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BRIEFING: BLACK FRIDAY & THE CRACKDOWN ON THE NLD

- **Sr-Gen Than Shwe is responsible for the murderous ambush on NLD leaders Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Tin U, and their entourage and the ensuing crackdown on the democratic movement in Burma. Than Shwe perpetrated such criminal behavior because he was confident that Asean, India and China would help his regime weather criticism, and continue to supply him with weapons.**
- **Black Friday May 30 and the ensuing crackdown has been the most ruthless and bloodiest attack on the democracy movement in Burma since the 1988 massacre.**
- **Reports received over the past few months indicate the premeditated nature of the attack and crackdown. This includes the army's nationwide high alert a week before the attack, and a high-level meeting on the eve of Black Friday (see section below).**
- **500-1,000 USDA members, police, men dressed as monks, armed soldiers, and prisoners ambushed hundreds of unarmed NLD supporters and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's team with lethal weapons: guns, sharpened bamboo stakes, catapults, and steel and iron pipes.**
- **Scores have been arrested, killed, and are missing. The arrested and missing include Members of Parliament. Confirmed detentions include Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, NLD General Secretary Deputy Chairman U Tin U, and Central Committee members.**
- **At least 16 MPs have been confirmed as either disappeared or under house arrest, 8 murdered in the Black Friday ambush, 51 detained (including injured) and 94 disappeared. According to the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners Burma, this list is not complete.**
- **NLD offices remain sealed, universities and schools were temporarily shut and the SPDC is trying to terrorize the population to suffocate the widespread support for democracy by the people of Burma.**

This briefing is divided into the following sections:

- Pg 2** Premeditated – summary of developments indicating that the Black Friday ambush and subsequent crackdown was planned.
- Pg 3** A List of Travels out of Rangoon made by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in the past year.
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PREMEDITATED

The SPDC and their cohort organization the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA) have been steadily increasing harassment of the NLD on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's tours throughout the country and threatening civilians to not go out and support them. The USDA is the pet project of Sr-Gen Than Shwe.

Weeks prior to the attack, SPDC increased riot and weapons training and increased surveillance on NLD members.

Sr-Gen Than Shwe has recently promoted officials who have openly opposed dialogue, namely Lt-Gen Soe Win, Brig-Gen Kyaw Hsan and Brig-Gen Khin Ye, who are believed to have orchestrated the attack.

Brig-Gen Than Tun, official NLD liaison, denied the Thai Foreign Minister's assertion on May 26 that dialogue would occur soon. Than Tun was promoted in October 2002 – the month when communication between SPDC and NLD stopped.

Six days before the attack, the War Office in Rangoon issued a directive putting all armed organizations in the country on a state of emergency.

Four days before the ambush, recruits were being collected to participate in the attacks.

May 29 – **Lt-Gen Soe Win** led a closed door meeting with **Saw Htun**, the Director-in-Charge of the USDA; **Khin Ye**, the Chief Inspector of Burma's Police Force; **Col Tin Hlaing**, Minister for Home Affairs; and **Brig-Gen Soe Naing**, the commander of the Northwest Regional Command.¹ **Maj-Gen Saw Tun** is also reported to be a key organizer of the attack. **Brig-Gen Kyaw Hsan**, a secretariat member of USDA and SPDC's Minister of Information was in Sagaing Division in third week of May.

Before his promotion in Sept 2002, **Lt-Gen Soe Win** was the Commander of the Northwest Command in Sagaing Division (where the attack took place). He is an honorary member of USDA. In recent months **Soe Win** has toured Sagaing, Pegu, and Irrawaddy Divisions to organize harassment and rally USDA members against the NLD.²

SPDC said Daw Suu and at least 18 other NLD members were taken into 'protective custody' to 'ensure her safety and for the sake of national security.'³

U.S. Embassy officials in Rangoon visited to scene of the attack and said, "Clearly, orders were given for a violent attack" and that the weapons were "clearly prepared before the fact." They believe far more people may have died than the SPDC reported.

A COUNTRY HELD HOSTAGE

SPDC Labor Minister Tin Win told reporters, "These incidents happened because Aung San Suu Kyi had taken advantage of her party organizational trip to campaign publicly, thereby making many people resent her actions."⁴ Despite harassment, threats, and obstacles, crowds of up to 40,000 have been reported to turn out to support Daw Suu and the NLD team on their country tours.

Sr-Gen Than Shwe put off the Jun 1 quarterly meeting of the SPDC and ordered the SPDC regional commands to remain on high alert.⁵ Dozens of NLD members and supporters have been arrested since the attack.

¹ Kao Wao News (30 May – 10 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of the regime's ambush on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her entourage as recounted by some escapees

² DVB (28 Jan 03) No plan to talk to NLD and we are not afraid of USA - SPDC

³ Washington Post (10 Jun 03) Where Is She?

⁴ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation's military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down.

⁵ Kao Wao News (30 May – 10 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of the regime's ambush on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her entourage as recounted by some escapees

DAW AUNG SAN SUU KYI'S TRAVELS OUT OF RANGOON SINCE MAY 6, 2002

- Trip # 1 Jun 15, 02: Aung San Suu Kyi makes her first visit outside of Rangoon since being released from house arrest to Mon to meet with a highly revered monk, the Abbott of Thamanya.
- Trip #2 Jun 23-30, 02: Daw Suu and NLD team make a political trip to Mandalay. Daw Suu visited an SPDC hydroelectric power plant and bridge.
- Trip # 3 Jul 20-23, 02: Mon State tour.
- Trip # 4 Oct 14-17, 02: Pegu Division tour.
- Trip # 5 Nov 13-27, 02: Shan State tour. Daw Suu was subjected to constant, excessive surveillance and video taping by the military intelligence and restrictions were placed on civilian movement.⁶ Anti-NLD and vulgar comments about Daw Suu were distributed.
- Trip # 6 Dec 16-24, 02: Arakan State tour. On Dec 18, police, fire brigades and USDA members used batons and powerful fire engine hoses to disperse about 20,000 NLD supporters. Anti-NLD and vulgar comments about Daw Suu were distributed.
- Trip # 7 Apr 3-13, 03: Chin State tour. 35,000 to 40,000 people welcomed them. Anti-NLD and vulgar comments about Daw Suu were distributed. Pamphlets also surfaced in Sagaing and Tenasserim division.
- Trip # 8 May 6, 03: Daw Suu left for her 8th trip around the country to Kachin State

THE LEAD-UP TO MAY 6, 2003

Approximately 75 people supporting democracy were arrested between May 2002 – Mar 13, 2003.

Early May Members of Pakkoku's SPDC sponsored People's Power Holders in Magwe (Magway) Division are being given trainings in handling catapults, ropes, bamboo spikes and assault techniques for 'maintaining local security' at No.9. State Primary School. 20 USDA members from each ward were forced to attend as trainees and each trainee is given 300 kyats per day.⁷

The SPDC equipped a militia-like organization known as Swan Arr Shin with bamboo clubs and slingshots reportedly to harass the work of pro-democracy supporters, especially the NLD.⁸

May 4 SPDC arrested a retired army sergeant, Kyaw Kyaw, while staging a peaceful protest in Rangoon.⁹

May 4 SPDC conditionally released 18 political prisoners, including Dr. Salai Than Tun, under Section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which states they will be re-incarcerated for the remainder of their sentences if found to be involved in politics.¹⁰

Apr 24 SPDC Spokesman Col Hla Min said the NLD was responsible for deteriorating relations between the two sides.¹¹ The SPDC further said the NLD raising concern about the lack of progress is "very outdated... and should have been left behind in 1988."

⁶ Irrawaddy (26 Nov 02) Complaint over Harassment on Suu Kyi Trip

⁷ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

⁸ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Regime Organizes More NLD Attacks

⁹ Irrawaddy (9 May 03) Small Protests, Small Steps

¹⁰ Irrawaddy (5 May 03) Dr Salai Tun Than and Others Released; an AP article on May 9 said 21 prisoners

¹¹ BBC (24 Apr 03) Burma rejects opposition claims

- Apr 23 **AUNG SAN SUU KYI SPEAKS OUT:** Nearly a year since Daw Suu was released from house arrest. Daw Suu said, “We have been concerned with the lack of process. We should move on to a more advanced stage. We have been forced to question the integrity of the SPDC and their sincerity in achieving national reconciliation. I have come to the conclusion that the SPDC is not interested in national reconciliation.”¹²
- Apr 4 8 students from the People Students’ Oway Front were arrested and 1 fled into the British Embassy during a peaceful protest in Rangoon.¹³
- Apr Analysts reported that Sr-Gen Than Shwe is vigorously consolidating power and is the ‘big obstacle’ to any opening of dialogue. A western diplomat in Rangoon said that Than Shwe was “a one-man show.”¹⁴
- Mar 31 UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights Prof Paulo Pinheiro reported that the SPDC Home Minister only recognized 101 ‘detainees’ who are members of political parties.¹⁵ An estimated 1,300 – 1,400 political prisoners remain in custody.
- Feb SPDC Information Minister and USDA secretariat member Kyaw Hsan said, “Internal and external elements are discouraging foreign investment, foreign assistance and tourists to the country and encourage economic sanctions. Destructive elements must be annihilated.”¹⁶
- Jan 21 SPDC Lt-Gen Soe Win openly opposed dialogue and said the SPDC has ‘no plan to talk to the NLD and would never hand over power to the NLD’ and they are not afraid of the U.S. Soe Win was then promoted to Sec-2, the 4th most powerful position in the SPDC.¹⁷
- Dec 2002 Regional military intelligence were instructed to compile information on relatives of SPDC employees that are active members of the NLD.
- Oct 2002 SPDC began riot control and small arms training for police and firemen in district capitals.¹⁸

THE KACHIN STATE TOUR & RELATED EVENTS (MAY 6 –30, 2003)

NOTE: MAP ATTACHED

NLD Spokesman U Lwin said, “The two sides were going to meet after her [Daw Suu’s] return from Kachin State.”¹⁹

- May 6 Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Tin U, and 12 NLD male youth members left Rangoon on May 6 for Daw Suu’s 8th trip around the country since May 2002.²⁰ They stayed overnight in Mandalay²¹
- May 6/7 Officials from the Kachin State National Congress for Democracy (KNCD) welcomed her visit. The Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) was eager to meet with the NLD team, but its status as a cease-fire group makes such a meeting risky. Political analysts in Kachin State say that the regime has reportedly prohibited the KIO from talking with NLD members.²²

¹² AFP (23 Apr 03) Myanmar’s Aung San Suu Kyi complains for first time of stalled talks

¹³ AFP (6 May 03) Eight students arrested over embassy protest in Myanmar, exiled group says

¹⁴ AFP (10 Apr 03) Senior General Than Shwe, sole helmsman of Myanmar

¹⁵ UN Commission on Human Rights (31 Mar 03) Statement by Mr. Paulo Sergio Pinheiro, Special

¹⁶ AP (14 Feb 03) Myanmar’s ruling junta attacks opposition

¹⁷ DVB (28 Jan 03) No plan to talk to NLD and we are not afraid of USA-SPDC & AP (3 Feb 03) Myanmar reshuffles cabinet

¹⁸ DVB (4 Oct 02) Police, Firemen given riot control training as commodity prices soar

¹⁹ Bangkok Post (3 Jun 03) Suu Kyi detention points to widening military split – Larry Jagan

²⁰ AFP (6 May 03) Myanmar’s Suu Kyi begins month-long political trip on freedom anniversary

²¹ AFP (6 May 03) Myanmar’s Suu Kyi begins month-long political trip on freedom anniversary

²² Irrawaddy (7 May 03) Suu Kyi Sets off for Kachin State

- May 8 Traveled to Shwebo from Mandalay, where Daw Suu was blocked from visiting in Sept 2000, prior to her arrest. She also visited Khin Oo (Kin U) and Kantbalu in Sagaing Division.²³
- In Shwebo, 4,000-6,000 turned out even though they were warned by the authorities not to form a big crowd.²⁴ Many people came from the eastern side of Sagaing Bridge over the Irrawaddy River and Hlataw village.
- USDA member Ko Soe Myint harassed the people in Shwebo. The local authority would not give them permission to open the NLD office in Shwebo because the office site is said to be on arable farmland.²⁵
- At Khin Oo, they opened the local NLD youth office. In Kantbalu they met with the local NLD organizing committee but did not open the office.²⁶ Authorities were very forceful and intrusive in photographing them, even at nighttime.²⁷
- May 8/9 Headed to Zeegone (Zigon).²⁸
- May 9 Set off for Kawlin, Wuntho, Katha, Indaw (Sagaing Division) and reported harassment, especially in Indaw and Katha.²⁹
- The local authority chairman threatened the Momeik NLD's chairman, U Myint We and in the evening, members of the USDA smashed and destroyed wooden sticks prepared for holding up the NLD office signboard.³⁰
- SPDC statement released in Rangoon, said the NLD and other political groups "have unparalleled freedom to conduct their activities and (political) prisoners are being released at a steady pace." The SPDC said it has been "reforming its own internal procedures and practices through human rights programs - run by outside humanitarian groups - that have been going on for more than two years."³¹
- May 10 Traveled to the capital of Kachin State, Myitkyina and Monyin.³²
- In Rangoon, SPDC Brig-Gen Than Tun, official NLD liaison, said that for the sake of 'security and stability' they have told the supporters to refrain from coming out in large numbers and shouting and carrying posters to welcome her to town.³³
- May 13 U Htay Aung, USDA Secretary of Katha District gave the people who took part in the May 9 harassment a dinner party as celebration.³⁴
- May 13/14 NLD team traveled to Phakant and Lone Khing Area, Kachin State. Daw Suu gave speeches in Phakant and Lone Khing Area, opened the NLD Phakant Township office. In Lone Khing about 10,000 people welcomed them.³⁵
- May 14 NLD traveled to Tanaing.

²³ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

²⁴ AFP (8 May 03) Crowds flock to see Myanmar's Aung San Suu Kyi despite warnings

²⁵ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

²⁶ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

²⁷ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

²⁸ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

²⁹ DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

³⁰ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

³¹ AP (9 May 03) Myanmar junta says it is serious about improving human rights

³² DVB (8 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Shwebo District Sagaing Division

³³ DVB (10 May 03) Government spokesman admits preventing supporters from welcoming Suu Kyi

³⁴ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

³⁵ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

NLD Tanaing chairman, U Kason Sinwa Naw was warned by the local authority chairman not to welcome Daw Suu with brass bands and not to use amplifiers.³⁶ Commander and members of No. 8 Intelligence Base arrived at Tanaing to orchestrate the harassment of the NLD team.

Members of the USDA reported to be visiting every village in Momeik to prevent villagers from welcoming the NLD team and preparing for harassments at places where Daw Suu might deliver speeches.³⁷

Reported that 4 trucks of USDA members were being organized in Myitkyina.³⁸

Reported that local authorities are limiting the NLD's use of telephones.³⁹

May 16 Returned to the capital of Kachin State, Myitkyina.

Harassment increased substantially as more than 300 USDA members were carrying catapults, bicycle nuts, and other items that could be used as weapons. They attempted to block the NLD crossing the bridge, but no one was assaulted.⁴⁰

May 19 The team went to Waingmaw, opened the township's NLD office and returned to Myitkyina. At Waingmaw about 100 USDA members protested against them when they arrived and when they opened the NLD township office⁴¹.

