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Table of Contents

POLITICAL

Slogans	2
"Destiny of the Nation"	2
Other Political Articles	56
Secretary-1 on National Objectives	56
Returnees from Bangladesh	57
Special Refresher Courses	57
National Races	57
USDA	58
Police Reform	58
Senior General Than Shwe on Tour	60
Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's Family	60
Gen. Maung Aye on Tour	60

DIPLOMATIC

Diplomatic Calls	60
New Ambassadors to Myanmar	61
New Myanmar Ambassadors	61
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION	
Joint Workshops & Projects	62
Donations from Abroad	62
Border & Regional Affairs	63
Social and Economic Cooperation	63

FOREIGN VISITORS

International Agency Visitors	63
International NGO Visitors	63
Cultural Visitors	63
Medical Visitors	63
Business Visitors	63
Religious Visitors	64
Chinese Agriculture Minister	64
Chinese Defence Minister	64
Chinese Local Officials	65
Maldiva Health Delegation	65
Laos Agriculture Delegation	65
Indian Commercial Delegation	65

MYANMAR DELEGATIONS

Study Delegations	65
Delegations to Meetings & Events	65
Planning Minister to Vienna	66
Delegations to China	66
Foreign Minister to ASEAN Session	66
Delegations Return	66

MYANMAR GAZETTE

Probationary Appointments	66
Appointments Confirmed	67

GOVERNMENT

Pearl Law	67
Arzani (Martyrs) Day	67
Home Ministry Notifications	67

MILITARY

Insurgent Attacks	67
Surrenders by Armed Group Members	67

ECONOMIC

Economic Articles	67
Economic Inaugurations	68
Advertisements	68
International Business Projects	69
Business Courses	70
Cooperatives	70
Gems	70
Privatisation	70
Banks	70
Agriculture	71
Tourism	71
Rainfall in Yangon	71
HEALTH	
Health Articles	71
New Infectious Diseases Hospital	72
Secretary-1 on Health Cost-sharing	72
SPORTS	
Sports Articles	72
Myanmar Teams and Officials	72
Foreign Teams, Coaches, etc.	72
Hole-in-one	72
CULTURAL	
Cultural and Scientific Articles	73
Publications	73
Universities and Institutes	73
Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee	73
Libraries	74
Anyeint Competition	74
Yangon University Diamond Jubilee	74
Educational Reform	75
Tooth Relic Pagodas	75
Movies Diamond Jubilee	75
MISCELLANEOUS	
Sunday and Holiday Supplements	76
Anti-Narcotics Activities	78
Articles on Narcotics	78
Obituaries	80
Engagement & Marriage	80
Earthquakes	80

Note: This is the one hundredth number of the Burma Press Summary, which began with the issue for April 1987. It provides the occasion to reiterate that your compiler appreciates comments and correspondence from readers and users.

Hugh C. MacDougall

HIGHLIGHTS

-- Daw Aung San Suu Kyi participates in Arzani Day [GOVERNMENT: Arzani (Martyrs) Day]; her husband and son arrive [POLITICAL]
-- New Slogans list Four Political, Economic, and Social Objectives [SLOGANS]
-- Conclusion of extensive political review of Myanmar policy since 1988 [POLITICAL: "Destiny of the Nation"] [full text]
-- SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt clarifies national objectives: political, economic and social [POLITICAL]
-- Narcotics: Poppy eradication plans for Wa area; problems in Kachin region [MISCELLANEOUS: Articles on Narcotics]

POLITICAL

Slogans

The bottom of each front page continues to bear the slogan:

Emergence of the State Constitution is the duty of all citizens of Myanmar Naing-Ngan [reverted back from "Union of Myanmar."

The top of each back page usually bears the slogan:

The Tatmadaw has been sacrificing much of its blood and sweat to prevent disintegration of the Union. All nationalities of the Union are urged to give all co-operation and assistance in this great task.

Religious Slogans: Since August 1991, each issue has included a changing religious slogan at the top of each front page:

July 1: Majjapana ca samyamo, to restrain [sic] from intoxicating drinks; this is the way to auspiciousness.

July 2-17: Appamado ca dhammesu, to be diligent in laws; this is the way to auspiciousness.

July 18-31: Garavo ca, reverence; this is the way to auspiciousness.

The Twelve Objectives: Beginning July 6, 1995, each issue of NLM lists the following, either on the front or the back page:

Four political objectives

- * Stability of the State, community peace and tranquillity, prevalence of law and order
- * National reconsolidation
- * Emergence of a new enduring State Constitution
- * Building of a new modern developed nation in accord with the new State Constitution

Four economic objectives

- * Development of agriculture as the base and all-round development of other sectors of the economy as well
- * Proper evolution of the market-oriented economic system
- * Development of the economy inviting participation in terms of technical know-how and investments from sources inside the country and abroad
- * The initiative to shape the national economy must be kept in the hands of the State and the national peoples

Four social objectives

- * Uplift of the morale and morality of the entire nation
- * Uplift of national prestige and integrity and preservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage and national character
- * Uplift of dynamism of patriotic spirits
- * Uplift of health, fitness and education standards of the entire nation

"Destiny of the Nation"

July 1-23: Destiny of the Nation, by Nawrahta [Conclusion of major series of policy articles, which we reproduce in full text--bracketed headings have been added by HCMacD.]:

July 1: (17) In the national reconciliation programme, adopted by the State Law and Order Restoration Council as one of its political objectives, termination of all armed conflicts and restoration of peace throughout the whole country is the main task. Termination of armed conflicts is essential for resolution of the problem of insurgency. To achieve that end, endeavours had to be made to enable armed organisations of the jungle to return to legal fold. [Categories of insurgents]

There had been a large number of armed insurgent organisations that had engaged in armed rebellion against the Government of Myanmar. They, however, fell only in three main categories.

1. In the first category are those ideologically motivated armed insurgents. In this category are the Burma Communist Party, the Red Flag Communist Party, the People's Volunteer Organisation and some other minor parties. But this category has now gone extinct in Myanmar.

2. In the second category are armed insurgents motivated by racist policies. In this category are armed organisations of Nationalities

some motivated by a desire to work for their own region and their own people and others motivated by a desire to break away from the Union. As of now, a majority of organisations intent on working for the welfare of their own regions and their own peoples have returned to the legal fold. The rest of the organisations have abandoned their break-away policies and are getting ready to return to the legal fold. Virtually no secessionist remains today.

3. In the third category are armed insurgents engaged only in illegal business activities. Khun Sa's opium banditry is the main component of this category. They pose themselves as nationalists. They seek their own prosperity under secessionist slogans and proclamations. They are in fact large bandit groups.

In making peace with armed organisations in the jungles, the State Law and Order Restoration Council extends a warm welcome to those belonging to the first and the second categories. The first category virtually ceased to exist or moved into the second category and had since achieved peace, to wit the Kokang, the Wa, the Kachin, the Shan, and the Ahkar who had once belonged to the Burma Communist Party but subsequently made peace as separate organisations.

The third category will have to be considered in a different manner. Khun Sa, leader of the Opium Bandit Group, had proclaimed himself to be the President of Shan State even though he is not a pure Shan. He is a half Chinese and his true name is Chang Chi-fu. He is an opium smuggler ostensibly professing a racist political programme. To allow him to return to the legal fold and carry on his opium business is a sheer impossibility. What this category of armed insurgents can do is to abandon their narcotics business and surrender their arms, or face a thorough elimination.

No government in the world will negotiate with narcotic smugglers. The Na-wa-ta government [SLORC] is one of such governments.

[False idea that only universal peace is possible]

In this connection, a concept that has been deterring peace for a very long time can be discerned.

It is none other than the following concept.

All organisations in armed insurrection against the Myanmar government must secure peace simultaneously. This concept contends that a ceasefire on a national scale must first be declared. It argues that alone will develop democracy in Myanmar.

It was Burma Communist Party that first advocated this concept. At the 1963 Peace Parleys, the Burma Communist Party put forward a demand to ceasefire throughout the country. The Revolutionary Council of those days was unable to accede to this demand and consequently peace talks with the Burma Communist Party collapsed. Peace with the National Democratic United Front, made up of the New Mon State Party and the Kayinni National Progress Party, led by the Burma Communist Party was also denied.

The concept that peace must be secured with all armed group simultaneously is an impractical concept, an idealistic concept. This is because armed organisations have different objectives.

The Burma Communist Party had once tried to persuade all the rest of the organisations to form a united front: it not only failed in this, it itself collapsed. Organisations that the Communist Party had tried to win over have now returned to the legal fold.

The KNU had tried to win over nationalities armed forces into the National Democratic Front (Ma-da-ta) it had organised. The KNU also failed in that and members of the Ma-da-ta had returned to the legal fold. The KNU had disintegrated.

The Na-wa-ta's Peace Policy is easy and simple.

It accepts armed organisations of the jungles returning to the legal fold in single entities. At such a time as now when peace-making has won a series of successes, it would only be impractical and illogical to follow the Ba-ka-pa concept of 1963 to hold multilateral negotiations and establish democracy.

Proof of the correctness of a political programme lies in its results. It is beyond dispute that the fact that an increasing number

of organisations is returning to the legal fold is in itself proof of the correctness of national reconciliation programme of the Na-wa-ta.

The national reconciliation programme of the State Law and Order Restoration Council is not only about enabling armed groups of the jungles to return to legal fold it is also about some other measures such as calling the students back to school.

As soon as the Na-wa-ta took over power, a very violent agitation for a major armed revolution emerged. Such slogans as 'Democracy has to be fought for, not asked for' appeared. 'Students are being hunted down, tortured or killed'. Such was a malicious false propaganda spread by rumour mongers. Some political leaders used all means to urge students to go into the jungles.
[Categories of students in hiding]

The led to groups of students and groups of civilians to take evasive action. These groups belong to the following categories.

1. Those who believed that only an armed revolution is capable of achieving democracy: those who were indoctrinated in that belief.
2. Those who were frightened by the rumours that the Tatmadaw was hunting students down and killing them.
3. Those who feared legal action [because] they had committed excesses during the disturbances between March and September 1988 and taken part in beheadings of innocent persons and in robbery and other criminal acts.
4. Persons with no particular direction or belief but have joined the crowd just for fun.

In the above four categories, the first is likely to be in the minority, the second category and the fourth category making up the bulk. Those who believed that the army would not be giving them any democracy, that they would have to fight to get democracy, that there were hoards of weapons and dollars at the border in the form of foreign help and that the masses supported them, fled to the borders. The majority of them had taken leadership.

Those who fled believing in the rumours that the Tatmadaw was after them to kill them and torture them were probably much more than those of the first category. A large number of students and a large number of civilians had taken part in the demonstrations and a large number of them took evasive action. Even some government employees abandoned their hearth and home and fled.

The Tatmadaw in fact made arrests and round-ups. But those who were arrested were not ordinary demonstrators. They were persons who continued with agitation, who tried to turn violent and those who were suspected of having committed criminal offences and they had to be rounded up for security reasons. Those who committed excesses during the disturbances fled for fear of possible legal action. Rumours swarmed out like moths.

Among those who fled were many who did it merely for fun and just to swell the crowd. Some of them left Yangon in a jolly mood as if they were going out in a car and got soaked during the Thingyan festival or as if they were going out on picnic. With the first bitter taste of life as an insurgent they promptly fled back. Some went astray and took up whatever jobs that were available to them in the other country.

After the Tatmadaw took over power on 18 September 1988, the number of absconders of the above four categories swelled to about 11,000. Not even half of them were students. But at a time when students and youths were being regarded as democracy heroes, everybody posed as a student. The Na-wa-ta did not try to make any discrimination and called all of them absconding students. As a matter of fact, a majority were not students.

In striving to achieve the objective of national reconciliation, efforts have to be made not only to try to reduce the number of illegal armed groups but also to prevent political forces within the law from leaving the legal fold. The Na-wa-ta may be found to have achieved this. (NLM 7/1)

[Repatriation of absconded student]

July 2: (18) Priority problems that faced the Tatmadaw

immediately after its assumption of power were not only those of restoration of peace, establishment of the rule of law and of stability, but also that of recalling absconding students which was also a problem of national reconciliation. On 26 September 1988, A Statement of Tatmadaw's Attitude Towards Students, was issued under the signature of Senior General Than Shwe who was then Deputy Commander-in-Chief, Defence Services (Army).

Millions of copies of this Statement were printed and air-dropped most extensively. The Statement reads as follows:

"It is learnt that there are students who have gone into hiding in the city out of fear after having demonstrated peacefully for genuine democratic rights and that some of them are thinking of going to take refuge with insurgent organisations. The Tatmadaw bears no animosity against students the age of young sons and daughters who had not committed any crime and excepting those who had committed some crime. Indeed, it is hereby declared that the Tatmadaw has no desire whatsoever for them to get into deep trouble. Parents and teachers are urged to ensure that these students do not stay in hiding and think of going to take refuge with insurgent organisations."

Senior General Than Shwe's statement represents an attitude the Tatmadaw has adopted up till now and will continue to adopt in future. Initially 18 November 1988 was given as the last date for students to be welcomed but the date was later extended to 31 December 1988. As even that much time was not adequate the last date had been totally eliminated.

On the back page of the above quoted pamphlet was another message, dated 26 September 1988, of the then Acting Education Minister Dr. Pe Thein, under the heading the Education Minister's Message to parents and students.

"It is learnt that, lured by dishonest elements, some students have gone astray and that some are planning to go astray. Students are requested not to believe those dishonest elements luring them on to the wrong path and parents requested to take timely steps to prevent their children from going astray."

Absconding students including civilians were brutally sent to death by dishonest elements. Most of them arrived at the frontier regions where there were insurgents. Those who had only recently come to evade the law differed in character from those who had become seasoned outlaws. The two types of outlaws failed to harmonize. Some therefore got murdered by insurgents, girl students got sold as prostitutes and many others got taken away by malaria.

The Tatmadaw made urgent consultations with the Royal Thai Army and opened a Reception Centre at Tak in Thailand. Twenty-seven Reception Camps were also opened along the frontier. Myanmar Embassy in Thailand issued a Statement offering rewards for Myanmar school boys and school girls, printed in English and in Myanmar. This statement reads as follows.

-- This Embassy is making arrangements to repatriate to Myanmar those Myanmar students who had, for various reasons, arrived in this country and are now having difficulties.

-- Myanmar students who are now in Thailand are hereby informed to report to the Myanmar Embassy in Thailand or to the nearest Thai Police Station before 31 December 1988.

-- Should any responsible citizen find a Myanmar student who is incapable of contacting the Myanmar Embassy in Thailand, and should that responsible citizen bring that Myanmar student to the Myanmar Embassy, a Reward of Five Thousand Bahts will be given to him on the spot.

-- If a responsible citizen is unable to bring the Myanmar student personally to the Myanmar Embassy and communicates with the Embassy by telephone or by writing, responsible officials from the Embassy will come to fetch the Myanmar student. The responsible citizen will be suitably rewarded immediately after the Embassy officials have taken charge of the Myanmar student.

This statement is valid until 31 1988. [Myanma/Myanmar as in

NLM text--HCMacD.]

A total of 369 absconders returned to Myanmar via Tak in Thailand. The 27 border Reception Camps continued to function and within one year 255 students who became armed insurgents after formation of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) surrendered. A total of 3,475 students and civilians reported back at the Reception Camps. Some returned home direct without reporting at the Camps.

Within one year only about 1,650 absconders were left at the camps of various insurgents. The All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) brought into being by diverse malicious elements from within and outside of the country remained in the jungles in complete dependence on various insurgent groups and as of now it had broken up into two or three factions with very negligible strength. A large number of its members has also surrendered.

Students and civilians absconded as a result of a dirty psychological warfare campaign waged unscrupulously. Those who desired to topple the State Law and Order Restoration Council Government by creating a crisis and those who desired to see a breakdown of the Union had pushed students to their death. Among such elements were those from within the country as well as from outside the country.

The dirty psychological warfare tactics included spreading concocted information designed to frighten students into absconding, spreading rumours designed to lead students into absconding, indoctrinating students with the false concept that only an armed revolution would bring democracy and luring the students with false information that along the border, particularly the Thai border, there were huge dumps of weapons and funds to be given as help to students.

Students fell into deep trouble as a result of these dirty psychological warfare tactics. They died of malaria. They died under torture and executions of insurgents. Girls of good breeding were turned into prostitutes. They contracted all kinds of diseases. And the country was destabilised. The future of a large number of young persons was destroyed. They lost their life with their future prospects and potential nipped in the bud. The country's educational system was damaged. Emergence of new generations of educated youth was interrupted for two or three years.

The Tatmadaw was forced to wage a clean psychological warfare campaign to combat the dirty psychological warfare campaign. A large number of copies of statements issued by student leaders Ko Hla Aung, Zarni Tun, Min Thein and Thein Htay who came running back after only two months of the bitter experience of life with the insurgents, were printed and distributed.

The statements of these four student leaders, under the heading "For Information of Students and Youths", reads as follows.

"All comrade students --

"We were among students and youths who fled into the jungles for fear of getting arrested as we had taken part in the recent upheaval. We were among students and youths who had suffered under the bullying conduct and tyrannical [sic] control of insurgents.

"As we suffered under such tyrannical control, a statement appeared that the Tatmadaw bore no grudge against us and even had opened Reception Camps for us. We then planned to return to our parents but our plans failed when some political parties, through some foreign news agencies broadcast information that the Reception Camps were not genuine reception camps but only Detention Camps.

"But as we could no longer tolerate the bullyings of insurgents, we took the risk and reported at the Myawady Reception Camp. We were not placed under arrest, but were properly taken care of as the Tatmadaw had declared, and returned to our parents' homes safe and sound.

"We therefore issue this statement with sympathy and sincere good wishes to inform students and youths who still live in misery with a suspicion that they would be arrested on return about our true

experience."

[New information policy]

The above statement was signed by all four student leaders including Ko Hla Aung. The television, the radio and the dailies gave a very wide coverage of the true experience of the students who returned home. The Information Committee of the State Law and Order Restoration Council also revived the practice of giving Press conferences that had been suspended for a very long time. The State Law and Order Restoration Council's information policy was more open.

In the past the public did not know how many lives the Tatmadaw had been sacrificing because battle bulletins were not issued. The public also did not know how insurgents had been terrorising the people. The last time the public were informed of the history of insurgency in the country was in 1975 when Zin Chit, The Last Two was published. Scarcely anybody knew about the Ba-ka-pa [Burma Communist Party] of the North East Region. And the people did not know about Bo Mya either.

But the State Law and Order Restoration Council keeps informing the people with news bulletins and newspaper articles. Books are being published and distributed at prices very much below the cost of printing and publishing them. TV feature stories are being produced: interviews conducted.

Since its assumption of power, the State Law and Order Restoration Council had to counter dirty psychological warfare tactics with clean psychological warfare tactics. The Tatmadaw's basic belief is "Be moral yourself whoever else may be immoral."

Primary schools were reopened on 19 June 1989. Middle schools were reopened on 14 August 1989. Basic High Schools and Industrial High Schools were reopened on 25 September.

In 1989, the State Law and Order Restoration Council kept shouldering the onerous security responsibility of restoring peace, the rule of law and national stability; it also exerted efforts to shoulder the responsibility of national reconciliation. Arrangements made to welcome back the absconders met with almost a hundred per cent success. Making peace with armed organisations of the jungles is also meeting with success.

But.....

National reconciliation will not be complete if political conflicts above ground still remain unresolved. and this is because war is a continuation of politics. (NLM 7/2)

[Transition to democracy]

July 3: (19) Armed conflicts may have declined, but national reconciliation cannot yet be considered satisfactory if intense political conflicts continue above ground. In a multi-party democracy system, the party holding government power and the parties without power in the opposition will surely go on indulging in mutual recriminations and wage political struggles. But these political struggles need not be mutually destructive nor should they lead to open warfare.

A multi-party democracy system must countenance gentlemanly political struggles or, in other words, permit political rivalries within the law without malice. But this system is surely not going to permit political struggles aimed at mutual destruction. The State Law and Order Restoration Council represents a period of peaceful transition to a multi-party democracy system. Continuation of political conflicts at such a time like this will only defer achievement of the objective.

The Tatmadaw had therefore to resolve those political conflicts that might jeopardise national reconciliation and take measures that would contribute to national reconciliation. The State Law and Order Restoration Council does not consider over ground political parties as its enemies; it did take some temporary as necessitated by security considerations but without any malice [sic].

If the Tatmadaw is able to achieve peace with armed organisations of the jungles that had been its adversaries for a very long time there is no reason why it should not be able to come to an

understanding with political forces above ground.

When the Tatmadaw harbours no grudge against political groups that had opposed it, it must be possible to build up a comprehensive national reconciliation under ground as well as above.

This has been the concept of the Tatmadaw.

And it applied in practice. The Tatmadaw had never tried to eliminate above ground political forces just because they had opposed it. The Tatmadaw also took measures for national reconciliation also above ground.

[Events of 1988]

On 18 September 1988 the Tatmadaw, under its Notification No. 1/88 proclaimed that it had assumed all State powers. On the same day it dissolved all organs of State power under its Notification No. 2/88. On the same day it declared that it would continue to pursue the Independent and Active Foreign Policy.

On the same day, it issued its Order No. 2/88 requiring citizens to remain indoors between 8 pm and 4 am and prohibiting gatherings of five or more persons for the purpose of carrying on agitations and committing criminal acts. These were Orders necessitated by security considerations.

When the Tatmadaw took over power a massive opposition against the Tatmadaw immediately emerged. A large number of political groups continued to oppose the Tatmadaw in all possible ways despite the fact that the Burma Socialist Programme Party Government had fallen. Disturbances and turbulence continue unabated.

Meanwhile, the Ba-ka-pa [Burma Communist Party], on 14 September 1988 began making probes and launched a full-scale attack on Mongyang on 23 September 1988. The KNU began their Methawaw offensive on 26 September 1988. Even while continuing to contend with overwhelming difficulties it had to sacrifice life and blood in repulsing the enemy offensives.

The Tatmadaw then permitted formation of political parties and made them register with the Elections Commission. The Tatmadaw was not a political party nor does the Tatmadaw represent any political party and therefore did not consider political parties as its opposition parties. It even protested against the erroneous term of 'opposition parties' when it was used by foreign media.

It was the Tatmadaw that put an end to the socialist system the people said they disliked. It began to endeavour to establish a multi-party democracy system the people said they wanted. Even then it had to confront a massive opposition launched by all underground and above ground forces in and out of the country. The Tatmadaw had to cope with insurgents on their offensives and prepare for peace and had also to resolutely defend itself against above ground opposition.

Political parties now secured a right to legal existence. But all these parties were still younger than one year. It was a time for them to build up their parties and get ready for elections.

Yet, some parties, in connivance with underground insurgents and foreign agencies, began to try to oppose the Tatmadaw. Some parties began taking military training and others planned going underground and began their organisation work accordingly.

The Tatmadaw issued warnings through Press conferences. It took action against those who refused to heed the warnings. Cached arms were discovered in the compound of the Thayettaw Monastery in Yangon. The UGs were exposed and detained. Saboteurs had to be hunted down.

As the Tatmadaw was emphatically calling back and welcoming absconding students as part of its national reconciliation efforts, some political parties kept impeding these efforts. Forty-three political parties issued a statement branding the Tatmadaw's Reception Camps as the Tatmadaw's Detention Camps. But the Tatmadaw issued only a warning to them.

A large number of persons had committed criminal offences during the turbulence. Some of them now took refuge in political parties. The Tatmadaw merely kept watch over these elements and did not arrest them lest its relations with political parties soured. This sort of treatment emboldened certain political parties who began

to demand an interim government. They even began to think of forming such a government should their demand be rejected.

Myanmars used to say: 'Fond indulgence begets insolence', 'A kind favour leads to more impudent demands.' Some political parties began taking advantage of the Tatmadaw's forbearance, They made one demand after another.

[Political demands]

The Tatmadaw government had not held for even two months when some political parties began making excessive demands and organising unrestrained movements.

The first demand was to withdraw Order No. 2/88. That Order required citizens to stay indoors between 8 pm and 4 am and prohibited gatherings of more than four persons in public places or take out [sic] demonstrations and processions. The State Law and Order Restoration Council gradually abridged curfew hours as warranted by developing situations.

The second demand was for permission for the people to gather, take out processions and stage peaceful meetings and protests without carrying arms. This was not granted for security reasons.

The third demand was to unconditionally halt arresting persons who had taken part in demonstrations between March and September 1988. The Tatmadaw explained that arrests were not being made for merely taking part in demonstrations and that only those who had committed criminal deeds were being arrested. And then, only those who had very violently committed those deeds were being arrested.

The fourth demand was for immediately reinstatement of those who had been dismissed from service for their political movements. The State Law and Order Restoration Council's Information Committee explained that government servants whose conduct went beyond a tolerable point were being retired and cases of dismissal were very rare.

The fifth demand was for an immediate release of all political detainees. As a matter of fact no arrest had been made for political activity and those arrested were persons whose political conduct confringed [sic] upon Penal Laws. It was impossible not to arrest those who were maintaining contacts with insurgents, who were inciting disturbances and who were instigating going underground.

The sixth demand was to forbid newspapers publishing news because they were one-sided propaganda. This was a complaint made because they were getting hurt by the Tatmadaw's clean psychological warfare campaign. The Tatmadaw was merely countering an unscrupulously waged dirty psychological warfare campaign with a clean and honest psychological warfare campaign. But when this defensive campaign became effective it became offensive they got seriously hurt [sic].

The seventh demand was for human rights. This demand was made as instigated by the West Bloc. Myanmar has been a country with human rights to a degree consistent with its natural characteristics. Human rights likely to lead to anarchism will not be countenanced. In fact human rights issue is a tool for big nations to interfere in the internal affairs of weaker nations.

It will be noticed that the Tatmadaw conceded to the demands of political parties as changing circumstances warranted and took action against deeds that could not be overlooked. It was not a violation of human rights to track down those who decapitated innocent persons. It was not any sort of persecution.

It was only a measure of restoration of the rule of law.

It will be noticed that the Tatmadaw had, with prudence, avoided making any move that might jeopardise its endeavours for national reconciliation while it discharged national security duties of restoring peace and tranquility, the rule of law and political stability. (NLM 7/3)

[Events of 1988, continued]

July 4: (20) It is absolutely correct to say that the 1988 disorders had pushed Myanmar to the brink of collapse. The country really fell into sore straits. The rule of law completely

disappeared. Anarchism and violence escalated to a degree approaching the age of barbarians. The administrative machinery was completely paralysed.

National sovereignty means judicial power, legislative power and administrative power. Collapse of administrative machinery created an administrative power vacuum. The judicial power and the legislative power were rendered defunct. This meant a deterioration of sovereignty. To lean on others at that time would lead to the loss of sovereign power.

There are persons who are waxing proud that they have been responsible for the 1988 affairs. "We began the 1988 affair, we created it. Myanmar was the first country in the world to begin a movement for democracy..." That is how they keep boasting.

Being proud for having done something to be proud of need not be gainsaid. But there is absolutely nothing to be proud of in violence and anarchism. Those who joined the mob and gleefully applauded when innocent persons were decapitated escaped legal action because they were considered as mere spectators. But would they be able to have a clear conscience till the end of their lives? They will remain tormented by nightmares to the last days of their lives.

In other words, those who desire taking the honour of having initiated a democracy movement must remember that they are also responsible for anarchism and violence. But it is not the intention of this writer to take these up.

Those who profess to desire democracy will surely not desire anarchic activities. But it is true to say that demonstrations for democracy were indeed sullied by violent and anarchic deeds. It is quite impossible to delete from the pages of history that they were a complete disgrace to the nation.

[Causes of 1988]

At this point it would be pertinent to re-examine the reasons for the 1988 affair. At a time when even mightier communist and socialist countries of the world collapsed there was nothing strange in an independent Burma Socialist Programme Party collapsing. It may even be said that the West Bloc had achieved ultimate victory in the Cold War it had waged against communists and socialists under its slogan of democratising the whole world. Actually, it was a case of householders themselves pulling down their own rickety house in their own compound just as a windstorm swept in from outside.

Myanmar resembled a house that tumbled down. The Tatmadaw had to pick up the pieces to build a new one. The windstorm continued to rage outside. And then Myanmar gradually became a powder keg about to explode.

But why?

Because political groups considered that the struggle for democracy was not yet over. They doubted that the Tatmadaw would give them democracy. Some thought the Tatmadaw would resurrect the Burma Socialist Programme Party. Others speculated that the Tatmadaw would rig elections to give a victory to the Burma Socialist Programme Party that changed its name to the National Unity Party. Still others feared that they might be defeated in trying to grab power. For all these reasons some political parties came to regard the Tatmadaw as their enemy.

They opposed each and every move of the Tatmadaw. They stubbornly refused to acknowledge even the right things the Tatmadaw did. Opposing the Tatmadaw became a political fashion. It was as if a political party must necessarily oppose the Tatmadaw. Thus Myanmar came to resemble a box of dynamite about to explode. This situation truly reflected the collapse of national unity.

Some political parties prevented students coming back. They issued statements daunting [sic] students from coming back. They spread malicious rumours. Some political parties collectively made seven demands many of which were untimely. It will be noticed that certain permissible demands had now been met.

One of the demands then was the lifting of the curfew. Curfew has now been totally lifted. Riots, vandalism and murders have been

put to a stop. Democratic rights will surely come as the political situation stabilises. Demands for stopping actions against demonstrators and for reinstatement of dismissed personnel are no longer relevant today.

Some are again planning to form an interim government.

Which way are some of the political parties going?

When the single party socialist system expired in Myanmar and the Tatmadaw government emerged and granted permission for formation of political parties, 235 emerged overnight. Myanmar thus set the world record with the largest number of political parties. That was an image of collapse of national unity.

But, because the parties themselves declared that they were no longer able to sustain themselves the Elections Commission had to deregister 102 parties. Three parties had to be deregistered as they were found to be above ground parties of the Burma Communist Party. Thirty-one parties who had not the capacity to take part in elections had to be dissolved under the State Law and Order Restoration Council Order No. 1/90 of 23 February 1990. Six parties had to be dissolved because they were able to take part in the elections only nominally. There were 93 parties that were really able to take part in elections. One hundred and forty two parties disappeared within one year.

Some parties began to plan to take over power in collusion with underground insurgent organisations by combining aboveground disturbances with underground armed offensives. On 10 July 1989, Ko Ko Naung or Than U, son-in-law of KNU Spy Chief Soe Soe detonated a bomb at the Yangon City Hall that killed three innocent employees and injured two others. KNU leader Bo Mya began to plan to rent houses in Yangon, stock them with petrol and set them on fire thus setting ablaze the whole city.

[The Gene Sharp method]

One Gene Sharp, an American spy has, for a long time, been infiltrating the ranks of the KNU and the expatriates and giving training in democracy. He authored a book titled From Dictatorship to Democracy in which he detailed non-violent means of achieving democracy.

History will reveal who all have been following and practising Gene Sharp's lessons. Some became Gene Sharp's disciples without themselves realizing that situation. Gene Sharp's lessons even included how to make obscene gestures.

Although Gene Sharp declared himself to be a teacher of non-violent means of securing democracy, some of his means were unfair. One of the means was to use religion as a stepping-stone. The so-called non-violent means were directed only towards violence. Another means was to paint public places the way road devils do. Consider the case of an American youth being caned in Singapore sprayed public places with paint as taught by Gene Sharp.

In this context it should be considered if Gene Sharp the teacher of democracy is not really a communist. This is because some of the tactics proposed by Gene Sharp happen to be communist tactics. Tactics of Group Disappearance and Demonstrations and Defections are mere hints to go underground. Some students and civilians are found to have adopted these tactics.

Gene Sharp's tactics also include means to destroy the rule of law.

Gene Sharp has also prescribed tactics of opposing government by means of general strikes and also to violate the law and to defect. Some tactics are directed towards a war.

Rebellion.

Forming a parallel government. Enthroning a parallel king.

Gene Sharp's non-violent means of security democracy are found to be the same as the communist methods directed towards violence and anarchism. These were the methods political groups practised during the disturbances and continued to practise in 1988. (NLM 7/4)

[Continuing opposition to SLORC]

July 5: (21) On 20 January 1989, the State Law and Order

Restoration Council Secretary-1, Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt held a Press briefing in the Guest Hall of the Yangon Regional Command Headquarters and explained how the General Elections were to be held. He noted that elections should be held only when the government, the political parties and the masses of the people would cooperate and only when the rule of law and peace and order could be re-established. He also reminded the political parties to make necessary preparations to take part in the elections.

But, without trying to make those necessary preparations, several political parties only kept attacking the Tatmadaw by means taught them by Gene Sharp. They kept quarrelling among themselves, though the Tatmadaw did its best to enforce orderliness. But movements only intensified. Some political party members kept shuttling between Yangon and insurgent camps. They kept visiting certain embassies. Some diplomats continued their meddling openly.

Rumours flew about as moths. Some said that Methawaw had been lost again. Others claimed that 300 insurgents had come into Insein and 30 armed commandos had infiltrated into Yangon City. These rumours did not arise of their own volition. They were exaggerations of concocted news stories designed to destabilise the country. The Tatmadaw had repeatedly to quash these fabrications and disinformation.

Some parties demanded new legislation guaranteeing legal existence of all political parties and party members. But this was not a demand formally made to the government: it was merely a subterfuge, a whispering campaign, designed to complicate the situation. This also was a Gene Sharp method. As there was no need to make a new law the Tatmadaw promised to protect political parties functioning within the law.

The Tatmadaw categorically declared that no action would be taken against persons who respected the prescribed laws and did not oppose them but nobody, neither party members nor party leaders who flouted the laws would be spared from action. Yet the Tatmadaw had been very lenient.

A certain former Prime Minister [U Nu -- HMacD.] organised a parallel government even before the Tatmadaw took over power and refused to dissolve it after the Tatmadaw took over power. The Tatmadaw did not take any action against him. The parallel government ploy was one of the tactics taught by Gene Sharp.

Twelve political parties threatened to go underground if the government refused to enact a law guaranteeing protection to political parties. Some distributed pamphlets. Some wooed the West Bloc by spreading rumours that the Tatmadaw took Soviet help to attack the Methawaw Camp. The foreign office of a certain West Bloc country issued a statement criticising Myanmar. Attempts were made to put more international pressure on Myanmar.

Moves made by some political parties revealed their excessive reliance on the West Bloc. They apparently felt that they would have to kowtow [sic] to the West Bloc for them to gain power. They began to plan to destroy the Tatmadaw. In their application of Gene Sharp's teachings they resorted to means that would destroy Myanmar.

The Tatmadaw had repeatedly declared that it would not tolerate any infringement of Our Three Main National Causes. Conduct likely to damage national security and national reconciliation amounts to infringement on Our Three Main National Causes. To take due action thus became an unavoidable course of action. Two elder politicians complained: "Today developments are very depressing. British or American rule might have been better. If I only knew the situation would come to such a pass, I would not have taken part in the fight for Independence." Such being the circumstances what else was there left for the Tatmadaw to do?

