relaxations. It's not law. I don't know what the international community thinks of it. We are consulting the matter. How nations of the world consider it. How they consider it. There are several limitations in those of Egypt, Canada, the United States of America, France, Germany and Japan. Compare it with them. Please tell me whether the Election Law issued by us has more restrictions compared to them. I want to put it frankly. I don't want to impose restraints. We can't do more than that. I would like to mention this at this point. We receive suggestions—such as that monks, nuns and *phothu-daw* (lay disciple) be given the right to vote. Convicted persons, and those who are undergoing appeals, at that time, too are not entitled to participate in the election. Should we do these things? Yes, there are. We have them. Our Commission also has them suggestions. Should we include them? Is it appropriate? Please think over it. Some are not satisfied if they are not included. What will be the results if elected in the election. What will become if elected? Then one is to continue

to do the necessary things. The political organizations should, at least, know these things. They are the people who will be the leaders of the country. What will have to come next after this. They should be known. Should these things occur? Some facts in them might contravene. We review them. I remember one thing. Not long ago, I'm not slandering. I'm not making accusations against that country. To what degree or extent do they respect democracy? Not long ago in the United States, when George Bush came into office a person was made Defence Secretary. The person had a drinking problem and another person had to be elected. I happened to read about it. I'm not making any accusations. I'm saying what I have read. Otherwise, it will amount to me making accusations. That's why I have said that I don't want to talk. I also came to read this. Who is the present Prime Minister of Japan? Is he Uno? When he became Premier he was involved with a Geisha. I'm saying what I've learnt. I'm saying what I've read from the MNA bulletin. I'm not saying that it really took place. What I've come to read should be studied. Shouldn't it? These kinds of things happen. Many of such things happen. It is most dangerous among them. What I mean is the danger. The danger for the country. We do not fear. We as human beings can die only once. No man can avoid death, everyone is mortal. I'm reluctant, but to put it clearly through the use of religious expression even the Lord Buddha and Arahats are not immortal. Are they? It is the

principle of *anicca* (impermanence). I'm not uncivilized because I'm wearing a military uniform. Nobody can deny this principle. It's nothing strange to me, but it is the matter that poses the greatest danger to the country. What I would say is that there was only one government in the country when we were taking over the responsibilities and this is known. By saying this much it would be known. I would not like to mention it. This is not the problem of the government formed in the country. We can solve it. What were the dangers were that at that time the robbers and the sort, KNU and KIA and others joined forces in the border region was known as *ciba*. There was a broadcast about parallel government from the DAB. Bo Mya (elected) had formed alternative government. What that means was that General Bo Mya (leader of the Kayin National Union) was made head of alternative government formed with twenty-two "anti-Yangon Myanmar group". It is very dangerous. This was heard for one or two days and then was heard no more. It is very lucky. The luck of the country. Why was the country lucky? Just imagine what could be done if that (Alternative Government) came into existence. It is known. The persons who really understand politics start to refuse us and begin to accept this (Alternative Government) it would become like the Contra, like Kampuchea. In such a such, civil war would break out. Is it clear? Just think of the persons who spoke matters relating to the civil war. I would speak out, we have announcements and do-

cuments. Did they not think about this? The persons who would be elected in the election later to shoulder the country's responsibilities and lead the country, did they not think about this? As for us it is always. Now this work for us is a burden. I work day and night. Let me speak about what I do. The most sleep I get each night is about three-and-half hours sometimes and four hours sometimes and when I get thin, it would be said that I have problems and I have a burden. This is my belief. I do not wish for any power. There is nothing to be desired. I am stating this frankly. When parties come to hold discussions with me, I would ask them what is to be done. Please be patient about 2/88, please be patient about 8/88 as it is only a transitional period. Please be patient. Meanwhile please be patient about press scrutiny. As I have mentioned earlier we have said about it sometime back (Press). We roughly know what our students are doing when they have no right to register legally. Ba-ka-tha and Ma-ka-tha and all sorts. Even the Basic Education has a *thamagga*, many of them. There are regional-wise, *thamagga*, Monywa *thamagga*, Sangaing *thamagga*, Magway *thamagga* I would mention about the student's matters. Regarding this we consider them to be children. They are merely students, they are also our children. We also have children. All are children. They must all attend school. Let this be. The elements who are not students would insert papers. I worry about this.

