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Kawthoolei state flag flying over Kser Nay Lay, highest Peak commanding whole Metawaw Areas.



President Gen. Bo Mya (front) with DAB Central Committee Members.

SEASON'S GREETINGS



A VERY MERRY CHRISTMAS



AND



A HAPPY PROSPEROUS

NEW YEAR



*MAY X' MAS BRING JOY AND PEACE
AND
HEALTH, WEALTH, STRENGTH, AND SUCCESS
ATTEND YOU THROUGH OUT THE NEW YEAR*

EDITORIAL

STEP UP THE STRUGGLE WITH UNITY

Due to the general strike of millions led by students in September, the BSPP (NUP) government became powerless to maintain law and order. With the hope of reversing the situation and re-establishing their reactionary rule, however, the BSPP (NUP) leaders led by U Ne Win himself, secretly formed 'Anti-Demonstration Committee' and spent much effort in carrying-out, step by step and systematically, their wicked plan.

Firstly, the BSPP (NUP) hardcore thugs infiltrated the demonstrations sowing dissension and engaging in wanton violence so as to paint the dis-ciplined and orderly movement for democracy as an activity of unruly mob without any political objective.

Secondly, Ne win and Sein Lwin ordered Saw Maung to take over power on September 18 and impose martial law. Saw Maung troops attacked strike bases in ruthless suppression of demonstrators, spilling the blood of thousands of the innocents.

Thirdly, Saw Maung military government issued order banning the participation of civil servants in demonstrations and political activities. Then, starting from the last week of September up to the present, Saw Maung troops have combed every area in towns and cities, arresting, torturing and killing student and strike leaders in order to break the back of the movement for democracy.

Fourthly, the military regime resorted to the deception of dangling the possibility of democratic election, without seriously making democratic changes. Another deception was the declaration of amnesty for student and civilians who, by the thousands, had gone underground after September 18. Then it made fervent efforts to sow dissension and mistrust between the students and the revolutionary organization.

At this stage, there are three things Saw Maung military regime and its mentors, Ne Win and Sein Lwin, fear most. They are .-

1. the conjunction of armed resistance and mass movement,

2. the coalition of national liberation movement and the movement for democracy and

3. the understanding by foreign powers of the true situation and importance of armed liberation movements of the oppressed people and nationalities.

The successive governments prior to Saw Maung military regime also were in fear of these three developments. Accordingly they made their utmost effort, employing various wicked and brutal means to suppress them. Similarly, in the two months period since it came to power, Saw Maung military government has directed its energy mainly towards the prevention of these three things from occurring.

Because of the coming over of thousands of students and people from all walks of life to the reevolutionary areas to take up arms, the wicked plan of Saw Maung military government to create discord between the revolutionary students and the armed revolutionary forces, through its wily unscrupulous slanders, has been wrecked to a certain extent. However, it is vital for the revolutionary students, people and national liberation organizations to go on maintaining the revolutionary spirit and conciousness high, and to be always alert to the nefarious tricks employed by the enemy to break up their unity.

During the 40 years rule of successive anti-democratic government, the students, people and revolutionary forces in Burma have been subjected to tests in the areas of military, politics and unity. They are undergoing the tests at the present as well. It is of prime importance for all the revolutionary forces in Burma to bear these tests with equanimity, build up internal unity and step up their struggle in order to clinch the final victory in due time.

AUTOPSY ON WHAT IS LEFT OF THE BSPP (NUP) REGIME.

Burma has ample space with fertile and arable lands for agriculture. There also exist generous quantities of minerals and precious gems deposited in the hills and over the plains of the country. During the feudal and the colonial days the country stood shoulder to shoulder in status with other eastern countries in aspects of prosperous economic and social standards. In view of the above factors, analyses were conducted and considerations and studies are being made over the rapid economic progress and its possibilities that are involved. A general study basically indicates that this country possesses a viability and a very easy access toward economic growth and general prosperity. It is obvious that Burma stands in a good position to become a country with an affluent society. It is apparently therefore quite ambiguous and most interesting to find out the true reasons why such a promising state, after its forty years of independence had deteriorated and had economically fallen into the shameful level or status of the world's poorest countries. It is fitting and proper now, for researchers who have the welfare of the world's communities at heart, to make careful analyses with powerful microscopes, so to speak, on the whole situation of Burma under the BSPP (NUP) Regime, in order to obtain all the precise and minute details of the true (Cause and Effect).

The economic progress and its feasibility for a country cannot be rightfully determined by only a single cause or factor. There exists involvement of multifarious factors for such verdict. The following number of factors should be included as yardsticks to calculate or measure accurately:-

The first factor necessitates, adequacy of arable lands and a fair quantity of mineral deposits. There must be enough land to produce food supplies and raw materials for industries. For the heavy industries, a fair quantity of mineral oil and other mineral deposits are essential. With the presence of

the above factors, the economic progress will not only be smooth but also will tend to be quick and rapid.

The second essential point is the ability to fully utilize the country's local investments. The full utilization of the country's capital investments', in accordance with the meaning of this economic term and phrasing indicates a different meaning from private enterprise or unrestricted LAISSEZ FARE (Free enterprise). This system forms only a part and not the whole of (full utilization of the country's investment)

The third essential factor is full utilization of foreign investments. Economically speaking, foreign investments, foreign monetary loans and foreign assistance could not necessarily be taken as adequacy or success. The fates of Latin American countries who could not repay their loans and rendered insolvent should be the evidence one should keep in mind.

The fourth necessity is stability of monetary exchange values and the promotion of loans and savings within efficient banking systems. In the absence of the above, and with the instability of the local currency values, the country's economic progress will not be an easy matter. The incessant demonetizing of the local currency by the BSPP (NUP) government in particular, is grossly detrimental to monetary stability in value, the effectiveness of national investment causing the general economic functioning to suffer a notable set back and degradation.

The fifth necessary factor lies in the full use of the country's workforce or labour power. In advanced and modern states, departments of labour utilization and control are set up. These establishments undertake to study and obtain data pertaining to the strength and allocations of labour force. Research works are carried out to fulfill this objective. This undertaking is one of the most important endeavours to promote national economic progress.

The sixth point calls for stable and lucrative foreign and local markets in proximity with a substantial demand for local production or goods and produce. If such conditions do not exist, again, the national economic progress will be far from expectations.

Point seven is to adopt and practise the principle of free trade and to legalize and promote cross-border trading activities. The black market trade in fact do not help promote the national economy. It is, on the contrary diametrically, the opposite of what ought to be and it is but fair and proper for us to be aware of this fact.

The final essential factor is peace and tranquillity in the land. There stands nothing as evidence to prove that in a land where there is political unrest, national economy still gain growth and progress. This primarily is the most basic factor.

The extent of progress for national economy for any country can be comparatively measured with the seven points mentioned above. In the same fashion as countries with economic deterioration should see the mentioned causes as future lessons, those who desire to improve their countries' economy should also see those points in their analyses for economic progress.

Upon careful diagnosis of the seven misdeeds of the BSPP (NUP) one would certainly have no doubt about the treachery and swindling done by the regime for 26 long years through their Burmese way to Socialism schemes.

Even on viewing the economic system of the BSPP (NUP), alone, it would be plainly obvious that they do not employ the right economic policy. Putting together their political misdeeds with the economic errors they employed, one would see nothing but absolute treachery over the whole affair. Such abuses obviously not only led them to utter failures but it would never be surprising to see that they have dropped down to the dregs of insolvency.