The SPDC authorities warned the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) leaders not to welcome the NLD team.⁴² Daw Suu and KIO leaders had arranged for her to speak in the KIO controlled town, Hlaingza, but the SPDC denied the NLD permission to enter.⁴³ Sergeant Soe Nyunt of No.21, Military Intelligence summoned Dr. Tuja, the General Secretary of DKO (a Kachin organization) and warned him not to welcome Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team.⁴⁴

May 20 NLD team arrived at Bhamaw (Bhamo), Kachin State.⁴⁵ Approximately 20,000 people attended the opening of the NLD office.

After being warned not to welcome Daw Suu, the KIO provided 'extraordinary security arrangements' to protect the NLD team at some areas on their way to Bhamaw.⁴⁶ At Bhamaw more than 300 USDA members, some armed with sticks and machetes, shouted slogans, videotaped and photographed the team. The NLD videotaped and photographed the scene and the USDA tried to take their cameras. The car U Tin U rode in was targeted and punched, although the windows were not broken.⁴⁷ Reported that USDA members in some towns were instructed not to wear their uniforms.⁴⁸

A Rangoon court sentenced 7 NLD members for alleged anti-government activities including trying to stir unrest, distribute anti-government leaflets and carrying out attacks. 2 were sentenced to life imprisonment, 1 to 13 years and 4 others to 5 years each, according to NLD officials.⁴⁹

³⁶ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

³⁷ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

³⁸ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

³⁹ DVB (14 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in Phakant

⁴⁰ AFP (16 May 03) Myanmar's Suu Kyi encounters "most serious" protest

⁴¹ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team at Bhamaw, Kachin State

⁴² DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team at Bhamaw, Kachin State

⁴³ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team at Bhamaw, Kachin State

⁴⁴ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team at Bhamaw, Kachin State

⁴⁵ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team at Bhamaw, Kachin State

⁴⁶ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team left Bhamaw for Shwegu

⁴⁷ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team left Bhamaw for Shwegu

⁴⁸ DVB (22 May 03) "Whole town" welcomes touring Burmese democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

⁴⁹ AP (26 May 03) Myanmar pro-democracy activists sentenced to prison, Suu Kyi's party reports harassment

Thai Foreign Minister, Surakiart said “I have been informed that within only the next few weeks, there will be another political dialogue between the leadership of the SPDC and Aung San Suu Kyi.” U Lwin replied, “Other ministers of Thailand said the same thing before. It didn’t happen as they said. It became a tradition.”⁵⁰

May 21 NLD team arrived at Mabein and set off to Mogok and Momeik (Mong Mit).⁵¹

Mabein Police Commander Win Htay and local authority U Sai Myint Thein reportedly ordered all boats at Shweli-Mabein jetty to dismantle the engines to prevent the use of boats to travel to Mabein. Shan state-and township-level executives wanted to use the boats to go to Mabein.⁵²

May 22 NLD team arrived in Mogok.⁵³ Almost everybody in the town came out to welcome them.⁵⁴

In Sagaing division, 3 NLD members, including 1 MP, Win Myint Maung, Win Maung and Tin Hlaing, were jailed and given 2 year sentences for saying publicly that “dictatorship does not exist in democracy.” They were charged under a law that prohibits making a statement “likely to cause fear or alarm to the public.”⁵⁵

May 24 War Office in Rangoon issued a directive putting all armed organizations in the country on a state of emergency.⁵⁶

May 25 In Kyidaik Pauk village, USDA members threatened civilians waiting to see the NLD team. U Lwin reported the USDA shouted, “Run for your lives or you will have to pick up your own corpses.”⁵⁷

More than 100 USDA members wielded sticks, knives, and catapults. A brick was thrown at Daw Suu’s car and 1 NLD member was injured in the head, apparently hit by something fired from a slingshot.⁵⁸

Prisoners were taken from Mandalay Prison by the Northwest Military Command based in Monywa and reportedly promised 300,000 kyat and their freedom if they assisted in attacks on the NLD.⁵⁹

May 26 SPDC Brig-Gen Than Tun, official NLD liaison, said, “It could be an exaggeration by the media. I don’t think the General [Khin Nyunt] himself would have said that,” in response to the Thai Foreign Minister’s assertion that dialogue would occur soon. NLD Spokesman U Lwin, said Brig-Gen Than Tun stopped contacting the NLD in Oct 2002.⁶⁰

Local authorities began collecting recruits, mainly criminal elements. Each recruit was promised 500 Kyat/day and meals to participate in the protests against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD. At least 3,000 recruits were gathered at the Army’s Northwest Regional Command headquarters compound.⁶¹

⁵⁰ AFP (21 May 03) Myanmar government, Aung San Suu Kyi may hold talks within weeks & DVB (21 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the generals to talk?

⁵¹ DVB (20 May 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and team left Bhamaw for Shwegu

⁵² DVB (22 May 03) “Whole town” welcomes touring Burmese democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

⁵³ DVB (22 May 03) “Whole town” welcomes touring Burmese democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

⁵⁴ DVB (22 May 03) “Whole town” welcomes touring Burmese democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

⁵⁵ AFP (24 May 03) Myanmar jails three democracy activists & AP (26 May 03) Myanmar pro-democracy activists sentenced to prison, Suu Kyi’s party reports harassment

⁵⁶ DVB (26 May 03) Burma War office places all armed organizations on state of emergency

⁵⁷ AP (26 May 03) Myanmar pro-democracy activists sentenced to prison, Suu Kyi’s party reports harassment

⁵⁸ AP (26 May 03) Myanmar pro-democracy activists sentenced to prison, Suu Kyi’s party reports harassment

⁵⁹ DVB (4 Jun 03) Criminals were used to attack the NLD

⁶⁰ Irrawaddy (27 May 03) Leaders Say No Talks with Suu Kyi

⁶¹ Kao Wao News (30 May – 10 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of the regime’s ambush on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her entourage as recounted by some escapees:

May 27 The NLD marked 13 years since the 1990 democratic election, which the SPDC refuses to honor.⁶²

In Daw Suu's speech she said, "To ignore the result of the 1990 elections is to have total disrespect for the people and is also an insult to the people...They [SPDC] have broken the legally binding promise undertaken by them. It is not for the NLD to be repeatedly asking for parliament to be convened...The political, economic and social problems facing the nation today can best be solved by convening and working through the People's Parliament. We are prepared to speedily set in motion a meaningful political dialogue."⁶³

SPDC admitted violent clashes had occurred between the NLD and 'non-supporters' during her tour of Kachin State, but dismissed them by saying the NLD must accept that some people do not support them. They told the NLD to be 'broad-minded about this and act accordingly' and warned that the NLD must not 'destabilize peace.'⁶⁴

May 28 Chairman of the All Burma Students Democratic Front Ko Than Khe, commented on the increasing food insecurity in Burma, "once Burma was the rice bowl of Asia. Now Burmese people are craving rice. They don't have anything to eat."⁶⁵ It is often said that rice security is an important factor in monitoring political risk in Burma.

Kyaw Lwin, 30 years old, assistant of a 10-wheeler truck driver, Ko Nyo, said that the Northwest Army Command requisitioned them and their truck. On May 30 – communication devices were installed and an army captain and about 50 people boarded the back of the truck. [See Anatomy of the Attack for further details]

May 29 NLD team arrived in Monywa.

Thousands of people greeted them, including dozens of Buddhist monks who 'protected' Daw Suu.⁶⁶

In Daw Suu's speech she urged the people to work for sustained democracy. "The rule of law means a system that provides security for the country and the people where everybody is equally protected within the framework of the law. But we must try hard to obtain democracy. Remember, nothing is free and nothing is easy. Democracy is not only your rights but there is also responsibility. Economics and politics are inseparable. A bad political system contributes to a bad economic system."⁶⁷

SPDC Gen Soe Win had a closed door meeting with Saw Htun, the Director-in-Charge of the USDA; Khin Ye, the Chief Inspector of Burma's Police Force; Colonel Tin Hlaing, Minister for Home Affairs; and Brigadier General Soe Naing, the commander of the Northwest Regional Command.⁶⁸ Maj-Gen Saw Tun is also reported to be a key organizer of the attack. Brig-Gen Kyaw Hsan, a secretariat member of USDA and SPDC's Minister of Information was in Sagaing Division in third week of May⁶⁹

⁶² Irrawaddy (27 May 03) Leaders Say No Talks with Suu Kyi

⁶³ AP (28 May 03) Junta accuses Suu Kyi supporters of attacking 'peaceful' opponents

⁶⁴ AFP (27 May 03) Myanmar's military junta tells opposition to accept protest

⁶⁵ Wall Street Journal (28 May 03) Fear in Burma

⁶⁶ Reuters (30 May 03) Myanmar junta says Suu Kyi causing "commotion"

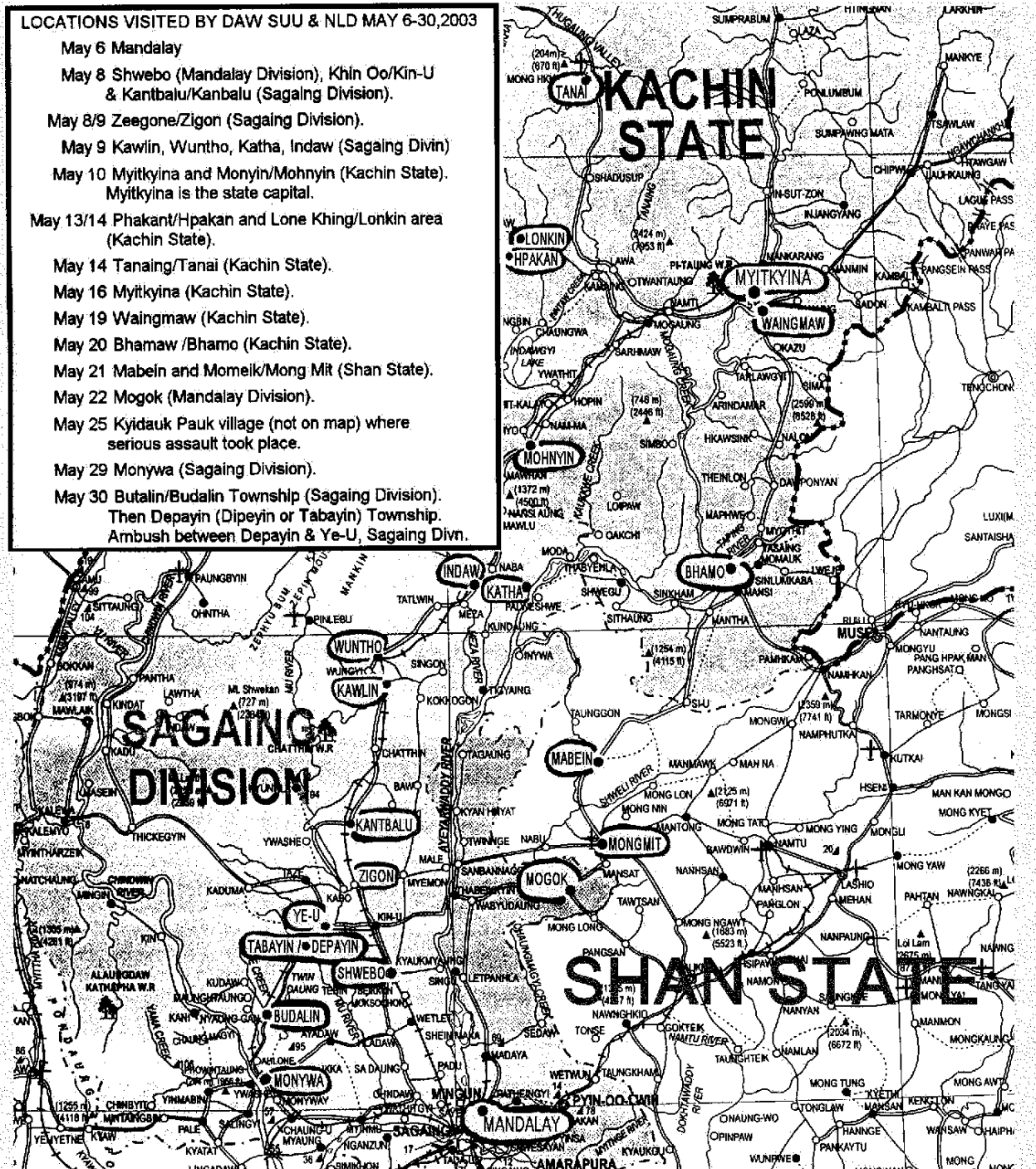
⁶⁷ DVB (1 Jun 03) Suu Kyi Urges Sustained Democracy in Monywa Rally Speech

⁶⁸ Kao Wao News (30 May – 10 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of the regime's ambush on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her entourage as recounted by some escapees

⁶⁹ Irrawaddy (9 Jun 03) Military Leaders Behind Black Friday

LOCATIONS VISITED BY DAW SUU & NLD MAY 6-30, 2003

- May 6 Mandalay
- May 8 Shwebo (Mandalay Division), Khin Oo/Kin-U & Kantbalu/Kanbalu (Sagaing Division).
- May 8/9 Zeegone/Zigon (Sagaing Division).
- May 9 Kawlin, Wuntho, Katha, Indaw (Sagaing Divin)
- May 10 Myitkyina and Monyin/Mohnyin (Kachin State). Myitkyina is the state capital.
- May 13/14 Phakant/Hpakan and Lone Khing/Lonkin area (Kachin State).
- May 14 Tanaing/Tanai (Kachin State).
- May 16 Myitkyina (Kachin State).
- May 19 Waingmaw (Kachin State).
- May 20 Bhamaw /Bhamo (Kachin State).
- May 21 Mabein and Momeik/Mong Mit (Shan State).
- May 22 Mogok (Mandalay Division).
- May 25 Kyidauk Pauk village (not on map) where serious assault took place.
- May 29 Monywa (Sagaing Division).
- May 30 Butalin/Budalin Township (Sagaing Division). Then Depayin (Dipeyin or Tabayin) Township. Ambush between Depayin & Ye-U, Sagaing Divn.



ANATOMY OF THE ATTACK

- May 30 NLD team left Monywa. NLD team arrived in Butalin (Budalin) Township.⁷⁰
 - 6:30pm USDA vehicles followed Daw Suu and the NLD team as they left Butalin for Depayin (Dipeyin or Tabayin) Township.⁷¹
- A group of motorcyclist supporters who tried to follow Aung San Suu Kyi's car were stopped between Butalin and Monywa, and about 100 police beat them. The bodies of a young monk and a student killed in the clash were taken by the police.⁷²

⁷⁰ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁷¹ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁷² Radio Free Asia (3 Jun 03) Witness Account Contradicts Junta's Reports

When they arrived at Zidawgon village located near the Northwest Military Command headquarters, a convoy of military trucks tried to block the road.⁷³

8:30pm- 12am After the team passed through Depayin, it came to a halt at Kyi (Kyi Ywa or Phaya Htwet Gan village) village, about 3 miles from Depayin, just before Ye-U because the road was blocked by huge logs. They used an alternate route through the forested area just beside the road.⁷⁴

Getting In Place

Eyewitness Ko Zaw Zaw Aung, the chief organizer of Mandalay NLD youth and former political prisoner said 3,000 – 5,000 villagers came out to welcome them, he heard or saw no signs of protest. A monk asked Daw Suu to give a speech. When told it was too late, the monk insisted. Htun Zaw Zaw, a close aide to Daw Suu, got out of the car to talk to the monk. USDA members who were following the convoy began to attack the villagers who were standing nearby.⁷⁵

Hungry Wolves

Trucks loaded with 500-1,000 USDA members, police, men dressed as monks, armed soldiers, and prisoners from Mandalay Prison continued to arrive. They attacked hundreds of unarmed NLD supporters, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and the NLD team's 20 cars and 25 motorcycles with gun-fire, sharpened bamboo stakes between two and three feet long, catapults, steel and iron pipes⁷⁶

Zaw Zaw Aung said the attackers shouted "This person is not dead yet, keep on beating," and "We build roads and bridges. What has your Aung San Suu Kyi done for the country?"⁷⁷ A female NLD youth member said she saw 2 people beaten to death, Thein Toe Aye and the other she did not know. She said one attacker shouted, "if you don't want to be beaten, just pretend to be dead. If you move we will just have to continue beating you."⁷⁸

Students who had been following the NLD team began collecting bricks and rocks from the side of the road to defend themselves. NLD leaders called on the supporters not to react.⁷⁹

The SPDC-organised group attacked and beat the NLD members in their cars and supporters who were trying to protect them. The windows of the car Daw Suu was riding in were broken and they attacked her with sticks before her driver was able to drive the car off towards Depayin.⁸⁰ (When Razali saw Daw Suu 11 days later, there were no visible signs of injury).