What I worry is that these unknown or omitted elements ... the unknown

elements might publish, by making use of the name of a party organization, an announcement calling for a strike. How about this? I want to ask a question. Are you going to take the responsibilities? "Our affair... Our affair! formation of an interim government is our affair. Formation of a coalition government is our affair... our affair... The unseen elements ... and a registered party of today. I'm worry. But not because I wish to be restrictive, we don't want to make restrictions. We are just worried. We are now in the transitional period. On the other hand, there is martial law. How can you have full rights of democracy? I say. At present only limited you may say guided or limited democracy. You may say guided; We would say regarding guided democracy. I say, for example, regarding press scrutiny. We told them not to go against SLORC (*Na-Wa-Ta*) and Divisional LORC (*Ta-Wa-Ta*). Don't go against the government, please, that they should do such things, I think. At the lower ... I would like to speak in connection with the aims and objectives of the political parties. That is my guide. We would go with that guideline. If (you) go against that guideline, it will be very awkward. If it is so, the situations will come around. There is nothing wrong with 8/88. Don't slander the Tatmadaw. There is only this Tatmadaw. We are neutral. Are we for a handful of people? If the Tatmadaw is accused that we are only for a handful of people... there are some wrong sayings; I'm moderate. But some are hardliners. There are some

saying that there are discord and differences in opinion within our SLORC. We hear this. We read this. Oh! What a difficult thing it is! These things make people waver. There is no problem among us, we coordinate among ourselves. We hold discussions. But if there was any thing to decide, we have decided that matter by the wishes of the majority. If I couldn't do so, what shall you do? If you are me, what will you do? I am to say so. This is my command. I give command: Because I was wholly responsible. I must say so. And I have said so. Read in the *Asiaweek*. After I had taken the responsibility of the State, I took all responsibilities for every effort that brought good and bad effects to the nation.

I won't deny. There will be no problem if I do wrong. If I am wrong, it is only done with *cetana*. But I believe that I've not been wrong up till today. If it is found that this will come out, what will be demanded? The demand will be to hold election as soon as possible, I can tell. What will we do in connection with the discussions made recently? The discussions with BBC. There are many connections behind these. We knew that. We are not blind. We are no blind patriots. We carried out research work on what we had read and noted down. If I didn't know. I made others read and note down for me. I've compiled what was said by whom and where it was said. There are many. I'm doing like this. If it occurs as I have mentioned. This was what happened. That was finished. Although it was finished, it must be reviewed. We

have to review what has happened so that we would be able to lay down future programme of work. What is necessary under the present circumstances? What has happened and what is happening now? What is likely to happen in future? We have to appreciate what is likely to happen and then the factors reviewed need to be correct. Aim, tactics and plan — these are our basic training. We have been taught thus in the Tatmadaw. What is our aim? The factor requires us to collect facts. They must be true facts. I have these facts. We shall continue on the basis of these facts. Do like that. If we do this, what will be the advantages and what will be the disadvantages? Then, on this basis we should combine the most advantageous things and lay down our plan. This is our military training. We act according to this procedure. We do not understand political tricks. On the basis of facts we have found we think of what will happen. This is the way we act. We have passed over the civil war. One is gone. Then, what has come now. What is happening in our Myanmar Naing - Ngan is that there are some words popular today. In the world of politics, in the world of the party organisations. I do not know politics. I don't know anything about party politics. But I study it. I do not think of earning a living by it. I shall never earn a living by it. The popular word is "ally". This is a military word. A western. An alignment, The words "Allied Forces" were used during the Second World War. We know all these. Then, the word "front" is used.

I think we have also this word in the army. This is a military word meaning battle front. This is also used as a "Tat-U" (vanguard). It may be used thus. We shall go to the front, They are at the front line. That is "front". Then, there is the word "affiliated" - What is that? That is working in co-operation. It is not known what these are. It means 'joining' or 'establishing relationship. Besides the words, "front", "ally" and "affiliated", there is another word 'joint action' The journalists have said this. What is joint action? "Join" means joining or co-operating and "action" means doing. What joint action are they going to take? There are so many of such things. We understand that "league" is "Aphwegyoke" I know it because I have known about the Hpa Hsa Pa La Aphwegyoke. I studied the Hpa Hsa Pa La Apwegyoke. Who were included in it? It included the socialists. It included parties. It included the Pyithu Yebaw Aphwe (PVO). Earlier, it included the communist parties. When these three joined together, there appeared an organization above it—a headquarters above it. It became a headquarter. This is what I see. There was the "League of Nations". It became a league when many nations were grouped together. Not just one or two nations. I don't understand it in any way. I think veteran politicians will know the words which are popular today. They will know when these words are to be used. I don't want to say this. But I can tell... These words are connected with danger. If the youths of today keep these words

in their heads, it is very dangerous. These may be said either in English or in Myanmar. They sound nice when one pronounces them.