The BSPP (NUP) Regime had for 26 whole years prolonged and accelerated the civil war. They were seeking gains through military exploitation. Their top brass grew rich at the expense of civil war. Instead of stabilizing the political situation they themselves resort to instigations for the political instability in the country. The loans and aids from foreign lands are being misappropriated and squandered away privately by them. The labour force of the country received bad managements rendering the efficiency and incentive of the workers to diminish and to be decreased. They are holding a limitless power monopoly. They are power addicts hopelessly drunken with unqualified authority.

Taking an overall view on the problems, one fact will surely be revealed. To describe in brief, it is not the lack of expertise in trade and economics that causes problematic issues. To find a solution in this aspect will be of no benefit. The economic disaster must be viewed together with the political instability in the land. An endeavour to apply only the remedy for wrecked economy would be likened to using wrong medicine to certain mortal malady that will spell unlimited prolongation of agony to the patient.

As for the present, under the rallying and the leadership of the students, a general and whole country-wide surge of the masses have exploded in protest against the BSPP (NUP) regime. This upturn has a fire and force that cannot be extinguished nor blocked. The concerted struggle by the students and the masses was neither caused nor led by the deteriorating and chaotic conditions of the country's economy. It is above and beyond the heights of economic problems that the struggle is being undertaken. This struggle is a political struggle that is heading towards the ideals of Democracy. This battle is a conflict undertaken by the ethnic races and the masses of Burma who since the long span of 40 years had craved for genuine and full political freedom and justices.

WILL THOSE WHO IGNITE THE FIRE BE ABLE TO EXTINGUISH THE FLAMES ?

On the 18th of September 1988 a military coup headed by General Saw Maung took place. Will those who assume power on pretence of maintaining peace and order be able to stop the fire they had set up? This is the question to be contemplated upon.

The flames of countrywide armed revolution and the heat and the unrest of students and the masses had germinated since the times of the AFPFL. Reaching the present time of the BSPP (NUP) regime, those two flames immediately had grown to tremendous forces due to the cruel and brutal military campaigns and the barbaric tactics that caused bloodbaths in urban areas of the country. The more violent methods the military regime employs, the bigger the flames will grow. To quell the forces that oppose them the BSPP (NUP) is now making use of its walking stick organization. This effort will never materialize according to their plans. It will only lend greater opposition and give more fuel to both the flames of resistance by ethnic minority groups and the masses. It only means putting the two flames together.

The BSP Party, the BSPP (NUP) government and the BSPP (NUP) army are not different entities. They have only one identity. The last chairman of the waning BSPP (NUP) Dr. Mg Mg contended that absolute power corrupts absolutely. As and when the BSP Party and its government are hopelessly corrupt through absolute power, the BSPP (NUP) army cannot be isolated from them and remain a paragon of virtue. The BSPP (NUP) military arm is as corrupt and unscrupulous as the BSP Party and the BSPP (NUP) government. It has been involved in corruption since the beginning. No one therefore has any confidence toward all the three namely, the BSP Party the government and the army. During the demonstrations in August and September many lower ranked NCOs and soldiers of the army defied the authorities and joined the rallies. This is one evidence showing that even the junior officers and the

soldiers have no more confidence in their mother defence forces and institutions.

Since 1948 the Burmese army had actually been corrupt and had changed into mercenary troops during the post independence era. Strictly speaking, the Burmese army succumbed to corruption and disgrace commencing from the time General Ne Win took charge. Not many were aware of this fact previously. It was thereby possible in 1958, the caretaker government period, and the 1962 coupd' etat period, that Ne Win could hoodwink, the people and the army personnel indicating that the Burmese army belongs to the people and worthy of their confidence. However, in consequence of their totalitarian policy in administration and the fascism employed by their military henchmen as of today in slaughtering and shooting down the unarmed demonstrators, the previous misconceptions relating to their being patriotic soldiers, the people's benefactor who protect the lives and properties of the people had been completely pulled down and discarded by the people.

The masses therefore can no longer believe in their slogans that imply their being the champion and the saviour of the people. People cannot take seriously their loudly declared statements saying that they are helping to keep peace, tranquility and the rule of law to conduct the fair elections in accordance with true democratic principles. It was at the time when Gen. Ne Win took command of the Burmese army during the AFPFL regime that the civil war stented. It is also a known historical fact that Ne Win was involved and was one of the responsible person who caused the out break of the civil war. There are however a couple of issues to be noted at this juncture of events. Since 1962 after Ne Win assumed power the civil war had been qualitatively as well as quantitatively accelerated and enlarged. There was similarly also a sudden jolt of students' and peoples' unrest under his regime. Notably from March 1988

onwards, the BSPP Regime and troops caused blood baths in their attempts to unjustly suppress the peoples' civil rights demonstration. There was a fire of no small size and force signifying the righteous wrath of the people against over bearing tyranny. So severe an outcome was never seen in Burma before. Such kind of unlawful suppression by the regime using the armed military might of the army not only moved to be an utterly impotent way to smother and stop the flames from the Ethnic Minorities revolutionary forces and the Students' and the people's wraths but the hard line action of the BSPP (NUP) regime had also fanned up and increased the heat and flames of existing conflicts. It is like adding fuel to the already flaming inferno. For the 26 years span of the unsuccessful work of Ne Win's BSP Party and regime, General Saw Maung now has emerged into the lime light, springing on to the platform of the arena with a drawn sword to represent the BSPP (NUP). Saw Mg now staged a military coup and assumed power. Within barely 7 days time that General Saw Mg slaughtered over one thousand unarmed civilian within Rangoons' urban areas alone. In the same manner as the blood stained hands of Ne Win could do nothing to intimidate the masses who rightly opposed him for attainment of Democracy, Saw Mg also has no power over the masses who he had expected to cower under his butchering tactics. Their efforts will never be able to stop the masses in their advance for the right cause.

The situation remained extremely complicated even under Dr. Mg Mg's role as a representative of the BSPP (NUP). Matters however grew clearer as and when the army who is supposed to be the people's army with the revolutionary tradition, who should earn the love and respect of the people because involved in butchering the masses committing violence that caused blood baths blood that flowed from the people's bosoms, the slaughter of the school children and youthful students. These are but revelations of their real behaviour pattern and innate barbaric colour.

In the present time for the benefit of all the indigenous races, all the people and masses, and for the welfare of the whole country, there are three forces that are essential to be completely eliminated. They are the BSP Party, the BSPP (NUP) army, and the government. If these forces of evil and darkness are still at large and if they are not liquidated in good time, the country will suffer and will be enshrouded in utter darkness to an indefinite future.

The battle has now reached the crucial movement for evaluation and judgement. The forces who joined this battle cannot afford to be indecisive and vague. Even a little neglect can mean a great danger. Whatever previous ties that existed with the BSPP's (NUP) dark era, must now be completely and totally severed. We shall fight and reconquer our private properties that they once robbed from us and we shall enjoy what we regain with the spirit of "SHARE AND SHARE ALIKE" .

The following points for revival and unity of the united front are as follows:-

The first point is in relation with a firm unity among, the students urban and rural people, the clergy, government employees, the junior and common ranks in the police service and the defence force, and all the ethnic minority races of the country.

Secondly, it is necessary that the N.D.F, and all the forces who oppose the BSPP (NUP) Regime must be united and have perfect understanding among themselves. In this way strength and progress must be achieved.

Thirdly it is essential that the armed revolutionary forces have firm consolidation with the masses in doing battle. There must be unity in mutual and reciprocal terms. Those who took up arms and fight for the oppressed masses and the Ethnic minority races had been countered with brutal and cruel methods such as the "Four Cuts Operation" schemes, and the students and the masses of cities and towns were made to adorn wreathes of flowers to the BSPP (NUP) soldiers for their unjust and brutal deeds.