If persons such as those who still has a slavish stink, who desire to become a new brand slave were to be permitted to form an interim government they would promptly turn the country upside-down. If a puppet government of the West Bloc were to emerge, a bloody war would promptly break out and the country altogether destroyed. This

is because, though the Burma Communist Party armed forces had disintegrated, there still were communist political movements, UG movements and communist adherents. Nationalist elements were not to be ignored, too.

On 16 March 1989, the North Okkalapa Township National League for Democracy staged political talks at its Township Office, when Min Ko Naing, Ko Ko Gyi, and Aung din of the All Burma Students Union, which was not a lawful association and Sit Ko Naing (a.k.a. Myo Thein) of Students and Youth in Democracy Movement also not a lawful association, went on stage and made anti-Tatmadaw speeches. Such anti-Tatmadaw speeches were also given at other townships.

Moe Thee Zun and Min Ko Naing groups, posing as student leaders, were particularly active in opposing the government, working under the protection of the National League for Democracy. The New Society for Democracy, went to the extent of pretending itself to be the aboveground party of the ABSDF insurgent group.

On 20 March 1989 they openly incited disturbances. Min Ko Naing had therefore to be arrested. Moe Thee Zun fled to the insurgents. Soon after his arrival, the ABSDF split into two.

Thanmani Bo Khin Maung fled across the border into Thailand and formed a new expatriate insurgent group under the name of "Alliance for Democratic Solidarity, Union of Burma" of which he made himself the President.

Thanmani Bo Khin Maung was Industry Minister in 1956 when the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) was in power. When on 9 September 1988 a parallel government was announced Bo Khin Maung's name appeared as the Health Minister. He took part in the Democracy and Peace Party activities during the period of the disturbances.

When the Democracy and Peace Party was formally registered Bo Khin Maung's name could not be found. The Alliance for Democratic Solidarity, Union of Burma (Da-nya-ta) of which Thanmani Bo Khin Maung was President declared that it recognized the 1947 Constitution as the only legitimate Constitution. Former Minister U Sein Mya also fled and joined Thanmani Bo Khin Maung's group.

On 26 April 1989, the KNU fired about fifty mortar shells at Myawady from the east bank of the Kayin village of Mebawgalay in Thailand. A force of about 100 insurgents approached the town to enter and sack it. Two People's Militia and five innocent civilians were killed by the KNU attack. Thirty motor vehicles and 28 motor cycles were destroyed. Over one hundred buildings were burnt down and a loss of over K 500 lakhs was suffered.

That was a retaliation by the KNU for the loss of their Mela Camp and Mawpokay Camp. It was more than the Tatmadaw could tolerate when some political parties began to collaborate with the KNU that had consistently been engaging in anti-people activities. Some arrests therefore followed.

The Tatmadaw, discharging national security and national reconciliation duties encountered impediments which were more prolific aboveground. There was opposition from underground too. Opposition came not only from inside, but also from outside of the country. Gene Sharp had himself asserted that his non-violent means of securing democracy had already brought down the Soviet Union. He also dubbed it Political Defiance (P.D.).

The Political Defiance tactics, though called non-violent means, could lead to violence and anarchism and was in fact a conspiracy to break up the Union. Had the State Law and Order Restoration Council been a less efficient and less effective government, it would not have been able to suppress that political defiance and the Union could have disintegrated.

The Tatmadaw, at a Press conference on 18 May 1989 explained its concept that a State must have a nationality, a territory, a government and firm sovereignty. The Tatmadaw also explained that it was shouldering just this responsibility. Yet it had to suffer slanders carried out in numerous vulgar ways. The Political Defiance was nothing but mean and dirty psychological warfare.

[SLORC intentions]

Just as aboveground political forces persistently tried by all available means to grab power, Western countries, too, began to exert pressure for a transfer of power. At the 43rd Press Conference, held on 9 June 1989 the Information Committee of the State Law and Order Restoration Council gave a very clear explanation in the matter of transfer of power --

-- General election would be held without fail.

-- A transfer of power is not possible immediately after elections.

-- Power will be transferred only to a government that would emerge under a constitution approved by the masses.

The Tatmadaw never said it would transfer power immediately after elections. The 93 political parties took part in the election knowing this to be the situation. (NLM 7/5)

July 6: (22) During the period of the 1988 affair, Myanmar got engulfed in a blaze while a wind storm was also raging. With the taking over of power by the Tatmadaw, the flames of violence and anarchism that were going to devour the country were brought down. But cinders, smouldering under ashes, were left behind. The wind storm did not slacken.

The Tatmadaw had first to tackle national security task to prevent collapse of the country. A very strict and precise action to ensure national security might work against national reconciliation. On the other hand to be liberal and overlook everything might also damage national reconciliation. The Tatmadaw had to act under such circumstances with prudence.

[Objectives of various groups]

During the disturbances, various political groups were found to have acted for various objectives.

1. Ba-ka-pa UGs: The Burma Communist Party pursued its 1948 programme to seize power by combining aboveground movements with underground armed battles. The main objective was to seize power.

2. Former expatriates: Former expatriates and their contacts returned to Myanmar after 1989 and tried to secure power with West Bloc help.

3. Opportunists: These persons with no political experience and no political tradition, grabbed leadership positions like persons grabbing other peoples' seats while there is a commotion during a show. They resorted to cheap political gimmicks to instal themselves as mass leaders and tried to gain power.

4. Those who really desire democracy: These are persons who had noticed flaws and weaknesses of socialism and now believed democracy was really needed. These persons were not given any leading positions, nor did they know much about politics.

5. Public figures: These are writers, artistes, private tutors and other public figures who were wooed and indoctrinated by political groups and given leading positions.

All these political groups professed their desire for democracy and became leaders of the masses. Masses of the people weary with the general decline under socialism, were genuinely interested in achieving democracy.

But when the Tatmadaw took over power and declared it would systematically introduce democracy, some political groups were not pleased. They began to oppose the Tatmadaw by all available means saying that they would not be getting any democracy.

[Burma Communist Party]

The Burma Communist Party, through its UGs fomented uprisings during the disturbances, practising the demote, dismiss and decapitate programme that flourished in their Party in post-1963 years. But that programme had been only an inner party struggle programme but was introduced into mass struggle during the period of the disturbances.

Under that programme mass meetings were convened at which participants were required to make scathing denunciations of real or imagined foes of their lives. The meeting then tried to find the main culprit and found that the government was the main culprit. The mob

was harangued and psychologically whipped up to a state of hysteria. But when there was nothing the mob could do to the government, its 'proletarian wrath' turned against some of the leaders themselves who eventually got bludgeoned to death. It will be remembered that public decapitations during the disturbances followed this pattern.

The agitational and provocative tactics of Ba-ka-pa UGs and those of the agents of rightist groups are of the same pattern. But that was because the Ba-ka-pa methods of establishing "Red Power" and Gene Sharp's methods were one and the same.

The Ba-ka-pa UGs then armed the National Political Front (Ma-na-ta), their People's Progress Party and their Evergreen Youth Group and registered them as legitimate organisations and promptly began to work towards violent upheavals. Action had to be taken against these organizations on 19 September 1989. The Ba-ka-pa UGs also infiltrated into other political parties. They formed secret organisations and they incited the students.

It was a Ba-ka-pa UG who concocted the news that the Ba-ka-pa had taken over the town of Mogok. The so-called anti-communist West Bloc media kept disseminating false information supplied by the Communist Front and that was because they shared the same objectives. The government had to arrest and take action against that UG.

[U Ye Tun]

U Ye Tun was once arrested in 1971 for his connections with expatriates insurgents [sic]. He had to be arrested again in 1975 for his involvement in U Thant funeral affair. In 1986 he had to be detained for about two weeks for black marketing dollars. As a local gent of six foreign business firms he was quite wealthy.

In August 1988 he gained contact with students including Min Ko Naing. He helped them and cultivated them. At the same time, he had consultations with former expatriates who sneaked in from Thai side to start UG operations. Some expatriates promised to help students should they flee into Thailand.

U Ye Tun also financially helped students to abscond. He instigated and incited them to do so. He formed secret students' groups. From a certain embassy in Yangon he received a sum of K 548,350 as aid of which he appropriated K 143,135 to himself and spent the balance to foment disturbances. He secured the help of a certain embassy from the West Bloc to establish contacts with the expatriates in Thailand.

Tun Aung Gyaw, at the urging of U Ye Tun absconded to the border where he became President of the All Burma Students Democratic Front (ABSDF). U Ye Tun's strategy was the same as the Ba-ka-pa's old strategy, that is, to make concerted underground and above ground attacks. U Ye Tun also obtained contact with Bertil Lintner a Bangkok-based correspondent of the Far Eastern Economic Review and supplied him with false information. Bertil Lintner authored his book *Outrage* on the basis of wrong information supplied by U Ye Tun.

The government had to arrest and take action against agents like U Ye Tun. Political leaders had to be repeatedly warned against following a path of violence. Diplomats of certain embassies behaved in a way incompatible with their diplomatic status. They promised to give 4-M help, that is to say moral help, military help, monetary help and material help. The promise to give military help was ominous as it would lead to a bloody civil war.

Some diplomats frequently met with so-called student leaders and so-called political leaders. One senior diplomat from the West Bloc predicted, when disturbances began, that a government amenable to their manipulations would soon emerge.

The year 1989 saw a very complex situation. Agitators took every opportunity to incite disturbances. They made plans to mark the first anniversary of Phone Maw's death (12 March 1989) with disturbances. They made plans to disrupt the Tatmadaw Day Parade on 27 March 1989. They got ready to start riots during the Thingyan Festival.

As a political storm raged in aboveground politics as part of collapse of national reconciliation and as foreign meddling became

more and more daring, a very grave danger threatened the country. Just as the Tatmadaw had to endeavour to make peace with underground insurgent organisations and terminated armed conflicts, it also had to try to reduce political conflicts aboveground.

Myanma situation was such that the country might crumble at any time. Developments were heading towards a civil war.

[Messages from NLD Officials]

At this critical juncture the President of the National League for Democracy sent communications to the US President, the US Secretary of State, the Indian Prime Minister, the Thai Foreign Minister, the Japanese Foreign Minister, the Chairman of Japanese Socialist Party, the Pakistan Prime Minister, Britain based Amnesty International and Switzerland based International Human Rights Organisation.

In his letters he said -- in Myanmar the military government is brutally suppressing forces who desire democracy: stop selling supplies to Myanmar government (as advocated by Gene Sharp) and prevent sending students back from the border. This was an open invitation for foreign interference as if to say "We will win only with your help"..

The General Secretary of the National League for Democracy [Daw Aung San Suu Kyi--HMacD.] also sent a letter to London-based Amnesty International in which she said the Tatmadaw rounded up over six hundred students and youths and sent them to the front to be employed as porters: it is advisable to mention in speeches delivered at the UN General Assembly persecution of children, students and monks who took part in demonstrations. This person also sent letters to diplomats in Myanmar requesting their help to propose an international condemnation in this respect at the UN General Assembly. (NLM 7/6)

[ABSDF]

July 7: (23) Just as the Tatmadaw has taken over power and begun to work for national security and national reconciliation, events that would damage national security and national reconciliation developed prolifically. Under persistent instigation and incitement, some of the absconders joined up with the insurgents. On 24 September 1988, the All Burma Students' Democratic Front was founded as a stooge of the KNU.

The Ba-ka-pa armed forces had disintegrated but the UGs continued to be active. When absconding students and civilians formed the ABSDF as a stooge of the KNU the number of insurgent organisations increased by one. This organisation emerged so quickly as to provoke surprise. However, there was nothing surprising if only how it originated is known.

As turbulence was escalating above ground some of the political groups had been contacting insurgent organisations, seeking foreign help, seeking arms supplies and planning to resort to armed struggle. They planned to topple the Burma Socialist Programme Party through coordinated attacks from above ground and under ground. This was a programme of action to seize power adopted by the Ba-ka-pa as early as in 1948. In 1988 it became an action programme for pro-West elements to destroy the socialist system and seize power.

In other words, the ABSDF emerged not because the Tatmadaw took over power. It was under preparation even before the Tatmadaw took over power. The Burma Socialist Programme Party government was toppled but some political groups still remained without power. Power had been taken over by the Tatmadaw. That was why they targeted the Tatmadaw as their main enemy and continued to attack it from all sides.

But, the ABSDF did not become a militarily troublesome organisation. It remained only as a stepping stone and a show piece for some armed organisations including the KNU and the expatriates. Some of them asked for foreign help in the name of the ABSDF and did in fact receive some. Yet the ABSDF remained undeveloped. Students had become a dancing monkey serving a beggar. They came running back when they realised this.

The Alliance for Democratic Solidarity, Union of Burma, formed by 'Thanmani' Bo Khin Maung and his group of absconders planned to smuggle chemicals and explosives into Myanmar via Kawthaung. They also toyed with the idea of sneaking into Myanmar in a helicopter and bomb Yangon. They planned to take hostage some very important persons. The acronym for the organisation was Da-nya-ta and the students nicknamed it Daw Nyunt Tin.

As the ABSDF and the Da-nya-ta were getting ready to follow the armed struggle programme above ground elements were seen to be supporting this armed struggle programme. Political parties were in contact with insurgent organisations in the jungle. Members of the ABSDF sneaked into Yangon and other towns and continued their activities under the protection of political parties. Some parties established contacts with the Da-nya-ta. Other parties began frequenting some embassies asking for help.

Danger that Myanmar found itself in then became a national cause. Just as the dangers were looming large, some political parties kept stoking the fire. All parties claimed that their objective was establishment of democracy. Those parties made contacts with insurgent organisations of the jungles to secure democracy. They sought help through embassies of Western countries. The action programme to secure democracy adopted by some parties was to attack the Tatmadaw government from under ground, above ground, inside and outside of the country.

An excessive anticipation of foreign help, and an excessive invitation of foreign interference brought Myanmar people into the position of hostages. The Myanmar masses must hold the sovereign power. Only Myanmar masses had the right to decide their own future. If Myanmar destiny depended upon the West Bloc it meant that Myanmar had lost its sovereignty.

A large number of political parties had embarked on a programme of toppling the Tatmadaw government through concerted attacks from above ground, underground, within and outside of the country. But inter-party struggles and inner-party struggles were raging furiously at the same time. There is no disputing the fact that the situation reflected a complete disintegration of national unity. The Tatmadaw was convinced that a national reconciliation was imperative. In such a stormy situation there was no time for pampering anybody.

Political parties that aspire to lead the masses of the people would first have to consolidate their own party. Going just to gain quantity might enable a party to expand but a wrong leadership given to this large number of party members would surely lead to trouble. Generally, parties were made up of motley crowds. There were fugitives, there were criminals among them. When the Tatmadaw took action against those persons it took action only as criminals. These persons could not have been classified as political prisoners.

The situation was most complicated.

[Denunciations of Tatmadaw]

Some political leaders began brazenly attacking the Tatmadaw. When a party member accused of committing a criminal deed was denied bail, a party leader threatened, in a court of law -- "What do you mean by Law? You may go on bullying with the help of your arms." On 25 June 1989, a Party General Secretary alleged that "The Tatmadaw is not standing on the side of the people: it is merely dancing as manipulated by U Ne Win". On 7 July, it was alleged that "There is no democracy in the Tatmadaw" and thereby tried to destroy unity within the Tatmadaw.

What was worse, the General Secretary of the National League for Democracy personally alleged that the Tatmadaw was a fascist army. The Tatmadaw tolerated all these brazen insults and took no action. It only issued warnings through Press conferences. But what would have happened should the masses go away with a wrong impression of the Tatmadaw and followed the leadership of some political parties?

The National League for Democracy even began to make violent attacks on the Chinese People's Republic, the Republic of Singapore,

Indonesia, Japan and Australia that were having close relations with Myanmar. This had been a violation of the Myanmar independent and active foreign policy. What sort of a foreign policy would that party adopt should it gain power? Would it sever relations with the People's Republic of China by relying on the United States of America? Would it regard some other countries as its enemies?

Myanmar send a delegation to attend the International Labour Organisation conference held under the aegis of the United Nations.

The National League for Democracy asked the ILO not to recognise that Myanmar delegation. This amounted to smearing one's own face with soot. It was a bid to put our own Myanmar nationals to shame in a foreign land.

It will be found that the State Law and Order Restoration Council had acted very leniently in enforcing national security for fear of damaging strivings for national reconciliation. Any government would take pre-emptive action to crush attempts made to topple it through armed rebellion with foreign help. But the Tatmadaw did not regard political parties as its enemies. It only valued them as national political forces. It drew their attention to their own deficiencies and urged them to rectify them. It urged them to consolidate their own parties.

[Plans for violence]

But the situation had so much deteriorated that words carried no more weight. It was such that power would have to be brought into play. The UGs and the spies who had infiltrated into political parties were all waiting for a chance to create disturbances.

On 12 March 1989, the first anniversary of Phone Maw's death, preparations were made to begin disturbances. Plans were also made to disrupt and destroy the Armed Forces Day Parade on 27 March. Some even advocated grabbing arms from military units that were to take part in the Parade. When they failed in all these plans they got ready to create disturbances during the Thingyan festival, one of the most prominent cultural festivals of Myanmar. But the Tatmadaw successfully prevented all these.

On 7 July 1989 a bomb exploded at the Oil Refinery in Thanlyin where innocent civilians were killed or maimed. Bombers Aung Naing alias Moe Thiha, Than Zaw, Nyi Nyi Oo and Moe Kyaw Thu turned out to be members of the National League for Democracy. On 10 July another bomb went off at Yangon City Hall, where innocent civilians were killed or maimed. The bomb was planted by Ko Ko Naing, son-in-law of KNU Intelligence Chief Soe Soe. KNU Bo Mya planned to rent several houses in Yangon, stock them with petrol and set them on fire simultaneously putting the whole city into a holocaust.

The Ba-ka-pa UGs began making plans to mark 19 July 1989, the Martyr's Day to launch a second revolution. The situation was alarming. (NLM 7/7)

July 8: (24) There were some who vigorously asserted that the Political Defiance Programme was Bogyoke Aung San's Programme. Others made preparations to attack the Tatmadaw from aboveground and underground. Those who still stank of slavery kept asking the West Bloc for help. Some persons appropriated to themselves part of help received. Bombs kept exploding. At that juncture, signals were given to create disturbances on the Martyrs Day.

[Martyrs Day 1989]

It was impossible to just skip Martyrs Day. It was impossible not to commemorate Martyrs Day. And when it was learnt that disturbances had been prepared to take place on the Martyrs Day, the Na-wa-ta was compelled to do what it had to do.

On 19 July 1947, the national leader Bogyoke Aung San along with other leaders were gunned down by a group of imperialist henchmen. 19 July was therefore designated Martyrs Day and commemorated every year. It marks a day of sorrow. It is a day when anti-imperialist spirit and patriotic spirit need [sic] are strengthened.

In the year 1989, chances for an orderly commemoration of the day appeared bleak. The government, in keeping with tradition,

invited families of the Martyrs to the ceremonies. It permitted leaders from each political party to come and pay their respects at the Martyr's Mausoleum. There were over 200 parties and they would be sending over 2,000 representatives. But then they laid plans to turn the Martyrs Day ceremonies into a political stage.

On 8 July 1989, the General Secretary of the National League for Democracy met Correspondent Connergoski of the Thai Nation and said: "Tatmadaw is doing the work of a thug: it is trying to keep a group of old men in power." She also made a false accusation at a Press conference that the Tatmadaw bayoneted to death eight young men mining jade. The same leader alleged that "militarists are trying to crush by force of arms arrangements being made by the masses to honour the Martyrs: they are making dastardly plans to again stain the Martyrs Day with blood".

Verbal attacks on the Tatmadaw gradually escalated. They said they would march in procession to the Martyrs Mausoleum on the Martyrs Day and thus laid plans to create disturbances. The Tatmadaw had to issue Martial Law Order 1/89 and 2/89 to prevent possible disturbances.

The General Secretary of the National League for Democracy did not lay a wreath at the Martyrs' Mausoleum but she tried to lay a wreath in Myenigon as a political stunt. It was claimed that students dies on that spot. In fact, no student died there: only some policemen died under the attack of violent elements near Sanchaung Police Station.

Gene Sharp's methods to achieve democracy called for demonstrations during funeral processions. It was like alleging deaths of demonstrators at Tadaphyu (White Bridge) when in fact nobody had died there and then ceremonially naming the bridge the 'Red Bridge.' Trying to lay a wreath at Myenigon was of the same pattern. Gene Sharp however did not say that this method, adopted by a single person, would become a mere political stunt.
[House Arrest for NLD Officers]

Beginning 20 July 1989, action had to be taken against the President and the General Secretary of the National League for Democracy under Section 10 of Law Protecting the State from the Threats of Disruptors. The Law was prescribed to protect National Sovereignty and National Security or the Public Peace from dangers of disruption. Another aim of the law was also to protect the fundamental rights of the citizen.

Persons against whom action has been taken under this Law are not imprisoned: they have to stay in their own residence. They are not allowed to get out of the compound and they are not allowed to have any contacts with outsiders. The State takes responsibility for the person's health and medical attention. It is generally understood as house arrest.

This sort of action, as compared to the magnitude of the offence said to have been committed, can be regarded as very lenient. Though action was taken against persons as individuals the party concerned was not dissolved. That the party concerned remains legitimate up to now is an illustration of generosity.
[Detention of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi]

The State Law and Order Restoration Council has been compelled to take action against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The Na-wa-ta government has full sympathy with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, she, being daughter of national leader Bogyoke Aung San. The Na-wa-ta leaders could not have had any intention to hurt Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. But they, at the same time, will not act contrary to mass interest.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi slandered the Tatmadaw her father had founded to the point of opposing it which was not a happy augury. She could even have misled those who were supporting her with their eyes shut. And there were numerous persons inside and outside of the country who were waiting for chance to make her their stepping stone to exploit political profit.

When Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's movements were thus restrained a howl of protest rose from political parties as well as abroad. They

propagandised as if Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had been arrested and mistreated. Na-wa-ta leaders and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi might have been political adversaries but the Na-wa-ta leaders did not appear to have been nursing a personal malice on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Presumably Daw Aung San Suu Kyi did not have any personal grudge.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi who had lived away from Myanmar for many years returned to Myanmar 22 July 1988, together with her husband, an Englishman named Michael Aris, to attend to her mother who was ill. And then she took part in political movement. Within one year she began to tread an anti-Tatmadaw path. Her husband was entitled to only one week visa but he sought permission from the government and remained in the country for three months and twelve days before he left. He made frequent visits later on.

Two days after action had been taken against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, on 22 July 1989, her husband Michael Aris arrived. He stayed with his wife until 12 August 1989: the British Embassy even accused that a British citizen had been detained under guards. Michael Aris and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi then remained in constant contact.

Though Michael Aris is said to be an Englishman he lived not only in England. He kept going about the whole world taking part in Myanmar politics on account of his wife. It cannot however be said who are behind him. He is an activist in concert with the international NGOs hostile to Myanmar. He came to Myanmar twice in 1989 and 1991 and eight times between 1992 and 1994 together ten times and lived with his wife for 284 days.

The Na-wa-ta readily issued visas to Michael Aris. Requests for visa extensions were readily granted. In fact, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, forbidden to have contacts with outsiders, continued to maintain contacts with the whole world through Michael Aris. The Na-wa-ta was unlikely to be unaware of this. No searches were made at the airport on Michael Aris' arrivals and departures. He was treated as a gentleman. And nothing was said against Michael Aris making contacts by means of computers.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council made arrangements to have discussions with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at an appropriate time. On 20 September 1994, the State Law and Order Restoration Council Chairman and Defence Services Commander-in-Chief Senior General Than Shwe had a cordial meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi at the No. 1 Tatmadaw Guest House. Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt was present at this meeting. The masses were delighted to notice a TV footage of this meeting in anticipation of a solution of a crisis.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt had another cordial meeting on 28 October 1984 at the Tatmadaw Guest House No. 1. A Press communique issued after the meeting stated that prevailing political and economic situations, progress of Na-wa-ta's political, economic and reform programmes, tasks that should be undertaken for the long term welfare of the nation were cordially and frankly discussed. Also present at the meeting were the Judge Advocate General Brig-Gen. Than Oo and the Defence Services Inspector-General Brig-Gen. Tin Aye.

Discussions between the Na-wa-ta leaders and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi were a process that would surely contribute to national reconciliation. The masses were happy with anticipation. The Na-wa-ta leaders were also apparently satisfied and pleased with the prospects of easing of tensions in one area.

But all these hopes were dashed when Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's press statement appeared in Bangkok after Michael Aris came to Myanmar on 24 October 1994 and left of Bangkok on 22 January 1995. It is learned that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, in her statement, had promised to continue her struggle.

Perhaps Michael Aris came butting in as Na-wa-ta leaders and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi were on the verge of an understanding, and ruined it. What sort of a person is this Michael Aris who keeps roaming about the whole world? Has he been dominating his wife? And who has been dominating him?

But, allow Myanmar to be a Myanmar in a Myanmar way.

Myanmar had lived as an imperialist slave: spare Myanmar from domination of any sort of foreigner again.

Between 17 July and 18 August 1989, 181 persons in Yangon and 28 persons in the districts, totalling 208, had to be detained under Martial Law. But today Martial Law is no more and those detained who posed no threat to national security had been freed.

The Tatmadaw was thus able to prevent political disturbances escalating into violence and anarchism. But, political defiance did not come to an end. Incitements and instigations continued unabated from foreign countries. Human rights slogans were introduced. All sorts of help were given to insurgents on the border. Clandestine activities continued.

The Tatmadaw concentrated attention to hold elections successfully. To ensure smooth balloting, new National Registration cards were issued across the whole country. At that juncture rumours appeared flying about like moths. All bank deposits would be confiscated! Currency notes would be demonetised. Leaders are being rounded up! These rumours covered all and diverse subjects.
[No executions carried out]

The Martial Law promulgated in July 1989 did not apply to the whole country. It covered only the Yangon Command, the Central Command (Bago Division) and the North-West Command (Mandalay Division, Sagaing Division and Chin State). Military Courts appointed under the Martial Law tried cases of decapitation, murders during the disturbances and agitators. Civil Courts were not abolished.

Civil Courts passed death sentences on about a hundred persons who had committed major crimes. But these sentences have since been commuted, and not one sentence has been executed up till now. Military Courts also passed death sentences but none of these sentences has been carried out.

On return of peace and stability the Martial Law was withdrawn township by township. The rule of law made noticeable gains. Peace returned to the countryside. Political disturbances declined. As elections drew near, party candidates were allowed to launch their election campaigns. Masses watched TV programmes with interest when candidates canvassed votes on TV.

[1990 Elections]

Multi-party democracy general elections were successfully held on 27 May 1990. Out of the 235 parties that emerged, only 93 were able to field candidates. Only 27 parties won seats, some of them winning only a single seat. Political party inflation gradually disappeared.

The Tatmadaw remained strictly neutral in the elections. Tatmadaw personnel were permitted to cast their ballots freely. There were absolutely no armed intimidations of voters. Speculations that the Tatmadaw would rig the elections in favour of National Unity Party were proved absolutely wrong.

In the elections the National League for Democracy won 392 constituencies out of a total 485 and the Burma Socialist Programme Party, renamed National Unity Party, won ten constituencies. The rest of the constituencies went to regional nationalities parties.

When the National League for Democracy won a victory, politicians inside the country and the West Bloc media heartily lauded the elections as being very free and very fair. Had the National League for Democracy not won a victory, the Tatmadaw would again be bashed and disturbances likely to resume.

The Tatmadaw remained strictly neutral in the elections but some political forces were found to have resorted to unfair means to win the elections. Mobs coerced voters into casting their ballots to particular candidates. Whole communities were threatened to vote for their party candidates if they did not want their homes to get burnt down. Village level and Ward level election commissions were also intimidated.

But the Tatmadaw dealt with these irregularities strictly in accordance with Law. Had there been no elections, or had the National League for Democracy not won the elections, it would have to be the

Tatmadaw's responsibility to cope with problems that might arise. That might even lead to warfare.

The problem of transfer of power arose after elections. The Tatmadaw had earlier declared that power would be transferred only to a government constitutionally formed after the elections. But as successful election results seemingly signified strong public support, persistent demands came to be made for immediate transfer of power.

In the 27 May 1990 multi-party democracy general elections 93 political parties took part: The National League for Democracy fielded 447 candidates of whom 392 got elected. There were 485 constituencies. The Shan National League for Democracy won 23 constituencies. Rakhine National League for Democracy won 11 constituencies and National Unity Party won 10 constituencies. The Mon National League for Democracy won 5 constituencies and other parties shared 38 constituencies among themselves. Six independent candidates were elected.

All sorts of comments emerged after the elections but all of them were dominated by the assessment that the elections were very fair. Those who said the elections were fair did so because they were supporters of the National League for Democracy. There were objections against election of nine candidates. Elections held were multi-party democracy general elections but some took them to be a contest between the National League for Democracy and the National Unity Party.

It is pertinent here to see who those persons were who won the elections. A wealthy man living on Sule Pagoda Road in Yangon contributed large sums to three parties which meant buying Hluttaw members. That wealthy man was a religious fundamentalist. He desired to segregate Buthitaung, Maungdaw and Rathetaung areas as a religious zone. Some of his candidates won seats under the guise of party candidates and if a democratic course of action was to follow a possibility of northern Rakhine State breaking away arose. This was one incident.

[Transfer of power]

The Tatmadaw realized, as early as about a year before elections that transfer of power immediately after elections would become very problematic. But it was the Tatmadaw's responsibility to prevent the Union from collapsing, to prevent national solidarity from disintegrating and to strengthen sovereignty. It would not be fair for people to do whatever they wished to do and later on blame the Tatmadaw for the consequences. The Tatmadaw had therefore to extinguish the sparks from fuse leading to a powder keg. The Tatmadaw had to defuse the powder keg. (NLM 7/8)

July 9: (25) Problem pushed to the front after the 1990 multiparty democracy elections was the problem of transfer of power. Everybody began demanding immediate transfer of power. They also began to plan for action after getting power.

The following are what those political forces that won the elections planned to do:

1. Religious extremists who had bought deputies with cash began to prepare for establishment of a separate religious zone. They planned to wage an armed struggle if necessary.
2. Parties with narrow racialist views began to prepare to secede territories. They planned to join the insurgents and wage armed struggles if necessary.
3. Political parties who had hopes of gaining power began to cultivate close relations with embassies of West Bloc countries and representatives of West Bloc countries abroad and began to prepare to rely heavily on the West Bloc.
4. Parties dominated by leftists began to try to establish a dictatorship although they continued to comply with the whims of the West Bloc.
5. They began to plan to move the War Office to Indaing outside of Yangon to prevent Tatmadaw from taking over power to separate the Tatmadaw into land force, air force and navy; to dismiss all officers

from the rank of lieutenant colonel and above from the Tatmadaw and to try some of them by courts martial, to destroy the Tatmadaw and to disband the Tatmadaw.

All of these have been ways of destroying the State. Some began to say: "What do we care if we don't have the army? The American army will come." Under these circumstances, emergence of a State Constitution became an immediate need.
[Need for a new Constitution]

Policy statements made by political parties in those days revealed that nine political parties favoured re-enactment of the 1947 Constitution with some modifications. They were persons who wanted to resurrect a dead tiger. That Constitution that had begun to threaten the very existence of the Union with its provisions permitted secession of States had been scrapped in 1962. The 1947 Constitution had been abandoned by everybody in unity.

The Tatmadaw that desired to serve the people would in no way be able to accept the 1947 Constitution. It was because that Constitution permitted States to secede and thus break up the Union. That Constitution was in force in Myanmar from 1948 to 1962 and because of its flaws and deficiencies the country had become most disorderly and that had all been very clear.

The Tatmadaw is also unable to accept the 1974 Constitution that prescribed a single-party system. It was because the mass of the people had said they no longer wanted a single party system. The Tatmadaw was convinced that a new constitution would have to be written. And there were 44 parties who presumably felt that a new constitution would have to be written.

There were 11 parties that did not disclose their attitude about a new constitution or that probably had no particular opinion on the matter. Under those circumstances the Tatmadaw would have to strive to write a new constitution.

Some demanded a transfer of power saying a constitution could be written and approved within three months after that. Some started writing such a constitution stealthily. These were words without wisdom and action without meaning. In fact, it is quite possible to write a constitution in a single day. What is important is that the constitution so written should be durable. It would therefore have to be accepted by a great majority of the citizens including national groups. It should not remain as a mere printed document.

As early as a year before general elections, the Tatmadaw had repeatedly declared that it would hand over power to a government formed in accordance with a constitution. The Tatmadaw will be held responsible if a civil war were to break out because of the transfer of power without a constitution. The Tatmadaw therefore had to begin tackling the problem of writing a constitution as soon as the elections were over.

When the Tatmadaw did not hand over power, the National League for Democracy began to accuse, in its News Bulletin 13/90, that the Tatmadaw had changed its attitude because it did not desire to hand over power. The Tatmadaw said that a constitution would have to be written on 3 July 1990 and that was contrary to what it had said earlier, the News Bulletin alleged. This meant that what was said at the State Law and Order Restoration Council Press Conference of 9 June 1989 was at variance with the attitude expressed at a coordination meeting of State/Divisional Law and Order Restoration Councils held on 3 July 1990.

As a matter of fact, the two were one and the same. There was no discrepancy whatsoever. The News Bulletin 13/90 was only trying to distort them. On 13 July 1990 Press Conference, therefore, the State Law and Order Restoration Council Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt gave a precise and clear explanation of the attitude of the State Law and Order Restoration Council.

The Tatmadaw leaders declared that the long-term benefits of the State and the People were of primary importance. The National League for Democracy said the transfer of power and the freedom of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi were of primary importance. A political leader

of the National League for Democracy told West Bloc media personnel that Tatmadaw leaders would have to be tried at a court of law like Nazi war criminals were tried at Nuremburg at the end of World War II. The worst was a plan to convene a Hluttaw session under unilateral arrangements and unilaterally form a government.

Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt gave detailed explanations about actions that had been taken, at the 100th Press Conference. He cited prevailing Laws. He explained that some party leaders who had action taken against them were not political prisoners and that they had not be charged with any political offence.

"We have to take action under the old laws and provisions for the purpose of restoring peace, the rule of law, ensuring peaceful pursuit by the people of trade and commerce in security.

"We want to say categorically that the action we had taken were not action taken for political offences because the State Law and Order Restoration Council has no political programme. And some of those laws will remain in force until they are abrogated. Is that correct?"

The Tatmadaw had not sided with any political party. No political party existed with the backing of the Tatmadaw. The Tatmadaw followed no political policy or principles. The Tatmadaw had never placed class interests or narrow racist interests in the forefront but it had only been pursuing national politics. Because the Tatmadaw had no particular cause to protect a particular political party or a particular political policy, the action it took was no political action. Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt categorically denied that not all those against whom action was taken on national security and restoration of rule of law grounds were political prisoners [sic].