Another thing is... what is going to be done on the basis of these words? It is most dangerous. It is the most frightening for the State. Don't use this word "confrontation" lightly. It should not be used. Such ideas ought not to be put into the heads of the youths. The word "confrontation" is good to be used or pronounced. As a matter of fact if it is used as a military term it means "head-on". When we employ military tactics, we use the words "Avoid the nose". This is roughly saying. When an offensive is launched, there is the "nose". It is the "hardest point". When we launch an offensive, we have to avoid that point. We avoid head - to - head. It is very dangerous. Today the parties are using this word, and practising it. This word ought not to be used at all. This is diametrically opposite to the establishment of democracy. If they want to establish democracy, it will be very wrong if they employ the confrontation method. These are the grave dangers for the country. These are especially very big dangers for the people. For us it is not unusual. We shall have to go on to reach the goal of our aim. We shall go towards the election which all the people want. The election. The multi-party democracy election is our goal. Things that will affect this task ought not to be done. I will tell you so that you will understand it clearly. When we had to shoot on 18 September 1988,

there were many, many means in the hundreds just one figure. We have this figure. Shootings. I do not talk personal affair. Those who looted mills, factories and godowns must be shot at. They had to be shot at. That was the confrontation method. Head-on collision and defying authority ought not to be undertaken. This is not only for now. In my view it is not good for the future as well. Why this is not good for the present is that if this road is taken, we on our part have to maintain law and order to establish democracy. It is necessary to abide by laws and to understand the nature of law. If "confrontation" is put forward, this will breed "opposition" mentality. If this mentality prevails not only now but also at the time of the next government and if it continues to be employed, there will be no end to it. If we employ "confrontation head-on", what will happen? As I have said, shooting at those who looted took place. This time there will also be those who are innocent. As I have said, I have to shoot according to Martial Law; the other side will carry on with their "confrontation" method. Then, I know those who do not know anything will die. That was why we avoided it. Since we avoided it, they should not step up theirs. They should teach the youths. This could happen or that could happen and the like. We have thought about what we ought to do. We have many plans. We have in our heads plans of what should be given at such and such time and what should be done at such and such time. We are doing

current tasks along. We are working looking ahead and thinking of what could happen in future. We must have short-term work. We must have long-term work. I shall give an example. We will cut short about confrontation. Well through give-and-take means we will be able to hold the election. Say there are now 200 parties. Some are getting dissolved. There may be about 100 parties left. We cannot estimate. Leave their number at 100. Will all the 100 parties win in the election? Can a government comprising all the 100 parties be appointed? Will there be 100 ministers? The parties should take these into consideration. I mentioned the words -"affiliated" and "front". Why are these organisations doing such things? I shall ask. Are you doing such things because you want "confrontation"? Are you making yourselves "elected" for this purpose? If so, it will be very wrong. Don't you think what will happen to the country because you oppose us? Don't you think that people will die? I cannot think of why they are doing this. If you want to go to the election, what will you do? As I said earlier, 100 parties will stand for the election. Can a cabinet comprising 100 ministers be formed? Will there be satisfaction? No, it is impossible. So, a powerful organization will get the majority. There are to be 18 cabinet ministers. The number is 50. If they are in an alliance, and if the remaining 50 are not elected, what will those 50 persons do? Will they employ the confrontation method? Will there be shoot-out? How dangerous it is! I will

take this opportunity to talk about this matter. What will the 50 be? They will get into confrontation. Then, will they shoot? How very frightening. We are here today. We won't be here then. Let me tell you about that while opportune. I will tell you about my belief when the Tatmadaw has to undertake things. When the Tatmadaw is assisting the civil side we go by "aid to civil power". In fact aid to civil power was used by the English. Those who died as a result of aid to civil power were the 17 arzaneees of Mandalay among others. The magistrate would asked for assistance, draw three lines, order the shooting, the gunmen would shoot. Who did the shooting? That was at the time we were enslaved. Those who did the shooting were other people. What happened in this period? I don't believe in aid to civil rule. This here is an independent nation. One State. Formerly, the master made the slave race write. I believe only that way. If asked to provide aid to civil rule, I will not do it. I will just shoot and return. This is military administration. Provision for military administration is found in all constitutions. Look for it. It is in the latter part of the '47 Constitution. In the '47. It was shown to me yesterday. Just as martial law is. It was discussed by Sao Shwe Thaik, U Kyaw Nyein and others. It is in the parliamentary records. Aid to civil comfort. Military administration just is I said just now. Military administration is a part It is applied nationwide. The essence is, administrative power and judicial powers are exercised. During the disturbances in our coun-