NLD Vice Chairman U Tin U was reportedly beaten up. (ICRC officials who saw him over 3 weeks later reported he was well).

Some people, including female NLD members were stripped and left naked.⁸¹ USDA members shouted insults like "Are you protecting the wife of *Kala*?" (A derogatory term for South Asians, Indians and Muslims in Burma and an insult for Westerners.)⁸²

⁷³ NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

⁷⁴ NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

⁷⁵ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday & DVB (14 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of Black Friday – originally from NLD-LA Australia

⁷⁶ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation's military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down. & NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

⁷⁷ DVB (14 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of Black Friday

⁷⁸ NCGUB (21 Jun 03) Eye witness account given by a NLD female youth member of the 30th May massacre

⁷⁹ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁸⁰ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁸¹ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁸² Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

Some NLD members ran towards Depayin, but more USDA members were waiting for them in town.⁸³ Nails were planted on the road and tires were shot to prevent people from following the NLD members.

The people of Depayin came out and chanted, “Long Live Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.” USDA issued a curfew and military and local army units confronted the villagers.⁸⁴

The situation remained ‘volatile’ for about 2 hours.⁸⁵

12:45am (May 31) members of the police force, fire brigade, and local authorities put the wounded and dead bodies into vehicles. They pushed cars into ditches to clean up the scene of the attack.⁸⁶

Assistant Truck Drivers Account

At 7pm, truck drivers Kyaw Lwin and Ko Nyo were ordered to drive an army captain and about 50 people close to Depayin. They saw 10 other 10-wheeler trucks and crowds of people being beaten. The army captain ordered the people to go and attack the crowds. Kyaw Lwin said he was ordered to carry 17 beaten bodies into the truck and drive to Ahlone Village where they dropped the 17 bodies on the road and went back to the army compound. At the compound they had a feast and were given 30,000kyats/each (US\$30).⁸⁷

THE AFTERMATH

SPDC said Daw Suu and at least 18 other NLD members were taken into ‘protective custody’ to ‘ensure her safety and for the sake of national security.’⁸⁸

SPDC Labor Minister Tin Win told reporters, “These incidents happened because Aung San Suu Kyi had taken advantage of her party organizational trip to campaign publicly, thereby making many people resent her actions.”⁸⁹

Sr-Gen Than Shwe put off the Jun 1 quarterly meeting of the SPDC and ordered the SPDC regional commands to remain on high alert.⁹⁰

Jun 1 – The state-run newspaper (New Light of Myanmar) rationalized the events as the NLD “made attempts to organize people to come out in crowds and made political speeches at every opportunity” and that “Their acts violated traffic rules.”⁹¹ On Jun 3 it said, “If they went straight to party branch offices, met township party members at different levels and put up party signboards there would be no problem.”⁹²

The SPDC reported that it was the NLD’s fault that 4 people were killed and 50 injured.⁹³

THE INVESTIGATION

Jun 5 - 2 US Embassy staff returned from a visit to the scene of the attack. They found signs of ‘great violence’ and found considerable debris along the road, including numerous pieces of torn and bloody

⁸³ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁸⁴ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

⁸⁵ DVB (14 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of Black Friday – originally from NLD-LA Australia

⁸⁶ DVB (14 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of Black Friday – originally from NLD-LA Australia

⁸⁷ NCGUB (16 Jun 03) The Truth revealed by Truck driver’s assistant

⁸⁸ Washington Post (10 Jun 03) Where Is She?

⁸⁹ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation’s military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down.

⁹⁰ Kao Wao News (30 May – 10 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of the regime’s ambush on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her entourage as recounted by some escapees

⁹¹ Washington Post (3 Jun 03) Crackdown in Burma

⁹² New Light of Myanmar (3 Jun 03) Do not nip fruits of democracy in the bud

⁹³ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation’s military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down.

clothing, numerous weapons, and smashed headlights and mirrors. They believe the attack was premeditated. “Clearly, orders were given for a violent attack” and that the weapons were “clearly prepared before the fact.” They believe far more people may have died than the SPDC reported.⁹⁴

Damage control:

Jun 1 – Reopening of universities and schools from summer break was delayed indefinitely.⁹⁵

Jun 2 - All colleges under the Education Ministry and the Science and Technology Ministry were covered by the order to close but those under the Health and Transportation Ministries were not.⁹⁶

Jun 2 – Reported that the scheduled reopening of primary and high schools, which was earlier delayed is postponed until Jul 1 instead of Jun 16.⁹⁷

Jun 3 - Brig-Gen Than Tun, said “the dialogue process would not be affected by the latest incidents.”⁹⁸

Jun 3 - Reported that SPDC Deputy Foreign Minister Khin Maung Wing told diplomats that Daw Suu “was not hurt at all.”⁹⁹ He blamed NLD members for ‘provoking’ the violence that led to their detention, but declared the SPDC remained committed to political reconciliation.¹⁰⁰

Jun 4 - Diplomats confirmed that Daw Suu suffered a facial wound and an injured shoulder and is being held at Yemon military camp about 25 miles outside of Rangoon.¹⁰¹

Jun 5 – SPDC Ambassador to Britain Kyaw Win said, “There is no evidence we are worried about sanctions. Not that we want them, but we are not afraid of them either because we have lived for 26 years on our own before, and we have very good neighbors around us and we can simply trade and exchange relations with our close, good neighbors.”¹⁰²

Jun 10 – Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs U Khin Maung Win hailed the SPDC’s cooperation with Razali and told diplomats that the “safe custody measures instituted are temporary and that they will be lifted as soon as the situation returns to normal.” He said an investigation is being done by the Police Department under the Ministry of Home Affairs. He said the NLD incited the violence by “attempting to plow through the crowd that was blocking the road.” He said, “categorically that allegations that the attack was premeditated are unfounded.”¹⁰³

June 16 – Just before the ASEAN Regional Forum, universities and schools were reopened.

CASUALTIES:

NCGUB reported that an estimated 70 people were killed and 200 injured.¹⁰⁴ Reported that most of the casualties were students. A Buddhist abbot from Monywa is reported dead and an NLD photographer was

⁹⁴ AP (5 Jun 03) Clash between followers of Myanmar opposition leader, pro-government supporters appears premeditated: U.S. official & Bangkok Post (8 Jun 03) Attack on Burmese Activist Seen as Work of Military

⁹⁵ VOA (2 Jun 03) Burma Closes Universities and Opposition Offices

⁹⁶ Nation (3 Jun 03) Suu Kyi seriously hurt: report

⁹⁷ AP (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Suspends University Classes

⁹⁸ Bangkok Post (3 Jun 03) Suu Kyi detention points to widening military split The ruling junta is said to be divided over how to deal with Aung San Suu Kyi, and so the hard-liners have decided to up the ante. – Larry Jagan

⁹⁹ Independent (4 Jun 03) Burma refuses to release Suu Kyi

¹⁰⁰ AP (3 Jun 03) Myanmar Says Suu Kyi Is Safe in Custody & Washington Post (5 Jun 03) Suu Kyi Injured, Diplomats Confirm Clash on Friday Left Burmese Activist With Face and Shoulder Wounds

¹⁰¹ Washington Post (5 Jun 03) Suu Kyi Injured, Diplomats Confirm Clash on Friday Left Burmese Activist With Face and Shoulder Wounds

¹⁰² Scoop Media (6 Jun 03) Burma Sanctions Effort Blunted By China, India

¹⁰³ Myanmar Information Committee (10 Jun 03) Press Conference

¹⁰⁴ NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

shot.¹⁰⁵ The number of deaths were later reduced to 8, by the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners Burma (AAPPB)¹⁰⁶.

May 31 - Citizens from Monywa went to the USDA office and were brutally beaten by the Army, USDA, police, and members of other services. Reverend U Panna Thiri, while trying to mediate, was killed along with a student. Another student was seriously injured and later died. The SPDC and USDA officials took the bodies of the students.¹⁰⁷

May 31 - Sources in the Northwest Military Command said 65 bodies were secretly cremated in the compound.¹⁰⁸

The Northwest Military Command to Prison Service said 32 prisoners died while ‘carrying out their duty.’ (attacking the NLD and their supporters)¹⁰⁹

MISSING:

More than 150 NLD members and supporters are missing. Amnesty International reported 45 names of NLD members reported missing (15 are youth members) and at least 55 others whose names are not known are presumed missing as well.¹¹⁰ It is believed that most were arrested and taken to the Northwest Military Command Headquarters in Monywa.¹¹¹ On June 24, the AAPPB listed the names of 94 disappeared.¹¹²

ARRESTED:

There continue to be reports of ongoing arrests, even as the regime claims that it has released some detainees. Various lists have been circulated since Black Friday, the most recent being AAPP’s list of June 23, where the 51 civilians plus 10 MPs were listed as arrested (see appendix).

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi & U Tin U

They have both been in SPDC custody since May 30 but the regime will not announce where they are being held or under what charges.

U Tin U is being held in Kale [Kalay] Prison in Sagaing division, near the India border.¹¹³ There had been conflicting reports about his location, and well-being.¹¹⁴ The ICRC was finally allowed to briefly meet U Tin U more than 3 weeks after the attack and reported that “he is in good health”.¹¹⁵

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is being detained under section 10(a) of Burma’s 1975 State Protection Act. The statute allows the detention anyone who is suspected of committing, or planning to commit, an act which endangers the security of the state for up to five years without trial. Secretary of AAPPB Ko Tate says: “The detention of her [Suu Kyi] under 10(a) means that she is a destructive element. That is totally in contrast with the junta’s words that they are protecting her from personal danger.”¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁵ Irrawaddy (2 Jun 03) NLD Members Missing

¹⁰⁶ Reuters (24 Jun 03) Myanmar exiles say 8 dead, 94 missing in May clash

¹⁰⁷ NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

¹⁰⁸ NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

¹⁰⁹ DVB (4 Jun 03) Criminals were used to attack the NLD

¹¹⁰ Amnesty International (Jun 2003) Myanmar: End Crackdown Now

¹¹¹ NCGUB News Desk (1 Jun 03) Scores Killed in Junta Attack on NLD Motorcade

¹¹² Reuters June 24 2003 Myanmar exiles say 8 dead, 94 missing in May clash

¹¹³ AFP (16 Jun 03) Myanmar says 46 detained in May 30 violence have been released

¹¹⁴ DVB (21 Jun 03) U Tin Oo and some political prisoners who were detained in Kale [Kalay] Prison, Sagaing Division were transferred to Mandalay-Ohpho Prison

¹¹⁵ Associated Press (24 Jun 03) Tin Oo alive, not hurt

¹¹⁶ Irrawaddy (18 Jun 03) Suu Kyi Held Under State Protection Act

Jailing Daw Suu is designed to increase the anxiety and panic among the pro-democracy movement and also in the international community. It is part of an orchestrated move to deflect international attention from democratic reform in Burma, forcing them instead to focus on freeing Aung San Suu Kyi.¹¹⁷

Despite Razali's claim that she was not injured, it was reconfirmed on June 23 that she was injured on the right side of her head and shoulder.¹¹⁸

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is thought to be in a 2-room hut in Insein Prison. Police officer lieutenant Daw Win Win Maw, Sergeant Daw Aye Min, police personal Daw Myint and Daw Chaw Su are her wardens.¹¹⁹ Ko Aung, a former political prisoner said Insein was known as the "darkest hell-hole in Burma." On June 24, Japan's Deputy Foreign Minister Tetsuro Yano said Gen Khin Nyunt made it clear to him that Aung San Suu Kyi was not being held in Insein jail and the Minister of Interior, Tin Hlaing, said no legal measures have been taken towards her. However, they also refused to say where she was being held.¹²⁰

U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan said he "considers the conditions under which she is being held - incommunicado and without charge - to be truly deplorable."¹²¹

Arrests of Pro-Democracy Advocates

May 29 – Sagaing Division NLD Chairman, U Kyaw San's prison sentence was extended for the 2nd time for 2 more months.¹²²

May 30 - Tin Aung Aung NLD MP-elect for Mandalay Northwest constituency-1, Mandalay Division.¹²³

May 31 - Thet Htun Oo (from Laeway, an NLD MP), Aung Soe (from the NLD's Mandalay Division Organizing Committee) and Hla Oo (from Amarapura, Mandalay).¹²⁴

May 31 - The Buddhist abbot of Phone Daw Pwint Pagoda in Karenni State U Andastiya was arrested by Lieutenant Colonel Htin Kyaw and U Myo Aung with the charge of having contact with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.¹²⁵

May 31 - About 60 NLD members who had hid from the attackers returned to the site of the clash and regrouped after sunrise. Army, police and local officials arrived and took most of them away in a truck.¹²⁶

Jun 3 - Three elected Members of Parliament that joined the Committee Representing People's Parliament (CRPP) in December 2002 were arrested by the Military Intelligence. U Hla Maung, chairman of Patriotic Old Comrades League and U Soe Win, chairman of Party for National Democracy.¹²⁷ Thein Oo, PND MP-elect for Oak Twin constituency-1, Pegu Division.¹²⁸

Jun 3 - 3 NLD leaders, chairman, the vice-chairman and another chairman from Mogok, who acted as master of ceremony at signboard raising ceremonies were arrested.¹²⁹

Jun 3 - Myint Kyi, NLD MP-elect for Ka Thar constituency, Sagaing Division.¹³⁰

¹¹⁷ BBC (20 Jun 03) Inside Burma's Insein jail

¹¹⁸ Asian Tribune (24 Jun 03) The Update information about Daw Aung San Su Kyi

¹¹⁹ Asian Tribune (24 Jun 03) The Update information about Daw Aung San Su Kyi

¹²⁰ Advertiser (24 Jun 03) Suu Kyi not at infamous jail: junta

¹²¹ DPA (23 Jun 03) Annan: Myanmar opposition leader kept in deplorable conditions

¹²² DVB (13 Jun 03) Sagaing Division NLD chairman given more sentences

¹²³ Members of Parliament Union (9 Jun 03) More arrest of MPs-elect

¹²⁴ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

¹²⁵ DVB (4 Jun 03) More NLD members arrested

¹²⁶ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

¹²⁷ DVB (6 Jun 03) Two members of the CRPP arrested

¹²⁸ Members of Parliament Union (9 Jun 03) More arrest of MPs-elect

¹²⁹ DVB (4 Jun 03) More NLD members arrested

¹³⁰ Members of Parliament Union (9 Jun 03) More arrest of MPs-elect

Jun 4 - Paw Khin, NLD MP-elect for Myin Gyan constituency-1, Mandalay Division.¹³¹

Jun 5 - Authorities have arrested at least 6 of 50 protestors for staging two protests in Bassein, Irrawaddy Division.¹³²