This must be stopped and put to an end.

Fourthly, the urban and rural masses who oppose the BSPP (NUP) tyrants must reinforce and strengthen the armed revolutionary forces to add into a bigger might that would vanquish the enemy in this grand battle. All elements of strength within both the armed revolutionary groups and civil anti government organizations must take an all out effort for effective instigation to crush the present government.

The above 4 points in a nut shell, just mean that all the opposition groups, whether big and small must adopt basically the word "FIGHT" as their chief slogan. The other slogan should be "BE UNITED". With these two thoughts firmly conceived we shall be emancipated and freed from the dark era of

the BSPP (NUP) regime. There is no way other than the above that could free us from the forces of darkness and the instruments of evil i.e. the BSPP regime.

Those who started to create the flames are now using force of arms to put out the fire. Within a few days the precious bloods of thousands of students and the civilians had been shed. There were blood baths through the BSPP's (NUP) wanton shootings. Unarmed people were massacred and the flames grew bigger and bigger and nothing could stop it. Those who themselves ignited the inferno, the BSPP (NUP) Regime, its government and its troops themselves would be consumed and destroyed by the flames they had set up.



President Gen. Bo Mya, speaking at DAB meeting

LESSONS OF HISTORY

Historians have been studying the events of the world and extracted lessons from history. They said that one lesson is "whom the gods would destroy they made them mad with power". And it will be seen that that is the truth. The ancient Babylonians, the Romans, had had their power and once they misused their power, they became mad with power, then that was their doom. Once upon a time they had their magnificent Empires and now where are they? They are but ashes and dust now trodden by humanity. Even that lesson is not learnt by some powers on earth. You don't need to seek far. Just within your reach and sight you'll see -the power-mad people circle of a handful of people. We won't mention names. The world all over see and hear of the atrocities committed to the indigenous races of Burma, the Karen, Shans, Chins, Kachins, Paohs, Was and Lahus and now this latest in human cruelties to their own students. Isn't that just murdering their own children? This is a case of giving a snake when your child asks you of fish, a stone for bread? The almighty power-mad group of people seem never to have heard United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. History recorded the inhuman acts of the savages in the primitive days that they threw their own crying

babies into a muddy pool and left them to die. Now in these enlightened modern days treating their own students in these inhuman ways, mowing down the innocent school children with their almighty weapons are but another form of savagery of the primitive days.

All these madness of power is but the herald of the down fall of these modern savages. History had witnessed the fact and will still unroll the truth of the trend of the ages. And the historian said "the mills of God grind slowly but exceeding sure. The day will come when the dust and ashes of these power mad people will be trodden under foot."

Another truth revealed in the past is that "The race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong." The world had witnessed the truth in the second world war.' When Germany surrendered in the 2nd World War there were stacks of armoury left, brand new and unused. Why were these arms unused? It was because the power behind them had failed. Thus depending on strength of arms was not a way to victory. On the other hand right and truth will outstand and over-rule all inhuman injustices and indecencies and Human Rights will prevail eventually.

For ages men have fought for Freedom and Right and that Right becomes Might is



Journalists and Cameramens at DAB meeting



Press Conference at DAB meeting

what the pages of History have revealed and recorded. So ye Champions of Freedom and Right- "take heart and hold on". Rudyard Kipling said, "If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew. To serve your turn, long after they are gone. And so hold on, when there's nothing in you Except the will which says to them "Hold on!".

The Historian said, "It is darkest before dawn" and "Look! there are glimmerings of the dawn."

W.T. MO.

P.S. The contributor has been a revolutionary mother before and is now a christian Evangelist.

- Editor -

Kawthoolei Youth Organisation (KYO)
Musical and cultural group leaders
at Mela.



Tie-ing Hands Ceremony at Mela.

DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN BURMA GATHER SUPPORT LOCALLY

BY RICK MURRAY
Staff Writer

EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP

About 100 Burmese-Americans from throughout the Philadelphia-southern New Jersey region met here Saturday to begin planing how to support democratic forces in their oppressed homeland.

"We have to do something right now. People are getting shot at random in the streets," said Ba Thaug, chairman of the United Front for Democracy and Human Rights in Burma.

Ba Thaug was one of several representatives of Burmese prodemocracy groups speaking at the Pearl Garden restaurant here before members of the Philadelphia-based Burma American Friendship Association. Laybeng Khaw, owner of the restaurant and a member of the BAFA, is a native Burmese who fled oppression in his homeland 17 years ago.

Terror escalated in Burma after rioting students challenged the central military government in August.

The students won the resignation of longtime dictator Ne Win, but Ne Win continues to hold power through surrogates. Thousands of rebels - including many unarmed civilians have been killed in sporadic fighting, according to wire services and Burmese-Americansources.

The United States and many other countries have cut off diplomatic relations with the Burmese government, but Burmese-Americans say the U.S. should work with the United Nations in applying still more pressure to further weaken the military regime.

"Above all we need help to overthrow this barbaric regime. We need help from America. With it, we can go a long way. By ourselves, we can't do that much," said Myo Thant, general secretary for the UFDHRB.

Dr. Tun Kyan Nyein, a Knoxville, Tenn., physician and member of several pro-

democracy Burmese groups, said the current regime has plenty of weapons but is running out of money to buy ammunition and other essential provisions.

"They have been spending 70 cents of every dollar in Burma on the army," said Nyein. "But without money coming in from foreign countries, the army will begin to feel the shortages."

Mi Mi Myint - Hpaw, representing the committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Burma, said it was important for the various Burmese-American organizations to coordinate their efforts on behalf of prodemocratic rebels.

After the meeting, BAFA President Richard Thetgyi said officials in his group had not decided what action to take in support of the rebels.

"We are just trying to come to the conclusion of how to get united," he said, referring to the other Burmese-American groups.

There are about 35,000 members of the National Democratic Front, comprising the students as well as formerly rival but equally oppressed ethnic groups in the Burmese bush country according to Edith Mirante, an artist, researcher and writer who has made repeated trips to Burma.

About 10,000 Burmese communists also oppose the current government. Mean while, the military now has 170,000 troops, according to Mirante, who gave a slide presentation at the association meeting.

She said corrupt government officials and some rebels traffic in opium grown amid crops raised by impoverished Burmese peasants. Officially, the government attempts to curb such traffic by spraying a herbicide that had been used in the manufacture of Agent Orange.

This aerial spray campaign, underwritten largely by the U.S., contaminated many streams and subsistence crops in many rural regions, said Mirante.

BACK UNDER THE SHADOW OF NE WIN

Analysis by Michael Adler of Agence France Presse

BURMA is slowly returning to the same police state and life in the shadow of strongman Ne Win which prevailed before a dashed mass protest for democracy, analysts and diplomats said.

They said that after a September 18 coup thwarted an unprecedented two months of "people's revolution" a central question has returned to haunt Burma - is and real change possible before Ne Win leaves the scene?

"After all that, we're back to the starting point," said one observer reached in Rangoon by phone.

"Ne Win and his people are still there because over the past 26 years Ne Win has groomed these people. There's nobody else. He wants to be number one in everything," Bangkok international relations professor Chayachoke Chulasiriwong said.

"The only change that has happened is that some people have stood against the Government. Now everybody is being hunted and they are firmly put away," he said.

The normality returning after a government order to end a six-week general strike; and return to work seems a grim reaffirmation that real change is impossible unless Ne Win, 77, leaves the country or dies.