try last year, military administration was declared. That was declared in our country. I will praise who was praiseworthy for the military administration. At that time, before Dr Maung Maung became President, he was Attorney-General. I sought his legal advice for formation of our court-martial. I asked for it in the capacity of Martial Law Administrator. When I asked Dr Maung Maung how I should form the court-martial, he gave me official advice. He said the chairman of the court should be a military officer and that summary disposal should be allowed of the members as a matter of course. Summary disposal could be allowed when appropriate, and what should be dealt with by a court. After giving the chairmanship to a military officer, he said, the members should be elected persons. He advised me like that. We acted according to that advice. There was right of appeal and for counsel. That is the type of legal power used under a military administration.

This martial law has nothing. What are the differences? There is nothing. I say this should be this, these cases should be tried, what punishment should be given. No need for counsel. We could do that. However, we don't act according to martial law. It is written based on the happenings in other countries of the worlds. Recently, we wrote an article. I think it came out in the Loktha. Martial Law.

The reference was American. Tried to educate. It was not a threat. It is our duty to inform the uninformed. You write it. I have

this intention only. If the elders know it, it is sufficient. Established politicians, masters, are our elders. There could be at one time. They could know. The youth of today should know all this. To obey the law and order and with it the law and how to obey. What's going on is quite awkward. "Defy all power", they say. Very wrong. Allow me to say. I don't say it with prejudice, I have told you earlier. Correct, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. told it to me. When Daw Khin Kyi died she said 'if there is what you don't like, say so. Concerning what is being done, say so if there's what you don't like'. Well, then, I will say it now. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, don't do this. I say, don't do this. Don't touch 2/88. So also 8/88, yet. Please obey in so far as publishing is concerned. We have arrangements. We shall continue. When will they finish? We are worried that undesirable pamphlets will come in. I have studied it again. The brief history of the undertaking of the Revolutionary Council, as I have said, was in fact Martial Law at the time of the Revolutionary Council. Even in the brief history, of the undertakings of the Revolutionary Council should include the reminder of the Printing and Publishing Corporation, the registration number of Union of Myanmar Buddha Sasana Council Director U Hla Maung. It is not a difficult task. They can ask for exemption. We have now given one or two. I write separate cards. But don't say this government will do this or that. Then, history will repeat itself. I am worried about

that. We have thought of printing press, the talks and the like. We said, "if you want to do organizational work, do it in the buildings." Today they do such work with hundreds of persons in compounds. We said a little about it. There was the student meeting in Mandalay held by the *Ba Ka Tha*. Ma Ka Tha held a meeting in Magway. We know all about these. These were carried out not from below. Such meetings were held in Magway, in Sagaing, in Monywa. Where do they want to hold such meetings. At Yankyaw or who. They say they have got degrees. If the primary children do this, let them do it. But don't shout anything. Do it within the limit. Do it till they get used to it. We have read about democracy here. Give Saya Maung Maung. Write it. We do not stay idle. We have to work on the one hand and read on the other. This we know. It is for time. It is not for nothing we read. We read. Read it. Here is democracy. This is the Forty-seven Constitution. We read it. It is not only I who read. I told all the Command Commanders and Division Commanders to read it. What will be written about democratic rights? I think at this time there can be no full democracy or a hundred per cent democracy. There has been no practice. This is an interim period. We need a little limitation. Well. Organize. What will we do in the next step? We have consulted it among ourselves. We give not because it has been demanded. It is a matter not to be demanded. What shall we do? We shall precribe areas townshipwise. For example,

they can do open-door organizational work near the Salin Grounds in Kemmendine. We give it. All of us need time. Why should you be in a hurry? Can a nation be built up in a hurry? Practise indoors. Doing such work on road is not allowed. There is also no reason for doing such work on roads. Why should they want to demonstrate on roads? There is a government body as regards demonstration. When there is an elected government body, there can be demonstrations. This cannot be allowed with us. Whether the election is fair or not... we do not say anything. Say only after it has taken place. Don't say ahead. This is not a matter about which such things should be said. The election is to be supervised by the Commission, not us. If a yebaw with a gun in his hand tells a person to vote for this or that person, inform the matter to me. We will take action against him. But suspicion will not do. We ask. What will you do after you have gathered a crowd. We ask. They have set up parties and what are they doing? They told us that it is the conference method. They make people sign things. That is our information. We have many sources. The sources include SB, CID, and intelligence. This is done in any country. The assessment work is done later, but not blindly. The assessment work is essential. It is very awkward. We would like to talk about such democracy. What mistakes have we made in procedure up till now? Are we late in our carrying out the programme of holding the election? I