But when those persons against whom action had been taken for opposing the national political programme being pursued by the Tatmadaw declared themselves to be political prisoners, or when other persons regarded those persons to be political prisoners, they did so only out of their own opinion.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council met with Hluttaw deputies who got elected. It did not meet with any single political party, however. The Government reminded political parties to render accounts of their election expenditures under Sections 47 and 48 of the Elections Law. This was to ensure that the elections were held according to law. It was also to help train persons in the practice of democracy.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council began to pay attention to the writing of a new constitution because it wanted to transfer power systematically. But it did not think of writing a constitution in a hurry. This was because a constitution would remain durable only when it is approved by a majority. The Tatmadaw therefore had to make preparations to hold a National Convention.

In Myanmar, national unity had indeed splintered. The Na-wa-ta therefore tried for national reconciliation. It made peace with insurgent organisations from the jungles. It avoided, as far as possible, getting into brawls aboveground. And it is an indisputable fact that emergence of a firm constitution hinged on national reconciliation. (NLM 7/9)

[Rebuilding national solidarity]

July 10: (26) As a matter of fact, the four political objectives being pursued by the State Law and Order Restoration Council were correlated. The most important factor for the State was national security and to ensure national security, the State Law and Order Restoration Council had to restore community peace, the rule of law and political stability.

National solidarity is a prerequisite for national security. As the situation stands today, national unity is in splinters: it has been so for the past many eras. National solidarity had therefore to be restored.

In rebuilding national solidarity, striving to put an end to armed conflicts was not the only way. Above ground political conflicts heading towards armed clashes and threatening national

security must also be dealt with. Opinions may differ on this point. A total capitulation for the purpose of achieving national reconciliation will not secure national reconciliation but, on the contrary, might even damage national security.

Even one's own brother might have to be restrained if, in spite of repeated requests for unity, he becomes rough and belligerent, for his own good.

A strong contract is a prerequisite for durable national solidarity. The Tatmadaw had therefore to lend its efforts to writing a firm constitution. That constitution would have to be more than a piece of paper. The Tatmadaw had to strive to build a new State in conformity with the new Constitution.

As a matter of fact, endeavours made to convene a National Convention for the purpose of creating a new constitution had to be made on the basis of national reconciliation.

Action had to be taken for the sake of national security and patience had to be exercised for the sake of national reconciliation. Quarrels had to be shunned: warnings had to be given repeatedly that quarrels in the country would promptly bring in outside interference. Some over ground political forces considered the Tatmadaw as their enemy but the Tatmadaw did not consider them to be its enemies.

[Detainees released]

In the year 1989, the State Law and Order Restoration Council issued its Proclamation No. 4/89 and freed 9,616 prisoners and 18,837 under-trial prisoners. A total of 28,453 were therefore freed under Order No. 4/89 among whom were many who had been convicted for committing crimes, and not merely demonstrating, during the disturbances. At the same time those who kept agitating and inciting violence had to be arrested.

In 1992, under Order No. 11/92, 1227 detainees were freed, in 1993, 791 detainees were freed, in 1994, 96 detainees were released, in 1995, 132 detainees were released. On the Tatmadaw Golden Jubilee Day, 7,753 convicts from Yebet camps were freed. During the period of the State Law and Order Restoration Council rule, a total of 38,452 prisoners and under-trial prisoners were released. Some of them were then serving sentences passed in the time of the State Law and Order Restoration Council. Not all of them were political prisoners: there were criminal offenders among them and there were agitators too.

Death sentences were commuted to prison terms. In the time of the State Law and Order Restoration Council death sentences were passed but not one of these was actually carried out. Those given prison terms enjoyed remission periods.

All these were done in great magnanimity. In other words, they were done for the sake of national reconciliation. There were politicians among those convicted under criminal laws but the convictions were made to deter them from following the wrong path. They were all invariably freed when they no longer were a threat to the nation.

[Names of released prisoners]

U Hla Pe, the National League for Democracy Deputy from Launglon Township Constituency No. 1 tried to oppose the State with his paper under the heading "Three Methods". He was therefore arrested on 30 January 1992 and sentenced to 13 years imprisonment. But he was freed on 25 April 1992. He was expelled from the National League for Democracy one day before his release from prison. U Soe Thein, U Khin Maung Tun, U Myo Aung and U C Vang Sul were all from the National League for Democracy and sentenced to from seven to ten years imprisonment for the same offence. But all of them were released before they had served even one year of their term.

U Shwe, U Ba Htwe, U Maung Maung, U Ohn Maung, Saw Chit Than, U Tin Aye and Ma Thanegi pursued a political defiance line which was tantamount to inciting violence and were therefore given prison terms ranging from four years to ten years but they were all released on 26 April 1992.

U Chit Khaing, Central Executive Committee Member of the National League for Democracy, forwarded to certain embassies, copies

of a secret document sent by the State Law and Order Restoration Council to the NLD. For that offence as well as for compiling the paper headed "Three Methods", he was sentenced to a ten year prison term. But he obtained his release within one year.

U Po Aung of the UNDP, U Htein Lin of Youth United Front (Myanmar), U Aung Zay (also known as Taw Paya Lay), of National Political Front and Dr. Maung Maung Kyaw of Nationalities Friendship Association were also set free on 27 April 1992.

Pha-Sa-Pa-La (Central) leaders Daw Cho Cho Kyaw Nyein and U Saw Lwin were set free in 1992. Mahn Nyunt Maung (also known as Maung Sin Kyai), General Secretary of the Union Kayin Nationals League, fled into the jungles and joined the ranks of the expatriates when he was released from prison. Writer Maung Wun Tha and Shwegu May Hninn were also released. Move star Aung Lwin was also released.

On 28 April 1992, a halt to military offensives was declared in accordance with the policy of national reconciliation. And soon after, in May, persons regarded by the West Bloc media and over ground political parties as being political prisoners, were released. They had been under detention for various offences. Some had followed the political defiance line, others had slandered the Tatmadaw, others had committed sedition against the government and others had incited violence.

Among them were also those who maintained contacts with the insurgent ABSDF, with the remnants of Burma Communist Party leadership and with the KNU's. There were some among them who had concealed weapons, who falsified accounts and who abetted in abortions.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council released within one year a person who had been given 25 years of prison under Section 122 (1) of the Penal Code, for conspiring to establish a parallel government. Those imprisoned for keeping contacts with Sein Win's parallel government in the jungles were magnanimously set free. Former Communist and political veterans Thakhin Tin Mya and Yebaw Chan Aye (also known as Writer Maung Soosan) were set free.

Opposition movements intensified when the Tatmadaw did not hand over power after the 27 May 1990 General Elections. As usual, they planned to attack the Tatmadaw from under ground and above ground, in concert. Above ground political parties jostled with one another trying to establish contacts with insurgents. They began to fraternise with embassies. Hluttaw Deputy Sein Win, elected as a National Democracy Party candidate, fled to Thai border and organised a parallel government. Some other Deputies of the National League for Democracy also fled and established a Liberated Area. All of them went to gather at Manerplaw, the headquarters of the KNU.
[National Convention]

Some persons began to think of attacking the Tatmadaw with foreign help without realizing that they had thereby become traitors to the nation. The Tatmadaw was thus compelled to take action against them. There were therefore arrests and detentions but the Tatmadaw released them all under its Policy of National Reconciliation.

All persons detained between 1990 and 1992 for offences ranging from incitement to violence to conspiring to oppose and topple the State Law and Order Restoration Council were released under the Policy of National Reconciliation. The Tatmadaw accepted the idea of holding a National Convention for the purpose of writing a Constitution. The convening of a National Convention however was impeded for up to three years.

The Red Flag Thakhin Soe Gyi had, in 1963, asked for the convening of a National Convention. Former Prime Minister U Nu also asked for it in 1968. Conferences attended by a large number of delegates had been held successfully in the past but all these were of members of the same party with no dissenters among them.

The Tatmadaw endeavoured to hold a National Convention without fail and it did that under its Policy of National Reconciliation.
(NLM 7/10)

[Need for a Constitution]

July 11: (27) A Constitution is the life-blood of a nation. A State is not viable without a constitution. An institution like the Tatmadaw may be able to sustain it temporarily but a State needs a constitution for an enduring existence. To what degree a State is peaceful and economically prosperous depends on what extent that State is able to abide by its constitution and how strong and superior that constitution is.

In Myanma history, King Anawrahta, with might and majesty, built the First Myanmar Empire. When King Sawin succeeded King Anawrahta the State nearly collapsed. Kyansitthar reinforced the State. The State prospered under Kings Alaung Sithu, Narapati, etc. But the State broke apart and was destroyed under the rule of King Nara Thihapate.

The State declined under the inefficient rule of King Nara Thihapate. The military might declined when Minister Raza Thingyan was exiled. To put it in modern parlance, national unity broke apart and rebellions emerged. Chiangmai, Ayudia, Mottama and Macchagiri rose in rebellion. At that moment, Tartar hordes, recorded in history as 'Tarok Tarak', invaded and ransacked the country.

King Bayint Naung Kyaw Htin Nawrahta, also with his military might built the Second Myanmar Empire. However, when King Bayint Naung, also known as Hanthawady Hsinbyu Myar Shin, passed away, the State again collapsed. King Nyaungyan rebuilt the State that however endured for only ten successive kings.

King Alaung Mintara U Aung Zeya, also with his military might, built up the Third Myanmar Empire. Parts of the State fell into imperialist hands during the reign of King Bagyidaw. Half the State was lost during the reign of King Bagan. The whole country fell into imperialist hands during the reign of King Thibaw.

During the days of feudalism, kings were absolute monarchs and their governments were dictatorships. There were no precise constitutions. The State prospered when the King was able and the State suffered when the King was inefficient. A king's son could become a King or he who could do away with a king could become a King himself.

Under imperialism, Myanmar was ruled at the whim and fancy of imperialists. England is said to have no written constitution, but it has acts, rules, regulations and precedents that possess the force of a constitution. But that was not for Myanmars but only for the English people.

The British rules Myanmar by Decrees until they began to give constitutions piecemeal. In the year 1935, the Government of Burma Act, 1935, was enacted. A systematic administration, as distinct from administrations of expediency, may be said to have begun in that year.

[Drafting the 1947 and 1974 Constitutions]

In the run up to Myanma Independence, preparations to draft a constitution were made and the Panglong Agreement of 12 February 1947 was a commitment by hill peoples and plains peoples to secure Independence together and to build up a Union Republic. The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League held a Preparatory Convention from 19 to 23 May 1947 where a Draft Constitution was discussed.

Following this Preparatory Convention, the Constituent Assembly held its first session on 10 June 1947 for the purpose of drafting a constitution. A seventy-five member committee for drafting a Union Constitution and State Constitutions was then appointed. Other necessary sub-committees were also appointed.

The second session of the Constituent Assembly began on 29 July 1947. The Committee on National Flag, National Anthem and National Emblem submitted its Report and was approved. Fundamental principles were approved with modifications and the constitution was drafted in the form of a Bill.

The third session of the Constituent Assembly was held on 15 September 1947. The constitution was debated article by article. The entire constitution was approved on 24 September 1947. This Constitution was adopted when Myanmar gained Independence. What all

these mean is that even a constitution that had to be written post-haste within one year as desired by imperialists had to begin with the Panglong Conference and end of [sic] Constituent Assembly sessions. This Constitution, full of flaws, was put to an end on 2 March 1962.

From 2 March 1962 to 2 January 1974, the Tatmadaw appointed a Revolutionary Council and ruled the country. During that period, the country was ruled by Orders, Instructions and some revalidated old Acts, without a written constitution.

The First Party Congress of the Burma Socialist Programme Party began on 27 June 1971 where the State Constitution Drafting Commission was appointed. Committees required to write the Draft in separate Chapters were also appointed.

The Constitution Drafting Commission prepared the Draft in consultation with the masses. The First Draft and the Second Draft were approved by the Burma Socialist Programme Party Central Committee. The Third Draft was approved by the Party Congress.

The Revolutionary Council then enacted, on 14 August 1973, a National Referendum Law, for the purpose of prescribing the Constitution by a nation-wide referendum. The Referendum held on 3 January 1974 approved the Constitution. The 1974 Constitution emerged only after twelve years of Revolutionary Council rule.

The 1947 Constitution was drafted within the space of half a year's time and functioned only for 14 years. Some articles of that Constitution remained unimplemented and other articles generated contentions and controversies. Formation of Rakhine State, Mon State and Chin State was held in abeyance. It ultimately had to be terminated by the Tatmadaw because it had provided rights of secession that could lead to fragmentation of the Union.

As compared to the 1947 Constitution, the 1974 Constitution took more time in its making. Its special feature was that it was approved by a nation-wide referendum. In other words, it obtained the widest possible mass approval. But the masses disliked it because it ordained a single party system. That compelled the Tatmadaw to take over power and put an end to the constitution.

Best efforts had been put to make both the 1947 Constitution and the 1974 Constitution as comprehensive as possible. But they lost there relevance when they became effete and impracticable.

There has been no Constitution in Myanmar beginning 18 September 1988. The Tatmadaw has been ruling the country with Orders, Instructions, Proclamations by exercising powers conferred by existing legislation. Laws rendered superfluous were repealed and law deemed necessary were enacted.

The Tatmadaw has no intention to rule the country for life.

Neither is it possible to transfer power without a Constitution. Such a transfer would enable the government to do what it fancies. Non-governmental organisations will also do what they like. A constitution provides a framework not only for the government but for non governmental forces. It is not possible for a government to go on doing what it likes and or the masses of the people to live as they wish.

Drafting of the 1947 Constitution was based on the Panglong Constitution, the Pha-Sa-Pa-La Convention and the Constituent Assembly Drafting of the 1974 Constitution was based on Party Congresses and Meetings. As many political forces as possible were organised though it could not be claimed that all the forces were mobilized. In other words, they were not like a national convention attended by all classes of delegates.

At the 1963 Peace Parleys, Red Flag Thakhin Soe demanded a national convention attended by delegates from all classes and strata of people and from all national groups. He said even sergeants in the Tatmadaw should be able to send delegates. In 1968, former Prime Minister U Nu demanded a national convention to be attended even by representatives of insurgents, for the purpose of drafting a constitution.

[National Convention]

The Tatmadaw endeavoured to hold a national convention to be attended by as many classes of delegates as possible for the purpose of formulating fundamental principles for a new constitution: this National Convention began to take shape by the middle of 1992. (NLM 7/11)

July 11: (28) It needs hardly be mentioned again that ever since 18 September 1988 when the Tatmadaw took over all State powers it has adopted four political objectives for itself. It had to overcome a lot of difficulties to achieve the first objective of restoring national stability, community peace and tranquility and the rule of law, or the National Security. It was able to hold elections only when the national security situation had improved.

It had also to strive on a broad front, over ground as well as under ground, to achieve the second objective of national reconciliation. The holding of a national convention as a fruit of national reconciliation remained uncertain till the middle of 1992. This was because it had to tackle the problem of transfer of power immediately after elections. It had to confront and ward off concerted attacks from under ground, above ground, within the country and outside of the country for transfer of power.

The National Convention is founded on national reconciliation just as it is directed towards emergence of a strong new State Constitution. The National Convention, at the same time, has been an aspiration of veteran politicians with great traditions in Myanmar politics. A lot of people had believed that only a National Convention would be in a position to solve many of Myanmar political conflicts.

On 24 April 1992, the State Law and Order Restoration Council, under its Proclamation No. 11/92, freed those detainees who no longer posed a threat to national security. This gesture, made under the Proclamation, not limited only to the year 1992: it is still being followed up to now. Detainees who were no longer considered as a national security risk were released in 1992, 1993, 1994 and up till 1995.

A total of 1,227 detainees released in 1992 included 59 women. Among them were many who were in a position to discuss within their respective parties the question of the national convention. There were party leaders and key party personnel among them.

In its Proclamation No. 11/92, the State Law and Order Restoration Council stated that leaders of elected deputies of legitimate political parties and deputies elected as independent candidates will be consulted with two months on the question of convening a national convention and that a national convention would be convened within six months for the purpose of formulating fundamental principles for the drafting of a firm constitution.

In addition to releasing detainees who had ceased to be national security risks, the State Law and Order Restoration Council, on 28 April 1992, halted all military offensives on a countrywide scale. A national convention should, in fact, be attended not only by over ground political forces, but also by political forces of the under ground.

On 28 May 1992, Order No. 9/92, convening a meeting to discuss convening of a national convention was issued. On the same day, Notification No. 39/92 was issued under which a leading committee to lead the discussions for convening a national convention was appointed under the chairmanship of Major-General Myo Nyunt.

The first session of the discussions for holding the national convention was held on 23 June 1992 attended by members of the leading committee, leaders of elected deputies from political parties and deputies elected as independent candidates. As a matter of fact even, these discussions had to be held in the face of impediments and obstacles. There had been a lot of opposing contentions.

At the discussions, participants were invited to say who, from among the masses of the people, and how many of them should attend the national convention. Major-General Myo Nyunt who acted as the Chairman pointed out that now is the opportune time for political

parties to work in trust and co-operation with the State Law and Order Restoration Council. He reminded the participants to give priority to national interest over party interest.

In these discussions, the State Law and Order Restoration Council secured co-operation of a number of political parties. Those discussions were the first face-to-face talks between the State Law and Order Restoration Council and political parties. During discussions on 30 June 1992, seven leaders of political party deputies and one independent deputy expressed their wishes and attitudes freely, frankly and earnestly. Thus ended the nearly four years, beginning September 1988, of stand-off.

The third session of the discussions was held on 10 July 1992. At this session, Tatmadaw leaders advised the participants to keep in the fore Our Three Main National Causes, namely non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuation of national sovereignty which form the basis of the Tatmadaw's concepts and beliefs.

Political party deputies who attended the discussions were --

- National League for Democracy...15
- Shan National League for Democracy...6
- National Unity Party...3
- Union Pa-oh National League...3
- Mro (or) Khamee National Unity Party...1
- Shan State Kokang Democratic Party...1
- Lahu National Development Party...1

At the discussions seven leaders of Political Party deputies and one independent deputy suggested that the following categories of delegates be invited to the National Convention --

- (1) Delegates from political parties,
- (2) Delegates of elected deputies,
- (3) Nationalities delegates,
- (4) Farmers' delegates,
- (5) Workers' delegates,
- (6) Intelligentsia & intellectuals delegates,
- (7) State service personnel delegates,
- (8) Others who should be invited as delegates.

However, views as to the number of delegates to be allotted to each category, differed. It was quite natural for parties to desire to send as many delegates as possible. Some suggested that armed insurgents, too, be invited and that a General Amnesty be declared before the Convention. The Tatmadaw however urged insurgents who desired to attend the National Convention to first abandon their armed struggle programme and return to the legal fold. Military offensives have already been halted. As regards Amnesty, Proclamation No. 11/92 would suffice.

At the end of the third session, the State Law and Order Restoration Council and Tatmadaw Defence Services Commander-in-Chief, Senior General Than Shwe, accompanied by Secretary-1, Secretary-2, Commander-in-Chief (Navy) and Commander-in-Chief (Air Force) had a friendly cordial meeting with leaders of political party deputies and independent deputies, attending the discussions.

One crisis may be regarded to have been resolved.

Beginning September 1988, the State Law and Order Restoration Council and the political parties were at odds with each other. The State Law and Order Restoration Council had been compelled to take some action. Some leaders of political parties were heading from above ground disturbances towards an armed revolution. In fact the 1992 discussions for Convening a National Convention may be regarded as peace discussions. Those who were finding it difficult to come face to face with each other had now come to face each other. [Committees to run the National Convention]

The discussions led to an agreement in principle in classifying types of delegates who would be invited to the National Convention. The Leading Committee for Discussions for Convening a National Convention submitted its report to the State Law and Order Restoration Council on 7 August 1992. The State Law and Order

Restoration Council studied the Report and promptly did what had to be done.

As a matter of fact, the present composition of delegates of the National Convention is enough indication of a structure Myanmar is to assume in future.

Socialism and Communism represent classes of people. Socialists claim they serve the interests of peasants and workers. Communists say they aim at establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialist and Communist congresses will be attended only by class representatives. Similarly, right extremists will work only for their own nationalities.

When all types of parties try to create a multi-party democracy system, there will be among them parties representing classes, parties representing ethnic races and other class of parties, too. The National Convention pattern indicates that Myanmar will definitely never return to socialism on any account.

Nonetheless, there are accusations that the Tatmadaw is scheming to establish a dictatorship. Some of those who make these accusations claim themselves to be experts in politics. In any case, the Tatmadaw may be seen to be forging steadfastly ahead under a programme it believes to be the best for the citizen and for the State. (NLM 7/12)

July 12: (29) On 2 October 1992, the State Law and Order Restoration Council, by its Order No. 13/92, appointed the National Convention Convening Commission with Major-General Myo Nyunt as President. This Order laid down precise responsibilities, tasks and rights of the Commission. The National Convention was to find out what are to be the fundamental principles for drafting a constitution. There were 18 members in the Commission.

The National Convention Convening Commission, for better effectiveness in performance of its tasks and responsibilities, appointed a 27-member National Convention Convening Work Committee, with the Chief Justice of the Union, U Aung Toe, as Chairman. The National Convention Convening Management Committee with 36 members was also appointed with the Inspector-General of the Tatmadaw Brig-Gen. Tin Aye as Chairman.

[Six objectives of the National Convention]

The State Law and Order Restoration Council will be seen to have made careful preparations to convene the National Convention. It would not do to convene a National Convention with an attitude of 'the more the merrier'. An inflated National Convention would not do. Engaging interminably in rambling arguments would be out of place in a National Convention. A six-point guideline was therefore set down for the National Convention, namely --

- (1) non-disintegration of the Union;
- (2) non-disintegration of national solidarity;
- (3) perpetuation of sovereignty;
- (4) development of a genuine multi-party democracy;
- (5) development in the nation of the Universal Laws of Justice, Liberty and Equality;
- (6) inclusion of the Tatmadaw in the leading role of national politics of future Myanmar.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council prescribed that the National Convention function within the framework of these six objectives. It is necessary at this point to study if these six objectives would be acceptable or not.

Non-disintegration of the Union: is that acceptable?

Nobody could say 'Not acceptable'. Accepted unanimously by all.

Those who say 'not acceptable' will be those who desire a disintegration of the Union or, in other words, who desire the destruction of the State. There was therefore nobody who said 'not acceptable'. Even if there was some body who could not accept it, he would only keep quiet.

Non-disintegration of national solidarity: is that acceptable?

All accepted it: there was no body who could not accept it.

Those who were unable to accept it must be those who desired

the collapse of national solidarity. In other words, they would be those who desired dissent and disunity among national peoples, who desired to see them killing one another and destroying the Union in the process. Such people would not say openly that non-disintegration of national solidarity was not acceptable [to] them. They would only wage whispering instigation. They would only try to sow doubts and suspicions.

Perpetuation of national sovereignty: is that acceptable?

Those who desired to keep their country under their own rule would accept that. All national political forces who believed in the right of national self determination would accept it. Those who desired to hand over national sovereignty into the hands of aliens, or those who desired to do the bidding of aliens, or those who still stank of slavery, may not be able to accept perpetuation of national sovereignty.

In this context, aliens who aspire to have a hold on Myanmar sovereign powers, too, might not be able to accept perpetuation of national sovereignty. But they will only go on professing respect for Myanmar sovereignty. They will have to be taken note of.

Of the six objectives prescribed for the National Convention, the first three were none other than Our Three Main National Causes. The Tatmadaw has repeatedly declared that Our Three Main National Causes are its national political concepts. Despite that, the Tatmadaw was being opposed. Somebody said: "Don't accept Our Three Main National Causes." But instigations made to destroy the sign-boards proclaiming Our Three Main National Causes, should not be forgotten.

The fourth objective for the National Convention was the development of a genuine multi-party democracy system. It was impossible to omit this issue. Myanmar was already headed towards a multi-party democracy. After pledging to establish a multi-party democracy system and then to allow a single party dictatorship to flourish would lead to real trouble. Myanmar practised a multi-party parliamentary democracy prior to 1962. Yet only one party, the Pha-Sa-Pa-La [AFPFL] wielded power till 1958. The Opposition had repeatedly pointed out that the Pha-Sa-Pa-La had become a single party dictator. And this situation, in fact, led to the 1958 split drama that pushed the country onto the way to a civil war.

Every body accepted the development of genuine multi-party democracy.

Development of the Universal Laws of Justice, Liberty and Equality, was accepted by all national political forces. These laws are the foundations of democracy. There must be Justice, there must be Liberty and there must be equality if democracy is to develop. But it must not be forgotten that all this must be within the framework of law.

[Leading role for the Tatmadaw]

'Inclusion of the Tatmadaw in the leading role of national politics of future Myanmar', however, caused hesitations. Foreign countries began opposing this point at the top of their voice. Diverse comments and criticism also appeared within the country.

Was this objective laid down because the Tatmadaw intended to keep a grip on power? Was it prescribed to enable the Tatmadaw to take over power at any time?

Some political parties remained skeptical.

Armed forces do not dabble in politics in some big democratic countries. Armed forces keep aloof from politics in some of the economically very developed countries. They keep themselves to their barracks. These were pointed out. But they overlooked the fact that in those countries scarcely anybody desire voluntarily to join the armed forces so much so that citizens had to be forced to become soldiers by means of National Service Legislation. Soldier return to civilian life on completion of their terms of national service. Those who desire to do politics resign from the armed forces and those who are so inclined remain in the armed forces.

The Tatmadaw in Myanmar is not of this pattern.

It was founded on national politics since its very inception. It was founded on patriotism. Myanmar are nationalistic by nature. They will never remain as onlookers where national matters are concerned. When an enemy to the nation emerged they would fight him with weapons they could readily lay their hands on.

Tatmadaw is an organisation that led the movement to gain Independence. It is also a national political organisation established most strongly, firmly and methodically. The Tatmadaw can do politics without bearing arms. It has gained a lot of political experience.

What is meant by 'national politics' needs to be clarified at this point.

Generally, Myanmar see only one kind of politics. They have not been able to distinguish national politics from party politics. The experience they have had was one of a 'mixture'.

During the period of BIA and BDA, the Tatmadaw's policy was 'Independence first, independence second and independence third'. That was national politics. The policy was Independence first, Democracy second and Socialism third, on the eve of anti-fascist resistance. The words 'democracy' and 'socialism' crept in because it was necessary to join hands with the Allies for the purpose of anti-Fascist resistance and because there were communists and socialists in the The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League.

As a matter of fact, during the pre-independence days, 'independence' was the only national politics. 'Democracy' and 'Socialism' were only utopia. The Tatmadaw endeavoured only for Independence which was national politics. The Tatmadaw did nothing in practice about democracy or socialism.

Insurgency emerged immediately after Independence. The Tatmadaw had to fight the insurgents. In this respect the Tatmadaw shouldered not an exclusively military responsibility. The Defence Services Chief of Staff was then also a Deputy Prime Minister, the Defence Minister and the Home Minister. He had to rectify everything that was in disorder in the country. That was national politics. Just as 'independence' was national politics in pre-Independence days, 'democracy' became national politics in post-Independence days. Having secured 'independence' the Tatmadaw now had to protect that independence and prevent the Union from splitting up. In this process the Tatmadaw had to defeat the communist one-party system and side with the democratic government.

In 1958, the democracy government ceased being 'democratic'. The party holding government split into two and began to tread a path to civil war: the Tatmadaw had to take up the responsibilities of a Caretaker Government. This was exclusively national politics. And, in 1962, when power had to be taken over as the Union was on the verge of collapse, the Tatmadaw, in the garb of a Revolutionary Council, had to take full charge of the leading role in national politics.

Masses had followed for the umpteenth time the leadership of politicians who had been performing on the political stage. When the audience began to raise such an uproarious commotion, the Tatmadaw had been forced to drop a final curtain on the stage and introduce an altogether different production. It would not be good to go on in this way. Does not the Tatmadaw, a very strong national political force, deserve a leading role in a performance on the political stage? Or, is the Tatmadaw to remain confined to barracks as an onlooker with its mouth gagged?

Has the Tatmadaw laid down this objective to permit the Tatmadaw a role in the political leadership of the future Myanmar to enable it to take over power every now and then? What would be the Tatmadaw's answer if such a question were to be asked?

"Because it does not like to take over power every now and then." This, I think, is going to be the Tatmadaw's likely answer. (NLM 7/13)

July 14: (30) When six objectives were laid down as a framework within which the National Convention should work, objective No. 6 came under concerted attacks from inside and outside of the country.

The Tatmadaw must return to the barracks, said the critics. As a matter of fact, there was no need for the Tatmadaw to return to barracks because it had always remained in the barracks while attending to diverse chores. The Tatmadaw explained the difference between party politics and national politics. Articles were published. The Tatmadaw and the Leading Role in Myanma National Politics was published in book form. This book is now sold out. [National politics vs. party politics]

The Tatmadaw said that it only wanted to do national politics: not party politics. This point needs clarification because parties also have something to say on it.

Are not political parties also doing national politics? Have they no such intentions? Does 'politics' necessarily mean 'party politics'? Are not political parties for the people? Does the term 'party politics' imply that 'party politicians' are self seekers? If that is the implication, why would people be doing politics for their own benefit, they might as well engage directly in business?

A large number of political parties consider that they also are doing national politics. They believe that the Tatmadaw is merely denouncing party politics. This is a point that has failed to click. Again to cite a past instance.

In 1945 the Tatmadaw rose up against fascism. Communists and Socialists also joined the The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League and took part in the anti-fascist rising. That was national politics because fascism was a threat to the whole nation: it was a national issue.

Communists claim that they are for the proletariat: communism is founded on the working class. A working man is said to be he who lives on his labour and has no other worldly possession. According to the communism, a farmer owning a plot of land ceases to be a proletariat [sic]. Communism gives no priority to nationalism. It is believed to have to do with the whole world. If the whole of Myanmar was completely proletarian, communism may become national politics. But never had all Myanmars been proletariat.

The Burma Socialist Programme Party claimed that it was founded on workers and peasants. Merchants and brokers disliked that. The Party said it was anti-capitalist. Nationalisation left no capitalists for the party to work against. When a class party is called upon to represent the whole nation it can no longer represent only one or two classes. Socialism could represent the whole nation at a particular time but not always.

A party that represents a national group, naturally, works only for the particular national group it represents. Among parties that emerged in 1988 in Myanmar, there were parties that represented particular classes and there were parties that represented particular national groups. At times when they work in the interests of the whole nation, or in the interests of the entire mass of the people they do national politics. At times when they implement their own party policy and programme when they work in the interests of those they represent, they do party politics. Trying to gain power for their party is also doing party politics.

Leaving aside, for the time being, the various parties that emerged during the time of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, consider the twenty-seven parties whose candidates got elected in the general elections. There are eighteen parties claiming to represent the same national group and the same territory. They will work for their own national groups and for their own areas. This is party politics. It need not be blamed, too, just because it is party politics. But when they take part in any movement on national issues they are doing national politics.

Among those parties are some that presumably would represent class interests and others that presumably would represent a particular political ideology.

The Tatmadaw, however, represents no political ideology whatever. It does not represent any particular class of people, it does not represent any particular national group, it does not

represent any particular territory. The Tatmadaw represents Our Three Main National Causes. It represents all Myanmar citizens, all national groups living in Myanmar, all classes of people that are in Myanmar, the whole of Myanmar.

Is this immense force to be denied a role on the political stage of Myanmar and forced into the role of a mere spectator? Now, when a constitution has emerged and if that constitution is being flouted and violated, who is going to protect it? Even some developed nations have ordained that their armed forces have a responsibility to protect the Constitution: is that not true?

The Tatmadaw had to make repeated elucidations as criticisms of Objective No. 6 emerged. Some, on account of this Objective No. 6, began opposing the very valuable other objectives too. It is quite incredible that whole hearted support was withheld from the remaining five objectives. That amounted to saying: 'We no longer want democracy: what is important is that we should be given power.'
[Composition of National Convention]

On 2 October 1992, the State Law and Order Restoration Council, under its Order No. 13/92, appointed the National Convention Convening Commission and, under its Order No. 14/92, proclaimed that the National Convention was to begin its sessions on 9 January 1993. The Tatmadaw did its best to convene the National Convention as declared.

There were ten legitimate political parties when the National Convention commenced. Five delegates each from these parties, totalling 50 delegates were invited to attend. The Commission issued invitations to persons nominated by these parties. From among deputies elected at the General Elections, 99 deputies from six legitimate political parties were invited. They were also as nominated by the parties concerned. Eight independent deputies were invited.

Two hundred and fifteen delegates of national groups were invited. Ninety-three farmers' delegates and 48 workers' delegates were invited. These delegates were chosen by supervisory bodies appointed for different regions. These supervisory bodies were made up of three Heads of Department with intimate relations with national groups, three Heads of Department with intimate relations with farmers, three Heads of Department with intimate relations with workers, two widely respected persons with intimate knowledge of national groups, two widely respected persons with intimate knowledge about farmers and two widely respected persons with intimate knowledge about workers, totalling 15.

Supervisory bodies were formed with experts together with respected persons. Delegates were chosen in conformity with prescribed rules and conditions.

Ninety-two delegates of government employees were invited. Government employees play an important role in the administrative machine: they did not have to be left in neglect.

Among 57 who deserved to be invited were 42 persons from armed organisations that had returned to the legal fold. Delegates of organisations which returned to legal fold after commencement of the National Convention were also invited as observers. There were also 15 personalities who had political, social, economic and administrative experience.

[Tasks for National Convention]

The following arrangements, in their natural sequence, were made for the National Convention--

- (1) to elect members of the presidium;
- (2) to thrash out and choose chapter headings for the constitution;
- (3) to thrash out and choose fundamental principles pertinent to each of the chosen chapter headings.

The National Convention commenced on 9 January 1993 attended by all delegates. On 1 February, discussions were held in groups and a presidium was successfully elected. This had not been a mean achievement. It had been the first face to face encounter for a very large number of delegates. Some of them had only lately been

adversaries. Some of them had had mutually hostile attitudes. They were no longer adversaries and they were no longer hostile to one another now.

The National Convention is pure national politics. Delegates began to deliberate on matters far more important than party politics, far more important than politics they represented; they had now begun to do national politics.

The National Convention has, as of today, succeeded in placing 15 chapters for the constitution in their proper sequence. It is now laying down one chapter after another. It has also prescribed 104 fundamental principles for the constitution. Among the 104 fundamental principles are the very contentious six objectives of the National Convention in the form of The Guiding Principles of the State.

Fundamental Principles have been formulated for the Chapter on the State, the Chapter on the State Structure and the Chapter on the Head of State. The constitution has begun to take shape. Discussions are under way for formulating fundamental principles for chapters relating to sovereign power, namely the legislature, the judiciary and the government.