They added that it is hard for foreigners to understand the respect, fear and awe with which he is viewed by the Burmese, particularly the army, which reveres the bogoyoke (great leader) ruling the military almost since independence in 1948.

"The whole irony of this is that Ne Win

is the first one who talked about democracy. It wasn't people in the streets," said one diplomat, referring to the degree to which any initiatives must come from the general.

After Ne Win resigned amid growing protest against his rule, swelling waves of demonstrations swept away the administration of his Burma Socialist Programme Party, leaving the secret police in disarray and monks, students and workers running towns, Rangoon based diplomats said.

"It did collapse (the police network) but it's coming back with a vengeance," a diplomat said.

"There is fear that if you don't cooperate you'll go to prison or be shot.

"There are summary executions or threats that if you don't go back to work you go to prison for five years," he said.

"The population has been cowed," said the Western diplomat resident in Rangoon.

Diplomats said elections promised by Gen Saw Maung and the emergence of political parties are more cosmetic than real changes.

"If you're a realist about this, you cannot expect free democratic elections in a country ruled by one person for 26 years and a military elite which is used to having its way," the Western diplomat said.

"They're not going to all of a sudden let people come into democracy.

"But in order to gain, to use the situation politically, there has to be at least a pretence of a move in that direction," he added.

BURMA

Passing in the dark

Singapore is accused of supplying military regime with arms

By Bertil Lintner in Bangkok

With Burma's foreign-exchange reserves down to an all-time low of no more than US\$10 million and increased rebel activity in the frontier areas, the supply of imported ammunition, mainly rockets and mortars, has become a critical problem for the military regime. But now it is alleged that Singapore has stepped in with arms supplies.

The Burmese defence forces are partly dependent on imported raw materials for the local production of bullets and light mortars as well as the supply of certain heavy arms ammunition which cannot be made locally.

Washington suspended all its aid on 23 September, in the aftermath of Gen. Saw Maung's takeover five days earlier and the subsequent massacre of unarmed demonstrators in the streets of Rangoon. At the same time, Washington was reported to have stopped a scheduled delivery of ammunition for the Burmese army's US-made carbines and M-79 grenade launchers.

The first revelation of Singapore's involvement was made on 14 September by the Swedish daily newspaper Svenska Dagbladet. The newspaper, quoting Burmese military sources, reported that Singapore Government controlled Chartered Industries had violated an agreement with the Swedish arms manufacturer Forenade Fabriksverken (FFV) by re-exporting to Burma 84-mm Carl Gustalf rockets.

In 1982, FFV secured permission from the Swedish Government to export Carl Gustaf rocket launchers to Burma. The deal was exposed in the Scandinavian press at the time and after receiving about 500 launchers and

some rockets, all export of Swedish munitions to Burma ceased (REVIEW, 8 Sept.'83). Sweden's strict export laws stipulate, among other things, that it cannot sell war material to countries where there is a civil war, or those government violates the UN charter on human rights.

But in 1983, FFV made a secret agreement with Chartered Industries according to which Carl Gustaf rockets could be produced under licence in Singapore. The secret deal was approved by the Swedish Government, on condition that the rockets would not be re-exported to other countries without prior approval from Stockholm.

However, Svenska Dagbladet claims that several shipments of 84-mm rockets have since been sent from Singapore to Burma without any such approval. Soren Gindal from FFV said that chartered Industries had not reported any re-export deals. The Swedish attorney-general is now investigating the allegations and, if found guilty, Chartered Industries will most probably lose its licence for local manufacture.

However, another shipment of Singapore-made munitions to Burma was reported by Rangoon-based sources, who said that on 6 October - well after the military takeover and the subsequent massacre - heavy boxes, reportedly marked "Allied Ordnance, Singapore" were unloaded in Rangoon's port. Allied Ordnance is a joint venture between Sweden's Nobel Industries and Shengli Holdings, an investment arm of the Singapore Government. That night, there was a curious black-out along Prome Road in Rangoon - leading from the

port towards the Mingaladon military area north of the city - while heavily laden army trucks rumbled past.

"The supply was substantial," one source said. We believe the boxes contained heavy arms ammunition; rockets and mortars and possibly other munitions as well."

Bangkok-based Singapore diplomats would not confirm or deny the alleged shipments and referred to their country's open policy for the export of war material. "We are like France or China," said one diplomat. Other diplomatic sources said they were aware of shipments of arms and ammunition from

Singapore to Burma, though the exact details are not known. Given Burma's lack of foreign exchange, several sources have suggested a barter deal or use of former leader Ne Win's private funds.

Burma's total imports from Singapore amounted to S\$99.1 million (US\$49.5 million) in 1987 and S\$79 million from January-June 1988. Singapore statistics for export to Burma show a breakdown of S\$38.5 million for machinery and transport in 1987, and, in January-June 1988, S\$20 million. Military supplies are not mentioned specifically, but sources said they form a substantial part of the "machinery."



Metawaw cliff, with small route through high rocky tops, (scene of present fighting) in the back ground.



Some KNUA troops who captured Enemy Tac HQ with enemy flags.

**STATEMENT OF THE KAREN NATIONAL UNION (KNU)
8th CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE 9th CONGRESS.**

The BSPP (NUP) one - party military government, waging a long and relentless civil war, had been resisted by the oppressed people and the armed revolutionary forces with determination and courage. While this resistance was in progress, the anti-military dictatorship movement and the struggle for true democracy, led by the students and participated by monks and the general public, broke out in all parts of the country. Due to the confluence of the two struggles, the BSPP (NUP) military dictatorship had to face difficulties on all sides.

As a consequence, military dictator Ne Win and some of his cohorts had to resign from the top posts of the party and government. U Sein Lwin, the "Butcher" also had to resign from presidency after 17 days in power. President U Maung Maung, succeeding U Sein Lwin, had likewise failed to stabilize the situation. To save the BSPP (NUP) government from utter destruction, the military junta led by Gen. Saw Maung staged a coup d'etat on September 18, 1988.

The military government, which is the same old BSPP (NUP) military dictatorship in a different form stepped up the suppression of democratic rights of the people. Under the pretext of restoring law and order, it ruthlessly massacred thousands of innocent civilians, and issued orders after orders, curtailing basic human rights. House to house searches are made in order to execute or arrest and imprison the students, monks and civilians who had participated in the demonstrations.

To deliberate upon the current objective conditions of Burma, and to lay down guidelines and future action plans, the Eighth meeting of the Ninth Congress of KNU was held from September 6 to 12. The following positions and decisions were unanimously adopted.

1. Position on Student Movement

The Karen National Union firmly and fully supports the heroic struggle of the students for democracy, under the leadership of All Burma Students Union. With open arms, the KNU warmly welcomes the fighting students, monks and people from all walks of life who have come to its areas. The KNU will continue to help them, by all possible means, in matters of food, health care and the struggle for democracy.

2. Position on Organizations Opposing the Military Government

The KNU firmly and fully supports the opposition parties and organizations which are continuing the struggle for true democracy and basic human rights. It is the conviction of KNU that unity is essential to continue the struggle.

3. "Position on Formation of Interim Government"

Any interim government must be composed of individuals who are accepted by the people and who, in any way, have nothing to do with the National Unity Party which, in essence, is the re-labelled BSPP, (NUP) KNU supports the formation of such and an interim government, because democratic rights and freedom can emerge only under such a government.