Jun 8 – 128 of the political prisoners arrested were transferred to Insein Prison in Rangoon from Mandalay, Sagaing, Shwebo, and Monywa Prisons.¹³³

Jun 9 – At least 10 youth, including NLD members were arrested in Kawthaung by military intelligence.¹³⁴

June 14 - Military intelligence arrested a NLD youth member and the NLD secretary from Matupi Township, Chin State.¹³⁵

June 16 - 6 NLD youth from Dalla Township in Rangoon Division were arrested and taken in for questioning by the military intelligence. Another NLD youth from South Okkalapa Township was also arrested.¹³⁶

Sagaing Division NLD Secretary U Kyaw Thaung was arrested by military intelligence personnel.¹³⁷

Win Mya Mya, an NLD member from Mandalay, was arrested by local army officer Capt Aung Naing.¹³⁸

U Marit Hla Seng, the chief organiser of Kachin State NLD, the secretary U Naing Zaw Win and U Mran Paukla were arrested. Mandalay Division NLD chairman U Bo San was also arrested.¹³⁹

Most of the NLD officials in the Myitkyina, have reportedly been arrested by the Northern Command.¹⁴⁰

House arrest: U Aung Shwe, NLD Chairman, U Lwin, U Than Tun, U Nyunt Wai, U Lun Tin, U Hla Pe, and U Soe Myint.¹⁴¹

DETAINED:

At least 17 NLD members are being detained at Khamti (Hkamti) Prison which is in a remote location in northern Burma. Thet Htun; Bo Thaw; Thiha; Myo Zaw Aung; Htun Zaw Zaw; Myint Kyaw; Min Lwin; Toe Lwin; Than Tun (from Mandalay); Tun Myint; Zaw Win Htun; Aung Kyaw Myint; Myo Min; Kyaw Soe Lin; Myo Nyunt; Myint Ngwe; Than Tun (from Rangoon); Aung Kyaw Kyaw Oo.¹⁴²

NCUB said that Military Intelligence is torturing those detained at Khamti to confess that the 30 May incident was not an ambush but a fight between NLD supporters and those opposed to the NLD.¹⁴³

The people who were attacked at Depeyin are still being detained at the Northwest Military Command at Monywa. those who were slightly injured were sent to Insein Prison via Mandalay Prison, according people close to prison authorities.¹⁴⁴

¹³¹ Members of Parliament Union (9 Jun 03) More arrest of MPs-elect

¹³² DVB (7 Jun 03) Pro-Daw Aung San Suu Kyi protest in Bassein

¹³³ DVB (9 Jun 03) AAPP announced the names of the wounded and the dead

¹³⁴ DVB (9 Jun 03) AAPP announced the names of the wounded and the dead

¹³⁵ DVB (21 Jun 03) Burmese opposition radio reports further arrests of NLD supporters

¹³⁶ DVB (21 Jun 03) Burmese opposition radio reports further arrests of NLD supporters

¹³⁷ DVB (7 Jun 03) Sagaing Division NLD secretary arrested

¹³⁸ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday

¹³⁹ DVB (9 Jun 03) AAPP announced the names of the wounded and the dead

¹⁴⁰ Irrawaddy (5 Jun 03) Crackdown Escalates

¹⁴¹ AAPPB (3 Jun 03) Urgent Release

¹⁴² Network for Democracy and Development (4 Jun 03) The NDD calls for immediate intervention to prevent another massacre in Burma & AAPPB (3 Jun 03) Urgent Release

¹⁴³ National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (13 Jun 03) Press Release

¹⁴⁴ DVB (14 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of Black Friday

RELEASED:

June 16 - SPDC said they released 46 people detained from May 30 incident.¹⁴⁵ ICRC head in Burma, Michel Ducraux said the ICRC had been told that a “first batch of 22 persons called in for questioning had been released,” but had no further information.¹⁴⁶

The 46 people, thought to be students, were arrested between Monywa and Dipeyin while accompanying the NLD motorcade.¹⁴⁷

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC)

June 22 – 6 member ICRC began a 1 ½ week tour in Mandalay. "We have got guarantees from the Myanmar authorities that they will have access to the newly detained persons," said ICRC official Alfredo Mallet. " They expect to see U Tin U but their request to see Daw Suu was denied."¹⁴⁸

ICRC declined to indicate how many political prisoners have been detained in reference to May 30 as they will not have a clear picture until they finish their tour.¹⁴⁹

June 20 - U Tin U and some political prisoners who were detained in Kale [Kalay] Prison, Sagaing Division were transferred to Mandalay-Ohpho Prison – probably because of the ICRC visit.¹⁵⁰

ENSUING CRACKDOWN

May 30 was not an isolated incident, but rather the start of a crackdown intended to eliminate the democracy movement, including the NLD, in Burma.

Win Aung said, “We were very much concerned that the days of anarchy of 1988 will be back... We are not sure what is the motives of these young militants, young people roaming all over the place... and young monks too. We have to clear up, clear up means that what is the real intention behind all these activities. And if the situation is really leading towards anarchic days of past then we might (find) it very difficult to come back.”¹⁵¹

Debbie Stothard, Altsean-Burma Coordinator said, “The main goal of the international community will now be securing Aung San Suu Kyi's release, rather than political and economic reforms. We're back at square one. At this stage she is a very valuable hostage to the regime and they are upping the ante to increase the potential ransom.”¹⁵²

Jun 4 & 6 – Local authorities summoned people in Rangoon and Dagon Siekkan townships, and told them to prepare for protests against the NLD when necessary.¹⁵³

June 14 – NCUB reported that the SPDC ordered police and army officials to be on alert to put down a nation-wide uprising and to shoot if necessary.¹⁵⁴

June 14 – Reported that The Chairman of Twante Township local authority, Rangoon Division, is recruiting 100 people a day and giving them anti-riot trainings.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁵ AFP (16 Jun 03) Myanmar says 46 detained in May 30 violence have been released

¹⁴⁶ AP (16 Jun 03) International Red Cross expects access to detained Myanmar opposition leader soon

¹⁴⁷ DVB (14 Jun 03) Eyewitness accounts of Black Friday

¹⁴⁸ HI Pakistan (23 Jun 03) ICRC team in Myanmar to meet political detainees -- Detail Story

¹⁴⁹ HI Pakistan (23 Jun 03) ICRC team in Myanmar to meet political detainees -- Detail Story

¹⁵⁰ DVB (21 Jun 03) U Tin Oo and some political prisoners who were detained in Kale [Kalay] Prison, Sagaing Division were transferred to Mandalay-Ohpho Prison

¹⁵¹ Reuters (19 Jun 03) Myanmar silent on Suu Kyi release

¹⁵² AFP (20 Jun 03) Britain's claims on Suu Kyi's dire conditions in Myanmar sparks outrage

¹⁵³ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Regime Organizes More NLD Attacks

¹⁵⁴ DVB (14 Jun 03) Detainees tortured - NCUB

¹⁵⁵ DVB (14 Jun 03) Detainees tortured - NCUB

June 23 – Reported that Win Aung said the clash as an outcome of Suu Kyi's failure to cooperate with the SPDC's peace-making gestures. "When the government demonstrated its willingness to cooperate, she did not reciprocate. She refused to scale down calls for pressure at home and abroad. She even opposed assistance offered to Myanmar by friendly countries."¹⁵⁶

The SPDC has cut the phone lines of residents near where the incident occurred and the phones of NLD, CRPP, and Thakhin Thein Pe members.¹⁵⁷ Vehicles are still being prevented from passing through Monywa and Depayin.¹⁵⁸

Most NLD offices throughout the country have been closed.¹⁵⁹ Brig-Gen Than Tun said the NLD headquarters would remain closed "until the present problem is solved."¹⁶⁰

SPDC has dramatically increased military presence in Rangoon. "The military intelligence agents and their informers are spreading everywhere."¹⁶¹ Locals report that soldiers are stationed off the main roads in Rangoon in readiness for any protest that may occur.

In response to a fear that witnesses of the May 30 clash are crossing the Thai-Burma border at Tachilek, SPDC authorities are conducting a house-by-house search for unregistered guests.¹⁶²

Reported that former political prisoners under age 40 years are frequently being summoned and threatened by the military intelligence.¹⁶³

Lu Maw one of the Moustache Brothers, famous satire comedians, said a sense of fear that now exists within Burma's opposition movement, "Everyone's running, hiding out, keeping a low profile. No-one wants to hear that knock on the door in the middle of the night." He said Daw Suu's support base had widened considerably in recent months, that more and more Buddhist monks were backing her and that the junta was terrified they'd link up with student activists to try and bring about change.¹⁶⁴

A Bit of Tension

Reportedly fighting occurred between soldiers in battalion No. 232 of Sittwe, Arakan State on June 12. It began as a dispute about the current political situation and escalated into gun fighting. 3 soldiers were seriously wounded and 6 pro-NLD soldiers were suspended from their duty and kept them in the camp.¹⁶⁵

RAZALI VISIT (June 6-10)

UN Special Envoy Razali Ismail visited Rangoon June 6 –10 and was unable to fulfil his mandate to facilitate political dialogue. This was because the SPDC successfully hijacked the agenda so that Mr Razali's efforts were mainly focused on obtaining a meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The drama and suspense was no longer about whether Daw Suu and her entourage would be released, but whether Razali would meet the Lady.

US Senator Mitch McConnell lashed out at Razali saying, "He failed to secure Suu Kyi's release, and I am surprised that he did not say more to condemn the outrageous actions of the thugs in Rangoon. In the

¹⁵⁶ DPA (23 Jun 03) Myanmar junta blames Suu Kyi for breakdown of reconciliation

¹⁵⁷ Radio Free Asia (3 Jun 03) Witness Account Contradicts Junta's Reports

¹⁵⁸ Irrawaddy (6 Jun 03) Eyewitness Tells of Bloody Friday & DVB (17 Jun 03) Interview with Thakhin Thein Pe

¹⁵⁹ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation's military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down.

¹⁶⁰ LA Times (2 Jun 03) Myanmar Cracks Down on Opposition; Nation's military rulers hold pro-democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi for a third day. Party offices and universities are shut down

¹⁶¹ AFP (8 Jun 03) Outrage over Suu Kyi but Myanmar people too beaten down to protest

¹⁶² Irrawaddy (16 Jun 03) Suu Kyi's Disposition in Question

¹⁶³ DVB (21 Jun 03) Burmese opposition radio reports further arrests of NLD supporters

¹⁶⁴ BBC (21 Jun 03) Searching for answers in Burma

¹⁶⁵ Kaladan (22 Jun 03) Fighting Between Pro- NLD And Anti- NLD Soldiers

future, it might behoove Razali to temper his enthusiastic comments to more accurately reflect the climate of fear in Burma.”¹⁶⁶

Meeting Daw Suu

Mr Razali’s snatched 30 minutes with the NLD leader at a military location under close military supervision, however this was far from satisfactory. He refused to engage in a condemnation of the SPDC’s murderous ambush and crackdown but merely insisted that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was unhurt. According to the BBC and the Irrawaddy, Razali had not directly asked Daw Suu whether she had been harmed in the incident – he simply said she was unhurt because he saw no obvious signs of injury. The UN Envoy also supported the SPDC line that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi needed to be in protective custody.

Daw Suu asked Razali, “What peace have I disturbed? They [the regime] are the ones who blocked the car. They’re the ones who came in and did all these things.”¹⁶⁷ She told him they tried to smash the windows of her car but she was protected by her people.¹⁶⁸

Meeting Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum

Mr Razali was able to spend an hour each with SPDC Deputy Chair General Maung Aye and Secretary-1 General Khin Nyunt, who gave him the same old assurances that they supported reforms and wanted to release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Sr-Gen Than Shwe merely snubbed Razali by going to a seaside resort in Arakan State.

While Mr Razali obviously needs to play a diplomatic game in order to maintain his standing with the SPDC, the immediate outcomes of his visit have not been decisive. Rather, it merely established that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi remains in detention and that Sr-Gen Than Shwe, who holds all the cards, has no interest in the engagement with the UN process.

Than Shwe

Than Shwe is ultimately responsible for the murderous ambush on NLD leaders Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, U Tin U, and their entourage and the ensuing crackdown. He did this because he was confident that Asean, India and China would help his regime weather criticism, and continue to supply him with weapons.

Essentially, while Mr Razali was running around Rangoon trying to meet Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Sr-Gen Than Shwe was at the beach, thumbing his nose at the international community.

Calling for Backup

Razali said his next task is to “get her out” but “I cannot do the job on my own. I have to have support. Regional players must come into action” and “The Americans have a big role to play.”¹⁶⁹

Razali will visit Japan from June 24-26 and will meet with Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi.¹⁷⁰

THE INITIAL INTERNATIONAL OUTCRY

GOVERNMENTS

U.S. – Has led the international condemnation of the SPDC. The U.S. State Department called the NLD members detention in isolation “outrageous and unacceptable” and called for the SPDC to “provide a full

¹⁶⁶ Washington Post (14 Jun 03) Envoy Sees Chance of Burma Talks & Irrawaddy (16 Jun 03) Suu Kyi’s Disposition in Question

¹⁶⁷ Irrawaddy (16 Jun 03) Suu Kyi’s Disposition in Question

¹⁶⁸ Washington Post (14 Jun 03) Envoy Sees Chance of Burma Talks

¹⁶⁹ Manila Times (16 Jun 03) Burma’s generals harden with a smile, USA is angry and punitive and Suu Kyi and friends face bleaker prospects

¹⁷⁰ Kyodo (20 Jun 03) UN Envoy On Burma To Visit Japan 24-26 June

accounting of the dead, injured, and missing.”¹⁷¹ President Bush said he was “deeply concerned” about the detention of NLD members and closure of their offices.¹⁷² U.S. envoys in at least 11 countries have sought to encourage governments to pressure the SPDC to release Daw Suu, especially China and Thailand.¹⁷³ Tough new legislation for new trade sanctions, travel restrictions and asset freeze on SPDC and USDA members is widely supported and is being pushed by Congressman Lantos and Senator McConnell. Senator McCain called the SPDC’s action “An assault on freedom” and called for “forceful condemnation and concrete sanctions.”¹⁷⁴

U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell said, “Despite initial statements last year, the junta -- which shamelessly calls itself the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) -- has now refused his efforts and betrayed its own promises.” He called for action saying, “Our response must be equally clear if the thugs who now rule Burma are to understand that their failure to restore democracy will only bring more and more pressure against them and their supporters...we should further limit commerce with Burma which enriches the junta's generals.”¹⁷⁵

JAPAN – The government said they are following the events with “concern” and “hopes that the government of Myanmar...will swiftly normalize the situation, including ensuring freedom of political activities.”¹⁷⁶

INDIA - Navtej Sarna, spokesman for the Ministry of External Affairs, said, “India believes that the solution to internal problems must come from within and that external pressure can be counter-productive.”¹⁷⁷

EU – High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana said, “Harassment and intimidation of political opponents are totally inconsistent with the Government’s earlier promises to move towards dialogue with the opposition.” He said it will “most certainly” result in EU applying further sanctions.¹⁷⁸ EU Parliament condemned the NLD detentions and “demands that the SDC immediately cease its practice of perpetrating extrajudicial killings, systemic rape and political intimidation against the Burmese people, and calls for the first credible steps towards the restoration of democracy in Burma to be taken.” Calls on the EU Council to immediately extend sanctions and to place the situation in Burma on the agenda of the next ASEM Foreign Ministers' meeting on 23-24 Jul.¹⁷⁹

GERMANY - Foreign Ministry spokesman Walter Lindner said Germany expects “the leadership in Myanmar to take all necessary steps toward restoring the unimpeded political work of the NLD, and to restore freedom of movement.”¹⁸⁰