Masses have been taking interest in the proceedings of the National Convention and only when national groups had expressed their views the masses have clearly learnt what they really wanted. Only now have they learnt: "Oh, that is what they want." Some persons' eyes popped out when they heard suggestions for creation of self-administered regions and self-administered areas. Only then did they come to realize the importance of national reconsolidation. Only then did they understand the importance of a constitution. When thorough discussions continued, solutions began emerging one after another. Fundamental principles have no successfully been laid for creation of Naga Self-Administered Area, Danu Self-Administered Area, Pa-O Self-Administered Area, Palaung Self-Administered Area, Kokang Self-Administered Area and Wa Self-Administered Region.

The Constitution is important for the State of Myanmar to endure forever. The Constitution needs to have the consent of all concerned. National reconsolidation will endure forever only when there is Justice, Liberty and Equality among national groups. Exhortations to unite are not enough. What is important is to be united in practice. The ability of the National Convention to lay down in detail fundamental principles for the Constitution has been an invaluable achievement.

The National Convention was to lay down fundamental principles for an urgently needed State Constitution. It now appears certain that delegates to the National Convention will continue to shoulder their responsibilities till success is achieved.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council has set itself the emergence of a new enduring Constitution as its political objective and bent its efforts in that direction. Its ability to conduct the National Convention with a great momentum is indeed a very great accomplishment. (NLM 7/ 14)

July 15: (31) The fourth, out of the four political objectives of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, is for building a new modern developed nation in accord with the new State Constitution. [National reconsolidation]

The State Law and Order Restoration Council had to endeavour, with much difficulty, to convene a National Convention on the principle of national reconsolidation for creation of a firm State constitution. Impediments were diverse: disruptions had been prolific; it had not been easy; it was immensely difficult. Despite all these difficulties the State Law and Order Restoration Council had successfully convened the National Convention.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council has been striving to achieve the first three political objectives simultaneously. It has been relentlessly endeavouring to restore national stability, community peace and tranquility and the rule of law. It has to restore political stability and community peace and tranquility

aboveground. Re-establishment of the rule of law has also been an important task. The Tatmadaw has to keep fighting opium bandits and smuggler thugs like Khun Sa's Loimaw Group.

It has unremittingly been working for national reconsolidation. It keeps making peace with one armed organisation after another. And it has not been so easy to protect peace already established with those organisations. There have been constant instigations, incitements and provocations for these organisations to resume hostilities. The State Law and Order Restoration Council has to contend with all these difficulties. Masses of the people rejoiced when the New Mon State Party returned to the legal fold. Those who are unable to rejoice continue hinting with malice that it was but a temporary truce and still quite fragile.

[Recent releases from prison]

On 15 March 1995, U Kyi Maung was set free. He was then serving two 10-year consecutive prison terms. U Tin Oo, who was president of the National League for Democracy was also released on the same day. He was then serving a three-year prison term and a ten-year prison term. Dr. Aung Khin Sint had been released since 4 February 1995. Poet Tin Moe had also been released.

The National Convention emerged out of the principle of national reconsolidation. To continue the National Convention to a successful conclusion is also in consonance with the principle of national reconsolidation. And it has become dead certain that the National Convention will successfully accomplish its main task of laying down fundamental principles for the writing of a constitution.

Now, say the third political objective of the State Law and Order Restoration Council of creating a firm constitution has been achieved.

[Future role of the Tatmadaw]

What then...?

A State will have to be structured in accordance with the constitution. The Tatmadaw will be found to have taken the responsibility of building up a modern and developed State in accordance with the Constitution as one of its political objectives. That is to say, the Tatmadaw's responsibilities are not over with the writing of a firm constitution.

A constitution is not merely to remain and exist on paper.

This country will endure forever only when words on paper are translated into concrete action. The Constitution will precisely define the responsibilities of the government. Rights and responsibilities of the citizens will also be precisely defined. The government must conscientiously carry out their responsibilities. National political forces concerned, too, will have to conform precisely to the Constitution.

Nobody will blame the Tatmadaw if it were to leave the Constitution behind after it had been created saying: "We have now done our duty." But, translating a document into deeds might not be so easy all the time. That is why the Tatmadaw has asked for a role in future Myanma political leadership.

Consider the following three main tasks the State Law and Order Restoration Council has assigned to the Tatmadaw--

- (1) To defend the country:
- (2) To train:
- (3) To serve the interests of the people.

Tatmadaw has shouldered the responsibility of defence of the country throughout all eras. Governments of all eras, on their part had regarded this responsibility as the main responsibility of the Tatmadaw. The Tatmadaw has to fight in defence of the country. The Tatmadaw has to fight physically, using weapons, and it has to fight morally. It must train for fighting efficiency. It must carry out the responsibility of training. It must, at the same time, serve the interests of the people.

In his address to the Passing Out Parade of the 36th Batch of Officer Cadets of the Defence Services Academy, held on 7 April 1995, the Defence Services Commander-in-Chief, Senior General Than Shwe,

had observed--

"Of these three responsibilities, the responsibility to defend the State is the main and fundamental responsibility of the Tatmadaw. The second responsibility is to keep training in order that the Tatmadaw may constantly remain highly proficient to defend the country and to protect the life and property of the masses of the people."

"The third responsibility is to join hands with the masses and strive to promote the living standards of the people and to promote their wellbeing. Comrades, you will have to assiduously shoulder these three main responsibilities."

The sixth objective of the National Convention, namely "to enable the Tatmadaw to take part in the leading role of future Myanmar's national politics", has now been included in the 104 fundamental principles as Guiding Principles of the State.

The third main responsibility of the Tatmadaw is to serve the interests of the masses. The fourth political objective of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, viz for building a new modern developed nation in accord with the new State Constitution, has become the Tatmadaw's national political responsibility for the future.

The above statement may provoke the response: "The army is going to keep its domination forever." It is necessary to understand and realise that to take responsibility does not mean to dominate. It must only be regarded as the Tatmadaw's sincere goodwill.

Say a new constitution has emerged; national reconsolidation has been accomplished, hostile and belligerent foes have disappeared, what is the Tatmadaw to do then? Is it to be kept as an ornament? I must of course be given suitable responsibilities. The nation will still need to be modernised and to be developed. Much work will remain to be done. The Tatmadaw will have to join hands with the masses to build a modern and developed State in conformity with the Constitution.

When the 1947 Constitution was drafted the best possible constitution was drafted. That Constitution was enacted after Independence. Flaws and snags then emerged. Accusations appeared alleging violations of the Constitution. A committee for amending the Constitution was appointed. Another committee had to be appointed to prescribe terms of reference of the Constitution Amendment Committee. The committees were unable to do any kind of work and eventually expired.

The 1974 Constitution took a long time in its drafting. Drafts were placed before the masses. A national referendum was held. And the Constitution was implemented. But as time passed, anomalies appeared. The single party principle of the Constitution became an impediment when peace talks were conducted. Attempts were made to amend the Constitution. In 1987 the Party Chairman personally called for Constitutional amendments. But an amendment was not found to be an easy matter.

The present National Convention, taking those events as lessons, is striving to ensure that there should be no similar snags and flaws in the new constitution. There may still be unforeseeable circumstances. It is still too early to say how successful the new constitution will be when implemented.

Everybody desires modernisation and development and progress. But these will not come of their own volition. All national forces will have to strive in unity. The Tatmadaw also will not be able to relax saying "Our duties are now over." The Tatmadaw must also take suitable responsibilities.

There are some people who regard the Tatmadaw as a scaffolding in building a pagoda and that after the pagoda is built they must dismantle the scaffolding. Disappearance of armed insurgents in the country does not mean that the country has got rid of all dangers. Impediments on the way to modernise and develop the country may still emerge. Some people may still try to turn the wheel back.

The Tatmadaw has adopted four political objectives. It had

tenaciously and diligently achieved the first three. It is now ready to achieve the fourth. Sincerity will definitely ensure success. It must be said that ways to achieve success have clearly been sighted. (NLM 7/15)

[Opposition impotent by 1988]

July 16: (32) In the years before 1988, Myanmar appeared to be calm politically. Diverse political elements, supposed to have been in opposition to the Burma Socialist Programme Party, made no headway. In 1985, the Burma Communist Party, pledging to practise an East European style multi-party system, tried to organise the other armed organisations but failed to achieve any success. In early 1986, it began to regroup its forces and, on 16 November 1986, unleashed its offensive in Sisiwan-Tarpan area and achieved no success. When the Tatmadaw counter-attacked the Burma Communist Party lost Pansaing (Kyukok) and Manhero and Naungma on the West Bank of the River Shweli, hitherto regarded as its Liberated Area.

The Tatmadaw then began taking over one after another of KNU positions on the border hurting them very seriously. The KNU, moreover, was then in conflict with the New Mon State Party and was in no position to make any move against the Tatmadaw. The National Democratic Front was unable to make any successful move. In 1987 the Tatmadaw held the upper hand as against all armed organisations.

Just as underground armed insurgents had been incapacitated from making any effective move against the Government, opposition forces over ground also remained impotent. The BCP UGs, pro-West elements, former expatriates and spies had been restricted to making only clandestine moves. The Committee for Restoration of Democracy in Burma (CRDB), an organisation formed in 1986 in the United States of America with former expatriates, was active only outside of the country. This organisations tried to infiltrate national group insurgents but achieved no success. They remained unknown to the Myanmar masses.

In other words, the Burma Socialist Programme Party Government wielded an upper hand politically against all opposing groups. The Tatmadaw wielded a controlling hand against all armed organisations. And there was no unarmed opposition to speak of.

[Economy in shambles by 1988]

However, the national economy could be seen to have been in a stage of bankruptcy. Socialist economic projects achieved no success. Government employees, unable to make ends meet with their salaries, had been forced to take bribes. They were forced to look for additional income. Graft and corruption, caused by the avarice of certain persons in responsible positions had been distressing to the masses. To visit an office on some small business would turn out to be interminable: masses had to suffer sorely under red-tapism.

Production in the whole country was in decline. Factories lacked raw materials with falling efficiency of their equipment. Most of the machinery were old and some could no longer be used. Articles amidst all these difficulties were sub-standard and of very inferior quality.

Building a road about a furlong long remained uncompleted in one year or even two years. The road remained uncompleted while the builder had prospered in the meantime. Rocks piled for building of this road eventually got covered by scrub and bushes as the road remained uncompleted.

Building a structure took equally long to complete. Steel rods would be seen sticking out in disorder for many years. Bricks and timber dumped for use would gradually diminish and disappear. Builders presumably prospered meanwhile but the structure would remain uncompleted.

Myanmar was faced with a general decline. The Burma Socialist Programme Party did its best to find means of reversing this trend. It exerted pressure to develop production. It provided impetus for achievement of planned targets. The response received was that production was on the increase, plans were successful, plan-targets were being surpassed. In fact, the Burma Socialist Programme Party

was being deceived on a grand scale.

Unable any longer to depend on home productions, Myanmar masses began to depend on the black-market. Black market prices kept rising. Myanmar masses were compelled to put great value on cheap plastic personal requisites smuggled in from Thai side. They had to put their reliance on imitation medicines.

As Myanmar masses kept wallowing in poverty, insurgent leading circles grew richer and richer. Their incomes from opium business and cross-border smuggling business were considerable. They were able to buy arms and prolong their life and keep stoking the fire of internal insurgency. Aboveground black-marketeers prospered. Those who took large bribes prospered. Masses had to continue tightening their belts in bearing the brunt of this general economic decline.

[1987 Demonetisation]

As commodity prices kept steadily rising inflation escalated. At that juncture, millions of kyats worth of counterfeit notes printed in Hong Kong came into the hands of insurgent leaders. That was a very serious threat to the nation. The then government had, in September 1987, to demonetize the 75-kyat, 35-kyat and 25-kyat currency notes. Volumes of counterfeit notes in the hands of insurgent leaders and black-market operators were thus rendered worthless. Those who had hoarded quantities of black money got their breath taken out of them. Those living in a hand-to-mouth existence also got hurt.

The then government was unable to give a satisfactory explanation about its demonetisation measure. It had been a move to pre-empt a danger of hyper-inflation and was also meant to deliver a knock-out blow to insurgents and black-market operators, yet the government was unable to do anything to ameliorate the masses who had suffered from the back-lash of this move. That provoked some slight disturbances: not very serious. Yet it developed into an issue that wiped out public confidence in the government.

General unrest spread among the masses. The BCP UGs instigated an explosion of proletarian wrath. Rice prices began to rise. Prices of basic foodstuffs rose. The economic disequilibrium got out of control. Some commodities completely disappeared from the market. Some had no money left even to buy medicine for their health.

[Events of 1988]

Under such circumstances, on 12 March 1988, a brawl between Institute of Technology students and some local residents sparked a riot. Elements opposed to the government led and guided the disgruntled masses on to an anti-government path. It was only then that the masses first began to hear the word 'democracy'. They ceased favouring the single party system. They began to believe that the government was responsible for all the general decline that had taken place. The government that had not depended on any outsider was no longer able to stand alone. It now found [sic] incapable of resolving the crisis.

Riotings began in March 1988. Violence occurred sporadically. As processions continued shouting slogans violent elements began persistent destructive acts. The ransacked mills and factories. Soap was already in short supply but when they wrecked soap factories soap production ceased. Telephone lines were cut and taken away. Rail tracks were removed and carried away.

Rice godowns were looted. The Customs Warehouse was pillaged. Violent elements took away what they could carry and destroyed every thing beyond repair what [sic] they could not carry. Trucks laden with cargo were robbed. Cargo barges were hijacked. All the stolen property eventually fell into the hands of big merchants who were waiting to buy them all at giveaway prices.

A house, eaten away by white ants and falling apart was finally brought down by a mere shove during the riotous days. Some even tried to collect the debris, pour petrol on them and burn them up.

If Myanma economic position was at zero degree even before the riots, it plunged deeper down during the riots and began to show a minus sign.

Factories ceased producing even those inferior quality products. Other factories altogether stopped production. A number of factories did not simply cease production: they had suffered complete destruction beyond repair.

Within the space of a single week between 12 and 18 March, 15 cases of arson, 86 cases of destruction of public property and 16 cases of destruction of co-operative property took place. The loss amounted to over K 4.1 million. That was an enormous amount at that time.

Yet, losses suffered during the month of March represented a mere beginning.

Within the space of twelve days between 21 June and 2 July 1988, 29 cases of destruction of public property took place representing a loss of over K 200,000. Valuations here were at government prices, and not prevailing prices. Losses suffered during the three months of July, August and September rose to a record high. Total losses to State mills, factories, workshops and warehouses during the 1988 riots amounted to K 628.4 millions.

The sum of over 620 million kyats was capable, in those days, of making a massive impact on the State's economic sector. And the loss did not end with that amount. Loss of those mills and factories also resulted in loss of thousands of millions of kyats in terms of lost production. Mills and factories got destroyed beyond repair. Warehouses were cleaned out and then subsequently reduced to ashes. Under socialist economic system, the government took care of providing the masses with the basic food, clothing and shelter needs. But now, the government was in no position to shoulder these responsibilities. Bank vaults were all empty. The most urgent problem was the shortage of rice.

The state economic sector remained paralysed for about nine months. Production and services plunged to new depths. At the time the Tatmadaw took over responsibilities, the inherited political environment was at its worst just as the inherited economic environment was at rock-bottom. Correspondent Bertil Lintner of the Far Eastern Economic Review noted that the State Law and Order Restoration Council Government inherited a mere six million dollars in foreign exchange reserves. He estimated that the government would be able to secure only about fifteen million dollars within the following two or three months.

At the time the Tatmadaw took over responsibilities, Myanmar economic situation resembled a huge garbage dump. What was needed was to try to extract resources that remained covered up by that huge garbage dump. What was important was to urgently ameliorate the peoples' daily life. Masses, sitting on paddy fields were nevertheless being stared in the face by starvation.

A large number of politicians shared the belief that the country could have been shattered had the Tatmadaw not taken over responsibilities. But scarcely anybody guessed that a continuation of the stalemate could lead to countrywide famine. Having said that the Tatmadaw would forever side with the people, it must now have the courage to act for the sake of the people. It must be capable of coping simultaneously with the prevailing political as well as economic situations. (NLM 7/16)
[The Four Economic Objectives]

July 17: (33) The State Law and Order Restoration Council can be seen to have adopted four economic objectives just as it had adopted four political objectives. The four economic objectives are as follows:

- (1) Development of agriculture as the base and allround development of other sectors of the economy as well
- (2) Proper evolution of the market-oriented economic system
- (3) Development of the economy inviting participation in terms of technical know-how and investments from sources inside the country and abroad
- (4) The initiative to shape the national economy must be kept in the hands of the State and the national peoples

It is generally said that the political sector is the most important sector for a nation. Some also say that politics is founded on economics. And yet others say that when politics is stable, economic is the most important. Some philosophers maintain that politics and economics are equally important. And there are contentions that politics is a relationship that must shape economics.

The fact that a person's basic need is his continued existence is beyond dispute. Man strives to secure his food, clothing and shelter needs for his continued existence. Strivings to secure food, clothing and shelter constitute economics. A country with a stable politics may occasionally be found but it will not be possible to find a country that is politically stable without an economic stability.

[End of Socialism in Myanmar]

The 1988 political instability may be attributed to economic instability. The Tatmadaw took over State powers on 18 September 1988 and put an end to the socialist administrative machinery. It is also clear that the socialist economic system was at the same time terminated.

In Proclamation No. 1/88 issued on 18 September 1988 by the State Law and Order Restoration Council, it pledged that utmost efforts would be made to alleviate the living of the masses and that maximum help and assistance would be given to private and co-operative sectors to do likewise. Orders, proclamations and instructions issued under Socialism forbidding domestic and foreign trade, were withdrawn by the Trade Ministry under its Notification No. 1/ 88 of 30 October 1988. In other words, the socialist economic system was ended and trading opened to all.

Under the socialist economic system, the State Sector was the first pillar of national economy. The Co-operative Sector was the second pillar and the Private Sector was the third and last pillar. Socialist economic planning aimed at gradually broadening the role of State Sector and Co-operative Sector and scaling down the role of Private Sector. When socialist economic plans failed to achieve success the people were left impoverished. Their daily life became difficult and they joined in the rioting.

When the Tatmadaw decided to follow the road to democracy the masses clamoured for, it also became the Tatmadaw's responsibility to transform socialist economic system into a market economy system. The rights of Private Sector and Co-operative Sector were therefore opened up. The State monopoly, under the socialist economic system, of import and export trade, was relaxed. Trade Minister, Brig-Gen. Abel, on 28 September 1988, met the merchant community and exhorted them to take part in the economic sector on a broad scale.

When the State Law and Order Restoration Council took over power, the national economic situation stood at a point below zero degree. In trying to effect a transition from socialist economy to market economy, it would not do to entrust the entire national economic sector into the hands of big merchants. A look at the collapse of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will reveal that a transition to market economy system is not an easy matter.

[Transition to market economy]

Socialist concepts and socialist economic experience had taken deep roots in Myanmar. Myanmar did not know where to begin when they were given permission to go ahead with a market economy system. A by-word "Everything for the go-getter" had come into fashion during the days of the Revolutionary Council. It implies that clever and shrewd persons got rich. The slogan at one time had been "Down with exploiters". Would introduction of market economy therefore mean that exploiters had been licensed?

Myanmar masses had understood that capitalists must be done away with first. Twantay Thein Tan's disc-record play Htway Nyo received wide public acclaim in the year 1965. The slogan shouting "Down with Capitalism" that featured in the play became a hit among

the masses. In those days, a well-fed and a well-dressed person was accused of being a bourgeoisie [sic]. That was because he was able to eat and dress himself in a better way than others. In those days, exploiters and profiteers were 'villains'. The capitalist, the rich, the bourgeoisie, the merchant, the broker and the businessman--all of them were abominable villains.

The table has been abruptly turned now. Businessmen, company proprietors and restaurant proprietors have become heroes. "Money makes everything" has now become a practical guide. It has been a very risky venture to about-turn from a socialist economic system that had taken deep roots among the Myanma masses. But it has been unavoidable. The change had become imperative.

It was not possible for the State Law and Order Restoration Council to hand over the economy to the private sector immediately after changing over to a market economy system. It has also to take into consideration the welfare of the masses of the people. That is why, objectives had to be systematically laid down for this economic reform process. It was not a matter of being restrictive for no reason.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council's concept is that politics and economics are mutually dependent and mutually contributory. The economic objectives had therefore been laid down in such a way that they would contribute to political stability and that they would be feasible for implementation. The first objective is to develop agriculture and, on that basis, develop all other economic sectors.

Myanmar cannot become an industrial country over-night. It is not very easy for Myanmar to immediately become a developed country. It is true that Myanmar is very rich in such natural resources as gold, silver, precious stones, minerals, metals, etc. But there is no capital to invest and no expertise to utilise, in exploitation and extraction of these natural resources.

The only natural resource that Myanmar has ready for use is the mother earth. The good earth is cultivable and there is a large population of farmers ready to do the cultivation work. Persons who earn their living by farming form the greatest part of the Myanma population. They have all the necessary experience in cultivation. And Myanma agricultural produce also happens to be a basic foodstuff. Agriculture will therefore have to be utilised as a foundation.
[Agriculture]

The State Law and Order Restoration Council has striven to develop agriculture with a great momentum. It will not do for only the merchant community to prosper in a market economy: it is necessary for farmers, the great majority of the population, also to prosper. Myanmars are in the habit of boasting that in their country nobody has died of starvation. To keep that saying true forever, agricultural development is a must.

Exhortations to grow will not by themselves develop agriculture. The Revolutionary Council had also campaigned for mixed and multiple agriculture at one time. The Burma Socialist Programme Party had also exhorted cultivation of paddy after paddy. Techniques for thorough ploughing up of the soil had been disseminated. No success was achieved. Farmers simply refused to budge.

Time was when one family leader was capable of feeding the whole family. He could send his children to school. A farmer could work only a plot of paddy field and live on its produce for the whole year. He could even indulge in amusements after harvest. Play cards Bet in cock fights? Farmers possessed a lot of cash.

But this easy living could not endure for ever. Surely, farmers would not starve but new demands on his cash resources had emerged. A farm girl is no longer contented with her coarse-cloth blouse: she now wants to wear a 'batik' dress. The farmer wants to possess a TV set. And perhaps a video cassette player too. At the least, he wants to take a seat in a video hall when the time comes in the evening. He cannot afford to stay idle therefore.

The government reclaimed idle and virgin land to be utilised as

agricultural land. The government campaigned for cultivation of two paddy crops a year instead of one single crop as before. The government distributed quality seeds. It shared new farming techniques with farmers. It built irrigation works and procured water for farmers. But the farmers still balked. They would have to labour twice to cultivate paddy twice. What were they to do if their extra labour be unfruitful?

As a matter of fact, Myanmar neighbours have been cultivating two or three paddy crops a year for very many years now. One paddy crop a year in the People's Republic of China is in no way in a position to feed the whole country. They have to cultivate paddy repeatedly. They would harvest a field in the day time, lift water into that field in the evening and plough the land at night. The Chinese have to work that hard. And Thailand has been multiple-cropping paddy and exporting the commodity for a long time now.

Myanmar farmers had to interest in multiple cropping because they were able to eat well enough even with a single cropping of paddy. They were apprehensive even when the government urged them to do multiple cropping. They would not give any credence to all sorts of help the government was giving them. Local authorities concerned had to create model fields as practical demonstrations. One or two farmers stepped forward with trepidation. When they began to roof their dwellings with zinc sheets after pulling down the original 'dani' or thatch roofings, the rest of the farmers began to envy them. Rice price was good. Now is the era when farmers can afford to buy cars. The government was giving them. Local authorities concerned had to create model fields as practical demonstrations. One or two farmers stepped forward with trepidation. When they began to roof their dwellings with zinc sheets after pulling down the original 'dani' or thatch roofings, the rest of the farmers began to envy them. Rice price was good. Now is the era when farmers can afford to buy cars. The government continues investing colossal sums to build dams, water gates, reservoirs and other irrigation works.

The annual Myanmar paddy production had been 650 million baskets but, by 1993-94 production reached 800 million baskets. Provisional figures indicate a production of 900 million baskets in 1994-95. Efforts are now being made to produce 1,000 million baskets of paddy in 1995-96, with sure signs of success.

Rice production has really increased. And increased exports have really become possible. (Rising rice prices is another matter.) Pulses exports had ranged between 40,000 tons and 60,000 tons in the past. Today ten times that much, or 600,000 tons of pulses are being exported.

Myanmar has really developed its agriculture.

To save farmers having to work two or three times harder, the government has been providing them with machinery. Smaller ploughing machines, rather than huge tractors, are being given to farmers for more convenient use. There are now more than enough of foodstuff in reserve. There no longer exists any reason for anybody to riot for want of food. Economic affluence will surely contribute to political stabilisation. (NLM 7/17)

[Evolution of market economy]

July 17: (34) The second economic objective of the State Law and Order Restoration Council is Proper evolution of the market-oriented economic system. Socialist economic system is a centrally controlled planned economy. When a multi-party democracy practice is to be followed, the appropriate economic system is the market economy.

The first economic objectives of the State Law and Order Restoration Council is Development of Agriculture as the base and allround development of other sectors of the economy as well and this calls for the government to take some of the responsibilities. The government has to help with provision of capital-intensive irrigation facilities right down to provision of a small ploughing machine to an individual farmer. It has to give utmost help to the farmer and to expand agriculture sector to the fullest extent.

However, in building up a clearly recognisable market economy, government alone will not be able to do it. The main pillar of market economy is the private sector. The private sector will have to be developed. Some economic enterprises held by the government will have to be transferred into private hands. The role of State sector will have to be reduced.

Some sections of the masses are worried that they might get massively exploited when the bulk of economic enterprises has fallen into private hands. The time for such worries are now over. The choice has already been made. But a democratic conduct is said to presuppose justice, liberty and equality. There must be justice, liberty and equality in economics also. Government has to ensure that these universal laws prevail.

The Trade Minister, Brigadier-General Abel will be seen to have met with the merchant community on 28 September 1988 and reminded the meeting of the following three points in carrying on trade--

1. To direct their efforts at benefitting the State and the people.
2. To ensure that one's trading activities do not become oppressive to the people.
3. To direct their efforts not exclusively at making profits, but also at a firm and enduring existence.

The government will not be able single-handedly to practise market economy in line with the prevailing world economic situation. The co-operative sector and the private sector must also help on a reciprocal basis. The government established offices to register Importers, Exporters and Companies. Companies, Companies Limited, foreign and national partnerships, national and foreign joint ventures emerged one after another. The government helped formation of chambers of commerce and industry.

With the introduction of market economy, free trading subject to rules and regulations in all commodities excepting teakwood, earth oil, natural gas and precious stones became possible. Some avaricious elements were not satisfied that the government should still handle trade in teakwood, oil, etc. They pointed out that governments do not control even arms production and trading in developed democratic countries.

In this context, it must be remembered that Myanmar is still a developing country. The government needs funds for doing what needs to be done for the country. Those funds must be found from State economic sector incomes and from revenue incomes. It is therefore not yet possible to decontrol every thing. And tax payers are found not being very eager to pay taxes regularly. It should not be forgotten that under a market economy governments have to depend on revenue income to meet their expenditures.

To build up a clearly recognisable market economy does not necessarily mean to let the merchants do what they like. National economic interests must be protected, the masses' economic interests must be protected, necessary controls must be exercised by means of rules and regulations. What should be done must be done without hesitation.

It will be noted that a large number of false companies emerged when formation of companies was allowed. Some had not even a pya of money: they looked for a vacant room and put up a signboard and formed a company. They invited shareholders. They began to operate their business on paper. Eventually they showed a loss and liquidated the company. Share holders who had bought some shares hoping for some dividends lost their monies. A large number of this kind of cases happened. Swindlers continued swindling without fear of the government.

"Man Matters Most." This was said before. But now, man does not matter most. Man, only with his bare hands, is unable to do anything. Money is important. Only money will enable man to make any sort of move in market economy. Now, who are the men with money?

They are the bourgeoisie, the capitalists and the wealthy, regarded as villains under socialism. They had prospered as black-

marketeers. They had accumulated wealth by engaging in illicit trades not permitted under socialism. The monies they had hoarded were of course black money. But there is no such thing as a black market in market economy. There are no more black-market stores. But there may be stores smuggled in without paying Customs duties. The black monies had to be laundered.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council permitted turning black monies into white monies. On payment of fair amounts of taxes the black monies were regarded as white monies. No questions were asked as to how and from where the monies were obtained. There could have been difficulties to answer such questions if they were asked. In any case, the government allowed maximum concessions for black monies to be turned into white monies.

Despite maximum concessions allowed by the government in order to be able to create a clearly recognisable market economy, black monies continue to exist. Customs duties evasions and tax evasions continue unabated. It is impossible, under a market economy, to collect all the profits for oneself. The country will prosper only when the government serving the people also has some good incomes. Only then will the gap between the rich and the poor be narrowed and political stability maintained.

[Rise in cost of rice]

One-time villains will now have to act as heroes. They would have to behave as heroes if they wish to become heroes. If they do not behave as heroes they will continue to be dubbed avaricious persons and regarded as villains.

As of now the country as a whole has successfully produced 900 million baskets of paddy a year. Efforts are now underway to produce 1000 million baskets. The total paddy production will not only guarantee self-sufficiency but will also enable increased exports. Rice may also be freely moved about. Why then the rise in rice prices? The Htaukkyant Check Point has already been removed because it was argued that the Check Point kept asking for bribes or taking too long to inspect the cargoes. All Check Points have now been removed excepting those required for security purposes or for deterring transport of narcotic drugs.

What are the reasons then, for rice prices rising?

The government no longer controls rice. The government buys rice just enough to feed the government employees and the Tatmadaw personnel. Rice prices are now in the hands of big merchants. They are also inter-related with other commodity prices. If fuel prices for transportation rise commodity prices will also rise. If labour charges rise, rice prices will also rise. If import prices rise, rice prices will rise. If export prices are good cost of imports will also rise. All these factors are inter-related.

The market economy is an open-door economy. International economic developments will also have their impact on Myanmar. Fluctuations in the price of dollar, in the price of yen and in the price of gold may have repercussions on Myanma economy. This is quite inescapable.

Economic reforms have to be made very carefully. Compared to the inflations raging in East European countries, Myanmar is much better off with a large degree of economic stability. In some East European countries a million units of their national currency is worth just five dollars today. Some of those countries have been compelled to resort to food rationing. Even England, impoverished by the War, had to resort to rationing after the War but Myanmar had never to resort to rationing even under socialism.

Emergence of a clearly recognisable market economy will further boost Myanmar economy. But an economic reform programme should not head towards an economic explosion. A control is needed for otherwise the people will get into trouble. The State Law and Order Restoration Council has therefore to proceed very cautiously in striving to create a very clearly recognisable market economy. (NLM 7/18)

[Border trade encouraged]

July 19: (35) The State Law and Order Restoration Council has

been most methodically implementing the economic reform programme only after giving precedence to the interests of the entire mass of the people. In 1988 Myanmar foreign exchange reserve was meagre. The government had therefore to urge merchants doing export-import business to export first. Barter systems had to be resorted to because of lack of foreign exchange. Efforts had to be made to open cross-border trade.

An agreement on China-Myanmar border trade was signed in October 1988 and cross-border trade began. This trade was carried on at three points--Namhkan, Muse and Pansaing (Kyukok). Myanmar exported cotton, duck feathers, chicken feed, dried fish, dried prawns, betel nuts, dried plums, isinglass, air bladder, green gram, dried chillies, groundnut cakes, soya bean, pomelo, etc. These were commodities that Myanmar had not thought of exporting in the past.

The Chinese exported to Myanmar medicines, construction materials, tooth-paste, thermos flasks, bicycles, soap powder, baby milk, enamel paints, crockery and other personal goods. These had been black market stores controlled in the past by the BCP. When the border trade was opened it became possible to bring in these commodities after paying Customs Duties at the border and sell them freely in any part of the country. This expedited flow of commodities.

Efforts were also made to open similar border trade with Thailand and with Bangladesh. Border trade with Thailand began in sea-fishing sector. Nineteen companies from various foreign countries approached Myanmar for legal fishing rights. In fact fish resources in Myanmar seas were being poached for a very long time. To try to sell those resources that were being stolen would only bring in cash. [Foreign investments]

The third economic objective, out of four, of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, is Development of the economy inviting participation in terms of technical knowhow and investments from sources inside the country and abroad. In other words, this meant introduction of an open-door economic policy. Previously the doors were kept shut. Why should such a policy be continued when its futility had been realised?

But it was still not possible to let every body come in and go out at his own will as if Myanmar were a public rest house. Thieves who kept stealing even when the doors were shut would then be emboldened to steal all the more. Receivers of stolen property and a betters [sic] thieves might not like the doors being thrown open to let the light in. Those who used to deal in the markets feared that they might have to pay more if they were to do legitimate trading.

Myanmar previously practised a close-door economic policy because of its socialist economic programme. The Myanmar socialist economy was not a socialist economy as practised by the Socialist Bloc. There was therefore not much trade with other socialist and communist countries. And there was no trade with capitalist countries, probably, out of fear.

Myanmar did have business dealings with some foreign firms in the past and I have heard about Myanmar always coming out the loser. Those who came furthered only their own interests. Having suffered repeatedly at the hands of foreigners, Myanmar had come to fear them. All deals with foreign firms had invariably turned out to be one-time deals. That was why the West Bloc media branded certain Myanmar leaders as xenophobes.

But now, xenophobia is out of place. For better or worse, foreigners will have to be faced with courage. On 30 November 1988, the State Law and Order Restoration Council promulgated its Law No. 10/88. That Law was the Union of Myanmar Investments Law.

Myanmar possesses an abundance of natural resources: it has very strong economic foundations. There are many economic opportunities. What is lacking is foreign investment, knowhow and technology. And only foreigners are in a position to fill in those deficiencies. They will not want to come to Myanmar if that coming would not serve their interests. Perhaps they may desire to come if

Myanmar is prepared to do business for mutual benefit. The purpose of the Investments Law is to enable adjustments being made in this respect.

On 1 December 1988, Trade Minister Brigadier General Abel gave a full explanation about the implications of the Investments Law at a Press Conference. He elucidated that the Law had the following objectives--

(1) To promote the living standard of the masses; to promote the intellect of the young people; to study and acquire production and economic methodology.

(2) To mobilize the optimum potential of the masses.

(3) To provide mutual benefits to the State and to the investor.

It is noticed here that, in inviting knowhow and investments from inside and outside the country, the State Law and Order Restoration Council has, as its first objective the promotion of living standards of the masses. It has also aimed at cultivating the intellect of the young. Time now is [sic] cease condemning economic enterprises as being exploitative. Myanmar youth need to become economic experts. And then the more Myanmar side can contribute personnel the bigger will be the share Myanmar will get.

But now, economic opportunities have been opened in Myanmar. The treasure house of Myanmar had remained under lock and key but now the lock had been removed. Because the treasure is not locked up the owner can now make use of it freely though it must not be forgotten that the thieves and robbers may also become more daring.