4. Position on Election

It is advisable to support and contest in an election held under the supervision of an interim government composed of individuals accepted by the people. A fair and democratic election can never be possible under the military government which has blatantly trampled under-foot the democratic and human rights. Any election held under the military government will never usher in a democratic society or a democratic form of government, as it would benefit only the National Unity Party, the re-labelled BSPP. (NUP)

5. Acquirement of Foreign Aid

Due to inhuman and ruthless suppression by Saw Maung military government, thousands of students, monks and civilians have arrived in KNU areas for refuge. The KNU has been doing everything possible in its capacity to provide them with food, medical care, clothing and other basic necessities.

For the continuation of the unfinished struggle of the students, monks and general population, the KNU will go on sending appeal to:-

(a) The government and non-government organizations in the world to extend moral and material support to the activist students, monks and the people in Burma who are fighting for democracy. The KNU highly appreciates and puts on record the suspension of aid given to Burma government by other countries.

(b) Foreign governments and organizations, which are still giving assistances to the

military government, to suspend their assistances.

6. Suspension of Diplomatic Relations with the Military Government

The KNU will go on urging various government, to break off diplomatic relations with Saw Maung military government which has been blatantly violating democratic and human rights of the people by slaughter of unarmed civilians, torture and imprisonment, since it came to power.

7. Position on Anti-Military Government Movement

The KNU declares its firm conviction that a more effective antimilitary government movement can be launched by forming a broad alliance of all parties, organizations and prominent individuals opposing Saw Maung military government into "Burma Anti-military Dictatorship Alliance" for the coordination of the struggles for true democracy, national equality, unity and peace.

October 12, 1988

Central Standing Committee
Karen National Union.



ABC TV. interview Gen. Tamlabaw, Chairman at ABSDF meeting at Wanka.

**POSITION OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT
CONCERNING THE STUDENTS WHO HAVE ARRIVED
IN THE REVOLUTIONARY AREAS.**

The NDF wants to make known its position to the students, monks, and civilians who fled to the revolutionary areas after the military takeover by Gen. Saw Maung as follows:

1. Because of the harsh, inhuman suppression by the soldiers of Gen. Saw Maung, the students, monks, and civilians from the cities have had to seek refuge in NDF-held sanctuaries. The NDF cordially accepts and receives those seeking refuge. The NDF is committed to help take care of these people to the extent that they are able to do so.
2. The NDF support and accepts those students who have left the cities because they can no longer seek their demands peacefully due to the killing and brutal suppression carried out against them by the military dictatorship and because they are resolved to continue the fight for democracy, being prepared to meet the enemy with the weapons of his choice : by knife, by spear, or by gun. At the same time the NDF gives its full support to those who are continuing the struggle for democracy in the cities. The NDF strongly believes that in order to overthrow the military dictatorship it is important for those in armed struggle to unite political means.
3. The NDF has no desire to manipulate, exploit, or take advantage of those students, monks, and civilians who have sought refuge and assistance from the NDF. We consider them as fellow comrades-in-arms who have been brought together by fate for the same struggle. The NDF objects to any outside organization attempting to organize the students for their own selfish purposes or to interject their own agenda. The NDF wants to encourage the students to be independent as

a free-standing organization, being able to speak for itself and act on its own volition.

4. The NDF feels that it is of utmost importance that the students be united under one banner and one leadership and not be fragmented into numerous student organizations. In order to improve unity, the NDF sees the need for the students to establish a central executive council to represent all the students throughout Burma. Only then will the students in the various revolutionary strongholds be able to coordinate their efforts in the struggle for democracy. The NDF is committed to assisting in every way to help realize the goal of student unity and mutual understanding.

5. After the students have established an executive council, then the NDF will join hands with the students in the fight against the military dictatorship. Likewise we call on the other opposition parties and prodemocratic forces to join hands with the students (like the NDF) whole heartedly in the struggle against the military dictatorship.

6. The NDF recognizes that since the students, monks, and civilians left their towns and villages with nothing but what they were wearing and hand on themselves, they are suffering very much. We call on all the citizens of Burmese expatriates and sympathetic foreign relief organizations and friends to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the students as soon as possible.

7. The NDF calls and welcomes all prodemocratic revolutionary groups, persons in favor of democracy, students, civilians and monks to all join hands and march together in the struggle and campaign to overthrow the military dictatorship in Burma.

*ALL THE OPPOSITION FORCES MUST BE UNIFIED !
EVERYONE EVERYWHERE MUST UNANIMOUSLY OPPOSE THE MILITARY
DICTATORSHIP!*

REAL DEMOCRACY MUST BE ESTABLISHED !

October 20, 1988

Presidium
The National Democratic Front
(NDF) Burma.

**ALL BURMA STUDENT'S DEMOCRATIC FRONT CENTRAL COMMITTEE
BASED IN THE KAREN NATIONAL UNION (KNU) AREA
DECLARATION 1/88**

1. We are members of "All Burma Students' Democratic Front" (ABSDF) who have fought and are still fighting against the evil forces of Ne Win - Saw Maung's military dictatorship. Reign of terror and barbarous brutality has prevailed throughout the country for over twenty-six years. Such military dictatorship is the manifestation of oppression and exploitation of the most cunning and treacherous manner. We, the students, together with the people of the Union of Burma, have opened a new page in the history of Burma by doing spontaneous strikes and demonstrations peacefully throughout the country.

2. However, there emerged more mass killings and bloodshed all over the country owing to the brutalities of these neo-nazis. Their brutality surpassed all sorts of evils and shocked the whole world. We, therefore, inevitably have to leave for the Karen National Union revolutionary areas. We have no alternative and are compelled to take up arms to liberate our people from the tyrant rule of Ne Win - Saw Maung's junta and to establish a genuine Democratic Federal Union.

3. Since thousands of students have reached to various Karen National Union camps and

other revolutionary areas throughout the country, it is of utmost importance to regroup and to unite them under the banner of A.B. S.D.F. Thirty student representatives from the five main camps (namely, Saw Hta, Salween, Mae Salit, Thay Baw Bo and Min Tha Mee) have convened a conference at Thay Baw Bo under the guidance of the Central Committee of Karen National Union and unanimously elected a central committee of the following fifteen members.

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Tin Soe | 8. Yee Tin |
| 2. San Lin | 9. Aung Hein |
| 3. Thein Thike | 10. Ko Ko Oo |
| 4. Nu Nu Aye | 11. Wan Hoke |
| 5. Maung Maung Taik | 12. Phone Ko |
| 6. Myo Thant | 13. San Shwe Aung |
| 7. Kyaw Lin | 14. Aung Khin |
| | 15. Tin Lay |

4. Together with the already existed armed revolutionary forces and with all the people of Burma, we, students, will raise our students' banner aloft and fight Ne Win-Saw Maung's military regime until these evil forces are totally wiped out from the soil of our mother land.

- The Struggle for genuine Democracy must win.
- Ne Win - Saw Maung's Military dictatorial regime must perish.

PRESS RELEASE OF THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA (DAB).

Date: November 19, 1988.

A historic meeting called the "General Conference of Opposition to the Rangoon Military Regime" sponsored under the auspices of the National Democratic Front (NDF) was held in the Karen National Union (KNU) controlled area at Klerday Camp in Burma, from 14 to 18 November 1988.