CHINA – Foreign Ministry spokesman Kong Quan said, “The Chinese side believes that what happened in Myanmar lately is an issue between the Myanmar government and its opposition parties. We believe the people of Myanmar are able to handle their own affairs well.”¹⁸¹

UK - British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said he is “deeply worried” and called for a ‘thorough investigation...and those responsible are held to account.’ He said that unless Razali was granted access and there were steps to free Daw Suu, the regime “must recognize that there will be consequences.”¹⁸² Foreign Minister Mike O’Brien said he was “alarmed by persistent, credible reports that the UDSA, and

¹⁷¹ U.S. Department of State (5 Jun 03) Statement by Philip T. Reeker, Deputy Spokesman

¹⁷² The White House (2 Jun 03) Statement by the President on Burma

¹⁷³ Washington Post Foreign Service (9 Jun 03) U.S. Presses for Suu Kyi’s Release

¹⁷⁴ Washington Post (3 Jun 03) Crackdown in Burma

¹⁷⁵ Wall Street Journal (12 Jun 03) It’s Time to Turn the Tables On Burma’s Thugs

¹⁷⁶ AFP (2 Jun 03) Japan calls on Myanmar to ensure political freedom after Suu Kyi detained

¹⁷⁷ Washington Post Foreign Service (9 Jun 03) U.S. Presses for Suu Kyi’s Release

¹⁷⁸ EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, urges the release of Aung San Suu Kyi

¹⁷⁹ European Parliament (5 Jun 03) European Parliament resolution on the arrest of Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma

¹⁸⁰ AP (2 Jun 03) Myanmar officials turn away university students after Suu Kyi detention

¹⁸¹ Xinhua (10 Jun 03) China believes Myanmar can handle internal affairs well

¹⁸² FCO Press Office (5 Jun 03) Burma: Straw’s Grave Concern & The Age (7 Jun 03) US demands access to Suu Kyi

other groups supported by the military regime, have been inciting local people into protests against the NLD” and called for their immediate release.¹⁸³

AUSTRALIA - Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer called on the SPDC to “step back from its regrettable actions...and commit itself to a genuine process of national reconciliation” beginning with Razali’s visit.¹⁸⁴ Australia has agreed to suspend its ‘absurd and costly’ human rights training programs for low-level regime officials.¹⁸⁵

MALAYSIA – Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad said, “We have made our stand known that Aung San Suu Kyi is to be released immediately.” He further said that this recent development in Myanmar might also have some effect on ASEAN.¹⁸⁶ Malaysian Foreign Minister Syed Hamid Albar said this week, “Whether we like it or not, it is an internal affair of Myanmar but it (Suu Kyi’s detention) has implications for the region.”¹⁸⁷

THAILAND – Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra said the “whole world is concerned, but I think the Myanmar government understands that. The Myanmar government will probably have to do something to bring everything back to normal as soon as possible.”¹⁸⁸ Thaksin said a government member had talked with the SPDC to urge the immediate release of Daw Suu, “so that the process of national reconciliation could proceed.”¹⁸⁹ Sihasak Phuanketkaew, spokesman for the Thai Foreign Ministry said, “We believe that talking with the regime, cooperation -- that’s the best approach.”¹⁹⁰

On June 11 Thaksin and US President Bush called for “an immediate substantive political dialogue” in Burma.¹⁹¹

PHILIPPINES – Foreign Secretary Blas Ople said the situation in Burma is “very murky” and invited the SPDC ambassador to “clarify the situation.” He said, “You can expect the foreign ministers of Myanmar will be subjected to intense questioning in the ASEAN ministerial meeting.”¹⁹²

ITALY - Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs Margherita Boniver said the action was ‘planned well beforehand’ and said this was a ‘dangerous setback’ for Burma. She said the European Troika visit planned after Italy assumes the presidency on Jul 1 will probably be cancelled if the NLD members are not released.¹⁹³

BANGLADESH - Foreign Minister M Morshed Khan said they don’t want to interfere in other countries internal affairs, but he hoped Burma would find a better way to resolve their problems.¹⁹⁴

SOUTH KOREA – Government called for the immediate release of NLD members and an “early normalization of NLD activities.” They encouraged dialogue that will lead to a “peaceful and smooth transition to democracy.”¹⁹⁵

CANADA – Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Graham confronted the SPDC ambassador at a diplomatic gathering. He called the situation “completely unacceptable and worrisome.”¹⁹⁶

¹⁸³ SEAD Foreign and Commonwealth Office (1 Jun 03) O’Brien calls for immediate release of Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi

¹⁸⁴ Australia Foreign Affairs Media Release (5 Jun 03) Visit to Burma by UNSG Special Envoy

¹⁸⁵ The Age (7 Jun 03) Riot fallout plunges Burma deeper into crisis

¹⁸⁶ Bernama (10 Jun 03) MALAYSIAN PREMIER URGES IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF BURMA’S AUNG SAN SUU KYI

¹⁸⁷ Kyodo (12 Jun 03) ASEAN ministers to call for Suu Kyi’s release

¹⁸⁸ AP (2 Jun 03) Thai leaders says ‘whole world’ concerned over Myanmar crackdown

¹⁸⁹ Nation (8 Jun 03) Thailand calls for release of Suu Kyi

¹⁹⁰ Washington Post (10 Jun 03) U.S. Asks Burma’s Neighbors to Pressure Junta to Release Suu Kyi

¹⁹¹ RFA (13 Jun 03) Bush Watching Burma Closely: Pentagon Official ‘We are deeply concerned’

¹⁹² AFP (6 Jun 03) Gov’t invites Myanmar envoy on Aung San Suu Kyi Arrest

¹⁹³ Italian Foreign Ministry (2 Jun 03) Myanmar: A dangerous setback, a premeditated action that has jeopardized hopes for future dialogue, says Boniver

¹⁹⁴ Narinjara News (5 Jun 03) Bangladesh does not want to interfere in the internal affairs of Burma

¹⁹⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade – South Korea (4 Jun 03) Comments by MOFAT Spokesman on the Myanmar Government’s Custody of Aung San Suu Kyi

FRANCE – Called for the “immediate regain of her [Daw Suu’s] full and entire freedom of movement, as well as the leaders of the National League for Democracy, detained or under house arrest.”¹⁹⁷

NEPAL – Congress demanded Daw Suu’s release and said SPDC’s actions were “illiberal, intolerant, and undemocratic.”¹⁹⁸

SWEDEN – Foreign Minister Anna Lindh said she was “dismayed and shocked” that Daw Suu was arrested by the SPDC and that it is “regrettable that hopes for a democratization process in Burma have come to nothing.”¹⁹⁹

EAST TIMOR - Minister for Foreign Affairs and Noble Peace Prize Laureate Dr. Jose Ramos-Horta said, the attacks “wiped out all our moderate sense of hope and optimism” and said the attacks were clearly premeditated by hardliners in the SPDC.

ORGANIZATIONS & KEY INDIVIDUALS

UNITED NATIONS

United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan said, the arrest of Daw Suu Kyi was “not merely a question of law and order, but rather one that derives from the political aspirations of the Myanmar people.” He called on the international community to join in his appeal to “safeguard the process of national reconciliation and democratization in Myanmar.”²⁰⁰

UN Special Envoy Razali Ismail said, “Virtually all countries are demanding that she [Daw Suu] be released and that her party and the government should go back on track for national reconciliation.”²⁰¹ “Suu Kyi must be released,” he said.²⁰² He urged ASEAN members to drop their policy of non-intervention. “ASEAN has to break through the strait-jacket and start dealing with this issue.”²⁰³

UN Special Rapporteur Prof Paulo Sergio Pinheiro – “I’m afraid if the [SPDC] choose this path, and I hope that they will not choose this path of keeping in prison the general secretary of NLD, it will be extremely difficult to try to continue supporting growing engagement instead of isolation.”²⁰⁴

International Labor Organization – Juan Somavia called for the immediate release of Daw Suu during the ILO’s conference. He said her detention has “cast a pall over deliberations” by the ILO committee on forced labor in Burma.²⁰⁵

SOUTHEAST ASIA

ASEAN – Secretary General Ong Keng Yong (Singapore) said, “ASEAN countries should avoid interfering in the internal politics of member countries,” but that they are of course “concerned about the image that comes out from the latest developments in Myanmar, especially with regard to how ASEAN as an organization is seen with regard to international opinion.”²⁰⁶

Forum-Asia (Thailand) – “Strongly condemns the harassment...and ongoing crackdown...by the SPDC.” They said the “euphoria of political progress in Burma has proved to be illusionary and short-lived” and

¹⁹⁶ Toronto Star (7 Jun 03) Canada slams activist’s arrest

¹⁹⁷ AFP (2 Jun 03) France reiterates call for release of Myanmar opposition leader

¹⁹⁸ Nepalnews.com (5 Jun 03) Nepali Congress Demands Release of Burma’s Aung San Suu Kyi

¹⁹⁹ Sweden Foreign Ministry (31 May 03) Anna Lindh on Suu Kyi’s imprisonment

²⁰⁰ AFP (10 Jun 03) Annan calls on Myanmar junta to release democracy leader Suu Kyi

²⁰¹ Bernama (6 Jun 03) Razali Off To Myanmar In Bid To Get Suu Kyi Released

²⁰² Independent (5 Jun 03) Up to 70 died in swoop on Suu Kyi, claim supporters

²⁰³ Washington Post Foreign Service (9 Jun 03) U.S. Presses for Suu Kyi’s Release

²⁰⁴ ABC News Online (4 Jun 03) UN warns Burma over Suu Kyi’s detention

²⁰⁵ ILO (9 Jun 03) ILO Calls for Release of Burma’s Aung San Suu Kyi

²⁰⁶ Reuters (7 Jun 03) ASEAN says concerned about Myanmar Situation

that Thailand and ASEAN “should act now by giving up the tradition of noninterference and working together to restore peace and democracy in Burma.”²⁰⁷

Aliran (Malaysia) – Condemned the attacks and questioned Razali’s effectiveness. They said, “The UN’s approach is indeed on very shaky ground” and called ASEAN’s ‘constructive engagement’ with Burma “a sham.” They called for “substantive sanctions.”²⁰⁸

Burma Solidarity Group Malaysia – “Condemned the Burmese military junta for an alleged assassination attempt against the leader of Burma’s democracy movement” calling it the “most brutal crackdown in recent years.” They said that this event shows that “increased international pressure through sanctions and isolating the regime politically and economically is the only policy option we have to press for...”²⁰⁹

National Justice Party (Malaysia) – Labeled the attack “most unjust” and called for those responsible to be brought to justice. They called on Mahathir to “take advantage” of his good relationship with the SPDC to “improve conditions and encourage dialogue.”²¹⁰

Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia (Singapore) – Criticized the ASEAN Secretary-General for his policy of “noninterference” and calls on ASEAN “to shake off its dastardly stance on Burma, and denounce the actions” of the SPDC.²¹¹

Singapore Democratic Party – “Protests” against the arrest and detention of Daw Suu and NLD members. Called on Singapore as the current secretary general of ASEAN to “understand the responsibility it owes to the peoples of Southeast Asia to create a stable and democratic nation in Burma.”²¹²

The Sam Rainsy Party Members of Parliament (Cambodia) – Called for the immediate release of Daw Suu saying her arrest could ‘never be justified.’ They said the SPDC ‘should not be allowed to be so irresponsible for their aggression.’²¹³

INDIA²¹⁴

Samata Party - Called on the Indian government to “use its influence to persuade the [SPDC] to end military rule and hand over power to the people of Myanmar.”

Congress Party – Is “concerned” about the whereabouts of Daw Suu and urged the SPDC to “ensure that no harm is done to her.”

Association of Peoples of Asia – Called the attack “a big blow to the movement for democracy.”

Communist Party of India – “Strongly condemns the [SPDC] for assaulting and detaining” Daw Suu and hundreds of NLD supporters.

Samajwadi Party – Called for the “immediate release and reopening of NLD offices.”

Women’s Initiative for Peace in South Asia – “We extend our heartfelt sympathies with the whole movement...she should be released as soon as possible and peace should prevail.”

²⁰⁷ Forum Asia (2 Jun 03) Forum-Asia condemns the detention of Aung San Suu Kyi and the crackdown on NLD

²⁰⁸ Aliran Executive Committee (5 Jun 03) Burma’s Dictators Not Serious About Reform

²⁰⁹ Burma Solidarity Group Malaysia (4 Jun 03) Democracy and Human Rights Groups Call for the Immediate Release of Nobel Peace Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi

²¹⁰ National Justice Party (3 Jun 03) The world must strive to free Aung San Suu Kyi and improve conditions in Burma

²¹¹ Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia (10 Jun 03) Open letter to Mr Ong Keng Yong Sec-Gen of ASEAN

²¹² Singapore Democratic Party (4 Jun 03) SDP calls on Singapore government to condemn Burmese violence and arrest

²¹³ SRP Members of Parliament (15 Jun 03) Cambodian Opposition Calls for an Immediate Release of Aung San Suu Kyi

²¹⁴ Mizzima News (5 Jun 03) Responses from India on detention of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

USA

Free Burma Coalition – “Condemned an alleged assassination attempt” against Daw Suu. They said, “This is the regime’s most serious crackdown on democracy in years” and proves the SPDC has “lied to the international community...and Burmese people.” They called for “sanctions and isolating [the] regime politically and economically.”²¹⁵

EUROPE

Burma Campaign UK - “The regime is taking a gamble. It is gambling that the international community... will do nothing.” They criticized the EU saying, “I cannot believe it has taken the EU six days since the arrest of Aung San Suu Kyi to come up with such a limp response. Burma’s people are dying while the EU dithers.”²¹⁶

The Burma Sanctions Coalition - It is critical that the U.N. Security Council now takes the issue up and called for targeted sanctions to cut the regime’s economic lifeline. Coalition includes Burma Campaign U.K., Friends of the Earth, the Co-operative Bank, Unison, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.²¹⁷

Norwegian Burma Council – called on the Norwegian government to implement concrete measures to secure the release of Daw Suu; take action to bring Burma to the UN security council; and to urge the SPDC to implement concrete measures to stop the systematic use of rape.²¹⁸

SOUTH KOREA

National League of Democracy Liberated Area (Korea Branch) & Korean NGOs Refuge PNAN and I & We – Said the “regime has shown its fascist nature” and calls on the international community to bring “those terrorists and their masterminds” responsible for the attacks to justice.²¹⁹

CHILE

The Convening Group of the Community of Democracies – “expresses its deep concern for the unjustified arrest of Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi, democratic leader of Burma and Nobel Peace Price Winner. This repressive and anti-democratic action has lead to an international condemnation. We demand her immediate release and that of others Burmese democratic political leaders.”²²⁰

INTERNATIONAL

Human Rights Watch – “This looks like a deliberate attempt by the government to provoke violence to justify a crackdown. The government needs to stop persecuting its critics and start serious talks about making the transition to a rights-respecting member of the international community.” They called on the UN and international community to “make it clear that it will not be business as usual after these attacks.”²²¹

Amnesty International - “The organization is deeply concerned by this serious development. This is a completely unwarranted and harsh crackdown on political party members and others carrying out their

²¹⁵ Free Burma Coalition (31 May 03) After Alleged Assassination Attempt, Burmese Junta Re-Arrests Nobel Laureate, Several Reportedly Killed

²¹⁶ Burma Campaign UK (5 Jun 03) EU Response to Burma Crackdown “Pathetic”