The Investments Law is found to have provided protection to foreign investors. They are permitted to repatriate their investments in due time. That their investments will not be nationalised has been definitely guaranteed. The Law contains fifteen Chapters couched in simple and easy language. It is a fair Law. Its principles are strong. Its guarantees are firm.

Myanmar allows 35 per cent investments. Other countries allow 49:51 or 50:50 investments. Myanmar's investment opportunities are better because it even permits 35 per cent investment. The State Law and Order Restoration Council's Investment Law is a truly attractive proposition. Number of foreign firms coming to Myanmar to make investments has therefore been increasing day by day.

As of today, the value of foreign investments in Myanmar has exceeded 2,700 million dollars. Among the investors are neighbouring countries like Singapore, Thailand, the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea and Malaysia as well as the United States of America and France from the West. The government will be seen to be striving to achieve progress through methods of competition between economic organisations. In offering the same quality of goods, the organisation that sells at a lower price will get the advantage and in quoting the same price the organisation that offers a better quality of goods will get the advantage. This is the fundamental law of economic competition.

When the State scaled down its role in economic activities and developed the role of private sector, government's obligations to make contributions and provide subsidies also decreased. Losses as a consequence of an attitude of "What do I care this is government property and not mine" can now be avoided. Compare some one who drives a government car with another who drives his own car; the person who drives his own car will be seen to [be] taking good care of his car. This also applies to management of economic enterprises.

Previously the State sector was the main sector in national economy when productivity plunged. When the private sector was promoted production soared. The increased production is of course the nation's production. In the past, the general attitude was "Who cares?" but today, the general attitude is "I must care." The property has become one's own private and personal property and is not to be regarded lightly. People now have learnt to be thrifty and have begun to work hard.

There are natural resources in the country. What is needed is

to exploit them, extract them and use them. Some people think that only gems, precious stones, minerals and metals constitute natural resources. In fact, there are natural resources under ground, above ground and under water. Agriculture sector and Fish and Meat sector are also natural resources.

Initially, investors were wary of Myanmar. they feared their investments getting nationalised. They were concerned that their heavy investments might not be so profitable. In Singapore a business man told this writer that he has been constructing grand and imposing buildings but was afraid to come to Yangon. This writer asked him why and he said that because he had heard that Myanmar soldiers wake up foreign guests sleeping in hotel at midnight, drag them away and execute them. When asked who told him it turned out that the expatriate group was the culprit.

There are persons who go abroad and begin slandering their own native country. They do not care if their campaign to smear the State Law and Order Restoration Council at the same time smears their own country. The Tatmadaw has perforce countenanced such a lot of cynicism. But it succeeded when its intentions were sincere. Truth becomes all the more clear as time passed. There is no dearth a lot of [sic] employment in Myanmar today. There is a lot employment opportunities provided one is not so choosy. Young persons today go to Pharkant, to Mongshu, to Singapore and to Thailand, Eat betters moving so that you may keep your jaws moving [sic]. But there is no room of [sic] indolence.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council is always impeded whatever it tries to do. It is invariably looked at with suspicion. But the truth has emerged after almost seven years of promulgation of a Law of that nature. And it is beyond any dispute that this Law has been a key in a transition to market economy. (NLM 7/19)
[Continued national control of economy]

July 20: (36) The fourth economic objective of the State Law and Order Restoration Council is the initiative to shape the national economy must be kept in the hands of the State and of the national peoples.

Myanmar is now in a transitional period from an old era to a new era. The old era was the socialist era and what is the new era? Is it a democratic era? A socialist era has definitely passed by now. To say that the new era is a democratic era, the fact is we are not yet in a democratic era. The State has only now begun to shape the new age.

It is not only Myanmar: the whole world is heading towards a new age. In particular, socialist countries have crashed and crumbled and are now striving to exist in a new form. Some of the socialist countries, without abandoning their political ideology, are trying to change over to a market economy where the economic policy is concerned.

In endeavouring to change over to a market economy, Myanmar has to give priority to what is possible and what can be achieved. Myanmar has an agricultural base. Myanmar can take agriculture as a basis. Myanmar therefore strives for all round development in all economic sectors on the basis of agriculture. It is trying to create a clearly recognisable market economy. It invites knowhow and investments from inside and outside of the country. And permission is being given to make investments.

As of now, foreign investments have exceeded 2,700 million US dollars. They will definitely exceed 4,000 million by the end of 1995. Investments made by nationals is quite significant. Emergence of a large number of business enterprises has caused a large of [sic] volume of capital investments to circulate.

Investments came pouring in when the doors were thrown open. At this juncture it is important that the national ownership of economy does not disappear. Big hotels are being built and factories are being constructed. It will be noticed from news reports, on expiry of terms permitted in accordance with the nature of enterprise, ownership will revert to the State. This is how national ownership of

economy is being protected.

In some countries when a market economy is given a free rein national economy falls into the hands of foreigners. When foreigners become affluent they begin to interfere and influence national politics. Own nationals become hirelings. This is a neo-colonial pattern based on economy. Myanmar cannot be permitted to take this pattern.

Myanmar is said to have practised a capitalist parliamentary democracy prior to 1962. During that period Myanmar had not been able to protect national ownership of economy. The bulk of Myanmar economy was therefore in the hands of foreigners. During the rule of the Revolutionary Council, means of enabling nationals to own a large part of national economy was searched for and found that means in a nationalisation programme.

Nationalisation cannot be done piecemeal, on a pick and choose basis: a Law has to be enacted and every thing covered by the Law has to be nationalised. Although the intention was to retrieve Myanmar property from the hands of foreigners, national capitalists also got seriously hurt. Foreigners got discontented with the government and national capitalists got discontented with the government. It is necessary for Myanmar not to fall again into such a tight situation.

The Investments Law has therefore to defend national ownership of economy on the one hand and also to offer guarantees as incentives to foreigners. Both sides of the issue have to be taken care of in a fair manner. If the economic door is thrown wide open the entire economic power might fall into the hands of foreigners. Because economics and politics are inseparable, political power will eventually fall into the hands of foreigners.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council has to try to keep the economic power in the hands of the nation and the national peoples. But on the other hand economic development also needs foreign participation. Paragraph 20, Chapter IX of the Investments Law prescribes that an economic organisation, formed under a permit, shall give priority to nationals in making appointments. The Law also allows recruitment of foreign experts and technicians when needed.

The Investments Commission has to provide protection to the system of national economic ownership: it has to oversee that the national economy is strengthened and consolidated. It has also [to] develop the co-operative sector to enable the vast majority of people without any capital to take part in the market economy. The Co-operatives Law has to be amended to cleanse it of socialist elements. Co-operatives have to be encouraged so that they may be able to compete with the private sector.

[Economic policies since 1988]

The Economic Objectives of the State Law and Order Restoration Council are so designed as to be beneficial in the long term. Action has also to be taken for short-term immediate benefits where appropriate. The first problem the Tatmadaw had to tackle immediately it had taken over power was the rice problem. Urban population was at that time faced with possible starvation. The Tatmadaw had to endeavour to put rice and other basic foodstuffs into the hands of the people as urgently as possible. Rice and basic foodstuffs had to be hastened from Ayeyawady Division to Yangon and retail shops had to be opened for easy availability.

Soon after the Tatmadaw had formed the government, some elements spread a rumour that currency notes would be demonetised. The Tatmadaw had witnessed the former government's experience and had no reason to be so stupid again. The Tatmadaw had to give assurances that it would never demonetise any currency notes for so long as it is taking State responsibilities. Currency exchange rates had to be left unchanged because money markets in foreign countries were in flux. The government refrained from making any change in official exchange rates whatever might have been the unofficial exchange rates. This was to prevent inflation as much as possible.

Previously a great majority of Myanmar had not seen a dollar bill. And they dare not handle it when they saw one. When the

government allowed opening of foreign currency accounts with Myanmar Foreign Trade Bank, dollars became commonplace. Dollar notes could even be found in betal-quid shops: what was necessary was that they should have come to possess them in a legitimate manner.
[Rice, rising rice prices, and smuggling]

In 1988-89 the government purchased only 120 million baskets of paddy. This was only to cover the needs of Tatmadaw personnel and other government employees. The government reduced its expenditure on rice and the people gained a right to trade freely in rice. At the end of 1988, Yangon Division despatched 83,000 bags of rice to Tanintharyi Division but only 42,000 bags arrived at the destination. Nearly half of the quantity was smuggled out of the country. Such happenings still continue today. If such smuggling are curbed they will immediately raise rice prices accusing government of restricting trade.

1988-89 paddy production was 649.5 million baskets. Home consumption came to 468 million baskets. Even after deducting wastage and reserve stocks, nearly 100 million baskets should have been surplus. Paddy production keeps increasing under efforts made by the State Law and Order Restoration Council and 1,000 million baskets of paddy is to be produced in the coming year. Home consumption will not increase correspondingly. Why should rice prices rise when there is so much surplus paddy?

I have discussed earlier the diverse causes for rice price rises. When transportation cost, cost of services, cost of living of farmers and other home and trading costs rise, rice prices will also rise. But what is peculiar to Myanmar is that commodity prices, after rising, will never again fall. It should be common knowledge that some merchants are in the habit of raising prices even when they stumble and fall while walking.

In this connection I would like to recount what a friend of mine who came back from Japan told me. He said that a cup of coffee and a sandwich cost him Yen 5,000 in Japan. That would be about K 6,500. In Myanmar the cost of one meal does not come up to even one US dollar. Before the year 1988, the black market price of one US dollar was about K 40. Now, it is only about K 100. In Russia, the value of rouble plunged. One US dollar is now worth thousands of roubles. Commodity prices rises and depreciation of Myanma kyat are quite negligible, compared to those of East European countries.

Today 10 CIS roubles is equal to only one Myanma pya. One unit of Czech Korunar is equal to 21 pyas. One hundred Japanese Yen is equal to K 6.44. Japanese Yen 5,000 is equal to K 322.20, but according to the usual Hondi [black-market--HCMacD.] rate it is equal to about K 6,500.

Pay scales of government employees in Myanmar were those fixed on 1 April 1948. On 1 October 1972, the Revolutionary Council Government revised the pay scales upwards. The State Law and Order Restoration Council, under Notification No. 14 of 3 March 1989 again increased the pay.

Previously, the lowest paid government employees received K 100 per month rising up to K 110. They now get K 450 a month rising annually to K 6,000. Previously, the highest pay was K 1,500 fixed, but now it is K 2,000. These pay scales came into effect on 1 April 1989 in the financial year 1989-90.

On 3 March 1989, the government announced pay increases to take effect from 1 April 1989. It will be remembered that commodity prices rose steadily within the 29 days. Prices began rising even before government employees had actually received the increased pay and prices continue rising till now. At that time the bulk of business enterprises were no longer in government hands. What little business enterprises the government still controlled make no price hikes. Only prices of commodities controlled by the private business circles rose. Who are therefore responsible for those price rises then?

The government, with sincere good intentions, announced pay increases for government employees. Before government employees got a chance to handle the increased cash, avaricious 'heroes' raised the

prices. Some parties charged the government with creating an inflation and creating difficulties for the future government. Any attempt made to attack the government on the economic front will only hurt the masses. Extreme care should be exercised if economic issues were to be used as weapons for political struggles.

[Growth in GDP]

Beginning 1992-93, when the State Law and Order Restoration Council had resolved some urgent economic problems and begun to restore political stability, it began to concentrate attention on economic matters, designating that year 1992-93 as the Economic Year. Plans were laid down and, by this, I do not mean plans like those laid down by the Centre under a socialist economic system. I mean to see [sic] market economy plans.

The government endeavoured to increase the GDP by 22 per cent in four years from 1992-93 to 1995-96. But this target of 22 per cent GDP increase was achieved in three years, in 1994-95. The GDP increased year by year as follows:--

1992-93...	9.7%
1993-94...	5.9%
1994-95...	6.8%

(According to provisional figures.)

A GDP increase of 7.7% has been targetted for the year 1995-96 and Myanmar is to achieve a 30.1 per cent GDP increase in four years.

However, all that the State Law and Order Restoration Council did invariably met obstructions. Diverse criticisms will emerge in the country and diverse interferences will emerge outside. It was the same in the economic sector, too. Those within the country continued to bicker from outside the ring while those outside the country conspired to clamp a trade embargo as was done to Iraq. The t sector, too. Those within the country continued to bicker from outside the ring while those outside the country conspired to clamp a trade embargo as was done to Iraq. The Tatmadaw Government had to strive to develop the economic sector without getting any help from the West Bloc.

Myanmar's present economic situation differs completely from the situation that prevailed in the years before 1988. Myanmar is now embarked on the way to economic development. Within a few year's time, Myanma economic situation will differ from the present-day economic situation: the country will then have gained considerable momentum in economic development. But it must not be forgotten that national traitors from within the country will continue to conspire with foreign elements to enforce an economic blockade without any regard to the welfare of the 45 million Myanma masses. They will continue to strive to create economic crisis for Myanmar in their own interests and in order that they should gain political power. (NLM 7/20)

[Social objectives]

July 21: (37) Myanmar is forging ahead towards the State Law and Order Restoration Council's political objectives and economic objectives. However, a government cannot confine its attention only to the political and economic sectors. It has to pay attention to the social sector. The State Law and Order Restoration Council's four social objectives are as follows:--

- (1) Uplift of the moral and morality of the entire nation
- (2) Uplift of national prestige and integrity and preservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage and the national character
- (3) Uplift of dynamism of patriotic spirit
- (4) Uplift of health, fitness and education standards of the entire nation

[Morale and morality]

The first objective is Uplift the morale and morality of the entire nation. This is a very important objective. It simply cannot be left out. Myanma morale and morality had been weakened. Myanmars must be able to say that they have a strong morale and a strong morality. Myanmar will not progress nor prosper if Myanma morale and morality are weak.

This writer once visited a Cartoon Exhibition in 1987. The cartoonists have exhibited their cartoons that had to be left out of publications under orders of the Press Scrutiny Board. I can still remember a cartoon I had noticed at that exhibition.

The cartoon depicted two persons having a chat. One asks: "What has risen higher than commodity prices?" The other person points his forefinger at the sky. There is a huge black cloud in the sky. On the black cloud is written: "Demoralization."

At one time in the past, a slogan was raised in Myanmar pledging efforts to rid the country of unwholesome morality caused by empty stomachs. It meant that efforts would be made to prevent immoral character caused by social insecurity and a woeful standard of living. It may be regarded as an attempt to render irrelevant the excuse: "I stole because I am in need." In fact, those with full stomachs also stole. Those who were in need stole just as those who were not in need also stole.

[A humiliating anecdote]

On the eve of 1988, an amusing anecdote circulated among writers and other persons interested in politics. The main character in this anecdote is an American millionaire. This millionaire possesses a sixth sense.

One day, his Sixth Sense warns him that danger lies ahead of him. He promptly boards his private plane and flies East. He also possesses a developed sense of smell, like a blood-hound.

He sticks his hand out of the window and smells it after pulling it back. He smells it and gets the smell of salt: he knows he is now crossing the Atlantic Ocean. He does the same thing after a while and this time gets the smell of butter. He knows he is now flying over England. Veering to the right he repeats the same motions. He gets the smell of kerosene. He knows he is now flying over the Middle East.

He repeats the motion after some time and this time he gets the smell of masalar [sic] spices. "Huh, I am now above the Indian Sub Continent." And then he sticks his hand out again, pulls it back and smells it. He gets no particular smell whatever. He takes a look at his hand in some surprise.

He finds the Rolex watch on his wrist is gone.

His plane is now overflying Myanmar.

The anecdote was circulated with relish by elements opposed to the government, it was a joke of course. But it implies that Myanmar was full of thieves. And those thieves were experts who could even snatch a wrist watch of the millionaire flying in a plane up above.

Gone...irretrievably gone... Has the whole country been humiliated only because of a handful of persons? Or has a majority of the people become immoral?

A former Communist writer was said to have originated the joke. I do not know whom he heard it from. He kept repeating this story with might and mien [sic], discrediting the government. He was only discrediting the whole nation simply because he wanted to discredit the government.

It would not do for Myanmar to go on taking such insults to them as being immoral and depraved. The morale of the whole nation needs to be raised. They should be of good morality. They need to be ethical. Now that an open door economy has been introduced Myanmar will come into contact with many foreigners. And it would not do for foreigners to have cause to look down upon Myanmar.

[Loss of morality]

When we were children, as we travelled by bus, males gave up their seats in favour of females. The weaker sex was usually favoured. When we walked past elderly persons we bent our backs and our heads. Such practices later on disappeared. It is a common sight that bus passengers would even heave and shove pregnant women in getting on and off buses.

During the 1988 riots, human morality descended to the lowest depths. They became so barbarous as to clap their hands and applaud at people being beheaded. They became so depraved they looted all

government property and private property and destroyed what they could not take away. It was now become the responsibility of the government to raise the morale and morality of the entire nation.

The Burma Communist Party, adhering to the ideology of their grandfather communists regarded religion as an opiate. During the period of the Pha-sa-pa-la [AFPF], the Burma Communist Party sang a song with the words "Nga Nu will be caught alive". They used the vulgar term Nga Nu rather than the Myanmar tradition term of U Nu in addressing the prime minister of the country. And during the Revolutionary Council and the Burma Socialist Programme Party regime they used the vile term Ne Win-San Yu Military Clique. During the Demote-Dismiss-Decapitate Campaign, a new breed of Ajatasats did not hesitate to commit patricide.

But these vile manners of the Burma Communist Party did not spread among the masses. The cultured masses rejected such savage conducts. But when the economic crisis deepened people's morality declined. They became savage and immoral.

The Burma Communist Party defined the people's savagery, depravity and cruelty as 'the proletarian wrath'. They regarded disobedience and defiance as 'revolution'. A leftist swindled away some monies of a wealthy person but he claimed that act to be a proletarian revolutionary attack on an opulent person. He argued that all laws were measures to protect the rich.

During the 1988 Riots the savage traits of the Ba-ka-pa spread among the masses, through BCP UGs. The Political Defiance disseminated by the West Bloc also advocated Ba-ka-pa UG tactics. Pre-primary kids even stopped using the word 'U' in front of the names of State leaders. Myanmar already have the courtesy of addressing others older than them as 'elder brother' or 'elder sister' or 'uncle' or 'aunty'. But all this disappeared during the period of the riots.

[Religion and morality]

The State Law and Order Restoration Council has adopted "Uplift of the morale and morality of the entire nation" as its objective. It is religion, rejected by the Communists, that imparts culture and civilization to the people. During the period of the riots, Myanmar holy shrines, even on the terrace of the Shwedagon Pagoda, got defiled.

The government has to restore, repair and renovate pagodas, stupas, temples, monasteries, ordination halls, prayer halls and other religious structures shrouded with shrubbery or have become dens of vice [sic]. The Tatmadaw personnel have to give the most voluntary labour. It has to labour to brighten the Sasana. In the meantime, a discord was sowed between the Tatmadaw and the monks of Mandalay which had to be resolved with much difficulty. Disruptors even tried to disrupt efforts made to develop and propagate religion.

In Myanmar, Buddhism is the religion of the majority. The State Law and Order Restoration Council endeavoured to brighten up Buddhism. Young persons' interests were drawn to religion. Those who can afford begin giving charities. And it is noticed that care is taken in these efforts not to infringe on the freedom of worship. Christians and Muslims are also given due help and encouragement. The government has never hesitated to help any religion when government help is requested.

When people begin to take interest in religion, religious teachings begin to spread. People become gentle and soft. The Burma Communist Party whose idea was to use the wrath of the people as a revolutionary force never encouraged religion. Similarly, those who desire to bring down the government and agitate the people for that purpose will not favour religion. But here, the national temperament and the national characteristics cannot be ignored.

[Schools and the national character]

The birth place of national character is the classroom. But even in class rooms those good traditions had vanished. Duties of teachers and duties of pupils have all been forgotten. Teachers are apt to favour their pupils who come to pay them respects with gifts

and presents. A student gets a pass in a school examination only when he, or she, presents the teacher with a set of batik dress. In such circumstances pupils cease being respectable [sic] to teachers. And teachers cease wishing well of their pupils. Such attitudes will have to be done away with. Otherwise, students will keep passing examinations but will not have learnt anything.

The government has to spend large sums of money to conduct refresher training courses for teachers. Teachers have to be reformed and given a new direction. Efforts had to be made to reopen the schools and to eliminate the evil behaviours. Moral principles have to be applied in organisational work and where it is not possible action has to be taken in exercise of authority.

The country may get into trouble if the young persons, to whom the future belongs, turn out to be lazy duds. Care has to be taken to correct them even in trifling matters. In Myanmar people have to behave correctly in the presence of elders. In the West, they can perch themselves on the edge of the table of a superior and talk to him. It is not possible to permit Myanmar to imitate that.

Morale of the entire nation is important.

Morality of the entire nation is important.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council has to strive to reform the mean and lowly spirits of peoples they had shown during the period of 1988 riots. It has to strengthen the pillar of national morality that had tottered.

It is so difficult to say what degree of success has been achieved in this direction. But it is quite certain that no longer have those mean spirits and disgusting character they displayed during 1988 riots [sic]. In fact this objective needs to be taken up in the long run. (NLM 7/21)

[Preservation of Myanmar culture]

July 22: (38) The second social objective of the State Law and Order Restoration Council is as follows--

Uplift of national prestige and integrity and preservation and self-guarding of cultural heritage and national character

Pride in one's nationality and in one's birth contributes to enhance morale. Myanmar has pride in nationality and pride in birth and possesses own national culture that had flourished since a very long time ago and own national characteristics. To preserve and protect these values is very important.

While under bondage, imperialists had tried to erase Myanmar national pride. It was not so easy to enslave a proud people for a long time and the imperialists therefore tried to destroy Myanmar pride. The grandeur of imperialism was taught in schools. Some rock inscriptions of Myanmar history were destroyed. Imperialists fabricated oral histories designed to injure national solidarity. Imperialist historians denigrated Myanmar history.

When Myanmar nationalist spirit resurged in 1920 Myanmar leaders endeavoured to enhance Myanmar pride in their nationality. they rediscovered the true Myanmar history saturated with glorious deeds of Myanmar heroes. It must be said that this resurgence of nationalism enabled Myanmar to regain their freedom.

As time passed, however, Myanmar national pride began to gather dust. Some Myanmar forgot to take pride in their nationality. They forgot the meaning of pride in one's birth. An inclination to think highly of and depend upon aliens, shamefully, emerged. They began to think lowly of themselves as nincompoops.

Some rejoiced secretly when they heard during the 1988 turmoil that an alien naval force had entered into Myanmar territorial waters. Those who believed that they would be better off under American rule were those who had a slavish mentality.

[Myanmar names for Myanmar places]

Alaung Mintara U Aung Zeya, the founder of Konbaung Dynasty, renamed Dagon as Yangon to express his determination to eliminate all sorts of adversaries. The English pronounced Yangon as Rangoon. They pronounced Myanmar as Burma. These pronunciations got established

during the colonial period. Yangon street names were the names of English army officers. For many years these pronunciations remained unchanged.

Myanmars have all along called Yangon as Yangon: nobody called in Rangoon. But those who called the city Rangoon and the country Burma emerged. They even called Pyay Prome.

In May of 1989 the State Law and Order Restoration Council officially corrected the names. The name of the country was changed from the wrong Union of Burma to the correct Union of Myanmar. In fact Burma only means Bamar, one particular nationality. Myanmar is the name for all nationalities. The country was therefore correctly redesignated.

Rangoon was changed into Yangon. Akyab was changed into its correct pronunciation of Sittway. Prome was changed into Pyay. Bassein was changed into Patheingyi. The changes conformed to their original pronunciations. The United Nations and many countries recognised these changes. Some West Bloc countries, feigned ignorance, and continued to use the former pronunciations. That in fact amounted to non-recognition of what the Na-wa-ta had done. Some from inside the country followed suit. A certain politician, in a recent meeting with foreign correspondents, prolifically used the words Burma and Burmese.

The Scot [sic] Market in Yangon in Myanmar had been renamed Bogyoke Aung San Market a very long time ago. But some still call it Scot Market. The Dalhousie Street had been renamed Maha Bandoola Street and the Fraser Street had been renamed Anawrahta Street a long time ago. During the time of the State Law and Order Restoration Council names of even smaller roads that had not yet been renamed were renamed. Maymyo was changed back to its original Pyin-Oo-Lwin.

Even these changes, made to enhance nationalist spirit and national pride did not escape criticism. The country previously known as Siam had now been renamed Thailand. But people wrinkled [sic] their nose when Burma was changed into Myanmar. Some elements, not fearing the sin of blasphemy, mocked: Must Buddha now also be called Muddha? Some predicted that currency notes inscribed with the words the Union of Burma would now be rendered invalid.
[Historic preservation]

The Tatmadaw ignored these vitriolic attacks and slanderings and proceeded to do what it had to do. The Tatmadaw preserved the ancient cultural heritage. The Mandalay Palace was restored to its original grandeur. The Moat was dredged. The Kambawza Thadi Palace of King Bayint Naung covered up by the town of Bago for very many years is being excavated.

Large sums of money have to be spent in the preservation of ancient cultural heritage for the purpose of enhancing pride in one's nationality. New services have to be introduced. Smuggling of antiques has to be checked. Myanmars may not so much value the White Horse figurine, placed in a Nat Shrine in oblation of a traditional deity, puppets of Princes and Princesses, a doll in the likeness of a Page Boy and figurines of Owls. But these artifacts are being sold at high prices at a shop near Narai Hotel in Bangkok.
[Traditional costume]

Original modes of dress have disappeared from certain Eastern countries. Kimonoes are not very much worn in Japan. Traditional skirts are no longer worn in certain big cities of Thailand. Myanmars are still wearing their traditional dress. Some now like to wear slacks some like to wear skirts. Dresses will have to be worn to suit the occasion. A total disappearance of national dress should not be tolerated.

In this connection, some people might like to query: Are we then to let our hair grow longer and keep it knotted on top of the head as in the old days? Are we to wear a full length 'pasoe'. The point here is that one should love one's own culture. Outsiders will respect only those people who love their own cultures. Only then will national honour rise. Only then will pride in nationality be enhanced. Myanmars should not forget loyal and faithful heroes like

Nga Khin Nyo and Lagun Ein that history tells us about.

[Heroes]

We must remember Minye Kyaw Swa, peerless in courage. WE must emulate Thamein Bran, who fought a duel with the enemy for his live of the country. We should keep in mind Tabin Shwe Hti who had demonstrated that bravery was something very much different from foolish adventurism. We must note that Bayint Naung Kyaw Htin Nawrahta who set an example in strong determination with his Naung Yoe Spirit was contemporary to the Spanish General Hernand Cortez who destroyed his ship after he had landed in America in search of new colonies.

[Patriotism]

The third social objective of the State Law and Order Restoration Council is Uplift of dynamism of patriotic spirit. This objective is a continuation of the second objective to preserve and protect traditional culture, national pride and pride in one's birth.

Myanmar patriotism had truly been eroded.

The lack of patriotism should not be handed down from generation to generation. The country will definitely turn somersault if this lack of patriotism is taken as something to be proud of. To strengthen the spirit of patriotism has therefore become vital.

Those without pride in one's own nationality will not understand what patriotism is about. Those who do not know enough to preserve their cultural heritage will not have a sense of patriotism. Only patriotism would be able to preserve the identity and the special characteristics of Myanmar.

[Myanmar characteristics]

What sort of people are the Myanmar?

Myanmar are brave, tenacious, persevering, tolerant, forgiving: their anger is only momentary. They are ready to forget and do not nurse any grudge or be spiteful. They are not vengeful. But they are not such an easy people to win over. They protect their own nation and they love their own people.

Disappearance of those characteristics would mean disappearance of Myanmar. Myanmar will no longer be brave, they will no more be tenacious. They will turn soft and incapable. They will become short-tempered, intolerant, mean in spirit, shallow and narrow in discernment. They will become unforgiving, vengeful, spiteful, deceitful, unscrupulous. They will not love their own people.

Do Myanmar deserve to have such characteristics?

[Measures to spur patriotism]

The State Law and Order Restoration Council organised literary contests with view to strengthening patriotism. It spends large sums of money to revive regatta festivals that had disappeared a long time ago. It organised equestrian festivals. Magnificent ceremonial processions and arrangements of the past have been revived. Myanmar have now begun to bubble up with pride in being Myanmar. But there are critics who allege that the Na-wa-ta was only trying to collect huge crowds to show that it has a large following.

Situations are changing in the world today. The East Bloc has been defeated in the Cold War and the Balance of Power is now lost. In the past those bullied by the West could approach the East for help: but today those bullied by the West have no one [to] approach for help. Weaker nations that do not want to be bullied by others have no alternative but to rely on themselves. At such a time like that strengthening of patriotism is imperative.

When nobody emerges to fight when his nation is in danger how is that nation going to survive.

[Health, fitness, and education]

The fourth social objective of the State Law and Order Restoration Council is Uplift of health, fitness and education standards of the entire nation. The government is seen to be focussing its priority attention to the public health and education sectors. Students' Sports Festivals are being held. National Sports Festivals are being held. Mayor's Marathons are being organised. It is providing utmost help to promote sports.

In the past, Myanmar had stood at the top of Asian nations in sports. Myanmar have been champions in the South East Asian football tournaments. A large number of gold medals had been won. But then a decline followed to such an extent that Myanmar were no longer able to enter contests. The Na-wa-ta began to nurture outstanding athletes and sportsmen. Worthy prizes and rewards were given. Continued striving under the slogan "Myanmar Sports, the World to Conquer" have now led to substantial progress in the sporting world.

Border areas are not left out when projects to promote national health are implemented. This is a sector that has received the least foreign assistance. Progress in this sector may be considered quite slow but it has still been possible to achieve success quite commensurate to the means we have.

Education sector is also important in the rebuilding of Myanmar. Progress in this sector had been retarded to a certain extent because schools had to be shut down as a sequel to the 1988 turmoil and the political instability that followed. The State will continue to need educated persons. Myanmar that had suffered a hiatus in creation of new generations of educated persons will now need to make up for the lost time in creating them.

In striving to develop the State it would not do to lay down only political objectives and pursue them. Economic objectives have also to be laid down. These economic objectives usually aim at material progress. But a country needs more than just highways, bridges and high-rise buildings. Social objectives designed to bring mental well-being and happiness to the people also have to be laid down.

The material and spiritual well-being of the masses is most important. Man needs more than progress in their standard of living. If man is to remain tormented by greed and anger we will not lead a happy life. Man will not have peace of mind if he has nothing to eat. But Man will not prosper if he does not have a pure mind. In fact Man must have both material and spiritual well-being in correct proportion.

The Tatmadaw had repeatedly declared that it stands for the people. Past history clearly shows that the Tatmadaw had always stood for the people. The Tatmadaw stands for the people today: it will stand for the people in future. In laying down social objectives and pursuing them the Tatmadaw is leaving no stone unturned in working for the welfare of the people. (NLM 7/22)

[Sen-Gen. Than Shwe lays out State Political, Economic and Social Objectives]

July 23: (39) 27 March 1995 was the Golden Jubilee Armed Forces Day. On that day the State Law and Order Restoration Council Chairman, Defence Services Commander-in-Chief Senior General Than Shwe delivered an address in which, as is now generally known, he dealt with the State Political, Economic and Social Objectives.

Senior General Than Shwe, in his capacity as a national leader in that address informed the mass of the peoples what they need to be informed of and, in his capacity as leader of the Tatmadaw, informed the Tatmadaw personnel of what they need to be informed. Senior General Than Shwe's address was relayed to the whole country by means of explanatory meetings held regionally. The political, economic and social objectives were elaborately explained for a thorough understanding by the masses and by the Tatmadaw personnel.

[Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt explains them]

At eight o'clock on the morning of 7 July 1995, the State Law and Order Restoration Council Secretary-1 Lieutenant General Khin Nyunt held another meeting in the New Auditorium of the Ministry of Defence. The Meeting was attended by members of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, Ministers, members of the Multi-Party Democracy General Elections Commission, members of the National Convention Convening Commission, as well as others. Personnel working in the Government Media were also seen at the meeting.

Lieutenant-General Khin Nyunt gave a detailed explanation of the four Political Objectives, the four Economic Objectives and the

four Social Objectives of the State as well as of the Government's foreign policy and principles. He began by recounting the history of Myanmar past experience. Myanmar has a history, natural characteristics and situations peculiar to it and differing from those of other countries. Myanmar is a State organised with 135 national groups. The Tatmadaw has played an important role in Myanmar history. These two characteristics are peculiar to Myanmar.
[Objectives summarized]

The first Political Objective is stability of the State, community peace and tranquillity, prevalence of law and order. This signifies national security that is a pre-requisite for all other things. The second objective is national reconciliation. Collapse of national solidarity had plunged the State and the masses of national peoples into a miserable life and retarded national progress. National reconsolidation has therefore to be undertaken.

The past State Constitutions of Myanmar had been deficient, and there is no Constitution at present: to strive emergence of a new enduring State Constitution is therefore the third Political Objective. The fourth Political Objective is building of a new modern developed nation in accord with the new State Constitution.

Myanmar is about to change over to a multi-party democracy in the political sphere. The economic system that is appropriate to that political system is the market economy. The State Law and Order Restoration Council has to effect economic reforms also in accordance with definite Economic Objectives.

The first Economic Objective is development of agriculture as the base and all-round development of other sectors of the economy as well. The idea is to develop the economy beginning with what is possible and where it is possible. The second Economic Objective is proper evolution of the market-oriented economic system. The intention is to enrich the State and to enrich the people.

Capital and knowhow are needed in the development of a market economy. Development of the economy inviting participation in terms of technical know-how and investments from sources inside the country and abroad, has therefore been laid down as the third Economic Objective. In establishing an open-door economy, national interests have to be balanced with the interests of investors.

The fourth Economic Objective is the initiative to shape the national economy must be kept in the hands of the State and the national peoples. The idea here is to protect national interests. This objective will prevent the possibility of aliens coming in to dominate national politics through their economic holdings.

Implementing this open-door economic policy will bring about material progress but then a moral progress will remain to be achieved. The State Law and Order Restoration Council has therefore to prescribe Social Objectives, too. The first Social Objective is uplift of the morale and morality of the entire nation. This is an essential factor for those who are about to strive to develop the nation.

The second Social Objective is uplift of national prestige and integrity and preservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage and national character and the third Social Objective is uplift of dynamism of patriotic spirit. These two objectives are the moral weapons for Myanmar. Only these weapons would be able to protect them from alien cultural invasion.

The fourth Social Objective [is] uplift of health, fitness and education standards of the entire nation for the purpose of strengthening national capabilities. Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt pointed out that a country with political stability and economic development would still need to have social progress to be regarded as possessing all characteristics of a progressive country.

The four Political Objectives, four Economic Objectives and four Social Objectives are the goals of Myanmar. In marching towards these goals the Tatmadaw needs to be helped by the entire mass of the people including political parties, and this help would have to be

given in the form of co-operation with full understanding. Those responsible to explain to the masses and secure their co-operation are the government media.