The meeting was attended by : -

1. All Burma Students Democratic Front (ABSDF)
2. All Burma Muslim Union (ABMU)
3. Arakan Liberation Party (ALP)
4. Chin National Front (CNF)
5. Committee for Restoration of Democracy in Burma (CRDB)
6. General Strike Committee (Rangoon) (GSC - Rgn.)
7. Kachin Independence Organization (KIO)
8. Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP)
9. Karen National Union (KNU)
10. Lahu National Organization (LNO)
11. New Mon State Party (NMSP)
12. Muslim Liberation Organization of Burma (MLOB)
13. National United Front of Arakan (NUFA)
14. National Unity Party for Democracy (NUPD)
15. Overseas Burmese Liberation Front (OBLF)
16. Overseas Karen Organization (OKO)
17. People's Liberation Front (PLF)
18. Pa-O National Organization (PNO)
19. Palaung State Liberation Party (PSLP)
20. People's Patriotic Party (PPP)
21. Shan State Progress Party (SSPP)
22. Wa National Organization (WNO)

as well as observers and invited guests.

The conference attended by the above 22 organizations elected the following top leaders: For Chairman, Gen. Bo Mya of the KNU; for Vice Chairman, Chairman Brang Seng of the KIO; for 2nd Vice Chairman, Chairman Nai Shwe Kyin of the NMSP; for 3rd Vice Chairman, Gen. Thwin of the PPP; and for General Secretary, Chairman U Tin Maung Win of the CRDB GHQ.

The conference discussed the overthrow of the military dictatorship, the restoration of democracy, the achievement of peace and national reconciliation, and the formation of a genuine federal republic for Burma.

Furthermore, the delegates discussed various issues of national importance covering political, economic, organisational, diplomatic, and military affairs.

The outcome of the conference was the emergence of an alliance, named the "Demo-

Chairmen and Secretaries at DAB meeting.



The entertaining Karen Done Dance at DAB meeting.

cratic Alliance of Burma" (DAB), comprised 10 ethnic members of the NDF, and 12 non-NDF members, including students and youth who joined the Democratic forces since the recent popular uprising. Also present were other political parties and organizations representing expatriate Burmese communities from around the world.

The Democratic Alliance of Burma calls for unity among all the nationalities in their common fight against the military dictatorship. It recognizes the urgent need to consolidate all the democratic opposition forces inside and outside of Burma. The Democratic Alliance of Burma expresses grave concern for the ongoing systematic and ruthless neutralization of the dissident Burmese population by the Rangoon military regime.

The Democratic Alliance of Burma rejects the claim of legality by the Saw Maung military dictatorship, and thus resolutely questions the sincerity of the latter's pledge to hold fair and free elections at an unspecified future date. The Alliance cautions the Burmese people and any other political organizations from taking part in the above political farce. It exhorts the Burmese people to totally reject the so-called "election" unless it is conducted under an impartial Interim Government

Thus the Democratic Alliance of Burma demands the immediate resignation of the illegal Saw Maung military regime and calls for the establishment of an Interim Government whose main function is to hold free and fair elections under the observation of the United Nations, international parliamentary observers and the world media.

The Alliance pledges to further exert effective military pressure against the Rangoon military dictatorship.

The Alliance advocates free enterprise and expresses its serious intention to join in regional economic development programs.

The Democratic Alliance of Burma declares its foreign policy as one of active neutrality based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

The Alliance urgently appeals to the UN and all countries of the world, particularly to Burma's neighbouring countries for continued non-recognition of the Saw Maung military regime, and for withholding all foreign military, financial and other economic aid; and to support efforts of the Democratic Alliance of Burma for the restoration of peace, democracy and national reconciliation in Burma.

The Central Committee
"Democratic Alliance of Burma"



Students at Salween Camp No. 1



Students at Salween Camp No. 2

DECLARATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA.

We, the Democratic Alliance of Burma, profoundly believe that people of Burma cannot ever be complete and live in harmonious communities that practice the principles of Lokapala and uphold the democratic ideals of liberty, equality, justice and peaceful co-existence among the nationalities, due to the existence of anti-democratic ideals, and those individuals and groups who are its representatives in the Union of Burma.

On March 2, 1962, the practice of military authoritarianism came into existence in Burma. In addition, on September 18, 1988, the Union of Burma became further enslaved to an even more brutal and repressive military dictatorship at the cost of the life and blood of thousands of innocent civilians including monks and students.

The Democratic Alliance of Burma was formed by the unanimous consent of 22 groups consisting of the armed national revolutionaries, the students and youths of Burma who have a long revolutionary tradition, and the patriotic Burmese expatriates living abroad.

The main objectives of the Democratic Alliance of Burma are defined as :

1. To overthrow the Rangoon Military Regime.
2. To establish a democratic form of government.
3. To end the civil war and restore internal peace.
4. To bring about national reconciliation and the creation of a genuine federal union.

We ardently call upon the students, monks, the entire civilian population, and the prodemocratic rank and file of the armed forces to join with us in this struggle for the restoration of democracy and national reconciliation.

We warmly invite those groups who oppose the Rangoon Military Regime and those who accept the basic doctrine of the Democratic Alliance of Burma to join us in the struggle.

We hereby resolutely declare, that we, the Democratic Alliance of Burma, along with the rest of the populace in Burma, will fight the Rangoon Military Regime employing every military, political, and other means available.

20th NOVEMBER 1988

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA

PRESS RELEASE

The democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) held its first executive Committee at a liberated area in Burma from November 28 to December 2, 1988. Chaired by General Bo Mya, the head of the new Alliance, the Executive Committee outlined and delineated strategies for the four branches of activity, viz. Military, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Organization and Information. The Military Committee comes under the supervision of Chairman General Bo Mya; Foreign Affairs, under First Vice Chairman Brang Seng; Finance, under Second Vice Chairman Nai Shwe Kyin; and Organization and Information under Third Vice Chairman General Thwin.

Recognizing the fragile and oft fragmented opposition within the country, the committee sought to further strengthen DAB's political base by welcoming as its 23rd Member - the All Burma Young Monks' Union, thus, making DAB the largest single Political Alliance in Burma currently opposing the military dictatorship of Saw Maung.

Participating in various capacities were representatives from all indigenous nationalities, Burmans, students leaders from the All Burma Students Democratic Front (ABSDF),

and General Strike Committee (GSC), representatives from various religious organizations as well as organizations of Burmese expatriates such as the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Burma (CRDB).

The Executive Committee reiterated its firm conviction that a free and fair election is impossible under Saw Maung's military dictatorship and that the people must boycott the farce. It is disappointed and saddened at the disintegration of one or any opposition party and urged for national unity. In this, special - appeal is made to the members of the Armed Forces to stand on the side of the people by joining the ranks of the opposition and actively participating with DAB in restoring freedom in Burma.

It is confident that the people will not remain idle in the face of the continuing repression by the Saw Maung regime. Should the unity and cohesion of the other democratic forces fail to meet the hopes and aspirations of the oppressed masses, the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) will find it expedient to act on their behalf with appropriate initiatives and / or options including formation of a Provisional Government.

December 2, 1988

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA (DAB)

**STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER,
STEN ANDERSON, ON THE SITUATION IN BURMA.**

Foreign office
Press Detachment

PRESS RELEASE

Burma is currently going through serious political upheaval which is causing great hardship to the Burmese people. The Swedish Government supports those forces who want to bring freedom and democracy to Burma. The necessary transition to a new and free

social order must be allowed to develop under peaceful and unbloody conditions. Thus, it is with indignation that the Swedish Government witnesses how the military, by force of arms, is trying to crush the efforts for democracy.

1988-09-19



Dinner at DAB meeting



Students at trainings

FROM THE OFFICE OF

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan

New York

STATEMENT OF SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN TO RALLY FOR DEMOCRACY IN BURMA.