²¹⁷ AP (19 Jun 03) Suu Kyi Held at Myanmar’s Insein Jail

²¹⁸ FBC Kiosk (19 Jun 03) Global Free Burma Actions

²¹⁹ National League for Democracy (Liberated Areas) Korea Branch, I & We, Refuge PNAN (4 Jun 03) National League for Democracy (LA) Korea Branch and Korean NGOS Joint Statement on Condemnation of Burma Military Regime Unlawfully Attack on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s Organizing Trip

²²⁰ Convening Group of the Community of Democracies (17 Jun 03) DECLARATION OF THE CONVENING GROUP OF THE COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES ON THE SITUATION IN BURMA

²²¹ Human Rights Watch (3 Jun 03) Burma: Release Aung San Suu Kyi, Investigate Attacks

legitimate activities. The harassment, arrest and detention of those acting peacefully to exercise these rights is a step in the wrong direction.”²²²

International Movement of Catholic Students Asia Pacific – Identified the SPDC as behind the attacks. “We denounce those saboteurs who covertly instigated the violence, with the unsavory intent of curbing the freedom of movement and assembly of the leaders fighting for Democracy.”²²³

Asian Human Rights Commission – “The situation in Burma demands urgent intervention by the Security Council.” Said the SPDC have shown that their “pretensions to human rights and political change are utterly fraudulent.”²²⁴

Socialist International – “Strongly condemns” the SPDC’s latest actions to “undermine efforts towards a democratic opening in Burma.” Calls for the application of “strong pressure on the regime until it...engages the democratic opposition in a formal and substantive dialogue leading to real political change.”²²⁵

Dictator Watch - 1. The SPDC will wait as long as possible to release Daw Suu because their lies about what happened on Black Friday will be irrefutably revealed. 2. Asean will never voluntarily support democracy in Burma and thus should become the target of a worldwide boycott of goods and tourism. 3. The SPDC will never willingly give up power. It demands internal rebellion and/or foreign intervention. 4. Applaud the proposed new US sanctions. Call on international community to recognize the NLD as the legitimate government of Burma; designate the SPDC as a terrorist regime; and hold an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council to devise and implement such a plan, including military intervention.²²⁶

The Buddhist Relief Mission appealed to the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee in Burma to “undertake whatever action necessary to effect changes in the country on behalf of the Sasana and the people of Burma...[including] sending a letter of petition to the SPDC.”²²⁷

INDIVIDUALS

Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Jody Williams – “It is not enough to call for the junta to release Aung San Suu Kyi and all other detained members of her party immediately. This is a bare minimum. International pressure must be increased on the SPDC to engage in full and open dialogue with Suu Kyi and the NLD for transition to democracy in the shortest term possible.”²²⁸

Vaclav Havel (Czech Republic) – expressed his ‘strongest condemnation’ of the SPDC and said their actions mean a ‘serious impact on the UN endeavors to mediate a dialogue.’²²⁹

Former UK Foreign Secretary Robin Cook, former UK Development Minister Clare Short, Thai Senator Kraisa Choonhavan and the Administration Commissioner of the European Commission Neil Kinnock each wrote a letter to Sr-Gen Than Shwe expressing “frustration and anger over the unnecessary and unacceptable situation that has been allowed to develop. It appears to be that the interests of your regime and some of its members are being placed ahead of the needs of the country and the people.” They called for the immediate release of Daw Suu.²³⁰

²²² Amnesty International (2 Jun 03) Safety of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and Her Party in Danger

²²³ IMCS Asia Pacific (5 Jun 03) Press Statement in Solidarity with Democracy Campaigners in Burma

²²⁴ Asian Tribune (6 Jun 03) Attack on democracy party in Burma demands uncompromising international response

²²⁵ Socialist International (3 Jun 03) Socialist International condemns the actions of the military regime in Burma against Aung San Suu Kyi and the democratic opposition

²²⁶ Dictator Watch (23 Jun 03) RELIEF MISSION, MINE VICTIM, AND ADDITIONAL ANALYSIS OF BURMA

²²⁷ Buddhist Relief Mission (18 Jun 03) Open letter to Bhaddanta Kumara of the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee

²²⁸ Alternet (12 Jun 03) Another Crackdown in Burma

²²⁹ Prague (3 Jun 03) Statement by Vaclav Havel on the situation in Burma

²³⁰ Bloomberg.com (18 Jun 03) European and Asian Lawmakers Demand Aung San Suu Kyi’s Release

Burmese elected Prime Minister Dr Sein Win said, “The generals intend to crush the Burmese democracy movement by getting rid of the NLD and its leadership. If the reaction from the international community is lukewarm or indifferent it would be a disaster for our movement inside Burma.”²³¹

BURMA (THIS IS NOT AN EXHAUSTIVE LIST)

United Nationalities League for Democracy – Liberated Areas – The attack shows that the SPDC is “not interested in political change but [interested in] power.” They call on the Burmese people to resist the regime with “civil disobedience” and “urge the UN to send a mediator with powerful mandate from Security Council, who can bring the regime to a dialogue table, by force---if necessary. We also call the international community and United Nations not only to condemn but also to take more effective action on military junta in Burma.”²³²

Members of Parliament Union – “It is the beginning of the deliberate and well-planned plot of the SPDC to crush the democracy movement.” They said the SPDC’s excuse of detaining them for “their own safety is absolutely non-sense and unacceptable.”²³³

“May 30 massacre and detention of Daw Suu should serve as a wake up call to the international community that there is an urgent need for a better coordinated effort, stronger political will and a bigger stick in dealing with the regime...”²³⁴

Thakhin Thein Pe – (A group of political veterans who fought for independence from the British) Called the May 30 attack “terrible and shameful.” “They [SPDC] are not going to do anything. We are giving advice to them,” but they never take it. It is time for Burmese [Burman] to unite - that’s my advice.” Called on the SPDC to release Daw Suu, U Tin Oo and political prisoners and engage in a genuine dialogue process.²³⁵

Justice for Human Rights in Burma – “These atrocities were committed with the knowledge of, and directly under the supervision” of high-level SPDC officials. They call for a “full and independent investigation” to bring those responsible to justice, and for the international community to address these “unjust acts committed against the oppressed people of Burma.”²³⁶

Women’s League of Burma – They are “outraged at the violence instigated by Burma’s military regime” and call for immediate international action, including the “suspension of all forms of aid and investment to Burma.”²³⁷

Called on the international community to put pressure on the SPDC in various ways for the release those detained, to punish those who were involved in the May 30 attack and to call on the UN Security Council to intervene in Burma.²³⁸

All Arakan Students’ and Youths’ Congress said the attacks were an “intentional creation by [the] SPDC” to show Razali “their real attitude.”²³⁹

Network for Democracy and Development – “Calls for immediate intervention by the international community and the United Nations to prevent another massacre in Burma.” They called for further action by saying, “We trust that the ethnic leaders and the rest of the NLD leaders who remain outside will be

²³¹ National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (13 Jun 03) Press Release

²³² Chinland Guardian News (7 Jun 03) Current crisis in Burma

²³³ Members of Parliament Union (1 Jun 03) Concerted Action Urgently Needed to Counter Junta’s Crackdown

²³⁴ MPU-Burma (21 Jun 03) International Community Urged to Step Up Pressure for the Release of Aung San Suu Kyi

²³⁵ DVB (17 Jun 03) Interview with Thakhin Thein Pe

²³⁶ Justice for Human Rights in Burma (7 Jun 03) Statement on the Depeyin-YaeOo Massacre

²³⁷ Women’s League of Burma (2 Jun 03) Urgent Call for International Action Against Latest Acts of Repression by the Burmese Military Regime

²³⁸ Women’s League of Burma (19 Jun 03) WLB’s Statement on the Occasion of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s Birthday

²³⁹ Narinjara News (10 Jun 03) Arakanese Opposition: on Friday Massacre

able to lead the people to carry out further activities in order to maintain the momentum of the movement.”²⁴⁰

National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB) – “The popularity of the NLD among the people as witnessed by the tumultuous support given...has worried the generals who had thought they had the country under control. The generals are testing the waters to see if they can get away with the crackdown and world nations...must explicitly show...that these acts will not be tolerated.”²⁴¹ They said SPDC’s actions are “tantamount to a threat to the authority of the United Nations, and a threat to peace in the region” and calls for Burma to be brought to the Security Council.²⁴²

National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB), a coalition of Burmese democratic and ethnic forces, called on the EU to take tougher action than the current sanctions and to appeal to their allies to abandon their ‘constructive engagement’ policies.²⁴³

The Arakan Independence Alliance demands the immediate release of all political leaders and welcomes the strong stand taken by the US in consideration of imposing further sanctions.²⁴⁴

Federation of Trade Unions Burma – “Strongly condemns the criminal actions” of the SPDC and holds them “responsible for all that happened.” They call on the international community to “implement total sanctions, trade embargoes to stop all income to the junta and its cronies” to bring the SPDC to the negotiating table.²⁴⁵

Nine indigenous people’s political parties from Burma condemned the attacks. The Mara Pyithu Party, the Zomi National Congress, the Mon National League for Democracy, the Chin National League for Democracy, the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy, the Karen National Democracy Congress, the Kayah State Peoples’ League for Democracy, the Kachin State Nationalities Democracy Conference, and the Kayan National Unity League for Democracy.²⁴⁶

Australia Branches - National League for Democracy Liberated Area, All Burma Students’ Democratic Front, All Burma Students’ Democratic Organization, Burmese Women’s Union, International Burmese Students Conference Convening Committee and Collective Committee for Democracy in Burma – Said the attack shows the SPDC has “stepped up on its systematic and deliberate plots against the democracy movement” and the SPDC has the “sole responsibility.” They called on the Australian government to “review its foreign policy towards Burma” as the attacks were carried out by the people the Australian government was “educating on the notion of human rights.”²⁴⁷

Assistance Association for Political Prisoners Burma – Are “seriously concerned” about those effected by the attack. Compiling lists of those detained, missing, and killed.²⁴⁸

Military alliance group of 5 ethnic groups said the “30 May incident has proved that the SPDC has not only wiped the national reconciliation talks with their hands but also increased its activities by using terrorist tactics.” Arakan Liberation Party, Chin National Front, Karenni National Progressive Party, Karen National Union, and Restoration Council of Shan State.²⁴⁹

Karen National Union Representative Office in Germany & Karen Service Team “strongly advised the SPDC to put Sr-Gen Than Shwe, Maung Aye, Khin Nyunt and Win Aung in ‘protective custody’ as

²⁴⁰ Network for Democracy and Development (4 Jun 03) The NDD Calls for Immediate Intervention to Prevent Another Massacre in Burma

²⁴¹ NCGUB (31 May 03) NCGUB urges ‘effective action’ to counter SPDC’s ‘cowardly crackdown’

²⁴² NCGUB (5 Jun 03) Burma Forum: Keynote Speech of Dr. Sein Win, Prime Minister

²⁴³ NCUB (16 Jun 03) Open letter to Foreign Ministers of the European Union

²⁴⁴ Narinjara News (10 Jun 03) Arakanese Opposition: on Friday Massacre

²⁴⁵ FTUB (4 Jun 03) Statement on SPDC’s Attack on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and CALL for ACTION

²⁴⁶ Narinjara (8 Jun 03) Nine Indigenous People’s Political Parties speak out on the present political crisis in Burma

²⁴⁷ Burma Groups in Australia (31 May 03) Statement on Recent Military Junta Sponsored Violence and Killing on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi’s Organizing Trip

²⁴⁸ AAPPB (3 Jun 03) Urgent Release

²⁴⁹ DVB (15 Jun 03) Burmese ethnic groups claim Tabayin incident undermines reconciliation efforts

soon as possible” to protect the people from assassins! They ‘deeply appreciate’ efforts by the US, EU, and Japan to secure the release of Daw Suu. They demand that the SPDC immediately dissolve the USDA.²⁵⁰

Democratic Federation of Burma (comprised of Burmese student leaders in the US, Australia, Japan, Thailand and India) “We shall no longer confront them politically, but use revolutionary ways to ensure the ultimate annihilation [of the SPDC].”²⁵¹

Oway Front – (a newly formed pro-democracy student group inside Burma) are secretly handing out information in North Okkalapa and Thingangyun Townships in Rangoon about the attack on May 30, declaring the USDA and the SPDC responsible.

List 5 demands:

1. Immediately release U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi
2. An independent team to do an investigation of the attack
3. Immediately release a list of those dead and injured
4. Immediately release NLD Chairman U Aung Shwe and all Central Committee members from house arrest
5. Immediately reopen NLD headquarters and all branch offices²⁵²

3 WEEKS AFTER BLACK FRIDAY – A TIME TO STAND & BE COUNTED

ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING (AMM) & ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM (ARF)

June 16-17 – AMM

June 18 - ARF²⁵³

It was quickly made clear by US Secretary of State Colin Powell that ASEAN’s traditional copout of “noninterference” for not addressing the situation in Burma was not going to be acceptable. ASEAN has repeatedly claimed “constructive engagement” but in reality it more like “intentional avoidance.”

UN Special Envoy Razali said, “Constructive engagement is just an excuse for perpetuating the status quo. Asean should be very embarrassed at what is happening. Myanmar is going to be the chair of Asean in 2006. How can you have a military dictator chair Asean?”²⁵⁴

Razali also made an analogy to Iraq: “You can see what happened with the Arab countries. They were completely helpless to do anything about Saddam Hussein. They offered nothing of their own so much so that America had to do it in the end (for them). I am not saying that Asean is like that but you can see the analogy.”²⁵⁵

At the AMM ASEAN Secretary General Ong Keng Yong (Singapore) said, “All of us in ASEAN wish that Aung San Suu Kyi will be free to be able to do what she would like to do. This is the first time that ASEAN has taken a pro-active stand on Myanmar on the record.”²⁵⁶

THE PROPAGANDA PUPPET

SPDC Foreign Minister Win Aung told the forum that “We have heard there were some assassins coming in the country. I don’t know who their target will be.”²⁵⁷ He later rebuffed that he did not have any

²⁵⁰ KNU Office Germany (19 Jun 03) Joint Statement of the KNU Representative Office (Germany) & The KST on the illegal detention of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

²⁵¹ Irrawaddy (13 Jun 03) Global Action on Suu Kyi’s Birthday

²⁵² NGCUB (June 03) he Slaughter at Depayin: A report to the people By Oway Front

²⁵³ The ARF consists of the 10 ASEAN states along with Australia, Canada, China, the European Union, India, Japan, Mongolia, New Zealand, South Korea, North Korea, Papua New Guinea, Russia and the U.S.

²⁵⁴ Malaysiakini (16 Jun 03) UN envoy lashes out at Asean inaction over Burma

²⁵⁵ Malaysiakini (16 Jun 03) UN envoy lashes out at Asean inaction over Burma

²⁵⁶ Yadana Yadana (16 Jun 03) ASEAN foreign Ministers call for Suu Kyi’s release

evidence of these assertions. He said, "I would like to assure you, we don't have any animosity towards Aung San Suu Kyi. We don't have any intention to harm her, or to prolong our security arrangements."²⁵⁸ "If anything happens to Aung San Suu Kyi, every blame will be put on the government." Daw Suu will be set free after the situation returns to normal, he said.²⁵⁹ He never defined what "normal" means. He insisted, "We are working for the emergence of a constitutional civilian government. Even though our government is not a representative government, we are working for the people, not for the sake of power. We are not brutal people. We are not the heartless people."²⁶⁰

SPDC foreign ministry's director of political affairs, Thuang Tun said, "Give us breathing space. The political situation in our country is very complex. We need Asean to talk to us and help us create democracy and stability."²⁶¹

We Are Family...