[Errors of interpretation]

At this point care is needed to beware of some possible misunderstandings. National reconciliation does not mean permitting armed organisations to do what they like. To keep in the hands of the State and of the nationals power to control the entire economy of the nation does not mean to deprive foreign investors of all their due benefits.

It is wrong to interpret the objective to preserve cultural heritage as meaning that we should begin wearing full-length pasoes and keep our long hair knotted on top of our heads. It would not be realistic to ask a vocalist to go up a stage and sing wearing a traditional flared-hips jacket. It is also impossible to forbid a farm girl from wearing her skirt too short. It would be absurd to ask soldiers to take off their pants, put on longyis and go into battle or to ask female personnel of the Tatmadaw to wear their skirts low covering their ankles.

I mean we should not be so far-fetched in our thinking.

Some people are apt to misconceive good objectives. Others are inclined to feign ignorance of the true meaning and strive to implement them in an opposite direction. Some people are of course conceits who contend that only what they say is correct.

[Anti-Myanmar activities]

Be the objectives of the State Law and Order Restoration Council so true, they will nevertheless meet with obstructions, disruptions and impediments. West Bloc countries, being well developed countries, have ambitions to come and interfere in our internal affairs: indeed they are even manipulating international politics. The West Bloc countries, in waging its Cold War against its adversary the East Bloc, had adopted a pattern of democratic warfare. The grand strategy of the West Bloc is to eliminate dictatorial systems and establish democratic States.

Some countries in the West Bloc consider Myanmar as a dictatorial regime. And there are elements who desire to grab power through a short-cut method. Some are out to make profits for themselves, pointing an accusing finger at Myanmar. Some of the so-called experts on Myanmar affairs had been to Myanmar only once or twice though they keep meeting with forces opposed to the government very frequently. Some responsible officials in the West Bloc are in receipt only of false information and rumours about Myanmar.

Myanmar has achieved some degree of political stability. A complete achievement of national reconsolidation is not very far off. Economic development is gaining momentum. Myanmar has come to possess some favourable conditions through not yet to a wholly satisfactory degree.

There are national traitors in Myanmar who are handing over a sword to a thief by chanting repeatedly for outside help in establishment of democracy in Myanmar and there are foreigners who desire to achieve their own interests with the excuse of trying to establish democracy in Myanmar: it should be noted therefore that Myanmar still faces the following dangers:

(1) attempts to revive and prolong armed conflicts that are already on the point of extinction:

(2) continued incitements and instigations by means of political defiance methods, to revive disturbances aboveground:

(3) attempts from inside and outside of the country to bring about an international blockade of Myanmar as in Iraq.

All the three modes of operation mentioned above are directed towards bringing down the Tatmadaw government. They are one notch above the BCP strategy of seizing power by combining underground armed struggles with aboveground disturbances. Now, it is not quite certain that the above types of operations will bring down the Tatmadaw government: but it is definite that they will lead to the destruction of the State and the people.

Armed conflicts have become absolutely obsolete in Myanmar. This has been already generally realised on account of the sufferings that had been experienced for many years in the past. It would be dead wrong to maintain that armed conflicts would be needed to bring down the State Law and Order Restoration Council Government or to create crisis.

Similarly, political defiance designed to revive aboveground disturbances will, in practice, only place the masses in trouble. Political defiance tactics are in fact tactics to disrupt the administrative machinery. But when the government is treading the right path, the political defiance tactics will fail to develop into a non-violent means to achieve democracy: they will merely turn out to be the bane of ruin for the people.

[Today is not 1988]

Myanmar masses had encountered the 1988 turmoil face to face. Certain groups from foreign countries have come to regard the 1988 turmoil as being a victory for democracy that toppled a single party dictatorship. It may be a half truth but not the whole truth. That is because the affair was more in the nature of violence and anarchism rather than of a democratic struggle.

And also, today's Myanmar mass is not the mass of 1988. Myanmar today also differs from Myanmar of 1988. Myanmar masses have no inclination to turn the wheel of history back to the 1988 happenings. Myanmar do not desire to face a 1988 situation ever again.

In this context it is important that Myanmar characteristics be understood correctly. Myanmar have a habit of enquiring and of helping. Myanmar even crowd round and watch a dog-fight. They will come crowding around a road accident. There are many who have the habit of noting down the number of a hit and run vehicle. Hollywood films and video productions frequently portray detectives chasing a purse-snatcher. Pedestrians are seen walking nonchalantly the crime was none of their business [sic]. But it is not this way in Myanmar. There are many in Myanmar who chase and apprehend a pick-pocket when they hear an alarm.

It would be wrong to assume that all those who came to watch some political antics as mass followers. Myanmar do not desire a deterioration in a situation that has been established. They only desire further progress. They do not want to turn back after reaching a point in their journey. They only want to go ahead. To what extent the Tatmadaw's objectives have served the people can be accurately measured. Some objectives need time for achievement but other objectives have visibly served practical interests.

[No fear of foreign pressure]

Myanmar is in no fear of pressure being exerted from outside the country to clamp an international sanctions as in Iraq. This is because Myanmar is experienced in living in isolation which it did during the period of a closed-door policy. Nevertheless the government will have to try and prevent some international misunderstandings. The best method of doing this is nothing other than the country's independent and active foreign policy.

In Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt's clarifications given on 7 July were the following words.

"The Union of Myanmar has friendly relations with the world's nations, especially with the neighbours, in accordance with her active and independent foreign policy. The stand of Myanmar's foreign relations is the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. At present, Myanmar maintains the existing friendly ties with her neighbours and exchange of visits and mutual cooperation are increasing day after day. Myanmar accepts that such friendly relations and mutual cooperation contribute toward maintenance of regional peace, stability and development".

Accusations of human-rights violations levelled against Myanmar are without foundation. The Myanmar norms of human rights may not be identical to those of Western countries. That is why accusations of human-rights violations have mostly dissipated. Accusations of Myanmar timber trading programme as constituting a destruction of the

environment were easily disposed of. Myanma traditional environmental protection habits and the State Law and Order Restoration Council's programme for greening of the nine districts constitute and impregnable defence against such ridiculous accusations.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council has laid down these Objectives with a sincere desire for the well-being of the State and of the Peoples. They are simple and easily understandable. Any opposition to these Objectives will only hurt the masses and co-operation, on the other hand, will benefit the State and its Peoples. It is therefore my belief that all those who love the State and its Peoples and those who are interested in their well-being will join hands in implementing these Objectives. (NLM 7/23)

Other Political Articles

July 17: Let us live up to the ideals they taught us, by Min Kyaw Min. [Martyrs Day--July 19, 1947 assassination of Bogyoke Aung San and his companions, remembered.]

July 19: Our Fallen Leaders. [Biographic sketches of Martyrs Bogyoke Aung San, Thakin Mya, Deedok U Ba Choe, U Razak, U Ba Win, Mahn Ba Khaing, Sao Sam Htun (Sawbwa of Mong Pawn), U Ohn Maung, and Yebaw Ko Htwe.]

July 22: The Bandung Conference - 1955, by U Pe Kin. [The Bandung Conference remembered; it was not a conference of non-aligned states, but of all countries in Asia and Africa.]

Secretary-1 on National Objectives

July 7: SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt "clarified" at great length political economic and social objectives, in a speech at the Ministry of Defence [full text in NLM]:

Political

He reviewed the anarchy which led to the Tatmadaw's taking power in 1988. The value of public buildings alone, destroyed by mobs, was K 628.4 million. Since then the SLORC has laid down its Four Main Tasks, and laid groundwork for a changeover from single party to multi-party democracy system. He reviewed SLORC measures leading up to the convening of the National Convention in 1992, the six objectives assigned to it, and its work to date, culminating in the designation of self-administered areas. The Government will continue "to discharge national duties until the political objectives are fully accomplished."

Leniency: The Government has shown leniency to detainees. Under Order No. 4/89, 9,616 persons serving sentences and 18,827 persons on trial were released from prison on humanitarian grounds. Under Declaration No. 11/92, 1,227 persons serving sentences were released in 1992, 791 in 1993, 94 in 1994, and 132 in 1995, for a total of 2,246. In addition, prison terms were reduced by one-third, allowing for the release of 7,753 persons since Mar. 27, 1995. Thus a total of 38,452 persons have been released by the State Law and Order Restoration Council.

National Characteristics: Myanmar is composed of 135 national races. It is rich in natural resources such as teak, gems, oil, and minerals; thus it was conquered and colonized by the British. Unlike other nations Myanmar cannot be separated from its Tatmadaw, which is an integral part of the nation and its history. The Tatmadaw came to Myanmar's rescue in 1958, 1962, and 1988. Having restored law and order, it is now working towards building a modern nation by laying down specific political, economic and social objectives [see above, under Slogans]. (NLM 7/8)

Border Development: The State has spent K 2,200 million (equal to US\$ 300 million) for border development.

National Convention: Review of its work. The "Fourth political objective" of building a new, modern nation must await the emergence of a new enduring State Constitution.

Economic

Progress in agriculture, evolution of a market-oriented economic system, invitation to foreign investment (now exceeding US\$

2.7 billion), and keeping the economy in the hands of the "State and national peoples". "If the economic door is kept wide open without check and control, the entire right to manage the economy of the State will completely fall into the hands of foreigners. To prevent this, systematic measures have been taken with consideration for bringing about balanced growth of benefits for both sides and for the nationals and the government to have the right to handle the economy." Growth of GDP has exceeded targets.

Social

State Law and Order Restoration Council has sought to uplift morale, preserve the national heritage, uplift patriotism through national festivals and contests, and improve health and fitness through sports festivals.

Foreign Relations

Friendship and mutual cooperation. Visits from leaders of Laos, Singapore, Vietnam, and China. 190,000 people peacefully repatriated from Bangladesh and resettled. Preservation of good relations with neighbours, including Thailand. Good relations with ASEAN which "is becoming more and more prominent in South-East Asia.... We expect that Myanmar's relations with ASEAN will further improve due to the changing political and economic policies and situations...." Support for UN and of Non-Aligned Movement. Maintenance of correct relations with western countries, despite their hostility.

Human Rights

Myanmar always adheres to the UN Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights. "On the other hand, it is found that those Western countries are accusing Myanmar of human rights violations ignoring the different historical background, culture and traditions.... Myanmar accepts that there are no human rights norms which can be applied equally to all nations." Priority of meeting the livelihood requirements of the people before fulfilling other human rights. "As Myanmar are cultured people, there is no violation of human rights and ignoring of such violation even if there is. It is small wonder that those who do not understand Myanmar, Myanmar character and characteristics, are making false accusations that labour contributions of volunteers in national development projects are 'forced labour'. In fact, they should not have made the concoctions on human rights mixed with politics." SLORC is determined to strive for democracy, but it is "unrealistic for Western countries, which have been fostering their democracy practices for hundreds of years, for desiring to immediately shape Myanmar in their style of democracy."

Narcotics

Myanmar seeks to prevent drug use "as a national duty" and to develop border areas leading to "the gradual disappearance of the habit of poppy cultivation." Myanmar seeks to join with all nations in fighting narcotics; it has made agreements with Thailand, Bangladesh, and Vietnam, and is planning them with Laos, Russia, and Malaysia. It is attacking the Khun Sa drug trafficking armed group, this year losing 76 dead and 178 wounded. In the past it received help from other nations; now it continues on a self-reliant basis "due to Western countries' dim view of Myanmar."

SLORC has laid down firm political, economic, and social objectives, based on Our Three Main National Causes. (NLM 7/9)

Returnees from Bangladesh

[Articles reporting the return of refugees from Bangladesh list the cumulative total since Sept. 22, 1992. Not all returns are reported in NLM, and, indeed, returns have increasingly been skipped, as the discrepancy between specific reports and the running total indicates.]

July 3: 29 persons from 7 households returned to Kanyinchaung camp on June 29, bringing the total to 192,405. (NLM 7/4)

July 12: 27 persons from 5 households returned to Kanyinchaung camp on July 6, bringing the total to 192,432. (NLM 7/13)

Special Refresher Courses

July 14: Special Refresher Course No. 17 for Basic Education Teachers opened, and was addressed by SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt [details in NLM]. (NLM 7/ 15)

National Races

July 3: Catholic Bishop Sotero Pharmo of Loikaw, Kayah State, called on SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt to discuss "maintenance of ever-lasting peace in peaceful Kayah State and implementation of development projects. Also present were Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel and others. (NLM 7/4)

July 4: Chairman of the Work Committee for the Development of Border Areas and National Races SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt flew to Loikaw in Kayah State, and addressed local people at the Town Hall. He noted that the Kayan National Defence Guards (KNG), Kayinni National People's Liberation Front (KNPLF), Kayan Pyithit Party (KPP), and Kayinni National Progressive Party (KNPP) had all returned to the legal fold between Feb. 1992 and March 1995. "The Secretary-1 cited some misunderstanding between Tatmadaw and some members of the Kayinni National Progressive Party (KNPP) while the former was discharging duties in the interest of the Union and security in Kayah State. He spoke of the need not to disturb peace because of misunderstanding among the individuals. He spoke against personal attachment to own race, own region or own State...." (NLM 7/5)

July 11: Chairman of the Work Committee for Development of Border Areas and National Races SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt met with Wa national leaders U Pau Yu Cheng, U Pau Laik Hkam, U Aung Myint, U Chao Kyon Teng, and U Chao Kaw An of Shan State (North) Special Region 2. (NLM 7/12)

July 19: Chairman of the Work Committee for Development of Border Areas and National Races SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt received Kachin national leader U Zaw Maing [sic] of Kachin Special Region 2, along with members U Lamong Tu Jai, U Hsai Phong, Dr. Tu Ja, and Dr. La Ja, and peace negotiators U Zabwe Jum, U La Wom, and U Khun Myat. (NLM 7/20) // July 21: Members of the Work Committee met with the Kachin leaders, and were addressed by SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt. Kachin national leader U Zaw Mai [sic] "discussed plans and requirements in drug control, crop substitution, water supply for Myitkyina, proper sanitation, sufficient power supply, prevention of river bank erosion, extension of roads, renovation of Bhamo Jetty, development of border trade and new tasks to be added to the Kachin State Development Master Plan." (NLM 7/22) // July 22: SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt hosted a dinner for the Kachin leaders. (NLM 7/23) // July 24: Meeting with the Kachin national leaders led by U Zaw Mai of Kachin State Special Region 2, Minister for Progress of Border Areas and National Races and Development Affairs Lt-Gen. Maung Thint "explained that two missions have been sent to Kachin State to adopt Kachin State Development Project in the Master Plan...." The Kachin leaders then discussed the Master Plan with Secretary of the Work Committee for Development of Border Areas and National Races Lt-Col. Thein Han, who said that "Kachin State Special Region 2 Development Project, which was not included in the master plan, will now be adopted...." The Kachin leaders also met with Myanmar and UN anti-narcotics officials, and representatives of the Japanese and American Embassies, to discuss anti-drug measures in Kachin Special Region-2. (NLM 7/25) // July 25: The Kachin national leader U Zaw Maing [sic] and his party were received by SLORC Chairman Senior General Than Shwe, who hosted a lunch for them. (NLM 7/25)

USDA

July 10: SLORC Chairman Senior General Than Shwe addressed the opening of a one-month Union Solidarity and Development Association Management Course No. 6. A total of 2,403 USDA officers from 318 townships have attended such courses. Out of almost 2,000,000

candidates who have sought to join the USDA, he said, 1.67 million "have been scrutinized for membership." He said the growing strength of the USDA is important for the "stability, peace and tranquillity of Myanmar society." For this, internal security is important. He noted that the vast majority of USDA members are youths, who "have attended various training courses and participated in tasks to contribute to agriculture." Over 460,000 USDA members participated in "digging of Kyaukse Lake in Pyawbwe Township, re-digging Sun Ye Inn in Singaing Township and repair of Thindaw Creek under the greening project of the nine arid districts." (NLM 7/11)

Police Reform

July 14: SLORC Chairman Senior General Than Shwe "gave work outlines" to the first biannual meeting of People's Police Force Commanders of States and Divisions for 1995 [full text of remarks as reported in NLM].

"In his address, the Senior General said the PPF, an organization maintaining community peace and tranquillity and rule of law and order, must ponder over ways for dutiful performance of its duties. Despite having been founded as a tool of oppression to serve colonial interests, appropriate changes were made to it in the post-independence era, he said.

"However, he said, it has not changed as expected and so, the State Law and Order Restoration Council is also reforming it to cope with various conditions of the State. He noted the reform today must be aimed at stability of the State, community peace and tranquillity and rule of law and order despite formation under the colonial rule as an oppressive tool for safeguarding the colonialists' welfare.

"Stressing the need for reform both in essence and aspect, he remarked, as experienced, that instilling ideology is not enough in reform in essence and instead, functional changes extending to the entire country are to be made.

"As it is nearly 50 years since independence was regained, the government has begun making changes for creation of it into a police force with thought and beliefs compatible with an independent nation and with essence and aspect already reformed.

"He stressed two points in reforming essence--thought and functional system--and said that by 'thought', it is meant the spirit to uphold Our Three Main National Causes which is not changeable in successive eras as it is based on patriotism. He said it must be a disciplined police force in its functions.

"He emphasized the need for the PPF to be a disciplined organisation as it has to deal with the people, enforcing existing laws, for peace and tranquillity and rule of law and order in the nation.

"Lack of supervision or control for the rule of law will result in the public holding them in less esteem instead of winning public trust and reliance, he reminded the police officers.

"As there is the Armed Forces Act for the Tatmadaw and the PPF law for the police, the laws steer respective armed forces away from persecution of the people and unfair practices.

"Under the control of the Armed Forces Act, the Tatmadaw has stood as an armed force defending the people and this is attributable to systematic formation of the organisation which, with discipline and the arms it holds, brings peace of mind, tranquillity and security to the people, he noted.

"The Senior General said the PPF too, which enforces law, needs to be systematically formed and vesting of power at different levels by the PPF law is to enable it to be disciplined.

"He spoke of the need to make constant reforms in conformity with changing conditions and said the PPF members' beliefs, thoughts and functions must be conformed to the time.

"As plans have been mapped out for conceptual, ideological and technical perfection, the Ministry of Home Affairs and every member of the People's Police Force must implement them, he said.

"Changing the uniform and badge is not reform, which actually

calls for changing thought, belief and conception and function, he reminded the police officers.

"He also dealt with welfare of the PPF members.

"With proper changes made in the function of the entire PPF system, he said, gradual development will be achieved in ideological and conceptual essence and aspect and only then can the changes be called allround perfect reform.

"He said PPF should not be viewed merely as a police force, but as an essential organization or part of the nation, like the Tatmadaw, and each member of the PPF, with realization of the fact, is to live up to the reform.

"The PPF must be an auxiliary force for national defence for it must defend the nation in times of emergency despite its primary duty to ensure prevalence of peace and enforcement of law, he said.

"In carrying out their functions, he said, the PPF members are to leave personal matters aside and give priority to the nation. He stressed effective observance of discipline to be able to uphold the honour of their organization and remarked that only then will theirs be an organization truly exercising the law, winning high prestige and public trust and reliance.

"He exhorted the police officers to cooperate and strive for effective reform of their organization."

"EXCERPTS FROM SENIOR GENERAL THAN SHWE'S ADDRESS

* Instilling ideology is not enough to reform in essence. Therefore, functional changes extending to the entire country are to be made.

* The State Law and Order Restoration Council is also reforming the PPF to cope with various conditions of the State.

* Lack of supervision or control for the rule of law will result in the public holding them in less esteem instead of winning public trust and reliance.

* Constant changes need to be made in conformity with changing conditions.

* As plans have been mapped out for conceptual, ideological and technical perfection, the Ministry of Home Affairs and every member of the People's Police Force must implement them."

Minister for Home Affairs Lt-Gen. Mya Thin also addressed the meeting, saying that "the purpose...is to review weaknesses and achievements during these six months to be able to implement future plans more successfully... He stressed the need for the PPF to be consolidated like the Tatmadaw and explained the measures for reform of PPF management....

"Under this law [the 1995 PPF Maintenance of Discipline Law], prompt legal action is to be taken against the PPF personnel who are charged with the offences at the respective police courts.... PPF personnel... are initially vested with powers, and the PPF Maintenance of Discipline Law is drafted to suppress those who abuse their powers, he explained. Lt-Gen. Mya Thin instructed police officers to avoid partiality and bribery in discharging duties for suppression of crimes, and take effective legal action against their corrupt subordinates without discrimination. He also instructed them to regard narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances control project as national duty and strive with the on-going efforts for development of border areas and national races...." (NLM 7/15)

July 18: At a coordination meeting of the Bureau of Special Investigations (BSI), Minister for Home Affairs Lt-Gen. Mya Thin "called for strict adherence to law in dealing with cases of malpractices, frauds and misappropriations. Then only will the Bureau win public trust, he said.... He pointed out that the value of property confiscated in certain cases during the [six month] period under review amounted to over K 576 million. After the disposal of cases the value of property ordered by courts to be confiscated was over 25.2 million, he said, adding the courts also fined over K 400,000. Moreover, he said, the Bureau's investigations led the Internal Revenue Department to assess and collect over K 84.3 million. Regarding misuse of State property and funds, the Minister

urged all to try to recover the property and funds as much as possible in addition to taking action. He also called for greater efforts to expose tax evaders and take severe action. The Minister cited reward and punishment system practised by the Bureau in which 32 employees were promoted and action was taken against 23 employees during the six-month period....

"Concerning security, [he] said certain nations, their news agencies and the so-called Non-Governmental Organizations that would not like Myanmar's progress are still inciting the few remaining armed groups, expatriates and some drug trafficking groups. In collusion with some opportunist politicians they are trying to use Myanmar as a political stage in order to divert the attention. He called for security alert to guard against outside interferences...." (NLM 7/19)

Senior General Than Shwe on Tour

July 21: SLORC Chairman Senior General Than Shwe inspected dams in Yangon and Bago Divisions, and the Ayeyarwady River Bridge (Pyay) Construction Project. [page of photos] (NLM 7/22) // July 22: He inspected the approach road to the Ayeyarwady River Bridge, and visited factories and mills, and cultural sites, in Shwedaung, Pyay, Seiktha, Hinthada, and Pathein. [page of photos] (NLM 7/23) // July 23: He visited in Pathein. [page of photos] (NLM 7/24) // July 24: He went on to visit Myaungmya, Maubin, and Pyapon, before returning to Yangon. [photos] (NLM 7/25)

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's Family

July 22 [full text]: Family of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi arrives. Michael Aris, husband of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and their son Kim Arundel Aris, who lived in London, arrived here by Thai Airways at 3.30 pm for family gathering. [photo] (NLM 7/23) [See also under Arzani Day for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's participation in the ceremony.]

Gen. Maung Aye on Tour

July 27: Vice-Chairman of the State Law and Order Restoration Council Deputy Commander-in-Chief of Defence Services Commander-in-Chief (Army) Gen. Maung Aye flew to Taunggyi, where he discussed development plans in Shan State. [page of photos] (NLM 7/28) // July 28: After visiting Namsan, Loisaunghtauk in Gemland, Mongkai, and Laikha, he flew to Bahtoo Tatmyo on Yaksawk Township to address the Graduating Parade of the 92nd Intake of the Defence Services (Army) Officers Training School at Bahtoo Tatmyo, reviewing government policies. [page of photos] (NLM 7/29) // July 29: He visited Zawgyi Reservoir Project in Yaksawk. (NLM 7/30) // July 30: He visited Kengtung, prior to returning to Yangon. [page of photos] (NLM 7/31)

DIPLOMATIC

Diplomatic Calls

[The following calls were paid on Burmese officials by foreign Embassy or UN officials accredited to Burma. Details of the meetings are rarely reported. Ambassadors generally accompany foreign visitors from their countries on official calls, and their presence is generally not noticed in this Summary. Newly arrived and departing Ambassadors generally make the rounds of Cabinet Ministers and other leading officials.]

July 3: Philippine Ambassador Mrs. Sonia C. Brady called on Deputy Prime Minister Lt-Gen. Tin Tun. Pakistani Ambassador Abbas H. Mirza called on Minister for Livestock Breeding & Fisheries Brig-Gen. Maung Maung to be briefed on rules applying to fisheries investments. Italian Ambassador Dr. Benito Volpi called on Minister for Industry Lt-Gen. Sein Aung. (NLM 7/4)

July 4: Italian Ambassador Dr. Benito Volpi called on Minister for Livestock Breeding & Fisheries Brig-Gen. Maung Maung, and on Minister for Transport Lt-Gen. Thein Win. Philippine Ambassador Mrs. Sonia C. Brady called on Deputy Prime Minister Vice-Adm. Maung Maung

Khin. (NLM 7/5)

July 5: Italian Ambassador Dr. Benito Volpi called on Minister for Health Vice-Adm. Than Nyunt. Indonesian Ambassador Mochamad Sanoesi called on Minister for Rail Transportation U Win Sein. (NLM 7/6)

July 6: The Italian Ambassador called on Minister for Culture Lt-Gen. Aung Ye Kyaw. (NLM 7/7)

July 7: Japanese Ambassador Takashi Tajima called on Minister for Home Affairs Lt-Gen. Mya Thin. (NLM 7/8)

July 10: Philippine Ambassador Mrs. Sonia C. Brady called on Minister for Energy U Khin Maung Thein. (NLM 7/11)

July 12: Pakistani Ambassador Abbas H. Mirza called on Minister for Trade Lt-Gen. Tun Kyi. Italian Ambassador Dr. Benito Volpi called on Minister for Progress of Border Areas and National Races and Development Affairs Lt-Gen. Maung Thint. (NLM 7/13)

July 13: The Pakistani Ambassador called on Minister for Progress of Border Areas and National Races and Development Affairs Lt-Gen. Maung Thint. (NLM 7/14)

July 14: Italian Ambassador Dr. Benito Volpi called on Minister for Forestry Lt-Gen. Chit Swe and on Minister for Agriculture Lt-Gen. Myint Aung. (NLM 7/15)

July 17: German Ambassador Dr. Wolfgang Wiesner called on Minister for Industry 1 Lt-Gen. Sein Aung. Belgian Ambassador Xavier van Migem, resident in Dhaka, who has completed his tour of duty, called on Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel. (NLM 7/18)

July 18: Italian Ambassador Dr. Benito Volpi called on Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel. German Ambassador Dr. Wolfgang Wiesner called on Deputy Prime Minister Lt-Gen. Tin Tun. (NLM 7/19)

July 20: Italian Ambassador Dr. Benito Volpi called on Yangon Mayor U Ko Lay. (NLM 7/21)

July 21: The Italian Ambassador called on Minister for Mines Lt-Gen. Kyaw Min. (NLM 7/22)

July 24: The Italian Ambassador called on Minister for Industry-2 Maj-Gen. Kyaw Than. German Ambassador Dr. Wolfgang Wiesner called on Minister for Hotels and Tourism Lt-Gen. Kyaw Ba. (NLM 7/25)

July 25: The German Ambassador called on Minister for Home Affairs Lt-Gen. Mya Thin, on Minister for Livestock Breeding & Fisheries Brig-Gen. Maung Maung, and on Chief Justice U Aung Toe. (NLM 7/26)

July 26: The German Ambassador called on Minister for Forestry Lt-Gen. Chit Swe. Honorary Netherlands Consul Mr. H.J. Stevens called on Deputy Minister for Transport U Sann Wai to discuss the offer of the Port of Rotterdam to train middle management staff in Container and Multipurpose Terminal Operations. UNDP Resident Representative Siba Kumar Das called on Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel. (NLM 7/27)

July 27: The Honorary Netherlands Consul called on SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt. (NLM 7/28)

July 28: German Ambassador Dr. Wolfgang Wiesner called on Deputy Prime Minister Vice-Adm. Maung Maung Khin. Japanese Ambassador Takashi Tajima called on Minister for Agriculture Lt-Gen. Myint Aung. (NLM 7/29)

New Ambassadors to Myanmar

July 7: The Government has agreed to the appointment of Mr. Bernard Lauwaert as new Belgian Ambassador to Myanmar. He was born July 21, 1937 in Aalst, Belgium, studied Diplomatic Sciences and entered the Foreign Service in 1963. He has served in Kinshasa, Warsaw, Brasilia, Sao Paulo, London, and Islamabad. He is currently Belgian Ambassador to Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos, and will serve concurrently as Ambassador to Myanmar, with residence in Bangkok. (NLM 7/7)

July 20: Dr. Gopal Prasad Acharya presented credentials to SLORC Chairman Senior General Than Shwe as new Nepali Ambassador to

Myanmar. (NLM 7/21)

New Myanmar Ambassadors

July 3: Dr. Kyaw Win, Myanmar Ambassador to Canada, departed for Ottawa. (NLM 7/4)

July 21: U Nyunt Tin on June 22 presented credentials in Madrid to King Juan Carlos I as new Myanmar Ambassador to Spain. (NLM 7/22)

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Joint Workshops & Projects

June 30: Yangon City Development Committee Yangon Mayor U Ko Lay hosted a dinner for participants in the Seminar on Pump Applications/Water Supply Systems and Water Treatment/Chlorination Systems, jointly sponsored by YCDC and Ngee Chin Engineering (S) Pte. Ltd. of Singapore, represented by Managing Director Mr. Loh Niap Tauk. 47 engineers attended the Seminar. (NLM 7/1)

June 30: Basic Hotel Courses lasting eight weeks, jointly conducted by the Directorate of Hotels and Tourism and Baiyoke Kandawgyi Hotel Co. Ltd. concluded, with 41 trainees in the Hotel Reception Course and 39 in the Housekeeping Course. Principal Dr. Yorrie Llewelyn and Deputy Minister for Hotels and Tourism Brig-Gen. Tin Aye spoke. (NLM 7/1)

June 30: Students of the Korean Language Diploma Course at the Institute of Foreign Languages displayed their linguistic skills in a concert, including plays and talks in Korean, and Korean dances. Speakers included IFL Rector Dr. Soe Win, Korean Ambassador Jung Hwan Kim, and Korean language instructor Mr. Eun Gu Lee. Deputy Education Minister Dr. Than Nyunt and others attended. (NLM 7/1)

July 4: A three-day Awareness Raising Seminar on Human Resources Development Indicators co-sponsored by the Ministry of Labour and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) opened, and was addressed by Minister for Labour Lt-Gen. Aye Thoung. Also speaking were UNFPA Resident Representative Ms. Monique Jaffeux and UNFPA Country Support Team Adviser Dr. J. Krishnamurty. Six papers will be presented with the participation of 36 delegates from various organizations. (NLM 7/5)

July 7: A Seminar on Application of Bio-mass Stoves, jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Industry-2, Ministry of Forestry, and FAO, was held. Prof. Dr. Prem Dutta Grover of the Chemical Engineering Department of the Indian Institute of Technology in New Delhi gave a talk. (NLM 7/8)

July 10: The Training on Elephant Census and Conservation Techniques jointly sponsored by the Forest Department and the Asian Elephant Specialist Group (AESG) of the Special Survival Commission (SSC) of the International Union for Conservation of Natural Resources (IUCN) opened with 20 trainees, attended by Myanmar and FAO officials and by Vice-Chairman Dr. K. Sukumar of the AESG. (NLM 7/11)

July 21: Seminar on the Development of Wood-based and Non-wood Forest Product Industries No. 5, jointly conducted by Myanmar Timber Merchants Association and Forest Product Joint Venture Corp. was held, and addressed by Minister for Forestry Lt-Gen. Chit Swe. (NLM 7/22)

Donations from Abroad

[We report here donations apparently from foreign sources, except for donations incidental to the visits of business visitors, etc., which are included in accounts of the visits. We do not normally report the numerous articles on donations by Burmese individuals inside Burma and Burmese companies to government, religious, and social organizations and charities.]

July 5: The Association Francois Yavir presented two wheelchairs worth US\$ 200 to the Infectious Diseases Hospital. (NLM 7/ 6)

July 5: Manager Mr. Tanaka Kenji of The Third World Shop of Japan presented two power tillers to Yindaikkwin village, Taikkyi

Township. (NLM 7/6)

July 7: Mr. Ozaki of the Family Expedition of Japan presented US\$ 3,000 to the Myanmar Olympic Committee. (NLM 7/8)

July 7: The Japanese Government donated two ambulances worth US\$ 22,000 each and medicines worth US\$ 34,000 under the Small Scale Grant for Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association (Central). One ambulance will be used in Yangon and one in Mandalay. (NLM 7/8)

July 14: Chairman Mr. Takayasu Ise of INT Co. Ltd. donated 100 bags each of rice to the Kaba Aye and Inya Youth Training Schools. (NLM 7/15)

July 17: Vice-Chairman Mr. Pramote Tanwattana of R X Co. Ltd. presented electrocardiograph, ophthalmoscopes and surgical equipment worth \$ 24,225 to the Health Department. (NLM 7/18)

July 18: President Mr. Takenaga of Daimex Co. donated Yamaha musical instruments worth US\$ 120,000 to the Ministry of Culture. (NLM 7/19)

July 25: Dr. U Myat Yin and Dr. May San Kyi and family, of Britain, donated dental and medical equipment to the Ministry of Health. (NLM 7/26)

Border & Regional Affairs

July 3: Minister for Trade Lt-Gen. Tun Kyi received a Bangladesh delegation led by Secretary Mr. Mahammad Asafuddowlah of the Ministry of Commerce, which discussed promotion of bilateral trade, including border trade. (NLM 7/4) // July 4: The delegation called on Minister for Home Affairs Lt-Gen. Mya Thin. (NLM 7/5)

Social and Economic Cooperation

June 30: Chinese Economic Counsellor Mr. Chen Shijie explained Chinese-Myanmar trade relations in a talk at the Chinese Embassy. (NLM 7/1)

July 6: SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt attended a dinner hosted by Minister for Progress of Border Areas and National Races and Development Affairs Lt-Gen. Maung Thint to mark "provision of one billion yen by Japan to promote food production in border areas." (NLM 7/7)

July 12: The OPEC Fund for International Development, represented by Chairman Mr. Osama Faquih, on July 7 signed an agreement in Vienna with the Union of Myanmar, represented by Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel, for a loan of US\$ 10 million to rehabilitate the Yangon Circular and Suburban Railways. (NLM 7/13)

FOREIGN VISITORS

International Agency Visitors

June 30: Assistant Director-General M. Daniel Janicot of UNESCO called on SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt. On June 28 he visited Bagan, and on June 29 he visited Sagaing and Mandalay. (NLM 7/1) // July 1: He departed. (NLM 7/2) // July 21: He called on SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt. (NLM 7/22)

July 26: Special Advisor Mr. Sasae to UNHCR, and party, called on Minister for Immigration and Population Lt-Gen. Maung Hla. (NLM 7/27)

International NGO Visitors

July 18: Regional Director Mr. V.T. Palan of the International Planned Parenthood Federation discussed maternal and child care and birth spacing services in Mandalay, accompanied by President Dr. Kyu Kyu Swe of the Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association and others. (NLM 7/19)

Cultural Visitors

July 12: A 14-member Russian Dobro Traditional Music and Dance Ensemble, led by Mrs. L.A. Terenteva, arrived. (NLM 7/13) // July 13: It staged a special show at the National Theatre. (NLM 7/14) // July

21: The troupe leader and members called on Minister for Culture Lt-Gen. Aung Ye Kyaw. (NLM 7/22) // July 26: The troupe departed. (NLM 7/27)

July 13: Association Professor Mark Mason of Yale University called on Minister for Trade Lt-Gen. Tun Kyi. (NLM 7/14)

Medical Visitors

July 4: Dr. Teodora Beljic of Yugoslavia will lecture July 6 on Hormone Replacement and Heart Function on Post-menopausal Women. (NLM 7/5) // July 6: The lecture was given, sponsored by the Obstetrics and Gynaecology Committee of the Myanmar Medical Association. (NLM 7/7)

July 9: Marketing Executive Mr. Viren Popli of Ranbaxy Laboratory Ltd. talked on the company's medicines; officials of the Myanmar Medical Association, Medi Myanmar Group, and R. Pyaralall White Swan attended. (NLM 7/10) // July 12: He presented a printer to the Food and Drug Control Division of the Health Department. (NLM 7/13)

Business Visitors

[Although we rarely note it, business and other visitors calling on Myanmar officials are frequently accompanied by the Ambassador from their country. -- HCMacD.]