Thank you for your warm invitation to participate in this rally calling for the restoration of democracy in Burma. Although I cannot attend in person, I do not want to leave you without the words of encouragement and praise you so richly deserve for making the world pay attention to Burma.

Since the Senate unanimously passed S.R. 464, my resolution condemning the government of Burma, the situation in that country has only worsened. The Burmese people have continued to protest the tyranny of their government. The government, if it can still be called a government, is now led by a new military president, Saw Maung. We do not know how many innocent Burmese have died since his appointment but we know the violence has been brutal and unforgivable.

Two weeks ago today, I called for a suspension of US aid to Burma. I said that we should withhold all funds from the Government of Burma until a new democratic government replaces the regime clinging to power in Rangoon. Until the courageous Bur-

mese who have been protesting for democracy in Rangoon, and in Mandalay, and in Moulmein, and in Victoria Point can restore legitimate governmental authority to Burma. Until Burmans and Kachins, Shans and Karens sit down together in peace to resolve a civil war older even than Ne Win's dictatorship.

Yesterday, the State Department announced it would suspend US aid. It expressed displeasure with the new military government. Of course, Burma does not have a new government, but merely a new general. But that is of no consequence. I applaud the State Department's decision.

The United States must continue to be clear in its support for the restoration of freedom in Burma. With luck, the Burmese Socialist Program Party will have the dubious honor of being the world's first socialist government thrown out of power by its own people.

Chay zoo tin ba day and aung myin ba ze. (Burmese)

Thank you (wish you) all success. (English translation)

SPEECH BY U.S. CONGRESSMAN JIMLEACH,
AT FREEDOM FOR BURMA DEMONSTRATION
WASHINGTON D.C., SEPTEMBER 23, 1988.



Thank you very much. Frankly, everybody in Congress is so extraordinarily impressed with what the Burmese people have so courageously been demonstrating in the last months. And I, frankly, am very pleased today to see that our government has decided to cut off aid to the government in power - which by no means betokens a lack of support for the Burmese people. It simply indicates a lack of confidence in the ability of the Burmese government to operate, and frankly in the legitimacy of the Burmese government itself. When we look at our Declaration of Independence, we formed a government that was based upon the principle of consent of the governed, and it's our theory of legitimacy that no government is legitimate without that consent.

And the Burmese people are demonstrating several things. One, they're saying

that their society is being operated centrally and collectively in terms of economics, and we've found across this world - not just in the United States. But certainly' with many models in the Far East ~ Taiwan; Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, as well as increasingly the Peoples' Republic of China - that centrally operated economics don't work. Burma symbolizes that. But thoroughly, as well, it symbolizes a country where people do not express power in the sense of "from the bottom up" instead we're seeing power demonstrated "from the top down." And for that reason, many of us believe, and are thoroughly committed to urging the people of Burma to continue their demonstrations. It's our assumption from the outside, looking at the Burmese situation, the continuation of Ne Win's power is a "no win" proposition for the people of Burma.

**SPEECH BY EDITH T. MIRANTE, DIRECTOR OF PROJECT MAJE,
AT FREEDOM FOR BURMA DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK CITY,
SEPTEMBER 25, 1988.**

For a few years now, I have been trying to alert people here in the United States to the horrible Southeast Asian tragedy of Burma, the human rights situation in Burma, the political situation in Burma. I've been doing this because I myself have spent some time in Burma's cities and in Burma's jungles of the frontier regions, and the remote mountains. And everywhere the people said to me, "We are suffering, why doesn't the outside world help us? We are suffering, doesn't the outside world care about us?" And I would reply, "Well, it's just that the outside world doesn't know. It's not that they don't care, they just don't know." When I would return to the U.S. from over there, it was like these lines from a song by the Irish rock band U2: "And it's true we are immune, when fact is fiction and TV reality, and today the millions cry, we eat and drink while tomorrow they die."

To make matters worse, the dictatorship of Burma was receiving aid and support from the United States. The aid program has been a total perversion in which aircraft and

the chemical called 2,4-D, an ingredient of Agent Orange, were provided to the Burma Army supposedly for Opium eradication. The military dictatorship used this chemical in a campaign of terror against tribal civilians caught helplessly in the victim zone of the frontiers where the Army tried to fight insurgent forces. This program went on for three years during which, meanwhile narcotics production soared to over 1,000 tons per year, with the corrupt participation of the dictatorship.

I used to tell people over there, when I'd sit with them in their bamboo houses, "Burma is like a nice looking piece of fruit - like a perfect orange - to the outside world. But then if you peel the orange, perhaps inside it's rotten. And perhaps even though it looks perfect outside, maybe there is a big worm inside." And that worm was Ne Win.

Now that fruit has been peeled open. Ripped open, through the courage of the urban revolution in Burma. The outside world knows, and the outside world believes, because they've seen it on television every night



Escaped enemy porters at Mae Ta Waw.

Now the world knows that Burma has been tortured and plundered by this man, Ne Win, who has the thieving corruption of Marcos, the evil terror tactics of Duvalier, the double-dealing narcotics trafficking of Noriega, and the murderous thirst for blood of Pol Pot. And he has been in power for longer than most of them combined. And he is aided by such henchmen as Sein Lwin (also known as Dracula) and Saw Maung (also known as Rasputin).

Now U.S. aid is cut off and U.S. diplomats are leaving Rangoon. These are good moves, but I hope this is not a replay of The Killing Fields, where once the U.S. flag is folded up and the helicopters are boarded, we ignore what follows afterwards. The American people must care enough to help those who want to build a new Burma. A new Burma where the frontier zones are no

longer victim zones; a new Burma where instead of sending refugees to Bangladesh, Burma can send surplus rice to Bangladesh; a new Burma where children are not killed, villages are not burned, dissidents are not tortured. Burma deserves to become this great country as befits its great people.

We in the United States now know, so we must care. It's like a miner trapped inside a mine in a cave-in, calling for help. If you don't know that he's down there, trapped inside the mine, and you walk past, that's OK. But if you hear him down there calling "Help me! Help me!", you have to do something about it, you're morally obligated. Now the world has heard Burma's calls for help.

I have three words for the United States and UN on that subject. The three words are : "Just say no." No to the torture, no to the killing, just say no to Ne Win.



NDF President Saw Maw Reh, speaking at DAB meeting.

NEWS OF THE STUDENTS.

After the taking of Power by Saw Maung and his military clique, and the ruthless killings of thousands of students and other dissidents within one single week, many students dissidents have come over to the armed revolutionary areas all over Burma. Although called "Students", there are large number of monks, teachers, lawyers, doctors, civil and military personnels workers, peasants, and other social and economic classes and stratas of civilian populace are all included. All these people accepted the leadership of the students as vanguard of their revolution.

The ultimate aim of the students is to continue on with their struggle against the military junta and overthrow them by armed revolution, after receiving military trainings and necessary aid.

All the armed revolutionary forces, warmly welcome these new arrivals, and are

making all out efforts in helping them in matters of shelter, food clothing, medical cares to the best of their abilities. Camps are set up for them after which necessary military trainings are given. The students select their own camp commanders and their own group leaders to look' after and settle their own affairs.

Coming from different places through out the whole Burma, with differences in race, class, religious beliefs, social backgrounds and political views, there had been some clashes of opinions in trying to achieve their aim. There are two distinct groups among them. A small faction of them want to form a political party as vanguard of the revolution, but the over whelming majority want to maintain their original student identity. The convening of students meetings and conference have now settled the issues amicably.



KNU Bulletin Editor, speaking to students at Salween Camp.



Students and masses at Salween Camp.