The Philippines and Singapore were the only two members to speak out, demanding the release of Suu Kyi but nearly all members were said to have 'mentioned it' in private communication.²⁶² Some members, including Thailand blocked any form of ultimatum that would have called on Rangoon to abide by the request or face ramifications.²⁶³ Reportedly, some members were "begging the Philippines to soften its stance in favour of Burma."²⁶⁴ The ministers accepted an Indonesian proposal to send a delegation to help the junta hasten democratic reforms "using the experience of the other ASEAN countries which have gone through a similar struggle" before the ASEAN Summit in October.²⁶⁵

The Joint Communique from the AMM in regards to Burma was weaker than desired:

We discussed the recent political developments in Myanmar, particularly the incident of 30 May 2003. We noted the efforts of the Government of Myanmar to promote peace and development. In this connection, we urged Myanmar to resume its efforts of national reconciliation and dialogue among all parties concerned leading to a peaceful transition to democracy. We welcomed the assurances given by Myanmar that the measures taken following the incident were temporary and looked forward to the early lifting of restrictions placed on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD members. We also reaffirmed our continued support for the efforts of the UNSG Special Representative Tan Sri Razali Ismail.

Win Aung said, "This is the first time that ASEAN has commented on the internal affairs of its members, but for the sake of ASEAN solidarity, I had to agree. ASEAN unity is very important."²⁶⁶

Philippine Foreign Secretary Blas Ople said, "We want them to speed up the completion of the new constitution, which is the key to the future stability of Burma. The goal is not merely the release of Madame Suu Kyi, but the release of the entire people of Burma from a regime of oppression and repression. We are actually trying to avoid a situation where Myanmar will be completely isolated from the international community and before they are economically crippled by these sanctions." He said that Win Aung said "that one of the great misfortunes is that the government of Myanmar wears a uniform" and Ople replied, "Well, they can always shed the uniform and that is precisely what the political reforms mean under a new constitution in Burma."²⁶⁷

²⁵⁷ Irrawaddy (16 Jun 03) Suu Kyi's Disposition in Question

²⁵⁸ Financial Times (20 Jun 03) Burma tries to deflect criticism on detention of Suu Kyi

²⁵⁹ Xinhua (23 Jun 03) Myanmar FM stresses necessity of national reconciliation

²⁶⁰ DPA (19 Jun 03) Myanmar renewed country's commitment to civilian government

²⁶¹ Nation (18 Jun 03) Spotlight on Burma at Asean meeting

²⁶² Nation (18 Jun 03) Burma's front man in spotlight at Asean

²⁶³ Nation (18 Jun 03) Spotlight on Burma at Asean meeting

²⁶⁴ Nation (17 Jun 03) Philippines demurs as Asean backs Burma

²⁶⁵ AP (17 Jun 03) ASEAN formally urges Myanmar to free Suu Kyi & AFP (20 Jun 03) ASEAN to step up pressure on Myanmar; mission being prepared to Yangon

²⁶⁶ AP (17 Jun 03) ASEAN formally urges Myanmar to free Suu Kyi

²⁶⁷ Nation (17 Jun 03) Philippines demurs as Asean backs Burma & AP (20 Jun 03) Philippine minister says ASEAN can push Myanmar forward on political reforms & AFP (20 Jun 03) ASEAN to step up pressure on Myanmar; mission being prepared to Yangon

Malaysian Foreign Minister Syed Hamid Albar hailed ASEAN for ‘tackling issues long considered taboo’ saying “ASEAN has reached a stage of maturity.”

Thai Foreign Minister Surakiart Sathirathai said it was “a major step ASEAN has achieved in reinvigorating the image of ASEAN that we no longer sweep problems under the carpet, but we can confront all the problems.” He then said Daw Suu’s arrest was “a temporary measure” aimed at providing safety to her and would not hamper national reconciliation efforts.²⁶⁸

It was ‘business as usual’ on June 21 when Sathirathai and Win Aung signed the MoU on Cooperation in the Employment of Workers, which will repatriate hundreds of thousands of migrants seeking refuge in Thailand back to the hands of the SPDC.²⁶⁹

Singapore’s Foreign Minister Prof S. Jayakumar said, “It is a setback for Asean because Asean had admitted Myanmar despite strong opposition from some Western countries because we felt that it is better that Myanmar be part of Asean and we have constructive engagement.”²⁷⁰

East Timor Minister for Foreign Affairs and Noble Peace Prize Laureate Dr. Jose Ramos-Horta (attending as an observer) said, “ASEAN is facing a unique challenge to its own credibility. [SPDC] should at least show loyalty to their ASEAN friends and neighbors, spare them embarrassment, and heed their friendly advice.” He said, “They [ASEAN] are serious that no later than 2006 Myanmar has to get out of the pariah status otherwise it will be severely embarrassing for everyone. It’s already very embarrassing. ASEAN foreign ministers have been deeply upset by the setbacks in Myanmar.”²⁷¹

SPDC Foreign Minister Win Aung’s Sob Story

Win Aung is not considered an influential person in the SPDC and knew he would have to answer to Than Shwe for his actions, so tried to perform a little dance to deflect the mounting pressure. He said, “We’re like a patient coming out of an ICU (Intensive Care Unit) and don’t want to go back in there.” He said he felt like ‘the board where all the darts are coming’. “You can ask me whether I am enjoying my life as a minister. Let me frankly answer this question. I never enjoy this.” Win Aung reportedly asked ASEAN not to pressure him too much as he might lose his job.²⁷²

International Government’s Positions

Sanctions

EU - Strengthened sanctions on June 16, bringing forward a move originally threatened for October. They widened the visa ban to include extended families of ministers, as well as deputy ministers and ex-ministers and senior army staff officers. “The idea is to penalize those who are benefitting from the regime, not just the regime itself,” said an EU official. The EU “also decided to monitor closely the further evolution of the situation in Burma/Myanmar, and reaffirmed its readiness to react proportionately to future developments.”²⁷³

Director of the Burma Campaign UK, John Jackson criticized the EU’s sanctions, “In effect their response to the crackdown is to stop a few of the regime’s cronies holidaying in the EU.” He said some EU members want to take tougher measures against the SPDC, but countries like Germany are holding them back. He called on the UK government to take up the Burma issue with the UN Security Council.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁸ Kyodo (17 Jun 03) ASEAN urges early release of Myanmar’s Suu Kyi & Nation (17 Jun 03) Philippines demurs as Asean backs Burma

²⁶⁹ New Light of Myanmar (22 Jun 03) BURMESE FOREIGN MINISTER RETURNS FROM ASEAN MEETINGS IN CAMBODIA, THAILAND

²⁷⁰ New Straits Times (21 Jun 03) Comment: Asean must start calling a spade, a spade

²⁷¹ AFP (17 Jun 03) No one in ASEAN believes Yangon over Aung San Suu Kyi: East Timor

²⁷² AFP (20 Jun 03) ASEAN to step up pressure on Myanmar; mission being prepared to Yangon & Financial Times (20 Jun 03) Burma tries to deflect criticism on detention of Suu Kyi & Nation (18 Jun 03) Burma’s front man in spotlight at Asean & DPA (19 Jun 03) Myanmar renewed country’s commitment to civilian government

²⁷³ AFP (16 Jun 03) EU boosts sanctions against Myanmar

²⁷⁴ Irrawaddy (17 Jun 03) EU Renews Sanctions on Rangoon

US - The Senate passed a sanctions bill by a 97 to 1 vote on June 11. Secretary of State Colin Powell endorsed the “goals and intent” of the bill. The bill would ban imports to the US from Burma, freeze assets and put a visa ban on high level SPDC and USDA officials. 80% of garments produced in Burma go to the U.S., worth US\$400 million per year.²⁷⁵

Business groups are protesting that the sanctions violate international trade rules, will accomplish little in the absence of cooperation from other countries but said, “when the train is moving 400 miles per hour, not a whole lot of people want to stand on the tracks,” said William Reinsch, president of the National Foreign Trade Council, a corporate-backed organization. Veteran Burma scholar David Steinberg also opposes sanctions saying, “Again, the moral high ground will have been attained and indignation satisfied, but the failure of earlier U.S. sanctions to oust the military has been ignored.”²⁷⁶

In an editorial titled “It's Time to Turn the Tables on Burma's Thugs,” US Secretary of State Colin Powell said, “By attacking Aung San Suu Kyi and her supporters, the Burmese junta has finally and definitively rejected the efforts of the outside world to bring Burma back into the international community.”²⁷⁷ On his way to the ARF he said, “Let's see whether the Burmese react or not, and we'll determine after their reaction not just for the release of Aung San Suu Kyi but also what will they allow her to do or what will they allow her party to do, and that will determine what our policy will be.”²⁷⁸

U.S. State Department Deputy Spokesman Philip T. Reeker said, “The continued detention of Aung San Suu Kyi, members of her political party and others who have peacefully expressed their political views, is without cause and unacceptable. We also call on the junta for a full accounting of the dead, injured, and missing from the attack of May 30, now known to Burmese as “Black Friday.”²⁷⁹

US Council on Foreign Relations-sponsored Task Force on Burma released a 60-page document, “Burma: A Time For Change,” on June 19 and was introduced by Senator McConnell, Senator Dianne Feinstein, and Mathea Falco, Chair of Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on Burma. The report makes recommendations for US policy on Burma in regards to humanitarian assistance, human rights, narcotics control, refugees, democracy and rule of law. “...The United States should urge the Security Council to hold an emergency session on Burma to discuss imposing targeted sanctions, which could include denying visas to leaders of the military regime, the Union Solidarity Development Association (USDA) and their families, freezing their assets and imposing bans both on new investment in Burma and on importing goods produced in Burma.” Redouble efforts with China, Japan and ASEAN – especially Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia – to pressure the SPDC to work with NLD and ethnic nationalities towards political transition. They call on Japan to withhold debt forgiveness until genuine progress takes place.

The McConnell Plan

US Senator Mitch McConnell has unleashed verbal venom at the SPDC, but is working hard to follow it up with a lethal attack. “We need a forceful response to the junta’s blatant attack on democracy. It is not enough to free Suu Kyi and other political prisoners.... Pressure should only be lifted when dialogue leads to the successful conclusion of Burma’s struggle for freedom,” said McConnell.

He is calling for “Diplomatic relations with Burma should be downgraded by sending Burma’s ambassador in Washington back to Rangoon until such a time that Aung San Suu Kyi and all other political prisoners are freed.” He has called on the US to engage with China, India, Japan, and Thailand like the way President Bush did during Thai Prime Minister Thaksin’s visit to Washington in June. He is a strong proponent of the new sanctions legislation and says sanctions can be an “effective modifier of repressive behavior in Burma, and we already know that the junta responds to outside pressure and

²⁷⁵ Xinhua (23 Jun 03) US sanctions threaten Myanmar garment industry & Washington Post (13 Jun 03) U.S. Sanctions Bill Would Ban Burmese Imports

²⁷⁶ International Herald Tribune (17 Jun 03) U.S. needs a serious Burma policy ; Don't wait for crises

²⁷⁷ Wall Street Journal (12 Jun 03) It's Time to Turn the Tables on Burma's Thugs

²⁷⁸ U.S. Department of State (17 Jun 03) Secretary Colin L. Powell Press Briefing En Route Phnom Penh

²⁷⁹ US State Department (20 Jun 03) Press Statement - Philip T. Reeker, Deputy Spokesman - Washington, DC - Burma Birthday of Aung San Suu Kyi

condemnation. If the SPDC was truly immune to world public opinion, Mr. Razali would have left Burma empty-handed.”²⁸⁰

Anti-Sanctions Response - “There are some who worry that sanctions will hurt the very people they are supposed to help. In Burma, sanctions will not rape ethnic girls and women or murder their brothers, husbands and sons. They will not profit from an illicit narcotics trade that wreaks havoc among the region's youth, nor will they attack peaceful supporters of Ms. Suu Kyi and the NLD. A ban on imports to the United States will impact a negligible percentage of Burma's population. A ban will hit the SPDC where it hurts most -- in the pocketbook and its public image.”²⁸¹

‘Tough Talk’

Canada - Foreign Minister Bill Graham said, “Suu Kyi has to be released and released as immediately as possible and given an opportunity to carry on her political role in the country.” “We found that constructive engagement has not worked. I'll be writing to the minister of citizenship and immigration to recommend that we consider putting certain members of (SPDC) leadership on an interdict list for visa applications...as a clear indication to them that they don't have complete impunity as to what they do.” He also suggested the United Nations call for a freeze on SPDC's assets abroad.”²⁸²

UK – Britain's Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said, “The Burmese junta and its cronies is a cancer gnawing at the heart of South-East Asia.”²⁸³

Foreign Minister Mike O'Brien called on SPDC's London ambassador, Kyaw Win on June 20 and said he “was appalled by events in Burma.”²⁸⁴ On June 19, he said he was “appalled” that Daw Suu was being held at Insein Prison, wearing the same clothes from May 30 and “deeply concerned” about the welfare of U Tin Oo.” “The international community will not stand idly by while the military regime continues to abuse the democratic and human rights of Aung San Suu Kyi and the people of Burma,” he said. He tried to call Daw Suu on her birthday but SPDC Deputy Foreign Minister Khin Maung Win said he ‘couldn't take his call.’²⁸⁵

184 UK lawmakers have signed a motion calling for targeted investment sanctions against Burma unilaterally if the EU will not agree to a multilateral action.²⁸⁶

JAPAN – On June 13 Japanese Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi told SPDC Foreign Minister Win Aung by that Japan hopes Burma resolves the issue and wants to see the freedoms and political activities of Suu Kyi and other NLD members restored.²⁸⁷

June 16 - Kawaguchi warned that Tokyo might ‘review’ its economic aid to Burma unless they release Aung San Suu Kyi immediately. “We cannot continue (aid) projects as if nothing had happened,” a foreign ministry official said.²⁸⁸

June 17 – Yoriko Kawaguchi, Japan's foreign minister, said the junta must “initiate genuine efforts towards national reconciliation and democracy, and to take steps in becoming a responsible and respected member of the international community.”²⁸⁹

²⁸⁰ Asia Wall Street Journal (16 Jun 03) Sanction Burma & BurmaNet News (18 Jun 03) MCCONELL URGES EXPULSION OF BURMESE AMBASSADOR & AFP (19 Jun 03) Report calls for UN Security Council action on Myanmar

²⁸¹ Asia Wall Street Journal (16 Jun 03) Sanction Burma

²⁸² AFP (20 Jun 03) Canada may ban Myanmar's military leaders from its territory & AFP (18 Jun 03) Canada may toughen policy against Myanmar if Suu Kyi not released

²⁸³ Canberra Times (20 Jun 03) Pressure mounts on Burmese junta;

²⁸⁴ AFP (20 Jun 03) Britain summons Myanmar ambassador over Suu Kyi's detention

²⁸⁵ AP (19 Jun 03) Suu Kyi Held at Myanmar's Insein Jail & Irrawaddy (19 Jun 03) O'Brien Unable to Call Suu Kyi

²⁸⁶ Bloomberg.com (18 Jun 03) European and Asian Lawmakers Demand Aung San Suu Kyi's Release

²⁸⁷ Kyodo (13 Jun 03) Japanese Foreign Minister Urges Burma To Release Suu Kyi

²⁸⁸ AFP (16 Jun 03) Japan to warn of 'review' on economic aid unless Suu Kyi is released: report

²⁸⁹ Financial Times (18 Jun 03) Asean steps up pressure on Burma to free Suu Kyi Summit Warnings

June 21-22 – Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Tetsuro Yano was in Thailand for Asia Cooperation Dialogue and had informal discussions with Khin Maung Win and Home Minister Tin Hlaing, who monitors activities involving the opposition.²⁹⁰

June 24 – Japan's deputy foreign minister Tetsuro Yano very briefly met with Khin Nyunt to deliver a message from Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi that demanded the immediate release of Daw Suu and an "accountable and transparent" explanation. When Deputy Foreign Minister Tetsuro Yano met Khin Nyunt he said, "I tried to break the ice, but it didn't work out as I expected, due to the insufficient efforts made by the SPDC."²⁹¹

June 24 - Japan Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi said, "We need to give (the junta) some time to decide on the release" before reviewing the official development assistance."²⁹²

Thailand - Thai Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs of Thailand wrote an open letter to the ASEAN Secretariat saying "Apart from putting a permanent stain on the international reputation of ASEAN and contradicting the underlying objective of the regional association, it is obvious that protracted armed conflict, political oppression and socio-economic mismanagement by SPDC will make it unlikely for ASEAN to achieve an aspiration to induce mutual benefits in dealing with Myanmar through "constructive engagement". As the uncertainty of current situation may lead to the eruption of violence in Myanmar, we call on ASEAN to make it known to SPDC that they must provide foreign embassies and humanitarian agencies an unhindered visit to Aung San Suu Kyi and other members of the NLD, who are still in detention, to ensure their safety and welfare."