July 3: A Philippine Economic Mission led by Executive Secretary Mr. Johyn Gokongwei of J.G. Summit Holdings Inc., and Chairperson Ms. Gloria Tan Climaco of SyCip Gorres Velayo and Co., called on Minister for Industry Lt-Gen. Sein Aung to discuss investments in the foodstuff and textile industries. (NLM 7/4) // July 4: The mission called on Chairman of the Myanmar Investment Committee Deputy Prime Minister Vice-Admiral Maung Maung Khin. (NLM 7/5) // July 5: The delegation called on Minister for Trade Lt-Gen. Tun Kyi. (NLM 7/6)

July 4: Chairman Mr. Albert Hong Hin Kay of Sinmardev International Pte. Ltd. of Singapore called on Chairman of the Myanmar Investment Committee Deputy Prime Minister Vice-Admiral Maung Maung Khin to discuss a project for the Thanlyin-Kyauktan region. (NLM 7/5)

July 6: President M. Jean Marie Cambaceres of the Association France-Asie and party called on Minister for Finance and Revenue and Acting Minister for Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Win Tin, and discussed investments in the transport sector. (NLM 7/7)

July 13: Officials of Wartsila Diesel Group explained their marine diesel engines at the Inspection and Agency Services. Speakers were Area Director Mr. Philip de Bats (Finland, France, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden), Marketing Director Mr. Lambert Neut, and Marketing and Sales Director Mr. Martin Marskar. (NLM 7/14)

July 14: Chairman Mr. Larry Soule and officials of Fisher-Rosemount Co. of the United States held a seminar on their natural gas controls/regulators/measuring equipment. (NLM 7/15)

July 17: President Mr. K Bartiya of the Pulses Importers Association of Bombay, India, and party called on Minister for Trade Lt-Gen. Tun Kyi. (NLM 7/18)

July 20: Vice-President Mr. Arthur Juan of San Miguel Food International of the Philippines, and party, called on Minister for Livestock Breeding & Fisheries Brig-Gen. Maung Maung. (NLM 7/21)

July 20: Director Mr. H. Yano of the Food and Agriculture Department, Mitsubishi Corp., Japan, called on Minister for Agriculture Lt-Gen. Myint Aung. "Mitsubishi Corp. is now supervising cultivation of new strains of sesamum beginning this monsoon" (NLM 7/21)

July 21: Regional Manager Mr. David A. Allan and Director Mr. Brian Jeremiah of Carrie Models (S) Pte. Ltd. of Singapore explained the Traditional Carrie Asian Model Search 1995 to media at the Summit Parkview Hotel. 15 countries will participate this year. (NLM 7/22)

July 22: Chairman Mr. Tanida and Managing Director Mr. Takagi of Pokka Corp. Ltd. (Singapore) soft drink company distributed prizes

to winners of its "lucky dip" and made donations to various organizations. (NLM 7/23)

July 24: Chairman Mr. Hitoshi Tami of EXE Design Co. Ltd. of Japan, Chairman Mr. Ikuo Tajima of Tajima Embroidery Machines, General Manager Mr. Satoru Yamauchi and Vice-Chairman Mr. T. Yamashita of MASA Telecom Inc. met with Minister for Hotels and Tourism Lt-Gen. Kyaw Ba, who said a contract for building an office in the place of the Ye Yint Cinema will be signed at Karaweik Hall. (NLM 7/25)

July 25: Executive Vice-President Mr. Shinji Nakajima and party of All Nippon Airways called on Minister for Transport Lt-Gen. Thein Win. (NLM 7/26)

July 25: General Manager Mr. Nirimichi Kato and party of Marubeni Corp. called on Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel; later Vice-Chairman Dr. S. Kobayashi of the Japan Development Institute lectured on establishment of industrial zones in Myanmar. (NLM 7/26)

July 27: A 22-member delegation from the Institute of Surveyors and Valuers of Singapore led by President Mr. Tang Tuck Kim called on Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel. (NLM 7/28)

Religious Visitors

July 6: A South Korean Buddhist delegation led by President Choi Jung Soo of Sambo Construction Co., Vice-Chairman of Old Students Association of Dong Kuk Buddhist University, including 4 monks and 27 lay-persons, arrived to discuss religious affairs. (NLM 7/7)

Chinese Agriculture Minister

June 30: Chinese Minister of Agriculture Mr. Liu Jiang and his nine-member delegation returned home after a visit begun on June 25. (NLM 7/1)

Chinese Defence Minister

July 5: An 11-member goodwill delegation led by Chinese State Councillor and Minister of Defence Gen. Chi Haotian and wife arrived, at the invitation of Vice-Chairman of the State Law and Order Restoration Council Deputy Commander-in-Chief of Defence Services Commander-in-Chief (Army) Gen. Maung Aye. On arrival he issued a statement [text in NLM] hailing Chinese-Myanmar friendship and cooperation, and extending cordial greetings from the Chinese people and army.

General Maung Aye hosted a dinner, at which speeches were exchanged [texts in NLM]. In his address, General Chi Haotian noted that "Improvement in relations between the two countries coincided with the continuous growth of contacts between the two Tatmadaws, he said. He pointed out the growing contacts between the two Tatmadaws especially in the past few years. He also spoke of the commitment to strive for the continued progress in friendship and cooperation between the two nations and the two Tatmadaws. (NLM 7/6)

July 6: The Chinese Defence Minister called on SLORC Chairman Senior General Than Shwe, and toured Yangon. His wife, Madame Jiang Qing visited the Pyidaungsu Ayeyeiknyeik, the Gems Market, and the Gems Emporium Hall, and later went to the University of Culture and shopped at Bogyoke Aung San Market, the Coop Showcase, and Theingyizay Market. (NLM 7/7)

July 7: The delegation visited the Shwedagon Pagoda and the Defence Services Museum, and then flew to Bagan. (NLM 7/8)

July 8: The delegation toured Bagan. (NLM 7/9)

July 9: The delegation toured Mandalay and PyinOoLwin. (NLM 7/10)

July 10: The delegation visited the Flight Training Base at Meiktila. (NLM 7/11)

July 11: The delegation visited Innlay Lake and Taunggyi in Shan State before returning to Yangon, where it saw the Yangon-

Thanlyin Bridge and the National Theatre. Minister for Transport Lt-Gen. Thein Win hosted a dinner at the Karaweik Hall, accompanied by SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt and others. (NLM 7/12)

July 12: The delegation departed. (NLM 7/13)

Chinese Local Officials

July 5: A Yunnan Economic Delegation headed by Mr. Wang Da Zhang of the Standing Municipal Party Committee, who is also Director of the Administrative Committee of Jie Gao Economic Ruili District, called on Minister for Trade Lt-Gen. Tun Kyi. (NLM 7/6)

July 12: Chairman Mr. Tong Yong Xi of Jian An Township, Shanghai, China, called on Yangon Mayor U Ko Lay. (NLM 7/13)

July 13: Mayor Mr. Meng Piguang of Wanding City, Yunnan Province, called on Minister for Trade Lt-Gen. Tun Kyi. (NLM 7/14)

July 13: a Delegation of the Kunming International Economic and Technical Cooperation Corp. led by General Manager Mr. Zhang Yushi called on Minister for Industry-2 U Than Shwe to discuss joint manufacturing of power-tillers and farm machinery. (NLM 7/14)

July 19: An 8-member delegation led by Chairman Mr. Yin Jun of the People's Congress of Yunnan Province arrived. It called on Minister at the Prime Minister's Office Col. Pe Thein, who hosted a dinner. (NLM 7/20) // July 20: The delegation visited the Shwedagon Pagoda, the Myanma Gems Museum, the National Theatre, and the Yangon-Thanlyin Bridge, and watched sports demonstrations at the National Indoor Stadium-1. The delegation called on SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt, and on Minister for Transport Lt-Gen. Thein Win. (NLM 7/21) // July 23: The delegation flew to Bagan on July 21, then visited Mandalay, and returned to Yangon. He then departed for home. (NLM 7/24)

Maldiv Health Delegation

July 17: Dr. Ahmed Razee and Mr. Mohamed Hameed of the Maldives Ministry of Health, visiting under WHO auspices, called on Minister for Health Vice-Adm. Than Nyunt to discuss sending trainees to Myanmar for pre- and post-graduate medical courses. (NLM 7/18) //

July 18: They called on Director-General Dr. Hla Myint of the Health Department. (NLM 7/19)

Laos Agriculture Delegation

July 24: A five-member delegation led by Lao Army agricultural expert Capt. Boun Sung Yathotu visited the Plant Protection Division of the Myanma Agricultural Service. (NLM 7/25)

Indian Commercial Delegation

July 25: A delegation led by Joint Secretary Mr. Ashok Jha of the Indian Ministry of Commerce called on Minister for Trade Lt-Gen. Tun Kyi. (NLM 7/26)

MYANMAR DELEGATIONS

Study Delegations

July 16: Mechanical experts U Myo Aung, U Kyaw Myo, U Min Wai, U Kyaw Zeya, U Ye Lin Htaing, and U Ye Htut Win of Yangon Wood Industries Ltd., a joint venture with Myanma Timber Enterprise, left to attend "modern furniture manufacturing courses" in Vietnam (for one month) and France (5 months). (NLM 7/17)

July 30: Chief Editor U Kyaw Min of the New Light of Myanmar left for Beijing to attend the First Asian Translators Forum sponsored by the Translators Association of China. (NLM 7/31)

Delegations to Meetings & Events

July 8: A 30-member youth delegation led by Secretary U Tin Maung Oo of the Mandalay Division Union Solidarity and Development Association, Secretary U Nyan Lin of the Shan State (South) USDA, and Headmistress Daw San San Myint of the No. 1 BEHS in Bago left for Djakarta, Indonesia, to attend the Youth Get-together and Fun Fair of

Kerab Ramaja Nasinai IV 1995. (NLM 7/9)

July 17: Deputy Education Minister Dr. Than Nyunt met eight Myanmar students and their supervisory teacher Headmistress Daw Moe Moe of Pyinmana BEHS 2, who will attend the Seventh Get-together of Students and Youths from Asia and the Pacific in Fukuoka, Japan. (NLM 7/18) // July 29: The delegation left. In addition to Daw Moe Moe it includes 8 students: Ma Aye Thinzar (6th standard, Kamaryut BEHS No.2, Yangon), Maung Ram Pan Lian (6th st., Pyidawtha BEMS, Haka, Chin State); Maung Aung Kyaw San Lin (5th st., Monywa BEHS 1, Sagaing Division); Ma Nyein Ei Phyu (6 st., Thayawady BEHS No. 1, Bago Division); Maung Aung Kywe Moe (6th st., Magway BEHS No. 1); Ma Ei Zar Chi Tun (5th st., Mandalay BEHS No. 16); Maung Myo Thet Htut (6th st., Ye BEHS, Mon State); and Ma Ei Myat Nwe (6th st., Kyauktan BEHS No. 1, Yangon Division). (NLM 7/30)

July 19: A delegation led by Judge U Tin Wai of Mon State left to attend the Asia-Pacific Intermediate Courts Conference 1995 in Singapore. He was accompanied by Law Officer U Khin Maung Tint of Yangon Division Court (West District) and Divisional Assistant Judge U Taik Pi of Yangon Division Court (North District). (NLM 7/20)

Planning Minister to Vienna

July 3: Minister for National Planning and Economic Development Brig-Gen. Abel left for Vienna to sign a loan agreement from OPEC funds for reconstruction of Yangon circular [commuter] trains. The delegation includes Director-General U Thein Aung Lwin of the Foreign Economic Relations Department and Managing Director Thura U Thaug Lwin of Myanma Railways. (NLM 7/4) // July 11: He returned. (NLM 7/12)

Delegations to China

July 26: A nine-member goodwill delegation led by Yangon Mayor U Ko Lay left for China and Vietnam at the invitation of the Mayors of Beijing and Hanoi. (NLM 7/27)

July 26: An eight-member goodwill delegation led by Director of Artillery and Armour Col. Lun Thi left for China at the invitation of Poly Technologists Inc. Co. in China. (NLM 7/27)

Foreign Minister to ASEAN Session

July 26: Minister for Foreign Affairs U Ohn Gyaw left to attend the 28th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting beginning July 29 in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam. He was accompanied Director-General U Khin Maung Win and Deputy Director U Kyaw Nyunt Hman of the Political Department, and by his personal staff officer U Zaw Myint Oo. Joining the delegation will be Myanmar Ambassadors to Thailand U Tin Win, to Indonesia U Nyi Nyi Than, and to Singapore U Kyaw Myint. (NLM 7/27)

Delegations Return

[Return of delegations whose departure was noted in early issues, or whose departure NLM did not cover]

June 30: Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs U Nyunt Swe and his delegation returned from China. He paid a courtesy call in China on Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Mr. Qian Qichen, and held talks with his counterpart Mr. Tang Jiaxuan. They signed the Second China-Myanmar Joint Boundary Inspection Agreement, toured Beijing, and studied tourism and economic undertakings in Kweilin and Hinan Provinces. [see June issue under Delegations Visit China] (NLM 7/1)

July 3: The Defense Service Signals delegation led by Deputy Director Col. Aung Myint of the Office of Director of Signals returned from China [see June issue under Business Delegations] (NLM 7/4)

July 7: Minister for Hotels and Tourism Lt-Gen. Kyaw Ba and his delegation returned from China. [see June issue under Delegations Visit China] (NLM 7/8) // July 8: In China, the Minister met with Chinese National Tourism Administration Bureau Chairman Mr. Lui Yi and other officials from June 28-July 4, including a courtesy call on Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Qian Qichen. From July 4-7 he visited Hong

Kong, studying hotel construction and the Ocean Park tourist attraction. (NLM 7/9)

MYANMAR GAZETTE

Probationary Appointments

The SLORC appointed the following, on probation:

July 5: U Khin Maung Win, Deputy Director-General, to be Director-General, Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (NLM 7/6)

July 12: U Tin Maung Lay, Deputy Director-General, to be Director-General, Development Affairs Department, Ministry for Progress of Border Areas and National Races and Development Affairs.

U Bo Win, Deputy Director-General, to be Director-General, Basic Education Department, Ministry of Education. (NLM 7/13)

Appointments Confirmed

The SLORC has confirmed the following, after one-year of probation:

July 12: U Tun Chun as Director-General, Customs Department, Ministry of Finance and Revenue.

Dr. Kyaw Thein as Rector, Institute of Computer Science and Technology, Ministry of Education.

U Mehm Than Thaung, Rector, University of Distance Education, Ministry of Education.

Dr. Hla Pe as Rector, Mawlamyine University, Ministry of Education. (NLM 7/13)

GOVERNMENT

Pearl Law

July 10: SLORC Law No. 7/95 of July 10, the Myanmar Pearl Law, regulates pearl production and marketing [full text in NLM]. It requires a permit for all activities involved in growing oysters and harvesting and selling pearls, and registration for pearl boats, under the Ministry of Mines. The Ministry also designates oyster fishing grounds, and issues conservation measures. The responsibilities of the Myanmar Pearl Enterprise are defined, and its Managing Director named Chief Inspector for enforcement of the Pearl Law. Fines ranging from K 10,000 to K 500,000, plus imprisonment up to 10 years, are provided for various infractions. (NLM 7/11)

Arzani (Martyrs) Day

July 19: On Arzani Day, commemorating the 48th anniversary of the assassination of Bogoyoke Aung San and his companions in 1947, family members (led by his daughter Daw Aung San Suu Kyi) and officials (led by Minister for Culture Lt-Gen. Aung Ye Kyaw), laid wreaths and paid obeisance to the national martyrs, in the presence of diplomats and representatives of various organizations. 22,250 members of the public visited the Arzani Mausoleum during the day. [photos of Culture Minister, and of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, laying wreaths, on front page; plus two pages of other photos of ceremonies.] [This is the first reference in NLM, direct or indirect, to the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest on July 10--HCMacD.] (NLM 7/20)

Home Ministry Notifications

July 19: The Ministry of Home Affairs on July 18 issued Notification No. 1/95 on Rules relating to the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Law, and Notification No. 2/95 on Rules relating to the People's Police Force Maintenance of Discipline Law. [no report of their content] (NLM 7/20)

MILITARY

Insurgent Attacks

July 18: A KNU terrorist group fired four 107 mm rockets into Myawady on July 12, killing one and injuring three civilians. (NLM 7/19)

Surrenders by Armed Group Members

July 3: Platoon commander Maung Zaw of the "remaining expatriate armed group faction called the People's Liberation Army" returned to the legal fold June 24 at Santhida camp in South-East Command. (NLM 7/ 4)

July 4: Between May 17-30, 29 members of various armed groups returned to the legal fold [names and details]. (NLM 7/5)

July 9: Twenty members of the KNU armed group returned to the legal fold on July 6 at the Koemaing camp of South-West Command [names]. (NLM 7/10)

July 13: A member of the KNU armed group returned to the legal fold on June 23 at Thabyay Nyunt camp in Southern Command. He was an "extortion money collector." (NLM 7/14)

July 14: Between June 1-13, 37 members of various armed groups returned to the legal fold [names and details]. (NLM 7/15)

July 18: Between June 24-29, 31 members of various armed groups returned to the legal fold [names and details]. A total of 101 members of armed groups returned during June 1995. [No report for June 14-23 published] (NLM 7/19)

ECONOMIC

Economic Articles

July 2: Myanma Traditional Handicrafts Fair -- You name it, they have it, by Min Kyaw Min. [Handicrafts on parade. Availability of EPV (Export Permit Voucher) authorising export of jewellery and other articles. Description of Shwe Minthamee's shop, Miriam Marshall's Myanmar Port of Call.]

July 25: Are we really poor? Impressions of human development in Myanmar, by Dr. Aung Tun Thet. ["What is the level of human development in Myanmar? How does it measure up with the other developing countries?..."

[Basic statistics (ranking from best among 24 poorest countries of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Chad, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Lao, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Niger, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam, Zaire, Zambia): Per capita GNP (1992): \$220 (#10); under 5 mortality rate: 111 (1993) (#2); life expectancy at birth (1993) 58 (#2); adult literacy (1990) 81% (#3); primary school enrollment (1986-92): 97% (#3); fertility rate (1993) 4.1 (#2).

[Turning to the UNICEF National Performance Gap (NPG), or the gap between under-5 mortality and the expected lever for that country's GNP, Myanmar's ratings of +57 - +51 (1993-5), ranks it as #2. The UNDP Human Development Index gives Myanmar a 1992 rating of 0.406, the highest among the 24 poorest nations. It has held this position consistently since 1960. Myanmar improved its tetanus coverage by 18% from 1990-92, ranking it number #5 in the world. Among the poorer but more literate nations, Myanmar has the lowest per capita GNP but ranks #6 of 10 in literacy (1992). Similarly, in female literacy, it ranks #7 of 13, despite next to lowest GNP (1991). These successes are the result of a growing percentage of Central Government Expenditures spent on education and health, higher than most poor countries. Combined expenditures for health and education, per capita, have risen since 1988, but not reached the levels of 1985 (education higher, health lower).]

Economic Inaugurations

July 2: A new Goss Community offset printing press was installed at the Religious Affairs Department Press, by Mechanical Engineer Mr. Suresh and Electrical Engineer Mr. Rephaei of Bombay, India. (NLM 7/3)

July 5: One Heart Trading Co. Ltd. opened a salesroom at Thiri Mingalauyin Teiktha on Strand Road, where products of Yunnan Province will be sold. Managing Director Ms. Zhao Yi Fen and special representative Mr. Zou Guo Yun spoke, as did Managing Director U Aung Kyi of Vehicles and Machinery Equipment Trading. (NLM 7/6)

July 11: The Yinwa Reservoir was inaugurated in Kawthoung, Taninthayi Division, on July 7. (NLM 7/12)

July 11: The 32 room Cherry Hotel was inaugurated at Aung San Stadium. (NLM 7/12)

July 15: The 55-foot vessel Yaylan was delivered by Dawbon Shipyard to the Waterways Department. (NLM 7/16)

July 20: The Mon Creek Dam in Tatkon Township [Mandalay] was commissioned by SLORC Secretary-2 Lt-Gen. Tin Oo. It will irrigate 5,800 acres, and cost K 50 million. (NLM 7/21)

Advertisements

NEW MYANMAR SEAFOOD RESTAURANT

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5:30 pm - 11:00 pm

519 A, PYAY ROAD (THIRIMINGALAR ST.). KAMAYUT, YANGON

TEL: 31231

(NLM 7/15)

July 15: Full page advertisement from Myanmar Airways International celebrating new service to Kunming. (NLM 7/15)

Rediscover New World Inya Lake Hotel

Lake View Bar

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(NLM 7/21)

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(NLM 7/30)

International Business Projects

[This category will now also include reports on the establishment of Joint Ventures, formerly a separate category.]

July 6: Myanma Posts and Telecommunications, represented by Managing Director U Htay Aung, signed a contract with InterDigital Communications Corp. of the United States, represented by Mr. William M. Hilsman, for installation of 500 auto-radio telephones in Yangon.

(NLM 7/7)

July 12: The Geological Survey and Minerals Exploration Department, represented by Director-General U Soe Myint, First Dynasty Mines Ltd. of Canada, represented by Vice-President Mr. Stephen R. Stine, and Ivanhoe Myanmar Holdings Ltd., represented by Chairman Mr. Robert Friedland, signed agreements for feasibility studies for developing gold and copper resources in Blocks Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6A, and 7 in Upper Myanmar (Ivanhoe) and Blocks 2, 10, and 11 in Upper Myanmar (First Dynasty). Minister for Mines Lt-Gen. Kyaw Min spoke. (NLM 7/ 13)

July 17: Inland Water Transport and Yunnan Machinery Import and Export Corp., represented by Chairman Mr. Wu Wen Kuan, signed an agreement for the purchase of shipyard machinery and equipment. IWT, said Minister for Transport Lt-Gen. Thein Win, has five shipyards: "Mandalay Shipyard is only a workshop and out of the remaining four, some were more than 100 years old, he said. Repair of vessels could not be efficiently carried out due to lack of modern facilities...." (NLM 7/18)

July 18: Myanma Timber Enterprise, represented by Managing Director U Myat Win and UE Myanmar (S) Pte. Ltd. of Singapore, represented by Director U K. Joe Shein, signed an agreement to form a joint venture for No. 88 Saw Mill. (NLM 7/19)

July 25: The Directorate of Hotels and Tourism, represented by Director-General Lt-Col. Khin Maung Latt, and EXE Sakura (Myanmar) Co. Ltd., based in Singapore, represented by President Mr. Hitoshi Tani, signed an agreement for construction of The Sakura Tower, a US\$ 30 million office building and commercial complex, on the site of the Yeyint Cinema on the corner of Sule Pagoda Road and Bogyoke Aung San Street. It will be a 100% company investment. Speaking on the occasion, Minister for Hotels and Tourism Lt-Gen. Kyaw Ba noted inter alia that "'Of course, EXE group is not the first pioneer Japanese group that is signing a contract with our Ministry.... Previously we have MCG group from Japan who has signed a contract with us in 1990 to construct an international standard hotel in Yangon. Unfortunately, they encountered financial difficulties and their hotel project has been delayed. We hope that the MCG group would be able to solve their financial problems and complete the project in the near future.'" He warmly welcomed the new EXE group project. (NLM 7/26)

July 26: Acting Managing Director U Tint Swe of Public Works and Managing Director Mr. H. Wakayma of Chiyoda Corp. signed a Memorandum of Intent on "consulting on engineering, hiring of machinery, construction materials, and implementation of projects." (NLM 7/27)

July 26: Managing Director U Kyaw Nyein of Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise and Vice-President Mr. James D. Roberts of ARCO Myanmar Inc. signed a Production Sharing Contract for exploration of oil and natural gas in Block M-9. Minister for Energy U Khin Maung Thein noted that this was the fourth contract signed in 1995, the others being with Petroleum Authority of Thailand, Texaco Oil Co. of the US, and Empire Oil Co. of Australia. (NLM 7/27)

July 27: Two contracts were signed by Managing Director Mr. Haji Ishak Bin Ismail of Idris Hydraulic (Malaysia) Bhd.: one with the Directorate of Hotels and Tourism for construction and operation of a 450-room Hotel Complex at the corner of Bogyoke Aung San Street and Shwedagon Pagoda Road, and one with the Quartermaster-General's Office of the Ministry of Defence for construction and operation of a 250-room Hotel Complex at the corner of Shwegondine and Shwegon Roads. The hotels are on a 100 per cent foreign investment, 30-year, BOT (build, operate, and transfer) system. He also called on Minister for Hotels and Tourism Lt-Gen. Kyaw Ba. (NLM 7/ 28)

July 29: The Directorate of Hotels and Tourism, represented by Director-General Col. Khin Maung Lat, and Worldcare (Myanmar) Co. Ltd., whose head office is in Brisbane, Australia, represented by Managing Director U Michael Myo Nyunt, signed a Memorandum of Understanding on Medical and Evacuation Cover Scheme for Visitors.

Under it, tourists can pay \$20.00, for which they can during their stay get free telephoned medical advice, medical treatment insurance of \$1,000 (after a \$500 deductible), evacuation if needed to the nearest suitable place, and foreign hospital costs up to \$2500. In case of death, remains will be repatriated to the country of origin. Children of sick or disabled tourists will be sent home. Maximum benefits per insured are \$50,000. (NLM 7/30)

Business Courses

July 2: Seminar on Business Education No. 36 will be held on July 5, with Director U Thein Oo of the Internal Revenue Department speaking on What the businessmen should know about commercial tax. (NLM 7/3) // July 5: The Seminar was held. (NLM 7/6)

July 17: Basic Hotel Courses co-sponsored by Myanma Hotel and Tourism Services and Baiyoke Kandawgyi Hotel Co. Ltd. opened, with 33 trainees in front office operations and 21 in housekeeping. (NLM 7/18)

July 22: A Course on International Hospitality and Tourism Industry, jointly sponsored by the Directorate of Hotels and Tourism and Myanmar Emerald Travels & Tours Co. Ltd., concluded; 69 trainees attended the one-week course. Speakers included Prof. Karl Lian. (NLM 7/23)

July 23: The Softguide Computer Centre presented certificates to 150 trainees who attended a three-month course on computer application, management, accounts, English, and job hunting. (NLM 7/24)

July 23: Seminar on Business Education No. 37 will be held July 26, with Mr. V.N. Kaul, Regional Adviser of ESCAP, speaking on Implications of the Uruguay Round. (NLM 7/24. // July 26: It was held. (NLM 7/27)

Cooperatives

July 1: On the occasion of the International Day of Cooperatives, Minister for Cooperatives U Than Aung reviewed the history of Coops in Myanmar from 1904 to the present. "There are now 5,066 basic co-operative societies, 289 co-operative syndicates and 14,709 revised co-operative societies which had been formed under the 1970 Co-operatives Law, in 14 States and Divisions as of the end of May 1995. The 1994-95 plan target in co-operative sphere was achieved successfully. The co-operatives earned K 5,825 million achieving 174.2 per cent success of target in production sector, earned K 770 million achieving 136.8 per cent in service sector and earned K 2,485 million achieving 142 per cent in trade sector. and 110.9 per cent of export was achieved earning K 105.06 million." (NLM 7/2)

Gems

July 1: At the Interim Jade Sale at the Myanma Gems Emporium, 528 lots of jade owned by the Myanma Gems Enterprise, joint ventures, and private entrepreneurs, and valued at US\$ 3,579,750, will be sold. Sealed tenders will be accepted June 2, and opened on June 3. Gems, jewellery, jade figurines and lots of raw jade will also be sold at fixed prices. (NLM 7/2) // July 2: Gems merchants submitted bids. 144 gems merchants from 6 countries, and 66 local entrepreneurs, are taking part. (NLM 7/3) // July 3: 178 lots of jade fetched US\$ 1.64 million (K 9.5 million). In addition, gem lots, jewellery, jade figurines, silverware and raw jade blocks, sold at fixed prices, brought K 1.0 million plus US\$ 96,269. (NLM 7/4)

July 9: Myanma Gems Enterprise sold 53 jade lots (out of 142) for K 11.3 million in competitive bidding. 250 persons attended. (NLM 7/10)

July 14: Myanma Pearl Enterprise sold 58 pearl lots at over K 10.4 million through competitive bidding. Of this, U Sein Myint of Pyi Aye Yadana Jewellery Shop, second-floor, FMI Centre, purchased 37 lots for K 7.9 million. (NLM 7/15)

Privatisation

July 2: The Myanmar Privatisation Commission held its meeting No. 2/95, under the Chairmanship of SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt. Commission Joint Secretary-1 Director-General of the Project Appraisal and Reporting Department U Ohn Lwin discussed "proposals of individuals and private organizations wishing to privatise the State-owned economic enterprises and evaluated cost of 16 factories, mills and economic enterprises." (NLM 7/3)

Banks

July 2: Chairman U Thein Tun and directors of the Tun Foundation Bank, donated its profits since it was founded on June 14, 1994, totalling K 3.6 million, to a series of Myanmar institutions in the social, health, and education sectors. Minister for Finance and Revenue Brig-Gen. Win Tin spoke, noting that 14 private banks had been opened as of March 1995, with capital totalling K 1,045.5 million. Deposits were K 5,895.5 million and disbursements K 4,279.1 million, with a profit of K 180.4 million. (NLM 7/3)

July 14: The National Bank Ltd. of Bangladesh was licensed July 6 to open a representative office in Yangon. (NLM 7/15)

Agriculture

July 12: 2.66 million acres have been planted with summer paddy in 1994-95, and of this 2.5 million acres have been harvested, with a yield of over 180 million baskets, said Minister for Agriculture Lt-Gen. Myint Aung. (NLM 7/13)

July 18: Speaking at a meeting on the greening of nine districts, Minister for Agriculture Lt-Gen. Myint Aung said that "paddy and beans and pulses production and exports have been increasing year by year, plans are being made for sufficiency of edible oil within three years and the project provides not only oil crops but also cotton, beans and other crops. He said the project would be implemented in 133 regions in Sagaing, Magway, Mandalay, Bago, Yangon and Ayeyawady Divisions with three levels." (NLM 7/19)

July 26: Speaking to the first coordination meeting of the Myanmar Industrial Development Committee (MIDC), MIDC Chairman Minister for Agriculture Lt-Gen. Myint Aung stressed the need for farm machinery in order to achieve this year's target of 1 billion baskets of paddy. Present were MIDC members Minister for Industry-2 Maj-Gen. Kyaw Than, Minister for Energy U Khin Maung Thein, Minister for Rail Transportation U Win Sein, Minister at the Prime Minister's Office Brig-Gen. Lun Maung, Deputy Minister for Industry-2 U Saw Tun, Deputy Minister for Transport U San Wai, and Deputy Minister for Mines U Myint Thein. MIDC Joint Secretary Director-General Lt-Col. Win Maw of the Agricultural Mechanization Department presented the agenda. (NLM 7/27)

Tourism

July 14: A meeting will be held July 18 to discuss formation of an Association of Hoteliers and Tour Operators. (NLM 7/15) // July 18: The formation of the Association was coordinated. Its purposes will be "to ensure systematic and long-term development of Myanmar's tourism industry, to make concerted efforts or to seek ministry advice in solving problems, to offer services at fair prices in attracting tourists and to produce amicable and efficient tour guides and medical employees." (NLM 7/19)

July 20: Effective July 11, foreigners must pay for admission to the Yangon Zoological Gardens in FECs [foreign exchange certificates]. Admission is FEC \$ 2.00 for resident foreigners, including diplomats, and FEC \$ 5.00 for tourists. (NLM 7/21)

Rainfall in Yangon

Rainfall, in inches, at Yangon's three weather stations of Yangon Airport (YA), Kaba-Aye (KA), and Central Yangon (CY) was:

	YA	KA	CY
1987	97.01	100.98	95.43
1988	99.17	100.00	107.76

1989	96.22	100.59	102.76
1990	118.35	109.92	122.84
1991	91.81	83.78	96.65
1992	81.34	96.02	95.98
1993	82.64	111.18	95.12
1994	120.16	120.94	117.36
1995			

as of:

July 1:	33.70	32.72	34.09
July 15:	44.92	43.31	46.22
July 30:	56.85	55.32	57.76

There were many Flood Warnings issued during the month for the Ayeyarwady and Chindwin Rivers, but no reports of damage.

HEALTH

Health Articles

July 3,27: The Role of Radiology and Radiologist in the Practice of Medicine, by Dr. Kyaw Myint (Radiology). [Cont. (2) Functions of X-ray departments and radiologists. (3) Interventional radiology.]

July 12: "Women's Equality: A Gateway to Population" by Dr. Pe Thet Htoon (Department of Health). [Reproductive health: safe motherhood, prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, availability of birth spacing information and services. Empowerment of women: a full part in education and in decisions about marriage and child bearing. Sustainable development: no compromise of the welfare of future generations. National population policy. Birth spacing: (1) delay first birth; (2) space births at least two years apart; (3) avoid too many pregnancies; (4) cease child bearing in time--optimum age is 20-35.]

July 31: Co-operation between Myanmar and the International Committee of the Red Cross, by Kyaw Thu Win. [Workshops since Myanmar joined the four Geneva Conventions in 1992.]

New Infectious Diseases Hospital

July 9: Foundation stones were laid for the Infection Diseases Hospital and Institute of Pharmacy in Waibagi Myothit, North Okkalapa Township, Yangon, in the presence of Health Committee Chairman SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt, Minister for Religious Affairs Lt-Gen. Myo Nyunt, Minister for Health Vice-Adm. Than Nyunt and others. (NLM 7/10)

Secretary-1 on Health Cost-sharing

July 22: Speaking at the inauguration of a new Kanthaya Hospital on Natmauk Road, sponsored by Joint Venture Corp. No. 7, SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt called for greater participation in health by non-governmental organizations.