List of students in Revolutionary Area

The following is the list of students who arrive in the respective Revolutionary Areas, up to Oct. 20, 1988.

(List provided by NDF)

1. KNU (Karen) Area	
Thay Baw Bo	2,400
Metarit	1,000
Meleta	450
Saw Hta	275
Metamiki	800
New arrivals	2,000
2. NMSP (Mon) area	1,800
3. KIO (Kachin) area	1,300
4. PNO (Pao) area	500
5. KNPP (Karenni) area	221
New arrival	326
6. PSLP (Palaung) area	100
7. SSPP (Shan) area	150
	<hr/>
Total	11,322

Reasons for the return home of some students.

There have been reports of some students who return to their "homes" in the enemy area, giving various false informations. The following are some important reasons for such returning students.

(1) Enemy agents. There have been some enemy agents along with - the students coming to the revolutionary areas. Their aim is to collect informations, and create discord among the students. Realising this, the students themselves managed to arrest some agents of the enemy, and the students themselves take necessary action on them with the approval of the respective re-revolutionary leaders. The remaining enemy agents fled back, giving all sorts of false informations.

(2) Opportunist Elements. Some students come along with others, with no intention to "Serve" but to get high positions and become leaders. When they were not elected to be leaders, they were not satisfied with others



ABDSF Executive Committee Members (KNU Area)

and losing hope, they at last returned to the enemy, giving all sorts of information to save their face and their lives.

(3) Soft-hearted. Revolution is not a child play, and not a bed of roses.

Some students when they meet with hardships, (sickness, poor food, hard work, they cannot endure them and thus they atlast return home, giving all sorts of informations so that they may not get severe punishment.)

(4) Un - ruly Elements. Some people, by nature want to do their own will. They do not accept team work, and care for no discipline. When discipline is enforced in the camp, they create a lot of troubles and at last find their way home.

The students with firm determination and undaunted courage are ready to sacrifice everything for the achivement of their ideals - freedom, democracy, peace and progress for "To die fighting is better than to live a slave."



Students at Military Training.

STUDENT LEADERS.

The Representatives of Students from all Revolutionary Areas and Abroad meet at Kawmoorah Camp in Kawthoolei from 1-11-88 to 5-11-88. The following are unanimous-

ly elected as Central Executive Committee Members of the ABSDF. (All Burma Students Democratic Front).

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Ko Tun Aung Gyaw | — President |
| 2. Ko Win Moe | — Vice President |
| 3. Ko Than Win | — Gen. Secretary |
| 4. Ko Aung Naing | — Joint Gen. Secretary (1) |
| 5. Ko Ko Oo. | — Joint Gen. Secretary (2) |
| 6. Ko Sai Myo Win Tun | — Secy. Foreign Committee |
| 7. Ko Tun Oo. | — Secy. Organization and Propaganda Committee |
| 8. Ko Ko Lay | — Secy. Information and Public Relation Committee |
| 9. Ko Kyi Moe | — Secy. Supply Committee |
| 10. Ko Mg. Mg. Thein | — Secy. Business Scrutiny Committee |
| 11. Ko Kyaw Lin | — Secy. Discipline Control Committee |
| 12. Dr. Tha Tha Oo. | — Secy. Health and Social Affairs Committee |
| 13. Ko Kyaw Htin | — Secy. Finance Committee. |



ABC TV. interviewing leaders of ABSDF at Wanka.

THE BATTLE OF METAWAW.

Metawaw, opposite the Thai Ban Tah Song Yang, on the Moei river, in the past, was just a small border ferry point, with almost no human habitation. In 1974, the GNU has set up a custom point there, and it has rapidly grown up to a thriving trading centre with school, hospital, Christian church, Buddhist monastery, and Muslim Mosque, until January, 1984, when the Burmese Army attacked and occupied it.

Geographically, Metawaw is just a narrow strip of land, approximately 400 yards long and 100 yards wide, bounded on the east by the Moei river which serves as border between Thailand and Burma, and the remaining (3) sides south, west and north, by high steep, rocky chiffs, with only one small narrow pass on the western side.

Metawaw owes its importance to its strategic position in that although all the routes from the Moei river to Burma proper, have to cross the difficult Dawna Range which runs parallel to the Moei river, the route from Metawaw to Burma proper goes through a small low winding pass, with no ridge or hill, and thus it is the easiest route from Thailand to Burma. Metawaw also serves as gateway to the GNU Headquarters from the southern side.

For (4) years the Burmese army occupied Metawaw and the KNLA military operation to retake it started on the 26th of September, 1988. A small combined force of KNLA attacked and occupied Bu Baw Kyo hill top (Ak Gyaw Gon) after (10) minutes fighting. All the enemies fled and the KNLA captured the Burmese army post Commander Capt. Sai Ohn Gyaw, with a quantity of arms and military stores. On the next day, the KNLA, encouraged by its success the previous days, attacked Maw Ko Lay, another strategic hill Lock and occupied it with little resistance from the enemy. The enemy made a counter attack on the next day (28-9-88) but was repulsed with heavy casualties on their side.

Fierce fighting continued daily and on 8.10.88, the KNLA over ran the enemy No.

75 and No. 76 Infantry Bns, defending Metawaw, and occupied the trading centre, including the highest peak which commands the whole area of rocky cliffs and other hill tops in the west.

Two enemy divisions, namely. No. 44 Division, comprising No. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7 Light Infantry Battalions and No. 66 Division, comprising No. 75, 76, 78, 80, 81 and 82 Inf. Bns, a total of (12) Battalions, are mobilised by the enemy in its efforts to recapture Metawaw.

KNLA deploys some GHQ troops for defending Metawaw, and some troops for harassing the enemy at its rear-line, and cutting its supply line, using guerilla and mine war-fare tactics.

Fierce fighting continue almost daily till now, the enemy making most of the attacks. The following is an in complete list of casualties of both the enemy and KNLA for a period of over (2) months from 26/9/88 to 30/11/88.

<u>Enemy Casualties</u>		<u>KNLA Casualties</u>	
- Killed	312	- Killed	49
- Wounded	1,048	- Wounded	<u>156</u>
- Deserted	482		
		Total	<u>205</u>
- Arrested	5		
- Surrender	1		
	<u>1848</u>		

Note, The above casualty list is carefully compiled out of various informations received from KNLA front line, from escaped enemy porters, from captured and surrendered enemy personnels, from captured enemy documents, and from villagers and masses who have personally witnessed the events and facts.

It has been learned that the enemy Column Commanders of battle often complained, murmured and admitted that although their troops (Burmese army) are superior in man and armaments strength, they are inferior to the KNLA in matters of MORALE and military TACTICS.

Most of the attacking enemy troops are young ones, with little training and experience and are low in morale, because of sickness, hard life and their high casualties. Drunkenness to raise their morale while attacking, makes good and vulnerable targets for the KNLA.

The latest information received is that the most senior enemy officer conducting this gruel battle, having seen the high

casualties of his troops daily, was much distressed and downcast. He therefore contacted the KNLA commanders at the front line for meeting and discussion (on truce) and he was prepared to face any action upon this move. He was immediately arrested and sent back by his higher authority.

7, Details of military situations and Battle Reports of KNLA and NDF troops will appear in our next issues.

SOME STUDENT GROUPS IN KNU AREA



Mae Salit Camp (Leaders)



Mae Salit Camp (Hlaingbwe group)



Mae Salit Camp (Pa-an — Shwegun group)



Salween Camp

SOME NON-NDF ORGANIZATIONS AT DAB MEETING