shall ask a question. The election time-table has been drawn up. Are we lagging behind? Have we played any tricks? Think it yourselves. What is to be done next? Today there are over 200 parties. I will tell about it later. Keep it in your head, You may not remember all as it is too much. I may be wrong, be patient. In just minus-five months — in December/January. There is the schedule. Nomination lists have to be submitted. In March and May (May minus) and then I shall say... in April and March. In February and March a lot will be given. The Commission has also discussed this. We met with the Commission for the first time on 18, and again on 19. Then, we met again when the first draft was ready. We told the Commission to give such and such things. I would like to crack a joke. U Ba Htay, Chairman of the Commission, said during my previous meeting with him, "General, please don't mention it in the Verbatim that I have three meals a day". There are 200 (party organizations). How many of them are going to participate? He has to include them in (minus five). At that time, full right of democracy, exact democracy and no need to stage demonstrations. Isn't it the fact that word permission has to be sought in the country like England where real democracy is practised. Please think over it. At certain time, with certain number of people and at certain place... A policeman arrived there in advance. Nobody can go through even an inch. Once, I came to read about a demonstration against our Embassy in England. The people

made plans that they would stage demonstrations. They gathered at the Hyde Park and came towards the embassy; The police 'shunted' them, They were not allowed to go there. We have informed the CRBT group, CRDB group as far as it should have been. We need patience as now we are now under a very complicated situation. So, as I've said earlier, if it reaches the extent that shooting has to take place, are you happy about it? Are you pleased with it? This is not so. We've been taught a lot of things. We held a CB conference after the advent of the Revolutionary Council I was at that time, a major. A major and the CA. It was held in Mingaladon. What took place while the CA Conference was being held was that Thakin Than Tun fell. I was one of the persons who were in the battlefield when he fell. The way I thought was like that of a youth as I was in a battlefield. Ha! the chairman of BCP passed away. I was very happy. I'm saying this very frankly. That was how I thought at that time, but not now. There is no reason for me to feel happy about it now. At that time our General, General Ne Win came. I reported the matter to him. What he said was... in fact the BCP is our enemy. You might think that it was a thing to be happy on the death of a person whom you regarded as an enemy. But you think carefully. Actually he had followed the wrong path. He was one of those who had played an important role during the struggles for independence. He also said that he could have done greatly for the good of the country if he had done things cor-

rectly. No other citizen but ours has been lost. Isn't it true? Is it not the thing for you to feel happy. At that time I... Later, part of the views and attitudes of those who were holding the positions such as presidents and chairmen. I mentioned this without any particular intention. The words may not be the exact one. I said this without any particular intention. I regard this as our teaching. The teaching. I like an expression very much. That is, the golden anniversary or something like that. Another is that if someone hurts you forgive him by recalling something which he has done good to you. It doesn't matter who the person is. Teaching should be known. The teaching should be good. Not all the things said are bad. Not all of them are good either. There are teachings for us. We hold such views. Why should I have animosity towards our own nationals. It's true. I'm eating 'rice' they provide. I have no reason to deny this. I'm building the unity and solidarity within the Tatmadaw. These are the reasons for me to having had to build it up. I've mentioned it earlier. What kind of problems we've faced with. Tatmadaw is our father; Tatmadaw is our mother. It's not for the people. We must do for the Tatmadaw not to get disintegrated. The real parents are nobody but the people. I'll never give up this concept. I have to strengthen the concept if I find that someone tries to abolish it. I have to speed it up. We possess *esprit de corps*. Each regiment has its own spirit (colour). The different flags kept at the regiments are

not for nothing. They would give up their lives for this colour. We train them to possess such spirit. This is the tradition of the Tatmadaw, I am using this word not with the intention of offending the people. Let me mention it here as there was an opportunity. Please bear up with me. This is our *cetena*. Therefore what was said earlier are the same as these words. What should the parties do today. Is this the time to make such demands to us? What stage of our election programme we have reached? True. It has been completed now. Registration has been completed. The Election Law is also ready. Moreover, we have also announced the Election Rules. The duration of time up to September would be eight to nine months. We can now see our goal in front. Move forward there. Why are they coming to us? Hence, what is to be done now. If I am to mention what we see today, we have already mentioned it before. I have no particular intention. I would say what is true. It is like this only. I have no intention. I will say what is true. I will ask to what extent of organization in the party would they discuss? What methods of organizing work are they carrying out in organizing within the party? Is it good to carry out with the method of hatred for the Tatmadaw? Is this the Tatmadaw which is seen today and tomorrow and would disappear? What attitude would one keep towards the Tatmadaw if one comes to gain power. If power is gained what would be the prospect of the country if one person regards another person as