"He noted that the work plan for participation of NGO under Set-up and Management Plan of the National Health Policy is aimed at promoting active participation of the NGOs in the public health care projects The government, he said, is also encouraging the private, cooperative and joint venture sectors to cooperate, and local health experts to more profitably and beneficially make use of their skills and invest freely in the health sector.... Traditionally, hospitals and clinics give expense-free treatment in accord with the government's National Health Service, he said. He remarked that due to population growth, development of medical science and equipment, cost of treatment is increasing worldwide. Due to the requirements for participation of donors, cooperatives, joint ventures and NGOs and increase of well-funded organizations and donors, the government adopted the Cost-Sharing Health System opening drug stores and laboratories where various medicines are available and medical examination can be done at low cost, he said. Fifty per cent of the hospital's supervisory fund goes into the trust fund and

the profit is being utilized to provide expense-free diagnosis and treatment to those who cannot afford much, he said. He noted that the cost-sharing health system, though not a fully sufficient one for patients, contributes funds in the State's health expenditure and helps realize the lofty aim 'Health for All by the Year 2000'. Nowadays, the public health care project reaches the grassroots level and narrows urban and rural health development gap, he said. He exhorted doctors and staff of the new hospital to take care of the patients with good-will and sympathy and try to give expense-free treatment to the poor" (NLM 7/23)

SPORTS

Sports Articles

July 17: A football tournament under a new system, by Kyaw Soe Myint. [Ages of players in youth football tournaments are now being verified. "Those who are found to have lied about their ages will not only be disqualified but action will also be taken against responsible persons." X-ray determination of age.]

Myanmar Teams and Officials

July 6: President U Tin Pe of the Myanmar Gymnastics Federation, Managing Director of the Motion Pictures Enterprise, left for Berlin to attend the 10th Conference of World Gymnastics Organisations. (NLM 7/7)

July 20: A Myanmar Optimist sailing team led by Secretary-General Michael Moe Myint of the Myanmar Yachting Federation left to participate in the 1995 European Optimist Championship in the Netherlands, and the World Optimist Championship in Finland. The team consists of Sithu Moe Myint, aged 12, and Aung Kyaw Win, aged 14. Nearly 200 Optimist sailors from 40 countries are participating in the two events. (NLM 7/21)

Foreign Teams, Coaches, etc.

July 28: The Ozaki Family of Japan, together with members of the Myanmar Hiking and Mountaineering Association (MHMA), is scaling 19,296-foot Mount Khakaborazi at the northern tip of Myanmar. Mr. Takashi Ozaki is accompanied by his wife, his 11-year old son, his 8-year old daughter, and MHMA Vice-President Maj. Kai Kham Mon and members U Saw Lwin, U Kyaw Aye, U Thet Tun, and U Soe Moe. They hope to reach to top on Aug. 20. (NLM 7/29)

Hole-in-one

July 2: Dr. Thein Nyunt scored an ace on the 150-yard 17th hole of the Myanmar Golf Course. (NLM 7/3)

CULTURAL

Cultural and Scientific Articles

July 6,20: The never-withering Gangaw flower, by A Bago Hostel Resident. [(1) Reunion of Bago Hall old-students of Yangon University; flowering Gangaw trees have now grown and prospered, like the University. Speech by SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt. "I noticed feelings of kindness, simplicity, openness and honesty on {his} face...." (2) Change and familiar things on campus.]

July 12: Editorial: School computing. ["Myanmar Education Committee, in one of its related moves to achieve the goal of upgrading the education system, officially announced its decision to adopt school computing in a recent meeting held at the Yangon University Convocation Hall.... The meeting centred on opening computer courses at basic education schools and vocational institutions and...SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt called for serious attention and extensive efforts to equip all schools with computers.... It is encouraging that both parties of parents and teachers enthusiastically welcome this creative idea, willing to give it the necessary boost...."]

Publications

July 14: The Review of the Financial, Economic and Social Conditions for 1994-95, published in English by the Planning Department, is now on sale for K 200 at the Sarpay Beikman Bookshop and elsewhere. (NLM 7/15)

July 20: A "Who's Who" in literary and cultural organizations in Myanmar, published by Myanmar Writers and Journalists Organization (MWJO), is available at K 30 per copy at Sarpay Beikman Bookshop, 529 Merchant Street [Yangon]. (NLM 7/21)

July 21: The July issue of Welcome to Myanmar has been published by the Information Subcommittee of the Tourism Development Management Committee; free copies may be obtained by bona fide hotels and tour operators. To place advertisements in the October issue, contact Sarpay Beikman (Tel: 83434) or Today Media Group (Tel: 93852, 95886) by September 20. [photo of cover] (NLM 7/22)

Universities and Institutes

July 6: The State Law and Order Restoration Council has upgraded the Lacquerware Training School at Bagan, under the Cottage Industries Department of the Ministry of Cooperatives, to the Government Lacquerware Institute, effective April 1995. (NLM 7/7)

Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee

July 3: The Second Plenary Session of the 47-member Fourth State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee was held. Chairman Sayadaw Bhaddanta Sobhita addressed the session, noting that the Committee has functioned for 15 years. "During the period, the Sayadaw said, considerable success has been achieved in some cases but it has not been as much as desired. This had been due to loopholes and defects at different levels of the Sangha organisations, he said. The Sayadaw called for remedial measures during the fourth term.

"The Chairman Sayadaw also urged all to carry out the resolutions which had been passed during the previous terms but left unresolved. The Sayadaw emphasized that a resolution passed by either the State Sangha Maha Nayaka committee or the State Central Working Committee of the Sangha should be acted upon accordingly, or else this will constitute a defect or a fault. He cited improper acts of some monks and novices in certain towns and areas. This will tarnish the Sasana once witnessed [sic] by foreigners during the Visit Myanmar Year, he said, urging all to ask the government to make the monks and novices abide by the rules meant for them.

"The Sayadaw noted that with the passage of time different levels of Sangha organizations lost interest in their responsibilities. Some organizations, he said, did not hold weekly meetings. They only held annual meetings, the Sayadaw said, adding that some even ignored the annual meetings. The Sanga organizations are to precisely undertake their duties and responsibilities, he said....

"He called for arrangements to help promote monastic education....

"The Sayadaw also remarked that as in other religions, Buddhist nuns should be assigned missionary duties...."

Minister for Religious Affairs Lt-Gen. Myo Nyunt spoke, noting efforts by the State Law and Order Restoration Council to promote Buddhism and build and renovate pagodas.

"He cited efforts being made for the building of the Tooth Relic Pagoda with the help of the public. He also pointed out renovation and reconstruction of stairways of Shwedagon Pagoda. [Both projects have received considerable newspaper attention in recent weeks--HCMacD.] The Minister also pointed out that foundation was laid for the building of Lawka Nanda Pagoda in Sittway. Moreover, he said, Lawkamani Sula Pagoda was being at the site in Lumbini Park [in Nepal] allocated for Myanmar. He recited the visit of Myanmar delegation to Nepal on 14 May 1995. He revealed that Myanmar engineers group is building the pagoda and on completion it will also

build other structures in Myanma traditional designs. On 30 April this year, he said, 1,000 persons were novitiated in Kachin State...."

The Committee discussed various topics, including "dispute over the ownership of Abayarama Kyaung on Myoma Kyaung Street in Dagon Township, dispute over ownership of Anula Yadana Kyaung and similar dispute over Kyaung Thit Kyaung at Chit Pyit village, Pale Township in Sagaing Division...." (NLM 7/4)

July 4: The final day of the meeting discussed various matters, including "trespassing monasteries in Kanbalau Township, Sagaing Division, life insurance to be paid out to monks or novices who get killed while travelling on board vehicles or vessels, and giving approval to amendments (draft) to the Monastic Education Rules and the dispute over possession of Kanmyint monastery at Aungchantha Ward." The meeting also passed decisions on the "Ledi-mu Meditation Centre in Sangyoung Township, a dispute over the monastery at Okpon village in Kyangin Township, work to be carried out in accordance with paragraph 56(c) of Vinaya Dhammakamma Procedures, and selection and approval of State Vinaya Dhara Sayadaws and their transport arrangements." (NLM 7/5)

Libraries

June 30: Minister for Information Maj-Gen. Aye Kyaw addressed the conclusion of Library Science Course No. 7. "He said that there are 300 libraries of IPRD [Information and Public Relations Department] in 53 districts and 248 townships..." as well as other public and private libraries. (NLM 7/1)

Anyeint Competition

July 3: SLORC Secretary-2 Lt-Gen. Tin Oo announced the launching of an annual Myanmar Anyeint Competition, to be held annually in September. "Anyeint troupes, striving with difficulty for their existence, he noted, are mixing their performances with alien culture and dances counter to the traditional culture to attract the audience.... Anyeint, which is a combination of dances, songs and music, began to flourish in the late Konboun period, he recounted First, it was staged only for the royalty and later, it had become a public entertainment, highly appreciated by the audience till its situation started to decline in the 1970s due to low-budget, influence of Western culture and undeveloping conditions, he pointed out, stressing the need to revitalize Anyeint, which is a cultural heritage." (NLM 7/4)

Yangon University Diamond Jubilee

[Throughout the month, there were frequent accounts of reunions of Yangon University Alumni, often those who resided in particular dormitories, in connection with upcoming Yangon University Diamond Jubilee in December. There have also been paper reading sessions, coordination and planning meetings, etc.]

July 4: Editorial: Diamond Jubilee of Yangon University. [Chairman of the Myanmar Education Committee Secretary-1 of the State Law and Order Restoration Council Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt emphasized the five objectives for celebrating the Diamond Jubilee of Yangon University -- to continue to promote the university's dignity, to implement education system, upholding the tasks of non-disintegration of the Union, non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuation of sovereignty, to implement education system which upholds national pride and preserves traditions and culture, to implement education system in accord with the State's political, economic and social systems, and, to produce outstanding intellectuals for emergence of modern and developed nation -- at the second get-together of old and new students of Sagaing Hall the other day.... Ushering in the Diamond Jubilee of Yangon University, it is opportune to instil into future generations the sense of pride and honour of the university which goes with the responsibility to live up to higher norms of conduct worthy of a university, to undergo

training in respective fields of study and to strive to become efficient intellectuals in later life when the youth of today shoulder the responsibilities in their turn tomorrow."]

July 23: SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt, a former Sagaing Hall student, told a reunion that "In commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee, a recreation park and a magnificent four-storey building will be built for future generations and the old buildings will be renovated in the vacation to be modern." (NLM 7/24)

Educational Reform

July 8: Speaking at a coordination meeting on the Yangon University Diamond Jubilee, SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt outlined Myanmar plans for educational reform and surveyed current education statistics:

"The educational policies he cited are to enable each and everyone to have the right to basic education, to base on high personal conduct and moral character, to promote and disseminate subjects including science and technical knowhow needed for nation building, to turn out intelligentsia and intellectuals, skilled workers and experts who are loyal to the State and will take part in nation building and to train for the people to possess allround development....

"The new education system must be in conformity with the social objectives, he said and cited some points to which serious attention is being paid -- for the Myanmar education system to be of international standard, to be compatible with political, economic and social systems, to contribute to preservation of Myanmar cultural traits and to contribute to strengthening of patriotism and spirit of Union in youth.

"Changes are being made to curricula for Basic Education schools for intellectual and moral development of children and civics and subjects which will help strengthen patriotic spirit have been prescribed, he said.

"As vocational subjects have been included for allround development, more vocational institutes and colleges have been opened for students who are outstanding and interested in particular subjects, he said, and spoke of opening more universities and colleges and upgrading of them in various regions to provide youths with easy access to higher education.

"In the country, there are six vocational institutes, seven arts and science universities, six degree colleges, ten colleges and one institute under the Ministry of Education and 5,285 faculty members including 104 professors and 146 associate professors are teaching in the institutions. Students of higher education totalled 229,075 including 126,852 students of University of Distance Education in the 1994 academic year.

"He said the figures are of the Ministry of Education only and if universities and colleges under other ministries are included, there are 45 universities/colleges, 7,034 faculty members and 263,046 students.

"He spoke of opening courses for MBA degree (Master in Business Administration) at the Institute of Economics beginning 1995 and arrangements for opening doctorate courses in biology, geography and Myanmar.

"There are 82 technical, agricultural and vocational institutes and schools, including Technical Teachers Training Institute, technical and agricultural institutes, agricultural and livestock breeding high schools, commercial schools and fisher training schools and 19,344 students and 1,788 teachers for them...." (NLM 7/9)

Tooth Relic Pagodas

[For some months there have been constant articles concerning donations for the construction of the Tooth Relic Pagoda on Dhammapala Hill in Yangon, as well as calls for such donations. Both pagodas are to house "replicas" of the Tooth Relic from China that toured Myanmar last year.]

July 15: A ground breaking ceremony was held for the construction of the Tooth Relic Pagoda in Mandalay, conducted by high religious officials, and in the presence of Vice-Chairman of the State Law and Order Restoration Council Deputy Commander-in-Chief of Defence Services Commander-in-Chief (Army) Gen. Maung Aye and other government officials. (NLM 7/16)

July 16: SLORC Chairman Senior General Than Shwe visited the Yangon Tooth Relic Pagoda site. (NLM 7/17)

Movies Diamond Jubilee

July 15: Patron of the Central Committee for Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Myanmar Motion Pictures SLORC Secretary-1 Lt-Gen. Khin Nyunt addressed a coordination meeting.

"He said Myanma Motion Pictures has traversed four periods-- colonial rule, independence struggle, post-independence period and the present, the State Law and Order Restoration Council's time. If a review of efforts in these periods is made, he said, it will be seen that film artistes under the colonialists had striven to make the Myanmar spirit and mentality known to the world and their endeavours were worth putting on record. He said it is praiseworthy that the then artistes did their best with whatever equipment they had for international publicity of Myanmar film and present generations of youths should emulate their creative power and movement....

"Speaking of greed in making movies in the West where modesty is lacking, he said Myanma films are aimed at preserving national culture and producing films in tune with the times and the system....

"He...spoke of producing films in the colonial period for igniting the nationals with patriotic spirit, agitating them to rise up for independence struggle. However, he said, old films have decayed owing to weaknesses in technology, technique and materials. He called for making cooperation between the ministry concerned and film artistes for preservation of films featuring national character.

"He stressed the need for producing films and video plays portraying Myanmar social system, traditions and customs and patriotism and called on the film artistes to uphold honour brought to Myanmar motion pictures by doyens and produce films of world standards...." (NLM 7/16)

MISCELLANEOUS

Sunday and Holiday Supplements

July 2,9,16,23,30: Text of "Our Three Main National Causes. List of Special Projects (6 bridges and 12 dams). Further List of Special Projects (11). For texts see January issue. -- Seven National Convention Slogans. For texts see April issue.

July 2,9,16,23,30: Towards a modern nation through all-round development, by Warazein. [Accomplishments of the Ministry of Construction: (i) Review of road construction. (ii) Bridges. (iii) Housing. (iv) Housing. Border development. "Thirteen buildings in Yangon are being rented to foreign embassies and international organisations. Rent earned per annum on this account is about 310,800 US dollars. Arrangements are being made to expand this programme...."

[Endeavours of the Ministry of Progress of Border Areas and National Races and Development Affairs. (i) Projects by region, from 1991 to Mar. 31, 1994. Kachin (North) Region: 2 agricultural stations and 1 animal breeding farm opened. 74 miles of earth, 79 miles of laterite, 4 miles of tarred road built. 457 miles of road maintained. 1 big and 84 smaller bridges built. 1 post office, 6 radio-telephones, 4 telephone exchanges, 30 miles of trunk lines, 2 satellite ground stations, 2 TV relay stations, 1 TV antenna (dish), and 4 communications structures built. 32 primary and one middle schools opened. 4 hospitals and 12 dispensaries built. 10 power generators installed. 213 employees posted to area at double pay. Kokang Region: 80 miles of earth, 57 miles of laterite, and 9 miles of tarred road built. 138 miles of road maintained. 6 small bridges built. 10 primary and 2 middle schools opened. 3 hospitals and 8

dispensaries opened. 2 power generators installed at Kaukkai. 1 agricultural office, 2 agricultural stations, 1 canal, 2 tractor stations, 2 forest reserves, 1 saw mill, and 4 forestry nurseries established. 1 livestock breeding farm, 1 fish hatchery, and 8 fish ponds built. 2 post offices, 1 radio telephone, 5 telegraphic exchanges, 163 miles of telephone trunk lines, 2 carrier equipment, 1 telegraph office, 1 satellite ground station, 2 communications buildings, and 2 TV relays stations built. 158 employees at double pay scales provided. Wa Region: 161 miles earth and 26 miles laterite road built. 3 big and 37 small bridges built. 309 miles of road maintained. 17 primary schools opened. 4 hospitals and 6 dispensaries built. 4 power generators built. 3 agricultural offices, 1 tractor station, 3 forestry nurseries, and 1 breeding farm opened. 3 post offices, 4 telephone exchanges, 2 radio telephones, 2.5 miles of telephone trunk line, 2 telegraph offices, and 1 TV relay station established. 175 employees provided at double pay scales. Shan Region: 20 miles of earth, 36 miles of laterite, and 3 miles of tarred road built. 1 big and 26 small bridges built. 8 miles of road maintained. 5 primary and 1 middle school opened. 2 hospitals and 6 dispensaries opened. 17 power generators installed. 2 agricultural offices, 8 agricultural stations, 7 dams, 2 tractor stations, 2 saw mills, and 2 stock breeding farms established. 1 post office, 1 telegraph office, 2 radio telephones, 2 telephone exchanges, 2 carrier equipment, 1 satellite earth station, 1 TV relay station, and 1 communications building built. 62 development workers were appointed. Minerals exploration yielded 54,281 carats of rubies. Kachin (North-east) Region: 10 miles of earth and 4 miles of laterite road built. 4 small bridges built. 11 miles of road maintained. 3 primary schools built. 3 dispensaries built. 2 power stations installed. 1 agriculture office, 1 agricultural station, 1 tractor station, 1 forestry nursery, and 1 livestock breeding farm established. 2 post offices, 1 telephone exchange, 1 telegraph office, and 2 TV relay stations built. 38 development employees were appointed. Mineral exploration yielded 43,632 carats of rubies. Palaung Region: 14 miles of earth and 5 miles of laterite roads built. 1 big bridge built. 69 miles of road maintained. 27 primary schools opened. 4 hospitals and 2 dispensaries opened. 2 power generators installed. 4 agriculture offices, 10 agricultural stations, 1 irrigation work, one forestry nursery, 1 livestock breeding farm, 1 fish hatchery, and 2 fish ponds built. 1 radio exchange, 2 telephone exchanges, and 1 telegraph office established. 94 development personnel appointed.]

July 2: Aungmye Tharyar Pagoda in Hlaingtharyar, by Thura Nyunt. [Visit to pagoda in a "new town" outside Yangon.]

-- Edible oil, by Paungde Min Thein. [Rising edible oil demand, leading to import of 100,000 viss per year at a cost of US\$ 60 million. Efforts to increase domestic production, especially of sessamum, which needs irrigation and flood control.]

-- Letkokkon Beach and Resort Hotel, by Myint Thura. [Nearest beach to Yangon. Restored beach hotel, golf, etc., but needs improved roads.]

-- Htamanthi Wildlife Sanctuary: Last foothold of rhinos in Myanmar, by Maung Thabarwa. [A viable population of Sumatran Rhinos existed until the early 1980's. "Subject to the poaching for the lucrative trade and habitat destruction, it is now on the verge of extinction. Perhaps, two-three rhinos, according to the local reports, may still be in the north-east corner of the Htaminthi Wildlife Sanctuary.... The big mammals, elephants, tigers and gaurs, which are encountering the substantial human activities, such as, rattan cutting and poaching will follow the similar plight of rhino, if proper protected area management and wildlife protection actions are not taken immediately."]

July 8: Arboriculture in the environs of Tantkyi Hill, by Swe Thant Ko. [Tree plantings around the Tooth Relic Pagoda in Pauk Township.]

-- Overflowing wells of Yinmarbin, by Tin Aung. [Artesian

well project in Monywa District, Sagaing Division.]

-- Striving to improve road transportation, by Thura Nyunt. [Projects in Hlaing Tharyar new town.]

-- Successful cultivations of summer paddy, by Aung Myint Nyo (Pyinmana). [In Jinlo village, Yamethin District, near Pyinmana.]

-- The Chensu-Mayflower plywood factory, by Reporter Thant Zin. [New factory opened June 3, a joint venture of the Chensu Co. of the Philippines and Mayflower Co. of Myanmar, which will use 40,000 tons of in, kanyin, and other species of wood.]

July 16: The Pathi Creek Dam, by Khin Maung Than. [Irrigation and power dam project near Toungoo, Bago Division.]

-- Successfully operating Khayan Co-op Stores, by Ahtet Minhla Nyunt Aung. [A coop in Khayan, Yangon Division.]

-- Wood substitute fuel demonstrations, by Myint Thura. [In Mawlamyine.]

-- MFF helping in transportation work, by Aung Mya Kyaw. [Private company, MFF Companies Ltd., that operates special trains for Myanma Railways (MR). As of March 1995, it has operated 901 special freight trains carrying 376,387 tons and earning K 156.8 million for MR; 553 parcel trains transporting 90,904 tons and earning K 49.2 million for MR; 338 Malikha-Mandalay Special Passenger Express Trains carrying 168,310 passengers and earning K 23.3 million for MR; 351 runs on the Shwebo-Kantbalu Line, carrying 320,442 passengers and earning K 873,000 for MR; 233 runs on the Shwebo-Thityarbin section, carrying 184,276 passengers and earning K 563,000 for MR, and 25 runs on the Shwebo-Kawlin section, carrying 12,542 passengers and earning K 563,000 for MR; it also paid K 5.2 million in Commercial Tax and K 5.6 million in Profits Tax. It has contributed K 32.4 million to the Railways Employees Welfare Fund, and employed 8 retired MR employees and 72 family members of MR employees.]

-- Transformation of Htinchaung village, by Ko Dha. [Progress in Mindat Township.]

July 23,30: Firewood substitutes attracting mass interest, by Sint Soe (Science & Technology). [(i) Progress in firewood substitutes. Potential substitutes are: (a) hydro energy; (b) geothermal energy; (c) nuclear energy; (d) crude oil, natural gas, diesel & furnace oil; (e) wind energy; (f) solar energy; (g) agricultural waste energy; (h) coal. (ii) various gadgets for efficient fuel burning.]

July 23: Developing the Mongkhat-Mongyan-Silu motor road, by Taungdwin Bo Thein. [Project in Shan State visited.]

-- Important role of reading rooms in national development, by Ahtet Minhla Nyunt Aung. [300 district or township reading rooms opened by the SLORC Information and Public Relations Department.]

-- Sein Yay forest camp at a sylvan station, by Sagawar. [Tourist camp in a teak forest.]

-- Round-the-year paddy fields, by Khin Zaw. [Agriculture in Shwetaung Township, Pyay District.]

July 30: Cost-sharing public health oral medicine special clinic, by Ahtet Minhla Nyunt Aung. [Dental clinic opened Oct. 3. "Charges will be at correct rates but will be lower than charges made by private clinics."]

-- Three crops a year for three-fold increase in income, by Paungde Min Thein. ["Rice is being sold not only in markets, not only in special rice shops. It is being sold door-to-door. This is proof that there is no scarcity of rice."]

-- New rays in Hlegu Township, by Ye Tun (Ngathaingchaung). [Author purchased 180 acres of paddy fields; with new irrigation he doesn't have to worry about rainfall.]

-- It was a popular entertainment, by Pe Than. [The Myawaddy TV anyeint competition.]

Anti-Narcotics Activities

July 7: 11.6 kilos of raw opium were seized in Kutkai Township on May 18. (NLM 7/8)

July 12: 138 bottles of Phensedyl were seized July 3 in Mandalay. 2.8 kilos of heroin was seized July 2 from passengers arriving in Katha Jetty from Bhamo. (NLM 7/13)

July 13: 0.1 kilo of heroin was seized near Pang sai, Muse Tatmadaw, on July 2. (NLM 7/14)

July 13: During June 1995, the Tatmadaw seized 115.2 kilos of opium and 23.8 litres of Phensedyl. The Police seized 8.9 kilos of opium, 2.9 kilos of heroin, 11.5 kilos of marijuana, 160.6 litres of Phensedyl, 0.1 kilo of opium oil, etc., in 356 drug cases. [No breakdown of numbers of cases, as has been habitual in previous reports for many years--HCMacD.] 518 persons were arrested. The Tatmadaw and police acting together seized 1.4 kilo of heroin (9 cases), 4.7 kilos of opium (4 cases), 0.002 kilo of marijuana (1 case), and 46 litres of Phensedyl (7 cases). (NLM 7/14)

July 23: DSI seized 0.3 kilo of heroin from bus passengers in Muse Township on July 13. (NLM 7/24)

Articles on Narcotics

July 7-10: The Wa area poppy cultivation eradication project, by Thet Aung. [(1) On June 26, 1995, "measures for poppy cultivation in Wa Area were co-ordinated. Discussions were held that day...where Wa national leader U Pau Yu Chan reported to responsible officials concerned, the UNDCP, US and Japanese embassy officials about a decision to create some Opium Free Zones in Wa area within three years in accordance with a Plan formulated beginning May of this year. Areas to be developed into Opium Free Zones are Pankham (Pansang) Special Township, Nantit Special Township, Mongpauk Area, Hotaung Area, Mongmaw Area, Narwee Area, Weinkong Circle, Mongyan Area, Loisansaw and Kanti area. The Wa national leader promised to exert best efforts to introduce poppy substitute crops in these zones to ensure full success of the project. It is learnt that Wa national leaders are determined to eradicate poppy cultivation in these three zones in the first phase and reduce opium production by 6,000 viss (about 10 metric tons) in 1996, by 10,000 viss (about 16 metric tons) in 1997 and by 15,000 viss (about 25 metric tons) in 1998...." British introduction of opium into area, and Burma Communist Party insurgent misrule. "The Wa National Group, or the Northern Shan State Special Area No. 2 Group is not like those gangs of narcotic producers and worldwide distributors who operate in Latin America and some European countries. It also differs completely from insurgent Khun Sar group engaged in narcotic trading under the guise of a Shan liberation movement in the Southern Shan State along Thai border.... It is a peaceful group, an anti-narcotic group, a group that is engaging in regional development in co-operation with the government."

[(2) Wa nationals have been growing poppy for subsistence for over a hundred years, not to get rich to dominate the government. The Wa area is too rough for paddy. "They are thus unable to grow any other cash crop apart from poppy." But they remain poor, while opium merchants, dealers, traders, and smugglers grow rich. The British did not try to develop the Wa area. Since returning to the legal fold in 1989, "the Wa national leaders began to discuss measures on eradication of poppy cultivation and adopted a Ten Year Plan for that purpose." In 1990, K 50 lakhs [1 lakh = 100,000] was invested in coffee and orange plantations on 200 acres of land in the Yontin area. On Feb. 2, 1991, over 3,000 acres of poppy were destroyed in the Nantit Area. On June 5, 1992, the Narwee Opium Refinery in the Mongmaw Area was destroyed, including equipment worth US\$ 120 million. In Nov. 1993 refineries were destroyed in the Yontin and Nantit areas, and in March 1994 in the Pansan and Hotaung areas. "Wa nationals, out of their own will, thus did their best to eradicate poppy cultivation in their area with no help whatsoever from any outside agency except the Myanmar government. But it has been found that some Wa nationals, as a result of political disagreements, have contacted some foreign organisations and are trying to make profits out of this anti-narcotic campaigns. Some persons who are not Wa

nationals, declaring themselves to be Wa national leaders, have formed an organisation called "United Wa State Anti-Narcotics and Development Organisation (UWADO)" and with its headquarters in Washington in USA, soliciting donations from all parts of the world. It is known that a certain foreign organisations helped in the formation of this bogus organisations. The same organisations is found to have signed a contract on 1 May 1994 with opium bandit Khun Sa. How is that organisation that has joined hands with Khun Sa recognised throughout the world as an opium smuggler, going to combat narcotic trading? This organisations joined hands not only with Khun Sa but also with Khun Sa's allies, the KNU, and has opened an office at KNU headquarters. It is not known if the international community is aware of this situation or it is acting in concert with that organisation knowingly merely out of hostility to Myanmar."

[(3) Breakdown of expenditures on development in the Wa Area, from 1989 to May 31, 1995, with a total of K 411 million.

[Speaking in Yangon on June 26, 1995, Wa national leader U Pau Yu Chan "said that...Wa nationals would not go against the desire of the whole world by cultivating poppy; he explained that their own poppy cultivation eradication project they had put forward was not a mere eye-wash; he said he would educate his people in this respect and would even use force if persuasive measures failed to stop poppy cultivation. Wa nationals themselves suggested this line of action. They were unable to understand why poppy cultivation was to be eradicated in only three zones. They felt that if it was to be eradicated it should be eradicated totally and every where and if it was to be allowed it should be allowed everywhere. U Pau Yu Chan said that such sort of simplified thinking would not do and pointed out a need for plans to be in consonance with local conditions and prevailing situations, in order to enable poppy growers to take growing some other cash crops, the Wa national leaders will make local arrangements to abolish land tax now being collected. Income received from other business ventures would be used to support cultivators in the proposed Opium Free Zones. He hoped the government would help him in implementation of their project. He asked the UN agencies and other international organisations to help them in trying to prevent the incomes of poppy growers from totally disappearing and to prevent them becoming poorer.

[(4) Under these arrangements, poppy cultivation will cease "with effect from the early winter season of 1995" in Yontin Village Tract, Panpein Village Tract, Pan Khan Village Tract, and Narlaw Village Tract in Pan Khan Special Township Opium Free Zone, in Nam Tit and Yonmaw Village Tracts in Nam Tit Special Township, in Mongpauk Ho Tao Area, and in Mongyoon Area. Poppy cultivation elsewhere in Wa land is to be prohibited "with effect from the early winter season of 1997." The Wa leaders have formed a Committee for control of poppy cultivation in Wa land, with subordinate groups down to the grassroots. "Farmers who are willing to cultivate alternative cash crops will be supplied with the necessary seeds, equipment and cultivation knowhow. And adjustments will be made in land holdings to prevent loss of their holdings by farmers who are unable to grow alternative crops. Arrangements are to be made to provide farmers who will have to stop cultivating poppy with other means of subsistence." The firm aim is to "get rid of poppy cultivation from the whole of Wa land in fifteen to 20 years time." Under the project, opium production will be reduced by 10-25 tons each year, reducing the amount of opium on world markets by 1-2« tons per year. "The international community should help and assist in these noble efforts of Wa national leaders...." [map] (NLM 7/10)

July 18: Some legal aspects of action for possession of narcotic drugs, by KMO. [Legal cases on possession. Both parents held liable when drugs found on a six-year old child.]

July 30-31: Kachin region narcotic control programme, by Thet Aung. [(1) On July 24, U Zaw Maing, national leader of Kachin State Special Region 2, met with officials of Myanmar, UNDCP, and the American and Japanese Embassies to discuss narcotics control. He

reviewed the history of opium in the area. (2) Four part programme for Kachin region: (i) "Poppy replacement agriculture and provision of alternative income to traditional poppy growers". (ii) "Blocking the routes along which narcotics entered Kachin State", namely: (a) Opium routes: Shan State-Mandalay/Sagaing-Kachin State; Shan State-Kachin State; Shan State-Yunnan Province-Kachin State. (b) Tamahu (marijuana) route: Nepal/ Bhutan-Tibet-Kachin State. (c) Marijuana route: Afghanistan-Pakistan-Bangladesh-India-Kachin State. (d) Psychotropic substances route: India-Kachin State. (iii) "Providing medical treatment to drug addicts in Kachin State, rehabilitating them and reducing their consumption": compulsory treatment; need for supplies; "a method of sweating the patients out by putting them to hard labour is being applied." Need for vocational training of rehabilitated drug users. (iv) "Drug problem is problem of the entire humanity of the whose world and is therefore a global problem."]

Obituaries

[English language obituaries only; there are obituaries in Burmese as well.]

July 1: U Zaw Win Tun, Chief Officer of the mv Pacoocean (LASCO), died, aged 31. (NLM 7/6 (in Myanmar); 7/11 acknowledgement)

July 2: Professor Tun San Maung, Retired Professor/Head, Dept. of Surgery, Institute of Medicine 1, husband of Dr. Daw Nyunt Nyunt Sein, died in Yangon, aged 61. (NLM 7/3)

July 5: Aisha Bi Atcha (Pathein), died in Ma-u-gon, aged 93. [Muslim] (NLM 7/6)

July 6: Daw May Tin Tut (M.A.) (a) Daw Khin Khin May, Retired Lecturer, Philosophy Department, Yangon University, widow of U Tin Tut...grandmother of Min Aye Tut (USA)...died in Yangon, aged 82. (NLM 7/7)

July 23: Mr. M. Farouk Siddique Ahmed, General Contractor, died, aged 75. Relatives in Texas. [text in Burmese] (NLM 7/24)

July 24: Miss Mary Ba (BA, BL), died, aged 82. [text in Burmese] (NLM 7/26)

July 25: Daniel Barry (a) U Thaug Tin, Retd Assistant Commissioner of Excise, died in Yangon, aged 82. [Christian] (NLM 7/26)

July 30: U Hla Gyaw, Retd Refinery Manager, Chauk Oil Refinery, husband of Daw Nu Nu Zan, died in Yangon, aged 61. (NLM 7/31)

Engagement & Marriage

July 5: Hla Ohn Mae, daughter of U Khin Maung Aye and Daw Than Than Nwe became engaged to Maung Than Win of Engineering Geology Bored Piling Pte. Ltd. of Singapore, son of the late U Po Tun and Daw Ma Ma She. (NLM 7/11)

July 6: Tin Tin Soe (Assistant Surgeon), daughter of U Pe Than and Daw Shu Tin of Yangon, was married to William Myohtut Chang, Software Engineer (Backman Instruments), son of Mr. Danny Ying Chang and Mrs. Cissy Than Chang of Irvine, California, at the Chan Myae Yeik Tha, Yangon. (NLM 7/15)

Earthquakes

July 10: An earthquake of moderate intensity (5.2 Richter) was recorded at 03:02:20 local time with epicenter 206 miles SE of Mandalay. (NLM 7/11)

July 11: An earthquake of slight intensity (4.5 Richter) was recorded at 05:16:14 local time with epicenter 220 miles SE of Mandalay. (NLM 7/12)

July 12: An earthquake of strong intensity (6.5 Richter) was recorded at 04:18:06 local time with epicenter 90 miles NE of Bhamo. (NLM 7/13)

July 12: An earthquake of slight intensity (4.9 Richter) was recorded at 12:33:58 local time with epicenter 213 miles NE of Mandalay, near the Myanmar-Yunnan border. (NLM 7/13)

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