Malaysia - June 24 - Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad said, "I hope that the Myanmar regime will take into account the views expressed by other countries, especially ASEAN in this matter, because this has placed ASEAN in a dilemma."²⁹³

UN Special Envoy Razali Ismail said that, if the UN Security Council were to consider imposing international sanctions, it would make the junta sit up and take notice. "This is the one thing that the Myanmar people would really fear. It would worry them a lot," he said. The chances of UN sanctions being approved, he said, are "very, very, very slim" by virtue of Burma being in China's backyard. "But it is enough for there to be informal consultations. The threat (alone) could be enough," he added.²⁹⁴

'Asking Nicely'

India - India's Minister for External Affairs Yashwant Sinha has written to his counterpart in Burma asking for the release of Aung San Suu Kyi. Sinha said dialogue must be resumed to restore democracy in that country.²⁹⁵

Australia - Foreign Minister Alexander Downer said he would "directly lobby Burma for the release of Aung San Suu Kyi" on the sidelines of ARF. He said, "Those sanctions haven't worked, haven't changed anything in Burma. Screaming and stamping feet doesn't achieve anything."²⁹⁶ It is unclear what Downer's plan of action is but said, "I've been to eight ARF meetings with two [SPDC] foreign ministers and they say the same things. This time he understands the strength of the feeling here."²⁹⁷

²⁹⁰ AFP (23 Jun 03) Japanese deputy FM meets Myanmar No.3 [to] push for Suu Kyi's release

²⁹¹ AFP (24 Jun 03) Aung San Suu Kyi not at infamous Insein jail, Myanmar tells Japan envoy

²⁹² AP (24 Jun 03) Japan presses for Suu Kyi's release

²⁹³ AP (24 Jun 03) Malaysia's Mahathir again urges Myanmar to release Suu Kyi

²⁹⁴ Malaysiakini (16 Jun 03) UN envoy lashes out at Asean inaction over Burma

²⁹⁵ DPA (19 Jun 03) India calls for release of pro-democracy leader Suu Kyi

²⁹⁶ DPA (18 Jun 03) Australian foreign minister decries sanctions against Myanmar & The Australian (17 Jun 03) Downer to seek Suu Kyi's release

²⁹⁷ DPA (18 Jun 03) Australian foreign minister decries sanctions against Myanmar

GLOBAL DAY OF ACTION JUNE 19, 2003 (DAW SUU'S 58TH BIRTHDAY) AND BEYOND

On June 19, the world erupted in protests against the SPDC and actions of solidarity with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the victims of the May 30th attack.

Actions were held in:²⁹⁸

- Thailand: Bangkok at the Burmese and Chinese Embassies and the Indian Consulate
Chiang Mai at the Chinese Consulate;
Htam Hin refugee camp on the Thai-Burma border
Mae Sot hunger strike
- USA: Washington DC at the Burmese Embassy; New York; San Francisco; Austin, Texas
- India: New Delhi
- Japan: Tokyo and Nagoya
- Australia: Sydney and Mount Lawley
- Malaysia: Kuala Lumpur
- UK: London
- Canada: Toronto; Vancouver
- Italy: Rome
- South Korea: Seoul
- Bangladesh; Jamaica; France; Finland
- Brussels, Belgium

Kuala Lumpur - Six people were arrested during a protest at the Burmese Embassy.²⁹⁹ They were arrested for illegal assembly which carries penalty of US\$540-US\$2,702 and 1 year in jail. The detainees include those with UNHCR status, working permits, no papers and/or are pending UNHCR decision. They were held and scheduled for court on June 24. However, without informing their lawyers, they were brought to court on June 23rd, and were ordered to be held for 4 more days.³⁰⁰

Washington DC - 9 protestors were arrested for blocking the Burmese Embassy entrance while 30 more held banners that called Sr-Gen Than Shwe a "war criminal" and demanded "regime change." The 9 arrested were not immediately charged. Their status is unknown.³⁰¹

Mae Sot - 3 people, Dr Khin Sein, 40, Bo Bo, 35, and Taing Hmu, 24, performing a hunger strike were arrested by Thai police because they are illegal migrants. They were deported over the bridge to Myawaddy, Burma.³⁰²

Norwegian Burma Council in cooperation with the Norwegian government's political parties' women organisations - Conducted a postcard campaign was in support of DASSK and the women of Burma. More than 1300 signed postcards have been collected and these will be sent to Burma as an action of support. The Norwegian Prime Minister, Kjell Magne Bondevik, has signed the postcard.³⁰³

US Joint Congressional Human Rights Caucus & Congressional Women's Caucus Hearing - "A Review on the Development of Democracy in Burma," chaired by Senator Brownback.³⁰⁴ NCGUB MP-elect U Bo Hla Tint addressed the panel: Expressed his 'heartfelt thanks' to the US Congress for taking 'timely and effective action' on Burma with the Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act of 2003. He said, the inspiring crowds proved that there is indeed a rising tide in Burma in support of peaceful campaign for a change launched by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD.

²⁹⁸ DPA (18 Jun 03) Myanmar's beleaguered democracy party to mark Suu Kyi's birthday & DVB (19 Jun 03) Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's 58th Birthday celebrated around the world & FBC Kiosk (19 Jun 03) Global Free Burma Actions & Malaysiakini (19 Jun 03) Six Held For Staging Demo Outside Burmese Embassy

²⁹⁹ SUARA RAKYAT MALAYSIA (19 Jun 03) 6 Burmese Arrested in Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia) for Demonstration

³⁰⁰ Malaysiakini (19 Jun 03) Six Held For Staging Demo Outside Burmese Embassy

³⁰¹ DPA (19 Jun 03) Nine protesters arrested outside Burmese embassy

³⁰² Irrawaddy (18 Jun 03) More Hunger Strikes for Suu Kyi's Release

³⁰³ FBC Kiosk (19 Jun 03) Global Free Burma Actions

³⁰⁴ Asian Tribune (20.06.03) Bo Hla-Tint Urges for discussion of current Burmese issues at the UN Security Council

He called for Burma to be brought to the United Nations Security Council as the events of Black Friday by the SPDC is ‘tantamount to a threat to the authority of the United Nations, and a threat to peace in the region’ and ‘in order to prevent further bloodshed in Burma.’ He also called on the UN Secretary-General to visit the Burma at the earliest possible time following the trip of his special envoy.

He urged all the members of ASEAN and its dialogue partners: To support UN mediation efforts in Burma to bring a speedy change; Not to tolerate SPDC's brutal acts against its own people and the democracy movement; Not to allow the SPDC to divert attention from the need to release Daw Suu and the immediate resumption of talks; Suspend any economic and development assistance under she is released and SPDC enters into a genuine tripartite dialogue process.

Prior to June 19

Friends of Burma Coalition – consisting of organizations from 12 countries protested on June 11 at the Indian Consulate in Thailand to demand India to end its support of and to exert pressure on the SPDC.³⁰⁵

The Swiss Burma Association and other NGOs demonstrated in Geneva in front of the main gate of the United Nations building on June 12 and called for the release of Suu Kyi. Last week, 70 demonstrators marched from Parliament House in Canberra to the gates of the Burmese embassy.³⁰⁶

A TIME FOR SERIOUS ACTION

NO MORE BUSINESS AS USUAL

The SPDC has blatantly violated international regulations and norms and the international community needs to hold them accountable for their rogue behavior. It is appalling that despite the SPDC's murderous attacks, on Jun 8 and 9, the ASEAN-Japan Committee on Comprehensive Economic Partnership was held in Burma.

US Senator McCain said US Secretary of State Colin Powell should condition his attendance at upcoming ASEAN meetings in Phnom Penh on an ASEAN agreement to place Burma at the top of its agenda.³⁰⁷

UPCOMING DATES

- Jun 30 Asian Development Bank Manila Board of Governors Meeting in Manila
- Jul 5-6 ASEM Finance Ministers Meeting in Denpasar
- July 7 Anniversary: Student Union Building Bombed by Ne Win
- July 19 Martyr's Day
- Jul 22-24 ASEM Economic Ministers Meeting in Dairen
- Jul 23-24 ASEM Foreign Ministers Meeting in Bali
- August 8 ASEAN founded in 1967 & anniversary of 8888 Uprising
- August 9 International Day of Indigenous Peoples
- Sept 16 CRPP established
- Sept 16 58th Session of the UN General Assembly opens (New York)
- Sept 18 SLORC came to power in 1988
- Sept 27 Founding of NLD
- Oct 7-8 Asean Summit, Bali
- Oct 20-21 APEC, Bangkok
- Nov 18 National Day of Burma
- Nov 25 Int'l Day for the Eradication of Violence Against Women
- Dec 5 U Thant Uprising
- Dec 10 World Human Rights Day
- Dec 11-12 ASEAN-Japan Summit, Japan

³⁰⁵ Network for Democracy and Development (11 Jun 03) INDIA URGED TO STOP SUPPORTING SPDC

³⁰⁶ Irrawaddy (13 Jun 03) Global Action on Suu Kyi's Birthday

³⁰⁷ VOA (9 Jun 03) Thailand Comes Under Criticism in US Congress Over Burma Policies

ASEAN

Substantial pressure must be placed upon ASEAN members by their international allies and civil society to take action on the situation in Burma. ASEAN's selective policy of 'non-interference' has hurt not just the people of Burma but of the region itself. This is echoed by US Senator McCain's statement that ASEAN "has been constructively engaging and abetting tyranny in Burma."³⁰⁸ The political legitimacy and business dealings with Burma are assisting in the endurance of the SPDC's arrogance against genuine political dialogue.

Sanctions

The SPDC has repeatedly shown they are sensitive to international pressure and most responsive to strong, assertive positions from the international community Aung Din of the Free Burma Coalition said, "The people of Burma can't wait for more talk—we need action."³⁰⁹ Wansai from the Shan Democratic Union said, "we need sanctions with teeth that bite."

Legislation for new U.S. sanctions has widespread, bipartisan support.³¹⁰ Deputy Secretary of State Richard L. Armitage said the administration intends to extend the visa restrictions to the managers and families of Burma's state-run enterprises and USDA members while seeking an asset freeze and a ban on U.S. travel to Burma.³¹¹

Other countries such as the EU, Australia, Canada, Japan, India and Thailand should substantially increase or implement sanctions on Burma immediately.

Boycotts

Consumer boycotts and pressure from civil society have been successful in getting businesses to end ties with Burma, which has significantly reduced exports to the US. The ICFTU has updated their list of 375 multinationals that have business links in Burma, which have been in direct contact with leaders of the regime and/or promote tourism in Burma. The list can be found at: <http://www.global-unions.org/burma>

Oil and gas is Burma's leading export, major sector for investment, and of main source of income for the SPDC. French multinational Total and US Unocal are two of the largest investors in Burma and have recently decided to develop new gas wells in Burma and will invest around US\$ 35 million. Thailand is the main recipient of Burma's exported gas for which it pays the SPDC about US\$850 million per year. There should be an immediate freeze on investment, production, and consumption of Burma's oil and gas until the SPDC makes irreversible steps towards democracy and reconciliation.

UNITED NATIONS

UN Special Envoy Razali Ismail's 'appeasing' approach with the SPDC has not been effective in bringing substantial progress towards democracy and reconciliation in Burma. During the visit he just completed, he was manipulated by the SPDC to downgrade his expectations and goals only to a meeting with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Sr-Gen Than Shwe who is ultimately responsible for the situation in Burma, refused to meet Razali. Than Shwe has essentially thumbed his nose at the UN process..

UN Security Council

It has long been argued that the case of Burma should be brought before the UNSC for:

- ◆ Being a threat to regional security,
- ◆ Failure to hand over power to democratically elected leaders,
- ◆ Extensive use of child soldiers,

³⁰⁸ VOA (9 Jun 03) Thailand Comes Under Criticism in US Congress Over Burma Policies

³⁰⁹ Irrawaddy (5 Jun 03) US and UN Get Tough on Burma

³¹⁰ Reuters (4 Jun 03) U.S. Lawmakers Urge Ban on Imports from Myanmar

³¹¹ Washington Post (7 Jun 03) Visa Ban Expanded For Burma's Leaders

- ◆ Promoting a growing trend of forcing civilians to act as porters for the SPDC's army leading to and in conflicts,
- ◆ Being a growing military power,
- ◆ Enabling a flourishing environment for narcotics production and trafficking,
- ◆ Causing mass displacement of civilians in and out of Burma,
- ◆ Raging civil war against ethnic nationalities,
- ◆ Committing systematic, institutionalized human rights violations

The mandate of the Special Envoy should be under the UNSC, as it has an enforceable mechanism.

International Labor Organization

On May 28, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) filed a formal complaint to the Committee on Freedom of Association of the UN's ILO on Burma. It provides 'overwhelming evidence' that the SPDC systematically violates the Convention on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, which Burma has ratified.³¹²

METHODS TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON SPDC

- Pressure ASEAN – its members and regional partners, particularly China, Japan and India
- Ban the export of items to Burma that can be used for internal repression or to develop weapons domestically. End all military cooperation and training with SPDC forces
- Oil and natural gas embargo – investment, imports and exports, ban on imports from Burma.
- Implement or strengthen investment bans. Boycott and divestment campaigns for companies associated with or operating in Burma
- Tourism embargo
- Comprehensive asset freeze of SPDC, NaSaKa, and USDA officials and state-run companies
- Suspend development and humanitarian aid that does not genuinely consult all stakeholders
- Prohibit funding from International Financial Institutions such as the ADB, including bans on “back door” funding through Greater Mekong Subregion projects that include Burma. Such an initiative should also cover loans made to neighboring countries that can be used for Burmese infrastructure development.
- Grant high-ranking elected NLD representatives observer status at international body meetings
- Bring Burma to the UN Security Council for failure to recognize 1990 elections and for regional security reasons
- UNGA and ILO should recommend and support multilateral sanctions against the SPDC including arms embargo, trade and financial sanctions
- International organisations, including the UN and ADB should suspend all agency meetings from being held in Burma
- More funding, support and protection for human rights defenders and groups
- More education and training programs for democratic opposition movement
- Lobby border countries, namely Thailand, Bangladesh and India to provide security for those escaping persecution

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³¹² ICFTU (6 Jun 03) ICFTU releases background report on Burma and more names of companies linked to the country