enemy? It is not necessary to make demands on us to hold discussions and what not. There is nothing of that sort to be done. We would give when the time is ripe to do so. It would have been already said when it is about minus three. It was said at the Commission. Here do they want to use television and radio it would be given. I said. Must be given, I agree as much as that. At that time, if they wish to publish papers, they can do so. At that time they did not go according to original aim. This would be done. That would be done. I would say roughly about the affairs within the party. This is not the matter for me to bring loss to anyone. Who is the Chairman of the National League for Democracy today? Would it be explained, I would ask?, I will ask. I would clearly state. Is that matter settled? The Commission said. What I have noted is, it is a matter within the party. The party itself must settle it. Is it done? I would say, the matter about Moe Thee Zun of the Democratic Party for New Society, As for Moe Thee Zun he is gone inside there. Is it not so? Now what is happening is about that fellow Moe Hein and Aung Zeya, has it ended? Regarding this, in reality, it is being said that the Commission has cut off contacts. Is that matter settled? Have we already studied how these matters cropped up? For example the parties such as the Democratic Party for New Society are studied as so and so. I will not say. I know how it happened. How Moe Thee Zun acted. What Moe Hein, who was mentioned just now, did in connection with

Moe Thee Zun? What Moe Hein did on that when the wheel moved, we know. The fighting of battle is done with life. If today we move forward in practising democracy by confrontation method then we should think whether or not powerful parties could bully a small party. Ponder over it. Could it not be possible by using threats? What really should be the case is that the party organizations in the State should think out how they would built up the country when they get the power and which policy they would practise? There are many kinds of democracy. Therefore generally speaking, if I am to point out, roughly, there must be one kind of ism. Is it not so? Ism means a policy, Speaking in terms of religion Buddhism, Christianity. These are religions. I would not like to say about politics.

Looking again from this side there will be capitalism, socialism, communism, and then idealism Which system will be applied to build up our country? Which party will apply which 'ism'? Lay it down before the people, What I said is my own view. For us we will apply this 'ism'. I will go along capitalism. I will go along socialism, I will go along communism. Talk courageously without lying to the country. This is legal ... I think this is Australia. (Communism) communist party was established. (Overground) speak courageously, in the world's various countries, in countries democracy is being practiced there are communist parties legally established, talk courageously to the people, then democracy, in

my opinion is practice not 'ism'. I will talk more about democracy. Then, what were said? Socialist also has socialist democracy practice. It is the man who said. (Socialist country) there is democracy. There is capitalist parliament democracy also in (capitalism). There were clamours for democracy practice and democracy so speak clearly. Which democracy? Looking back, generally, let's have a look back at England. It is my opinion, my opinion may be wrong. I made a study on this, in England there are Conservative and Labour Party, two parties.. It practised parliament democracy system. When (Conservative) Party came into power... It was going towards the direction of capitalism. When the Labour Party came into power it went towards the direction of (socialism)? This is my opinion, please tolerate if I am wrong. I could read only about this. Those who devoted to political affairs could and might have read more. This is my opinion, talk clearly, how will it be done... there are three tasks our Tatmadaw is carrying out in our country today. To prevent the disintegration of the national unity, to prevent the Union from disintegration, perpetuation of the sovereignty... those are four major tasks to be undertaken by our State Law and Order Restoration Council presently, these three tasks are to be undertaken constantly. Well then I ask why the national unity is important. I will talk. In the Union of Myanmar, the affairs of national races cannot be ignored. When I take a look into the list, which shows all the large and small racial groups, from Cen-

sus Department, there are 12 in Kachin group, nine in Kayah group, if it is not caught up... can copy it later. There are 11 in Kayin group. In Chin group there are 53. In Bamar group there are nine. In Mon group there is one. In Rakhine group there are seven. In Shan group there are 33. This is the accumulated list of national racial groups which have been confirmed ... there are 135 categories. Then what is going to be done? Is it not good talking on ideas regarding those matters. This is to be done in long-term period... I am talking this not because we want power. I will give an example, The Revolutionary Council came into power in 1962, Regarding the national racial groups' affairs discussion were held, based on many matters such as Loikaw ... and others. These were done, in fact the Revolutionary Council's endeavours were carried out by Tatmadaw, it was up till before the handing over of power in '74, these facts are to be considered now.

Let 7 July be. Leave them, what will be the benefit, will it finish by being sorrowful. What will happen to the country, which way shall be applied? Please let me tell. We, otherwise will be in the circle of samasara. These are gaps. If there is gap between social status the suspicion will further grow up. Therefore when we do what we can, within the time available, for national races at farflung areas.. we will construct roads and bridges and construct school. We will build dispensary. We will do as much as we can to ensure that economic activities be free from gambling.

We will control. Consider it. We will go this in detail. It will not be complete only with Kachin. We will start a little bit. For instance, some journalists have known. U Tun Yin was imprisoned. We wrote that. Mohnyin Mogaung U Tun Yin. Shan State and what not. I have a paper. Better consider it. "Kachin" is collectively called, I stayed for a long time in Kachin State. When I was a commanding officer. I fought upto Narhpaw, We occupied it once when I was a commanding officer. We retreated due to various reasons. There are Jinghpaw, Madu Lashée, Azee, Rawan and Shan Bamar in Kachin State. Consider it. How shall we do? There are also Shan Chinese. There are Bamar. Thayone and others in the far north in Bhamo. How shall we do? Look back at the Shan State. It is obvious. (Kokang State). There is (Kokang) in the east. It is Thanlwin. There are Wa nationals in the lower region. There are also Kaw, Shan, Pa-O and Palaung in the lower part of Wa region. In connection with Palaung, there is Shwe : Palaung dried tea left from north of Namhsan. Ngwe Palaung from north is near Namhkam and Kalaw. There are Shwe Palaung, Ngwe Palaung, Pa-O, Inntha, Kawma, Lisu and Lahu. So, do it. If the parties really love the country they should think of it. With what organizational method are they going to build the country? For preventing the disintegration of the national unity. If we look back at the west there are Naga nationals. It will be incomplete only with Naga. If we review in detail, there were Kyan Naga Laingnawng Naga and

others in the past. Ludu U Hla had written many things about them. There are different languages in Naga community. One village can be seen from another village. Language used in a village at the mountain top is not the same as that used in a village at another mountain top. There is a little difference. So do it again. There are many things to do. Power is not the main thing. If they really love. There are many things that I want to tell. If I have to tell I can't finish it. So, we don't want to tell in a democratic country. I don't want to tell anything. I've already told. There is also socialist democracy. The communists will also say democracy, so also the capitalists. Because they said "by the people, for the people". There is an essence that "from the people to the people, for the people, from the people for the people". A practise must be observed and democracy cannot be built by words. My concept is like that, I tell like this. If democracy is built by words, it would be funny. Because it is no good making confrontation after saying 'democracy'. It's too dangerous. It is better to guide the youth to enable them to follow the right path. I have no rights to do politics. I'm a public servant. I have this concept. I'm paving the way. So carry out work within framework of the Constitution. Please read this. What did Bogyoke Aung San say? What was mentioned in the President's decision? In connection with youths, youths, on their part, should carry out their

work as mentioned by Saya Maung Maung. Youths are active, dynamic and curious. I have told this to the youths. Youths and students should not be over zealous. We will not prevent forming of thamaggas at schools. They should not be divided into factions. They should also be free from party politics. I was from National (The Mandalay National). That meant that we had associations or something since the British period. There were elections in the schools. The practice was there since then. It should be like this. Student affairs should be carried out. They should coordinate with teachers if there are inconveniences about food, clothing and shelter. What problems do they have? If you don't have books, take from here. Try to be good in sports. You will become outstanding. The students will know. This leader should be this person. This person should be included. I don't study anything, I don't mean to say that... But I don't want you to be in a hurry. Don't be hasty. Do it by stages according to one's practices. Do it when you complete education, know they will do it. We will hand over power without fail. What will you do after this? I told him. The young people will carry on. It's finished. The role is finished. They will be coming. At this time they will make mistakes. They will be in trouble. As I have said it another group comes into power and the dissatisfied group engage in confrontation and there will be endless shooting and bloodshed. Do with consideration. This is my outlook. I will tell the people and the

political parties in passing through you, the journalists. This is all I have to say about the youths. One of our future tasks is that of insurgency within our country. Insurgencies have been with us for a long time now. Solve the problem through political means. They said that we were not doing anything about the insurgents at this time. I will tell you so that the people as well as the present youths will come to know about it. There were meetings and amnesty. Discussions were held on 16 July 1948, on 1 August 1938, on 1 April 1962 and on 19 March 1974. And on 28 May 1980. We have the records. Discussions were held with parties and organisations. I don't know why it was not successful. I am not a politician. But we have the records. Record of the peace talk. It was during the Lanzin Party, Document is document. It has nothing to do with parties. U Oo San, Hpaw Yuhka, La-On Yaw, N D Zaw Tawng, Peter Lasan Gaung, Frantu Jai, Gawyi Zaw, Sai Hkun Sai, Victor Lawan Ni, Sar Pwe John and Tom's Law Hkun have gone back. Although they intend to submit the matter to the central, they did not come back. Whenever peace talks were held we the Tatmadaw were very something. Again what I think as military instrument and political instrument. Discussion should be held by the parties which will lead the country as they will be representatives of the people. We are not representatives of the people and it is not very wise to hold discussion. We are just service personnel. It's all right if it is successful. If it is not successful what will

happen? We are being very careful at present. There are demands. Give us this. Please retreat. We have mentioned at the press conference. When we were asked to retreat ten miles we have sacrificed many lives. When a child cries we try to let it stop crying by not hurting it. We give him snack. We have fed him eatables. We have fed him a lot of it. Please continue. Some wanted us to hold peace talk. No don't hold discussion. It will be a crime. They are robbers. I will say it honestly. Do not make it a criminal case. I do not have a friend there. This is my attitude. Now it comes. Now the VOA is doing it. Ask the students how many million dollars they have gotten. We know whether the students got or not. They said like that as they did not favour us.

We consider after every battle. We conceive that parents brought up their children and since they have been attested I am their parent. I am the parent of Tatmadawmen. I am obliged to admonish them. If they are found to be guilty I have to punish them. If they should be admonished, I have to admonish them. I had to give severe punishment to some of them—20 years imprisonment, etc. I felt sad about it. I am not happy at the falls of my yebaws. Such are very sorrowful. It is regarding this... Some... I don't know how to express... I would like to explain matters relating to erecting signboards of parties. The parties erected signboards; put up signboards. It is their right. I have nothing to say against it. They formed parties. Then they went even to wards

and villages. We told them. We co-ordinated with them; it is no good. For instance, in a village ... it does not occur now... the parties erected signboards everywhere. If some 200 parties launch organizational activities in a village with 100 houses, each house will have two signboards. The father is at one party... I think it is not good... It should be enough at township-level. Tell them firmly. There is a right. The Commission also requested us. Hence, we requested., OK, alright. Regarding these signboards which have already been put up, let them be. But from now on, there should be one signboard for a township. Because, the basic is constituency and we will stand at the back as there is no election at Ward/Village-tract-level. When the next government emerges, they can hold ward/village-tract-level election if they like when it become a constituency.

At present, the election based on townships, the office located in township. That's all.

When the party split into two there arose a quarrel between the two groups. They went too far as to strike one another even in the heart of the town. It happened so. We know this. No good. So... speak little but keep my words. This is my attitude. I never talk loosely. And it is not appropriate for me to say so. As for one who would one day lead the State should speak little and keep his words. If so, no need to... And when it is said they would not take it easily. Be patient. I apologize that party. (NLD) split into two. Their split problem has not yet been solved. I was

keeping an eye on the affairs of that period. So I came to notice the founding of a political party. As I have earlier said... I have no intention to harm any particular party. That is the truth. I noticed that among other executive committee members were U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. U Tin Oo was the patron. Other members were young people. I didn't know them. But I know the names of some youth. I noticed U Sein Thauung who was close to Bogyoke Tin Oo. The name of the party was. *Ahmyotha Democracy Party*. The Commission issued a notification. It is difficult to get contact with the parties. They are asked to put up a signboard. Are there any sign-boards at their parties? But the Commission said to me, "No. No. It won't do, "The reason is that there is a party at the *Ahnee Sakhan*. At a village... I think, it is *Sinayhyugyun*. There is a party, too. I remember ...Nattalin was given ... There is one thing, Oh, Bogyoke. It is good. This is what... I say so just an example. Okay! But for an organization which would take over the State power should abide by (the law). If I live without restraints

in an undisciplined way, how can I rule my Tatmadaw. I said this without any particular intention. I have already said about the path to walk on. Do it for yourselves. There will be no benefit by coming to me and discussing with me. Arguments... which I worry... I'm getting worried very much. They will come and see me... they will send representatives. They will represent over 70 or 80 parties. They will call on SLORC Chairman. There will be differences of opinions between the chairman and the representatives. Ha! I would become a bad man. They are 80 in number. I am the only one. This is in accordance with democracy. There should be no threats without having reasons. So I said this openly. I have nothing to do with political parties. They should go their way straightforwardly. Isn't it? This is the best. This is all I have in my heart. I have said all these out of goodwill. You shall bear witness of what I say if something happens in future. Look here at the evidences. Thank you all. Let us collectively strive for achieving our aim by not losing sight of it. I would like to urge them, all parties, thus.